Draft edition of *Andreas*
Richard North and Mike Bintley

For Alexander and
for Helen

Foreword

Roll over, Beethoven!
(Chuck Berry, 1956)

Editions have to move with the times. The last outing for *Andreas*, the Old English epic on St Andrew which survives at 1,722 lines, was Kenneth Brooks' introduction, text, commentary and glossary of 1961, which gave the poem an improved text, its analogues a more rounded coverage, its metrical prosody a baptism in Kuhn's Laws and the manuscript sequel *The Fates of the Apostles* a new edition. Brooks was a skilful editor, but his book confirms a prejudice still with us that the poet of *Andreas* was maladroit and out of control, botching temporal unities and clumsily imitating *Beowulf*. There again, perhaps he was only mocking *Beowulf*. Since Brooks' time there have been some interesting developments. One is Celia Sisam's edition in 1976 of a facsimile of the Vercelli Book in which *Andreas* and *Fates* are found. Another is Donald Scragg's in 1992 of all 23 prose homilies in the same. A third is a growth in the understanding of West Saxon and Mercian scribal and dialectal interaction in and after the time of King Alfred. There has been the intense and not always friendly scrutiny to which Kuhn's Laws have been subjected since Bliss applied them to *Beowulf* in 1958, and Brooks immediately thereafter to *Andreas*. A fifth advance has been made in the field of Cynewulf's poetics and sources, and two more in the fields of Anglo-Saxon history and archaeology by which a burghal ideology in *Andreas* can now be identified. There have been yet more developments in digital palaeography and the study of the Old English language. These nine are what the present editors of *Andreas* will try to embody. Our final hypothesis – that the poem was composed very approximately in 890, by Æthelstan (d. 927), Mercian chaplain to King Alfred's children, a scribe of charters, king's envoy in Italy, Asia Minor and Syria and later the first bishop of Ramsbury, whence the poem was passed down through St Edith of Wilton to its copying for Archbishop Dunstan in St Augustine's, Canterbury, in *c*. 975 – depends for the most part on suppositions which we know that not every scholar will accept. As a hypothesis, however, it is there for the record and may be revised or replaced like any other. Nor should any idea about authorship interfere with the enjoyment of an anonymous poem. *Andreas* is better than Brooks and many others thought it was, and our reason for re-editing the poem is to show this to the modern reader.

In the edition which follows, the titles of poems or prose works are given in the long form first, thereafter usually abbreviated. The number of abbreviations has been kept to a minimum. In references to notes within our edition, the number is given in bold (e.g. n. **171**). The letter *w* is used for the customary WS *wynn* (*p*). Macra are regularly put in for OE long vowels except in the section on Language and Dialect, or unless the Vercelli scribe indicates length by doubling the vowel. No macron is used for the masculine definite article unless this stands alone either as a substitute pronoun or as the head of a relative clause. Half-lines are numbered 'a' and 'b' in the section on Metre and Prosody and only when necessary to itemize separate half-lines. Translations of all texts are made by the editors unless otherwise stated. We would like to thank Ms Helen Gannon and Mr Patrick Brereton of the Exeter Medieval Texts Series in Liverpool University Press for their forbearance; and Prof Vincent Gillespie and Dr Richard Dance, editors of the Series, for theirs, as well as the anonymous reviewer, and in particular for Richard's meticulous review of the language. Thanks also go to Prof Winfried Rudolf for reading the section on the manuscript; and to Dr

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List of Abbreviations

ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASSAH	*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCS	Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (repr. 1964)
Brunanburh	*The Battle of Brunanburh*
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
ChristS	*Christ and Satan*
Descent	*The Descent into Hell*
DOE	Dictionary of Old English (Toronto)
Dream	*The Dream of the Rood*
EETS	Early English Texts Society
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELN	*English Language Notes*
ES	*English Studies*
Fates	*The Fates of the Apostles*
Finnsburh	*The Finnsburh Fragment*
Fortunes	*The Fortunes of Men*
HE	Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*
JDay	*Judgement Day* (I, II)
Kelly	*The Blickling Homilies*, ed. and trans. Kelly (2003)
LSE	*Leeds Studies in English*
Maldon	*The Battle of Maldon*
ME	Middle English
MHG	Middle High German
MnE	Modern English
MS	manuscript
n.	note
N.S.	New Series
Neophil	*Neophilologus*
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
OE	Old English
OI	Old Irish
OIce	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish
O.S.	Original Series
PMLA	*Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*
PPs	*Paris Psalter*
PGmc	Primitive Germanic
RES	*Review of English Studies*
Ruin	*The Ruin*
s.	century [*saeculum*]
S	Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1968)
Seasons	*The Seasons for Fasting*
SN	*Studia Neophilologica*
SolSat	*Solomon and Saturn*
SP	*Studies in Philology*

S.S.	Supplementary Series
TSL	*Tennessee Studies in Literature*
Whale	*The Whale*
Wife	*The Wife's Lament*
Wulf	*Wulf and Eadwacer*
WW	Wright and Wülker, ed., vol. I

List of figures

1. The lion (or dog) on MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folio 49 verso.

2. Beginning of *The Fates of the Apostles* on MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folio 52 verso.

3. Beginning of the poet's self-interruption on MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folio 49 recto.

4. The *eadgiþ* colophon on MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folio 41 verso.

5. Pillars in St Wystan's Crypt, Repton.

6. Ruins of a Roman town in Ephesus (Turkey).

Introduction

1 The Poem and its Analogues

Andreas opens [fitt I, unnumbered like all the others] with the apostles drawing lots to see where each will spread the Word. Matthew goes to Mermedonia, a city of cannibals. Soon he is arrested and thrown into prison along with other foreigners, but his mind stays true, even when the Mermedonians blind him and drug him with potion to make him behave like a beast. Expecting to be eaten like the other prisoners after a fattening of thirty days, Matthew appeals to the Lord to save him. The Lord assures him of deliverance in twenty-seven, waiting until then [II] to give the job to Andrew, who is then preaching far away in Achaea. Asked by the Lord, Andrew begs to be excused, but is roundly rebuked and told to find a ship by the shore the next morning. [III] When he arrives there with his disciples the next day, he finds that a boat has indeed put in, from Mermedonia. The captain, Jesus in disguise with two angels dressed as crew, forgoes the fare and takes them all aboard.

Andrew is repaid for his initial doubts with a tough journey at sea in nearly half the poem that follows (lines 230-980). [IV] During the voyage Andrew's resolve, memory and loyalty to the Christian cause are tested by the Lord. The heavenly skipper first offers his passengers some bread. The weather worsens, but the disciples, even while seasick, prove their loyalty to Andrew by declining to be set ashore. Andrew's better qualities emerge as he puts heart into his men with the story of Jesus calming the storm in Galilee. [V] When the disciples fall asleep, Andrew compliments the skipper, who then invites him to tell more. The memories Andrew which now provides are of Jesus' canonical works in the Holy Land [VI] and of Jesus' first vain encounter with the Jewish priesthood in Jerusalem. [VII] This second tale consists of two apocryphal miracles in the Temple at Jerusalem. For the first miracle, Andrew says that Jesus called on the stone statue of an angel to speak to Jewish elders in confirmation that Jesus is the Son of God. For the second, when the Jews continue not to believe, Andrews says that Jesus commanded the statue to march to Mamre where the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lie buried. Ordered by the statue to confirm Jesus' Godhead, the patriarchs rise up, march across country to the Temple and confirm the truth to their descendants, but with the same result. Andrew offers to tell more stories, warning God, however, that these are too big for his young mind to take. As he talks, Andrew falls asleep.

[VIII] The Lord's angels now carry Andrew and his disciples over the sea, laying them down at dawn by the walls of Mermedonia. The next morning, Andrew wakes up, wakens his disciples and tells them that the captain was really Jesus and that he knew this anyway. The disciples respond by telling Andrew of a vision they have had of the future in heaven, in which they (but not Andrew) were privileged to see not only God the Father and the Son in glory but also all the apostles with archangels serving them. Andrew is relieved to hear of his future status and begs forgiveness of the Lord. In response, Jesus reappears, this time as a little boy, informing Andrew that he is soon to suffer greatly but not die, and ordering him thereby to rescue Matthew [IX] and stay behind to convert the Mernedonians to the faith.

Andrew gets up and goes into town. Coming near the jail, he sees all the guards dropping dead outside. With a prayer to the King of Heaven and the touch of a hand, he breaks down the door and walks in. Matthew greets him from the depths of the dungeon. There is a joyful conference (here a folio has been excised from the manuscript), whereupon Matthew leaves the jail leading the 297 other prisoners to

safety. [X] Andrew meanwhile walks into town to wait for the Mermedonian reaction, which is not slow in coming. Finding that their meals have escaped, and expecting nothing but hunger, 'a pale guest at table' (*blāt bēodgast*), the Mermedonians eat the seven dead guards and muster for an assembly. There they perform some divination to find the next victim, a 'philosopher' (*ūðweota*) whose wisdom extends to offering a son in his place. Before the moaning crowd can eat this boy, Andrew's prayers melt their knives and the young man is saved.

[XI] After lamenting some more for their lost joys, the Mermedonians are incited by a devil to arrest the stranger who has emptied their jail. Andrew, as he waits for the mob to find him near a brass pillar in a lane between two houses, is reassured by the Lord. The pagans seize him and drag him into the open, and then around their ruined city until the sun goes down and they chain up his bloodied body in prison. [XII] While Andrew spends the night in bonds, a ferocious cold descends on the landscape outside, like 'hoar-grey marching soldiers' (*hāre hildstapan*). In the morning the crowd comes back to get him, and this time they flog the old apostle from dawn to dusk. Andrew holds out by begging for the Lord's help, with 'a ring of weeping' (*wōpes hring*) leaving his breast with such effect that the devil reappears to encourage the Mermedonian torturers in their efforts.

Later that night, Andrew's second in the cells, a party of seven devils walks in. Their leader taunts Andrew and orders the juniors to attack him, but a vision of the cross on Andrew's countenance sends them packing. When their 'father' asks why, they tell him to go to it, [XIII] shaming him into action. The senior devil threatens Andrew with death, but Andrew puts him and the others to flight by reminding them of their humiliation by God. In the morning the Mermedonians arrive to lead Andrew out for the third (the poet says the fourth) time, and flog him all day. Now Andrew bitterly complains to the Lord, noting that the three hours' crucifixion Jesus suffered is unequal to the three days of pain inflicted on him, and reminding Him of the words with which He promised the Disciples protection. The Lord's voice returns, telling Andrew to look back on the trails of his blood. He does so and sees that trees have grown from his blood and are now sprouting blossom. Andrew now praises the Lord vehemently until the sun goes down, when the Mermedonians lead him back to the cells. In the night the Lord visits him again, telling him his sufferings are over and restoring his body to a state as good as new.

Just here [XIV] the poet breaks from his narrative with a digression of twelve lines (1478-89) on the epic stature of the story and on his inability to tell it. Picking up the thread again, he says that Andrew catches sight of some pillars by the wall propping up the floor above. Andrew orders one of these to let loose a flood of water, which it does from its base, and in the early morning the Mermedonians wake up to a salty tsunami which the poet describes as an over-generous 'serving of mead' (*meoduscerwen* 1526). The surviving townsfolk try to leave but find their escape blocked by a wall of fire encircling the walls. As the water rises to chest height, one man advises repentance and others follow suit, their remorse persuading Andrew to let the flood subside. Andrew leaves the jail and the waters part before him. The barrow for executions splits open, revealing a sinkhole through which the torrent drains to hell along with the fourteen worst Mermedonians. In one voice the survivors acknowledge Andrew's mission from God and vow to obey him.

[XV] Andrew comforts the survivors and prays to the Lord for the resurrection of all young Mermedonians who have drowned. The town is rejuvenated and Andrew builds a church over the site of the jail. Back from the dead and renouncing idolatry, the good-natured young men and women of Mermedonia ask to be baptized. Andrew

raises them up as Christians, establishes Christian laws and consecrates a bishop by the name of Plato. Mysteriously then he tells the citizens of his wish to leave their sleek gleaming city with its treasure-hoards and palaces in order to take ship for home. The Mermedonians are uncomprehending and their cries reach the Lord, Who stops Andrew from leaving with orders to go back for seven more working days. On returning, Andrew teaches Christian precepts to the inhabitants and destroys their former shrines, rooting out the devil once and for all. His mission only now accomplished, Andrew sails to Achaea and his waiting martyrdom, whilst the Mermedonians bid him farewell, praising God like the true Christians they are.

No less gratuitously than this summary does the poet of *Andreas* retell his story of St Andrew as an epic poem in 1,722 extant Old English lines across fifteen unnumbered fitts. His poem is written out in the so-called 'Vercelli Book' of the later tenth century, in the customary prose format in which all Old English verse is preserved.[1] The poet's source is lost, but was most probably a Latin adaptation of the Greek apostolic romance, the *Πράξεις Ανδρέου καὶ Ματθεία εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων* 'acts of SS Matthias and Andrew in the city of the Cannibals' (hereafter *Praxeis*). This apocryphal narrative, along with many others, served as a complement to the canonical first- or second-century Acts of the Apostles.[2] In its original form, before later redactions attempted to historicize the miraculous narrative, the *Praxeis* was probably written in Egypt in the fifth century as an addition to the mid-second century *Acts of St Andrew*.[3] From these *Acts of SS Matthias and Andrew* come as many versions as there are analogues.[4] The *Praxeis* inspired narratives in Latin, Old English prose, Ethiopic, Syriac and Coptic. The name 'Matthias', for the man who replaces Judas in Acts 1:21-26, is retained in the four main manuscripts of the *Praxeis*, but erroneously replaced by 'Matthew' in the remaining six and in nearly all derived texts.[5] The *Praxeis* also provided additional narrative for four Lives of St Andrew: the *Epitome* (ch. 1) of Gregory of Tours in the late sixth century and three Greek *Lives* of St Andrew from the eighth and ninth.[6]

Among the Latin descendants of the *Praxeis*, the Bonnet Fragment, from the Codex Vallicellanus of the eleventh century, provides a brief Latin text closest to the Greek, but one which answers to no more than lines 843-954 of the Old English poem (from Andrew's awakening outside Mermedonia to his arrival at the prison).[7] The fullest surviving Latin analogue is preserved in the twelfth-century Codex Casanatensis (hereafter Casanatensis).[8] This text, written in poor Latin, is further removed, but is mostly entire and follows the *Praxeis* in incident and chapter

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[1] Brooks (1961). Ker (1991), 460 (item 394): Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folios 29 verso to 52 verso. See below.

[2] Biggs (2007), 40-41. Powell (2002), 8-10. Boenig (1991a), ii, v-ix.

[3] Bonnet (1959), 65-116. The older 1851 text by von Tischendorf is reprinted in Blatt, 32–94, and used by Boenig (1991a). Translation here is based on MacDonald (1990), 70-169; also in MacDonald (1993), 287-99. Transliterated, the whole Greek title is *Praxeis Andreou kai Mattheia eis tēn polin tōn anthrōpophagōn*.

[4] Blatt (1930), 5-20, esp. 6.

[5] Boenig (1991a), xxviii-ix.

[6] MacDonald (1990), 23 (see also 181-85): Epiphanius' *Life of Andrew* (s. ix[1]); *Laudatio S. Andreae*, adapted from the foregoing by Nicetas of Paphlegonia (s. ix); and the *Narratio Andreae* (s. viii/ix).

[7] Blatt (1930), 13-15. Brooks (1961), 177-78.

[8] Blatt (1930), 33-95: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1104, folios 26-43. Translation here based on Allen and Calder (1976), 14-34. See also Boenig (1991a) and Biggs (1990), 52-53.

numeration. Among other less close Latin adaptations is a condensed poetic text in Codex Vaticanus 1274, of the mid-eleventh century (hereafter Vaticanus), which keeps the original 'Matthias'.[9] Two Old English prose homilies with this story are fragmentary redactions of the same adaptation of a Latin text. One is in the later tenth-century collection of the Blickling Homilies and corresponds to lines 51-976 of *Andreas* (from Matthew's arrest to Jesus' instructions to Andrew outside Mermedonia). The other is in folios 386 recto to 394 verso of the eleventh-century CCCC, MS 198.[10] The Old English *Andreas* is as much a saint's life as these analogues. It may be read in the same way as they are, as an account of the transformation of its subject, St Andrew, from reluctant apostle to fearless hero.[11]

In this way it is likely that the main source of *Andreas* derives from an ancestor of the *Praxeis*, from a text written before the eighth or ninth century. This source-text was probably in Latin, for the knowledge of Greek was rare in England after Theodore, Hadrian and Aldhelm, at least until Byrhtferth in the early eleventh century;[12] and when Jesus is said to call the relief sculptures in the Temple *Cheruphim et Seraphim* 'Cherubim and Seraphim' on line 719, the scribe's Latin copula, if not solely betraying an expectation of the dominant language, may go back to the poet.[13] Moreover, the use of a Latin source for the Old English homily is revealed by the fact that the Blickling text includes a Latin sentence: *Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis, et vidit naviculum in litore et intra nave sedentes tres viros* 'Then St Andrew, rising in the morning, left for the sea with his disciples, and saw a little boat by the shore and three men sitting within the ship' (answering to *Andreas* 244-46).[14] In these ways, *Andreas*' source is more likely to have been written in Latin than in Greek.

The surviving *Praxeis*, despite its pre-eminence as an analogue, contains no name for the cannibals' city, for which the name 'Myrmidonia' survives only by chance in a fifteenth-century sequel (*Andrew's Return to Myrmidonia*).[15] Moreover, no extant version of the *Praxeis* refers by name to Achaea or to Plato or even to a bishop at the end. Whereas the Vaticanus and some versions of the *Praxeis* name Andrew's colleague Matthias rather than Matthew, only Vaticanus and *Andreas* name the bishop (as Plato) and specify Andrew's departure from Mermedonia by sea. Only in *Andreas* and Casanatensis does the Mermedonian potion reduce its drinkers to animals, and in the Old English homily Matthew refuses the drink. Only in *Andreas* does Andrew ask the ship's captain from where he has sailed. Vaticanus is alone in having Andrew and the disciples reach Mermedonia by boat, one which Jesus and the angels crew in angelic form; as well as in omitting all details of the voyage. Here, however, it is worth noting that the Old English homily has neither the giving of bread to the disciples nor a long dialogue between Andrew and the captain. The Casanatensis has

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[9] Blatt (1930), 96-148: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 1274, folios 119 verso to 160 recto. Allen and Calder (1976), 14. Boenig (1991a), ii. For other versions, see Biggs (2007), 40-41.

[10] Kelly (2003), 158-63 and 195: Princeton, University Library, Scheide Library, 71, folios 136 recto to 139 verso. A composite full version is edited in Morris (1967), 228-29 (Corpus), 229-236 (Blickling) and 236-49 (Corpus).

[11] Hamilton (1975), 95. Bjork (1985), 121-24. Allen and Calder (1986), 131. Harbus (2001), 132.

[12] Bodden (1986), 53-60.

[13] See n. **1189**. See also Zupitza (1886), 184-85.

[14] Morris (1880), 231.

[15] MacDomald (1990), 65-66 (MS Paris gr. 1313). Known to Blatt, but not cited in his edition.

no miracle of the waking of the patriarchs. Only in *Andreas* and Vaticanus does Andrew enter the city without his disciples, and only in *Andreas* and implicitly in the Casanatensis are the dead guards eaten by fellow townsmen.

However, despite these and more differences, the story is broadly the same in all versions. Vaticanus, though an eccentric poetic outlier, retains some details of an earlier version of the *Praxeis* which have dropped out of other versions. The same advantage to a greater degree may be claimed of the Casanatensis, which, from its discovery in 1909 until recent times, has generally been preferred as an analogue to the *Praxeis*.[16] There are two conclusions to draw from these many minor discrepancies. One is that *Andreas*' main source was a now-lost analogue of the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis which lay somewhere in between.[17] The other is that any narrative incident in *Andreas*, which appears to be unique to *Andreas*, is best attributed to this lost source or to one related to it, unless there is reason to believe that it stems from the poet himself. The Old English homily, having been shortened, has relatively less to offer than these other analogues of *Andreas*.

The poet of *Andreas* has had mixed reviews, chiefly in comparison with Cynewulf, with whom he was first identified more than a century ago.[18] Cynewulf is the otherwise unknown author of *Christ II*, *Juliana*, *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Elene*: four poems with runes in near-final positions which spell out the letters of his name. His short poem *Fates* follows *Andreas* in the Vercelli Book, on folios 52 verso to 54 recto, and it was once thought that his signature for *Fates* covered both poems. When the two poems were properly compared, Thomas Arnold found in *Andreas* 'a level soberness of treatment, a steady procedure, a comparative absence of repetition, which distinguish it from the livelier, more animated, more pretentious, more coloured style of the Cynewulf poems'.[19] Other commentators, however, have been happier to keep the praise and transpose the poets. Krapp's earlier edition of both poems finds in the first one 'a lack of restraint, a conscious and often labored use of the devices of Anglo-Saxon poetic style'.[20] A specialist on Cynewulf blames the poet of *Andreas* for 'petty tricks unbecoming the dignity of a great poet like Cynewulf'.[21] Another Cynewulfian refers to his 'lack of discriminative talent'.[22] Brooks' edition of *Andreas* did little to enhance its prospects, perhaps because his own comparison between its poet and Cynewulf reveals a preference for the latter, noting 'a looseness and lack of organization in the narrative of *Andreas*', albeit one dictated by the source, 'that is quite foreign to the manner of Cynewulf'.[23] C. L. Wrenn, praising *Andreas* for a lively style, still dismisses the poet's skill as 'rougher than that of Cynewulf'.[24]

Although the poet of *Andreas* has been commended for his compositional skill and typology,[25] he has also drawn fire for 'unevenness of achievement' and 'passages of oddity, ineptitude and strain'.[26] Brooks finds that 'expressions which are appropriate

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[16] Brooks (1961), xvi.
[17] Schaar (1949), 12-24.
[18] See Brooks (1961), xx-xxi.
[19] Arnold (1898), 121.
[20] Krapp (1906), 1.
[21] Das (1942), 230-31.
[22] Schaar (1949), 326.
[23] Brooks (1961), xxi.
[24] Wrenn (1967), 134.
[25] Hill (1969). Brodeur (1980). Earl (1980). Irving (1983).
[26] Kennedy (1943), 283.

in the signed poems [of Cynewulf] and in *Beowulf* are found in *Andreas* in contexts to which they are not suited', that the poet adapts inherited formulae 'in a clumsy manner', and that he 'uses the old epic military terminology whenever he has a chance'.[27] Brodeur concludes that the poem is still 'occasionally marred by curious infelicities and awkwardnesses'.[28] Shippey finds that *Andreas* has a 'diminished sense of reality'; Cherniss, that Germanic heroic concepts in *Andreas* 'do not form a consistent ideological background for the narrative' and are 'secondary'.[29] Views of this kind have become so common that according to one salvaging admirer, the poem is characterized as 'an embarrassing misapplication of the heroic style to the wrong subject'.[30] However, most of the same scholars praise the poet for imagination and vigour. Stanley B. Greenfield, finds some passages 'not without merit' and Alvin Lee praises *Andreas*' craftsmanship even while calling it 'bizarre'.[31] In Alison Powell's more circumspect view the poet

> has adapted his source with flair, turning the pedestrian *Acts* into a vivid narrative that combines a consistent typological scheme with heroic action. He demonstrates a subtle understanding of verbal parallelism, repeating both his own phrasing and that of other poets in a manner that suggests awareness of the rhetorical effects of repetition and even of allusions to other poems.[32]

The rest of our Introduction seeks to fathom this poet's mystery through a number of questions. How his poem is placed in the manuscript; what the text reveals about the poet's dialect, metre, and origin; how his style works in relation to the poems of Cynewulf and to *Beowulf*; what political besides religious ideology may be discovered through his portrait of Mermedonia in this poem; where *Andreas* was most plausibly composed, for whom, when, and even by whom: the attempt to answer these questions, even with hypothetical answers, will help us to understand the blend of subtlety and wildness in *Andreas*.

2 The Manuscript

Andreas is written in folios 29 verso to 52 verso of Codex CXVII of the Biblioteca Capitolare (Cathedral Library) of Vercelli, Italy. Following *Andreas* after one blank line, and with only an uninitialed *WÆT* in majuscule to show for its entry into the same folio, *The Fates of the Apostles* continues to folio 54 recto, whereupon homily VI begins after another blank line.[33] The 'Vercelli Book', as it is now usually known, contains 23 anonymous prose homilies interspersed with six pieces of alliterative verse: Homilies I-V; *Andreas* and *Fates*; VI-XVIII; *Soul and Body Dialogue I*, *Homiletic Fragment I* (or 'Deceit') and *The Dream of the Rood*; XIX-XXII; *Elene*; and XXIII.[34] It measures 310 by 200 mm and consists of 19 quires (or gatherings) which are lettered A-T at the foot of each final folio and I-XIX in a modern hand at

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[27] Brooks (1961), xxi.
[28] Brodeur (1968) 102.
[29] Shippey (1972), 127. Cherniss (1972), 193.
[30] Irving (1983), 215.
[31] Greenfield (1966), 105-06. Lee (1972), 85.
[32] Powell (2002), 4.
[33] Brooks (1961), 56-60.
[34] Scragg (1992), xxv.

the head of each first folio of a quire. There is one unnumbered modern blank flyleaf at the beginning, and two unnumbered flyleaves at the end, folios 136 and 137, of which the first, now the wrong way up, was originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript. Aside from these folios, the Vercelli Book is 135 parchment folios long.[35] When compiled, it was at least 14 folios longer, in that some of its folios have been lost from the middle and end, including one after folio 42 in the middle of *Andreas*.[36]

The agreed date of the manuscript is approximate, for it was copied in stages by one scribe in what is now called Canonical Square Minuscule, Phase II, for years or even at least a decade before *c*. 975;[37] or then; or even for some years after, if the scribe was the long-lived retainer of an outdated hand. The scribe used a late WS standard, but otherwise copied what he saw before him so faithfully, whether through belief in the authority of the written word or by master's command, that he preserved a largely unstandardized variety of rubrics and dialectal forms and abbreviations.[38] The latter included his own, which Scragg regards as Kentish.[39] Celia Sisam, opposed by Scragg, suggests on the basis of a reference to contemporary heathen attacks at the end of Homily XI that the manuscript was finished in the 990s or even in the early eleventh century, but the claimed heathen (and Christian) looting fits equally well with earlier periods such as the 940s.[40] Scragg suggests on the basis of textual and linguistic associations that the Vercelli Book originated in the scriptorium of St Augustine's in Canterbury.[41] A more recent comparison with the hands, large initials and Insular hair-to-flesh quiring of mid-tenth century manuscripts, those which are known to come from St Augustine's, has since reinforced Scragg's tentative conclusion.[42]

The Vercelli Book has some illustrations which may, as Celia Sisam suggests, be the 'doodles' of later scribes: two gaping serpentine mouths lightly drawn at the bottom right of folio 123, in an apparent commentary to the sea-crossing described above in *Elene* (lines 225-240); and a prancing maned quadruped drawn boldly dead centre at the foot of folio 49 verso, moving gaily from right to left with tail in the air and mouth also agape at the same angle (to ten o'clock). The Sisams take this for a dog, others for a lion; the unshaded stripe down its head and lower back to a flamed tail might favour the dog (see Fig. 1).[43] However, the beast's neck has two tiers of hatched curls and his long plumed tail resembles that of a lion drawn faintly below Adam and Eve on p. 11 of the Canterbury-associated 'Cædmon Manuscript', Oxford, MS Bodley, Junius 11.[44] According to Jennifer O'Reilly, who derives this creature from the tradition which is also represented in the St Mark's Gospel frontispiece in the Lindisfarne Gospels (BL, MS Cotton Nero D.IV, folio 93 verso), the Vercelli beast has the 'vestigial curls of a lion's mane, and also the open jaws and protruding tongue which are characteristic of lions in early Insular gospel book images of the

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[35] Sisam (1976), 17-18.

[36] See n. **1024-25**. The other excisions are after folios 24, 55, 63, 75, 83, 85, 97, 100, 103, 111 and 120. Scragg (1992), xxiii. Sisam (1976), 59.

[37] Treharne (2007), 254-55. Ker (1991), 460 (item 394). Scragg (1992), xxiii; (2001), 334.

[38] See Rudolf (forthcoming).

[39] Treharne (2007), 258. Scragg (1992), lxx-xxi; (2001), 340.

[40] Sisam (1976), 36. Scragg (1992), 220.

[41] Scragg (1992), lxxiv-ix. Swanton (1970), 2.

[42] Dumville (1994), 140, n. 39 (CCCC, MS 352, s^m). Treharne (2007), 255-56, nn. 14-15.

[43] Sisam (1953), 108. Sisam (1976), 30.

[44] Okasha and O'Reilly (1984), 43. Temple (1976), 76-77 and pl. 190.

Evangelist symbols'.[45] Given where the Vercelli Book lion appears, beneath Andrew's command to the pillar, prior to his victory over the pagans, it is plausibly a figura for Christ.

How and when the manuscript came to the monastery in Vercelli remains unknown. Written by later hands, the words *writ þus* 'write thus' at the foot of folio 63 verso, *sclean* (for *slēan* 'strike') on folio 99 recto in Homily XVIII, and some scribbles on the last flyleaf, tell us that this manuscript was still in use as a copy-text in England near the end of the tenth century.[46] Kenneth Sisam dates the form *sclean* to the eleventh, but *scl*-graphemes in the Corpus Glossary and Kentish Glosses show that this addition could be older.[47] Another addition to the manuscript is an excerpt from Vulgate Psalm 26:9, written with neums in small Caroline minuscule in a blank space on the lower half of folio 24 verso. The style of this text has been identified as North Italian, from the eleventh or twelfth century.[48] Thus it is clear that the manuscript was in Italy, if not in Vercelli, by *c.* 1150 at the latest.

The first certain reference to this codex in Vercelli (though not the drawing in folio 49 verso) was inscribed in the cathedral's library catalogue by Canon Giovanni Francesco Leone, in *c.* 1602: *Liber Gothicus, sive Longobardus (eum legere no valeo)* 'Gothic or Langobardic book (beyond my powers to read it)'. In 1750, Codex CXVII was described as *linguae theotiscae* 'of German language' in the inventory of the library at Vercelli by an antiquary of Verona, Giuseppe Bianchini, who had asked for confirmation of this two years earlier in a letter to Cardinal Carlo Vittorio delle Lancie.[49] The Vercelli Book was identified as Anglo-Saxon for the first time by Friedrich Blu(h)me, a German professor of law, in 1822; then transcribed in 1833-34 by a scholar from Tübingen, Dr C. [Johann Caspar] Maier, for the Record Commission of London. Although Maier knew no Old English, his accurate copy and notes formed the basis of Benjamin Thorpe's edition in 1836, and of other editions preceding the publication of Thorpe's, which was delayed until 1869.[50] Although it was Maier's use of reagent (in an effort to clarify the letter forms) which rendered Cynewulf's runic signature partly illegible at the end of *Fates* in folios 53 verso and 54 recto, his transcript and notes provide a valuable commentary on the manuscript as it was nearly two centuries ago.

The order in which the scribe copied his various exemplars has been sought in much painstaking study of the manuscript's 19 quires, the number of folios per quire and the changing decoration, lineations and rubrics in relation to contents and spellings. The folios of the Vercelli Book are usually ruled for 24 lines, but the rulings vary, from 23 to 33 lines, and Celia Sisam makes much of this in her case for the compilation of the codex.[51] Scragg uses linguistic evidence to group three discrete blocks of copying in A (homilies I-IV), B (V-XXII) and C (*Elene* and XXIII), respectively in quires 1-3, 4-17 and 18-19.[52] His three-booklet model has the virtue of caution and is now the order of the day.[53] However, it overlooks the variability of foliation and line-rulings, and Sisam's codicological investigation is more compelling.

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[45] Jennifer O'Reilly (pers. comm.).
[46] Sisam (1953), 110. Sisam (1976), 28. Scragg (1992), 309.
[47] Sisam (1953), 113. Campbell (1959), § 479.
[48] Sisam (1953), 112-14.
[49] Sisam (1976), 45-47.
[50] See Bock (forthcoming). Thorpe (1869). Brooks (1961), xlvi. Sisam (1976), 47-49.
[51] Sisam (1976), 37-43.
[52] Scragg (2001), 326. Followed in Szarmach (1979), 181.
[53] As in Leneghan (2013), 630.

Her observations about the quiring of the Vercelli Book enable a more plausible, because cumulative, narrative of the compilation to be reconstructed. If we look at Sisam's model, we see that this book seems to have grown in two stages, as an assembly of five collections which the scribe made partly by serial copying, partly by cannibalizing two of his older books.

The following guide to the disposition of quires in the Vercelli Book is intended to give a context to *Andreas* (quires 4-7):

Stage	Copying block	Quires	Homily/Poem	Order of exemplars	
1	A	1	I	1	[last verso starts II
	B	2-3	II, III	1	
			IV	2	
	C	4-9	V	1	
			Andreas	2	
			The Fates of the Apostles		
			VI-X	3	[last verso starts XI
2	D	10-14	XI-XVIII	1	
			Soul and Body Dialogue I	2	
			Homiletic Fragment I	?3	[last verso starts *Dream*
	E	15-19	*The Dream of the Rood*	1	
			XIX-XXII	2	
			Elene	3	
			XXIII	4	

Although Scragg does not accept Sisam's or propose any order in which the homilies and poems may have been copied, his edition of the homilies separates homily V from *Andreas* and *Fates*, which he had previously grouped with it, in line with Sisam's case for the disposition of exemplars.[54]

Homily V, on Christmas, appears to have been where the codex began, in that the scribe, having copied it, went on to amplify its message by adding more homilies before he copied *Andreas* and *Fates*. Quire 4 (folios 24-32), which starts with this homily, is ruled for 29 lines. This lineation differs from that of the quires to either side, which are ruled for 24 lines: when *Andreas* (starting with folio 29 verso) continues into quire 5 (folios 33-40) its line-ruling drops from 29 to 24 accordingly. Since the scribe did not avoid this anomaly by continuing with a 29-line ruling into quire 5 and beyond, at least until the end of the poems, it seems clear to Sisam that he did not copy *Andreas* and *Fates* immediately after copying homily V. If the different quires were ruled differently in advance and then handed to the scribe to fill in, then he may have copied *Andreas* directly after Homily V (although the 30 November saint's day carries back rather than forward from 25 December). In this case the 5-line variability would speak for a minor and relatively parchment-poor scriptorium, and for a manuscript which was compiled hastily and with more regard for fitting text into available space than for the book's final appearance or finish; in other words, not for St Augustine's. On the other hand, if the scribe made the rulings himself, as seems more likely, Sisam's deduction is to be preferred, that, before copying *Andreas* and in

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[54] Scragg (1992), xv; (2001), 343 (postscript). Scragg's A answers Sisam's AB; his B, her CDE1-2; his C, her E3-4.

a pause between labours, he seems to have joined quire 4 to quires 1-3. The latter was a ready-made assembly containing the homilies on Easter, Judgement, penance and Judgement now known as I-IV. The foliation of quires 1-3 is so peculiar as to show that this unit had a history of its own. Quires 1 and 2 each have nine folios, not a regular eight: each has four sheets (or bifolia) plus one half-sheet. Since homily I concludes on folio 9 recto and homily II begins on the final verso of this quire, it appears that homily I was all that this quire was meant to contain, before the scribe started copying again.

When the scribe finished this next job, copying homilies II and III in sequence to the end of quire 3, it might seem that he rested. Sisam, however, argues from the irregular foliation of quire 3 (folios 19-24) that he copied more in this block. Quire 3 has six folios, made up of two sheets folded double with one half-sheet on the front and another between the first two folios of the double fold. Sisam thinks it likely that the first half-sheet was originally a full sheet, whose other half was the outer folio of this quire; that this last folio, since removed, contained more material which led into at least one quire more; consequently, that the scribe cut loose quires 1-3 (bar the last folio) from an older codex and placed them at the head of his new book. Whether he intended to make this older assembly a prefix to homily V, or to suffix his new homily to homilies I-IV, is of less consequence. The isolated 29-line ruling of quire 4 tells us that the Vercelli Book took shape around homily V. The order of ecclesiastical festivals in the five homilies does not accord with the *temporale*, but the homilies of this amplified opening, if they are taken together, allow a life of Jesus to be extrapolated from the common spring-timing of Passion and Annunciation (I), then from Judgement (II-IV) and lastly from the Nativity (V) in mid winter, where the hope of salvation begins. Within the same historical scheme it may be inferred that *Andreas* and *Fates* continue with a joint aftermath to the Passion which celebrates the apostolic mission and the beginnings of the church.[55]

After *Fates*, Homily VI and its four successors appear to have been available in their sequence in one exemplar, a southeastern homiliary of the second half of the tenth century.[56] The scribe copied homilies VII-X with the rubrics respectively 'ii'-'v' at the end of each, and with 'vi' on the last verso of quire 9 anticipating one homily more. Scragg allows that these poems were together in the scribe's exemplar.[57] Sisam believes that the exemplar contained *Andreas* and *Fates* and also homilies VI-X in the same sequence. Whether or not the latter is so (and a boy Jesus does appear in both *Andreas* and homily VI),[58] homily X may be read as a grand finale. It ends with the last folio of quire 9, on line 10 of folio 71 recto, with the rest of the page left blank. Then there is the fact that the scribe added a sixth sheet to quire 8, whose five sheets were already one more than the norm. Although homily XI begins on the last verso of quire 9, the extra sheet of quire 8 is evidence, according to Sisam, that the scribe intended to make quires 8-9 finish the whole sequence. In her view, the scribe 'had no intention, at that time, of starting a tenth quire'. Homilies VI-X in quires 7 (final 3 folios) and 8-9 are to do with Jesus' apocryphal infancy (VI), the virtue of temperance (VII), and the coming of Judgement (VIII-X). In that they progress from Christ's life into his role as man's king in heaven, it appears that they were meant to end the Vercelli Book in its first form.

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[55] Perhaps as an inspiration to teachers: see Leneghan (2013), 636-42.
[56] Scragg (2001), 339.
[57] Scragg (2001), 322.
[58] On folios 41-42 recto and 55 verso, 56 recto.

Then there was an extension. Quires 10-14, ruled for 24 lines, appear to have been planned as one group (block D, folios 72-104). The homilies copied into them are XI-XIV (a series on the Rogation Days before Ascension) and XV-XVIII (a Mercian homiliary on Judgement, Epiphany (for the post-Nativity in January), Purification (or Candlemas on 2 February), and a short life of St Martin of Tours); these groups make two clearly defined sequences.[59] The first sequence is rubricated with titles, with the first three homilies entitled first-second-third, while the second shares a majuscule *M*-abbreviation for the opening formula *Men þā lēofestan* 'dearest people'.[60] Because homilies XIV, XVI, XVII and XVIII, in particular, overrun the ends of their quires, which are respectively quires 10, 11, 12 and 13, it seems likely that these passages were copied consecutively with the currently named poems *Soul and Body Dialogue I* ('Monologue' would be more exact) and *Homiletic Fragment I* copied straight after after them.[61]

The last side of quire 14, folio 104 verso, does not contain a blank space after this poetic sequence, but continues after the customary blank line with the opening of a new poem, *The Dream of the Rood*. The text of this poem runs on into quire 15, but here the lineation changes markedly to 32/33 lines. Thereafter quires 16 and 17 are ruled for 31 lines, quires 18 and 19 for 32 lines. In the light of this common new range of line-ruling, it seems that quires 15-19 may be treated as one scribal block (Sisam's E, folios 105-35), despite the awkwardness of the bridging position of this poem. Scragg groups *The Dream of the Rood* and homilies XIX-XXII with the previous work (within his block B). He divides the codex into a third block (his C) with quire 18, the start of *Elene*, because quires 18 and 19, containing *Elene* and the fragmentary 'homily XXIII' (a short life of St Guthlac), are of uniform length with originally eight folios each.[62] Yet the change in lineation speaks more in favour of Sisam's argument that quires 15-19 have a unity all of their own. The asymmetry of the change in line-ruling within the facing first two pages of *The Dream of the Rood*, from 24 lines in folio 104 verso to 32 lines in folio 105 recto, is more likely to show that quires 15-19 represent part of an older collection made by the same scribe.

Quire 15 (folios 105-111) is irregular, at seven folios: it consists of three sheets with a half-sheet (folio 107) added; it is ruled for 32 lines as far as 109 verso, then for 33 lines on folios 110 and 111; the final verso, though ruled for 33 lines, contains only 31 lines of writing; in the last line, the words are spaced out, with elongated descenders. In these ways it seems that the scribe was at pains to make his text in quire 15 meet the beginning of the text in quire 16. His 31 lines of writing on folio 111 verso, which could have been 33 lines, match the 31 written lines on the facing page, folio 112 recto, which is the first page of quire 16. To make sense of this, Sisam argues that quire 15 was a recopied version of a quire which, like quire 16, had been ruled for 31 lines. The old quire 15 would have contained homily XIX and the first part of homily XX on most of its last six folios; homily XIX would have started part-way down the recto of the third folio. Whatever item came before, its text, starting on an earlier quire still, would have had to go. Yet the end of this textual item was on the the same recto, which could not be excised for fear of losing the beginning of homily XIX. This homily and homilies XX-XXI derive from a late WS collection whose order is attested elsewhere.[63] The scribe, if he was not simply adapting lineation to fit

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[59] Scragg (2001), 339.
[60] Scragg (1992), 221, 228, 234, 239; 253, 267, 281, 291.
[61] Sisam (1976), 38.
[62] Scragg (2001), 321.
[63] Scragg (1992), 329; (2001), 239.

text into available space, may have solved this problem by recopying the whole quire and by substituting the unwanted text with a poem now known as *The Dream of the Rood*. To help with the greater length, he would have added a folio to the new quire and started the new textual item on the back of quire 14.[64] The fact that the opening part of *Dream* has a rare ':-,' punctuation in common with the immediately preceding poems, whereas the text of *Dream* in quire 15 does not have this, may be explained by an interval in time between the copying of these parts of the poem in quires 14 and 15. The corollary is that *Dream* was a new item, chosen at least partly because its theme anticipated that of *Elene* at the start of the ready-made quire 18. The story of Empress Helena's Invention of the True Cross, the main episode of *Elene*, may thus be seen already in folio 105 verso: *Hwæðre mē þǣr Dryhtnes þegnas, / frēondas gefrūnon* 'yet in that place the Lord's thanes, his friends, learned of me' (*Dream* 75-76). Thus Sisam's story for block E is that the scribe suffixed quire 14 with a four-quire block from one of his older books.

On this basis it may be argued that the Vercelli Book was put together in two stages, each time out of a deliberate composite of new and ready-made materials. Among other things, this kind of compilation would account for the fact that the second half of homily XXI near the end is a version of homily II.[65] First there comes a collection which indirectly but persistently celebrates the life of Christ, in quires 1-9; then, in quires 10-19, an extension in a reconfigured homiliary which analyses the meaning of the Passion through eschatology with the help of four meditations in verse.[66] Among many other effects, the two long poems, *Andreas* (and *Fates*) near the beginning and *Elene* towards the end, offer historically sequential narratives for the aftermath of the Passion. It has been argued that this book was an ascetic florilegium, compiled for a teacher of pilgrims,[67] or for a preacher-reader of the 'mixed life' as advocated in the Alfredian translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, 'perhaps an unreformed bishop';[68] also that it was owned by Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury (pallium 959-88).[69] Some thematic corroboration for Dunstan's compilation of the Vercelli Book might be sought in the argument that it begins with a celebration of the life of Christ. On the opening folio of Dunstan's Classbook is a gigantic image of Christ with rod of judgement looking away from a miniature prostrate Dunstan, with an inscription at the top which says that it was Dunstan's drawing.[70]

Once the Vercelli Book was finished, it made a long mixture of prose and verse which would best be understood by the person who put it together. Whether this was by the scribe or a master, or whether the scribe or the master was Dunstan himself, a certain attention to the manuscript's impact may be inferred. For example, Sisam reasons that the scribe could have neatly finished *Fates* on the middle of the last verso of quire 7 (folios 48-55) if he had ruled quire 4 for 24/25 lines in keeping with the surrounding quires. However, as he would then have spoiled the visual effect of Cynewulf's runic signature, by draping it over both sides of one folio, it appears from its disposition on facing pages, in folios 53 verso and 54 recto, that he wished or was

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[64] Sisam (1976), 38-39.
[65] Scragg (2001), 319.
[66] Particularly on Judgement: see Ó Carragáin (1981), 67-73; (2001), 198-99. For another holistic reading, see McBrine (2009).
[67] Ó Carragáin (1975).
[68] Leneghan (2013), 653.
[69] Treharne (2007), 264..
[70] Oxford, MS Bodley, Auct. F.4.32, folio 1 recto.

told to put it visually in one place.[71] As for the other Cynewulf-signature in the codex, that in the epilogue to *Elene* on folio 133 recto, the scribe erases his first attempt at the *wynn*-rune on page-line 6, apparently because it too much resembled a runic thorn. Sisam treats this as evidence that he understood the signature.[72] He may have done, or he may just have woken up to the difference between these letters. At any rate, his direction seems to have come from someone else.

Some errors in the copying make it less likely that the scribe directed the compilation of this codex himself. He wrote *S* for *Þ* for the initial of *Þa*, then erased the *S* without replacing it, on line 10 of folio 46 recto (line 1253 of *Andreas*).[73] He was apparently responsible for the zoomorphic initials in the manuscript, drawing two of these hesitantly at the start of homily XIX on folio 166 verso and homily XIV on folio 112 recto.[74] In folio 52 verso, however, he left out the initial *H* on *HWÆT* with which to mark the beginning of the poem now known as *Fates*.[75] Despite a faint zoomorphic outline there to which he may have meant to return, the space in front of the majuscule *WÆT* is empty. It is also so curved and large that it seems likely that the scribe intended an unusually elaborate initial for this place (see Fig. 2). Three folios back is his remaining fully formed zoomorphic initial in the codex, also the largest: the *h* in *hæt* (for *hwæt*), on folio 49 recto (see Fig. 3). This is likewise for a *Hwæt* introduction, but here only for the unnumbered fourteenth fitt of *Andreas*, in which the poet's persona interjects before the narrative climax. We may compare this with the left-margin initial thorn in *ÞVS ic fród 7fús* 'Thus I, experienced and keen', which opens Cynewulf's epilogue to *Elene* (line 1236) at the numbered fitt XV on folio 132 verso. Though enlarged, this initial has no decoration, in marked contrast to that for line 1478 of *Andreas*. Sisam shows that the initial *h* on this line of *Andreas* does not fit the rectangular space left by the scribe at folio 49 recto; what is needed there is not *h* but *hp* (for *hw*); consequently, it appears that the scribe drew his zoomorphic initial here prematurely for the beginning of Cynewulf's poem three folios later.[76] The likelihood of this error undermines a recent literary suggestion that Cynewulf appropriated *Andreas* with an epilogue now known as *Fates*, and that the scribe, in his own time, 'seems to have thought the two poems were part of the same work'.[77] It is likely, however, that *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* were together in the scribe's exemplar. The common history of these poems seems clear in that they are punctuated more heavily than homilies VI-X and the other four poems, and because both of these works concern the apostles, with Andrew in each one.[78] On the basis of theme, if the scribe indeed worked at St Augustine's, it is reasonable to suppose that these two apostolic poems arrived together at this house in honour of all the apostles, in line with the contemporary dedication of St Augustine's to SS Peter and Paul.[79]

In his smaller details it appears that the scribe of the Vercelli Book was neither knowledgeable about the meaning of the Latin, nor attentive to that of the English words which he copied. Despite his corrections, frequent textual errors remain and the

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[71] Sisam (1976), 38.
[72] Sisam (1976), 26.
[73] Sisam (1976), 19.
[74] Scragg (2001), 325.
[75] Scragg (2001), 322.
[76] Sisam (1976), 19. See n. **1478**.
[77] Puskar (2011), 8.
[78] Sisam (1976), 27-28.
[79] Brooks (1984), 23, 26.

garbled Latin which he copied remains unclarified.[80] Nor does he always follow the English texts of whose physical dimensions he has such an excellent grasp; for example, he copies homily XXIII after *Elene* as if it were another section of that poem.[81] On a smaller scale he misunderstands older or poetic English, writing: *us ic* for *usic* 'us' on line 15 of folio 32 verso (*Andreas* 286) as well as *huscworde* for *usic worde* on line 12 of 38 recto (*Andreas* 669); *eow ic* similarly for *eowic* 'you' on line 27 of 32 recto (*Andreas* 259); *on crum* for (Anglian or early WS) *oncrum* 'anchors' on line 8 of 123 verso (*Elene* 253, dat. pl.); and *sæs essade* for *sæ sessade* on line 6 of 25 verso (*Andreas* 43).[82] The many errors of this kind are listed after our text. The scribe standardizes some letters and linguistic forms, for instance *gehwæm* to *gehwam* on line 14 of 37 verso (*Andreas* 637) and *f* for (probably his own Kentish) *u* in *gedafenlicra* on line 11 of 86 recto (homily XVI).[83] Copying *Andreas*, he confuses *ð* for *d* in *bedæleð* (for *bedæled*) on line 2 of folio 33 recto and *dugudum* (for *duguðum*) on line 1 of 33 verso, although he corrects *aðropen* to *adropen* on line 7 of 48 verso; and he confuses *p/p*, writing *p* then correcting to *p* in *póp* on line 23 of 51 verso; these letters are confused elsewhere in the codex too.[84] On the other hand the scribe resists or lacks the impulse to clarify or to rationalize sentences, such as one in homily III on 14 recto, or the conclusion of this homily on 16 recto, which are garbled in this as in all other versions.[85] Nor does he realise that he is copying erroneous Latin. In the light of these findings, his approach is best described as mechanically faithful.[86]

This scribe's fidelity in copying also appears through his corrections. He reveals exemplars by attempting diverse types of decorated initial and by successfully copying rubrics and headings as they are; punctuates apparently according to exemplar, in that *Andreas* and *Fates* are heavily punctuated whereas *Elene* is the most lightly so;[87] adds accents equally contingently, with homily V accented most heavily, homilies VI-XIV the least;[88] and renders not only ornamental and ordinary letter forms but also a huge variety of linguistic forms.[89] As we have seen, he copies the rubrics 'ii' to 'v' (and 'vi') without purpose from the exemplar over homilies VII-X in quires 8-9;[90] and in the same group of homilies, on the left margin of line 20 of folio 66 recto two pages into homily X, he copies a red-ink majuscule A, which appears to have marked a quire in final position in his exemplar. Earlier still, within the text of *Andreas* at the end of the written text on line 23 of folio 41 verso (*Andreas* 949), there appears the half-erased word *eadgiþ* in letters which are smaller than, but not visibly different from, the scribe's hand (see Fig. 4). This name is unlikely to be a reader's graffito, as it is written just after the punctus versus with which scribe finishes a sentence half-way along the page-line and thus concludes the (unnumbered eighth) fitt. Kenneth Sisam says that 'only a romancer could make anything of this Edith',

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[80] Sisam (1976), 28, 41. Szarmach (1979), 186. See also Sisam (1953), 113.
[81] Scragg (2001), 233. Leneghan (2013: 630, 645-49) suggests that the two items are deliberately paired.
[82] Sisam (1976), 27.
[83] Sisam (1976), 29. Scragg (1992), 268.
[84] Sisam (1976), 22 and n. 5, 23.
[85] Sisam (1976), 29. Scragg (1992), 77, 83, 86; (2001), 337-38.
[86] Szarmach (1979), 184-88.
[87] Sisam (1976), 27-28.
[88] Sisam (1976), 26.
[89] Sisam (1976), 20-22. Scragg (2001), 340.
[90] The suggestion that 'i' is attached to homily VI is discounted in Scragg (2001), 323-24.

while his daughter Celia defines it as the work of a later hand.[91] The colophon's position, nonetheless, at the end of this fitt rather than in the margin may be taken as evidence that 'Eadgiþ' was the name of an earlier, not a later, copyist. The name is unusual for being written clearly and without the cipher which circumvents an accusation of vanity.[92] A corrector's attempt to erase the name makes it less likely that Eadgyth was the scribe of the Vercelli Book, whose associations, in any case, point to the male community of St Augustine's; and more likely that she was a scribe of the *Andreas* exemplar whose name the scribe carried mechanically forward.

Moreover, this scribe's use of accents in *Andreas* is unusual and distinguishes its exemplar from that of *Fates*. In general, accents may be added by scribes for a number of reasons. According to N. R. Ker, acute accents marked long monosyllables in manuscripts up to the end of the tenth century, by which time they were also marking stress in short closed syllables such as *him*, *is*, *of*, *on*, *man* / *mon* 'man'.[93] Mainly the acute accents mark long vowels, as in *glád* 371, *wís* 624, *mán* 767.[94] However, most of these accents over verse words, in *Andreas* and the other poems of the Vercelli Book, appear to be intended to indicate the stress with which long vowels often coincide. The scribe of the Vercelli Book uses acute accents for length and stress in both closed syllables and polysyllables (as for example, with *ígland* (length and stress), *ágeton* (length) and *mermedonía* (secondary stress and possibly length) in respectively lines 9, 21, 28 of folio 29 verso). Stress is important with the accents in *Andreas*, whose text has more accents over historically short vowels than *Elene*, the book's one poem of comparable length. In particular, the text of *Andreas* is distinguished from that of all other items in the Vercelli Book by the use of an acute accent to mark stress in ten instances of the word *god* 'God'. This is an emphatic usage which Celia Sisam deems 'exceptional'.[95]

Before we look into this accent, two things are worth noting. One is that the half-erased *eadgiþ* colophon in *Andreas* 949, at the foot of folio 41 verso of the Vercelli Book, is flanked by instances of *gód* for 'God' on both sides: above on folios 39 recto (lines 751, ?758n, 760), 41 recto (line 896), 41 verso (line 925); and below on folios 43 recto (line 1030) and 46 verso (1281). The other is that the companions of young Eadgyth (later known as St Edith) of Wilton (961-84), a friend of Archbishop Dunstan, are said to have named her *Goda*. According to Goscelin of Canterbury, Edith's biographer, an angel appeared when Edith died, and speaking to a nun, referred to her as *Godam puellam* 'the maiden Goda'. Goscelin had taught at the convent of Wilton and wrote his *Vita Edithae* in *c*. 1080.[96] Here he adds: *sic enim graciosus appellabatur que patria uoce Bona cognominatur, Aedgitha uero a sanctissima amita sua (…) celebratur* 'this is what she was called affectionately because in her native tongue it means "good", but she is famous as "Edith" after her holy aunt [King Edgar's sister]'.[97] If the *eadgiþ* colophon were the scribe's copy of St Edith's colophon in the exemplar of *Andreas* and *Fates*, it would be appropriate to

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[91] Sisam (1953), 109. Sisam (1976), 55.

[92] Winfried Rudolf (pers. comm.).

[93] Ker (1991), xxxv.

[94] Krapp (1932), xlix. Scragg (1971), 703. Sisam (1976), 26.

[95] Scragg (1971), 701, n. 2. Sisam (1976), 26, n. 8. The instances are: line 12 of folio 38 verso (line 703); 19, 23 (?), 24 of 39 recto (lines 751, 758, 760); 14 of 41 recto (line 897); 8 of 41 verso (line 925); 3 of 43 recto (line 1030); 5 of 46 verso (line 1281); 7 of 49 recto (line 1462); 6 of 52 verso (line 1717). In context of all accent marks, see Krapp (1932), xlix-li.

[96] Wilmart (1938). Hollis (2004).

[97] Wilmart (1938), 94 (ch. 24). Hollis (2004), 58.

hypothesize Wilton as the tenth-century provenance for the Vercelli text of these poems.

Beside the ten instances of *gód* 'God' in the Vercelli Book, there is one case of OE *gód* 'goodness' in *Andreas* (line 998), at line 8 of folio 42 verso, which is accented possibly because the scribe, or that of his exemplar, mistook the word for 'God'.[98] The one other case of *gód* in the Vercelli Book has been read as the result of a confusion between 'God' and 'good', in *gód is seo soþe lufu* 'Good is (that) true love' (for Latin *Deus caritas est* 'God is love') in homily III, near the start of line 14 of folio 12 verso.[99] But otherwise the text of *Andreas* stands out for having ten instances of *gód* for 'God' in the final two thirds of the poem. In Scragg's view, this use of the acute accent 'points to a distinctive tradition'.[100] The use of an accent, as here, to indicate stress rather than length is in fact a harbinger of later practise. Krapp, editor of the Vercelli Book, hints at stress when he suggests that the accents of *Andreas* were intended to indicate 'more probably some shade of quality than a degree of quantity'.[101] Although Sisam found this acute accent paralleled in only one instance outside the manuscript, other types of accent were employed. Ker notes that the acute accent for stress, rather than for length, became the norm in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so that the distinction between long- and short-vowelled homonyms 'could no longer be made in the old way'. Thus *god* 'good' is distinguished from the unmarked *god* 'God', by having: two accents in BL, Cotton Vitellius C.V (s. x/xi, xi[1]); and a double *o* with accent in CCCC 178 (s. xi[1]) and Cambridge, Trinity College R.9.17 (819), ff. 1-48 (s. xi/xii) and elsewhere.[102] In other conditions, presumably where there was more confusion, some means was found to distinguish the Deity's name. So *god* 'God' is marked with a reverse curl, as in *gǒd*, or with an angular sign, as in *gôdcundan* 'divine', in Oxford, Bodley 340 / 342 (s. x[ex]), a homiliary some of whose homilies are close to those in the Vercelli Book, others attributable to Ælfric.[103] The word *god* for 'God' may also be found marked with a 'c-like accent' in all instances in BL, Cotton Claudius B.IV (s. xi[1]), of Canterbury; and with c-shaped accent along with other types of accent in twelve other manuscripts from later, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[104]

Celia Sisam's sole parallel to the ten instances of *gód* 'God' in the Vercelli Book is in the gloss to the Athanasian Creed in the Salisbury Psalter, in Salisbury Cathedral, MS 150 (s.x[2], xi/xii). Over the Gallican text *Fides autem catholica hæc ést: ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur*, the scribe of the Latin wrote (from another version) *geleafa soðlice se eallica þis is þæt we ænne ʒód on ðære þrynnesse 7 þa þrynnesse on annesse we weorþian*, literally 'faith truly this is the whole that we worship one God in the Trinity and the Trinity in one'.[105] Accents in the Latin of this text are more common, and in the gloss *god* 'God' is otherwise not marked at all. The other OE words there which are accented for stress are *ís* 'is' (x 19), *ác* 'but' (x 5), *swáswá* 'just as' (x 3) and *swaswá*, *ón* 'in' and *óf* 'of' (each

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[98] Brooks (1961), xii. Sisam (1976), 26. See n. **998**.

[99] Undefined in Scragg (1992), 74 (lines 1-2).

[100] Scragg (1971), 706.

[101] Krapp (1932), xxxiii.

[102] Ker (1991), xxxv; in order: 285 (no. 220); 60 (no. 41A) and 134 (no. 89).

[103] Sisam (1953), 187. Ker (1991), 361-67 (no. 309).

[104] Ker (1991), 178-79 (no. 142).

[105] Sisam and Sisam (1959), 305 (*Hymn* XV.3); see also 12-13 (§ 25). Ker (1991), 449-51 (no. 379).

once).[106] The rarity of English accenting in this Psalter may reflect the fact that the English text is a gloss. However, the form *ʒód* brings the scribe close to the usage in *Andreas*, and if we look for the Salisbury Psalter's scriptorium, we find that this manuscript has been traced to Wilton.

The Salisbury Psalter is datable to 969 x 987 by its reference to Dionisian lunar cycles.[107] Although the Sisams trace the manuscript to the convent of Shaftesbury (Dorset), founded by Alfred for his daughter Æthelgifu, a more detailed study has since favoured Wilton (Wiltshire).[108] Wilton, enlarged by King Alfred in 871 and ruled by WS nobility, was a royal convent like Shaftesbury. St Edith, especially after her death in 984 at the age of 23, was Wilton's celebrity inmate, daughter of the abbess and King Edgar the Peaceable and also hostess to the king's visitors. Edith's mother Wulfthryth, having been Edgar's mistress, was appointed by him abbess of Wilton after he took a woman named Ælfthryth for his second wife. Edith was two at the time and lived in Wilton probably as a secular for the rest of her short life. Goscelin's account of St Edith, though gushing, stylizes the relatively reliable witness of interviewees who knew people who knew the young princess. He says that Edith wore a hairshirt beneath fetching purple dresses and owned a prayerbook in which she wrote notes in her own hand.[109] He also says that she read voraciously and yet subtly, composed prayers and embroidered fine garments with a precocity which drew the wonder of Dunstan, to whom she became a close friend. Wilton still kept Edith's book *memorabili pignore in quo apostolicae lucent formulae, uirginea eius manu eum subscriptis oratiunculis depictae* 'as a token of her memory in which the apostolic precepts shine out, written in her virginal hand' (ch. 8). Goscelin also says that Edith had *manus pingendi, scriptitandi, dictitandi tam decentes, quam artificiose* 'hands as elegant as they were accomplished in painting and in writing as scribe or as author' (ch. 11). Of greatest interest is his description of Edith's white cotton alb, the hem of which she had embroidered with

> aureas apostolorum ymagines Dominum circumstantes, Dominum medium assidentem, se uice suplicis Mariae affusam, dominica uestigia exosculantem (ch. 16)

> golden images of the Apostles surrounding the Lord, the Lord sitting in the midst, and herself prostrated in the place of Mary, the supplicant, kissing the Lord's footprints.[110]

Here it is worth noting that the *eadgiþ* colophon in the Vercelli Book, besides being flanked by the relatively abundant *gód* forms which recall Edith's *Goda* name, is copied at the end of the same fitt (the eighth) in which Andrew's disciples relate their

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[106] Sisam and Sisam (1959), 9 (§ 18).
[107] Sisam and Sisam (1959), 11 (§ 23).
[108] Stroud (1979), 223-33.
[109] Stroud (1979), 234-35. Wilmart (1938), 55 (ch. 8). Wright and Loncar (2004), 34. Hollis (2004), 45-80, esp. 46-47.
[110] Mary Magdalen. Wilmart (1938), 55, 68, 79 (Cardiff, Public Library MS. 1.381). Wright and Loncar (2004), 34, 38, 48.

vision of heaven with Jesus in the centre surrounded by the Apostles (in *Andreas* 881-85).[111]

Goscelin says, moreover, that Edith, entertaining her father's international visitors, kept a zoo for the exotic animals they gave him. Some of these pets were so wild that none but Edith dared approach them. Even had she suffered, says Goscelin, the persecutions of Nero and Decius, *tigrides ac leones mitigare potuisse, quae sic in pace truces animos nouerat placare* 'she would have been able to tame tigers and lions, since she knew how to quieten their fierce souls in a time of peace'.[112] Whether Edith kept a lion, as Goscelin's words imply, cannot be known, but as he reveals that Edith loved animals, so it seems plausible that she drew the prototype of the maned quadruped now at the foot of folio 49 verso, as a Christ-like *figura* for Andrew at the beginning of his victory. Accordingly, as Archbishop Dunstan has been held to be the first owner of this book,[113] it may be hypothesized that Edith copied *Andreas* and *Fates* as two works on the apostles as a gift for Dunstan in his role as the head of the apostolic abbey of Canterbury. In this case, we suggest that Dunstan, in honour or memory of his friend Edith of Wilton, ordered his scribe to transcribe her gift into the folios which survive in the Vercelli Book.[114]

3 Language and Dialect

As we have seen, the manuscript shows that *Andreas* and *Fates* were probably two apostolic items in the same exemplar. Cynewulf is the poet of *Fates* and his dialect has been deduced to be Mercian from the rhymes in the epilogue to *Elene*.[115] The following section looks into the dialect of *Andreas* along the lines of Scragg's impartial procedure in his edition of the Vercelli Book.[116] All long marks are here removed from the text of *Andreas* and other OE works, in order to represent the spelling of the scribe more closely.

Phonology

A. Vowels in stressed syllables
1. *a* occurs exceptionally
    (i) for *æ* in *mearcpaðe* 1061, *siðfate* 663: occasional WS. This spelling, which may show the results of levelling, is found with other words in Vercelli homilies I and X, VI (twice) and XIX.[117]
    (ii) before *l* + consonant, where *æ* has retracted rather than broken into *ea*:[118] in *aldor* 55, 70, 354, 708, 806, 913, *aldre* 938, 1351, *aldres* 1133, 1721, *baldor* 547,

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[111] Andy Orchard (pers. comm.) suggests that the exemplar's signature, if St Edith's, was placed with personal reference over the words for the bodily torment which Jesus promises to Andrew in the following manuscript lines (*Andreas* 950-54, now at the top of folio 42 recto).
[112] Wilmart (1938), 65 (ch. 10). Hollis (2004), 42.
[113] For one holistic reading, see McBrine (2009).
[114] Dockray-Miller (2005) reads this Edith into the colophon too, but as the scribe's gloss on the Lord's calming of the storm which takes place (much) earlier in *Andreas*.
[115] Sisam (1953), 1-7. Fulk (1992), §§ 389-90.
[116] Scragg (1992), xliii-lxxi.
[117] Scragg (1992), xliii (A.1.i). Hogg and Fulk (2001), §§ 3.14-15.
[118] Campbell (1959), § 143. Hogg (2011), § 5.15.

cald 201, 222, 253, 310, *cald-* 138, *-baldum* 171, *-walda* 751, 925, *galdor-* 167; and *waldend*. Although this sound-change is regarded as Anglian, it may have been common in Wessex also before the Alfredian subdialectal *eald* variant began to take hold. In the context of poetry it is best to treat *al*-spellings as the product of scribes who felt this and the other Anglian spellings to be proper to verse.[119] Within this usage the word-form *waldend* is a yet more specialised case. Stanley, analysizing *eald* and *ald* spellings, suggests that the spelling *waldend* was fixed early as that of a *nomen sacrum* in West-Saxon influenced scriptoria, despite the growing normalization of *eald* over *ald* in the spelling of other words.[120] Angelika Lutz, however, attributes the cause of this more broadly to archaism in the copying of verse.[121] After Alfred, in either case, a WS scribe would have observed a spelling distinction between *waldend* and other *wealdan*-derived forms, whereas a Kentish scribe would have written *weald* generally in both stressed and unstressed positions. An Anglian scribe would have misapplied the convention differently: trained to write *wealdan* though he spoke *waldan*, he would have observed the *waldend* exception imperfectly because he would sometimes write *wealdend* with hypercorrection in order to align with the other WS forms. The text of *Andreas* presents this kind of mixture: it has *waldend* nine times as against *wealdend* six.[122]

(iii) in the stem *gast* 1000, 1088, 1621, and possibly 728, 1296, 1617, 1694. In these lines the context excludes or only partially includes a reading of *gāst* 'ghost, spirit', the unfronted variant of *gǣst*. On Angl. *gǣst*, which looks like a plausible source of the confusion with *gāst* 'spirit', see Hogg § 5.79(2)(e), n. 12. Hogg notes in passing the genitive plural form <gasta> at *Genesis* (A) 1346. It is nonetheless possible, as Brooks (1000n) suggests, that some form of OE *giest* (which could include Angl. *gest*, or the rarer *gǣst*) has here been confused with *gāst*. This suggestion is in keeping with Gretsch's conclusion about the existence of a new supradialectal English in Alfred's court.[123]

2. *æ* occurs exceptionally

(i) as an Anglian spelling for *i*-mutated *a* in *a* + *l* + consonant which has been retracted from *æ* + *l* + consonant, in *bældest* 1186, *wælmum* 452, *-wælme* 1542; consistent with the Vespasian Psalter.[124] The late WS spelling is observed in *wylm* 367, 863 (and *flodwylm* 517), with *y* for early WS *ie* as the *i*-mutation of *ea*, in *ea* + *l* + consonant which has broken from *æ* + *l* + consonant. See also *e* in similar positions under 3 (i), which may be due to the southern mutation of *ea*.[125]

(ii) for *a*, by front mutation, in *hwænne* 400, *mæcga(s)* 422, 772, 1708; and in *mænig* 1436, which also occurs 13 times in the Vercelli homilies.[126] The form *mænig* is a common late WS variant, but not common in *Andreas*, which has *manig-* 10 times, at 583, 658, 814, 973, 1085, 1116, 1225, 1549, 1596, 1626.

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[119] Brooks (1961), xxxvii (D.4).
[120] Stanley (1969), 46-48.
[121] Lutz (1984), 54-55.
[122] *Waldend* on lines 193, 213, 388, 539, 702, 855, 920, 1056, 1451; *wealdend* on lines 225, 248, 325, 576 (*-es*), 604, 799.
[123] Gretsch (2001) 286-88.
[124] Brooks (1961), xxxv (C.3).
[125] Campbell (1959), § 193(a). Hogg (2011), § 5.79(2)(a).
[126] Scragg (1992), xliv (1.A.2.vii). Campbell (1959), §§ 193(d), n. 4, and 380.

(iii) for *ā* in *ænne* 1104, besides 3 times in the homilies;[127] and in *þæm* 795, as against 68 instances of common WS or rare Kentish *þam* 14, 22, 48 etc (including three of *ðam* 658, 885, 1205). The WS and non-WS form *þæm* is rare here:[128] there is but one instance in *Elene*, in *Hu mæg þæm geweorðan* 611a and none in *The Dream of the Rood*. Scragg finds no examples in the Vercelli prose, 'the invariability of *þam* suggesting that this is the scribe's preferred form'.[129] As in the case of *Elene* 611, the one *þæm* in *Andreas* is probably retained because of an adjacent *æ*-vowel, in this case with two such vowels in *of slæpe þæm fæstan* on line 795a. The spelling -*hwam* 65, 121, 320, 408, 637 is common, as against *dæghwæmlice* once in line 682; scribal standardization of these forms is clear in that *gehwam* 637 is corrected from *gehwæm*. In *þæra* 1496: Brooks suggests that the last is written for Mercian *þeara*, but *þæra* may also be late WS, and Scragg finds genitive plural *ðæra* 17 times throughout the homilies.[130]

(iv) for *ā* in MS *wæst* 1186, 1282. The repetition may show that this is a scribal error.

(v) for *e* in *grundwæge* 582, *swæðorodon* 533; possibly also in *tælige* 1484 (for *telige* 'reckon' rather than *talige* 'consider');[131] and perhaps in the second element of *ælfæle* 770: Kentish, and perhaps Anglian too.[132] The form *wæges weard* 632 may belong here, or the first word could reflect a play by the poet on *weg* 'way' and *wǣg* 'wave' (see n. **601**).

(vi) for *e* in *ræced* 1308, -*ræced* 709, 1463, 1159: probably non-WS irregular front mutation of *raced (OS *rakud*).[133]

(vii) for *ea* by Anglian smoothing in *æht* 'council' 410, 608, as in *Elene* 473 (also in the Vercelli Book); and in *stærcedferþþe* 1243.[134]

(viii) for *ea* in *glæwra* 1483, by late WS monophthongization.[135] *Fates* has *æa* in *æglæawe* 24, either a compromise spelling in variation of *glæwra*, or one in which *ea* is influenced by the previous *æ*.

3. *e* occurs exceptionally

(i) for *i*-mutated *a* in *a* + *l* + consonant which has been retracted from *æ* + *l* + consonant, in *awelled* 1019, *eldum* 1057, *fell* 1609, -*welm* 495 (see note 2 (i) above). Of these words only the last, secondary in a compound *streamwelm*, is less important for being unstressed; the others all alliterate. Brooks takes this spelling of Anglian *æ* before *l*-groups, which also occurs in the Vespasian Psalter glosses, to be Kentish or of 'Saxon patois' in line with Campbell's observation that this type of Anglian *æ* passed into *e* before the end of the period, as in the tenth-century Mercian Rushworth Gospel glosses.[136] Campbell also considers *e* in *eldo* and *welm* occasionally in the Blickling Homilies to be due to 'the mutation of southern *ea*, not of Angl. *a*'.[137]

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[127] Scragg (1992), xliv (1.A.2.vii).
[128] Campbell (1959), § 708. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 5.4-8.
[129] Scragg (1992), lxv (1.E.6.iii)
[130] Brooks (1961), xxxvii (C.21). Campbell (1959), § 708, n. 5. Scragg (1992), xliv (1.A.2.vii).
[131] Brooks (1961), xxxviii (D.7).
[132] Campbell (1959), § 328. Hogg (2011), § 5.179.
[133] Campbell (1959), §§ 193, 204.
[134] Campbell (1959), § 223. Hogg (2011), § 5.98.
[135] Campbell (1959), § 273.
[136] Brooks (1961), xxxv (C.3).
[137] Campbell (1959), § 193 (a: *Ru*¹) and n. 3. Hogg (2011), § 5.79(2)(a).

According to Brooks, this is Campbell's view of the mutation in other *welm* spellings too, such as those in *Andreas*.

(ii) for *æ* which is first-fronted from *a*, in *meðlan* 1440, *meðle* 1436, 1626, *meðelhegendra* 262, *meðelstede* 658, 697, *sel* 762, *beagselu* 1657 (for -*salu*, influenced by the singular), *fregn* 1163, *welwange* 1226. All these forms could either show Mercian second-fronting[138] or Kentish raising.[139] Scragg takes *fregn*, which also occurs in homily I, as possibly showing a Kentish *e* for *æ*.[140]

(iii) for WS *æ*^{1} by non-WS fronting, in *edre* 401, 643, 950, *gefrege* 668, 961, 1119, 1626, *segon* 711, *gesegon* 455, 581, 881, *sel* 'season' 745, *þegon* 25 (*ðegon*), 593, 1112, *wega* 932, *weges* 601.[141] These forms are Anglian or Kentish.[142] The *e* in *gescenan* 1142 is probably not WS, but rather the result of Kentish raising of *æ*^{2}.[143]

(iv) for *ea* by late WS smoothing in *scerp* 1133,[144] and either by smoothing or second fronting/Kentish raising (see note (ii) above) in *agef* 189, 85, 572, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375, *forgef* 486, *scel(l)* 952; for *ēa* by late WS smoothing in *aget* 1441, 1449, *togenes* 45, 657, 1011, and either by smoothing or by non-WS raising of *æ*^{1} (as in note iii above) in *agefan* 401 *begete* 378, *ongeton* 534, *orgete* 526, 759, 851, 1569.

(v) for *i* by early WS or Northumbrian lowering, or as a variant form of slightly different origin, in *swelc* 25 (there is no instance of -*hwelc*). Also in homily XII.[145]

(vi) for WS *ie* or *y*, by *i*-mutation of *ea*, where *ea* has been broken from *æ*, in *ermðu* 1162, *herd* 1213, *gerwan* 1634, *awerged* 1299, *werige* ?'accursed' 615, *werigum* 'accursed' 86, 615: probably non-WS.[146] The form *herme* 671, without justification for the change from *hearme*, may be due to a scribal error,[147] as with MS spelling *werð* (for *wearð*) on line 910 and the corrected MS spelling *werd* to *weard* on line 227.

(vii) for *ea*, by Anglian smoothing of *ea* broken from *æ*, in *herigeas* 1687, *herig*- 1124, *weriges* 1169.[148]

(viii) for *ea*, by Anglian or late WS smoothing of *ea* which is broken from *æ*, in *geseh* 714, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448, *mehte* (also found in some early WS texts) 479, 929, *fex* 1427, *wexe* 1145, *exle* 1575. Brooks takes the *e* in *gedrehte* 39, *awehte* 584 (also in *Fates* 22), *þehte* 966, *beþehte* 1015, 1046 to have been introduced from the present tense.[149]

(ix) for *ēa*, by Anglian smoothing, in *adreg* 164, *ecne* 636, 882, *neh* 542, 821, 833, 991, 1252;[150] by Anglian or WS smoothing (Campbell) or palatal

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[138] Campbell (1959), §§ 164–9. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.87–92.
[139] Campbell (1950), §§ 288–90. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.188–91.
[140] Scragg (1992), xlvi (1.A.3.xv).
[141] Campbell (1959), § 128.
[142] Hogg (2011), §§ 5.188–91.
[143] Hogg (2011), §§ 5.188–91.
[144] Campbell (1959), § 312. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.119-23.
[145] Scragg (1992), xlv (1.A.3.v).
[146] Campbell (1959), § 200. Hogg (2011), § 5.82.
[147] Brooks (1961), xxxv (C.5).
[148] Campbell (1959), § 223. Hogg (2011), § 5.98.
[149] Brooks (1961), xxxiii (B.5). Campbell (1959), § 753 (9).
[150] Campbell (1959), § 225. Hogg (2011), § 5.99.

monophthongization (Hogg), in *þeh* 271, 507 (*þe\<h\>*), 515, 542, 856, 900 (*ðeh*), 955, 1609.[151]

      (x) for WS *īe* or *ȳ* by non-WS *i*-mutation of *ēa*, *nede* 115, *henðum* 117, *hehðo* 873, 998, 1144 (also in *Fates* 118), *herde* 1176.[152]

      (xi) for *eo* in *hefon* 328, where the Anglian and WS form *heofon* (simplex and compounds in 33 instances) is back-mutated before a labial.[153] Given the rarity, this may be a scribal error.

4. *i* and *y*

      (i) *i* is written for early WS *ie* after palatals, by merger of *i* and *ie*, in *agifan* 1415 and *ofgifan* 1655 and related forms (if *gif-* was not the true stem, rather than *gef-*;[154] and in *scippend* 278, *cirm* 41, 1237, *cirm-* 138. For *īe* likewise, in *gimdon* 139, *git* 15, 51, 383, 632, 1487.

      (ii) for the *i*-mutation of *eo*, the palatal diphthongization of a back vowel, in *gingran* 427, 847, 894, 1330: Anglian or early WS.[155]

      (iii) *i* is written for early WS *īe* followed by palatals (either as a result of the merger in note (i) above, or owing to late WS unrounding of *y* before a palatal), in *hig* 38, *lig* 1541, *icest* 1190; possibly also in *cigað*, if this form is not so changed after an initial palatal, as in note (i) above.[156]

      (iv) *i* for *īo*, by Anglian smoothing, in *lihte* 1397, *betwinum* 1103 (with loss of *h*).[157]

      (v) *i* in late WS unrounding of *y* (front-mutated from *u*, before *c g h*)[158] appears in *hige*(-) 233, 634, 971, 1005, 1054, 1213, 1252, 1654, 1691, as often as *hyge*(-) 36, 231, 341, 578, 817, 1087, 1557, 1664, 1709; also in *oferhigdum* 1318, but here outnumbered by *oferhygdum* 319, *breostgehygdum* 997, *gastgehygdum* 861, *gehygd*(-) 68, 200, 1460, *misgehygd* 772. These examples may indicate the scribe's preference for *hygd* as a fixed form. Late WS *i* for *y* is also in *cinebaldum* (n. **171**), *cining* 828, 880, 912, 1192 and *þryðcining* 436, as against *-cyning* 35 times; *drihten* 73, 173, 248, as against *dryhten* 29 times. In contrast, Scragg notes that the Vercelli Book regularly has *y* before *c*, *g*, and *h* and in groups containing these letters, even where most late WS manuscripts have *i*-spellings.[159] Scragg finds this type of *i*-spelling occasional throughout the Vercelli Book and rarest in homilies VI-XIV (directly after *Andreas*) where only one instance of *drihten* occurs.

      (vi) *i* occurs as an Anglian or Kentish parasite vowel in *herigeas* 1627, *herigweardas* 1124.[160]

      (vii) Late WS *y* for an earlier *ie*, in *scyppend* 19, 192, 396, 434, 486, 787, *scyððan* 1047, *scyðeð* 1561, *cyrm* 1125, 1156; for *īe* likewise, in *untyddre* 1252, *gyt* 380, 814, 1039, 1195, *hlyt* 6, *hyrde* 360, *scyna* 76.[161]

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[151] Campbell (1959), § 312. Hogg (2011), § 5.119-23.

[152] Campbell (1959), § 200. Hogg (2011), § 5.82.

[153] Campbell (1959), § 210.1. Hogg (2011), § 5.105(1).

[154] Campbell (1959), § 300 and n. 1. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.163-8.

[155] Hogg (2011), § 5.64.

[156] Campbell (1959), § 229, 316. Hogg (2011), § 5.167.

[157] Campbell (1959), §§ 229-30. Hogg (2011), § 5.95.

[158] Campbell (1959), § 316.

[159] Scragg (1992), xlvii (1.A.4.iii).

[160] Campbell (1959), §§ 360-61. Hogg (2011), § 6.35.

[161] Campbell (1959), § 301. Hogg (2011), § 5.167.

(viii) Late WS *y* for *eo* between *w* and *r*, in *wyrðe* 208, *wyrðeð* 219, 972, *wyrðest* 483, *wyrðode* 55, 538 (*wyrðude*), *wyrðodest* 551, *gewyrðod* 116; *wyrðan* 215, 437, *wyrþan* 182, *gewyrðan* 573; *wyrðmyndum* 905.[162]

(ix) WS *y* for *i* in a palatal umlaut environment, in *ryhte* 1511.[163] Late WS *y* for *i* after *w-*, in *bilwyt* 997, *-hwylc* 26, 132, 350, 411, 508, 785, 908, 933, 935, 980, 1100, 1152, 1228, 1283, 1372 (there is no instance of *-hwilc*), *swylc* 29, 89, 166, 247, 54, 589, 621, 704, 712, 881, 1029, 1036, 1257, 1687 (there is no instance of *swilc*).[164] Late WS *y* for *i* also in *bysmredon* 962, *bysmrian* 1293, *bysmrigen* 1357, *mycel* 287, 422, 815, 1166, 1481, 1605, 1690; *syððan* 5, 33, 295, 455, 1075, 1193, 1337, 1379, 1381, 1599, 1674, 1678, *syðþan* 240, 893, 1514, *syþþan* 43, 180, 706; *symle* 411, 651, 1153, as against *siððan* 1106, *siþþan* 1223; *symles* 64; *synu* 1422; *synt* 198, 391, *synd* 323, 744, 1365, *syndon* 264, 344, 676, 686, 689, 720, 973.[165] The *y* already in early WS is in *þysse* 684, 973, *þyssum* 88, 100, 112, 358, 446, 761, 1026, 1198 (*ðyssum*) as against *þiss<a>* 268, *þissa* 386, *þissum* 77. Late WS *y* for *ī* in *tyres* 105, *synne* 'his' 1464.[166]

5. *o* occurs exceptionally

The letter *o* appears for *a* before nasals in *brond-* 504, *con* 15, *const* 1282, *gong* 869, 939, *monna* 1023, *rond* 9, 412, *wonge* 22. Scragg finds *o* for *a* before nasals nine times in homily V (directly before *Andreas*), a frequency which is high relative to the rest of the prose, in which these spellings are occasional. *Andreas* also has *ætsomne* 994, 1091, *tosomne* 33, 1093, as against *-samn-* six times, in *samnade* 125, *samnodan* 1124, *gesamnodon* 652, 1636, *gesamnedon* 1067, *gesamnod* 1098. At the other end of the codex, with the same disposition, *Elene* (1322 lines long) has *ætsomne* 833 and *tosomne* 1201, as against *-samn-* five times, in *samnode* 55, 60, *samnodan* 19, *gesamnod* 26, 282. Scragg finds *-somn-* 10 times in the Vercelli prose, as against *-samn-* 14 times there.[167] The spelling *o* rather than *a* before nasals is a feature of early WS or Anglian, and regularly so in the latter.[168]

6. *u* occurs exceptionally

For late WS for *y* in *wunn* 1713 (*wurd* for *wyrd* in *Fates* 42).

7. Instances of the use of *ea*

(i) as late WS for *e*, in *feala* 564, 584, 699, 710, 961, 969, 975, 1243, 1301, 1363, 1490, *teala* 1612; *fela* and *tela* are written neither here nor in *Elene* nor in *The Dream of the Rood*, both of which use *feala*; nor in the Vercelli prose.[169]

(ii) for *i*, in *meaht* 211, *meahte* 272, 922, 1323, *meahton* 1224, 1231, as against *i* by palatal umlaut in *miht* 340, 486, 595, 603, 624, 811, 816, 860, 1364, 1517, *mihte* 16, 477, 573, 986, 1129, 1393, 1543, *mihton* 132, 368, 565, 964, 1147, 1714: a ratio of 6:23.[170] Conversely, Scragg finds *meaht-* 35 times in the Vercelli

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[162] Campbell (1959), § 324. Hogg (2011), § 5.185.

[163] Campbell (1959), §§ 304-11. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.113–18; esp. § 5.170, 172-3 (on early WS *i* > *y* in this word).

[164] Hogg (2011), §§ 5.170, 172-3.

[165] Campbell (1959), § 318. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.170, 172-3.

[166] Campbell (1959), § 315.

[167] Scragg (1992), xlviii (1.A.6).

[168] Campbell (1959), § 130, Hogg (2011), §§ 5.3-6.

[169] Campbell (1959), § 281, Hogg (2011), §§ 5.42 n .1, 5.105 n.1. Scragg (1992), l (1.A.8.vi).

[170] Campbell (1959), § 304–11, Hogg (2011), §§ 5.113–18.

prose, as against *miht-* only six times (all in homilies XIX-XXIII).[171] In *Elene*, placed between homilies XX and XXIII, the ratio of verbal forms *meaht-* : *miht-* is 13:1. The *meaht-*forms are most likely to be early WS.

(iii) as the back mutation of *æ* arising from second fronting of *a*, in *eafor* 779, 1110, 1627, *eafoð* 30, *heafolan* 1142.[172] These are all poetic words, not to be treated as a sign of exclusively Anglian dialect.[173] Possibly also in *sceaðan* 1133, 1291, *folcsceaðan* 1593, *leodsceaðena* 80, *ðeodsceaða* 1115, although the *e* afte *sc-* here may be a diacritic rather than the palatal diphthongization of a back vowel.[174].

8. Instances of the use of *eo*

(i) For *e*, by back-mutation in *ondsweorodon* 857 (with *eo* for Merc. *ea*), *sceoran* (non-WS for early WS *scieran*) 1187.[175] Also in *breogo* 305, *breogostol* 209, possibly by a Kentish back-mutation.[176] The back-mutation of *e* before dentals belongs to general poetic dialect, as in *meotud-* 69, 140, 172, 357, 386, 446, 517, 681, 694, 724, 789, 881, 902, 924, 984, 1207, 1289, 1469, 1498, 1513, 1602, 1632; *gemeotu* 454.

(ii) For *i* in *deogollice* 621, as a Mercian or possibly early WS variant of WS *dīgel*.[177]

(iii) As an inverted spelling for *u* in *hweorfon* 640, *hweorfan* 1050 (for *hwurfen*).

(iv) Either Anglian (similar to *scyur* in the Lindisfarne Gospel glosses, Luke 12:54) or late WS for *ū* for a palatal glide after *sc* in *sceor* 512 (see n. **512**).[178]

(v) Anglian or Kentish for *y* in *seolf-* 340, 505, 921, 1300, 1441.[179]

(vi) As a WS inverted spelling for *y* in *weorm* 769.[180]

(vii) Anglian for *ēa*, by breaking of *ǣ*[1], in *neon* 1176.[181]

(viii) Non-WS *i*-mutation of *io* in *eorre* 47, and of *īo* in *unheorne* 34, *steoran* 495, *steorend* 1336, *treowe* 214, *getreowe* 984, *treowgeþoftan* 1050.[182] The early WS reflexes are short and long *ie*, in late WS *y*. Possibly this is also the case in *neosan* 310, 484, 830, 1025, 1389, though Campbell is cautious.[183]

(ix) for *io*, which has been back-mutated from *i*, in *hneotan* 4, *cleofu* 310, *breomo* 242, *seoðþan* 534, *cleopode* 1108. Of these forms, *hneotan* and *seoðþan* are Anglian or Kentish; the others, of all dialects (although WS usually levels *eo* in these other forms to non-back-mutated variants).[184] The form *cleopian* 1398 is either WS or Anglian.[185]

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[171] Scragg (1992), xlix (1.A.8.i).
[172] Campbell (1959), § 207.
[173] Hogg (2011), § 5.106.
[174] So Hogg (2011), § 5.69.
[175] Campbell (1959), § 207, 210; Hogg (2011), §§ 5.105, 5.106(1).
[176] Campbell (1959), § 205, Hogg (2011), § 5.103.
[177] Sievers (1951), § 141.3, n. 2.
[178] Campbell (1959), §§ 180-81, 183. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.66-68.
[179] Campbell (1959), §§ 146, 325. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.22, 5.171, n.2..
[180] Campbell (1959), § 324.
[181] Campbell (1959), § 152, 235. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.23, 5.189-91.
[182] Campbell (1959), § 201. Hogg (2011), § 5.83.
[183] Campbell (1959), § 416, n. 2.
[184] Campbell (1959), § 205, Hogg (2011), § 5.103; on the levelling, see his § 5.111(1).
[185] Hogg (2011), § 5.111(2).

(x) *geongan* 1311 for *gangan*, is more likely to be a scribal error by confusion with *gengan* 'make to go' 1095, than a Northumbrian form.[186]

9. Instances of the use of *ie*[187]

(i) *hie* occurs 65 times (first on line 5), and there are no instances of either *hi* or *hy*; *sie* 417, 1439, 1451, never *si* or *sy*.

(ii) By emendation for alliteration, in *niedum* 1377 (MS *medū*), *ie* is written for late WS *ȳ*.[188] This is probably an early WS spelling corresponding to non-WS *nēdum*; compare *nede* 115, *nearonedum* 102, *þreanedum* 1624.

(iii) *ie* is written for *i* in *gesiehðe* 620. The form *sihð* would be regular late WS (by palatal umlaut); *siehð* could either be early WS or, as Scragg suggests for this and some other *ie* forms in the Vercelli Book prose, late Kentish.[189]

10. Instances of the use of *io*

(i) Interchangeable with *eo*, in *bioð* 408, *dioful* 1298, *dioful-* 1641, *gesion* 1225. The *io* in *giofum* 1519 may be either back-mutated *i* from *gifum* or back-mutated *e* from a form corresponding to early WS *giefum* (< **gefum*): early WS or earlier Anglian, or Kentish.[190] In the paradigm of the definite article, the feminine *sio* 167, 207, 1634 appears to be early WS (Campbell, § 708), as against *seo* seven times in lines 107, 44, 613, 758, 1074, 1210, 1501. Scragg's survey of the Vercelli prose finds conversely that *sio* occurs there more often than *seo* in a ratio of 12:7.[191] In *Elene*, where *sio* occurs 14 times and *seo* eleven, the numbers are more comparable. *Sio* is most common in homilies I-XIV, which is also the area of *Andreas* (between V and VI). Scragg concludes that the scribe copied these forms from exemplars, rather than standardizing them himself. The *io*-spelling of *eo* occurs throughout the Vercelli Book, with varied distribution, although 'there is sufficient patterning of examples of *io* to argue against them being, in the main, the introduction of the last scribe'.[192] The most striking pattern is the scribe's spelling *io* to the exclusion of *eo* in homilies VI-XII, directly after *Andreas*.[193]

(ii) *io* for *eo* by back mutation of *i* (which appears as *io* in early WS, earlier Anglian or Kentish), in *frioðo* 918, *sionwe* 1425.[194] Here may belong *io* for *i* in *niowan* 1670, *niowinga* 1394: non-WS.[195]

11. Instances of the use of *iu*

The adverb *iu* 438, 489, 661, 1377, 1387, a probably late WS variant spelling for WS *gēo*,[196] never alliterates and there are no variant spellings in *geo*, *gio* or *eo*. Scragg finds *iu* in the Vercelli prose only three times, in homilies XVIII, XXI and XXIII.[197]

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[186] Campbell (1959), § 745 (d). Brooks (1961), xxxvii (C.22).
[187] See generally Campbell (1959), §§ 299-301. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.163-69 (also §§ 5.146-47).
[188] Sisam (1953), 102.
[189] Scragg (1992), xlviii (1.A.5).
[190] Campbell (1959), §§ 293–7, Hogg (2011), §§ 5.155–62.
[191] Scragg (1992), lxv (1.E.6.iii).
[192] Scragg (1992), l (1.A.9).
[193] Scragg (2001), 329 (Table 2), 330.
[194] Campbell (1959), § 205. Hogg (2011), § 5.103.
[195] Campbell (1959), § 294. Hogg (2011), § 5.158.
[196] Campbell (1959), § 172. Hogg (2011), § 5.60.
[197] Scragg (1992), li (1.A.10).

12. Doubling of vowels for length

Long vowels are doubled in late WS *faa* 1593 (MS *fáá*), 1599 (MS *fáa*), *taan* 1099 (MS *tá an*) and *oor* 649 (MS *óor*).[198] Scragg finds this 14 times in the Vercelli prose.[199] There are no examples in the other poems.

B. Vowels in syllables with secondary stress or words with low sentence stress[200]

1. *a* occurs in

Anglian or Kentish or less commonly late WS *-ade* suffixes for WS *-ode*, in Class II weak verbs, in *asundrad* 1243, *bodad* 1120, *brycgade* 1261, *geopenad* 889, *gewlitegad* 543, *helmade* 1305, *hleoðrade* 537, 1360, *myclade* 1526, *mycladon* 1553, *reordade* 255, 415, 602, *samnade* 125, *sessade* 453, *-staðolade* 536, 799, *sweoðerade* 465, *þancade* 1011, *webbade* 672, *weorðade* 1268, *weorðadon* 1055.[201] As against 12 suffixes specifically in *-ade*, *-ode* suffixes are more common, with 49 instances, for example in *gestaðelode* 162, *ondswarode* 260, *wunode* 163.

2. *e*

     (i) occurs as late WS for medial *i* before back vowels in *gewlitegad* 543, *halegum* 104, *manegum* 960, 1120, 1708, *weregum* 59. Frequent in the Vercelli prose.[202]

     (ii) occurs as late Anglian or WS for *o*, in variation of *-od* / *-odon*, in *beheled* 790, *cwanedon* 1536, *gesamnedon* 1067, *teledon* 1103, *geteled* 665, 1035, *wenede* 1682, *wilnedon* 448, *wunedon* 131, 868, 1158.[203]

     (iii) occurs as late WS for *o* in *geofene* 1531, 1615, *heofenum* 89, 168, 195.

     (iv) occurs for *ie* in MS *geomriende* 1665 for metrically better (Anglian) *geomrende* (n. **1665**). This dissyllabic *ende*-ending is treated as a dating criterion for a *terminus ad quem* not much later than the Alfredian period.[204]

     (v) is omitted initially in *gwyrhtum* 1180, where a suspension mark over *g* is perhaps lost (compare MS *ḡseah* 1492) and finally in *est* 483.

3. *o* occurs

     (i) for *a* in *bruconne* 23.

     (ii) for *eo* in *wintergeworpum* 1256; likewise for *weorc* in *wundorworca* 705, as against primarily stressed *weorc* 799, 1277, 1365, *geweorc* 1077, 1495 and eight instances in compounds, on lines 232, 737, 773, 804, 1066, 1235, 1370 and 1410. A late WS form.[205] The spelling *worc* is in neither *Elene* nor *The Dream of the Rood* towards the end of the Vercelli Book. Scragg finds it 18 times in the prose.[206]

4. *u* occurs

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[198] Campbell (1959), § 26. Hogg (2011), § 2.4.
[199] Scragg (1992), li (1.A.11).
[200] On the merger of vowels in low-stress positions, see esp. Campbell (1959), §§ 369–80; Hogg (2011), §§ 6.46–62.
[201] Campbell (1959), § 757. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.113.
[202] Scragg (1992), lii (1.B.3.ii).
[203] Campbell (1959), § 757 (and 385). Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.113.
[204] Roberts (1979), 71. Campbell (1959), § 757. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.112.
[205] Campbell (1959), §§ 320-4. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.183-87.
[206] Scragg (1992), xlix (1.A.7.ii).

(i) For epenthetic *o* in *foddurþege* 1101, and for superlative *-or* in *furður* 1350.[207]

(ii) in *-ude* for WS *-ode*, in *ondswarude* 202, *wyrðude* 538. This indicates an early Anglian (or early WS) spelling.[208]

C. Consonants

1. *b* is inorganic in adverbial *symble* 157, 659, 1384, 1581, as in homilies XV, XVI, XVII, as well as in *symbel* in homily VII.[209]

2. *c*

(i) *c* is written in *ch* in *ach* 1592, for *ah* 23, 518, 569, 1209, 1670, 1703 (see in 6 (ii) below).

(ii) There is a metathesis of *sc* to *cs* in *acsigan* 1134, as against *geascodon* 43.[210]

3. *d*

(i) is confused with *ð* in unemended forms *dugud* 394, *dugudum* 342, and possibly *meord* 275 (though *meord* is accepted with *d* in *Guthlac* (B) 1041 and 1086).[211] The other way about, with *-ð* for *-d*, there is *aðropen* 1425, *bedæleð* 309, *waðu* 1457, *wyrdeð* 219. With *-ð* for *-d* likewise, the Vercelli prose has *oferswiðeð* in homily III, *getacnoð* in homily V and *hlystneð* in homily XIV.[212] Sisam notes that the scribe's *ð* and *d* are commonly alike, apart from the crossbar, with much confusion.[213]

(ii) is omitted in *lan / sceare* 501 at the end of a page-line, and in *han hrine* 1000; also likewise in *han* in homily XIV as well as in *milheort* in homily XVIII and in some other words in which *and-* is confused with *on-*.[214]

4. *f* is replaced by *u* in *eaueðum* 1142, as it is in *begrauene* in *Elene* 834, and in *gedauenlic* twice in homily XVI: a late WS spelling, more common in eleventh-century manuscripts.[215]

5. *g*

(i) is omitted after a vowel (and before especially *þ*, *d*, *t*, *n*) with compensatory lengthening, in *ælmihti* 260 (though *god* follows), *frine* 633, *frinest* 629, *gefrunan* 1, *gramhydig* 1694, *wiðerhydig* 675, *sæde* 1022, *oferbræd* 1306: early and (more commonly) late WS.[216] Compare, among others, *frignan* 1412, *sægde* 755, *sægdon* 1080. Scragg finds this omission to be common in the Vercelli prose, except in homilies VI-XIV (directly after *Andreas*) where such *g* is always omitted (24 instances).[217]

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[207] Campbell (1959), §§ 670; cf. 574(3). Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 3.58.

[208] Campbell (1959), § 757.

[209] Scragg (1992), liv (1.D.1).

[210] Campbell (1959), § 440. Hogg (2011), § 7.96.

[211] Roberts (1979), 114-15.

[212] Scragg (1992), lx (1.D.14.ii).

[213] Sisam (1976), 23.

[214] Scragg (1992), liv (1.D.3.i).

[215] Scragg (1992), lv (1.D.4.ii).

[216] Campbell (1959), §§ 243 (and n. 2), 267. Hogg (2011), §§ 7.70–1.

[217] Scragg (1992), lv (1.D.5.iv).

(ii) is unhistorically supplied in a reverse spelling of the above, in *wiggendra* 1095.[218]

(iii) is lost initially in *eogoðe* 1122, where *g* was palatal and no alliteration (on *d-*) is required; and in *eador* 1627, where it was velar and no alliteration is allowed (*ea-*, *un-*, *eall*, *eador*): a late WS feature.[219] Scragg finds this loss unambiguous (given the lack of confusion with a *ge*-prefix) before *eorn-* for *georn-* in the homilies after *Andreas*, in VI, VIII, X, XII.[220] Neither *The Dream of the Rood* nor *Elene*, towards the end of the codex, have this loss.

(iv) represents, as medial (*i*)*g*, either an Anglian stem variant, or, in the case of *lifgende* 378, 459 and *lifigende* 1409, a late WS *lifian* (*leofian*) reformed as a stem of class II.[221] The same participial form occurs in *Elene* as *lifgende* 486, *unlifgendes* 878 and as *lifigende* in homilies I, V (before *Andreas*), and XXII, as *lifgende* in homily I, as *lifiende* in homilies V, XIII and as *lyfigende* in homilies X and XXII.[222]

(v) is written for *-h* (as a reverse spelling at the time of the unvoicing of historical *-g* to *-h*) in *befealg* 1326, *fægðe* 284: late WS or Kentish (or late Anglian).[223] This occurs with *feorg* 58, *þurg* 13, 63, *ðurg* 72 also in *Fates* and in the Vercelli prose (*feorg* in homily I).[224] For the *-g* > *-h* unvoicing, see note 6 (i) below.

6. *h*

(i) is written finally for unvoiced *-g* in *astah* 1125, *adreah* 96, 1486, *burh* 982, 1120, 1541, *burhlocan* 1165, *burhsittendum* 1201, *burhstedum* 581, *burhwealle* 833, *burhweardes* 1160, *deah* 460, *fah* 1346, 1705, *þrah* 107: late WS and frequent in the Vercelli Book.[225] See the reverse spelling for this under *g* above.

(ii) is written in the digraph *ch* for *-h* in *ach* 1592, a variant of *ac* and *ah*. This spelling for *h* is eighth-century Northumbrian (the Moore Bede and Durham *Liber Vitae*) and Mercian (Erfurt Glossary 364), although it appears once in WS in *Ealchstan* in the Winchester manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 845.[226] Fulk considers *ah* 23, 518, 569, 1209, 1670, 1703 to be the sign of an Anglian scribe; in his view, these aspirated forms are 'probable evidence of the Anglian origins of *Andreas* and the *Fates of the Apostles*, or at least of an earlier Anglian recension'.[227]

(iii) is written unhistorically in *be hlidenan* 1089, since emended to *belidenan*.[228]

7. *l* is commonly omitted: in *eadorgeard* 1181, probably; the scribe omits *l* elsewhere in *eadermen*, homily I 59, besides *hræg* also in homily I and *deofum* twice in homily XXI.[229] The scribe corrects his own *sceode* to *sceolde* with superscript in folio 44 recto 24 (*Andreas* 1132).[230]

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[218] Campbell (1959), § 271.

[219] Campbell (1959), § 303. Hogg (2011), § 5.209.

[220] Scragg (1992), lv.

[221] Campbell (1959), § 762. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.127.

[222] Scragg (1992), 444, sv. 'lifigende'.

[223] Campbell (1959), §§ 446-47, Hogg (2011), §§ 7.60–63.

[224] Scragg (1992), lvi (1.D.5.viii).

[225] Campbell (1959), §§ 446-47. Scragg (1992), lvii (1.D.6.iv). Hogg (2011), §§ 7.60–63.

[226] Campbell (1959), § 57 (3) and n. 4. Bately (1986), 43. Hogg (2011), §§ 2.60, 7.52.

[227] Fulk (1992), § 353 (10).

[228] Hogg (2011), § 7.48.

[229] Scragg (1992), lvii (1.D.7.i).

[230] Sisam (1976), 28.

8. *m* is omitted at the end of a page-line in *hear / locan* 95.

9. *p* is omitted in *cam rædenne* 4; also in *camwerod* in homily XV, in the latter perhaps by confusion of *p* and *wynn*.[231] Note the partly erased initial *p* in *pop* 1666, which is here emended to *wop*.

10. *r* is metathesized in *gyrstandæge* 852 (emended from MS *gyrstran dæge*)[232] as apparently in *sorgbyrþen* 1152 (for *sorgbryþen*). Scragg finds *nirnde* probably for *ne rinde* in homily XX and *fyrmðe* in homilies VII and XIV for *frymðe* (14 times in the Vercelli prose).[233]

11. Unhistoric doubling of etymological single consonants
     (i) after a short vowel or diphthong, *ell-* in *ellþeod-* 26, 163, 678, 972, 1559, *full-* 1640, *scell* 1483, *sceall* 181, *snottre* 659, *snyttro* 554, 631 (*-a*), 646 (*-um*), 1165, *wættre* 953: late OE.
     (ii) after a vowel shortened from a long vowel, *attor* 770, *attre* 1331, *foddorþege* 160, *foddurþege* 1101, *geliccost* 501, 953, *hlutterne* (scribally corrected from *hluterne*) 312, *hluttre* 1063, *untyddre* 1252, *upp* 792, *þrinnesse* 1687: late OE;[234] it 'occurs sporadically' in the Vercelli Book, with *geliccost* also in homily II.[235]
     (iii) after a long vowel, before scribal correction, in *ecce* 1064.
     (iv) after a consonant, in *-ferþþe* 1233.

12. Simplification of etymological geminate (i.e. double) consonants[236]
The late WS forms are rare in *Andreas*: *biterne* 616, *niða* 1377, *þisa* in *brimþisan* 1657, 1699. Scragg, in contrast, finds 24 different words in 36 instances in the Vercelli prose.[237] The older and conventional forms in *Andreas*, not included by Scragg, are *con* 195, *eal* 19, 945, *man* only in *mancynn* 69, 172, 446, 540, 846, 945, 1502, *mon* 646, *feor* 191, 252, 542, 638, 898, 928.

D. Accidence
1. Nouns
     (i) *a* appears in *-as* as late WS genitive singular for *-es* in *heofonas* 1501, *wuldras* 523. Scragg finds genitive singular *heofonas* in homily XV and *Adamas* in homily X.[238]
     (ii) *e* appears exceptionally, late OE for *-u*, in neuter nominative and accusative plural strong adjectives, in *gewætte* 375, *swatige* 1406, *weste* 1159, *wrætlice* and *agræfene* 712.
     (iii) *o* appears for *u*, for example in *brego* 61, 540, *brimstæðo* 496, *hehðo* 873, 998, 1144, *wædo* 375, *yrmðo* 1190.

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[231] Scragg (1992), lviii (1.D.10.i).
[232] Brooks (1961), 91. Campbell (1959), § 460.6, Hogg (2011), § 7.97. See generally Campbell (1959), § 459.1 and Hogg (2011), § 7.94.
[233] Scragg (1992), lviii-ix (1.D.11.ii).
[234] Campbell (1959), § 408, 453-54, Hogg (2011), §§ 7.78-79.
[235] Scragg (1992), lx-lxi (1.D.17.i).
[236] See generally Campbell (1959), §§ 457-58 and Hogg (2011), §§ 7.80–81.
[237] Scragg (1992), lxi (1.D.18).
[238] Scragg (1992), liii (1.C.1).

(iv) Late WS instrumental dative for *-um* occurs with *-an* in *þrymman* 1139, *waðuman* 1280. MS *ræswum* 1622, since emended to *ræswan*, is a reverse spelling.

2. Pronouns

(i) The accusatives of the first and second person pronoun singular are only *me* and *þe*, with neither *mec* nor *þec*. Nor do *Soul and Body I*, *Homiletic Fragment I* and *The Dream of the Rood*, between homilies XVIII and XIX, contain the archaic forms of these pronouns despite the likelihood that the third of these poems is derived from an archaic poem (whose other reflex is attested on the Ruthwell Cross in Northumbria *c.* 730). *Mec* occurs (written for *ðec*) in the Vercelli prose only in homily XXIII.[239] In *Elene*, before this homily at the end of the codex, *mec* and *þec* occur in the minority five times each (with *mec* at lines 469, 528, 818, 99, 1077 and *þec* at lines 403, 447, 539, 676 and 930). From this disposition it may be inferred that the scribe standardized these forms in all copying except in that of the final two quires (18-19: Scragg's 'C'); these had probably been copied at an earlier stage within the quire sequence 16-19 (Sisam's 'E') .[240]

(ii) Archaic forms of the first and second plural personal pronouns are accusative *usic* (MS *us ic*) 286 and accusative *eowic* (MS *eow ic*) 259, 882, as against accusatives *us* 10 times (lines 265, 269, 273, 292, 330, 434, 596, 852, 1420, 1561) and *eow* once (lines 347).[241]

(iii) A poetic and possibly Anglian-derived form of the first person plural pronominal possessive adjective occurs with accusative masculine singular *userne* 340, 397, 860 and genitive plural *ussa* 1319 (assimilated from (Northumbrian) *ūsra*), as against the genitive of the pronoun used adjectivally in *ure* 454.[242] *Fates* has *usse* 116 for the accusative plural feminine, while *Elene* has *usse* 425 and 458 for the nominative masculine plural in the formula *fæderas usse*. The *-ss-* forms occur in many late WS texts, and in the Vercelli prose there is *ussum* (homily I, XIV), *usse* (II), *usses* (XII) and *ussa* (II, XXII).[243]

3. Adjectives

(i) nominative *-e* is omitted finally in *est* 'kind' 483.

(ii) Late WS strong adjectival dative for *-um* in *-on* is in probably *bestemdon* 487 and by emendation *haton* 1241 (MS *hat of*).

(iii) Late WS strong adjectival dative for *-um* occurs with *-an* in *cealdan* 1212.

4. Prepositions

The preposition *mid* occurs 54 times, governing the dative case in 51 instances and the accusative in three: *mid Andreas* 79 (dative *Andrea* 1135, 1569), *mid dryhten* 626 and *mid þas willgedryht* 914 (*Fates* also has *mid wuldorcining* 74). This is often taken to be an Anglian usage, and Mitchell notes that most examples of *mid* plus the accusative 'refer to individuals'.[244]

5. Verbs

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[239] Scragg (1992), lxv (1.E.6.i).
[240] Sisam (1976), 39-40. Scragg (1992), xxv.
[241] Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 5.32..
[242] Campbell (1959), § 706. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 5.27.
[243] Campbell (1959), § 706, n. 3. Scragg (1992), 471.
[244] Mitchell (1985), § 1195.

(i) Forms of the second and third person present indicative of strong verbs are generally unmutated and rarely contracted in *Andreas*. Clearly mutated is *cymeð* 512,[245] possibly so, *gifeð* 1151.[246] Unmutated are *bebugeð* 333, *bloweð* 646; probably *færeð* 497, if a non-WS form with first fronting (but *i*-mutated if a form with analogically restored *a*); *forlætest* 1413, *gehweorfest* 974, *hateð* 1505, *hleotest* 480, *hweorfest* 1117, *scyðeð* 1561, *snoweð* 504, *wyrðest* 483 and *wyrðeð* 219 and 972. Uncontracted strong verbal forms in which *i*-mutation has been levelled away are generally regarded as Anglian or proper to verse, in the first case especially in the Vespasian Psalter (with the exception of *cymeð*) and in Northumbrian spellings.[247] In the Vercelli prose, uncontracted and unmutated forms are typical of homilies I-II, V-XVIII (*Andreas* and *Fates* are copied between V and VI), contracted and usually mutated of III-IV and XIX-XXII.[248] In *Andreas*, contracted and mutated singular present indicative forms of strong verbs are found only in the second person in *becwist* 193, 304, 418 and in the third in *becwið* 210; these forms are typical of poetry. OE *becweðan* occurs only here in *Andreas*, nor is (*ge-*)*cweðan* found here in the present tense. The corresponding forms in weak verbs are likewise uncontracted.

