

E 791 R

OLD ENGLISH



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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HRABAN MAUR, "De Laudibus sanctae crucis" c. 825 AD, Vatican Codex Reg. lat. 124, f. 4v

it in A.D. 963, is fairly correct, and from that time forward the house became the retreat of many West Saxon ladies of the highest rank, who regulated their discipline and carried out their religious observances in accordance with Æthelwold's rules,—according to the editors of the *Monasticon*, “a new Benedictine concordat which had then been recently settled by himself and Archbishop Dunstan.”

The list of Abbesses is by no means complete, but the Compotus Rolls of Froyle Manor in Hampshire, now in the British Museum, and other original records, enable a few gaps which have been left by Dugdale's editors to be filled up.

Ethelritha, or Etheldrida, A.D. 963.

St. Edith, in the time of King Edgar.

Beatrix, succeeded by

Alicia, A.D. 1084.

Hawysia, about A.D. 1120.

The hiatus here may, perhaps, be in part accounted for by the destruction of the Abbey in A.D. 1141, during the wars between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, when the larger part of the city fell a prey to the flames.

Claritia, elected A.D. 1174.

Agnes,¹² died 3 Kal. Sept., A.D. 1265, and after twenty-nine years' rule was succeeded by

Eufemia, a nun of the same place, elected 3 Id. Sept., A.D. 1265. She died 12 Kal. Dec., A.D. 1270, and was succeeded by

Lucia, who was elected in A.D. 1270.

Matilda occurs in her fifth year, A.D. 1281–2,¹³ which indicates her accession in A.D. 1276.

Maud Peccam, elected A.D. 1313.

Maud Spine, elected A.D. 1338.

¹² Her first year appears to be 1236, vide the Compotus Roll of Froyle:—Add. ch. 17457–17478, 17462; and Add. ch. 13338–9.

¹³ Add. Ch. 17519.

Margaret Molins, elected A.D. 1349.

Christiana, or Christina Wayte, elected A.D. 1364, but there is an indication that she was earlier.¹⁴

Alicia de Mare¹⁵ held the abbacy for eighteen years, A.D. 1365-6 to 1383.

Johanna Deymede,¹⁶ for twenty-five years, A.D. 1384-5 to 1407.

Maud Holme, elected A.D. 1410.

Christiana Hardy,¹⁷ sat for three years, A.D. 1414-1417; but there is evidence of her being a little later.¹⁸

Agnes Denham,¹⁹ held the abbacy for twenty-six years, A.D. 1418-1444.

Agnes Burton or Buryton, thirty-eight years, A.D. 1448-9 to 1486.

Joan, or Johanna, Legh,²⁰ thirty-two years, A.D. 1486-1505. She really appears to have held the position of Abbess for more than thirty years, A.D. 1527.²¹

Elizabeth Shelley, elected 1527, in whose time the surrender was carried out, notwithstanding that she succeeded in obtaining royal letters patent, under the Privy Seal, dated 27 August, 1536, by which her Abbey was, although shorn of some valuable property, new founded by the king, and managed to subsist for four years, after the grand Priory of St. Swithun and Hyde Abbey had fallen before the advance of the general destruction. This respite was no doubt due to the regularity and piety practised by the inmates of the Abbey, as well as to the rank and birth of many whom it sheltered.

¹⁴ Add. ch. 17479, "the third year of Christina, 1363-4."

¹⁵ Add. ch. 17480 to 17496.

¹⁶ Add. ch. 17497 to 17508.

¹⁷ Add. ch. 17509, 10.

¹⁸ Her first year, 4 Hen. V, 1416-7. Add. ch. 17562.

¹⁹ Add. ch. 17511, 13, 14.

²⁰ Add. ch. 17516-18.

²¹ Add. ch. 19729-31.

Cædmon's Hymn

anonymous

s.vii?

This poem is found added by scribes to the margins of various manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Book 4, chapter 24. Bede's text is in Latin, but the scribes have added the poem in Old English.

1	Nu sculon herigean	heofonrices weard	West Saxon version.
2	meotodes meahte	and his modgeþanc,	
3	weorc wuldorfæder,	swa he wundra gehwæs,	
4	ece drihten,	or onstealde.	
5	He ærest sceop	eorðan bearnum	
6	heofon to hrofe,	halig scyppend;	

1 sculon herigean] modal plus infinitive; understood subject, **we**

2 meahte] object of *herigean*

3 wundra gehwæs] partitive genitive; *gehwæs* is a gen. prn.

4 ece] adj.

5 bearnum] dat pl. is always -um

6 heofon] object of *sceop*

6 to] idiomatic, translate "as"

1 weard] Cædmon employs many names for God. Try to respect his distinctions in your own translation. Why use so many names for one thing? What might this imply?

2 modgeþanc] Parallel syntax: genitive plus accusative; the parallel breaks down in the next line. What stylistic effect does this syntactic change have?

4 drihten] Originally denoted a *truhtin* (OHG), the leader of a Germanic warband. Corresponds to Lat *principes*.

5 ærest] Metrical parallel to *or* of the previous line; what is a distinction between these two words? Repeated in *eorðan*.

7 þa middangeard moncynnes weard,
 8 ece drihten, æfter teode
 9 firum foldan, frea ælmihtig.

7 þa] conj. often trans as “then”

7 middangeard] Norse? lit. Middle-earth

8 teode] main verb

7 moncynnes weard] Variant of line 1a. Why has the *heofonrices weard* become the *weard* of *moncynn*?

8 ece drihten] Repetition of line 4a. What aesthetic effect does this have? Does the formula in a new context give it new meaning? If so, what?

8 æfter] We’ve experienced *swa*(3b), *or*(4a), *ærest*(5a), and *þa*(7a); now we have another temporal indicator. How does time work in this poem?

9 firum] Cædmon not only has many names for God, but many names for human beings: *bearnum*(5b), *moncynn*(7b), and *firum*(9a). Why? And what implication arises from shifting humanity to the a-verse?

9 frea] Refers to the OE head of a household, which included slaves and other dependents. Sometimes translated Lat *principes*, as in Tacitus, or *dominus*. Also alludes to a Norse god, Frey. Fertility god of the Vanir. Snorri Sturluson says Frey “governs rain and sunshine ...and it is good to pray to him for prosperity and peace; he also looks after the wealth of men.” There is also the Vanir goddess, Freyja, sister of Frey, trollope and scamp.



[OE]

[gram]

[trans]

[OE]

[gram]

[trans]

[OE]

[gram]

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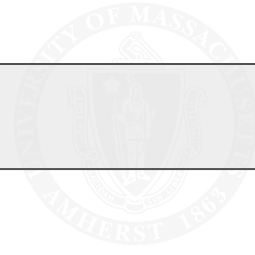
[gram]

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[OE]

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[trans]



21 August 2013

OLD ENGLISH

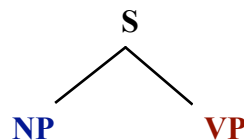
For each translation assignment:

1. As well as your own translation, find an additional two translations. Be prepared to describe differences.
2. Consult Greenfield & Calder as well as other handbooks (Cambridge, Aertsen, Blackwell, Oxford, Fulk & Cain, etc): be prepared to describe the history of the interpretation of this poem.
3. Be prepared to describe two interesting things that you noticed.

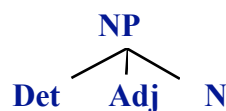
Inflected languages are so-called because they inflect word roots for case. The same root in Old English can take up to nine endings—these endings are called inflected morphemes or simply inflections. The inflections indicate to speakers of Old English the grammatical function of each word in a sentence.

Like all human languages, Old English names something (an object, idea, emotion—anything with a name), then describes its state of being or activity. Each sentence in Old English, like each sentence in English, divides into these two functions: the naming function and the action function. For naming, we use the Latin word for name, nomen, and call words that name nouns. The portion of the sentence that names is called the noun phrase, or **NP**. For action or being we use the Latin for word, verbum, and call words that describe activity verbs. The portion of the sentence that describes activity is called the verb phrase, or **VP**. Basically, English speakers (and OE speakers) first name what they want to talk about, then say what it is or what it is doing.

All Old English sentences therefore break down as follows (S stands for “sentence”):



This is called a tree chart. It may seem absurdly simple, but it will help immensely in translating Old English. **NP**’s break down further. Any given **NP** can contain determiners (also called articles), **Det**, as well as adjectives, **Adj**, and of course, nouns, **N** (naturally, this includes pronouns, **Pron**, which stand in for, Latin pro, the noun). Noun phrases therefore break down as follows:



Now consider the fact that inflected languages inflect for case and you can see that a **NP** will usually contain only one case: the nominative. Both the **Det** and the **Adj** will be in the same case, since in Old English, adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in case, number, and gender. In this respect, **Det**’s are treated like adjectives, and they also agree.

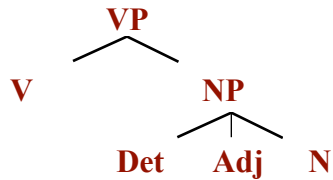
For example, if you see man and se in the same **S**, in whichever order, you know that they are both in the nominative case—they both function in a name—and therefore belong in the **NP**. If there’s an **Adj** in the sentence which modifies man, it will have a nominative inflection as well.

STEP ONE. Look for a nominative **Det** or **Pron**. Find similarly inflected **N**, **Adj**.



VP's break down as well. Any given **VP** will contain a verb, **V**. It may also contain a **NP**, but this noun phrase will be the object of the verb—that is, it will name the thing that the action is being done to, or on behalf of. If a thing is being acted upon by the subject (e.g., “Joe paints the house,” where the house is the thing acted upon by the subject, Joe), the verbal **NP** is in the accusative case. It is the direct object of the action. All the components of the verbal noun phrase which names the direct object of the action will therefore be in the accusative case: **Det**, **N**, **Adj**.

Verb phrases therefore break down as follows:



STEP TWO. Look for the verb. Find **NP** inflected in the accusative.

The **VP** may also contain a **NP** which names the indirect object of the action. This case is also known as the dative. It will appear only if there is also an accusative NP (the exceptions are rare). The dative case also includes the instrumental case, which was distinct in earlier forms of Old English (in fact, traces can still be seen in the demonstrative singular þý). This means that some dative inflections need to be translated in the instrumental (the instrument by means of which the action is done).

Finally, a **VP** can contain an adverb, **Adv**. These are usually fairly easy to recognize.



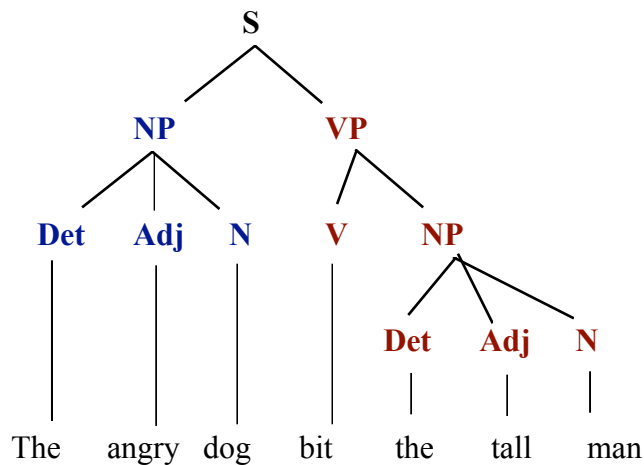
Two language clusters remain: prepositional phrases, **PP**, and the genitive case. Both can appear in either the **VP** or the **NP**—there is no way to distinguish which grammatically.

PP's consist of a preposition, **Prep**, and a **NP**. The inflection of the prepositional **NP** is usually dative, but it is always governed by the demands of the **Prep**: some **Prep**'s take the accusative, some the dative. You will simply have to memorize which. Err on the side of the dative.

STEP THREE. Look for prepositional phrases.

Finally, the genitive. The inflection is easily recognizable, so your best bet is simply to mark a word or phrase as genitive. There are a number of uses of the genitive case, which means that it can express several distinct relationships. The commonest is possession. But there is also the genitive of time (“a day’s ride”), the genitive of material (“a bar of gold”), the partitive genitive (“a piece of pie”), descriptive genitive (“a man of wisdom”), and others. Most can be translated with “of.”

STEP FOUR. Look for the genitive inflection.



INFLECTIONS

As you translate, you want to solve the grammatical puzzle of a sentence (S). Each S has a subject, a verb, and possibly an object or two. So, you want to divide the words in the sentence into three categories: possible objects, possible verbs, and possible subjects. The key is their inflections.

Sing					
Nominative	—	—	—u	—a, —e	—u
Accusative	—	—	—e	—an	—u
Genitive	—es	—es	—e	—an	—a
Dative	—e	—e	—e	—an	—a
PL					
Nominative	—as	—u	—a, —e	—an	—a
Accusative	—as	—u	—a, —e	—an	—a
Genitive	—a	—a	—a	—ena	—a
Dative	—um	—um	—um	—um	—um

Reduce those to a minimum:

Sing	
Nominative	Ø , —u, —a
Accusative	Ø , —e, —an, —u
Genitive	— es , —e, —an, —a
Dative	—e, —an
PL	
Nominative	— as , —u, —a, —an, —e
Accusative	— as , —u, —a, —an, —e
Genitive	—a, — ena
Dative	— um

Translate the little words (*in for þæt*). Look for the **unique inflections** (in bold) before the others.

Verbs?

—an, —**anne**, —**ende**, —**ed**, —est, —**eð**, —**að**, —**en**, —**on**, —e

NOUNS												VERBS											
Strong Declension						Weak Declension							Strong	Weak I				Wk 2	Wk 3	Beon			
Masc.		Neuter		Feminine		Masc.		Fem.		Neut.		Pres. Ind <											

PARTS OF SPEECH

PIE had 8 cases: NOM, VOC, GEN, DAT, ABL, LOC, INSTR, ACC. Bold font indicates cases in Old English.

NOMINATIVE. This is the *casus rectus*; all others are *casus obliqui* (oblique cases). Indicates the theme of the sentence—in non-inflected languages, it is sentence-initial. Delbrück writes that the nominative “does not indicate the subject of an action in theological sense, but rather in the sense that appears to the observer to be bearer and middle-point of the action that is expressed by the verb.” OE **Ø**, **-as**, -u, -a, -an, -e.

VOCATIVE. Nominal form for addressing a listener.

ACCUSATIVE. Has two functions: 1) the direct object of transitive verbs, and 2) the spatial or temporal resolution of the verb. Also a relational accusative, an accusative of contents, an accusative of extent. Meier-Brügger writes, “The original meaning of the accusative is probably that of direction, in the sense of spatial relation.” Delbrück thinks that it served to indicate the complement of the verb, as understood by the listener. There are primary goal accusatives and secondary goal accusatives. The locative bears some resemblance in terms of arrival at a place; there is also a directive case, which survived in Anatolian, and in fragments elsewhere (e.g., Lat. *domum*, ‘(to) home’ and *rus* ‘(to) the countryside’). In general, OE words/phrases indicating motion into or across will inflect in the accusative. Note that certain prepositions may take accusatives or genitives. OE *on* ‘on’ can take both dative and accusative, depending on the meaning. (Lat. *in* ‘in’ can take both an ablative and an accusative). In general, the matter is decided both by the preposition and by the meaning of the prepositional phrase. OE **Ø**, **-as**, **-e**, **-an**, **-u**, **-a**

INSTRUMENTAL. That which accompanies the verbal action. An inanimate object (by means of which the action is executed) or a person (who helps to execute the action). Also, constitution, accompaniment, a reason, and so forth.