(ii) In the stem vowel, the genitive plural past participle *fordenera* 43 reflects archaic *i*-mutation of *ō*. This is also in Cynewulf's *Christ II* (in the Exeter Book), which has *forden* 1206, *gedenra* 1265 and *bifen* 1157. The change occurs in all dialects, and these forms are also comparable with Northumbrian *dōen*, which resembles the dissyllabic *-fōen* and *-hōen* (< **fangen* and < **hangen*.[249]

(iii) An early *w*-infix in *cuman* (Class IV) is found in *-cwom* 738 278, *becwom* 827, as against forms with *com* in 21 instances (*com* 88, 124, 242 etc, *becom-* 666, 788, 1666 only); an Anglian or subdialectal early WS mutated present subjunctive of *cuman* occurs in *cyme* 188, 400, 660.[250]

(iv) Fossilized reduplicating preterites of Class VII strong verbs *hātan* and *lācan* are in respectively *heht* 365, 1466 (and *Fates* 45) and *forleolc* 614, *forleolce* 1364; the poem more often has *het*, on lines 330, 587, 796, 807, 822, 931, 944, 1390, 1575, 1632. However, *Elene* gives *heht* in 19 instances (lines 42, 79, 91 etc), *het* only once (line 214). In the Vercelli prose, *-het-* is the usual form whereas *-heht-* appears only in homilies I (three times) and XVII (twice).[251] It appears therefore that the exemplar of *Andreas* and *Fates* has standardized to *het*, less probably the Vercelli Book scribe. The reduplicating forms are a part of poetic language, although it seems that all the varied textual instances of these and other forms have some Anglian base or connection.[252]

(v) The original form of the second person singular weak preterite indicative occurs in *woldes* 308, *feredes* 1363, *forhogodes* 1381. If not due to a scribal error, this -*es* ending matches the standard ending in the Vespasian Psalter (for example -

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[245] Campbell (1959), § 742.
[246] Brooks (1961), xxxviii (D.5).
[247] Campbell (1959), § 733 (a). Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.12.
[248] Scragg (1992), lxvi-lxvii (1.E.7.i).
[249] Campbell (1959), § 737 (m). Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.153.
[250] Campbell (1959), § 742.
[251] Scragg (1992), lxviii (1.E.7.ix).
[252] Campbell (1959), § 746. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 6.71.

hogdes), also in Northumbrian forms.[253] There are no examples in *The Dream of the Rood* or *Elene*, and Scragg does not look for any in the Vercelli prose.[254]

(vi) Late WS indicative preterite plural (Campbell, § 735) for *-on* occurs with *-an* in *gefrunan* 1, *dydan* 27, *geblendan* 33, *murndan* 37 etc.

(vii) Late WS subjunctive plural for *-en* occurs with *-an* in *aswebban* 72, *habban* 976, and with *-on* in *tobrugdon* 159.

Vocabulary

The use of an Anglian poetic vocabulary is now treated as integral to early WS poetic composition, as a matter of traditional poetic language.[255] Just as with some verse phonology which is apparently Anglian, certain words which were once specified as Anglian are now better treated as evidence of a poetic 'Saxon patois'. From Alfred onwards into the reign of his son, Edward the Elder (899-924), this was the representation of a supradialectal English through various hybrids of WS and Mercian.[256] At the same time, on the evidence of the manuscripts of the Old English Bede, there appears to have been some WS scribal and textual tolerance of Anglian forms even in WS centres which were removed from the evolution of a supradialectal WS-Mercian mix in Winchester or other towns.[257] To illustrate the mix, the dialect of *The Metres of Boethius* from the late ninth century is assured as southern, and Alfredian, on account of internal as well as contextual criteria, despite the fact that the poem contains many uncontracted verbal forms of Anglian type.[258] Similarly to *Judith*, which Griffiths but not Fulk takes to be a poem of WS origin,[259] *The Metres* has ten words which Franz Wenisch lists as Anglian: *beðeccan, gefrignan, in, morðor, nænig, recene, þenden, þrāg, þrēat, worn*.[260] Each of these words is also attested in *Andreas*, which has many others of Anglian type. Stressed words of Anglian type in *Andreas* are *beþehte* 1015; *gefrægn* 1093, 1706, *gefrunan* 1; *morðor-* 19, 177, 772, 975, 1004, 1140, 1303, 1599; *recene* 1511; *þrag-* 107 (*þrah*), 790, 1230 and 1598 (both *ðrag-*); *þreat* 376, 870, 1095, 1269, 1608, 1636; *worn* 812, 904. Unstressed, so less significant, are *in* 60 times as against *on* 170 times, *þenden* 1288, and once *nænig* (544; stressed on lines 986, 1037). However, none of these words of Anglian type, perhaps with the exception of *in*,[261] are unambiguous indicators of the dialect of the poet of *Andreas*, for it is now believed that Anglian words were fashionable for West Saxon poets.

Those words which are more reliably taken to indicate Anglian poets are words which are not found in pure WS prose; that is, in prose which is defined as free of Mercian influence. Other words, if they appear rarely in Alfredian texts, may be treated as Anglian features which were introduced by Alfred's Mercian translators. Of non-WS-adopted Anglian words in *Andreas*, we have the following examples:

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[253] Mertens-Fonck (1960), 179 (H 34, at Ps. 88:39 and 118:118). Campbell (1959), §§ 735 (b), 752. Hogg and Fulk (2011), §§ 6.14, 6.17.
[254] Scragg (1992), lxviii-lxx (1.E.8).
[255] Fulk (1992), §§ 356-59.
[256] Gretsch (2001), 286-88.
[257] Waite (2014), 78-79.
[258] Griffith (1997), 23, n. 75: 'mainly at points where the underlying prose is different'.
[259] Griffith (1997), 21. Fulk (1992), § 367, n. 147.
[260] Wenisch (1982), 291-92; see also Wenisch (1979), 325. Sisam (1953), 119-39, esp. 124.
[261] Fulk (1992), § 362.

(i)   *ac* as *num(quid)* 'surely', introducing a question, in *ac he he þara wundra a*? 569.[262] In prose, the interrogative particles *ac* and *ac ne* occur only in Wærferth's translation of *Gregory's Dialogues* and in Vercelli homily I, both in WS texts originally of Mercian dialect; in the former, in the text in Oxford, MS Bodley, Hatton 78, from the second third of the eleventh century, *ac ne* is Saxonized into *hu ne* for greater intelligibility.[263] Fulk takes the *h*-final spelling of *ac* here to provide 'probable evidence of the Anglian origins of *Andreas* and the *Fates of the Apostles*, or at least of an earlier Anglian recension'.[264]

(ii)   *bāsnian* 'to await, abide', in *basnode* 447, 1065.[265]

(iii)   *blinnan* 'to cease', in *blon* 1266.[266]

(iv)   *ealdorsācerd* 'high priest' 670. This word appears in Northumbrian and Mercian gospel glosses as well as in Vercelli homily I, of Mercian origin, and is found nowhere else in Old English verse.[267]

(v)   *gēna* 'still', in non-alliterating but stressed final position as *gena* 422, 475. Both this word and *gīet(a)* 'still' are found in Anglian prose, 'but only the latter in pure West-Saxon texts', while the use of *g(ī)ēn(a)* is overwhelming in poems thought to be Anglian: *Genesis* A (7), *Beowulf* (13), and Cynewulf's signed poems (20).[268]

(vi)   *lēoran* 'to depart', in *leorde* 124 and *leordan* 1042: Mercian, for it has no attestation in non-Mercian inspired WS prose and occurs in the language of the Vespasian Psalter glosses.[269] Kenneth Sisam's reluctance to define this word as solely Anglian is based on the fact that neither *Beowulf*, which he considered to be an Anglian poem, nor *Genesis*, nor the signed poems of Cynewulf, has an instance.[270] Yet the word may be typical of a time after these poems were composed, or of a dialectal variant at the same time. OE *lēoran* occurs also in a number of poems, which may consequently be taken to be of Anglian origin; less probably, of a composition which aspires to a dialectal vocabulary which is proper to verse.

(vii)   *meorð* 'reward', on line 275: Campbell treats this as an Anglian variant, with retention of *r* (< earlier *z*) and breaking of *e*, of the commoner *mēd* 'meed' (< *merd*, with loss of *r* and compensatory lengthening (n. **275**).[271] For this word the spellings appear to be two: *meorð* once in the Mercian-WS translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (IV.31); and *meord* in *Guthlac* (B) 1041 and 1086.

(viii) *nemne* 'except' 664. The strongest indicator of a Mercian origin for *Andreas*. WS prose texts and poems favour *būtan*; Fulk takes the word

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[262] Wenisch (1979), 97-102.

[263] Hecht (1900-1907), 39 (line 19) and 149 (line 5). Scragg (1992), 18 (line 27: *Numquid… Ac ne*).

[264] Fulk (1992), § 353 (10).

[265] Wenisch (1979), 104. Jordan (1906), 58.

[266] Wenisch (1979), 112-13. Gretsch (1999), 323.

[267] Wenisch (1979), 280. Scragg (1992) 22 (line 66).

[268] Fulk (1992), § 360. Jordan (1906), 49.

[269] Campbell (1959), §§ 293, 764 and n. 124. Fulk (1992), § 367. Wenisch (1979), 175-78. Mertens-Fonck (1969), 196-98 (L 9). Sisam (1953), 128-29.

[270] Sisam (1953), 129.

[271] Campbell (1959), §§ 123, n.2 and 404.

nemne, a variant of Anglian *nefne* or *nymþe* (*nempe*), to be 'an exclusively Mercian lexical item'.[272]

(ix) *oferhygd* 'pride', in *oferhygdum* 319 and *oferhigdum* 1318: since Brooks' edition, Hans Schabram identified this word as proper to Anglian dialect, as opposed to the WS or southern *ofermōd*. The glosses of the Vespasian Psalter have this word and derivatives for all 22 instances of *superbia*, *superbus* and *superbire*.[273]

(x) *sceððan* 'to harm', West-Saxonized with a palatal glide *y* for early WS *ie* in *scyððan* 1047 and *scyðeð* 1561. This word, although it appears in Alfredian prose, appears to be an Anglian loanword there in that it is foreign to southern glossators.[274] Its occurrence as *sceððan* in Vercelli homily VII and *gesceððan* in XXII confirms the Anglian origin of these works.[275]

(xi) *scūa* 'shadow', in *under dimscuan* 141: its occurrence in Aldhelm glosses is the only apparent reason why this word is not accepted as Anglian, yet Wenisch argues that the glossator's form reflects his own Anglian dialect.[276]

(xii) *unfyrn* 'not late', in *unfyrn faca* 1371: apparently 'not late on any occasions', with the genitive plural of masculine *fæc* 'time', therefore 'before long' or 'soon' (n. **1371**). This collocation is found in *Resignation* 43, in which a man says that he knows he must die *ful unfyr\<n\> faca* 'with no delay at all' (line 43); Jordan and Wenisch take this poem to be Mercian, in that it contains one accented use of *lēoran* with *leorde* on line 31 (see (i) above).[277] The word *unfyrn* occurs singly five times, all in prose: four times in the translation of *Gregory's Dialogues* by Bishop Wærferth in the late ninth century;[278] and once, in the opening words of Blickling Homily XII, for Pentecost Sunday, of the mid- to late tenth century.[279] It has been argued that the more reliable text of Wærferth's translation was written in his Mercian dialect.[280] The language of the Blickling homily, though late WS, may have a Mercian base, for it has non-WS, probably Mercian, forms in the *ē* in *ten nihtum* and *ned* (in *nedþearf* (Northumbrian *neid-*).[281] On this evidence it seems likely that the oddly rare adverb *unfyrn* is a word of Anglian origin.

Linguistic conclusion

The sole surviving text of *Andreas* was copied by a Kentish scribe whose dialect occasionally influenced the late WS standard in which he worked. The nature of this

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[272] Fulk (1992), § 361. Jordan (1906), 46-48.

[273] Schabram (1965a), 25-29, 125. Fulk (1992), § 365. Mertens-Fonck (1969), 236 (O 4 *oferhygdgað*).

[274] Fulk (1992), § 363. Wenisch (1979), 211-14. Jordan (1906), 7, n. 1, 45, n. 1, 51 and 64.

[275] Brooks (1961), xxxiv-v (B (23)). Wenisch (1979), 211-12, 327 (4.2.3.a). Scragg (1992), 136 (line 67), 368 (line 12).

[276] Wenisch (1979), 215-17.

[277] Wenisch (1979), 175-78.

[278] Hecht (1965), 226 (lines 3-4), 62 (line 24), 71 (lines 17-18).

[279] Morris (1967), 131. Kelly (2003) 92 (lines 1, 28).

[280] Harting 1937), 287-92.

[281] Campbell (1959), §§ 42, 270, 682.

standard is now regarded as a topic on which much work remains to be done.[282] This scribe, however, working towards his own understanding of late WS, appears to have standardized some words such as *þam*, *me* and *þe*, over *þæm*, *mec* and *þec*, which do not occur (A.2.iii; D.2.i). With other elements, there again, such as the diphthong *io* or *eo* in *seo* / *sio* or *beoð* / *bioð*, he seems at least partly to have followed the vagaries of an exemplar (A.10.i). His late WS forms include: -*wylm* (A.2.i); *glæwra* (A.2.viii); *scerp*, *aget*, *togenes* (A.3.iv); *hige*, *cining* and *drihten* (A.4.v); *cyrm*, *gyt*, *hlyt*, *hyrde*, *scyna*, *scyppend* (A.4.vii); *gewyrðan* and *wyrðmynd* (A.4.viii); *ryht* and *syððan* (A.4.ix); *feala* and *teala* (A.7.i); reverse spellings *hweorfan* and *hweorfon* (A.8.iii); late spellings *wunn* (A.6) and *eaueðum* (B.4); the variant spellings *faa*, *taan* and *oor* (A.12; cited here without their accents); the doubling of consonants (C.11); -*as* for -*es* (D.1.i) and -*an* for -*um* (D.1.iv) in nominal inflexional endings, and -*an* for -*on* (D.5.vi) and -*en* (D.5.vii) in verbal endings, with a reverse spelling -*um* for -*an* in *ræswum* 1622 (D.1.iv). The scribe's errors include *wæst* for *wast* (A.2.iv) and possibly *hefon* (A.3.xi) and *herme*, *werd* and *werð* (A.3.vi) for *heofon*, *hearme*, *weard* and *wearð*. His late WS shows through in *eogoðe* and *eador* for *geogoðe* and *geador* (C.5.iii), whereas other forms, including *breogo* (A.8.i) may be Kentish (see also A.2.v; 3.i, ii, iii, iv; 8. v, viii, ix; 9.iii; 10.i, ii; B.1; C.5.v).

There are also enough early WS forms to indicate that at an earlier stage, *Andreas*, together with its companion *Fates*, passed through a recension by a scribe using an early dialect of Wessex. There is early WS *ie* > *i* in *scippend*, *cirm*, *gimdon*, *git* (for *gīet*; A.4.i); *meaht* for *miht* (A.7.ii); as well as *hie* and *sie* and never *hi/hy* or *si/sy* (A.9.i), ni*edum* (MS *medum*) for *nedum* (A.9.ii), and probably *gesiehðe* for *gesihðe* (A.9.iii); and perhaps early WS lowering in *swelc* (A.3.v). More evidence of hybridity arises in cases of Anglian phonology and grammar. Some of the features are not usual in late WS, but are shared with Anglian texts; some are both Anglian and early WS; others are generally non-WS, that is, both Anglian and Kentish. The early WS forms support an Alfredian context for the first recension of this poem. In phonology, there is Anglian *bæld* and *wælm* (and *welm*, apparently a southern mutation of *wealm*) besides *beald* and *wylm* (A.2.i); *meðel* and *fregn* by Mercian second fronting instead of *mæðel* and *frægn* (A.3.ii); *edre*, *segon* and *weg* besides *ædre*, *sawon* and *wæg* (A.3.iii); *adreg* and *neh* besides *adreah* /-*g* and *neah* (A.3.ix); *betwinum* besides *betweonum* (A.4.iv); the spelling *o* rather than *a* before nasals in *con*, *gong*, *monna* and -*somne* (A.5); and Anglian or Kentish *seolf* (A.8.vii) and *hneotan*, *seoþþan*, and perhaps *breomo*, *cleofu* (A.8.ix).

As regards Anglian forms without WS variants in *Andreas*, the words *æht* and *stærced*- have Anglian smoothing (A.2.vii), and the poem also uses *herig* and *werig*- instead of *hearg* and *wearg* (A.4.vi) and -*sweorodon* instead of -*swarodon* (A.8.i). Also perhaps Anglian, though their forms could be non-WS more generally (i.e. including Kentish), are e.g. *sceoran* (A.8.i), *eo* for *y* (A.8.viii), *ea* > *e* by *i*-mutation (A.3.vi, A.3.x), and probably also *ræced* (A.2.vi). Among *Andreas*' fairly numerous words in Anglian form are *neon* (A.8.viii), *ach* (C.6.ii) and retracted *aldor* and others of the same group which probably belonged also to early dialects in Wessex (A.1.ii), as well as being frequent in verse. Equally common property are traditional poetic words such as *bold* and the back-mutated *meotud* (A.8.i) and *eafor*, *eafoð*, *heafolan* (A.7.iii), the pronouns *usic* and *eowic* (D.2.ii) and *userne* (D.2.iii), the Anglian usage of the preposition *mid* with the accusative (D.4); forms of the second and third person present indicative of strong verbs which are both unmutated and uncontracted (D.5.i);

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[282] Scragg (2009), 58-61..

and with the reduplicating preterites of strong verbs *hatan* and *lacan* (D.5.iv). *Andreas* has moreover older (Anglian) second person singular forms of weak preterites in *woldes*, *feredes* and *forhogodes* (D.5.v). Where vocabulary is concerned, there is evidence of an Anglian interrogative construction with *ac*, and evidence of specifically Anglian words in mostly stressed, and so operative, forms of *bāsnian*, *blinnan*, *ealdorsācerd*, *gēna*, *lēoran*, *meorð*, *oferhygd*, *scyððan* (for *sceððan*), *-scūa* and *unfyrn*; as well as of a particularly Mercian word in *nemne*. This poet's vocabulary might be represented as WS, were it not that much of it more closely resembles the Vespasian Psalter glosses' Mercian dialect of the mid to late ninth century. The metrically sounder Mercian assumption *gēomrende* for MS *geomriende* on line 1665, which is supported by the Vespasian Psalter glosses (A.2.iv), gives yet another reason to date *Andreas* in or not much later than the period of Alfred (ruled 871-99).

In this way, the question about *Andreas* before its putative Alfredian recension is whether it was first composed in WS, with a traditional repertoire of Anglian words and features, or in a Mercian dialect which a WS scribe adapted into his or her own. Both options presuppose a WS poetic emulation of Mercia going as far back as the period 770-820 in which the power of King Offa and his successors inspired West Saxon poets. Against this background, either *Andreas* emulated Mercian poems, or it was a Mercian poem itself. In the first case, the *Paris Psalter* and *The Metres of Boethius* reveal that WS poets of the late ninth century imitated Mercian verse by playing to common features of dialect and by using Anglian words.[283] In these circumstances, any adaptation to the WS dialect in the performance or copying of Mercian poems would be conditioned by dialectal resemblance between Mercian and WS. The second case looks stronger, however. Although the evidence with *Andreas* is of a supradialectal 'Saxon patois', the poem's eleven non-WS Anglian words and one clear Mercian word tip the balance in favour of the poet of *Andreas* being a Mercian. In addition, the spelling of *ach* and the mixed spellings in the *waldend* group (with *ach* copied once and *wealdend* six times as against *waldend* nine) speak for a recension by a Mercian scribe in or for Wessex.

4 Metre and prosody

The scansion of all Old English poems is usually based on a model of five types of Germanic alliterative half-line (A-E) which the grammarian Eduard Sievers observed and classified in the late nineteenth century.[284] Sievers' taxonomy was brilliant but theoretical, in that no contemporary treatise survives with which to prove it. The problem with Germanic half-lines is how to scan them without ambiguity, for the definition and ranking of some words in the stress hierarchy is variable; and as the half-lines usually have more words or syllables than the model allows, extra unstressed positions must be added to the two main stresses (or 'lifts'). Some half-lines seem to have only one stressed element (A 3, 'light verses', or (a)), while others have three ('heavy', hypermetric). Although 'resolution' may be adopted to deal with these anomalies, by which two short syllables are counted as equal to one long, there can be disagreement here too. The linguist Hans Kuhn, notwithstanding this complexity, chose verse as the primary material for his monograph on word-order and

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[283] Gretsch (2001) 286-88. Waite (2014), 78-79.
[284] Sievers (1893): A = /X/X; B = X/X/; C = X//X; D = //XX; E = /XX/.

sentence stress in early Germanic languages, because Germanic verse is archaic in form and offers information on stress. Basing his work on Sievers' metrical types, Kuhn defined two observational facts about early Germanic prosody which are now known as 'laws': the *satzpartikelgesetz* 'law of clause particles'; and the *satzspitzengesetz* 'law of the clause-initial position'.[285] According to the first law, the more prominent, it is natural for lesser unstressed words, such as conjunctions, pronouns, short adverbs and certain finite verbs, to cluster at the beginning of a clause.[286] The second law says that if there is an unstressed position (a dip or drop) at the beginning of a clause, it must contain at least one clause particle.[287] Thus the normal position of unstressed particles in the clause is that they occur either in a cluster immediately before, or in a cluster immediately after, the first stressed element in the clause; but not in both positions at once. Where an Old English half-line differs from this norm, it is sometimes said to 'violate' the law.

Alan Bliss translated Kuhn's two syntactical laws and tried them out on *Beowulf*.[288] Having found that this poem closely adhered, he enshrined them as a metrical standard. Before long, the metrical skill of all Old English poems was judged by Kuhn's Laws, as if these had been codified by a contemporary. When Dr K. Stevens applied them to the metre of *Andreas*, he vindicated Bliss' interpretation of Kuhn's Laws by using *Beowulf* as the yardstick.[289] Like Bliss and Brooks, Stevens posits underlying forms and sometimes favours emendation when the metre requires it: for example, with *hild<e>bedd* 1092a, where a medial syllable is grammatically required by the final short vowel.[290] However, he also uses the Laws to denigrate *Andreas*: 'If *Beowulf* is considered to exemplify classical OE poetry written to a high standard, then we can safely say that the metre of *Andreas* also approaches that standard'.[291] The fallacy hereby engendered is that our poet strives to equal *Beowulf* and makes 'clumsy' and 'unintelligent' attempts to do so.[292]

Lately the Kuhnian norm has run into trouble, however. Although the notion of *Andreas*' metrical inferiority has gained a widespread acceptance, the inherent circularity in method has been noted, as well as a semantic difficulty in coining English terms out of Kuhn's German. The validity of applying Kuhn's verse-derived prosodic laws back to alliterative verse has accordingly been attacked or modified as well as accepted.[293] One view more recently winning ground is that the prosodic test of Kuhn's Laws reveals linguistic change and may indicate relative chronology.[294] It has already been argued on the basis of metre that *Andreas* was composed later than Cynewulf's poems, which have themselves been thought to be composed after *Beowulf* and before the Mercian-WS translation of the *Pastoral Care*.[295]

The following discussion owes much to work which treats Kuhn's Laws both as a relative dating criterion and as a latent poetic constraint.[296] The latter case is verified

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[285] Kuhn (1933), 8, 43.
[286] Suzuki (2012a), 10-19; (2012b), 1-7.
[287] Suzuki (2012b), 7-12.
[288] Bliss (1958), 6-10.
[289] Stevens (1981), 2-4.
[290] Brooks (1961), xli. Stevens (1981), 25.
[291] Stevens (1981), 18.
[292] Stevens (1981), 25
[293] For a summary: Donoghue (1997), 68-70; Suzuki (2012a), 1-2.
[294] Fulk (1992). Orton (1999), 301-02. Suzuki (2013), 9-10.
[295] Cable (1981). Fulk (1992), §§ 75, 273.
[296] Kendall (1991), 10-12. Momma (1997), 181-83. Donoghue (1997), 71-75.

by Daniel Donoghue, in whose view Anglo-Saxon poets 'learned the "rules" rather instinctively, roughly the same way that a child learns the complexities of a language, not simply to abstract rules and principles as they are set out in grammar books, but by imitation'.[297] Where the Laws offer a dating criterion, Stevens finds that *Andreas* does not differ significantly from *Beowulf* in such metrical features as the placement of the caesura, anacrusis or extrametrical syllables in a half-line, double alliteration and the general distribution of stressed syllables, 'where the *Andreas*-poet is nearly as scrupulous as the *Beowulf*-poet'.[298] With contracted syllables, therefore, as where the scribe writes *tireadige hæleð* (on line 2b) for the metrically more suitable **tireadge hæleð*, there are many instances of metrically required syncopation both in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.[299] In MS *geomriende* on line 1665 of *Andreas*, as we have seen, the claim has been made for an underlying syncopated and also Mercian form *gēomrende*, on the basis of suitability to metrical type D.[300] Two more representative examples here are *hǣð(e)ne swǣfon* at line 1002b and *ǣn(i)ge hæbbe* at line 1521b. Syncopation seems equally certain to Stevens in cases where a 'parasite vowel' (supernumerary before *l*, *r*, *m* or *n*) is written though was probably not pronounced, as in *corð(o)r ōðrum getang* 138b and *þēod(e)n lēofesta* 288a. Moreover, Stevens would remove the inflection from a series of infinitives on similar metrical grounds, in *beornas tō brūcanne* 1160a, *weor<c> tō geþoligenne* 1659b, *sār tō geþolienne* 1689b; and, because of Brooks' invocation of Kuhn's Law, in *mycel is tō secganne* 1481b.[301] Kendall is not the first to find that *Andreas* 'shared a traditional, orally-based, metrical grammar with *Beowulf*'.[302]

Hypermetric 'heavy' half-lines, however, are proportionately more numerous in *Andreas*. As Bliss counts 18 (and Stevens 2) of these in *Andreas* (1,722 lines), as against 23 in *Beowulf* (3,182 lines), it appears that their frequency in *Andreas* is nearly double, whereas more comparably *Andreas* has one great full-line cluster of hypermetric lines to *Beowulf*'s three.[303] The hypermetric frequency of *Andreas* reveals that its poet is more relaxed than the poet of *Beowulf* about poetic conventions, and that he regards certain moments in his narrative, such as the culmination of Andrew's hidden-miracle story to the ship's captain, God in disguise (lines 795-803), as worthy of the emphasis which a series of heavy bursts might provide.

Stevens also studies the role of verbs in the metrical grammar of this poem. The Kuhnian norm, which is Beowulfian prosody, puts the stressed finite verb as clause-final, as in *beorn ofer bolcan ‖ beald reordade* 602. *Andreas* sometimes keeps to this. However, where verbs in a-lines are concerned, Stevens finds that in *Andreas*, contrary to *Beowulf*, the finite verb is probably stressed in an a-line when the verb is followed by a particle and alliterates with a stressed element (as in *cleopode þā collenferhð* 1108a); but that it is not stressed where it does not alliterate (as in *cōm þā*

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[297] Donoghue (1987), 13.
[298] Stevens (1981), 18.
[299] Stevens (1981), 21.
[300] Brooks (1961), 117. Stevens (1981), 26.
[301] Stevens (1981), 26.
[302] Kendall (1996), 11-12.
[303] Clusters are given in bold. Bliss (1958), 158-59: *Beowulf* **1163ab**, **1164ab**, **1165ab**, **1166ab**, **1167b**, **1168ab**; then **1705ab**, **1706ab**, **1707ab**; 2173a, 2297a; then **2995ab**, **2996ab**; *Andreas* 51ab, 303ab; **795ab**, **796ab**, **799ab**, **801b**, **802ab**, **803b**; then **1022b**, **1023ab**; 1114a. To *Andreas* Stevens adds 216a, 339a for sure, and less certainly 583a, 621a, 682a, 733a (1981: 20). We include his first two.

on ūhtan 1388a). Thus he finds that in *Andreas*, contrary to *Beowulf*, alliteration is an indication of stress in a finite verb.[304] In Stevens' judgement, the *Andreas*-poet 'is careful to give fully meaningful verbs alliteration, and therefore stress, and to give verbs which convey less information no alliteration'.[305] To the extent, therefore, that the poet of *Andreas* is more willing to stress 'meaningful' finite verbs, his diction is more dynamic than that of the poet of *Beowulf*.

Kuhn's first Law (of Clause Particles) is broken by the poet of *Andreas* many times. According to Stevens, the number of breaches is high in relation to *Exodus* and *Beowulf,* 'which contain no apparent breaches'.[306] Brooks saves as many lines as he can, but even after his normalization of seven examples, sixteen offences against Kuhn's Law remain which Stevens represents as 'mostly due to the poet's unskilful handling of stock poetic formulas'.[307] To Brooks' remainder he adds *ac manna gehwām ‖ mōd bið on hyhte* on line 637, in which *bið*, the light or auxiliary verb displaced from clause-initial position, puts the line out of joint with Kuhn's second Law (of Clause-Initial Position).

If we start with the set which Brooks can save, we may note that he takes seven sets of lines which violate Kuhn's Laws in Krapp's edition, and repunctuates them in order to normalize the prosody: lines 541b-42, 778-79, 952, 1006, 1118-19, 1207, and 1519-20. Let us take three examples. In lines 541b-42, Krapp gave:

> Ā þīn dōm lyfað!
> Ge nēh ge feor   is þīn nama hālig,[308]

Brooks, followed by this edition, gives:

> Ā þīn dōm lyfað
> ge nēh ge feor;   is þīn nama hālig,

In lines 951-53, Krapp gave:

> Is þē gūð weotod.
> Heardum heoruswengum   scel þīn hrā dæl*ed*
> wundum weorðan,

Brooks, followed by this edition, repunctuates to:

> Is þē gūð weotod
> heardum heoruswengum;   scel þīn hrā dæl*ed*
> wundum weorðan,

In a third example, Krapp edited lines 1518-21 so, where Andrew tells the pillar that the Lord has given more honour to stone than to all families of jewels:

> þonne eall gimma cynn.
> Þurh his hālige hǣs   þū scealt hræðe cȳðan

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[304] Stevens (1981), 6-11, esp. 9.
[305] Stevens (1981), 14.
[306] Stevens (1981), 16.
[307] Brooks (1961), xlii-liv. Stevens (1981), 16.
[308] Krapp (1932), 18; etc.

> gif ðū his ondgitan   ænige hæbbe!'

Brooks and this edition edit these lines so:

>   þonne eall gimma cynn
> þurh his hālige hǣs.   Þū scealt hræðe cȳðan
> gif ðū his ondgitan   ænige hæbbe!'

In these cases it may be observed that Krapp joined a-lines without verbs to b-line clauses with verbs because he believed that this type of line, where the clause starts with the beginning of the line, expressed the best meaning. His arrangements, however, violated what were becoming known as 'Kuhn's Laws'. One generation later, Brooks repunctuates Krapp's text so as to join the a-lines to the preceding b-lines without loss of sense, and to start a new clause in the following b-line in keeping with Beowulfian *hakenstil*. From Brooks' discussion it is clear that only a breach of what he considers to be good sense stops him from repunctuating other supposed violations of Kuhn's Laws, in order to make the lines more metrical.

   Brooks treats these sure violations as signs of an inferior poetic gift. The seven he selects include examples of the b-line verb-first violation of Kuhn's first Law, where the verb alliterates on the third stress of the full line at the expense of a noun in the fourth stressed position: *swā him bebēad meotud* 789b and *hrēopon friccan* 1156b. Stevens places the latter example with five other b-lines in which the other alliterating element is not a verb: *frēfra þīne* 421b, *swigodon ealle* 762b, *cȳð þē sylfne* 1212b, *rǣsdon on sōna* 1334b and *stōp ūt hræðe* 1577b. He regards *hrēopon friccan* as 'probably a formulaic expression' just as *swā him bebēad meotud*, as well as *clang wæteres þrym* on line 1260b;[309] doubtless formulaic likewise is *swigodon ealle*, a b-line which occurs also in *Beowulf* 1699b. Brooks' crowning example is an item on line 189:

>   Ǣdre him Andrēas   āgef andsware

The b-line here contains a popular formula which recurs in lines 285b, 572b, 617b, 643b, 1184b, 1345b, 1375b, with a plural variant in *āgēfan ondsware* 401b. Although the poet (less likely the scribe) of *Andreas* once opts for the more metrically acceptable transposition *ondsware āgef*, in line 628, it seems that he prefers the verb-first version of this b-line despite its violation of traditional prosody. The latter formula appears also in Cynewulf's *Elene* 455b, 462b, 662b, and in his *Juliana* 105b, 117b, 130b, 147b, 175b, 319b; it is also to be seen in *Guthlac* (B) 1163b and 1224b, which may or may not be Cynewulf's work;[310] and it occurs once in *The Battle of Maldon*, on line 44b. In the older view, as represented by Slay, *ondsware āge(a)f* could have been used in both positions, whether in a b-line after a stressed vowel in the a-line; or in the b-line safely after the original syntax had been broken by parallel phrases or by a subordinate clause. In *Andreas* there is also a verbal preterite, once in the b-line, double-stressed as *ond-sweorodon* 857, and more commonly in the a-line as *ond-swarode* (lines 260a, 277a, 290a, 343a, 510a, 623a, 925a (with *and-*)). Slay believed that the b-line *āgef andsware* shows that the poet has 'confused and

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[309] Stevens (1981), 6, 14.
[310] Roberts (1979), 43-44.

combined' these variant constructions 'to produce a technically faulty sentence'.[311] By implication this error extends to the poet(s) of *Elene*, *Juliana* and *Guthlac* B, whose skill may be likewise impeached.

Here we may note the oddity of branding as inferior imitations those works which may be dated later than *Beowulf* on metrical grounds. With more regard for date than aesthetics, Fulk suggests more informatively that some time after *Beowulf*, forms of *andswarian* became metrically problematic; that this verb was generally avoided by Cynewulf (his one example is at *Elene* 396b); and that the formula *āge(a)f andsware*, so common in *Andreas*, 'came into use because of uncertainty about the metrical value of *andswarian*', despite having a different metrical problem of its own.[312] Kendall suggests that the poet copied this form from a written text of *Beowulf* without regard for metre.[313] Orton treats *āge(a)f andsware* more pragmatically, as a productive formula.[314] It seems likely that the poet of *Andreas* would have agreed with Orton.

Another formula of *Andreas* which breaks Kuhn's Laws is *æfter þām wordum*, relatively common also in other Old English poems. This a-line, where it occurs at the head of a clause, breaks Kuhn's second Law in that both *æfter* and *þām* are proclitic elements in the initial dip, without an additional unattached particle to provide a secondary stress; in contrast, *sōna æfter þām wordum* keeps to this law in *Christ and Satan* 628a, because the adverb *sōna* is not a proclitic particle. As an unadorned clause-initial a-line, the words *æfter þām wordum* occur in *Exodus* 299 and 565, and in *Beowulf* 1492 and 2669; the a-line *æfter þyssum wordum* likewise opens a clause in *Andreas* 761 and 1026.

The formula *æfter þām wordum* appears further, with the addition of the lightly stressed verb *cōm*, in *Andreas* 1219a; and with *þyssum* instead of *þām*, the same formula is used in the a-line on line 88 of *Andreas*, again with the addition of *cōm*. Krapp placed *cōm* after the caesura on line 1219a, presumably in keeping with the other examples; yet before the caesura on line 88a.[315] If this verb is placed after the caesura, the metre of the b-line in each case becomes irregular too. In this case Brooks saves the b-line by extending the long a-line formula with *cōm* in each case. Stevens, Kendall and Orton follow Brooks in this reading, which has not been challenged since.[316] As in the case of the b-line formula *āge(a)f andsware*, the issue with Kuhn's Laws is whether to treat these 'laws' (and Sievers' metrical types, which they vindicate) as consciously articulated or as internalized poetic conventions. Currently there is some agreement that the Laws reveal changes to Old English syntax and metrical grammar over time. The addition of *cōm* to the formula *æfter þām* (/*þyssum*) *wordum* may offend against the Law of Clause-Initial Position (of Clause Openings), but it is probably to be seen as a sign of a later date relative to Cynewulf and the poet of *Beowulf*. The poet of *Andreas* was more inclined than these others to give a verb just after a momentous start. Although he delays heavier verbs in lines 761 and 1026, he finds it natural to place the lighter verb *cōm* just after the formula on lines 88 and 1219.

The other anti-Kuhnian examples, those which Brooks is unable to save by argument or repunctuation, are found in lines 239a, 903b-4a, 914 and 1481. To take

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[311] Slay (1952), 15.
[312] Fulk (1992), § 234.
[313] Kendall (1996), 11-12.
[314] Orton (1999), 293.
[315] Krapp (1932), 37.
[316] Brooks (1961), 39. Stevens (1981), 24. Kendall (1991), 36, n. 21. Orton (1999), 294, n. 21.

them in order. Firstly, the phrase *se beorn wæs on hyhte* 239b offends against the Law of Clause Particles because the particles are placed after *beorn* and not before, and because the dip before *beorn*, here filled by the definite article, should not have been used (*beorn ofer bolcan ‖ beald reordade* 602 is a regular line, in contrast). Slay shows the same offence in *Se fugel is on hīwe* in *Phoenix* 311.[317] 'The mistake', says Slay of this dip-filling with article, 'is so common in the Old Saxon *Heliand* as to have become an allowable technique there'. It seems that in contrast, Anglo-Saxon poets had developed a certain metrical precision. Brooks posits that 'an earlier poet would have omitted *se*'.[318]

A comparison with *flota wæs on ȳðum* in *Beowulf* 210b, shows that in this respect, *Andreas*, *The Phoenix* and the *Heliand* were all composed later than *Beowulf*. As we have seen, scholars since Brooks have moved towards redefining Kuhn's Laws as a viable observation of archaic Old English prosody, with earlier patterns relatively more common in *Beowulf*. Displacement of the verb may furthermore be noted in lines 903b-4:

> Ic on brimstrēame
> spræc worda worn,   wāt æfter nū

Brooks says the verb *spræc* contributes to 'a clear case of bad technique' in that it, or another verb, should better have been placed in the preceding half-line at the start of the clause. Blaming the poet for having 'misused the formula *worda worn*', he offers alternatives, either in emending to *spræc spella worn* and then adjusting *wāt æfter nū*, or as:

> Spræc ic on brimstrēame
> wordhlēoðres worn,   wāt æfter nū

Less intrusively, Stevens proposes this emendation:[319]

> Ic on brimstrēame
> worda worn spræc,   wāt æfter nū

Stevens adds a further verse to the list of lines which offend against Kuhn's Law, in the first half of *dydan him tō mōse ‖ meteþearfendum* on line 27 of *Andreas*. Although Kuhn excused the a-line on the grounds that a non-alliterating verb without preceding particle in the a-line should be given a stress (allowed a lift), Stevens finds that line 27a is the only such verse in *Andreas*: he emends the line, with equal restraint, to *him tō mōse dydan ‖ meteþearfendum*.

In the case of a more open comparison with *Beowulf*, Brooks singles out an imperative greeting with a name in the vocative, all in the a-line not far from the above on line 914:

> Wes ðū Andrēas hāl   mid þās willgedryht

[317] Slay (1952), 13.
[318] Brooks (1961), xliv.
[319] Stevens (1981), 5.

It is unusual for the imperative *wes* to take stress, for it does not do so medially in *dryhtne þīnum. ‖ Wes ā dōmes georn* in line 959. In the case of line 914, Brooks says that the proper noun *Andrēas* should alliterate instead. He compares this line unfavourably with *Wæs þū Hrōðgār hāl. ‖ Ic eom Higelāces* in *Beowulf* 406: the *Andreas* line 'shows unskilful use of a poetic formula'; 'the formula *wes ðu ... hal* has been clumsily used'.[320] In Stevens' view this *Andrēas* line is metrically 'totally corrupt', along with the first half of line 1316 in which a vocative plays havoc with the otherwise adequately reinforced alliterating pattern (*Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas, ‖ hidercyme þīnne*).[321] Kendall believes that the poet copied his line from a manuscript of *Beowulf* 'and for convenience's sake shifted the alliteration on to *wes*'.[322] Whether or not the poet of *Andreas* was as manuscript-dependent as this verdict assumes, it appears that his diction allowed the imperative *wes* to take stress like a noun or adjective.

Aurally, in any case, this *w*-alliteration is reinforced by the fact that the name *Andrēas* alliterates with *willgedryht*, the more we hear the preceding *ðū* adding the right semi-vowel, to make /wandrēas/. This fast and loose pattern of alliteration is unparalleled: either just a little later in *Andreas* (*Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt ‖ ēdre genēðan* 950 at the head of the unnumbered ninth fitt); or in poems which are agreed to be earlier, such as in *Exodus* (*Ne sleh þū, Abrahām, ‖ þīn āgen bearn* 419) and *Genesis* A (*ārlēas of earde þīnum, ‖ swā þū Ābele wurde* 1018); or in *The Battle of Maldon*, which was probably made later than the Vercelli Book itself (*Hwæt þū, Ælfwine, ‖ hafast ealle gemanode* 231). In *Andreas* 914, however, there is yet another possibility. If a gap between spelling and sound is accepted in the a-line, the poet may be taking a liberty with *wes*, reinforcing this with [*w*]*andrēas*, and grouping these words with Andrew's *willgedryht* with an indifference to spelling: all to give an aural expression to Jesus' infant disguise.

Line 1481, the remaining case of Kuhn-breaches in Brooks' discussion, might actually be assigned to the list of cases in which good prosody is saved by repunctuation. This line comes within the frame of the *Andreas*-poet's personal digression in lines 1478 onwards. Here Brooks followed Wülker in finding a breach of Kuhn's law where other editors did not see one. In the text below, it will be seen that Brooks joins the a-line *ofer mīn gemet* 'beyond my capacity' with the following clause, whose theme is that there is much to say, because he cannot fit these words with the previous lines about the poet relating St Andrew's story for a long time. In Brooks' view this half-line, if joined to the previous clause, 'gives good metre but no sense' or 'is pointless'.[323] In his text:

[XIV] H\<w\>æt, ic hwīle nū   hāliges lāre
      lēoðgiddinga,   lof þæs þe worhte,
      wordum wēmde,   wyrd undyrne.
      Ofer mīn gemet   mycel is tō secganne

This arrangement both breaks the Law and makes awkward prosody for no better reason than that Brooks could not see how to read *ofer mīn gemet* with *wyrd undyrne*. Yet the meaning of the poet's assertion seems clear enough if we attach the former

[320] Brooks (1961), xl, xlv.
[321] Stevens (1981), 14.
[322] Kendall (1996), 16.
[323] Brooks (1961), xlv, 112.

half-line to its predecessor. The poet claims to be incompetent, and Kuhn's Laws have helped scholars take him at his word, but the metrical prosody of *Andreas* is better read more generously. His verse is less conservative than *Beowulf*, although he was probably brought up on that poem. In its metre and prosody, *Andreas* is the work of a modernist who acclimatizes tradition.

5 Poetic Style

More so than on metre, much work has been done on the stylistics of *Andreas* and the poem's relationship or lack of it with *Beowulf*, with the works of Cynewulf, and with other poems such as *Genesis* A and *Guthlac* A and B.[324] The tendency in this type of study has been to attribute verbal parallels to a common culture of written and unwritten composition which is based on oral-formulaic style, without seeking to explain these as evidence of relationships between poets. The present edition aims to acknowledge the old stylistic basis of research, while allowing for the consideration of verbal parallels as signs of influence. At the time of writing, the most effective studies in the latter area are by Alison Powell and by Andy Orchard.[325] On the basis of his own and Powell's detailed work, Orchard claims that 'the Andreas-poet knows and borrows freely from a palette of poems still surviving today', finding that *Andreas* shares 28 compound nouns uniquely with all four signed poems of Cynewulf, 32 uniquely with *Beowulf* and 46 with other poems.[326] The poet's language matches that of Cynewulf pervasively: there are 149 larger verbal parallels unique to *Andreas* and one or more of Cynewulf's signed poems; and whereas 374 lines out of the 3182 lines (12%) of *Beowulf* are paralleled in *Andreas*, the figure for Cynewulf's poems is significantly higher, at 682 out of Cynewulf's extant 2601 lines (26%).[327] These figures and their contextual illustrations speak for the poet of *Andreas* as one of a generation influenced by Cynewulf, whose metre is demonstrably older.[328] Although there is no space for the quantity of illustration merited by these and other effects, a few examples of *Andreas*' resemblance to other works may reveal not only the poet's debts but also his originality.[329] Perhaps he is not the despoiler of a tradition he does not understand.

Poetic allusions to Cynewulf
The text of this digression announces a persona trained in the craft of Cynewulf. In the manuscript, as we have seen, this section got an initial capital which is the most ornate in the codex. Although the scribe probably meant this for the start of *The Fates of the Apostles* three folios later, as Celia Sisam argues, the faint outline of a long differently-shaped zoomorphic initial for the latter poem gives reason to suppose that he mixed up two jobs, and that he was tasked with glorifying both poets, Cynewulf and the poet of *Andreas* as well.[330] The poet says this:

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[324] Hamilton (1975), 82-94. Riedinger (1993), 305. For a determination that there is no relationship, see Peters (1951), 844-63.
[325] Orchard (forthcoming). Powell (2002), 54-104. See also Bredehoft (2009).
[326] Orchard (forthcoming), 5, 26, 37-58.
[327] Orchard (forthcoming), 8-9. Powell (2002), 168-232, esp. 175-76.
[328] Fulk (1992), §§ 379-93, 406-21.
[329] The versecraft of other passages may be found analysed in the notes.
[330] Sisam (1976), 19. See n. **1478**.

[XIV] H<w>æt, ic hwīle nū   hāliges lāre,
        lēoðgiddinga,   lof þæs þe worhte,
        wordum wēmde,   wyrd undyrne
        ofer mīn gemet.   Mycel is tō secganne,
        langsum leornung,   þæt hē in līfe ādrēag,
        eall æfter orde.   Þæt scell æglǣwra
        mann on moldan   þonne ic mē tælige
        findan on ferðe,   þæt fram fruman cunne
        eall þā earfeðo   þe hē mid elne ādrēah,
        grimra gūða.   Hwæðre gīt sceolon
        lȳtlum sticcum   lēoðworda dǣl
        furður reccan.

                        Þæt is fyrnsægen,
        hū hē weorna feala   wīta geðolode,
        heardra hilda,   in þǣre hǣðenan byrig. (lines 1478-91)

XIV   Listen, for a while now I have been pleading
        words in verse ballad so as to teach what glories
        the saint performed, a history which, when revealed,
        lies beyond my capacity. A big task it is, a work
        of time-consuming study, to say everything he suffered
        in life from the start. Wiser in the law than I
        is the earthly man, by my reckoning, who shall find
        in his spirit the means of knowing from the beginning
        all the hardship that he courageously suffered
        in that fierce fighting. And yet the narration
        of a few lyrics more in little snatches on this theme
        must still be made.

                        It is an epic of ancient times,
        the great number of torments he endured,
        what harsh assaults in that heathen town.

This rakishly self-deprecating digression has no counterpart in the analogues, nor
does it seem likely to be based on the poet's apocryphal source to which he alludes in
wyrd undyrne 'a history revealed' (line 1480) .[331] The local function of his
intermezzo, as Fred Biggs initially suggests, may be to dissociate Andrew's passion
from the happy ending 300 lines later.[332] At any rate, the opening diction of this
modesty topos appears to be borrowed from Cynewulf. Not only does the above
expression match *wurd undyrne* with similar meaning elsewhere only in *Fates* 42, by
which Cynewulf leads into the fate of St Bartholomew in 'India', but the diminutive
lēoðgiddinga 'verse ballad' is emphasized as the poet's term for his genre one line
earlier on line 1479. The other place in the corpus where this compound occurs is
once again in *Fates* 97, before Cynewulf gives the runes that spell his name:

        Hēr mæg findan   for<e>þances glēaw,

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[331] On *wyrd* as 'history', Gretsch (1999), 161..
[332] Biggs (1988), 413.

se ðe hine lysteð   lēoðgiddunga,
hwā þās fitte fēgde: (*Fates* 96-98)[333]

Here may he find out, wise of forethought
that takes his pleasure with verse ballads,
who fashioned this fitt:

The poet of *Andreas*, portraying himself as a man unable to tell the story which *ǣglēwra mann* 'a man wiser in the law' (i.e. the bible) shall *findan on ferðe* 'find in his spirit' (lines 1483, 1485), appears to pay homage to the person who can *findan for<e>þances glēaw* 'find, wise of forethought' the tale which Cynewulf tells through his name. Cynewulf in *Fates* requires a certain *for<e>þanc* of the listener or reader sufficient to foresee the name *cynwulf* in **fwulcyn** with the second element given first. Yet his reiterated *f*-words (*findan... for<e>þanc... fitte fēgde ...* [*feoh*]) speak also for the intricate labours of joining fitts together with patterns of alliteration and assonance. The poet of *Andreas*, though he claims not to, has mastered these techniques. His persona speaks in lines 1480-87 with a burst of reinforced alliteration over eight lines, with a chiasmic envelope pattern with *l*-words led by the word *lēoð* on either side in lines 1479 and 1488 (*lēoð-*, *lof* and *lȳtlum, lēoð*), and with two back-linked alliterations at the start in lines 1478-80 (in *lāre* and *worhte*). The word *lāre*, in particular, leading to *lēoðgiddunga*, appears to claim Cynewulf as the poet's teacher of Old English verse composition.

   The Fates of the Apostles opens with words and effects to which *Andreas* may make a consciously distilled reference. In *Fates*, with bold for the important words which are also in *Andreas*, and with underline for those in common with *Beowulf*:

<H>WÆT, ic þysne sang   sīðgeōmor fand
on sēocum sefan,   samnode wīde
<u>hū þā æðelingas   ellen</u> cȳðdon
torhte ond **tīrēadige**.   **Twelfe** wǣron
dǣdum dōmfæste   Dryhtne gecorene
lēofe on līfe;   lof wīde sprang,
miht ond mǣrðo   ofer middangeard,
Þēodnes þegna   þrym unlȳtel. (lines 1-8)

Listen, I found, sad of journey, this song
in feverish mind, gathered up widely
how those princes made valour known,
bright and **illustrious**. **Twelve** they were
in deeds renowned, chosen by the Lord,
beloved in life; praise sprang widely,
might and glory over the middle world,
of the King's thanes a power not small.

Beowulf's opening lies not far away, in that Cynewulf appears to use at least two parts of it even though his context is only figuratively warlike. In *Beowulf* the theme goes as follows:

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[333] Brooks (1961), 59.

> HWÆT, WĒ GĀRDEna   in gēardagum
> þēodcyninga   þrym gefrūnon,
> hū ðā æþelingas   ellen fremedon! (lines 1-3)

> Listen, we have heard of the power
> of the nation-king of Spear-Danes in days of yore,
> how those princes carried out valour!

In *Fates*, as the above underlines show, Cynewulf appears to use *Beowulf*'s third line in his own third line, varied with the final verb. He matches the apostles with Danish princes, probably in order to say that they are better. There again, it is worth noting how smoothly he makes use of the older poet's language, turning this to overtly Christian ends. His half-line *lof wīde sprang* 'praise sprang widely' for all the apostles on line 6, takes this adaptation further by rendering without shame the half-line *blǣd wīde sprang* 'fame sprang widely' which celebrates 'Beow(ulf)' the mythical son of Scyld Scefing in *Beowulf* 18. The poet of *Andreas*, though he chooses *Beowulf*'s communal *wē* over Cynewulf's new *ic*, encapsulates much of the latter's opening in his first three lines:

> [I]   Hwæt, wē gefrūnan   on fyrndagum
> **twelfe** under tunglum   **tīrēadige** hæleð,
> **þēodnes þegnas**.   Nō hira **þrym** ālæg (*Andreas* 1-3)

> I   Listen, we have heard tell from ancient days
> of twelve illustrious heroes under the stars,
> **thanes of the King**. Never did their **power** fail

His own apostolic item is at least 1600 lines longer than *The Fates of the Apostles*, but both his opening and self-interruption show that he looks to Cynewulf for the stylistic model. His creation of a new compound from Cynewulf's two-word formula, *fer(h)ðgefēonde* (lines 915, 1584) from *fer(h)ð gefēonde* (*Elene* 174, 990), shows the same tendency to distil.[334]

Elsewhere, though we cannot include it here, it has been shown that the *Andreas*-poet's heavily borrows from, and alludes to, the other signed works of Cynewulf.[335] On the same line as a half-line elsewhere only in *Beowulf*, *ofer mīn gemet* 'beyond my powers' (with which young Wiglaf, on line 2879, blames himself for failing to help Beowulf survive the Dragon), the poet of *Andreas* appears to look to *Guthlac* A for an exclamation which covers most of his second sentence, on lines 1481-83. *Mycel is tō secganne*, he says, *þæt hē in līfe ādrēag, / eall æfter orde* 'A big task it is say everything he suffered / in life from the start'. Soon after the start of fitt VII in *Guthlac* (A) 531-32, it is similarly said of St Guthlac that *Micel is tō secgan, / eall æfter orde, þæt hē on elne ādrēag* 'A big task it is to say from the start everything he suffered in his zeal'. The formula is traditional, but where the one-line reinforced vocalic alliteration is broken in the case of *Andreas*, it seems that the poet of this work transposes two half-lines from *Guthlac* A. As Cynewulf says that St Bartholomew's fate is *wurd undyrne* 'a history revealed' (*Fates* 42), and as St Bartholomew was known also for helping St Guthlac (*Guthlac* (A) 723; see also Vercelli homily XXIII),

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[334] Orchard (forthcoming), 31.
[335] Orchard (1995); (forthcoming). Powell (2002).

it may be conjectured that the poet of *Andreas* read *Fates* and *Guthlac* A in conjunction.

Poetic allusions to Beowulf

It also appears that the poet has internalized much of *Beowulf*. We have seen that he belittles his own persona with the same phrase as Wiglaf his; and that he uses an opening formula, in *wē gefrūnan on fyrndagum*; this renders tradition communally, just as *Beowulf* does with *wē in gēardagum ... gefrūnon* in lines 1-2. In addition, his self-interruption echoes *Beowulf* by citing a genre beyond the *lēoðgiddinga* 'verse ballad' in line 1479, or even his own performance with *lȳtlum sticcum lēoðworda dǣl / furður* 'a few lyrics more in little snatches on this theme' (lines 1488-9). He tells us that the desired type of poem is ambitious: *fyrnsǣgen* 'an epic of ancient times' (line 1489). If we look in *Beowulf* for the words to which this claim of genre may refer, we find an unnamed Danish noble accompanying Beowulf on his ride back from the Mere:

> guma gilphlæden   gidda gemyndig
> se ðe ealfela   ealdgesegena
> worn gemunde. (*Beowulf* 868-70)

> a man laden with boasts, mindful of episodes,
> who a whole multitude of old epics
> remembered in great number.

In *Beowulf* this king's thane does in retrospect what his English imitator is about to undertake in *Andreas*. One line refers to *ealdgesegena*, the other to *fyrnsǣgen*, both to celebrate a hero's victory against the cannibal. Yet the younger poet sees the genre differently. The digression describes his approach to epic as if he were another Wiglaf facing the Dragon, his mentor almost dead.

Although our poet's style of reference prefers Cynewulf to heroic epic (which he implies to be a monster), it is worth noting that his fitt-divisons have more in common with the speech-oriented fitt-divisions of *Beowulf*. The 14 divisions of *Elene* (before Cynewulf's Epilogue) are numbered and tally in most cases with the same number of chapters in the *Acts of St Cyriacus*, a work which is close to its source. On the other hand, the unnumbered fitts of *Andreas* match the chapters of the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis only three times clearly, in the fifth, tenth, and eleventh fitts, for chs. 9, 22, 24 respectively.[336] There is a less close join between the third, fourth, perhaps sixth, seventh, eighth, twelfth and fifteenth fitts, and respectively chs. 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 26, 32. This apparent ratio of two fitts to one chapter is not only inconstant, but also indicative of a less bookish construction than Cynewulf's; or of one which might be learned, but which keeps translation and composition apart as distinct exercises, perhaps because the first is more collaborative than the second. The *Andreas*-poet or a redactor seems to have revised the poem locally, without attention to the temporal unities, by removing a reference (such as survives in the Casanatensis) to Andrew's preliminary incarceration immediately after his arrest by the brass pillar. Thus the finished text counts three excarcerations rather than two on line 1392, making a contingent error with four incarcerations rather than three on line 1458.[337] With this

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[336] Allen and Calder (1976), 60-68.
[337] See nn. **1390-91**, **1458-60**.

revisionist style of composition, which is apparently more extemporizing than what the Latinate *fitt gefēgan* might imply about Cynewulf, the poet of *Andreas* is closer to *Beowulf* than he pretends.

Indeed the verbal parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* are high in number, and there is a persistent likeness between these poems. Much has thus been done to prove or disprove the possibility that the poet of *Andreas* leans heavily on *Beowulf*. At first blush the notion of his borrowing adds serious heroic colour. Stanley and others see some of these as the only evidence of *Beowulf*'s reception in another poem, whilst Hamilton goes further in suggesting that the poet of *Andreas* 'cultivated ways of marking departures from the epic, or from the old heroic tradition that *Beowulf* best conveys for us'.[338] Against this view is Peters' case that *Andreas* owes everything to its source and consequently the debt is transposed: *Beowulf* borrowed from *Andreas*.[339] More carefully, although it is noteworthy that he takes only two examples (*Andreas* 303-03 and 360-62), Schabram points towards the same conclusion. He believes that the claims of *Andreas*' debt to *Beowulf* do not pass Schaar's methodological test, that the formulaic phrase, to be proved as a loan, should be syntactically and contextually less viable than its alleged source.[340] However, as Schabram admits, there is something odd in a test which, in order to work, must presume that *Andreas* is the work of a hack.

Opinion is also divided over the extent to which some verbal parallels may be claimed as causative of others in a poetic system which was still formulaic. However, the wider context offers much help: if we first find some parallels unique to *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, and then make sense of the purpose of a loan in each case, the likelihood of influence from one poem to the other is increased. To give one example, St Andrew is named *beorn beaduwe heard* 'a warrior hard in battle' (line 982) as he marches on the jail to rescue St Matthew. These words, which recall the epithet *beadwe heard* of Beowulf as he closes with Grendel's Mother (*Beowulf* 1539), make up a formula. However, this is one which occurs neither in prose nor elsewhere in the 30,000 extant Old English poetic lines. In *Beowulf*, this formula is visibly related to the words *bǫðvarr bjarki* 'battle-ready little bear', which are the basis for the names, such as *Bodvar* and *Biarco*, of Beowulf's deeply heathen counterpart in the later Norse analogues.[341] In *Beowulf*, in this way, the formula's application is primary, whereas in *Andreas* it is secondary. To make better sense of this epithet in *Andreas*, it may be said that the poet recasts Andrew as Beowulf in order to make him emulate the *miles* in *miles Christi*.[342]

Andreas has a serious purpose, for ultimately it honours St Andrew and ends with a paean of praise for the Lord. Yet in fulfilling this purpose the poet exhibits an ironic sense of humour which seems related to his general wildness of expression.[343] On one hand, some comic effects will be inherited, for such possibilities inhere in the primary Greek analogue of which a Latin adaptation was probably available to the poet of *Andreas*.[344] This seems to be the case with Andrew's sea-journey to Mermedonia in the first third of the story. The source would have given most of its initial length to

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[338] Stanley (1966), 110-11. Hamilton (1975), 82-86, esp. 82.
[339] Peters (1951). Olsen (1984), 25.
[340] Schaar (1956), 304. Schabram (1965b), 207-18, esp. 216-17.
[341] North (2006), 48-49.
[342] Hill (1981), 57-80.
[343] Irving (1983), 229. Magennis (2000), 145-47. Herbison (2000), 186-208. Wilcox (2003), 207-09.
[344] Herbison (2000), 185-87.

the dialogue between Andrew and Jesus disguised as the ship's captain. On the other hand, *Andreas* is alive with a sense of humour, not only in this sea-crossing but in the rest of the poem, especially in several extravagant moments which appear to take *Beowulf* as their source. The poet goes further than Cynewulf would have done in depicting a rescue mission and conversion. It appears that this emulator of *Fates* recasts Mermedonia as the inverse of Heorot, starts by presenting Andrew as Beowulf's inferior match, and then subjects his pagans to a mock-heroic ridicule, which his intended audience could not have enjoyed without knowing *Beowulf*. It could even be said that he adopts a Beowulfian style of epic in order to to undermine the values of *Beowulf* itself.

It seems that the poet of *Andreas* borrows not only widely but also subversively from this poem. Some of his loans may be read as barbed references to the compassion with which the poet of *Beowulf* ennobles heathens, for instance where he describes the Mermedonian pagans before their conversion. The Mermedonians are important in meriting this, for they are both the opposition and the outcome: any mock-epic humour cannot be directed against them in their Christian state. Before conversion, however, they count as fair game. Having introduced us to the apostles at the beginning, he follows the source in beginning with Mermedonia, target of St Matthew's mission. The inhabitants of this exotic country practice murder, arresting pilgrims to eat them after a fattening of thirty days. It is not a loaf, he says, or drink of water that men in this country once used, but blood and skin, the flesh of men come from afar, on which they *ðēgon* 'dined' (line 25). A Christian can eat the body and blood of Christ as bread and wine or water, but the Mermedonians hardly know this. These lines (21-25) on consumption suggest a pagan, albeit unwitting, parody of the Eucharist. In any other poem on pagans as safely removed from England as their city by the Black Sea, the Mermedonians might have looked little worse than the unbelieving Romans in *Juliana* and *The Fates of the Apostles*. Yet the poet of *Andreas* differs in the portrait of his pagans: he seems provoked by them. This may be seen in the formula with which he sums them up: *Swelc wæs þēaw hira* 'Such was their custom' (line 25b), he says of the Mermedonians, that they turned every passing foreigner into meat. This bare introductory half-line is oddly all that is needed to bring the Danes of *Beowulf* to mind. When Grendel invades Heorot, they lose their glory. When King Hrothgar and his council prove helpless, the Danes sink to devil-worship, making offerings to idols:

> Swylc wæs þēaw hyra,
> hæþenra hyht.   Helle gemundon
> in mōdsefan,   Metod hīe ne cūþon,
> dæda Dēmend,   ne wiston hīe Drihten god,
> ne hīe hūru heofena Helm   herian ne cūþon,
> wuldres Waldend. (*Beowulf* 178-83)

> Such was their custom,
> hope of heathen men. They were mindful of hell
> in their hearts, did not know the Measurer,
> Judge of Deeds, nor were wise to the Lord God,
> nor knew how to praise the Helm of heaven,
> Ruler of Glory.

The Danes here resemble the old Israelites who were known for idolatry too (Exodus 32: 1-6). The *Beowulf*-poet's advocacy for his heathens as honorary Israelites may be seen in that the Danes only pray to the devil out of ignorance, in the style of Scyld's executors earlier in lines 50-52; otherwise they praise God most of the time. The monotheism into which King Hrothgar's later invocations and 'Sermon' (lines 1700-86) are thus morally translated is that of the Israelites in all but name. To add to this spiritual salvage of Scandinavians, Hrothgar's name is left out of the idolatry, and in both passages, Scyld's funeral and the Danish sacrifices, the poet of *Beowulf* takes the care to soften the crimes of his heathens.

The half-line *swelc wæs þēaw hira* early in *Andreas* 25 shows that the poet makes a similar introduction, for both *Andreas* and *Beowulf*'s long Danish prelude are plotted with a hero setting off over high seas to rescue a foreign nation from cannibal assaults. Without knowing it, though doubtless the audience knew it, Andrew even likens his own expedition to Beowulf's by praising the ship he is in with the words *færeð fāmigheals fugole gelīcost* 'with foamy neck she sails most like a bird' (line 497). His line recalls the Geat's *flota fāmīheals fugle gelīcost* 'vessel foam-necked most like a bird' (*Beowulf* 218). However, the emerging differences between these poems make his line the mock of *Beowulf*'s. The cannibals in *Andreas* are introduced as the host nation itself, and most other parallels with *Beowulf* concern the manner in which he represents them. The source probably portrayed the Mermedonians as provincial non-Christians living through a sub-Roman apocalypse, but the poet of *Andreas* turns them into a parody of the Scyldings.[345] A city full of Grendels?[346] Having entrapped St Matthew, who visited them earlier, the Mermedonians invert the Heorot scenario in which it is the stranger who entraps the people. Andrew, as a hero who is forced to set out on his mission, is likewise the inverse of Beowulf. Having questioned the Lord's command to save Matthew in three days, then looking for his transport to Mermedonia by the shore the next morning, he cuts a poor figure alongside the headstrong Geat who leaves for Denmark against his uncle's wishes, having picked his own ship and crew. A saint's modesty goes too far in Andrew's initial reluctance to obey the Lord, to leave the mission in Achaea and to set off impulsively to reach Mermedonia within three days. However, the rest of the poem shows Andrew's moral recovery and access of superhuman powers. It is partly to emphasise the Christian source of Andrew's courage that this poet mocks *Beowulf* for its nostalgia for heathen values.[347]

The exchange between Andrew on the shore and the sailors in the boat the next morning, as several commentators have noted, is marked by a comedy of misunderstanding which is based on Andrew's failure to perceive that the ship's captain is his old friend Jesus in disguise.[348] The *Praxeis* makes the dialogue short and careful. The captain's surprise is convincing, and there may be comedy in the apparent unworldliness with which Andrew reveals to the ship's captain that *Ναῦλον οὐχ ἔχομεν σοι παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ἄρτον ἔχομεν εἰς διατροφήν* 'we have no fare to offer you, nor do we even have a loaf for our sustenance' (ch. 6).[349] However, self-denial is part of a saint's weaponry, and Andrew confirms his worth, for which the Lord is testing him, by saying that he is on a mission from God, and that if the captain cannot help, he and his men will find another boat. All this is before Andrew has

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[345] See further Bintley (2009), 105-18.
[346] Cf. Bolintineanu (2009), 153; Anlezark (2006), 357.
[347] Brooks (1961). Herbison (2000), 193. Mitchell and Robinson (1998).
[348] Irving (1983). Wilcox (2003), 208-09.
[349] Blatt (1930), 42. MacDonald (1993), 285.

boarded. The Casanatensis lets Andrew and the others board before this part of the exchange. This version explains more solemnly that the Lord is testing Andrew by asking for the fare. Andrew answers, *Crede mihi frater, quia nec aurum habeo, neque argentum, unde tibi naulum dare, set neque panem in sitarcis*, 'Believe me brother, I have no gold, nor silver, with which to pay you my fare, nor even a loaf as part of my provisions' (ch. 6).[350] The Casanatensis captain responds with disbelief, rather than with irony, repeating the things which Andrew does not have in order to get an explanation. Andrew's ensuing mission statement defends his saintly poverty more elaborately than in the Greek, but with the same elements. The whole scene, as Wilcox has observed, is structured around the Eucharist, in that the Lord breaks bread with Andrew which, since the disciples are too seasick to eat it, Andrew shares with Him. Andrew's assurance to the captain, that the Lord will offer him bread as recompense, captures the unwitting irony of the apostle's position.[351]

Andreas here starts off with a departure from appears to be the source, when Andrew asks where the ship has sailed from, rather than where she is bound. Since the latter is more practical and all analogues make it into Andrew's question, it seems likely that the poet takes the opportunity to allude to the Coastguard's position when Beowulf and friends disembark in Denmark; as well as to his question *Hwæt syndon gē searohæbbendra* 'what kind of armed men are you?' in *Beowulf* 237 (-240). The Coastguard's courtesy turns to good-humoured irony when Beowulf lets slip his opinion of King Hrothgar (lines 277-85). Conversely in *Andreas*, when the ship's captain does his best to provoke Andrew on shore, the poet magnifies the latter's hot saintly temper. The not so latent anger of St Andrew is given at the end of the *Praxeis* (ch. 33). Politely at first, hailing the captain, Andrew asks for passage, *þēh ic þe bēaga lȳt, / sincweorðunga, syllan meahte* 'though few are the rings, treasures and adornments I could give you' (lines 271-72). Although he adds that God will repay the captain, soon he hears the captain provoke him concerning the dangers of going to Mermedonia. At last the captain accepts their strength of purpose, but then raises the stakes again by offering transport only when Andrew and friends have *gafulrǣdenne āgifen* 'yielded up payment of tribute', *sceattas gescrifene* 'coins as prescribed' (lines 296-97), to the sailors' price. That Andrew answers *ofstlīce* 'hastily' (line 299) shows that he has temper, and the poet responds by calling him *wineþearfende* 'in need of friends' (line 300). Andrew's answer is a provocative satire of heroic expectations. Later he explains that the Lord taught him to live without gold and silver (lines 337-38), but here he makes his poverty clear by ditching the coins for an exaggerated image of treasure:

> 'Næbbe ic fǣted gold   ne feohgestrēon,
>   welan ne wiste   ne wīra gespann,
> landes ne locenra bēaga,   þæt ic þē mæge lust āhwettan,
>   willan in worulde,   swā ðū worde becwist.' (*Andreas* 301-04)

> 'I have no plated gold, nor riches of treasure,
>   no wealth nor provisions nor fastening of wires,
> no land nor linked rings, with which I can possibly arouse your desire,
>   such worldly pleasure as in words you reproach me for.'

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[350] Blatt (1930), 43.
[351] Wilcox (2003), 208.

Andrew makes a point about expectations: Andrew is a missionary and the captain should know better. He makes this point with the emphasis of the hypermetric line 303, which begins with *landes ne locenra bēaga* no land nor linked rings' At first there seems to be a lack of clarity, for the phrase has been called an 'objective genitive', of a poet who 'tries to write in the heroic style, but sometimes muddles it'.[352] As Schabram has shown, however, the mixed accusative-genitive object complement has other OE instances.[353] The poet's skill is indeed vindicated if we read this half-line as a quotation from *Beowulf*.

In *Beowulf* the phrase *landes ond locenra bēaga* occurs in the third of but three hypermetric passages and belongs to a dénouement concerning Hygelac, Beowulf's mother's brother and best friend. In the story, Beowulf is now dead and an unnamed Geatish Messenger has come to the army with the news. He sketches a reverse history of the wars which the Geats have fought with their neighbours: first with the Franks, who killed Hygelac when he raided their territory; then with old king Ongentheow of the Swedes, who killed Hæthcyn in the battle of Ravenswood, threatened death to the Geatish survivors all night long, only to withdraw when Hygelac, the younger brother, marched in to save them in the morning. Hygelac routs the Swedes and sends his champions Wulf and Eofor after King Ongentheow. When the king falls after a ferocious fight, Hygelac loots the Swedish kingdom and returns in triumph. Then, with dire consequences for the stability of his own country, he rewards his two champions with excessive riches:

> 'geald þone gūðræs   Gēata dryhten,
> Hrēðles eafora,   þā hē tō hām becōm,
> Iofore ond Wulfe   mid ofermāðmum,
> sealde hiora gehwæðrum   hund þūsenda
> landes ond locenra bēaga   (ne ðorfte him ðā lēan oðwītan
> mon on middangearde   syððan hīe ðā mǣrða geslōgon),
> ond ðā Iofore forgeaf   āngan dohtor,
> hāmweorðunge,   hyldo tō wedde.' (*Beowulf* 2991-98)

> 'The lord of Geats, Hrethel's offspring, when he came
> to his home-seat, paid Eofor and Wulf
> for that war-charge with an excess of treasure,
> gave each of them one hundred and twenty thousand
> of land and linked rings (nor need any man in the middle world begrudge
> them that reward, since they had won those glories by fighting for them)
> and then he gave Eofor his only daughter
> as ennobler of his estate, the pledge of his loyalty.'

The authenticity of the hypermetric lines has been questioned,[354] but they work well enough to show that the end of Hygelac's career is implicit in its beginning. Hygelac's prodigal generosity after his Swedish campaign will become a habit to be replenished by ever riskier ventures until the excess of it leads him and all but one of his men to an expeditionary disaster in Frisia.[355] The image here is political and

[352] Hamilton (1975), 83.
[353] Schabram (1965b), 207-13.
[354] Lapidge (2000), 37-38.
[355] North (2006), 256-57. On Hygelac's daughter as his sole overspending, see Hall (2006).

apparently far removed from the ship's captain to shore situation that we have in *Andreas*. Yet it may still be argued that the half-line in *Andreas* is imported from *Beowulf*, because its negative version of the Geatish Messenger's *hund þūsenda / landes ond locenra bēaga* (*Beowulf* 2995) can be read as the quotation from *Beowulf* which illustrates a spendthrift king.

    The *Andreas*-poet's view of treasure emerges in the course of another apparent allusion to *Beowulf*. Describing Andrew's ship as filled with it, like Scyld's, he makes it clear that this treasure is even greater:

>   Ǣfre ic ne hȳrde
> þon cymlīcor   cēol gehladenne
> hēahgestrēonum. (*Andreas* 360-62)

>   Never did I hear
> of any keel the comelier laden
> with high treasures.

The poet of *Beowulf* uses similar language to describe Scyld Scefing's funeral ship before she is pushed on the deep, destination unknown:

> ne hȳrde ic cymlīcor   cēol gegyrwan
> hildewǣpnum   ond heaðowǣdum
> billum ond byrnum. (*Beowulf* 38-40)

> Nor did I hear of a comelier keel made ready
> with war-weapons and battle garments,
> with axes and coats of mail.

To the *Beowulf*-poet it is clear that this treasure, which he calls *þēodgestrēonum* 'tribal treasures' a few lines later (line 44), is socially important. Yet from the evident re-use of his crucial words in *Andreas* it appears that the later poet sees treasure differently. In one likely usage, the *Andreas* treasure is the merchant's cargo in the hold; in another, as Schabram makes clear, it is the heavenly skipper and angelic or saintly complement.[356] Where the apostle is concerned, Andrew's scorn for material wealth is the right attitude to have.

    There is little space here to discuss the situation comedy in the dialogue between Andrew and the Lord on the ship's crossing. However, if we think, through Andrew's ecstatic praise of God in lines 540-48, that he has finally grasped the identity of the gifted ship's captain who asks him all the questions, we shall be disappointed. Instead, Andrew begins to patronize, exclaiming that God has shown favour *þissum hysse* 'to this boy' (line 550) by honouring him with wit and eloquence: *Ic æt efenealdum ǣfre ne mētte*, he says condescendingly, *on mōdsefan māran snyttro* 'In a man of his age I have never met / greater cleverness of mind' (lines 553-54). This dangerous parting flourish is lacking in the analogues, whose speech is smaller and ends with a paean to the Lord. The parallel is with *Beowulf*, though not in the form of a quotation. King Hrothgar uses a similar condescension on just before Beowulf takes his leave. The foreign champion has offered to help out in any trouble for Denmark in the future, such an invasion (lines 1826-35) and a possible threat to Hrothgar's sons

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[356] Schabram (1965b), 214-16.

(lines 1836-9).[357] Hrothgar takes neither offer seriously, but praises the wisdom of the man who makes the offer:

> 'Þē þā wordcwydas   wigtig Drihten
> on sefan sende;   ne hȳrde ic snotorlīcor
> on swā geongum fēore   guman þingian.' (*Beowulf* 1842-43)

> 'These words you have uttered the wise Lord
> sent to your heart; nor have I heard a man
> at such young stage of life intercede more cleverly.'

In this comparison, the difference lies not between Andrew and Hrothgar, who are both beyond middle age, but between their interlocutors. Andrew's condescension is far worse than Hrothgar's because the young captain is God in disguise.

Andrew's mistake is brought home to him in a Cynewulfian harmony. At first he and his companions are wafted asleep by angels to a place outside the walls of Mermedonia. Then he wakes up, wakens the disciples and pretends to have known all along that the captain was Jesus. They in turn reveal a vision of the heavenly future to which Andrew was not invited:

> 'Wē ðē, Andrēas,   ēaðe gecȳðað
> sīð ūserne,   þæt ðū sylfa miht
> on**g**itan **g**lēawlīce   **g**āstgehygdum.
> Ūs sæwērige   slǣp ofer*ēo*de.
> Þā cōmon *ea*rnas   ofer ȳða wylm
> on **f**lyhte <**f**aran>,   **f**eðerum hrēmige;
> ūs of slǣpendum   sāwle ābrugdon,
> mid ge**f**ēan **f**eredon   **f**lyhte on *l*yfte,
> **b**r<u>eht</u>mum **b**l<u>īð</u>e,   **b**eorhte ond *l*<u>īð</u>e,
> *l*issum *l*<u>ufodon</u>   ond in *l*ofe w<u>unedon</u>,
> þǣr wæs **s**ingāl **s**ang   ond **s**wegles g<u>ong</u>,
> **w**litig **w**eoroda h<u>ēap</u>   ond **w**uldres þr<u>ēat</u>.
> Ūtan ymbe æðelne   **e**nglas stōdon,
> **þ**egnas ymb **þ**ēoden,   **þ**ūsendmǣlum,
> **h**eredon on **h**ēhðo   **h**ālgan stefne
> **dr**y<u>ht</u>na **dr**y<u>hten</u>;   **dr**ēam wæs on <u>hyhte</u>.' (lines 859-74)

> 'We to you, Andrew, will freely make known
> our journey so that you in your own person may
> clearly perceive every thought in our spirit.
> Weary at sea we were overcome by sleep.
> Then eagles came across the surge of waters
> <moving> in flight, joyful in their feathers;
> they drew the souls out of us as we slept,
> carried us with gladness in flight aloft,
> sang out for joy wth clear notes and calm,
> loved us with kindness and dwelt there in praise
> where song was perpetual and zodiac in motion,

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[357] North (2006), 53, 108-09, 116.

dazzling the host-band and glory battalion.
Around the Prince stood angels in circles outwards,
thanes around the Chief in their thousands,
sang praise in the heights with holy voices
to the Lord of lords; their occupation was joy.

They have seen patriarchs, martyrs and David singing before Christ in heaven, as well
as the archangels serving the twelve good disciples including Andrew himself (this is
a vision of the future):

þǣr wæs **w**uldres **w**y<u>nn</u>,   **w**īgendra þry<u>m</u>,
æðelīc **o**ng<u>inn</u>,   næs þǣr ǣnigum ge*w*<u>inn</u>.
Þām bið *w*ræcsīð *w*itod,   *w*īte geopenad,
þe þāra <gefēana> sceal   fremde weorðan,
hēan **h**wearfian,   þonne **h**eonon gangaþ.' (lines 887-91)

'There was ecstasy of glory, majesty of warriors,
excellence in action, nor strife with anyone.
For them ordained is exile, opening of torment,
who from that <joy> must be excluded,
to turn away in shame when hence they go.'

These jubilating lines resemble both Cynewulf's Epilogue to *Elene* 1236-50 and parts
of *The Phoenix* (such as lines 460-81) with sustained passages of perfect and
imperfect internal rhyme (here variously underlined), as well as with lines with
reinforced and cross-alliteration (in bold) and back-alliteration (in italics).[358] In
addition, the passages of reinforced alliteration have a diminuendo in that their length
dwindles from nine to seven to the five lines with which the speech ends. The
Cynewulfian echoes are concentrated in lines 866-70, which correlate with the angelic
hymns to be heard in all quarters of heaven, and in lines 887-88. Heaven is thus made
palpable to the apostle who has not yet arrived there. Moreover, the Cynewulfian
effect gives the disciples as a younger generation which has swapped *Beowulf* for a
more aureate style.

As if to re-emphasize Andrew's age, the Lord reappears as an imperious infant,
rebuking Andrew not for his myopia but for his original doubts. The result of this
scene is the pain which is necessary if Andrew is to harden to the task. Doing so, and
no longer hesitating to follow the Lord's instructions, Andrew earns the hero's
epithet, *beorn beaduwe heard* 'a warrior hard in battle' (line 982), as he walks to the
jail. As we have seen, this formula resembles Beowulf's epithet *beadwe heard*, for
when he closes momentarily barehanded with Grendel's Mother (*Beowulf* 1539).
From here on in, the *Andreas*-poet's mockery is deflected from Andrew to the
Mermedonian pagans, or to the epic genre itself.

This poet's next surprise is to make Andrew look like Grendel breaking in to
Heorot. As soon as Andrew reaches the prison, divine intervention ensures that all
seven guards drop dead. Just as in the analogues, Andrew *se hālga* 'the saint' (line
996) prays to the Father quietly within his breast, praising god*es dryhtendōm* 'God's
lordship' (line 999). The Lord helps His warrior walk in:

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[358] Orchard (1995), 443; (forthcoming), 29-31.

> Duru sōna onarn
> þurh han<d>hrine   hāliges gastes,
> ond þǣr in ēode,   elnes gemyndig,
> hæle hildedēor.   Hǣðene swǣfon,
> drēore druncne,   dēaðwang rudon. (*Andreas* 999-1003)

> At once the door rushed open
> with a touch from the hand of the holy guest,
> and inside, inspired by valour, marched in
> a man daring in battle. Heathens were sleeping,
> drunk with blood, had reddened the place of death.

The dead heathens outside are momentarily glimpsed as if sleeping inside. The effect is to remind us of a scene in *Beowulf*, of which further reminiscence is triggered by a hand-touch made to resemble Grendel's forced entry. There is first the long-awaited approach of this wretched *rinc* 'man', who is *drēamum bedǣled* 'of happiness deprived' (lines 720-21). Then the splintering wood:

> Dūru sōna onarn,
> fȳrbendum fæst,   syþðan hē hire folmum ǣthrān;
> onbrǣd þā bealohȳdig,   ðā hē gebolgen wæs,
> recedes mūþan.   Raþe æfter þon
> on fāgne flōr   fēond treddode,
> ēode yrremōd.   Him of ēagum stōd
> ligge gelīcost   leoht unfæger.
> Geseah hē in recede   rinca manige
> swefan sibbegedriht   samod ætgædere
> magorinca hēap. (*Beowulf* 721-30)

> At once the door rushed open,
> made firm with fired bonds, when he touched it with his hands;
> with evil purpose he swung it open, now he was enraged,
> the building's mouth. Swiftly after that
> did the fiend tread in on stained floor,
> walk in wrathful of mind. From his eyes appeared,
> most like a flame, a light of no beauty.
> Saw there in the building many warriors,
> a kindred comitatus sleeping together,
> a band of young men.

Andrew is doing good in that is ready to snatch Matthew and other prisoners from a fate worse than death. Yet *Andreas* also plays with our expectations of *Beowulf*. As Hamilton says, the poet 'reverses what we may think of as the received point of view'.[359] Orchard sees a similar move towards Cynewulf later in *Andreas*, in the way that God's restorative visit to Andrew's cell, not long before the end of his sufferings in line 1462-63, is related with the same expressions as a devil's visit to *Juliana*, in Juliana 242-43, just before her suffering is about to start.[360] The aim is to surprise an

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[359] Hamilton (1975), 86.
[360] Orchard (forthcoming), 22.

audience accustomed to literary disaster. In his own case, Matthew expects a cannibal but gets Andrew instead. When he enters, the poet's hagiographic purpose emerges in the joy of his warm reunion with Matthew under the eyes of Christ (lines 1004-19). In this light, the statement *syb wæs gemǣne / bām þām gebrōðrum* 'goodwill was shared between both brethren' (lines 1013-14) emphasises the faith community of the Apostles and its ascendancy over all tribal kindreds such as the *sibbegedriht* 'kindred comitatus' sleeping in Heorot (*Beowulf* 729). The uplift is greater for coming after Andrew's Grendel-like entry into the jail.

Not long after Andrew has dropped the guards and released all the prisoners, the townsfolk begin to starve. Not for the first time, the poet puts a strain on the story, using *Beowulf* to sharpen his attack on Mermedonian pagans. Illustrating their cannibalism in action, he presents another parody of the Eucharist. As sanctioned in the Casanatensis (end of ch. 24), the poet lets his Mermedonians eat the seven dead guards. The ensuing drama with the bad father, who offers his own son in lieu of himself, is handled in a way which might be contrasted with the death of King Hrethel in Beowulf, whose parental agony somehow redeems him.[361] Having saved the son who was to be eaten instead of his father, Andrew submits to arrest, but not until the poet once more recasts the Mermedonians, where they *gesǣton… sundor tō rune, / ermðu eahtigan* 'sat apart in secret counsel pondering their misery' (lines 1161-62), as the Scyldings after Grendel's initial attacks, where many a man often *gesæt / rice tō rune, rǣd eahtedon* 'sat powerful in secret counsel, they pondered their options' (*Beowulf* 171-72). Having arrested Andrew, the Mermedonian judges spend the following three days in an orgy of torturing, flogging and dragging the saint in and out of his cell and around the city. His sufferings are presented on the level of realism. Andrew's blood flows in gouts and his flesh is torn by the streets of this heathen city in a premonition of the Eucharistic wine and host which the cannibals will one day celebrate. His resolve weakens to the point that he rebukes Jesus for not being exact about the punishment he was led to expect. Christ, he says, suffered within one day, Andrew for three.

At this point the influence of Cynewulf returns, bringing an instrumental solo in aid of the saint. The un-Beowulfian verse pyrotechnics show Andrew's pain reaching a peak:

> 'Ðū ðæt gehēte   þurh þīn **h**ālig word,
> þā ðū ūs twelfe   trymman ongunne,
> þæt ūs **h**eterōfra   **h**ild ne gescēode,
> ne **l**īces dæl   **l**ungre oððēoded,
> ne **s**ynu ne bān   on **s**waðe **l**āgon,
> ne **l**oc of hēafde   tō for**l**ore **w**urde,
> gif **w**ē þīne **l**āre   **l**ǣstan **w**oldon.
> Nū sint **s**ionwe tō**s**lopen,   is mīn **s**wāt ā**d**ropen,
> **l**icgað æfter **l**ande   **l**occas tō**d**rifene,
> fex on foldan.   Is mē feorhge**d**āl
> **l**ēofre mycle   þonne þēos **l**īfcearo!' (lines 1418-28)

> 'You promised this by your sacred word
> when you started to strengthen us twelve,
> that no warfare of maniacs would harm us,

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> nor any body-part be suddenly torn away,
> nor sinew or bone have to lie on the path,
> nor any lock from the head be lost,
> if we would just follow your teaching.
> Now sinews are softened, my blood has dripped out,
> lying over land my locks have been scattered,
> my hair on the ground. Parting from life for me
> is preferable by far to this care of living!'

The rhymes are here underlined, while back- and forward-alliteration is given in italics and cross-linked alliteration in bold. The poet alliterates chiefly on *h-*, *l-* and *s-*. In particular, five out of eight lines in lines 1421-28 alliterate with *l-*, all proceeding from the word *līces* 'of (my) body' and ending with a paronomasia from *lēofre* to *līfcearo*. This unique compound repeats the alternation of *leoð<u>* and *līc* on line 1404 (*leoð<u> tōlocen līc sāre gebrocen*) with the word *līf* (in *līfes lēohtfruma*) on line 1413. The intense concentration on liquids renders ululation. Aurally the poem here builds a bond between Andrew and the audience. When the Lord responds, restoring Andrew's broken body to a state better than new, our man is transformed into the full apostle. His new powers make him an improvement on the half-monstrous Beowulf with whom the poet compares Andrew unfavourably in the first half of the poem.

The flood-scene that follows confirms St Andrew's new powers in the poem's greatest set-piece. Not only does the poet paint a vivid picture of the Mermedonians' conversion, but he also mocks them as pagans by measuring their grief against Grendel's. In the analogues of *Andreas*, St Andrew, now a fully fledged Christian hero, starts off the punishment and conversion of his cannibal captors by ordering a statue to discharge a salt-water flood through its mouth. This scene has been typologically read as a simulation of baptism.[362] The waters rise higher, eating the cannibals who would have eaten Matthew. A wall of flame around the city, laid on by an angel (in the *Praxeis*, Michael) at Andrew's request, makes sure that the Mermedonians stay on to drown. Later, in a vivid demonstration of the power of resurrection, Andrew restores *ealle* 'all' the former cannibals bar the fourteen executioners to life (line 1623). The analogues are unanimous in denying this forgiveness to the worst offenders, with the addition of the bad father, although the *Praxeis* gives them a prospect of resurrection after Andrew has made his second return to Mermedonia after converting all the Achaeans. This episode is the moment of Andrew's victory in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, but the story there in comparison is functionally written.

In *Andreas* it stimulates a poetic *tour de force*. The stone wastes not a moment in obeying Andrew's command. A stream wells up in the dawn, flows out and floods the city, covering the earth and increasing in size. Our poet, aware of typology but also unable to resist a metaphor,[363] rises to the occasion by turning the flood into a heroic banquet: no food, and an unlimited helping of drink. His unique opening word parodies a metaphor at the climax of in the relevant scene in *Beowulf*. In *Andreas*:

> Meoduscerwen wearð

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[362] Hill (1969), 261-73. Walsh (1977), 145-48.

[363] Hill (1981), 71-72. Calder (1986), 119-26. Anlezark (2006), 210-30.

æfter symbeldæge,   slǣpe tōbrugdon
searuhæb<b>ende.   Sund grunde onfeng,
dēope gedrēfed.   Duguð wearð āfyrhted
þurh þæs flōdes fǣr.   Fǣge swulton,
geonge on geofene   gūðrǣs fornam
þurh sealtes wēg.   Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,
biter bēorþegu!   Byrlas ne gǣldon,
ombehtþegnas.   Þǣr wæs ælcum genōg
fram dæges orde   drync sōna gearu. (lines 1526-35)

It was a serving of mead
after the feast-day, men who kept weapons
woke from their sleep. Sea enfolded ground,
stirred from the depths. The company took fright
at this flood's assault. Doomed, they died,
young men in ocean snatched by war-charge
of salt swallow. That was a brewing of sorrow,
a bitter beer-tasting! Cup-bearers did not dally,
official servers. There was drink enough
at once ready for all from the start of day.

From the sweetness of mead, this drink turns bitter, and the *meoduscerwen* figure has been imagined as *poculum mortis*.[364] If this is so, 'the cup of death' forms part of the cultural background, for it does little to inform the passage. The immediate image is different, that of a wild party going wrong, a self-inflicted disaster, the poet's metaphor for heathendom in general.[365]

The *meoduscerwen* hapax in this passage has been explained without difficulty through the elements OE *meodu* 'mead' and *scierwan* 'to dispense'; any notion that the latter word contains the opposite meaning, 'deprive', is laid to rest by the deluge of the context. However, *meoduscerwen* also recalls the notorious word *ealuscerwen* in *Beowulf*, likewise a hapax. Despite the likelier direction of poetic loans, most critics read *ealuscerwen*, which is even harder to interpret, as a word of the same category as the compound in *Andreas*.[366] In *Beowulf*, the word *ealuscerwen* occurs at the height of Beowulf's fight against Grendel, just when we see the monster about to lose. Beowulf has waited in the shadows, allowing Grendel to eat the unfortunate Hondscio so that he can move in for his armlock. Once in the grip, Grendel thinks of fleeing: at this moment Beowulf's victory is achieved.

The poet of *Beowulf* uses *ealuscerwen* to announce this victory. Some critics state that the latter word is a negative metaphor for an attack as an overheavy drinking bout, but they overlook this tipping of the balance of power.[367] The poet of *Beowulf* starts off by saying that Grendel's was a *gēocor sīð* 'melancholy mission' (line 765). The hall of Heorot resounded:

Denum eallum wearð,

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[364] Brown (1940), 389-99. Smithers (1951-52), 67-75.
[365] Calder (1986), 132.
[366] Rowland (1990).
[367] Irving (1983), 235; (1966), 161-68. Klegraf (1971), 111-12. Hanning (1973), 211. 'Ale-share' in Anlezark (2006), 348.

> ceasterbūendum,   cēnra gehwylcum,
> eorlum ealuscerwen.   Yrre wǣron bēgen,
> rēþe renweardas.   Reced hlynsode. (*Beowulf* 765-70)

>   For all the Danes, for fortress-dwellers,
>   for each keen man, for noblemen, happened
>   a prescription of good fortune. Both were wrathful,
>   fierce the house-janitors. The building boomed.

Both *meoduscerwen* and *ealuscwerwen* are governed by *wearð*, the preterite of
weorðan 'become, happen'. The use of the former is explicable if we accept a theory
(of Ursula Dronke, by personal communication) that the *ealu*-prefix to the *Beowulf*
compound denotes 'good fortune' rather than 'ale', its homophone; that *ealu*,
connoting 'prosperity', is found inscribed as **alu** in runes on fourth-century bracteates,
on a sixth-century pot lid in Spong Hill, and in Old Scandinavian on the Eggjum stone
in eighth-century Norway;[368] and that the *scierwen*-base here connotes a carved
dispensation of good fortune.[369] That image is in the three Norns in *Vǫluspá* 'the
sibyl's prophecy' (*c*. 1000), of whom *Urðr* 'what has happened' and *Verðandi* 'what
is happening' are named as two (*Skuld* 'what must happen', as the third). These Norns
are shown to carve men's fates on slips of wood:

> Þaðan koma meyjar   margs vitandi
> þrjár ór þeim sæ,   er und þolli stendr.
> Urð hétu eina,   aðra Verðandi
> (skáru á skíði),   Skuld ina þriðju;
> þær lǫg lǫgðu,   þær líf kuru
> alda bǫrnum,   ǫrlǫg seggja. (*Vǫluspá* 20)[370]

> From there come maidens who know much,
> three from the lake which stands beneath the tree.
> Urðr they called one, Verðandi the second
> (they cut marks on wood), Skuld, the third.
> The maidens laid down laws, they chose lives
> for mankind's children, the destinies of men.

Some notion of carved destiny appears in the word *ealuscerwen* in the scene in
Beowulf. With the word *ealu* denoting 'good fortune', with *scerwen* being related to
scieran 'to cut' and with four dative phrases embodying the recipients, our reading of
this compound is best figured as an analogue of fate-inscribed symbols for men.
Hereby the poet of *Beowulf* appears to mark the beginning of a Danish victory over
Heorot's twelve-year predator.

In *Andreas*, in mocking contrast, the compound *meoduscerwen* marks the
beginning of doom for a heathen city. The poet of *Beowulf*, if *ealuscerwen* means
'prescription of good fortune' (*Beowulf* 769), describes people from the pre-Christian
past respectfully with a metaphor alluding to their time. With *meodscerwen* the poet

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[368] Krause and Jankuhn (1966), 239-41, 247-48, 255-59. Pieper (1986), 181-86. Olsen and
Liestøl (1924) I, 225-32, esp. 227.
[369] North (1994), 74-75.
[370] Dronke (1997), 12 (text) and 128 (note).

of *Andreas* may treat this word as antique nonsense. His purpose, being determined by the story in his source on St Andrew, is so different from that of *Beowulf* that his word-formation on the basis of a pun on the homophone in *ealu-scerwen*, as 'a dispensation of ale', looks like a wilful misreading. Even then, in the context of the destruction of cannibals with sea-water, *meoduscerwen* is no less dramatic.

The poet continues to mock Heorot's deliverance by letting his Mermedonians sing. As the flood-waters rise higher, and the townsfolk find themselves trapped between a fiery death in the encircling flames and a drowning in the waters, they begin to wail in lamentation. In the *Praxeis*: καὶ ἔκλαιον καὶ ἐβόων πάντες λέγοντες· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν 'and they wailed and cried out, all of them saying "Woe to us!"' (ch. 30); in the Casanatensis, *exclamaverunt omnes in impetu, et fletu magno dicentes, ve nobis de ista omnia que supervenerunt nos* 'they cried out, all of them, in a convulsion, and with great weeping, they said "Woe to us for all those things which have come upon us!"' (ch. 30).[371] By admitting the error of their ways they earn the mercy which Andrew provides. The poet of *Andreas* gives this an extra edge, by turning the cannibal wail into a composition of songs:

> Ðǣr wæs ȳðfynde   innan burgum
> geōmorgidd wrecen.   Gehðo mǣndan
> forhtferð manig,   fūslēoð gōlon.
> Egeslīc ǣled   ēagsyne wearð,
> heardlīc heretēam,   hlēoðor gryrelīc.
> Þurh lyftgelāc   lēges blǣstas
> weallas ymbwurpon,   wæter mycladon.
> Þǣr wæs wōp wera   wīde gehȳred,
> earmlīc ylda gedræg. (*Andreas* 1547-55)

> Easy there was it to find inside the town
> a performance of the blues. Bewailed their grief
> many fear-stricken men, eager litanies chanted.
> Terrifying fire became clear to the eye,
> cruel devastation, voices raised in horror.
> With airborne commotion did blasts of flame
> envelop the walls, the waters grew higher.
> Weeping of men there was widely heard,
> piteous the mob of men.

He lets the humour run free because the Mermedonians, still pagan at this stage, are not yet human. There is more kindness in the way Grendel's singing is described in *Beowulf*, when he begins to lose the battle in Heorot:

> Swēg up āstāg
> nīwe geneahhe.   Norð-Denum stōd
> atelīc egesa,   ānra gehwylcum
> þāra þe of wealle   wōp gehȳrdon,
> gryrelēoð galan   godes ondsacan,
> sigelēasne sang,   sār wanigean

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[371] Blatt (1930), 88-89.

helle hæfton.   Hēold hine fæste
se þe manna wæs   mægene strengest
on þām dæge   þysses līfes. (lines 782-90)

A melody arose,
a new one, constantly. Danes in Norway were struck
with a terrible fear, any one of them
who heard this weeping from his sea-wall,
a litany of horror chanted by God's adversary,
a song with no victory, an anguish keened
by hell's captive. He held him fast
who was physically the strongest
of all men in that day of this life.

In this passage the poet of *Andreas* appears to recall Grendel, God's adversary, *gryrelēoð galan* 'chanting a litany of horror' (*Beowulf* 786), as he presents the natural outcome of *meoduscerwen* festivity with the Mermedonian *fūslēoð gōlon* 'they chanted eager litanies' (*Andreas* 1549).

    Once the survivors of this unofficial baptism have asked for a real one, Andrew bids the flood subside, rejoicing at the change of heart (lines 1613-24). He orders the building of a church over his old prison near where he brought most drowned heathens back to life (line 1635). He ordains a bishop, whom the poet names *Platan* 'Plato' (line 1652).[372] The Mermedonians are transformed into Christians, their city into the Eucharist, all on a massive scale:

Þa gesamnedon   secga þrēate
weras geond þā wīnburg   wīde ond sīde,
eorlas ānmōde   ond hira idesa mid,
cwǣdon holdlīce   hȳran woldon,
onfōn fromlīce   fullwihtes bæð
Dryhtne tō willan,   ond dīofulgild,
ealde e*a*lhstedas,   ānforlǣtan. (lines 1636-42)

Mustered then in a mass of people
men through the wine-town far and wide,
gents with one purpose and their ladies too,
said they loyally wanted to listen,
piously receive the bath of baptism
by the Lord's will, and leave off idolatry,
ancient sanctuary-places, once and for all.

Later the Lord refers to Mermedonia as *wīnbyrig* 'wine-town' (line 1672), doubtless a city of the wine of the Eucharist. When Andrew wants to leave the city now, however, with the job half done, the poet portrays it as a *goldburg* 'gold-town', with *secga seledrēam ond sincgestrēon* 'hall-joys of men and treasure hoards': the *beorht bēagselu* 'bright ring-palaces'. The transformation is physical, that of the city itself, although the wealth is more than Andrew can stand (lines 1655-57). A new ideology

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[372] Blatt (1930), 145 (folio 157 verso).

which turns Mermedonia from ruin to reoccupied *burh* will be the subject of the next discussion.

6 Mermedonia

An enquiry into material backgrounds may have much to help our understanding of *Andreas*. One of the most significant aspects of the poet's adaptation of the aposcryphal legend, as Hugh Magennis points out, is the 'development of place and setting' which is achieved through the free exploitation of 'features derived from the vernacular poetic traditions'. This contributes an 'emotive dimension' to places such as Mermedonia which is altogether absent from the analogues.[373] This section will address the landscapes, architecture and material culture of *Andreas* in its Anglo-Saxon contexts. Attention to this aspect of *Andreas* is especially important because it reveals how the poet was attempting to present Mermedonia; as a place which, although unfamiliar to his audience in certain respects, was also accessible to them through their own landscape.

Mermedonia is described as a borderland early on, and as a place of transition between peoples and places. Boundaries and borderlands, for all their separation from the heart of Anglo-Saxon community, served various functions as places for assembly, judicial proceedings, executions, and warfare. Mermedonia is also demonstrably a place given over to the worship of Satan, and the reclamation of heathen places for Christian community is a central concern of the poem. No less significant, for similar reasons, was the appropriation of Roman identity by the Anglo-Saxon Church, which, through its re-use of stone *spolia*, also staked a claim to the *Romanitas* with which this masonry was imbued. On a more practical level, *Andreas* is also a poem that is concerned with travel and the means of travel, with roads across land and sea featuring prominently in Andrew's journey to Mermedonia, as well as in his torture. Roads and other pathways like these serve as a backdrop to the poem's urban sprawl, where fortifications jostle with gateways and towers. Mermedonia is consciously presented as a walled *burh*, in contrast with the vast majority of large Anglo-Saxon settlements, which were extramural before and indeed for most of the tenth century. This image of a walled town is a particularly important feature of *Andreas* for it sheds light on how both the city and the ecclesiastical reclamation of the intramural space were understood at the time. The poet appears to be interested in the role that the Church, through the building of a church within the town, has to play in transforming it into a place of Christian community.

Boundaries and meeting places
The opening description of Mermedonia presents it as a *mearcland*, a borderland in its most literal sense. Although this does not seem to fit with its being an *igland* unless the latter is to be understood as *ēaland* 'a land across the water', the words *mearcland* and *igland* together evoke a poetic sense of Mermedonia's separation from the civilized world.[374] Elsewhere the city is identified as a *lēodmearc* 'territory' (line 286), with the second element conveying the sense of a *mearc* 'boundary', which separates one *lēod* 'people' from another. Mermedonia is a borderland because it is on the fringes of human society and experience, like Grendel's mere in *Beowulf* and the

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[373] Magennis (1996), 173; also Bintley (2009), 114-15.
[374] See further Grosz (1969-70).

Crowland hermitage in *Guthlac*. This *ælmyrcna ēðelrīce* 'homeland of strange border-dwellers' (line 432) is an inhospitable environment for outsiders, and heroic deeds are required before it can become a place fit for the establishment and development of Christian community.[375] Borderlands, being places separated from those where civilians and valuable property might be harmed, served as battle-sites throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.[376] It is appropriate that Mermedonia is at first a borderland, as Matthew and Andrew go to do battle with evil there as soldiers of Christ (lines 1-11).

Assembly sites were frequently located on borders and boundaries. This was true both of minor meeting-places and those of relatively large territorial units such as hundreds:[377] the hundred is a measure of land at a local governmental level for which there is evidence prior to the tenth century, but of whose form and function relatively little is known until Edgar's Hundred Ordinance.[378] These land units and their corresponding assemblies may have been much older, however. Lately some evidence has emerged which points to their existence earlier in the period.[379] Every four weeks, from the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924), if not earlier, a hundred meeting was held to conduct fiscal and judicial processes.[380] Perhaps significantly, in the context of *Andreas*, these meeting places were often defined by landmarks including mounds, standing stones, or trees, though some early names for meeting places such as Manshead Hundred (Beds.) may suggest places of pre-Christian significance, as well as 'references to OE *heafod stoccan* "head stakes"', which probably indicate the display of heads on poles.[381] Although burial sites and place-names suggest that most executions and subsequent burials did not take place at hundred meeting places, Andrew Reynolds has demonstrated that the majority of execution sites are located at territorial boundaries, potentially as a means of separating criminals from the heart of human society.[382]

Mermedonia in *Andreas* is not a meeting place in its own right, but a meeting is held there, followed by an attempted execution, which may have been understood as a supernumerary hundred meeting. This takes place shortly after Andrew has freed Matthew and the other captives from the town jail. Deliberately placing himself in harm's way, Andrew comes upon a *mearcpaðe* 'boundary road' (line 1061), besides which stands a brass pillar. Here he awaits the Mermedonians, who gather at this *þingstede* 'assembly' or 'meeting place' (line 1098), and use a magical *tan* ('twig' 1103) to decide upon their victim. A contemporary audience would have understood this as a counterpart to a meeting place on a boundary that was marked by a post and beside a routeway; what takes place there, as a version of their own judicial processes through which wrongdoers were condemned. The subsequent episode in which the Mermedonians choose their victim through heathen mysteries and the use of the divining rod, which initially marks the elder who then gives up his son, would thus appear as a grim inversion of the executions of the late-Saxon state, those which were conducted under Christian authority.

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[375] See further Hall (1987).

[376] Williams (2015).

[377] Pantos (2003).

[378] For the classic definition, see Hunter-Blair (2003), 232-36.

[379] Reynolds (2009b).

[380] Campbell (2011), 961.

[381] Reynolds (2009a), 169, 224; (2011), 898.

[382] Reynolds (2009a), 37, 203-6; for example on the boundaries of boroughs of 'Cambridge, Eashing, Guildford, Steyning, and Winchester, and probably Old Sarum, Staines, and Wallingford, among others': Reynolds (2011), 901-02.

Burial mounds

This discussion of execution sites is also relevant to the burial mounds in *Andreas*, of which there are two. The first of these is the burial place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob on line 802, which represents another significant Anglicisation of the landscape. It might seem surprising to find the Hebrew patriarchs interred in the burial architecture of Saxon pagan period. It is less so if the English saw themselves as northern Israelites, as has been argued on the basis of royal genealogies such as Alfred's.[383] If this is the case, the burial mound left open by these patriarchs is similar to the *moldærn* 'earth-house' where Christ is buried in *The Dream of the Rood*.[384] The first barrow in *Andreas* would have been understood as a product of the pre-Christian era, and those interred in it as having been redeemed through the Harrowing of Hell.

Later in the period, however, these sorts of burial mounds were seen as the haunts of malign supernatural forces. Sarah Semple has demonstrated that there was a shift, from the memorialisation which barrows offered in the early-Saxon period, to a later understanding that they housed heathen souls. They were thus, according to Semple, appropriate places in which to bury the bodies of executed sinners who might then be tormented by the restless dead.[385] The second mound in *Andreas* should be understood in these terms, as a place for the damned. This Mermedonian mound, in contrast with that of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, functions as a hell-mouth into which fourteen of the Mermedonians are swallowed as the flood subsides. It is tempting to see this mound as part of the jail's architecture, but the text has nothing to show that this is so. Instead, the place corresponding to this mound in both *Praxeis* and *Casanatensis* is the town square, in which all the executions have taken place (ch. 31). Frustratingly, the poet identifies his version of this place only as *se beorg* 'the barrow' (line 1587), without offering clues to its location. Perhaps, however, this is because he assumes that we understand it to be sited near the *þingstede* (line 1098), at or near the brass pillar where there nearly is an execution. Aside from the jail, this is the only place that can be securely located within the walls of Mermedonia.

Pagan sites and Christian churches

The final Christian triumph in Mermedonia is the construction of a Christian church on the site where the prison had stood (lines 1632-35). This church becomes the seat of the bishop Plato, who is ordained there, and plays an assumed role in the baptism of the Mermedonians and the continuation of their faith. It is worth considering how the building of this church would have been understood in the context of the barrow that swallows the flood. There is no clear indication in the Old English poem that the barrow and the prison are the same thing or in the same place. In the narrator's description a new church is built over the prison, not over the barrow. Yet the barrow is within the embrace of the town walls, and just as the presence of the Church supersedes the authority of Satan, the building of a church transforms a heathen waste into a Christian stronghold. As a result of later building in England, there is little evidence survives with which to confirm that burial mounds stood within the walls of Roman cities in Britain. One such exception may be the 'Dane John' mound that today stands within the embrace of Canterbury's medieval wall: this was originally a Roman burial mound (or earlier) that formed the core of a Norman motte before the

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[383] Howe (2001); Bintley (2013), 211-27.
[384] See *The Dream of the Rood* 65; references from Swanton (1970).
[385] Semple (1998); (2003); (2013).

building of Canterbury castle nearby in the twelfth century.[386] There is no reason to connect this directly with the mound in *Andreas*, but it does raise the possibility that other burial mounds – or features thought to be burial mounds – may have existed in former Roman forts and towns, even if they may have been no more than heaps of rubble that had accumulated topsoil and vegetation.

Speculation aside, Anglo-Saxon England had a long tradition of building Christian churches in close proximity to former sites of heathen significance such as burial mounds, in keeping with Gregory the Great's instructions to Mellitus.[387] Building Christian churches near these sites absorbed their regional cult appeal and replaced it with an appropriate religious focus, creating continuity of worship in these places 'through ritual appropriation of their monuments'.[388] Places where churches were constructed alongside places of former heathen worship can be found throughout the landscape, including a notable instance at Yeavering, a pre-Christian site where Bede reports that preaching, conversion, and baptism took place.[389] These things also happened in intramural sites such as Bath, whose first abbey was probably constructed in the late seventh century. Bath minster was built in close proximity to the hot spring in order to assume the power of this site over the surrounding area, rather as an earlier Roman temple on the site had co-opted the authority and worship of the pre-Roman deity Sulis.[390] John Blair notes other examples of ritual wells whose significance had been incorporated into local Christian worship. These include Stevington (Beds.), where a tenth or eleventh century church lies near a holy spring, and Barton-on-Humber, where a church of *c.* 1000 stands near a cluster of wells surrounding the base of a monument.[391] Similarly, a site at Ketton (Rutland) has shown evidence of burials focused around a presumed sacred tree, one which was later superseded by a nearby church.[392] A particularly fine example is the church at Taplow that was constructed near to a pagan burial mound of the early seventh century. However, the date at which this church was built is contested, with Blair considering it to have been late-Saxon, whilst David Stocker has made a case for origins before the Viking Age.[393] Not far from the mound and the church lies Bapsey Pond, which later sources claim to have been used by Saint Birinius for baptism, perhaps in *c.* 642.[394]

There appear to be no known intramural sites where any mound-associated cult activity was supplanted by the construction of a church (this is not to say there were none, however). The important lesson to learn from these examples is that there is abundant extramural evidence for sites where the Anglo-Saxons built churches as symbols of the conquest of heathen worship, and that these sites included mounds. Despite the intramural location, an Anglo-Saxon audience, especially an ecclesiastical one, is likely to have understood the construction of the church in Mermedonia as part of this process.

Roman spolia and the Mermedonian prison

[386] Lyle (2002), 140; Lyle (1994), 58. Frere, Stow and Bennett (1982), 59.
[387] Colgrave and Mynors (1991), 106-09 (I. 30).
[388] Blair (2005), 54. See also Semple (2013), 131-32.
[389] Blair (2005), 54-57.
[390] Cunliffe (1984), 346-6; (1983), 76. Rodwell (1984), 7.
[391] Blair (2005), 379.
[392] Blair (2005), 381.
[393] Blair (2005), 376-77. Stocker (1995).
[394] *VCH* (1925) III, 240-45.