DATIVE. With respect to people, writes Meier-Brügger, “the dative indicates an actor or actors who receive (action; [indirect] object dative) or possess (state; possessive dative).” Also, “when applied to abstract nouns, the dative indicates that the noun is the goal of an action (*dativus finalis*). In OE, the dative tends to indicate a static location, and it also expresses a locative and instrumental sense. In Gmc. generally, any motion will require the accusative, not the dative (Ich ging über die Brücke[acc.] vs. Ein Flugzeug kreist über dem Haus[dat.]). The Gmc dative includes the PIE dative, ablative, locative, and instrumental. One OE use to note is the location at the possessor, which may seem genitive: *him* [dat.] on þæt heafod ‘on his head’ (lit. ‘to-him on the head’). Also, can be the direct object of verbs involving separation (*ætwindan* ‘escape from’ with dative, lack, abdicate, etc.) and

verbs of serving (*þegnian* ‘serve’, *betæcan* ‘entrust’, etc.). NB., this is the “preeminent prepositional case” in Gmc. according to Lass—most prepositions will take the dative, unless they indicated motion-into.

Note also the dative absolute, which corresponds to the Lat. ablative absolute (& Gk. gen.absolute), i.e., “a kind of loose adverbial adjunct to another construction, normally with a perfective or progressive (location-in-time) sense ... ‘after X happened’ [or] ‘while X was the case’” (Lass)

OE **-e**, **-um**, **-an**

ABLATIVE. The place of origin of an action (esp. movement away from). In Gk, assumed by the genitive.

GENITIVE. Partative genitive indicates a part of the noun in the genitive case. From this arise uses to indicate possession, composition, and time. OE **-es**, **-ena**, **-a**, **-an**, **-e**

LOCATIVE. Situates the verbal action spatially and/or temporally. (In Lat., assumed by the ablative, e.g., *domi* ‘at home’; in Greek, assumed by the dative.)

References:

Delbrück, Berthold. *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax* (Halle: Waisenhauses, 1879).

Lass, Roger. *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Meier-Brügger, Michael. *Indo-European Linguistics* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003).



HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

DEPT. OF ENGLISH

S. HARRIS

PIE MORPHOLOGY

Further information from Oswald J. L. SZEMERÉNYI, *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics* (Oxford University Press, 1996); and Michael MEIER-BRÜGGER, *Indo-European Linguistics* (De Gruyter, 2003).

Comparative Reconstruction. Comparison of the most ancient, related forms; extrapolate, following phonological rules, to a possible origin. That origin is the PIE reconstructed form—a theoretical formula, not an attested form.

Example: **To be.**

	VEDIC	GREEK	LATIN	PIE
1.s	ásmi	εἰμί	sum	* H ₁ ésmi
2.s	ási	εσσι	es	* H ₁ ési
3.s	ásti	εστί(ν)	est	* H ₁ ésti
1.pl	smás	ἐμμεν	sumus	* H ₁ smé
2.pl	sthá	ἐστε	estis	* H ₁ sté
3.pl	sánti	εἰσὶ(ν)	sunt	* H ₁ sénti

Example: **To go.**

	VEDIC	GREEK	LATIN	PIE
1.s	émi	εἰμι	eo	* H ₁ éimi
2.s	ési	εἶς	īs	* H ₁ éisi
3.s	éti	εἶσι	it	* H ₁ éiti
1.pl	imás	ἴμεν	īmus	* H ₁ imé
2.pl	ithá	ἴτε	ītis	* H ₁ ité
3.pl	yánti	ἴασι(ν)	eunt	* H ₁ iénti

Leonard Bloomfield writes, “A reconstructed form, then, is a formula that tells us which identities or systematic correspondences of phonemes appear in a set of related languages the reconstructed form is also a kind of phonemic diagram of the ancestral form ...” (*Language*, p. 303).

PIE Noun

Inflected for gender (m, f, n), number (s, dual, pl), and case (nominative, vocative, genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, locative, instrumental). Ablative, locative, and instrumental combine in the dative of OE, and there is not much distinction between them in Gmc. Originally, there was only one inflectional system for all PIE nouns.

Athematic inflections (inflections depend upon STEM (-V, -C) + ENDING (inflection). See SZEMERÉNYI, p.160.

	S	PL	DUAL	PGMC	
NOM	-(a)z, -(a)s, -Ø	-es	-e, -î	-s	-es
VOC	-Ø	-es	-e, -î	[nom]	[nom]
ACC	-m	-ns	-e, -î	-m	-ns
GEN	-es, -os, -s	-om, -ôm	-ous? -ôś?	-es, -as	-o, -om
ABL	-es, -os, -s, [-ed, -od]	-b ^h (y)os -mos, -m-	-b ^h (y)ô -mô	-ed, -od	-m, -om
DAT	-ei	-b ^h (y)os, -mos	-b ^h (y)ô, -mô	-ai	-m, -om
LOC	-î, - Ø	-su	-ou	-i	
INSTR	-e, -o, -b ^h i, -mi	-b ^h is, -mis, -ôis	-b ^h yô, -mô	-Ø	-m, -om

STEM (-V, -C) + ENDING (inflection). For example, a vocalic stem such as “o,” coupled with an accusative may yield an inflection -om, while a consonant stem such as “t” may yield -ṃ (subscripted dot means *syllabic consonant*). **Consonant stems** included -p/-t/-k, -s-, -m/-n/-l/-r, etc. **Vowel stems** included *only* -i/-u/-o and -î/-û/-â. No short /a/. Short and long /e/ were combined with /o/ to form o-stems (a.k.a thematic stems).

For example, ***ped-/ *pod-** “foot”

	SKT	GREEK	LATIN	PIE
NOM s	pâd	poûs (pōs)	pēs	pēs
ACC s	pâd-am	pód-a	ped-em	péd-ṃ
GEN s	pad-ás	pod-ós	ped-is	ped-és/-ós
ABL s	pad-ás	—	—	ped-és/-ós
DAT s	pad-é	—	ped-ī	ped-éi
LOC s	pad-i	pod-í	ped-e	ped-í
INSTR s	pad-â	pod-e	ped-e	ped-é
NOM pl	pâd-as	pód-es	ped-ēs	péd-es
ACC pl	pad-ás	pód-as	ped-ēs	péd-ṇs
GEN pl	pad-âṃ	pod-ōs	ped-um	ped-óm
ABL - LAT pl	pad-b ^h yás	—	ped-i-bus	ped-b ^h (y)ós
LOC pl	pad-sú	po(s)-sí	—	ped-sú
INSTR pl	pad-b ^h ís	pop-p ^h i	—	ped-b ^h ís

Note the shift in stress/accent throughout the paradigms. These have an effect on the grade of the root vowel.

PIE nouns paradigms are ultimately distinguished by accent classes (that is, by **ablaut grades**).

For example, the PIE for “father” is *pH₂-tér. The accent falls on the second syllable, which maintains the full grade of /e/. This is called a **strong stem**. When inflections are added—especially in the abl, dat, instr, and sometimes the loc—the inflectional suffix takes the accent, and the prosody of root and stem yield *pH₂-tr-ʹ. This is called a **weak stem**. In other words, the same lexeme had both weak and strong stems.

Another example is *dónt-m̥ “tooth”: *dónt-es (nom.pl.), but *d̥nt-sú (loc.pl.).

Accents fall into five major types, distinguished in 1926 by Pedersen, improved by Karl Hoffmann:

- I. **Acrostatic**, accent on first syllable throughout
- II. **Proterodynamic** (nom. X x, gen. x X x) accent is on the beginning/suffix
- III. **Amphikinetic** accent on beginning/end
- IV. **Hysterokinetic** (nom. x X, gen. x x X: Gk. patér, patrós) accent on final syllable throughout
- V. **Mesostatic**, accent on suffix

An example of an amphikinetic paradigm is *dōn, “tooth”:

- S. *dōn, *dónt-m̥, *d̥nt-ós, *d̥nt-éi, *d̥nt-í, *d̥nt-é
- P. *dónt-es, *d̥nt-ns, *d̥nt-óm, *d̥nt-b^h-, *d̥nt-sú

These yielded paradigms in Lat, Gk, Goth, etc. that also possessed strong and weak stems within one paradigm. (Thus, PDE “tooth” and “teeth” result ultimately from full grade and reduced grade roots within the same paradigm.) Sometimes, a paradigm was regularized, so that all roots were consistent (e.g., Gk ἄγκυον “anvil”), and sometimes one or two roots resulted from reduced grades (e.g., ἄρνος, ἄρην).

PIE also has nouns with -n- and -r- stems, but very few in -m- and -l-.

	SING	PL
NOM	-ōn	-en-es
ACC	-en-m̥	-(e)n-ns
GEN	-(e)n-os	-n-om, -n-ōm
LOC	-en-i	-n-su

Others not described here include liquid-stems, s-stems, i-stems, u-stems, diphthong-stems, thematic-stems (o-stems), ā-stems (mostly feminine), and ī-stems.



HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

DEPT. OF ENGLISH
S. HARRIS

PIE TO PGMC PHONOLOGY

Further information from Oswald J. L. SZEMERÉNYI, *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics* (Oxford University Press, 1996); Michael MEIER-BRÜGGER, *Indo-European Linguistics* (De Gruyter, 2003); and E. PROKOSCH, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1938).

Example 1.

GOthic (4c)	ON (13c)	OE (9c)	OF(13c)	OS (9c)	OHG (9c)
fadar	Faðer, faðir	fæder	feder	fader	fater

Example 2.

	“HAND”	“FOOT”
Eng	hand	foot
Dutch	hand	voet
German	Hand	Fuß
Dan	hand	fod
Swedish	hand	fot
French	main	pied
Italian	mano	piede
Spanish	mano	pie
Russian	ruka	noga
Polish	ręka	noga
Bohemian	ruka	noha
Serbian	ruka	noha

Grimm's Law examples:

L pater, Gk patér : Go fader, OE fæder
L tres, Gk treîs : OE þreo
L cord-, Gk kardía : OE heorte, Go haitó

Li dubus : OE déop
L edo, Gk édō : OE etan, Go itan
L ego, Gk egō : OE ic, Go ik

Sk bhrātar : OE brōþer
Gk thugáter : OE dohter
Sk hamsa : OE gōs

The Fall of Adam and Eve

translated by Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham

late tenth century

This text of Ælfric's translation of Genesis 3:1–19 is from British Library MS Cotton Claudius B. iv, a magnificently illustrated collection of translations from the Old Testament. The manuscript was published in facsimile by C. R. Dodwell and P. A. M. Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, xviii (Copenhagen, 1974). If you are working with the *Guide to Old English*, compare the text in that book (printed from a different manuscript) with this one. Can you spot the substantive differences?

[1] Æac swylce sēo nāddre wæs gēapre ðonne ealle ðā oðre nȳtenu ðe God geworhte ofer eorðan. And sēo nāddre cwæð tō ðām wīfe: “Hwī forbēad God ēow ðæt gē ne æton of ælcum trēowe binnan Paradīsum?”

[2] Þæt wīf andwyrde: “Of ðāra trēowa wæstmē ðe synd on Paradīsum wē etað:

[3] and of ðæs trēowes wæstmē þe is onmiddan neorxnawange, God bebēad ūs ðæt wē ne æton, ne wē ðæt trēow ne hrepodon, ðī lās ðe wē swelton.”

[4] Ðā cwæð sēo nādre eft tō ðām wīfe: “Ne bēo gē nāteshwōn dēade, ðeah ðe gē of ðām trēowe eton.

[5] Ac God wāt sōðlice ðæt ēowre ēagan bēoð geopenode on swā hwylcūm dæge swā gē etað of ðām trēowe; and gē bēoð ðonne englum gelice, witende ægðer ge gōd ge yfel.”

[6] Ðā geseah ðæt wīf ðæt ðæt trēow wæs gōd tō etenne, be ðām ðe hyre ðūhte, and wlitig on ēagum and lustbære on gesyhðe; and genam ðā of ðæs trēowes wæstmē and gēæt, and sealde hyre were: hē æt ðā.

[7] And heora bēgra ēagan wurdon geopenode: hī oncnēowon ðā ðæt hī nacode wæron, and sȳwodon him ficlēaf and worhton him wædbrēc.

[8] Eft ðā ðā God cōm and hī gehȳrdon his stemne, ðær hē ēode on neorxnawange ofer midne dæg, ðā behȳdde Adam hine, and his wīf ēac swā dyde, fram Godes ġesihðe onmiddan ðām trēowe neorxnawonges.

[9] God clypode ðā Adam, and cwæð: “Adam, hwær eart ðu?”

[10] Hē cwæð: “Dīne stemne ic ġehīre, lēof, on neorxnawange, and ic ondrāde mē, for ðām ðe ic eom nacod, and ic behȳde mē.”

[11] God cwæð: “Hwā sǣde ðē ðæt ðū nacod wære, ġyf ðū ne æte of ðām trēowe ðe ic ðē bebēad ðæt ðū ne æte?”

[12] Adam cwæð: “Ðæt wīf ðe ðū mē forgēafe tō ġefēran sealde mē of ðām trēowe, and ic ætt.”

[13] God cwæð tō ðām wīfe: “Hwī dydest tū ðæt?” Hēo cwæð: “Sēo nǣdre bepæhte mē and ic ætt.”

[14] God cwæð tō ðære nǣddran: “For ðan ðe ðū ðis dydest, ðū bist āwyrġed betweox eallum nȳtenum and wildēorum. Ðū ġæst on ðīnum brēoste and ytst ðā eorðan eallum dagum ðīnes līfes.

[15] Ic sette fēondrādenne betwux ðē and ðām wīfe and ðīnum ofspringe and hire ofspringe; hēo tōbrȳtt ðīn hēafod and ðū syrwt onġēan hire hō.”

[16] Tō ðām wīfe cwæð God ēac swylce: “Ic ġemænifylde ðīne yrmða and ðīne ġeēacnunga; on sārnyse ðū ācenst cild, and ðū bist under weres anwealde and hē ġewylt ðē.”

[17] Tō Adame hē cwæð: “For ðān ðe ðū ġehȳrdest ðīnes wīfes stemne and ðū æte of ðām trēowe ðe ic ðē bebēad ðæt ðū ne æte, is sēo eorðe āwyrġed on ðīnum weorce. On ġeswyncum ðū ytst of ðære eorðan eallum dagum ðīnes līfes.

[18] Ðornas and brēmelas hēo āsprȳt ðē, and ðū ytst ðære eorðan wyrta.

[19] On swāte ðīnes andwlitan ðū brȳcst ðīnes hlāfes oð ðæt ðū ġewende tō eorðan, of ðære ðe ðū ġenumen wære, for ðān ðe ðū eart dūst and tō dūste ġewyrst.”

ÆLFRIC

Stephen J. Harris for *Oxford Encyclopedia of English Literature* (pre-publication version)

Abstract: Ælfric (c.950-c.1010), Old English prosodist, grammarian, and abbot of Eynesham.

Ælfric was the greatest vernacular prose stylist of the Anglo-Saxon period. He is known especially for his sermons, which enjoyed wide circulation. Ælfric employed a style that, he says, does “not use obscure words, just plain English, by which it may more easily reach to the heart of the readers or listeners to the benefit of the souls, because they are unable to be instructed in a language other than the one to which they were born” (Wilcox, 127). His aim was to keep the interest of his readers and hearers. Ælfric sometimes encouraged listeners to weather tedious passages. In his preface to his *Lives of Saints*, he writes that he “abbreviated the longer passions, not so much in the sense as in the words, in order that boredom may not be inflicted on those hard to please” (Wilcox, 131). Sometimes boredom was preferable: he occasionally omitted lurid spectacle—a particularly gruesome torture in a saint’s life, for example—when translating his sources so as not to distract from an underlying message. Ælfric kept his clauses brief, and his style plain. Contemporary Anglo-Latin writers enjoyed obscure words and convoluted syntax, and contemporary Old English writers peppered their prose with tropes. But Ælfric stressed the spiritual needs of his audience rather than literary conceit. He was rewarded with patronage and an appreciative audience. His were among the most copied texts of the period. And his language has become the standard by which scholars and critics assess all Old English prose.

BACKGROUND

Ælfric was first and foremost a churchman. His works all conducted to bring Christians to a better understanding of their faith. As an author, he was highly conscious of his pastoral duty. Ælfric wrote textbooks to teach his students Latin, so that they could pray and read the Bible along with its commentary tradition. He wrote sermons, homilies, and saints’ lives to teach his community about Christian doctrine and Christian history. And he wrote letters to instruct English Christians (some of them high-ranking ecclesiastics) in their duties. To ensure that his writings were orthodox, Ælfric had at hand an impressive library. In its shelves could be found Latin books by the fathers of the Catholic Church—Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Gregory the Great (540-604), Jerome (c.347-420), and Ambrose of Milan (c.333-397). Other important sources for Ælfric were his countryman Bede (c.673-735), Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, Haymo of Auxerre, and Paul the Deacon (720-c.799). Paul, a monk of Monte Cassino, compiled a homiliary at the request of Charlemagne which was a major source for Ælfric’s sermons. Throughout his life, Ælfric also kept a commonplace book. In all of Ælfric’s works, these orthodox sources are seamlessly integrated with local color, clear expression, and formal elegance. Ælfric was aware that Latin, not Old English, was the language of the Church. He was therefore circumspect in his program of translation, writing between 993 and 998, “I promise not to write more in this language [OE], lest, perhaps, the pearls of Christ be held in disrespect” (Wilcox, 131). But this he weighed against a general need for vernacular translations. Due to spotty education and widespread laxity in ecclesiastical government, many monks and almost all of the laity in Britain were illiterate.

The English Church in the time of Ælfric was undergoing a transformation. It had suffered depredations by Vikings for generations. Norse immigration especially in the ninth century profoundly affected Church government in the east of England. Vikings, who were

eventually held in check by King Alfred the Great, destroyed monasteries and books throughout the eastern portions of the island. Elsewhere in England, regular monastic life deteriorated severely. In the early tenth century at Cluny in France, a reformation was under way. By the mid-tenth century, this reform was imported into England by Æthelwold of Winchester (c.904-984), Oswald of Worcester (d. 992), and Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (c.909-988). At its heart was the Rule of St. Benedict, a set of ideals and regulations for an orderly monastic life, translated into OE by Æthelwold. Ælfric was educated by Æthelwold at Winchester at the outset of this Benedictine Reform. His education was directed at monastic observance and a sound command of Latin. These aims would govern his literary production for the rest of his life.

WORKS

In 987, Ælfric was sent to Cernel (Cerne Abbey) in Dorset. His patron, Æthelmær, had founded the abbey, and brought in Ælfric to teach its students, monks, and laymen. It was here that Ælfric began to write prodigiously. Ælfric's major works are contained in two series: the Catholic Homilies (CH, although Ælfric called them sermons) and the Lives of Saints (LS). Both were composed in the closing decade of the first millennium. The CH are divided into two series of forty sermons for the ecclesiastical year. They were meant to be preached on alternating years, and intended chiefly for the edification of the laity. Each series of sermons instructed the laity in Christian history and in Christian doctrine. Typically, the day's lection or gospel reading is introduced, then explained, and then applied to daily life. The LS, although similar in style, were likely written for the private devotion of monks. Ælfric included a number of English saints' lives in this collection, including those of Alban, Swithun, and Æthelthryth. Saints' lives are highly conventional, and meant to inspire Christian devotion and good works. They are not biographies, but tell of the common faith and suffering of virgins, martyrs, and confessors. Saints were portrayed as conduits of divine power, and their lives blended together into an evocation of the eternal. Ælfric is conservative in his adoption of the form and restrained in his retelling. His lives appear to be arranged according to the themes of the liturgical year. Liturgical time also governed the order of his sermons, and provided the context in which the cyclical time of the church calendar met the linear time of history. In this complex world of repeating patterns and individual will, Scripture offered a means of navigation. Ælfric reminds his audience that the normal, the everyday, is as miraculous as the unusual. To a Benedictine monk like Ælfric, it is in the constancy and repetition of an ordered life that spiritual fulfillment can be found. This love of order and simplicity carries over into his prose.

If the CH were directed at the laity, and the LS at monks and nuns, then Ælfric's letters were directed at the hierarchy of church government. In his Letter for Wulfsgige, Ælfric writes as if Wulfsgige himself were speaking the text. Like his sermons, this letter is a type of dramatic performance in which the identity of the work's author is subsumed under the identity of the speaker. Here we see a principle evident in saints' lives: orthodoxy and convention obviate the need for individuality—itself a sign of deviance from the norm. The ideal monk, like the saint (and presumably the ideal monastic writer), empty themselves of themselves and become true Christians, as Bede and Ælfric both say of St. Alban. Only through harmony between humanity and the divine can earthly peace and prosperity come. Another work which takes advantage of dramatic performance and one of Ælfric's most famous texts is his Colloquy. It was designed for classroom use among children (pueri) in order to introduce them to vocabulary relevant to monastic life. In it, a monk competes with

a shepherd, a baker, a hunter, a fisherman, and others to determine who works hardest and who is most necessary to the life of the community. Although a highly conventional piece, it suggests some of the liveliness of the Anglo-Saxon classroom. To his students, he dedicated a grammar and a glossary. The Latin grammar is the first in any vernacular language. Both have become extremely useful to modern scholars learning Old English. The full extent of Ælfric's work can be discovered in Hurt's introduction, and its chronology from Clemoes.

CRITICAL RECEPTION

Ælfric's works were largely ignored after the Norman Conquest. In 1567, John Day printed Ælfric's homily on Easter, and inaugurated a revival in antique testaments of English ecclesiastical practice. It was the first Old English book printed. Like much Old English literature, the works of Ælfric required significant collation and editing. In the intervening centuries, sound editions were produced, principally by Walter Skeat, Malcolm Godden, and Peter Clemoes. Only more recently have scholars been able to turn to the sources of Ælfric's work. Sources have proved the most compelling aspect of Ælfric studies. Most recently, Ælfric has also generated studies of his theology and of his language. Given his status as a stylist, it is strange that so few studies have been dedicated to Ælfric's so-called rhythmical style. But because his writing comprises so large a percentage of surviving Old English, Ælfric provides a means to assess the transmission of Latin ideas, language, and images into the English vernacular. One can see what was added, what was excised, and what was transformed. In this way, one can come to tentative conclusions about the limits and distinctions of Old English literary culture at its apex. What is becoming clearer is that Ælfric cobbled his style not only from the verse and prose of his Anglo-Saxon antecedents, but also from Latin poetry and prose. Authentic Old English, in other words, seems to be as indebted to Rome as it is to the primeval forests of Germany.

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INCIP[IT] CARMEN EIUSDE[M] DE UIRGINITATE EDILDRUDAE REGINAE ·

Alma d[eu]s trinitas quae secula cuncta gubernas · Adnue iam coepti[s] alm[a] d[eu]s
trinitas ·

Bella maro resonet nos pacis dona canamus · Munera nos [Ch]r[ist]i bella maro reson[et] ·
Carmina casta mihi fed[a]e non raptus helenae · Luxus erit lubricis carmina casta mihi ·
Dona superna loquar miserae non proelia troiae · Quaemundum exhilarant¹ dona superna
loquar ·

En d[eu]s altus adit uenerandae uirginis aluum · Liberet ut homines · En d[eu]s altus adit ·
Femina uirgo parit mundi deuota parentem · Porta maria d[e]i · Femina uirgo parit ·
Gaudet amica cohors de uirgine matre tonantis · Virginitate micans · gaudet amica cohors ·
Huius honor genuit casto de germine plures · Virgineos flores · Huius honor genuit ·
Ignib[us] usta feris uirgo non cessit agathae · Eulalia et perfert · ignib[us] usta feris ·
Kasta feras superat mentis prolumine² tecla · Eufemia sacras · casta feras superat ·
Laeta ridet gladios ferro robustior agnes · Cecilia inferros · Laeta ridet gladios ·
Multos³ in orbe uiget p[er] sobria corda triumphus · Sobrietatis amor · multos inorbe uiget
Nostra aliis sacrior sed⁴ tempora uirgo beault Aedilruda nitet · N[ost]ra aliis sacrior ·
Orta patre eximio regali et stem[m]ate clara · Nobilior d[omi]no est orta patre eximio · [p.
123]

Percipit inde decus reginae et sceptrum sub astris · Plus [supe]r astra manens · percipit inde
decus ·

Quid petis alma uirum sponsa iam dedita summo · Sponsus ade[st] [Ch]r[istus] · quid petis
alma uirum ·

Regis ut aetherei matrem iam credo sequaris · Tu quoq[ue] sis mater regis ut aetherei ·
Sponsa dicta d[e]o bis sex regnauerat annis · In q[ue] monasterio e[st] sponsa dicata d[e]o ·
Tota sacrata polo celsis ubi floruit actis · Reddidit atq[ue] anima[m] · tota sacrata polo ·
Uirginis alma caro e[st] [t]umulata bis octo nouembres · Nec pu[t]et in tumulto · uirginis
alma caro e[st] ·

X[rist]e tui e[st] operis quia uestis [et] ipsa sepulchro · Inuiolate nitet · X[rist]e tui e[st] operis
·

Ýdros et ater abit sacrae pro uestis honore · Morbi diffugiunt · ýdros et ater abit ·
Zelus in hoste furit quonda[m] qui uicerat eua[m] · Uirgo triumphat ouans · Zelus in hoste
furit ·

Aspice nupta d[e]o quae sit tibi Gloria terris · Quae maneat caelis · Aspice nupta d[e]o ·
Munera laeta capis festiuis fulgida tedis⁵ · Ecce uenit sponsus · munera laeta capis ·
Et noua dulcisono modularis carmina plectro · Sponsa ýmno exultas et noua dulcisono ·
Nullus ab altithroni comitatu segregat almi · Quam affect tulerat · nullus ab altithroni ·

¹ Ed. *terra quibus gaudet*.

² Ed. *pro culmine*.

³ Ed. *multus*.

⁴ Ed. *Nostra quoque egregia iam tempora*.

⁵ Ed. *taedis*.

BEDE

Stephen J. Harris for *Oxford Encyclopedia of English Literature* (pre-publication version)

Abstract: Bede (c.673 - 735), priest, monk, and teacher at Wearmouth-Jarrow in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria.

Born around 673, Bede became a monk, priest, and teacher in the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. He is the most accomplished author of early medieval Britain. Bede wrote grammatical textbooks, a history of the abbots of Wearmouth-Jarrow, a chronicle, an abbreviated Psalter, martyrologies, *vitae* (saints' lives), a guide to holy places, a treatise on music, fifty homilies, letters, epigrams, hymns and lyrics, as well as a long poem, *On the Day of Judgment*. His grammatical treatise was a standard school text into the fifteenth century. Bede has been called "the greatest hagiographer of the Anglo-Saxon church" (Lapidge, 324). A list of his writings takes up almost six pages in Richard Sharpe's *Handlist* (2001). In an age before sextants and long division, Bede computed tides and phases of the moon. He suggested dating years from the birth of Christ (A.D., or *Anno Domini*). Always scrupulous in his scholarship, he is credited with inventing the footnote. Bede wrote primarily in a correct, classical Latin. Only one Old English poem survives, a brief "Death Song." Bede composed other Old English poems, now lost, and he was translating Scripture on his deathbed. Bede is known informally as the Father of English History, chiefly on account of his masterful *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (hereafter *HE*) of 731. This work became important to King Alfred's program of education and literary revival in the ninth century, when it was abridged and translated into Old English. It is still our primary source on seventh- and early eighth-century Britain. Since then, the *HE* has characterized Bede's achievements to post-Reformation audiences. But during the Middle Ages, Bede was known primarily as an exegete, a commentator on Scripture. In 836, Bede was formally acknowledged to be as authoritative as the famous Latin fathers of the Catholic Church, Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Gregory the Great (540-604), Jerome (c.347-420), and Ambrose of Milan (c.333-397). In 1899, Pope Leo XIII declared Bede a Doctor of the Church. Bede, called the Venerable, died 26 May 735, and his feast day, formerly 27 May, is now celebrated on the 25th of May.

During the Old English period, monks and nuns copied out books and documents by hand, pursued grammatical and literary studies, ran schools, and maintained libraries. They believed in salvation achieved through good works and prayer. Consequently, these men and women religious sought to lead others by exhortation and example. Their literature was, to varying degrees, part of that effort. At Wearmouth-Jarrow, this effort was enabled by one of the best libraries in Western Europe. Students of the various kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England flocked to study there. Wearmouth-Jarrow was a center of the Northumbrian Renaissance, which produced some of the most beautiful art of the early middle ages including the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus. In the midst of this flowering of English arts, Bede wrote that his greatest joys were to learn, to teach, and to write. As a teacher, Bede wrote textbooks to instruct students in grammar and poetic form so that they might read Scripture. (His manual on meter contains virtually no examples from pagan literature.) He wrote commentaries to teach students and others to read Scripture well. He wrote scientific works to explain creation and humanity's role in it. And he wrote poems and hymns to make more effective and complete a Christian's praise of God. Bede wrote for an audience who understood the complex methods of reading Scripture.

DIVINE READING

In his handbooks and commentaries, Bede schematized the levels of narrative found in Scripture. Like Augustine and the Greek commentator Origen before him, Bede distinguished between a literal sense and a figurative sense. The figurative sense might be allegorical, in which a word or an image signifies similar terrestrial things; anagogical, in which a word or an image signifies heavenly things; or tropological, in which a word or an image signifies a moral duty. So, the Temple of Solomon in the First Book of Kings “was made as a figure of the holy universal Church” (*De Templo*, 1.1). Literally (or historically), it was a building, a Jewish temple. Allegorically, it signifies the Christian Church on earth. Anagogically, it signifies the chosen angels of Luke 20:35, who are the redeemed elect of humanity. And tropologically, it signifies the soul, and obliges people to fulfill God’s law in return for eternal reward. This habit of reading was also a habit of writing. Bede’s histories and poems are filled with Scriptural allusions, some allegorical, some anagogical. Thus, his *HE* opens with a description of the water and land of Britain, then her crops, then her trees, then her animals. This alludes to the first chapter of Genesis, in which God creates water, then land, then grasses, then trees, then beasts. (Bede first lists land animals, then birds, then fishes in a perfect allegorical parallel of the fifth day of Creation). This systematic allusion sets Britain within the immediate context of Scriptural history. Bede then mentions Britain’s twenty-eight cities. Historically, there may have been twenty-eight cities. But, as was traditional since the Greek mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras, a number can also be figurative: in this case, seven days of creation multiplied by four elements (signifying the material world) yields twenty-eight. Tropologically, this signifies the material nature of these cities, versus a spiritual nature which came about with their acceptance of Christianity. The five books of the *HE* are likely numbered in imitation of the five books of Torah. Thus, the allegory implicit in the *HE* is that early English history parallels, then fulfills, the history of the Jewish people.

Bede’s art infused even an apparently factual narrative with Scriptural themes and lessons. In the *HE* (IV.24), Bede tells the story of Caedmon, the first named vernacular English poet. During a feast at Whitby monastery, a harp was passed around the table, and people were called on to sing Old English songs. When it neared Caedmon, a lay brother who knew no secular songs, he fled outside to a cow shed. He soon fell asleep and dreamed that an angel or spirit came to him. It instructed Caedmon to sing the story of Creation, known now as “Caedmon’s hymn.” In the morning, he described everything to his master, who brought him before Abbess Hild. She read Caedmon a passage from Scripture, then told Caedmon to turn it into an Old English poem. He did, magnificently. Hild then made Caedmon a monk, and had him instructed in Scripture, from which he made Old English poems. These, Bede tells us, inspired many Anglo-Saxons to become faithful Christians. With this story, Bede illustrates a Gregorian approach to literature that characterized a larger melding of Anglo-Saxon pagan and Christian traditions. In 597, Pope Gregory the Great had instructed his Christian missionaries to Britain to keep the pagan feast days and temples, but to reconsecrate them to Christian use. Thus, a celebration of Eostre, a pagan fertility goddess, became Easter, a celebration of spiritual rebirth. Likewise, Caedmon reconsecrated Old English pagan poetry to religious use. (Bede similarly reconsecrates Roman genres like history and elegiac verse to Christian use.) Caedmon’s story represents themes familiar from the Nativity narratives of the Gospels. Caedmon’s new song (allegorically, the New Testament) fulfills an old form (allegorically, the Old Testament). The new song begins in a manger, just as the NT begins in a manger—more accurately, the Word of God is revealed

to Anglo-Saxons in Caedmon's manger as the Word (or Christ, see John 1:1) is revealed to humanity in a Bethlehem manger. The new song is dictated by a heavenly spirit, but made by a man—just as the NT was dictated by the Holy Spirit but written by men. And Caedmon's new song is composed in the common language of Anglo-Saxons, just as the NT was composed in Greek, the common language of early Christians.