The prison in which Matthew and his fellow captives and later Andrew are held seems partly imagined with reference to the dragon's barrow in *Beowulf*. After Andrew's third day of torture by the Mermedonians, he is returned to the jail, whereupon he looks upon pillars supporting the building above him (lines 1492-95). These lines resemble the final battle in *Beowulf*, with Wiglaf looking down towards the mouth of the dragon's barrow (lines 2715-19). The barrow in *Beowulf* has generally been understood as a prehistoric burial mound, although some have seen vaulted Roman roofing in the *stānbogan* 'stone arches' (line 2718) at its entrance.[395] In the case of *Beowulf*, the extent to which the early medieval English would have known the difference between barrows that were Roman, prehistoric, or indeed the product of their more recent ancestors' culture, is questionable.

This is not the case in *Andreas*, where rather more can be said about the architecture of the Mermedonian prison. The pillars in Andrew's cell are of substantial size and support the wall of the building above. It is possible that they are also all made of marble, like the pillar from which the flood is summoned on line 1498. The pillars' further description as *storme bedrifene* 'scoured by weather', on line 1494 is an interesting feature which seems difficult to interpret. For these pillars to have been weathered in this way, they must have been exposed to the elements. This could suggest that the jail was once above ground, but has become subterranean through the accumulation of topsoil: a possible, but rather contrived, solution, which does not account for the fact that the pillars are weathered inside a sheltered space. A more plausible suggestion is that the jail has been constructed from spoliated Roman pillars, or from ones which what the Anglo-Saxons would have recognised as such. This reading accounts for the fact that they have been manufactured out of marble, which prehistoric mounds in Britain were not.

Here the poet of *Andreas* departs from his likely source, for in the non-vernacular analogues Andrew speaks to a marble statue on a marble pillar (Casanatensis) or an alabaster statue on a pillar (*Praxeis*), from whose mouth the flood springs forth (ch. 29). It is important to understand something of the background to spoliation in England and on the Continent if this column is to be fully understood.[396] The re-use of columns from Roman buildings is well known from late antiquity and the early medieval period in the construction of Christian churches.[397] This is appropriate given that the jail serves as the foundation for the first Mermedonian church. Brandenburg records the common re-use of columns from earlier buildings in the construction of numerous early and medieval Christian churches in Rome itself: one striking example is S. Clemente, which boasts columns from an earlier (Christian) building and also stands over a site of Mithras.[398] There are re-used column bases at S. Lorenzo in Damaso and columns, bases, and capitals at the church of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, which was built (in *c*. 1140) with many re-used capitals and ornamented bases

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[395] The editors of the revised Klaeber's *Beowulf* support the view that these are neolithic rather than Roman: Klaeber (2008), 255. For arguments to the contrary, see Thornbury (2000), 86. See also Anlezark (2006), 351-52.

[396] Brooks (1961), 113. Leone (2013), 189-234.

[397] Kinney (2001).

[398] Brandenburg (2005), 23 (Lateran Basilica), 41-43 (Lateran Baptistry), 81 (Sta. Constanza), 87 (S. Lorenzo fuori le mura), 139 (Sta. Pudenziana), 144-45 (S. Clemente), 160 (SS. Giovanni e Paolo), 169 (Sta. Sabina), 179 (Sta. Maria Maggiore), 192-93 (S. Pietro in Vincoli), 220 (S. Giovanni a Porta Latina). On the spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, see also Kinney (1986), 387.

including some from the Baths of Caracalla.[399] Constantine's S. Pietro in Vaticano itself re-used of columns that were regarded 'from the Middle Ages…as columns of Salomon's Temple', and which did have their origins in the eastern Roman Empire (if not in Solomon's temple itself).[400] Further north, Verhoeven notes a similar example of spoliation unique to Ravenna in its oldest church, S. Giovanni Evangelista, which dates to between 427-30.[401] Ravenna itself may also have been the source for the spolia for Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen (now part of Aachen Cathedral), which features spoliated porphyry columns possibly taken from the palace of Theodoric after Charlemagne's visit in 787, although Rome is also a possibility.[402]

Roman spolia were frequently incorporated into early medieval churches in England too. Over 160 churches in Britain are associated with Roman structures, a process which Tyler Bell has argued to have been part of the conscious appropriation of Roman material which was taken to be synonymous with Christian culture from the early seventh century onwards.[403] Although ancient columns were apparently not re-used as often in Anglo-Saxon churches as they were elsewhere, Roman columns were re-used at St Pancras, Canterbury, and others were created in conscious imitation of these at Reculver, which have since been relocated to the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.[404] Further north still, the builders of Wilfrid's abbey at Hexham made substantial use of stonework from Roman Corbridge: Stephen of Ripon, Wilfrid's biographer, noted that the structure of this church included substantial columns.[405] Although there is also material evidence for these, they have not survived intact.[406] Jane Hawkes has also shown that carved figural columns were erected in early ninth century Anglo-Saxon England to demonstrate the imperial power of the Christian Church in former Roman provinces.[407] These columns, examples of which are found at Masham, Dewsbury, Wolverhampton, and Reculver, were created in conscious imitation of Roman triumphal columns found elsewhere in Gaul and Italy, and which had formerly stood in Roman centres in Britain.[408] At Wroxeter, Roman columns flank the entrance to the churchyard of St Andrew. This church, thought to stand in the area of the former Roman baths, is home to a tenth- or eleventh-century font 'cut from a re-used (inverted) Roman column base'.[409] That the baptismal flood in *Andreas* rises from the base of a marble column is partly due to the fourth- or fifth-century Mediterranean St Andrew legend, whose culture understood the use of Roman baths; and partly to the complex of ideas surrounding spoliated columns which derives from this culture in early Anglo-Saxon England.

One final location bearing comparison with *Andreas* is the crypt of St Wystan's of Repton in Mercia (see Fig. 5). This crypt may originally have been constructed as a baptistery, but then became the crypt of kings: Æthelbald in 757, Wiglaf in 840 and St Wystan in 849. Later it was incorporated into the minster. St Wystan's crypt is

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[399] Brandenburg (2005), 113, 136.
[400] Brandenburg (2005), 96. Kinney (2001), 144-45.
[401] Verhoeven (2011), 32.
[402] Deliyannis (2010), 298. Kinney (2001), 147. Verhoeven (2011), 103.
[403] Bell (1998); (2005).
[404] Boulton and Hawkes (2014); Taylor and Taylor (1965), 146, 503-09; Biddle *et. al.* (1995), 137, 162-63.
[405] Cramp (1984) I, 193; Taylor and Taylor (1965), 297-312.
[406] Taylor and Taylor (1965), 304.
[407] Hawkes (2009a), 31.
[408] Hawkes (2009a, 38-41; (2003), 77-79; also (2002) and (2009b).
[409] Bryant (2012), 390-91.

especially relevant to *Andreas*, because of its location in the royal heart of Mercia, its supposed origin as a baptistery, its semi-subterranean construction, and the fact that its vaulting rests on four (Anglo-Saxon) stone pillars:[410]

Fig. 5: Pillars in St Wystan's Crypt, Repton

Pathways in Andreas

Andreas features more travel than most Old English poems, and much of the first half is spent at sea on the way to Mermedonia, though the poet also includes reminders of *wega gehwām* 'every path' (line 65) along the *grundwæge* 'earthly road' (line 582) and the *upweg* 'upward road' (line 830) that is *līfes weg* 'the way to life' (line 170) for every righteous Christian. The emphasis on pathways is not so much a deviation from the poem's analogues as an expansion on the source material, like the sea voyage in *Elene*. As in *Beowulf*, the sea is never very far away, and the frequency with which travel and sea roads are mentioned is at least partially a consequence of this. Numerous epithets are used to describe the sea and its potential for travel, including *dēop gelād* 'deep-sea roads' (line 190), *holma begang* 'ocean road' (line 195), *swanrāde* 'swan's path' (line 196), *bæðweg* 'bathway' (line 223, 513), *hranrāde* 'orca's road' (line 266, 634 (*hron-*) 821), *hwæles ēðel* 'whale's home' (line 274), *lāde* 'road' (line 276), *faroðstrǣte* 'tidal road' (line 311), *lagolāde* 'ocean path' (line 314), *hwælmere* 'whale-deep' (line 370), *holmwege* 'ocean-road' (line 382), *lagustrēam* 'sea's current' (line 423), *waruðgewinn* 'tumult of surf' (line 439), *ēagorstrēamas* 'sea-roads' (line 441), *ȳðlāde* 'wave-road' (line 499), *sǣlāde* 'paths at sea' (line 511), *faroðstrǣte* 'tidal road' (line 898), *brimrāde* 'sea-road' (line 1262, 1587), and *seolhpaðu* 'seal-paths' (line 1714). The high number of terms for cetaceans does not in itself mean that the poet was a seafarer, or that these kennings are necessarily more than poetic licence. These references to whales could reflect some aspects of

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[410] Taylor and Taylor (1965), 510-16.

Andrew's Jonah-like reticence, or the face that he is on his way to harrow a hell on earth: St Augustine interprets Jonah's time in the belly of the whale as a prefiguration of Christ's harrowing of hell (*De civitate Dei*).[411] The earthly voyage is expressed as a sea voyage in the familiar Christian topos also found in Cynewulf's *Christ* (B) 411-17. One significant point to draw from all this is not only the great symbolic significance of the sea in Anglo-Saxon England, but also its centrality to ideas of travel and communication. The sea was not a barrier, but a complex, albeit potentially treacherous, network of roads.[412]

Most of the second half of *Andreas* is set in or around Mermedonia, where are numerous references to paved streets and other roads and pathways. Some of these roads may be metalled. The division between pathways on sea and land is somewhat artificial, as the word *herestrēta* 'raiding highways' refers on line 200 to paths *ofer cald wæter* 'over cold water' (line 200), despite being customary for roads which were big enough to transport armies.[413] Elsewhere the *herestrēte* 'army highway' (line 831) leading to the gates of Mermedonia, as a road leading to a *burh*'s gates, may be understood as metalled, for this surfacing was customary in Anglo-Saxon England and the Mermedonians are shown to be reasonably competent administrators. The other roads surrounding Mermedonia are described only in vague terms, as *wegas ofer wīdland* 'ways over open country' (line 198). These roads are comparable to the *foldweg* 'country road' (line 775) along which the talking statue wends its way after rebuking the Jewish elders in Andrew's story of the Holy Temple; and to the *mearcpaðu* 'paths through the march', along which Abraham and kinsmen travel to the trees of Mamre. The same word is also used on line 1061 to describe the *strēte* 'street' on line 1062 within Mermedonian walls near which the brass pillar stands. This street and the others within the city walls are like Roman streets for the poet tells us that Andrew is dragged over *wegas* 'roads' (line 1234) which are *strēte stānfāge* 'streets paved with stone' (line 1236) and on which he leaves a new trail, of blood (line 1422). A comparison is also drawn between the street approaching the prison in which Matthew and the other captives are held, and Heorot, when the poet describes how Andrew *stōp on strēte (stīg wīsode)* 'marched up the street (a pathway guided)' in line 986, in a line which echoes the approach of Beowulf and the Geats to Heorot in *Beowulf*: *strēt wæs stānfāh, stīg wīsode* 'the street was stone-paved, a pathway guided' (line 320). A final route-way is made when Andrew's footsteps create *þurh strēamræce strēt gerȳmed* 'a cleared path through the driving current' (line 1580), demonstrating God's power over all of the various track-ways found by land and sea throughout the poem.

Mermedonia as a Roman city
Mermedonia is arguably the most fully described urban settlement in Old English poetry, alongside the urban place described in *The Ruin*. The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon settlements has seen significant advances since Brooks published his edition of *Andreas*. These must be adequately represented if we are to appreciate how a contemporary audience would have understood Mermedonia. The first things to outline are the physical features of Mermedonia as they are described in the poem, which an early medieval audience would have associated with Roman towns and forts throughout the British landscape. Mermedonia is identified as a Roman stone

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[411] Dombart and Kalb (1955), 621 (XVIII.30.V.310). Bettenson (1984), 798.
[412] Olsen (1998). Sobecki (2007), 1-47.
[413] Baker and Brookes (2013), 140-52.

settlement through reference to its buildings as *enta ǣrgeweorc* 'the former work of giants' (line 1235). The basis of this term is only used in Old English poetry to refer to structures of prehistoric or Roman construction, save for two references to ancient weaponry in *Beowulf*.[414] In *Beowulf* this formula also describes the golden hilt from Grendel's Mother's cave which is given over to King Hrothgar, on line 1679, and similar epithets are used of Ongentheow's *eald sweord eotonisc, entiscne helm* 'old giantish sword and giantish helm', at line 2979. To Anglo-Saxons Roman towns may have been like prehistoric barrows in some respects. They had mostly lain derelict since the end of the occupation in the early fifth century, with some small-scale ecclesiastical reoccupation in Canterbury, London, York and a few other places. Some Roman towns, however, were to see a royal process of reinvention from the late ninth century onwards under the agency of Alfred and his successors. It turns out that this movement is entirely in keeping with what happens to Mermedonia in *Andreas*.

Mermedonia is most fully depicted when Andrew awakens before its walls, having been left there by an angel beside the *herestrǣte* 'army highway' (line 831). Chief amongst Mermedonia's Roman urban features is the *burhwealle* 'town wall' (line 833), whose stature is emphasized by subsequent reference to *windige weallas* 'windswept walls' (line 43), which delineate the space within the walls that is filled with flood-water, from the space without, which is surrounded by celestial fire (line 1553). There are formidable gates in these walls: Andrew looks upon the plain *fore burggeatum* 'before the town's gates' (line 840); and it is *to weallgeatum* 'to the gates in the wall' (line 1200) that the Mermedonians later throng. It is not clear whether or not Mermedonia has one gate only, but it seems likely that the town is meant to have more, given the multiplicity of entry-ways in Roman walled settlements which were re-used in the early medieval era. The one reference to *torras* (line 842) seems included to give an impression of Mermedonia's stature and origins. A comparison with later medieval towns, such as San Gimignano, or even with such free-standing towers as were built in the late-Saxon period at Earls Barton and Barton-Upon-Humber, would be an anachronism.[415] The 'towers' of Mermedonia are better understood as Roman wall towers, in the light of the *hreorge torras* 'tumbled towers' in *Ruin* 3.

The exact nature of the buildings in Mermedonia, as with nearly all structures described in Old English poetry, is relatively obscure. The poet's reference to the *enta ǣrgeweorc* 'former works of giants' (line 1235), around which Andrew is dragged, suggests that these are originally built from stone, like the pillars in the jail. The references to stone, both in the passage above and elsewhere, imply that Mermedonia's buildings are in a state of disrepair. Moreover, the distinction between natural rock and masonry architecture becomes blurred and unclear, as the image of the ruins of Ephesus demonstrates in Fig. 6.

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[414] *Andreas* 1235 and 1495, *The Wanderer* 87, *The Ruin* 2, *Maxims* II 2, and twice in *Beowulf*, at lines 2717 and 2774.
[415] Shapland (2012).
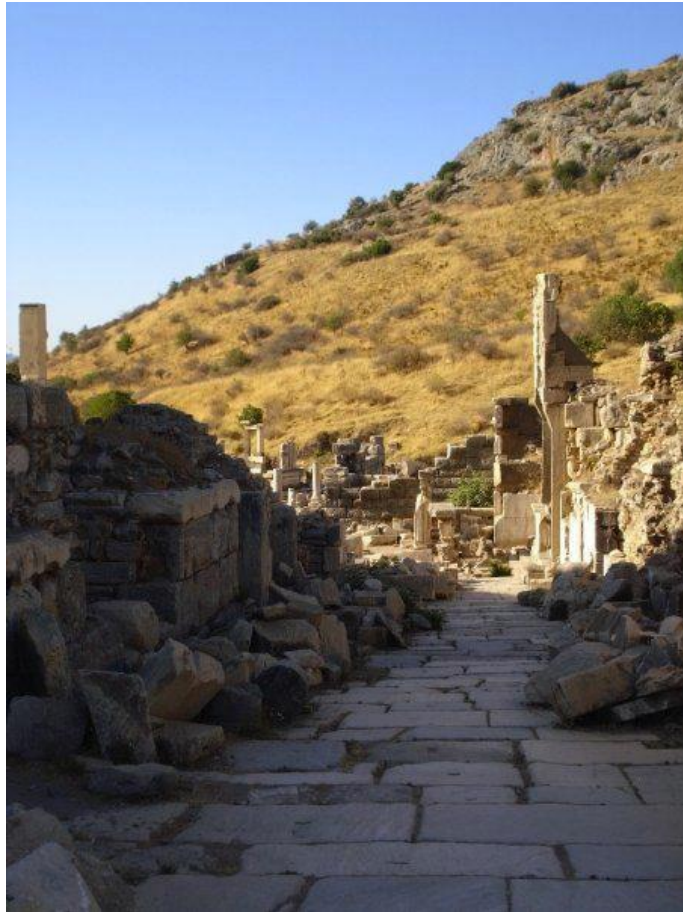
Fig. 6: Ruins of a Roman town in Ephesus (Turkey)

In *Andreas*, the stone construction of Mermedonia's buildings is also in keeping with the earlier description of its stone-paved streets. This feature would not have been familiar outside the old Roman contexts, whether in England or elsewhere in the former empire. Even settlements which had once been Roman towns would have had accumulated sufficient topsoil to have obscured these surfaces: for example, the street plan of Winchester, which was laid out at the time of Alfred, is an Anglo-Saxon creation distinct from its Roman predecessor.[416] A final detail worth noting is that tiles (line 842) have either been used to roof Mermedonia's buildings, *or* that its buildings have been constructed out of brick. OE *tigel* (< Latin *tegula*) refers to roof tiles or bricks, both of which imply terracotta and with it a certain *Romanitas*. Whether we take these *tigelfagan trafu* to be buildings with tiled rooves, or to be constructed out of red brick, or marked by the ubiquitous terracotta bonding courses that characterise many Roman buildings in Britain, this material bears the (sometimes literal) stamp of Roman culture. In these ways it is clear that *Andreas* presents Mermedonia as a walled city of Roman origin, with gates, towers, and stone streets, whose buildings were of masonry construction. In terms as broad as these, the poet's desired audience could have equated Mermedonia with any one of the substantial walled Roman settlements throughout the English landscape, whose ubiquity meant

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[416] Biddle (1976), 277; Collis (1978), 8; Madicott (1989), 4; Clarke and Ambrosiani (1991), 91.

that these details did not apply to any one specific place, but might be understood in a variety of contexts.

Mermedonia as a WS burh

On the more practical side, the poet's description of Mermedonia evokes a re-used Roman settlement, with OE *ceastre* 'fort, "-chester"' being one of the contributory terms.[417] For example, the term *ceastrewarena* 'citizens', at line 1125, identifies the Mermedonians as they prepare to slaughter the son of their 'philosopher'. The significance and function of old Roman walled spaces varied significantly throughout the early medieval period. The poet frequently refers to Mermedonia, its buildings, and its inhabitants with the word *burh* (*burg*) or its compounds. John Baker has argued that the term *burh* in place-names did not imply a place with particular physical characteristics, but rather a place that was in some way defensible.[418] In *Andreas*, however, the physical characteristics of Mermedonia and its defensive potential are clear enough through this description: it is a *burh* because it has a defensible circuit of walls, like a Roman town. Matthew prays that he will not be *āblended in burgum* 'blinded in this town' (line 78); Mermedonia is initially described as a *hǣðnan burg* 'the heathen town' (line 111), but at the end of the poem it becomes a *wīnburg* 'wine-town' (line 1637), a *goldburg* 'gold-town' (line 1655), and a *wederburg* 'fair-weather town' (line 1697). It is also just cited as a *burh* (lines 982, 1120, 1541), whilst both Andrew's dragging torture and the the Mermedonian flood-borne lamentation take place *innan burgum* 'inside the town' (lines 1235, 1547). Elsewhere, aspects of Mermedonia's architecture emphasize their connection with the town as a fortified place, as Andrew awakens *burhwealle nēh* 'near the town's walls' (line 833), *fore burggeatum* 'before the town's gates' (line 840), before heading to the *burgloca* 'stronghold' (lines 940n, 1038, 1066) where he frees Matthew and is then locked up himself. Then there are the multiple ways in which the Mermedonians are identified with the *burh*, as *burgwaru* 'city-dwellers' (lines 184, 209, 1094, 1583), *burhsittend* 'townsmen' (line 1201), while Mermedonia is described as a *wera burgum* 'town of men' (line 1155). Interestingly, Christ himself is also described as a *burhweard* 'keeper of the town' (line 660n) shortly before arriving at the Temple of Jerusalem, demonstrating his ultimate power over all cities. In short, Mermedonia is identified as a *burh*, its important buildings as burghal, and the Mermedonians themselves as *burh*-dwellers.

On the basis of this evidence it can be said that the poet of *Andreas* paints a picture of a town with Roman origins and physical features which is now an occupied and urban *burh*. To understand the implications of the latter, in terms of what Mermedonia would have signified to the audience of *Andreas*, it is important to identify *burhs* of Roman origin in early medieval England, and their contemporary significance. The Anglo-Saxon public *burh* originated in the late ninth century, during Alfred's Viking wars, a network of fortified places of various kinds were built in order to increase regional defensive control, in such a way that each fortified place was situated within 40 miles of the next.[419] These varied widely in character, with some serving purely as forts (or as fortified places for emergency refuge), whilst others contained within them some of the components for town life, including markets, minsters, and places

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[417] At lines 41, 281, 719, 828, 929, 939, 1058, 1174, 1677.
[418] Baker and Brookes (2013), 95-103. Baker (2012). Draper (2012), (2008).
[419] Baker and Brookes (2013). Lavelle (2010), 209-17.

of royal accommodation.[420] Many of the burghal towns (as opposed to burghal forts), were newly built in imitation of Roman towns: Wallingford, Wareham and Cricklade are examples.[421] More relevant to *Andreas*, however, are those *burh*s which re-used Roman walled towns, including those which the Burghal Hidage names at Winchester, Chichester, Bath, and Exeter. Other Roman towns not appearing in the document include London, Canterbury, and Gloucester: these also saw variously successful attempts to reoccupy them during Alfred's Viking wars in the late ninth century, and after them in the early tenth.[422] There is a strong reason to correlate these places with *Andreas*. Like Mermedonia, they were reoccupied walled Roman towns of the type which contemporaries called *burh*.

The Burghal Hidage outlines the execution of this plan. This document is likely to postdate 914 in its current form, for a time in the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924), but it has been treated as an indication of the way in which Alfred intended individual *burhs* to be maintained during his own reign (871-99).[423] More particularly, Martin Biddle argues that the original burghal system was probably instituted at some point between 880 and Alfred's 'reoccupation' of London in 886 (according to Asser and the *Anglo–Saxon Chronicle*). Jeremy Haslam believes that the system was begun earlier, in 879 and not long after the defeat of Guthrum's army at Edington in 878, on the grounds that the Burghal Hidage matches Alfred's wish that the Danes should withdraw from the bases at Cirencester and Fulham that threatened Wessex.[424] Each stronghold was responsible for the defence of a certain area of land. The basis of the system was that if one man was sent from each hide in times of need, then every pole's-length of their defensive fortifications work could be protected by four men.[425] The vital link here, between the common people expected to support the burghal system and the burghal fortifications themselves, appears to be reflected in *Andreas*' picture of the relationship between Mermedonians and their *burh*.

Summary

A tentative dating for *Andreas* may be based on the poet's particular treatment of the landscape of *Andreas*, as he translates this into an early medieval English context. The judicial landscape of Mermedonia is strongly reminiscent of late-Saxon governance: a meeting, supernumerate to the Mermedonian's monthly moot, is held on a border near a pillar, where legal proceedings with a (Satanic) religious basis are conducted. Not far from this place lies a barrow through which fourteen bad Mermedonians are sucked into hell when Andrew calls on the flood to subside. The depiction of this barrow as a place for sinners is in keeping with late-Saxon attitudes reflecting the use of barrows for the execution burials, and the belief that their evil dead would be tortured there by restless spirits. At the end of the poem a church is founded over the Mermedonian jail, at an unknown distance from this barrow. The construction of churches near sites of pre-Christian significance had taken place since the conversion

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[420] Baker and Brookes (2013), 43-135. Lavelle (2010), 209-63.

[421] Baker and Brookes (2013), 6.

[422] Baker and Brookes (2013), 55, 83, 89-90; see also Lavelle (2010).

[423] Abels (1998), 204. See further Russo (1998), 105; Brooks (2000), 63–66, 114; Davis (1982), 809; Hill (1996), 92–97.

[424] Haslam (2006), 122-29. The abandonment of Cirencester and Fulham are to be found in chapters 60 and 61 of *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, and the reoccupation of London (ch. 83): Stevenson (1959), 48, 69.

[425] For a description of the form that these fortifications took when not incorporating Roman walls, see Hall (2011), 606; also Baker and Brookes (2013), 72-83.

period, and was well known to the Anglo-Saxons from the bible, from their own historical tradition, and through the efforts of English missionaries on the Continent. Although this process cannot be fixed in any particular point in the Anglo-Saxon period, while barrows in urban contexts are obscure, there is some indication that the fabric of this jail has been constructed from Roman spolia. This re-use of materials played a part in underpinning ecclesiastical buildings in England. The religious re-use of Roman stone and Roman buildings is known from the beginning of the seventh century onwards, in both intra- and extramural contexts, and this aspect of the poem cannot be dated to any particular point in the Anglo-Saxon period. However, the further development of minster churches did form part of the reoccupation of intramural space, to contribute to their economic and religious stimulus. A complex network of pathways by land and sea is also seen to traverse the landscape within and around Mermedonia. This town in *Andreas* is probably the most fully described urban setting in Old English poetry, and it is presented as a town of Roman origin with present status as a populated *burh*. Towns of Roman origin were occupied and slowly developed into *burhs* from the late ninth century onwards, under the impetus of Alfred and Edward the Elder and their successors. As *Andreas* describes the efforts of a missionary to transform an urban location from a seat of evil into a place of Christian community, by establishing a church and a bishopric, there are good grounds, based on the material contexts, to conclude that the poem reflects and even promotes King Alfred's programme to reoccupy old Roman towns. This evidence aligns the composition of *Andreas* with the late ninth or early tenth century.

7 Date and Authorship

The few known facts about *Andreas* begin with its preservation in the Vercelli Book, whose place of provenance is held to be the south-east of England in the later tenth century. The copied text contains a rare distinguishing accentation in a spread of ten *gód* word-forms, one which associates this text with the same accentation in the same word in a late tenth-century gloss on the Salisbury Psalter. The poem is written in a late WS standard in which certain forms reveal its derivation from an early WS recension. Certain Anglian forms and vocabulary in the language of the text are typical of an early WS poetic patois, whereas others resemble the Mercian of the Vespasian Psalter glosses and of other manuscripts from the time of Alfred's programme of translation from the late ninth into the early tenth centuries. The prosody tells us that the poem is metrically more relaxed than *Beowulf*, or even than Cynewulf's works, one of which it precedes in the manuscript; *Andreas* also shares a high number of formulae and expressions with these poems. Finally, we have seen that the poet's vocabulary for Mermedonia tallies with Alfred's burghal programme, as that of a town with Roman appearance and origins which becomes an occupied Anglo-Saxon *burh*. This combination of features, with its indication of an Alfredian context, does not fit with what Brooks wrote about *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles*, that they 'may have been written in their original form not much earlier than the middle of the ninth century'.[426]

Several more arguments allow us to build on this. The Vercelli Book is dated by its sole hand to *c*. 975. By this and other palaeographical criteria the book is associated with St Augustine's, Canterbury. Its personally varied arrangement of items has

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[426] Brooks (1961), xxxix. Ambiguous words, however: dating or *terminus a quo*?

further been indirectly compared with that of the Classbook of Archbishop Dunstan (pallium 959-88). During his reign in Christ Church, Dunstan is said to have read in the library at St Augustine's nearby, and it has been suggested that he was the first owner of the Vercelli Book. Secondly, the text of *Andreas* has an emphatically high number of stressed *gód* forms for 'god' in the middle of which is a colophon *eadgiþ* which has been mechanically copied, then half erased, in *Andreas* on folio 41 verso. The young royal inmate of Wilton, Eadgyth or Edith (961-84), not only shares her common name with this colophon, but is said to have been known as *Goda* by the nuns who knew her; whilst the Salisbury Psalter, in which the other clear case of a stressed *gód* for 'God' arises, has been traced to Wilton. These findings give some reason to trace the poem's exemplar to the convent of Wilton (or to Shaftesbury or to another minster) in Wessex earlier in the tenth century. It is not known whether Edith of Wilton copied *Andreas* with *Fates* and then gave the booklet to Dunstan, but she is said to have been both a copyist with an attachment to the Apostles and a friend of Dunstan, who, in his earlier roles as monk of Glastonbury and plural bishop of Worcester and London, served her father King Edgar (Wessex: 957-59; England: 959-75) in the centres of power in Winchester and royal minsters roundabout. The apostolic theme of *Andreas* and *Fates*, a poem of Cynewulf's which follows *Andreas* in the Vercelli Book, enables us to hypothesize that these poems were Edith's gift for SS Peter and Paul to whom St Augustine's was dedicated.

Whether or not any of this is true, it seems likely that *Andreas* was archived in Wessex earlier in the tenth century. The language of this poem is late WS with Kentish and Anglian features, but with a few early forms which reveal that it passed through a WS recension perhaps by a Mercian scribe. The concentration of specifically Anglian forms and vocabulary in this WS poem lets us suppose that the poet of *Andreas* was himself a Mercian in Wessex. In its metre the poem is considered to be later in date than both *Beowulf* and the four extant works of Cynewulf. Highly probable is the heavy stylistic influence on *Andreas* of both earlier poets. In particular, the language of the poet's self-interruption on line 1478 has been shown to be indebted to *Fates*, *Guthlac* A and *Beowulf*. Cynewulf's poems have already been judged to be a Mercian by such linguistic criteria as his name, rhymes and metre, which have helped scholars to date his heyday to the mid ninth century.[427] Pat Conner has proposed that *Fates* cannot be older than *c*. 875, because its main apparent source, the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus, was not composed until this time at the earliest.[428] Conner's argument, if accepted, does not conflict with the mid-ninth-century approximation for Cynewulf's career, for an old poet can carry on working and it has been argued that Cynewulf wrote *Fates* with his powers in decline.[429] Since the poet of *Andreas* appears to allude to *Fates* as his model, our first *terminus a quo* may be set in 875.

Anti-Danish animus

We have seen that the *Andreas*-poet seems to react with mockery to the apology for heroes and heathens which *Beowulf* provides. Mostly hereby he adapts quotations from this great work in order to subvert them. Andrew is at first no hero, but appears to be mocked as an inferior version of Beowulf until, after much humiliation, the boy Jesus raises him up as *beaduwe heard* 'battle-hard', an equal of the old superhuman

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[427] Sisam (1953), 2-7. Fulk (1992), §§ 75, 273.
[428] Conner (1996), 46. Accepted in Fulk (1996), 16.
[429] Schaar (1949), 261. Brooks (1961), xxxi.

Beowulf. And then, through three days of torture, Andrew gains access to powers which exceed Beowulf's. As Andrew's stature grows, the poet builds up his mockery of the Mermedonians, portraying them as *Beowulf*'s Danes now blended with their cannibal oppressor. Mermedonia becomes a living dead version of Heorot, and the drowning of this city a parody of Heorot's deliverance from Grendel. This poet, who hates noble heathens, has no desire to imitate the grandeur of the poem from which he has borrowed. His misuse of *Beowulf*'s heroic lines and formulae comes closer to a Cervantesque commentary.

    With his eyes thus set on human weakness, the poet of *Andreas* portrays unbelievers in terms of his present. This style extends to his portrait of the Jewish elders who fail to believe in Jesus (chs. 10-11). Despite their imputed heresy, he shows them sitting in an ecclesiastical council, charters and all:

> 'þǣr bisceopas ond bōceras
> ond ealdormenn ǣht besǣton,
> mæðelhægende' (lines 607-9)

> 'where bishops and book-keepers
> and ealdormen sat in deliberation
> holding assembly.'

The familiarity with working government here speaks for the poet as a participant. A cleric's knowledge of lay habits is further inferrable from the lines on the Mermedonian conversion, flawed in its speed. Following his enforced return to Mermedonia, Andrew wastes the shrines:

> Swylce se hālga herigeas þrēade,
> dēofulgild tōdrāf ond gedwolan fylde;
> þæt wæs Sātane sār tō geþolienne,
> mycel mōdes sorg, þæt hē ðā menigeo geseah
> hweorfan higeblīðe fram helltrafum
> þurh Andrēas ēste lāre
> tō fægeran gefēan, þǣr nǣfre fēondes ne bið,
> gastes gramhȳdiges, gang on lande. (*Andreas* 1687-94)

> Just so did the saint subdue the temples,
> scatter the idols and overthrow the error;
> that for Satan was grievous to endure,
> great sorrow in heart to see that multitude
> with cheerful resolve renouncing hell-buildings
> through the kind teaching of Andrew,
> accepting that fair joy where never foe
> nor fierce stranger makes passage on land.

This passage is matched by no analogue. One reason not to assign it to *Andreas*' now-lost source is that its picture of the backsliding reality of conversion conflicts with the typology of extant analogues in which Andrew's lesson from God is that, like God, he must love all souls who wish to be saved (ch. 33). The message of *Andreas* is that all converts need a second attempt. Andrew's job with the Mermedonians is only half done until they are purged of their old religion, which – like the devil – is still there.

A further echo of *Beowulf*, moreover, confirms the poet's other identifications of the devil's party with Scandinavian heathens: the words *fēond* and MS *gast* refer to 'enemy' and 'stranger' as well as 'fiend' and 'spirit'; with the present tense of *bið*, they are columns of invaders whose *gang* is in the here and now. In *Beowulf* 1884, when Beowulf and friends march to their ship evaluating their gains, they do so *on gange* 'making passage'.

Two more of *Andreas*' terms for Mermedonians go beyond Beowulfian echoes by suggesting non-legendary Danes. One of these is OE *wælwulfas*, elsewhere only in *The Battle of Maldon* 96, in a description of Norwegians going into battle (in 991). It is reasonable to suppose that the kenning was in use for Vikings earlier. In *Andreas* the poet calls his Mermedonian clerks *wælwulfas*, as eager to devour human victims, each of whom has the dates of his 30-day fattening marked on a calendar. Telling us that Matthew has no more than three days left on his, the poet says that it is *swā hit wælwulfas āwriten hæfdon* 'as wolves of slaughter had written this down' (line 149). The combination is surreal, but the mismatch recalls Asser's note on a novice *paganicae gentis* 'of heathen race' in Athelney (in 893), who is *non ultimum scilicet eorum* 'assuredly not the last of them'.[430] Conversely, when the Mermedonians have become Christian, the Lord refers to them conventionally as *þæt ēowde* 'that flock' (line 1669), which Andrew stays on to educate properly. These terms are probably related to a quotation from Matthew 10:16 or Luke 10:3 in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis (ch. 19), as the source of the poet's stylisation of the Mermedonians into beasts, respectively before and after their conversion.[431] In the *Praxeis*, Andrew, questioning Matthew on reaching him in the jail, asks how he let himself be captured; Matthew, in rebuke, wonders if he did not hear the Lord say, Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων 'Behold, I send you forth as flocks of sheep in the midst of wolves'; in the Casanatensis, this is *ecce vos sicut oves in medio luporum*. Through his own source, the poet of *Andreas* turns the wolf-part of this expression into an epithet which is elsewhere known to be used for the Vikings.

The other term, f. *hlōð*, is used of the Mermedonians four times in *Andreas* (on lines 42, 992, 1389 and 1543). This noun means 'band' by synecdoche with a meaning derived from 'booty, prize', and the Winchester *Chronicle* (A) uses *hlōþ wīcenga* for 'a Viking prize-gang' collecting WS tribute in the annal for 879.[432] This appears to be the usage in *Andreas*, particularly on lines 992 and 1389 where the term recalls the slave trade for which the Vikings were famous. The word *hlōð* is naturally older than Vikings. Elsewhere it varies *weorud* 'host' for the band of God's elect in the Harrowing of Hell in *Christ III* 1162, although 'booty' here is probably a more accurate meaning, in that Christ breaks into hell to free them. This word is also a legal term in Ine's Laws for a group of men 7-35 strong, one either robbing or pursuing a private vendetta, as well as in other law-codes in which membership of a *hlōð* is a punishable offence.[433] As 'gangs', more negatively, *hlōð* describes in the plural the fiends which torment St Guthlac in the fens in *Guthlac* (B) 896 and 915; the saint also says that he does not fear *herehlōðe helle þegna* 'the plundering gangs of hell's thanes' in line 1069. In *Juliana* 676, *secga hlōþe* 'gangs of men' is Cynewulf's term

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[430] Calder (1986), 128. Stevenson's suggestion (1959: 81 (ch. 94), 334, n. 94, 9) that this was Oda, future bishop of Ramsbury (928-41) and archbishop of Canterbury (942-58) is discounted in Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 103 and 272, n. 233.
[431] Blatt (1930), 69. See n. **149**.
[432] Bately (1986), 51 (*s.a.* 879 [880]).
[433] Liebermann (1903-16) I, 94 (Ine, §13, 1; 18); cf. 64 (Alfred, §31, 1) and 394 (Appendix Alfred-Guthrum, §2, 2).

for the 33 pagan warriors of Heliseus who get what is coming to them by dying with him at sea. For more organized looters, the word is also found in the WS *Orosius*, which, like the *Chronicle*, is also associated with Alfred's reign. Here *hlōð* denotes war-bands assembled by King Philip of Macedon in order to sack Greek towns.[434] In this case, as in that of Mermedonians in *Andreas*, the word reflects the activity of Scandinavians.

In short, such Viking wars as England suffered in 870-79, in 885-86 and 892-96, and again in 901-917, may have given the poet of *Andreas* cause to question the love for ancient Danes in *Beowulf*. Blair has observed that on the local level many minsters and churches of the eastern territories may have survived the modern Danish invasion with some use intact.[435] On the other hand, there is the matter of what Alfred and churchmen outside the Danelaw thought that the Danes were doing inside the Danelaw. If the poet of *Andreas* reached Wessex from eastern Mercia in the late ninth century, he came as a refugee from abandoned minsters and towns. Nor is it less likely that *Andreas* embraces Alfred's burghal programme, if the poet was a native of Mercia's free west. It is true that some English monasteries were looted and burned, even if not all of them, as Alfred would have it in his Preface to the WS translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. The minster of Repton, site of a royal Mercian mausoleum, was partly demolished by Danes who made it into their headquarters in 873-74; while the episcopal sees of Leicester, Hexham and southern East Anglia simply disappeared.[436] The loss of Leicester's had such far-reaching consequences that when this diocese was re-established in 1927, after a hiatus of 1050 years, it was no longer known where the cathedral was.[437] In the Mercian kingdom the see of Leicester had come second only to Lichfield, which now lay relatively safe outside the Danish zone. Later in the ninth century Alfred's family responded to the immediate Mercian emergency by taking over the Leicester diocese. Blair believes that it was Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd (d. 918), acting with her husband Ealdorman Æthelred of Worcester (d. 911), who removed this see to the refounded Dorchester-on-Thames.[438] This Dorchester then got a Mercian bishop, probably a certain Wigmund whose name identifies him with the Trent-valley kindred of King Wiglaf of Mercia (827-39).[439] Two earlier Wigmunds were Wiglaf's short-lived son, who died before him in 836, and a priest abbot of c.792-c.814 who may have ruled the minster of Breedon-on-the-Hill, some 20 miles north of Leicester.[440]

The ideology of *Andreas*, as we have seen, appears to reflect King Alfred's plan to reoccupy the old Roman and other English towns. His first success was in London, which had been a Mercian trading mart based in *Lundenwīc* on the Strand to the west of the walled Roman city. The *wīc* fell into disuse through economic decline and sporadic Viking attacks, and in 871-72 the Vikings took possession of the Roman-

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[434] Bately (1980), 64 (III.vii).

[435] Blair (2005), 292-323, esp. 315-21.

[436] Wormald (1982), 147.

[437] At St Nicholas', probably: Bailey (1980), 10-11.

[438] Blair (1994), 111-12.

[439] Rumble (2002), 54. Wigmund attests six places after after fellow Mercian Wilferth in 901; one is bishop of Lichfield, the other of Dorchester-on-Thames; the history of the 787-803 primacy of Lichfield makes it more likely that Dorchester followed. So Bailey (2001), 121 (Table 9.3).

[440] North (2006), 144-55, 301-05 and 306-08 (cf. 321-31, for the theory that *Beowulf* was composed in 826-27 by Eanmund, abbot of Breedon (possibly succeeding Wigmund) from 814 x 816 to *c.* 848).

walled city.[441] In 886, Alfred's army entered London and reclaimed it for Wessex, in what was represented as a triumph for the burghal programme of the king.[442] Alfred thereafter took the submission of all English not subject to the Danes and turned London over to Ealdorman Æthelred, whom he made his son-in-law. In the light of this turning point in Alfred's anti-Viking campaign, there is better reason to treat 886 as the *terminus a quo* for *Andreas*.[443]

WS royal patronage

The story with *Andreas* so far, then, is of a Mercian poet brought up on *Beowulf* and trained in the works of Cynewulf, or even by Cynewulf. In or after 886, the younger man would have made a poem on St Andrew of which a draft was copied, perhaps by a Mercian scribe, into a manuscript in Wessex. These incremental suppositions are strengthened by the facts that King Alfred was intimately connected to Mercia and is said to have loved English poems. When Alfred was four, in 853, his sister Æthelswith married King Burgred of Mercia; and it is not long after this wedding that Alfred is said to have won from his Mercian mother, by memorization, *quendam Saxonicum poematicae artis librum* 'a certain English book of versecraft'.[444] In 868 Alfred was himself married to a Mercian, to a princess named Ealhswith, whose mother Eadburh was probably descended from King Cenwulf (ruled 797-821).[445] After Alfred had succeeded his brother Æthelred in 871 and defeated Guthrum's army in 878, he invited Mercian scholars to his court as his first effort to foster a revival of monastic learning in Wessex. After *c.* 886, he extended invitations to non-English scholars: Asser, who was a monk or bishop of St David's in Wales, the Franconian Grimbald of St Bertin, and John the Old Saxon from Germany.

Alfred's Mercian allies, whose kingdom had fallen to the Danish earls in 873-4, were his subjects in all but name. The Danes installed for their local puppet a certain King Ceolwulf (II) who ceded them the eastern half of Mercia in 877 and then drops out of the record in *c.* 879. Ealdorman Æthelred took charge of western Mercia under Alfred's direction in 880. This side of Mercia, having escaped the Danes, underwent a revival under Æthelred and especially Æthelflæd, whose subjects later hailed her as 'Lady of the Mercians'.[446] The tradition which Æthelflæd's western subjects attempted to restore was Offa's legacy of learning and power in the late eighth century. Cenwulf had prolonged this into the middle of the ninth, and later it is possible that a text of *Beowulf* crossed from Mercia into Wessex when Burgred (possibly the son of an illegitimate son of Cenwulf) married Alfred's sister in 852. Alfred's father Æthelwulf, who reigned 839-58, appears to have owned a text of this poem from which the names Sceaf, Scyld and Beow(ulf), extant in the first unnumbered fitt, are cited in his genealogy in the annal for 855, not in his obit in 858.[447] *Beowulf*, whether or not in the book his mother gave Alfred in 853, could thus be regarded as one of the *Saxonica poemata* 'English poems', which the growing prince, according to Asser, *relata aliorum saepissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat* 'most frequently hearing recited by others, readily retained in his

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[441] Abels (1998), 140-41. Cowie (2001), 207-08.
[442] Bately (1986), 53 (*s.a.* 886). Stevenson (1959), 69 (ch. 83). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 97-98.
[443] Abels (1998), 174-76.
[444] Stevenson (1959), 20 (ch. 23).
[445] Stafford (2001), 45.
[446] Keynes (2001b), 326-28. Stafford (2001), 44-48. Abels (1998), 169, 199.
[447] Bately (1986), 46 (*s.a.* 855). Chambers (1932), 76-77.

memory'.[448] If so, this poem was associated with the ideals of Æthelwulf's court before his sons' first and second Danish wars in the ninth century's more ruinous second half. Despite these wars, Alfred's Mercian subject allies continued to produce literature, of which we now have the poems of Cynewulf, the *Life of St Chad*, the Old English *Prose Martyrology*, and a translation which forms the basis of the WS version of Bede's *History of the English Church and People*.[449]

It is then no surprise that Alfred applied to his northern neighbours for help with his country's learning before he wrote for that purpose to European scholars. His biographer Asser, writing in 893 of the king's first wave of helpers, names four Mercians: Wærferth, bishop of Worcester; Plegmund, formerly a hermit of Cheshire;[450] and two chaplains, the *eruditos* 'learned' mass priests Wærwulf and Æthelstan.[451] Wærferth had known Alfred from the time of his ordination in *c.* 872. Asser says that he translated Pope Gregory's *Dialogues* for the king; Alfred's Preface to this translation says that the king looked *tō mīnum getrēowum frēondum* 'to my true friends' to carry out this task.[452] Wærferth's Mercian idioms have been detected in the WS *Dialogues*, also in the long *Domboc* 'book of judgements' which Alfred and advisers began to compile in the 870s.[453] Wærferth is a beneficiary in the king's will, of which drafts were made between 873 and 888.

Plegmund, missing from this will, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 890 (d. 923) after Alfred had vainly asked Grimbald.[454] The two younger Mercians, Wærwulf and Æthelstan, are shown to witness together a few times later in the unreliable cartulary of Winchester.[455] Keynes and Lapidge believe that they are the *capellani* 'chaplains' to whom Alfred, according to Asser, entrusted the making of candle-clocks.[456] Wærwulf was beneficiary of a grant in 899 from Bishop Wærferth (S 1279), in which the bishop gives him as a long-standing obedient friend. If this was because he was one of the king's *getrēowum frēondum* who had helped Wærferth to translate the *Dialogues*, Wærwulf may have come from the south-west of Mercia.[457] The charters show that both he and Æthelstan, having become members of the cathedral community later known as the Old Minster, remained attached to the court in Winchester also in the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924).[458] It is thus highly probable that these *capellani* also wrote charters and letters for Alfred and his son.[459]

Æthelstan is identifiable with an Englishman who accompanied Sigehelm, ealdorman of Kent, on a WS legation to Rome and 'India'. It is believed that this legate, necessarily a chaplain, was Alfred's helper from Mercia, for an Æthelstan *sacerdos* 'priest' later witnesses in a charter in favour of Sigehelm (S 350).[460] In the case of Rome, this journey was to deliver alms which Alfred intended to be the first in

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[448] Stevenson (1959), 20 (ch. 22). Adjusted from Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 75. Bredehoft (2009), 96-101. North (2006), 317-21.

[449] Sisam (1953), 7. Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 259-60, n. 167.

[450] Brooks (1984), 153.

[451] Stevenson (1959). 62-63 (ch. 77). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 92-93.

[452] Hecht (1965), 1(MS CCCC 322).

[453] Wormald (2001), 272-77, esp. 274-75 (for OE *dōmbōc*).

[454] Stevenson (1959), 303, n. 77, 10.

[455] Stevenson (1959), 304-05, n. 77, 12. Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 259, n. 166.

[456] Stevenson (1959), 90 (ch. 104). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 274, n. 251.

[457] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 293.

[458] Rumble (2001), 50. Keynes (1994), 1141-47.

[459] Keynes (1994), 1147. Abels (1998), 263. Cf. *Andreas* 607-09.

[460] Abels (1998), 190-92.

a series of tributes to the Vatican. According to the Peterborough *Chronicle* for 883 (E), Pope Marinus sent Alfred a splinter of the True Cross. Notice of the king's alms, which appear to reciprocate the holy relic, appears in the same annal:

> þȳ ilcan gēare lǣdde Sighelm 7 Æðelstān þā ælmessan tō Rōme þe Ælfred cing gehēt þider 7 ēac on Indea tō Sancte Thōme 7 tō Sancte Bartholomēe.[461]

> the same year Sigehelm and Æthelstan brought to Rome those alms which King Alfred promised to it, and also [some] in India to St Thomas and to St Bartholomew.

The notice of this legation has been regarded as misplaced from another annal, for it is mentioned neither by Asser nor in Æthelweard's *Chronicle* sources nor in the oldest WS witness, the Winchester *Chronicle* (A); and it was apparently added, in the resumption in annal-writing which began in 892, into the annal for 883 in the Abingdon (B, C), Worcester (D) and Peterborough (E) *Chronicles*. The note on Pope Marinus in the earlier part of the 883 entry implies that the legation was Alfred's repayment for the relic. Since the annalist records Marinus' death in 885, Abels argues that the year of this legation was genuinely 883.[462] However, the linking of papal and royal gifts under 883 may be an error. There were four more alms-bearing royal legations in 887, 888 and 890, with a reduced mission in 889; and the Winchester text agrees with all other versions bar the Canterbury *Chronicle* (F) in recording these. Keynes and Lapidge consider this part of the annal for 883 to be misplaced from 886.[463] The latter year not only initiates the alms-giving sequence, but also fits with Alfred's burghal triumph in that he is then said to have relieved London of Danish occupiers. *Quid pro quo*: London was what he wanted from God.

Whatever the meaning of *Indea* (and the Abingdon *Chronicles* (B and C) give *Iudea* 'Judaea' for their ultimate goal), the English tourists Sigehelm and Æthelstan would have passed through Macedonia to find Bartholomew's place of martyrdom, and then through Constantinople and Anatolia to find St Thomas' shrine in Edessa, which lay south of Cappadocia to the north of the present Syrian border.[464] St Bartholomew's story is known to the poet of *Andreas*, for his *wyrd undyrne* 'history revealed' on line 1480 seems to re-use this apostle's *wurd undyrne* in *Fates* 42: one line before Cynewulf refers to *Indeum* 'India' as St Bartholomew's final earthly goal. Both Sigehelm and Æthelstan were men on the rise. Sigehelm's daughter Eadgifu became Edward's third wife in 919, the mother of Kings Edmund and Eadred, and grandmother of Edmund's son Edgar (great-grandmother, therefore, of St Edith of Wilton). Æthelstan the priest adventurer, for want of recorded rival namesakes, is probably the man whom Plegmund later consecrated bishop of Ramsbury (d. 927) when he created the see for Wiltshire and Berkshire in a subdivision of the WS diocese in *c*. 909.[465]

Although Alfred's four Mercian helpers are not associated with poetry in Asser's or any other record, a continuing association between Mercia and vernacular poetry is implicit in two more references to books of English poems in successive chapters of

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[461] Irvine (2004), 51 (*s.a.* 883).
[462] Abels (1998), 190-91. Accepted in Scarfe Beckett (2003), 53 ('884').
[463] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 266, n. 198.
[464] Stevenson (1959), 286-90. *India* is preferred in Scarfe Beckett (2003), 53.
[465] Stevenson (1959), 305, n. 77, 12 (Wærwulf). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 259, n. 166 (Æthelstan). Rumble (2001), 50 (Æthelstan).

the *Life of Alfred*.[466] The first concerns the world's first department of English literature. At the end of their programme of arts, Alfred's young children Edward and Ælfthryth are said *psalmos et Saxonicos libros et maxime Saxonica carmina studiose didicere* 'to have attentively learned the Psalms, and books in English, and especially English poems' (ch. 75). Secondly, according to Asser, King Alfred did not cease, among manifold activities including metalwork and building design, *Saxonicos libros recitare, et maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere* 'to read aloud from books in English and above all to learn English poems by heart' (ch. 76). Since Edward and Ælfthryth were born in the early 870s, they were being taught to read and memorize Old English poems in the early to mid 880s, probably by the chaplains then at court. It thus seems inevitable that an 1800-line Mercian epic on St Andrew, if composed in Wessex then or later, was performed under the patronage of King Alfred or Edward his son.

Alfred's church of St Andrew

Whether or not *Andreas* was performed on St Andrew's day on 30 November in an eponymous church or minster, there is a reason to review the evidence for his dedicated churches in Wessex. Andrew was the patron saint of many churches in Anglo-Saxon England, although few records survive. The missionary Augustine had been prior of St Andrew's on the Coelian Hill in Rome, and his sponsor King Æthelberht built the first English St Andrew's in Rochester in *c.* 600.[467] Dates for the other churches of St Andrew are mostly unknown, but these include St Andrew's in Wroxeter (Shrops.), Braughing (Herts.) and Hexham (Northumberland); also St Andrew's-by-the-Wardrobe, near the western wall within the city of London.[468] There was a St Andrew's at Banwell (Somerset), whose minster estate Alfred presented to Asser, together with that of Congresbury, on Christmas Eve, according to the *Life of King Alfred* (ch. 81). It is unknown whether Banwell's church was dedicated to St Andrew at this time, but Asser would have taken possession of *parva illa* 'these trifles' (from the king's English words) in 887.[469] There was also a church of St Andrew at Cheddar (Somerset), whose community, probably monastic, is required by Alfred's will to take Edward as its patron.[470] Excavations there revealed a major rebuilding which is datable to *c.* 930, consistent with a vill for King Æthelstan (924-39), but Alfred's will shows that the royal use of this property began at least two generations earlier.[471]

The most datable case of a St Andrew's in WS royal ownership is in a charter issued at Southampton, probably in 901 (S 1443). In this charter King Edward the Elder (899-924) buys two contiguous strips of land in Winchester on which to build a minster.[472] Edward's intention was to build this (the New Minster) as a mausoleum for his family, in preference to the cathedral (the Old Minster) in which Ecgberht and

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[466] Stevenson (1959), 59. Translation adjusted from Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 91.

[467] Anlezark (2006), 211. Colgrave and Mynors (1991), 142-43 (*HE* II.3). Miller (1890), 104.26-27: *in þære ceastre ēac swylce Æðelberht cyning hēht cirican getimbran 7 þā gehālgian Sce Andrēā þǣm apostoli* 'in that city too King Æthelberht likewise ordered a church to be built and hallowed to St Andrew the Apostle'.

[468] Bryant (2012), 390-91 (Wroxeter). Blair (2005), 129 (Braughing). Cook (1924), 256 (Wells, Cheddar, Banwell), 267-70 (Hexham). Bulwer-Thomas (1983), 3-5 (London).

[469] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 27. Stevenson (1959), 68. Blair (2005), 324-35,

[470] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 175, 317-18, n. 25.

[471] Blair (2005), 326-27.

[472] Rumble (2002), 51-54.

Æthelwulf had been interred. In due course the New Minster housed Alfred, to whom the charter attributes the plan, along with his widow Ealhswith and Edward himself and two of Edward's sons.[473] In S 370, another charter from the same council, Edward endows his new project with lands on which the Old Minster had a claim.[474] S 1443 is witnessed by many men including Bishop Wigmund and Priest Æthelstan, but not by Grimbald of St Bertin, whose death on 9 July 901 provides the basis for dating the charter in the second half of that year.[475]

Edward lets it here be known that he has acquired the first plot (a strip of land running east-west on the cathedral's north side) from Bishop Denewulf of Winchester (878/879-908), the second (further to the north) from his *witan* 'council'. In exchange, he says:

> ic lēt be ealra West Sexna witena geðeahte 7 lēafe tō biscepe 7 tō þām hīwun Sancte Andrēas cirican. 7 ðone worðig ðe ðǣrtō geunnan wes intō ðǣre stōwe: on ēce līfe. ðæt hit nāge nān man fram ðǣre stōwe tō dǣlanne.

> I give up to the bishops and the community, with the advice and permission of all the West Saxon counsellors, St Andrew's church and the enclosure which was given thereto, unto the cathedral in perpetual inheritance, as that no-one may alienate it from the cathedral.[476]

Although there is no doubt that this St Andrew's was royal property, the location is unknown. Rumble cites as a possibility the one St Andrew's named among Winchester's fifty-odd Medieval parish churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[477] In the 901 charter, however, Edward's non-specifying reference suggests that the church lay in Winchester just like the cathedral. The later Winchester church of St Andrew's lay some 15 minutes' walk west of the cathedral on the corner of Gar Street (now Trafalgar Street, south off the east-west High Street near the western wall) and a lane (now St Clement Street, parallel to the High Street) which led towards Gold Street (now Southgate Street, the next eastwards). Though abandoned by 1412, the church was first named in 1172 in a document which confirms it to the Cathedral Priory, and named again in 1223 as *monasterium beati Andree* 'monastery of the Blessed Andrew'. In King Edward's charter, where the *worðig* may have been an 'enclosure' outside the town, there is the implication of a substantial income for St Andrew's at the time of the earlier grant.[478]

As the Winchester-related St Andrew's of S 1443 is neither named nor implied in Alfred's last will, it will have passed to Edward in 899 as part of the royal office.[479] Edward's acquisition of the plot just north of the cathedral in 901 was unpopular with Bishop Denewulf, who begs the king, in another charter datable to 899 x 908 (S 1444), not to make Winchester lease Edward more of the community's lands.[480] Edward's project was a provocation, for when the New Minster was finished, it dwarfed the cathedral alongside. Accordingly, it has been suggested that Alfred's

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[473] Yorke (1995), 194-96, 203-04, and fig. 52 (map). Thacker (2001), 253.
[474] Rumble (2001), 236-37; (2002), 51. Yorke (1995), 203.
[475] Rumble (2002), 50, 54, 56.
[476] Rumble (2002), 52. OE vowels here marked for length.
[477] Rumble (2002), 52.
[478] Keene (1985), 134-35 (Table I: Parish Churches), 627-28 (no. 237) and 598 (Fig. 68).
[479] For the will, Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 173-78.
[480] Rumble (2001), 236-37.

relations with the bishop had soured and that he planned the New Minster as a means of avoiding the cathedral's prayers.[481] Whatever bearing this suggested bitterness might have on *Andreas* is unclear. In S 1443, however, the way in which Denewulf is made to take St Andrew's plus its *worðig* as a sop for Edward's forced purchase suggests that Edward thought less of St Andrew's than his father had, and that it was Alfred who endowed the church in his reign.

In short, since King Edward was interested neither in this church of St Andrew, nor or in the enclosure which gave it added value, it seems unlikely that he would have patronized an epic on its saint. Indeed there is a second reason for treating Alfred as the more suitable royal patron, although neither he nor Edward had an interest in patron saints.[482] Since Edward spent most summers and some winters of 901-17 fighting in the eastern Danelaw, the better time for him to patronize the poem would have been the period of relative peace with the Danes in 917-24.[483] These years, however, come too late for the suggested urban ideological content of *Andreas*, because by then nearly all English townships in the Danelaw were reoccupied. So the most plausible *terminus ad quem* for the composition of *Andreas* in Wessex is the death of King Alfred in 899.

Alfred's 'wealth and wisdom'

As we have seen, the better *terminus a quo* for *Andreas* is Alfred's first burghal triumph in 886, when that he claims to have won back London from heathen Danish occupiers. If the Sigehelm addition is misplaced under 883 as Keynes and Lapidge believe, 886 was also the year in which Ealdorman Sigehelm and (Priest) Æthelstan took Alfred's alms to Rome as the first of four recorded payments of alms from the king.[484]

Alfred's ideology of alms provides a clue for the best hope of finding a year for *Andreas* between 886 and 899. *Andreas*, although it celebrates no king but Jesus, still contains four passages about treasure which may be related to a novelty about gold in Alfred's ideology. The analogues provide no correspondence, and the likely source, therefore, no basis for these passages. However, they appear to match, and in one case, to stimulate, some contemporary statements about Alfred's attitude to wealth. The first passage occurs in *Andreas* 360-62, in which the poet outdoes Scyld Scefing's boat with the Lord's, by saying that he never heard *þon cymlīcor cēol gehladenne / hēahgestrēonum* 'of any keel the comelier laden with high treasures'. These are not only goods of the merchant ship but figuratively also the Lord, His angels, St Andrew and the latter's disciples. The second is in *Andreas* 1113-14, where the poet says hypermetrically, and otherwise redundantly, of the starving heathens that *næs him tō māðme wynn, / hyht tō hordgestrēonum* 'they had no pleasure in precious things, no hope in wealth hoarded'. The third, about the same people in *Andreas* 1159-60, refers to their halls as empty and says that *welan ne benohton / beornas tō brūcanne on þā bitran tīd* 'of wealth the troops / enjoyed no profit in that bitter time'.[485] Fourthly, when Andrew, having founded a church and bishop in Mermedonia, wishes to take ship, he informs his converts

      þæt hē þā goldburg   ofgifan wolde,

[481] Rumble (2001), 234. Wormald (2001), 275.
[482] Thacker (2001), 253.
[483] Keynes (2001a), 55.
[484] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 266, n. 198. Abels (1998), 190.
[485] Irving (1983), 236: 'strangely mournful and elegiac'.

secga seledrēam   ond sincgestrēon,
beorht bēagselu (lines 1655-57)

that he would give up the gold-town,
hall-joys of men and treasure hoards,
bright ring-palaces.

Here, although we are reminded that the apostle cannot abide luxury, his poet appears to assume that the Lord makes Christian laity wealthy and heathens poor, on the grounds that the leaders of a Christian city are enriched by the payment of tithes to their churches.

These four additions to what probably lay in the poet's source bring *Andreas* into line with Christian capitalism as the king himself and two of his teachers present this. In the twelfth century, Alfred the self-proclaimed endower of churches was remembered as helping himself to their lands.[486] In his own time, however, treasure was the justified entitlement of a king who considered himself a new lawgiver with the God-given authority of Moses and Solomon over church and laity alike.[487] Alfred both gave and received generously in an economy which depended on his stewardship of God's wealth.[488] This took the form of land and treasure. With respect to the former, Alfred's will reveals that both he and Edward considered all 'bookland' to be theirs, and were willing to acquire ever more of it at the expense of their bishops. It is true that Alfred founded and endowed monasteries for monks and nuns, fortifying Athelney, but Shaftesbury's first abbess was his daughter Æthelgifu and his grants to these and other houses were relatively meagre.[489] Where the king was concerned, more money flowed into his coffers than out of them.

King Alfred's appropriation of wealth is expressed in his *Preface* to the translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. This preface, since it cites Grimbald and John the Old Saxon as his helpers, is datable to a year or two after their arrival in Wessex in 887-88. Here Alfred represents the state of learning of England in three periods: the present, his childhood, and the happy times before. In his childhood, he says, even before the Vikings burned them, the monasteries were filled with books and treasures and yet with monks who could barely read the books. Alfred pictures what these people might have said:

'Ūre ieldran, ðā ðe ðās stōwa ǣr hioldon, hīe lufodon wīsdōm, ond ðurh ðone hīe begēaton welan, ond ūs lǣfdon. Hēr mon mæg gīet gesīon hiora swæð, ac wē him ne cunnon æfter spyrigean.'[490]

'Our elders, who held these foundations before us, they loved wisdom, and through it they got wealth, which they left to us. Here one can still where they went, but we know not how to follow their track.'

Then he returns to the present, to comment on his monasteries which now have relatively little learning. Since he has described these foundations as filled with

[486] Abels (1998), 243-45. Blair (2005), 326, n. 180, 327, 347-48.
[487] Wormald (2001), 416-29. Abels (1998), 247-51.
[488] Abels (1998), 252-57.
[489] Stevenson (1959), 79 (ch. 92), 85 (ch. 98). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 102-3 (cf. 271, n. 228), 105 (cf. 27, n. 237). Blair (2005), 347.
[490] Mitchell and Robinson (2001), 206.

treasures while he was a child, the following reflection belongs to Alfred and his contemporaries:[491]

> Ond for ðǣm wē habbað nū ǣgðer forlǣten ge ðone welan ge ðone wīsdōm, for ðǣm ðe wē noldon tō ðǣm spore mid ūre mōde onlūtan.

> And for this we have lost the wealth as well as the wisdom, because we would not, with our minds, stoop to that trail.

The elegance of these clauses owes as much to vernacular poetry as to the hunting pursuits which afford the king's main metaphor. Alfred's alliteratve artistry consists of his chiasmic move from seventh- and eighth-century (Kentish, Northumbrian and Mercian) forebears who used 'wisdom' to get 'wealth', back to his (WS) contemporaries who have lost both by not learning Latin. The corollary is that Alfred treats monastic learning as a source of income. He promises an *æstel* 'pointer'[492] to the value of fifty mancuses, or fifty oxen, for each house to which a copy of the *Pastoral Care* is sent, but the *æstel* is is a gift that looks for a reward. More investment than largesse, it bears witness to Alfred's knowledge that giving alms entitles him to the use of beneficiaries' lands.

Asser, writing in 893, reflects this new ideology at the beginning of his account of the king's decision to give alms to the church (ch. 99):

> solito suo more intra semetipsum cogitabat, quid adhuc addere potuisset, quod plus placeret ad piam meditationem; <quae> non inaniter incepta, utiliter inventa, utilius servata est. Nam iamdudum in lege scriptum audierat, Dominum decimam sibi multipliciter redditurum promisisse atque fideliter servasse.[493]

> he thought to himself in his usual manner about what more he might add that would be in keeping with his holy resolve; <one which>, initiated not without profit and profitably conceived, was quite profitably sustained. For he had once heard a passage in scripture to the effect that the Lord had promised to repay His tithe many times over, and had faithfully kept this promise.[494]

Keynes and Lapidge treat the scripture as unidentifiable.[495] Nonetheless, there is an obvious source in the parable of the talents in Matt 24:14-30, in which the best servant, having doubled the value of his absent master's five talents, is rewarded by the returning master with the single talent which the worst servant hoarded in the ground. As the latter sum is a tenth of the best servant's new total, the story may be read as one in which the Lord rewards the servant with a sum equal to a tenth part of His increased wealth.

The parable of the talents also informs an imperfectly realised double acrostic dedicated to Alfred by one of his teachers, whom Lapidge identifies with John the Old Saxon, abbot of Athelney:

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[491] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 125 and 295, n. 9.
[492] Yorke (1995), 201.
[493] Stevenson (1959), 85.
[494] Adjusted from Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 105, 272-73, n. 238.
[495] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 273, n. 239.

En tibi descendant en celo Gratie tot**E**.
Letus erit semper, Ælfred, per competa ate**L**. [*leta*]
Fletus iam mentem sacris; satiare sirela**F**. [*faleris*]
Recte doces properans falsa dulcidine mure**R**. [*rerum*]
Ecce aptas clara semper lucrare taltan**E**. [*talenta*]
Docte peregrine transcurre rura sophie.

Behold, may all the Graces descend from heaven upon you!
You shall always be joyous, Alfred, through the happy walks [of life].
May you bend your mind to heavenly affairs. Be disgusted with trappings!
Rightly do you teach, hastening from the deceptive charm of [worldly] things.
See, you apply yourself ever to gain the shining talents:
Run confidently through the fields of foreign learning![496]

With the words *peregrine sophie* 'foreign learning' in the last line, the poet reveals that it is specifically Alfred's programme to teach *wīsdōm* which helps him to the talents: he gets one bag of silver for himself, as it were, for each ten in the Lord's increased treasury. Over and above Alfred's tax revenues, this verse stylizes his right to money both from annexing and from managing estates which belonged to his bishops.[497] Alfred's final endowments to the church have been put at an eighth of his disposable income.[498] It is no less clear that he expected a return on the alms he sent to Rome in 883/886, 887, 889 and 890. Alfred's use of episcopal and monastic wealth made him unpopular with churchmen,[499] but it helps to explain the paradoxical way in which the poet of *Andreas* legitimizes treasure in the newly converted Mermedonian city. Being sanctioned in the above Latin poem, Alfred's 'talents' set the best *terminus a quo* for *Andreas* in *c*. 888.

How the Alfredian ideology of treasure may further indicate a date for *Andreas* may be seen in an earlier passage in the *Life* in which Asser sums up Alfred's rule. Having listed the king's great cares and praised his achievements, Asser describes the ship of state:

> Sed tamen ille solus divino fultus adminiculo susceptum semel regni gubernaculum, veluti gubernator praecipuus, navem suam multis opibus refertam ad desideratum ac tutum patriae suae portum, quamvis cunctis propemodum lassis suis nautis, perducere contendit, haud aliter titubare ac vacillare, quamvis inter fluctivagos ac multimodos praesentis vitae turbines, non sinebat (ch. 91).[500]

> Yet once he had taken over the helm of his kingdom, he alone, sustained by divine assistance, struggled like an excellent pilot to guide his ship laden with much wealth to the desired and safe haven of his homeland, even though all his sailors were virtually exhausted; similarly, he did not allow it to waver or

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[496] MS Bern, Bibliothek 671, folio 74 verso (s. ix). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 192, 338 and n. 3. Text in Lapidge (1981), 81-83.
[497] Yorke (1995), 194-95.
[498] Wormald (2001), 277. Thacker (2001), 252.
[499] Wormald (2001), 275-77.
[500] Stevenson (1959), 77 (cf. ch. 21).

wander from course, even though the course lay through the seething whirlpools of the present life.[501]

Seafaring is common in first-person metaphors of literary endeavour, from Horace and Cicero to Aldhelm and Alcuin and beyond.[502] It is rare as a figure for governance, however, and we know of no other examples. Stevenson's only example is from *c.* 833, when Bishop Agobard of Lyon wrote to Emperor Louis the Pious rejecting the latter's royal in favour of his own ecclesiastical authority. Agobard, on the brink of a conflict with Louis which led to his deposition from the Lyon see, likens the present-day church to a ship, quoting words of Pope Gregory IV:

> uetustam et putrescentem nauem, quem regendam occulta Dei dispensation suscepi, ad portum dirigere nullatenus possim. Nunc ex aduerso fluctus inruunt, nunc ex latere cumuli spumosi maris intumescent, nunc a tergo tempestas insequitur.[503]

> The aged and rotting ship whose command I have taken over by hidden dispensation of God, I may by no means steer to harbour. Now the waves rush in from an unfavourable direction, now foaming masses of sea-water swell up, now from aft a storm attacks.

Sixty years later, Asser's metaphor is different, for his ship is not the church but the state, and he likens not the Pope or himself but his beloved king to the Pilot of Galilee.

Asser's expression for his royalist sympathies resembles *Andreas*, in that his metaphorical portrait of Alfred as an outstanding merchant skipper, sailing with tired crew skilfully through a storm, reads like lines 360-62 and then 391-95 of this poem. There is first *æðele be æðelum* 'one noble by another' sitting in the mock-Beowulfian *cēol gehladenne / hēahgestrēonum* 'keel laden / with high treasures'; then there is Andrew's plea to the captain that his thanes are *geþrēade* 'subdued' while the ocean resounds and the abyss is stirred, and that *duguð is geswenced, / mōdigra mægen myclum gebȳsgod* 'the troop is afflicted, this force of brave men is greatly oppressed'. The correspondences between these texts allow *Andreas* and Asser's *Life* to be regarded as products of the same intellectual court environment.

So we end with a big hypothesis. One half of this is that *Andreas* was composed in Wessex by a Mercian priest who was familiar with Alfred's councils, and that this poet performed his work after Alfred reoccupied London and his continental advisers began to enable his educational reforms from *c.* 888 onwards, and before or when Asser wrote his *Life of Alfred* in 893. This period of about five years was also the civic and intellectual zenith of Alfred's reign. The other half of the hypothesis is that the exemplar of *Andreas* and *Fates* is traceable to the second half of the tenth century in Wilton (or Shaftesbury, or Sherborne) by comparison with St Edith of Wilton and the Salisbury Psalter. Above, we have suggested that Edward's great-granddaughter Edith, in her convent at Wilton in the 970s, copied these poems as a gift for Dunstan, who had them recopied into the Vercelli Book in St Augustine's. Other theories may do better, but ours is that Alfred's chaplain Æthelstan, some time after returning from

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[501] Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 101.
[502] Curtius (1979), 128-30.
[503] Van Acker (1981), 305-06. Stevenson (1959), 331, n. 91, 30.

the shrine of St Thomas in Asia Minor, and very approximately in 890, composed *Andreas* for the court in Winchester, and that he left a copy in Ramsbury when he died there as bishop of Wiltshire in 927.

Note on the Text and Translation

The text and translation uses a split-page format by which the reader may match the MnE rendering to the OE original. Appropriate fitt numbers are indicated in the OE text and supplied in the translation, in both cases in Roman numerals on the left, whereas the chapter numbers common to the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis are given in brackets in bold on the right. Folio numbers for the Vercelli Book are given in smaller type on the right, with vertical lines showing folio division in the OE text. Italics in the OE text indicate emended forms whose originals are given later in the List of Emendations. Angular brackets indicate textual insertions; square brackets, a lacuna which is either in the text or in the manuscript. Line breaks are given with fitt-divisions and also before and after a passage which encompasses a speech.

The policy with the translation is to offer a guide to the original which the reader may affirm or alter with reference to the Glossary. Speeches are usually in a different register in the OE text and their syntax more artfully entwined, and here it is sometimes harder to match items line for line. For this reason liberties are sometimes taken with the placing of verbs and pronouns. In the translation, capital initials are used for God the Father's but not for Jesus' pronouns whether demonstrative or relative. Synonyms and epithets for God and the Son are also initially capitalized. Alliteration is used wherever it does not strain the choice of MnE words, while some MnE reflexes are favoured over formally unrelated synonyms in the attempt to render the meaning sparer, more literal and in a form less elaborated than is found in prose translations. Some ingenuity is in any case necessary in that MnE is short of synonyms for 'man', 'battle', 'glory', 'king' and 'sea'. For the sake of consistency, we aim within reason to keep the same translation for nouns and epithets regardless of where they are placed. Whether or not he alludes to *Beowulf*, the poet's idiom is itself a mixture of practical modern with outdated heroic, with some expressions used for subversive effect, i.e. *hæleð* 'hero' for a Mermedonian pagan.

ANDREAS

[I]	Hwæt, wē gefrūnan on fyrndagum	**(1)** 29v
	twelfe under tunglum tīrēadige hæleð,	
	þēodnes þegnas. Nō hira þrym ālæg	
	cam<p>rǣdenne, þonne cumbol hneotan,	
5	syððan hīe gedældon swā him dryhten sylf,	
	heofona hēahcyning, <h>lyt getǣhte.	
	Þæt wǣron mǣre men ofer eorðan,	
	frome folctogan ond fyrdhwate,	
	rōfe rincas, þonne rond ond hand	
10	on herefelda helm ealgodon	
	on meotudwange; wæs hira Māthēus sum,	
	sē mid Iūdēum ongan godspell ǣrest	
	wordum wrītan wundorcræfte.	
	Þām hālig god hlyt getēode	
15	ūt on þæt īgland, þǣr ǣnig þā gīt	
	ellþēodigra ēðles ne mihte	
	blǣdes brūcan; oft him bonena hand	
	on herefelda hearde gescēode.	
	Eal wæs þæt mearcland morðre bewunden,	
20	fēondes fācne, folcstede gumena,	

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I	Listen, we have heard tell from ancient days	**(1)**
	of twelve illustrious heroes under the stars,	
	thanes of the King. Never did their power fail	
	in combat engagement when standards clashed,	
5	once they had dispersed, as the Lord Himself,	
	High-King of Heaven, showed them by lot.	
	These were renowned men on earth,	
	brave captains and keen for campaign,	
	cheerful warriors, when shield and arm	
10	on the field of plunder kept helmet safe	
	on the plain of doom. One of them was Matthew,	
	who was the first among Jews to begin	
	to write the Gospel in words with wondrous skill.	
	For him did Holy God fashion the lot	
15	out to that land by water where no man	
	from the homeland of foreigners could yet	
	enjoy happiness: him often the hands of slayers	
	on the field of plunder cruelly harmed.	
	All bound in murder was that border country,	
20	with devil's crime, that men's habitation,	

hæleða ēðel;   næs þǣr hlāfes wist
werum on þām wonge,   ne wæteres drync
tō brūconne,   ah hīe blōd ond fel,
fira flǣschoman,   feorrancumenra,
ðēgon geond þā þēode.   Swelc wæs þēaw hira
þæt hīe ǣghwylcne   ellðēodigra
dydan him tō mōse   meteþearfendum,
þāra þe þæt ēaland   ūtan sōhte;
swylc wæs þæs folces   freoðolēas tācen,
unlǣdra eafoð,   þæt hīe ēagena gesīhð,
hette<n>d heorogrimme,   hēafodgimm*as,*
āgēt<t>on gealgmōde   gāra ordum.
Syððan him gebl*e*ndan   bitere tōsomne
dryas þurh dwolcræft   drync unheorne,
sē onwende gewit,   wera ingeþanc,
heortan <on> hreðre;   hyge wæs oncyrred,
þæt hīe ne murndan   æfter mandrēame,
hæleþ heorogrǣdige,   ac hīe hig ond gærs
for metelēaste   mēðe gedrehte.
Þā wæs Māthēus   tō þǣre mǣran byrig   **(2)**

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homeland of heroes; neither loaf food there
nor drink of water did men in that country
have for banquet, but it was blood and skin,
flesh of men come from far, on which they
in that nation dined. Such was their custom,
that each man from a nation of foreigners
did they make, when needing food, into meat,
of those who sought that land by water from abroad;
such was the people's uncivilised character,
violence of the wretched, that they the eyesight,
enemies blood-thirsting, the head-jewels
gallows-minded would with spear-points dispatch.
For them together then mordantly would mix
wizards with witchcraft a drink monstrous
which overturned the wits, the intellect of men,
heart in the breast; their reason was overthrown,
so that they did not mourn men's pleasures,
heroes ravenous, but them hay and grass
would vex when weak for want of food.
Now Matthew making for that famous town   **(2)**

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cumen in þā ceastre.   Þǣr wæs cirm micel
geond Mermedonia,   mānfulra hlōð,
fordēnera gedræg,   syþþan dēofles þegn\<as\>
| geāscodon   æðelinges sīð.   30r

45   Ēodon him þā tōgēnes   gārum gehyrsted,
lungre under linde;   nalas late wǣron
eorre æscberend   tō þām ōrlege.
Hīe þām hālgan þǣr   handa gebundon
ond fæstnodon   fēondes cræfte,

50   hæleð hellfūse,   ond his hēafdes s*ig*\<e\>l
ābrēoton mid billes ecge;   hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt
herede in heortan   heofonrīces weard,
þēah ðe hē ātres drync   atulne onfenge.
Ēadig ond onmōd,   hē mid elne forð

55   wyrðode wordum   wuldres aldor,
heofonrīces weard,   hālgan stefne
of carcerne;   him wæs Crīstes lof
on fyrhðlocan   fæste bewunden.

Hē þā wēpende   wēregum tēarum

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had come into the city. There was great outcry
through Mermedonia, the gang of the wicked,
the mob of the damned, when the devil's thanes
found out about the prince's mission.
45   Marched then against him equipped with spears,
swiftly under shields; in no way late were
the irate armed warriors on this field of war.
There they the saint's hands bound up
and fastened with fiendish skill,
50   heroes hell-bound, and his head's suns
with sword's blade destroyed; yet still in his breast
in heart he praised Keeper of Heaven-Kingdom,
though having taken the terrible drink of poison.
Blessed and resolute, he with courage continued
55   to worship aloud the Prince of Glory,
Keeper of Heaven, in a saintly voice
from prison; for him was praise of Christ
in the spirit's locker firmly enclosed.

He then weeping with weary tears

　　　　his sigedryhten　　sārgan reorde
　　　　grētte, gumena brego,　　gēomran stefne,
　　　　weoruda wilgeofan,　　ond þus wordum cwæð:
　　　　'Hū mē elþēodige　　inwitwrāsne
　　　　searonet sēowað!　　Ā ic symles wæs
65　　　on wega gehwām　　willan þīnes
　　　　georn on mōde;　　nu ðurh geohða sceal
　　　　dǣde fremman　　swā þā dumban nēat!
　　　　Þū āna canst　　ealra gehygdo,
　　　　meotud mancynnes,　　mōd in hreðre;
70　　　gif þīn willa sīe,　　wuldres aldor,
　　　　þæt mē wǣrlogan　　wǣpna ecgum,
　　　　sweordum, āswebban,　　ic bēo sōna gearu
　　　　tō ādrēoganne　　þæt ðū, drihten mīn,
　　　　engla ēadgifa,　　ēðellēasum,
75　　　dugeða dǣdfruma,　　dēman wille.
　　　　Forgif mē tō āre,　　ælmihtig god,
　　　　lēoht on þissum līfe,　　þȳ læs ic lungre scyle,
　　　　āblended in burgum　　æfter billhete
　　　　þurh hearmcwide　　heorugrǣdigra

60　　　to his Lord of victory in sorrowful tones
　　　　gave greeting to the Chief of Man, with sad voice
　　　　to the Hosts' Endower, and words thus uttered:
　　　　'How strangers weave a web of cunning
　　　　with evil bonds about me! Ever have I constantly
65　　　on every path continued to do your will
　　　　eager at heart; now in my misery I must
　　　　carry out my actions like dumb cattle!
　　　　You alone know the thoughts of all,
　　　　Mankind's Measurer, the heart in each breast;
70　　　if your will it be, O Master of Glory,
　　　　that breakers of faith with weapon's edges,
　　　　with swords, should slay me, straight am I ready
　　　　to endure the fate that you, my Lord,
　　　　Angels' Wealth-Giver, for the homeless man,
75　　　true Author of hosts' deeds, wish to appoint.
　　　　Give me as a favour, Almighty God,
　　　　some light in this life, lest I should entirely,
　　　　blinded in this town with violence of blades,
　　　　by harmful decree of blood-ravening

lāðra lēodsceaðena,   leng þrōwian
         edwitsprǣce.   Ic tō ānum þē,
         middangeardes weard,   mōd staþolige,
         fæste fyrhðlufan;   ond þē, fæder engla,
         beorht blǣdgifa,   biddan wille
85   ðæt ðū mē ne gescyrige   mid scyldhetum,
         werigum wrōhtsmiðum,   on þone wyrrestan,
         dugoða dēmend,   dēað ofer | eorðan.'   30v

         Æfter þyssum wordum cōm   wuldres tācen   **(3)**
         hālig of heofenum,   swylce hādre s*ig*<e>l,
90   tō þām carcerne,   þǣr gecȳðed wearð
         þæt hālig god   helpe gefremede.
         Ðā wearð gehȳred   heofoncyninges stefn
         wrǣtlīc under wolcnum,   wordhlēoðres swēg
         mǣres þēodnes;   hē his maguþegne
95   under hearmlocan   hǣlo ond frōfre
         beadurōfum ābēad   beorhtan stefne:
         'Ic þē, Māthēus,   mīne sylle
         sybbe under swegle.   Ne bēo ðū on sefan tō forht,

_____

80   hostile despoilers of people, longer suffer
         speeches of contempt. I on You alone,
         Middle World's Keeper, do found my heart,
         my firm spiritual love; and to You, Father of Angels,
         bright Giver of Happiness, I will pray
85   that you allot not me among unjust oppressors,
         accursed artesans of crime, the very worst,
         O Judge of Hosts, death on earth.'

         After these words came a sign of glory   **(3)**
         holy from heaven like the blinding sun
90   towards the prison, where it was revealed
         that Holy God had extended help.
         Then was heard the voice of Heaven's King,
         extraordinary beneath the clouds, harmony
         of the renowned King; He to His retainer
95   in locker of harm did health and comfort
         proffer to the war-brave in clear tones:
         'I to you, Matthew, with Myself do give
         fellowship under firmament. Be not in heart too fearful,

ne on mōde ne murn;   ic þē mid wunige

100   ond þē ālȳse   of þyssum leoðubendum,
ond ealle þā menigo   þe þē mid wuniað
on nearonēdum.   Þē is nēorxnawang,
blǣda beorhtost,   boldwela fægrost,
hāma hyhtlīcost,   hālegum mihtum

105   torht ontȳned,   þǣr ðū tȳres mōst
tō wīdan fēore,   willan brūcan.
Geþola þēoda þrēa;   nis sēo þrāh micel
þæt þē wǣrlogan   wītebendum,
synnige ðurh searocræft,   swencan mōtan.

110   Ic þē Andrēas   ædre onsende
tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre   in þās hǣðenan burg;
hē ðē ālȳseð   of þyssum lēodhete.
Is tō þǣre tīde   tǣlmet hwīle
emne mid sōðe   seofon ond twentig

115   nihtgerīmes,   þæt ðū of nēde mōst,
sorgum geswenced;   sigore gewyrðod,
hweorfest of hēnðum   in gehyld godes.'

---

nor mourn in your mind; I will remain with you

100   and will release you from these limb-bonds,
you and all the multitude who with you remain
in close constraints. For you will paradise,
brightest of triumphs, fairest wealth of palaces,
home longest hoped for, with holy powers

105   radiantly be opened, where you may from glory
ever more draw benefit to your heart's desire.
Suffer this people's oppression; in not much time
breakers of covenant with bonds of torment
in the ingenuity of their sin must torture you.

110   I to you Andrew will urgently dispatch
as shield and comfort in the heathen town;
he will free you from this people's violence.
Until that hour, there is a measure of time
which in truth extends to twenty-seven

115   nights in number, till you may quit this constraint,
tortured with sorrows; when, triumphally honoured,
you turn from humiliation to the keeping of God.'

Ge<wāt> him þā se hālga   helm ælwihta,
engla scyppend,   tō þām uplīcan
120   ēðelrīce;   hē is ōnriht cyning,
staðolfæst stȳrend,   in stōwa gehwām.

[II]   Ðā wæs Māthēus   miclum onbryrded
nīwan stefne.   Nihthelm tōglād,
lungre lēorde;   lēoht æfter cōm,
125   dægredwōma.   Duguð samnade,
hǣðne hildfrecan   hēapum þrungon
(gūðsearo gullon,   gāras hrysedon)
bolgenmōde   under bordhrēoðan;
woldon cunnian   hwæðer cwice lifdon
130   þā þe on carcerne   clommum fæste
hlēolēasan wīc   hwīle | wunedon,   31r
hwylcne hīe tō æte   ǣrest mihton
æfter fyrstmearce   fēores berǣdan.
Hæfdon hīe on rūne   ond on rīmcræfte

_____

Passed then the holy Shelter of All Beings,
Creator of Angels, to the uppermost
120   kingdom of His home; He is rightful King,
steadfast Governor, in every place.

II   Much was then Matthew with inspiration
moved anew. Away night's cover glided,
departed entirely; light came in after,
125   tumult of dawn. The company gathered,
pagan war-braves in platoons pushed forward
(combat-armour clanged, spears rattled)
swollen with anger under shield-board cover;
wanted to learn if still living they were
130   who in the dungeon, made fast in shackles,
had dwelt for a while in that cheerless abode,
which man for consumption they could soonest
deprive of his life at the time appointed.
In runes and computation the carniverous

135   āwriten wælgrǣdige   wera endestæf,
        hwæn<n>e hīe tō mōse   meteþearfendum
        on þǣre werþēode   weorðan sceoldon.
        Cirmdon caldheorte,   corðor ōðrum getang,
        rēðe rǣsboran   rihtes ne gīmdon,
140   meotudes mildse.   Oft hira mōd onwōd
        under dimscūan   dēofles lārum,
        þonne hīe unlǣdra   eaueðum gelȳfdon.
        Hīe ðā gemētton   mōdes glāwne,
        hāligne hæle,   under heolstorlocan,
145   bīdan beadurōfne   þæs him beorht cyning,
        engla ordfruma,   unnan wolde.
        Ðā wæs first āgān   frumrǣdenne
        þinggemearces   būtan þrim nihtum,
        swā hit wælwulfas   āwriten hæfdon,
150   þæt hīe bānhringas   ābrecan þōhton,
        lungre tōlȳsan   līc ond sāwle,
        ond þonne tōdǣlan   duguðe ond geogoðe,
        werum tō wiste   ond tō wilþege,
        fǣges flǣschoman;   feorh ne bemurndan

---

135   had written down the deathstave of men,
        when into meals for meat-cravers
        in that nation of men they should be turned.
        Cold-blooded whooped, mob pressed on mob,
        their harsh counsellors heeded neither law
140   nor Measurer's mercy. Regularly their minds
        in dim shade were invaded by devil's instructions,
        when they trusted in the violence of unhappy men.
        They now encountered a man clear in mind,
        hero of holiness beneath hidden confines,
145   brave man abiding what the Bright King,
        Captain of the Angels, would offer him.
        By then the time first authorized for the date
        appointed was gone but for three nights,
        as wolves of slaughter had written it down,
150   the time they thought to break up bone-rings,
        to separate entirely body from soul
        and then dole out to companies young and old,
        for the banquet and pleasant feasting of men,
        the flesh of one doomed; no care for his life had

155	grǣdige gūðrincas, hū þæs gāstes sīð
	æfter swyltcwale geseted wurde.
	Swā hīe symble ymb þrītig þing gehēdon
	nihtgerīmes; wæs him nēod micel
	þæt hīe tōbrugdon blōdigum ceaflum
160	fira flæschoman him tō foddorþege.

Þā wæs gemyndig,   sē ðe middangeard   **(4)**
gestaðelode   strangum mihtum,
hū hē in ellþēodigum   yrmðum wunode
belocen leoðubendum,   þe of\<t\> his lufan ādrēg
165 for Ebrēum   ond Israhēlum,
swylce hē Iūdēa   galdorcræftum
wiðstōd stranglīce.   Þā sīo stefn gewearð
gehēred of heofenum,   þǣr se hālga wer
in Āchāia,   Andrēas, wæs;
170 lēode lǣrde   on līfes weg,
þā him cinebaldum   cininga wuldor,
meotud mancynnes,   mōdhord onlēac,
weoruda drihten,   ond þus wordum cwæð:

_____

155 these warriors ravenous, nor for how soul's journey
beyond pain of execution would be settled.
They ever thus made appointment for after thirty
nights in number; need in them was great
that they should draw apart with bloody jaws
160 the flesh of men as fodder for their feasting.

Then was He mindful, Who had founded   **(4)**
the middle world with strong powers,
how in foreign miseries the man remained,
locked in limb-bonds, who had often shown
165 love for Him before Hebrews and Israelites,
just as He the Jews' arts of enchantment
had strenuously withstood. His voice was then
heard from heaven, where the holy man
in Achaea, Andrew, was to be found;
170 the people he was teaching the way to Life,
when to the man bold by kin the Glory of Kings,
Mankind's Measurer, unlocked mind-hoard,
Lord of Hosts, and words thus uttered:

'Ðū scealt fēran   ond frið lǣdan,
175   sīðe gesēcan,   þǣr sylfǣtan
eard weardigað,   ēðel healdaþ
morðorcræftum.   Swā is þǣre menigo þēaw
| þæt hīe uncūðra   ǣngum ne willað   31v
on þām folcstede   fēores geunnan,
180   syþþan mānfulle   on Mermedonia
onfindaþ fēasceaftne.   Þǣr sceall feorhgedāl,
earmlīc ylda cwealm,   æfter wyrþan,
ðǣr ic seomian wāt   þīnne sigebrōðor
mid þām burgwarum   bendum fæstne.
185   Nū bið fore þrēo niht,   þæt hē on þǣre þēode sceal
fore hǣðenra   handgewinne
þurh gāres gripe   gāst onsendan,
ellorfūsne,   būtan ðū ǣr cyme.'

Ǣdre him Andrēas   āgef andsware:
190   'Hū mæg ic, dryhten mīn,   ofer dēop gelād
fōre gefremman   on feorne weg

_____

'You are to go and lead a mission,
175   seek expedition where cannibals
inhabit a homeland, keeping their inheritance
with arts of deadly sin. Such custom that multitude has,
that to no man of people unknown to them
in that country may they grant his life
180   once the criminals of Mermedonia
find him alone without means. There a life's parting,
a wretched homicide, will afterwards occur,
where I know your brother in victory to be languishing
with those city-dwellers, fastened in bonds.
185   Now among that nation, before three nights are up,
subject to violence from the hand of heathens,
by spear's clutch he shall send on his spirit
eager for elsewhere, but that you get there first.'

Swiftly to Him did Andrew give answer:
190   'How can I, my Lord, over deep-sea roads
bring off this journey by then to distant parts

swā hrædlīce,   heofona scyppend,
wuldres waldend,   swā ðū worde becwist?
Ðæt mæg engel þīn   ēað gefēran

195 <hēah> of heofenum,   con him holma begang,
sealte sǣstrēamas   ond swanrāde,
waroðfaruða gewinn   ond wæterbrōgan,
wegas ofer wīdland.   Ne synt mē winas cūðe
eorlas elþēodige,   ne þǣr ǣniges wāt

200 hæleða gehygdo,   ne mē herestrǣta
ofer cald wæter   cūðe sindon.'

Him ðā ondswarude   ece dryhten:
'Ēalā, Andrēas,   þæt ðū ā woldest
þæs sīðfætes   sǣne weorþan!

205 Nis þæt unēaðe   eallwealdan gode
tō gefremmanne   on foldwege,
ðæt sīo ceaster hider   on þās cnēorisse
under swegles gang   āseted wyrðe,
breogostōl brēme,   mid þām burgwarum,

210 gif hit worde becwið   wuldres āgend.

_____

as quickly, O Creator of Heaven,
Ruler of Glory, as you say the word?
Your angel can achieve that more easily

195 from <on high> in heaven, he knows the ocean road,
the salt sea-currents and the swan's path,
tumult of shore-tides and terror of the water,
ways over open country. To me foreign gentlemen
are not friends or familiars, nor do I know there

200 the mind of any hero, nor are raiding highways
over cold water familiar to me.'

Answered him then the Lord Eternal:
'O Andrew, that ever you would
be slow to start on this expedition!

205 It's not beyond the ease of Omnipotent God
to bring it to pass in earthly parts
that the city right here in this country
beneath sun's course be settled down,
that famed principality with citizens in it,

210 if the Owner of Glory says the word.

Ne meaht ðū þæs sīðfætes   sæne weorðan,
ne on gewitte tō wāc,   gif ðū wēl þencest
wið þīnne waldend   wǣre gehealdan,
trēowe tācen.   Bēo ðū on tīd gearu;

215   ne mæg þæs ǣrendes   ylding wyrðan.
Ðū scealt þā fōre gefēran   ond þīn feorh beran
in gramra gripe,   ðǣr þe gūðgewinn
þurh hǣðenra   hildewōman,
beorna beaducræft,   geboden wyrðeð.

220   Scealtū ǣninga   mid ǣrdæge,
emne tō morgene,   æt meres ende
cēol ge | stīgan,   ond on cald wæter   32r
brecan ofer bæðweg.   Hafa bletsunge
ofer middangeard   mīne þǣr ðū fere.'

225   Gewāt him þā se hālga   healdend ond wealdend,
upengla fruma,   ēðel sēcan,
middangeardes weard,   þone mǣran hām,
þǣr sōðfæstra   sāwla mōton
æfter līces hryre   līfes brūcan.

_____

You cannot be slow to start on this expedition
nor in wits too weak, if you well mean
to keep covenant with your Commander,
a pledge that is true. You be ready in time;

215   with this task there can be no delay.
You are to undertake this voyage, bearing your life
into the clutch of foes, where a struggle in the war
by the tumult of heathen men in battle, by the skill
of their troops in fighting, will be offered you.

220   You shall at once in the dawn of the day,
just as morning breaks at the ocean's edge,
embark in a keel, and in cold water
plough through the bathway. Have a blessing
in the middle world from Me where you go.'

225   Off then moved the Holy, Keeper and Commander,
Alpha of Archangels, Middle World's Guardian,
to seek His own country, that glorious homeland
where souls of the just are permitted
after ruin of the body to profit from Life.

[III]	Þā wæs ǣrende æðelum cempan
	āboden in burgum, ne wæs him blēað hyge,
	ah hē wæs ānrǣd ellenweorces,
	heard ond higerōf, nalas hildlata,
	gearo, gūðe fram, tō godes campe.
235	Gewāt him þā on ūhtan mid ǣrdæge **(5)**
	ofer sandhleoðu tō sǣs faruðe,
	þrīste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid,
	gangan on grēote; gārsecg hlynede,
	bēoton brimstrēamas. Se beorn wæs on hyhte,
240	syðþan hē on waruðe wīdfæðme scip
	mōdig gemētte. Þā cōm morgentorht
	bēacna beorhtost ofer breomo snēowan
	hālig of heolstre heofoncandel blāc
	ofer lagoflōdas. Hē ðǣr lidweardas,
245	þrymlīce þrȳ þegnas <mētte>,
	mōdiglīce menn on merebāte
	sittan sīðfrome, swylce hīe ofer sǣ cōmon;
	þæt wæs drihten sylf, dugeða wealdend,
	ēce ælmihtig, mid his englum twām.

III	Now was a task to the high-born champion
	announced in the towns, nor soft was his intent,
	for he was determined upon a deed of courage,
	hard, bave and resolute, no laggard in battle,
	but ready, keen in war, in combat for God.
235	Moved out before dawn then in the early day **(5)**
	over sand-dunes to the sea's currents,
	bold in his plan, and his thanes alongside him,
	walking on the gravel; spear-man roared,
	rollers thundered. The trooper's hopes were raised
240	when proud on the shore he encountered
	a wide-bosomed ship. Then came morning-radiant,
	brightest of beacons over sea-brim hastening,
	holy from her hiding-place, heaven's candle flashing
	over ocean floods. He in that place <found>
245	sailing-masters, three thanes magnificent,
	brave men sitting in a boat for the deep,
	eager to sail, as if they had crossed the sea;
	that was the Lord Himself, Commander of Hosts,
	Eternal Almighty, with His angels two.

250   Wǣron hīe on gescirplan   scipferendum
       eorlas onlīce,   ēalīðendum,
       þonne hīe on flōdes fæðm   ofer feorne weg
       on cald wæter   cēolum lācað.

       Hīe ðā gegrētte   sē ðe on grēote stōd,
255   fūs on faroðe,   fægn reordade:
       'Hwanon cōmon gē   cēolum līðan,
       mācræftige menn,   on mereþissan,
       āne ǣgflotan?   Hwanon ēagorstrēam
       ofer ȳða gewealc   ēowic brohte?'

260   Him ðā ondswarode   ælmihtī god,
       swā þæt ne wiste,   sē ðe þæs wordes bād,
       hwæt sē manna wæs   meðelhegendra,
       þe hē þǣr on waroðe | wið þingode: 32v
       'Wē of Marmedonia   mægðe syndon
265   feorran geferede;   ūs mid flōde bær
       on hranrāde   hēahstefn naca,
       snellīc sǣmearh,   sunde bewunden,

_____

250   They were gentlemen in costumes looking
       like seafaring men, men who move on ocean,
       when in flood's embrace from distant parts
       in cold water they launch their keels.

       Greeted them then who stood on the gravel,
255   keen for the tide, glad he gave voice:
       'Where have you come from, sailing your keels,
       men of much skill in your deep-sea burster,
       alone in your vessel? Where did ocean
       bring you from across the rolling of waves?'

260   To him then gave answer Almighty God,
       so that he who waited for the word knew not
       what kind of man among spokesmen it was
       with Whom he agreed terms from shore:
       'We are men of Mermedonian nation
265   sailed from afar; us on the flood bore
       on the orca's road a high-prowed bark,
       swift sea-stallion immersed in the strait,

116

oðþæt wē þiss<a> lēoda   land gesōhton,
wǣre bewrecene,   swā ūs wind fordrāf.'

270   Him þā Andrēas   ēaðmōd oncwæð:
'Wolde ic þē biddan,   þēh ic þē bēaga lȳt,
sincweorðunga,   syllan meahte,
þæt ðū ūs gebrōhte   brante cēole,
hēa hornscipe,   ofer hwæles ēðel
275   on þǣre mægðe;   bið ðē meorð wið god,
þæt ðū ūs on lāde   līðe weorðe.'

Eft him ondswarode   æðelinga helm
of ȳðlide,   engla scippend:
'Ne magon þǣr gewunian   wīdferende,
280   ne þǣr elþēodige   eardes brūcað,
ah in þǣre ceastre   cwealm þrōwiað
þā ðe feorran þyder   feorh gelǣdaþ;
ond þū wilnast nū   ofer wīdne mere,
þæt ðū on þā fǣgðe   þīne fēore spilde?'

_____

until we put in at the shore of this country,
pushed through the briny as wind drove us on.'

270   To Him then did Andrew humbly respond:
'I would pray you, though few are the rings,
treasures and adornments I might give you,
that you brought us in your steep-prowed keel,
in your high curved ship, over whale's home
275   to that tribe; there is a reward for you from God
for being well-disposed to us on our road.'

Him again answered the Helm of Princes
from the wave-farer, Creator of Angels:
'Travellers from afar cannot stay there,
280   nor from the country there do foreigners profit,
for in that city a slow execution they suffer
who lead their lives to that place from afar;
and now you ask over wide-open ocean
to lose your life in that living vendetta?'

117

285   Him þā Andrēas   āgef ondsware:
        'Ūsic lust hweteð   on þā lēodmearce,
        mycel mōdes hiht,   tō þǣre mǣran byrig,
        þēoden lēofesta,   gif ðū <ū>s þīne wilt
        on merefaroðe   miltse gecȳðan.'

290   Him ondswarode   engla þēoden,
        neregend fira,   of nacan stefne:
        'Wē ðē ēstlīce   mid ūs willað
        ferigan frēolīce   ofer fisces bæð
        efne tō þām lande   þǣr þē lust myneð
295   tō gesēcanne,   syððan gē ēowre
        gafulrǣdenne   āgifen habbað,
        sceattas gescrifene,   swā ēow scipweardas,
        āras ofer ȳðbord,   unnan willað.'

        Him þā ofstlīce   Andrēas wið,   **(6)**
300   wineþearfende,   wordum mǣlde:
        'Næbbe ic fǣted gold   ne feohgestrēon,
        welan ne wiste,   ne wīra gespann,

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285   To Him then did Andrew give answer:
        'Us a desire incites to that territory,
        great hope of mind to that famous town,
        dearest chief, if to us you will only
        make on the tide your generosity known.'

290   Answered him the Chief of Angels,
        Saviour of Men, from the prow of the bark:
        'You we will liberally with us
        ferry with freedom over fishes' bath,
        right to the shore where desire minds you
295   to put in, just as soon as you your
        payment of tribute have yielded up,
        such prescription of coins as the shipmasters,
        heralds over gunwale, will grant.'

        To Him then hastily Andrew, facing,   **(6)**
300   in need of friends, delivered these words:
        'I have no plated gold, nor riches of treasure,
        no wealth nor provisions nor fastening of wires,

landes ne locenra bēaga,   þæt ic þē mæge lust āhwettan,
    willan in worulde,   swā ðū worde becwist.'

305   Him þā beorna breogo,   þǣr hē on bolcan sæt,
    ofer waroða geweorp   wið þingode:|
    'Hū gewearð þē þæs,   wine lēofesta,   33r
    ðæt ðū sǣbeorgas   sēcan woldes,
    merestrēama gemet,   māðmum bedǣle*d*,
310   ofer cald cleofu   cēoles nēosan?
    Nafast þē tō frōfre   on faroðstrǣte
    hlāfes wiste   ne hlutterne
    drync tō dugoðe?   Is se drohtað strang
    þām þe lagolāde   lange cunnaþ.'

315   Ðā him Andrēas   ðurh ondsware,
    wīs on gewitte,   wordhord onlēac:
    'Ne gedafenað þē,   nū þē dryhten geaf
    welan ond wiste   ond woruldspēde,
    ðæt ðū ondsware   mid oferhygdum,
320   sēce, sārcwide;   sēlre bið ǣghwām

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    no land nor linked rings, with which I may arouse your desire,
    such worldly will as in words you reproach me for.'

305   Then did Man's Chief, where he sat on the gangway,
    negotiate with Andrew over dunes of the shore:
    'How did it happen, my dearest friend,
    that you wanted to visit sea-headlands,
    the edge of ocean's currents, deprived of treasures,
310   beyond cold cliffs to spy out a keel?
    Have you nothing for your ease on the tidal road,
    not provision of a loaf nor any clear
    drink to keep you going? Life is tough
    for a man long exploring ocean paths.'

315   Andrew to Him then by way of answer,
    wise in wits, his word-hoard unlocked:
    'It does not become you, since the Lord gave you
    riches and food and worldly success,
    that you answer with thoughts of pride,
320   or try sarcasm; it is better for each man

þæt hē ēaðmēdum   ellorfūsne
oncnāwe cūðlīce,   swā þæt Crīst bebēad,
þēoden þrymfæst.   Wē <h>is þegnas synd
gecoren tō cempum;   hē is cyning on riht,
325 wealdend ond wyrhta   wuldorþrymmes,
ān ēce god   eallra gesceafta.
Swā hē ealle befēhð   ānes cræfte,
hefon ond eorðan,   hālgum mihtum,
sigora sēlost.   Hē ðæt sylfa cwæð,
330 fæder folca gehwæs,   ond ūs fēran hēt
geond ginne grund   gāsta strēonan:
"Farað nu geond ealle   eorðan scēatas
emne swā wīde   swā wæter bebūgeð,
oððe stedewangas   strǣte gelicgaþ.
335 Bodiað æfter burgum   beorhtne gelēafan
ofer foldan fæðm;   ic ēow freoðo healde.
Ne ðurfan gē on þā fōre   frætwe lǣdan,
gold ne seolfor;   ic ēow gōda gehwæs
on ēowerne āgenne dōm   ēst āhwette."
340 Nū ðū seolfa miht   sīð ūserne

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that with humility he openly recognize
a man eager to travel, as Christ commanded,
majestic chief. We are his thanes,
champions chosen; by right he is King,
325 Commander and Builder of the Power of Glory,
One God Eternal of All Things Created,
Just so He enfolds all with the force of one,
heaven and earth, with holy powers,
highest divine might. He said this Himself,
330 Father of Each Nation, and ordered us to go
winning souls through the world's wide terrain:
"Go now into all corners of the earth
just as far as the water surrounds us
or highways lie upon the plains.
335 Preach the bright faith from town to town
across the bosom of the land; I will keep you safe.
Nor need you on that journey carry treasures,
gold or silver; for you every advantage
on your own terms will I liberally provide."
340 Now you can hear for yourself what our mission is,

gehȳran hygeþancol,   ic sceal hraðe cunnan

hwæt | ðū ūs tō duguðum   gedōn wille.'

Him þā ondswarode   ǣce dryhten:

'Gif gē syndon þegnas   þæs þe þrym āhōf

345   ofer middangeard,   swā gē mē secgaþ,

ond gē gehēoldon   þæt ēow se hālga bēad,

þonne ic ēow mid gefēan   ferian wille

ofer brimstrēamas,   swā gē bēnan sint.'

Þā in cēol stigon   collenfyrhðe,

350   ellenrōfe;   ǣghwylcum wearð

on merefaroðe   mōd geblissod.

[IV]   Ðā ofer ȳða geswing   Andrēas ongann

merelīðendum   miltsa biddan

wuldres aldor,   ond þus wordum cwæð:

355   'Forgife þē dryhten   dōmweorðunga,

willan in worulde   ond in wuldre blǣd,

---

you keen-witted man, I must quickly know

what you will bring us in the way of support.'

Answered him then the Lord Everlasting:

'If you are thanes of Him Who raised glory

345   over the middle world, as you say you are,

and have held to what the Holy One told you,

then with pleasure I will ferry you

over ocean currents as you request.'

Climbed into keel then with hearts of courage

350   the men of bave cheer; in each one of them

on this deep-sea tide was the mind made glad.

IV   Then over of tossing of waves Andrew began

on behalf of the sea-voyager to pray for grace

to the Prince of Glory, and words thus uttered:

355   'May the Lord so give you honours of renown,

your will in the world and glory in heaven,

meotud manncynnes,   swā ðū mē hafast
on þyssum sīðfǣte   sybbe gecȳðed!'

<div>

Gesæt him þā se hālga   holmwearde nēah,   **(7)**
360 æðele be æðelum;   ǣfre ic ne hȳrde
þon cymlīcor   cēol gehladenne
hēahgestrēonum.   Hæleð in sǣton,
þēodnas þrymfulle,   þegnas wlitige.
Ðā reordode   rīce þēoden,
365 ēce ælmihtig;   heht his engel gān,
mǣrne maguþegn,   ond mete syllan,
frēfran fēasceaft*e*   ofer flōdes wylm,
þæt hīe þē ēað mihton   ofer ȳða geþring
drohtaþ ādrēogan   þā gedrēfed wearð,
370 onhrǣred, hwælmere.   Hornfisc plegode,
glād geond gārsecg,   ond se grǣga mǣw
wælgīfre wand.   Wedercandel swearc,
windas wēoxon,   wǣgas grundon,
| strēamas styredon,   strengas gurron,   34r
375 wǣdo gewǣtte;   wæteregsa stōd

</div>

Mankind's Measurer, as you with me have
declared a kinship on this expedition!'

Sat down the saint then alongside the captain,   **(7)**
360 one noble by another; never did I hear
of any keel the comelier laden
with high treasures. Heroes sat within her,
chieftains majestic, thanes full of beauty.
Then did the Mighty King give voice,
365 Eternal Omnipotent; ordered His angel,
splendid young thane, to come serve a meal,
comfort men without means over flood's surge
that they might more easily over waves' throng
endure the life-style when disturbed it became,
370 when whale-deep was stirred. An orca played,
glided through the spear-man, while the white gull
keen for carrion circled. Weather-candle darkened,
the winds blew up, the waves churned,
the currents stirred, the cables rattled,
375 sheets were drenched; terror of the waters stood up

þrēata þrȳðum.   Þegnas wurdon
ācolmōde;   ǣnig ne wēnde
þæt hē lifgende   land begēte,
þāra þe mid Andrēas   on ēagorstrēam
380   cēol gesōhte.   Næs him cūð þā gȳt
hwā þām sǣflotan   sund wīsode.

Him þā se hālga   on holmwege
ofer ārgeblond,   Andrēas þā gīt
þegn þēodenhold   þanc gesægde
385   rīcum rǣsboran,   þā hē gereordod wæs:
'Ðē þissa swǣsenda   sōðfæst meotud,
līfes lēohtfruma,   lēan forgilde,
weoruda waldend,   ond þē wist gife,
heofonlīcne hlāf,   swā ðū hyldo wið mē
390   ofer firigendstrēam   frēode gecȳðdest.
Nū synt geþrēade   þegnas mīne,
geonge gūðrincas.   Gārsecg hlymmeð,
geofon gēotende;   grund is onhrēred,
dēope gedrēfed.   Duguð is geswenced,

_____

with the might of battalions. Thanes were minded
to be afraid; not a man who did not expect
he would not reach the shore alive,
of those who with Andrew on ocean's current
380   had taken ship. Still it was unknown to him then
who guided that vessel on the crossing.

To Him then the saint on the ocean road
over mingling waters, Andrew the thane
still loyal to his Chief said thanks
385   when refreshed to the Mighty Counsellor:
'For this dinner may the Righteous Measurer,
Author of Light and Life, make you payment,
the Ruler of Hosts, and give nourishment,
the loaf of heaven, as lovingly as you to me
390   declared your kindness on mountainous seas.
Subdued now are these thanes of mine,
young braves in the war. The spear-man roars,
pouring giver of tides; the abyss is stirred,
the depths troubled. The troop is afflicted,

395   mōdigra mægen   myclum gebȳsgod.'