WORKS AND CRITICISM

As nascent European peoples struggled to define themselves, their historians cobbled national narratives together. Gregory of Tours wrote of the Franks, Jordanes of the Goths, Paul the Deacon of the Lombards, and Bede of the English. Bede's concern was to give English history a purpose: to show how the English had been singled out by God as His new chosen people. Bede emphasized the analogues between Hebrew and English history. Just like the Jews in the Torah, the English made their way as an entire people into a promised land. Just like the Jews, they comprised three tribes (Levi, Benjamin, and Judah parallel Angles, Saxons, and Goths or *Iutae*). Just like the Jews, they came across water. Just like the Jews, the English accepted, then rejected divine law. Just like the Jews, their backsliding was punished by successive waves of invaders and national suffering. Bede described suffering brought on by irreligious and pagan kings and the success of religious and Christian kings. In celebrating Christian success, Bede hoped that "the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good" (*HE*, Preface). Bede was typical in seeing patterns in history conducive to the Christian message. But this did not interfere with his historian's need to verify evidence and to establish fact. During the Protestant Reformation, the *HE* was employed to demonstrate the early independence of the English church from Rome. It has, since its publication, remained one of the greatest works of English history.

Interest in Bede's commentaries has been sporadic. Bede's religious writings struck many Early Modern sectarians as too Catholic, and so were disregarded. In partial justification, Bede was thought to have parroted Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome; and any study of his commentaries was on that account arguably superfluous. But that view has changed largely as a result of mounting scholarship based on new editions and translations. Assembling Bede's corpus has proven difficult. Bede was so highly esteemed in the Middle Ages that his works are extant in hundreds of manuscript copies. Not all of these manuscripts were consulted when producing printed editions, and almost none have been reproduced. As the manuscript trail is clarified, editions of Migne's voluminous but hasty *Patrologia Latina* are slowly being reedited in the Brepols *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*. Bede's Latin works rarely appeared in translation, and it was not until 1986 that the first English translation of a complete Bedan commentary was published. By 2000, almost all of his commentaries had been translated. Not only do the commentaries allow us a view of theology and spiritual life in early Anglo-Saxon England, but also a view of the interpretative arts. Scripture is filled with poetry and allusive language, and Bede tried to demonstrate how these reveal profound truths. Bede sought to offer, in George Brown's phrase, a general theory of the symbol. His approach, known as *lectio divina* (divine reading, see above), was also employed in his sermons.

Bede's poetry has, with a handful of exceptions, escaped the attention of literary critics. His contemporaries and successors were not as inattentive. Generations of poets studied Bede's virtually flawless Latin verses. His hymns were incorporated into liturgies which to this day echo off the walls of St. Paul's church at Jarrow. Bede wrote epigrams in a form that by his time had been traditional among Christians for four hundred years.

Unfortunately, almost all of these are lost. Bede wrote dozens of hymns in iambic dimeter on the model of Ambrose of Milan. And he wrote a metrical life of St. Cuthbert intended as a meditative guide to a familiar prose life. This is in Latin hexameter, which St. Augustine recommended for religious verse. In one section, Bede describes the whitening of the air, perhaps a hoar-frost. Michael Lapidge writes, “But if we think that Bede’s primary intention here was to paint a naturalistic description of the Scottish landscape in winter, we miss the point” (335). The point is that Bede’s words evoke the crossing of the Red Sea, manna, and Moses bringing water from a rock. Each word is carefully chosen and deftly handled. Bede brilliantly adapted the formal traditions of Latin verse to control the allusive language of Christianity. Lapidge, who compares Bede to George Herbert (1593-1633), concludes that “Bede was a poet of great refinement and subtlety” (336). And, one might add, of wide learning, genuine humility, and profound wisdom.

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The Dream of the Rood

Anonymous

Vercelli Book

Hwæt! Ic swefna cyst secgan wylle,
hwæt me gemætte to midre nihte,
syððan reordberend reste wunedon!
þuhte me þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow
on lyft lædan, leohte bewunden, 5
beama beorhtost. Eall þæt beacen wæs
begoten mid golde. Gimmas stodon
fægere æt foldan sceatum, swylce þær fife wæron
uppe on þam eaxlegespanne. Beheoldon þær engel dryhtnes ealle,

fægere þurh forðgesceaft. Ne wæs ðær huru fracodes gealga, 10
ac hine þær beheoldon halige gastas,
men ofer moldan, ond eall þeos mære gesceaft.

Syllic wæs se sigebeam, ond ic synnum fah,
 forwunded mid wommum. Geseah ic wuldres treow,
 wædum geweorðode, wynnum scinan, 15
 gegyred mid golde; gimmas hæfdon
 bewrigene weorðlice wealdendes treow.
 Hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold ongytan meahte
 earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan
 swætan on þa swiðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed, 20
 forht ic wæs for þære fægran gesyhðe. Geseah ic þæt fuse beacen
 wendan wædum ond bleom; hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,
 beswyled mid swates gange, hwilum mid since gegyrwed.
 Hwæðre ic þær licgende lange hwile
 beheold hreowcearig hælendes treow, 25
 oððæt ic gehyrde þæt hit hleoðrode.
 Ongan þa word sprecaþ wudu se lesta:
 "þæt wæs geara iu, (ic þæt gyta geman),
 þæt ic wæs aheawen holtes on ende,
 astyred of stefne minum. Genaman me ðær strange feondas, 30
 geworhton him þær to wæfersyne, heton me heora wergas heb-
 ban.

Bæron me ðær beornas on eaxlum, oððæt hie me on beorg aset-
 ton,
 gefæstnodon me þær feondas genoge. Geseah ic þa frean man-
 cynnes
 efstan elne mycle þæt he me wolde on gestigan.
 þær ic þa ne dorste ofer dryhtnes word 35
 bugan oððe berstan, þa ic bifian geseah
 eorðan sceatas. Ealle ic mihte
 feondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stod.
 Ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð, (þæt wæs god ælmihtig),
 strang ond stiðmod. Gestah he on gealgan heanne, 40
 modig on manigra gesyhðe, þa he wolde mancyn lysan.
 Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte. Ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan
 to eorðan,
 feallan to foldan sceatum, ac ic sceolde fæste standan.
 Rod wæs ic aræred. Ahof ic ricne cyning,
 heofona hlaford, hyldan me ne dorste. 45
 þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum. On me syndon þa dolg
 gesiene,
 opene inwidhlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira nænigum sceoððan.
 Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blode

bestemed,
 begoten of þæs guman sidan, siððan he hæfde his gast onsended.
 Feala ic on þam beorge gebiden hæbbe 50
 wraðra wyrda. Geseah ic weruda god
 þearle þenian. þystro hæfdon
 bewrigen mid wolcnum wealdendes hræw,
 scirne sciman, sceaðu forðeode,
 wann under wolcnum. Weop eal gesceaft, 55
 cwiðdon cyninges fyll. Crist wæs on rode.
 Hwæðere þær fuse feorran cwoman
 to þam æðelinge. Ic þæt eall beheold.
 Sare ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed, hnag ic hwæðre þam secgum
 to handa,
 eaðmod elne mycle. Genamon hie þær ælmihtigne god, 60
 ahofon hine of ðam hefian wite. Forleton me þa hilderincas
 standan steame bedrifenne; eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.
 Aledon hie ðær limwerigne, gestodon him æt his lices heafdum,
 beheoldon hie ðær heofenes dryhten, ond he hine ðær hwile
 reste,
 meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne. Ongunnon him þa moldern
 wyrcan 65

beornas on banan gesyhðe; curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan stane,
gesetton hie ðæron sigora wealdend. Ongunnon him þa sorhleod-
galan

earme on þa æfentide, þa hie woldon eft siðian,
meðe fram þam mæran þeodne. Reste he ðær mæte weorode.

Hwæðere we ðær greetende gode hwile 70

stodon on staðole, syððan stefn up gewat

hilderinca. Hræw colode,

fæger feorgbold. þa us man fyllan ongan

ealle to eorðan. þæt wæs egeslic wyrd!

Bedealf us man on deopan seape. Hwæðre me þær dryhtnes þeg-

nas, 75

freondas gefrunon,

ond gyredon me golde ond seolfre.

Nu ðu miht gehyran, hæleðmin se leofa,

þæt ic bealuwara weorc gebiden hæbbe,

sarra sorga. Is nu sæl cumen 80

þæt me weorðiað wide ond side

menn ofer moldan, ond eall þeos mære gesceaft,

gebiddaphim to þyssum beacne. On me bearn godes

prowode hwile. Forþan ic þrymfæst nu

hlifige under heofenum, ond ic hælan mæg 85
 æghwylcne anra, þara þe him biðegesa to me.
 Iu ic wæs geworden wita heardost,
 leodum laðost, ærþan ic him lifes weg
 rihtne gerymde, reordberendum.
 Hwæt, me þa geweorðode wuldres ealdor 90
 ofer holmwudu, heofonrices weard!
 Swylce swa he his modor eac, Marian sylfe,
 ælmihtig god for ealle menn
 geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn.
 Nu ic þe hate, hæleðmin se leofa, 95
 þæt ðu þas gesyhðe secge mannum,
 onwreoh wordum þæt hit is wuldres beam,
 se ðe ælmihtig god on þrowode
 for mancynnes manegum synnum
 ond Adomes ealdgewyrhtum. 100
 Deaðhe þær byrigde, hwæðere eft dryhten aras
 mid his miclan mihte mannum to helpe.
 He ða on heofenas astag. Hider eft fundað
 on þysne middangeard mancynn secan
 on domdæge dryhten sylfa, 105

ælmihtig god, ond his englas mid,
 þæt he þonne wile deman, se ah domes gewæld,
 anra gehwylcum swa he him ærur her
 on þyssum lænum life geearnaþ.
 Ne mæg þær ænig unforht wesan 110
 for þam worde þe se wealdend cwyð.
 Frineðhe for þære mænige hwær se man sie,
 se ðe for dryhtnes naman deaðes wolde
 biteres onbyrgan, swa he ær on ðam beame dyde.
 Ac hie þonne forhtiað, ond fea þencaþ 115
 hwæt hie to Criste cweðan onginnen.
 Ne þearf ðær þonne ænig anforht wesan
 þe him ær in breostum bereð beacna selest,
 ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan
 of eorðwege æghwylc sawl, 120
 seo þe mid wealdende wunian þenceð."
 Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame bliðe mode,
 elne mycle, þær ic ana wæs
 mæte werede. Wæs modsefa
 afysed on forðwege, feala ealra gebad 125
 langunghwila. Is me nu lifes hyht

þæt ic þone sigebeam secan mote
 ana oftor þonne ealle men,
 well weorþian. Me is willa to ðam
 mycel on mode, ond min mundbyrd is 130
 geriht to þære rode. Nah ic ricra feala
 freonda on foldan, ac hie forðheonon
 gewiton of worulde dreamum, sohton him wuldres cyning,
 lifiaþnu on heofenum mid heahfædere,
 wuniaþon wuldre, ond ic wene me 135
 daga gehwylce hwænne me dryhtnes rod,
 þe ic her on eorðan ær sceawode,
 on þysson lænan life gefetige
 ond me þonne gebringe þær is blis mycel,
 dream on heofonum, þær is dryhtnes folc 140
 geseted to symle, þær is singal blis,
 ond me þonne asette þær ic syþþan mot
 wunian on wuldre, well mid þam halgum
 dreames brucan. Si me dryhten freond,
 se ðe her on eorþan ær þrowode 145
 on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum.
 He us onlysde ond us lif forgeaf,

heofonlicne ham. Hiht wæs geniwad
mid bledum ond mid blisse þam þe þær bryne þolodan.
Se sunu wæs sigorfæst on þam siðfate, 150
mihtig ond spedig, þa he mid manigeo com,
gasta weorode, on godes rice,
anwealda ælmihtig, englum to blisse
ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum ær
wunedon on wuldre, þa heora wealdend cwom, 155
ælmihtig god, þær his eðel wæs.

The Wanderer

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
metudes miltse, þeah þe he modcearig
geond lagulade longe sceolde
hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sæ,
wadan wræclastas. Wyrð biðful aræd!

5

Swa cwæðeardstapa, earfeþa gemyndig,
wraþra wælsleahta, winemæga hryre:

"Oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gehwylce
mine ceare cwipæn. Nis nu cwicra nan

þe ic him modsefan minne durre
sweotule asecgan. Ic to soþe wat

10

þæt biþin eorle indryhten þeaw,
þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde,

healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille.
 Ne mæg werig mod wyrde wiðstandan, 15
 ne se hreo hyge helpe gefremman.
 Forðon domgeorne dreorigne oft
 in hyra breostcofan bindaðfæste;
 swa ic modsefan minne sceolde,
 oft earmcearig, eðle bidæled, 20
 freomægum feor feterum sælan,
 siþþan geara iu goldwine minne
 hrusan heolstre biwrah, ond ic hean þonan
 wod wintercearig ofer wapema gebind,
 sohte sele dreorig since bryttan, 25
 hwær ic feor oþþe neah findan meahte
 þone þe in meoduhealle min mine wisse,
 oþþe mec freondleasne frefran wolde,
 weman mid wynnum. Wat se þe cunnað,
 hu sliþen bið sorg to geferan, 30
 þam þe him lyt hafað leofra geholena.
 Waraðhine wræclast, nales wunden gold,
 ferðloca freorig, nalæs foldan blæd.
 Gemon he selesecgas ond sincþege,

hu hine on geoguðe his goldwine 35
 wenede to wiste. Wyn eal gedreas!
 Forþon wat se þe sceal his winedryhtnes
 leofes larcwidum longe forþolian,
 ðonne sorg ond slæp somod ætgædre
 earmne anhogan oft gebindað. 40
 þinceðhim on mode þæt he his mondryhten
 clyppe ond cysse, ond on cneo lecge
 honda ond heafod, swa he hwilum ær
 in geardagum giefstolas breac.
 ðonne onwæcneðeft wineleas guma, 45
 gesihðhim biforan fealwe wegas,
 baþian brimfuglas, brædan fepra,
 hreosan hrim ond snaw, hagle gemenged.
 þonne beoðþy hefigran heortan benne,
 sare æfter swæsne. Sorg biðgeniwad, 50
 þonne maga gemynd mod geondhweorfeð;
 greteðgliwstafum, georne geondsceawað
 secga geseldan. Swimmaðeft on weg!
 Fleotendra ferð no þær fela bringeð
 cuðra cwidegiedda. Cearo biðgeniwad 55

þam þe sendan sceal swiþe geneahhe
 ofer waþema gebind werigne sefan.
 Forþon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þas woruld
 for hwan modsefa min ne gesweorce,
 þonne ic eorla lif eal geondþence, 60
 hu hi færlice flet ofgeafon,
 modge maguþegnas. Swa þes middangeard
 ealra dogra gehwam dreoseðond fealleþ,
 forþon ne mæg weorþan wis wer, ær he age
 wintra dæl in woruldrice. Wita sceal geþyldig, 65
 ne sceal no to hatheort ne to hrædwyrde,
 ne to wac wiga ne to wanhydig,
 ne to forht ne to fægen, ne to feohgifre
 ne næfre gielpes to georn, ær he geare cunne.
 Beorn sceal gebidan, þonne he beot spriceð, 70
 oþþæt collenferð cunne gearwe
 hwider hreþra gehygd hweorfan wille.
 Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið,
 þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
 swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard 75
 winde biwaune weallas stondaþ,

hrim bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas.
 Worlaðþa winsalo, waldend licgað
 dreame biðrorene, duguþeal gecrong,
 wlonc bi wealle. Sume wig fornom, 80
 ferede in forðwege, sumne fugel oþbær
 ofer heanne holm, sumne se hara wulf
 deaðe gedælde, sumne dreorighleor
 in eorðscræfe eorl gehydde.
 Ypde swa þisne eardgeard ælda scyppend 85
 oþþæt burgwara breahtra lease
 eald enta geweorc idlu stodon.
 Se þonne þisne wealsteal wise geþohte
 ond þis deorce lif deope geondþenceð,
 frod in ferðe, feor oft gemon 90
 wælsleahta worn, ond þas word acwið:
 "Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom maþþum-
 gyfa?
 Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon seledreamas?
 Eala beorht bune! Eala byrnwiga!
 Eala þeodnes þrym! Hu seo þrag gewat, 95
 genap under nihthelm, swa heo no wære.

Stondeðnu on laste leofre duguþe
 weal wundrum heah, wrymlicum fah.
 Eorlas fornoman asca þryþe,
 wæpen wælgifru, wýrd seo mære, 100
 ond þas stanhleoþu stormas cnyssað,
 hriðhreosende hrusan bindeð,
 wintres woma, þonne won cymeð,
 nipeðnihtscua, norþan onsendeð
 hreo hæglfare hæleþum on andan. 105
 Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rice,
 onwendeðwyrda gesceaft weoruld under heofonum.
 Her biðfeoh læne, her biðfreond læne,
 her biðmon læne, her biðmæg læne,
 eal þis eorþan gesteal idel weorþeð!" 110
 Swa cwæðsnottor on mode, gesæt him sundor æt rune.
 Til biþse þe his treowe gehealdeþ, ne sceal næfre his torn to
 rycene
 beorn of his breostum acyþan, nemþe he ær þa bote cunne,
 eorl mid elne gefremman. Wel biðþam þe him are seceð,
 frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð.

The Rune Poem

Ed. Elliot van Kirk Dobbie, *ASPR* 6 (1942), pp. 28-30.

Originally found in Cotton Otho B.x, ff. 165r–165v. The manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1731, but the text of the poem was printed by George Hickes in 1705. Phonetic values of the runes and “extra” runes not present in Otho B.x were taken by Hickes from Cotton Domitian A.ix, f. 10r. The names of the runes may come from a third source. Dobbie concludes, “It is in fact probable that only the runic letters themselves were present at the beginning of each stanza in the original manuscript” (xlvii). There are also Icelandic and Norwegian rune poems.

ƿ

(**ƿeoh**) byþ frofur fira gehwylcum.

Sceal ðeah manna gehwylc miclun hyt dælan

gif he wile for drihtne domes hleotan.

ᚋ

(**ur**) byþ anmod and oferhýrned,

felaƿrecne deor, ƿeohteþ mid hornum,

5

mære morstapa; þæt is modig wuht.

ᛒ

(**ðorn**) byþ ðearle scearp; ðegna gehwylcum

anfeng ys yfyl, ungemetun reþe

manna gehwylcun ðe him mid resteð.

ᚾ

(**os**) byþ ordfruma ælcra spræce,

10

wisdomes wraþu and witenas frofur,

and eorla gehwam eadnys and tohiht.

ᚱ

(**rad**) byþ on recyde rinca gehwylcum

sefte, and swiþhwæt ðam ðe sitteþ on ufan

meare mægenheardum ofer milpaþas.

15

ᚦ

(**cen**) byþ cwiçera gehwam cuþ on fyre,

blac and beorhtlic, byrneþ oftust

ðær hi æþelingas inne restaþ.

ᚨ

(**gyfu**) gumena byþ gleng and herenys,

wraþu and wyrþscype, and wræcna gehwam

20

ar and ætwist ðe byþ oþra leas.

ᚷ

(**wen**)ne bruceþ ðe can weana lyt,

sares and sorge, and him sylfa hæfþ

blæd and blysse and eac byrga geniht.

ᚢ

(**hægl**) byþ hwitust corna; hwyrft hit of heofones lyfte,

25

wealcaþ hit windes scuras, weorþeþ hit to wætere syððan.

ƿ	(<u>nyd</u>) byþ nearu on breostan, weorþeþ hi ðeah oft niþa bearnum to helpe and to hæle gehwæþre, gif hi his hlystaþ æror.	
l	(<u>is</u>) byþ oferceald, ungemetum slidor, glisnaþ glæshluttur, gimumm gelicust, flor forste geworuht, fæger anysne.	30
*	(<u>ger</u>) byþ gumena hiht, ðon god læteþ, halig heofones cyning, hrusan syllan beorhte bleða beornum and ðearfum.	
ʃ	(<u>eo</u> h) byþ utan unsmeþe treow, heard, hrusan fæst, hyrde fyres, wyrtrumun underwreþyd, wyn on eþle.	35
ƿ	(<u>peorð</u>) byþ symble plega and hlehter wlancum ðar wigan sittað on beorsele bliþe ætsomne.	40
ƿ	(<u>eo</u> lhx) secg eard hæfþ oftust on fenne, wexeð on wature, wundað grimme, blode breneð beorna gehwylcne ðe him ænigne onfeng gedeð.	
h	(<u>sigel</u>) semannum symble biþ on hihte, ðonn hi hine feriaþ ofer fisses beþ, oþ hi brimhengest bringeþ to lande.	45
↑	(<u>Tir</u>) biþ tacna sum, healdeð trywa wel wiþ æþelingas, a biþ on færylde, ofer nihta genipu næfre swiceþ.	50
ƿ	(<u>beorc</u>) byþ bleða leas, bereþ efne swa ðeah tanas butan tudder, biþ on telgum wlitig, heah on helme hrysted fægere, geloden leafum, lyfte getenge.	
M	(<u>eh</u>) byþ for eorlum æþelinga wyn, hors hofum wlanc, ðær him hæleþ ymbe welege on wicgum, wrixlaþ spræce, and biþ unstyllum æfre frofur.	55



(man) byþ on myrgþe his magan leof;
sceal þeah anra gehwylc oðrum swican,
for ðam dryhten wyle dome sine
þæt earme flæsc eorþan betæcan.

60



(lagu) byþ leodum langsum geþuht,
gif hi sculun neþan on nacan tealtum,
and hi sæyþa swyþe bregap,
and se brimhengest bridles ne gymeð.

65



(Ing) wæs ærest mid Eastdenum
gesewen secgun, oþ he siððan eft
ofer wæg gewat, wæn æfter ran;
ðus heardingas ðone hæle nemdun.

70



(epel) byþ oferleof æghwylcum men,
gif he mot ðær rihtes and gerysena on
brucan on bolde bleadum oftast.



(dæg) byþ drihtnes sond, deore mannum,
mære metodes leoht, myrgþ and tohiht
eadgum and earmum, eallum brice.

75



(ac) byþ on eorþan elda bearnum
flæsces fodor, fereþ gelome
ofer ganotes bæþ; garsecg fandaþ
hwæper ac hæbbe æþele treowe.

80



(æsc) biþ oferheah, eldum dyre,
stiþ on stapule, stede rihte hylt,
ðeah him feohtan on firas monige.



(yr) byþ æþelinga and eorla gehwæs
wyn and wyrþmynd, byþ on wicge fæger,
fæstlic on færelde, fyrdgeatewa sum.

85



(ior) byþ eafix, and ðeah a bruceþ
fodres on foldan, hafaþ fægerne eard,
wætre beworpen, ðær he wynnum leofaþ.



(ear) byþ egle eorla gehwylcun,
ðonn fæstlice flæsc onginneþ,
hraw colian, hrusan ceosan
blac to gebeddan; bleða gedreosaþ,
wynna gewitaþ, wera geswicaþ.

The Battle of Maldon

Anonymous

Cotton Otho A.xii, ff.57a-62b

brocen wurde.

Het þa hyssa hwæne hors forlætan,

feor afysan, and forð gangan,

hicgan to handum and to hige godum.

þa þæt Offan mæg ærest onfunde, 5

þæt se eorl nolde yrhðo geþolian,

he let him þa of handon leofne fleogan

hafoc wið þæs holtes, and to þære hilde stop;

be þam man mihte oncnawan þæt se cniht nolde

wacian æt þam wige, þa he to wæpnum feng. 10

Eac him wolde Eadric his ealdre gelæstan,

frean to gefeohte, ongan þa forð beran
 gar to guþe. He hæfde god geþanc
 þa hwile þe he mid handum healdan mihte
 bord and bradswurd; beot he gelæste 15
 þa he ætforan his frean feohtan sceolde.
 ða þær Byrhtnoð ongan beornas trymian,
 rad and rædde, rincum tæhte
 hu hi sceoldon standan and þone stede healdan,
 and bæd þæt hyra randas rihte heoldon 20
 fæste mid folman, and ne forhtedon na.
 þa he hæfde þæt folc fægere getrymmed,
 he lihte þa mid leodon þær him leofost wæs,
 þær he his heorðwerod holdost wiste.
 þa stod on stæðe, stiðlice clypode 25
 wicinga ar, wordum mælde,
 se on beot abead brimlipendra
 ærænde to þam eorle, þær he on ofre stod:
 "Me sendon to þe sæmen snelle,
 heton ðe secgan þæt þu most sendan raðe 30

beagas wið gebeorge; and eow betere is
 þæt ge þisne garræs mid gafole forgyldon,
 þon we swa hearde hilde dælon.
 Ne þurfe we us spillan, gif ge spedap to þam;
 we willað wið þam golde grið fæstnian. 35
 Gyf þu þat gerædest, þe her ricost eart,
 þæt þu þine leoda lysan wille,
 syllan sæmannum on hyra sylfra dom
 feoh wið freode, and niman frið æt us,
 we willapmid þam sceattum us to scype gangan, 40
 on flot feran, and eow friþes healdan."
 Byrhtnoð mapelode, bord hafenode,
 wand wacne æsc, wordum mælde,
 yrre and anræd ageaf him andsware:
 "Gehyrst þu, sælida, hwæt þis folc segeð? 45
 Hi willað eow to gafole garas syllan,
 ættrynne ord and ealde swurd,
 þa heregeatu þe eow æt hilde ne deah.
 Brimmanna boda, abeod eft ongean,

sege þinum leodum miccle laþre spell, 50
 þæt her stynt unforcuð eorl mid his werode,
 þe wile gealgean eþel þysne,
 æþelredes eard, ealdres mines,
 folc and foldan. Feallan sceolon
 hæþene æt hilde. To heanlic me þinceð 55
 þæt ge mid urum sceattum to scype gangon
 unbefohtene, nu ge þus feor hider
 on urne eard in becomon.
 Ne sceole ge swa softe sinc gegangan;
 us sceal ord and ecg ær geseman, 60
 grim guðplega, ær we gofol syllon."
 Het þa bord beran, beornas gangan,
 þæt hi on þam easteðe ealle stodon.
 Ne mihte þær for wætere werod to þam oðrum;
 þær com flowende flod æfter ebban, 65
 lucon lagustreamas. To lang hit him þuhte,
 hwænne hi togædere garas beron.
 Hi þær Pantan stream mid prasse bestodon,

Eastseaxena ord and se æschere.

Ne mihte hyra ænig oþrum derian, 70

buton hwa þurh flanes flyht fyl gename.

Se flod ut gewat; þa flotan stodon gearowe,

wicinga fela, wiges georne.

Het þa hæleða hleo healdan þa bricge

wigan wigheardne, se wæs haten Wulfstan, 75

cafe mid his cynne, þæt wæs Ceolan sunu,

þe ðone forman man mid his francan ofsceat

þe þær baldlicost on þa bricge stop.

þær stodon mid Wulfstane wigan unforhte,

ælfere and Maccus, modige twegen, 80

þa noldon æt þam forða fleam gewyrcan,

ac hi fæstlice wið ða fynd weredon,

þa hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan moston.

þa hi þæt ongeaton and georne gesawon

þæt hi þær bricgweardas bitere fundon, 85

ongunnon lytegian þa laðe gystas,

bædon þæt hi upgang agan moston,

ofer þone ford faran, feþan lædan.
 ða se eorl ongan for his ofermode
 alyfan landes to fela laþere ðeode. 90
 Ongan ceallian þa ofer cald wæter
 Byrhtelmes bearn (beornas gehlyston):
 "Nu eow is gerymed, gað ricene to us,
 guman to guþe; god ana wat
 hwa þære wælstowe wealdan mote." 95
 Wodon þa wælwulfas (for wætere ne murnon),
 wicinga werod, west ofer Pantan,
 ofer scir wæter scyldas wegon,
 lidmen to lande linde bæron.
 þær ongear gramum gearowe stodon 100
 Byrhtnoð mid beornum; he mid bordum het
 wyrcan þone wihagan, and þæt werod healdan
 fæste wið feondum. þa wæs feohte neh,
 tir æt getohte. Wæs seo tid cumen
 þæt þær fæge men feallan sceoldon. 105
 þær wearð hream ahafen, hremmas wundon,

earn æses georn; wæs on eorþan cyrm.
 Hi leton þa of folman feolhearde speru,
 gegrundene garas fleogan;
 bogan wæron bysige, bord ord onfeng. 110
 Biter wæs se beaduræs, beornas feollon
 on gehwæðere hand, hyssas lagon.
 Wund wearð Wulfmær, wælræste geceas,
 Byrhtnōdes mæg; he mid billum wearð,
 his swuster sunu, swiðe forheawen. 115
 þær wearð wicingum wiperlean agyfen.
 Gehyrde ic þæt Eadweard anne sloge
 swiðe mid his swurde, swenges ne wyrnde,
 þæt him æt fotum feoll fæge cempa;
 þæs him his ðeoden þanc gesæde, 120
 þam burþene, þa he byre hæfde.
 Swa stemnetton stiðhicgende
 hysas æt hilde, hogodon georne
 hwa þær mid orde ærost mihte
 on fægean men feorh gewinnan, 125

wigan mid wæpnum; wæl feol on eorðan.

Stodon stædefæste; stihte hi Byrhtnoð,

bæd þæt hyssa gehwylc hogode to wige

þe on Denon wolde dom gefeohtan.

Wod þa wiges heard, wæpen up ahof, 130

bord to gebeorge, and wið þæs beornes stop.

Eode swa anræd eorl to þam ceorle,

ægþer hyra oðrum yfeles hogode.

Sende ða se særinc superne gar,

þæt gewundod wearð wigena hlaford; 135

he sceaf þa mid ðam scylde, þæt se sceaft tobærst,

and þæt spere sprengde, þæt hit sprang ongean.

Gegremod wearð se guðrinc; he mid gare stang

wlancne wicing, þe him þa wunde forgeaf.

Frod wæs se fyrdrinc; he let his francan wadan 140

þurh ðæs hysses hals, hand wisode

þæt he on þam færsceaðan feorh geræhte.

ða he oþerne ofstlice sceat,

þæt seo byrne tobærst; he wæs on breostum wund

þurh ða hringlocan, him æt heortan stod 145
 ætterne ord. Se eorl wæs þe bliþra,
 hloh þa, modi man, sæde metode þanc
 ðæs dægweorces þe him drihten forgeaf.
 Forlet þa drenga sum daroð of handa,
 fleogan of folman, þæt se to forð gewat 150
 þurh ðone æþelan æþelredes þegen.
 Him be healfe stod hyse unweaxen,
 cniht on gecampe, se full cafllice
 bræd of þam beorne blodigne gar,
 Wulfstanes bearn, Wulfmær se geonga, 155
 forlet forheardne faran eft ongean;
 ord in gewod, þæt se on eorþan læg
 þe his þeoden ær þearle geræhte.
 Eode þa gesyrwed secg to þam eorle;
 he wolde þæs beornes beagas gefecgan, 160
 reaf and hringas and gerenod swurd.
 þa Byrhtnoð bræd bill of sceðe,
 brad and bruneccg, and on þa byrnan sloh.