          Him of holme oncwæð   hæleða scyppend:
          'Lǣt nū geferian   flotan ūserne,
          lid tō lande   ofer lagufæsten,
          ond þonne gebīdan   beornas þīne,
400   āras on earde,   hwænne ðū eft cyme.'

          Ēdre him þā eorlas   āgēfan ondsware,
          þegnas þrohthearde   þafigan ne woldon
          þæt hīe forlēton   æt lides stefnan
          lēofne lārēow,   ond him land curon:
405   'Hwider hweorfað wē   hlāfordlēase,
          geōmormōde,   gōde ōrfeorme,
          synnum wunde,   gif wē swīcað þē?
          Wē bīoð lāðe   on landa gehwām,
          folcum fracoðe,   þonne fira | bearn,   34v
410   ellenrōfe,   æht besittaþ,
          hwylc hira sēlost   symle gelǣste
          hlāforde æt hilde,   þonne hand ond rond

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395   this force of brave men is greatly oppressed.'

          To him from the ocean replied Men's Creator:
          'Let our vessel now ferry the company
          to shore across the fastness of water,
          and then let them wait there, those troopers of yours,
400   legates on land for when you come back.'

          Forthwith the gentlemen gave him an answer,
          the long-suffering thanes would not agree
          that they should abandon at vessel's bow
          a dear teacher, while they chose the shore:
405   'Where will we turn without a lord,
          sad at heart, drained of advantage,
          wounded with sin, if we desert you?
          We shall be hated in every land,
          despised by the people when children of men,
410   men of brave cheer, in their council consider
          which came out best in constantly supporting
          his lord in war, when arm and shield

on beaduwange   billum fo*r*grunden
æt nīðplegan   nearu þrōwedon.'

415   Þā reordade   rīce þēoden,   **(8)**
    wǣrfæst cyning,   word stunde āhōf:
    'Gif ðū þegn sīe   þrymsittendes,
    wuldorcyninges,   swā ðū worde becwist,
    rece þā gerȳnu,   hū hē reordberend
420   lǣrde under lyfte.   Lang is þes sīðfæt
    ofer fealuwne flōd;   frēfra þīne
    mæcgas on mōde.   Mycel is nū gēna
    lād ofer lagustrēam,   land swīðe feorr
    tō gesēcanne;   s*u*nd is geblonden,
425   grund wið grēote.   God ēaðe mæg
    hēaðolīðendum   helpe gefremman.'

    Ongan þā glēawlīce   gingran sīne,
    wuldorspēdige weras   wordum trymman:
    'Gē þæt gehogodon,   þā gē on holm stigon,
430   þæt gē on fāra folc   feorh gelǣddon,

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on the plain of battle, by blades hacked up,
endured dire straits in the play of strife.'

415   Then did the Mighty Chief give voice,   **(8)**
    King firm in faith, lifted words at once:
    'If you are a thane of Him Who Sits in Majesty,
    of the King of Glory, as you claim you are,
    tell the secret of how the world's talking creatures
420   he instructed under the sky. Long is this expedition
    over the fallow flood; give comfort to your
    young men's minds. Much is still to come now
    of the road on sea's current, the shore very far
    to look for; the crossing is in turmoil
425   from top to bottom. God can without trouble
    provide help for travellers at sea.'

    Prudently then he began his disciples,
    men rich in glory, to cheer with these words:
    'You intended when you put out to sea
430   to bring your life's blood to a nation of foes,

ond for dryhtnes lufan   dēað þrōwodon,
on ælmyrcna   ēðelrīce
sāwle gesealdon.   Ic þæt sylfa wāt,
þæt ūs gescyldeð   scyppend engla,
435   weoruda dryhten;   wæteregesa sceal,
geðȳd ond geðrēatod   þurh þrȳðcining,
lagu lācende,   līðra wyrðan.
Swā gesælde īu,   þæt wē on sæbate
ofer waruðgewinn   wæda cunnedan,
440   faroðrīdende.   Frēcne þūhton
egle ēalāda;   ēagorstrēamas
bēoton bordstæðu,   brūn oft oncwæð
ȳð ōðerre;   hwīlum upp āstōd
of brimes bōsme | on bātes fæðm   35r
445   egesa ofer ȳðlid.   Ælmihtig þær,
meotud mancynnes,   on mereþyssan
beorht bāsnode;   beornas wurdon
forhte on mōde,   friðes wilnedon,
miltsa tō mærum.   Þā sēo menigo ongan
450   clypian on cēole,   cyning sōna ārās,

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death to endure for your love of the Lord,
in the homeland of strange border-dwellers
to yield up your souls. Myself I know
that the Shaper of Angels will shield us,
435   Lord of Hosts; the terror of the waters
crushed and rebuked by the King of Power,
the moving deep, shall become calmer.
So it once happened that on a boat at sea
we were testing the waters on a tumult of surf,
440   riding the tide. Wild they seemed,
the sea-roads, and terrible; surges of water
beat the ship's walls, one dark wave often
answered another; at times there reared up
from sea-brim's bosom into boat's hold
445   a terror over the crew. There the Almighty,
Mankind's Measurer, in the sea-burster
bright did abide; His troops became
frightened in mind, begged for safety,
mercy from the Renowned. When many began
450   to cry out from the keel, the King at once arose,

engla ēadgifa,   ȳðum stilde,
wæteres wælmum,   windas þrēade;
sǣ sessade,   smylte wurdon
merestrēama gemeotu.   Ðā ure mōd āhlōh,
455 syððan wē gesēgon   under swegles gang
windas ond wǣgas   ond wæterbrōgan
forhte gewordne   for frēan egesan.
Forþan ic ēow tō sōðe   secgan wille,
þæt nǣfre forlǣteð   lifgende god
460 eorl on eorðan,   gif his ellen dēah.'

Swā hlēoðrode   hālig cempa,
ðēawum geþancul;   þegnas lǣrde
ēadig ōreta,   eorlas trymede,
oððæt hīe semninga   slǣp oferēode,
465 mēðe be mæste.   Mere sweoðerade,
ȳða ongin   eft oncyrde,
hrēoh holmþracu;   þā þām hālgan wearð
æfter gryrehwīle   gāst geblissod.

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Angels' Endower, stilled the waves,
water's surges, rebuked the winds;
sea subsided, smooth was the expanse
of deep-sea currents. Then our hearts laughed
455 when we saw beneath the sun's course
the winds and waves and terror of the waters
overcome with fright for fear of the Lord.
And so to you all I wish to say truly
that never will the Living God forsake
460 a man on earth, if his courage avails.'

Lectured thus the holy champion,
thinking of the code; the thanes he taught,
blessed soldier, cheered up the gentlemen,
until presently sleep overcame them
465 weary by the mast. The deep grew calm,
the action of waves once more receded,
fierce ocean-tossing; then in the saint was
after time of horror the soul relieved.

[V]   Ongan þā reordigan   rǣdum snottor,   **(9)**
470   wīs on gewitte,   wordlocan onspēonn:
            'Nǣfre ic sǣlīdan   sēlran mētte,
            mācræftigran,   þæs þe mē þynceð,
            rōwend rōfran,   rǣdsnotterran,
            wordes wīsran.   Ic wille þē,
475   eorl unforcūð,   ānre nū gēna
            bēne biddan;   þēah ic þē bēaga lyt,
            sincweorðunga,   syllan mihte,
            fǣtedsinces,   wolde ic frēondscipe,
            þēoden þrym | fæst,   þīn‹n›e, gif ic mehte,   35v
480   begitan gōdne.   Þæs ðū gife hlēotest,
            hāligne hyht   on heofonþrymme,
            gif ðū lidwerigum   lārna þīnra
            ēst‹e› wyrðest.   Wolde ic ānes tō ðe,
            cynerōf hæleð,   cræftes nēosan,
485   ðæt ðū mē getǣhte,   nū þē tīr cyning
            ond miht forgef,   manna scyppend,
            hū ðū wǣgflotan   wǣre bestēmdon,

V   Began now to talk, wise in stratagems,   **(9)**
470   clever in his wits, unclasped wordlocker:
            'Never have I met a seafarer better
            or more resourceful, from what I see,
            a helmsman cheerier, wiser in stratagems,
            more clever with words. And yet of you there is,
475   gentleman unblemished, one more favour
            I will ask; though few are the rings,
            precious honours I might give you,
            or plated vessels, I would get myself with you,
            majestic chief, on good, if I could, terms
480   of friendship. A gift you will receive,
            the holy comfort of majesty in heaven,
            if to this weary voyager you prove liberal
            in what you can teach. One skill of yours,
            highborn hero, I would like to explore
485   is that you might teach me, now that the King,
            Creator of Men, has given you the glory and power,
            how it is you guide the brine-drenched

sǣhengeste,   sund wīsige.
Ic wæs on gife*n*e   īu ond nū <þā>
490 syxtȳne sīðum   on sǣbāte,
mere hrērendum   mundum frēorig,
ēagorstrēamas   (is ðys āne mā),
swā ic ǣfre ne geseah   ǣnigne mann,
þrȳðbearn, hæleð   þē gelīcne
495 stēoran ofer stæfnan.   Strēamwelm hwileð,
bēataþ brimstæðo;   is þes bāt ful scrīd,
færeð fāmigheals   fugole gelīcost,
glīdeð on geofone   (ic georne wāt
þæt ic ǣfre ne geseah   ofer ȳðlā*de*
500 on sǣlēodan   syllīcran cræft),
is þon gelīccost,   swā hē on lan<d>sceare
stille stande,   þǣr hine storm ne mæg,
wind āwecgan,   ne wæterflōdas
brecan brondstæfne,   hwæðere on brim snōweð
505 snel under segle.   Ðū eart seolfa geong,
wīgendra hlēo,   nalas wintrum frōd;
hafast þē<h> on fyrhðe,   faroðlācende,

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wave-coaster, the sea-stallion, on course.
I have been on the ocean by now
490 sixteen journeys in a boat at sea,
frozen in hands as they stirred the deep,
the currents of neptune (this is one more),
in such a way that I never saw any man,
O mighty youth, any hero like you
495 steering at the stern. The sea-surge roars,
the breakers beat; this boat slides easy,
with foamy neck sails most like a bird,
glides across the deep (I know for sure
that never on a wave-road have I seen
500 among seafarers a skill more amazing),
it is most like as if out in the country
she were standing still, where neither storm
nor wind can shake her, nor floods of water
break the steep prow, yet coasts along at sea
505 swift under sail. You yourself are young,
shield of warriors, in winters not experienced;
have yet in mind, as you ply the currents,

eorles ondsware.   Ǣghwylces canst
worda for worulde   wīslīc andgit!’

510   Him ondswarode   ēce dryhten:
'Oft þæt gesǣleð,   þæt wē on sǣlāde
scipum under scealcum, | þonne scēor cymeð,   36r
brecað ofer bæðweg   brimhengestum;
hwīlum ūs on ȳðum   earfoðlīce
515   gesǣleð on sǣwe,   þēh wē sīð nesan,
frēcne gefēran.   Flōdwylm ne mæg
manna ǣnigne   ofer meotudes ēst
lungre gelettan;   āh him līfes geweald,
sē ðe brimu bindeð,   brūne ȳða
520   ðȳð ond þrēatað.   Hē þēodum sceal
racian mid rihte,   sē ðe rodor āhōf
ond gefæstnode   folmum sīnum,
worhte ond wreðede,   wuldras fylde
beorhtne boldwelan,   swā gebledsod wearð
525   engla ēðel   þurh his ānes miht.
Forþan is gesȳne,   sōð ōrgete,

_____

the answers of a gentleman. Of each man's words
in this world you know the true meaning!’

510   Answered him the Lord Everlasting:
'Often it happens that we on paths at sea
in ships under crews, when there comes a storm,
plough the bath-way with brim-stallions;
sometimes on the wave us a hardship
515   befalls at sea, though we survive the journey,
pass through the danger. No flood-surge
can a man against Measurer's grace
hinder entirely; He has power of life
who binds sea-brim or crushes and rebukes
520   the dark waves. The nations shall He
rule with justice Who raised the skies
and fastened them with His own hands,
fashioned and maintained, with glory filled
the building's bright wealth, that blest was
525   the home of angels by His might alone.
And so it can be seen, an obvious truth

cūð oncnāwen,   þæt ðū cyninges eart
þegen geþungen   þrymsittendes,
forþan þē sōna   sǣholm oncnēow,
530   gārsecges begang,   þæt ðū gife hæfdes
hāliges gāstes.   Hærn eft onwand,
ārȳða geblond,   egesa gestilde,
wīdfæðme wǣg;   wǣdu swæðorodon,
seoðþan hīe ongēton   þæt ðē god hæfde
535   wǣre bewunde<n>,   sē ðe wuldres blǣd
gestaðolade   strangum mihtum.'

Þā hlēoðrade   hālgan stefne
cempa collenferhð,   cyning wyrðude,
wuldres waldend,   ond þus wordum cwæð:
540   'Wes ðū gebledsod,   brego mancynnes,
dryhten hǣlend!   Ā þīn dōm lyfað
ge nēh ge feor;   is þīn nama hālig,
wuldre gewlitegad   ofer werþēoda,
miltsum gemǣrsod!   Nǣnig manna is
545   under heofonhwealfe   hæleða cynnes,

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known and acknowledged, that of the King
Sitting in Majesty you are a virtuous thane,
because the ocean straightaway knew,
530   spear-man's compass, that you had the gift
of the Holy Ghost. The wash fell back,
mingling of ocean-billows, terror subsided,
wide-fathomed wave; the waters grew calm
once they took note that God you had
535   wrapped in covenant, He Who established
the bliss of glory with strong powers.'

Then did resound in the saintly voice
a champion stout-hearted, worshipped the King,
glory's Commander, and words thus uttered:
540   'Blessings be upon You, Master of Mankind,
O Healing Lord! Ever will Your judgement live
both near and far; sacred is Your name,
gloriously illuminated across nations of men,
celebrated for mercy! No man there is
545   of the race of heroes under heaven's vault

ðætte āreccan mæg\<e\>   oððe rīm wite

hū ðrymlīce,   þēoda | baldor,

gāsta gēocend,   þīne gife dǣlest!

Hūru is gesȳne,   sāwla nergend,

550   þæt ðū þissum hysse   hold gewurde,

ond hine geongne   geofum wyrðodest,

wīson gewitte   ond wordcwidum!

Ic æt efenealdum   ǣfre ne mētte

on mōdsefan   māran snyttro.'

555   Him ðā of cēole oncwæð   cyninga wuldor,   **(10)**

frægn fromlīce   fruma ond ende:

'Saga, þances glēaw   þegn, gif ðū cunne,

hū ðæt gewurde   be werum twēonum,

þæt ðā ārlēasan   inwidþancum,

560   Īūdēa cynn   wið godes bearne

āhōf hearmcwide.   Hæleð unsǣlige

nō ðǣr gelȳfdon   in hira līffruman,

grome gealgmōde,   þæt hē god wǣre;

þēah ðe hē wundra feala   weorodum gecȳðde

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that may describe or know in number

how majestically, O Prince of Peoples,

Comforter of Souls, You distribute Your grace!

Indeed it can be seen, O Saviour of Souls,

550   what favour you have shown to this boy,

with what gifts honoured him young as he is,

with what wise wit and eloquence!

In a man of his age I have never met

greater cleverness of mind.'

555   To him then from keel replied the Glory of kings,   **(10)**

asked him this boldly Beginning and End:

'Say, perspicacious thane, if you can,

how it could have happened among men

that the people impious with evil thoughts,

560   tribes of the Jews, against God's child

raised words of harm. Heroes ill-fortuned

never there believed of their Live-Giving Captain,

gallows-minded hostiles, that he might be God;

though he revealed to the hosts many wonders

565   sweotulra ond gesȳnra,   synnige ne mihton
               oncnāwan þæt cynebearn,   sē ðe ācenned wearð
               tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre   hæleða cynne,
               eallum eorðwarum.   Æþelinge wēox
               word ond wīsdōm;   ah hē þāra wundra ā,
570   dōmāgende,   dæl ænigne
               fræÞtre þēode   beforan cȳðde?'

               Him ðā Andrēas   āgef andsware:
               'Hū mihte þæt gewyrðan   in werþēode,
               þæt ðū ne gehȳrde   hǣlendes miht,
575   gumena lēofost,   hū hē his gif<e> cȳðde
               geond woruld wīde,   wealdendes bearn?
               Sealde hē dumbum gesprec,   dēafe gehȳrdon,
               healtum ond hrēofum   hyge blissode,
               ðā þe limsēoce   lange wǣron,
580   wērige wanhāle,   wītum gebundene,
               æfter burhstedum   blinde gesēgon;
               swā | hē on grundwæge   gumena cynnes   37r
               manige missenlīce   men of dēaðe

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565   manifest and visible, in their sin they could not
               recognize the Royal Son that was begotten
               as shelter and comfort for the tribe of men,
               for all earth's inhabitants. In the Prince grew
               words and wisdom; surely of those wonders
570   He who owns the Power would always reveal
               some part openly to the apostate people?'

               To Him then did Andrew give answer:
               'How could it happen in the nation of men
               that you did not hear of the Healer's powers,
575   dearest of men, how He revealed his gifts
               far through the world, Son of the Lord?
               The dumb He gave speech, the deaf got to hear,
               of lame men and lepers the minds He rejoiced,
               those whose limbs long were diseased,
580   weary men unhealthy, bound up in torments,
               through fortified towns blind men could see;
               just so did He on mankind's earthly road
               raise many different people from death

worde āwehte.   Swylce hē ēac wundra feala
585   cynerōf cȳðde   þurh his cræftes miht;
hē gehālgode   for heremægene
wīn of wætere   ond wendan hēt,
beornum tō blisse,   on þā beteran gecynd.
Swylce hē āfēdde   of fixum twām
590   ond of fīf hlāfum   fira cynnes
fīf ðūsendo;   fēðan sæton,
rēonigmōde,   reste gefēgon
wērige æfter wāðe,   wiste þēgon
menn on moldan   swā him gemēdost wæs.
595   Nū ðū miht gehȳran,   hyse lēofesta,
hū ūs wuldres weard   wordum ond dædum
lufode in līfe,   ond þurh lāre spēon
tō þām fægeran gefēan,   þær frēo mōton,
ēadige mid englum   eard weardigan,
600   þā ðe æfter dēaðe   dryhten sēcað.'

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with one word. Likewise many other miracles
585   the Brave Prince revealed through skilful might;
He hallowed before the war-troop
wine out of water and ordered it changed
to the general joy into wine of the better kind.
Just so did He feed up from two fishes
590   and five loaves of the human race no fewer
than five thousand; foot-troops sat down,
tired at heart, were glad of some rest,
weary after wandering, men on the earth
dined on this food which they found most pleasant.
595   Now you can understand, dearest boy,
how us the Guardian of Glory in word and deed
loved while alive, and through His lore drew us
to that shining joy where with all liberties they may
inhabit a homeland, happy with the angels,
600   those who seek the Lord after dying.'

[VI]   Ðā gēn wēges weard   wordhord onlēac,
              beorn ofer bolcan,   beald reordade:
              'Miht ðū mē gesecgan,   þæt ic sōð wite,
              hwæðer wealdend þīn   wundor on eorðan,
605   þā hē gefremede   nalas fēam sīðum
              folcum tō frōfre,   beforan cȳðde,
              þǣr bisceopas   ond bōceras
              ond ealdormenn   æht besǣton,
              mæðelhǣgende?   Mē þæt þinceð,
610   ðæt hīe for æfstum   inwit syredon
              þurh dēopne gedwolan;   dēofles lārum
              hæleð hynfūse   hȳrdon tō georne,
              wrāðum wǣrlogan.   Hīe sēo wyrd beswāc,
              forlēolc ond forlǣrde;   nū hīe lungre sceolon,
615   wērige mid werigum,   wræce þrōwian,
              biterne bryne   on | banan fæðme.'   37v

              Him ðā Andrēas   āgef ondsware: **(11)**
              'Secge ic ðē tō sōðe,   ðæt hē swīðe oft
              beforan fremede   folces rǣswum

VI   Then again Wave-Guardian unlocked wordhoard,
              man over gangway, boldly gave voice:
              'Can you explain to me, so I know it is true,
              whether your Commander openly revealed
605   his wonders in the world, those that he performed
              not a few times to the solace of the people,
              in the place where bishops and book-keepers
              and ealdormen sat in deliberation,
              holding assembly? To me it seems
610   it was out of spite that they plotted evil
              with deep heresy; the devil's instructions
              these death-wish heroes too eagerly obeyed,
              the faith-breaker's fury. Them the outcome deceived,
              played false and perverted; now they shall at once,
615   weary among the accursed, suffer punishment,
              biting burning in the slayer's embrace.'

              To Him then did Andrew give answer: **(11)**
              'I tell you it is true, that very often he did
              publicly perform before the people's leaders

620   wundor æfter wundre   on wera gesīehðe!
          Swylce dēogollīce   dryhten gumena
          folcrǣd fremede,   swā hē tō friðe hogode.'

          Him ondswarode   æðelinga helm:
          'Miht ðū, wīs hæleð,   wordum gesecgan,
625   maga mōde rōf,   mægen þā hē cȳðde,
          dēormōd on dīgle,   ðā mid dryhten oft,
          rodera rǣdend,   rūne besǣton?'

          Him þā Andrēas   ondsware āgef:
          'Hwæt frīnest ðū mē,   frēa lēofesta,
630   wordum wrǣtlīcum,   ond þē wyrda gehwǣre
          þurh snyttra cræft   sōð oncnāwest?'

          Ðā gīt him wǣges weard   wið þingode:
          'Ne frīne ic ðē for tǣle   n*e* ðurh tēoncwide
          on hranrāde,   ac mīn hige blissað,
635   wynnum wrīdað,   þurh þīne wordlǣðe,
          æðelum ēcne;   ne eom ic āna ðæt,

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620   wonder after wonder in men's sight!
          Secretly likewise the Lord of Men advanced
          the people's good, thinking thus to protect them.'

          Answered him then the Protector of Princes:
          'Can you, wise sir, say some words,
625   brave-hearted fellow, about the powers he revealed
          with daring, in secret, when often with the Lord,
          the Ruler of Skies, you sat in private conclave?'

          To Him then did Andrew give answer:
          'Why, dearest master, do you ask me these
630   wondrous questions, if of each thing you
          know by intellect the truth of what happened?'

          Still then the Wave-Guardian pleaded with him:
          'I ask not to find fault with you, nor in reproach
          on the whale's road, but because my mind is glad,
635   blooms with joy through your eloquence
          increased with virtues; it is not for me alone,

ac manna gehwām   mōd biÐ on hyhte,
fyrhÐ āfrēfred,   þām þe feor oÐÐe nēah
on mōde geman   hū se maga fremede,
640   godbearn on grundum.   Gāstas hweorfon,
sōhton sīÐfrome   swegles drēamas,
engla ēÐel,   þurh þā æÐelan miht.'

Ēdre him Andrēas   āgef ondsware:
'Nū ic on þē sylfum   sōÐ oncnāwe,
645   wīsdōmes gewit   wundorcræfte,
sigespēd, geseald   (snyttrum blōweÐ
beorhtre blisse   brēost innanweard!),
nū ic þē sylfum   secgan wille
oor ond ende,   swā ic þæs æÐelinges
650   word ond wīsdōm   on wera gemōte
þurh his sylfes mūÐ   symle gehȳrde.

'Oft ge|samnodon   sīde herigeas,   (**<12>**) 38r
folc unmǣte,   tō frēan dōme,
þǣr hīe hyrcnodon   hāliges lāre.

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but the heart of each man will lift in hope,
the spirit be relieved, of any who from far or near
in mind recalls how the Brave One performed,
640   Divine Son on earth below. Souls have passed on,
eager to travel, have sought joys celestial,
home of the angels, through that noble might.'

Forthwith Andrew gave Him an answer:
'Now that I recognize the truth you have in you,
645   the wise understanding, the great triumph, given
by wondrous power (with intelligence
blooms the breast with bright bliss within!),
I am willing to say to you now in person
beginning and end, just as I would always
650   hear the Prince's words and wisdom
from His own mouth in meetings of men.

'Often wide armies gathered together,   (**<12>**)
people without count at the Ruler's judgement,
where they hearkened to the Holy One's lore.

655	Ðonne eft gewāt æðelinga helm,
	beorht blǣdgifa, in bold ōðer,
	ðǣr him tōgēnes, god herigende,
	tō ðām meðelstede manige cōmon,
	snottre selerǣdend; symble gefēgon
660	beornas blīðheorte burhweardes cyme.
	Swā gesǣlde īu, þæt se sigedēma
	fērde, frēa mihtig. Næs þǣr folces mā
	on sīðfate sīnra lēoda,
	nemne ellefne orettmæcgas
665	geteled tīrēadige; hē wæs twelfta sylf.
	Þā wē becōmon tō þām cynestōle,
	þǣr ātimbred wæs tempel dryhtnes
	hēah ond horngēap, hæleðum gefrēge,
	wuldre gewlitegod, ūs<i>c worde ongan
670	þurh inwitðanc ealdorsācerd
	herme hyspan; hordlocan onspēon,
	wrōht webbade.

He on gewitte oncnēow

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655	Then the Protector of Princes would go back,
	bright Endower of Bliss, into another building
	where coming towards him, praising God,
	many to that place of assembly would come,
	wise hall-stewards; constantly they rejoiced,
660	blithe-hearted troops, in Town-Keeper's coming.
	So it befell one day, that the Judge of Victory
	was out walking, the Mighty Lord. Of His folk
	on that expedition were no more people
	than eleven soldiering heroes told,
665	illustrious men; Himself made the twelfth.
	When we got to the seat of royalty
	where the Lord's temple was timbered
	high and horn-gabled, renowned among heroes,
	made to shine in glory, us did the high priest
670	with evil intentions in a speech begin
	to mock with insult; unclasped his hoard-locker,
	wove an accusation.

'He had the wit to see

þæt wē sōðfæstes   swaðe folgodon,
lǣston lārcwide;   hē lungre āhōf
675   wōðe wiðerhydig,   wēan onblonden:
"Hwæt gē syndon earme   ofer ealle menn,
wadað wīdlāstas,   weorn gefērað
earfoðsīða!   Ellþēodiges nū
būtan lēodrihte   lārum hȳrað,
680   ēadiges ōrhlytte   æðeling cȳðað,
secgað sōðlīce   þæt mid suna meotudes
drohtigen dæghwǣmlīce!   Þæt is duguðum cūð,
hwanon þām ordfruman   æðelu onwōcon:
hē wæs āfēded   on þysse folcsceare,
685   cildgeong ācenned   mid his cnēomāgum.
Þus syndon hāten   hāmsittende
fæder ond mōdur,   þæs wē gefrægen habbað
| þurh mōdgemynd,   Māria ond Iōseph.   38v
Syndon him on æðelum   ōðere twēgen
690   beornas geborene   brōðorsybbum,
suna Iōsephes,   Sīmon ond Iācob."

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that we followed the path of the Righteous One,
carried out his teachings; mixed up with woe,
675   he raised up at once a loud voice malign:
"What wretches you are more than any others,
travelling long trails, going though any number
of hardships! It is a foreigner without title
in this country whose teachings you now follow,
680   one quite unpropertied you declare is a prince,
saying truly that it is the Measurer's Son
whom you dwell with day to day! To veterans it is known
whence came that commander's lineage:
in this common land was he nurtured,
685   from infancy raised at the knee of his kin.
The father and mother sitting at home
are called, from what we have found out
from memory, Mary and Joseph.
For them the lineage has two other offspring,
690   boys born in a full-brother kinship,
Simon and Jacob, who are Joseph's sons."

‘Swā hlēoðrodon   hæleða rǣswan,
dugoð dōmgeorne   dyrnan þōhton
meotudes mihte.   Mān eft gehwearf,
695   yfel endelēas,   þǣr hit ǣr ārās.

[VII]   ‘Þā se þēoden gewāt   þegna hēape
fram þām meðelstede   mihtum geswīðed,
dugeða dryhten,   sēcan dīgol land.
Hē þurh wundra feala   on þām wēstenne
700   cræfta gecȳðde   þæt hē wæs cyning on riht
ofer middangeard,   mægene geswīðed,
waldend ond wyrhta   wuldorþrymmes,
an ēce god   eallra gesceafta;
swylce hē ōðerra   unrīm cȳðde
705   wundorworca   on wera gesȳhðe.
Syþþan eft gewāt   ōðre sīðe   **(13)**
getrume mycle,   þæt hē in temple gestōd,
wuldres aldor.   Wordhlēoðor āstāg
geond hēahræced;   hāliges lāre

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‘Lectured thus leaders of heroes there,
cadres keen for renown, had no plans to reveal
the Measurer's might. Mad crime returned,
695   evil endless to where it earlier arose.

VII   ‘Moved then the Chief with His band of thanes
from place of assembly strengthened in powers,
Lord of the Hosts, to seek hidden country.
He through many wonders in that waste
700   made skilfully known he was King by right
of the middle world, strengthened in force,
Commander and Builder of Glorious Majesty,
One God Eternal of All Things Created;
likewise revealed a huge number of other
705   miraculous deeds in men's sight.
Later He moved back a second time   **(13)**
with a troop of great size to stand in the Temple,
Prince of Glory. The echo of words climbed
through the high house; the Holy One's teaching

710   synnige ne swulgon,   þēah hē sōðra swā feala
      tācna gecȳðde,   þǽr hīe tō sēgon!

      'Swylce hē wrǽtlīce   wundor āgrǽfene,
      anlīcnesse   engla sīnra
      geseh, sigora frēa,   on seles wāge,
715   on twā healfe   torhte gefrǽtwed,
      wlitige geworhte;   hē worde cwæð:
      "Ðis is anlīcnes   engelcynna
      þæs brēmestan   <þe> mid þām burgwarum
      in þǽre ceastre is;   Cheruphim et Seraphim
720   þā on swegeldrēamum   syndon nemned.
      Fore onsȳne   ēcan dryhtnes
      standað | stīðferðe,   stefnum herigað,   39r
      hālgum hlēoðrum,   heofoncyninges þrym,
      meotudes mundbyrd.   Her āmearcod is
725   hāligra hīw   þurh handmægen
      āwriten on wealle,   wuldres þegnas."

      'Þā gēn worde cwæð   weoruda dryhten,

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710   they in sin would not swallow, though so many true
      signs He showed them, where they looked on!

      'So it was with wondrously carved marvels,
      graven images of his own angels that He saw,
      Lord of Triumphs, in the hall panels,
715   brilliantly painted on both sides of the hall,
      beautifully made; He uttered these words:
      "This is the likeness of the most illustrious
      division of angels <that> the inhabitants
      of that City have; Cherubs and Seraphs
720   are their names in the joys of heaven.
      They before the face of the Lord Eternal
      stand stout to attention, praise with voices
      in sacred strains the Heaven-King's majesty,
      Measurer's protection. Depicted here
725   are the forms of these holy beings, by hand's skill
      carved on the wall, my thanes of glory."

      'The Lord of Hosts pronounced words again,

heofonhālig gāst,   fore þām heremægene:
"Nū ic bebēode   bēacen ætȳwan,
730   wundor geweorðan   on wera gemange,
ðæt þēos onlīcnes   eorðan sēce
wlitig of wāge,   ond word sprece,
secge sōðcwidum,   þȳ <sēl> gelȳf*en*
eorlas on cȳððe,   hwæt mīn æðelo sīen."

735   'Ne dorste þā forhylman   hǣlendes bebod   **(14)**
wundor fore weorodum,   ac of wealle āhlēop,
frōd fyrngeweorc,   þæt hē on foldan stōd,
stān fram stāne.   Stefn æfter cwōm
hlūd þurh heardne,   hlēoðor dynede,
740   wordum wēmde;   wrætlīc þūhte
stīðhycgendum   stānes ongin.

'Sēpte sācerdas   sweotolum tācnum,
wītig werede,   ond worde cwæð:
"Gē synd unlǣde,   earmra geþōhta
745   searowum beswicene,   oððe sēl nyton,

Heaven-Holy Guest, before the war-troop:
"Now I command a beacon to appear,
730   a miracle to take place in the people's midst,
that this image to the earth find its way
fair from its panel and speak some words,
make a true declaration, the <better> that they believe,
gentlemen in this country, what My lineage is."

735   'Dared not neglect then the Healer's command   **(14)**
this wonder before hosts, but from the wall leapt
the wise ancient monument, to stand on the ground,
stone from the stone. The voice came straight after,
loud through the hardness, the sound boomed,
740   echoed out the words; extraordinary they seemed,
actions of the stone to this stubborn people.

'The priests it inducted with clear signs,
intelligently rebuked, and these words uttered:
"You are misguided, deceived by the snares
745   of miserable aims, or ignorant of bliss,

mōde gemyrde; gē mon *cī*gað
Godes ēce bearn ond þone þe grund ond sund,
heofon ond eorðan ond hrēo wǣgas,
salte sǣstrēamas ond swegl uppe
750 āmearcode mundum sīnum.
Þis is sē ilca ealwalda god
ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cūðon;
hē Abrahāme ond Īsāce
ond I*ā*cobe gife bryttode,
755 welum weorðode, wordum sægde
ǣrest Habrahāme æðeles geþingu,
þæt of his cynne cenned sceolde
weorðan wuldres god. Is sēo wyrd mid ēow
open, ōrgete, magan ēagum nū
760 gesēon sigores god, swegles āgend.”

'Æfter þyssum | wordum weorud hlosnode   39v
geond þæt sīde sēl; swigodon ealle.
Ðā ðā yldestan eft ongunnon   **(15)**
secgan synfulle (sōð ne oncnēowan),

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mistaken in mind; a man you call Him,
Who is God's eternal Child and shaped
bed-rock and ocean, heaven and earth
and rough waves, salt sea-currents
750 and the sun above with His hands.
This here is the very God Omnipotent
Whom your fathers knew in ancient days;
He dealt out His grace to Abraham,
then to Isaac, and then to Jacob,
755 honoured them with riches, promised
Abraham first of all a royal settlement,
that there from his kindred should be begotten
the God of glory. The evidence is among you,
open, obvious, with your eyes you can now
760 see the God of Victory, Firmament's Owner.”

'After these words the company waited listening
through the wide hall; all had fallen quiet.
Then once again the senior members proceeded   **(15)**
full of sin to say (the truth they did not acknowledge),

765 þæt hit drycræftum   gedōn wǣre,
scīngelācum,   þæt se scȳna stān
mǣlde for mannum.   Mān wrīdode
geond beorna brēost,   brandhāta nīð
wēoll on gewitte,   weorm blǣdum fāg,
770 attor ælfǣle.   Þǣr <wæs> ōrcnāwe
þurh tēoncwide   twēogende mōd,
mæcga misgehygd   morðre bewunden.
Ðā se þēoden bebēad   þrȳðweorc faran,
stān <on> strǣte   of stedewange,
775 ond forð gān   foldweg tredan
grēne grundas,   godes ǣrendu
lārum lǣdan   on þā lēodmearce
tō Channanēum,   cyninges worde
bēodan Habrahāme   mid his eaforum twǣm
780 of eorðscræfe   ǣrest fremman,
lǣtan landreste,   leoðo gadrigean,
gāste onfōn   ond geogoðhāde,
ednīwinga   andweard cuman
frōde fyrnweotan,   folce gecȳðan

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765 that it was a trick pulled off by witchcraft,
by conjuring illusions, that the gleaming stone
addressed the people. Mad crime flourished
through each man's breast, the brand-hot malice
welled in the reason, a serpent stained with blasts,
770 an all-destructive poison. Patent <was> there
in this slander the sceptical mind, the perversion,
enclosed with mortal sin, of young men.
Then the Chief bid the monument set off,
a stone <on> the street, from the city precinct,
775 and go forth to tread the country road,
the green lanes, to take God's mission
by his instructions into the territory
of the Canaanites, then in the King's name
to command Abraham with son and grandson
780 first to move out of the earth-grave,
to leave their land-rest, gather their limbs,
receive their souls and quality of youth,
newly to come forth in physical presence
wise sages of old, to reveal to the nation

785   hwylcne hīe god mihtum   ongiten hæfdon.
        Gewāt hē þā feran,   swā him frēa mihtig,
        scyppend wera,   gescrifen hæfde,
        ofer mearcpaðu,   þæt hē on Māmbre becōm
        beorhte blīcan,   swā him bebēad meotud,
790   þǣr þā līchoman   lange þrage,
        hēahfædera hrā,   beheled wǣron.
        Hēt þā ofstlīce   up āstandan
        Habrahām ond Isaac,   æðeling þriddan
        Iācob of grēote   tō godes geþinge,
795 sneome of slǣpe þǣm fæstan;   hēt hīe tō þām sīðe gyrwan,
faran tō frēan dōme.   Sceoldon hīe þām folce gecȳðan
        hwā æt frumsceafte   furðum tēode
        eorðan eallgrēne   ond upheofon,
hwæ*t* | se wealdend wǣre   þe þæt weorc staðolade.   40r
800   Ne dorston hīe gelettan   leng ōwihte
wuldorcyninges word;   geweotan ðā ðā wītigan þrȳ
mōdige mearcland tredan.   Forlǣtan moldern wunigean
open eorðscræfu;   woldon hīe ǣdre gecȳðan
        frumweorca fæder.   Þā þæt folc gewearð

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785   which man they grasped by his powers to be God.
        Off it went walking as the Mighty King,
        Creator of Men, had prescribed,
        on paths through the march, to arrive in Mamre
        brightly gleaming as Measurer had bid him,
790   where those bodies for a long while,
        high-fathers' corpses, had lain concealed.
        In haste then he ordered to be upstanding
        Abraham and Isaac, the third being prince
        Jacob, up from the clods for conference with God,
795 quickly from that fast sleep; ordered them to prepare for the journey,
come to the court of the King. They were to reveal to the nation
        Who at the beginning of creation once fashioned
        the earth all green and heaven up above,
what Ruler it was Who established that work.
800   Nor dared they hinder for one moment longer
the word of the King of Glory; the wise men three then moved off
brave to tread through borderlands. The mound-house they left
open as an earth-grave; would swiftly make the Father
        of First Works known. Then were the people

805   egesan geāclod,   þǣr þā æðelingas
  wordum weorðodon   wuldres aldor.
  Hīe ðā rīcene hēt   rīces hȳrde
  tō ēadwelan   ōþre sīðe
  sēcan mid sybbe   swegles drēamas,
810   ond þæs tō wīdan fēore   willum nēotan.

  'Nū ðū miht gehȳran,   hyse lēofesta,
  hū hē wundra worn   wordum cȳðde,
  swā þēah ne gelȳfdon   lārum sīnum
  mōdblinde menn.   Ic wāt manig nū gȳt
815   mycel mǣre spell   ðe se maga fremede,
  rodera rǣdend,   ðā ðū arǣfnan ne miht,
  hreðre behabban,   hygeþances glēaw.'

  Þus Andrēas   ondlangne dæg   **(16)**
  herede hlēoðorcwidum   hāliges lāre,
820   oððæt hine semninga   slǣp oferēode
  on hronrāde   heofoncyninge nēh.

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805   stricken with terror where those princes
  worshipped the Chieftain of Glory in words.
  Them then quickly the Kingdom's Shepherd ordered
  in their prosperity one more time
  to seek out with family the firmament's joys,
810   and freely to enjoy them for all time.

  'Now you can understand, my dearest boy,
  how he revealed many wonders through words,
  though they did not trust in his teachings,
  men blind in heart. I know still many other
815   famous great events that the Hero framed,
  Ruler of the Skies, that you cannot cope with,
  in your breast contain, intelligent as you are.'

  Thus did Andrew the livelong day praise   **(16)**
  with eloquent words the Holy One's teachings,
820   until presently sleep overcame him
  on a whale-road near the King of Heaven.

[VIII]   Þā gelǣdan hēt   līfes brytta
              ofer ȳða geþræc   englas sīne,
              fæðmum ferigean   on fæder wǣre
825   lēofne mid lissum   ofer lagufæsten,
              oððæt *slǣp*werige   *sǣ* oferēode<n>;
              þurh lyftgelāc   on land becwōm
              tō þǣre ceastre,   þe him cining engla
              [   ]
              <Gewiton> ðā ðā āras   <eft> sīðigean
830   ēadige on upweg,   eðles nēosan;
              lēton þone hālgan   be herestrǣte
              swefan on sybbe   under swegles hlēo,
              blīðne bīdan   burhwealle nēh,
              his nīðhetum,   nihtlangne fyrst,
835   oððæt dryhten | forlēt   dægcandelle   40v
              scīre scīnan.   Sceadu sweðerodon,   **(17)**
              wonn under wolcnum;   þā cōm wederes blǣst,
              hādor heofonlēoma,   ofer hofu blīcan.
              Onwōc þā wīges heard,   wang scēawode
840   fore burggeatum;   beorgas stēape,

VIII   Then did the Giver of Life bid His angels
              convey over the jostling of the waves,
              ferrying in their embrace, into Father's covenant
825   the dear man with kindness over watery fastness,
              till the sleep-weary men had overcome the sea;
              through the play of air Andrew came to shore
              to the city where the King of Angels
              [   ].
              <Moved out> then the messengers, journeying <back>
830   blessed on upward road to spy out their home;
              left the saint by army highway slumbering
              in fellowship below firmament's shelter,
              contentedly near town's walls awaiting
              in night-long duration his deadly oppressors,
835   until the Lord allowed the candle of day
              brightly to shine. The shadows retreated,   **(17)**
              pale beneath clouds; then sky-blast came,
              heaven's radiant gleam glancing over buildings.
              Awoke then the war-hardened, saw lie of the land
840   before the town's gates; steep mountains,

hleoðu hlīfodon,   ymbe hārne stān
tigelfāgan trafu,   torras stōdon,
windige weallas.   Þā se wīs\<a\> oncnēow
þæt hē Marmedonia   mægðe hæfde
845   sīðe gesōhte,   swā him sylf bebēad,
þā hē him fōre gescrāf,   fæder mancynnes.

Geseh hē þā on grēote   gingran sīne,
beornas beadurōfe,   biryhte him
swefan on slǣpe;   hē sōna ongann
850   wīgend weccean,   ond worde cwæð:
'Ic ēow secgan mæg   sōð ōrgete,
þæt ūs gyrstandæge   on geofones strēam
ofer ārwelan   æðeling ferede;
in þām cēole wæs   cyninga wuldor,
855   waldend werðēode.   Ic his word oncnēow,
þēh hē his mǣgwlite   bemiðen hæfde!'

Him þā æðelingas   ondsweorodon,
geonge gēncwidum,   gāstgerȳnum:

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cliffsides loomed, around the hoary rock
stood shacks adorned with tiles, towers,
windswept walls. Then the wise man knew
that he had come on adventure to seek the tribe
845   of Mermedonians, just as Mankind's Father,
appointing him the mission, Himself had prescribed.

On the sand he caught sight of his servants,
men valiant in the war, alongside him
slumbering in sleep; soon he began
850   to waken the troops, and these words uttered:
'I can tell you an evident truth
that yesterday on the deep-sea current
a Prince ferried us over the wealth of ocean;
in that keel was the Glory of Kings,
855   Commander of Humanity. I knew His words,
though He kept His countenance hidden!'

Him then the princelings did answer,
young in replies, with spiritual mysteries:

'Wē ðē, Andrēas,   ēaðe gecȳðað
860   sīð ūserne,   þæt ðū sylfa miht
ongitan glēawlīce   gāstgehygdum.
Ūs sæwērige   slǣp oferēode.
Þā cōmon earnas   ofer ȳða wylm
on flyhte <faran>,   feðerum hrēmige;
865   ūs of slǣpendum   sāwle ābrugdon,
mid gefēan feredon   flyhte on lyfte,
brehtmum blīðe,   beorhte ond līðe,
lissum lufodon   ond in lofe wunedon,
þǣr wæs singāl sang   ond swegles gong,
870   wlitig weoroda hēap   ond wuldres þrēat.
Ūtan ymbe æðelne   englas stōdon,
þegnas ymb þēoden,   þūsendmǣlum,
heredon on hēhðo   hālgan stefne
dryhtna dryhten;   drēam wæs on hyhte.
875   Wē ðǣr | hēahfæderas   hālige oncnēowon,   41r
ond martȳra   mægen unlȳtel;
sungon sigedryhtne   sōðfæstlīc lof,
dugoð dōmgeorne.   Þǣr wæs Dāuid mid,

_____

'We to you, Andrew, will freely make known
860   our journey so that you in your own person may
clearly perceive every thought in our spirit.
Weary at sea we were overcome by sleep.
Then eagles came across the surge of waters
<moving> in flight, joyful in their feathers;
865   they drew the souls out of us as we slept,
carried us with gladness in flight aloft,
sang out for joy with clear notes and calm,
loved us with kindness and dwelt there in praise
where song was perpetual and zodiac in motion,
870   dazzling the host-band and glory battalion.
Around the Prince stood angels in circles outwards,
thanes around the Chief in their thousands,
sang praise in the heights with holy voices
to the Lord of Lords; their occupation was joy.
875   We recognised there the holy high fathers,
and martyrs in a troop of no mean size;
to Victory's Lord they sang praise unfeigned,
cadre keen for glory. There also David,

eadig ōretta,   Essāges sunu,
880   for Crīst cumen,   cining Israhēla.
Swylce wē gesēgon   for suna meotudes
æðelum ēcne   ēowic standan,
twelfe getealde,   tīrēadige hæleð;
ēow þegnodon   þrymsittende
885   hālige hēahenglas.   Ðām bið hæleða wēll
þe þāra blissa   brūcan mōton;
þær wæs wuldres wynn,   wīgendra þrym,
æðelīc onginn,   næs þær ænigum gewinn.
Þām bið wræcsīð witod,   wīte geopenad,
890   þe þāra <gefēana> sceal   fremde weorðan,
hēan hwearfian,   þonne heonon gangaþ.'

Þā wæs mōdsefa   myclum geblissod   **(18)**
hāliges on hreðre,   syðþan hlēoðorcwide
gingran gehȳrdon   þæt hīe god wolde
895   onmunan swā mycles   ofer menn ealle,
ond þæt word gecwæð   wīgendra hlēo:
'Nū ic, god dryhten,   ongiten hæbbe

---

blessed soldier, the son of Jesse, had
880   come before Christ, King of Israelites.
Likewise we saw before Measurer's Son
you and yours standing increased with virtues
illustriously blessed, twelve heroes told;
waiting on you as you dwelt in majesty
885   were holy archangels. Well betide heroes
who from those blessings may benefit;
there was ecstasy of glory, majesty of warriors,
excellence in action, nor strife with anyone.
For them ordained is exile, opening of torment,
890   who from that <joy> must be excluded,
to turn away in shame when hence they go.'

The heart in breast then was comforted much   **(18)**
in the saint, since in resounding utterance
the disciples had heard that the Deity would
895   remember them this much over all men,
and these words the shield of warriors said:
'Now I, Lord God, have understood

þæt ðū on faroðstrǣte   feor ne wǣre,
cyninga wuldur,   þā ic on cēol gestāh,

900   ðēh ic on ȳðfare,   engla þēoden,
gāsta gēocend,   ongitan ne cūðe.
Weorð mē nū milde,   meotud ælmihtig,
blīðe, beorht cyning!   Ic on brimstrēame
sprǣc worda worn,   wāt æfter nū

905   hwā mē wyrðmyndum   on wudubāte
ferede ofer flōdas;   þæt is frōfre gāst
hæleða cynne!   Þǣr is help gearu,
milts æt mǣrum,   manna gehwylcum,
sigorspēd geseald,   þām þe sēceð tō him.'

910   Ðā him fore ēagum   onsȳne we<a>rð
æðeling oðȳwed   in þā ilcan tīd,
cining cwicera gehwæs,   þurh cnihtes hād.
Þā hē worde cwæð,   wuldres aldor:
'Wes ðū | Andrēas hāl   mid þās willgedryht,   41v

915   ferðgefēonde!   Ic þē friðe healde,
þæt þe ne mōton   māngenīðlan,

---

that on the tidal road You were not far away,
Glory of Kings, when I climbed in the keel,

900   although on the wave, Emperor of Angels,
Solacer of Souls, I could not understand.
Be merciful to me now, Measurer Almighty,
be gracious, Bright King! On the ocean brim
I spoke a number of words, but now I know

905   Who it was ferried me in a wooden boat
with honour over the floods; the Soul of Grace
He is for the race of men! There help is ready,
mercy from the Glorious granted to each man,
great triumph given to any suppliant to Him.'

910   Visible before his eyes then appeared
the Prince revealed at that very moment,
King of Each Living Creature, in the form of a boy.
The Chieftain of Glory then uttered these words:
'Greetings to you Andrew, and your happy band,

915   rejoice in your heart! I will keep you safe
so that criminal foes will not be permitted,

grame grynsmiðas,   gāste gesceððan.'

Fēoll þā tō foldan,   frioðo wilnode
wordum wīs hæleð,   winedryhten frægn:
920   'Hū geworhte ic þæt,   waldend fira,
synnig wið seolfne,   sāwla nergend,
þæt ic þē swā gōdne   ongitan ne meahte
on wǣgfære,   þǣr ic worda gespræc
mīnra for meotude   mā þonne ic sceolde?'

925   Him andswarode   ealwalda god:
'Nō ðū swā swīðe   synne gefremedest
swā ðū in Āchāia   ondsæc dydest,
ðæt ðū on feorwegas   fēran ne cūðe
ne in þā ceastre   becuman mehte,
930   þing gehēgan   þrēora nihta
fyrstgemearces,   swā ic þē feran hēt
ofer wēga gewinn;   wāst nū þē gearwor,
þæt ic ēaðe mæg   ānra gehwylcne
fremman ond fyrþran   frēonda mīnra

---

hostile ensnarers, to harm your soul.'

Fell to earth then, implored Him for protection,
the hero wise in words, asked his Friend and Lord:
920   'How did I do this, Commander of Men,
Saviour of Souls, so sin against Your Person
that I could not find You, as generous as You were
on the sea-voyage, when I spoke more words
before God the Measurer than I should have?'

925   Omnipotent God gave him an answer:
'No sin did you ever commit as serious
as when you refused me in Achaea, saying
you knew not how to go to distant parts,
nor would be able to get into the city,
930   make your appointment within three nights' space
as I ordered when I told you to cross
the tumult of waves; now you know better
how easily I can advance and move
anyone who is a friend of Mine

935   on landa gehwylc,   þǣr mē lēofost bið.
Ārīs nū hrǣdlīce,   rǣd ǣdre ongit,
beorn gebledsod,   swā þē beorht fæder
geweorðað wuldorgifum   tō wīdan aldre,
cræfte ond mihte.   Ðū in þā ceastre gong,
940   under burglocan,   þǣr þīn brōðor is;
wāt ic Māthēus   þurh mǣnra hand
hrinen heorudolgum,   hēafodmag*an*
searo*n*ettum beseted.   Þū hine sēcan scealt,
lēofne ālȳsan   of lāðra hete,
945   ond eal þæt mancynn   þe him mid wunige,
elþēodigra   inwitwrāsnum,
bealuwe gebundene;   him sceal bōt hraðe
weorþan in worulde   ond in wuldre lēan,
swā ic him sylfum ǣr   secgende wæs.   **eadgiþ**

[IX] |'Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt   ēdre genēðan   42r
in gramra gripe.   Is þē gūð weotod

_____

935   to any shore it pleases Me most.
Get up now quickly, take note of My plan,
blessed man, inasmuch as Bright Father
honours you for ever with gifts of glory,
skill and power. You go in the city
940   into the stronghold where your brother is.
I know that criminal hands have streaked
bloody wounds on Matthew, that your older kinsman
in a cunning net is caught. You are to find him,
free the dear man from the enemy violence,
945   and all the humanity who reside with him
by the spiteful chains of foreigners
wickedly bound. Him quickly shall help
be given in this world, and payment in the next,
just as I was telling him earlier to his face.   **Edith**

IX   'You now, Andrew, are at once to venture
into enemies' grasp. War is assured for you,

heardum heoruswengum;   scel þīn hrā dæl*ed*
wundum weorðan,   wættre gelīccost
faran flōde blōd.   Hīe þīn feorh ne magon

955 dēaðe gedǣlan,   þēh ðū drype ðolie,
synnigra slege.   Ðū þæt sār āber;
ne lǣt þē āhweorfan   hǣðenra þrym,
grim gārgewinn,   þæt ðū gode swīce,
dryhtne þīnum.   Wes ā dōmes georn;

960 lǣt þē on gemyndum   hū þæt manegum wearð
fira gefrēge   geond feala landa,
þæt mē bysmredon   bennum fæstne
weras wansǣlige,   wordum tyrgdon,
slōgon ond swungon.   Synnige ne mihton

965 þurh sārcwide   sōð gecȳðan,
þā ic mid Iūdēum   gealgan þehte;
rōd wæs ārǣred,   þǣr rinca sum
of mīnre sīdan   swāt ūt forlēt,
drēor tō foldan.   Ic ādrēah feala

970 yrmþa ofer eorðan;   wolde ic ēow on ðon
þurh blīðne hige   bȳsne onstellan,

_____

with harsh bloody strokes your body shall
be dealt wounds, almost like water
will the gore flood out. They cannot consign

955 your life to death, though you may suffer beating,
the blows of sinful men. You bear that pain,
nor let the power, the grim spear-thrusts,
of heathens move you to betray God,
your Lord. Be always eager for renown,

960 keep remembering how among many men
the fame spread through a lot of countries
how I was abused, made fast in bonds,
by men ill-fortuned, who taunted Me with words,
beat and flogged Me. The sinners could not

965 prove any truth with their words of reproach,
when among Jews I covered the gallows;
a rood was raised, where one warrior
made the blood flow out of My side,
gore to the ground. I endured many

970 wretched moments on earth; I wanted by this
with cheerful resolve to set you an example,

swā on ellþēode   ȳwed wyrðeð.
Manige syndon   in þysse mǣran byrig,
þāra þe ðū gehweorfest   tō heofonlēohte
975   þurh mīnne naman,   þēah hīe morðres feala
in fyrndagum   gefremed habban.'

Gewāt him þā se hālga   heofonas sēcan,
eallra cyninga cining,   þone clǣnan hām,
ēaðmēdum upp,   þǣr is ār gelang
980   fira gehwylcum,   þām þe hīe findan cann.

Ðā wæs gemyndig   mōdgeþyldig,   **(19)**
beorn beaduwe heard;   ēode in burh hraðe,
anrǣd ōretta,   elne gefyrðred,
maga mōde rōf,   meotude getrēowe.
985   Stōp on strǣte   (stīg wīsode),
swā hi*ne* nǣnig gumena   ongitan ne mihte,
| synfulra gesēon;   hæfde sigora weard   42v
on þām wangstede   wǣre betolden
lēofne lēodfruman   mid lofe sīnum.

---

as will be shown in this foreign land.
Many are those in this famous town
whom you can turn to heaven's light
975   through My name, though the murders are many
they have carried out from ancient days.'

The Holy One then moved off to seek heaven,
the King of All Kings, that clean homeland,
upwards in humility, where grace belongs
980   to each and every man who can find it.

Then was he mindful, man of mental patience,   **(19)**
warrior hard in battle; quickly entered town,
a single-minded soldier sustained by valour,
a fellow brave at heart, true to the Measurer.
985   Marched up the street (a pathway guided)
so that him none of those men could notice,
nor full of sin see him. The Victory Keeper
had in that open place wrapped the beloved
captain in the protection of His covenant.

990   Hæfde þā se æðeling   in geþrungen,
                Crīstes cempa,   carcerne nēh;
                geseh hē hǣðenra   hlōð ætgædere
                fore hlindura,   hyrdas standan
                seofone ætsomne.   Ealle swylt fornam,
995   druron dōmlēase;   dēaðrǣs forfēng
                hæleð heorod<r>ēorig<e>.   Ðā se hālga gebæd
                bilwytne fæder,   brēostgehygdum
                herede on hēhðo   heofoncyninges gōd,
                dryhten dēm<de>.   Duru sōna onarn
1000   þurh han<d>hrine   hāliges gastes,
                ond þǣr in ēode,   elnes gemyndig,
                hæle hildedēor.   Hǣðene swǣfon
                drēore druncne,   dēaðwang rudon.

                Geseh hē Māthēus   in þām morðorcofan,
1005   hæleð higerōfne   under heolstorlocan,
                secgan dryhtne lof,   dōmweorðinga
                engla þēodne;   hē ðǣr āna sæt
                geohðum geōmor   in þām gnornhofe.

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990   By now the princeling had pressed on,
                Christ's champion, into near the prison.
                He saw a heathen prize-gang together
                standing as guards before grated doors,
                seven in one place. Execution took them all,
995   they fell without renown; sudden death snatched
                heroes blood-soaked. Then the saint prayed
                to the Gentle Father, in the thoughts of his breast
                praised to the heights Heaven-King's goodness,
                honoured the Lord. At once the door rushed open
1000   with a touch from the hand of the holy guest,
                and inside, inspired by valour, marched
                a man daring in battle. Heathens were sleeping
                blood-drunk, had reddened the plain of death.

                Caught sight of Matthew in the murder coffer,
1005   a hero brave and resolute, locked away in darkness,
                speaking praise to the Lord, honour
                to the Chief of Angels; he sat there alone,
                mournful with cares in that court of lamentation.

         Geseh þā under swegle   swǣsne gefēran,

1010   hālig hāligne;   hyht wæs genīwad.

         Ārās þā tōgēnes,   gode þancade

         þæs ðe hīe onsunde   ǣfre mōston

         gesēon under sunnan;   syb wæs gemǣne

         bām þām gebrōðrum,   blis ednīwe.

1015   Ǣghwæðer ōðerne   earme beþehte,

         cyston hīe ond clypton;   Crīste wǣron begen

         lēofe on mōde.   Hīe lēoht ymbscān

         hālig ond heofontorht;   hreðor innan wæs

         wynnum āwelled.

                          Þā worde ongan

1020   ǣrest Andrēas   æðelne gefēran

         on clustorcleofan   mid cwide sīnum

grētan godfyrhtne;   sǣde him gūðgeðingu,

feohtan fāra monna: 'Nū is þīn folc on luste,

         hæleð hyder on | end of 42v

       *   *   *   *   *   *   **[(20)]**

         In the light then he saw his own dear comrade,

1010   one saint saw another; hope was renewed.

         He rose up to meet him, gave thanks to God

         that they had ever been permitted to see one another

         safe beneath the sun. Goodwill was shared

         between both brethren, rejoicing anew,

1015   each man covered the other with his arms,

         they kissed and embraced. Both to Christ were

         dear in His heart. A light shone about them

         holy and heaven-radiant; their inmost hearts had

         welled up with joy.

                          Then in his words did

1020   first Andrew take the step with the noble man

         within the cloister-confine, in his own utterance

greeting the God-fearing man, told him the outcome of battle,

the fight with wicked men: 'Now are your people in high spirits,

         heroes here in

       *   *   *   *   *   *   **[(20)]**

<eald> | gewyrht   eardes nēosan.'

    Æfter þyssum wordum   wuldres þegnas,   **(21)**
    begen þā gebrōðor,   tō gebēde hyldon;
    sendon hira bēne   fore bearn godes.
    Swylce se hālga   in þām hearmlocan
1030   his god grēt<t>e,   ond him gēoce bæd,
    hǣlend helpe,   ǣr þan hrā crunge

    fore hǣðenra   hildeþrymme;
    ond þā gelǣdde   of leoðobendum
    fram þām fæstenne   on frið dryhtnes
1035   *tū hund*tēontig   geteled rīme,
    swylce fēowertig   <ond fēower twēowa>
    generede fram nīðe,   þǣr hē nænig<n>e forlēt
    under burglocan   ben*d*um fæstne;
    on<d> þǣr wīfa þā gȳt,   weorodes tō ēacan,
1040   anes wana þē fiftig   <forþgerīmed>
    forhte gefreoðode.   Fægen wǣron sīðes,
    lungre lēordan,   nalas leng bidon
    in þām gnornhofe   gūðgeþingo.

<ancient>] deeds, to seek an abode.'

    After these words the thanes of glory,   **(21)**
    both these brethren, knelt down in prayer;
    first sent their boon to the Bairn of God.
    Likewise the saint in the locker of harm
1030   greeted his God and asked Him for aid,
    Healer for help, before his body might fall
    before the majesty of heathens in battle;
    and then led away from their limb-bonds
    from that fastness into the Lord's protection
1035   two hundred that in number are told,
    as well as forty <and twice four more>
    preserved from enmity, leaving no man behind
    in the stronghold fastened in bonds;
    and of women, moreover, to add to the menfolk,
1040   one short of fifty <numbered forth>
    fearful ones he freed. Fain they were of journeying,
    departed at once, would not at all longer await
    outcome of battle in that court of lamentation.

Gewāt þā Mathēus   menigo lǣdan
1045   on gehyld godes,   swā him se hālga bebēad;
weorod on wilsīð   wolcnum beþehte,
þē lǣs him scyldhatan   scyððan cōmon
mid earhfare,   ealdgenīðlan.
Þǣr þā mōdigan mid him   mæðel gehēdan,
1050   trēowgeþoftan,   ǣr hīe on tū hweorfan,
ǣgðer þāra eorla   ōðrum trymede
heofonrīces hyht;   helle wītu
wordum werede.   Swā ðā wīgend mid him,
hǣleð higerōfe,   hālgum stefnum
1055   cempan coste   cyning weorðadon,
wyrda waldend,   þæs wuldres ne bið
ǣfre mid eldum   ende befangen.

[X]   Gewāt him þā Andrēas   inn on ceastre   **(22)**
glædmōd gangan,   tō þæs ðe hē gramra gemōt,
1060   fāra folc|mægen,   gefrægen hæfde,   43v
oððæt hē gemētte   be mearcpaðe

Moved then off Matthew to lead the multitude
1045   to God's safe hold as the saint had bid him;
the band on a happy journey with clouds He covered,
lest the unjust oppressors came to harm them,
ancient enemies, with a flight of arrows.
Between them where the brave men held conference,
1050   pledged comrades, before dividing forces,
each of the gentlemen confirmed the other
in the prospect of heaven; hell's punishment
warded off with words. Thus the warriors with him,
heroes brave and resolute, in saintly voices,
1055   tried champions, worshipped the King,
Ruler of Destiny, to Whose glory no end shall
ever be encompassed among the children of men.

X   Back then did Andrew walk into the city   **(22)**
relieved in mind to where he had learned
1060   that the enemy militia would angrily be meeting,
until he encountered, along a path between houses

standan strǣte nēah   stapul ǣrenne.
Gesæt him þā be healfe,   hæfde hluttre lufan,
ēce upgemynd   engla blisse;
1065   þanon bāsnode   under burhlocan
hwæt him gūðweorca   gifeðe wurde.
Þā gesamnedon   sīde herigeas
folces frumgāras;   tō þām fæstenne
wǣrlēasra werod   wǣpnum cōmon,
1070   hǣðne hildfrecan,   tō þæs þā hæftas ǣr
under hlinscūwan   hearm þrōwedon.
Wēndan ond woldon   wiðerhycgende,
þæt hīe on elþēodigum   ǣt geworhton,
weotude wiste;   him sēo wēn gel<ē>ah,
1075   syððan mid corðre   carcernes duru
eorre æscberend   opene fundon,
onhliden hamera geweorc,   hyrdas dēade.
Hīe þā unhȳðige   eft gecyrdon,
luste belorene,   lāðspell beran;
1080   sægdon þām folce   þæt ðǣr feorrcundra,
ellreordigra,   ǣnigne tō lāfe

---

standing near the street a pillar of brass.
Sat then down beside it, had a pure love within him,
an eternal mind for angels' bliss above him;
1065   there within the stronghold he awaited
whatever war-deeds might be granted him.
By then wide armies were gathered together
by captains of the mob; to that fortress
came a troop of the faithless with weapons,
1070   heathen battle-braves, to where the captives earlier
under latticed shadow had languished in harm.
Going against reason they hoped and wanted
to make great consumption of foreign people,
banquet by appointment; that hope deceived them
1075   when, with its guard of honour, the prison door
the irate armed warriors found lying open,
hammer's work unhinged, the sentries dead.
They then without booty turned back,
had lost what they lusted for, bore hateful tidings;
1080   said to the mob that, of strangers from abroad,
out of these barbarians, not one was left

in carcerne   cwicne <nē> gemētte<n>,
ah þǣr heorodrēorige   hyrdas lāgan,
gǣsne on grēote,   gāste berofene,
1085   fǣgra flǣschaman.   Þā wearð forht manig
for þām fǣrspelle   folces rǣswa,
hēan hygegēomor,   hungres on wēnum,
blātes bēodgastes;   nyston beteran rǣd,
þonne hīe þā be*l*idenan   him tō līfnere
1090a   gefeormedon. [
1090b   ] Duruþegnum wearð
in āne tīd   eallum ætsomne
þurh heard gelāc   hild<e>bedd styred.
Ðā ic lungre gefrægn   lēode tosomne,   **(23)**
burgwar*a* bannan;   beornas cōmon,
1095   wīggendra þrēat,   wicgum gengan,
on mēarum mōdige,   mæðelhēgende,
æscum dealle.   Þā wæs eall geador
tō þām þingstede   þēod gesamnod,
lēton him þā betwēonum | taan wīsian   44r
1100   hwylcne hira ǣrest   ōðrum sceolde

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in prison alive whom they could find,
but blood-soaked guards lay in that place
defunct on the floor, filched of their spirit,
1085   flesh of death-fated men. Then took fright
from the fearful news many a prince of that people,
ashamed, depressed in reason, expecting hunger,
a pale guest at table; knew of no better idea
than that on the departed for life's preservation
1090a   they should be fed. [
1090b   ] For the door-thanes,
in one hour, for all of them together,
with harsh play was their war-bed disturbed.
Swiftly to the people I heard then a summons   **(23)**
to townsfolk go out; troopers converged,
1095   a company of warriors spurring their mounts,
proud on their stallions, holding assembly,
glinting with spears. When together all people
were gathered to their place of business,
they made a lot-twig show from one to another
1100   which of them should be first to forfeit

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                    tō foddurþege    fēores ongyldan;
                    hluton hellcræftum,    hǣðengildum
                    teledon betwinum.    Ðā se tān gehwearf
                    efne ofer ǣnne    ealdgesīða,
1105                sē wæs ūðweota    eorla dugoðe,
                    heriges on ōre    hraðe siððan wearð
                    fetorwrāsnum fæst,    fēores ōrwēna.
                    Cleopode þā collenferhð    cearegan reorde,
                    cwæð hē his sylfes sunu    syllan wolde
1110                on ǣhtgeweald,    eaforan geon<gn>e,
                    līfes tō lisse;    hīe ðā lāc hraðe
                    þēgon tō þance.    Þēod wæs oflysted,
                    metes mōdgēomre,    næs him tō māðme wynn,
          hyht tō hordgestrēonum;    hungre wǣron
1115                þearle geþrēatod,    swā se ðēodsceaða
                    rēow rīcsode.    Þā wæs rinc manig,
                    gūðfrec guma,    ymb þæs geongan feorh
                    brēostum onbryrded    tō þām beadulāce;
                    wæs þæt wēatācen    wīde gefrēge,
1120                geond þā burh bodad    beorne manegum,
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                    his life as fodder for others to partake in;
                    drew lots with hell's arts, with heathen rites
                    tallied between men. Then the twig passed
                    right over one particular old campaigner
1105                who was philosopher to the troop of nobles
                    in the host's front line. Quickly thereafter was he
                    fastened in tight bonds, no hope for living more;
                    cried then the audacious with grieving voice,
                    said he would give up his own son
1110                into their power, his young heir, in exchange
                    for enjoying life; they on that offer quickly
                    dined with thanks. The nation was in craving,
                    serious about meat, had no pleasure in precious things,
          no hope in wealth hoarded; with hunger they were
1115                severely restrained, so cruel did that despoiler
                    of the nation reign. Then was many a noble,
                    many a warlike man, over that boy's life
                    in his breast inspired to the play of battle;
                    heard far and wide was that token of woe,
1120                to many a trooper proclaimed through the town
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þæt hīe þæs cnihtes cwealm   corðre gesōhton,
duguðe ond eogoðe   dǣl onfēngon
līfes tō lēofne.   Hīe lungre tō þæs,
hǣðene herigweardas,   here samnodan
1125 ceastrewarena;   cyrm upp āstāh.
Đā se geonga ongann   gēomran stefne,
gehæfted for herige,   hearmlēoð galan,
frēonda fēasceaft,   friðes wilnian;
ne mihte earmsceapen   āre findan,
1130 freoðe æt þām folce,   þe him fēores wolde,
aldres geunnan.   Hæfdon ǣglǣcan
sæcce gesōhte;   sceolde sweordes | ecg,   44v
scerp ond scūrheard,   of sceaðan folme,
fȳrmǣlum fāg,   feorh ācsigan.
1135 Đā þæt Andrēa   earmlīc þūhte,
þēodbealo þearlīc   tō geðolianne,
þæt hē swā unscyldig   ealdre sceolde
lungre linnan.   Wæs se lēodhete
<þrīst ond> þrohtheard;   þrymman scēocan
1140 mōdige maguþegnas,   morðres on luste,

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that in a crowd they sought to kill that lad,
that old and young companies would get their share
of life's sustenance. Swiftly at this summons
did heathen temple-keepers muster a war-party
1125 from their citizens; sounds of clamour arose.
Then began the youngster with mournful voice,
bound before the band, his harm-dirge to chant,
destitute of friends, his life to desire of them;
nor could he, born to misery, find the grace,
1130 the sanctuary in that mob, that would yield him
his life, his existence. Monstrous adversaries
had picked their battle; it should be the sword's edge,
sharp and shower hardened, forge-patterned,
that from a despoiler's hand would ask his life.
1135 All miserable then did it look to Andrew,
a grievous arch-evil for him to endure,
that this one so guiltless his life should
promptly lose. The violence of that people
was <bold and> long-tried; swaggered majestic
1140 in their lust for murder the proud young thanes,

woldon ǣninga   ellenrōfe
on þām hysebeorðre   heafolan gescēnan,
gārum āgētan.   Hine god forstōd
hālig of hēhðo   hǣðenan folce;

1145 hēt wǣpen wera   wexe gelīcost
on þām ōrlege   eall formeltan,
þȳ lǣs scyldhatan   sceððan mihton,
egle ondsacan,   ecga þrȳðum.
Swā wearð ālȳsed   of lēodhete,

1150 geong of gyrne.   Gode ealles þanc,
dryhtna dryhtne,   þæs ðe hē dōm gifeð
gumena gehwylcum,   þāra þe gēoce tō him
sēceð mid snytrum;   þǣr bið symle gearu
frēod unhwīlen,   þām þe hīe findan cann.

[XI]   Þā wæs wōp hæfen   in wera burgum,   **(24)**
hlūd heriges cyrm;   hrēopon friccan,
mǣndon metelēaste,   mēðe stōdon

_____

men of brave cheer wanted all at once
to maim the head on that man-child,
gut him with spears. God defended him,
Holy from on high, against the heathen mob;

1145 commanded men's weapons most like wax
all to melt in that theatre of war,
lest the unjust oppressors might cause harm,
frightening adversaries, with their power of blades.
Freed was he then from this public violence,

1150 youngster from injury. Thanks be to God,
Lord of Lords, for the influence He gives
to every man who for aid from Him has
the cleverness to look; there ready constantly is
love without limit for the man who can find it.

XI   Then was raised a weeping in that town of men,   **(24)**
loud the war-band's clamour; criers shouted,
lamented lack of meat, weak they stood,

hungre gehæfte.   Hornsalu wunedon
wēste, wīnræced;   welan ne benohton
1160   beornas tō brūcanne   on þā bitran tīd.
Gesǣton searuþancle   sundor tō rūne,
ermðu eahtigan;   næs him tō ēðle wynn.

Fregn þā gelōme   freca ōðerne:
'Ne hēle sē ðe hæbbe   holde lāre
1165   on sefan snyttro.   Nū is sǣl cumen,
þrēa ōrmǣte,   is nū þearf mycel
þæt wē wīsfæstra   wordum hȳran.'

| Þā for þǣre dugoðe   dēoful ætȳwde,   45r
wann ond wlitelēas;   hæfde weriges hīw.
1170   Ongan þā meldigan   morþres brytta,
helle hinca,   þone hālgan wer
wiðerhycgende,   ond þæt word gecwæð:
'Her is gefēred   ofer feorne weg
æðelinga sum   innan ceastre
1175   ellþēodigra,   þone ic Andrēas

_____

by famine fettered. Horn-gabled halls remained,
wine-palaces, deserted; of wealth the troops
1160   enjoyed no profit in that bitter time.
The ingenious sat apart in secret counsel
pondering their misery; home was no joy to them.

Often then one brave chap would inquire of the other:
'Let him not hide it who has friendly advice,
1165   cleverness or sense. A time is now come
of infinite trouble, the need now great
that we listen to the words of wise men.'

Then before this company the devil appeared,
pale and unradiant; had the form of one accursed.
1170   Began then the dispenser of deadly sin,
cripple of hell, to accuse the holy man
against all reason, and uttered these words:
'Here is one travelled from far away,
a certain prince who, though within this city,
1175   is from a foreign country, of whom Andrew

nemnan hērde;   hē ēow nēon gescēod,
ðā hē āferede   of fæstenne
manncynnes mā   þonne gemet wǣre.
Nū gē magon ēaðe   oncȳðdǣda
1180   wrecan on g<e>wyrhtum;   lǣtað <wǣpnes> spor,
īren ecgheard,   ealdorgeard scēoran,
fǣges feorhhord.   Gāð fromlīce,
þæt gē wiðerfeohtend   wīges gehnǣgan!'

Him þā Andrēas   āgef ondsware:
1185   'Hwæt, ðū þrīstlīce   þēode lǣrest,
bældest tō beadowe!   Wāst þē bǣles cwealm,
hātne in helle,   ond þū here fȳsest,
fēðan tō gefeohte;   eart ðū fāg wið god,
dugoða dēmend.   Hwæt, ðū dēofles strǣl,
1190   īcest þīne yrmðo!   Ðē se ælmihtiga
hēanne gehnǣgde   ond <on> heolstor bescēaf,
þǣr þē cyninga cining   clamme belegde;
ond þē syððan ā   Sāta<n> nemdon,
ðā ðe dryhtnes ǣ   dēman cūðon.'

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was the name I heard; he intimately hurt you
by ferrying out from the fastness around them
more of man's kind than were meet.
These present deeds of injury you can easily
1180   avenge on the doers; let the weapon's track,
iron edge-hard, shear through the life-fort,
the blood-hoard of one doomed man. Go quickly
and in combat bring the adversary down!'

To him then did Andrew give answer:
1185   'See how bravely you instruct this people,
embolden them for battle! You know that a furnace
hell-hot will punish you, though you inflame the war-band,
this foot-troop, for a fight; you are outlawed from God
the Judge of Hosts. See, you devil's arrow,
1190   how you increase your misery! You the Almighty
brought low in disgrace and shoved in darkness,
where, King of Kings, He laid chains on you,
and ever since they have named you Satan
who have known how to preach the Gospel.'

1195   Ðā gȳt se wiðermēda   wordum lǣrde
    folc tō gefeohte,   fēondes cræfte:
    'Nū gē gehȳrað   hæleða gewinnan,
    sē ðyssum herige mǣst   hearma gefremede;
    ðæt is Andrēas,   sē mē on flīteð
1200   wordum wrǣtlīcum   for wera menigo!'
    Ðā wæs bēacen boden   burhsittendum;
    āhlēopon hildfrome   heriges brehtme,
    ond tō weallgeatum   wīgend þrungon
    cēne under cumblum | corðre mycle   45v
1205   tō ðām ōrlege,   ordum ond bordum.

    Þā worde cwæð   weoroda dryhten,
    meotud mihtum swīð   sægde his magoþegne:
    'Scealt ðū, Andrēas,   ellen fremman;
    ne mīð ðū for menigo,   ah þīnne mōdsefan
1210   staðola wið strangum!   Nis sēo stund latu
    þæt þē wælrēowe   wītum belecgaþ,
    cealdan clommum;   cȳð þē sylfne,
    herd hige þīnne,   heortan staðola,

1195   Still then the perverse spirit with his words,
    his fiend's skill, instructed the mob to fight:
    'Now you can hear the enemy of the people,
    who has done to this war-band the greatest harm;
    this is Andrew, who cuts me in a flyting
1200   with extraordinary words to the men's multitude!'
    That was the sign, to townsmen then made;
    they leapt up keen for battle in war-band's revelry,
    to the gates in the wall the warriors thronged
    brave under banners in a big regiment towards
1205   the field of war with spear-points and boards.

    Words then did the Lord of Hosts utter,
    Measurer Strong in Might, said to his retainer:
    'Andrew, you shall do a deed of courage;
    stay not hidden before the multitude, but fortify
1210   your mind against hard men! The hour is at hand
    when men cruel in slaughter will belay you with torments,
    with cold chains; make yourself known,
    harden your resolve, fortify your heart,

	þæt hīe mīn on ðē mægen oncnāwan.	
1215	Ne magon hīe ond ne mōton ofer mīne ēst	
	þīnne līchoman lehtrum scyldige	
	dēaðe gedǣlan, ðēah ðū drype þolige,	
	mirce mānslaga; ic þē mid wunige.'	

	Æfter þām wordum cōm werod unmǣte,	**(25)**
1220	lyswe lārsmeoðas mid lindgecrode,	
	bolgenmōde; bǣron ūt hræðe	
	ond þām hālgan þǣr handa gebundon,	
	siþþan geypped wæs æðelinga wynn	
	ond hīe andweardne ēagum meahton	
1225	gesīon sigerōfne. Þǣr wæs sec<g> manig	
	on þām welwange wīges oflysted	
	lēoda duguðe; lȳt sorgodon	
	hwylc him þæt edlēan æfter wurde. [Cas. jumps	
	Hēton þā lǣdan ofer landsceare,	
1230	ðrāgmǣlum tēon, torngenīðlan,	
	swā hīe hit frēcnost findan meahton;	
	drōgon dēormōde æfter dūnscræfum	

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	that they may recognize Me in you.	
1215	Neither can nor against My consent may they	
	deal to your body, guilty with sin as they are,	
	its death-blow, though you suffer beating,	
	mean murky blows; I remain with you.'	

	After those words came a host without measure,	**(25)**
1220	lying professors with an armoured platoon,	
	swollen with fury; bore him out quickly	
	and there in the light the saint's arms bound,	
	once the princes' joy was brought in the open	
	and in person with their own eyes they could	
1225	see the brave victor. Many a man was there	
	on the plain of slaughter craving combat	
	in that division of people; little cared they	
	what their repayment after might be. [Cas. jumps	
	Bid him then be led over countryside,	
1230	grievous enemy, be hauled there repeatedly	
	in the most perilous way they could find;	
	valiant men dragged him by caves in the downs,	

ymb stānhleoðo   stærcedferþþe
efne swā wīde swā   wegas tōlāgon,
1235   enta ǣrgeweorc,   innan burgum,
strǣte stānfāge.   Storm upp ārās
æfter ceasterhofum,   cirm unlȳtel
hǣðnes heriges.   Wæs þæs hālgan līc
sārbennum soden,   swāte bestēmed,
1240   bānhūs ābrocen;   blōd ȳðum wēoll,
hāton | heolfre.   Hæfde him on innan   46r
ellen untwēonde;   wæs þæt æðele mōd
āsundrad fram synnum,   þēah hē sāres swā feala
dēopum dolgslegum   drēogan sceolde.
1245   Swā wæs ealne dæg   oððæt ǣfen cōm
sigeltorht swungen;   sār eft gewōd
ymb þæs beornes brēost,   oðþæt beorht gewāt
sunne swegeltorht   tō sete glīdan.
Lǣddan þā lēode   lāðne gewinnan
1250   tō carcerne.   Hē wæs Crīste swā þēah
lēof on mōde;   him wæs lēoht sefa
hālig heortan nēh,   hige untȳddre.

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around the stone cliffs, men of hardened hearts
just as far as the diverse roads extended,
1235   once the works of giants within the town,
streets paved with stone. A storm rose up
through city buildings, no small outcry
from the heathen band. The saint's body was
sodden with sore wounds, blood-bespattered,
1240   the bone-house broken; blood welled in waves,
with hot gore. He held on within him
to undoubting courage; that was a noble heart
sundered from its sins, though so much searing
from deep-gashing blows must he endure.
1245   So all the day until evening came was
that sunbeam scourged; searing pain invaded
the trooper's breast again, until bright moved
the heaven-illuminating sun gliding to her setting.
Then they led the loathed adversary
1250   to prison. To Christ's mind, however,
he was beloved; in Andrew the saintly senses
near the heart were light, his mind unfragile.

[XII]   <Þ>ā se hālga wæs   under heolstorscūwan,
                             eorl ellenheard,   ondlange niht
1255   searoþancum beseted.   Snāw eorðan band
                             wintergeworpum;   weder cōledon
                             heardum hægelscūrum,   swylce hrīm ond forst,
                             hāre hildstapan,   hæleða ēðel
                             lucon, lēoda gesetu.   Land wǣron frēorig;
1260   cealdum cylegīcelum   clang wæteres þrym
                             ofer ēastrēamas,   īs brycgade
                             blǣce brimrāde.   Blīðheort wunode
                             eorl unforcūð,   elnes gemyndig,
                             þrīst ond þrohtheard   in þrēanēdum
1265   wintercealdan niht.   Nō on gewitte blōn,
                             ācol for þȳ egesan,   þæs þe hē ǣr ongann,
                             þæt hē ā dōmlīcost   dryhten herede,
                             weorðade wordum,   oððæt wuldres gim   **(26)**
                             heofontorht onhlād.

                                     Ðā cōm hæleða þrēat

XII   The saint was then under shadow of darkness,
                           gentleman of tempered courage, all night long
1255   ingeniously trussed. Snow bound the earth
                           with wintry drifts, the fine weather cooled
                           with harsh hail-showers, also rime and frost,
                           hoar-grey marching soldiers, locked down the home
                           of heroes, people's houses. Their lands were frozen;
1260   with cold icicles did water's majesty shrink
                           across rivers and streams, ice bridged
                           the pale sea-roads. Blithe stayed the heart
                           of the gentleman unblemished, remembering courage,
                           bold and long-suffering in his dire affliction
1265   the winter-cold night. Nor stopped he in conscience,
                           dismayed by that terror, from what he earlier started,
                           and so ever famously praised the Lord,
                           worshipped Him aloud, till the jewel of glory   **(26)**
                           was luminously revealed.

                                      Then came the squad

1270	tō ðǣre dimman ding, duguð unlȳtel,	
	wadan wælgīfre weorodes brehtme;	
	hēton ūt hræðe æðeling lǣdan	
	in wraðra geweald, wǣrfæstne hæleð.	
	Ðā wæs eft | swā ǣr ondlangne dæg	46v
1275	swungen sārslegum. Swāt ȳðum wēoll	
	þurh bāncofan, blōd lifrum swealg,	
	hātan heolfre; hrā weorces ne sann	
	wundum wērig.	
	Þā cwōm wōpes hring	
	þurh þæs beornes brēost blāt ūt faran,	
1280	wēoll waðuman strēam, ond hē worde cwæð:	
	'Gesēoh nū, dryhten god, drohtað mīnne,	
	weoruda willgeofa! Þū wāst ond const	
	ānra gehwylces earfeðsīðas.	
	Ic gelȳfe tō ðē, mīn līffruma,	
1285	þæt ðū mildheort mē for þīnum mægenspēdum,	
	nerigend fira, nǣfre wille,	
	ēce ælmihtig, ānforlǣtan,	

1270	to the dim dungeon, no mean troop of heroes,
	bloodthirstily moving to crowd's jubilation;
	quickly they commanded the prince to be led,
	hero firm in covenant, into the power of fiends.
	Then again as before was he for the livelong day
1275	scourged with searing blows. Blood in waves welled
	through the bone-coffer, poured in thick gouts,
	with hot gore; his body did not cease hurting,
	weary with wounds.
	Then came a ring of weeping,
	moving out pale through the man's breast,
1280	the flood-stream welled, and he uttered these words:
	'See now, O Lord God, my condition,
	Hosts' Willing Endower! You see and understand
	the hardships of each and every man.
	I believe in you, my Author of Life,
1285	that You are generous, that in Your overriding justice,
	Saviour of Humanity, You will never,
	Almighty Everlasting, leave me here alone,

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swā ic þæt gefremme,   þenden feorh leofað
mīn on moldan,   þæt ic, meotud, þīnum

1290   lārum lēofwendum   lȳt geswīce.
Þū eart gescylde<n>d   wið sceaðan wǣpnum,
ēce ēadfruma,   eallum þīnum;
ne lǣt nū bysmrian   banan manncynnes,
fācnes frumbearn,   þurh fēondes cræft

1295   leahtrum belecgan   þā þīn lof berað.'

Ðā ðǣr ætȳwde   se atola gāst,
wrað wǣrloga;   wīgend lǣrde
for þām heremægene   helle dīoful
āwerged in wītum,   ond þæt word gecwæð:

1300   'Slēað synnigne   ofer seolfes mūð,
folces gewinnan,   nū tō feala reordaþ!'

Þā wæs ōrlege   eft onhrēred
nīwan stefne;   nīð upp ārās,
oþðæt sunne gewāt   tō sete glīdan

1305   under niflan næs.   Niht helmade,

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provided that I ensure, while life's blood lives
in me on earth, that I, O Measurer, Your

1290   loving instructions little do forsake.
You are a Shield against the despoiler's weapons,
O Author of Wealth Eternal, for all Your people;
let not now the slayer of mankind humiliate
or the first child of wickedness through fiendish power

1295   overwhelm with evil them who bear praise of You.'

Then the terrible demon appeared there,
faith-breaker in fury; fighters were instructed
before the war-troop by this devil of hell
in punishments accursed, and these words he uttered:

1300   'Hit him in his mouth now, the sinful
enemy of the people, he talks too much!'

Thereupon was the strife in this war
stirred up anew; hate rose up high there
until the gliding sun sank to her setting

1305   beneath steep headland. Night covered over,

brūnwann oferbrǣd   beorgas stēape,
ond se hālga wæs   tō hofe lǣded,
dēor ond dōmgeorn,   in þæt dimme ræced;
sceal þonne in nēadcofan   nihtlangne fyrst
1310   wǣrfæst wunian   wīc unsȳfre.
Þā cōm seofona sum   tō sele geongan
atol ǣglǣca, | yfela gemyndig,   47r
morðres mānfrēa   myrce gescyrded,
dēoful dēaðrēow,   duguðum berēafod.

1315   Ongan þā þām hālgan   hospword sprecan:
'Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas,   hidercyme þīnne
on wrāðra geweald?   Hwǣr is wuldor þīn,
þē ðū oferhigdum   upp ārǣrdest,
þā ðū goda ūssa   gild gehnǣgdest?
1320   Hafast nū þē ānum   eall getihhad
land ond lēode,   swā dyde lārēow þīn?
Cyneþrym āhōf,   þām wæs Crīst nama,
ofer middangeard,   þynden hit meahte swā.
Þone Hērōdes   ealdre besnyðede,

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dusky, enveloped the steep mountains,
and the saint was led to his building,
daring and keen for glory, into the dim hall;
must now in his need-coffer one night long
1310   firm in covenant inhabit that unclean encampment.
Then came of seven walking into the chamber
one terrible adversary with evil in mind,
mean lord of soul-murder in murk shrouded,
devil cruel in death, robbed of his hosts.

1315   To the saint then he spoke mocking words:
'What did you, Andrew, mean by coming here
into the power of fierce foes? Where is your glory,
which in thoughts of pride you vaunted
when you brought low the rites of our gods?
1320   Have you alone now laid claim to the whole
land and people just as your teacher did?
He, whose name was Christ, raised royal majesty
over the middle world for as long as he could.
That man did Herod bereave of his life,

1325 forcōm æt campe   "cyning Iūdēa",
rīces berǣdde   ond hine rōde befealg,
þæt hē on gealgan his   gāst onsende.
Swā ic nū bebēode   bearnum mīnum,
þegnum þrȳðfullum,   ðæt hīe ðē hnǣgen.
1330 Gingran æt gūðe,   lǣtað gāres ord,   **(27)**
earh ǣttre gemǣl,   in gedūfan
in fǣges ferð!   Gāð fromlīce,
ðæt gē gūðfrecan   gylp forbēgan!'

Hīe wǣron rēowe,   rǣsdon on sōna
1335 gīfrum grāpum.   Hine god forstōd,
staðulfæst stēorend,   þurh his strangan miht;
syððan hīe oncnēowon   Crīstes rode   **[Cas. resumes**
on his mǣgwlite,   mǣre tācen,
wurdon hīe ðā ācle   on þām onfenge,
1340 forhte, āfǣrde   ond on flēam numen.

Ongan eft swā ǣr   ealdgenīðla,
helle hæftling,   hearmlēoð galan:

1325 overcame in conflict the "King of the Jews",
him deprived of kingdom and to rood applied,
that from gallows he might send on his spirit.
Just so will I now command my children,
my thanes of power, to humiliate you.
1330 Disciples in the war, make spear's points,   **(27)**
dart-heads patterned with poison, dive deep
in the doomed man's spirit! Go quick
and crush this boasting of the war-brave!'

They were cruel, rushed in straightaway
1335 with ravenous clutches. God defended him,
Steadfast Governor, with His strong might;
as soon as they recognised the rood of Christ   **[Cas. resumes**
on his countenance, the token of renown,
they became afraid to make that onslaught,
1340 frightened, fear-stricken, and were put to flight.

Again as before did thus the old enemy,
prisoner of hell, chant his dirge of harm:

‘Hwæt wearð ēow swā rōfum,   rincas mīne,
lindgesteallan,   þæt ēow swā lȳt gespēow?’

1345   H<im þā> earmsceapen   āgef ondsware,
fāh fyrnsceaþa,   ond his fæder oncwæð:
‘Ne | magan wē him lungre   lāð ætfæstan,   47v
swilt þurh searwe.   Gā þē sylfa tō;
þǣr þū gegninga   gūðe findest,
1350   frēcne feohtan,   gif ðū furður dearst
tō þām ānhagan   aldre genēðan!

[XIII]   ‘Wē ðē magon ēaðe,   eorla lēofost,
æt þām secgplegan   sēlre gelǣran;
ǣr ðū gegninga   gūðe fremme,
1355   wīges wōman,   weald hū ðē sǣle
æt þām gegnslege.   Utan gangan eft,
þæt wē bysmrigen   bendum fæstne,
oðwītan him his wræcsīð;   habbað word gearu
wið þām ǣglǣcan   eall getrahtod!’

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‘What became of you, my warriors so brave,
comrades in arms, that so little you succeeded?’

1345   One born to misery then gave him answer,
outlawed ancient despoiler, and to his father replied:
‘An injury we cannot inflict on him suddenly
nor any subtle death. Go to it yourself;
your war you will find there without delay,
1350   a dangerous fight if further you dare to
venture your life with that lone survivor!’

XIII   ‘We can without difficulty, dearest of gentlemen,
better instruct you in that sword-play
before you rush headlong into battle,
1355   combat’s melee, however it may befall you
in the counterattack. Let us go back again,
see that we abuse him fastened in bonds,
taunt him with his exile; let us keep our words
all ready and prepared against this monster!’

1360   Þā hlēoðrade   hlūdan stefne
           wītum bewǣled,   ond þæt word gecwæð:
           'Þū þē, Andrēas,   āclǣccræftum
           lange feredes;   hwæt, ðū lēoda feala
           forleolce ond forlǣrdest!   Nū leng ne miht
1365   gewealdan þȳ weorce;   þē synd wītu þæs grim
           weotud be gewyrhtum.   Þū scealt wērigmōd,
           hēan, hrōðra lēas,   hearm þrōwigan,
           sāre swyltcwale;   secgas mīne
           tō þām gūðplegan   gearwe sindon,
1370   þā þe ǣninga   ellenweorcum
           unfyrn faca   feorh ætþringan.
           Hwylc is þæs mihtig   ofer middangeard,
           þæt hē þē ālȳse   of leoðubendum,
           manna cynnes,   ofer mīne ēst?'

1375   Him þā Andrēas   āgef ondsware:
           'Hwæt, mē ēaðe   ælmihtig god,
           nið<ð>a neregend,   sē ðe in *nīe*dum īu

1360   He set up a roar then in a loud voice,
           beset with torments, and these words uttered:
           'You, Andrew, to the arts of a monster
           have long entrusted yourself; how many people
           you played false and perverted! No more may you now
1365   practise this work; grim for you are its penalties
           ordained according to deeds. Weary of heart, you shall,
           disgraced, without comfort, suffer agonizing harm,
           searing pains of execution; my men
           are prepared for this play of war,
1370   who will all at once, with deeds of courage,
           cause your death without any delay!
           Who so mighty across the middle world
           may release you from your limb-bonds,
           what man among humans, against my consent?'

1375   To him then did Andrew give answer:
           'God Almighty, of course, can easily;
           Saviour of Humanity, Who in chains once

gefæstnode   fyrnum clommum,
þǣr ðū syððan ā   sūsle | gebunden,
1380   in wræc wunne;   wuldres blunne,
syððan ðū forhogedes   heofoncyninges word.
Þǣr wæs yfles ōr,   ende nǣfre
þīnes wræces weorðeð.   Ðū scealt wīdan feorh
ēcan þīne yrmðu;   þē bið ā symble
1385   of dæge on dæg   drohtaþ strengra.'

Ðā wearð on flēame,   sē ðe ðā fæhðo īu
wið god geāra   grimme gefremede.

Cōm þā on ūhtan   mid ǣrdæge   **(28)**
hǣðenra hlōð   hāliges nēosan
1390   lēoda weorude;   hēton lǣdan ūt
þrohtheardne þegn   þriddan sīðe,
woldon āninga   ellenrōfes
mōd gemyltan;   hit ne mihte swā.
Ðā wæs nīowinga   nīð onhrēred,
1395   heard ond hetegrim;   wæs se hālga wer

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fastened you, in fiery shackles, in a place
where it is you, since tied in torment for ever,
1380   who have suffered in exile, lost glory
by scorning the word of the King of Heaven.
There was evil's beginning, nor shall an end ever
come for your exile. You shall ever more
increase your misery; day on day constantly
1385   will your living become more strenuous.'

It was then that he fled, who long ago
once framed that grim feud against God.

Came then before dawn in the half-light   **(28)**
a heathen prize-gang searching for
1390   the saint in a crowd of people; bid lead out
the long-suffering thane for the third time,
would all at once make the brave man's
courage melt away; such could not be.
Then as good as new was malice stirred up,
1395   harsh and grim with hatred; the holy man was

sāre geswungen,   searwum gebunden,
dolgbennum þurhdrifen,   ðendon dæg līhte.

Ongan þā geōmormōd   tō gode cleopian,
heard of hæfte,   hālgan stefne;
1400   wēop wērigferð,   ond þæt word gecwæð:
'Næfre ic gefērde   mid frēan willan
under heofonhwealfe   heardran drohtnoð,
þǣr ic dryhtnes ǣ   dēman sceolde!
Sint mē leoð<u> tōlocen,   līc sāre gebrocen,
1405   bānhūs blōdfāg;   benne weallað,
seonodolg swātige.   Hwæt, ðū sigora weard,
dryhten hǣlend,   on dæges tīde
mid Iūdēum   geōmor wurde,
ðā ðū of gealgan,   god lifigende,
1410   fyrnweorca frēa,   tō fæder cleopodest,
cininga wuldor,   ond cwǣde ðus:
"Ic ðē, fæder engla,   frignan wille,
līfes lēohtfruma: hwæt forlǣtest ðū mē?"
Ond ic nū þrȳ dagas   þolian sceolde

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painfully scourged, intricately bound,
pierced with gashes as long as daylight held.

Then in depression did he call upon God,
a hard man from shackles, with holy voice;
1400   wept on exhausted and uttered these words:
'Never did I undergo at Lord's will
under heaven's vault any harder treatment
in any place I had to preach the Gospel!
My limbs are dislocated, body sorely broken,
1405   bone-house blood-stained; the wounds well up,
gory sinew-gashes. See, O Keeper of Victory,
Healing Lord, how depressed You were
with the Jews in the space of one day,
when You, from the gallows, as Living God,
1410   Lord of Old Labours, called to the Father,
the Glory of Kings, and spoke thus:
"Father of Angels, I will ask You this,
why forsake me, Author of light and the Life?"
And now it is three days I have had to endure

　　　wælgrim wītu!　　Bidde ic, weoroda god,
þæt ic | gāst mīnne　　āgifan mōte,　　　　　　　　　　48v
sāwla symbelgifa,　　on þīnes sylfes hand.
Ðū ðæt gehēte　　þurh þīn hālig word,
þā ðū ūs twelfe　　trymman ongunne,
1420　　þæt ūs heterōfra　　hild ne gescēode,
ne līces dǣl　　lungre oððēoded,
ne synu ne bān　　on swaðe lāgon,
ne loc of hēafde　　tō forlore wurde,
gif wē þīne lāre　　lǣstan woldon.
1425　　Nū sint sionwe tōslopen,　　is mīn swāt ādropen,
licgað æfter lande　　loccas tōdrifene,
fex on foldan.　　Is mē feorhgedāl
lēofre mycle　　þonne þēos līfcearo!'

Him þā stefn oncwæð　　stīðhycgendum,
1430　　wuldorcyninges　　word hl<ē>oðrode:
'Ne wēp þone wræcsīð,　　wine lēofesta,
nis þē tō frēcne;　　ic þē friðe healde,
mīnre mundbyrde　　mægene besette.

1415　　torments grim as death! God of Hosts,
I beg You for leave to give up my spirit
into Your Own hand, Feast-Giver of Souls.
You promised this by Your sacred word
when You started to strengthen us twelve,
1420　　that no warfare of maniacs would harm us,
nor any body-part be suddenly torn away,
nor sinew or bone have to lie on the path,
nor any lock from the head be lost,
if we would just follow Your teaching.
1425　　Now sinews are torn, my blood has dripped out,
lying over land my locks have been scattered,
my hair on the ground. Parting from life for me
is preferable by far to this care of living!'

Replied then a voice to the stubborn man,
1430　　words of the King of Glory resounded:
'Bemoan not this exile, My dearest associate,
for you it's not too dangerous; I will keep you safe,
enclose you with the power of My protection.

Mē is miht ofer eall <geond middangeard>
1435 sigorspēd geseald.   Sōð þæt gecȳðeð
mænig æt meðle   on þām myclan dæge,
þæt ðæt geweorðeð,   þæt ðēos wlitige gesceaft,
heofon ond eorðe   hrēosaþ togadore,
ǣr āwǣged sīe   worda ǣnig
1440 þe ic þurh mīnne mūð   meðlan onginne.
Geseoh nū seolfes swæðe,   swā þīn swāt āgēt
þurh bāngebrec   blōdige stīge,
līc<es> lǣlan;   nō þē lāðes mā
þurh daroða gedrep   gedōn mōtan,
1445 þā þe heardra mǣst   hearma gefremedan.'

Þā on last beseah   lēoflīc cempa
æfter wordcwidum   wuldorcyninges;
geseh hē geblōwene   bearwas standan
blǣdum gehrodene,   swā hē ǣr his blōd āgēt.

1450 Ðā worde cwæð   wīgendra hlēo:
'Sīe ðē ðanc ond lof,   þēoda waldend,

_____

To Me is might of all <across the middle world>,
1435 great triumph given. True it will be proclaimed,
by many a man at assembly on that great day,
that it will come to pass that this dazzling creation,
heaven and earth, together falls in on itself
before any words are made void
1440 which I through My mouth proceed to say.
See now the path you have taken where your blood
has sprinkled gory trails through breaking of bones,
bruising of body; never more injury
by shunt of spears may they bring you
1445 who did you the greatest, cruellest, harm.'

Looked back on track then a darling champion
after the eloquence of the King of Glory;
saw groves standing in bloom and adorned
with blossoms where his blood he poured before.

1450 Then the shield of warriors spoke these words:
'Thanks be and praise to You, Ruler of Nations,

to wīdan fēore   wuldor on heofonum,
ðæs ðū | mē on sāre,   sigedryhten mīn,   49r
ellþēodigne   ān ne forlǣte.'
1455 Swā se dǣdfruma   dryhten herede
hālgan stefne   oððæt hādor s*ig*<e>l
wuldortorht gewāt   under wa*d*u scrīðan.

Þā þā folctogan   fēorðan sīðe,
egle ondsacan,   æðeling lǣddon
1460 tō þām carcerne;   woldon cræfta gehygd,
magorǣdendes   mōd oncyrran
on þǣre deorcan niht.

       Þā cōm dryhten god   **(29)**
in þæt hlinræced,   hæleða wuldor,
ond þā wine sȳnne   wordum grētte
1465 ond frōfre gecwæð,   fæder manncynnes,
līfes lārēow.   Heht his līchoman
hāles brūcan: 'Ne scealt ðū in hēnðum ā leng
searohæbbendra   sā*r* þrōwian.'

---

for ever and again be glory to You in heaven
for not forsaking me, my Lord of Victory,
in pain, a stranger to this country and alone.'
1455 So did the man of action praise the Lord
with holy voice until the blinding sun,
brilliant as glory, slid beneath the waves.

Then did the captains for the fourth time,
terrifying adversaries, lead the prince
1460 to the prison; would pervert his able purpose,
the mind of the counsellor of retainers
on that dark night.

       Then came the Lord God   **(29)**
into the barred hall, the Glory of Heroes,
and now greeted His friend, speaking
1465 words of comfort, Father of Mankind,
Teacher of Life. He bid him of his body
enjoy good health: 'Nor shall you ever longer
suffer pain of being humbled by armed men.'

Ārās þā mægene rōf,　sægde meotude þanc,
1470　hāl of hæfte　heardra wīta.
Næs him gewemmed wlite,　ne wlōh of hrægle
lungre ālȳsed,　ne loc of hēafde,
ne bān gebrocen,　ne blōdig wund
līc<e> gelenge,　ne lāðes dæl
1475　þurh dolgslege　drēore bestēmed,
ac wæs eft swā ǣr　þurh þā æðelan miht
lof lǣdende,　ond on his līce trum.

[XIV]　H<w>æt, ic hwīle nū　hāliges lāre
lēoðgiddinga,　lof þæs þe worhte,
1480　wordum wēmde,　wyrd undyrne
ofer mīn gemet.　Mycel is tō secganne,
langsum leornung,　þæt hē in līfe ādrēag,
eall æfter orde;　þæt scell ǣglǣwra
mann on moldan　þonne ic mē tælige
1485　findan on ferðe,　þæt fram fruman cunne

_____

Arose then brave in body, gave Measurer thanks,
1470　made whole from bondage of harsh torments.
His face was unblemished, no fringe from clothing
liberated suddenly, nor lock from his head,
no bone broken nor any bleeding wound
on body to be found, nor injury in any part
1475　from gashing blow made moist with gore,
but now as before by that virtuous Might
was giving praise, and in his body firm.

XIV　Listen, for a while now I have been pleading
words in verse ballad so as to teach what glories
1480　the saint performed, a history which is, when revealed,
beyond my capacity. A big task it is, a work
of time-consuming study, to say all he suffered
in life from the start. Wiser in the law than I
is the earthly man, by my reckoning, who shall find
1485　in his spirit the means of knowing from the beginning

eall þā earfeðo   þe hē mid elne ādrēah,
grimra gūða.   Hwæðre | gīt sceolon
lȳtlum sticcum   lēoðworda dǣl
furður reccan.

                     Þæt is fyrnsægen,
1490   hū hē weorna feala   wīta geðolode,
heardra hilda,   in þǣre hǣðenan byrig.
Hē be wealle geseah   wundrum fæst*e*
under sælw*ā*g*e*   swēras unlȳtle,
stapulas standan   storme bedrifene,
1495   eald enta geweorc;   hē wið ānne þǣra,
mihtig ond mōdr*ō*f,   mæðel gehēde,
wīs, wundrum glēaw,   word stunde āhōf:
'Gehēr ðū, marmanstān,   meotudes rǣdum,
fore þæs onsȳne   ealle gesceafte
1500   forhte geweorðað,   þonne hīe fæder gesēoð
heofonas ond eorðan   herigea mǣste
on middangeard   mancynn sēcan.
Læt nū of þīnum staþole   strēamas weallan,

---

all the hardship that he courageously suffered
in that fierce fighting. And yet the narration
of a few lyrics more in little snatches on this theme
must still be made.

                     It is an epic of ancient times,
1490   the great number of torments he endured,
what harsh assaults in that heathen town.
By the wall he saw columns of no mean size
wondrously firm beneath the first-floor storey,
pillars standing scoured by weather,
1495   old works of giants; he with one of them
held conference, mighty and brave of heart,
wise and wonder-sharp briefly made his speech:
'Hear, stone of marble, the plan of the Measurer
before Whose face all things of creation
1500   will take fright when they see the Father
of Heaven and Earth with the greatest of hosts
come to seek mankind in the middle world.
Let now from your pedestal streams well up,

ēa inflēde,   nū ðē ælmihtig
1505   hāteð, heofona cyning,   þæt ðū hrædlīce
on þis frǣte folc   forð onsende
wæter wīdrynig   tō wera cwealme,
*g*eofon gēotende.   Hwæt, ðū golde eart,
sincgife, sylla;   on ðē sylf cyning
1510   wrāt, wuldres god,   wordum cȳðde
recene gerȳno,   ond ryhte ǣ
getācnode   on tȳn wordum,
meotud mihtum swīð.   Mōyse sealde,
swā hit sōðfæste   syðþan hēoldon,
1515   mōdige magoþegnas,   magas sīne,
godfyrhte guman,   Iōs*ua* ond Tōbias.
Nū ðū miht gecnāwan   þæt þe cyning engla
gefrætwode   furður mycle
giofum gēardagum   þonne eall gimma cynn
1520   þurh his hālige hǣs,   þū scealt hræðe cȳðan
gif ðū his ondgitan   ǣnige hæbbe!'

Næs þā wordlatu   wihte þon mare,

_____

a river in flood, now that the Almighty
1505   King of Heaven commands you to send
promptly forth into this apostate people
wide waters in spate to men's destruction,
an outpouring ocean. Hear me, you are better
than gold or gifts of treasure! On you the King
1510   Himself, Glorious God, in His words revealed
His mysteries in one instant and just laws
in ten commandments did inscribe,
Measurer Wise in Might! To Moses He gave them,
just as later, with truth unwavering, they were kept
1515   by brave young thanes, kinsmen of Moses,
the God-fearing men Joshua and Tobias.
Now that you can understand how Angels' King
adorned you in ancient days with gifts far beyond
any He gave to any family of precious stones
1520   by His sacred order, you shall quickly show
if you have any understanding of Him!'

Not a jot slower than his speech did the stone

þæt se stān tōgān.   Strēam ūt | āwēoll,
flēow ofer foldan;   fāmige walcan
1525 mid ǣrdæge   eorðan þehton,
myclade mereflōd.   Meoduscerwen wearð
æfter symbeldæge;   slǣpe tobrugdon
searuhæb<b>ende.   Sund grunde onfēng,
dēope gedrēfed;   duguð wearð āfyrhted
1530 þurh þæs flōdes fǣr.   Fǣge swulton,
geonge on geofene   gūðrǣs fornam
þurh sealtes swe<l>g;   þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,
biter bēorþegu.   Byrlas ne gǣldon,   **(30)**
ombehtþegnas;   þǣr wæs ǣlcum genōg
1535 fram dæges orde   drync sōna gearu.
Wēox wæteres þrym.   Weras cwanedon,
ealde æscberend;   wæs him ūt myne,
flēon fealone strēam,   woldon fēore beorgan,
tō dūnscræfum   drohtað sēcan,
1540 eorðan ondwist.   Him þæt engel forstōd,
sē ðā burh oferbrægd   blācan lige,
hatan heaðowælme;   hrēoh wæs þǣr inne

---

obey, but yawned wide. A stream welled out,
flooded the landscape. Foamy breakers
1525 covered the earth in the early part of day,
a sea-flood swelled. It was a serving of mead
after the feast-day, men who kept weapons
were torn from sleep. Sea enfolded ground,
stirred from the depths. The company took fright
1530 at this flood's assault. Doomed, they died,
young men in ocean snatched by war-charge
of salt swallow. That was a brewing of sorrow,
a bitter beer-tasting! Cup-bearers did not dally,   **(30)**
official servers. There was drink enough
1535 at once ready for all from the start of day.
The water's might increased. Men lamented,
old spear-bearers. Their longing went outwards,
to flee the fallow stream, to save their lives,
wishing to seek refuge in mountain caves,
1540 a lodging in earth. An angel prevented them,
overwhelming the town with gleaming fire,
with white-hot war-surge. Savage in town

bēatende brim.   Ne mihte beorna hlōð
of þām fæstenne   flēame spowan;
1545   wǣgas wēoxon,   wadu hlynsodon,
flugon fȳrgnāstas,   flōd ȳðum wēoll.
Ðǣr wæs ȳðfynde   innan burgum
geōmorgidd wrecen,   gehðo mǣnan
forhtferð manig,   fūslēoð galen.
1550   Egeslīc ǣled   ēagsȳne wearð,
heardlīc heretēam,   hlēoðor gryrelīc;
þurh lyftgelāc   leges blǣstas
weallas ymbwurpon,   wæter mycladon.

Þǣr wæs wōp wera   wīde gehȳred,
1555   earmlīc ylda gedræg;   þā þǣr ān ongann,
fēasceaft hæleð   folc gadorigean,
hēan hygegeōmor,   heofende spræc:
'Nū gē magon sylfe   sōð gecnāwan,
þæt wē mid unrihte   ellþēodigne
1560   on carcerne   clommum belegdon,
| wītebendum.   Ūs sēo wyrd scyðeð   50v
_____

was the pounding sea, nor could warriors'
prize-gang take flight from the fort with success;
1545   waves grew higher, the deep sea roared,
fire-sparks flew, flood welled with billows.
Easy was it to find there inside the town
a performance of the blues, bewailing their grief
many fear-stricken men, eager litanies chanted.
1550   Terrifying fire became clear to the eye,
cruel devastation, voices raised in horror.
With airborne commotion did blasts of flame
envelop the walls, the waters grew higher.

Weeping of men there was widely heard,
1555   piteous the mob of men. One of them then,
a destitute man, began to gather the people,
shamed, downcast, spoke in lamentation:
'Now you can see the truth for yourselves,
that it was unjust of us to imprison
1560   the foreigner in a jail with shackles,
torturing bonds. This fate harms us,

heard ond hetegrim;   þæt is \<hēr\> swā cūð!
Is hit mycle sēlre,   þæs þe ic sōð talige,
þæt wē hine ālȳsan   of lēoðobendum
1565   ealle ānmōde   (ofost is sēlost),
ond ūs þone hālgan   helpe biddan,
gēoce ond frōfre;   ūs bið gearu sōna
sybb æfter sorge,   gif wē sēcaþ tō him.'