To raþe hine gelette lidmanna sum,
 þa he þæs eorles earm amyrde. 165
 Feoll þa to foldan fealohilte swurd;
 ne mihte he gehealdan heardne mece,
 wæpnes wealdan. þa gyt þæt word gecwæð
 har hilderinc, hyssas bylde,
 bæd gangan forð gode geferan; 170
 ne mihte þa on fotum leng fæste gestandan.
 He to heofenum wlat:
 "Gepancie þe, ðeoda waldend,
 ealra þæra wynta þe ic on worulde gebad.
 Nu ic ah, milde metod, mæste þearfe 175
 þæt þu minum gaste godes geunne,
 þæt min sawul to ðe siððian mote
 on þin geweald, þeoden engla,
 mid friþe ferian. Ic eom frymde to þe
 þæt hi helsceaðan hynan ne moton." 180
 ða hine heowon hæðene scealcas
 and begen þa beornas þe him big stodon,

Ælfnōð and Wulmær begen lagon,
 ða onemn hyra frean feorh gesealdon.
 Hi bugon þa fram beaduwe þe þær beon noldon. 185
 þær wearð Oddan bearn ærest on fleame,
 Godric fram guþe, and þone godan forlet
 þe him mænigne oft mear gesealde;
 he gehleop þone eoh þe ahte his hlaford,
 on þam gerædum þe hit riht ne wæs, 190
 and his broðru mid him begen ærndon,
 Godwine and Godwig, guþe ne gymdon,
 ac wendon fram þam wige and þone wudu sohton,
 flugon on þæt fæsten and hyra feore burgon,
 and manna ma þonne hit ænig mæð wære, 195
 gyf hi þa geearnunga ealle gemundon
 þe he him to duguþe gedon hæfde.
 Swa him Offa on dæg ær asæde
 on þam meþelstede, þa he gemot hæfde,
 þæt þær modiglice manega spræcon 200
 þe eft æt þearfe þolian noldon.

þa wearð afeallen þæs folces ealdor,
 æþelredes eorl; ealle gesawon
 heorðgeneatas þæt hyra heorra læg.
 þa ðær wendon forð wlance þegenas, 205
 unearge men efston georne;
 hi woldon þa ealle oðer twega,
 lif forlætan oððe leofne gewrecan.
 Swa hi bylde forð bearn ælfrices,
 wiga wintrum geong, wordum mælde, 210
 ælfwine þa cwæð, he on ellen spræc:
 "Gemunan þa mæla þe we oft æt meodo spræcon,
 þonne we on bence beot ahofon,
 hæleð on healle, ymbe heard gewinn;
 nu mæg cunnian hwa cene sy. 215
 Ic wylle mine æþelo eallum gecyþan,
 þæt ic wæs on Myrcon miccles cynnes;
 wæs min ealda fæder Ealhelm haten,
 wis ealdorman, woruldgesælig.
 Ne sceolon me on þære þeode þegenas ætwitan 220

þæt ic of ðisse fyrde feran wille,
 eard gesecan, nu min ealdor ligeð
 forheawen æt hilde. Me is þæt hearma mæst;
 he wæs ægðer min mæg and min hlaford."
 þa he forð eode, fæhðe gemunde, 225
 þæt he mid orde anne geræhte
 flotan on þam folce, þæt se on foldan læg
 forwegen mid his wæpne. Ongan þa winas manian,
 frynd and geferan, þæt hi forð eodon.
 Offa gemælde, æscholt asceoc: 230
 "Hwæt þu, ælfwine, hafast ealle gemanode
 þegenas to þearfe, nu ure þeoden lið,
 eorl on eorðan. Us is eallum þearf
 þæt ure æghwylc oþerne bylde
 wigan to wige, þa hwile þe he wæpen mæge 235
 habban and healdan, heardne mece,
 gar and godswurd. Us Godric hæfð,
 earh Oddan bearn, ealle beswicene.
 Wende þæs formoni man, þa he on meare rad,

on wllancan þam wicge, þæt wære hit ure hlaford; 240
 forþan wearð her on felda folc totwæmed,
 scyldburh tobrocen. Abreoðe his angin,
 þæt he her swa manigne man aflymde!"
 Leofsunu gemælde and his linde ahof,
 bord to gebeorge; he þam beorne oncwæð: 245
 "Ic þæt gehate, þæt ic heonon nelle
 fleon fotes trym, ac wille furðor gan,
 wrecan on gewinne minne winedrihten.
 Ne þurfon me embe Sturmere stedefæste hælæð
 wordum ætwitan, nu min wine gecranc, 250
 þæt ic hlafordleas ham siðie,
 wende fram wige, ac me sceal wæpen niman,
 ord and iren." He ful yrre wod,
 feaht fæstlice, fleam he forhogode.
 Dunnere þa cwæð, daroð acwehte, 255
 unorne ceorl, ofer eall clypode,
 bæd þæt beorna gehwylc Byrhtnoð wræce:
 "Ne mæg na wandian se þe wrecan þenceð

freat on folce, ne for feore murnan."

þa hi forð eodon, feores hi ne rohton; 260

ongunnon þa hiredmen heardlice feohtan,

grame garberend, and god bædon

þæt hi moston gewrecan hyra winedrihten

and on hyra feondum fyl gewyrcean.

Him se gysel ongan geornlice fylstan; 265

he wæs on Norðhymbron heardes cynnes,

Ecglafes bearn, him wæs æscferð nama.

He ne wandode na æt þam wigplegan,

ac he fysde forð flan genehe;

hwilon he on bord sceat, hwilon beorn tæsde, 270

æfre embe stunde he sealde sume wunde,

þa hwile ðe he wæpna wealdan moste.

þa gyt on orde stod Eadweard se langa,

gearo and geornful, gylpwordum spræc

þæt he nolde fleogan fotmæl landes, 275

ofer bæc bugan, þa his betera leg.

He bræc þone bordweall and wið þa beornas feaht,

oðþæt he his sincgyfan on þam sæmannum

wurðlice wrec, ær he on wæle læge.

Swa dyde æþeric, æþele gefera, 280

fus and forðgeorn, feaht eornoste.

Sibyrhtes broðor and swiðe mænig oþer

clufon cellod bord, cene hi weredon;

bærst bordes lærig, and seo byrne sang

gryreleoða sum. þa æt guðe sloh 285

Offa þone sælidan, þæt he on eorðan feoll,

and ðær Gaddes mæg grund gesohte.

Raðe wearð æt hilde Offa forheawen;

he hæfde ðeah geforþod þæt he his frean gehet,

swa he beotode ær wið his beahgifan 290

þæt hi sceoldon begen on burh ridan,

hale to hame, oððe on here crincgan,

on wælstowe wundum sweltan;

he læg ðegenlice ðeodne gehende.

ða wearð borda gebræc. Brimmen wodon, 295

guðe gegremode; gar oft þurhwod

fæges feorhhus. Forð þa eode Wistan,
 þurstanes sunu, wið þas secgas feaht;
 he wæs on geþrange hyra þreora bana,
 ær him Wigelines bearn on þam wæle læge. 300
 þær wæs stið gemot; stodon fæste
 wigan on gewinne, wigend cruncon,
 wundum werige. Wæl feol on eorþan.
 Oswold and Eadwold ealle hwile,
 begen þa gebroþru, beornas trymedon, 305
 hyra winemagas wordon bædon
 þæt hi þær æt ðearfe þolian sceoldon,
 unwaclice wæpna neotan.
 Byrhtwold maþelode bord hafenode
 (se wæs eald geneat), æsc acwehte; 310
 he ful baldlice beornas lærde:
 "Hige sceal þe heardra, heorte þe cenre,
 mod sceal þe mare, þe ure mægen lytlað.
 Her lið ure ealdor eall forheawen,
 god on greote. A mæg gnornian 315

se ðe nu fram þis wigplegan wendan þenceð.

Ic eom frod feores; fram ic ne wille,

ac ic me be healfe minum hlaforde,

be swa leofan men, licgan þence."

Swa hi æþelgares bearn ealle bylde,

320

Godric to guþe. Oft he gar forlet,

wælspere windan on þa wicingas,

swa he on þam folce fyrmest eode,

heow and hynde, oðþæt he on hilde gecranc.

Næs þæt na se Godric þe ða guðe forbeah

Riddle 46

(Mitchell & Robinson, riddle a.)

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Wer sæt æt wine mid his wifum twam
ond his twegen suno ond his twa dohtor,
swase gesweostor, ond hyra suno twegen,
freolico frumbearn; fæder wæs þær inne
þara æþelinga æghwæðres mid,
eam ond nefa. Ealra wæron fife
eorla ond idesa insittendra.

5

Riddle 47

(Mitchell & Robinson, riddle c.)

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Moððe word fræt. Me þæt þuhte
wrætlicu wyrd, þa ic þæt wundor gefrægn,
þæt se wyrm forswealg wera gied sumes,
þeof in þystro, þrymfæstne cwide
ond þæs strangan stapol. Stælgieſt ne wæs
wihte þy gleawra, þe he þam wordum swealg.

5

Riddle 7

(Mitchell & Robinson, riddle d.)

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Hrægl min swigað, þonne ic hrusan trede,

oppe þa wic buge, oppe wado drefe.

Hwilum mec ahebbað ofer hæleþa byht

hyrste mine, ond þeos hea lyft,

ond mec þonne wide wolcna strengu

5

ofer folc byreð. Frætwe mine

swogaðhlude ond swinsiað,

torhte singað, þonne ic getenge ne beom

flode ond foldan, ferende gæst.

Riddle 85

(Mitchell & Robinson, riddle e.)

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Nis min sele swige, ne ic sylfa hlud

ymb unc dryhten scop

sipætsomne. Ic eom swiftre þonne he,

þragum strengra, he þreohtigra.

Hwilum ic me reste; he sceal yrnan forð.

5

Ic him in wunige a þenden ic lifge;

gif wit unc gedælað, me biðdeaðwitod.

Riddle 27

(Mitchell & Robinson, riddle f.)

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Ic eom weorðwerum, wide funden,
brungen of bearwum ond of burghleoþum,
of denum ond of dunum. Dæges mec wægun
feþre on lifte, feredon mid liste
under hrofes hleo. Hæleðmec siþþan
baþedan in bydene. Nu ic eom bindere
ond swingere, sona weorpe
esne to eorþan, hwilum ealdne ceorl.
Sona þæt onfindeð, se þe mec fehðongean,
ond wiðmægenþisan minre genæsteð,
þæt he hrycge sceal hrusan secan,

5

10

Riddle 38

(Mitchell & Robinson, riddle g.)

Anonymous

Exeter Book

Ic þa wiht geseah wæpnedcynnes,
geoguðmyrþe grædig; him on gafol forlet
ferðfriþende feower wellan
scire sceotan, on gesceap þeotan.
Mon maþelade, se þe me gesægde:
"Seo wiht, gif hio gedygeð, duna briceð;
gif he tobirsteð, bindeðcwice."

5

gif he unrædes ær ne geswiceð,
strengo bistolen, strong on spræce,
mægene binumen; nah his modes geweald,
fota ne folma. Frige hwæt ic hatte,
ðe on eorþan swa esnas binde,
dole æfter dyntum be dæges leohte.

15

Judith

Anonymous

Cotton Vitellius A xv



tweode

gifena in ðys ginnan grunde. Heo ðar ða gearwe funde
mundbyrd æt ðam mæran þeodne, þa heo ahte mæste þearfe,
hylde þæs hehstan deman, þæt he hie wiðþæs hehstan brogan
gefriðode, frymða waldend. Hyre ðæs fæder on roderum
torhtmod tiðe gefremede, þe heo ahte trumne geleafan

5

a to ðam ælmihtigan. Gefrægen ic ða Holofernus
winhatan wyrcean georne ond eallum wundrum þrymlic
girwan up swæsendo. To ðam het se gumena baldor
ealle ða yldestan ðegnas; hie ðæt ofstum miclum 10
ræfndon, rondwiggende, comon to ðam rican þeodne
feran, folces ræswan. þæt wæs þy feorðan dogore
þæs ðe Iudith hyne, gleaw on geðonce,
ides ælfscinu, ærest gesohte.
Hie ða to ðam symle sittan eodon, 15
wlance to wingedrince, ealle his weagesiðas,
bealde byrnwiggende. þær wæron bollan steape
boren æfter bencum gelome, swylce eac bunan ond orcas
fulle fletsittendum; hie þæt fæge þegon,
rofe rondwiggende, þeah ðæs se rica ne wende, 20
egesful eorla dryhten. ða wearðHolofernus,
goldwine gumena, on gytesalum,
hloh ond hlydde, hlynede ond dynede,
þæt mihten fira bearn feorran gehyran
hu se stiðmoda styrmde ond gylede, 25
modig ond medugal, manode geneahhe
bencsittende þæt hi gebærdon wel.

Swa se inwidda ofer ealne dæg
 dryhtguman sine drencte mid wine,
 swiðmod since's brytta, oðpæt hie on swiman lagon, 30
 oferdrencte his duguðe ealle, swylce hie wæron deaðe gesle-
 gene,
 agotene goda gehwylces. Swa het se gumena aldor
 fylgan fletsittendum, oðpæt fira bearnum
 nealæhte niht seo þystre. Het ða niða geblonden
 þa eadigan mægð ofstum fetigan 35
 to his bedreste beagum gehlæste,
 hringum gehrodene. Hie hraðe fremedon,
 anbyhtscealcas, swa him heora ealdor bebead,
 byrnwigena brego, bearhtme stopon
 to ðam gysterne, þær hie Iudithðe 40
 fundon ferhðgleawe, ond ða fromlice
 lindwiggende lædan ongunnon
 þa torhtan mægð to træfe þam hean,
 þær se rica hyne reste on symbel
 nihtes inne, nergende lað, 45
 Holofernus. þær wæs eallgylden
 fleohnet fæger ymbe þæs folctogan

bed ahongen, þæt se bealofulla
mihte wlitan þurh, wigena baldor,
on æghwylcne þe ðær inne com 50
hæleða bearna, ond on hyne nænig
monna cynnes, nymðe se modiga hwæne
niðe rofra him þe near hete
rinca to rune gegangan. Hie ða on reste gebrohton
snude ða snoteran idese; eodon ða stercedferhðe, 55
hæleðheora hearran cyðan þæt wæs seo halige meowle
gebroht on his burgetelde. þa wearðse brema on mode
bliðe, burga ealdor, þohte ða beorhtan idese
mid widle ond mid womme besmitan. Ne wolde þæt wuldres
dema
geðafian, þrymmes hyrde, ac he him þæs ðinges gestyrde, 60
dryhten, dugeða waldend. Gewat ða se deofulcunda,
galferhðgumena ðreate
bealofull his beddes neosan, þær he sceolde his blæd forleosan
ædre binnan anre nihte; hæfde ða his ende gebidenne
on eorðan unswæsligne, swylcne he ær æfter worhte, 65
pearlmod ðeoden gumena, þenden he on ðysse worulde
wunode under wolcna hrofe. Gefeoł ða wine swa druncen