Þā þǣr Andrēa   ōrgete wearð
1570   on fyrhðlocan   folces gebǣro,
þǣr wæs mōdigra   \<mægen\> forbēged,
wīgendra þrym.   Wæter fæðmedon,
flēow firgendstrēam,   flōd wæs on luste,
oþþæt brēost oferstāg   brim weallende,
1575   eorlum oð exle.   Þā se æðeling hēt
strēamfare stillan,   stormas restan
ymbe stānhleoðu.   Stōp ūt hræðe
cēne collenferð,   carcern āgeaf,
glēawmōd gode lēof;   him \<wearð\> gearu sōna
1580   þurh strēamræce   strǣt gerȳmed.

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harsh and fierce. So obvious is this
that in my true opinion it is much better
if we free him from his manacles,
1565   being all of one mind (haste is best)
while we pray to the saint to give us help,
aid and solace. For us will peace after sorrow
be ready at once if we look towards him.'

Wherever to Andrew it was now quite clear
1570   in spirit-locker which way the people inclined,
there had a proud men's \<vigour\> been humbled,
a majesty of warriors. Waters wrapped around,
a mountainous stream flowed, flood was in spate
until welling seawater climbed above chest-height
1575   to men's shoulders. The prince then commanded
the torrent to be still, storms to abate
around stone gates. He moved out quickly,
brave audacious man, gave up the jail
the wise man dear to God. For him a ready street
1580   through the driving current \<was\> at once cleared.

Smeolt wæs se sigewang,   symble wæs drȳge
folde fram flōde,   swā his fōt gestōp;
wurdon burgware   blīðe on mōde,
ferhðgefēonde,   þā wæs forð cumen
1585   gēoc æfter gyrne. *Geofon* swaðrode   **(31)**
þurh hāliges hǣs,   hlyst ȳst forgeaf,
brimrād gebād.   Þā se beorg tōhlād,
eorðscræf egeslīc,   ond þǣr in forlēt
flōd fæðmian,   fealewe wǣgas;
1590   gēotende gegrind   grund eall forswealg.
Nalas hē þǣr ȳðe   āne bisencte,
ach þæs weorodes ēac   ðā wyrrestan,
faa folcsceaðan   fēowertȳne,
gewiton mid þȳ wǣge   in forwyrd sceacan
1595   under eorþan grund.   Þā wearð ācolmōd,
forhtferð manig   folces on lāste;
wēndan hīe <wīfa>   ond wera cwealmes,
þearlra | geþinga   ðrāge hnāgran,   51r
syððan māne faa,   morðorscyldige,
1600   gūðgelācan   under grund hruron.

Pleasant the plain of victory, ever dry was
ground of flood wherever his foot advanced.
The hearts of townsfolk became cheerful,
spirits were gladdened. Aid after injury
1585   had come forth. Ocean subsided, tempest   **(31)**
was lost to hearing at the saint's command,
sea-road abode. The barrow then split open,
frightful earth-cave, and let the flood,
the fallow-brown waves, sweep into it,
1590   ground swallowed all the inundating swirl.
Not just the waves did he sink in that place,
but also the worst of that company,
wicked despoilers of people, fourteen
moving in haste with the wave to perdition
1595   down to earth's core. Panicked were then
many fear-stricken men of folk remaining,
expected the killing of <women> and men,
an outcome severe, a time all the meaner
when, stained with crime, murderous
1600   allies in war dropped into the abyss.

Hīe ðā anmōde   ealle cwædon:
'Nū is gesȳne   ðæt þe sōð meotud,
cyning eallwihta,   cræftum wealdeð,
sē ðisne ār hider   <ǣr> onsende
1605   þēodum tō helpe;   is nū þearf mycel
þæt wē gumcystum   georne hȳran!'

[XV]   Þā se hālga ongann   hæleð blissigean,
wīgendra þrēat   wordum rētan:
'Ne bēoð gē tō forhte,   þēh þe fell curen,
1610   synnigra cynn   swylt þrōwode,
wītu be gewyrhtum;   ēow is wuldres lēoht
torht ontȳned,   gif gē teala hycgað.'

Sende þā his bēne   fore bearn godes,   **(32)**
bæd hāligne   helpe gefremman
1615   gumena geogoðe,   þe on geofene ǣr

_____

Of one mind then they all cried out:
'Now it can be seen that the True Measurer,
the King of All Creatures, rules in power,
Who <earlier> sent this man here as herald
1605   in aid of nations; the need is now great
that we eagerly obey the man of virtue!'

XV   Then the saint began to bless these men,
to cheer the crowd of warriors with words:
'Do not be frightened, though the sinners' kind
1610   chose their destruction. Death they have suffered,
penalties matching deeds. For you a light of glory
will brightly be revealed if your purpose is right.'

Sent then his boon before God's Bairn,   **(32)**
bade the Holy One extend some help
1615   to the youth division who in ocean earlier

þurh flōdes fæðm   feorh gesealdon,
        ðæt þā gāstas   gōde ōrfeorme
        in wīta forwyrd,   wuldre bescyrede,
        in fēonda geweald,   gefered <ne> wurdan.
1620   Þā ðæt ǣrende   ealwealdan gode
        æfter hlēoðorcwidum   hāliges gastes
        wæs on þanc sprecen   ðēoda rǣswan,
        hēt þā onsunde   ealle ārīsan
        geonge of grēote,   þā ǣr geofon cwealde.
1625   Þā þǣr ofostlīce   upp āstōdon
        manige on meðle,   mīne gefrēge,
        eaforan unweaxne,   ðā wæs eall eador
        leoðolīc ond gāstlīc,   þēah hīe lungre ǣr
        þurh flōdes fǣr   feorh ālēton.
1630   Onfēngon fulwihte   ond freoðuwǣre,
        wuldres wedde   wītum āspēdde, |
        mundbyrd meotudes.   Þā se mōdiga hēt,   51v
        cyninges cræftiga,   ciricean getimbran,
        gerwan godes tempel,   þǣr sīo geogoð ārās
1635   þurh fæder fulwiht   ond se flōd onsprang.

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        through flood's embrace had sold their lives,
        that those souls without supply of advantage,
        cut off from glory, into punitive damnation,
        the power of fiends, should <not> be carried.
1620   When that message to Omnipotent God,
        through eloquent words of the holy guest
        was acceptably spoken to the Chief of Nations,
        he bid all those young men in good health
        arise from earth whom ocean had just killed.
1625   When without delay in that place stood up
        many in the assembly, from what I have heard,
        offspring ungrown, each was all then united
        in limb and spirit, though earlier entirely
        through flood's attack they lost their lives.
1630   They received baptism and protective covenant,
        by their pledge of glory being sped from torment,
        the Measurer's safe-keeping. Then the courageous
        craftsman of the King bid a church be timbered,
        God's temple built where the youngsters arose
1635   by Father's baptism and the flood sprang forth.

Þā gesamnodon   secga þrēate
weras geond þā wīnburg   wīde ond sīde,
eorlas ānmōde,   ond hira idesa mid;
cwǣdon holdlīce   hȳran woldon,
1640 onfōn fromlīce   fullwihtes bæð
dryhtne tō willan,   ond dīofolgild,
ealde ealhstedas,   ānforlǣtan.
Þā wæs mid þȳ folce   fulwiht hæfen,
æðele mid eorlum,   ond ǣ godes
1645 riht ārǣred,   rǣd on lande
mid þām ceasterwarum,   cirice gehālgod
þǣr se ār godes   ānne gesette
wīsfæstne wer,   wordes glēawne,
in þǣre beorhtan byrig   bisceop þām lēodum,
1650 ond gehālgode   fore þām heremægene
þurh apostolhād,   Plātan nemned,
þēodum on þearfe;   ond þrīste bebēad
þæt h<i>e his lāre   lǣston georne,
feorhrǣd fremedon.   Sægde his fūsne hige,
1655 þæt hē þā goldburg   ofgifan wolde,

Mustered then in a mass of people
men through the wine-town far and wide,
gents with one purpose and their ladies too,
said that they loyally wanted to listen,
1640 piously receive the bath of baptism
by the Lord's will, and leave off idolatry,
ancient sanctuary places, once and for all.
Raised up with the people was baptism then,
nobly among gentlemen, and God's testament
1645 exalted as law, as ordinance in the land
for those citizens, the church hallowed
in which God's herald ordained one man
with well-founded wisdom, clear in his words,
as bishop to the people in that bright town,
1650 and hallowed him before the war-troop
with apostle's authority, Plato was his name,
for the nation's needs; and quickly commanded
them keenly to carry out the teaching of this man,
frame life's reward. Said his mind was fired up,
1655 that he would give up the gold-town,

secga seledrēam   ond sincgestrēon,
beorht bēagselu,   ond him brimþīsan
æt sǣs faroðe   sēcan wolde.

1660   Þæt wæs þām weorode   weor<c> tō geþoligenne,
       þæt hīe se lēodfruma   leng ne wolde
       wihte gewunian;   þā him wuldres god   **(33)**
       on þām sīðfæte   sylfum ætȳwde,
       ond þæt word gecwæð,   weoruda dryhten:
       '[   ]
       folc of firenum?   *I*s him fūs hyge,
1665   gāð gēomriende,   geohðo mǣnað
       weras wīf samod;   hira *w*ōp becōm,
       murnende mōd,   fore [<mē>
                              ] snēowan.
       Ne scealt ðū þæt ēowde   ānforlǣtan
1670   on swā nīowan gefēan,   ah him naman | mīnne   52r
       on ferðlocan   fæste getimbre!
       Wuna in þǣre wīnbyrig,   wīgendra hlēo,
       salu sinchroden,   seofon nihta fyrst;

_____

       hall-joys of men and treasure hoards,
       bright ring-palaces, and for him a brim-burster
       on the seashore was what he would seek.

       For that host it was a heavy blow to endure
1660   that the people's captain no longer wanted
       to stay there at all; so the God of Glory   **(33)**
       Himself on that expedition appeared to him,
       Lord of Hosts, and uttered these words:
       '[   ]
       the people from wickedness? Their minds are keen,
1665   they go about grieving, lament in sorrow,
       men and women united; the weeping of them,
       their hearts in mourning, before <Me> has come
       [   ] hastening.
       You are not to abandon that flock of lambs
1670   in such a new state of joy, you but build
       My name firmly in the confine of their hearts!
       Inhabit this wine-town, shield of warriors,
       its treasure-decked halls, for a time of seven nights;

syððan ðū mid mildse   mīnre ferest.’

1675   Þā eft gewāt   ōðre sīðe
        mōdig, mægene rōf,   Marmedonia
        ceastre sēcan;   Crīstenra wēox
        word ond wīsdōm,   syððan wuldres þegn,
        æþelcyninges ār,   ēagum sāwon.
1680   Lǣrde þā þā lēode   on gelēafan weg,
        trymede torhtlīce,   tīrēadigra
        wenede tō wuldre   weorod unmǣte,
        tō þām hālgan hām   heofona rīces,
        þǣr fæder ond sunu   ond frōfre gāst
1685   in þrinnesse   þrymme wealdeð
        in woruld worulda   wuldorgestealda.
        Swylce se hālga   herigeas þrēade,
        dēofulgild tōdrāf   ond gedwolan fylde;
        þæt wæs Sātāne   sār tō geþolienne,
1690   mycel mōdes sorg,   þæt hē ðā menigeo geseah
        hweorfan higeblīðe   fram helltrafum
        þurh Andrēas   ēste lāre

_____

after that you will sail with favour from Me.’

1675   Back he then moved for a second time,
        proud, brave in body, to visit the city
        of Mermedonia; in the Christians flourished
        words and wisdom when they saw the thane of glory,
        herald of Nobility’s King, with their own eyes.
1680   He taught then the people the way of faith,
        confirmed them in splendour, of the illustrious
        guided to glory a host without measure,
        to the sacred home of the celestial kingdom
        where Father and Son and Spirit of Solace
1685   in the majesty of the Trinity wield power
        over glory-dwellings in an age of ages.
        Just so the saint subdued the temples,
        scattered the idols and overthrew the error;
        that for Satan was grievous to endure,
1690   great sorrow in heart to see that multitude
        with cheerful resolve renouncing hell-buildings
        through the kind teaching of Andrew,

to fǣgeran gefēan,   þǣr nǣfre fēondes ne bið,
gastes gramhydiges,   gang on lande.

1695   Þā wǣron gefylde   æfter frēan dōme
dagas on rīme   swā him dryhten bebēad
þæt hē þā wederburg   wunian sceolde,
ongan hine þā fȳsan   ond tō flote gyrwan,
blissum hrēmig;   wolde on brimþīsan

1700   Āchāie <eard>   ōðre sīðe
sylfa gesēcan,   þǣr hē sāwulgedāl,
beaducwealm gebād.   Þæt þām banan ne wearð
hleahtre behworfen,   ah in helle ceafl
sīð āsette,   ond sȳð<ðan> nō,

1705   fāh frēonda lēas,   frōfre benohte.

Ðā ic lǣdan gefrægn   lēoda weorode
lēofne lārēow   tō lides stefnan,
mæcgas | mōdgēomre.   Þǣr manegum wæs   52v
hat æt heortan   hyge weallende.

1710   Hīe ðā gebrōhton   æt brimes næsse
on wǣgþele   wigan unslāwne;

---

accepting that fair joy where never foe
nor fierce stranger makes passage on land.

1695   When were filled by Ruler's judgement
days in the number the Lord had commanded
him to stay in that fair-weather town,
he did rouse himself and make ready to sail,
buoyed with relief, in a brim-burster wanted

1700   <the land> of Achaea for a second time
to seek out in person, where his soul's parting
awaited, death in the war. That for the slayer
was not treated with laughter, but into hell's jaws
his course he set, and since then has never,

1705   outcast unfriended, enjoyed comfort at all.

So now hosts of people, from what I heard,
led their dear teacher to the vessel's prow,
heroes dejected in mind. For many there
the thoughts were welling up hot in heart.

1710   They then at sea's headland brought
aboard his wave-file no sluggish fellow;

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stōdon him ðā on ōfre   æfter rēotan,
þendon hīe on ȳðum   æðelinga wunn
ofer seolhpaðu   gesēon mihton,
1715   ond þā weorðedon   wuldres āgend,
cleopodon on corðre,   ond cwædon þus:
'Ān is ēce god   eallra gesceafta!
Is his miht ond his æht   ofer middangeard
brēme gebledsod,   ond his blæd ofer eall
1720   in heofonþrymme   hālgum scīneð,
wlitige on wuldre   tō wīdan aldre,
ēce mid englum;   þæt is æðele cyning!'

---

stood then on shore weeping in his memory
for as long on the wave as the joy of princes
over the seal-paths they still could see,
1715   and then fell to worshipping the Owner of Glory,
called out in their crowd, and thus spoke:
'There is One God Eternal of All Creation!
His might and His power over middle world
are blessed in renown and His brilliance over all
1720   in heavenly majesty shines upon the saints,
dazzling in glory to endure for all time,
with angels for ever; that is a Noble King!'

List of Emendations

To show the reader the instability of the text of *Andreas*, we have placed Brooks' emendations to the poem's many garbled MS forms, ahead of a column with G. P. Krapp's own emendations, upon which Brooks also relied. The reader may thus compare Brooks' and Krapp's readings with our text in order to assess the value of any changes which have been made.

BROOKS	MS	KRAPP
4. camprædenne	camrædenne	camprædenne
6. hlyt	lyt	hlyt
31. hettend	hetted	hettend
31. heafodgimmas	heafodgimme	heafodgimmas
32. agetton	ageton	agetton
33. geblendan	geblondan	geblendan
36. on	*nothing in MS*	on
43. þegn	þegn	þegnas
50. sigel	segl	segl
64. seowað	seoðað	seowað
89. sigel	segl	segl
99. mode ne murn	mode ne ne murn	mode ne murn
109. synnige	synne	synnige
118. Gewat	ge	Gewat
120. eðelrice	eðelrices	eðelrice
136. hwænne	hwæne	hwænne
142. eaueðum	eaueðum	eafeðum
145. hwæs	wæs	þæs
164. oft	of	oft
171. cinebaldum	cirebaldum	cirebaldum
185. ofer	*nothing in MS*	fore
195. halig	*nothing in MS*	halig
196. sealte sæstreamas	sealte sæstearmas	sealte sæstreamas
219. wyrðeð	wyrdeð	wyrðeð
245. mette	*nothing in MS*	gemette
255. fægn	frægn	fægn
267. sunde	snude	snude
268. þissa	þiss	þissa
288. gif ðu us	gif ðus	gif ðu us
306. wið þingode	wið þingode/wiðþingode	wiðþingode
309. bedæled	bedæleð	bedæled
323. his	is	his
342. duguðum	dugudum	duguðum
367. feasceafte	feasceaftne	feasceafte
394. duguð	dugud	duguð
396. holme	holme	helman
403. þæt	ðæt	ðæt
413. forgrunden	fore grunden	forgrunden
416. cyning	cyning	cining
424. sund	sand	sund
442. brun	brim	brim
469. þa	ða	ða
475. eorl	þeseorl	eorl
479. þinne	þine	þinne
483. este	est	este
489. gifene	gifeðe	gifeðe
489. þa	*nothing in MS*	þa
494. hæleð	hæleð	hæleða
499. yðlade	yðlafe	yðlade
501. land	lan	landsceare

507. þeh	þe	þe
535. bewunden	bewunde	bewunden
546. mæge	mæg	mæg
570. ænigne	ænigne	nænigne
575. gife	gif	gif
592. reonigmode	reomigmode	reonigmode
630. þeh	þe	þe
630. gehwæs	gehwære	gehwære
633. ne	nu	ne
637. gehwam	gehwa/æm	gehwam
660. bliðheorte	bli..heorte (ið *Maier*)	bliðheorte
667. atimbred	...imbred	getimbred
669. usicworde	huscworde	huscworde
710. he	hie	he
718. þe	*nothing in MS*	þe
733. sel	*nothing in MS*	not in Krapp
746. cigað	tigað	cigað
754. Iacobe	Iocobe	Iocobe
770. wæs	*nothing in MS*	wearð
774. on	*nothing in MS*	on
799. hwæt	hwær	hwær
800. hie	þa	þa
826. slæpwerige	sæwerige	sæwerige
826. sæ	slæp	slæp
826. ofereoden	ofereode	ofereode
829. Gewiton	*nothing in MS*	not in Krapp
829. ða ða aras	ða þa aras	ða þa aras
843. wisa	wis	wisa
846. þa	þam	þa
852. gyrstandæge	gyrstrandæge	gyrstrandæge
855. werðeode	weorðode	werðeode
864. on flyhte faran	*nothing in MS*	faran on flyhte
890. gefeana	*nothing in MS*	gefeana
910. wearð	werð	wearð
942. heafodmagan	heafodmagum	heafodmagan
943. searonettum	searomettum	searonettum
952. dæled	dælan	dæled
960. þe	ðe	ðe
986. hine	him	him
996. heorodreorige	heorodeorig	heorodreorige
998. god	god	þrym
999. dryhten demde	dryhten dom	godes dryhtendom
1000. handhrine	han hrine	handhrine
1007. þeodne	ðeodne	ðeodne
1030. grette	grete	grette
1035. tu hundteontig	tu ond hundteontig	tu ond hundteontig
1037. nænigne	nænige	nænigne
1039. ond	on	ond
1074. geleah	gelah	gelah
1082. ne gemetten	gemette	gemetton
1089. belidenan	behlidenan	belidenan
1090. not in Brooks	*nothing in MS*	deade
1092. hilde	hild	hildbedd
1094. burgwara	burgwaru	burgwaru
1106. ore	ora	ora
1110. geongne	geone	geongne
1116. reow	hreow	reow
1139. þrist ond	*nothing in MS*	þrist ond
1144. hæðenan	hæðenum	hæðenum
1147. sceððan	sceðan	sceððan

1154. freod	freond	freod
1180. gewyrhtum	gwyrhtum	gewyrhtum
1180. wæpnes	*nothing in MS*	wæpnes
1181. eadorgeard	eadorgeard	ealdorgeard
1186. wast	wæst	wæst
1191. on	*nothing in MS*	on
1193. satan	sata	satan
1194. æ	a	a
1225. secg	sec	sec
1230. teon ðragmælum	ðragmælum teon	ðragmælum teon
1233. stærcedferþþe	stærcedferþþe	stærcedferþne
1241. haton	hat of	hatan
1242. untweonde	untweodne	untweonde
1246. sigeltorht	sigeltorht	sigetorht
1253. þa	a	þa
1282. wast	wæst	wæst
1291. gescyldend	gescylded	gescyldend
1317. hwær	hwæt	hwæt
1331. attre	attre	ættre
1337. rode	rade	rode
1345. him þa	h (im þa *not in MS*)	him þa
1377. niedum	medum	niedum
1404. leoðu	leoð	leoðu
1430. hleoðrode	hloðrode	hloðrode
1443. lices	lic	lices
1456. sigel	sægl	sægl
1457. wadu	waðu	waðu
1468. sar	sas	sar
1472. alysed	alysde	alysed
1474. lice	lic	lice
1478. hwæt	h(w)æt	hwæt
1491. hilda	hildra	hilda
1492. fæste	fæstne	fæste
1493. sælwage	sælwange	sælwage
1496. modrof	modrofe	modrof
1508. geofon	heofon	geofon
1516. Iosua	Iosau	Iosua
1528. searuhæbbende	searuhæbende	searuhæbbende
1532. sealtes swelg	scealtes sweg	sealtne weg
1545. wadu	wudu	wadu
1549. galen	galen	golon
1562. her	*nothing in MS*	her
1571. mægen	*nothing in MS*	mægen
1579. wearð	*nothing in MS*	wæs
1585. geofon	heofon	geofon
1597. wifa	*nothing in MS*	wifa
1604. ær	*nothing in MS*	not in Krapp
1619. ne	*nothing in MS*	ne
1622. ræswan	ræswum	ræswan
1642. ealhstedas	eolhstedas	eolhstedas
1647. se	sio	se
1653. hie	he	hie
1658. faroðe	foroðe	faroðe
1659. weorc	weor	weorc
1664. is	his	is
1666. wop	sop	wop
1667. me	*nothing in MS*	not in Krapp
1704. syððan	*nothing in MS – or error?*	Syððan
1721. aldre	ealdre	ealdre

Commentary

1-3 The opening resembles that of *The Fates of the Apostles*, as well as *Beowulf* 1-3 (*Hwæt, wē Gār-Dena in geārdagum ... þrym gefrūnon* etc 'Listen, we have heard of the glory ... of the Spear-Danes in days of yore'); also that of *Exodus* 1-7 (*Hwæt, wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habbað ofer middangeard Mōyses dōmas* etc 'Listen, we both far and near have heard of Moses' judgements in the Middle World'); less closely, Cynewulf's *Juliana* 1-8 (*Hwæt, wē ðæt hȳrdon hæleð eahtian, dēman dǣdhwæte* etc, 'Listen, we heard heroes deliberate, deed-keen men judge'). This 'we have heard' style is rarer than the apparently personal *hwæt*-opening of shorter poems such as *Vainglory* 1-2 (*Hwæt, mē frōd wita on fyrndagum sægde, snottor ār, sundorwundra fela!* 'Listen, a wise man learned in ancient days, a clever herald, told me many exceptional miracles!'). With its socially inclusive opening, *Andreas* starts off self-consciously as an epic.

4 *cam<p>rǣdenne* 'in combat engagement'. Attested only here. The reading with *p* is consistent with the scribe's omission of letters in more common words in the Vercelli Book (see Introduction, pp. $$-$$). The dative compound *wīgrǣdenne*, also on the a-line, describes Waldere's unequal fight with an ambush party in the Vosges, in *Waldere* I 22. Simplex *camp* (variant *comp*) denotes a literal 'battlefield' in *Brunanburh* 8 and *Judith* 200; a figurative one in *Andreas* 234. The meaning of *cam<p>rǣdenne* is also figurative, although the opening context already shows the poet's tendency to make his metaphors real. Until line 6, in which the soldiers' commander is given as *heofona hēahcyning* 'High-King of Heaven', there is a vividly heroic typology which treats the twelve Apostles as the dispersed but still fighting remnants of a platoon.

6 *<h>lyt getǣhte* 'showed by lot'. The apostles' lot-casting accords with all prose analogues of *Andreas* of which the beginning is preserved. Although lots are redolent also of Germanic and other paganism, as Brooks shows (1961: 61), the verb which contains the divine agent of revelation, both here and with *hlyt getēode* 'did fashion the lot' on line 14, distinguishes this lot-casting from the Mermedonians' predatory *taan* 'lot-twig' on line 1099.

11 *on meotudwange* 'on the plain of doom'. This unique compound appears to represent the primary meaning of OE *me(o)tud*, 'fate, destiny, doom', with the secondary understanding that the *Meotud* 'Measurer' who has dispersed the Apostles also decides the time and place of each man's passing. Compare *dēaðwang* 'plain of death' on line 1003.

15 *ūt on þæt īgland* 'out to that land by water'. See n. **28**.

19 *mearcland* 'border country'. 'District' is the prosaic meaning of this compound in a tenth-century charter (Sawyer 1968: 840, § 4, line 4), and it seems likely that this word helps to render Latin *provincia* 'province', by which Mermedonia is introduced to us in the Casanatensis (ch. 1). However, the earlier denotation of *mearc* is 'forest', hence 'uncultivated land'. This meaning prevails in Old Icelandic, in which, according to the thirteenth-century witness of the Vínland sagas, *Markland* was the name given to a New-World coast because of its woods (probably Labrador in *c*.

1000: Einar Ólafur and Matthías, 1935: 222 (*Eiríks saga rauða*, ch. 3), 232 (ch. 12) and 250 (*Grænlendinga saga*, ch. 2). The word *mearcland* reappears closer to this sense on line 802, as a term for the empty country around Mamre. In the northern landscape, however, water is never far way: in *Riddle* 3 (solution possibly 'wind') 22, the word *mearcland* 'borderland', connotes country which borders the sea; and in *Guthlac* (A) 174, *mearclond* encapsulates the fenland wilderness near Crowland which is occupied by St Guthlac. The poet of *Guthlac* A describes this as *bimiþen* 'hidden' and *dȳgel* 'secret' on lines 147 and 159. In all, then, *mearclond* connotes not only a *provincia* of the devolved Roman Empire, but also a liminal territory filled with formerly human monsters. Andrew himself calls Mermedonia *ælmyrcna ēðelrīce* 'homeland of strange border-dwellers' on line 432.

21 *hæleða ēðel* 'homeland of heroes'. This term is unduly positive for the Mermedonia as the poet has described it, but it may represent the country in an earlier incarnation, or may anticipate the disturbing way in which Mermedonia begins to resemble the Danish kingdom of *Beowulf* (see Introduction, p. $$).

21-22 Both *Andreas* and the Old English homily in Blickling XVIII (and CCCC, MS 198) indicate that the Mermedonians eat flesh and drink blood, rather than bread and water, whereas the *Praxeis* contrasts bread and wine. In this the *Praxeis*, which represents the oldest version, is probably truer to the antique reality of drinking diluted wine daily as an insurance against dysentery. The later sources are acclimatized to a society in which wine is rare. A secondary meaning, however, is that the Mermedonian pagans practice an anti-eucharist which is reversed when they convert to Christianity and eat the body of Christ instead (Wilcox 2003: 210, 215-16). Boenig suggests that *Andreas* here reflects a controversy in the mid-ninth century between the monks Ratramnan and Paschasius Radbertus over whether to endorse respectively either a figural or a literal interpretation of Christ's eucharistic flesh and blood (1980: 320; 1991b: 56-62).

23 *ah* 'so'. For *ac*: the *h*-spelling indicates an Anglian origin for the poem, as with *ach* on line 1592 (Fulk 1992, § 353 (10)). Brooks (1961: 81), treating *ah* as an untranslatable particle, compares this interrogative use of the conjunction *ac* (DOE, sv. *ac*, H.1) with Hygelac's question to Beowulf in *Beowulf* 1990-91: *Ac ðū Hrōðgāre / wīdcūðne wēan wihte gebēttest* 'Did you you cure Hrothgar's widely famed woe in any way?'. Fulk also treats the latter adverb as an approximation of the Latin interrogative particle *num* 'surely' (1992, § 355), which works here if we render *ǣnigne* on line 570 as 'some' rather than 'any'.

25 *Swelc wæs þēaw hira* 'Such was their custom'. This phrase, a consecutive or noun clause (Mitchell 1985: § 2855) for which the analogues give no likeness, seems likely to be the poet's first overt allusion to *Beowulf*, to the identical half-line within *swylc wæs þēaw hyra, / hǣþenra hyht* 'such was their custom, hope of heathen men' in its lines 178-79. The Mermedonians resemble the Danes in that both tribes worship the devil. Brooks' statement about *Beowulf* that 'the Danes are said to forsake Christianity', when they turn to heathen rites, shows the success of the *Beowulf*-poet's apology for heathens in later years (1961: 62).

28 *þæt ēaland* 'land by the water'. Mermedonia is also made a destination in *ūt on þæt īgland* on line 15. All analogues of *Andreas* put the city on or near a shore

without stating the land to be an island. In support of this is Andrew's apparent belief, in *wegas ofer wīdland* 'ways over open country' (line 198), that there is a land-route to Mermedonia. Other examples of OE *ēaland* mean 'land by water'. In one, *Beowulf* describes King Beowulf's hall, once the dragon has destroyed it, as *ēalond*, in apposition to *lēoda fæsten* 'people's fastness' and *eorðweard* 'earth-fort' on lines 2333-34. This instance (if the hall is not built on an island, or if the full half-line is not emended to *eal ond ūtan* 'totally and from all around') seems to mean 'land by the river' or 'land by the sea'. John 6:28 in the tenth-century Rushworth gospels is glossed *ōðre sōðlīce ofer cōmon sciopu of ðǣm ēalonde nēh ðǣre stōwe* 'other ships indeed came over to the vicinity of that place from the country around the river [Tiber]' over *aliæ uero superuenerunt naues á tiberiade iuxta locum* (Skeat 1877: 23). The study of English place-names supports 'land by / over the water' for OE *ēaland*, which has been interpreted as 'newly cultivated land by a river' (OE *ēa* 'river'). Mermedonia fits this description. The towns Elland, by the river Calder in Yorkshire's West Riding, and Ealand, by the river Trent in North Lincolnshire, are both inland, albeit Ealand was founded on the previously fen-enclosed Isle of Axholme. There is a similar naming in Brookland and Ponteland (Gelling 1984: 21 and 248-49).

The word *īgland* means 'island' although *īgland* is also a standard misspelling for *ēaland*. The word *ēglond* varies *īeg* 'isle' in *Wulf* 4 and is *fenne biworpen* 'enclosed by fen' on line 5. In place-names, OE *ēgland* means an 'island' proper: Nayland in Dorset and Nyland in Suffolk, which both acquired the *n-* from the ME phrase *atten eilande* 'at the island', 'are islands in the modern sense' (*ibid.* 1984: 40); and OE *ēg* or *ī(e)g* 'most frequently refers to dry ground surrounded by marsh when it occurs in ancient settlement-names' and 'islands in the modern sense' in later names (*ibid.* 1984: 34-35). As for MS *igland* 'island' in *Andreas* 15, there is an early confusion between spellings in these two words in the manuscripts of the WS version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, where *insula* 'island', the term for Albion or Britain, is rendered *ēalond* as well as *īglond* (Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 14-15 (I.1); Miller 1890: 24.29). In *Whale* 12, where a whale looks like an *ēalond* 'island' to seafarers, the converse error may be seen. In these ways, it seems likely that *igland* has been erroneously written for *ealand* on line 15 of *Andreas*. Brooks pragmatically suggests 'land beyond the water' for both *īgland* and *ēaland* in *Andreas* 15 and 28 (1961: 62). The riverine contexts of OE *ēa*, however, make 'by the water' preferable. Mermedonia does not appear to be on an island in *Andreas*.

30 *unlǣdra eafoð* 'violence of the wretched', literally 'of the misguided'. In the plural, also in *unlǣdra eaueðum* 'the violence of unhappy men' on line 142. On *unlǣd*, see also n. **744**. The noun *eafoð* correlates with *se lēodhete* 'that violence' of the Mermedonian assembly on line 1138. Despite its moral negativity in *Andreas*, *eafoð* is a regular term for the physicality of warlike prowess in *Beowulf*, in which it occurs eight times (lines, 602, 902 (emended from MS *earfoð*), 960, 1466, 1717, 1763, 2349 and 2534). If Clemoes is right that OE *eafoð* fell into disuse (1995: 69-72, esp. 71), its relative rarity in *Andreas* is a sign that the poem may be later and more modern in attitude.

32 *āgēt<t>on* 'would dispatch'. Spears also figure in the Mermedonians' hope of dispatching Andrew later, with *gārum āgētan* 'to gut with spears' on line 1143. In battle, dead Vikings are *gārum āgēted* 'gutted with spears' in *Brunanburh* 18; *sumne sceal gār āgētan* 'a spear shall gut one man' in *Fortunes* 16; and the verb *āgētan* also

means 'to mine' a precious metal from the earth in *Riddle* 83 7. As a simplex, OE *gētan* 'to sacrifice' describes part of the death which King Ongentheow promises the Geats besieged in Raven's Wood, in *Beowulf* 2940. This verb *gētan* 'to make pour' is the causative of *gēotan* 'to pour'; the preterite *gēat* 'poured out' is used of martyrs' blood in the emperor's execution of Christians in *Juliana* 6. As *gār* 'spear' is alliteratively associated with *āgētan*, a ritual element may be implied in the way the Mermedonian heathens attack their victims.

41 *ceastre* 'city'. The poet uses both *byrig* and *ceastre* to identify Mermedonia. *Ceastre* is used to gloss Roman pl. *castra* 'encampment', but *byrig* suggests that the intended meaning is not 'encampment', but 'fortress', which is the sense implied by place-names ending in *caster* and *chester* (< Latin *castrum* 'fortress'). The extent to which the early English would have recognized the difference between different types of ruinous Roman settlements and their original function is questionable. However, they may have retained the 'fortress' meaning through place-names. *Andreas* contains one of the highest concentrations of *ceastre* in the poetic corpus, and in *Elene*, later in the Vercelli Book, *ceastre* describes both Jerusalem (lines 274, 384, 845) and all the other cities under Constantine's power (line 972). Mermedonia is later described as a walled town, with gates, towers, and a multitude of city buildings (lines 829-42), giving the impression that it would have been associated by an English audience with Roman settlements in Britain. Settlement within these intramural places was on a very limited scale between the end of Roman occupation and the tenth century. See further discussion in the Introduction (pp. $$-$$).

42 *hlōð* 'gang'. OE f. *hlōð*, meaning both 'booty, prize' and 'gang in search of a prize', is also found on lines 992, 1389 and 1543, in all cases describing Mermedonians. OE *hlōð*, which is not found in *Beowulf*, is a highly negative term. In Anglo-Saxon law it connotes a grave breach of public order. In Ine's Laws (13, 1), originally from the period 688-95, *hlōð* denotes a group of robbers more than seven and no more than 35; six or fewer robbers are *ðēofas* 'thieves' while 36 or more constitute a *here* 'raiding band' (Liebermann I, 1906: 94). In Alfred's Laws (31, 1), from his code of *c*. 892, a *hlōð* is a band of feuding men who are all liable either to swear one oath denying involvement in a man's death or to pay a common fine to the king ('Schaar, die eine Privatfehde verübt'; *ibid.*: 64). According to an appendix to the code agreed between Alfred and Guthrum (2,3), in the *Quadripartitus*, which remained in use until the Norman Conquest, *qui de hloþ fuerit accusatus, abnegat per cxx hidas vel sic emendet* 'whoever might be accused of *hlōð* will offer a surety of 120 hides and clear himself thus' (*ibid.*: 394). In poetry, this word varies *weorud* 'host' for the 'band' of God's elect in the Harrowing of Hell in *Christ* III 1162, although, since Christ gains forced entry into hell in order to free them, 'booty' may be the meaning in line with the primary sense. In its commoner meaning, plural *hlōðe* describes the 'gangs' of fiends which torment the saint hoping to steal his soul, in the fens in *Guthlac (B)* 896 and 915; later St Guthlac says that he does not fear *herehlōðe helle þegna* 'the plundering gangs of hell's thanes' in line 1069. In Cynewulf's *Juliana* there is a maritime aspect: on line 676, *secga hlōþe* 'gangs of men' refers to warriors of the pagan judge Eliseus who die at sea. In prose, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) tells us that a *hlōþ wīcenga* for 'a gang of Vikings' gathered tribute in 879 (Bately 1986: 51); similarly, in the WS *Orosius* (III.vii), which some would associate with the reign of Alfred (871-99), King Philip of Macedon musters *hlōðe* in order to sack Greek towns (Bately 1980: 64). The lack of this word in *Beowulf*, a long

poem with many war-bands, is worth noting, although whether this is due to its negativity, or to the likelihood that *Beowulf* predates the Viking raids, is unclear. If *Andreas* itself was composed in the period of these references in the *Chronicle* and the WS *Orosius*, its use of OE *hlōð* characterises the Mermedonians as Vikings in search of captives.

43 *dryas* 'wizards'. OE *dry*, which appears to represent an early loan from OI *drui* 'druid, sorcerer' (Holder 1896: 1322 (sv. *drŭida*); see also Ó Dónaill and de Bhaldraithe, 1977, sv. *draoi* 'druid, wizard, trickster'), glosses *magus* 'magician' in MS Cotton Julius A.ii (s. xi; WW, 313.4); and through (gen.. pl.) *magorum*, the same in the glosses to the early eleventh century Brussels manuscript of Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis* (Goossens 1974: 403.3907). In *Juliana*, Satan confesses that he made Simon Magus accuse the disciples of witchcraft: *hospe gerahte / þurh dēope gedwolan, sægde hȳ dryas wǣron* 'with blasphemy he addressed them in deep heresy, said they were wizards' (lines 300-01). The metre of this instance is evidence that the stem-vowel of *dryas* is short (Hogg and Fulk 2011: § 6.153).

43-44 *þegn<as> / geāscodon* 'thane<s> found out'. Scribal error, as in MS *wis* for *wīs<a>* on line 843 and *leoð* for *leoð<u>* on line 1404. It seems unnecessary to correct this, as Schaar does (1949: 56), by emending the verb to *geāscode*.

57 *carcerne* 'prison'. This building is the hub of town activity in *Andreas*; it is also the only place in Mermedonia which is described in any detail. The readiest datable vernacular instance of this Latin word is extant in Alfred's Laws (1, 2) from *c*. 890: *on carcerne on cyninges tūne* 'in prison in the king's vill' (Liebermann, I, 1906: 48). It is also used of Judas's prison in *Elene* 715, Juliana's in *Juliana* 233, 236, and Hell in *Christ* 735 and *Christ and Satan* 488. See OE *burgloca* in n. **940**.

51 *ābrēoton mid billes ecge; hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt* 'with sword's blade destroyed; yet still in his breast'. Apparently the poet's first hypermetric line (Brooks 1961: xlii), with the use of *ābrēoton* to supplement the A-type *billes ecge* and with the additional syllables created by *hwæðre hē* in the b-line. If we match the metre with the meaning, the hypermetric extension emphasizes a contrast between destruction and resistance which is consistent with a celebration of Matthew's spirit.

63-87 Matthew's speech, the first in the poem, is at first a *cri de cœur*, as in the analogues, but then becomes calmer. This change in mood is made clear through the formality of the syntax of lines 68 onwards, in which ten epithets for the Deity in almost as many lines break the flow of two relatively complex subordinating sentences.

71 *wǣrlogan* 'breakers of faith'. This word, a term for treaty-breakers or apostates, describes not only the Mermedonians both here and on line 108, but also the devils in Jerusalem on line 613 and apparently Satan himself on line 1297 (in Middle English *warlowe* means 'monster'). In *Genesis* 36, the devils gain this name by apostatizing from heaven; both the people before the Flood and the men of Sodom are similarly *wǣrlogan* in *Genesis* 1266 and 2411 respectively. In *Andreas* it seems that the Mermedonian heathens have become monsters by associating with devils who have helped them break faith with their earlier laws. On 'apostate' as the meaning of OE *frǣte*, see n. **571a**.

78 *burh* 'town'. OE *burg* has a very wide range of possible meanings, all including a sense of 'defensible place'. It is applicable to a variety of fortifications, enclosures, fortresses, homesteads, towns, cities (DOE, sv.). The Mermedonian *burh* should be understood specifically as a walled settlement of Roman construction, with towers and gates, of the kind described in *The Ruin*. This is how the city is described later in the poem (lines 829-42; see *ceastre* in n. **41**). See further Introduction (pp. $$-$$).

81 *Ic tō ānum þē* 'I on You alone'. The juxtaposition of pronouns in one half-line with postponed verb conveys the intimacy of a relationship. The Lord replies in the same way, with *'Ic þē, Māthēus'* '"I to you, Matthew"' on line 97. There is a similar effect in *'Ic ðē, frymða god'* '"I to Thee, God of Creation"' in the opening of Judith's prayer in *Judith* 83; and in Beowulf's words *'Ic þē nū ðā'* '"I now to you then"' to Hrothgar in *Beowulf* 426.

86 *wrōhtsmiðum* 'artesans of crime'. This word is attested elsewhere only in *Guthlac* (B) 905, for the devils who *wōp āhōfun* 'raised up a wail' in order to torment St Guthlac in Crowland.

88 *Æfter þyssum wordum cōm ‖ wuldres tācen* 'after these words came a sign of glory'. The caesura is here placed after *cōm* in keeping with Brooks' prosody on this line, in contrast to that of Krapp, whose caesura precedes it (1932: 5). In any case, as Orton notes (1999: 294, n. 21), Krapp later places the caesura after *cōm* with the same formula on line **1219** (n.). This punctuation cannot repair the opening formula's breach of Kuhn's Law of Clause Openings, but it leaves the prosody of the b-line in a regular state. See Introduction, p. $$.

90 *þǣr gecȳðed wearð* 'where it was revealed'. Krapp takes this half-line to begin a new sentence (1932: 5); Brooks, a new clause after a punctus versus (1961: 3). However, Donoghue shows that the above supine-auxiliary word-order in line 90b gives us a clause which depends on the earlier clause with *cōm wuldres tācn*: 'The holy symbol, after all, is the means by which God signals his help' (1987: 66). The same word-order determines Donoghue's punctuation, which we follow, of lines **183** (n.) and **369b-70a** (n.).

91 *helpe gefremede* 'had extended help'. Brooks translates the verb as a preterite subjunctive, 'would provide', suggesting that the poet, like the author of the Casanatensis, forgets to tell us that Matthew's sight is restored (1961: 66). That becomes clear when a bright light is *gecȳðed* 'revealed' to Matthew on line 90. The Casanatensis (towards the end of ch. 3) no more than implies that Matthew's eyes are back in their sockets when the saint shuts them in front of his jailers, *ne quis ex ipsis agnosceret eum apertos oculos habere* 'lest any of them would know that he had his eyes open' (Blatt, 1930: 37). The poet of *Andreas* neglects to include Matthew's manoeuvre in the corresponding place (lines 143-46). However, he tells us that the Lord offers Matthew *hǣlo* 'health' later, in lines 96-97, and he may have signalled the cure already with the noun *help*. On line 426, Andrew, without knowing his interlocutor is God, says that God may easily *helpe gefremman* 'provide help' for ship's passengers who are seasick. This phrase appears in similar choppy waters in *The Wanderer* 16, anticipating the construction *þā bōte cunnan gefremman* 'know how to advance the cure' in line 113-14 of that poem. In Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*

(*c*. 734), it is said that a terminally ill Mercian thane, owning up to his sins but despairing of them, told his king Cenred (ruled 704-16) not to urge him to repent: *Non mihi aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre* 'You cannot confer any benefit or health on me beyond this time' (V.13; Colgrave and Mynors, 1991: 500-01); in the Mercain-WS version, this is *ne meaht ðū mē nū ofer ðisne dæg ænige helpe ne gēoce gefremman* 'you cannot extend any help or aid to me now after this day' (V. 14; Miller 1890: 438.16-17). Although OE *gēoc* can mean 'physical safety' (DOE, sv. 1), the use of just OE *help* on line 91 of *Andreas* may imply that Matthew's sight is restored.

95 *under hearmlocan* 'in locker of harm'. Andrew later prays to the Lord for help on arrival *in þām hearmlocan* 'in the locker of harm' on line 1029. As the preposition *under* makes clear, this prison is a chamber partly underground. In Cynewulf's *Elene* 695, the Jewish elder Judas finds himself languishing *under hearmlocan* until seeing the error of his ways on the seventh day. Judas' cell is described as *drygne seað* 'a dry pit' in which the forces of good confine him until he helps Empress Helena find the True Cross in Jerusalem.

98 *Ne bēo ðū on sefan tō forht* 'be not in heart too fearful'. Mitchell argues that *tō* does not indicate excess here, but means 'at all' (1985: §§ 1142-43), but the Lord still wants His people to have *some* fear.

99 *ic þē mid wunige* 'I will remain with you'. As in the Casanatensis (ch. 3), where He says *Ego enim tecum sum* 'for I am with you' (Blatt 1930: 35), the poet alludes to the Lord's words in Matt 28: 20 (see Boenig 1991a: 28-39). In the matching place in the *Praxeis* this allusion is not present, probably because earlier version of this story gave the jailed saint as Matthias, not Matthew (see Introduction, p. $$).

107 *Geþola þēoda þrēa* 'Suffer this people's oppression'. The people here, as Brooks points out, are probably Matthew's fellow captives, not the Mermedonian jailers (1961: 66). On the imperious effect of the (Type B) metre of this line, see n. **1441**.

113 *tælmet hwīle* 'measure of time'. This word has a near relative in the unique *tælmearc* 'measured time', by which the poet of *Guthlac* (B) 877 places some saints' lives in recent memory. In Stiles' view, the poet's creation of the unique compound *tælmet* 'alerts the audience to the practical matter of how many days Matthew must endure his imprisonment' (2002: 39).

124 *lēorde* 'departed'. Also on line 1042. In WS dialect one would expect the preterite *gewāt*. The verb *lēoran*, regarded as specific to Anglian dialects (Fulk 1992: § 367; Campbell, §§ 293, 764), is commoner in prose than in verse, occurring also in *Guthlac* (A) 726 (*oferlēordun* 'passed over'), the *Menologium* 208 (*gelēorde* 'passed on', as the fourth stressed and so non-alliterating word in the line), and *The Seasons for Fasting* 101 (*lēordun* 'spent'), *Resignation* 31 (*lēorendum dagum* 'in passing days') and 45 (*mec lēoran lǣt* 'let me pass on'). The last instance is two lines on from *unfyr<n> faca* 'without delay', which appears to be a Mercian phrase (see n. **1371**). Sisam points out the rarity, implying that this verb might better have been found in *Beowulf* too (1953: 128-29), but its use nonetheless helps to locate the poet of *Andreas* in Mercia (Mertens-Fonck 1969: 196-98 L9; Fulk 1992, § 367).

125 *dægredwōma* 'tumult of dawn'. Not attested elsewhere, although *dægwōma* is found in *Exodus* 344, *Guthlac* (B) 1218; and *dægrǣd* 'dawn' in Ælfric's *Colloquy* (Garmonsway 1978: 20.23). The *wōma*-suffix, cognate with OIce *Ómi* ('howling', a name for Óðinn), is also in *hildewōma* 'tumult in battle' in *Andreas* 218. With his finer dawn-compound, the poet makes the air quicken as the Mermedonians pile into the jail.

131 *wīc* 'abode'. Also on line 1310. OE *wīc*, an early loan from Latin *vīcus*, had a very wide range of meanings in Anglo-Saxon England, where it was applied to a number of sites including villages, hamlets, farms, dairy farms, salt manufacturing sites (e.g. Droitwich), as well as to larger towns and ports such as *Lundenwīc* (west of the City) and *Hamwīc* (Southampton). In less specific terms, it is also often used in Old English poetry to indicate a dwelling place, as it does here as well as in *Genesis*, where it appears more than twenty times to describe heaven (line 27), earth (line 928), the city of Enoch (line 1051), and Abraham's homestead (line 1721). This is broadly the case throughout the poetic corpus, with a few exceptions.

134 *on rūne* 'in runes'. OE *rūn* 'secret, secret conclave, secret letter, rune' has a range of meaning broader than might first appear. The tablet which the *Praxeis* puts in each victim's hand (see n. **157**) is transformed into a sign of occult practises, although the victims have to understand the symbols which mark their remaining number of days. The poet could have used the Latin (or Greek) *bōcstafas* 'book-letters' here to fit the Roman numeral system. The message on Constantine's visionary cross is *bōcstafum āwriten* 'written down in book-letters' appropriately enough for a Roman emperor in *Elene* 91. With runes, however, the poet of *Andreas* chooses to make his Mermedonians into Germanic heathens such as the Danes, whose king can probably read the *rūnstafas* on the hilt of Grendel's Mother's sword in *Beowulf* 1695.

139 *rǣsboran rihtes ne gīmdon* 'counsellors heeded not law'. The Lord is called *rǣsbora* 'Counsellor' also in *Andreas* 385, as Abraham is in *Genesis* (A) 1811. The poet of *Andreas* is keen to point up a dereliction of duty in Mermedonian judges. The Casanatensis, but not the *Praxeis*, puts judges among them here, in *judicibus suis preparabant carnes eorum ad manducandum, et sanguis eorum ut potum at bibendum* 'with their judges they prepared the meat for their eating, and the blood of these people as a draught for their drinking' (Blatt 1935: 37). Boenig's phrase 'to their judgement' (1991a: 29) for *judicibus suis* removes the officials, bringing the Casanatensis into line with the *Praxeis*. However, the use of *iudices* 'judges' in this part of the Casanatensis adapts οἱ δήμιοι 'the judges' from later on in its Greek source (ch. 23; Bonnet 1959: 99).

142 *unlǣdra eaueðum* 'the violence of unhappy men'. See n. **30**.

149 *wælwulfas* 'wolves of slaughter'. The analogues give no such term for Mermedonians here, although the Casanatensis calls them *carnifices* 'butchers' (ch. 3), which the poet may render with *wælgrǣdige* 'the carnivorous' on line 135. Later in the *Praxeis*, however, when Matthew rebukes Andrew for wondering how he allowed himself to be captured, he asks him if he did not hear the Lord say Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων 'Behold, I send you forth as flocks of sheep in the midst of wolves' (ch. 19; from Matt 10: 16, Luke 10: 3). In the Casanatensis, this is more succinctly *ecce vos sicut oves in medio luporum* (ch. 19;

Blatt 1930: 69). The only other recorded instance of OE *wælwulf* is in *Maldon* 96: *wōdon þā wælwulfas, for wætere ne murnon* 'wolves of slaughter then waded, did not care about the water'. See Introduction, p. $$.

150 *bānhringas* 'bone-rings'. Also in *Beowulf* 1567, as well as with *brecan* 'to break', for the vertebrae of Grendel's Mother. Its use here in the description of the sharing out of flesh serves as a grim parody of the distribution of rings and other treasures at a feast.

154 *feorh ne bemurndan* 'they cared not for his life' etc. That is, the Mermedonians deny their victims, by eating them, that bodily resurrection of the dead which precedes their possibility of entering heaven.

157 *þing gehēdon* 'they set a date'. On the idiom, see n. **930**. Though he cites runic symbols for the marking of time (n. **134**), the poet removes mention of the tablets which the victims hold in their hands; as does the Anglo-Saxon homilist, who leaves out symbols altogether. The full process may be seen in the main analogues. In the *Praxeis*: Ἐπειδὴ τάυτα ἄνθρωπον, ὃν κατεῖχον, ἐσημειοῦντο τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ᾗ κατεῖχον αὐτόν, καὶ προσέδευσαν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιῷ τάβλαν, ἵνα γνῶσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν 'for every man they caught, they would indicate the very day on which they had caught him, and would bind a tablet to his right hand so that they would know the completion of thirty days' (ch. 3; Bonnet 1959: 68). In the Casanatensis, there is more detail: *et tenentes unusquisque tabula in manu sua, quas iniquissimi et crudeles carnifices in eorum manibus dederant cum eos retrudebant, erat namque per singula tabula scriptum numerum dierum triginta, et cotidie introiebant carnifices illi ad eos in eadem carcere, et tabulas illas scripturas contemplabantur* 'and each one was holding on to a tablet in his right hand, tablets which the most wicked and cruel butchers had given into their hands when they arrested them, for also there was written on each tablet the number of thirty days, and each day those butchers would come in for them in the same prison and would study the tablets' (ch. 3; Blatt 1930: 37).

166-67 This is the first of the poet's comparisons in work and hardships between Jesus and the apostles, formerly his disciples.

171 *cinebaldum* 'to the man bold by kin'. MS *cirebaldum* 'to the man bold in his choice' is an alternative, but compounds with *cyre* 'choice' are limited to two, both terms of law: *cyreāþ* (variant *scyreaþ*) 'selected oath sworn by the accused' (Dunsæteland 6, 2 (? *c*. 935); Liebermann, ed., I, 1906: 378; II.1: 1913: 45); and *cyrelīf* 'dependence on a chosen lord' (Old English version of Chrodegang of Metz, *Canonical Rule*) or 'man dependent on a chosen lord' (King Alfred's *Will*). As many as 35 compounds with *cyne-* survive, additional to the unique **cynebeald*, which is accepted by Brooks (1961:69). The stem's variant spelling is paralleled in *cining* for *cyning* on line 912. As regards a plausible meaning of 'bold by kin', it is made clear in two of the gospels that Peter, the rock on whom the Roman church was founded, is Andrew's brother (Matt 4:181-9 and Mark 1: 16-17). Peter and Andrew are Jesus' first two disciples and among his most active apostles.

172 *mōdhord onlēac* 'unlocked His mind-hoard'. See n. **316**.

174 *frið lǣdan* 'lead a mission'. Brooks rules out m. or n. *frið* 'peace, safety' here (1961: 69), taking *frið* to be *ferhð* 'mind, life' by metathesis, and chiefly on the basis of the use of *feorh lǣdan* on lines 282 and 430. He also argues that since 'peace' is nowhere else in this speech, *frið* with that meaning cannot be used here. 'Mission', however, is conceptually related and does not seem out of line with the Lord's purpose as He reveals this in lines 973-76; and especially with His promise *Ic þē friðe healde* 'I will keep you safe' initially on line 915.

175 *sylfǣtan* 'cannibals', literally 'self-eaters'. Attested only here, this term is more loaded than the Greek ἀνθρωποφάγοι 'eaters of men'.

183a *ðǣr ic seomian wāt* 'where I know to be languishing'. For the syntax, see n. **90b**. Krapp (1932: 8) and Brooks (1961: 6) both begin a new sentence here, thus taking *Ðǣr* as 'There', but Donoghue shows that the order of infinitive followed by quasi-auxiliary determines the dependence of this clause on the one before (1987: 66).

183b *sigebrōðor* 'brother in victory'. Attested only here, but comparable with other unique compounds: *sigebeorn* 'victory-warrior' of Hnæf's defiant men in *Finnsburh* 39; *sigecempa* 'victory champion', of young David in *PPs* 50 10. On one level *sigebrōðor* in *Andreas* is a statement of heroic endeavour ('spiritual victory in the dungeon though his faith', in Stiles 2002: 49) or of future fact (Mermedonia will be turned). Yet this compound also contrasts with Matthew's prison bonds in such a way as to draw ironic attention to him and Andrew as under-achievers. With similar potential mockery, Beowulf mocks the Grendel-ridden Danes as defeated by calling them *Sige-Scyldingas* 'victory-Scyldings' in his answer to Unferth's attack in *Beowulf* 597; and may do so again when he calls them this in the opening to his report to king Hygelac in line 2004.

188 *ellorfūsne, būtan ðū ǣr cyme* 'eager for elsewhere, but that you get there first'. Though it is potentially Matthew's soul which is eager to leave, the poet's juxtaposition of *ellorfūs* with Andrew's desired arrival draws ironic attention to his reluctance to travel.

200 *herestrǣtas* 'raiding highways', i.e. 'sea-routes'. Also on line 831. The truth of Andrew's claim not to know the sea-routes is complicated by his words to the captain, on lines 489-92, that he has already made sixteen journeys on the sea (n. **490-92**), but perhaps that was just the Sea of Galilee. This contradiction is probably inherited from the source, in that it is also in the Casanatensis and *Praxeis* (chs. 4), but in *Andreas* the poet adds to the issue of the saint's not knowing the route with the word *herestrǣtas*, which primarily means '(army) highways' (see also n. **831** for the line in which this meaning is invoked). OE *herestrǣt* is not found in *Beowulf*, but if the reference is literary, 'raiding routes' might allude to the assaults of Heathobards or other seaborne tribes. If the poet's reference to seaborne armies is topical, Andrew seems to imagine the sea as filled with warships en route to battles or undefended coasts.

216 *Ðū scealt þā fōre gefēran ond þīn feorh beran* 'You are to undertake this voyage, bearing your life'. This is the poem's second hypermetric line, as noted by Brooks (1961:xlii) and there is also near end-rhyme. These elements mark the line out from

the others, drawing attention to a change of mood or direction in the Lord's voice, from sorrow or exasperation to a decisive command.

222 *on cald wæter* 'in cold water'. This emphatically repeats Andrew's parting *ofer cald wæter* on line 202.

223 *brecan ofer bæðweg* 'plough through the bath-way'. Also found in *Elene*, of the empress' journey to Jerusalem, on line 244. Where 'ploughing' is concerned, a creature, apparently of a bull-calf, *dūna briceð* 'breaks the downs' in *Riddle* 38 6. Olsen supports this meaning on different grounds (1998: 388-89).

228-29 The manner in which this fitt ends, with its pointed reference to mortality as a precursor to heavenly reward, suggests a wide gap in understanding between the Lord and His apostle.

238 *gārsecg hlynede* 'spear-man roared'. Compare *gārsecg hlymmeð* 'the spear-man roars' on line 392. OE *gārsecg* glosses *oceanus* 'ocean' (a Greek-derived word which is based on the mythological figure Oceanus) in MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 154.39; 304.17; and 462.15). On OE *gārsecg* (also on lines 371 and 530, but *not* used for the flood at the end of this poem) as a common solely poetic term for 'sea'. The folk-etymology which would recommend a straightforward 'spear-man' sense, for this doubtless ancient compound has a fifth-century account of sacrifices in early Saxon piracy to underpin it (North 1997: 217-21).

243-44 *heofoncandel blāc / ofer lagoflōdas* 'heaven's candle flashing over ocean floods'. The ship with Lord and angels lies offshore. As Clemoes says, 'we are being prepared for the imminent revelation, to us but not to Andrew, about the crew' (1995: 254).

250 *on gescirplan* 'in costumes'. With *-an* for *-um* as a dative plural. This word is found only once elsewhere, in an *ubi sunt* sequence in Blickling Homily X (Rogation Wednesday) where it helps to express the luxury which a dead rich man no longer needs: *Hwǣr bēoþ þonne his īdlan gescyrplan? Hwǣr bēoþ ðonne þā glengeas ond þā mycclan gegyrelan þe hē þon līchoman ǣr mid frætwode?* 'Where will be his proud garments? Where will be the ornaments and expensive attire with which he previously decked his body?' (Kelly 2003: 78).

255 *fægn* 'glad'. MS *frægn* 'asked'. One may deduce that the scribe, seeing the imminent question in *Hwanon*, fails to note the intervening *reordade* in his haste to get on with the speech.

259 *wordhord onlēac* 'unlocked wordhoard'. See n. **316**.

262 *manna meðelhegendra* 'man among spokesmen'. Brooks suggests that this phrase is 'best omitted in translation' (1961: 71). Yet the participial term *meðelhegend*, which also sums up bishops, clerks and ealdormen on line 609 and seems to connote officials, gives the Lord the necessary aspect of disguise. See n. **607-09**.

263 *wið þingode* 'agreed terms'. Brooks (1961:71), who is the first to treat the words as separate, translates as 'spoke with' or 'addressed', but the meaning is contextually

larger. Root has 'was conversing' (1899: 9), Boenig, 'dealt with him' (1991a: 79). In all aspects the verb *þingian* covers the negotiation of terms, but with various shades of meaning. As plentiful as it is for 'to intercede' (on one's own or another's behalf), the meaning shifts with *wiþ* or *ongēan* towards 'to settle' or 'agree terms'. In *Juliana*, a devil first *wið þingade* 'stated terms' with the saint on line 260, passing on Satan's instruction to submit, then on line 429, when she has him pinned down, 'pleaded' with her with a confession of crimes in order to be released; and in *Elene* 76-77, the voice from heaven, telling Constantine to look upwards for the vision of the Cross that will help him win his battle, *him ... wið þingode* 'stated terms to him'. With *wið þingode* elsewhere in *Andreas*, the disguised Lord first 'did negotiate' with Andrew on line 306, just after the apostle refuses to pay any money; and then 'pleaded' with him on line 632, when Andrew delays answering a question on his memory of Jesus' works.

264 *Marmedonia*. The city and surrounding country are namd as *Mermedonia* at lines 42, 180, and as *Marmedonia* at lines 264, 844, 1676 (as in the Old English homily (Morris 1967: 229). An Anglo-Saxon audience may have associated the town's stone construction with the *marmanstān* 'marble pillar' 1498, which is the source of the flood.

269 *wære bewrecene, swā ūs wind fordrāf* 'pushed through the briny as wind drove us on'. OE n. *wær* 'briny', with its short vowel and cognate with OIce n. *ver* 'fishing ground', is also found in *wære bestemdan* (for *bestemdum*) 'brine-drenched' on line 487. There are no other instances. In the earlier case, *wær* may be used by the Lord in a way which emulates His disguise, if we allow for a pun on OE f. *wǣr* 'covenant', a word which appears on lines 213, 535, 824 and 988. That is, the Lord means also that His covenant with man has brought them there. The pun is not only untranslatable, but may also be read as a potentially mocking reference to Andrew's inability to guess who the ship's captain is.

275 *meorð* 'reward'. This word, which occurs as *meord* with the same meaning in *Guthlac* (B) 1041 and 1086, may be miscopied, given the not uncommon confusion between *d* and *ð* in the rest of the Vercelli Book: *aðropen* on line 1425, *bedæleð* on line 309, *waðu* on line 1457 and *wyrdeð* on line 219 (Introduction, p. $$). The Vercelli prose has likewise *oferswiðeð* in homily III, *getacnoð* in homily V and *hlystneð* in homily XIV (Scragg 1992: lx (1.D.14.ii)). However, since *meorð* is found once in the WS translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (IV.31), it seems best to leave its spelling unchanged. Hogg treats this as a variant (broken from **merd*) of the commoner *mēd* 'meed', in which the *r* between vowel and consonant is lost (< **merd*; 2011: § 3.20, 4.16; see also Campbell, §§ 123, n.2 and 146).

299 *ofstlīce* 'hastily'. In context, this common adverb is more than usually expressive: Andrew has politely made clear to the ship's captain in line 271-76 that he cannot pay him, has again asked for his *miltse* 'generosity' on line 289, and now reacts vehemently to the captain's albeit insolently expressed demand for payment in lines 295-98.

303 *landes ne locenra bēaga* 'no land, nor linked rings'. Mitchell records a problem with the mixed accusative-genitive object complement after *næbbe* (1985: § 3963), but defers to Schrabram, who provides parallels (1965b: 207-13). This phrase

resembles *landes ond locenra bēaga* 'of land and linked rings' in *Beowulf* 2995, so closely, also in respect of their place in a rare hypermetric line, that it is reasonable to classify them as a literary allusion. The larger context in *Beowulf* 2991-98, is the speech in which the Geatish Messenger's tells of the young King Hygelac's unparalleled generosity to his champions Wulf and Eofor. The larger context in *Andreas* 301-4, is loaded with heroic terms for treasure. This style, coming after Andrew's earlier protestation of being unable to pay, sounds as if Andrew quotes from *Beowulf* in order to show the pitfalls of gold. See Introduction, p. $$.

306 *wið þingode* 'did negotiate'. See n. **263**.

307 *wine lēofesta* 'my dearest friend'. The *Praxeis* has nothing of this kind, though in the Casanatensis the ship's captain calls Andrew *frater* 'brother' (ch. 6; Blatt 1930: 43), whereas Andrew calls the sailors *fratres* 'brothers' when he opens negotiations in the Codex Vaticanus (*ibid.*, 98). As regards the captain's English endearment, which avoids the fraternal, it is worth noting that Beowulf's expression *wine mīn* U*nferð* 'Unferth my friend' in *Beowulf* 530, similarly tries to steady a situation which is unsettled by a provocation. This idiom shows a temper in Andrew, one which has got the better of him.

308 *sǣbeorgas* 'sea-headlands'. After Hall (1989), Frank reads this compound as a Skaldic kenning for 'sea' such as *Haka klauf* 'king Haki's cliff' (2002: 4-5), although the sea-referents are of a different type.

316 *wordhord onlēac* 'his word-hoard unlocked'. This construction is copied with the Lord about to speak to Andrew on line 601, while *mōdhord onlēac* 'unlocked mindhoard' appears with the same roles on line 172. The closest parallel is where Beowulf *wordhord onlēac* 'unlocked wordhoard' to the Coastguard in *Beowulf* 259. Similarly, but with the revelation of choicer language implied, *wordlocan onspēon* 'unclasped word-locker' is how Andrew begins to praise the ship's captain in *Andreas* 470; and the Jewish high-priest *hordlocan onspēon* 'unclasped his hoard-locker' preparatory to abusing Jesus on line 671. Parallels for this more particular construction are not in *Beowulf* (although here Wiglaf 'unclasped' Beowulf's 'helmet' with *helm onspēon* on line 2723), but rather in two of Cynewulf's poems: in *Elene*, where Constantine *hreðerlocan onspēon* 'unclasped his mind-locker' to the visionary angel on line 86; and in *Juliana* 79, where the virgin's father *ferðlocan onspēon* 'unclasped his spirit-locker' as he prepares to vouch for her repentance to a rejected suitor.

320 *sārcwide* 'sarcasm'. Andrew's anger has already been noted (**299**, **307**), but now he tries to regain the moral highground by lecturing the captain on politeness. This is fuel for regret later, when he reproaches himself bitterly for his misunderstanding in lines 900-03 and 920-24.

339 The a-line is hypermetric. Brooks (1961:74), though he allows that it may be so classed, with three a-line stresses on *ēowerne*, *āgenne* and *dōm*, decides to treat this line as Type B, with the syncopation of the first two of these words to *ēow(e)rne* and *āg(e)ne*. He suggest that a scribe has corrected *eower* (gen. of *gē*) to MS *eowerne*. The hypermetric stresses, however, emphasize Andrew's point to the ship's captain about the Lord's money reaching each man according to his needs.

341 *hygeþancol* 'you keen-witted man'. Root gives 'with thoughtful mind' (1899: 12), Boenig 'with a thoughtful mind' (1991a: 81), but this translation flattens out the irony. In its other two recorded instances OE *hygeþancol* connotes alertness: with the three young wise men (Hananiah, Azarias and Mishael) *hearde and higeþancle* 'confident and keen-witted' who are fetched to Babylon from Israel by Nebuchadnezzar, in *Daniel* 94; and in *higeðoncelre*, with Judith's lady in waiting who is 'meticulous' enough to bring a bag for Holofernes' head in *Judith* 131. Andrew, however, has spent too long explaining his vocation for poverty to use this epithet in a complimentary way. This usage contrasts with Andrew's genuine compliment to the captain on his mental powers later in the voyage.

360 *æfre ic ne hȳrde* 'never did I hear' etc. The poet's statement about the treasures on board this ship has been accused of 'absurdity' for the apparent clumsiness of his use of similar lines on the funeral ship of Scyld Scefing in *Beowulf* 38-42 (Brooks 1961: xxiv and 74). In Cherniss' view the statement is stylistically justified because 'heroes necessarily possess treasure' (1972: 191). It is the word *hēahgestrēonum* 'high treasures' of *Andreas* 362, seems not to match the *þēodgestrēonum* 'royal treasures' of *Beowulf* 42, while there are no royal treasures aboard the ship in *Andreas*, but the poet's metaphor becomes clear when he identifies these with the ship's complement in the following sentence. The crew and apostles are treasures better than any golden wealth (Irving 1983: 222-23; Clemoes 1995: 255; Stiles 2002: 80-81).

369b-70a *þā gedrēfed wearð, / onhrēred, hwælmere* 'when disturbed it became, / when whale-deep was stirred', i.e. whenever the sea was rough. For the syntax, see n. **90b**. Krapp (1932: 13) and Brooks (1961:12) both begin a new sentence here, taking *Þā* to mean 'Then' and Brooks with the addition of a blank line between clauses. Donoghue, however, makes these clauses related, the second dependent on the first due to its auxiliary's position after the supine: 'Food gives them not only comfort but the strength needed for the journey ahead' (1987: 67). In this instance the weather does not worsen until line 372b.

370b *Hornfisc plegode* 'An orca played'. Beowulf brags of *hronfixas* 'whales' in his swimming race with Breca, in *Beowulf* 540. Brooks (1961:75) draws attention to a Corpus gloss *horn* for *ballena* ['whale'], as a metathesized form of OE *hron* 'whale' (Pheifer 1974: 10.146(7) *horn* C; see also MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III, in WW 261 27: *Ballena, vel pilina: hron*). However, the playful mobility of this creature here is at odds with its size. The transparent 'horn' sense of the prefix to this compound in *Andreas* speaks for a curved shape on breaching which is consistent with a smaller cetacean such as a dolphin or porpoise. Since OE *mereswīn* 'mer-swine' denotes a dolphin, as in Ælfric's Glossary of the 990s (*delfinus: mereswyn*; Lendinara 1992: 219-21, esp. 240), it appears that the poet is serious about a larger type of whale. The *fisc*-suffix suggests a speed greater than that of a balleen, so here 'orca' or killer-whale is suggested. With one word, possibly adapted from *Beowulf*, the poet makes his ocean menacing.

375-76 *wæteregsa stōd / þrēata þrȳðum* 'terror of the waters stood up with the might of battalions'. There are other such personifications of natural powers in lines 443-45 (the Sea of Galilee) and 1257-58 (frost in winter). *Andreas* is not unique in this

license, for in *Exodus* 490-97 the Red Sea is personified as a swordsman, the Lord's avenging angel, as it rears up against the Egyptians. In *Exodus* 491-92, *egesan stōdon, / wēollon wælbenna* 'terrors arose, the wounds of slaughter welled'. In *Genesis* (A) Noah's Flood is called *ēgorhere* 'ocean-expedition': both where it threatens Noah in line 1402 and where the Lord promises, as if He were a sea-king in lines 1536-38, *þæt ic on middangeard / næfre ēgorhere eft gelæde, / wæter ofer wīdland* 'that I will never again lead an ocean-expedition into the middle world, water over the wide lands'.

377 *ænig ne wēnde* 'not a man who did not expect' etc. This topos is also used of the young Geatish warriors in Heorot in *Beowulf* 691-93, where *nænig heora þōhte* 'not one of them thought' that he would return home from Grendel alive.

390 *firigendstrēam* 'mountainous seas'. Also for the Mermedonian flood on line 1573. The *faux*-participial final-*d* spelling might suggest 'ferrying seas'. For other compounds in *firgen-* 'mountain', see North (1997: 247-50). *Firgenstrēam* as 'mountain stream' occurs also in *Beowulf* 2128 and 1359 (*fyr* for *fir*), where it describes Grendel's partially landlocked mere; as the waters in which a bird is born in *Riddle* 10 2; as the streams which must flow from mountains in *Maxims* II, 47; and as the stream in which the Phoenix bathes in *Phoenix* 100. Unique to *fir(i)gend* in *Andreas* is the final-*d* spelling and the meaning, for in both instances here it is clear that the 'mountain' is not the source but the qualitative aspect of the 'stream'. The unique term *fīfelwǣg* 'giant-wave' is comparable in *Elene* 237. On the other hand, in a break with the tradition in the other examples, this poet or a redactor may classify or even deliberately blend *firgen* with *feri(g)ende*, the present participle of *feri(ge)an* 'to convey, transport'.

392 *gārsecg hlymmeð* 'the spear-man roars'. See n. **238**.

405-414 *Hwider hweorfað wē hlāfordlēase* 'Where will we turn without a lord' etc. A rare glimpse into the mind of Andrew's disciples. Unlike their counterparts in the analogues, they fear social as well as spiritual dishonour. At the end of ch. 7 in the Mediterranean analogues, Andrew's disciples give as their principal motive for staying the fear of losing what they have learned. In the *Praxeis*: Ἐὰν ἀποστῶμεν ἀπο σοῦ, ξένοι γενώμεθα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν παρέσχεν ἡμῖν κύριος. νῦν οὖν μετὰ σοῦ ἐσμεν ὅπου δἂν πορεύῃ 'if we separate from you, we may become strangers to the good things which the Lord gave us. So now we are with you wherever you go' (Bonnet, 1959: 74). In the *Praxeis* the ship's captain casts off only now. In the *Casanatensis*, where the ship is standing off: *si necesserimus a te ut exteri efficiamur de omnia, quod nos docuisti, nichil nobiscum permanent, sed ubique tu nobis eris sive (in) vitam sive (in) mortem, non te deserimus* 'if we are forced to leave you so that we become strangers to everything you have taught us, nothing will remain to us, but as for us, wherever you are in life or death, we shall not desert you' (Blatt 1930: 47). In Blickling Homily XVIII: *'Gif wē gewītaþ fram þē, þonne bēo wē fremde from eallum þǣm gōdum þe þū ūs gegearwodest; ac wē bēoþ mid þē swā hwyder swā þū fǣrest'* 'If we go from you, then we will be strangers to all the good things which you prepared for us. So we will be with you wherever you go' (Morris 1967: 233; also Kelly, 2003: 160). The poet of *Andreas* extends the sense of *exteri* (based on ξένοι and copied by the homilist in *fremde* 'strangers') in order to indulge in a rhapsody on exile. These words seem to underlie *lāðe* 'hated', the disciples' term for themselves on line 408, and the lines on alienation and on the public comparison of warlike

prowess take us more into the territory of *The Wanderer* 22-29. In Cherniss' view, the concepts of heroic loyalty in battle and exile 'seem incongruous here since Andrew's followers are not really warriors' (1972: 188). However, the war against the devil is the basis for a standing battlefield conceit for holy endeavour, and Andrew's men are no exception.

406 *gōde orfeorme* 'drained of benefit'. OE *orfeorme*, literally 'cut off from supply' or 'not to be maintained' refers to *cyninges feorm*, the institution of supply and provender for visiting or residing kings and retinues (as in Alfred's Law, 2: Liebermann, I, 1906: 48 'Königsbeköstigung'). The image of destitution in the *or*-prefix eventually gave this compound the meaning of 'squalor', as in *squalores: orfeormnisse*, in MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 48.7). The poet of *Andreas* later describes the Mermedonians who might go to hell unless Andrew save them, as potentially *gōde orfeorme* 'without supply of advantage' on line 1617. The men of dead Holofernes are so described when they see their perdition coming on in *Judith* 271. Less straightforwardly, the type of the damned sinner in *Vainglory* 49-50, is said to have a *grundfūsne gǣst gode orfeormne, / wuldorcyninge* 'abyss-bound spirit without sustenance from God, the King of glory'; although here, too, *gōde orfeormne* 'without supply of advantage from the King of glory' is a possible reading. Andrew's disciples here use a term in keeping with their self-image as bodyguards.

413 *on beaduwange* 'on the plain of battle'. Compare *on meotudwange* 'on the plain of doom' on line 11.

428 *wuldorspēdige weras* 'men rich in glory'. The *Praxeis* has no such term in this part of the story (ch. 8). In the *Casanatensis* (chs. 7-8), it is Andrew who is *beatus* 'blessed', not his men (Blatt 1930: 47); Blickling Homily XVIII likewise calls Andrew *se hālga* 'the saint' at this point, without epithet for his men (Morris 1967: 233; Kelly 2003: 158). By calling Andrew's disciples, not Andrew, glorious at this moment even while they suffer discomfort from the sea, the poet may be seen to admire them more than their master, perhaps for their innocence, perhaps because Andrew besmirched his record by hesitating to go on the mission.

432 *ælmyrcna* 'strange border-dwellers'. Only here. See n. **19**. The *æl*-prefix seems consistent with that of *ælfylce* 'foreign divisions', potential invaders of Geatland in *Beowulf* 2371. An adjective *ælmyrc* 'all-black' has been imagined for this compound ('all' as in *ælfēre* 'whole host', in *Exodus* 66), in that Matthew, in Cynewulf's *Fates* 63-69, is martyred by the *Sīgelware* 'sun-dwellers' who live in in Ethiopia; the Mermedonians might be seen to live there. However, Mermedonia is not where Matthew is martyred and is given as both a cold country and *mearclond* 'a borderland' on line 19. As Brooks points out, the name *Myrcna rīce* 'kingdom of Mercians' shows that *myrce* or *mierce* 'borderers' was not a strange name in itself (1961: 76-77).

442a *bordstæðu* 'ship's walls'. Brooks notes that *strēamstæð* 'sea-shore' and *strēamweall* 'sea-wall', of Noah's desired coast after the Flood, are fairly synonymous in *Genesis* (A) 1434 and 1494 (1961:77). As both he and Olsen (1998: 390-93) point out, OE n. *stæð* means 'shore': thus 'bord-shores' would denote the ship's sides. Olsen regards this kenning as part of the poet's diction, which in her view is close to Skaldic.

442b *br*ūn 'dark'. MS *brim* 'sea', which is there apparently in error, cannot work with nom. *ȳð* 'wave' in the following line. The words *brūne ȳða* 'dark waves' on line 519 allow for this emendation.

443-45 Compare this personification of *egesa* 'terror' with that in n. **375-76**. The effect is more prolonged in this case.

447 *beorht bāsnode* 'bright did abide'. Jesus waits until the right moment to show his miraculous powers. The story is from the gospels (Mk 4: 35-40; Mt 8: 23-27; Lk 8: 22-25). OE *bāsnian* 'to await', 'to wait expectantly', is similarly used of Andrew as he waits for more torture in his cell in line 1065, where it shows the success of his later transformation in the poet's eyes.

460 *gif his ellen dēah* 'if his courage avails'. Beowulf, in *Beowulf* 572-73, speaking to Unferth and the Danes for his prowess on the ocean, says *Wyrd oft nereð / unfǣgne eorl þonne his ellen dēah* 'Fate will often save an undoomed gentleman when his courage avails'. In Andrew's case the message about courage is the same, but the reference to divine power differs. Andrew can see a personal relationship with God which Beowulf cannot.

461 *hālig cempa* 'the holy champion'. This epithet seems to initiate a moral recovery in Andrew, ahead of his transformation into a saint. OE *cempa* is found elsewhere in on lines 230, 538, 991, 1055 and 1446, but is combined with *hālig* only here.

470 *wordlocan onspēonn* 'unclasped wordlocker'. See n. **316**.

471-509 Andrew's 39-line speech here is significantly longer than in the analogues, which make his request for teaching direct. In *Andreas*, in politer contrast, Andrew makes his speech winding and indirect. His words consist of reinforced alliteration in groups of four (473-76), three (479-81), one (490), and then four (495-98), four (502-05) and two (508-09) lines. The longer bursts correlate not only with seafaring imagery, but also with his enthusiasm for the captain's steering.

475 *eorl unforcūð* 'gentleman unblemished'. Later Andrew bears this epithet when he holds out against torture in nightly solitude on line 1263. Byrhtnoth declares to the Vikings that he stands as an *unforcūð eorl* 'honourable gentleman' in *Maldon* 51 The speaker of *Riddle* 63.2, who is *heard and strong* 'hard and strong', is also *frēan unforcūð* 'unblemished to the lord'. Contextually in this way the adjective implies a record of untarnished courage, not of untested honour. The negative base, OE *forcūð* 'depraved, vile', is far more common, although it is found only in prose, where, for example, its superlative describes the men of Sodom in the Old English prose *Genesis* 13:13: *Þā Sōdomītiscan men wǣron <þā> forcūðostan 7 swȳðe synfulle ætforan gode* 'the men of Sodom were <the> most depraved and very sinful before God' (Crawford 1969: 118). Andrew's use of this term in litotes, following on from his assessment of the captain as experienced, reveals a dangerous assumption that a sailor's honour can be compromised.

476-77 *þēah ic þē bēaga lȳt, / sincweorðunga, syllan mihte* 'though few are the rings,

precious honours I might give you'. Here OE *frēondscipe* 'friendship' connotes a financial arrangement. No analogue contains this polite nod to the expectation that strangers are paid for their services.

490-92 *syxtȳne sīðum ... (is ðys āne mā)* 'sixteen journeys ... (this is one more)'. Andrew and Peter have been fishermen on the shores of Galilee (Matt 4: 18, Mark 1: 16). The *Praxeis* has ἑξκαιδέκατον γὰρ ἔπλευσα τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο ἑπτακαιδέκατον 'sixteen times I sailed the sea and look, this is the seventeenth' (ch. 9; Bonnet, 1959: 75); the Casanatensis, only *multas vices* 'many times' (ch. 9; Blatt, 1930: 51). Stevens (1981: 18-19) notes that *syxtȳne sīðum* at line 490a (Bliss' Type 31A) is a verse of a type not found in *Beowulf*, and so metrically exceptional. The rarity of the type might be taken to show the poet's difficulty in introducing the number from his source into a medium in which longer non-decimal numbers were relatively uncommon.

491 *mere hrērendum mundum frēorig* 'frozen in hands as they stirred the deep'. As in *The Wanderer* 4, where the speaker has had to *hrēran mid hondum hrīmcealde sǣ* 'stir with arms the frost-cold sea', Andrew's hands had once been moving an oar or rudder which itself stirs the water.

493 *swā ic ǣfre ne geseah ǣnigne mann* 'and yet I have never seen any man'. This syntax, in which *ne* is detached from *ǣfre* for the sake of the latter's alliteration, is unique to *Andreas*. Stevens notes that both this line and its variant on line 499 consequently have one syllable too many between the two stressed elements, *ǣfre* and *-seah*, and would emend *geseah* to *seah* in both cases (1981: 23-24). Keeping these lines as written, however, seems truer to the poet's relaxed prosody relative to *Beowulf*.

494 *þrȳðbearn, hæleð* 'mighty youth, any hero'. On metrical grounds relative to the rest of *Andreas*, Brooks rejects the emendation *þrȳðbearn hæleð<a>* 'mighty son of heroes' (1961: 79). As he affirms from Grein's *Sprachschatz* (1912: 726), the first word is probably a vocative which renders a term such as νεανίσκε in the *Praxeis* (ch. 9; Bonnet, 1959: 75) or *iuvenis* in the Casanatensis (ch. 9; Blatt, 1930: 51), both meaning 'young man'. There is a similar vocative earlier, one moreover closer to where the analogues have theirs, with *cynerōf hæleð* 'highborn hero' on line 484.

495 *stēoran ofer stæfnan* 'steering at the stern'. Brooks gives 'steering upon the prow' in line with *stefna*'s specific sense 'stem' (1961: 79), but the Oseberg (*c*. 820) and Gokstad (*c*. 900) ships show us that a ship's steering oar or rudder is at the stern (Bill 2008: 173-74).

497 *færeð fāmigheals fugole gelīcost* 'with foamy neck sails most like a bird'. This line of praise from Andrew closely resembles the poet's description of Beowulf's ship in *Beowulf* 218: *flota fāmīheals fugle gelīcost* 'a vessel foam-necked most like a bird'. Not only the words but also the situations have much in common, a hero setting out to rescue a foreign land from cannibals. It is reasonable to suppose that the poet of *Andreas* borrows from *Beowulf* at this, the least expected moment, in order to invite a comparison between Andrew and Beowulf.

499 *ofer ȳðlāde* 'on a wave-road'. MS *yðlafe*. The latter compound, meaning 'wave-remnant', hence 'shore', though it describes the east bank of the Red Sea in *Exodus* 586, is wrong for what Andrew is saying.

501 *on lan<d>sceare* 'out in the country'. The noun is also found in line 1229, for the terrain over which the Mermedonians drag Andrew. OE *landscearu* 'portion of land, country' connotes a cleared tract of marginal farming land in two WS charters. One instance is in S 342 (BCS 526): Æthelred I, to Ealdorman Ælfstan, of five hides at Cheselbourne, Dorset, possibly of 869 or 870. The other is in S 229 (BCS 27: Cenwalh, to Winchester Cathedral in '672')), which is a tenth-century forgery (based on S 275). Another tenth-century instance occurs in *The Metrical Epilogue to the West Saxon Pastoral Care*:

> Ac se wæl wunað   on weres brēostum
> ðurh dryhtnes giefe   dīop and stille.
> Sume hine lǣtað   ofer landscare
> riðum tōrinnan.

> But the well [of wisdom] remains in the man's breast,
> by the grace of the Lord, deep and still.
> Some let it over tracts of land
> run away in rills. (Sweet 1871: II, 469)

506 *wīgendra hlēo* 'shield of warriors'. See n. **1450**.

508-9 *Ǣghwylces canst / worda for worulde wīslīc andgit* 'Of each man's words in this world you know the true meaning'. If the opening word *ǣghwylces* is a neuter (rather than masculine) singular with *worda*, then the meaning is 'Of each word in this world you know the true meaning'. More important than this choice, however, is the meaning of Andrew's parting compliment within the context of what he has just said. The edge of such gnomic statements is easily dulled. Brooks renders 'You know the true significance of every man's words in the eyes of the world'; Bradley, 'of every word with regard to this world you know the wise meaning' (1982: 124). Both translations seem to imply that Andrew praises the captain for being worldly or practical because he is not. On the other hand, Andrew was a fisherman and is himself experienced at sea, and yet he has asked to know the secret of the captain's steering skill. He then praises him apparently for having seen what Andrew meant despite the inadequacy of Andrew's words. This notion of acuity appears also in the opening to the Coastguard's reply to Beowulf's defence of who he is, in *Beowulf* 287-89:

> '*Ǣ*ghwæþres sceal
> scearp scyldwiga   gescād witan,
> worda ond worca,   sē þe wēl þenceð.'

> 'Between word and deed
> is a difference which a shieldsman who is sharp,
> who thinks properly, must see in every case.'

The thought appears to be the same, but in *Andreas* the situation is transposed from speaker to addressee. Whereas the Coastguard declares that by believing Beowulf he

is taking a risk, Andrew says that there was a risk for him that the ship's captain would not believe his words. As his courtesy of his speech makes clear, he has become afraid of the captain's powers.

512-36 The captain's 25-line speech is marked by 17 lines of reinforced alliteration in groups of five (512-16), four (518-21), three (523-25) and then two lines (527-28), which are then followed by the same in three isolated lines 530, 533 and 535) alternating with three lines of conventional alliteration. Thus the speech is sonorously emphatic, with gradual diminuendo, in the description of stormy weather at sea. After *Forþan is gesȳne* 'And so it can be seen' on line 526, it loses its emphasis, in correlation with the calm after the storm, in order to allow a focus on the captain's deduction that Andrew is truly the Lord's man. This effect differs from the patterns in Andrew's earlier speech. See n. **471-509**.

512 *scēor* 'storm'. For OE *scūr*. MS *sceor* is a rare spelling, possibly due to the scribe of the Vercelli Book. OE *scēofan* for *scūfan* is found in some late WS forms, in which it is rare to find an *e* inserted to indicate a palatal before *ū* (Hogg 2011: § 5.67; Campbell 1959: § 180).

513 *brecað ofer bæðweg* 'plough the bath-way'. See n. **223**. With his *brimhengestum* 'brim-stallions', where horses were used for ploughing in land with lighter soil, the captain turns his mixed metaphor into a conceit.

516 *frēcne gefēran* 'pass through the danger'. So Brooks (1961:80). Coming after *sīð nesan* 'survive the journey', this meaning is more plausible than 'fare perilously', which might be assumed if the phrase were compared with the hilt-illustrated story of primeval giants in *Beowulf*, who *frēcne gefērdon* in line 1691. Although Mitchell and Robinson (1998: 103) translate this as 'they fared terribly', it is possible that the giants in *Beowulf*, since their descendants live to afflict Heorot, have 'passed through the danger' of being drowned.

524 *beorhtne boldwelan* 'the building's bright wealth'. The part of the building in question appears to be the roof, here re-imagined as the vault of heaven.

528 *þegen geþungen* 'a virtuous thane'. The devil who appears to St Juliana, pretending to be an angel, calls itself *þegn geþungen* in *Juliana* 262. Andrew is seen to have potentially the same power, by the Lord and later by the sea.

529 *þē sōna sǣholm oncnēow* 'the ocean straightaway knew that you' etc. The sea knows that Andrew has the gift of the Holy Ghost. Here, as in both the *Praxeis*, where ἐπέγνω σε ἡ θάλασσα ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ 'the sea knew that you were righteous' (ch. 9; Bonnet 1959: 76), and Casanatensis, where *ideo cognovit mare te iustus, et discipulus summe potestatis* 'the sea thus knew you to be a just man and a disciple of the highest power' (ch. 9; Blatt 1930: 51), the sea is granted the power of one animate entity. This is the case in *gārsecges begang* 'spear-man's compass' (see also n. **238**) In *Andreas*, however, this license is extended into more than a figure of speech. Here it becomes the *hærn* 'wash', *ārȳða geblond* 'mingling of ocean-billows', *egesa* 'terror', *wǣg* 'wave', and then collectively the *wǣdu* 'waters', who have the necessary understanding of divine power. A similar consciousness, albeit with destructive agency, is imputed to *hrǫnn* 'wave' (cognate with OE *hærn*), *sǣr* 'sea', *marr* 'ocean'

as well as to *Rǫn* 'robbery' (a sea-goddess), *ǫlsmiðr* 'ale-smith (Ægir, the sea-god), Ægir himself and *<h>roða vágs brœðr* 'wave-pusher's brothers' in stanzas 6-8 of the pre-Christian *Sonatorrek* 'hard loss of sons' (c. 960), of Egill Skalla-Grímsson (North 1997: 220-21). The poet of *Andreas* turns his sea into a crowd of animate beings, as if translating a captain's knowledge of the deep into the Lord's control over His creation.

531 *hāliges gāstes* 'of the Holy Ghost'. See n. **1000**.

538 *cyning wyrðude* 'worshipped the King'. In the *Praxeis*, at the end of a chapter, Andrew cries out Εὐλογή<σω> σε κύριε μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὅτι συνήντησα ἀνδρὶ δοξάζοντι τὸ ὄνομά σου 'I bless you, my Lord Jesus Christ, that I have met a man who glorifies your name' (ch. 9; Bonnet 1958: 76). This is the style in *Andreas*, where Andrew apostrophizes the Lord, blessing Him before saying that this is because he has met a devout Christian. In the Casanatensis, however, Andrew blesses the captain as well: *quo audito sanctus andreas, exclamavit voce magna et benedixit eum dicens, benedicat te dominus, et bendictus deus quia iuncxit me viro bono* 'having heard this, St Andrew cried out in a great voice and blessed him, saying "May the Lord bless you, and blessed be the Lord for having joined me with a good man"' (end of ch. 9; Blatt 1930: 51-52). In *Andreas*, which is thus closer to the *Praxeis*, the poet takes a liberty with his hero's blessing by extending it to ten lines (540-49). Initially, the length of Andrew's rhapsody might persuade us that he addresses the captain as the Lord, having at last understood Who he is, but the following line reveals otherwise.

549 *Hūru is gesȳne* 'Indeed it can be seen' etc. See previous note. The exclamation makes it clearer that to Andrew the captain's identity is far from *gesȳne*.

553-54 *Ic æt efenealdum* 'In a man of his age' etc. In *Beowulf* 1842-43, King Hrothgar, having heard Beowulf's parting offer to foster his elder son, and having stated that God must have put such wise thoughts in his mind, adds *'ne hȳrde ic snotorlīcor / on swā geongum fēore guman þingian'* 'nor have I heard a man / at such young stage of life intercede more cleverly'. Although Andrew's words to the captain do not bear a close resemblance, their sentiment (that of an old man patronizing a young one for a wisdom which is greater than the old man understands) is the same; comically so in *Andreas*.

556 *fruma ond ende* 'Beginning and End'. The Lord of the Book of Revelation, as the Alpha and Omega. The epithet, not in the analogues, appears chosen by the poet in order to heighten the disparity between Andrew and the figure whom he takes to be a young man.

557 *þances glēaw þegn* 'perspicacious thane'. This compliment directs Andrew to tell his story about Jesus' works. However, it also looks back to the anticlimax of Andrew's declaration in the previous lines: the Lord appears to tease him for his lack of perspicacity.

559 *ðā ārleasan* 'the people impious'. As an adjective, OE *ārlēas* is 'wicked, impious' (DOE, sv. 1.b). Reinforced by the words *hæleð unsǣlige* 'heroes ill-fortuned' on line 561, *ārlēas* here may connote damnation as well as wickedness. The Jews who spit at Christ before his crucifixion are called *ārlēase* in *Christ* III 1435;

likewise the third and lowest category of sinners in hell, in Cynewulf's epilogue to *Elene*, on line 1301. This word describes the devil and his human followers in Ælfric's *Memory of Saints*: *se ārlēasa dēofol, þe is æfre embe yfel, āstyrode þā ēhtnysse ðurh ārlēase cwelleras* 'The wicked devil who is ever [employed] about evil, stirred up persecution by impious murderers' (Skeat I, 1966: 350-51. 197-98). As an adjective used as a noun, OE *ārlēas* indicates the damned in the WS translation of *Gregory's Dialogues* (IV, 46; Hecht 1965: 334 8): *þā ārlēasan gāð in þæt ēce wīte 7 þā rihtwīsan in þæt ēce līf* 'the impious [OE also: 'without grace'] go into the eternal punishment and the righteous into the eternal life' (cf. DOE sv. 1.b.i.a).

566 *þæt cynebearn* 'the royal son'. Used also of Christ in *The Menologium* 159, in *wuldres cynebearn* 'glory's royal son'; and in *The Lord's Prayer* II 117, in *cynebearn gecȳdd* 'a royal son proclaimed'. The captain makes clear that Christ as *rex Iudaeorum* 'king of the Jews' has a political besides spiritual claim to power. Elsewhere the term is generic for king's sons, as in the 30 *cynebearna* 'princes' slain with King Penda by the river Winwæd in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E), s.a. 654 (Irvine 2004: 26; see also 19, *s.a.* 519); or in the *Old English Martyrology: ðonne resteð sancte Kenelm cynebearn on Wincelescumbe* 'now Saint Kenelm king's son rests in Winchcombe' (II, 44; Liebermann 1889: 19).

568-69 *Æþelinge wēox / word ond wīsdōm* 'In the Prince grew / words and wisdom'. There is a similar construction in the case of the converted Mermedonians in lines 1677-78.

571a *frǣtre þēode* 'to the apostate people'. The adjective *frǣte* recurs in line 1506, *þis frǣte folc*. The meaning is not properly understood. The stem is likely to be long, and to differ from that of the short-voweled *frætwe* 'adornment'. Simplex OE *frǣte* occurs mostly in poetry, where a meaning 'wanton' is contextually supported. The words *þæt frǣte folc* in *Christ* III 1373, describe sinners who are soon to be damned on the Last Day; the fiend's son real or figurative, is said to have *frǣte līf* 'a wanton life' in *Vainglory* 48 (as well as a *grundfūsne gǣst gode ōrfeormne, / wuldorcyninge* 'abyss-bound spirit without supply from God, the King of glory' in lines 49-50; see n. **406**); and in *Seasons* 161, Christ's enemy Satan is *eald ond frǣte* 'old and wanton'. The wantonness would be one of spiritual rebellion, but this meaning seems just as derivative as 'foul' or 'deceitful'. OE *frǣtig* seems to mean 'foul', 'wanton', of a devil in *Juliana* 284 (DOE, sv. *frǣtig*). There is also the argument that in four glosses for *apotas(s)ia*, apparently for 'recreant' or 'apostate', *frǣtgenga* with derivatives seems to mean 'wanton worshipper' (WW 6.19 (*Corpus Glossary*, MS CCCC 144); W 350 4 (MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III); cf. DOE sv. ? *frǣt-genga*, ?*frǣt-genge*). In confirmation of a meaning 'recreant here, the word *frǣtum* is written as a gloss for *fugitivus* 'fugitive' in WW 408 29 (DOE sv. *frǣte*, 1.a). A sense of 'apostasy' may be even more closely supported if we connect OE *frǣte* to *fretan* 'to devour'. The idea of apostasy is strongly conveyed in *Exodus* 147 (Lucas 1994: 99), where it is said that the Egyptians *wǣre frǣton* 'devoured the covenant' which the first Pharaoh had made with Jacob. On analogy with *lǣne* 'on loan, transient', which is an adjective derived from a dative noun, the adjective *frǣte*, as 'in devoration, having devoured, repudiating', may derive from an unattested noun OE m. **frǣt* from *fretan* 'to devour' (on analogy with m. *ǣt* 'eating' from *etan* 'to eat' (DOE, sv. *ǣt*, 2)). The meaning 'apostate' for *frǣte* correlates also with the poet's view of the devil as a *wrāð wǣrloga* 'faith-breaker in fury' on line 1297.

571b *beforan cȳðde* 'would reveal ... openly' (subjunctive preterite). Schaar suggests that the captain pretends not to believe in Jesus' miracles himself, and that *Andreas*, unlike the likely source, puts the Jewish people and elders in the same category (1949: 55). However, the line works better with the captain first believing that Jesus' miracles were performed to a minority of Jews behind closed doors, and that he now wishes to remove his last doubt that this was so. Andrew, whose role in the miracles of Jesus is recorded in John 6: 5-15, makes clear that the Jewish people were witness to Jesus' miracles.

581 *æfter burhstedum* 'through fortified towns'. The meaning of *burhstede*, a poetic compound, is variable: 'settlement' in *Guthlac* (B) 1317, where it denotes the saint's fenland refuge; the 'township' where horses can race, in the Last Survivor's lament in *Beowulf* 2265; Nebuchadnezzar's 'city' in *Daniel* 47; the Roman 'cities' which have shattered in England in *Ruin* 2, and which will shatter in Doomsday, in Cynewulf's *Christ* II 811; and the 'city' of heaven itself in *ChristS* 362.

583 This line, which Brooks treats as hypermetric by Brooks (1961: xliii) on account of *missenlīce*, may be normalized with syncopation of *man(i)ge* here.

586 *for heremægene* 'before the war-troop'. A term for the wedding party at Canaan. As Brooks says, this compound is 'an excellent example of the poet's use of the old epic military terminology to describe what in fact is not an armed host' (1961: 82). However, it is not correct, as Brooks goes on to say, that *heremægen* 'simply means "multitude"'. In the above line the poet's indicates that wine-drinkers are aristocracy, whose members are also trained for war. This line is reproduced almost entire on line 1650, where Andrew consecrates the new bishop Plato 'before the war-troop' of Mermedonian converts whom he has restored to upper-class glory. Elsewhere the half-line *for heremægene* describes the hostile Jews in the Temple on line 728, and the Mermedonians mistreating Andrew in his cell on line 1298; it also survives positively in *Elene* 170, of Emperor Constantine's recently victorious retinues, who declare *for heremægene* that the cross is symbolic of the true faith. A possibly related compound appears once in *hǣðne heremæcgas* 'heathen men of war', a term for the men of Sodom in *Genesis* (A) 2485. In all cases some secular stylisation is clear in *heremægen*, a word which is not found in *Beowulf*.

595 *Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hyse lēofesta*. See n. **811**.

598 *frēo* 'with all liberties'. There is no parallel for this choice of adjective for those who gain heaven. Where people (rather than goods and property) are concerned, the adjective *frēo* connotes free birth and status and freedom from obligation, tax or slavery: nobility in the economic sense. The religious implication is that life on earth amounts to a form of slavery or imprisonment.

601 *wēges weard* 'wave-guardian'. Spelt as *wǣges weard* on line 632, this epithet probably has as its first element *wǣg* 'wave' rather than *weg* 'way'. It recalls *wuldres weard* 'Guardian of glory' just before in line 596, but unlike this term it is ambiguous: a guardian on the wave can be a ship's captain, as Brooks points out (1961: 83), as well as the Lord protecting His apostles. The Lord is also a *beorn ofer bolcan* 'man

over gangway' on line 602 (on which He sits on line 305); and it is as a ship's captain that the Lord pleads with Andrew later on line 632.

606 *beforan cȳðde* 'openly revealed' (indicative preterite). Now the captain wants to know if Jesus performed his miracles to the Jewish elders as well as to the common people. See n. **571b**.

607-09 *þǣr bisceopas ond bōceras* 'in the place where bishops and book-keepers' etc. Appropriately enough for the Jewish priesthood, who are never called *hǣðenan* 'heathens' in *Andreas*, this image describes an ecclesiastical council of the type which is recorded in Anglo-Saxon charters. The term *mæðelhēgende* 'holding assembly' on line 609 describes all types of official, as it does for the ship's captain on line **262** (n.); and for the Mermedonian ruling class who arrive at the *þingstede* 'place of business' to solve the town's food-crisis on lines 1096-98. This compound's only other surviving example is in *Elene* 279, where Empress Helena summons those Jewish *meðelhēgende* 'councilors' who have special biblical knowledge.

614 *forleolc ond forlǣrde* 'played false and perverted'. A devil later accuses Andrew that *ðū lēoda feala / forleolce ond forlǣrdest* 'a quantity of people / you played false and perverted' on lines 1363-64. These are the only examples of a doublet which is homiletic in style. Another such doublet, *forlǣdan and forlǣran* 'to mislead and pervert', appears in in *Genesis* (B) 452, for the purpose of Satan's demon volunteer to corrupt Adam and Eve. In a tenth-century homily *For the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany*, it is said that *God ælmihtig ūs lǣdeþ tō heofona rice and dēofol ūs wile forlǣran and forlǣdan tō helle wīte* 'Almighty God leads us to heaven's kingdom and the devil will pervert and mislead us into hell's punishment (Assmann 1964: 167.102-03). The homilist Archbishop Wulfstan, in his *Gifts of the Holy Spirit* of the early eleventh century, says of the devil that *mid swylcan unlatan hē forlǣreð 7 forlǣdeð ealles tō manege* 'with such wiles he perverts and misleads all too many' (Bethurum 1957: 190.132-33).

616 *on banan fæðme* 'in the slayer's embrace'. Simplex OE *bana* 'slayer' for the devil is well attested: in *Beowulf* 1743 (and *gāstbona* 'soul-slayer' in line 177), *Guthlac* (A) 87 and 429, *Christ* I, 264, and III, 1393, *Descent* 88 and *SolSat* 131. This, however, is the only combination with *bana* of the phrase *on fæðme*, which, among other hellish cases, combines with *fȳr* 'fire' in *Beowulf* 185 and *draca* the 'dragon' in *Elene* 765; and looking the other way, with *fæder* 'the Father' in *Maxims* II, 61 and *God* 'God' in *Metrical Charm* I, 70.

621 This line is treated as hypermetric by Brooks (1961: xliii) on account of *dēogollīce*.

621-22 The statement about Jesus' additional miracles, those performed in secret, is an element in the *Praxeis* (ch. 11), but not in the Casanatensis, whose author seems to include them in the category of miracles which are generally known. In both main analogues, however, the captain asks whether it is because Jesus appeared only before the people and not before the priesthood that his works were not registered as miracles among the Jews.

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621 *dēogollīce* 'secretly'. In opposition to *beforan* 'in public' on lines **571b** (n.) and **606** (n.). The adjective *dēogol*, which can mean both 'hidden' (as with *dīgol*, in line 698) and 'private', reflects the meaning of *Apocrypha* as 'things hidden away' and renders part of the antithesis which is highlighted in the *Praxeis* as ἐν φανερῷ 'in public' versus ἐν κρυπτῷ 'in private' (ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77). Andrew says here that ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὐ μόνον ἐν φανερῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ 'he did them also before the high priests, not only publicly but also privately, and they did not believe in him'. The antithesis in the *Praxeis* between 'open' and 'secret' leads indirectly to one in *Andreas* between 'known' and 'unknown'. Andrew seems to believe that the story of the talking statue and resurrected patriarchs is hidden from public knowledge, both because the Jewish priests rejected the miracle and because the incident, gaining no further publicity, stayed outside the gospels. The poet's use of *dēogol* and *on dīgle* is faithful in this way to the apocryphal tradition. The captain responds to *dēogollīce* with *on dīgle* 'in secret' on line 626.

622 *folcrǣd fremede* 'advanced the people's good'. This half-line connoting royal responsibility is found also in *Beowulf* 3006, in which the Geatish Messenger sums up the achievements of dead King Beowulf. The noun's meaning may include 'law' or 'precepts', for in the eleventh-century glossary in MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III, the word *Lex* 'law' is glossed by *folcrǣdenne, sive, ealles folces gesetnes* 'popular counsel, or a code for the whole people' (WW 439.16). In the *Praxeis*, which comes close to the *Andreas*-poet's source, Andrew refers only to Jesus' miracles, while there is no mention of Jesus' being King of the Jews. The poet of *Andreas* uses the formula *folcrǣd fremman* to express a royal purpose in Jesus' working the miracles with the statue and patriarchs, for these miracles, with *folce gecȳðan* on line 784 and *þām folce gecȳðan* on line 796, will 'reveal to the nation' the fact of Jesus' godhead and so protect the nation from hell. The statue orders them to do this *cyninges worde* 'in the King's name' on line 778, and the patriarchs wish to *gecȳðan* 'make known' Jesus' divine lineage to the people on line 803. When they finally confirm this by worshipping him, the nation fails to benefit: *þæt folc gewearð / egesan geāclod* 'the people were stricken with terror' (lines 804-05). Jesus' political dimension appears to be anticipated in *folcrǣd*, which the poet may borrow from *Beowulf*. This royal term says that Jesus is the only king in *Andreas*.

625 *mægen þā hē cȳðde* 'the powers he revealed'. In the *Praxeis*, αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν, this is 'the miracles he did', literally 'the powers he made' (ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77); in the Casanatensis, *ipsas virtutes qua coram eis fecit* 'the miracles he performed among them', literally 'the virtues he made among them' (ch. 11; Blatt 1930: 53). The word *mægen*, literally '(cap)ability', which is closer to δυνάμεις, appears also in the Blickling Homily XVIII, earlier in the story when the captain advises Andrew to talk to his followers: *sprec tō þīnum discipulum be þǣm mægenum þe þīn lārēow dyde* 'speak to your disciples of the powers which your teacher made' (Morris 1967: 233). The phrase *mægen dōn* comes closer to those of the analogues. In *Andreas* 701, OE *mægen* further describes Jesus' abilities as enhanced by his time in the wilderness.

627 *rūne besǣton* 'you sat in private conclave'. Root (1889: 21), Brooks (1961:83), Bradley (1982: 127) and Boenig (1991a: 89) all assume the omission of *gē* 'you' on the previous line. The Blickling Homily XVIII omits the whole story. In the *Praxeis*,

as above, the captain asks *Ποῖαί εἰσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ;* 'what kind of miracles are they, the ones he did privately?' (ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77). In the Casanatensis, the captain refers instead to the Jewish priesthood when commands *declara mihi ipsas virtutes qua coram eis fecit* 'Tell me about the miracles he performed among them' (ch. 11; Blatt 1930: 53). In *Andreas* it seems more plausible that the subject of *besǣton* in *Andreas* is *gē*, the disciples, rather than the *rǣswan* 'leaders' whom Andrew has just mentioned (line 619). The captain now wants the most secret knowledge of all.

630a *wrǣtlīcum* 'wondrous'. OE *wrǣtlīc* can mean either 'finely made, fascinating', hence 'wondrously made', or 'beautiful, noble'. A sense of artifice is included, as in the way this word is deployed in the story of the statues on line 712. In *Ruin* 1, *Wrǣtlīc is þes wealstān* 'Wondrously made is this wall-foundation'. On Christ's ascension, in Cynewulf's *Christ* (II) 509, the angels address the Disciples *wordum wrǣtlīcum* 'wondrously composed words' to tell them where Jesus has been taken. Later in *Andreas*, however, the movement of the statues seems *wrǣtlīc* 'extraordinary' to the people in the Temple, on line 740; and the devil claims to the Mermedonian crowd on line 1200 that Andrew insults him *wordum wrǣtlīcum*, for which 'with extraordinary words' seems best. On line 630, however, where Andrew is attracted to the ship's captain's intelligence, the word's positive more meaning seems advisable.

630b *ond þē wyrda gehwǣre* 'if of each thing you' etc. As Brooks' text shows, this half-line has been emended to *ond þē<h> wyrda gehwǣs*, with *ond þēh* rendered as 'and yet', and with the neut. *gehwæs* preferred to fem. *gehwǣre*. In the first case, a pleonastic dative pronoun *þē* 'for you' is acceptable after a verb of knowing or possessing: this is also found in *wite þē be þissum* 'know about this' in *Vainglory* 46. In the second case, however, the fem. noun *wyrd* might better be understood in OE *gehwǣre* without the need to emend. This very (too?) early instance of *ond* as a conditional conjunction (Mitchell 1985, §§ 3668-70; or as a concessive conjunction: § 3516), has a parallel in *Juliana* 378-79, *ond hē lārum wile / þurh mōdes myne mīnum hȳran* 'if he will obey my teachings in the love of his heart'. There is a related usage in lines 630-31, *ond ... sōð oncnāwest* 'when ... you know the truth'; also in the Blickling Homily XIII 'On the Assumption of Mary the Virgin': *Tō hwan ondrǣdeþ þēos hālige Mārīa hire dēaþ, and mid hire syndan godes apostolas and ōþre þā þe hīe beraþ tō hire ǣriste?* 'To what end is this holy Mary dreading her death, when God's Apostles are with her, and others who carry her to her resurrection?' (Kelly 2003: 100.75-76). See also n. **1187**.

632 *wið þingode* 'pleaded'. See n. **263** and **601**.

644-49a This reply introduces the poet's set-piece of Andrew's reminiscence of the scene in the Temple. However, it is ambiguous. Firstly, one must decide whether to keep the *nū* clauses on lines 644-47 and 648-49a as separate sentences; thus Brooks (1961: 21) and Boenig (1991a: 89). An alternative is to join them as correlative causal clauses ('Now that..., now...'); thus Krapp (1932: 21) and Mitchell (1985: § 3104). If we keep them separate, lines **646b-47** (n.) constitute the main clause in the first sentence: Andrew declares that the captain, now that Andrew has recognised his wisdom and ability, will be filled with joy as a result of *snyttrum* 'the new intelligence' (i.e. information). Thereupon a new sentence starts in which he says he

will tell all. If, on the other hand, we join these sentences as Mitchell's evidence recommends, with the principal clause first, the subordinate second, lines 646b-47 are better marked off as a parenthesis. The second arrangement is preferable: Andrew is willing to tell more of the story, now that he sees that the young captain is wise enough to hear it.

646a *sigespēd, geseald* 'the great triumph, given'. The comma is necessary in order to avoid emending to *sigespēd gesealde* as an accusative phrase after *oncnāwe* 'I recognize' on line 644: *geseald* agrees with n. *gewit* on line 645. The above half-line varies a formula which elsewhere occurs as *sigorspēd geseald* 'great triumph given' on lines 909 (to any man who seeks Christ) and 1435 (to God Himself). In its first use in line 646a the formula is fractured in order to include the quality of *wīsdōmes gewit* 'wise understanding' as well.

646b-47 *snyttrum blōweð / beorhtre blisse brēost innanweard!* 'with intelligence / blooms the breast with bright bliss within!'. This is a parenthesis in which the breast is the captain's. In the *Praxeis*, Andrew declares ὦ τέκνον, ὁ κύριος πληρώσει σου τὴν ψυχὴν πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ 'O child, the Lord will fill your soul with all grace and all goodness' (end of ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77). In the Casanatensis, this is *o inquid fili adimpleat dominus cor tuum omni letitia* 'O son, he said, may the Lord fill your heart with all joy' (ch.11; Blatt 1930: 55).

649b-51 These lines may follow on from the previous sentence, with *swā* meaning 'just as': Brooks does this, as well as Bradley (who reads *swā* as 'since'; 1982: 127). The alternative, to read *swā* as 'just so' and to keep lines 649b-51 as a self-contained sentence, is less convincing. Whichever is the arrangement, however, Andrew compares the time in which Jesus confided in him with the coming moment in which he will reveal more to the captain. By this comparison Andrew puts himself in the role of Christ and the ship's captain (who is Christ) in the role of disciple: he is grooming the captain for apostlehood, thinking that he has landed a prize pupil. This is rather as Hrothgar grooms Beowulf for kingship in *Beowulf* 1700-09. The advanced years of Andrew are the cause of his generous condescension. As the analogues give Andrew no such characterisation, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the work of the poet of *Andreas*.

652-60 These lines on the popularity and house-to-house visits of Jesus in his earlier works find no match in the extant analogues.

652 *sīde herigeas* 'wide armies'. Also for the Mermedonians on line 1067. With this formula for people spanning the horizon Andrew refers to the common people of Israel in opposition to their leaders (see *selerædend* on line **659**). The vast numbers which Pharaoh brings with him from Egypt in pursuit of the Israelites are called *sīde hergas* by Moses in *Exodus* 260 (Lucas 1994: 112). The general public who are credited with knowledge of the calendar are called *sīde herigeas, / folc unmǣte* 'wide armies, / people unmeasured', on lines 5-6 of *The Menologium*.

659 *snottre selerǣdend* 'wise hall-stewards'. At first this compound seems to mean more formally 'hall-adviser' or 'hall-counsellor'. In *Beowulf*, where the poet says no man knows who received the body of Scyld Scefing in the deep, he typifies humanity as *men* 'men, people', *selerǣden*de 'hall-advisers' and *hæleð under heofenum* 'heroes

under heaven' (lines 51-51). In the third instance, also in *Beowulf*, when King Hrothgar reveals to Beowulf that he knows where Grendel and his Mother live, he says that he *þæt londbūend, lēode mīne, / selerǣdende, secgan hȳrde* 'heard country folk, people of my nation / hall-advisers, say this' (lines 1345-46). Although there are no other examples of *selerǣdend*, *Beowulf* shows that the word connotes freemen below the aristocratic class. Hrothgar's words show that the same people who know the local woods offer informal advice to their king in his court within the great hall. Since that is not their official role, the word *rǣdend* may not denote formal advisers or counsellors here. The meanings of *rǣdan* 'to advise, decide, debate, determine, interpret, read' seem at first sufficiently various to lock this participle into the generality of heroic diction. However, the meaning may be narrowed down. The most likely reason for the peasants' habitually entering Heorot, with a familiarity which typifies them as humanity in *Beowulf* 51-52, is to give farming tribute, to deliver the king's *feorm*. Thus the meaning of *rǣdend* comes closer to 'provider', with the corollary that such freemen help to 'govern' or 'decide' the daily running of the *sele* 'hall'. OE *rǣdende* glosses *consulens, i. consilium tenens, providens* 'consultant, he who keeps advice ready, he who provides' (WW 209.28, in MS Harley 3376, s. x). The penitential attributed to Bishop Egbert of York, in which he says *peto a te, ut tu mihi condones id quod peto, ut voluntas tua fiat et animæ meæ in æternum consules* 'I beseech you to grant me what I seek, that your will be done and that you may help my soul into eternity' (IV § 67), is rendered, in *Formulas and Directions for the Use of Confessors* of the late tenth century, as *ic þē þonne (...) bidde. þæs þū mē forgyfe þæt ic þǣr bidde þǣr ðe þīn willa sig 7 mīnre sāwle rǣd on ēcnysse* (Thorpe 1840: 338), 'I in this case ask you to grant me that I ask where it be your will that you provide for my soul in eternity'. With this less formal meaning possible in *rǣdend*, the *snottre selerǣdend* 'wise hall-stewards' turning out to see Jesus in *Andreas* are likely to be freemen who represent the people, the loyal subjects of him as their new *burhweard* 'town-keeper' (see n. **660**). This translation captures a political aspect in Jesus' attempted relief of the towns of Judaea. On King Alfred's ideology of the reclamation of burhs, see Introduction, p. $$.

660 *burhweardes cyme* 'in town-keeper's coming'. This description is similar to the description of Constantine in *Elene* as the noblest king of *burgagendra* 'rulers of towns' 1174; or of Holofernes in *Judith* as *burga ealdor* 'lord of towns' 58. OE *burhgerefa* 'town reeve' glosses terms for a wide range of sub-Roman officials in Ælfric's *Vocabulary* of the 990s: *Prætor, uel Præfectus, uel præpositus, uel quæstor* (WW 110.8-9); and and *curiales, uel decuriales* (WW 111.7). Although OE *burhweard* is not found in glossaries nor in any legal texts, it occurs near the slaying of the Egyptian firstborn in *Exodus* 38-39, where the Angel of Death had *frēcne gefylled frumbearna fela, / ābrocene burhweardas* 'perilously cut down many firstborn sons, / shattered the town-guardians'. Because *ābrecan* 'to shatter' is otherwise recorded as intransitive, Lucas suggests that Egyptian 'idols' may be intended here as additional to their firstborn (1994: 80). Yet *burhweardas* here is close enough to the latter to be used as another term for them, as if the eldest sons are expected to become defenders. Something similar is intended with *burhweard* in this part of *Andreas*, in which the people look to Jesus to protect them like a king's firstborn. The poet has already called him *þæt cynebearn* on line **566** (n.). That the elders betray their people by rejecting Jesus, is presented as a result of their fear of losing political power.

666 *tō þām cynestōle* 'to the seat of royalty'. OE *cynestōl* is also found for Jersualem in the Advent Lyrics of *Christ* I, in which *sancta Hierusalem* 'sainted Jerusalem' is eulogized as *cynestōla cyst, Crīstes burglond, / engla ēþelstōl* 'most choice seat of royalty, Christ's town-land, / hereditary seat of angels' on lines 50-52. Cynewulf employs the term for the sinners at Judgement, *þonne Crīst siteð on his cynestōle, / on hēahsetle* 'when Christ sits on his royal seat, / on the high throne', in *Christ* II 1216-17. Theodric is said to govern Rome as a duke *þenden cynestōle Crēacas wīoldon* 'while the Greeks ruled the imperial throne' in the *Meters of Boethius*, I.48. In all this OE *cynestōl* connotes a palace and empire, as well as a throne; in *Andreas*, this is without regard to history. Here, as in the analogues, the rule of Jerusalem by a Roman governor is omitted. In *Andreas* it is only Jesus who receives the crown.

668 *hēah ond horngēap* 'high and horn-gabled'. The image is of pride before a fall. These words describe Heorot in *Beowulf* 82, as Brooks points out (1961: 85). This is when Heorot is declared ready on lines 81-83 for the day when Ingeld and the Heathobards burn it down in a raid: *Sele hlīfade / hēah ond horngēap, heaðowylme bād / lāðan līges* 'the hall towered / high and horn-gabled, awaited the hateful flame / of a battle's surge'. The use of this half-line in *Andreas* seems equally pointed, if we take the poet and his audience to have known that a similar fate, at the hands of the Romans, awaited the Temple of Jerusalem (70 AD).

670 *ealdorsācerd* 'high priest'. This term amplifies *sācerdas* 'priests' on line 742 and also reflects ἀρχιερεῖς 'high priests' in the *Praxeis* (ch. 13; Bonnet 1959: 79). OE *ealdorsācerd* is fairly common as a gloss of *princeps sacerdotum* 'chief of the priests' in the gospels, and is also found as a variant of *sācerd* 'priest' in an early homily on the passion which is based on John 18-19: *þā cwæð se ealdorman þāra ealdorsācerda eft tō him* 'then the elder of the high-priests spoke again to him' (Vercelli Homily I, ed. Scragg, 1992: 22.66; see also 22.63). Scragg, before associating this and other versions of the homily with Canterbury, takes its original to be 'of early composition', with several features which were regarded as 'archaic by no later than the end of the tenth century' (1992: 5).

671 *hordlocan onspēon* 'unclasped his hoard-locker'. This metaphor announces some heroic rhetoric. See n. **316**.

674-75 *lārcwide* 'teachings', *wiðerhȳdig* 'malign', *onblonden* 'mixed up'. Three *hapax legomena* in just two lines is a combination which emphasizes evil in the high-priest's reponse (Stiles 2002: 29-30).

679 *būtan lēodrihte* 'without title in this country'. Jesus was from Galilee, not from Judaea. The basis for this denunciation is the high priests', scribes' and elders' question to Jesus in Mark 11:28 on what is his authority. The Jewish elder in *Andreas* initially understands this challenge to be secular. As Brooks shows, the meaning of OE *lēodriht* 'is strictly "legal rights in the people's common land", and by extension "law of the common people"' (1961: 85). This term appears in the phrase for chartered rights of use, as in *mid rihtum landrihte 7 lēodrihte* 'with legal title and rights to land in this country' (in King Eadwig to the nuns of Wilton (*c.* 955), Birch 1964, no. 917; Sawyer 1968).

682 *drohtigen dæghwǣmlīce! Þæt is duguðum cūð* 'whom you dwell with day to day! To veterans it is known' etc. In keeping with the rhetoric, this line is third in a group of three with reinforced alliteration. It also appears to be hypermetric: the fourth such line in this edition, although Brooks, who includes lines **583** (n.) and **621** (n.) on tighter metrical grounds, makes it his sixth (1961: xliii). If we match the metre with the content, the extension of this line appears to emphasize the Elder's view of a contrast between the Disciples' naivety and the informed awareness of his troops in the Temple.

684 *hē wæs āfēded on þysse folcsceare* 'in this common land was he nurtured'. With this *folc*-prefix in *Andreas*, the priest draws attention to the peasant origins of Jesus' human incarnation. Cynewulf uses a similar line in *Elene* 967, when the news about the Invention of the True Cross spreads to the other cities first through the lowest rank of society: *Ðā wæs gefrēge in þǣre folcsceare* 'then it was widely heard within the common land'. The word *folcscearu* is not found in legal texts, although *folcland*, which seems to refer to common land outside king's gift, is represented in *on bōclande ond on folclande* 'in chartered land and in common land' (I Edward (901-24), 2.2, 1; Liebermann I, 1906: 140). OE *folcscearu* also describes the Danish 'common land' in *Beowulf* 73, which King Hrothgar is not permitted to distribute to his best retainers. With Jesus in *Andreas*, conversely, it is as if a commoner challenges the governing authority. The poet admires Andrew's fisher-folk kindred in a similar way earlier: see n. **171**.

690 *brōðorsybbum* 'in a full-brother kinship'. In line with his earlier remarks about common origins, the high priest insinuates that Jesus is illegitimate. On OE f. *sibb* 'kindred' and the way the poet idealizes this as a monastic band of brothers, see n. **1013-14**.

693 *dugoð dōmgeorne* 'cadres keen for renown'. Also on line 878, of the angels in heaven; Andrew is told by the Lord to be *dōmes georn* 'eager for renown' before his entry into the city, on line 959; and is *dēor ond dōmgeorn* 'daring and keen for glory' as he is led back to his cell on line 1308. Brooks considers the half-line *dugoð dōmgeorne* abused, a sign of the poet's ineptitude, where it stands for the hostile Jewish priesthood on line 693. On the other hand, Cynewulf calls the noblest of three tiers of damned souls *dugoð dōmgeorne*, here possibly 'retinue keen for glory', in the Epilogue to *Elene*, on line 1291. The category *dōmgeorne* 'eager for glory' in *The Wanderer* 17 might show that the semantic range of OE *dōm* permits both religious and secular meanings, glory in heaven or on earth. Dunning and Bliss argue that *The Wanderer*'s use of the term means '"those who are *too much* concerned with what others think of them"', since good Christians have a confidence, rather than a need to be eager for, judgement (1969: 45). In the same way, the poet of *Andreas* poet appears to use the half-line *dugoð dōmgeorne* on line 693 to expose what he takes to be essentially temporal aims. The Jewish priests are represented as more interested in winning their followers' acclaim than that of God.

694 *Mān eft gehwearf* 'Mad crime returned'. The poet's characteristically colourful use of personification makes a striking end to the fitt. 'Mad' is supplied here to partly distinguish the more socially conceived meaning of OE *mān* from that of f. *synn* 'sin'.

700 *cyning on riht* 'King by right'. The poet, unlike the author of any extant analogue, is keen that Jesus reveal his claim to royal as well as divine authority over the world. See n. **622**.

701 *mægene geswīðed* 'strengthened in force'. See n. **625**.

707 *in temple* 'in the Temple'. This OE word denotes temples in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, as in *Elene* 1009, 1021, *Daniel* 60 and *Guthlac* (B) 1002, 1113, 1149. In the Casanatensis, Andrew says that the party went *in templo gentium* 'into the temple of the gentiles' (ch. 13; Blatt 1930: 57), in order to test the authenticity of its representation of heaven. In the *Praxeis*, with the same aim: Καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς συν ἡμιν καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν των ἐθνῶν, ὑπέδειξεν ἡμιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν τύπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα γνῶμεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἐστιν ἢ οὔ 'and with the high priests accompanying us and entering the shrine of the gentiles, Jesus showed us the form of heaven that we might know whether it was real or not' (ch. 13; Bonnet 1959: 79). Boenig, treating the Greek grammar and meaning as obscure (1991a: 9, n. 28), translates τὸ ἱερὸν 'the shrine' as 'desert' (1991a: 8), apparently because Jesus and the Jewish elders were there earlier, and because of τὸν τύπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 'the form of heaven' which Jesus shows them next. Although the manuscripts of the *Praxeis* vary in the use of pronouns at this point (Bonnet 1959: 79), its text is to be explained as a reflection of religious pluralism (probably where it originated, in fourth-century Egypt). The *Praxeis* has Jewish elders following Jesus for a second time into a gentile pagan shrine, in which the sphinx, in order to justify the future conversion of synagogues into churches, alleges that the Jewish elders are less clean than Greek pagan priests (chs. 13-14), The Casanatensis loses this Greek favoritism of gentile pagans by treating each category of non-Christian as bad as the other (ch. 14). The poet of *Andreas* drops the gentile pagans altogether.

713-14 *wrǣtlīce wundor āgrǣfene, / anlīcnesse engla sīnra* 'wondrously carved marvels, / graven images of his own angels'. Later, as if in keeping with the stem of *wrǣtlīce*, we learn that these are *āwriten on wealle* 'carved on the wall' on line 726. These images thus appear to be relief carvings on a panel, whereas in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, they are free-standing statues whether in alcoves or on the ground. In both of analogues the scene takes place in a pagan temple of the gentiles (see n. **707**). The poet of *Andreas*, whose Jewish elders know the truth they deny, rationalizes the shrine location as the Great Temple of Jersusalem. He appears to have no interest in misrepresenting Jews as heathen idolaters, because for him they are heretics, worse than heathen. Cynewulf's Helena may refer to Roman legionaries when she says that Jesus was hanged *hǣðenum folmum* 'by heathen hand' (*Elene* 1075), but it is not certain that he does not mean Jews by this term; and so his definition of Judaism may have been cruder.

724 *meotudes mundbyrd* 'Measurer's protection'. Also used more happily of the converts in line 1632, this term recalls Abraham whom the *metod* 'Measurer' *mundbyrde hēold* 'held in His protection' in *Genesis* (A) 1947. OE *mundbyrd*, a political term for safe subjection which is commonly used of man's relationship to God, occurs most famously in *Dream* 130, in which the Dreamer announces that his *mundbyrd* is *geriht tō þǣre rōde* 'directed to the cross'.

728 *fore þam heremægene* 'before the war-troop'. The Jewish elders, hostile to Jesus and his Disciples, merit a description more aggressive than 'multitude'. In their eyes, Jesus is a pretender to the rule of Judaea. See further n. **586**.

733 *secge sōðcwidum, þȳ <sēl> gelȳfen* 'make a true declaration, the <better> that they believe'. MS *secge soðcwidum þy sceolon gelyfan*. Jesus appears to emphasize that the spreading of the gospel will bring conversion, but OE *sēl* has been supplied by earlier editors in order to avoid an elsewhere unparalleled alliteration between *s*- and *sc*-. As this insertion makes this line hypermetric, Stevens rejects it (1981: 20), favouring Grein's view (1894: II, 33), as summarized in Brooks (1961: xliii and 87), that two verses (a b-line and an a-line) have dropped out. Lucas, followed here, reads *þȳ sēl gelȳfen* with similar meaning, accepting the insertion of *sēl* but excluding *sceolon* as another scribal error (1981: 5-6). Donoghue, rightly taking this remedy to assume 'an unlikely sequence of scribal errors', nonetheless strains the line another way by reading *þȳ sceolon sēl lȳfan* (the scribe misreading **sellyfan* for *gelyfan*) with the same meaning but without the verbal prefix, on the grounds that OE *lȳfan*, normally 'allow', means also (though rarely) 'believe' (1987: 8, 188).

735-41 The voice of the stone comes through its surface here, suggesting that its speech is not delivered through the mouth of a human image. Another stone speaking to the assembled company is the Ruthwell Cross, whose runic inscriptions 'speak' quotations from a poem ancestral to *The Dream of the Rood* (Swanton 1970: 9-42, esp. 39).

741 *stīðhycgendum* 'to this stubborn people'. See n. **1429**.

744 *unlæde* 'misguided'. This word is used of untended cattle, as 'on the loose', 'out of control', in the early WS *Fonthill Letter* (Gretsch 1994: 88-89, 99). The evaluative meaning of OE *unlǣd* is 'wicked' or 'unhappy', as with the Mermedonians on lines 30 and 142, the devil in *Juliana* 616, and Holofernes in *Judith* 102. The heretical cast of the Jewish elders here and below in *Andreas* **772** (**n.**) strengthens the case for a more literal meaning here.

762 *swigodon ealle* 'all had fallen quiet'. This occurs in *Beowulf* too, on line 1699, just before the beginning of King Hrothgar's 'sermon', where it has been seen to render the phrase *conticuere omnes* of the same meaning by which Vergil refers to Queen Dido's Phoenicians in *Aeneid*, Book II 1 (North 2006: 7-15, esp. 8, n. 31). Although the idea is commonplace and is expressed in Old English prose, there are no other poetic examples. In *Andreas*, it seems likely that the poet has borrowed the phrase from *Beowulf*.

764 *sōð ne oncnēowan* 'the truth they did not acknowledge'. With this phrase the Jews fail in the same way before Empress Helena in *Elene* 395. Acknowledging God's truth with *sōð oncnēowan* is the first duty of a Christian, as may be seen of true believers in Ælfric's *Homilies* (Godden, ed. 1979: 206.9; 280.22). In this light, the poet of *Andreas* regards Jews as religious heretics, never as heathens.

767-69 *Mān wrīdode / geond beorna brēost ... weorm blǣdum fāg* 'Mad crime flourished through each man's breast ... serpent stained with blasts'. See n. **694**. Society is shown to be corrupted by the perversity of its priesthood. Although the fire-

stained serpent recalls the dragon of *Beowulf* 2669-71, it seems likely that the poet has drawn his metaphor, shifting it from Mermedonians to Jews, from a Latin source analogous either to an older version of the *Praxeis*, or to the ninth-century *Laudatio Andreae* of Nicetas of Paphlegonia (Migne 1862: 80; translated in MacDonald 1990: 23):

> Χαῖρέ, ὅτι τῆς αὐτοπροσώπου θέας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καταξιωθεὶς τήν τε νοητὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ὑπ᾽αὐτῷ κυβερνήτῃ διαπλεῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠμοφάγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδήμων, οὗ κατεβρώθης ὑπ᾽αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐζωγρήσας τῷ Χριστῷ· οὐ κατηναλώθης, τὸν ἐμφωλεύοντα δὲ τούτοις δράκοντα ἀνεῖλες·

> Hail, for you were considered worthy to see Jesus' own face, you sailed the known and seen sea with him as the pilot, and when you visited those who ate people raw, you were not devoured by them, but having been captured alive by Christ, you were all consumed, and you destroyed the dragon lurking among them.

With *wrīdode*, however, his image also resembles the growth of gold-inspired pride in the breast of the bad man in Hrothgar's 'sermon' (see also n. **762**). Thus it is as if the poet has also taken Hrothgar's theme of corruption in *Beowulf*, in which King Beowulf later ingests the poison of a dragon, and applied this to everyman in the Temple.

772 *mæcga misgehygd* 'perversion of young men'. A heavy moment. Andrew blames the Jewish teachers; behind him, the poet perhaps blames lax Christian ones. His term *morðre bewunden* 'enclosed with mortal sin' has already been applied to the Mermedonians, on line **19** (**n.**).

784 *folce gecȳðan* 'reveal to the nation'. See n. **622**.

786 *ofer mearcpaðu* 'on paths through the march'. For the more literal meaning, 'path which marks a boundary', see further n. **1062**. This meaning is here altered by force of the preposition *ofer* 'over, through', and by attraction to *mearcland* 'borderlands' on line **802a** (n.), to refer to a highway. The phrase is also found in *Elene* 233, in *stundum wrǣcon / ofer mearcpaðu mægen æfter ōðrum* 'at times one company drove after another on paths through the march' for the route which is taken by Empress Helena's army on its way to the coast, to take ship for the Holy Land.

795-96 Brooks allows for line 796a, *faran tō frēan dōme*, to be hypermetric, if the second stressed element is read as a contraction of *frēgean (so Bliss 1958: 159), but he rejects this scansion in his own text, 'as other verses are found composed of a mixture of both types' (1961: xliii). The present edition takes up his suggestion, however. This is the first pairing of hypermetric lines in *Andreas*, to be reinforced with line 799 and with a group of three in lines 801-03. The repetition of this metrical effect marks the climax not only of Andrew's story, but also of the episode of the voyage to Mermedonia.

798 *eorðan ... ond upheofon* 'earth ... and heaven up above'. The 'earth-upheaven' collocation is probably older than the arrival of Christianity in lands in which Germanic languages were spoken, for we have *iorð ok upphiminn* in stanza 3 of

Vǫluspá 'sibyl's prophecy', the Icelandic poem datable to c. 1000 (Dronke 1997: 7; Lönnroth 1981: 323).

801-03 Hypermetric lines. See n. **758**.

802a *mearcland* 'borderlands'. The sense here may be closer to that of the poet's introduction to Mermedonia as *mearcland* on line **19** (n.), if we remember that a *mearc* 'march' is set off in more than a topographical way from the civilized country which it borders: like the land of the *Mierce* 'Mercians' (literally 'borderers') so named by Northumbrians or Saxons to either side of them, OE *mearcland* may refer also to a land of social and legal unknowns.

802b-03 *moldern...eorðscræfu* 'mound-house...earth-grave'. A neolithic burial chamber seems visualized as part of an acclimatization to the English landscape. The bodies of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob have been interred in a burial mound in keeping with their pre-Christian practice. See also the barrow in n. **1587**.

809 *mid sybbe* 'with family'. The line enacts a valedictory such as MnE 'go in peace'. However, the patriarchs are in a three-generation sequence from Abraham downwards, and Jesus, as their descendant through King David (Matt 1: 6), claims a kinship. Socially still at the time of *Andreas*, the notion of 'kindred' in OE *sibb* appears to be synonymous with 'peace'.

811 *Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hyse lēofesta* 'Now you can understand, dearest boy'. Also on line **595** (n.). This exegetical rejoinder has no match in the analogues, but there is a parallel in *The Dream of the Rood*, also in the Vercelli Book, on line 78: *Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hæleð mīn se lēofa* 'Now you can understand, my dear sir'; also in this codex, the same line appears in variant spelling in Cynewulf's address to the reader in *Elene* 511. The distinguishing feature of *Andreas* is in *hyse*, Andrew's acknowledgement of what he perceives to be a difference in age. His use of homiletic language is also clear from a comparison with the same style, *Hēr gē magon gehȳran* 'here you can understand', in Ælfric's *Homilies* (Clemoes 1997: 539 139); in *Tertia Ebdomada Quadrigesimæ* (V.218; Pope 1967: 298); and in *Dominica Post Pascha* (VIII.215; 1976: 367).

816 *āræfnan* 'cope with'. This common word contains the only example of the unstressed verbal *ā*-prefix in which the earlier *ar*-form (a variant of the stressed nominal *or*-prefix) is retained (Hogg 2011: §§ 2.82, 2.88, n.4; Campbell 1959: § 73.2). The retained *r* provides an alliterative consonant in verse, and so in *Andreas*. The derivative Anglian verb *ræfnan* 'perform', alliteratively stressed in *ræfnað* in *Guthlac* (A) 792 and *ræfndon* in *Judith* 11, appears to have taken this emphasis further with loss of the initial vowel. The word *āræfnan* occurs three times in the Mercian glosses of Vespasian Psalter: for example, *arefnað sawol min in worde ðinum* 'my soul sustains itself in Thy word', for *sustinuit anima mea in verbo tuo* in Ps. 129:4 (Mertens-Fonck (1969), 27 (A 1)).

816-17 With the opening half-line *rodera rǣdend* 'Ruler of the Skies' suddenly sounding like an invocation to God the Father, rather than the tail-end of the sentence before, Andrew condescends to the captain and inadvertently implies that the Father is

a lesser being. His parting compliment *hygeþances glēaw* echoes the captain's more ironic *þances glēaw* on line **557** (n.).

826 *oððæt* slǣpwērige sǣ *oferēode*<n> MS *oððæt sæ werige slæp ofer eode*. Brooks' solution (1961: 90). The Vercelli Book scribe, or a predecessor, seems to have lost the page of his copy text and found his place with this phrase nearly one side further on. If this is the Vercelli Book scribe, he appears to have confused the text by jumping ahead of himself (from folio 40 recto, at the end of the line which is six page-lines up from the foot) to *us sæwerige slæp ofereode* (words which start the line eight lines up from the foot of folio 40 verso). Closer to his page line on folio 40 recto is the phrase *oððæt hine semninga slæp* (line 820) directly four page lines above him, with the words *ofer eode* starting the following page line.

828-29 The scribe, or a predecessor, has dropped the equivalent of one or more verse lines (between present lines 828 and 829) out of his text, as well as words for which guesses are supplied. From the analogues it seems clear that this lost material can be treated as equal to one verse line.

831 *be herestrǣte* 'by army highway'. See also n. **200**. The road beside which Andrew is left sleeping, leading to the gates of Mermedonia. This word, whose literal meaning is 'army-street', denotes roads of the kind that landowners were expected to maintain in Anglo-Saxon charters so that troops might more easily cross the landscape in response to military threats. The term survived without gloss into the period of Angevin rule: *omnes herestrete omnino regis sunt et omnia qualstowa, id est occidentorum loca, totaliter regis sunt in soca sua* 'all *herestrete* ['highways'] are entirely the king's and all *qualstowa*, i.e. places of killings, are fully the king's within his soke' (Henry II (1114-18), 10, 2; Liebermann I, 1906: 551).

837 *wonn under wolcnum* 'pale beneath clouds'. See n. **1169**.

838 *hofu* 'buildings'. In the supplement to Ælfric's *Vocabulary*, *Ædes* 'building' is glossed by *hof* (WW 184.17); in British Library, MS Harley 3376 of the tenth century, *Edes, i. templum* 'building, or temple' is glossed by *hofa* (*ibid*., 226 4).

839-40 *Onwōc þā wīges heard, wang scēawode / fore burggeatum* 'Awoke then the war-hardened, saw lie of the land before the town's gates'. The militarization of the scene is peculiar to *Andreas*. There is a parallel, however, in Felix' portrait of St Guthlac's early life as a real soldier in his *Vita Guthlaci* 'life of Guthlac' of the 730s: *veluti ex sopore evigilatus, mutate mente, aggregatis satellitum turmis, sese in arma convertit* 'as soon as he awoke from sleep, his mind changed, and with battalions of his retainers mustered, he turned to arms' (ch. 2; Gonser 1909: 108). In the tenth-century Old English translation, this runs: *Hē þā, swā hē of slǣpe onwōce, wearð his mōd oncyrred, and hē gesomnode miccle scole and wered his geþoftena and hys efenhǣfdlingas, and him sylf tō wǣpnum fēng* 'he then, as he awoke from sleep, became agitated in mind and mustered in a great battalion a host of his associates and comrades, and himself took up weapons' (*ibid*., 108). The style of lines 839-50 of *Andreas* similarly allows St Andrew to scout before an attack (*wang scēawode* 839; *sīðe gesōhte* 845) while his disciples are portrayed as soldiers (*beornas beadurōfe* 848; *wīgend* 850) who are ready to follow him on a mission. The relation of *Andreas* to the Guthlac material, if there is a connection, is probably one of emulator to source

(Clemoes 1995: 250). If there is an allusion to Guthlac's case here, however, the heroic life is undercut. As the *Life of St Guthlac* goes on to say (in Old English): *Þā wræc hē his æfþancas on his fēondum, and heora burh bærnde, and heora tūnas oferhergode; and hē wīde geond eorþan menigfeald wæl felde, and slōh, and of mannum heora ǣhta nam* 'Then he avenged the offences against him on his enemies, and burned their towns, and overran their enclosures, and widely across the earth did he make multiple slaughter, and slew, and from the men took their possessions'.

842 *tigelfāgan trafu* 'shacks adorned with tiles'. This term and the surrounding description in lines 839-43 capture Mermedonia as the shell of a Roman city with gate, towers, and walls, now in decline. Mermedonia has been built in stone, but also makes use of a rocky (or mountainous) environment in its defences, creating an instability between its natural and man-made elements. The tiles here, in contrast with the thatching or wooden shingling utilized in the Anglo-Saxon building tradition, are a mark of *Romanitas* which further separate Mermedonia from the wooden architectural vocabulary of almost all secular buildings. Moreover, the choice of *trafu*, as a term for buildings which is primarily used to describe tents rather than permanent structures (as in *Judith* 43, 255, 268), gives the impression that these ones look more like houses in a favela or shanty-town than impressive villas. The Mermedonians are thus portrayed like squatters, more than master builders; see n. **1306**. *The Ruin* of the Exeter Book is similar, on lines 29-31: *Forþon þās hofu drēorgiað, / ond þæs tēaforgēapa tigelum scēadeð / hrostbēages hrōf* 'And so those buildings grow dismal, / and thus the roof's rust-red arch sheds its tiles / from the curving rafters'.

855 *Ic his word oncnēow* 'I knew His words'. Unless this simple preterite of *oncnāwan* 'to recognize, perceive, know' has an unambiguously perfective meaning, as in 'I have recognized his words', Andrew appears to be telling his followers a barefaced lie. The poem makes it clear that he knew the ship's captain's divine identity no more than they did. If he is lying, the poet differs from the analogues, which give Andrew no more than the benefit of hindsight. In the *Praxeis*, Andrew says simply Μάθετε, ὁ κύριος ἦν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωμεν αὐτόν 'Understand that the Lord was with us in the boat and we knew him not' (ch. 17; Bonnet 1959: 85). The Bonnet Fragment, which was found in an eleventh-century palimpsest and corresponds with lines 843-954 of *Andreas*, appears to stress the mercy of God in allowing Andrew and friends to survive their error: *Surgete filii mei et uidete et cognoscite misericordiam dei que facta est nobis et scitote quia dominus Iesus Christus nobiscum erat in nauem et non cognouimus eum* 'Arise my sons, see and understand the mercy of God which has been shown us, and know that Lord Jesus Christ was in the ship and we knew him not' (Bonnet 1959: 85; Brooks 1961: 177). In the Casanatensis, Andrew goes further, rationalizing the deception and implicating his disciples in the failure to know the Lord, in such a way that Andrew might appear to be excusing himself: *unde certissime scitote, quia in illa nave in qua veniebamus, ipse nauclerius cum quo loquebamus dominus erat iesus christus, ipse enim tenebat oculos nostros ne eum agnosceret, propterea non agnovimus eum* 'so know this most surely, that the sailor with whom we were speaking in the ship in which we came here was the Lord Jesus Christ, for he controlled our eyes lest we should know him, and so we knew him not' (ch. 17; Blatt 1930: 65). The version in Blicking Homily XVIII is closer to the Bonnet Fragment, in that Andrew says *'Ārīsað gē, mīne bearn, 7 ongytað Godes mildheortnesse, sēo is nū mid ūs geworden. Witon wē þæt ūre Drihten mid ūs wæs on þǣm scipe, 7 wē hine ne ongēaton; hē hine geēaðmēdde swā stēorreðra, 7 hē*

hine ætēowde swā swā man ūs tō costiænne' 'Arise, my children, and understand God's mercy which has befallen us. Let us know that our Lord was with us on the ship, and we did not perceive Him; He humbled Himself as a steersman, and he appeared as a man in order to test us' (Morris 1967: 235; also Kelly 2003: 160-62). It seems that the poet of *Andreas* departs from this in order to characterize his saint as a man who wishes to save face. In this he resembles Beowulf, when he hides the truth to the Coastguard about his renegade father, or to Heorot, about the outcome of his swimming race with Breca.

858 *geonge gēncwidum* 'young in replies'. Had these trainee apostles been older, they would have answered more tactfully. The youth of Andrew's disciples is emphasized so that they may give Andrew (and us) the full truth of a time-travelling spiritual initiation to which our hero soon discovers he was not invited. For all their joy in the following lines they do not talk to him with the condescension with which Andrew addressed the Lord a little earlier.

859-91 The jubiliation in the disciples' chorus is marked by three arias of reinforced alliteration and a half-line rhyme scheme which resemble the best of Cynewulf, as when his persona talks to us in the Epilogue to *Elene* 1236-50. The relevant passages in *Andreas* are in lines 866-74, 877-83 and 887-91 (if we supply *gefēana* on line 890), with some more reinforced alliteration isolated in lines 861, 864 (if we supply *faran*), and 885. These emphatic arias, as in the Lord's speech in lines **512-36** (n.), have a diminuendo in that their length dwindles from nine to seven to the five lines with which the speech ends. The Cynewulfian echoes are concentrated in the first and third reinforced bursts: in lines 866-70, which correlate with the angelic hymns to be heard in all quarters of heaven, tailing away with an isolated *dryhten-hyhte* ('lord-hope') combination in line 874; before returning with a reinforced rhyme in lines 887-88, not long before the finale.

862 *Ūs sæwērige slǣp oferēode*. See n. **826**.

878 *dugoð dōmgeorne* 'cadre keen for glory'. The *dōm* in this case is heavenly renown. See otherwise n. **693**.

884-85 *ēow þegnodon ... hēahenglas* 'serving you as thanes ... archangels'. Andrew's spirits begin to lift; see line 892.

889 *wrǣcsīð witod* 'exile ordained'. Also in lines 1358 and 1431, respectively as the devil's and the Lord's assessment of Andrew's position. In *Descent* 29, *wrǣcsīð* refers to hell also, but it may be used to render St Augustine's view of the world in general. In Ælfric's case: *Nis þēos woruld nā ūre ēþel: ac is ūre wrǣcsīð* 'this world is not ever our home but is our time of exile' (*Dominica in Quinquagesima*: Clemoes 1997: 261 161-62). The word also denotes the classic situation of exiled warriors or nobles in *Beowulf* 338 and 2292 and *Wife* 5 and 38.

893-94 *syðþan hlēoðorcwide / gingran gehȳrdon* 'since in resounding utterance the disciples had heard'. The *Praxeis* and Casanatensis (chs. 18) give Andrew a selfless elation that his disciples have been considered worthy to see these marvels. The Blickling Homily XVIII omits the dream altogether. Brooks, in keeping with the analogues, takes the above lines from the poem to refer to the hymn which the

disciples hear on line 877: 'The fact that his disciples had heard it was to Andrew a proof that God wished to honour them' (1961: 93). However, the object pronoun *hīe* 'them' on line 894b may also or even exclusively be intended to include Andrew and the other apostles, who have been highlighted as angels serve them on lines 883-85. In this case, the saint's joy is not as selfless as it was probably was in the poet's source.

896 *wīgendra hlēo* 'shield of warriors'. On this formula elsewhere, see n. **1450**. Possibly an ironic use here, in view of the relief with which Andrew has welcomed what appears to be his own future pre-eminence in heaven in lines **893-94** (n.).

909 *sigorspēd geseald* 'great triumph given'. On the formula, see n. **646a**. Andrew, as the Loird makes clear a little later, will feel the suffering which must precede the gift of victory in the Mermedonian case.

912 *þurh cnihtes hād* 'in form of a boy'. Literally 'in the boy-category' is what is meant with this emphatic form of OE *cnihthād* 'boyhood'. The Anglo-Saxon view of age seems social rather than visual, but 'in form of a boy' works better after *oðȳwed* 'revealed' on the previous line. Cynewulf's baby Jesus, who is proclaimed inthe words *ēow ācenned bið cniht on dēgle* 'for you will a boy be secretly begotten' (*Elene* 339), may be the audience's first point of reference, but in the *Praxeis*: Παρεγένετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρός αὐτόν, γενόμενος ὅμοιος μικρῷ παιδίῳ ὡραιοτάτῳ εὐειδεῖ 'Jesus came before him, appearing like a little child of the most beautiful countenance' (ch. 18; Bonnet 1959: 87). In the Casanatensis, this is much the same: *statim apparuit ei dominus in similitudinem pulcerrimi iuvenis pueri* 'at once the Lord appeared to him in the likeness of a most beautiful young boy (ch. 18; Blatt 1930: 67). In the Blickling Homily XVIII, after Andrew prays to Christ to appear before him, *Drihten him ætēowde his onsȳne on fægeres cildes hēowe* 'the Lord appeared to him with His face in the form of a beautiful child's' (Morris 1967: 235; also Kelly 2003: 162). Correspondingly, as regards the word *cniht* in *Andreas*, 'youth' (Clemoes 1995: 258) is probably wrong. The meaning of OE *cniht* can range from birth to young manhood, as stated in the penitential attributed to Egbert: *cniht oð þæt hē sȳ XV winter eald, sȳ hē on his fæder gewealdum, syððan hē hine mōt munecyan, gyf hē wile* 'boy until he is 15 winters old, if he be in his father's care, since this man may remind him if he wants' (*Confessionale pseudo-Egberti* in Oxford, MS Bodley, Junius 121: XV, 18.b; Spindler 1934: 183). The tender years of OE *cnihthād* are clear in a line about the first St Boniface in the Mercian Alfredian translation of *Gregory's Dialogues*, who performed great works *on þā tīd þe hē mid his mēder on cnihthāde eardode* 'during the time he dwelt in boyhood with his mother'; the Latin is *eo tempore quo cum matre sua puer habitabat* with similar meaning (Hecht 1965: 67). In the Old English, Gregory goes on to say that St Boniface performed these works *þā hē þā ȝēt in his ȝeoȝoðhāde lȳtel wæs* 'when he was still little in his youth' (*ibid.*, 68). In *Andreas*, for these reasons, it is probable that Jesus appears to Andrew as a little boy; a word for 'beautiful' is not included.

914 *'Wes ðū Andrēas hāl mid þās willgedryht* 'Greetings to you Andrew, and your happy band'. Listed as a problem by Mitchell, for *Andreas* does not alliterate and *wes*, which does, takes an unmetrical stress (1985: § 3963). Stevens takes the metre of this line to be 'totally corrupt', with the imperative *wes* 'be' alliterating at the expense of the noun (1981: 14). See n. **1316**. It seems likely that a vocative lay in the poet's

source: in the *Praxeis* (ch. 18), Jesus says *Χαῖρε Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε* 'Greetings our Andrew' (Bonnet 1959: 87); in the Casanatensis (ch. 18), *gaudeas andreas noster* 'Rejoice, our Andrew' (Blatt 1930: 67), in which the injunction answers to the poet's (*wes*) *ferðgefēonde* in line **915a** (see following note). Jesus' greeting in the Bonnet Fragment has the same injunction, but without the name: *Gaudeas cum tuis discipulis* 'Rejoice with your disciples' (Bonnet 1959: 87). The second part of this greeting, which answers to *mid þās willgedryht*, might tell us that the source of *Andreas* combined these elements in **gaudeas Andreas cum tuis discipulis*. This appears to be the source of the words in Blickling Homily 18, where Jesus says *Andrēas, gefēoh mid þīnum discipulum* 'Andrew, rejoice with your disciples' (Morris 1880: 235). For a suggestion that *Andrēas* in this line of the poem alliterates by being sounded /wa̱ndrēas/ through the influence of *ðū*, see Introduction, p. $$. In the context, where Jesus appears as a child, the poet's alliteration may allow him at least initially to speak as a child.

915a *ferðgefēonde* '(be) rejoicing in your heart', i.e. 'rejoice in your heart'. Orchard ('The Originality of *Andreas*', forthcoming) points out that this elsewhere unattested verbal compound seems to be a new word developed by the poet of *Andreas* from a collocation *ferhð gefēonde* 'a spirit rejoicing' which is found in Cynewulf's *Elene* 174 and 990.

915b *Ic þē friðe healde* 'I will keep you safe' etc. This declaration, not in any analogue, responds to Andrew's request for mercy on lines 902-03. As Clemoes points out, 'God's answer, as the poet conceived it, supplied a genuine response to the combination of personal devotion and general maxim' with which Andrew for the first time acknowledges His help (1995: 277-78). However, the *frið* 'safety' in question safeguards no more than Andrew's survival. With these words the Lord hints at tortures to come.

920-24 Andrew's outburst extends to five lines without a break: an effusive rather than considered apology.

925 *ealwalda god* 'Omnipotent God'. Nonetheless, the following words are still spoken by a boy: the poet seems keen to play the situation for its extremes.

930 *þing gehēgan* 'make your appointment'. Also on line 157-58, where the Mermedonians *symble ymb þrītig þing gehēdon / nihtgerīmes* 'ever thus made appointment for after thirty nights in number'. Although Stanley (1979) puts the meaning of this idiom and the similar *seonoþ gehēgan* beyond semantic salvage, some recovery may be made. OE *þing* covers 'tryst', 'appointment', 'business'; hence, in this context, 'date' in the style of 'fixed appointment'. The meaning of *gehēgan*, possibly literally 'to hedge about' (of the stem of OE *haga* 'hedge', but with different ablaut grade), is less clear; but the two words go together, in Old Norse *þing heyja* also, perhaps as 'to mark off, i.e. to organize, an appointment'. The meaning of this cognate Norse phrase has been situated in courtship in the first instance (Foote 2004: 64); Óðinn, in an apparently pre-Christian verse, says of his seduction of a young woman:

> léc ec við ina línhvíto   oc launþing háðac,
> gladdac ina gullbiǫrto,   gamni mær unði.

> I played with the linen-white woman and made a hidden tryst,
> gladdened the gold-bright one, the girl gave me some fun.

That this *þing* 'tryst' is *laun-* 'hidden' means not that *þing heyja* is otherwise alien to love-encounters, but that the case here contravenes a familial or marital code (as in the tale of *Billings mær* 'Billingr's wife', Óðinn's near-conquest in *Hávamál*, stanzas 96-102; North 1991: $$). Where matters of wisdom and religion are concerned, however, 'private appointment' appears to be the sense of *þing* in *þing gehēgan*. In *Maxims* I 18-18, we learn that *þing sceal gehēgan / frōd wiþ frōdne* 'one wise man shall keep appointment with another' or 'hold his day with another'. *Andreas* itself contains a variant of this expression when Andrew and Matthew on line 1049 *mid him mæðel gehēdan* 'between them did hold conference', before dividing forces; later, Andrew *mæðel gehēde* 'held conference' with the marble pillar on line 1496, in order to make it yield a flood. In contrast with this privacy, there is a homiletic passage (for which no source is known) in *The Phoenix* 493, where the Lord will *seonoþ gehēgan* 'set up synod' for the Day of Judgement. A similar turn of phrase appears in *JDay* I 5, in which (Bede says that) *hafað him geþinged hider þeoden ūser* 'our Chief has appointed Himself here' precisely for Judgement, adding in line 8 that *nis þæt lȳtulu sprǣc tō gehēganne*, 'that is no little speech to organize'. Beowulf promises perhaps more playfully to Hrothgar in *Beowulf* 425-26 that he alone (with the help of his men) shall *āna gehēgan / ðing wið þyrse* 'alone make / appointment with the ogre'. As Foote suggests, 'if any irony were detected' in Beowulf's line (by an imaginary audience of Norsemen in England), 'it might be because keeping such an appointment also implied a softer passage of arms than Beowulf and Grendel had in prospect' (1977: 72). The Lord's use of *þing gehēgan* in His reminiscence to Andreas may be coined with reference to this line in *Beowulf,* so as to align Andrew with the Geatish hero who saves people from cannibals. If this is true, the humour is all the Lord's, at Andrew's expense.

936 The scribe writes *hrædlice* where the poet, in *ārīs nū hrædlīce, rǣd ǣdre ongit*, seems to pronounce this without *h-*. See further n. **1334**.

940 *under burglocan* 'into the stronghold'. Also in lines 1038 and 1065. It is also once in *Genesis* (A) 2538, for the protection of city walls, as well as being Beowulf's term for the quarters in which Hygelac's young queen Hygd lives (with *burh-* in *Beowulf* 1928).

947b-49 This fitt of *Andreas*, as do several others, ends on the note of the hope of going to heaven. However, it is also worth noting that the aftermath of Matthew's rescue, Andrew's near-martyrdom before the miracle which turns his cannibal hosts back into humans, is left for the next fitt.

951-56 Jesus' promise of much violence but no death to Andrew in the coming trials is marked by reinforced alliteration in six lines, an emphasis which he does not accord with the story of his own sufferings on lines 960-70. However, the earlier part of his speech, in the foregoing fitt, does give this alliterative emphasis to Matthew's sufferings more briefly on lines 942-44 and 947-48.

959 *dōmes georn* 'eager for renown'. See n. **693**.

963 *weras wansǣlige* 'men ill-fortuned'. According to a story told to Judas (later Cyriacus) by his father in *Elene*, the historical Jewish elders who plotted Christ's execution were *weras wansǣlige*, on line 478, for thinking that they could kill him; the poet calls their descendants the same, perhaps meaning just 'unhappy men', when they hear the news of the Invention of the True Cross on line 977. Grendel when we first hear of him is *wonsǣlī wer* 'a man ill-fortuned' in *Beowulf* 105. However, the prospect of damnation which applies in these cases does not affect the Mermedonians. All bar fourteen of them are said to be saved from this fate at the end of *Andreas*.

967 *rōd wæs ārēred* 'a rood was raised'. The same formula appears in first-person narrative in *Dream* 44: *Rōd wæs ic ārēred*; also, without verbal copula, on line 886 of *Elene*. Oddly enough, these are the collocation's only instances, and all in the Vercelli Book.

973 *Manige syndon* 'Many are those' etc. From here the Blickling Homily XVIII, which runs out where Christ tells Andrew that he suffered in order to set him an example, must be completed with the text in CCCC, MS 198, starting with *'Gehīere mē Andrēas, and ārǣfna þās tintrego, forþon manige synt on þisse ceastre þā sculon geleofan on mīnne naman'* 'Hear me, Andrew, and endure these torments, because many are those in this city who shall believe in my name' (Morris 1967: 237).

981 *mōdgeþyldig* 'man of mental patience'. This word is attested only here, although the simplex *geþyldig* 'patient' survives in more than 500 examples. There are no compounds with *geþyldig* which start with *hyge* or *ferhð* or any other term for mind. Against this uniqueness of *mōdgeþyldig*, it is worth noting that King Hrothgar, not long after the start of his 'sermon' in the centre of *Beowulf* and within the poem's first of three extended hypermetric passages, compliments Beowulf with *Eal þū hit geþyldum healdest, / mægen mid mōdes snyttrum* 'all this power you are keeping with patience, with wisdom of mind' (lines 1705-6). It is reasonable to suppose that the poet of *Andreas* crystallizes Hrothgar's phrase in a compound for Andrew at this moment, in order to align him with Beowulf, although Andrew's great feats have yet to be realized. See also the following note.

982 *beorn beaduwe heard* 'warrior hard in battle'. OE *beadu* 'battle' occurs as a simplex without *heard* relatively rarely, in nine places (*Andreas* 1186; *Beowulf* 709; *Riddle* 88 28; *Maxims* I, 61, II, 15; *Juliana* 385, *Elene* 45; *Judith* 212; *Maldon* 185). The only other collocation with *heard* is in *Beowulf* 1539a, in which Beowulf is *beadwe heard* 'hard in battle' as he closes with Grendel's Mother, with nothing but his hands. This epithet seems peculiar to Beowulf himself: formally it provides the closest parallel to *Bǫðvarr* 'battle-ready', the name for Beowulf's counterpart in the oldest Norse analogues. In *Beowulf*, the epithet is preceded by a verb, *brægd* 'moved', in the same half-line; this differs from the line in *Andreas*, in which the verb on the line, *ēode* 'entered', belongs to the following clause and is metrically unstressed. On metrical grounds, Stevens (1981: 12) concludes of the latter line that 'the emphasis of the passage is on a static impression of the hero, not movement'. On this evidence, as well as on that of line **981** (n.), Andrew's approach to the jail is initiated by a pregnant pause, in which the poet redefines him as a hero on the scale of Beowulf.

991 *carcerne nēh* 'near the prison'. See n. **90**.

992 *hǣðenra hlōð* 'a heathen prize-gang'. Strictly these men are guards, but the poet gives them the ignominious aspect of slavers guarding Christian captives. In the context of English history from the later ninth to early eleventh centuries, such people were Vikings. See n. **42**.

995 *druron dōmlēase* 'they fell without renown'. This alliterative formula is attested only here. OE *dōmlēas* occurs but twice elsewhere: in *ChristS* 230, where hell's fallen angels confess that they are *dōmlēase* 'without renown' ('without choice' in Bradley 1982: 93) for having to fight a losing war with God for all eternity; and in *Beowulf*, where Wiglaf on line 2890 makes clear to his dead king's bodyguard that the enemies of Geatland will rush in once they hear of their *dōmlēasan dǣd* 'deed of no renown', their abandonment of the king and flight from battle. Similarly in *Elene* 994, the converted Judas promises an offending demon an eternity of torment as *dōmes lēasne* 'one without renown' ('disreputable' in Bradley 1982: 188). In each case, including that of the seven guards in *Andreas*, the loss of renown connotes an ignominious defeat.

998 *heofoncyninges gōd* 'Heaven-King's goodness'. OE *gōd* here (on line 8 of folio 42 verso) is accented, as if the scribe, or that of his exemplar, has mistaken the word for 'God' (in a binominal genitive construction such as *eorðan mōdor* 'earth the mother'). On the 10 instances of *gód* 'God' in the final two thirds of *Andreas*, see the Introduction, p. $$.

999-1000 *Duru sōna onarn* 'At once the door rushed open' etc. There is a unique parallel with *Beowulf* 721-22, in which the touch of Grendel's hand opens Heorot's doors with the same violence: *Duru sōna onarn, / fȳrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum æthrān* 'At once the door rushed open, / made firm with fired bonds, when his hands touched it'. The effect is first to prepare for a cannibal's entry, then to reveal Andrew. See Introduction, p. $$.

1000 *hāliges gastes* 'of the holy guest'. This reading flies in the face of the topos *hāliges gāstes* 'of the Holy Ghost', on line 531, and the form *gāst* for 'spirit' is also applicable on line 468. Brooks leaves the vowel long, pointing out that MS *gast* is the only attested form in *Andreas* for words which may mean either 'guest' or 'ghost'. MS *gastes* on line 1000 (and similarly on line 1088, 1621 and 1694, if not in other cases) ay be a standardized form. In the analogues, where Andrew kills the seven guards and opens the prison door by making the blessing with his right hand, there is no word of the Holy Spirit, although the latter's agency might be assumed. There is another instance of MS *halig gast* in poetry with the same ambiguity: the poet of *Daniel* calls three Israelites of the Babylonian captivity *hālige gastas* 'holy guests' as if they are foreign missionaries on line 26 and 480. With MS *haliges gastes* also on *Andreas* 1621, the ambivalence is similar: here, again, 'guest' is to be preferred. Jesus himself is *heofonhālig gast* 'heaven-holy Guest' in the Temple on line 728. As 'Holy Ghost', the collocation *se hālga gāst* is fairly common, to be found elsewhere, for example, in Ælfric's *De initio creaturae* (Clemoes 1997: 179.19), *Nativitas Domini* (*ibid.*: 195-96.171-72) or *Assumptio s. Iohannis Apostoli* (*ibid.*: 212.191).

1002-03 *Hǣðene swǣfon / drēore druncne, dēaðwang rudon* 'Heathens were sleeping blood-drunk, had reddened the plain of death'. The poet appears to make a parody of the noble heathen in heroic verse, if not principally in *Beowulf*. His mock-heroic language is directed to Mermedonians as if they were the Danish guests in Heorot, whom Grendel sees *rinca manige / swefan sibbegedriht samod ætgædere* 'many warriors, a kindred retinue sleeping mustered together', in *Beowulf* 728-29.

1008 *in þām gnornhofe* 'in that court of lamentation'. See n. **838**.

1011-13a *Gode þancade / þæs ðe hīe onsunde ǣfre mōston / gesēon under sunnan* 'gave thanks to God/ that they had ever been permitted to see one another / safe beneath the sun' etc. These lines change what was probably in the poet's source, for in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis Matthew barely waits before reproaching Andrew for coming, for not heeding what they were taught, and apparently for not working a miracle. Andrew answers with the news that he is on a mission from God. The emotional welcome in the above lines of *Andreas* seems to be based on a 'thank God' formula which is also in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, I, 9, where Simeon, carrying the child Jesus into the Temple, *þancode georne gode þæt hē hine gesēon mōste* 'eagerly thanked God that he had been permitted to see him' (Clemoes 1997: 250 33-34). More closely, the above lines in *Andreas* resemble two instances in *Beowulf*. In one, the Geats, on seeing their friend surface from Grendel's Mere, *gode þancodon (...) þæs þe hī hyne gesundne gesēon mōston* 'gave thanks to God (...) that they were permitted to see him safe and sound' (lines 1626-28). In the other, more emotionally on his sister's son's return from Denmark, Hygelac says: *Gode ic þanc secge / þæs ðe ic ðē gesundne gesēon mōste* 'To God I say thanks that I have been permitted to see you safe and sound' (lines 1997-98). Less close expressions are in Hrothgar's thought on line 1875, about parting with Beowulf, *þæt h<ī>e seoðða<n nō> gesēon mōston* 'that they would never thereafter see each other more'; and in Guthlac's telling his servant (Beccel) to tell his sister (Pege) in *Guthlac* (B) 1186-67, that his desire has been *þæt wit unc eft in þām ēcan gefēan / on sweglwuldre gesēon mōstun* 'that she and I might be permitted to see each other again in that everlasting rejoicing in the glory of the firmament'. *Andreas* and *Beowulf* come closest in the formula, on which they both build with *gesund* or *onsund*, words for 'safe'. If the poet of *Andreas* alludes to *Beowulf*, he appears to align Matthew and Andrew for a moment with Hygelac and Beowulf.

1013-14 *syb wæs gemǣne / bām þām gebrōðrum* 'Goodwill was shared between both brethren'. The older meaning of OE f. *sibb* 'kindred' is more enveloping, but Matthew and Andrew were not related, nor are given so here. With just two men, the collective noun *gebrōðor* is figurative and means 'brethren'. It seems that the poet modifies the meaning of the word *sibb* in order to elevate the fellowship of the holy spirit over blood kinship.

1022-23 *sǣde him gūðgeðingu* 'told him the outcome of battle' etc. A hypermetric half-line and full line (Brooks 1961: xliii and 96). On the noun, see n. **1042b-43**. This pairing of hypermetric lines appears to emphasize the warlike confidence with which St Andrew is now possessed (see n. **1023-24**).

1023-24 *Nū is þīn folc on luste, / hæleð hyder on [* 'Now are your people in high spirits, heroes here in ['. The sentence is cut short by the loss of a folio (see n. **1024-**

25). Krapp (1932: 31), followed by Boenig (1991a: 100), emends MS *þin* to *þis* 'this', but Brooks is probably right to keep it (1961: 33, 94). With an emended *þis folc* 'this people', Andrew would mean that the Mermedonians are filled with joy or excitement at his arrival and the deaths of seven guards: If, on the other hand, the emended *þis* refers to Andrew and his men, the form *þīn*, which also includes this referent, should stay. In the first instance *þīn folc* would have to refer to Matthew's fellow prisoners. In both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis (ch. 19), Andrew's first utterance is a question to Matthew, asking him why he is still there and how he could not use a miracle to escape, given that he expected to be eaten in under three days. In neither analogue does Andrew's question include the other inmates, but as he looks for them at the start of the next chapter in both analogues (ch. 20), the English poet may have brought them forward here. Brooks thinks so, taking them to be the *folc* which Andrew cites above. These people, given that Matthew *ðǣr āna sæt* 'sat there alone' on line 1007, 'do not appear to be in the same cell with him' (1961: 96). So Andrew's sentence with *þīn folc* could be reinterpreted as the opening of a question in which he asks Matthew about the other prisoners whom he cannot yet see: are your people now filled with spirit at our arrival? However, the verb *sǣde* on line 1022 does not introduce a question. Neither does the DOE database give other examples of Old English questions which begin with *Nū is*. The latter introduces a statement in more than 200 examples. There is a parallel for Andrew's syntax in the young Pharoah's words in the Old English prose *Exodus*: *Nū is Īsrahēla folc micel 7 strengre þonne wē* 'Now is the nation of Israel big and stronger than we are' (I, 9; Crawford 1969: 212). With a statement, in this case, Andrew would be commending Matthew's fellow prisoners for their spirit and noting that they are approaching the two apostles even as he speaks.

However, the other inmates are in a woeful state. The upbeat mood suits Andrew's men better than Matthew's, whose people are only a *weorod on wilsīð* 'band on a happy journey' (line 1046) after they are released with their sight restored. They are the subject of ch. 20 in both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis, when Andrew laments about their misery before they are healed. The leading analogues may be taken as some sort of guide. In both of them, Andrew's men accompany him to the prison (ch. 19). Although the poet, especially in lines 981-1003, makes clear that Andrew goes there without them, Andrew's words to Matthew on *þin folc* may compensate for his solitary advance by announcing that Matthew's 'people', Andrew's 'high-spirited heroes', are 'now' on their way. The phrase *on luste*, rather as in *Andreas* 1023, describes Constantine's and then Helena's armies both victorious and on the move in *Elene*, rspectively lines 59 and 261; the flood in *Andreas* is similarly buoyant on line 1573: *flōd wæs on luste* 'flood was in spate'. This aggressive meaning fits with the poet's summary of Andrew's message as the *gūðgeðing* 'outcome of battle' on line 1023. Andrew is filled with warlike confidence. The question now is what next happened in *Andreas*.

1024-25 A folio has been neatly cut out of the quire between present folios 42 and 43. To get an idea of how much of *Andreas* is missing here, we may take the quantity on folio 42 recto as an example. This folio has 24 lines of text, from line 950 to end of line 986 of *Andreas*, 37 verse lines in all. If we double that, a notional number of missing verse lines may be taken as around 74. Chs. 19-20 of the leading analogues tell us what could have been in the poet's main source for these lines. In the *Praxeis*, Andrew appears to jest with Matthew, asking him why he is still there with the prospect of being eaten, when he might have used miracles to escape. Matthew

responds by reminding him that the Lord said that they would once be 'sheep in the midst of wolves' (Matt. 10:16 and Luke 10:3; see n. **1669**). He adds the Lord's later promise that he would be rescued after 27 days. 'What should we do now?' Matthew asks Andrew. Ch. 20 begins with Andrew peering into the middle of the prison for a sight of the other prisoners. When he sees them naked and eating grass, he beats his breast, exclaiming at what the Mermedonians have done. There follows a long rebuke of Satan in which Andrew (rhetorically, at this stage) asks the devil what he intended by punishing the Christians in this way, and how long he will wage war against mankind. Andrew reminds Satan of his crimes, starting with the expulsion of Adam from paradise and the figurative transformation of Adam's bread into stones; καὶ πάλιν σὺ ἐπεισῆλθες ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς ἐν γυναιξὶν μιανθῆναι, καὶ ἐποίησας ἀδιαθέτους τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς γίγαντας, ὥστε κατεσθίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 'and later you entered into the minds of the angels and made them defile themselves with women, and you made their unruly sons giants, so that they ate up the people of the earth' (ch. 20, from Gen. 6: 1-4; Bonnet 1959: 92). But the Lord, says Andrew, wiped out the giants with a flood in order to destroy all He had made on earth but for the righteous Noah. Here Andrew accuses Satan of making the Mermedonians consume human flesh and blood so that the Lord will destroy them in the same way. However, he reminds the devil of the Lord's promise (in Gen. 9:11) never again to flood the earth. Andrew ends by promising punishment to Satan instead. This aggressive speech dignifies the tale of cannibals by grounding it in the Old Testament; and the allusion to Noah's Flood looks forward to the lesser surge which Andrew will inflict on the city near the end (Anlezark 2006: 216). The Casanatensis delivers on the same theme without significant change. The poet of *Andreas* probably related similar details. Doubtless he would have dropped the angelic fornication, to judge from his tactful omission of the statues' accusation about high-priests' sexual mores in ch. 14, but it is reasonable to suppose that the poet let him digress on Genesis and Noah. In all, the analogues show that the missing text answers effectively to ch. 20, a chapter which is important to the whole story in that it gives these *Acts of SS Matthew and Andrew* their authority and rationale. It is interesting to find particularly this part of *Andreas*, which would have contained a statement of Andrew's mission in miniature, so neatly removed from the codex..

1025 *<eald>]gewyrht, eardes nēosan* '<ancient>] deeds, to seek an abode'. Line 1026 shows that these words conclude a speech. OE *eald* as a lost prefix is a guess on alliterative grounds, since one of the only two instances of *ealdgewyrht*, concerning Adam's 'ancient deeds' (see n. **1024-25**), is found in the Vercelli Book, in *Dream* 100 (the other is in *Beowulf* 2657). OE *eardes nēosan* occurs once elsewhere, for heaven, also in the same codex: in *Fates*, just after *Andreas*, on lines 109-110, Cynewulf's persona declares that *Ic sceall feor heonan, / ān elles forð, eardes nēosan* 'I must move far from here, one man elsewhere, to seek an abode'. In the analogues Andrew's speech ends with the Lord's promise to Noah, as well as with Andrew's threat to the devil. It is worth speculating that the latter, as an instruction to return to hell, is contained in what remains of Andrew's speech.

1028-31 *sendon hira bēne (...) hǣlend helpe* 'first sent their boon (...) the Healer for help'. The first prayer is presumably for victory against the devil in Mermedonia, as it seems to be in both the analogues (ch. 21). With *swylce* 'likewise' on line 1029, we have a new prayer from Andrew alone. If this is his personal prayer for survival in the coming trials, the word *swylce* probably relates not to help against the devil, but to the

healing of Andrew's future wounds. This is the healing implicit in *gēoce* and *hǣlend* on lines 1030 and 1031 (see n. **91**). The earlier 'help' implied in these words is the healing of Matthew's fellow prisoners. Although Brooks assumed that this miracle was contained in the missing folio (1961: 96), the analogues show that it is probably meant to happen between the lines 1028-31 above.

1035-36 tū hund*tēontig ... swylce fēowertig <ond fēower tweowa>* 'two hundred ... as well as forty <and twice four more>'. 248, then. A *7*-abbreviation (the 'Tirrhonian note') in the manuscript is here removed before *hundtēontig*. As Brooks explains, there is a general problem with the number of prisoners in the Mermedonian jail (1961: 97). According to Codex Vaticanus: *Erant nam omnes intra ergastulo promiscui sexus et mulieribus fere cum viris, quippe ducentis nonaginta et septem cum sancto apostolo* 'for all inside the prison were mixed together in gender with women often with the men, even up to two hundred and ninety-seven with the holy apostle [Matthew]' (Blatt 1930: 108). The Casanatensis gives the same, with specifications: *Erat autem qui retrusi fuerunt, numerus quasi ducenti quadraginta octo, absque mulieribus que fuerunt quadraginta novem* 'so the number of the arrested was up to two hundred and forty-eight, apart from the women who numbered forty-nine' (ch. 21; *ibid.*, 73). The Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) gives *twā hund and eahta and fēowertig wera, and nigon and fēowertig wīfa, ðā se hālga Andrēas þanon onsende* 'two hundred and forty-eight men and forty-nine women whom the holy Andrew sent away from there' (Morris 1967: 239). The *Praxeis* gives various numbers according to manuscript: 270; or a '249' which Blatt emends to 297: Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες διακόσιοι ἐβδομήντα καὶ γυναῖκες \τεσσεράκοντα ἐννέα οὓς ἀπέλυσεν Ἀνδρέας ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς 'they were in all two hundred and seventy men and forty-nine women whom Andrew released from the jail' (ch. 21; Bonnet 94); emended by Blatt to ἄνδρες διακόσιοι σαράκοντα (ὀκτὼ καὶ γυναῖκες σαράκοντα) ἐννέα 'two hundred and forty men (and eight and forty women) and nine men' (1930: 72). Blatt's text thus has 249 men and 48 women: the total is still 297.

In the lines of *Andreas* above, where MS *tu 7 hundteontig* plus *feowertig* would make a total of 142 men (102 + 40), the removal of *7* partly solves the problem by making 240 (2 x 100, + 40), as Kock shows, who treats MS *tu 7* as a miscopying of *twa* 'two' or *tuwa* 'twice' (1921: 105). Brooks leaves the matter there, saying that 240 is 'nearer the number required'. More may be done, however. The manuscript has no lacuna after *swylce fēowertig* on line 1036, but it is clear that a half-line is missing despite the intact text. The present editors supply *ond fēower* on the assumption that the scribe's eye skipped a second *fēower* by haplography after *fēowertig*. That gives us 244 (240 + 4). Then we supply the word *tweowa*, partly on the same grounds: if the *eow*-sequence was already visible in *fēowertig*, a word *tweowa* may likewise have disappeared. A parallel to this method of counting may be found in the Alfredian *Orosius*, in which the city of Babylon *gestōd tuwa seofon hund wintra on hiere onwealde ǣr hīo gefēolle* 'stood in dominion for twice seven hundred winters before it fell' (i.e. 1400 years, in VI.i; Bately 1980: 132-33). Thus we may suppose that the poet of *Andreas* reaches the total of 248 men by counting 2 by 100, plus 40, plus 8 (as 2 by 4).

1038 *under burglocan* 'in the stronghold'. See n. **940**.

1040 *ānes wana þe fīftig <forþgerīmed>* 'one short of fifty <numbered forth>'. For his female prisoners the poet counts with a different method. The scribe seems to have struggled. Brooks believes that grammatically *ānes wan þe fīftig* should be read (1961: 97). He ingeniously suggests that a word *forþgerimed* in the copy-text disappeared by haplography through its resemblance to *forhte* immediately after. Although he leaves this word out of his text, it is supplied here.

1042a *lēordan* 'departed'. For this as the Anglian equivalent to WS *gewiton*, see n. **124**.

1042b-43 *nales leng bidon ... gūðgeþingo* 'would not at all longer await the outcome of battle'. There is a misleading resemblance to OIce *gunnar þing* 'war assembly' (a kenning for 'battle'), but the OE compound, which only occurs here and later on line 1043, is closer in meaning to *gūðgemōt* 'battle encounter' in *Genesis* (A) 2256 and *Riddle* 15 27. The above collocation of *gūðgeþingo* with *bīdan* resembles one in *Beowulf*, where the hero, expecting Grendel at the end of Fitt X on line 709, *bād bolgenmōd beadwa geþinges* 'awaited swollen with rage the battle's outcome'.

1047 *wolcnum beþehte* 'with clouds He covered'. Andrew's escape plan, in which he tells Matthew and the others to find a fig tree in the lower city and wait there, eating the fruit till he comes, is happily left out of *Andreas*. Possibly this is because Andrew amends the plan with some transport. According to the *Praxeis*: ἐπέταξεν Ἀνδρέας νεφέλην, καὶ ἀπέθετο αὐτοὺς ἦ νεφέλη ἐν τῷ ὄρει ὅπου ἦν ὁ Πέτρος διδάσκων, καὶ ἔμειναν πρὸς αὐτόν 'Andrew summoned up a cloud, and the cloud lifted them on to a mountain where Peter was teaching, and they stayed with him' (ch. 21; Bonnet 1959: 94). The Casanatensis follows suit, saying that Andrew *per virtutem domini nostri iesu Christi <p>recipiens nubibus celi, et elevantes discipuli eius una cum beato matheo apostolo. Et deposuerunt illos in quodam montem ubi erat beatus petrus apostolus, et manserunt ibi cum eo* 'brought up clouds from heaven through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his disciples were raised up along with the blessed apostle Matthew, and the clouds placed them down on a certain mountain were blessed Peter the apostle was, and there they stayed with him' (ch. 21; Blatt 1930: 75). In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), there is no cloud, but still *þone ēadigan Māthēum hē gedyde gangan tō þēm east-dæle mid his discipulum and se hāliga Andrēas āsette on þære dūne þǣr se ēadiga Petrus se apostol wæs* 'he made the blessed Matthew go to the eastern part with his disciples and the holy Andrew set <them> down on the hill where blessed Peter the Apostle was' (Morris 1967: 339). The poet of *Andreas*, probably having decided to lose the escape to Peter's mountain top (Boenig takes this to be Rome), turns the cloud into a cloak to protect Matthew and the others from Mermedonian arrows, should any be shot at them (none are). The phrase *wolcnum beþehte* is ambiguous enough to mean Matthew or Andrew, but here the poet appears to give God, whose *gehyld* 'safe hold' he has cited on line 1045, as the author of this cloud.

1048 *mid earhfare ealdgenīðlan* 'ancient enemies, with a flight of arrows'. In *Judith* 228, the Assyrians are *ealdgenīðlan* 'ancient enemies' of the Bethulian heroes of this poem. *SolSat* 129, includes an *atole earhfare* 'terrible flight of arrows' in the devil's panoply. The Father is said to protect man against devils' *ēglum earhfarum* 'terrifying arrow-attacks' in Cynewulf's *Christ* II 762. Though it is clearly Mermedonian bowmen who are feared in *Andreas*, the other uses of *earhfare* may show that the poet

blends them with devils, their mentors. These creatures are more deserving of an *eald*-prefix to their epithet as enemies of Christians. The Mermedonians may already have been identified as descendants of devil-begotten giants in the folio which was excised (n. **1024-25**).

1049 *Þǣr þā mōdigan mid him mid him mæðel gehēdan* 'Between them where the brave men held conference'. Taken to be a subordinate clause preceding the main one (Mitchell 1985: § 2448). On the verbal idiom, see nn. **262**, **607-09** and **930**.

1059 *glædmōd* 'relieved in mind'. This adjective may mean 'cheerful' (1), or 'joyous' (1.a) because of a particular circumstance, or 'calmer, easier in mind' (1.b.ii), according to DOE, which gives it the 1.a designation here in *Andreas*. According to these definitions Beowulf is also *glædmōd* 'joyous', in his own case because Hrothgar informs him that treasures will be given in the morning, in *Beowulf* 1786. In Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* (990s), the pagans of Gaul are said to be *glædmōde* 'joyous' as they begin to chop down a holy pine-tree which, they hope, will crush the saint to death (ch. 10; Skeat II, 1966: 244 406-07). In *Andreas*, however, the notion that Andrew's men's have escaped suffering is strong enough for him to have a weight off his mind when he heads back into the city. In the ninth-century Lindisfarne Gospel glosses, the blind man healed by Jesus is told to rise up, with *glæddmōd wæs ðū ārīs*: as this glosses *anima equior esto surge* 'be easier in mind, arise' in Mark 10:49, it seems that OE *glædmōd* can mean 'relieved in mind' (Skeat I, 1871: 85).

1061 *be mearcpaðe* 'along a path between houses'. The pillar of brass stands near to the street that passes between houses, and may mark the *þingstede* (line 1098) on which the Mermedonians converge after finding that their prisoners have been set free. Andrew has not moved from this spot by line 1135, when he has a clear view of the child who is to be killed for food. Gathering at landmarks on or near boundaries in order to conduct judicial processes and executions was something with which every Anglo-Saxon who heard these lines would have been familiar, although this is clearly an inversion of the proper course of events, as is much else in Mermedonia. See discussion of meeting places and boundaries in the introduction (pp. $$-$$). The phrase *be mearcpaðe* here may just vary *strǣte nēah*, but literally OE *mearcpað* is 'a path which marks the boundary'. In *Riddle* 72 11-13, what appears to be an ox *sīþade wīddor, /mearcpaþas Wālas træd, mōras pæðde, / bunden under bēame* on 'journeyed further, trod a Welshman's boundary paths, made paths on the moors, bound under beam'. Here the *mearc* 'boundary' seems to divide fields which are ploughed by slaves. Earlier in *Andreas*, on line **786** (n.), this word is found in the plural *ofer mearcpaðu* 'on paths through the march', to refer to the lonely highway on which the statue from the Temple in Jerusalem treads towards Mambre. This usage is similar to the remaining instance in which, with Empress Helena's army in *Elene* 232-33, *stundum wrǣcon / ofer mearcpaðu mægen æfter ōðrum* 'at times one company drove after another on paths through the march'.

1063 *strǣte nēah stapul ǣrenne* 'near the street a pillar of brass'. Here the lost source of *Andreas* matches with the *Praxeis* more closely than with the Casanatensis. In the *Praxeis*, Andrew walks back into town, and stops by a certain street, θεασάμενος στῦλον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἐπάνω ἑστηκότα καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκασθέσθη ὀπίσω τοῦ στύλου ἐκείνου ἕως ἂν ἴδῃ τί ἔστοι τὸ γενόμενον 'having seen a copper pillar and a statue standing on top of it and going there, he sat down by that pillar in order to see

what would happen' (ch. 22; Bonnet 1959: 94). According to the Casanatensis, *vidit statuam erectam stantem super columnem marmorem, expectantem autem quid occideret de eo* 'he saw a statue standing upright on top of a marble column, and then waited to see what would happen with it / him' (ch. 22; Blatt 1930: 73). In the homily, according to CCCC, MS 198: *hē ongan gangan ūt þurh midde þā ceastre, and hē cōm tō sumre stōwe, and hē þǣr geseah swēr standan, and ofer þone swēr ǣrne onlīcnesse* 'and he did go out through the middle town, and he came to a place, and saw a pillar standing there, and on the pillar a brass image' (Morris 1967: 239). In all sources Andrew's aim in going to the pillar is to help the Mermedonians find him. The *Praxeis* makes this especially clear with a play on the saint's name Ἀνδρέας and ἀνδριάς (as in 'an Andrew on the pillar') which is the word for statue not only here but also in the scene in the jail before the flood (see n. **1492-94**). In the scene where Andrew later sees the prison statue, the Greek text juxtaposes the words as if to make the statue Andrew's proxy, in καὶ ἀνελθὼν ὁ Ἀνδρέας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνδρίαντα ἤπλωσεν τας χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἑπτάκις 'and going up on the statue Andrew clapped his hands seven times' (ch. 29; Bonnet 1959: 109). The pun on his name lets one suppose that in the *Praxeis* Andrew chooses the statue on the copper pillar in order to draw attention to himself as the organiser of the great escape.

1067 *sīde herigeas* 'wide armies'. See n. **652**.

1071 *under hlinscūwan* 'under latticed shadow'. An urban architecture is implied, but the jail's association is also with hell. Cynewulf may be the source: in *Juliana* 543-45, Satan is described as *þone snotrestan / under hlinscūan helwarena cyning / in fēonda byrig* 'under latticed shadow the cleverest king of hell's denizens in the town of fiends'.

1072-77 The discovery of the jail standing open and its prisoners gone recalls both the Harrowing of Hell and the discovery of Christ's tomb standing empty on Easter Sunday (Matthew 28.1-10, Mark 16.1-8, Luke 24.1-12, John 20.1-18).

1074 *him sēo wēn gel<ē>ah* 'that hope deceived them'. This idiom for a reversal in expectations is familiar from *Genesis* (A) 49 and 1446; as well as in *Beowulf* 2323, where the Dragon's faith in the security of his barrow, after his torching of the Geatish villages and countryside, is given as misplaced.

1075 *mid corðre* 'with its guard of honour'. OE *corðor*, also on lines 138, 1121, 1204 and 1716, is a common word for an elite retinue placed physically near its king, as when Edgar of England, in 973, is *corðre miclum to cyninge gehālgod* 'hallowed as king in a great retinue' in *The Coronation of Edgar* 2. Among older examples, the Pharaoh brings *cyningas on corðre* 'kings in retinue' with him after the Israelites, in *Exodus* 191 and 466; Nebuchanezzar is a *cyning corðres georn* 'king eager for a retinue' in *Daniel* 95; the *cāser* 'emperor' Constantine *on corðre swæf* 'slept among his retinue' before his vision in *Elene* 70. Finn of the Frisians is also slain *cyning on corþre* 'a king in his retinue' in *Beowulf* 1153; and Wiglaf *ācīgde of corðre cyninges þegnas* 'called out from the retinue king's thanes' seven in number to accompany him into the Dragon's mound, in *Beowulf* 3121. The frequency of this term is high in *Andreas*.

1081 *ellreordigra* 'out of these barbarians'. The word 'these' is here supplied because the adjective *ellreordigra* stands for a noun, just as *feorrcundra* 'of strangers from abroad' on the line before. OE *el(l)reordig*, literally 'speaking a foreign language', is standard for Latin *barbarus* 'barbarian', a Greek-derived word for 'foreigner' which was created by onomatopoeia (βάρ βάρ) for unintelligible sounds. With the exception of *Andreas*, the Old English word occurs only in prose. In the Mercian and WS rendering of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the sub-Roman Britons complain to Aetius that *repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros* 'the barbarians drive us back to the sea, the sea to the barbarians (I, 13; Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 46): this is translated as *ūs drīfaþ ðā ellreordan tō sǣ; wiðscūfeð ūs sēo sǣ ūs tō þām ǣllreordīum* 'the barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea shoves us back to the barbarians' (Miller 1890: 48.6-7). In his description of Kings Penda and Caedwalla (in 633), Bede says that Penda, as a heathen was bad, but that *alter quia barbarus erat pagano saeuior* 'the other one', Caedwalla, 'for being barbarian was more savage than a heathen' (*HE* II, 20; Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 202). The translator amplifies this: *ōðer wæs þæm hǣðnum rēðra 7 grimra, forðon þe hē elreordig wæs* 'the other was fiercer and more savage than the heathens because he was a barbarian' (Miller 1890: 148. 13-14). Bede says why: *erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri uel innocuae paruulorum parceret aetati* 'he was a barbarian in mind and customs, in that he did not spare even women for their sex, or little children for their innocent age'. In the vernacular, Caedwalla *wæs in his mōde ond on his þēawum tō þon elreordig, þæt hē ne furþum wiiflīce hāde oðþe þǣre unsceðþendan eldo cilda ārēde* 'was in mind and customs a barbarian, to the extent that he would not make allowance even for woman's sex nor for children's innocent age' (Miller 1890: 148.17-19). Neither the *Praxeis* nor the Casanatensis puts a term for the escaped prisoners into the mouths of the Mermedonians at the corresponding place in the story, let alone one so strong as 'barbarian'. That the poet of *Andreas* does so is perhaps because he enjoys the irony of cannibals in a state of outrage.

1088 *blātes bēodgastes* 'a pale guest at table'. An allegorical personification of hunger in the previous line. OE *blāces* with the same meaning has been read for MS *blates*, but as Brooks indicates, no change is necessary. For OE *gast* as the poet's or scribe's standardization of WS *giest* 'guest', see n. **1000**.

1090a 1090b *gefeormedon. [...] Duruþegnum wearð*. The line continues in the manuscript without a break, but a mid-line textual lacuna is clear from the lack of alliteration. As the analogues do not have much material between these points, it is reasonable to suppose that little more than a line has dropped out.

1092b *hild<e>bedd styred* 'war-bed disturbed'. MS *hildbedd* is so emended because of the weight of the second element, as in OE *hilderinc*, in contrast to *hildfruma* or *hildfreca* where a succession of two short syllables caused loss of the medial vowel (Stevens 1981: 25). There are no other instances of *hild(e)bedd*, which corresponds with a detail in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis in which the Mermedonians haul the dead guards respectively to a ληνός 'trough' and *lacus* 'tank' in the town square, with runnels for the blood and next to an oven (ch. 22; Bonnet 1959: 96; Blatt 1930: 75). However, the larger phrase resembles one in *Beowulf* 2436, where for Herebeald, oldest son of King Hrethel, *wæs (...) morþorbed strēd* 'a bed of death was dispensed' when he dies from an arrow mistakenly shot by his brother Hæthcyn. Hrethel's death from grief is that of the noblest heathen of them all; the poet *Andreas* may mock this

by recasting Hrethel as the bad father, a self-centred infanticide. Stevens, treating *morþorbed strēd* as the source, calls *hild\<e>bedd styred* 'an unintelligent alteration of the formula as it occurs in *Beowulf*', since it fails to scan (1981: 25). The word *styred* has thus been emended to *strēd* 'dispensed' to bring the line closer to *Beowulf*. However, since this emendation does little for the line but clear the Mermedonians of eating the dead guards, it is better to leave *styred* as it is. The pagans want, but fail, to eat their corpses in both *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, although, according to the latter, the Mermedonians have made a habit of eating their dead: *Interea nullus hominum qui ab hoc seculo exiebat sepeliebatur, sed omnes conmedebant* 'Meanwhile no man was buried who departed this world, but they would eat all of them' (end of ch. 24; Blatt 1930: 79). An aside of this kind may have been in the now-lost source of *Andreas*, to be used by the poet as his license for a cannibal feast.

1099 *taan wīsian* 'show a lot-twig'. For the late WS spelling *taan* for OE *tān* 'branch, twig', see also *oor* for *ōr* 'beginning' on line 649 and *faa* for *fā* 'wicked' on lines 1593 and 1599. Drawing lots in the analogues has here become the use of a twig to point out victims at random.

1105 *ūðweota eorla dugoðe* 'philosopher to the troop of nobles'. In the *Praxeis*, this man is called γεραιός, in the Casanatensis *senior*, both meaning simply 'old man' (Bonnet 1959: 96; Blatt 1930: 75). Meanings of OE *ūðwita* vary, as do the spellings. In the Rushworth glosses to Mark 2: 6, of the scribes who sit by while Jesus forgives the sins of the paralysed man, the verse *erant autem illic quidam de scribis sedentes et cogitantes in cordibus suis* is glossed *wēron wutudlīce þǣr sume of ūþwutum sittende 7 ðencende in heortum* 'indeed there some of the scribes were sitting there and plotting in their hearts' (Skeat 1871: 17). Cynewulf uses *ūðweotan* in *Elene* for the priests who *æht bisǣton, / on sefan sōhton hū hīe sunu meotudes / āhengon* 'sat in council, sought answers in their minds to how they might hang up the Measurer's Son' (lines 473-5). Additionally, *ūðuuta* glosses *Philosophus* 'lover of wisdom' in the Corpus Glossary of MS CCCC 144 (WW 39.20); *þā ūþwitlīcan* glosses *gymnica* 'things to do with high-school' in the eleventh-century MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 414.17; also in *ibid.*, 521 16); *uþwita* glosses *sophista* 'sophist, sage' and *gymnisophista* 'school sophist' in the early eleventh century Brussels manuscript of Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis* (Goossens 1974: 265.1813; 150.56, and 343.996); and *ðǣre ūðwiottelīcan*, the Graeco-Latin *Achademice* 'of the academic [art]' also in the Cleopatra Glossary (WW 354.11). The poet of *The Battle of Brunanburh* tells us that tribal history is learnt from *bēc, / ealde ūðwitan* (-*witan* ABCD) 'books, old teachers' (line 68-69), presumably such books as Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (*c.* 734). Ælfric, in *The Life of St Basil*, says that the saint *wunode mid þām ūþwytan on lāre ealles fīftȳne gēr, and eallne þone wȳsdōm wundorlīce āsmēade, þe grēcisce lārēwas him lǣran cūðan* (Skeat I, 1966: 52.22-25), 'lived in study with the philosophers for all of fifteen years, and wonderfully ingested all the wisdom which the Greek teachers could teach him'. In this way both 'elder' and '(foreign) intellectual' are signified in this word.

Kathryn Powell suggests that the -*weota* spelling marks the meaning 'elder' in the gospel context, and that consequently the *ūðweota* of *Andreas* 1105 means no more than 'elder', as in the analogues: 'The idea of this captain among cannibals being understood as any sort of philosopher scholar, even metaphorically, is quite absurd, especially in light of the poem's general use of heroic language to frame Andrew's encounter with the Mermedonians' (2006: 321). However, we have seen that

absurdity is probably the aim with pagans in *Andreas*. It is also worth noting that the poet, unlike Cynewulf in *Elene*, does not use any form of *ūðweota* for the priests or elders in Jerusalem, when he so often could, on lines 670-75, 710, 741-43, 761-72. This usage brings the meaning of *ūðweota* closer to 'pagan intellectual', as here. See further n. **1220**.

1108 *collenferhð* 'the audacious'. DOE presents the meaning of OE *collenferhð*, as 'brave, bold-spirited, proud, audacious', is positive in all instances, including here in *Andreas* (sv. *collen-ferhþ*). Andrew himself is *cēne collenferð* 'the brave audacious man' when he gives up the Mermedonian jail on line 1578. His disciples are *collenfyrhðe* 'men of brave cheer' when they board ship on line 349. Beowulf is the *cuma collenferhð* 'audacious visitor' as he prepares to leave Heorot, in *Beowulf* 180; Wiglaf inside the mound is known simply as *collenferð* 'brave' in line 2785, as curiosity moves him to find out whether Beowulf is still alive outside the dragon's barrow. Judith and her maidservant in *Judith* 134, are *collenferhðe* 'audacious' or 'stout-hearted' for walking coolly through enemy lines. The man who makes or who is tempted to make a vow in *The Wanderer*, and whom the poet enjoins to know himself first, is called *collenferð* 'brave', 'bold' or 'audacious' on line 70. With the bad father in *Andreas*, who matches up morally with none of these people, the usage is probably ironic.

1112 *þēod wæs oflysted* 'nation was in craving'. See *on luste* in n. **1023-24**. The *of-*prefix intensifies the adjective, showing an extreme of desire.

1113-14 *næs him tō māðme wynn, / hyht tō hordgestrēonum* 'had no pleasure in precious things, no hope in wealth hoarded'. See n. **1159b-60a**.

1114 *hyht tō hordgestrēonum; hungre wæron* 'no hope in wealth hoarded; with hunger they were' etc. Although there are still at least 608 lines to go, a third of the poem, this line appears to be the last of its hypermetric kind in *Andreas* (Brooks 1961: xliv). Its emphasis on treasure as a token of civic values looks forward to the restoration of civic identity under Christianity, implicitly through tithes, in line **1655** (n.).

1115 *se ðēodsceaða* 'that despoiler of the nation'. Hunger (Clemoes 1995: 278). Usually the *þēod*-prefix denotes 'arch-', a token of magnitude, but a reanimation of this word's meaning is required by context in order to show the ruin of the Mermedonian polity. See also n. **1257-58**. The poet of *Beowulf* uses this term for the Dragon on lines 2278 and 2688.

1116 r*ēow rīcsode* 'cruel did reign'. The first word is emended from MS *hreow* 'cruel' to make a better alliterating line. The scribe seems to have hyper-corrected the form, for which a parallel occurs in his *behlidenan* for OE *belidenan* on line 1089 (see n. **1334**).

1118 *tō þām beadulāce* 'to the play of battle'. The one other extant instance of this collocation is in *Beowulf* 1561, of the giants' sword which is too big to be carried *tō þām beadulāce*. 'This passage,' notes Brooks (1961: 101), 'in which the Mermedonians come out in full battle array to kill a single child, is another example

of absurd exaggeration by the poet'. This is indeed the means by which our poet subjects the pagans to ridicule.

1122 *eogoðe* 'young companies'. As with *eador* for OE *geador* 'together' on line 1627, the loss of initial *g-* is a perhaps testimony to the scribe's dialect rather than the poet's (Brooks 1961: 101). See Introduction, p. $$.

1124 *hǣðene herigweardas here samnodan* 'heathen temple-keepers mustered a war-party'. The image of unruly warriors in a *þingstede* differs from the composure of Mermedonians in the city-square as the analogues present this, with bureaucrats running a soup kitchen with some albeit human food. The poet also appears to play on *herig-* '(public) heathen shrine', for OE *hearg*) and *here* 'raiding band' (disputed in Brooks 1961: 101), in order to identify sacrificing with predatory warfare. The same is more succinctly achieved in the boy's being *gehæfted for herige* 'bound before the band' on line 1127; and in the devil's claim that it is Andrew *sē ðyssum herige mǣst hearma gefremede* 'who to this war-band has done the greatest harm' on line 1198. In both cases *herige* might also mean 'temple'. The secondary meaning of *beadulāc* (also 'battle offering') implies also, on line **1118** (n.), that the boy's death is a sacrifice (to Satan, god of Mermedonia).

1131 *ǣglǣcan* 'monstrous adversaries'. See n. **1359**.

1139 *<þrīst ond> þrohtheard* '<bold and> long-tried'. The textual lacuna is filled by Brooks on the basis of comparison with line 1264a.

1150-54 The poet's exclamation of thanks to the Lord nicely rounds off the fitt as other pieties do with other fitts in *Andreas*.

1155 *Þā wæs wōp hæfen* 'Then was raised a weeping'. As in *Beowulf* 128, *þā wæs æfter wiste wōp up āhafen* 'then after feasting was weeping raised'. The poet of *Exodus* says more demonstratively that *wæs in wīcum wōp up āhafen* 'a weeping was raised in the camps' when the Egyptian army is spied advancing on the Israelites in *Exodus* 200. If the poet of *Andreas* alludes to *Beowulf* with this weeping formula, he does so with a mock-heroic inversion: the Mermedonians are not noble pagans shrinking from the evidence of cannibalism so soon after their own feasting, but real ones who regret not feasting in that way themselves.

1158-59a *Hornsalu wunedon / wēste, wīnræced* 'Horn-gabled halls remained, wine-palaces, deserted'. Mermedonia's empty buildings parallel those described in *The Wanderer* and *The Ruin*, but here it seems that the Mermedonians' sin renders them unable to feast and exchange wealth in their communal places. Mermedonian temples do not feature, but perhaps the poet implies that these heathens worship at home (as Scandinavians did in history). Later on in the *Praxeis*, when the seven devils attack Andrew in his cell, one of them claims that ἐποίησας τα ἱερὰ ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεχθῶσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθῶμεν 'you have turned our temples into empty houses, so that no sacrifices are performed in a way in which we too might rejoice' (ch. 26; MS Paris 1539 has ἐποίησας τὰς ἱερὰς ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι 'you have turned our holy houses into empty ones'; Bonnet 1959: 104-05). The empty halls in *Andreas* may render a Latin version of a similar

line (as well as mocking the emptiness of King Hrethel's halls when his son Herebeald is killed).

1159b-60a *welan ne benohton / beornas tō brūcanne* 'of wealth the troops / enjoyed no profit'. The preterite-present verb (from **benugan*) *beneah* (like *dugan*, *deah*), means 'have possession of' as well as 'to enjoy' (DOE, sv. *be-neah*, 1, 2). This reiterates the earlier loss of interest in gold, *næs him tō māðme wynn, / hyht tō hordgestrēonum* 'he had no pleasure in precious things, no hope in wealth hoarded' on lines 1113-14. In the *Praxeis*: Καὶ τούτου γενόμενου θεασάμενοι οἱ δήμιοι τὸ γεγονὸς ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα 'and when this happened, the judges, seeing what had happened, were struck with extreme terror' (ch. 23; Bonnet 1959: 99). In the Casanatensis: *Hoc cum vidissent carnifices, timuerunt valde* 'when the butchers saw this, they were greatly terrified' (ch. 23; Blatt 1930: 79). Our poet's elaboration of his source's doubtless simpler picture of Mermedonian despair bespeaks an ideology of Christian capitalism: see n. **360**, also Introduction, pp. $$-$$.

1160b *on þā bitran tīd* 'in that bitter time'. How long does the famine last? The Mermedonian food-shortage is omitted in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198; Morris 1967: 239), but the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis make clear that Andrew is arrested after a sequence of events which cannot take place over more than a few hours. The poet of *Andreas* suspends the temporal unities, making time so elastic as to be measurable by the emotions of depressed Mermedonian cannibals (a parody of one of the most elegiac passages in *Beowulf*, that of King Hrethel's passage into God's light, may be his aim).

1161-62 *Gesǣton searuþancle sundor tō rune / ermðu eahtigan* 'The ingenious sat apart in secret counsel pondering their misery'. Towards the end of *The Wanderer*, on line 111, a philosopher's initially desperate nineteen-line speech on resigning oneself to the transience of earthly things is framed with the (hypermetric) line: *Swā cwæð snottor on mōde, gesæt him sundor æt rūne* 'Thus spoke a man clever in mind, sat apart with himself in secret counsel'. Whether or not this is meant to be Boethius (North 1995), the poet of *Andreas* makes it clear that his thinkers are not intellectuals. Secondly, the Mermedonians resemble the Scyldings after Grendel's initial attacks, where many a man often *gesæt / rice tō rune, rǣd eahtedon* 'sat powerful in secret counsel, they pondered their options' (*Beowulf* 171-72).

1164-65 *Ne hele sē ðe hæbbe* 'Let him not hide it who has' etc. Coming from a cannibal, these words may be a parody of *Maxims*, or of its spirit:

> Frige mec frōdum wordum!   Ne lǣt þīnne ferð onhǣlne,
> dēgol þæt þū dēopost cunne!   Nelle ic þē mīn dyrne gesecgan,
> gif þū mē þīnne hygecræft hylest   ond þīne heortan geþōhtas.
>   Glēawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan.

> Question me with learned words! Don't keep your mind closed,
> or keep hidden what you most deeply know. I won't tell you of my secrets,
> if you hide your skill of mind from me and the thoughts of your heart.
>   Prudent men must exchange their poems.
>   (*Maxims I* 1-4)

Unlike the older analogues, the Old English Homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) cuts out all mention of Mermedonians' attempts to eat the guards and then each other. The *Praxeis* gives its Mermedonians a question: θεασάμενοι οἱ ἄρχοντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἔκλαυσαν κλαυθμὸν μέγαν λέγοντες· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, τι μέλλομεν ποιεῖν; 'the rulers, seing what had happened, exclaimed with a great cry, saying "Woe is us, what are we going to do?"' (ch. 24; Bonnet 1959: 99). More macabrely Roman, the Casanatensis stupifies the pagans with despair: *Principes autem iterum cum hoc vidissent, et gladii liquefacti, moti in magnis fletibus dixerunt, iam mortui sumus* 'once more indeed did the leaders, when they saw this, and the swords that had melted, were moved to great floods of tears and said: "Now we are dead"' (ch. 24; Blatt 1930: 79). Neither analogue offers any detail to match such recourse to wisdom as we find in the Mermedonians of *Andreas*.

1168 *dēoful ætȳwde* 'the devil appeared'. In *Andreas* he does so apparently in response to the private comments above. This is the first appearance of a devil in the poem.

1169 *wann ond wlitelēas* 'pale and unradiant'. As the second epithet shows, the devil's colour is livid. Barley, who finds that the Old English system of colour classification 'falls firstly, not upon hue, but upon brightness', puts *wan* with *fealo* ('basically yellow but variously tinted with shades of red, brown or grey, often pale but always unsaturated': DOE, sv. *fealu*) and other terms for horses, asserting that *wan* is supplied for things negatively specified for hue, 'dark things which are glossy to the point of having highlights rippling over their surface' (1974: 15, 24). However, Barley's discussion includes neither this case in *Andreas* nor *wan(n)*'s qualification of a flame in *Beowulf* 3115 (see below). In the eighth century, OE *tha uuannan aetrinan* glosses *liuida toxica* 'pale poison' in the Épinal Glossary; likewise *tha uuannan etrinani* in the Erfurt Glossary 576 (Pheifer 1974: 31). The ninth-century Kentish OE *wanniht* glosses *lividas* 'pale [nights]' in WW 50.32. Some eleventh-century Kentish additions to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis* give, for *cerulea* 'blue', the words *sweart*, *nigra*, *tetra*, *wan*, *tunsa* 'black, burned black, dark, ?beaten down' (Goossens 1974: 446 4638). It seems from this evidence that OE *wan(n)* or *won(n)*, like MnE *wan*, is unsaturated, denoting not a black pigment but a lack of light in all the objects which it describes. Thus the colour of *se wonna hrefn*, the 'raven' which is imagined as a harbinger of doom by the Geatish Messenger towards the end of *Beowulf*, on line 3024, must be matched with the *wonna lēg* 'pale flame' on line 3115 of that poem (in apposition to *glēd* 'ember' on line 3114). In *Beowulf* 651 *niht* 'night' is said to slide over everything while being *wan under wolcnum* 'pale beneath the clouds'. With similar meaning, the shadows of night retreat before the sun, being *wonn under wolcnum* 'pale beneath clouds' in *Andreas* **837** (n.). In both cases, the clouds of the formula indicate a lack of light. The unique compound *brūnwann* 'dusky' describes the falling night in *Andreas* **1306** (n.).

1170 *morþres brytta* 'dispenser of deadly sin'. In *Elene* 957, a devil is called *synna brytta* 'dispenser of sins', as a pun on the commonplace heroic *sinces brytta* 'dispenser of treasure' which is more obvious than in *morþres brytta* above. The one extant parallel for the latter formula is in *Judith* 90, where the heroine herself uses *morðres brytta*, here probably 'dispenser of murder', for the Assyrian king Holofernes.

1178 *þonne gemet wǣre* 'than were meet'. The archaic 'meet' for 'moderate' is here chosen in order to replicate what seems to be a play in the devil's words on the third-stressed word in the line, the most important, between *gemet* 'moderate, meet' and *mete* 'food, meat'.

1180 *<wǣpnes> spor* 'the weapon's track'. Brooks (1961:104) fills the clear textual lacuna with the same half-line from *Juliana* 623.

1181 *ealdorgeard* 'life-fort' (MS *eadorgeard*). Only here. This emended expression draws attention to the relationship between human bodies and places of habitation, as does *bānhūs* at 1240. What Satan promises to Andrew's body anticipates the violence which will be done to Mermedonia. See also n. **1240**.

1187 *ond þū here fȳsest* 'though you inflame the war-band'. The word *ond* here appears to be a concessive conjunction, corresponding to *ond þēah* 'although' (Mitchell 1985: 3516). Brooks renders 'if', comparing with an *ond*-construction in *Juliana* 378-79 (1961: 104). The objection to this reading is that the devil in question is already damned, as Andrew reminds him in lines 1189-90. Mitchell is loth to accredit this sense to *ond*, one which he takes to be too early (1985, §§ 3668-70). See also n. **630a**.

1188 *fāg wið god* 'outlawed from God'. This formula is used by Satan, of himself in *ChristS* 96; and it describes the dying Grendel in *Beowulf* 811. It has a royal variant in II Æthelstan (924-39): *Gif hwā hine wrecan wille oððe hine fǣlǣce, þonne bēo hē fāh wið ðone cyng7 wið ealle his frēond* 'if a man wishes to avenge himself or puts himself in a feud [with an agent of the law], then he is an outlaw with the king and with all the latter's friends' (20, 7; Liebermann I, 1906: 160).

1189 *Hwæt, ðū dēofles strǣl* 'See, you devil's arrow'. In the Old English homily, Andrew says *āna þū heardeste strǣl tō ǣghwilcre unrihtnesse* (Morris (1880), 241), 'O you arrow, hardened to all wickedness!'. Although the *Praxeis* has no such term for the devil here, Andrew says ὦ Βελία ἐχθρότατε 'O most hated Belial' earlier in the story to the devil urging people to arrest him (ch. 24; Bonnet 1959: 65). Zupitza suggests that a Latin translator mistook this name for βέλος 'dart, arrow', translating it as *telum* or *sagitta* (1886: 184-85). Although neither Casanatensis nor any other analogue has detail of the exchange, this suggestion seems plausible, although the mistake could have been made from Greek into English as well as into Latin. Powell suggests that this phrase reached the poet of *Andreas* through *dēofles strǣlas* in Cynewulf's *Christ* II, 779-82 (2002: 202).

1198 *ðyssum herige* 'to this war-band'. If there is a pun on OE *hearg*, an additional meaning 'to this temple' may also be understood. See further n. **1124**.

1199 *sē mē on flīteð* 'who cuts me in a flyting'. OE *flītan* glosses *disceptare* 'to argue' in the glossary in BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 387.4); *flītaþ* glosses *Disceptant*, *lacerant*, *contendunt* and *disputant* 'they argue, cut to pieces, contend, dispute' in BL, MS Harley 3376 (WW 222.38).

1200 *wordum wrǣtlīcum* 'with extraordinary words'. See n. **630a**.

1208 *ellen fremman* 'do a deed of courage'. This idiom is best known from *Beowulf* 3 and 637. It has been argued that King Alfred borrowed *Beowulf*'s use of the noun for his translation of Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae* in the late ninth century (Clemoes 1995: 68-72) . In *Andreas*, however, the quality of *ellen* is expected to be mental, for the Lord goes on to say that Andrew must fortify his mind. In lines 1241-42, where *hæfde him on innan / ellen untwēo*nde 'he held on within him to undoubting courage', *ellen* denotes the courage of endurance.

1219 *Æfter þām wordum cōm ‖ werod unmǣte* 'after those words came a host without measure'. The verb is placed in keeping with Brooks' prosody (n. **88** and Introduction p. $$). Krapp places the caesura after *cōm* on this line, though not on line 88a (1932: 37). Orton considers that Krapp's and Brooks' arrangement on their line 1219a 'gives a more satisfactory metrical pattern to the b-verse than does his arrangement of 88, though in neither line may the breach of the law of clause openings be avoided by editorial verse- or clause-division' (1999: 294, n. 21).

1220 *lyswe lārsmeoðas mid lindgecrode* 'lying professors with an armoured platoon'. This striking line appears to be created by the poet of *Andreas*, although the subject noun may come from Cynewulf, whose *Elene* 202 provides the only other instance. Cynewulf says here that the True Cross is found in Jerusalem *þurh lārsmiðas* 'by pharisees' (i.e. biblical scholars) who know all the locations desoite having forged their study of biblical texts. In *Andreas* 'professor' seems a better choice of term than 'pharisee' in view of the non-Hebraic character of Mermedonians. OE n. *lyswe* 'falsehood' is almost as rare, used of Lot in *Maxims* I 187. Unique to *Andreas* is also the word *lindgecrod*, literally 'shield-troop'. Though *lind* 'shield' is found in *Andreas* 46, and *lindgestealla* 'comrade in arms' on line 1344, the formulation with the similarly unique *gecrod* 'troop' (MnE *crowd*) is unparalleled. This poet seems keener than the analogues to attribute Mermedonian error to the ruling class.

1221b *bǣron ūt hræðe* 'bore him out quickly'. Brooks (1961:105) suggests that the object of *bǣron* is 'weapons', as in 'they rushed out in force'. Stevens (1981: 24) emends to the infinitival *beran ūt hræðe* on grounds of *bǣron*'s metrical irregularity, removing Brooks' semi-colon before and taking with *cōm* on line 1219 (i.e. 'came bearing out'). This emendation, even if possible through the scribe's West-Saxonizing an Anglian *bēron*, is rejected by Brooks because it involves two deviations of spelling.

1229a *Hēton þā lǣdan* 'Bid him then be led', for the first time. On the temporal unities, see n. **1458-60**.

1229b *ofer landsceare* 'over countryside'. On the noun, see n. **501**. In the analogues Andrew is dragged around the streets of the city. Here and with *innan burgum* 'within the town' on line 1235 of *Andreas*, we appear to have an acclimatized picture of the oldest English town, which is semi-rural. Yet the poet, as seems likely with *ymb stānhleoðo* 'around the stone cliffs' on line 1233, is still keen to represent a sub-Roman city with masonry and pavements in streets. In order to show Mermedonia's increasing loss of civilized values, he blends his buildings and paving stones into the cliffs and rocks of the landscape.

1230a *ðrāgmǣlum tēon*. Brooks (1961:106) inverts to *tēon ðrāgmǣlum* on metrical grounds, having classified the MS form as a rare metrical type (E), whose other instances have come under editorial suspicion. The scribe may have inverted the true arrangement, as he suggests, but then the metrical grammar of *Andreas* may permit the phrase as it is written.

1230b *torngenīðlan* 'grievous enemy'. As Brooks observes (1961: 106), this adjective can be read as accusative singular for Andrew himself. Normally one might expect it to be a nominative plural, for the Mermedonians, but the situation is not normal and the poet deceives our expectation by presenting the saint as his enemies see him. He does the same inversion with the words *lāðne gewinnan* 'the loathed dversary' on line 1249 and *ǣglǣca* 'monster', which refers to Andrew on line **1359** (n.) and apparently to Jesus on line **1362** (n.). Correspondingly, in the above scene of outdoor torture, he presents Andrew's demonically possessed persecutors as heroes, with the epithets on lines **1232-33** (n.).

1232-33 *dēormōde* (…) *stǣrcedferþþe* 'valiant men (…) men of hardened hearts'. See n. **1230b**.

1233 *ymb stānhleoðo* 'around the stone cliffs'. Cliffs or buildings? The poet appears to merge the city with the landscape, as though the city is devolving to a primordial state. See n. **1229b** and Fig. 6.

1235 *enta ǣrgeweorc* 'once the works of giants'. OE *enta ǣrgeweorc* occurs elsewhere only in *Beowulf* 1679, for the golden hilt from Grendel's Mother's cave which is given over to King Hrothgar before his central 'sermon'. The *ǣr*-prefix in the compound emphasizes antiquity in what is otherwise a common formula. Elsewhere in *Andreas*, the supporting columns on which Andrew looks in the jail basement are described as *eald enta geweorc* 'old works of giants' on line 1495 (see n. **1494-95**). The Lord through time is said to lay waste to great cities, *eald enta geweorc*, as a matter of course in *The Wanderer* 87. The Dragon's mound in *Beowulf* is called the same in line 2774. It is also just *enta geweorc* on line 2717, albeit this chamber has been built 1000 years before the narrative present by a people now disappeared: as with *ōrðanc enta geweorc* 'skilled works of giants', in the English landscape in *Maxims* II 2; or with the Roman city in *The Ruin* 1-2: *wyrde gebrǣcon, / burgstede burston, brōsnað enta geweorc* 'events broke it up, shattered the town dwellings, the works of giants crumble'. Mermedonia differs, however. The poet's use of *enta ǣrgeweorc* indicates that all this torture in some way takes place in and around Mermedonia, suggesting that the present Mermedonians were not its builders (see also n. **1495** and Introduction, pp. $$-$$). As with the description on lines 839-43, the poet blurs elements of the natural rocky landscape with those of human construction (see Fig. 6).

1240 *bānhūs ābrocen* 'bone-house broken'. As with the reference to Andrew's body as an *ealdorgeard* 'life-fort' (see n. **1181**), the noun emphasizes the relationship between human bodies and body and places of human community. It is also found on line 1405; and with *ābrocen*, in *Guthlac* (B) 1367. A body hangs on the gallows until *sāwlhord, / bāncofa blōdig, ābrocen weorþeð* 'the soul-hoard, bone-coffer bloodied, becomes broken up' in *Fortunes* 13-14. A warrior says that his *byrne ābrocen wǣre* 'mail-coat was shattered' in *Finn* 44. As a participle, OE *ābrocen* also occurs with

burhweardas 'town guardians' in *Exodus* 39 (see also n. **660**) and with *bodscipe* 'commandment' in *Genesis* (A) 783. In *Beowulf*, however, the commoner usage is with *gebrecan*: Dæghrefn dies from the hero's death-hug, when his *bānhūs gebræc* 'bone-house broke' in line 2508; and at Beowulf's funeral pyre, on line 3147, we see that the fire *bānhūs gebrocen hæfde* 'had broken his bone-house'. *Beowulf*'s different use of *bānhūs* sets it apart from *Andreas* and the other poems.

1249a *Lǣddan þā* 'Then they led', for the second time. See n. **1458-60**.

1249b *lāðne gewinnan* 'the loathed adversary'. This is Andrew. On the poet's shift of perspective, see n. **1130b**.

1251-52 *him wæs lēoht sefa / hālig heortan nēh, hige untȳddre* 'in Andrew the saintly senses near the heart were light, his mind unfragile'. OE *hyge* denotes mental resolution, or courage which stems from that (North 1991: 88-91); *tīdre*, cognate with *tender*, is 'frail, weak, infirm'.

1257-58 *hrīm ond forst, / hāre hildstapan* 'rime and frost, hoar-grey marching soldiers'. With the nonceword *hildstapan* here, as Stiles observes, 'a military metaphor operates within the symbolic landscape of a traditional elegiac setting to depict Andrew's psychological state' (2002: 138). The analogues refrain from figures of this kind, but this sudden blast of winter resembles the storm from the north in *The Wanderer* 99-115, the frost in the plaster in *The Ruin* 4, and the equally binding winter of *The Seafarer*. Brooks points out (1961: 107, n. 1255 ff.) that these lines in *Andreas* on winter make an Ethiopian location and identity for Mermedonia implausible. As Peter Clemoes once observed (Orchard 1995: 278), the figure of marching winter is also in the Icelandic *fjúk ok frost gekk alla nóttina* 'rime and frost walked all night long', in *Fóstrbrœðra saga* 'fosterbrothers' saga', a work of ecclesiastical style possibly from the late twelfth century (ch. 4; Bjarni and Guðni 1943: 136). This device is not unique to the poet of *Andreas*, for the poet of *Exodus* personifies *yldo ond ǣrdēað* 'old age and early death' as *regnþēofas* 'arch-thieves' on line 539, but hunger appears with similar descriptive license as a *blāt bēodgast* 'pale guest at table' in *Andreas* 1088, and *se ðēodsceaða* 'that despoiler of nations' on line 1115.

1263 *eorl unforcūð* 'gentleman unblemished'. See n. **475**.