se rica on his reste middan, swa he nyste ræda nanne
 on gewitlocan. Wiggend stopon
 ut of ðam inne ofstum miclum, 70
 weras winsade, þe ðone wærlogan,
 laðne leodhatan, læddon to bedde
 nehstan siðe. þa wæs nergendes
 þeowen þrymful, þearle gemyndig
 hu heo þone atolan eaðost mihte 75
 ealdre benæman ær se unsyfra,
 womfull, onwoce. Genam ða wundenlocc
 scyppendes mægð scearpne mece,
 scurum heardne, ond of sceaðe abræd
 swiðran folme; ongan ða swegles weard 80
 be naman nemnan, nergend ealra
 woruldbuendra, ond þæt word acwæð:
 "Ic ðe, frymða god ond frofre gæst,
 bearn alwaldan, biddan wylle
 miltse þinre me þearfendre, 85
 ðrynesse ðrym. þearle ys me nu ða
 heorte onhæted ond hige geomor,
 swyðe mid sorgum gedrefed. Forgif me, swegles ealdor,

sigor ond soðne geleafan, þæt ic mid þys sweorde mote
 geheawan þysne morðres bryttan; geunne me minra gesynta, 90
 pearlmod þeoden gumena. Nahte ic þinre næfre
 miltse þon maran þearfe. Gewrec nu, mihtig dryhten,
 torhtmod tires brytta, þæt me ys þus torne on mode,
 hate on hreðre minum." Hi ða se hehsta dema
 ædre mid elne onbryrde, swa he deðanra gehwylcne 95
 herbuendra þe hyne him to helpe seceð
 mid ræde ond mid rihte geleafan. þa wearðhyre rume on
 mode,
 haligre hyht geniwod; genam ða þone hæðenan mannan
 fæste be feaxe sinum, teah hyne folmum wiðhyre weard
 bysmerlice, ond þone bealofullan 100
 listum alede, laðne mannan,
 swa heo ðæs unlædan eaðost mihte
 wel gewealdan. Sloh ða wundenlocc
 þone feondsceaðan fagum mece,
 heteponcolne, þæt heo healfne forcearf 105
 þone sweoran him, þæt he on swiman læg,
 druncen ond dolhwund. Næs ða dead þa gyt,
 ealles orsawle; sloh ða eornoste

ides ellenrof oðre siðe
þone hæðenan hund, þæt him þæt heafod wand 110
forðon ða flore. Læg se fula leap
gesne beæftan, gæst ellor hwearf
under neowelne næs ond ðær genyðerad wæs,
susle gesæled syððan æfre,
wyrnum bewunden, witum gebunden, 115
hearde gehæfted in hellebryne
æfter hinsiðe. Ne ðearf he hopian no,
þystrum forðylmed, þæt he ðonan mote
of ðam wyrmsele, ac ðær wunian sceal
awa to aldre butan ende forð 120
in ðam heolstran ham, hyhtwynna leas.
Hæfde ða gefohten foremærne blæd
Iudith æt guðe, swa hyre god uðe,
swegles ealdor, þe hyre sigores onleah.
þa seo snotere mægð snude gebrohte 125
þæs herewæðan heafod swa blodig
on ðam fætelse þe hyre foregenga,
blachleor ides, hyra begea nest,
ðeawum geðungen, þyder on lædde,

ond hit þa swa heolfrig hyre on hond ageaf, 130
 higeðoncolre, ham to berenne,
 Iudith gingran sinre. Eodon ða gegnum þanonne
 þa idesa ba ellenþriste,
 oðþæt hie becomon, collenferhðe,
 eadhreðige mægð, ut of ðam herige, 135
 þæt hie sweotollice geseon mihten
 þære wlitegan byrig weallas blican,
 Bethuliam. Hie ða beahhrodene
 feðelaste forðonettan,
 oðhie glædmode gegan hæfdon 140
 to ðam wealgate. Wiggend sæton,
 weras wæccende wearde heoldon
 in ðam fæstenne, swa ðam folce ær
 geomormodum Iudith bebead,
 searoðoncol mægð, þa heo on siðgewat, 145
 ides ellenrof. Wæs ða eft cumen
 leof to leodum, ond ða lungre het
 gleawhydig wif gumena sumne
 of ðære ginnan byrig hyre togeanes gan,
 ond hi ofostlice in forlæton 150

þurh ðæs wealles geat, ond þæt word acwæð
 to ðam sigefolce: "Ic eow secgan mæg
 þoncwyrdē þing, þæt ge ne þyrfen leng
 murnan on mode. Eow ys metod bliðe,
 cyninga wuldor; þæt gecyðed wearð 155
 geond woruld wide, þæt eow ys wuldorblæd
 torhtlic toward ond tir gifeðe
 þara læðða þe ge lange drugon."
 þa wurdon bliðe burhsittende,
 syððan hi gehyrdon hu seo halige spræc 160
 ofer heanne weall. Here wæs on lustum.
 Wiðþæs fæstengeates folc onette,
 weras wif somod, wornum ond heapum,
 ðreatum ond ðrymmum þrungon ond urnon
 ongear ða þeodnes mægð þusendmælum, 165
 ealde ge geonge. æghwylcum wearð
 men on ðære medobyrig mod areted,
 syððan hie ongeaton þæt wæs Iudith cumen
 eft to eðle, ond ða ofostlice
 hie mid eaðmedum in forleton. 170
 þa seo gleawe het, golde gefrætewod,

hyre ðinnenne þancolmode
þæs herewæðan heafod onwriðan
ond hyt to behðe blodig ætywan
þam burhleodum, hu hyre æt beaduwe gespeow. 175
Spræc ða seo æðele to eallum þam folce:
"Her ge magon sweotole, sigerofe hæleð,
leoda ræswan, on ðæs laðestan
hæðenes heaðorinces heafod starian,
Holofernus unlyfigendes, 180
þe us monna mæst morðra gefremede,
sarra sorga, ond þæt swyðor gyt
ycan wolde, ac him ne uðe god
lengran lifes, þæt he mid læddum us
eglan moste; ic him ealdor oðþrong 185
þurh godes fultum. Nu ic gumena gehwæne
þyssa burgleoda biddan wylle,
randwiggendra, þæt ge recene eow
fysan to gefeohte. Syððan frymða god,
arfæst cyning, eastan sende 190
leohtne leoman, beraðlinde forð,
bord for breostum ond byrnhomas,

scire helmas in sceaðena gemong,
 fyllan folctogan fagum sweordum,
 fæge frumgaras. Fynd syndon eowere 195
 gedemed to deaðe, ond ge dom agon,
 tir æt tohtan, swa eow getacnod hafað
 mihtig dryhten þurh mine hand."
 þa wearðsnelra werod snude gegearewod,
 cenra to campe. Stopon cynerofe 200
 secgas ond gesiðas, bæron sigepufas,
 foron to gefeohte forðon gerihte,
 hæleðunder helmum, of ðære haligan byrig
 on ðæt dægred sylf. Dynedan scildas,
 hlude hlummon. þæs se hlanca gefeah 205
 wulf in walde, ond se wanna hrefn,
 wælgifre fugel. Wistan began
 þæt him ða þeodguman þohton tilian
 fülle on fægum; ac him fleah on last
 earn ætes georn, urigfeðera, 210
 salowigpada sang hildeleoð,
 hyrnednebbas. Stopon heaðorincas,
 beornas to beadowe, bordum beðeahte,

hwealfum lindum, þa ðe hwile ær
 elðeodigra edwit þoledon, 215
 hæðenra hosp. Him þæt hearde wearð
 æt ðam æscplegan eallum forgolden,
 Assyrium, syððan Ebreas
 under guðfanum gegan hæfdon
 to ðam fyrdwicum. Hie ða fromlice 220
 leton forðfleogan flana scuras,
 hildenædran, of hornbogan,
 strælas stedehearde; styrmdon hlude
 grame guðfreca, garas sendon
 in heardra gemang. Hæleðwæron yrre, 225
 landbuende, laðum cynne,
 stopon styrmode, stercedferhðe,
 wrehton unsofte ealdgeniðlan
 medowerige; mundum brugdon
 scealcas of sceaðum scirmæled swyrd, 230
 ecgum gecoste, slogon eornoste
 Assiria oretmæcgas,
 niðhycgende, nanne ne sparedon
 þæs herefolces, heanne ne ricne,

cwicera manna þe hie ofercuman mihton. 235
 Swa ða magoþegnas on ða morgentid
 ehton elðeoda ealle þrage,
 oðþæt ongeaton ða ðe grame wæron,
 ðæs herefolces heafodweardas,
 þæt him swyrdgeswing swiðlic eowdon 240
 weras Ebrisce. Hie wordum þæt
 þam yldestan ealdorþegnum
 cyðan eodon, wrehton cumbolwigan
 ond him forhtlice færspeþ bodedon,
 medowerigum morgencollan, 245
 atolne ecgplegan. þa ic ædre gefrægn
 slegefæge hæleð slæpe tobredon
 ond wiðþæs bealofullan burgeteldes
 werigferhðe hwearfum þringan,
 Holofernus. Hogedon aninga 250
 hyra hlaforde hilde bodian,
 ærðon ðe him se egesa on ufan sæte,
 mægen Ebrea. Mynton ealle
 þæt se beorna brego ond seo beorhte mægð
 in ðam wlitegan træfe wæron ætsomne, 255

Iudith seo æðele ond se galmoda,
 egesfull ond afor. Næs ðeah eorla nan
 þe ðone wiggend aweccan dorste
 oððe gecunnian hu ðone cumbolwigan
 wiðða halgan mægð hæfde geworden, 260
 metodes meowlan. Mægen nealæhte,
 folc Ebrea, fuhton þearle
 heardum heoruwæpnum, hæfte guldon
 hyra fyrngeflitu, fagum swyrdum,
 ealde æfðoncan; Assyria wearð 265
 on ðam dægeweorce dom geswiðrod,
 bælc forbigeð. Beornas stodon
 ymbe hyra þeodnes træf þearle gebylde,
 sweorcendferhðe. Hi ða somod ealle
 ongunnon cohhetan, cirman hlude 270
 ond gristbitian, gode orfeorme,
 mid toðon torn þoligende. þa wæs hyra tires æt ende,
 eades ond ellendæda. Hogedon þa eorlas aweccan
 hyra winedryhten; him wiht ne speow.
 þa wearðsiðond late sum to ðam arod 275
 þara beadorinca, þæt he in þæt burgeteld

niðheard neðde, swa hyne nyd fordraf.
 Funde ða on bedde blacne licgan
 his goldgifan gæstes gesne,
 lifes belidenne. He þa lungre gefeoll 280
 freorig to foldan, ongan his feax teran,
 hreoh on mode, ond his hrægl somod,
 ond þæt word acwæð to ðam wiggendum
 þe ðær unrote ute wæron:
 "Her ys geswutelod ure sylfra forwyrd, 285
 toward getacnod þæt þære tide ys
 mid niðum neah geðrunge, þe we sculon nyde losian,
 somod æt sæcce forweorðan. Her liðsweorde geheawen,
 beheafdod healdend ure." Hi ða hreowigmode
 wurpon hyra wæpen of dune, gewitan him werigferhðe 290
 on fleam sceacan. Him mon feaht on last,
 mægeneacen folc, oðse mæsta dæl
 þæs heriges læg hilde gesæged
 on ðam sigewonge, sweordum geheawen,
 wulfum to willan ond eac wælgifrum 295
 fuglum to frofre. Flugon ða ðe lyfdon,
 laðra lindwerod. Him on laste for

sweot Ebrea sigore geweorðod,
 dome gedyrsoð; him feng dryhten god
 fægre on fultum, frea ælmihtig. 300
 Hi ða fromlice fagum swyrdum,
 hæleðhigerofe, herpaðworhton
 þurh laðra gemong, linde heowon,
 scildburh scaeron. Sceotend wæron
 guðe gegremede, guman Ebrisce; 305
 þegnas on ða tid þearle gelyste
 gargewinnes. þær on greot gefeoll
 se hyhsta dæl heafodgerimes
 Assiria ealdorduguðe,
 laðan cynnes. Lythwon becom 310
 cwicera to cyððe. Cirdon cynerofe,
 wiggend on wiðertrod, wælsceð on innan,
 reocende hræw. Rum wæs to nimanne
 londbuendum on ðam laðestan,
 hyra ealdfeondum unlyfigendum 315
 heolfrig herereaf, hyrsta scyne,
 bord ond bradswyrd, brune helmas,
 dyre madmas. Hæfdon domlice

on ðam folcstede fynd oferwunnen
 eðelweardas, ealdhettende 320
 swyrdum aswefede. Hie on swaðe reston,
 þa ðe him to life laðost wæron
 cwicera cynna. þa seo cneoris eall,
 mægða mærost, anes monðes fyrst,
 wlanc, wundenlocc, wagon ond læddon 325
 to ðære beorhtan byrig, Bethuliam,
 helmas ond hupseax, hare byrnan,
 guðsceorp gumena golde gefrætewod,
 mærra madma þonne mon ænig
 asecgan mæge searoþoncelra; 330
 eal þæt ða ðeodguman þrymme geeodon,
 cene under cumblum on compwige
 þurh Iudithe gleawe lare,
 mægðmodigre. Hi to mede hyre
 of ðam siðfate sylfre brohton, 335
 eorlas æscrofe, Holofernes
 sweord ond swatigne helm, swylce eac side byrnan
 gerenode readum golde, ond eal þæt se rinca baldor
 swiðmod sincea ahte oððe sundoryrfes,

beaga ond beorhtra maðma, hi þæt þære beorhtan idese 340
ageafon gearoþoncolre. Ealles ðæs Iudith sægde
wuldor weroda dryhtne, þe hyre weorðmynde geaf,
mærðe on moldan rice, swylce eac mede on heofonum,
sigorlean in swegles wuldre, þæs þe heo ahte soðne geleafan
to ðam ælmihtigan; huru æt þam ende ne tweode 345
þæs leanes þe heo lange gyrnde. ðæs sy ðam leofan drihtne
wuldor to widan aldre, þe gesceop wind ond lyfte,
roderas ond rume grundas, swylce eac reðe streamas
ond swegles dreamas, ðurh his sylfes miltse.



FINAL PAPER

Due 13 December, 2013. 4:00 pm. My mailbox.

The aim of this paper is to prepare a teaching guide for a poem of your choice. Section 2 (Bibliography) will provide you with a general overview of your poem and major interpretations and cruxes. Section 1 (Edition) ensures that you are aware of all the linguistic issues involved in interpreting your poem. And Section 3 (Comments) will give you grist for a lecture.

1 EDITION. An edition is a standardized version of a poem or prose text. As you know, Medieval literature was copied by hand into manuscripts. Errors were common, as were variants. So, you need to ensure that you have a text that has been authenticated by a reputable editor. Unfortunately, textbooks sometimes modify a poem to make it easier for students. The standard edition of all Old English poems is the *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, eds. Krapp and Dobbie, 5 vols. Each volume has a substantial and informative introduction, a list of textual problems (so you can see what's actually in the manuscript and what an editor has changed), and lots of comments on the grammar and contents of the poems. None of that is on-line. Use the ASPR in your paper. For ease of transcription, you can find them all at this link:

<http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/oe.html>

The Exeter Book is here:

<http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/exeter.html>

The Junius Manuscript is here:

<http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/junius.html>

Digitized manuscripts of many of the poems are available on-line or in the library. Check the [British Library](#) website and [Oxford Digitized Manuscripts](#).

2 BIBLIOGRAPHY. Gather a list of books and articles about your poem. The best first stop is Stanley Greenfield and Daniel Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* [PR173 .G73]; then check the bibliography at the [Old English Newsletter](#). The annual journal *Anglo-Saxon England* also has an excellent bibliography arranged by poem.

You can also find bibliographies on-line here: <http://bubl.ac.uk/docs/bibliog/biggam/>

Many of the articles you need will be available through JSTOR:

[<http://www.library.umass.edu/ndl/alpha/J>]

3 COMMENTS. Once you've read enough criticism about your poem, you'll get a sense of what the major themes and issues are. These themes and issues usually revolve around a word, phrase, or image. Those are good places to look for a passage to edit—they will provide lots of material to talk about. When you have thought sufficiently about your poem, then prepare the following notes:

A. A brief Kritikgeschichte—that's a paragraph or two describing what critics have been saying about your poem. What are the major issues?