1270 *ding* 'dungeon'. Dative singular of **dung* 'underground bower' (MHG *tunc* (which glosses *hypogaeum*), OIce *dyngja*). The word is found only here (Grein, Holthausen and Köhler 1912: 133; Alexander 1956: 514). Its resemblance to MnE *dungeon* is coincidental, for *dungeon* derives from Latin *dominio* 'lordship' through AF *dongoun*, OF *dongon*, *donjon*: Occitan *dompnhon*; Late Lat. *domnionem* 'a tower that dominates' (Ducange), *dominionem* 'lordship', from Lat. *dominium*. The Germanic word, as its resemblance to MnE *dung* may show, gives us a jail which is at once basement and drain.

1274 *eft swā ǣr* 'again as before'. This is the beginning of Andrew's second day of torture in captivity (and of his first full day in jail).

1276 *blōd lifrum swealg* 'blood (…) poured in thick gouts'. Brooks (1961: 108) writes a thorough note on *lifrum* 'livers' (and more rarely 'thick water'; Gelling 1984: 28) and *swealg* 'flowed' (as in the ninth-century Kentish *affluit: swelhð* 'flows', in WW 56.25), by which we reach the present meaning for this half-line.

1278-79 *Þā cwōm wōpes hring / þurh þæs beornes brēost blāt ūt faran* 'Then came a ring of weeping, moving out pale through the man's breast'. This figure is elaborated from a traditional perhaps proverbial expression. OE *wōpes hring*, a crux which literally means 'ring of weeping', survives in three other poems, describing: Empress Helena in tears as she beholds the nails of Christ's cross in *Elene* 1131; Jesus' eleven remaining disciples mourning His Ascension in *Christ II* 537; and St Guthlac's young disciple (Beccel) weeping in *Guthlac* (B) 1339, as he prepares to tell his master's sister (Pege) of her brother's death. Brooks (1961: 108-9) suggests that this phrase depicts a weeper's eyes as 'cauldrons' from which tears overflow like boiling water (endorsed by Cronan 2003: 407, n. 48). OE *hring* has also been taken to refer to sacramental vessels in *Riddles* 48 and 59 (discussed and opposed in Okasha 1993). The circular shape predominates in all uses, as in MnE *ring*: the ocean's in *holmes hrincg* 'compass of the sea', in *Genesis* (A) 1393; that of the sun's daily motion in *sunnan hring* 'sun's orbit', in *Phoenix* 305; even in abstract, that of twelve months in *gēares hring* 'year's round' in *PPs* 64 38. For the reminding of another person to weep tears of sympathy or loss, Old Norse mythology tells us that after Baldr is lost to the underworld, to join people with *lit dauðra manna* 'the colour of dead men', his ring Draupnir is brought up to the surface *til minja* 'as a reminder' of a deal to release him, that everything living and lifeless must weep tears for Baldr if they wish to have him back (North 2012). For *Andreas*, in which the ring leaves Andrew's breast with the *blāt* 'pale' colour of an object, the Baldr-myth provides the one ring-motif which works. Thus for the poet of *Andreas*, as for Cynewulf probably before him, the expression *wōpes hring* may have been a proverb for compunction.

1297 *wrāð wǣrloga* 'faith-breaker in fury'. See nn. **71** and **571a**.

1298 *for heremægene* 'before the war-troop'. The figure here is of a background of permanent spiritual war between Christ and the devil, in which the latter has enlisted Mermedonians. See further n. **586**.

1306 *brūnwann* 'dusky'. An epithet for the night. Only attested here, this means 'dark, dusky' (DOE sv. *brūn-wann*). The poet attempts to show darkness deepening as the night *helmade* 'covered over' (or 'crowned') the hills around or behind Mermedonia. The second element *wann* appears to connote a lack of light, in a meaning which is reinforced by the prefix *brūn* 'dark'. See further n. **1169**.

1308 *dēor ond dōmgeorn* 'daring and keen for glory'. See n. **693**.

1311 *seofona sum* 'of seven ... one'. Brooks (1961:109) translates 'with seven others', as in the *Praxeis*, where there enters παραλαβῶν ὁ διάβολος μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ δαίμονας πονηρούς 'the devil bringing with him seven exiled demons' (ch. 26; Bonnet 1959: 104). These would appear to be the demons which possessed the guards who dropped dead outside the jail. The Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) follows suit: *Ðæt dēofol þā genam mid him ōþre seofon dēoflo* 'the devil then took with him seven other devils' (Morris 1967: 243). The Casanatensis, running chapters

25-26 together into one short sentence, does not have this scene. *Andreas* may limit the devil's sons to six.

1312 *atol ǣglǣca* 'terrible adversary'. See n. **1359**.

1314 *duguðum berēafod* 'robbed of his hosts'. As with Boenig (1991a: 109), who gives 'robbed of his host'. Although the story shows that devil's host can be as numerous as he wants it to be, the deluded perspective here (see also n. **1130b**) is that of the devil himself, who thinks himself master of all angels in heaven.

1316 *Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas, hidercyme þīnne* 'What did you, Andrew, mean by coming here'. Stevens notes that the verb alliterates at the expense of the noun, in a metrical type which is anomalous: 'clearly something is wrong' (1981: 27; on the metre, see n. **914**). This effect, however, may bear witness to a roughening of the devil's speech in line with the attribution of *hospword* 'mocking words' to the devil on line 1315.

1319 *goda ūssa gil*d 'the rites of our gods'. 'Us gods' might be expected in the devil's words, but with 'our gods' it seems that he walks in the shape of one of their worshippers. In lines 1328-30 and 1343-44 the devil proceeds like a Mermedonian lord with his followers. Stiles notes that the nonceword *dēaðrēow*, which describes the devil above on line 1314, is reminiscent of Grendel and Heremod, 'evoking two types of Germanic outcast: a monster and a cruel lord' (2002: 144). Furthermore, MS *gilp* 'boasting' might be kept, especially as the devil claims to refer to Andrew's *oferhigdum* 'thought of pride' on line 1318, and as the devil in the prose homily of St Andrew asks *Hwǣr is þīn gilp and þīn hiht?* 'Where is your boasting and your hope?' (Morris 1967: 243). The devil further orders his force *gylp forbēgan* 'to crush (this) boasting' of Andrew on line 1333. However, *gilp* or *gild*, the object in the above half-line, belongs to the devil's claimed *goda* 'gods', not to himself. Moreover, the analogues tally with *gil*d 'rites'. After their questions about pride, according to the *Praxeis*, the seven junior demons, together with the devil, accuse Andrew of ἐπαίρων σεαυτὸν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀτιμάζων ἡμᾶς καὶ διηγούμενος τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν τοῖς κατὰ τόπον καὶ χώραν, καὶ ἐποίησας τα ἱερὰ ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεχθῶσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθῶμεν 'raising yourself up against us and dishonouring us and discoursing on our deeds to the people of every place and land, and you have turned our temples into empty houses, so that no sacrifices are performed in a way in which we too might rejoice' (ch. 26; Bonnet 1959: 104-05; see also n. **1158-59a**). There is a parallel to the above line in *Andreas* in Cynewulf's *Juliana*, in which the saint's father orders her to undo what she said to the pagan authorities, *þā þū goda ūssa gield forhogdest* 'when you despised the rites of our gods' on line 146.

1322 *Cyneþrym āhōf* 'raised royal majesty'. The devil represents Jesus' power as a political threat. See n. **566** and n. **666**.

1324 *Þone Hērōdes ealdre besnyðede* 'That man did Herod bereave of his life'. The Geatish Messenger, in *Beowulf* 2924-25, says *þæt Ongenðīo ealdre besnyðede / Hæðcen Hrēþling wið Hrefnawudu* 'that Ongentheow of his life bereaved Hæthcyn son of Hrethel in Ravens' Wood'. The devil present Christ to the smaller devils likewise, as a young pretender put out of his misery. As in the *Praxeis* (the scene is

omitted in the Casanatensis), the slayer of Christ is given as Herod, rather than as Pilate or Caiaphas.

1334 *rēowe* 'cruel'. Probably for OE *hrēow*, rather than for *(h)rēo* for *(h)reoh* 'rough', which in *Andreas* is used with *hr-* and of water (lines 467, 748, 1542). Elsewhere in *Andreas* (Brooks 1961: xl, B.5), the scribe writes *hreow* probably for /rēow/ in MS *hreow ricsode þa wæs rinc manig* on lines 1116 (n.); and correctly *hrædlīce* in MS *aris nu hrædlice ræd ædre ongit*, on line 936 (n.). The functional alliteration of *rēowe* with *ræsdon* on line 1334 above is unequivocally the poet's choice. A parallel may be found in Aldred's tenth-century Northumbrian gloss of the Durham Ritual, in Durham Chapter Library, MS. A. iv. 19, which has *lafardscipes* for *hlafardscipes* (Campbell 1959: § 61). On the loss of of initial *h-* in these clusters, see Scragg (2012).

1338 *on his mǣgwlite* 'on his countenance'. Andrew uses this noun of the Lord's appearance on line 856. The more common term is found in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), where *hīe gesāwon Crīstes rōdetācen on his onsīene* 'they saw the sign of Christ's cross on his countenance' (Morris 1967: 243). The story in the Casanatensis resumes here.

1346 *fyrnsceaþa* 'ancient despoiler'. Only here. However, several other words attest to the same idea, that a Christian's war with the devil is older than he knows. A devil calls this war *fyrngeflit* 'ancient enmity' in *Elene* 902, whilst more allegorically in *The Panther* 34, the serpent is held to be the panther's *fyrngeflīta* 'ancient contender'. By association, *fyrngeflit* 'ancient contention' in *Judith* 264, is also one of a group of terms describing the Bethulian relationship with the Assyrians. Moreover, the Lord's war with the giants is a *fyrngewinn* 'ancient struggle' in *Beowulf* 1689.

1348 *Gā þē sylfa tō* 'Go to it yourself'. The irreverent humour of this scene is noted by Wilcox (2003: 207-10).

1351 *tō þām ānhagan* 'with that lone survivor'. A misunderstanding on the devil's part. OE *ānhaga* or *ānhoga* occurs only here in *Andreas*, but is found in seven other poems, as well as as a gloss. In the first instance, it glosses *solitarius* 'solitary' in *ic wacode 7 geworden ic eom swāswā spearwa ānhoga l. ānwuniende on efese l. on þecene* 'I waked and have become as a lone *or* lone-dwelling sparrow in the eaves *or* in the roof', for *Vigilari et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto* (Psalm 101, verse 8, Lindelöf 1909: 159). In poems close to *Andreas*, a demon is *enge ānhaga* 'a mean loner' for assailing St Guthlac in *Guthlac* 997; on the other hand, the Phoenix is called *se ānhaga* 'the lone dweller' probably for being unique in *The Phoenix* 87 and 346; and Judas (later Cyriac), handed over to Empress Helena by his own people, is *ānhaga* when she begins to interrogate him in *Elene* 604. With warlike connotation, most notoriously, the initial speaking persona in *The Wanderer*, is *ānhaga* on line 1 and *earm ānhoga* on line 40: a roaming mercenary, lordless and looking for a new employer (North 1995: 76-78). The same type, a *winelēas wræcca* 'friendless exile', is called *ānhaga* in *Resignation* 89; and Beowulf is an *earm ānhaga* when he returns to Geatland without Hygelac, as the lone survivor from his uncle's raid on Frisia, in *Beowulf* 2356. In a similar way, a wolf is called *earm ānhaga* in *Maxims II* 19; and a battle-scarred object, either a shield or possibly a chopping block, is called *ānhaga* in

Riddle 5 1. In *Andreas*, it appears that the young demon mistakes Andrew for a wanderer without a lord.

1352 *Wē ðē magon ēaðe* 'We can without difficulty' etc. Here in the manuscript, on folio 47 verso, the initial *wynn* is filled in with feathers as if showing the wing of a bird or angel just where the young demons' advice to their father continues at the head of the unnumbered fitt [XIII] on line 1352.

1353 *æt þām secgplegan* 'in that sword-play'. Perhaps with a play on *secg* 'man'; fem. *secg* 'sword', found once in *Beowulf* with *secge ofersittan* 'to forego swords' (Beowulf's imagined offer to Grendel on line 684) is the rarer term.

1355 *weald hū ðē sæle* 'however it may befall you'. In prose, OE *weald þēah* is occasional as 'perhaps, maybe', *weald hwæt* and rarely *weald* 'in case anything' (Mitchell 1985: §§ 2937-38). Mitchell translates *weald hū* as 'however', pointing out that *Andreas* gives the only example of *weald* in verse (1985: § 2939). This finding might allow us to treat the young demons' expression as a colloquialism.

1358 *oðwītan him his wræcsīð* 'taunt him with his exile'. With this noun for 'exile' (see also n. **889**) the young demon believes that Christ is dead (see lines 1322-27) and that Andrew is a refugee (n. **1351**), a dispersed survivor who fights on in the knowledge that he failed to protect his master.

1359 *wið þām æglæcan* 'against this monster'. OE *æglæc(e)a* (variant *āglæc(e)a*) describes also the ravenous Mermedonians on line 1131 and the devil-in-chief in Andrew's jail-cell on line 1312. There are some 30 instances (DOE) of this word, which appears to derive from OIr m. *óghlach* 'servant, young warrior' (Ó Dónaill and de Bhaldraithe 1977: 921). The primary meaning, 'adversary in war', seems to emerge in *Elene* 1187-88, where it is said that the emperor's bridle rings, fashioned from two of the crucifixion nails, will be *beorna gehwām / wið æglæce unoferswīðed / wæpen æt wīgge* 'for each trooper against the adversary an unassailable weapon in war'. However, in *Whale* 52, where *þone āglæcan ætes lysteþ* 'the monster is taken with a desire to eat', this word reveals a secondary meaning to do with monstrosity. The same conception is found the Mere in *Beowulf* 1152, where *ēhton āglæcan* 'the monsters' around Beowulf under water 'pursued' him. *Beowulf* contains a further 16 instances of *æglæc(e)a* or *āglæc(e)a*. Nine of these are reserved for Grendel, one for Sigemund's dragon on line 893, one for Grendel's Mother (also *āglæcwīf* 'monstrous woman' on line 1259), and five for Beowulf's Dragon towards the end of the poem (lines 2520, 2534, 2557, 2592, 2905). Most of the other referents for the simplex word are devils, both adversaries and monsters just as the creatures in *Beowulf*. Over time the meaning seems to have mellowed. Byrhtferth calls Bede *se æglæca lārēow* 'the wondrous (i.e. "monster") teacher' in his *Enchiridion* of the early eleventh century (Baker and Lapidge 1995: 174). Worth noting above all with the use of this word in *Andreas* 1359, is that it is almost unique in describing the hero of a poem; the only other example is concealed in Beowulf's dragon-fight in *Beowulf* 2591-92: *Næs ðā long tō ðon / þæt ðā āglæcean hȳ eft gemētton* 'it was not long until those monsters faced each other once more'. In the scene within *Andreas*, with the demon trying to lead an attack on Andrew who is ensconced in his cell, we may have an allusion to the dragon which Beowulf draws out of his mound, with the roles reversed.

1362 *āclǣccrǣftum* 'arts of a monster'. Only here. On the prefix, see n. **1359**. The spelling with *ac-* rather than *ag-* is paralleled in *ǣclēawe* 'bible-learned (for OE *ǣ-glēawe*)' and *ǣclǣca* 'monster' respectively on lines 321 and 901 of *Elene*. The 'monster' is Jesus, from the devil's point of view. As for the suffix, Stiles points out that all other *hapax legomena* with *-crǣft* in *Andreas* (*dwolcrǣft* 34, *morðorcrǣft* 177, *beaducrǣft* 219, *hellcrǣft* 1102) are associated with devils, and that the form of *āclǣccrǣft* 'alerts an audience to the irony of its being applied to Andrew instead of the devil' (2002: 121).

1363-68 The density and alliteration of these lines sets them apart from the surrounding bluster in the devil's speech. Line 1363 is unusual for alliterating in both half-lines on *l-* and *f-* while line 1364 retains the *l* and reinforces the alliteration. The following two lines go similarly together, this time with reinforced alliteration on the *w-*. Two more reinforced lines, albeit alliterating on different consonants (*h-* and *s-*), complete this block of six, which are also so packed with extra words as to be nearly hypermetric. The density and emphasis may be correlated with the meaning in this part of his speech, in which the devil, like a judge, sums up both verdict and sentence on the accused.

1364 *forleolce ond forlǣrdest* 'you played false and perverted'. See n. **614**. To add to the secular implications of line **1319** (n.), this homilist's turn of phrase gives the devil the language of clergy. His threats thus reflect the language with which Andrew defeats him.

1371 *unfyrn faca* 'without any delay'. Stevens points out that scansion and alliteration both determine that *un-fyrn* be stressed on the stem vowel (1981: 26). The whole phrase means literally 'not late on any occasions' (genom. pl. of m. *fǣc* time'), therefore 'before long' or 'soon'. However, its use favours the morbid. In *Resignation* a man who about to die begs for the Lord's comfort *nū ic wāt þæt ic sceal, / ful unfyr<n> faca* 'now I know that I must [die], / with no delay at all', on lines 42-43. For *unfyrn* alone there are five other instances, all in prose: one occurs in Blickling Homily XII, on Pentecost (*nū unfyrn, for tēn nihtum* 'now recently, ten nights ago'; Morris 1967: 131; also Kelly 2003: 92); the remaining four instances are all in Bishop Wǣrferth's translation of *Gregory's Dialogues*: according to one, in the *Preface*, *þū wāst, fæder, þæt ic sylfa unfyrn sceal bēon sweltende* 'you know, O Father, that I shall have to be dying without delay'; in another, *witað gē hwæþre, þæt hē dead byð unfyrn* 'know, however, that he will be dead before long'; in the past tense, *hē wæs nū unfyrn on þissere ylcan byrig forðfēred* 'he had now only recently departed in this same town' (Hecht 1965: 226.3-4; 62.24; 71.17-18). The remaining example is more life-affirming: *sōðlīce hit gelamp nū unfyrn þæt sum wer (...) hæfde ǣnne sunu* 'truly it came to pass not lately now that a man (…) had a son' (*ibid.*, 289.2). On this evidence it may be ventured that *unfyrn* is a word of Mercian ecclesiastical poetry and prose, with a penitential sense in combination with *faca*, often to be used in cases of imminent death. In the present context in *Andreas*, it seems that the latter meaning is intended. On the use of *lēoran* on line 31, see n. **124** and Introduction, p. $$.

1374 *manna cynnes* 'what man among humans'. The devil in chief, who knows about the Lord's power, seems to hope that Andrew is fighting on is own, without this.

1376 *Hwæt* 'of course'. The sentence is elliptical, requiring the verb *ālȳse* 'may release' from line 1373 above to complete it. This ellipse makes a colloquial answer, in which the initial word may be translated as a particle rather than as an interjection which breaks with the sense before.

1377a *nið<ð>a neregend* 'Saviour of Humanity'. Brooks (1961: 111) makes a metrical case for reading MS *niða* as if it were *niðða* 'of men', with a simplified spelling which also occurs in *Elene* 465, 503, *Beowulf* 2215 (on the evidence of Thorkelin's transcripts), and *Riddle* 27.27.

1377b nī*edum* 'in chains'. MS *medū* does not alliterate and must be emended (Brooks 1961: 111).

1377-85 The devil and his minions are at once in the Mermedonian prison and in hell itself. These conflicting chronotopes are in both leading analogues and are therefore inherited from the poet's source.

1389 *hǣðenra hlōð* 'heathen prize-gang'. See n. **42**.

1390-91 *hēton lǣdan ūt (...) þriddan sīðe* 'bid lead out (…) for the third time'. In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *On mergen þā geworden wæs eft hīe tugon þone hālgan Andrēas* 'When morning came, once more they dragged the holy Andrew' (Morris 1967: 243). This appears to be only the second morning of Andrew's incarceration, but there is a possibility that the poet (in an earlier draft) included and then (in this version) dropped a detail (in the Casanatensis, ch. 25) that the Mermedonians put Andrew in jail as soon as they arrest him: thus Andrew can have been led out twice, not once, on the first day. See n. **1458-60**.

1392-93 *woldon ... mōd gemyltan* 'would ... make courage melt away'. At first this language seems akin to that of the Psalms. The Psalmist cites the moments *þonne mē mægen and mōd mylte on hreðre* 'when my force and mind melt in in the breast' in *The Paris Psalter* 70:10; and says *mē wearð gemolten mōd on hreðre* 'my mind became molten in the breast' to think of his crimes in 118:53. The same idiom is recorded in the prose *Psalm* 21:12: *Mīn heorte and mīn mōd is gemolten, swā þæt weax, on innan mē* 'my heart and my mind are melted like wax within me' (Bright and Ramsay 1907: 44). Yet the situation in *Andreas* is more critical in that the subject's courage is tested in battle. In *Beowulf*, the poet tells us *ne gemealt him se mōdsefa*, that Wiglaf's 'mind did not melt' when he joins in Beowulf's attack on the Dragon, on line 2628.

1397 *dolgbennum þurhdrifen* 'pierced with gashes'. The words echo the description of Christ's wounds in *Dream* 46: *þurhdrifan hī mē mid deorcan næglum. On mē syndon þā dolg gesīene* 'they drove me through with dark nails. On me those wounds are visible'. This language helps to align Andrew with Jesus so that he may become an empowered miracle-working saint. Andrew, however, is not aware of his growth in power until the Lord replies to his ensuing miserable speech.

1404 *tōlocen .. gebrocen* 'dislocated ... broken'. The rhyme in Andrew's words is anticipated by the poet's near rhyme, or assonance, with *geswungen ... gebunden* 'scourged ... bound' on line 1396; and succeeded, near the end of his speech by

tōslopen ... ādropen 'softened ... dripped out' on line 1425. The dissyllabic rhymes in this speech differ from the mostly monosyllabic Cynewulfian variety in that of Andrew's disciples when their spirits return from the fantastic view of heaven (n. **859-91).**

1405 *bānhūs blōdfāg* 'bone-house blood-stained'. For the noun, see n. **1240**. The adjective occurs elsewhere only in *Beowulf* 2060, where Beowulf himself applies it to one of Princess Freawaru's Danish guardsmen, saying that *swefeð blōdfāg* 'blood-stained he will sleep' when an aggrieved Heathobard takes revenge on him for his father's death.

1407 *on dæges tīde* 'in the space of one day'. No more precise duration is given for Jesus' suffering. As Brooks points out (1961: 111), the contrast in torment which the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis deliver between Andrew's three days and Jesus' three hours (for a ratio of 24:1) is lost both here and with the twice-given phrase *III dagas syndon* 'it is three days' in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198; Morris 1967: 243-44). The English authors leave the numerical symmetry behind for a more practical ratio of 3:1.

1411 *cwǣde ðus* '(you) spoke thus'. Andrew rehearses Christ's words *in extremis* from the cross in Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34.

1418-24 *Ðū ðæt gehēte* 'You promised this' etc. In the following words about safety from harm, Andrew embroiders the source's version of Jesus' declaration to the Disciples in Luke 21:18, before the Passion, that *capillus de capite vestro non peribit* 'no hair from your heads will perish'; and perhaps also the words of St Paul, sailing towards Malta, who tells his companions in Acts 27:34 that *nullius vestrum capillus de capite peribit* 'not a hair of any of you will perish from your head' (Colunga and Turrado 1985: 1036, 1093).

1418-28 In these eleven lines of Andrew's speech, which bring his despair to a peak, the alliteration is concentrated on the letters *h-*, *l-* and *s-* but particularly on *l-*. The letter *h-* (lines 1418, 1420) introduces the passage; and the letter *s-* (1422, 1425) alternates with *l-* (1421, 1423-24, 1426 and 1428); until the *f-* of *fex* and *feorhgedāl* on line 1427 recaptures that of *fæder engla frignan wille* of the beginning of the whole speech on line 1412. Five out of eight lines in lines 1421-28 alliterate with *l-*, all proceeding from the word *līces* 'of (my) body' and ending with *līfcearo* 'care to (my) life). This unique compound repeats the alternation of *leoð<u>* and *līc* on line 1404 (*leoð<u> tōlocen līc sāre gebrocen*) with the word *līf* (in *līfes lēohtfruma*) on line 1413. Stevens (1981: 15) treats the verse *ne loc of hēafde* on line 1423a, which is an example of anacrusis (extrametrical syllables), as 'carelessly placed' because it lacks double alliteration, but this presumed lapse is of small moment in the passage as a whole, in which the poet's concentration on liquids renders ululation.

1425 *tōslopen ... ādrōpen* 'torn ... dripped out'. On the rhyme, see n. **1404**.

1427 *feorhgedāl* 'life's parting'. Also on line 181, as the Lord's term for what happens to stray guests in Mermedonia, before He tells Andrew that Matthew needs rescue; and in *Guthlac* (B) 1200, where the saint's servant (Beccel) becomes aware of his *frēan feorhgedāl* 'lord's parting from life'. There are no other instances, although

Beowulf's *worulde gedāl* 'parting from the world', in the poet's retrospective on him in *Beowulf* 3068, comes close.

1428 *līfcearo* 'care of living this way', literally 'this life-care'. Attested also in *Genesis* (A) 878, as the Lord's word for the misery which Adam claims to endure without clothes. In *Andreas* it makes a contrast with *feorhgedāl* on line 1427. In form but not in meaning, the nearest compound is in *Beowulf*, on line 906, in which the bad king Heremod is said to have become *eallum æþellingum tō aldorceare* 'for all princes a care to life'. If there is a relationship with *Beowulf* in the hapax here, it is that the Mermedonians are as mad as King Heremod, and synonymous with the torture they inflict.

1429 *stīðhycgendum* 'to the stubborn man'. Also on line 741, of the 'stubborn' Jews whom the speaking statue fails to impress. In *Elene*, similarly, when Empress Helena meets resistance in her quest for the Cross, *hire Iūdas oncwæð stīðhycgende* 'Judas answered her stubbornly' (line 684). On the other hand, Helena's troops in *Elene* 716 *stōpon tō ðǣre stōwe stīðhycgende* 'marched resolutely to the place' where they expect to find the True Cross: in their case the stubbornness amounts to a noble persistence. In *Andreas*, the meaning is of subtler hue. Andrew cannot be 'resolute' for he has just cried out his wish to retire. Nor is he 'stubborn' like the Jews or Judas in *Elene*, for he is not resisting God's will like those whom the poet's society treats as unbelievers or pagans. What his speech rather shows is that he holds out against the Lord's command to embrace torture. Although obedience to this course is standard in the life of a Christian martyr or saint, the poet of *Andreas* wants a less passive protagonist.

1431-33 *wræcsīð (...) friðe (...) mundbyrde* 'exile (...) safe (...) protection'. OE *mundbyrd* (acceptance of) protection' is also designated as the Lord's on lines 724 and 1632. Moreover, with *ic þē friðe healde* 'I will keep you safe' on line 1432, the Lord repeats the promise He made on line 915. The political language, which overlaps with the heroic idiom in which the poet moves, makes the Lord into a king, one who is unique in being able to safeguard from an obscure long distance the interests of an isolated member of his household. The Dreamer of *The Dream of the Rood*, similarly, declares that his *mundbyrd is geriht tō þǣre rōde*, more literally that his 'acceptance of protection is directed to the Cross' on line 130. Judith, when about to be tested, finds her *mundbyrd* with God in *Judith* 3. St Juliana is conversely invited to accept the *mundbyrd* of heathen gods in *Juliana* 170.

1434b The manuscript has no break, but a half-line is required in the text. Grein (1857-58) suggests *geond middangeard* 'across the middle world'.

1435a *sigorspēd geseald* 'great triumph given'. See n. **646a**.

1435b *Sōð þæt gecȳðeð* 'True it will be proclaimed' etc. The Lord, having given His word to protect Andrew on lines 915-17, makes the power of this sardonically clear. In both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis (chs. 28) the Lord says more simply that heaven and earth will pass away but His word never. His words there, which are spoken in Hebrew, according to both main analogues, are drawn from Jesus' speech about the apocalypse coming within his Disciples' lifetimes, in Matt 24: 34-35, Mark 13: 30-31 and Luke 21: 32-33. In the Matthew: *Amen dico vobis, quia non praeteribit*

generatio haec, donec omnia haec fiant. / Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non praeteribunt 'Truly I tell you that this generation will not pass away before all these things have happened. / Heaven and earth will pass, but my words will never pass away' (Colunga and Turrado 1985: 986). In the Lindisfarne glosses, Matt 24: 34 opens with *Sōðlīce ic cueðe īuh* 'truly I proclaim to you' (Skeat I, 1871: 198). In the Rushworth glosses, Matt 24: 35 is *heofon 7 eorþe gelēoraþ word þonne mīn næfre ne lēoraþ* 'heaven and earth will pass when my words will never pass away' (*ibid.*, 199; on *lēoran* for WS *gewītan*, see n. **124**).

In *Andreas*, however, the Lord puts this delaration into the mouths of people on the Day of Judgement, moreover after the prophesied collision of heaven and earth has taken place. Thus he changes the older statement 'X will pass, but not Y' into the construction 'X will pass before Y' (where 'X' is the apocalypse and 'Y' is the Lord's word not failing). This change in syntax presents a verification of the gospel's statement in the words of people who have seen the first part, the apocalypse, happen and who treat it as proof that the second part, failure of God's word, will not. That was in any case the underlying implication of the gospel's relatively simple words. The poet of *Andreas* works this implication into a dramatic scene, with the added irony that people about to be judged by the Almighty are no longer curious about the idea that His words might fail.

1441 *Geseoh nū seolfes swæðe* 'See now the path you have taken'. Brooks (1961: 111) draws attention to the exclusion of this imperative word from the reinforced *s*-alliteration in a Type B line. There is another example in line 107, *Geþola þēoda þrēa* 'Suffer people's oppression'. *Beowulf* contains a non-alliterating parallel for the metrically excluded imperative, in line 452 where Beowulf speaks at his most confident: *Onsend Higelāce* 'send [my armour if I die] to Hygelac'. As each of the two cases in *Andreas* occurs in the Lord's words to an apostle, it seems likely that the extra alliteration is not accidental, and that the poet has reinforced the line without regard for traditional prosody.

1446-49 The flourishing of plant-life prefigures the growth of good works in Mermedonia following conversion. Similarly described is the place in which Cedd chose to build the monastery at Lastingham, according to Bede (*HE* III.23, quoting from Isaiah 35:7; Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 288-89). According to Isaiah's prophecy, in the Mercian-WS translation, Bede says *in þǣm cleofum, þe ǣr dracan eardodon, wǣre upyrnende grōwnes hrēodes 7 rīxa* 'in the clefts, where formerly dragons dwelt, there sprang up a growth of reeds and rushes' (Miller 1890: 230.20-21). On a dragon in *Andreas*, see n. **767-69**. The renewal of plant-life further parallels the change in the fenland hermitage following the expulsion of the demons in *Guthlac* (A) 742-48, as well as its transformation from *locus horribilis* into *locus amoenus*. The blossoms adorning these trees evoke the martyrs' band *blōstmum behangen* 'adorned with blossoms', as it is led through the Holy City by Mary in *Judgement Day* II 291, as well as the righteous in this poem who stand *betweoh rosen<a> rēade hēapes* 'amidst heaps of red roses' which betoken their bloodshed (line 289).

1450 *wīgendra hlēo* 'shield of warriors'. Andrew's responsibility over his own disciples is emphasized as he turns to his own master. The three other uses of this formula indicate a man with responsibility for armed followers: the ship's captain, in Andrew's words in line 506; Andrew himself, in the poet's words, after his disciples inform him about their dream of heaven and about his mistake, on line 896; and

Andrew in the words of the Lord who tells him to stay on in Mermedonia, on line 1672b. In *Beowulf* this formula also occurs four times: of King Hrothgar on line 429, where Beowulf asks for leave to fight Grendel; of the legendary Sigemund on line 899, after he had become a successful king; of Beowulf himself, on line 1972, when his safe return is reported to King Hygelac; and of Beowulf again as he orders the forging of an iron shield against the dragon on line 2337. The remaining instance, from the Advent Lyrics of *Christ* I 409, is a term of apostrophe for the Almighty who created heaven and earth.

1454 *ellþēodigne* 'a stranger to this country'. This word reveals an uncommon perspective, given that Andrew's torments are still in progress. With this word Andrew presents himself from an outsider's point of view, recognising himself, not the Mermedonians, as the foreigner here. Other instances are applied not to the self but to the Other: in *The Seafarer* 38, the persona of a Christian missionary desires to seek out *elþēodigra eard* 'a country of foreigners'; and Wulfgar calls Beowulf and his men *ellþēodige* 'foreigners' when he reports on their arrival to King Hrothgar in *Beowulf* 336. In the case of *Andreas*, as Andrew's praise *hālgan stefne* 'with holy voice' on line 1456 confirms, it seems that the hero is at last ready to take on the powers of a saint.

1458-60 *fēorðan sīðe ... lǣddon / tō þām carcerne* 'for the fourth time ... did lead / to the prison'. See *þriddan sīðe* 'for the third time', n. **1390-91**. Neither the *Praxeis* nor Casanatensis nor any other analogue gives notice of the 'fourth' or any other number of days here: for instance, in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *On ǣfenne þā geworden hīe hone betȳndon on þām carcerne* 'When evening came, they shut him up in the prison' (Morris 1967: 245). In *Andreas*, the Mermedonians lead Andrew to his cell each evening of the three days of his torture, and this evening is the third. Brooks (1961: 111-12) suggests that the poet has lost track, confusing the times of Andrew's torture with the times of his removal to the jail. However, the Casanatensis has the devils *conprehendentes autem illum statim mittentes eum in carcerem* 'seizing him and sending him immediately to prison', before they mock Andrew in jail (ch. 27; Blatt 1930: 83). In this version, which does not trouble to relate all Andrew's three days of prison, Andrew is led to jail not once but twice on the first day. The text of *Andreas* appears to understand this procedure without citing the saint's first incarceration. However, since the half-line *bǣron ūt hraðe* 'they bore him out quickly' (for Andrew's arrest and extraction in line 1201) presupposes that he is confined after arrest, it is possible that the poet put this detail into an earlier version of *Andreas*, and that the version we have now is a revision.

1460-61 *woldon cræfta gehygd (...) mōd oncyrran* 'would pervert his able purpose, (...) his mind'. This detail is peculiar to *Andreas*. In both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis, the Mermedonians lead Andrew back into his cell, telling each other that he is failing and will not last the night; the latter text also makes this the cause of their leading him back. In the *Praxeis*, καὶ ἔλεγον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πολεώς· Τάχα τελευτῷ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκομεν αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἐτόνησεν γάρ, καὶ αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ ἐδαπανήθησαν 'And the men of the city spoke among themselves, "He will probably be finished this night and we will not find him alive at sunrise, for he is weak and his flesh is wearied"' (ch. 28; Bonnet 1959: 108). In the Casanatensis, *Vespere autem facto, tunc presides cum vidissent iam nimis defectus retrudi eum in carcere dicentes, quia iam caro eius et capilli destructi sunt,*

forsitan in hac nocte morietur 'When evening came and the guards saw that he was now much beaten up, they brought him back to prison, saying "Since his flesh and hair is destroyed, perhaps he will die in the night"' (ch. 28; Blatt 1930: 87). More simply, in the OE homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *On ǣfenne þā geworden hīe hone betȳndon on þām carcerne, and hīe cwǣdon him betwȳnum, 'Forþon þe þisse nihte hē swelt'* 'When evening came, they shut him up in the prison, and said to each other "For on this night he will die"' (Morris 1967: 245). What follows in these analogues are the Lord's visit, Andrew's command to the pillar, and the beginning of the flood: all in the night-time and free of trouble from Mermedonian jailers. Since he attributes their gift of temporary respite to a wish on their part to undermine him, it follows that this poet attributes Andrew's miracle-working powers to the torture itself.

1466-67 *Heht his līchoman / hāles brūcan* 'He bid him of his body / enjoy good health'; with *hine* 'him' understood (Brooks 1961: 112). As in the Casanatensis, this comes in indirect speech; the *Praxeis* puts the command into the Lord's words; in both analogues a new chapter starts here, with the Lord's visit (chs. 29). For his part, the poet of *Andreas* chooses to embellish the Lord's command with nine lines on all the details of Andrew's restored state (lines 1469-77). Two other poems show what models he may have had. There is a similar passage in *Juliana* 589-92:

> Ðā gēn sīo hālga stōd
> ungewemde wlite;   næs hyre wlōh ne hrægl,
> ne feax ne fel   fȳre gemǣled,
> ne līc ne leoþu.

> Still then did the sainted woman stand
> with unblemished countenance; neither hem nor garment
> nor hair nor skin on her was damaged,
> neither body nor limbs.

The fire-proof beauty of the boys in *Daniel* 436-37, is less close: *Næs hyra wlite gewemmed, ne nǣnig wrōht on hrægle, / ne feax fȳre beswǣled* 'Their countenance was not blemished nor was there any stain on their garments, / nor was their hair scorched with the fire'. In Alison Powell's view, the poet of *Andreas* probably borrows from Cynewulf, who may have borrowed from *Daniel* (2002: 189-92). As if responding to a well-worn devotional topos, the poet of *Andreas* celebrates Andrew's restoration to health in order to round off a fitt, not (as in the analogues) to begin a new chapter. In the poem, though not in the analogues, the mood is upbeat, the scene set for an epic climax.

1478 *H<w>æt*. The zoomorphic stem of the initial *h* of manuscript *hæt* (an error repeated in the opening *h<w>æt* of *The Dream of the Rood*) is ten page lines in height, starting in the margin on the third line up (see Fig. 3). The stem looks like an upright bird, at least up to the neck. Higher up is a leonine head facing the viewer and having apparently swallowed the bird's head. Leaves sprout out of the leonine head. Lower down, the round limb of the initial *h-* curves into the stem in the image of a lizard-like beast, whose neck twists around the stem, the bird's neck, with the head biting into this. The opening of the poem now known as *The Fates of the Apostles*, on folio 52 verso, was planned with a smaller outsize initial *h-* for its enlarged *hwæt*, one to be placed in the main text, but this letter was not drawn (see Fig. 2). No other left-

margin fitt-initiating capital in *Andreas* has ornamentation to match that of the *hæt* at line 1478, not even the enlarged *hwæt* which opens the poem on the top left of folio 29 verso. There are other enlarged initial capitals at the beginning of fitts, such as the initial squared-topped G on folio 43 recto, the *thorn* on folio 44 verso and *wynn* on folio 47 verso (see n. **1352**), but none so elaborate as this zoomorphic initial.The beginning of the unnumbered fitt XIV thus receives an inordinate attention. Celia Sisam (1976: 19) suggests that the scribe misplaced this initial, having intended it for the beginning of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Puskar (2011: 10-13) believes that the scribe did not make an error in the first case but in the second, at the start of *Fates*, and was preparing two initials both in honour of Cynewulf (the author of the self-interruption on line 1478).

1478-89 *H<w>æt, ic hwīle nū* 'Listen, I for a while now' etc. Nothing is found in the analogues to match this self-interruption. The poet's literary persona breaks the flow in order to claim an ignorance about St Andrew which is clearly not his. To Brooks (1961:112), 'he seems to be making a rhetorical disclaimer, that he does not know the whole story of St. Andrew, in order to condense his poem'. A comparison between the poem and the two leading analogues does show places where the poet seems to bypass distractions. However, this abbreviation may be due to a later revision (see n. **1458-60**), and the poet's reference to Joshua and Tobias on line 1516 keeps an element which has been cut out of the extant analogues. Even if the text we have is a revision, the story does not seem particularly shortened in *Andreas*.

1480-81 *wyrd undyrne / ofer mīn gemet* 'a history which is, when revealed, / beyond my capacity'. Brooks, unwilling to make sense of these words as one unit, considers the run-on 'pointless' (1961: 112). More awkwardly, he begins a new sentence with *Ofer mīn gemet* on line 1481 (1961: xlv), although this arrangement violates 'Kuhn's Law' (see Introduction, p. $$). On the decorative initial, see n. **1478**.

1481-83 *Mycel is tō secganne, ... þæt hē in līfe ādrēag, / eall æfter orde* 'A big task it is, ... to say all he suffered / in life from the start'. The formula is traditional: there is a briefer example in *Guthlac* (A) 531-32: *Micel is tō secgan, / eall æfter orde, þæt hē on elne ādrēag* 'A big task it is to say from the start all he suffered in his zeal'. The latter opening with *Micel* weakens Brooks' case for including *ofer mīn gemet* in the same sentence.

1489 *fyrnsægen* 'epic of ancient times'. This likeness of this unique compound with *fornaldar saga* 'epic of ancient times', the Modern Icelandic critical term for the genre of legendary stories, is coincidental. Similar compounds about ancient narrative feature in Cynewulf's *Elene*, where the story is of the crucifixion: in line 542, Judas is hailed as *fyrngydda frōd* 'learned in ancient songs'; on line 155 the word *fyrngewritu* 'ancient writings' denotes Roman and Greek pagan books; and on lines 373, 431 and 560, it denotes the bible's books; a meaning which it also has in *Precepts* 67 and *SolSat* 9. However, the oral character of the *fyrnsægen* in *Andreas* corresponds less with these biblical examples, and more with the likewise unique *ealdgesegen* 'old epic'. This unique compound occurs in *ealfela ealdgesegena / worn* 'a whole multitude of old epics in great number' in *Beowulf* 869-70, where an unnamed Danish thane recalls models for extemporizing on Beowulf's glory with Grendel. See Introduction, p. $$.

1492-94 *He be wealle geseah (...) stapulas standan* 'By the wall he saw (...) pillars standing'. There is a match between Andrew's pillar and the inside hallway of the Dragon's mound; perhaps a pointed rather than neutral borrowing has occurred (Anlezark 2006: 351). The above sentence resembles Beowulf's initial survey of the Dragon's mound, in *Beowulf* 2542-45: *Geseah ðā be wealle (...) stondan stānbogan* 'he saw then by the wall (...) stone arches standing'; the poet reiterates the architecture more vaguely with Wiglaf in lines 2715-19. There is a less close version of the formula in the Coastguard's first sight of the Geats disembarking: *Þā of wealle geseah* 'then from the sea-wall he saw', in *Beowulf* 229. Neither of *Andreas*' main analogues gives a wall in the jail, albeit in the *Praxeis* we do look into the middle of this place: θεασάμενος Ἀνδρέας εἰς μέσον τῆς φυλακῆς εἶδεν στῦλον ἑστῶτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον ἀνδρίας ἐπικείμενος ἀλαβαστρινός 'Andrew, looking into the middle of the prison, saw a pillar standing there, and on the pillar was resting a statue of alabaster' (ch. 29; Bonnet 1959: 109). In the Casanatensis, *Et statim vidit columpnam marmoream erectam, et super ipsam columpnam stantem statuam marmoream* 'And at once he saw a raised marble column, and standing on this column a marble statue' (ch. 29; Blatt 87). The Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) is close to the *Praxeis*, with *hē geseah on middum þǣm carcerne swēr standan, and ofer þone swēr stǣnenne ānlīcnesse* 'he saw in the middle of the prison a pillar standing, and on the pillar, a stone image' (Morris 1967: 245). Moreover, though it is from the statue's mouth that the flood comes in all analogues, there is no statue here in *Andreas*, only a *stapol* on a *stapol* 'pedestal' (line 1503). Since we know that the poet can describe carvings, from lines 712-41, it is reasonable to suppose that there was a statue in his source which he has left out. Perhaps this is because he resists idolatry; perhaps because there is no statue in the mound in *Beowulf*; and because of the (hot) stream which issues from the Dragon's mound in lines 2545-46. If Andrew's dungeon is aligned with the Dragon's mound, in particular, the poet of *Andreas* might begin to shadow Beowulf's final battle with his saint's first survey of the pillars. That Beowulf's fight ends in death, Andrew's conversely in triumph, might then point to a potential mockery in our poet's opening use of the climax of *Beowulf*.

1494-95 *storme bedrifenne, / eald enta geweorc* 'scoured by weather, old works of giants'. In this apparently bizarre conception of a jail the poet parts company with all other analogues of *Andreas*. Once again, we find ourselves in the Dragon's mound in *Beowulf*, whose own construction is said to be *enta geweorc* 'works of giants' as Wiglaf beholds it on line 2717. If any material sense is to be made of the pillars, which are made of marble (line 1498), being lashed by storms inside the jail in *Andreas*, these must be Roman *spolia*, rather than the sort of prehistoric stonework that supports the dragon's barrow. The re-use of Roman stone was limited primarily to ecclesiastical buildings, and it is appropriate that the jail becomes the site of a church (see n. **1587**). The scene recalls something akin to the crypt at Repton, which is supported by (Anglo-Saxon) stone columns, and sits on top of a spring which has been used to support the idea that it was originally a baptistery (see Introduction, p. $$).

1506 *þis frǣte folc* 'this apostate people'. See n. **571**.

1509 *on ðē sylf cyning / wrāt* 'on you the King / Himself ... did inscribe'. In common with the *Praxeis* (ch. 29), the poet of Andreas gives Andrew words of praise for stone

as better than metals in that the Lord wrote the Ten Commandments on stone tablets. The author of the Casanatensis appears to cut out this eulogy.

1516 *Iōsua ond Tōbias* 'Joshua and Tobias'. MS *iosau ond tobias*. Neither the *Praxeis* nor the Casanatensis nor any other extant analogue gives either of these names. Joshua is the name of Moses' spy for Israel (Exodus 17: 8-16) and successor (Joshua 1: 1-16), the first leader to build a home of the Israelites. Tobias, if the source relies on the apocryphal Book of Tobit, may be the Tobias who helps his father Tobit to maintain God's laws in the Temple during the Babylonian Captivity. The names thus bookend Jewish royal history. Having them here perhaps appropriates that history for the Church, or even for the patron of *Andreas*.

1520 *þurh his hālige hǣs* 'by His sacred order'. Brooks keeps this half-line for the previous sentence (though others have joined it to the following) on the grounds of Kuhn's Laws (1961: 113-14). This syntax connects the Lord's command to the stone's original status, without interfering with what is essentially Andrew's order to the stone to release the flood-waters on line 1505. With this punctuation, Andrew enacts the command to flood by challenging the stone to show knowledge of God's decree, that stone is a more precious substance than either gold or silver. The stone must thus act in order to repay this heavenly honour. The poet's syntax develops a *quid pro quo* which is implicit in the analogues.

1522 *tōgān* 'wide it yawned'. Suggestive of a mouth, as in the statue of the analogues. Although a statue is not given here, the folio (49 verso) has an animal, probably a lion, not far below this text, whose mouth gapes as if to a command such as the nexus question (Mitchell 1985: § 3565) in *'þū scealt hræðe cȳðan gif ðū his ondgitan ǣnige hæbbe!'* (lines 1519-20). See Fig. 1.

1526 *Meoduscerwen wearð* 'It was a serving of mead'. Compare OE f. *scearu* 'share' and the derived *scierwan* 'to share out', from which it is clear that the unique OE *meoduscerwen* refers figuratively to the flood which begins to trap the Mermedonians. The poet treats their paganism as a party getting out of hand. The above line is to be compared with the likewise unique expression *wearð (...) ealuscerwen* in *Beowulf* 765-67. The latter passage was interpreted in a variety of ways before a consensus restored the meaning 'dispensation of ale' for *ealuscerwen*, mostly because of *meoduscerwen* in *Andreas* (as in Anlezark 2006: 348; see also Klegraf 1971, Hanning 1973, Rowland 1990, North 1994). The present editors agree with Wrenn and read the first element of *ealuscerwen* as **ealu** 'good fortune', an archaic homophone of the word for 'ale'. What the poet of *Beowulf* means with *ealuscwerwen* has nothing to do with drink, as if it ever could. He means that the Danes, as soon as they hear the beginning of the end of Grendel, know that 'good fortune' has been 'dispensed' or 'prescribed' to them by fate. The poet of *Andreas* appears to mock this climactic moment by misreading *ealuscerwen* as 'a dispensation of ale'. See Introduction, p. $$.

1532a *þurh sealtes swe<l>g* 'of salt swallow'. MS *scealtes sweg*, in which the first form is not a word and the second refers to 'music'. It seems best to emend, as Brooks, to *swelg* 'abyss' on the evidence of glosses (1961: 114).

1532b-33a *sorgbyrþen, / biter bēorþegu* 'brewing of sorrow, a bitter beer-tasting'. The first compound, as it stands 'burden', seems to have metathesis for *-bryþen* 'brewing'. From the sweetness of mead, this drink turns bitter; the image has thus been read as *poculum mortis* 'the drink of death', a patristic metaphor for the wages of sin (Brown 1940; Smithers 1951-52: 67-75).

1539 *tō dūnscræfum* 'in mountain caves'. The mountain caves in which Mermedonians seek refuge are the same ones whose rocky terrain is used in Andrew's torture earlier. See n. **1229b**.

1548 *geōmorgidd wrecen* 'performance of the blues', literally 'a song of mourning performed'. The poet seems to give a comic edge to the lamentation of Mermedonians, for in no surviving analogue do the Mermedonians sing at this point in their downfall. In the *Praxeis*, it is said that ἔκλαιον καὶ ἐβόων 'they cried out and lamented' (ch. 30; Bonnet 1959: 112). In the Casanatensis, *exclamaverunt omnes in impetu, et fletu magno dicentes, ve nobis de ista omnia que supervenerunt nos* 'they cried out, all of them, in a convulsion, and with great weeping, they said "Woe is us for all those things which have come upon us!"' (ch. 30; Blatt 1930: 88-89). In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *And hīe ealle cīgdon and cwǣdon, "Wā ūs, forþon þe þās ealle up common for þissum ælþēodigum, þe wē on þissum carcerne betȳned hæbbað. Hwæt bēo wē dōnde?"'* 'and they all cried out and said, "Woe is us, for all these things have come up on account of this foreigner whom we have kept locked up in this prison. What are we going to do?"' (Morris 1967: 345). Unlike his probable source, the poet of *Andreas* turns his cannibals' grief into music. The word *geōmorgidd* is also found in *Beowulf* 3150, in which a *<G>ēat<isc> mēowle* 'Geatish girl' mourns at King Beowulf's funeral. Moreover, the Mermedonian singing is emphasized in *Andreas* with the words *gehðo mǣnan* 'bewailing their grief' on line 1548 and *fūslēoð galen* 'eager litanies chanted' on line 1549. These idioms capture the voice of Grendel as he screams in defeat to the Danes, in *Beowulf* 785-87: *of wealle wōp gehȳrdon, / gryrelēoð galan godes ondsacan, / sigelēasne sang* 'they heard weeping from the sea-wall, a litany of horror chanted by God's adversary, a song with no victory'. The Mermedonians are thus shown to sing their own funeral dirge while being in the damnable category of *Beowulf*'s cannibal in chief. With this likely embroidery of his apostolic source, it seems that the poet of *Andreas* mocks the heathen world as it comes to an end.

1554 *wōp wera wīde gehȳred* 'weeping of men widely heard'. On the echo of Grendel's song of despair in *Beowulf*, see n. **1548**.

1561-62 *Ūs sēo wyrd scyðeð / heard ond hetegrim* 'This fate harms us, harsh and fierce'. At first the Mermedonians pass from devil-worship to a neutral belief in *wyrd* 'fate, events'. The same fatalism appears in the words of Beowulf when he tells the Danes the fruits of his observation (made earlier, when in prospect of drowning in the race against Breca) that *wyrd oft nereð / unfǣgne eorl þonne his ellen dēah* 'fate often saves an undoomed gentleman when his courage avails' (lines 572-73).

1565 *ofost is sēlost* 'haste is best'. This is also the Coastguard's phrase to Beowulf and friends in *Beowulf* 256, when he asks them for their credentials. There are no other examples, but the understatement is similar.

1569-71 *Þā þǣr ... ōrgete wearð, ... þǣr wæs .. <mægen> forbēged* 'Wherever it [the people's repentance] was now quite clear, ... there had ... a <vigour> been humbled'. The poet may thus attribute the Mermedonian surrender to their humiliation at Andrew's hands, but these lines present a syntactical difficulty. Brooks appears to suppress this when he notes only that *þǣr* on line 1571 is correlative to *þǣr* on line 1569, (1961: 115, note to line 1571). According to Donoghue's arguments, on the basis of verb-auxiliary positions in principal and dependent clauses, it is more likely that the first clause depends on the second, although his resulting translation is 'somewhat forced': 'Where [wherever?] the behavior of the people became clear to Andreas in his heart, there the strength of the brave ones, the power of the warriors, was subdued' (1987: 82-83). At this point the *Praxeis* goes with 'Andrew knew that their souls were submissive to him' (ch. 30); even more simply in the Casanatensis, the flood and fire stop afflicting Mermedonians 'when Saint Andrew realized that they all believed in the Lord Jesus' (ch. 30). The poet's subordination, as Donoghue construes it, is similar to that in the *Praxeis*. In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *Mid þī se ēadiga Andrēas ongeat þæt hīe tō Drihtene wǣron gehwerfede* 'When the blessed Andrew perceived that they were turned to the Lord' (Morris 1880: 247), he calls off their punishment. This version appears to keep a subordination consistent with that of the *Praxeis*, one which may have lain in a precursor to the Casanatensis. The analogues in this way appear to vindicate Donoghue's construction.

1571b *<mægen> forbēged* 'a <vigour> humbled'. MS *þær wæs modigra forbeged*. An *m*-word must be supplied to make the line scan. Donoghue presents *þǣr <mægenspēd> wæs mōdigra forbēged* and *þǣr <manig> wæs mōdigra forbēged* as alternative readings (1987: 82-83). However, since the first supplement is a longer form of *mægen* and the second takes no account of the need to find an subject complement apposable to *þrym* 'majesty' on the following line, Thorpe's *<mægen>* is still the most straightforward option (*op. cit.*, 1869).

1573 *flēow firgendstrēam* 'a mountainous stream flowed'. See n. **390**.

1578 *carcern āgēaf* 'gave up the jail'. In *Andreas*, just as in the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis (chs. 30), it is implied, but not stated, that the reformed Mermedonians run into the jail to free Andrew from his bonds, just as they promise in the poem on line 1564.

1579-80 *him <wearð> gearu sōna / þurh strēamræce strǣt gerȳmed* 'For him a ready street through the driving current <was> at once cleared'. As in the analogues, this typology identifies Andrew with Moses at the parting of the Red Sea (Irving 1983: 236; Clemoes 1995: 265).

1581 *Smeolt wæs se sigewang* 'Pleasant the plain of victory'. This description appears to match the town square of Mermedonia in the analogues. In the *Praxeis*, Andrew says that he will show this site to the executioners as τὸν τόπον τῆς φονεύσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς εἰρήνης 'the place of their murdering and the place of peace' (ch. 31; Bonnet 1959: 113). As to the adjective elsewhere in *Andreas*, the seas when they settle are *smylte* 'smooth' on line 453. The half-line is also found in *Phoenix* 33, where *smylte wæs se sigewong* describes Paradise; and *smolt wæs se sigewong* occurs also in *Guthlac* (B) 742, when St Guthlac, feeding the birds, lives the good

heremitical life in Crowland. Much later in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis (towards the end of chs. 31), the water drains into the old execution ground and this place, the city square, opens momentarily into an abyss for the true sinners. See n. **1587-88**.

1585 G*eofon swaðrode* 'Ocean subsided'. MS *heofon*. The scribe appears to have been influenced by the ensuing phrase *þurh hāliges hǣs* 'at the saint's command' which finishes the page line (nine lines up on folio 50 verso). One deduction is that the scribe was thinking of OE *hēofan* 'to lament' as something subsiding, now that the Mermedonians are *blīþe on mōde, ferhðgefēonde* 'cheerful, with spirits gladdened' a little before on lines 1583-84.

1586 *hlyst ȳst forgeaf* 'tempest was lost to hearing', literally 'tempest gave up making sound'.

1586-87 The assonance *hǣs-forgeaf*, and the rhymes *hlyst-ȳst* and *gebād-tōhlād* on these lines give a Cynewulfian flourish to the calming of the waters, and to their draining into the hole opened up by the heathens' assembly mound as this falls in upon itself.

1587-88 *Þā se beorg tōhlād, / eorðscræf egeslīc* 'The barrow then split open, frightful earth-cave'. That the site of sacrifice or execution is called a mound or barrow, seems rather English, but is also true of the Casanatensis, whose liberated Andrew walks through the city *usque dum venire ubi erat toro, ubi et homines interficiebant, et ubi sanguis decurrebat* 'until he came to where there was a mound, where they would kill men, as well as where the blood would run off' (ch. 31; Blatt 1930: 91). In ch. 22, we have already learned that the Mermedonians keep a *lacus* 'trough' or 'tank' for this blood (*ibid.*, 75), so perhaps, if there was a consistency in the story, the blood is imagined to run downhill into the tank from the executions on the top of the mound (see n. **1092**). Through *Andreas*' now-lost source, as in the Casanatensis, Latin *toro* may be the word on which the word *beorg* is based in *Andreas*. Neither the *Praxeis* nor the Old English homily gives a mound for the earth which opens up to receive the flood.

1592 *ach* 'but'. See n. **569**.

1593 *folcsceaðan fēowertȳne* 'despoilers of people, fourteen'. The leading analogues specify fourteen executioners, in addition to the bad father whom *Andreas* tastefully forgets. This is the only example of *folcsceaða*, although the devil is a *fyrnsceaþa* 'ancient despoiler' (also unique) on line 1346. The baseword is highly productive: to name a few other compounds, we have *synsceaþan* 'sinful despoilers' in *Genesis* (A) 55; *gielpsceaþan* 'boasting despoilers' there on line 96; *hellesceaþa* 'hell's despoiler' for a devil in *Elene* 956; *womsceaþan* 'blemished despoilers' and *þēodsceaþan* 'arch-despoilers' for the damned in *Christ* III, respectively lines 1569 and 1595, as well as *ðēodsceaðan* 'despoiler of nations' or the Dragon in *Beowulf* lines 2278 and 2688, and apparently for hunger in *Andreas* 1115; *mānsceaþan* 'criminal despoilers' for demons in *Guthlac* 650 and 909; and *lyftsceaþa* 'sky-despoiler' for a raven in *Fortunes* 39. Similar to *folcsceaða* is *lēodsceaða* 'despoiler of the people', which is both God's term for Adam at the end of paradise in *Genesis* (B) 917, and Beowulf's for Grendel when he reports to Hygelac in *Beowulf* 2093. One element that most referents of *sc(e)aða* have in common is to be damned in hell (see n. **1594**).

1594 *gewiton (...) in forwyrd sceacan* 'moving in haste to perdition'. OE *sceacan* 'to shake, move' denotes rapid movement. As Andrew reiterates to their colleagues, with *swylt* 'death' and *wītu* 'penalties' in lines 1610-11, hell is where the fourteen worst Mermedonians are going. This is partly true also in the leading analogues. The fourteen executioners plus bad father are only temporarily damned in the *Praxeis*, where the Lord commands Andrew to revive them after his second return to the city a long time hence (ch. 33). In the Casanatesis, where matters are simpler, the Lord likewise orders the bad fifteen to be resurrected at the end of Andrew's seven-day extended stay (ch. 33). The poet of *Andreas* overlooks the reprieve.

1597-98 *wēndan (...) þearlra geþinga ðrāge hnāgran* 'expected (...) an outcome severe, a time all the meaner' (literally 'outcomes', pl.). At first, in both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis, the Mermedonians expect to be sucked into the flood which drags the executioners and bad father down to hell (chs. 31). Brooks, treating the less specific *þearlra geþinga* as a descriptive genitive with the b-line as object of *wēndan*, compares this construction to one in Unferth's summing up against Beowulf, *Ðonne wēne ic tō þē wyrsan geþingea* 'From you in this case I expect an outcome all the worse', in *Beowulf* 525 (1961: 116). This phrasal parallel, if it represents a borrowing from the least dignified Dane in *Beowulf*, lays bare the poet's view of the Mermedonians. They are men of little faith, willing to adopt Christianity to get out of trouble with Andrew, but unable as yet to see that their souls will be saved. In the Casanatensis, even when facing death, the Mermedonians hedge their bets: *Set voluntes nolentes credamus ei* 'but whether we want to or not, let us believe in him' (ch. 30; Blatt 1930: 89).

1600 *gūðgelācan* 'allies in war'. Also for Constantine's coalition when his armies move against pagan invaders in *Elene* 42: *heht ongēan gramum gūðgelǣcan (...) bannan tō beadwe* 'bid allies in war be summoned to battle against the foe'. The form in *Elene*, though reminiscent of the more obscure word *āglǣc(e)a* (see n. **1359**), is probably derived from OE *gelǣċan* 'to latch on, attach', with the implication of an image of the fourteen sinners falling bound together into the gulf.

1604 *sē ðisne ār hider <ǣr> onsende* 'who <has> sent this man here as herald'. Brooks supplies *ǣr*, which he translates as the modifier for a simple perfect tense, on the grounds of haplography through *-er* in *hider* just before (1961: 116). Otherwise the poet would tellingly have alliterated *hider* as an open syllable with *ār*.

1606 *gumcystum georne hȳran* 'eagerly obey the man of virtue'. Brooks translates *gumcystum* as 'the virtuous one', assuming an 'abstract for concrete' sense (1961: 116; followed by DOE, sv. *gum-cyst*, 1.a). This is plausible, for the meaning is abstract in six of the other seven instances. There is *gumcystum gōd* 'good in noble virtues' once in *Genesis* (A), of Abraham on line 1769; and twice in *Beowulf* (of Hygelac, in Beowulf's words in line 1486, and of Beowulf, in the poet's on line 2543). The phrase *gumcystum til* 'excellent in noble virtues' is used again of Abraham, where he stands ready to sacrifice his son, in *Genesis* (A) 1810; and a devil, also with OE *gōd*, is said to roam *gōdra gumcysta gēasne* 'devoid of good noble virtues' in *Juliana* 381. And when Hrothgar tells Beowulf to listen to his sermon, with the command *gumcyste ongit* 'take note of manly virtues' in *Beowulf* 1723, he is talking about himself. So it appears that the expression *gumcystum hȳran* means 'obey

the man of virtues' in the above line in *Andreas*. This rare usage tallies with the Casanatensis, in which the Mermedonians discuss turning themselves over to Andrew: *Set volentes nolentes credamus ei et verbis eius, que nobis preceperit et in cuncta doctrina eius, etiam in deum suum quem cotidie ipse invocat, forsitan deus recogitat de nobis, et conferat a nobus hoc malum ne pereamus* 'But whether we want to or not, let us believe in him and in his words, which he has preached to us and in all his teaching, even unto his god on whom he calls each day, perhaps the god will think again about us and will take this evil away from us lest we perish' (ch. 30; Blatt 1930: 89). In contrast, the Mermedonians of the *Praxeis* cry out directly to God, whom they call ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ξένου ἀνθρώπου 'the god of the foreign man' for help (ch. 30; Bonnet 1959: 111). In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), some of the Mermedonian survivors, after offering to release Andrew from the prison, say *uton wē ealle cīgean and cweþan, forþon þe wē geleofað on Drihten þyses ælþēodigan mannes; þonne āfyrseþ hē þās earfoðnesse fram ūs* 'let us all cry out and declare that we believe in the Lord of this foreign man; then He will remove these afflictions from us' (Morris 1967: 247). Here, as with *Andreas*, the Latin source of the Old English homily appears to be closer to the *Casanatensis*.

1615 *gumena geogoðe* 'the youth division'. Whereas the leading analogues specify that the innocent drowned are men, women, children and beasts of burden, too many to be brought to Andrew's feet (ch. 32), the poet of Andreas defines them all as young men, as if thinking of a monastery.

1617 *gōde ōrfeorme* 'without supply of advantage'. See n. **406**.

1619 *gefēred <ne> wurdan* 'should <not> be carried'. As Brooks says, the adverb *ne* 'is necessary for the sense' (1961: 116). Potentially comic in a way doubtless unintended, the loss of this negative would be paralleled by that of a presumed *ǣr* on line 1604 (see n.); in this case because the scribe was too inured to exemplars in which sinners are carried to hell to pay close attention to the line.

1621 *hāliges gastes* 'of the holy guest'. See n. **1000**.

1627 *eador* 'united'. See n. **1122**.

1634-35 *gerwan godes tempel, þǣr sīo geogoð ārās (…) ond se flōd onsprang* 'God's temple built where the youngsters arose (…) and the flood sprang forth'. The poet of *Andreas* here works back from the church-building, to the resurrection of the drowned, to the first up-welling of water. In the *Praxeis* the church is built over the jail where the pillar had stood, and so it appears in the poem. Firstly the bulk of the Mermedonian public is revived after Andrew asks for their bodies to be carried to him. In the *Praxeis*, καὶ μετα ταῦτα ἐχάραξε τόπον ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐποίησεν οἰκοδομηθῆναι την ἐκκλησίαν 'and after this he drew up plans for a church site and had the church built' exactly where the pillar is and where prison had stood (ch. 32; Bonnet 1959: 112). In the Casanatensis, less clearly, perhaps because of confusion between pillars: *Post hoc expletum, beatus andreas in eodem loco fecit similitudinem ecclesie* 'after this had been fulfilled, blessed Andrew made the plan for a church in the same place'. In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *æfter þissum se hālga Andrēas hēt ciricean getimbrian on þǣre stōwe þǣr se swēr stōd* 'after this the holy Andrew ordered a church to be built in the place where the pillar

stood' (Morris 1967: 247). In *Andreas* the idea rather is that the church should be built on the site of the resurrection of redeemable Mermedonians, but the place is the same: in the poem, as in the analogues, it lies over the jail where they imprisoned Andrew. This type of building construction again parallels the crypt at Repton minster, which was built over what may have been a baptistery. See n. **1494** and Introduction, p. $$.

1637 *þā wīnburg* 'the wine-town'. The Lord also refers to Mermedonia as *wīnbyrig* 'wine-town' on line 1672. This noun might be read in both cases as a late WS spelling of *wynburg* 'joy-town', but the immediate context, in which the Mermedonians begin to take Christian communion, supports 'wine-town' as a figure for the eucharist.

1638 *eorlas ānmōde* 'gents with one purpose'. As Brooks makes clear (1961: 116), an alliterating form *ānmōde* is preferable to *ănmōde* 'resolute' with the stress on the second syllable.

1642 *ealde e*alhstedas 'ancient sanctuary places'. Brooks (1961:116) takes the spelling of MS *eolhstedas* to reveal the present or a former scribe's lack of familiarity with the word *ealh* 'sanctuary' (OE *ealgian* 'to protect').

1647 *se ār godes* 'God's herald'. MS *sio ar* 'the grace' might tell us, as Brooks suggests, that the scribe treated *ār godes* as a phrase for 'God's grace' without paying attention to the story. See also n. **1619**.

1650 *for heremægene* 'before the war-troop'. In light of the nearly identical formula in line 586, it seems that this term, which shows the restoration of aristocracy, also connotes some of the wine-drinking which we see in lines **1637** (n.) and 1672. See further n. **586**.

1651 *Plātan nemned* 'Plato was his name'. A good choice. Although neither the *Praxeis* nor Casanatensis nor the Old English homily gives the name (in the *Praxeis* not even a bishop), this Plato is known from the story in the Codex Vaticanus, as well as in the *Life of St Matthew*. In the former, within in a long speech to him: *episcope, inquid, Platone scilicet. Tibi nunc aio frater episcope Plato probate, atque egrĕgiĕ, tibi hunc gregem namque commissum est* 'Bishop, he said, Plato indeed. To you now, O distinguished as well as eminent brother bishop Plato, I say this flock and indeed this charge are for you' (folio 157 verso; Blatt 1930: 145).

1654 *feorhrǣd fremedon* 'frame life's reward' (or 'they should frame' if the final *on* is for subjunctive *-en*). The spiritual formula varies the political one earlier by which Jesus *folcrǣd fremede* 'advanced the people's good'. For the royalty inherent in his works (see n. **622**). The context with the unique *feorhrǣd* supports the reciprocity of Mermedonian obedience to Plato, Andrew's appointee, in exchange for salvation (Stiles 2002: 123).

1655 *þā goldburg ofgifan wolde* 'would give up the gold-town'. In the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis (chs. 32), Andrew's motive for leaving so abruptly is to rejoin his disciples. The *Praxeis*, however, when Andrew turns back to deal with his converts, has a little more: λέγων· Εὐλογήσω σε, κυριέ μου Ἴησου Χριστέ, σῶσαι θέλων πᾶσαν ψυχήν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔασας με ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης συν τῷ θυμῷ μου 'he said, "I

will praise you , my Lord Jesus Christ, for wishing to save all my soul in such a way that you did not allow me to leave this city with that anger in me'" (ch. 33; Bonnet 1959: 116). Boenig mistranslates the last phrase as 'with my soul' (1991a: 22). The Casanatensis is safely more didactic in saying that Andrew returns *benedicens dominum, et ait, gratias ago tibi domine meus iesu Christe, qui vis omnes animas salvas fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire* 'blessing the Lord, while he said "I thank you, my Lord Jesus Christ, who wish all souls to be saved and to come to acknowledge the truth"' (ch. 33; Blatt 1930: 94). Yet the Old English homily, according to CCCC, MS 198, shows Andrew going back into town saying *'Ic þē bletsige mīn Drihten Hǣlend Crīst, þū þe gehwyrfest ealle sāula, forþon þū mē ne forlēte ūt-gangan mid mīnre hāt-heortan of þisse ceastre'* '"I bless you, my Lord Christ the Healer, you who turn all souls to yourself, for not letting me leave with my heart full of anger from this city"' (Morris 1967: 249). With its temperamental hero, *Andreas* comes closer to the *Praxeis* and to the source of the Old English homily.

1663 The manuscript has no lacuna, but the syntax shows that some text is missing. A comparison with the matter in the *Praxeis*, Casanatensis and Old English prose version shows that this probably amounts to at least three lines. Brooks makes up his own (in a note and without translation; p. 117):

> <Hwæt forlǣtest þū, Andrēas,   lēode þīne,
> weorces þīnes   wæstmum bedǣled,
> nū þū ēstum hafast   eall ālȳsed>
> folc of firenum?
>
> <Why, Andrew, are you leaving your people,
> your work, so deprived of harvest,
> now that you with kindness have released all>
> the people from wickedness?

As the poet makes clear in lines 1687-94, there is still some work to do in rooting out the devil in Mermedonia. In keeping with these lines, which have no match in the analogues, is the poet's use of *firene* at the conclusion of the last question. Although the beginning of this question is lost in the textual lacuna, the analogues have nothing here to correspond with the idea of 'wickedness' or 'crimes'. It seems that the half-line *folc of firenum* looks not back to the end of the flood, but rather forward to the missionary cleansing which takes place in lines 1687-94.

1665 *gēomriende* 'grieving'. Brooks (1961: 117) and Stevens (1981: 26) regard a form *gēomrende* as truer to the Type-D metre on this line. This form is possible in the Mercian dialect of the Vespasian Psalter: *frōēfrende* from *frōēfrian* (118.52), *hyngrende* from *hyngrian* (H10.8) *timbrende* (117.22) from *timbrian* (Mertens-Fonck 1960: 129 (F 28), 184 (H 46), 316 (T 6)). The form *gēomrende* appears in *Christ I* 90, *Guthlac* (B) 1048 and *SolSat* 250. See also nn. **124**, **1124** and **1371**.

1667-68 The manuscript text shows no lacuna, but more textual loss seems clear here which may amount to two half-lines only. On the basis of comparison with the analogues, these half-lines allow for the Lord to represent the complaint of the Mermedonians.

1669 *þæt ēowde* 'that flock of lambs'. Brooks suggests that no analogue mentions the Mermedonians as lambs in this place (1961: 117). However, the Codex Vaticanus dwells on lambs and flocks a little earlier, when the Mermedonians reproach Andrew for going: *Gregem fecisti de sanctis ovibus, sevis abstractis luporum morsibus, nunc vero relinquis in campis heremis ut mutes, mactet et leo devoret ut pereat grex quod aggregatus est, et dissipetur lupinis morsibus* 'you have made a flock out of holy sheep, the snatched savage morsels of wolves, but now you leave us, that you may move to a hermit's pastures and that the lion may slay and devour, so that the flock which is gathered may perish and be scattered in wolfish morsels' (folio 155 verso; Blatt 1930: 142). This imagery, doubtless derived from Matthew 10:16 or Luke 10:3, seems to have played a role much earlier in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, when Matthew calls himself and the apostles lambs (ch. 19), in order to ask Andrew if he did not hear the Lord say Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων 'Behold, I send you forth as flocks of sheep in the midst of wolves'; in the Casanatensis, this is *ecce vos sicut oves in medio luporum* 'Behold, you are like sheep in the midst of wolves' (ch. 19; Blatt 1930: 69). See further n. **149**.

1672a *wīnbyrig* 'wine-town'. See n. **1637**.

1672b *wīgendra hlēo* 'shield of warriors'. See n. **1450**.

1675-94 These twenty lines on the finishing touches to Mermedonian conversion contain reinforced alliteration in all but six lines, which, after the first, also stand out in that each of them has a name or word to do with the principals of the scene: *Crīstenra* on line 1677, *fæder ond sunu ond frōfre gāst* on line 1684, *þrinnesse þrymme* on line 1685, *se hālga* on line 1687 and *Sātane* on line 1689. The fourteen lines with reinforced alliteration are hooped by these definitive terms so as to become particularly emphatic. It sees that the passage is contrived to sound like the triumph it represents.

1685 *þrymme wealdeð* 'wield power'. The plural subject counts as one unit, so there is no need to emend to *wealdað* (Mitchell 1985: § 30).

1687-96 *Swylce se hālga herigeas þrēade* 'Just so the saint subdued the altars' etc. These lines, the second half of the alliteratively emphatic passage on the Christianization of Mermedonia, find no match in the analogues. Lines 1680-86, in contrast, on the teaching of the Creed, have an obvious basis in words close to the *Praxeis*, in which Andrew ἐποίησεν ἐκεὶ ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρίστον 'spent seven days teaching and confirming them in the Lord Jesus Christ' (ch. 33); similarly in the Casanatensis (ch. 33). After this in *Andreas*, however, comes an apparently new panegyric on the razing of heathen infrastructure which complements the earlier affirmative measures. As Brooks seems to believe 1687-96 may represent the poet's addition to his source (1961: 118). However, the analogues introduce us to Satan in person, when he and the younger devils attack Andrew in his cell. The poet also seems to prepare us for a reminder of this war in (what is left of) the Lord's earlier questions to Andrew (see n. **1663**). In style, moreover, lines 1687-94 are one with the first half of this triumphal twenty-line passage (n. **1675-94**). It seems more plausible therefore to treat their content as part of the poet's now-lost source: proof of the uniqueness of this against

the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis. The poet acclimatizes the sub-Roman story to northern Europe, for Andrew mops up local cults with the zeal of a Martin or Boniface.

1689-93 *þæt wæs Sātane sār tō geþolienne* 'that for Satan was grievous to endure' etc. These lines, which emphasize the thwarting of Satan in line with Andrew's naming of the devil-in-chief as he sends him packing on line 1193, may be the poet's final allusion to *Beowulf*. The above passage in *Andreas* completes the leitmotif of a war against the devil with the announcement of victory. The likelihood is also strong that the content of these lines lay in the poet's now-lost source (n. **1687-96**). Yet there is a further layer to this passage which may constitute the poet's own contribution to the legend, with an allusion to a passage in which the Danes worship the devil in *Beowulf*. Expressions which resemble *sār tō geþolienne* are relatively common. The phrase *tō geþolienne* (with the intensifying *ge*-prefix) is more common in poetry, *tō þolienne* in glosses and prose. Similar to this expression is the line *Þæt þām weligan wæs weorc tō þolianne*, 'that for the wealthy man was a blow to endure', in *Juliana* 569, when the pagan governor sees the saint survive her initial bonfire. Again in *Andreas*, a little before Andrew's triumph, when he tells the catachumens of his wish to leave them, *Þæt wæs þām weorode weor<c> tō geþoligenne* 'For that host it was a heavy blow to endure', on line 1659; and earlier, the imminent sacrifice of the bad father's son *Andrea earmlīc þūhte, / þēodbealo þearlīc tō geðolianne* 'did look all miserable to Andrew, a grievous arch-evil for him to endure', on lines 1135-36. In a similarly sound way, *Denum eallum wæs, / winum Scyldinga, weorce on mōde / tō geþolianne* 'for all the Danes, friends of the Scyldings, it was a blow to their hearts to endure', in *Beowulf* 1417-19, when Æschere's head appears on a cliff on the way to Grendel's Mere.

    The formula *sār tō geþolienne* is not used in the passage on Danish devil-worship in *Beowulf* 170-83. However, the poet of *Beowulf* captures the meaning of this phrase when he says, of Grendel and King Hrothgar, *Þæt wæs wræc micel wine Scyldinga, / mōdes brecða* 'that was a great affliction, a heart-break, to the friend of the Scyldings' in lines 170-71. After three and a half lines in which the Danish advisers plot a solution, the poet says, in lines 175-76, that *Hwīlum hīe gehēton æt hærgtrafum / wigweorþunga* 'at times they promised honours to idols in temple buildings', praying for deliverance to the *gāstbona* 'soul-slayer' on line 178. The poet of *Andreas* gives the same machinery of paganism with the words *herigeas* 'temples', *dēofulgild* 'idols' and (the unique) *helltrafum* 'hell-buildings' in lines 1687-88 and 1691. Following immediately upon the devil-worship in *Beowulf* are the lines *swylc wæs þēaw hyra, / hæþenra hyht* 'such was their custom, hope of heathen men' in lines 178-79. From these lines the poet of *Andreas* takes material apparently for his first specific allusion to *Beowulf* (see n. **25**) near the beginning of his work. So if the poet alludes again, now before the end of *Andreas*, to *Beowulf*'s opening image of Danish paganism, his effect is to identify King Hrothgar with Satan. In this way the poet of *Andreas*, taking Satan for Hrothgar's master, would pour ultimate scorn on *Beowulf*'s pity for a Danish king and his subjects.

1693-94 *þǣr nǣfre fēondes ne bið, / gastes gramhȳdiges, gang on lande* 'where never foe / nor fierce stranger makes passage on land'. The poet thus describes the *gefēa* 'joy' of Christianity which the Mermedonians have just accepted. It seems likely that both the Christian state of mind and heaven as the Christian objective are the referent of this *gefēa*. The poet's apparent use of *gāst* for 'spirit' poses a problem of ambiguity, for the word might also be *gǎst* for WS *giest* 'guest'. There is a similar

blur or ambiguity in lines 1000, 1088 and 1621 (see n. **1000**). If *fēond* is read simply as 'devil' on line 1693, this word will be *gāstes* for an infernal 'spirit' not allowed into heaven. However, the phrase *on lande* suggests that *fēond* may be read as 'enemy', and MS *gastes* as 'stranger'. The vowel in *gǎstes* is in any case also long by position. It seems best to assume that both meanings are intended. OE m. *gang* denotes a religious 'procession' as well as 'walking' as opposed to riding, but with fiends or enemies the meaning is clearly different. Grendel's Mother's *gang ofer grundas* 'trail across country' can be seen by her pursuers in *Beowulf* 1404. In *Daniel* 51, Nebuchadnezzar considers how to invade Israel *þurh gromra gang* 'with columns of foes'. In this connection, it is interesting to note that when Beowulf and his men leave Heorot they march back to their ship *on gange* 'making passage', in *Beowulf* 1884. This may be topical: see Introduction, p. $$.

1695 *æfter frēan dōme* 'by Ruler's judgement'. Another version of the formula is *tō frēan dōme* 'at the Ruler's judgement' on line 653, which, just as this line, belongs to a passage which finds no match in the analogues (n. **652-60**).

1699 *on brimþīsan* 'in a brim-burster', i.e. a fast-sailing ship. The poet's elaboration on Andrew's leave-taking is in keeping with his departure from the content of *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, which give no such focus. The later Codex Vaticanus, however, which does give attention to this scene, is a likely witness to the shape of the now-lost source of *Andreas*.

1700 *Āchāie <eard>* '<the land> of Achaea'. The word *Achaie* in the MS may end with a Latin fem. gen. sg for *-(a)e*, or be written an error for *Achaia* 'due to anticipation of the ending *-e*' of *ōðre sīðe* (Brooks 1961: 118). Although the non-English name *Ēssāias* forms a half-line by itself in *Elene* 350, it seems better to supply *eard* while taking *Āchāie* for a genitive.

1703 *ne wearð / hleahtre behworfen* 'was not treated with laughter'. Brooks (1961:118) translates as 'turned to laughter', comparing this with a litotes for Cain's punishment, *ne gefēah hē þǣre fǣhðe* 'he rejoiced not in that feud', in *Beowulf* 109. However, the expression in *Andreas* is differently contrived. The poet uses a term derived from maintaining vessels in church: in Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar*, it is said that *riht is þæt ealle þā ðing þe wēofode nēah bēon and tō cyrcan gebyrian bēon swȳðe clǣnlīce and wurðlīce behworfene* 'it is right that all the things which are near the altar and belong to the church are treated with great cleanness and honour' (§ 42; Fowler 1972: 47-48; DOE *behweorfan*, 2.a).

1703-04 *in helle ceafl / sīð āsette* 'into hell's jaws his course he set'. There is a similar idea in a drawing of hell in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11; also in the carving of a mouth which swallows human forms (putatively the assassins of King Æthelbald of Mercia) on the 'Repton Rider'. For an illustration and discussion, see Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle (1985), 242 (plate VI).

1704b *syð<ðan>*. MS *syð* ends at a hole which, since it does not affect the text in *The Fates of the Apostles* on the other side, seems to have predated the scribe, whose omission of *ðan* seems to be inspired, not caused, by the hole; so Brooks (1961: 118).

1714 *ofer seolhpaðu* 'over the seal-paths'. Attested only here, though an object's journey *ofer seolhbaþo* 'over seal-baths' in *Riddle* 10 11, is similar. The production of yet another unique term for the sea, given the length of the sea-crossing in the first half of *Andreas*, speaks for the depth of the poet's resources. By juxtaposing a seal with the object of the Mermedonians' longing, the poet gives us their image of Andrew as he sinks over the horizon.

1722 *þæt is æðele cyning!* 'That is a noble King!'. See also nn. **566**, **622** and **1431-33**. The formula *þæt wæs gōd cyning* 'that was a good king' is deployed three times in *Beowulf*, for Scyld Scefing (line 11), Hrothgar (line 863) and Onela (line 2390). Conversely, the poet of *Deor* says *þæt wæs grim cyning* 'that was a savage king' of Eormanric the Goth on line 23. Though there is no other example, perhaps because so little of the genre survives, it seems that this was a formula for kings in heroic poetry. That the poet of *Andreas* applies it to the King of Heaven, turning the past tense into a present while doing so, gives the Mermedonians as a tribe transformed. Not long ago they were heathens, eating the flesh of men; now they are partakers in the body of Christ.

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Glossary

References to common forms and uses are abbreviated by 'etc'. Where a form has more than four instances, no more than three are given. Instances are otherwise given to a maximum of four. Minor spelling variations are properly covered in the Introduction (pp. $$-$$). All words beginning with the prefix *ge-* will be found under the initial letter of the stem. The vowels *æ* is listed as a separate letter after *a*. The initial letters *þ* and *ð*, which are phonetically interchangeable, are listed as *þ* after *t*. Glosses are more literal than in the translation, to which they are best treated as a guide. A dagger (†) indicates *hapax legomenon*; reference to a note (n.) is given where appropriate.

Abbrevations in the glossary

1 *sg.*	1st-person singular	*m.*	masculine
2 *sg.*	2nd-person singular (etc)	MS	in manuscript
a.	accusative	*n.*	neuter
absol.	absolute	-n.	see note
adj.	adjective	*neg*	negative
adv.	adverb	*nom.*	nominative
anom.	anomalous	*num.*	numeral
cf.	for comparison	*ord.*	ordinal
comp.	comparative	*part.*	participle
cond.	conditional	*pl.*	plural
conj.	conjunction	*pp.*	past participle
d.	dative	*prep.*	preposition
def.	definite	*pres.*	present
dem.	demonstrative	*pret.*	preterite
emend.	emended	*pron.*	pronoun, pronominal
f.	feminine	*prp.*	present preterite
g.	genitive	*reflex.*	reflexive
imp.	imperative	*sg.*	singular
ind.	indicative	*subj.*	subjunctive
indec.	indeclinable	*sup.*	superlative
indef.	indefinite	*sv.*	strong verb (with number for class)
inf.	infinitive		
infl.	inflected	*tr.*	transitive
inst.	instrumental	*untr.*	untranslated
int.	interrogative	*v.*	verb
interj.	interjection	*w.*	with
intr.	intransitive	*wv.*	weak verb (with number for conjugation)
irreg.	irregular		

ā, *adv.* always, ever 64, 203, 541 etc; for ever 1379.

ā-bēodan, *sv.* 2, announce, proffer; *pret. sg.* **ābēad** 96; *pp.* **āboden** 231.

ā-beran, *sv.* 4, endure 956.

ā-blendan, *wv.* 1, blind 78.

ā-brecan, *sv.* 4, break, shatter 150; *pp.* **ābrocen** 1240.

ā-bregdan, *sv.* 3, draw out; *pret. pl.* **ābrugdon** 865.

ā-brēotan, *sv.* 7, destroy; *pret. pl.* **ābrēoton** 51.

ac, *conj.* but 38, 634, 637 etc; **ah** 23n, 232, 281, etc; **ach** 1592.

ā-cennan, *wv.* 1, beget, raise; *pp.* **ācenned**, begotten 566; raised 685.

ach, *see* ac.

†āclǣc-cræft, *m.* arts of a monster 1362n.

ge-āclian, *wv.* 2, terrify 805.

ācol, *adj.* afraid, dismayed 1266, 1339.

ācol-mōd, *adj.* afraid, panicked 1595.

ācsigan, *wv.* 2, ask 1134.

ā-drēogan, *sv.* 2, endure 73, 369; *pret. sg.* **ādrēah** suffered, endured 969, 1486, **ādrēag** 1482; **ādrēg** showed 164.

†**ā-drēopan**, *sv.* 2, drip out; *pp.* **ādropen**, dripped out 1425.

ā-fǣran, *wv.* 1, strike with fear 1340.

ā-fēdan, *wv.* 1, feed up 589, nurture 684.

ā-ferian, *wv.* 1, ferry out 1177.

ā-frēfran, *wv.* 1, comfort, relieve 638.

ā-fyrhtan, *wv.* 1, frighten 1529.

āgan, *prp. v.* own; *pres. sg.* **āh** 518.

ā-gān, *anom. v.* go, go away; *pp.* **ā-gān** 147.

āgen, *adj.* own 339.

āgend, *m.* owner 210, 760, 1715.

ā-gēotan, *sv.* 2, pour out, sprinkle; *pret. sg.* 1441, 1449.

ā-gētan, *wv.* 1, dispatch 1143; *pret. pl.* **āgētton** would dispatch 32n.

ā-gifan, *sv.* 5, give up 1416; *pret. sg.* **āgeaf** gave up 1578; **āgef** 189, 285, 572 etc; *pl.* **āgēfan** gave 401; *pp.* **āgifen** yielded up 296.

ā-grafan, *sv.* 6, carve; *pp.* **āgræfene** 712.

ah, *see* **ac**.

āh, *see* **āgan**.

ā-hebban, *sv.* 6, raise up, life up; *pret. sg.* **āhōf** 344, 416, 521 etc.

ā-hlēapan, *sv.* 7, leap down; *pret. sg.* **āhlēop** 736, *pl.* **āhlēopon** 1202.

ā-hlihhan, *sv.* 6, laugh out loud; *pret. sg.* **āhlōh** 454.

ā-hweorfan, *sv.* 3, turn aside, pervert, move 957.

ā-hwettan, *wv.* 1, arouse 303, **āhwette** provide 339.

ā-lǣtan, *sv.* 7, lose; *pret.pl.* **ālēton** 1629.

aldor[1] **(ealdor-)**, *m.* prince, master, chieftain 55, 70, 354 etc.

aldor[2] **(ealdor)**, *m.* life, existence 1131, 1137, 1324, 1351; **tō wīdan aldre** for ever 938, 1721.

ā-licgan, *sv.* 5, fail; *pret. sg.* **ālæg** 3.

ā-lȳsan, *wv.* 1, free, release, liberate, 100, 112, 944 etc; *pp.* **ālȳsed** 1149 (MS *ālȳsde*), 1472.

ā-mearcian, *wv.* 2, shape 750; depict 724.

ān, *num. pron. and adj.* one 326, 327, 483 etc; *a. sg. m.* **ǣnne** 1104; alone 68, 81, 258; **ānre nū gēna** one more 475; *genom. pl.* **ānra gehwylc** each and every one 933, 1283.

and, see **ond**

and-git, *n.* sense, meaning 509.

and-swarian, -swaru, *see* **ond-**.

and-weard, *adj.* in physical presence 783; in person 1224.

ān-for-lǣtan, *sv.* 7, forsake, abandon 1287, 1642, 1669.

ān-haga, *m.* lone survivor 1351n.

āninga, *see* **ǣninga**.

an-līcnes (on-), *f.* likeness, image, graven image 713, 717, 731.

ān-mōd, *adj.* of one mind, of one purpose 1565, 1601, 1638.

ān-rǣd, *adj.* single-minded 983; determined (*w. g.*), 232.

apostol-hād, *m.* apostle's authority 1651.

ār[1], *m.* herald, legate, messenger 298, 400, 829 etc.

ār[2], *f.* grace, favour 76, 979, 1129.

ā-rǣfnan, *wv.* 1, cope with 816n.

ā-rǣran, *wv.* 1, exalt, raise 967, 1318, 1645.

ā-reccan, *wv.* 1, describe 546.

ār-geblond, *n.* mingling waters 383.

ārīsan, *sv.* 1, arise, get up 936, 1623; *pret. sg.* **ārās** 450, 695, 1011 etc.

ār-lēas, *adj.* impious 559n.

†**ār-wela**, *m.* wealth of ocean 853.

†**ār-ȳð**, *f.* oar-billows 532.

ge-āscian, *wv.* 2, find out (by asking) 44.

ā-settan, *wv.* 1, settle down 208; set 1704.

†**ā-spēdan**, *wv.* 1, speed (away), escape; *pp.* **ā-spēdde** sped, released 1631.

ā-standan, *sv.* 6, stand (up) 792; *pret. sg.* **āstōd** 443, *pl.* **āstōdon** 1625.

ā-stīgan, *sv.* 1, climb; *pret. sg.* **āstāg** 708, **āstāh** 1125.

ā-sundrian, *wv.* 2, sunder 1243.

ā-swebban, *wv.* 1, slay 72.

ā-timbran, *wv.* 1, timber (build) 667.

atol (atul), *adj.* terrible 53, 1296, 1312.

ātor (attor), *n.* poison 53, 770, 1331.

ā-wǣgan, *wv.* 1, make void 1439.

ā-wēallan, *sv.* 7, well up; *pret. sg.* **āwēoll** 1523.

ā-weccan, *wv.* 1, awaken; *pret. sg.* **āwehte** raised 584.

ā-wecgan, *wv.* 1, shake 503.

ā-wellan, *wv.* 1, well up 1019.

ā-wergan, *wv.* 1, curse; *pp.* **āwerged** accursed 1299.

ā-writan, *sv.* 1, carve, write; *pp.* **āwriten** carved 726; written (down) 135, 149.

ǣ, *f.* law, testament 1511, 1644; **dryhtnes ǣ** Gospel 1194, 1403.

ǣce, see **ēce**.

ǣdre, *adv.* urgently, swiftly 110, 189, 803, 936; **ēdre** 401, 643, 950.

ǣfen, *m.* evening 1245.

ǣfre, *adv.* ever, 360, 493, 499 etc.

ǣfst, *f.* spite 610.

æfter, *adv.* afterwards 124, 182, 738, 904, 1228.

æfter, *prep. w. d.* after 37, 88, 229 etc; beyond 156; by 1232, 1695; over 1426; from 335, 1483; in 1712; in keeping with 1447; through 581, 1237, 1621; with 78; **æfter fyrstmearce** at the time appointed 133.

†ǣg-flota, *m.* vessel 258.

ǣg-hwā, *pron.* each 320.

ǣg-hwæðer, *pron.* each 1015.

ǣg-hwylc, *pron.* each 26, 350, 508.

ǣ-gleaw, *adj.* wise in (God's) law; *comp. nom. sg. m.* **ǣglǣwra** 1483.

ǣg-lǣca, *m.* monster, adversary 1131, 1312, 1359n.

ǣgðer, *pron.* each 1051.

æht, *f.* council, deliberation 410, 608.

ǣht, *f.* power 1718.

ǣht-geweald, *n.* power 1110.

ǣlc, *pron. and adj.* each, all 1534.

ǣled, *m.* fire 1550.

æl-fǣle (*æl-felo), *adj.* all-destructive 770n.

æl-mihtig, *adj.* almighty 76, 249, 365 etc; **ælmihtī** 260.

†æl-myrce, *m. pl.* strange border-dwellers; *g.* **ælmyrcna** 432n.

æl-wihte, *see* **eall-wihte**.

ǣnig, *pron. and adj.* any, anyone, someone 15, 199, 377 etc; *dat. sg.* **ǣngum** of people 178.

ǣninga, *adv.* at once 220, 1141, 1370; **āninga** 1392.

ǣnne, see **ān**.

ǣr¹, *adv.* before, earlier, first 188, 695, 949 etc.

ǣr², *conj. w. subj.* before 1050, 1354, 1439, **ǣr þan** 1031.

ǣr-dæg, *m.* early day, dawn of the day 220, 235, 1388, 1525.

ǣren, *adj.* brass 1062.

ǣrende, *n.* message, task, mission 215, 230, 776, 1620.

ǣrest¹, *adv.* first, soonest 12, 132, 756 etc.

ǣrest², *see* **ǣ-rist**.

ǣr-geweorc, *n.* works of giants 1235.

ǣ-rist, *m. or n.* first 780.

æsc, *m.* spear 1097.

æsc-berend, *m.* armed warriors, spear bearers 47, 1076, 1537.

æt, *prep. w. d.* at, in, on 221, 403, 412 etc; from 908.

ǣt, *m.* consumption 132, 1073.

æt-fæstan, *wv.* 1, inflict 1347.

æt-gædere, *adv.* together 992.

æt-somne, *adv.* together 994, 1091.

†æt-þringan, *sv.* 3, drive out 1371.

æt-ȳwan, *wv.* 1, appear 729, 1168, 1296, 1662.

æþel-cyning, *m.* noble king 1679.

æðele, *adj.* high-born, noble 230, 360, 642 etc.

æðelīc, *adj.* excellent 888.

æðeling, *m.* prince, princeling 44, 277, 568 etc.

æðelo (æðelu), *nom. pl.* lineage 683, 689, 734; virtues 636, 882.

bǣl, *n.* furnace 1186.

bǣldan, *wv.* 1, embolden 1186.

ge-bǣro, *f.* inclination 1570.

bæð, *n.* bath 293, 1640.

bæð-weg, *m.* bath-way 223, 513.

baldor, *m.* prince 547.

bām, *see* **bēgen**.

bān, *n.* bone 1422, 1473.

bana (bona), *m.* slayer 17, 616, 1293, 1702.

bān-cofa, *m.* bone-coffer 1276.

†bān-gebrec, *n.* breaking of bones 1442.

bān-hring, *m.* bone-ring, vertebra 150.

bān-hūs, *n.* bone-house 1240, 1405.

bannan, *sv.* 7, summon 1094.

bāsnian, *wv.* 2, await, abide 447, 1065.

bāt, *m.* boat 444, 496.

be, *prep. w. d.* by, alongside 360, 465, 831, 1492; according to 1366; between 1061n; matching 1611; **be healfe** beside 1063; **be ... twēonum** between, among 558.

bēacen, *n.* beacon 242, 729; sign 1201.

beaduwe, *f.* battle; *g. sg.* **beaduwe** 982; *d. sg.* **beadowe** 1186.

†beadu-cræft, *m.* skill in fighting 219.

†beadu-cwealm, *m.* death in war 1702.

beadu-lāc, *n.* play of battle 1118.

beadu-rōf, *adj.* brave in battle 96, 145, 848.

†beadu-wang, *m.* plain of battle 413.

bēag, *m.* ring 271, 303, 476.

†bēag-sel, *n.* ring-palace 1657.

beald, *adj.* bold 602.

bealu, *n.* evil, bale; *d. sg.* **bealuwe** 947.

bearn, *n.* child, son, bairn 409, 560, 576 etc.

bearu, *m.* grove 1448.

bēatan, *sv.* 7, beat, pound, thunder 496, 1543; *pret. pl.* **bēoton** 239, 442.

be-bēodan, *sv.* 2, command, tell, bid 729, 1328; *pret. sg.* **bebēad** 322, 773, 789 etc.

be-bod, *n.* command 735.

be-būgan, *sv.* 2, surround 333.

be-cuman, *sv.* 4, come, arrive 929; *pret. sg.* **becōm** 788, 1666, **becwōm** 827, *pl.* **becōmon** 666.

be-cweðan, *sv.* 5, say 193, 210; reproach 304; claim 418.

ge-bed, *n.* prayer 1027.

be-dǣlan, *wv.* 1, deprive; *pp.* **be-dǣled** 309.

be-drīfan, *sv.* 1, scour; *pp.* **be-drifene** 1494.

be-fēolan, *sv.* 3, apply; *pret. sg.* **befealg** 1326.

be-fōn, *sv.* 7, enfold; *pres. sg.* **befēhð** 327; *pp.* **befangen** 1057.

be-foran[1], *adv.* openly 606; publicly 619.

be-foran[2], *prep. w. d.* before, openly to 571.

be-gang, *m.* road 195; circuit, compass 530.

bēgen, *pron. and adj.* both 1016, 1027; *d.* **bām** 1014.

be-gitan, *sv.* 5, get, obtain 480; *pret. subj. sg.* **begēte** 378.

be-habban, *wv.* 3, contain 817.

be-helian, *wv.* 1, conceal 791.

be-hweorfan, *sv.* 3, convert, treat, attend to; *pp.* **behworfen** 1703n.

be-lecgan, *wv.* 1, belay, encompass 1211; overwhelm 1295; *pret. sg.* **belegde** 1192, *pl.* **belegdon** 1560.

be-lēosan, *sv.* 2, deprive; *pp.* **be-lorene** bereft of, without 1079.

be-liden, *pp.* departed (dead) 1089.

be-lūcan, *sv.* 2, lock; *pp.* **belocen** 164.

be-mīðan, *sv.* 1, hide; *pp.* **bemiðen** 856.

be-murnan, *wv.* 1, care for 154.

bēn, *f.* favour 476; boon 1028, 1613.

bēna, *m.* petitioner; **swā gē bēnan sint** as you request 348.

bend, *f.* bond 184, 1038, 1357; *irreg. d. pl.* **bennum** 962.

be-neah, *anom. v., pres. sg.* enjoy, have purpose; *pret. sg.* **benohte** 1705, *pl.* **benohton** 1159.

benn, *f.* wound 1405.

bennum, 962, 1038, *see* **bend**.

bēodan, *sv.* command, tell 779; *pret. sg.* **bēad** 346; *pp.* **boden** made 1201.

ge-bēodan, *sv.* 2, offer; *pp.* **geboden** 219.

†**bēod-gast**, *m.* guest at table 1088n.

bēon, *anom. v.* be, exist; *pres.* 1 *sg.* **eom** 636, **bēo** 72; 2 *sg.* **eart** 505, 527, 1188 etc; 3 *sg.* **is** 102, 113, 120 etc, **bið** 185, 275, 320 etc; *pres. pl.* **sindon** 201, 1369, **sint** 348, 1404, 1425, **synd** 323, 744, 1365, **syndon** 264, 344, 676 etc, **synt** 198, 391, **bīoð** 408; *pret.* 1 *sg.* **wæs** 64, 489, 949; 2 *sg.* 898; 3 *sg.* **wæs** 11, 19, 25 etc; *pret. pl.* **wǣron** 7, 46, 250 etc; *pres. subj. sg.* **sīe** 70, 417, 1439, 1451, *pl.* **sīen** 734; *pret. subj. sg.* **wǣre** 563, 765, 799, 1178; *imp. sg.* **bēo** 98, 214, **wes** 540, 914, 959, *pl.* **bēoð** 1609. Negative forms: **nis** is not 107, 205, 1210, 1432; **næs** was not 21, 380, 662, 888 etc.

beorg, *m.* barrow, mountain 840, 1306, 1587.

beorgan, *sv.* 3, save 1538.

beorht, *adj.* bright, clear 84, 96, 103 etc.

beorhte, *adv.* brightly 789.

beorn, *m.* man, warrior, trooper 219, 239, 305 etc; boy 690; **beornum tō blisse** to the general joy 588.

bēor-þegu, *f.* beer-tasting 1533.

be-rǣdan, *wv.* 1, deprive, dispossess, 133, 1326.

beran, *sv.* 4 bear 216, 1079, 1295; *pret. sg.* **bær** 265, *pl.* **bǣron** 1221.

ge-beran, *sv.* 4, bear (child); *pp.* **geborene** born 690.

be-rēafian, *wv.* 2, rob 1314.

be-rēofan, *sv.* 2 rob; *pp.* **berofene** 1084.

be-scūfan, *sv.* 2, shove; *pret. sg.* **bescēaf** 1191.

be-scyrian, *wv.* 1, cut off 1618.

be-sēon, *sv.* 5, look; *pret. sg.* **beseah** 1446.

be-settan, *wv.* 1, beset, catch, enclose 943, 1255, 1433.

be-sittan, *sv.* 5, sit round, attend 410; *pret. pl.* **besǣton** 608, 627n.

be-snyððan, *wv.* 1, bereave 1324.

be-stēman, *wv.* 1, steam, drench 1239, 1475; *pp. d. sg. m.* **bestēmdon** 487.

be-swīcan, *sv.* 1, deceive; *pret. sg.* **beswāc** 613; *pp.* **beswicene** 745.

be-teldan, *sv.* 3, protect; *pp.* **betolden** 988.

betera, *see* **gōd**[2].

be-twēonum, *prep. w. d.* among, between 1099; **betwīnum** 1103.

betwīnum, *see* **betwēonum**.

be-þeccan, *wv.* 1, cover; *pret. sg.* **beþehte** 1046; **earme beþehte** embraced 1015.

be-wǣlan, *wv.* 1, beset 1361.

be-windan, *sv.* 3, wrap, bind; *pp.* **bewunden** bound 19, immersed, 267, wrapped 535, enclosed, 58, 772.

be-wrecan, *sv.* 5, push through; *pp.* **bewrecene** 269.

bīdan, *sv.* 1, await, wait for (*w. g.*) 145; *pret. sg.* **bād** 261; *pl.* **bidon** 1042 (*w. a.*); *absol.* 833.

ge-bīdan, *sv.* 1, wait 399; *pret. sg.* **gebād** 1587, 1702.

biddan, *sv.* 5 ask (for), pray (for), beg (for), bid (for) 84, 271, 353 etc; *pret. sg.* **bæd** 1030, 1614.

ge-biddan, *sv.* 5, pray to; *pret. sg.* **gebæd** 996.

bill, *n.* sword, blade 51, 413.

†**bill-hete**, *m.* violence of a blade 78.

bilwyt, *adj.* gentle 997.

bindan, *sv.* 3, bind 519; *pret. sg.* **band** 1255.

ge-bindan, *sv.* 3, bind, tie up; *pret. pl.* **gebundon** 48, 1222; *pp.* **gebunden** 580, 947, 1379, 1396.

†**bī-ryhte**, *adv.* alongside 848.

bisceop, *m.* bishop 607, 1649.

bi-sencan, *wv.* 1, cause to sink 1591.

biter, *adj.* bitter 1160, 1533; biting 616.

bitere, *adj.* mordantly 33.

blāc, *adj.* flashing 243; gleaming 1541.

ge-blandan, *sv.* 7, mix; *pret. pl.* **geblendan** 33; *pp.* **geblonden**, in turmoil 424.

blāt, *adj.* pale 1088, 1279.

blǣc, *adj.* pale 1262.

blǣd¹, *m.* blast 769; happiness, bliss 17, 535; brilliance, triumph 103, 356, 1719.

blǣd², *f.* blossom 1449.

blǣd-gifa, *m.* giver of happiness, endower of bliss 84, 656.

blǣst, *m.* blast 837, 1552.

blēað, *adj.* soft 231.

(ge-)bledsian, *wv.* 2, bless; *pp.* **gebledsod** 524, 540, 937, 1719.

bletsung, *f.* blessing 223.

blīcan, *sv.* 1, gleam, glance 789, 838.

blind, *adj.* blind 581.

blinnan, *sv.* 3, stop (*w. g.*); *pret. sg.* **blōn** 1265; *pret. 2 sg.* **blunne** lost 1380.

blis(s), *f.* bliss, rejoicing, gladness, 647, 886, 1014 etc; **beornum tō blisse** to the general joy 588.

blissigean, *wv.* 2, bless 1607; *absol.* rejoice 578; be glad 634.

ge-blissian, *wv.* 2, gladden 351; relieve 468; comfort 892.

blīðe, *adj.* content 833; joyful 867; cheerful 971, 1583; gracious 903.

blīð-heort, *adj.* blithe in heart, radiant 660, 1262.

blōd, *n.* blood 23, 954, 1240, 1276, 1449.

blōd-fāg, *adj.* blood-stained 1405n.

blōdig, *adj.* bloody, bleeding, gory 159, 1442, 1473.

ge-blond, *n.* mingling 532.

blōwan, *sv.* 7, bloom 646.

ge-blōwan, *sv.* 7, bloom; *pp.* **ge-blōwene** in bloom 1448.

bōcere, *m.* book-keepers 607.

bodian, *wv.* 2, proclaim 1120; preach 335.

bolca, *m.* gangway 305, 602.

bold, *n.* building 656.

bold-wela, *m.* wealth of a building 103, 524n.

bolgen-mōd, *adj.* swollen with anger 128, 1221.

bona, *see* **bana**.

bord, *n.* (shield-)board, shield 1205.

bord-hrēoða, *m.* shield-board cover 128.

†**bord-stæð**, *n.* ship's wall; *a. pl.* **bordstæðu** 442n.

bōsm, *m.* bosom 444.

bōt, *f.* help 947.

†**brand-hāt**, *adj.* brand-hot 768.

brant, *adj.* steep-prowed 273.

brecan, *sv.* 4, break 504; plough (the sea) 223, 513.

ge-brecan, *sv.* 4, break; *pp.* 1404, 1473.

brego, *m.* master, chief 61, 540; **breogo** 305.

brehtm, *m.* revelry 1202; jubilation 867, 1271.

brēme, *adj.* famous, renowned, illustrious 209, 718, 1719.

breogo, *see* **brego**.

breogo-stōl, *m.* princely throne, principality 209.

breomo, *see* **brim**.

brēost, *f. or n.* breast, chest, 51, 647, 768, 1118 etc.

brēost-gehygd, *f.* thought of the breast 997.

brim, *n.* sea, seawater, sea-brim 444, 504, 519, 1710; *a. pl.* **breomo** 242, 1543, 1574.

brim-hengest, *m.* brim-stallion (ship) 513.

brim-rād, *f.* sea-road 1262, 1587.

†brim-stæð, *n.* breaker (wave); *nom. pl.* **brimstæðo** 496.

brim-strēam, *m.* ocean current, ocean brim, 239, 348, 903.

brim-þīsa, *m.* brim-burster, ship 1657, 1699.

bringan, *wv.* 1, bring; *pret. sg.* **brōhte** 259.

ge-bringan, *wv.* 1, bring; *pret. pl.* **gebrōhton** 1710; *pret. subj. sg.* **gebrōhte** 273.

†brond-stæfn, *adj.* steep-prowed; *a. sg. m.* **brondstæfne** 504.

brōðor, *m.* brother 940.

ge-brōðor, *m. pl.* brothers 1014, 1027.

brōðor-syb(b), *f.* full-brother kinship 690n.

brūcan, *sv.* 2, enjoy, benefit from, profit from 17, 106, 229 etc; *infl. inf.* **brūcanne** 1160, **brūconne** 23.

brūn, *adj.* dark 442, 519.

†brūn-wann, *adj.* dusky 1306n.

brycgian, *wv.* 2, bridge 1261.

bryne, *m.* burning, fire 616.

brytta, *m.* dispenser, giver 822, 1170.

bryttian, *wv.* 2, deal out 754.

burg (burh), *f.* town 78n, 111, 231 etc; *d. sg.* **byrig** 40, 287, 973 etc.

burg-geat, *n.* town gate 840.

burg-loca (burh-), *m.* stronghold, town lock-up 940n, 1038, 1065.

burg-waru, *f.* townsfolk, citizens, inhabitants; *a. pl.* **burgwara** 1094; **burgware**, *m. pl.* 184, 209, 718, 1583.

burh-sittend, *m.* townsmen 1201.

burh-stede, *m.* fortified town; *pl.* 581n.

burh-weall, *m.* town wall 833.

burh-weard, *m.* town-keeper, guardian of the towns 660n.

būtan¹, *conj. w. subj.* but that, unless 188.

būtan², *prep. w. d.* but for, excepting 148; without 679.

byrle, *m.* cup-bearer 1533.

bȳsen, *f.* example 971.

(ge-)bysgian, *wv.* 2, oppress 395.

bysmri(g)an, *wv.* 2, humiliate, abuse 962, 1293, 1357.

cald (ceald), *adj.* cold 201, 222, 253 etc.

†cald-heort, *adj.* cold-hearted, cold-blooded 138.

camp, *m.* conflict, combat 1325; **tō Godes campe** in combat for God 234.

†camprǣden(n), *f.* combat engagement 4n.

can(n), *see* **cunnan**.

carcern, *n.* prison, jail, dungeon 57n, 90, 130 etc.

ceafl, *m.* jaw(s) 159, 1703.

ceald, *see* **cald**.

cearig, *adj.* grieving; *inst. sg. f.* **cearegan** 1108.

ceaster, *f.* city 41, 207, 281 etc.

†ceaster-hof, *m.* city building 1237.

ceaster-ware (-waran), *m. pl.* citizens 1646; *g.* **ceastrewarena** 1125.

cempa, *m.* champion 230, 324, 461 etc.

cēne, *adj.* brave 1204, 1578.

cennan, *wv.* 1, beget 757.

cēol, *m.* keel, vessel 222, 253, 256 etc.

cēosan, *sv.* 2, choose; *pret. subj. pl.* **curen** 1609, **curon** 404.

ge-cēosan, *sv.* 2, choose; *pp.* **gecoren** 324.

cīgan, *wv.* 1, call 746.

cild-geong, *adj.* child-young, from infancy 685.