B. You may also want to explore other translations of the poem into English. How did other translators deal with these issues? What words did they use? What grammatical assumptions did they make? You can find other translations in books and in literary anthologies.

C. Finally, note interesting facets of your poem word-by-word and image-by-image. You may want to make comments about the words and images as you go. Example:

“Nu sculon herigean heofenices Weard.” *Nu* ‘now’ is an adverb that calls our attention to the immediacy of prayer, that “we” must praise the Warden of Heaven now. *Sculon* ‘must’ is a first-person plural active verb lacking a subject. In some versions of this poem, the subject (*we*) is included. Note also the vowel harmonies of the first line: the first two words have an /u/ as their root vowel, while the last two words have as their root vowel a diphthong that begins with /e/.

NB. DICTIONARIES, ETC. *Clark-Hall* is a very good dictionary. You should also consult Bosworth-Toller, available at bosworthtoller.com and in the library [PE279 .B74]. If you can get access, the best is the Dictionary of Old English [DuBois CD-ROM 300].

Baker has a good bibliography, as do Greenfield & Calder. Marchand, WEMSK, has very good bibliographies on all aspects of medieval studies, including Old English.

GUIDES TO ARCHIVES

(from Cornell, Olin Library <http://www.library.cornell.edu/olinuris/ref/manuscripts.html>)

ENGLAND

National Register of Archives (UK) Outstanding site. The research guides can be especially useful for researchers at all levels, including archival bibliographies on such topics as Markets and Fairs and Land Conveyances: Feet of Fines, 1182-1833.

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Watson, Andrew G. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. (Z6621.A382 W38x 1997 +)

WWW.ARCHIVESINFO.NET: UK Archival Repositories on the Internet

PROCAT *Public Record Office Online Catalogue*. In some cases, the online catalog can be more useful than the multivolume classic guide--Lists and indexes. Public Record Office, London. (CD1046 .A32 suppl. ++)

F RANCE

Bibliothèque nationale (France), Département des manuscrits:

Catalogue général des manuscrits latins ... / publié sous la direction de Ph. Lauer, conservateur du Département des manuscrits. Paris : Bibliothèque nationale, 1939- (Z6621.P23 L35)
Volumes : t.1-[8] (1939-1997) Indexes: t.1/2;t.3/6;t.7.

Manuscrits latins et français ajoutés aux fonds des nouvelles acquisitions pendant les années 1875-1891; inventaire alphabétique, par Léopold Delisle ... Paris : H. Champion, 1891. (Z6621.P23 L36)

Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1891-1910. Répertoire alphabétique des manuscrits latins et français, par Henri Omont. Paris : E. Leroux, 1912. (Z6621 .P23 1910)

Concordances des numéros anciens et des numéros actuels des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale, précédées d'une notice sur les anciens catalogues; par H. Omont ... Paris : E. Leroux, 1903. (Z6621.P23 L353)

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5 of the "Ancien fonds" contains an account of the Department of manuscripts and its collections, by L. Delisle. Contents: Ancien fonds. nos. 1-6170. 1868-1902. 5 v.--Ancien supplément français. nos. 6171-15369. 1895-96. 3 v.--Ancien Saint-Germain français. nos. 15370-20064. 1898-1900. 3 v.--Ancien petits fonds français. nos. 20065-33254. 1897-1902. 3 v.--Nouvelles acquisitions françaises. nos. 1- et 20001- 1899-

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Listes des recueils de fac-similés et des reproductions de manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, publiées par H. Omont. 3. éd., par Ph. Lauer. Published: [Paris], 1935. (Z6601.A1 P23 1935)

Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste, par Charles Samaran et Robert Marichal. Paris, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1959- v. facsim. (in portfolios) 28-29 cm. (Z6601 .S18) Volumes : v.1-3;v.4.pt.1;v.5-7 (1959-1984)

Inventaire général et méthodique des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque nationale; par Léopold Delisle ... Paris : H. Champion, 1876-78. (Z6621.P23 D35)

Manuscrits du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance : enrichissements du Département des manuscrits : Fonds européens, 1983-1992 / Bibliothèque nationale de France; sous la direction de Jacqueline Slafer. Paris : La Bibliothèque, c1994. (Oversize ND2920 .B54w 1994+)

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USA

Ricci, Seymour de. *Census of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. NY: Wilson, 1935-40. (Z6628 U58 R49) Arranged alphabetically by states, cities, and libraries, including private collections. Brief descriptions include: probable date and place of origin, material on which written, size, number of leaves, kind of binding, former owners, and references to printed descriptions. Supplement produced in 1962 gives cross-references to the Census when additional or corrected information is supplied and for manuscripts when ownership has changed. (Balay, 1996).

The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC) 1986/87 to present, Internet (<http://lcweb.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/nucmccat.html>). The National Union Catalog is designed to provide bibliographic information on the holdings of the Library of Congress and titles reported by other North American libraries.

ArchivesUSA [Alexandria, VA] : Chadwyck-Healy, Inc. (Library Gateway's E-Reference Collection) Provides information about primary source materials from nearly 4,500 manuscript repositories in the United States. It includes records, with indexes, for approximately 100,000 manuscript and other collections. It brings together information from NUCMC, or the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (... in print ... and the *National Inventory of Documentary Sources* (NIDS). It also updates and

supersedes the *Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the United States* (DAMRUS), last published in 1988.

Directory of archives and manuscript repositories. United States. National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Washington : National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1988. (CD3020 .U58 1978 +) A useful guide for addresses and brief descriptions of the strengths of collections. Arranged geographically by city within states.

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Ash, Lee. *Subject Collections: A Guide to Special Book Collections and Subject Emphases as Reported by University, College, Public, and Special Libraries and Museums in the United States and Canada.* New Providence, N.J.: R. R. Bowker, 1993.

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.* Binghamton, N.Y. : Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984.

Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.

Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the United States. Phoenix: Oryx, 1988.

Folger Shakespeare Library. *Catalog of Manuscripts of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.* Boston: G. K. Hall, 1971. First Supplement, 1988.

SASLC ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Angus Cameron, "A List of Old English Texts," in <i>A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English</i> , ed. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron (Toronto, 1973), pp 27–306.
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. Eduard Schwartz, Johannes Straub, and Rudolf Schieffer, 4 vols in 15 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1914–82).
AF	The Homiliary of Alan of Farfa, as reconstructed by Réginald Grégoire, <i>Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse de manuscrits</i> , Biblioteca degli "Studi Medievali" 12 (Spoleto, 1980), pp 127–221 [cited by <i>pars</i> and no.]
AG	Hans-Josef Klauck, <i>Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction</i> , trans. Brian McNeil (London, 2003)
AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i> , ed. Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, 55 vols (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , ed. Joseph Vogt, Hildegard Temporini, and Wolfgang Haase (Berlin and New York, 1972–)
ANT	J. K. Elliott, <i>The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation</i> (Oxford, 1993)
AOT	H. F. D. Sparks, <i>The Apocryphal Old Testament</i> (Oxford, 1984)
AS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Socii Bollandiani, 1st ed., 71 vols (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940); reprinted in 65 vols (Brussels, 1965–70)
ASMMF	<i>Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile</i> , ed. A. N. Doane, Matthew Hussey, and Phillip Pulsiano, 12 vols to date (Tempe, AZ, 1994–)
ASPR	<i>Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records</i> , ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols (New York, 1931–53)
BaP	<i>Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa</i> , ed. Christian W. M. Grein, Richard P. Wülker, and Hans Hecht, 13 vols (Kassel, 1872–1933)
BCLL	Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, <i>A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200</i> (Dublin, 1985) [cited by no.]
BEASE	<i>The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England</i> , ed. Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1999)

- BEH *Bibliography of English History to 1485*, ed. Edgar B. Graves (Oxford, 1975)
- BHG François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed., Subsidia Hagiographica 8a (Brussels, 1951); *Auctarium*, Subsidia Hagiographica 47 (1969); *Novum Auctarium*, Subsidia Hagiographica 65 (1984) [cited by no.]
- BHL [Bollandists], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols, Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (Brussels 1898–1901); *Novum Supplementum*, ed. Henrik Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (1986) [cited by no.]
- BHLMs Michel Trigalet, François De Vriendt, et al., *Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), published online at: <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>
- BHM Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta: La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Saint Jérôme*, 4 vols in 7, Instrumenta Patristica 4 (Steenbrugge, 1969–72) [cited by no.]
- BKE J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597–1066*, Medieval Academy of America Publications 76 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967)
- BKE Add. J. D. A. Ogilvy, “Books Known to the English: Addenda et Corrigenda,” *Mediaevalia* 7 (1984 for 1981): 281–325; reprinted in *Old English Newsletter* Subsidia 11 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985)
- BLS *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, ed. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, 4 vols (New York, 1963)
- BPR Lorenzo DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850–1999*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series 39 (Sheffield, 2001)
- BSS *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, ed. Filippo Caraffa et al., 13 vols (Rome, 1961–70); 4th ed. of vol 13 (1998); *Prima appendice* (1987); *Seconda appendice* (2000)
- CALMA *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Claudio Leonardi, with Lidia Lanza, Rosalind Love, and Simona Polidori (Florence, 2000–)
- CANT Maurits Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992) [cited by no.]
- CAVT Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1998) [cited by no.]
- CCCM *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966–)
- CCSA *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum* (Turnhout, 1983–)

- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953–)
- CLA E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols (Oxford, 1934–66); Supplement (1971); 2nd ed. of vol 2 (1972) [cited by vol and no.]
- CPG Maurits Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols (Turnhout, 1974–87); vol 6 *Supplementum* (1998) [cited by no.]
- CPL Eligius Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Turnhout, 1995) [cited by no.]
- CPPM Jan Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, IA–B: *Homiletica* (Turnhout, 1990); IIA: *Theologica, Exegetica*; IIB: *Ascetica, Monastica* (1994); IIIA: *Artes Liberales* (2003) [cited by vol and no.]
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–)
- CSLMA Marie Hélène Jullien and Françoise Perelman, *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Galliae 735–987*. I: *Abbo Sangermanensis–Ermoldus Nigellus* (Turnhout, 1994); II: *Alcuin* (1999)
- DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, 15 vols in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
- DB *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings, 4 vols and an extra vol (New York, 1900–05)
- DECL *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Siegmund Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York, 2000)
- DHGE *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, É. Van Cauwenbergh, and R. Aubert (Paris, 1912–)
- DIP *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 9 vols (Rome, 1974–88)
- DMA *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, 12 vols and Index (New York, 1982–89); *Supplement 1*, ed. William Chester Jordan (2004)
- DNP *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, and Manfred Landfester, 16 vols (Stuttgart, 1996–2003)
- DOE *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. A. diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto, 1994–)
- DS *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller, Charles Baumgartner, and André Rayez, 16 vols in 22 and *Tables générales* (Paris, 1937–95)
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann, 15 vols (Paris, 1908–50); *Tables générales*, ed. B. Loth and A. Michel (1953–72)

- EEC *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford, 2 vols (New York, 1992)
- EEMF *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 29 vols (Copenhagen, 1951–2002)
- EETS *Early English Text Society*
 ES Extra Series
 OS Original Series
 SS Supplementary Series
- EHD *English Historical Documents. I. c. 500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd ed. (London, 1979)
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1897–)
- GL *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Heinrich Keil, 8 vols (Leipzig, 1857–80; reprinted Hildesheim, 1981)
- HBS Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1891–)
- HG Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (Tempe, Ariz., 2001) [cited by no.]
- HLW Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, 1997); *Additions and Corrections* (2002) [cited by no.]
- LASIM Thomas H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue* (New York, 1986)
- ICL Dieter Schaller and Ewald Könsgen, *Initia Carminum Latinorum Saeculo Undecimo Antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977) [cited by no.]
- ICVL Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina I (Göttingen, 1959); *Ergänzungen und Berichtigung*, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina I/1 (1969) [cited by no.]
- ILRJH Albert-Marie Denis et al., with Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique: Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament*, 2 vols (Turnhout, 2000)
- ISLMAH Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959)
- KVS Hermann Josef Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, 4th ed., *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinische Bibel* 1/1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996), with an *Aktualisierungsbeft* 2004 by Roger Gryson

- LLA *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, ed. Reinhart Herzog and P. L. Schmidt, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 8 (Munich, 1989–). I: *Die archaische Literatur: Von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod: die vorliterarische Periode und die Zeit von 240 bis 78 v. Chr.*, ed. Werner Suerbaum (2002); IV: *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 v. Chr.*, ed. Klaus Sallmann (1997); V: *Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 N. Chr.*, ed. Reinhart Herzog (1989) [cited by author no.]
- LMA *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. Robert Auty et al. (Munich and Stuttgart, 1977–)
- LTk *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, 2nd ed., 10 vols and an index (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957–67)
- Manitius Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 9 (Munich, 1911–31)
- Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovan Domenico Mansi, 54 vols in 58 (Paris, 1901–27; reprinted Graz, 1960–61)
- MCOE *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The List of Texts and Index of Editions*, compiled by Antonette diPaolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky (Toronto, 1980)
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
 AA Auctores Antiquissimi
 CAC Concilia Aevi Carolini
 ECA Epistolae Carolini Aevi
 ES Epistolae Selectae
 PLAC Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
 QG Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters
 SRG Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
 SRL Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum
 SRM Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
- ML 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*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp 33–89
- NCE *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Thomas Carson, Joann Cerrito, et al., 2nd ed., 15 vols (Detroit, Mich., and Washington, D.C., 2003)
- NRK N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957; reprinted with a supplement, Oxford, 1990)
- NTA *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, translation ed. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed., 2 vols (Louisville, Ky., and Cambridge, 1991)

- NTAP James H. Charlesworth with James R. Mueller, *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Guide to Publications, with Excursuses on Apocalypses*, ATLA Bibliography Series 17 (Metuchen, N.J., 1987)
- OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford, 2003)
- OCD² *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1970)
- ODCC *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. E. A. Livingstone, 3rd ed. (London, 1997)
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004)
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, 2 vols (Oxford, 1968–82)
- OTP *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols (London, 1983–85)
- Pat. *Patrology*, 4 vols: vols 1–3 ed. Johannes Quasten (Westminster, Md., 1950–60); vol 4 ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Placid Solari (1986)
- PD The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, as reconstructed by Réginald Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse de manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli “Studi Medievali” 12 (Spoleto, 1980), pp 423–78 [cited by *pars* and no.]
- PG *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66)
- PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64)
- PLS *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum*, ed. Adalbert Hamman, 5 vols (Paris, 1958–74)
- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, ed. Theodor Klauser et al. (Stuttgart, 1950–)
- RBM4 Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols (Madrid, 1950–80) [cited by no.]
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung, unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher fachgenossen hrsg. von G. Wissowa*, ed. Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Karl Mittelhaus, and Konrat Ziegler, 49 vols in 58 (Stuttgart, 1893–1980)
- RFHMA *Repertorium fontium historiae Medii Aevi primum ab Augusto Potthast digestum, nunc cura collegii historicorum e pluribus nationibus emendatum et auctum* (Rome, 1962–)
- RGA *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. Herbert Jankuhn et al., 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 1967–)

- RS “Rolls Series”: *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (London, 1858–96)
- S P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks (London, 1968); revised, augmented, and updated online by S. E. Kelly and S. M. Miller at:
<http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSanyer.99/eSanyer2.html> [cited by no.]
- SC Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1895–1953) [cited by no.]
- Schanz Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, 4th ed. revised by Carl Hosius, 4 vols in 5, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 8 (Munich, 1927–59)
- SChr *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1940–)
- SEHI James F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland. Volume I: Ecclesiastical* (1929; reprinted with addenda by Ludwig Bieler, New York, 1966)
- SS The Publications of the Surtees Society (London, 1835–)
- TRE *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Horst Robert Balz, Gerhard Krause, and Gerhard Müller (Berlin and New York, 1976–)
- TU *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur: Archiv für die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1882–)

[compiled by Fred Biggs & Tom Hall]