†cine-bald, *adj.* bold by kin 171n.

cirice, *f.* church 1633, 1646.

cirm (cyrm), *m.* outcry, clamour 41, 1125, 1156, 1237.

cirman, *wv.* 1, cry out, whoop 138.

clamm, *see* **clomm**.

clǣne, *adj.* clean 978.

cleofu, *see* **clif**.

cleopi(g)an, *wv.* 2, call, cry out 1108, 1398, 1410, 1716; *inf.* **clypian** 450.

clif, *n.* cliff; *a. pl.* **cleofu** 310.

clingan, *sv.* 3, shrink; *pret. sg.* **clang** 1260.

clomm (clamm), *m.* shackle, chain 130, 1192, 1212 etc.

†clūstor-cleofa, *m.* cloister-confine, prison-house 1021.

clypian, *see* **cleopi(g)an**.

clyppan, *wv.* 1, embrace 1016.

gecnāwan, *sv.* 7, understand 1517, 1558.

cnēomǣg, *m.* near relative; **his cnēomāgum** at the knee of his kin 685.

cnēoris(s), *f.* country 207.

cniht, *m.* boy, lad 912, 1121.

cōlian, *wv.* 2, cool 1256.

collen-fer(h)ð (-fyrhð), *adj.* stout-hearted, courageous of heart, audacious 349, 538, 1108n, 1578.

corðor, *n.* guard of honour 1075n; company 1121; regiment 1204; crowd 1716; mob 138.

†cost, *adj.* tried 1055.

cræft, *m.* skill, power, purpose, force 49, 327, 484 etc.

cræftiga, *m.* craftsman 1633.

cringan, *sv.* 3, fall; *pret. subj. sg.* **crunge** 1031.

cuman, *sv.* 4, come 783; *pres. sg.* **cymeð** 512; *pret. sg.* **cōm** 88, 124, 241 etc, **cwōm** 738, 1278, *pl.* **cōmon** 256, 658, 863 etc; *pres. subj. sg.* **cyme** 188, 400; *pret. subj. pl.* **cōmon** 247, 1047; *pp.* **cumen** 41, 880, 1165, 1584.

cumbol, *n.* standard, banner 4, 1204.

cunnan, *prp. v.* know, know how to, be able to, understand; *inf.* **cunnan** 341, **canst** 68, 508, **const** 1282, 3 *sg.* **cann** 980, 1154, **con** 195; *pret. pl.* **cūðon** 752, 1194; *pret. subj. sg.* **cunne** 557, 1485; *pret. subj. sg.* **cūðe** 901, 928.

cunnian, *wv.* 2, learn 129; explore 314; try out 439.

cūð, *pp. adj.* known, familiar 198, 201, 380 etc.

cūðe, cūðon, *see* **cunnan**.

cūð-līce, *adv.* openly, recognisably 322.

cwānian, *wv.* 2, lament 1536.

cwealm, *m.* killing, execution 281, 1121, 1507, 1597; punishment 1186; **ylda cwealm** homicide 182.

cwellan, *wv.* 1, kill; *pret. sg.* 1624.

cweðan, *sv.* 5, say, speak, utter, cry; *pret. 2 sg.* **cwǣde** 1411, 3 *sg.* **cwæð** 62, 173, 329 etc, *pl.* **cwǣdon** 1601, 1639, 1716.

ge-cweðan, *sv.* 5, say, utter; *pret. sg.* **gecwæð** 896, 1172, 1299 etc.

cwic(u), *adj.* living, alive 912, 1082; **cwice lifdon** were still living 129.

cwide, *m.* utterance 1021.

cyle-gicel, *m.* icicle 1260.

cyme, *m.* coming 660.

cȳm-līce, *adv.* splendidly; *comp.* **cȳmlicor** comelier 361.

ge-cynd, *f.* kind 588.

cyne-bearn, *n.* royal son 566n.

cyne-rōf, *adj.* highborn 484; *as noun* brave prince 585.

cyne-stōl, *m.* seat of royalty 666n.

cyne-þrym, *m.* royal majesty 1322.

cyning (cining), *m.* king 120, 145, 171 etc.

cyn(n), *n.* tribe, race, kindred, kin, 545, 560, 567 etc; *pl.* family 1519.

cyrm, *see* **cirm**.

ge-cyrran, *wv.* 1, turn 1078.

cyssan, *wv.* 1, kiss 1016.

cȳðan, *wv.* 1, reveal, show 571, 575, 585 etc; declare 680.

ge-cȳðan, *wv.* 1, reveal, make known 90, 289, 358 etc; declare 390; show 711; prove 965; proclaim 1435.

cȳðð, *f.* country 734.

ge-dafenian, *wv.* 2, befit, be becoming 317.

daroð, *m.* spear 1444.

dǣd, *f.* action, deed 67, 596.

dǣdfruma, *m.* author of deeds 75; man of action 1455.

dæg, *m.* day 818, 1245, 1274 etc; *pl.* **dagas** 1414, 1696.

dæg-candel(l), *f.* candle of day (sun) 835.

dæghwǣm-līce, *adv.* day to day 682.

dægred-wōma, *m.* tumult of dawn 125n.

dǣl, *m.* part, a share 570, 1122, 1421, 1474; a few 1488.

dǣlan, *wv.* 1, distribute 548; *pp.* **dǣled** dealt 952.

ge-dǣlan, *wv.* 1, *w. d.* consign 955; deal 1217; *intr.* disperse 5.

dēad, *adj.* dead 1077.

dēaf, *adj.* deaf 577.

dēah, *prp. v., pres. sg.* avail 460.

deall, *adj.* burgeoning, proud 1097.

dearst, *prp. v., pres. 2 sg.* 1350; *pret. sg.* **dorste** 735, *pl.* **dorston** 800.

dēað, *m.* death 87, 431, 583 etc.

†dēað-rǣs, *m.* sudden death 995.

†dēað-rēow, *adj.* cruel in death 1314.

†dēað-wang, *m.* plain of death 1003.

dēman, *wv.* 1, preach, appoint 75, 1194,1403; honour 999 (*emend.*).

dēmend, *m.* judge 87, 1189.

dēofol-gild (dīofol-), *n.* idolatry 1641, 1688.

dēoful (dīoful), *m.* or *n.* devil 43, 141, 611 etc.

dēogol-līce, *adv.* secretly 621n.

dēop, *adj.* deep sea 190, 611, 1244.

dēope, *adv.* deeply, (from) the depths 394, 1529.

dēor, *adj.* daring 1308.

deorc, *adj.* dark 1462.

dēormōd, *adj.* daring, valiant 626, 1232.

dīgol, *adj.* hidden, secret 626, 698.

dim(m), *adj.* dim 1270, 1308.

†dimscūa, *m.* dim shade 141.

ding, *see* **dung**.

dīofol-, **dīoful**, *see* **dēofol(-)**.

†dolg-benn, *m.* open wound, gash 1397.

dolg-slege, *m.* gashing blow 1244, 1475.

dōm, *m.* judgement 541, 653, 1695; price 339; court 796; reknown 959; influence 1151.

†dōm-āgende, *m.* owner of power 570.

dōm-georn, *adj.* keen for glory/renown 693n, 878, 1308.

dōm-lēas, *adj.* without renown 995n.

dōm-līce, *adv.* gloriously, famously 1267.

dōm-weorðung (-ing), *f.* honour, honours of renown 355, 1006.

dōn, *anom. v.* do; *pret.* 2 *sg.* **dydest** 927, 3 *sg.* **dyde** 1321, *pl.* **dydan** 27.

ge-dōn, *anom. v.* bring (about), perform, pull off 342, 1444; *pp.* 765.

dorste, **dorston**, *see* **dearst**.

dragan, *sv.* 6, drag; *pret. pl.* **drōgon** 1232.

ge-dræg, *n.* mob 43, 1555.

drēam, *m.* joy 809, 874; good times 641.

ge-dreccan, *wv.* 1, vex; *pret. sg.* **gedrehte** 39.

ge-drēfan, *wv.* 1, disturb, trouble, stir up trouble 369, 394, 1529.

drēogan, *sv.* 2, endure 1244.

drēor, *m.* or *n.* blood, gore 969, 1003, 1475.

drēosan, *sv.* 2 fall; *pret. pl.* **druron** 995.

†ge-drep, *n.* shunt 1444.

drihten, *see* **dryhten**.

drohtað, *m.* life, condition 313, 369, 1281, 1385; refuge 1539.

drohtigan, *wv.* 2, dwell 682.

drohtnoð, *m.* condition, treatment 1402.

druncen, *pp. and adj.* drunk 1003.

drȳ, *m.* wizard 34n.

drȳ-cræft, *m.* witchcraft 765.

drȳge, *adj.* dry 1581.

dryhten (drihten), *m.* lord 5, 73, 173 etc.

drync, *m.* drink 22, 34, 53 etc.

drype, *m.* stroke, beating 955, 1217.

ge-dūfan, *sv.* 2, dive 1331.

dugoð (duguð), *f.* support, sustenance 313, 342; company, squad, troop, host, division, cadre 75, 87, 125 etc; veterans 682.

dumb, *adj.* dumb 67, 577.

†dung, *f.* dungeon; *d. sg.* **ding** 1270n.

dūn-scræf, *n.* mountain cave, cave in the downs; *d. p.* **dūnscræfum** 1232, 1539.

duru, *f.* door 999, 1075.

†duru-þegn, *m.* door-thane 1090.

ge-dwola, *m.* error, heresy 611, 1688.

†dwol-cræft, *m.* witchcraft 34.

dynnan, *wv.* 1, boom 739.

dyrnan, *wv.* 1, conceal, not reveal 693.

ēa, *f.* river 1504.

ēac, *adv.* also, likewise 584, 1592.

ēaca, *m.* addition 1039.

ēad-fruma, *m.* author of wealth 1292.

ēad-gifa, *m.* endower, wealth-giver 74, 451.

ēadig, *adj.* blessed, happy 54, 463, 599 etc; **ēadiges ōrhlytte** deprived of property 680.

eador 1627, *see* **geador**.

ēad-wela, *m.* prosperity 808.

eafora, *m.* offspring, son 1110, 1627; son and grandson 779.

eafoð, *n.* violence 30; *d. pl.* **eaueðum** 142.

ēage, *n.* eye, eyesight 30, 759, 910, 1224, 1679.

ēagor-strēam, *m.* ocean, ocean's current, 258, 379; surges of water 441; currents of neptune 492.

†ēag-sȳne, *adj.* clear to the eye 1550.

eahtigan, *wv.* 2, ponder upon 1162.

eal(l)[1], *adj.* all 68, 101, 326 etc.

eal(l)[2], *adv.* completely, entirely, wholly 19, 1097, 1146 etc.

ealā, *int.* o 203.

†ēa-lād, *f.* sea-road 441.

ēa-land, *n.* land by the water 28n.

eald, *adj.* old, ancient 1025, 1495, 1537, 1642; **ða yldestan** the senior members 763.

eald-genīðla, *m.* ancient enemy, old enemy 1048, 1341.

eald-gesīð, *m.* old campaigner 1104.

ealdor, *see* **aldor**.

ea<l>dor-geard, *m.* life-fort, body 1181.

ealdor-man(n), *m.* ealdorman, earl 608.

ealdor-sācerd, *m.* high priest 670n.

ealgian, *wv.* 2, keep safe 10.

ealh-stede, *m.* sanctuary place 1642n.

ēa-līðend, *m.* seafarer, ocean voyager 251.

eall, *see* **eal(l)**.

eall-grēne, *adj.* all green 798.

eal(l)-wealda (-walda), *m.* omnipotent 205, 751, 925, 1620.

eall-wihte, *f. pl.* all beings 1603; *g. pl.* **ælwihta** 118.

eard, *m.* homeland 176, 280, 400 etc; abode 1025.

earfeðe, *n.* hardship 1486.

earfeð-sīð (earfoð-), *m.* hardship 678, 1283.

earfoð-līce, *adv.* with hardship 514.

†earh, *n.* dart (arrow) 1331.

earh-faru, *f.* flight of arrows; *d. sg.* **earhfare** 1048.

earm¹, *m.* arm 1015.

earm², *adj.* wretched, miserable 676, 744.

earm-līc, *adj.* wretched, piteous 182, 1135, 1555.

earm-sceapen, *adj.* born to misery 1129, 1345.

earn, *m.* eagle 863.

ēa-strēam, *m.* stream, river 1261.

ēaðe, *adv.* easily, freely, without trouble, without difficulty, 425, 859, 933 etc; *comp.* **ēað** 194, 368.

ēað-mēdum, *adv.* humbly 321, 979.

ēað-mōd, *adj.* humble 270.

eaueðum, *see* **eafoð**.

ēcan, 1384, *see* **īcan**.

ēce, *adj.* eternal, everlasting, for ever 202, 249, 326 etc; **æce** (MS *ęce*) 343.

ēcen, *pp.* increased 636, 882.

ecg, *f.* blade, edge 51, 71, 1132, 1148.

†ecg-heard, *adj.* edge-hard 1181.

ed-lēan, *n.* repayment 1228.

ed-nīwe, *adj.* anew 1014.

ednīwinga, *adv.* newly 783.

ēdre, *see* **ǣdre**.

edwitsprǣc, *f.* speech of contempt 81.

efen-eald, *adj.* of same age 553.

efne (emne), *adv.* right, just 221, 294 etc; **emne swā** just as 333; **emne mid sōðe** to tell the truth 114.

eft, *adv.* back 400, 531, 655 etc; once more 466; anew 1302; as before 1476.

egesa, *m.* terror, fear 445, 457, 532 etc.

eges-līc, *adj.* terrifying, frightful 1550, 1588.

egle, *adj.* terrible, terrifying, frightening 441, 1148, 1459.

eldum, *see* **ylde**.

ellefne, *num.* eleven 664.

ellen, *n.* courage, valour 54, 460, 983 etc.

ellen-heard, *adj.* courageous, of tempered courage 1254.

ellen-rōf, *adj.* brave, of brave cheer 350, 410, 1141, 1392.

ellen-weorc, *n.* deed of courage 232, 1370.

ellor-fus, *adj.* eager for elsewhere/travel 188, 321.

ell-reordig, *adj.* speaking a strange language; *as noun m.* or *f.* barbarian 1081n.

ell-þēod, *f.* foreign land 972.

el(l)-þēodig, *adj.* foreign 16, 26, 1454n etc.

emne, *see* **efne**.

ende, *m.* end 221, 556, 649 etc.

ende-lēas, *adj.* endless 695.

ende-stæf, *m.* death-stave, appointed end 135.

engel, *m.* angel 74, 83, 119 etc.

engel-cyn(n), *n.* division of angels 717.

ent, *m.* giant 1235, 1495

ēode, ēodon, *see* **gān**.

eogoðe, *see* **geogoð**.

eorl, *m.* man, gentleman, noble, nobleman 199, 251, 401 etc.

eorre, *adj.* irate 47, 1076.

eorðe, *f.* earth 7, 87, 328 etc; world 604.

eorð-scræf, *n.* earth-cave, earth-grave 780, 1588; *a. pl.* **eorðscræfu** 803.

eorð-ware, *m. pl.* inhabitant of earth 568.

ēow, *see* **þū**.

eowde, *n.* flock of lambs 1669n.

ēower, *poss. adj.* your 295, 339.

ermðu, *see* **yrmðo**.

ēst, *f.* grace 517; consent 1215, 1374; liberality 339.

ēste, *adj.* kind, liberal 483, 1692.

ēst-līce, *adv.* liberally 292.

et, *Latin conj.* and 719.

ēðel, *m.* home, homeland, own country 21, 226, 274 etc; inheritance 176; happiness 16.

ēðel-lēas, *adj.* homeless 74.

ēðel-rīce, *n.* homeland kingdom, homeland 120, 432.

exl, *f.* shoulder 1575.

faa, *see* **fāg¹**.

fācen, *n.* crime, wickedness 20, 1294.

fāg¹ (fāh), *adj.* coloured, blazing 769; stained 1599; patterned 1134; outlawed 1188n; *nom. pl. m.* **faa** wicked, outcast 1346, 1593, 1705.

fāg² (fāh), *adj.* hostile; *as noun* foe, enemy; *g. pl. m.* **fāra** 430, 1023, 1060.

fāmig, *adj.* foamy 1524.

fāmig-heals, *adj.* foamy necked 497.

fāra, *see* **fāg²**.

faran, *sv.* 6, go, move 332, 773, 796, 1279; consign 954; *pres. sg.* **færeð** sails 497.

faroð (faruð), *m.* or *n.* tide, current 236, 255; surf, seashore 1658.

faroð-lācende, *adj.* plying the currents 507.

faroð-rīdende, *adj.* riding the tide 440.

faroð-strǣt, *f.* tidal road, 311, 898.

fæc, *n.* interval, space of time; **unfyrn faca** without any delay 1371n.

fæder, *m.* father 83, 330, 687 etc.

fǣge, *adj.* doomed, death-fated 154, 1085, 1182 etc.

fæg(e)n, *pp. and adj.* glad, fain 255, 1041.

fæger, *adj.* fair, shining, *d. sg. def.* 598, *d. sg.* (*def.*)1693, *sup.* 103.

fǣgð(o), *f.* vendetta 284; *a. sg.* **fæhðo** feud 1386.

fǣr, *m.* assault, attack 1530, 1629.

fǣr-spell, *n.* fearful news 1086.

fæst, *adj.* fast, firm 83, 130, 184 etc.

fæste, *adv.* firmly 58, 1671.

fæsten(n), *n.* fastness 1034, 1177; fort, fortress 1068, 1544.

fæstnian, *wv.* 2, bind fast 49.

ge-fæstnian, *wv.* 2, bind fast 522, 1378.

fǣted, *pp. and adj.* gold plated 301.

†fǣted-sinc, *n.* plated vessel 478.

fæðm, *m.* embrace 252, 616, 824, 1616; bosom 336; hold 444.

fæðmian, *wv.* 2, wrap around 1572; sweep into 1589.

fēa, *pl. adj.* few; *inst.* **fēam** 605.

ge-fēa, *m.* joy, pleasure, gladness 347, 598, 866 etc.

feala, *n. indec.*, *w. g.* many, much, a lot of, 564, 584, 699 etc.

feallan, *sv.* 7, fall; *pret. sg.* **fēoll** 918.

fealo (fealu) *adj.* fallow, fallow-brown; *a. sg. m.* **fealuwne** 421, **fealone** 1538, *a. pl. m.* **fealewe** 1589.

fēa-sceaft, *adj.* destitute, without means 181, 367, 1128, 1556.

fel, *n.* skin 23.

fell, *m.* destruction 1609.

feoh-gestrēon, *n.* rich treasure, riches of treasure 301.

ge-feoht, *n.* fight 1188, 1196.

feohte, *f.* fight 1023, 1350.

ge-fēon, *sv.* 5, *w. d.* rejoice, be glad; *pret. pl.* **gefēgon** 592, 659.

fēond, *m.* fiend, foe, devil 20, 49, 1196, 1693n etc.

feor(r)², *adj.* far (away), distant parts 191, 252, 423 etc.

feor(r)¹, *adv.* far 542, 638.

feorh, *n.* life 133, 154, 179 etc; **feorh ætþringan** thrust out life, cause death 1371; (**tō**) **wīdan fēore** ever more 106, 810, 1383, 1452.

feorh-gedāl, *n.* parting from life 181, 1427n.

feorh-hord, *m.* blood-hoard 1182.

†feorh-rǣd, *m.* life's reward, salvation 1654n.

ge-feormian, *wv.* 2, feed upon 1090.

feorran, *adv.* from afar 265, 282.

feorran-cumen, *pp. and adj.* come from afar 24.

feorrcundra, *adj.* foreign, from abroad 1080.

fēorð, *adj.* fourth, 1458.

feor-weg, *m.* remote journey; *pl.* distant parts 928.

fēowertig, *num.* forty 1036.

fēowertȳne, *num.* fourteen 1593.

ge-fēra, *m.* comrade, noble man 1009, 1020.

fēran, *wv.* 1, go, walk, cross 174, 224, 330 etc; **fērest** sail 1674.

ge-fēran, *wv.* 1, pass through 516, 677; undergo an experience 1401; achieve 194; undertake 216; *pp.* **gefēred** travelled 1173.

fer(h)ð (fyrhð), *m. or n.* mind 507; spirit 638, 1332; heart 1485.

fer(h)ð-gefēonde, *adj.* rejoicing/glad in heart 915n, 1584.

ferð, *see* **fer(h)ð**.

ferð-loca (fyrhð-), *m.* spirit-locker 58, 1570; confine of the heart 1671.

ferian (ferig(e)an), *wv.* 1, ferry, carry 293, 347, 853 etc; embrace 824; *w. reflex. pron.* entrust 1363.

ge-ferian, *wv.* 1, carry, ferry, 397, 1619; *pp. nom. pl. m.* **geferede** sailed 265.

†fetor-wrās(e)n, *f.* tight bond 1107.

fēða, *m.* foot troop 591, 1188

feðer, *f.* feather 864.

fex, *n.* hair 1427.

fīf, *num.* five 590, 591

fiftig, *num.* fifty 1040.

findan, *sv.* 3, find 1129, 1231, 1349, 1485; *pret. pl.* **fundon** 980, 1076, 1154.

firas, *m. pl.* men, humans, humanity 24, 160, 291 etc; **fira gehwylcum** for each man and all 980.

firen, *f.* wickedness 1664.

fir(i)gend-strēam, *m.* mountainous sea 390n; mountain stream 1573.

first, *see* **fyrst**.

fisc, *m.* fish 293; *d. pl.* **fixum** 589.

fixum, *see* **fisc**.

flǣsc-hama (-homa), *m.* flesh 24, 154, 160, 1085.

flēam, *m.* flight 1340, 1386, 1544.

flēogan, *sv.* 2, flee; *pret. pl.* **flugon** 1546.

flēon, *sv.* 2 flee 1538.

flitan, *sv.* 1, cut in a flyting 1199n.

flōd, *m.* flood 252, 265, 367 etc.

flōd-wylm, *m.* flood surge 516.

flot, *n.* sea; **tō flote gyrwan** make ready to sail 1698.

flota, *m.* vessel (ship) 397.

flōwan, *sv.* 7, flow, flood; *pret. sg.* **flēow** 1524, 1573.

flyht, *m.* flight 864, 866.

foddor-þegu (foddur-), *f.* fodder 160, 1101.

folc, *n.* people, folk 29, 409, 606 etc; nation 330, 430, 784, 796.

folc-mægen, *n.* militia 1060.

folc-rǣd, *m.* people's good 622n.

folc-scearu, *f.* common land 684n.

†folc-sceaða, *m.* despoiler of the people 1593n.

folc-stede, *m.* habitation 20; country 179.

folc-toga, *m.* captain, 8, 1458.

folde, *f.* ground, earth 336, 737, 918 etc; landscape 1524.

foldweg, *m.* country road 775; *d. sg.* **foldwege** in earthly parts 206.

folgian, *wv.* 2, *w. d.* follow 673.

folm, *f.* hand 522, 1133.

for, *prep.w. a., d, inst.* before 165, 586, 1127, 1168 etc; for, on account of 39, 431, 457; to 1200; in 509, 1285; out of 610; from 1086; **for þȳ** by that 1266.

fōr, *f.* voyage, journey 191, 216, 337; mission 846.

for-bēgan, *wv.* 1, crush, humble 1333, 1571.

for-cuman, *sv.* 4, overcome; *pret. sg.* 1325.

for-dēn, *pp.* destroyed; *g. pl.* **fordēnera** damned 43.

for-drīfan, *sv.* 1, drive before, on, 3 *sg. pret.* 269.

fore, *prep. w. a. or d.* before, in front of, in the presence of 185, 721, 728 etc; from 186.

for-fōn, *sv.* 7, snatch; *pret. sg.* **forfēng** 995.

for-gifan, *sv.* 5, give 76, 355, *pret. sg.* **forgef** 486; **forgeaf** lost 1586.

for-gildan, *sv.* 3, reward, make payment 387.

for-grindan, *sv.* 3, hack up; *pp.* **forgrunden** 413.

forht, *adj.* frightened, fearful 98, 448, 457 etc.

forht-ferð, *adj.* fear-stricken 1549, 1596.

for-hycgan, *wv.* 3, scorn; *pret. 2 sg.* **forhogedes** 1381.

for-hylman, *wv.* 1 neglect 735.

for-lācan, *sv.* 7, play false; *pret. 2 sg.* **forleolce** 1364, 3 *sg.* **forleolc** 614n.

for-lǣran, *wv.* 1 pervert, mislead 614, 2 *sg. pret.* 1364

for-lǣtan, *sv.* 7, let, leave, forsake 459, 1413, 2 *sg. pret.* 1454; *pret. sg.* **forlēt** 835, 1037 1588, made to flow 968; *pret. subj. pl.* **forlēton** 403.

for-leolc(e), *see* **for-lācan**.

for-lor, *m.* loss 1423.

for-meltan, *sv.* 3 melt 1146.

for-niman, *sv.* 4, snatch, take; *pret. sg.* **fornam** 994, 1531.

forst, *m.* frost 1257.

for-standan, *sv.* 6 stand before; *pret. sg.* **forstōd** defended 1143, 1335; prevented **1540**.

for-swelgan, *sv.* 3, swallow; *pret. sg.* **forswealg** 1590.

forð, *adv.* forth 775, 1506, 1584; continued 54.

for-þan, *adv.* and so 458, 526; *conj.* 529.

<forþ-gerīmed> counted, numbered forth 1040n.

for-wyrd, *n.* perdition, damnation 1594, 1618.

fōt, *m.* foot, step 1582.

fracoð, *adj.* despised 409.

fram¹ (from), *adj.* brave, keen 8, 234.

fram², *prep. w. d.* from, out of 697, 738, 1034 etc.

ge-frægen, *see* **ge-fricgan**.

frǣte, *adj.* apostate 571n, 1506.

frǣt(e)wa (frætwe), *f. pl.* treasures 337.

ge-frætwian, *wv.* 2, painted 715; adorned 1518.

frēa, *m.* lord, master, ruler, king, God 457, 629, 653 etc.

freca, *m.* bold man 1163.

frēcne, *adj.* dangerous, wild, perilous 440, 516, 1350 etc, *sup.* **frēcnost** 1231.

frēfran, *wv.* 1, comfort 367, 421.

ge-frēge¹, *adj.* renowned, famous, heard of far and wide 668, 961, 1119.

ge-frēge², *n.* what is heard, knowledge 1626

fremde, *adj.* excluded from (*w. g.*) 890.

fremman, *wv.* 1, perform, advance, carry out 67, 619, 639 etc; frame 815, 1654; move 780; **gegninga gūðe fremme** rush headlong into battle 1354.

ge-fremman, *wv*. 1, perform, carry out, bring to pass 206, 605, 976 etc; extend 91, 1614; frame 1387; provide 426; commit 926; ensure 1288.

frēo, *adj*. noble, free; *pl*. with all liberties 598n.

frēod, *f*. love, kindness 390, 1154.

frēolīce, *adv*. with freedom 293.

frēond, *m*. friend 934, 1128; **frēonda lēas** unfriended 1705.

frēond-scipe, *m*. friendship 478.

frēorig, *adj*. frozen 491, 1259.

ge-freoðian, *wv*. 2, set free 1041.

freoðo (frioðo), *f*. sanctuary, safety, protection 336, 918, 1130.

†freoðo-lēas, *adj*. without giving safety, uncivilized 29.

freoðu-wǣr, *f*. protective covenant 1630.

fricca, *m*. crier 1156.

ge-fricgan, *sv*. 5, find out, learn; *pp*. **gefrǣgen** 687, 1060.

frignan (frīnan), *sv*. 3, ask, inquire 1412; *pres*. 1 *sg*. **frīne** 633, 2 *sg*. **frīnest** 629; *pret. sg*. frǣgn 556, 919, **fregn** 1163.

ge-frignan, *sv*. 3, hear of; *pret. sg*. **gefrǣgn** 1093, 1706, *pl*. **gefrūnan** 1.

frīne(st), *see* **frignan**.

frioðo, *see* **freoðo.**

frið, *m*. or *n*. peace, safety, protection 174n, 448, 622 etc; quarter, life 1128.

frōd, *adj*. wise, experienced 506, 737, 784.

frōfor, *f*. comfort, solace, ease, grace 95, 311, 606 etc.

from, *adj*. see **fram**[1]**.**

from-līce, *adv*. boldly 556; quickly 1182, 1332; piously 1640.

fruma, *m*. beginning, author, originator 556, 1485; **upengla fruma** alpha of archangels 226.

frum-bearn, *n*. first child 1294.

frum-gār, *m*. captain 1068.

†frum-rǣden(n), *f*. first arrangement, authorized time 147.

frum-sceaft, *f*. beginning of creation 797.

†frum-weorc, *n*. first work; *pl*. 804.

fugol, *m*. bird 497.

ful, *adv*. easy 496.

ful(l)-wiht, *n*. baptism 1630, 1635, 1640, 1643.

furðum, *adv*. exactly, once 797.

furður, *adv*. further, still 1350, 1489; **furður mycle** *w. d.* far beyond 1518.

fūs, *adj*. keen, fired up 255, 1654, 1664.

fūs-lēoð, *n*. eager litany 1549.

fyllan[1], *wv*. 1, overthrow 1688.

fyllan[2], *wv*. 1, fill 523.

ge-fyllan, *wv*. 1, fill 1695.

fyrd-hwæt, *adj*. keen for campaign; *nom. pl*. **-hwate** 8.

fȳren, *adj*. firey; *d. pl*. **fȳrnum** 1378.

†fȳr-gnāst, *m*. fire-spark 1546.

fyrhð, *see* **fer(h)ð.**

†fyrhð-lufe, *f*. spiritual love 83.

†fȳr-mǣl, *n*. **fȳrmǣlum fāg** forge-patterned 1134.

fyrn-dagas, *m. pl*. ancient days 1, 752, 976.

fyrn-geweorc, *n*. ancient monument 737.

†fyrn-sægen, *n*. epic of ancient times 1489n.

†fyrn-sceaða, *m*. ancient despoiler 1346n.

fyrn-weorc, *n*. old labour; *pl*. 1410.

fyrn-weota, *m*. sage of old 784.

fyrst (first), *m*. (space of) time, duration 147, 834, 1309, 1673.

fyrst-gemearc, *m*. space of time 931.

fyrst-mearc, *n*. appointed time 133.

fyrðran, *wv*. 1, advance 934.

ge-fyrðran, *wv*. 1, sustain 983.

fȳsan, *wv*. 1, rouse, inflame 1187, 1698.

gad(o)rigean, *wv*. 2, gather 781, 1556.

gaful-rǣden(n), *f*. payment of tribute 296.

galan, *sv*. 6, chant 1127, 1342; *pp*. **galen** 1549.

galdor-cræft, *m*. art of enchantment; *pl*. 166.

galga, *see* **gealga.**

gān, *anom v*. go, walk, march 365, 775; **gāð** 1665; *pret. sg*. **ēode** 982, 1001, *pl*. **ēodon** 45; *imp. sg*. **gā** 1348, *pl*. **gāð** 1182, 1332.

gang (gong), *n*. passage, course 208, 455, 1694; **swegles gong** course of the firmament, zodiac in motion 869.

gangan (gongan), *sv*. 7, go, walk 238, 1059, 1356; *inf*. **geongan** 1311; *pres. pl*. **gangaþ** 891; *imp*. **gong** 939.

gār, *m*. spear 32, 45, 127, 187, 1143, 1330.

gār-gewinn, *n*. strife of spears, spear-thrust 958.

gārsecg, *m*. spear-man 238n, 371, 392, 530.

gast, *m*. guest, stranger (*occasional sense-overlap with* **gāst**, *see below*) 728, 1000n, 1621, 1694.

gāst, *m*. ghost, spirit 155, 187, 331, 468 *etc*; demon 1296.

†gāst-gehygd, *n.* thought in the spirit 861.

gāst-gerȳne, *n.* spiritual mystery 858.

gāst-līc, *adj.* spiritual 1628.

gǣlan, *wv.* 1, dally 1533.

gǣrs, *n.* grass 38.

gǣsne, *adj.* defunct 1084.

gē¹, *conj.* and; *gē... gē*, both…and 542.

gē², *pron.* **þū.**

geador, *adv.* together 1097; **eador** united 1627n.

gealga, *m.* gallows 966, 1327, 1409.

gealg-mōd, *adj.* gallows-minded 32, 563.

geāra, *adv.* long ago 1387.

gēar-dagas, *m. pl.* ancient days 1519.

gearo (gearu), *adj.* ready 72, 214, 234 etc; *nom. pl. m.* **gearwe** 1369; *a. pl. n.* **gearu** 1358; **gearu sōna** at once 1567.

gear(w)e, *adv.* readily; *comp.* **gearwor** better 932.

gegninga, *adv.* without delay, headlong 1349.

†gegn-slege, *m.* counter-attack 1356.

gehðo, *see* **geohðo.**

gēn, *adv.* again 601, 727.

gēna, *adv.* still to come 422; **ānre nū gēna** one more 475.

gēn-cwide, *m.* reply 858.

gengan, *wv.* 1, make to ride 1095.

gēoc, *f.* aid, assistance 1030, 1152, 1567, 1585.

gēocend, *m.* comforter, solacer 548, 901.

geofon, *m. or n.* ocean, deep, sea, tide 393, 498, 852, 1585n etc; *d. sg.* **gifene** 489, **geofene** 1531, 1615.

geofu, *see* **gifu.**

geogoð, *f.* youth, young men, youngsters 152, 1615, 1634; *d. sg.* **eogoðe** 1122n.

geogoð-hād, *m.* quality of youth 782.

geohðo, *f.* misery, sorrow, grief, cares 66, 1008, 1665; *a. sg.* **gehðo** 1548.

gēōmor, *adj.* sad, mournful, sorrowful, depressed 61, 1008, 1126, 1408.

gēomor-gidd, *n.* melancholy song; **gēomorgidd wrecen** performance of the blues 1548n.

gēomor-mōd, *adj.* sad at heart, depressed 406, 1398.

gēomrian, *wv.* 2, grieve; *pres. p.* 1665n.

geond, *prep. w. a.* through, throughout, across, in, into 25, 42, 331 etc.

geong, *adj.* young 392, 505, 551 etc.

geongan, 1311 *see* **gangan.**

georn, *adj.* eager 66, 959.

georne, *adv.* eagerly, keenly, 612, 1606, 1653; for sure 498.

gēotan, *sv.* 2, pour out, inundate 393, 1508, 1590.

gerwan, *see* **gyrwan.**

gif, *conj.* if *w. ind.* 210, 212, 288 etc; *w. subj.* 70, 417, 479 etc.

gifan, *sv.* 5, give 388, 1151; *pret. sg.* **geaf** 317.

gifene, 489, *see* **geofon.**

gifeðe, *adj.* granted 1066.

gīfre, *adj.* ravenous 1335.

gifu, *f.* gift 480, 530, 575; grace 548, 754; *inst. pl.* **geofum** gifts 551, **giofum** 1519.

gillan, *sv.* 3, clang; *pret. pl.* **gullon** clang 127.

gild, *n.* sacrifices, rites 1319n.

gīman, *wv.* 1, *w. g.* heed 139.

gim(m), *m.* jewel, precious stone 1268, 1519.

gingra, *m.* disciple, servant 427, 847, 894, 1330.

ginn, *adj.* wide 331.

girran, *sv.* 3, rattle; *pret. pl.* **gurron** 374.

gīt, *see* **gȳt.**

glæd-mōd, *adj.* relieved in mind 1059n.

glāwne, 143 *see* **glēaw.**

glēaw, *adj.* clear 1648; *a. sg. m.* **glāwne** clear 143; **þances glēaw** perspicacious 557; **hygeþances glēaw** clear in thinking, intelligent 817; **wundrum glēaw** wonder-sharp 1497.

glēaw-līce, *adv.* prudently, clearly 427, 861.

glēaw-mōd, *adj.* wise 1579.

glīdan, *sv.* 1, glide 498, 1248, 1304; *pret. sg.* **glād** 371.

gnorn-hof, *n.* court of lamentation 1008, 1043.

god, *m. (or n.)* God 14, 76, 91, 117 *etc.*

gōd¹, *n.* good(ness), advantage 338, 406, 998n, 1617.

gōd², *adj.* good, generous 480, 922; *comp.* **betera** 588, 1088, **sēlra** 320, 471, 1353, 1563, **sylla** 1509, **sēlost** 411, 1565, highest 329.

god-bearn, *n.* divine son 640.

god-fyrht, *adj.* God-fearing 1022, 1516.

god-spell, *n.* Gospel 12.

gold, *n.* gold 301, 338, 1508.

gold-burg, *f.* gold-town 1655n.

gong¹, 869 *see* **gang.**

gong², 939, *see* **gangan.**

gram (grom), *adj.* hostile 217, 563, 917, 951; angry 1059.

gram-hȳdig, *adj.* fierce 1694.

grāp, *f.* clutch 1335.

grǣdig, *adj.* ravenous 155.

grǣg, *adj.* white 371.

grēne, *adj.* green 776.

grēot, *n.* earth 1624; clods 794; gravel 238, 254; sand 847; floor 1084; **grund wið grēote** from top to bottom 425.

grētan, *wv.* 1, greet 61, 1022, 1030, 1464.

ge-grētan, *wv.* 1, greet 254.

grim(m), *adv.* grim, fierce 958, 1365, 1387, 1487.

ge-grind, *n.* swirl 1590.

grindan, *sv.* 3, churn; *pret. pl.* **grundon** 373.

gripe, *m.* clutch 187, 217, 951.

grom, *see* **gram**.

grund, *m.* ground 1528, 1590; abyss 393, 1600; terrain 331; earth 640; bed-rock 747; lanes 776; **grund wið grēote** from top to bottom 425; **eorþan grund** earth's core 1595.

†grund-weg, *m.* earthly road; *d. sg.***-wǣge** 582.

†gryn-smið, *m.* ensnarer 917.

†gryre-hwīl, *f.* time of horror 468.

gryre-līc, *adj.* horrible 1551.

guma, *m.* man 20, 61, 575 etc.

gum-cyst, *f.* virtue 1606n.

gūð, *f.* battle, war, fighting 234, 951, 1330 etc.

†gūð-frec, *adj.* warlike 1117.

gūð-freca, *m.* war-brave 1333.

gūð-gelāca, *m.* murderous ally in war 1600n.

gūð-geðingo (-geðingu), *nom. pl.* outcome of battle 1022, 1043n.

gūð-gewinn, *n.* struggle in war 217.

gūð-plega, *m.* play of war 1369.

gūð-rǣs, *m.* war-charge 1531.

gūð-rinc, *m.* warrior 155; war-brave 392.

gūð-searo, *nom. pl.* combat-armour 127.

†gūð-weorc, *n.* war-deed 1066.

gylp, *n.* boast 1333.

gyrn, *n.* injury 1150, 1585.

gyrstan-dæge, *adv.* yesterday 852.

gyrwan, *wv.* 1, prepare, make ready, build 795, 1698; *inf.* 1634.

gȳt (gīt), *adv.* yet, still 15, 51, 380 etc; **þā gȳt** still, moreover 1039.

habban, *wv.* 3, have, hold (*often w. pp. as auxil.*); *prest. 1 sg.* **hæbbe** 897, 2 *sg.* **hafast** 357, 507, 1320, 3 *pl.* **habbað** 296, 687, 1358; *pret. 2 sg.* 530, 3 *sg.* **hæfde** 534, 787, 844 etc, *pl.* **hæfdon** 134, 149, 785, 1131; *pres. subj. sg.* **hæbbe** 1164, 1521, *pl.* **habban** 976; *pret. subj. sg.* **hæfde** 856; *imp. sg.* **hafa** 223. Negative forms: **nǣbbe** have not 301; **nafast**, have nothing 311.

hād, *m.* form 912.

hādor, *adj.* (blinding) bright, radiant 89, 1456.

hāl, *adj.* in good health, whole 1467, 1470; **wes ðū hāl** greetings to you 914.

ge-hālgian, *wv.* 2, hallow 586, 1646, 1650.

hālig, *adj.* holy, saintly, sacred 14, 48, 56 etc; **hālegum** 104; *as definite noun* **se hālga** the saint 118, 225, 1687 etc; *d. pl.* **hālgum** 328, 723, 1054, 1720.

hām, *m.* home, homeland 104, 227, 978; *d. sg.* **hām** 1683.

hamer, *m.* hammer 1077.

hām-sittende, *adj.* sitting at home 686.

hand, *f.* hand, arm 9, 17, 48 etc.

hand-gewinn, *n.* violence from the hand 186.

†hand-hrine, *m.* touch of the hand 1000.

hand-mǣgen, *n.* skill of hands 725.

hār, *adj.* hoary 841, 1258.

hāt, *adj.* hot, white-hot 1187, 1277, 1542, 1709; *weak. inst. sg. m. or n.* **hāton** 1241.

hātan, *sv.* 7, command, order, bid 1505; *pret. sg.* **hēt** 330, 587, 792 etc, **heht** 365, 1466, *pl.* **hēton** 1229, 1272, 1390; *pp.* **hāten**, called 686.

ge-hātan, *sv.* 7, promise; *pret. 2 sg.* **gehēte** 1418.

hæft, *m.* captive 1070; shackles 1399; bondage 1470.

ge-hæftan, *wv.* 1, bound, fettered 1127, 1158.

hæftling, *m.* prisoner 1342.

hægel-scūr, *m. or f.* hail-shower 1257.

hæle, *m.* man, hero 144, 1002.

hǣlend, healing Lord, Healer 541, 574, 735 etc.

hæleð, *m.* (*n. and a. pl.* **hæleð**) hero, man 2, 21, 38 etc.

hǣlo, *f.* health 95.

hærn, *f.* wash 531.

hǣs, *f.* order, command 1520, 1586.

hǣðen, *adj.* heathen, pagan 111, 126, 186 etc.

hǣðen-gild, *n.* heathen rite 1102.

hē, hēo, hit, *pron.* he, she, it; *nom. sg. m.* **hē** 51, 53, 54 etc; *nom. sg. n.* 695, 765, 1323 etc; *a. sg. m.* **hine** 502, 551, 820

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etc; *a. sg. f.* **hīe** 980, 1154; *a. sg. n.* **hit** 149, 210, 1231, 1514; *g. sg. m. or n.* **his** 50, 60, 94 etc; *d. sg. m. or n.* **him** 17, 45, 57 etc; *nom. pl.* **hīe** they 5, 23, 26 etc; *a. pl.* **hīe** 38, 254, 464 etc. *reflex.* the other 1016; *g. pl.* **hira** 3, 11, 25 etc; *d. pl.* **him** 5, 27, 33 etc.

hēafod, *n.* head 50, 1423, 1472.

hēafod-gim(m), *m.* head-jewel 31.

†**hēafod-māga**, *m.* older kinsman 942 (cf. *hēafodmǣg* in *Beowulf* 588, 2151)

heafola, *m.* head 1142.

hēah, *adj.* high 195, 668; *inst. sg. n.* **hēa** 274.

hēah-cyning, *m.* high king 6.

hēah-engel, *m.* archangel 885.

hēah-fæder, *m.* high father 791, 875.

hēah-gestrēon, *n.* high treasure 362.

hēah-ræced, *n.* high house 709.

hēah-stefn, *adj.* high-prowed 266.

healdan, *sv.* 7, keep 336, 915, 1432; *pret. pl.* **hēoldon** 1514; keeping 176.

ge-healdan, *sv.* 7, keep 213; *pret. pl.* **gehēoldon** 346.

healdend, *m.* keeper 225.

healf, *f.* side 715, **be healfe** beside 1063.

healt, *adj.* lame 578.

hēan, *adj.* ashamed, disgraced, destitute 891, 1087, 1191 etc.

hēap, *m.* band, platoon 126, 696; **weoroda hēap** band of hosts 870.

heard, *adj.* harsh, hard, cruel 233, 739, 839 etc.

hearde, *adv.* cruelly 18.

heard-līc, *adj.* cruel 1551.

hearm, *m.* harm 1071, 1198, 1367, 1445; *irreg. inst.* **herme** insult 671.

hearm-cwide, *m.* harmful decree 79; words of harm 561.

hearm-lēoð, *n.* harm-dirge 1127, 1342.

hearm-loca, *m.* locker of harm 95n, 1029.

heaðo-līðend, *m.* traveller at sea 426.

heaðo-wælm, *m.* war-surge 1542.

hebban, *sv.* 6, raise up; *pp.* **hæfen** 1155, 1643.

hefon, *see* **heofon**.

ge-hēgan, *wv.* 1, perform, carry out, make 930n; *pret. sg.* **gehēde** 1496, *pl.* **gehēdon** 157, **gehēdan** held 1049.

hēhðo, *f.* height 873, 998, 1144.

helan, *sv.* 4, hide 1164.

hell, *f.* hell 1052, 1171, 1187 etc.

†**hell-cræft**, *m.* hell's art 1102.

hell-fūs, *adj.* hell-bound 50.

†**hell-træf**, *n.* hell-building; *d. pl.* **-trafum** 1691.

helm, *m.* helm shelter, protector 10, 118, 277 etc.

help, *f.* help 426, 907 etc; (medical) help 91n.

hēnðo, *f.* humiliation, humbling 117, 1467.

hēofan, *wv.* 1, lamentation 1557.

heofon, *m.* heaven, the celestial 6, 89, 168 etc; *a. sg.* **hefon** 328.

heofon-candel, *f.* heaven's candle 243.

heofon-cyning, *m.* heavenly king 92, 723, 821 etc.

†**heofon-hālig**, *adj.* heaven-holy 728.

heofon-hwealf, *f.* heaven's vault 545, 1402.

heofon-lēoht, *n.* heaven's light 974.

†**heofon-lēoma**, *m.* heaven's gleam 838.

heofon-līc, *adj.* of heaven 389.

heofonrīce, *n.* kingdom of heaven 52, 56, 1052.

heofon-torht, *adj.* heaven-radiant, luminous 1018, 1269.

heofon-þrym(m), *m.* heavenly majesty, heaven 481, 1720.

heolfor, *m. or n.* gore 1241, 1277.

heolstor, *m.* hiding place 243; darkness 1191.

heolstor-loca, *m.* dark confine 144, 1005.

†**heolstor-scūwa**, *m.* shadow of darkness 1253.

heonon (**heonan**), *adv.* hence 891.

heoro-drēorig, *adj.* blood-soaked 996, 1083.

heoro-grǣdig, *adj.* ravenous, blood-ravening 38, 79.

heoro-grim(m), *adj.* blood-thirsting 31.

heorte, *f.* heart 36, 52, 1213 etc.

†**heoru-dolg**, *n.* bloody wound 942.

heoru-sweng, *m.* bloody stroke 952.

hēr, *adv.* here 724, 1173, <1562>.

(ge-)hēran, *see* **(ge-)hȳran**.

herdan, *wv.* 1, harden 1213.

here, *m.* (**herig-**) army, band, host, war-party, war-band 652, 1067, 1106 etc.

here-feld, *m.* field of plunder 10, 18.

here-mægen, *n.* war-troop 586n, 728, 1298, 1650.

here-strǣt, *f.* army road, raiding highway 200n, 831n.

here-tēam, *m.* devastation 1551.

heri(g)an, *wv.* 1, praise, sing praise 52, 657, 722 etc.

herig, *m.* temple 1687.

†**herig-weard**, *m.* temple keeper 1124n.

herme, *see* **hearm**.

hete, *m.* violence 944.

hete-grīm(m), *adj.* grim with hatred, fierce 1395, 1562.

†**hete-rōf**, *adj.* energetic with hate; *as noun* maniac 1420.

hettend, *m.* enemy 31.

hider, *adv*. here 207, 1604, **hyder** 1024.

hider-cyme, *m.* coming here 1316.

hīe, *see* **hē**.

hīg, *n.* hay 38.

hige, *see* **hyge**.

hige-blīðe, *adj.* cheerful in resolve 1691.

hige-rōf, *adj.* resolutely brave 233, 1005, 1054.

hiht, *see* **hyht**.

hild, *f.* war, warfare, 412, 1420; assault 1491.

†**hilde-bedd**, *n.* war-bed 1092.

†**hilde-dēor**, *adj.* daring in battle 1002.

†**hilde-þrym(m)**, *m.* battle 1032.

hilde-wōma, *m.* tumult of battle 218.

hild-freca, *m.* battle-braves, war-braves 126, 1070.

†**hild-frome**, *adj.* keen for battle 1202.

hild-lata, *m.* laggard in battle 233.

† **hild-stapa**, *m.* marching soldier 1258.

†**hinca**, *m.* cripple 1171.

hine, *see* **hē**.

hīw, *n.* form 725, 1169.

ge-hladan, *sv.* 6, load; *pp. a. sg. m.* **gehladenne** laden 361.

hlāf, *m.* loaf, loaf-food 21, 312, 389, 590.

hlāford, *m.* lord 412.

hlāford-lēas, *adj.* without a lord 405.

hleahtor, *m.* laughter 1703.

hlēo, *m.* shield, shelter 111, 506, 567 etc.

hlēo-lēas, *adj.* cheerless 131.

hlēotan, *sv.* 2, receive 480; *pret. pl.* **hluton**, drew lots 1102 (*intr.*).

hlēoðor, *n.* sound 739; voice, strain 723, 1551.

hlēoðor-cwide, *m.* eloquent word 819, 1621; resounding utterance 893.

hlēoðrian, *wv.* 2, lecture 461, 692; resound 537, 1430; set up a roar 1360.

hlēoðu, *see* **hlið**.

hlīfian, *wv.* 2, loom, tower 841.

hlimman, *sv.* 3, roar; *pres. sg.* **hlymmeð** roars 392.

hlin-duru, *f.* grated door 993.

hlin-ræced, *n.* barred hall 1463.

hlin-scuwa, *m.* latticed-shadow 1071n.

hlið, *n.* cliffside; *nom. pl.* **hleoðu** 841.

hlosnian, *wv.* 2, listen 761.

hlōð, *f.* gang, prize-gang 42n, 992, 1389, 1543.

hlūd, *adj.* loud 739, 1156, 1360.

hluttor, *adj.* clear, pure 312, 1063.

hlynnan, *wv.* 1, roar 238.

hlynsian, *wv.* 2, roar 1545.

hlyst, *m.* hearing 1586.

h<l>ȳt, *m.* lot 6n, 14.

hnāg, *adj.* mean; *comp. g. sg. f.* **hnāgran** meaner 1598.

†**hnǣgan**, *wv.* 1, humiliate 1329.

ge-hnǣgan, *wv.* 1, bring low 1183, 1191, 1319.

hnītan, *sv.* 1, clash; *pret. pl.* **hneotan** 4.

hof, *n.* building 838n, 1307.

hogode(st), *see* **hycgan**.

ge-hogodon, *see* **ge-hycgan**.

hold, *adj.* loyal, friendly 1164; **hold wurde** you have been loyal, shown favour 550.

hold-līce, *adv.* loyally 1639.

holm, *m.* sea, ocean 195, 396, 429.

holm-þracu, *f.* tossing of the ocean 467.

†**holm-weard**, *m.* captain 359.

†**holm-weg**, *m.* ocean road 382.

hordm-gestrēon, *n.* hoarded wealth 1114.

hord-loca, *m.* hoard locker 671.

†**horn-fisc**, *m.* orca 370n.

horn-gēap, *adj.* hord-gabled 668n.

horn-sæl, *n.* horn-gabled hall; *nom. pl.* **hornsalu** 1158.

†**horn-scip**, *n.* curved ship 274.

hosp-word, *n.* mocking word 1315.

hrā, *n.* body, corpse 791, 952, 1031, 1277.

hræd-līce, *adv.* quickly, promptly 192, 936, 1505.

hrægl, *n.* clothing 1471.

hræðe, *see* **hraðe**.

hrān-rād, *f.* orca's road, whale's road 266, 634; *d. sg.* **hronrāde** 821.

hraðe (hraðe), *adv*. quickly 341, 947, 982 etc.

hrēmig, *adj.* joyful, buoyed 864, 1699.

hrēof, *adj.* leprous (*as noun*) leper 578.

hrēoh, *adj.* savage, fierce, rough 467, 1542; *a. pl. m.* **hrēo** 748.

hrēosan, *sv.* 2, fall 1438; *pret. pl.* **hruron** dropped 1600.

hrēran, *wv.* 1, stir 491.

hreðor, *n.* breast, heart 36, 69, 817 etc.

hrīm, *m.* rime 1257.

hrīnan, *sv.* 1, touch, streak 942.

hring, *m.* ring 1278.

ge-hroden, *pp. and adj.* adorned 1449.

hron-rād, *see* **hran-rād**.

hrōpan, *sv.* 7, shout; *pret. pl.* **hrēopon** 1156.

hrōðor, *n.* comfort 111, 567, 1367.

hryre, *m.* ruin 229.

hryssan, *wv.* 1, rattle 127 (*intr.*).

hū, *adv.* 63, 155, 163 etc.

hund-tēontig, *num.* hundred 1035.

hungor, *m.* hunger, famine 1087, 1114, 1158.

hūru, *adv.* indeed 549.

hwā, *pron.* who 381, 797, 905; *nom. sg. n.* **hwæt** what 734, 799, 1343, *a. sg. n.* 342; whatever 1066.

ge-hwā, *pron. and adj.* each, every (*w. g.*); *g.* **gehwæs** 330, 338, 912; *d.* **gehwām** 65, 121, 408, 637. *f. g. sg.* **gehwǣre** each 630.

hwanon, *adv.* whence 256, 258, 683.

hwæl, *m.* whale 274.

hwæl-mere, *m.* whale-deep 370.

hwænne, *conj.* when, at what time 136, 400.

hwǣr, *adv.* where 1317.

hwæt[1], *adv.* why 629, 1316, 1413; how 1363.

hwæt[2], *int. or adv.* indeed, truly; listen! 1, 676, 1185 etc.

hwæt[3], *int.* see **hwā**.

hwæðer, *conj.* if, whether 129, 604.

hwæð(e)re, *adv.* however, still, yet 51, 504, 1487.

hwearfian, *wv.* 2, turn away 891.

†hwelan, *sv.* 4, roar; *pres. sg.* **hwileð** 495.

hweorfan, *sv.* 3, turn 117, 405; renounce 1691; *pret. pl.* **hweorfon** passed on 640; *pret. subj. pl.* **tū hweorfan** divide forces 1050.

ge-hweorfan, *sv.* 3, *intr.* move; *pret. sg.* **gehwearf** 694, 1103, *tr.2. sg.pres. subj.* **gehweorfest** can turn 974.

hwettan, *wv.* 1, incite 286.

hwider, *adv.* where 405.

hwīl, *f.* time 113, 131; while 1478.

hwīlum, *adv.* at times, sometimes 443, 514.

hwylc, *pron.* who, which, what 132, 411, 785 etc.

ge-hwylc, *pron. and adj.* each, every, any (*w. g.*) 908, 935, 1152; **ānra gehwylcne** anyone 933.

hycgan, *wv.* 3, think, aim 1612; *pret. 2 sg.* **hogodest** 1316, 3 *sg.* **hogode** 622; **gif gē teala hycgað** if your purpose is right 1612.

ge-hycgan, *sv.* 3, intend; *pret. pl.* **gehodogon** 429.

ge-hygd, *n.* thought, mind 68, 200, 1460.

hyge (hige), *m.* mind 634, 1252, 1654, 1664; thought 1709; intent 231; reason 36; resolve 971, 1213.

hyge-geōmor, *adj.* downcast, depressed in reason 1087, 1557.

hyge-þanc, *m.*thought of the mind; **hygeþances glēaw** clear of thinking, intelligent 817.

hyge-þancol, *adj.* keen-witted 341n.

hyht (hiht), *m.* hope 239, 287, 637, 1010; prospect 1052; interest 1114; comfort 481; occupation 874.

hyht-līc, *adj.* hoped for, joyful; *sup.* **hyhtlīcost** most (longest) hoped for 104.

ge-hyld, *n.* safe hold, keeping 117, 1045.

hyldan, *wv.* 1, kneel 1027.

hyldo, *f.* lovingly 389.

hyn-fūs, *adj.*ready to go hence, wishing to die 612.

hȳran, *wv.* 1, *absol. or w. a.* hear, listen 360; *pret. sg.* **hērde** 1176; *absol. or w. d.* obey 612, follow 679, 1167, 1606, 1639.

ge-hȳran, *wv.* 1, *absol. or w. a.* hear, understand, 92, 341, 574 etc; *pp.* **gehēred** heard 168; *imp. sg.* **gehēr** hear 1498 (*w. d.*); *absol.* hear 577.

hyrcnian, *wv.* 2, hearken 654.

hyrde, *m.* shepherd, guard 807, 993, 1077, 1083.

ge-hyrstan, *wv.* 1, equip 45.

hys(s)e, *m.* boy 550, 595, 811.

hyse-beorðor, *m.* man-child 1142.

hyspan, *wv.* 1, mock 671.

ic, *pron.* I, 64, 72, 77 etc; *a. sg.* **mē** 71, 85, 389 etc; *d. sg.* **mē** 63, 76, 198 etc; *nom. pl.* **wē** 1, 264, 268 etc; *a. pl.* **ūs** 265, 269, 273 etc; **ūsic** 286, 669; *g. pl. see* **ūr, ūre, ūser**; *d. pl.* **ūs** 276, 288, 292 etc.

īcan, *wv.* 1, increase 1190; *inf.* **ēcan** 1384.

ides, *f.* lady 1638.

īg-land, *n.* land by water 15 (*cf.* 28n).

ilca, *weak adj.* the same, the very 751, 911.

in, *prep. w. d.* in 51, 52, 69 etc; on 990; at 911; of 562, 719; from 976; while 597.

in(n), *adv.* in, inside, within 362, 990, 1001 etc.

in-flēde, *adj.* in flood 1504.

in-geþanc, *m.* intellect 35.

innan[1], *adv.* within, inwardly, inmost 1018.

innan[2], *prep. w. d.* within, inside 1174, 1235, 1547.

innan-weard, *adv.* within 647.

inne, *adv.* in 1542.

inwid-þanc, *see* **inwit-þanc**.

in-wit, *n.* evil 610.

inwit-þanc, *m.* evil thought 670; **inwid-** 559.

inwit-wrās(e)n, *f.* evil bond, spiteful chain 63, 946.

īren, *n.* iron 1181.

īs, *n.* ice 1261.

īu, *adv.* once, one day 438, 661, 1377, 1386; **īu ond nū** <þā> before now 489.

lāc, *n.* gift, offering 1111.

ge-lāc, *n.* movement, play 1092.

lācan, *sv.* 7, move, launch 253; toss 437.

lād, *f.* road 276, 423.

ge-lād, *n.* deop gelad 190 deep-sea roads.

lāf, *f.* remnant, left-over; *d. sg. as adj.* **lāfe** left 1081.

lago-flōd, *m.* ocean flood 244.

lago-lād, *f.* ocean path 314.

lagu, *m.* sea, deep 437.

lagu-fæsten, *n.* fastness of water 398, 825.

lagu-strēam, *m.* sea's current 423.

land, *n.* land, country, shore 268, 294, 303 etc.

†land-rest, *f.* land-rest 781.

land-scearu, *f.* country, countryside 501n (<**d**>), 1229n.

lang, *adj.* long 314, 420, 790.

ge-lang, *adj.* near at hand, belonging to 979.

lange, *adv.* long, a long time 579, 1363; *comp.* **leng** 80, 800, 1042 etc.

lang-sum, *adj.* time consuming 1482.

lār, *f.* advice, teaching, lore, instruction 141, 482, 597 etc.

†lār-cwide, *m.* teaching 674.

lār-ēow, *m.* teacher, 404, 1321, 1466, 1707.

lār-smið, *m.* maker of teaching, professor; *nom. pl.* **lārsmeoðas** 1220n.

lāst, *m.* track 1446; **on lāste** remaining 1596.

latu, see **læt**.

lāð[1], *n.* injury 1347, 1443, 1474.

lāð[2], *adj.* hated, loathed, hostile 80, 408, 1249; (*as noun*) enemy, 944.

lāð-spell, *n.* hateful tidings 1079.

lǣdan, *wv.* 1, lead, carry, take, give 174, 337, 777 etc.

ge-lǣdan, *wv.* 1, lead, bring, convey 282, 430, 822, 1033.

lǣla, *m.* bruise 1443.

lǣran, *wv.* 1, teach, instruct 170, 420, 462 etc.

ge-lǣran, *wv.* 1, teach, instruct 1353.

lǣs, *see* **lȳt**[1].

lǣstan, *wv.* 1, follow 1424; carry out 674, 1653.

ge-lǣste, *wv.* 1, *w. d.* support 411.

læt, *adj.* late, slow; *nom. pl. m.* **late** 46; **nis sēo stund latu** the hour is at hand 1210.

lǣtan, *sv.* 7, let, allow, keep 397, 957, 1293 etc; leave 781; *pret. pl.* **lēton** let 831, 1099; **lǣt on gemyndum** keep remembering 960.

ge-lēafa, *m.* faith 335, 1680.

leahtor, *m.* evil, sin 1295; *int. pl.* **lehtrum** 1216.

lēan, *n.* payment 387, 948.

lēas, *adj.* without, bereft of (*w. v.*) 1367, 1705.

lēges, *see* **līg**.

lehtrum, *see* **leahtor**.

leng, *see* **lange**.

ge-lenge, *adj.* belonging to, present 1474.

lēode, *m. or f. pl.* people, folk 170, 268, 663.

lēod-fruma, *m.* people's captain 989, 1660.

lēod-hete, *m.* people's violence, public violence 112, 1138, 1149.

lēod-mearc, *f.* territory 286, 777.

lēod-riht, *n.* common-law title to property, title 679n.

lēod-sceaða, *m.* despoiler of people 80.

lēof, *adj.* dear, beloved 404, 825, 944 etc; *comp. nom. sg. n.* **lēofre** 1428; *sup. nom. sg. n.* **lēofost** 935, *voc. sg. m.* **lēofost** 575, 1352, **lēofesta** 288, 307, 595, 629, 811, 1431.

lēofað, *see* **libban**.

leofen, *f.* sustenance 1123.

lēof-līc, *adj.* darling 1446.

lēof-wende, *adj.* loving 1290.

ge-lēogan, *sv.* 2, deceive (*w. d.*); *pret. sg.* **gelēah** 1074.

lēoht[1], *adj.* light (i.e. not heavy) 1251.

lēoht[2], *n.* light 77, 124, 1017 etc.

lēoht-fruma, *m.* author of light 387, 1413.

lēoran, *wv.* 1, depart 124n, 1042.

leornung, *f.* learning 1482.

lēoð-gidding (-ung), *f.* verse ballad 1479.

leoðo, -u, *see* **lið**.

leoðo-bend (leoðu-), *f.* limb bond, manacle 100, 164, 1033 etc.

†**leoðo-līc**, *adj.* in limb 1628.

lēoð-word, *n.* word of poetry; *pl.* lyrics 1488.

ge-lettan, *wv.* 1, hinder 518, 800.

libban, *wv.* 3 (and **lif(i)gan**, *wv.* 2), life; *pres. sg.* **leofað** 1288, **lyfað** 541; *pret. subj. pl.* **lifdon** 129; *pres. p.* 378, 459; **lifigende** 1409.

līc, *n.* body 151, 229, 1238, 1404, 1421, 1443, 1474, 1477.

ge-līc, *adj.* like 494; *sup.* **gelīcost** 497, 1145, **gelīccost** 501, 953.

licgan, *sv.* 5, lie down 1426; *pret. subj. pl.* **lāgon** 1422, **lāgan** 1083.

ge-licgan, *sv.* 5, lie down 334.

līc-homa, *m.* body 790, 1216, 1466.

lid, *n.* vessel 398, 403, 1707.

†**lid-weard**, *m.* sailing master 244.

†**lid-wērig**, *adj.* weary of voyaging 482.

līf, *n.* life 77, 170, 229 etc.

līf-cearo, *f.* care of living 1428n.

lifdon, *see* **libban**.

lifer, *f.* liver; *int. pl.* **lifrum** in thick gouts 1276.

līf-fruma, *m.* author of life, life-giving captain 562, 1284.

lif(i)gende, *see* **libban**.

†**līf-neru**, *f.* preservation of life 1089.

līg, *m.* fire 1541; *g. sg.* **lēges** 1552.

līhtan, *wv.* 1, be light 1397.

lim-sēoc, *adj.* diseased in limb 579.

lind, *f.* shield 46.

†**lind-gecrod**, *n.* armoured platoon 1220.

lind-gestealla, *m.* comrade in army 1344.

linnan, *sv.* 3, *w. d.* lose 1138.

liss, *f.* kindness, enjoyment 825, 868 (*pl.*); **tō lisse** for enjoyment of, enjoying 1111.

lið, *n.* limb; *nom. pl.* **leoðu** 1404, *a. pl.* **leoðo** 781.

līðan, *sv.* 1, go, sail 256.

līðe, *adj.* calm, well-disposed 276, 867; *comp.* **līðra** 437.

loc(c), *m.* lock (of hair) 1423, 1426, 1472.

locen, *see* **lūcan**.

lof, *m.* praise 57, 868, 877 etc; protection 989; glory 1479.

ge-lōme, *adv.* often 1163.

lūcan, *sv.* 2, lock; *pret. pl.* **lucon** 1259; *pp. g. pl. m.* **locenra** linked 303.

lufe (lufu), *f.* love 164, 431, 1063.

lufi(g)an, *wv.* 2, love 597, 868.

lungre, *adv.* at once, swiftly, promptly, suddenly 46, 614, 674 etc.

lust, *m.* desire 286, 294, 303; high spirits 1023; lust 1079, 1140; in spate 1573.

ge-lȳfan, *wv.* 1, believe, trust; *w. d.* 142, 813; *w.* **in** *and d.* 562, *w.* **tō** *and d.* 1284; *absol.* 733.

lyfað, *see* **libban**.

lyft, *m.* or *f.* air, sky 420; **on lyfte** aloft 866.

lyft-gelāc, *n.* play of air, airborne commotion 827, 1552.

lysu, *adj.* lying; *nom. pl.* **lyswe** 1220.

lȳt[1], *adv.* little; (*by litotes*) not at all, 1227, 1290; *comp.* (**þȳ/ þē**) **lǣs(s)** lest 77, 1047, 1147.

lȳt[2], *n. w. part. g.* few 271, 476.

lȳtel, *adj.* little 1488.

mā, *comp. adv.* (*as indec. noun w. g.*), more 492, 662, 924, 1178, 1443.

mā-cræftig, *adj.* of superior skill 257; *comp. a. sg.* **mācræftigran** more resourceful 472.

magan, *prp. v.* be able, have power to, (I) can; *pres. sg.* **mæg** 190, 851, 933, 2 *sg.* **miht** 340, 595, 603 etc; **meaht** 211, 3 *sg.* **mæg** 194, 215, 425 etc, *pl.* **magon** 279, 954, 1179 etc, **magan** 759, 1347; *pret. sg.* **mihte** 16, 986, 1129 etc, **meahte** 1323, *pl.* **mihton** 565, 964, 1714, **meahton** 1224, 1231; *pres. subj. sg.* **mæge** 303, 546; *pres. subj. pl.* **mægen** 1214; *pret. subj. sg.* **mihte** 477, 573, **meahte** 272, 922, **mehte** 479, 929, *pl.* **mihton** 132, 368, 1147.

maga, *m.* son, fellow 625, 984; brave man 639; hero 815.

†**mago-rǣdend**, *m.* counsellor of retainers 1461.

mago-þegn (magu-), *m.* retainer, young thane 94, 366, 1140 etc.

mān, *n.* (mad) crime 694n, 767, 1599.

man-drēam, *m.* men's pleasures 37.

mān-frēa, *m.* lord of despicable crime; **morðres mānfrēa** mean lord of soul-murder 1313.

mān-ful(l), *adj.* wicked, criminal 42, 180.

ge-mang, *n.* multitude; midst 730.

†**mān-genīðla**, *m.* criminal foe 916.

manig, *adj.* many 583, 658, 814 etc; **mænig** 1436.

man(n) (mon(n)), *m.* man 262, 486, 493 etc; *n. voc. and a. pl.* **menn** 246, 257, 594 etc, **men** men, people 7, 583.

man(n)-cyn(n), *n.* mankind, humanity 69, 172, 357 etc.

†mān-slagu, *f.* mean blow 1218.

māra, *see* **mycel**.

marman-stān, *m.* stone of marble 1498.

martyr(e), *m.* martyr 876.

māðm, *m.* treasure, precious thing 309, 1113.

mæcg, *m.* (young) man, hero 422, 772, 1708.

mæg, *m.* kinsman; *nom. pl.* **māgas** 1515.

mægen, *n.* power, force, vigour 625n, 701, 1433, 1571; force (of men), troop 395, 876; body (of men) 1469, 1676.

mægen-spēd, *f.* overriding justice 1285.

mægð, *f.* tribe, men 264, 275, 844.

mæg-wlite, *m.* countenance 856, 1338n.

†ge-mæl, *adj.* patterned 1331.

mælan, *wv.* 1, speak (formally), address 300, 767.

mænan, *wv.* 1, bewail, lament 1157, 1548, 1665.

mæne, *adj.* criminal 941.

ge-mæne, *adj.* shared 1013.

mænig, *see* **manig**.

mære, *adj.* famous, renowned, glorious 7, 40, 94 etc.

ge-mærsian, *wv.* 2, celebrate 544.

mæst, *m.* mast 465.

mæst, *see* **mycel**.

mæðel (meðel), *n.* conference, speech 1049, 1436, 1496, 1626.

mæðel-hēgende (meðel-), *adj.* men holding assembly, spokesmen 262, 609 **(-hēgende)**, 1096.

mæw, *m.* seagull 371.

mearc-land, *n.* borderlands, -country 19n, 802n.

mearc-pæð, *n.* path along a border; paths through the march 788n; path between (two) houses 1061n.

mearh, *n.* stallion; *d. pl.* **mearum** 1096.

ge-mēde, *adj.* pleasant; *sup.* **ge-mēdost** 594.

meldigan, *wv.* 2, accuse 1170.

menig(e)o, *f.* multitude 101, 177, 449 etc.

†meodu-scerwen, *f.* serving of mead 1526n.

meorð, *f.* reward 275n.

ge-meotu, *see* **ge-met¹**.

meotud, *m.* measurer (God) 69, 140, 172 etc.

†meotud-wang, *m.* plain of doom 11n.

mere, *m.* ocean, deep 221, 283, 465, 491.

†mere-bāt, *m.* boat for the deep 246.

mere-faroð, *m.* tide, deep-sea tide 289, 351.

mere-flōd, *m.* sea-flood 1526.

mere-līðend, *m.* sea-voyager 353.

mere-strēam, *m.* ocean current, deep-sea current 309, 454.

mere-þyssa (-þissa), *m.* (deep) sea burster, ship 257, 446.

mētan, *wv.* 1, meet, find 245, 471, 553.

ge-mētan, *wv.* 1, encounter, meet, find 143, 241, 1061, 1082.

mete, *m.* meal 366; meat 1113.

mete-lēast, *f.* lack of food 39; lack of meat 1157.

mete-þearfende, *adj.* meat craving 27; needing food 136.

mēðe, *adj.* weak, weary 39, 465, 1157.

meðel(-), *see* **mæðel(-)**.

meðel-stede, *m.* place of assembly 658, 697.

meðlan, *wv.* 1, speak 1440.

ge-met¹, *n.* capacity 1481; edge 309; *nom. pl.* **gemeotu** expanse 454.

ge-met², *adj.* meet, fitting, right 1178.

micel, **miclum**, *see* **mycel**, **myclum**.

mid¹, *adv.* alongside, also, too 237, 878, 1638.

mid², *prep. w. a.*, with, amongst 379, 626, 914; *w. d. or inst.* 114, 209, 249 etc; *post-posited, w. d.* 99, 101, 945, 1218.

middan-geard, *m.* middle world 82, 161, 224 etc.

miht, *f.* power, might 104, 162, 328 etc.

mihtig, *adj.* mighty 662, 786, 1372, 1496.

milde, *adj.* merciful 902.

mild-heort, *adj.* generous 1285.

mildse, *see* **milts**.

milts, *f.* mercy, generosity, grace 140, 353, 391 etc; *a. sg.* **miltse** 289.

mīn, *pron. adj.* my, mine 73, 97, 190 etc.

mirce, *adj.* murky 1218.

†mis-gehygd, *n.* perversion 772.

missen-līc, *adj.* different 583.

mīðan, *sv.* 1, hide 1209.

mōd, *n.* heart, mind 66, 69, 82 etc; courage 1393; **blīðe on mōde** cheerful 1583.

mōd-blind, *adj.* blind in heart 814.

mōd-gemynd, *n.* memory 688.

mōd-gēomor, *adj.* serious 1113; dejected in mind 1708.

†**mōd-geþyldig**, *adj.* of mental patience 981n.

†**mōd-hord**, *m.* mind-hoard 172.

mōdig, *adj.* proud 241, 1096, 1140 etc; brave, courageous 395, 802, 1049.

mōdig-līc, *adj.* brave 246.

mōd-rōf, *adj.* brave of heart 1496.

mōd-sefa, *m.* heart, mind 554, 892, 1209.

mōdur, *f.* mother 687.

molde, *f.* earth 594, 1289, 1484.

mold-ern, *n.* mound-house 802.

mon(n), *see* **man(n)**.

morgen, *m.* morning 221.

†**morgen-torht**, *adj.* morning-radiant 241.

morðor, *n.* murder, mortal sin 19, 772, 975 etc; soul-murder 1313.

†**morðor-cofa**, *m.* murder-coffer 1004.

†**morðor-cræft**, *m.* art of deadly sin 177.

†**morðor-scyldig**, *adj.* stained with crime 1599.

mōs, *n.* meal 27, 136.

mōst, *prp. v. pres. 2 sg.* may, be able, be permitted to 105, 115; *pres. pl.* **mōton** 228, 598, 886, 916, 1215, **mōtan** 109, 1444; *pret. pl.* **mōston** 1012; *pres. subj. sg.* **mōte** 1416.

ge-mōt, *n.* meeting 650, 1059.

ge-munan, *prp. v.* recall; *pres. sg.* **geman** 639.

mund, *f.* hand 491, 750.

mund-byrd, *f.* protection, safe-keeping 724, 1433, 1632.

murnan, *wv.* 1, mourn 37, 99, 1667.

mūð, *m.* mouth 651, 1300, 1440.

mycel (micel), *adj.* great, big, much, of great size 41, 107, 158 etc; *comp.* **māra** 554, **wordlatu mare** greater slowness in words, slower to obey 1522; *sup.* **mǣst** 1198, 1445, 1501.

mycle, *adv.* much 1563. **furður mycle** *w. d.* far beyond 1518; **mycle** by far 1428.

myclian, *wv.* 2, grow big, swell 1526; grow higher 1553.

myclum (miclum), *adv.* much, greatly 122, 395, 892.

ge-myltan, *wv.* 1, melt away 1393.

ge-mynd, *f.* remembrance 960.

ge-myndig, *adj.* mindful, remembering 161, 981, 1263, 1312; inspired 1001.

myne, *m.* longing 1537.

mynnan, *wv.* 1, urge, mind, 294.

ge-myrran, *wv.* 1, hinder, obstruct; *nom. pl. pp.* **gemyrde** mistaken 746.

myrce, *n.* murk, darkness 1313.

naca, *m.* prow, vessel, bark 266, 291.

nafast, *see* **habban**.

nalas, *adv.* not (at all), 46, 233, 506 etc.

nama, *m.* name 542, 975, 1322, 1670.

nāt, *see* **witan**.

næbbe, *see* **habban**.

nǣfre, *adv.* never 459, 471, 1286 etc.

nǣnig, *pron. and adj.* no (one), none 544, 986, 1037.

nǣron, **nǣs**, *see* **bēon**.

næs(s), *m.* headland 1305, 1710.

ne, *adv. and neg. part.*, not 16, 37, 85 etc.

nē, *conj.* nor, neither 22, 99, 199 etc.

†**nēad-cofa**, *m.* need-coffer, straitened cell 1309.

nēah (nēh)[1], *adv.* near 542, 638.

nēah (nēh)[2], *prep. w. d.* near to, alongside 359, 821, 833 etc.

nearo-nēd, *f.* close constraint 102 (*pl.*).

near(o)we, *see* **nearu**.

nearu, *n.* hardship, (dire) straits 414.

nēat, *n.* beast; *pl.* cattle 67.

nēd, *f.* necessity; *d. pl.* chains 1377; **of nēde mōst** you may quit this constraint 115.

nemnan, *wv.* 1, name 720, 1176, 1651; *pl. pret.* **nemdon** 1193.

nemne, *adv.* except 664.

nēod, *f.* need 158.

nēon, *adv.* from near at hand, intimate 1176.

nēorxna-wang, *m.* paradise 102.

nēosan, *wv.* 1., *w. g.* seek, search, explore, spy out 310, 484, 830 etc.

nēotan, *sv.* 2, *w. g.* enjoy 810.

ner(e)gend (nerigend), *m.* Saviour 291, 549, 921 etc.

(ge)nerian, *wv.* 1, preserve 1037.

nesan, *sv.* 5 survive 515.

ge-nēðan, *wv.* 1, *w. d.* venture 950, 1351.

nīedum, *see* **nēd**.

nifol, *adj.* steep 1305.

niht, *f.* night 148, 185, 930 etc.

niht-gerīm, *n.* nights in number 115, 158.

niht-helm, *m.* night's cover 123.

niht-lang, *adj.* night-long, one night long 834, 1309.

niman, *sv.* 4, take, seize; *pp.* put to flight 1340.

nīowan, *see* **nīwe**.

nīowinga, *adv.* good as new 1394.

nis, *see* **bēon**.

nið, *m.* man, human 1377 (n. to 1377a).

nīð, *m.* malice, hate, evil, enmity 768, 1037, 1303 etc.

†nīð-hata, *m.* deadly oppressor; *irreg. d. pl.* **nīðhetum** 834.

†nīð-plega, *m.* play of strife 414.

nīwe, *adj.* new 123, 1303; *d. sg. m.* **niowan** 1670.

ge-nīwian, *wv.* 2, renew 1010.

nō, *adv. and neg. participle* not, not at all, never 3, 562, 926 etc.

ge-nōg, *adj.* enough 1534.

nū[1], *adv.* now 66, 185, 283 etc; **nū gȳt** still 814; **nū þā** by now 489.

nū[2], *conj.* now that, since 317, 340, 485 etc.

nū gēna, **nū gīt**, *see* **gēna**, **gȳt**.

ny(s)ton, *see* **witan**.

of, *prep. w. d.* from, out of 57, 89, 100 etc.

ofer, *prep. w. a.* over 190, 198, 201 etc; across 259, 336, 398 etc; against 517, 1215, 1374; in 224, 252, 1300; beyond 310, 1481; through 223; at 495; from 1173; of 701.

ōfer, *m.* shore 1712.

ofer-bregdan, *sv.* 3, overwhelm, envelop; *pret. sg.* **-brægd** 1541, **-brǣd** 1306.

ofer-ēode(n), *see* **ofer-gān**.

ofer-gān, *anom. v.* overcome; *pret. sg.* **oferēode** overcame 464, 820, 862; *pret. subj. pl.* **oferēoden** 826.

ofer-hygd (-higd), *f.* thought of pride 319, 1318 (*pl.*).

ofer-stīgan, *sv.* 1, climb above; *pret. sg.* **oferstāg** 1574.

of-gifan, *sv.* 5, give up 1655.

of-lysted, *pp. adj.* filled with desire, in craving 1112, 1226.

ofost, *f.* haste 1565.

of(o)st-līce, *adj.*, hastily, in haste 299, 792, 1625.

oft, *adv.* often, regularly 17, 140, 164 etc.

ombeht-þegn, *m.* official server 1534.

on[1], *adv.* on 1334.

on[2], *prep. w. d.* on, in 1, 10, 11 etc; *w. inst.* in, by 970; *w. a.* on, upon, in 15, 170, 191 etc; to, into 86, 207, 286 etc; at, for 214, 1160, 1388; **on innan** within 1241.

†on-blandan, *sv.* 7, mix up; *pp.* **onblonden** 675.

on-bryrdan, *wv.* 1, inspire, move 122, 1118.

on-cnāwan, *sv.* 7, know, recognize, see, acknowledge 631, 644; *pret. sg.* **oncnēow** 529, 672, 843, 855; *pl.* **oncnēowon** 875, 1337, **oncnēowan**

764; *pres. subj. pl.* **oncnāwan** 566, 1214; *pp.* **oncnāwen** 527; *pres. subj. sg.* **oncnāwe** 322.

on-cweðan, *sv.* 5, reply, respond, answer; *pret. sg.* **oncwæð** 270, 396, 442 etc.

on-cyrran, *wv.* 1, overthrow, pervert 36, 1461; recede 466.

†on-cȳð-dǣd, *f.* deeds of injury 1179.

ond, *conj.* and 8, 9, 23 etc.; *cond. conj.* if 630n; *concess. conj.* though 1187n.

ond-gite, *f.* understanding 1521.

ond-lang, *adj.* livelong 818, 1274; **ondlange niht** all night long 1254.

ond-saca, *m.* adversary 1148, 1459.

ond-sæc, *n.* opposition, refusal 927.

ond-swarian (and-), *wv.* 2, answer 202, 260, 277 etc.

ond-swaru (and-), *f.* answer 189, 285, 315 etc.

ond-swerian, *wv.* 2, *pret. pl.* **ondsweorodon** 857.

†ond-wist, *f.* lodging 1540.

on-feng, *m.* onslaught 1339.

on-findan, *sv.* 3, find 181.

on-fōn, *sv.* 7, *w. a.* or *d.* receive, take, get 782, 1640; *pret. pl.* **onfēngon** 1630 (*w. d., then a.*); *pret. subj. sg.* **onfēnge** 53, *pl.* **onfēngon** 1122; *pret. sg.* **onfēng** enfolded 1528.

on-gin(n), *n.* action 466, 741, 888.

on-ginnan, *sv.* 3, begin, start, proceed 1440; *pret 2. sg.* **ongunne** 1419, 3 *sg.* **ongan(n)** 12, 352, 427 etc, *pl.* **ongunnon** 763.

on-gitan, *sv.* 5, perceive, take note 861, 901, 922 etc; *pret. pl.* **ongēton** 534; *pp.* **ongiten** 785, 897.

on-gyldan, *sv.* 3, *w. g.* forfeit 1101.

on-hlīdan, *sv.* 1, open; reveal 1269; *pp.* **onhliden** unhinged 1077.

on-hrēran, *wv.* 1, stir, stir up 370, 393, 1302, 1394.

on-irnan, *sv.* 3, rush open; *pret. sg.* **onarn** 999.

on-līc, *adj. w. d.* like (to) 251.

on-līcnes, *see* **an-līcnes**.

on-lūcan, *sv.* 2, unlock; *pret. sg.* **onlēac** unlocked 172, 316, 601.

on-mōd, *adj.* resolute 54.

on-munan, *prp. v.* deem worthy, remember 895.

on-riht, *adj.* rightful 120.

on-sendan, *wv.* 1, send, send on, dispatch 110, 187, 1327 etc.

on-spannan, *sv.* 7, unclasp; *pret. sg.*
    onspēonn 470, **onspēon** 671.
on-springan, *sv.* 3, spring forth; *pret. sg.*
    onsprang 1635.
on-stellan, *wv.* 1, give, adduce 971.
on-sund, *adj.* safe, in good health 1012,
    1623.
on-sȳn, *f.* face 721, 1499.
on-sȳne, *adj.* visible 910.
on-tȳnan, *wv.* 1, open, reveal 105, 1612.
on-wæcnan, *sv.* 6, awake, appear, come
    (out); *pret. sg.* **onwōc** 839; *pret. pl.*
    onwōcon 683.
on-wadan, *sv.* 6, invade; *pret. sg.* **onwōd**
    140.
on-wendan, *sv.* 1, overturn 35.
on-windan, *sv.* 3, turn, fall back; *pret. sg.*
    onwand 531.
oor, *see* **ōr**.
open, *adj.* open 759, 803, 1076.
(ge-)openian, *wv.* 2, open, *nom. sg. pp.*
    889.
ōr, *n.* beginning 1382; **oor** 649; front line
    1106.
or-cnāwe, *adj.* well-known; evident,
    patent 770.
ord, *m.* point, spear-point 32, 1205, 1330;
    start 1483, 1535.
ord-fruma, *m.* captain, commander 146,
    683.
ōret(t)a, *m.* soldier 463, 879, 983.
ōrett-mæcg, *m.* soldiering hero 664.
or-feorm(e), *adj.* without supply, drained
    406n, 1617.
or-gēte, *adj.* clear, obvious 526, 759, 851,
    1569.
or-hlytte, *adj.* without a share in 680.
or-lege, *n.* field of war, theatre of war 47,
    1146, 1205; strife in war 1302.
or-mǣte, *adj.* infinite 1166.
or-wēna, *adj.* without hope 1107.
oð, *prep. w. a.* up to 1575.
ōðer, *ord. num. and adj.* second 706,
    1675, 1700; **ōþre sīðe** one more time
    808; another, the other 138, 443, 656
    etc.
oð-ðæt, *conj.* till, until 268, 464, 820 etc.
oð-ðe, *conj.* or 334, 546, 638, 745.
†oð-ðēodan, *wv.* 1, tear away 1421.
oð-wītan, *sv.* 1, taunt 1357.
oð-ȳwan, *wv.* 1, reveal 911.
ōwiht, *f. or n.* anything; **leng ōwihte** one
    moment longer 800.

plegian, *wv.* 2, play 370.

racian, *wv.* 2, rule 521.
ræced, *n.* hall 1308.
rǣd, *m.* idea, counsel, stratagem 469, 936,
    1088, 1498; ordinance 1645.
rǣdend, *m.* ruler 627, 816.
†rǣd-snottor, *adj.* wise in stratagems;
    comp. a. sg. m. **rǣdsnotterran** 473.
rǣsan, *wv.* 1, rush 1334.
rǣs-bora, *m.* counselor 139n, 385.
rǣswa, *m.* prince, chief, leader 619, 692,
    1086, 1622.
reccan, *wv.* 1, tell, narrate 1489; *imp. sg.*
    rece 419.
recen, *adj.* swift, coming swiftly; in one
    instant 1511.
rēodan, *sv.* 2, redden; *pret. pl.* **rudon**
    1003.
rēonig-mōd, *adj.* weary-minded, tired at
    heart 592.
reord, *f.* voice, tone 60, 1108.
reord-berend, *m.* one who can speak (*pl.*)
    talking creatures 419.
reordi(g)an, *wv.* 2, voice, talk 255, 364,
    415 etc.
ge-reordian, *wv.* 2, prepare a
    feast/refresh; *pp.* **gereordod** refreshed
    385.
rēotan, *sv.* 2, weep 1712.
rēow, *adj.* cruel 1116, 1334.
rest, *f.* rest 592.
restan, *wv.* 1, rest, be still; abate 1576.
rētan, *wv.* 1, cheer 1608.
rēðe, *adj.* harsh 139.
rīce[1], *n.* kingdom 807, 1326, 1683.
rīce[2], *adj.* mighty 364, 385, 415.
ricene, *adv.* quickly 807.
rīcsian, *wv.* 2, reign 1116.
riht (ryht)[1], *n.* right, justice, law 139, 324,
    521, 700.
riht (ryht)[2], *adj.* just, legal, (as) law 1511,
    1645.
rīm, *n.* number, quantity 546, 1035, 1696
rīm-cræft, *m.* computation 134.
rinc, *m.* warrior, noble 9, 967, 1116, 1343.
rōd, *f.* rood 967, 1326, 1337.
rodor, *m.* sky 521, 627, 816.
rōf, *adj.* brave, cheerful 9, 625, 984 etc;
    comp. a. sg. m. **rōfran** 473.
rond, *m.* shield 9, 412.
rōwend, *m.* helmsman 473.
rūn, *f.* private conclave, secret counsel
    627, 1161; runes 134n.
ryht, *see* **riht**.
(ge-)rȳman, *wv.* 1, clear 1580.

ge-rȳne, *n.* secret, mystery 419, 1511.

sācerd, *m.* priest 742.
saga, *see* **secgan**.
salt, *see* **sealt**[1].
salu, see **sæl**.
samnian, *wv.* 2, gather, gather together, muster (*tr.* or *intr.*) 125, 1098, 1124.
ge-samnian, *wv.* 2, gather, gather together, muster (*intr.*) 652, 1067, 1636.
samod, *adv.* united 1666.
†sand-hliŏ, *n.* sand dune; *a. pl.* **sandhleoŏu** 236.
sang, *m.* song 869.
sār[1], *n.* (searing) pain 956, 1243, 1246 etc.
sār[2], *adj.* searing, painful 1368, 1689.
sār[3], *adv.* sorely, painfully 1396, 1404.
sār-benn, *f.* sore wound 1239.
sār-cwide, *m.* searing words, sarcasm 320; word of reproach 965.
sārig, *adj.* sorrowful 60.
sār-slege, *m.* searing blow 1275.
sāwol, *f.* soul, spirit 151, 228, 433 etc.
sāwul-gedāl, *n.* soul's parting 1701.
sǣ, *m.* or *f.* sea 236, 247, 453 etc; *d. sg.* **sǣwe** 515.
sǣ-bāt, *m.* boat at sea 438, 490.
sǣ-beorg, *m.* sea-headland 308n.
sæc(c), *f.* battle 1132.
sǣ-flota, *m.* vessel 381.
sǣ-hengest, *m.* sea-stallion 488.
†sǣ-holm, *m.* ocean 529.
sæl, *n.* hall; *a. sg.* **sel** 762; *a. pl.* **salu** 1673.
sǣl, *m.* or *f.* time 1165; *a. sg.* **sēl** bliss 745.
sǣ-lād, *f.* path at sea 511.
sǣlan, *wv.* 1, *impers.* befall 1355.
ge-sǣlan, *wv.* 1, *impers.* befall, happen 438, 511, 515, 661.
sǣ-lida, *m.* seafarer 471; *d. sg.* **sǣlēodan** 500.
†sæl-wāg, *m.* hall-wall, first floor storey 1493.
sǣ-mearh, *m.* sea-stallion 267.
sǣne, *adj.* slow to start 204, 211.
sǣ-strēam, *m.* sea-current 196, 749.
†sǣ-wērig, *adj.* weary at sea 862.
sc(e)acan, *sv.* 6, move in haste 1594; *pret. pl.* **scēocan** swaggered 1139.
scead, *n.* shadow 836.
ge-sceaft, *f.* thing created 326, 703, 1499; creation 1437, 1717.
scealc, *m.* servant; *pl.* crew 512.
scēat, *m.* corner 332.
sceatt, *m.* coin 297.

sceaŏa, *m.* despoiler; *g. pl.* **sceaŏan** 1133, 1291.
scēawian, *wv.* 2, see 839.
ge-scēnan, *wv.* 1, maim 1142.
ge-scēon, *wv.* 1, harm 18.
sceōr, *m.* or *f.* storm 512n.
sceoran, *sv.* 4, shear 1181.
scerp, *adj.* sharp 1133.
sceŏŏan, *sv.* 6, harm 1147; *inf.* **scyŏŏan** 1047, *pres. sg.* **scyŏeŏ** 1561.
ge-sceŏŏan, *sv.* 6, *w. d.* harm, hurt 917; *pret. sg.* **gescēod** 1176; *pret. subj. sg.* **gescēode** 1420.
scīnan, *sv.* 1, shine 836, 1720.
†scin-gelāc, *n.* conjuring of illusions 766.
scip, *n.* ship 240, 512.
†scip-fērend, *m.* seafaring man 250.
scippend, *see* **scyppend**.
†scip-weard, *m.* guardian of a ship; skipper 297.
scīre, *adv.* brightly 836.
ge-scirpla, *m.* costume 250n.
†scrid, *adj.* smooth, fast 496.
ge-scrīfan, *sv.* 1, appoint, prescribe; *pret. sg.* **gescrāf** 846; *pp.* **gescrifen** 297, 787.
scrīŏan, *sv.* 1, slide 1457.
sculan, *prp. v.* must, ought to, have to, be bound to, be resolved to, be in the habit of: (1) involving obligation or command: *pres.* 1 *sg.* **sceal** 66, 2 *sg.* **scealt** 174, 216, 943 etc, **scealtū** = **scealt þū** 220, 3 *sg.* **sceal** 185, 435, 1309, *pl.* **sceolon** 614, 733 [MS, see n.]; *pret. sg.* **sceolde** 924, 1137, 1244, 1403, 1414, *pl.* **sceoldon** 137, 796; (2) involving futurity or destiny: *pres.* 1 *sg.* **sceal** 341, 2 *sg.* **scealt** 1383, 1467, 3 *sg.* **sceal** 890, 947, **scel** 952, **scell** 1483, *pl.* **sceolon** 1487; *pret. sg.* **sceolde** 757, 1100, 1132, 1697; *pres. subj. sg.* **scyle** 77; (3) involving certainty: *pres. sg.* **sceall** will 181; **sceal** shall 520.
scūr-heard, *adj.* shower-hardened 1133.
ge-scyldan, *wv.* 1, shield 434.
ge-scyldend, *m.* shield 1291.
scyld-hata, *m.* unjust oppressor 1047, 1147; *d. pl.* **scyldhetum** 85.
scyldig, *adj.* guilty 1216.
scȳne, *adj.* gleaming 766.
scyppend (scippend), *m.* creator 119, 192, 278 etc.
(ge-)scyrdan, *wv.* 1, shroud; *pp.* **gescyrded** 1313.
ge-scyrigan, *wv.* 1, allot 85.

scyðeð, **scyððan**, *see* **sceððan**.

se (**sē**), **sēo** (**sīo**), **þæt** (1) *dem. pron. and def. art.* this, that, the; (2), *subst. pron.* this (one), that (one), he, she, it; (3) *rel. pron.* who, what, which, that; **þæs** whose 1056, 1499; (4) with **þe** in sense (3), e.g. **se þe**, etc. *nom. sg. m.* **se** or **sē** in senses (1) and (4), **sē** in senses (2) and (3). Special uses: **þæs**, so 1365, 1372, **þæs (þe)**, because 1012, 1151, 1453, as 472, 687, 1563, **tō þæs (þe)**, to the place where 1059, 1070; *inst. sg. n.* **þȳ**, so, therefore, 733, **þon**, *with comp. or sup.*, by so much the…(*often untr.*), 361, 501, 1522, **þē** 368, 932 (see also **lȳt**[1]).

sealde, **ge-seald(on)**, *see* **syllan**, **ge-syllan**.

sealt[1], *adj.* salt(y); *a. pl. m.* **sealte** 196, **salte** 749.

sealt[2], *n.* salt; *g. sg.* **sealtes** 1532.

searo-cræft, *m.* ingenious skill, ingenuity 109.

searo-hæbbend (searu-), *m.* armed man 1468, 1528.

searo-net, *n.* web of cunning, cunning net 64, 943.

searo-þanc, *m.* ingenious thought, ingenuity 1255.

searu, *f.* or *n.* cunning, subtlety 1348; *pl.* snares 745; **searwum** intricately 1396.

searu-þancol, *adj.* ingenious 1161.

sēcan, *wv.* 1, seek, visit, look for, 226, 308, 320, etc; supplicate 909; find out 943 etc; *pret. sg.* **sōhte**, *pl.* **sōhton** 641.

ge-sēc(e)an, *wv.* 1, seek out, look for, guide 175, *inf.* **gesēcanne** put in 295, 424, 1701; *pret. sg.* **gesōhte** 380, *pl.* **gesōhton** 268, *pp. a. sg. f.* **gesōhte** 845; seeking, picking; *pret. subj. pl.* **gesōhton** 1121, *pp. a. sg.* **gesōhte** 1132.

secg, *m.* man 1225, 1368, 1636, 1656.

secgan, *wv.* 3, say, tell 345, 458, 618 etc; *pret. sg.* **sægde**; **wordum sægde** showed in words, promised 755, 1207, 1654, **sǣde** 1022, *pl.* **sægdon** 1080; *imp. sg.* **saga** 557; **sægde þanc** gave thanks 1469; **secgan lof** speaking praise 1006.

ge-secgan, *wv.* 3, say, explain 384, 603, 624.

†**secg-plega**, *m.* sword-play 1353n.

sefa, *m.* heart 98; sense 1165; senses 1251.

segl, *m.* or *n.* sail 505.

sel, 762, *see* **sæl**.

sēl[1], 745, *see* **sæl**.

sēl[2], *adv.* better 733.

sele, *m.* hall, chamber 714, 1311.

sele-drēam, *m.* hall-joy 1656.

sele-rǣdend, *m.* hall-steward 659n.

sēlost, **sēlra**, *see* **gōd**[2].

semninga, *adv.* presently 464, 820.

sendan, *wv.* 1, send 1028, 1613.

seofon, *num.* seven 114, 994, 1311, 1673.

seolf, *see* **sylf**.

seolfor, *n.* silver 338.

†**seolh-pæð**, *n.* seal-path; *a. pl.* **-paðu** 1714n.

seomnian, *wv.* 2, languish 183.

sēon, *sv.* 5, see, look; *pret. pl.* **sāwon** 1679, **sēgon** 711.

ge-sēon, *sv.* 5, see 760, 987, 1714, *inf.* **gesīon** 1225; *pres. pl.* **gesēoð** 1500; *pret. sg.* **geseah** 493, 499, 1492, 1690, **geseh** 714, 847, 992 etc, *pl.* **gesēgon** 455, 881; *imp. sg.* **geseoh** 1281, 1441; *absol.* **gesēgon** 581; *reflex.* **gesēon** 1013.

†**seono-dolg**, *n.* sinew-gash 1406.

sēoðan, *sv.* 2, seethe, boil; *pp.* **soden** sodden 1239.

seoðþan, *see* **syððan**.

sēowan, *wv.* 1, weave; *pres. pl.* **sēowað** 64.

sēpan, *wv.* 1, induct 742.

†**sessian**, *wv.* 2, subside 453.

set, *n.* setting (of the sun) 1248, 1304.

ge-set, *n.* house 1259.

ge-settan, *wv.* 1, settle 156; ordain 1647.

sīd, *adj.* wide 652, 762, 1067.

sīde[1], *adv.* wide; **wīde ond sīde** far and wide 1637.

sīde[2], *f.* side 968.

sīe(n), *see* **bēon**.

ge-si(e)hð (ge-syhð), *f.* sight 30, 620, 705.

†**sige-brōðor**, *m.* brother in victory 183n.

sige-dēma, *m.* judge of victory 661.

sige-dryhten, *m.* lord of victory 60, 877, 1453.

sigel, *n.* sun 50, 89, 1456.

†**sigel-torht**, *adj.* sunbeam 1246.

sige-rōf, *adj.* brave victor 1225.

sige-spēd, *f.* wondrous power 646.

sige-wang, *m.* plain of victory 1581.

sigor, *m.* victory, triumph 116, 714, 760 etc; divine might 329.

sigor-spēd, *f.* great triumph 909, 1435.

sīn, *pron. adj.* his 427, 522, 663 etc; *a. sg. m.* **sȳnne** 1464.

sinc-gestrēon, *n.* treasure hoard 1656.

†sinc-gifu, *f.* gift of treasure 1509.

†sinc-hroden, *adj.* treasure-decked 1673.

sinc-weorðung, *f.* treasures and adornments 272; precious honours 477.

singāl, *adj.* perpetual 869.

singan, *sv.* 3, sing; *pret. pl.* **sungon** 877.

sinnan, *sv.* 3, *w. g.* cease from; *pret. sg.* **sann** 1277.

sionwe, *see* **synu**.

sittan, *sv.* 5, sit 247; *pret. sg.* **sæt** 305, 1007, *pl.* **sǣton** 362, 591.

ge-sittan, *sv.* 5, sit; *pret. sg.* **gesæt** 359, 1063; *pl.* **gesǣton** 1161.

sīð, *m.* journey, course, mission, adventure 44, 175, 340 etc; time, *instr. sg.* **ōðre sīðe** one more time 808.

sīð-fæt, *m.* expedition 204, 211, 358, 420, 1662; *d. sg.* **sīðfate** 663.

sīð-from, *adj.* eager to travel, eager to sail 247, 641.

sīðigean, *wv.* 2, journey 829.

siððan, *see* **syððan**.

slǣp, *m.* sleep 464, 795, 820 etc.

slǣpan, *sv.* 7, sleep 865.

slǣp-wērig, *adj.* sleep-weary; *pl. as noun* sleep-weary men 826.

slēan, *sv.* 6, hit, beat 1300; *pret. pl.* **slōgon** 964.

slege, *m.* blow 956.

†smeolt, *adj.* pleasant 1581 (variant of *smolt*).

smylte, *adj.* smooth 453.

snāw, *m.* snow 1255.

snel, *adj.* swift 505.

snel-līc, *adj.* swift 267.

snēome, *adv.* quickly 795.

snēowan, *sv.* 2, hasten 242, 1668.

snottor, *adj.* wise 469, 659.

snōwan, *sv.* 7, coast 504.

snyt(t)ro, *f.* cleverness, intellect, intelligence, sense 554, 631, 646 etc.

soden, see **sēoðan**.

sōna, *adv.* at once, straightaway, soon 72, 450, 529 etc.

sorg, *f.* sorrow 116, 1568, 1690.

†sorg-byrþen, *f.* brewing of sorrow 1532n.

sorgian, *wv.* 2, care 1227.

sōð[1], *adj.* true 710, 1602; truly 1435.

sōð[2], *n.* truth 114, 458, 526 etc; **emne mid sōðe** to tell the truth 114.

sōð-cwide, *m.* true declaration 733.

sōð-fæst, *adj.* righteous, just 228, 386, 673; truth unwavering 1514.

†sōð-fæst-līc, *adj.* unfeigned 877.

sōð-līce, *adv.* truly 681.

spanan, *sv.* 7, draw; *pret. sg.* **spēon** 597.

ge-spann, *n.* bracelet, fastening 302.

spell, *n.*tidings, events 815.

spildan, *wv.* 1, *w. inst.* lose 284.

spor, *n.* track 1180.

spōwan, *sv.* 7, *w. inst.* to succeed (in) 1544.

ge-spōwan, *sv.* 7, to succeed; **ēow swā lȳt gespēow** so little you succeeded 1344.

ge-sprec, *n.* speech 577.

sprecan, *sv.* 5, speak 732, 1315; *pret. sg.* **spræc** 904, 1557; *pp.* **sprecen** 1622.

ge-sprecan, *sv.* 5, speak; *pret. sg.* **gespræc** 923.

stæfna, *see* **stefna**.

stæppan, *sv.* 6, move, march; *pret. sg.* **stōp** 985, 1577.

ge-stæppan, *sv.* 6, step, walk; *pret. sg.* **gestōp** 1582.

stærced-fer(h)ð, *adj.* strong-hearted; *nom. pl. m.* **stærcedferþþe** men of hardened hearts 1233.

stān, *m.* stone 738, 741, 766 etc; rock 841.

standan, *sv.* 6, stand, stand up, 502, 722, 882 etc; *pret. sg.* **stōd** 254, 375, 737, *pl.* **stōdon** 842, 871, 1157, 1712.

ge-standan, *sv.* 6, stand up; *pret. sg.* **gestōd** 707.

stān-fāg, *adj.* paved with stone 1236.

stān-hlið, *n.* stone cliffs, *a. pl.* **-hleoðo** 1233; **-hleoðu** stone gates 1577.

stapul, *m.* pillar 1062, 1494.

staðol, *m.* pedestal 1503.

staðol-fæst (staðul-), *adj.* steadfast 121, 1336.

staðoli(g)an, *wv.* 2, fortify, found, establish 82, 799, 1210, 1213.

ge-staðolian (ge-staðelian), *wv.* 2, found, establish 162, 536.

stēap, *adj.* steep 840, 1306.

stede-wang, *m.* plain 334; city precinct 774.

stefn[1], *m.* time, hour; **nīwan stefne** 1303 anew; **stefne** 123 anew.

stefn[2], *m.* stem, ship's prow; bark 291.

stefn[3], *f.* voice 56, 61, 92 etc.

stefna, *m.* prow, bow 403, 1707; *a. sg.* **stæfnan** stern 495n.

stēoran, *wv.* 1, steer 495.

stēorend, *m.* governor 1336; **stȳrend** 121.

sticce, *n.* piece; *d. pl.* **sticcum** snatches 1488.

stīg, *f.* pathway, trail 985, 1442.

stīgan, *sv.* 1, climb; *pret. pl.* **stigon** 349; put out (to sea) 429.

ge-stīgan, *sv.* 1, embark, climb 222; *pret. sg.* **gestāh** 899.

stillan, *wv.* 1, (become) still *w.d.* 451; *intr.* 1576.

ge-stillan, *wv.* 1, subside 532.

stille, *adj.* still 502.

stīð-ferð, *adj.* valiant, stout 722.

stīð-hycgende, *adj.* stubborn 741, 1429n.

storm, *m.* storm 502, 1236, 1576; weather 1494.

stōw, *f.* place 121.

strang, *adj.* strong, tough, hard 162, 313, 536 etc; *comp.* **strengra** more strenuous 1385.

strang-līce, *adv.* strenuous 167.

stræl, *m.* arrow 1189.

stræt, *f.* street, highway 334, 774, 985 etc.

strēam, *m.* stream, current 374, 852, 1503 etc.

†strēam-faru, *f.* torrent; *a. sg.* **-fare** 1576.

strēam-racu, *f.* driving current; *a. sg.-* **ræce** 1580.

†strēam-wealm, *m.* sea-surge 495.

streng, *m.* cable 374.

strengra, *see* **strang**.

strēonan, *wv.* 1, *w. g.* win 331.

stund, *f.* hour 1210.

stunde, *adv.* at once 416; briefly 1497.

stȳrend, *see* **stēorend**.

styrian, *wv.* 1, stir up 1092; *intr.* be disturbed 374.

sum, *adj. and indef. pron.* one, a certain one 11, 967, 1174, 1311.

sund, *n.* crossing, course, sea, ocean, strait 267, 381, 424 etc.

sundor, *adv.* apart 1161.

sunne, *f.* sun 1013, 1248, 1304.

sunu, *m.* son 681, 691, 879 etc; *a. sg.* **sunu** 1109.

sūsl, *n.* torment 1379.

swā, *adv.* and *conj.* (1) so, thus 157, 177, 327, 438, 622 etc; (2) so, very 710, 895, 1115 etc; (3) as, just as 5, 67, 149 etc; (4) also, likewise, just so 582; (5) as, inasmuch as 357, 937; (6) so that, that 261, 493, 524, 986; (7) as if 501; (8) provided that 1288; (9) where(ver) 1231, 1441, 1582; (10) **swā ... swā** as ... as 192, 333, 926, 1234; (11) **emne swā ... swā** just as ... as 333; (12) **swā þēah** although 813, **swā þēah** still, however 1250; (13) **swā þæt** as 322.

swan-rād, *f.* swan's path 196.

swāt, *m.* blood 968, 1239, 1275 etc.

swātig, *adj.* gory 1406.

swaðrian, *see* **sweðrian**.

swaðu, *f.* path 673, 1422; *a. sg.* or *pl.* **swæðe** 1441.

swæs, *adj.* dear 1009.

swæsende, *n.* dinner 386.

swæðorian, *see* **sweðrian**.

swefan, *sv.* 5, sleep, slumber 832, 849; *pret. pl.* **swæfon** 1002.

swēg, *m.* sound, music; **wordhlēoðres swēg** music of word-sound, harmony 93.

swegel-drēam, *m.* joy of heaven 720.

swegel-torht, *adj.* heaven-illuminating 1248.

swegl, *n.* sun 208, 455, 749; the celestial 641; the firmament 98, 760, 809, 832; light 1009; **swegles gong** course of the firmament, zodiac in motion 869.

swelc, *see* **swylc**.

swe<l>g, *m.* abyss, swallow(-hole) 1532n.

swelgan, *sv.* 3, *w. inst.* swallow; *pret. sg.* **swealg** poured 1276 (*intr.*), *pl.* **swulgon** swallowed 710.

sweltan, *sv.* 3, die; *pret. pl.* **swulton** 1530.

(ge-)swencan, *wv.* 1, torment, afflict 109, 116, 394.

sweorcan, *sv.* 3, darken; *pret. sg.* 372.

sweord, *n.* sword 72, 1132.

sweotol (-ul), *adj.* clear, manifest, 565, 742.

sweoðerian, *see* **sweðrian**.

swēr, *m.* column 1493.

sweðrian, *wv.* 2, subside, grow calm; *pret. sg.* **sweoðerade** 465, **swaðrode** 1585, *pl.* **swæðorodon** 533, **sweðerodon** retreated 836.

swīcan, *sv.* 1, *w. d.* desert, betray 407, 958.

ge-swīcan, *sv.* 1, forsake 1290.

swigian, *wv.* 2, fall silent 762.

swilt, *see* **swylt**.

swingan, *sv.* 3, scourge, flog; *pret. pl.* **swungon** 964; *pp.* **swungen** 1246, 1275, 1396.

ge-swing, *n.* tossing 352.

swīð, *adj.* strong, mighty 1207, 1513.

(ge-)swīðan, *wv.* 1, strengthen 697, 701.

swīðe, *adv.* very 423, 618; serious 926.

swylc, *pron. and dem. adj.* such 29; **swelc** 25.

swylce[1], *adv.* likewise, just so, so 166, 584, 589 etc.

swylce[2], *conj.* like, as if 89, 247.

swylt, *m.* death 994, 1610; **swilt** 1348.

swylt-cwalu, *f.* pain of execution 156, 1368.

syb(b), *f.* goodwill, peace 1013, 1568; kinship, family, fellowship 98, 358, 809, 832.

sylf, *pron.* and *adj.* self 5, 248, 329 etc; **þē sylfa**, yourself 1348; *nom. sg. m.* **seolfa** 340, 505, *a. sg. m.* **seolfne** 921, *g. sg. m.* **seolfes** his own, 1300, your own 1441.

†sylf-ǣta, *m.* cannibal; *pl.* 175n.

sylla, *see* **gōd**[2].

syllan, *wv.* 1, give, serve 97, 272, 366, 477, 1109; *pret. sg.* **sealde** 577, 1513.

ge-syllan, *wv.* 1, (1) grant, give; *pp.* **geseald** 646, 909, 1435; (2) sell, yield up; *pret. pl.* **gesealdon** 1616, *pret. subj. pl.* 433.

syl-līc, *adj.* amazing, *comp. a. sg. m.* **syllīcran** 500.

symbel-dæg, *m.* feast day 1527.

†symbel-gifa, *m.* feast giver 1417.

sym(b)le, *adv.* constantly, continually, always, ever 157, 411, 651 etc; **†symles** 64.

ge-sȳne, *adj.* seen, visible 526, 549, 565, 1602.

syn-ful(l), *adj.* full of sin 764, 987.

synn, *f.* sin 109, 407, 926, 1243.

sȳnne, *see* **sīn**.

synnig, *adj.* sinful 565, 710, 921 etc.

synu, *f.* sinew 1422; *nom. pl.* **sionwe** 1425.

syrwan, *wv.* 1, plot; *pret. pl.* **syredon** 610.

syððan[1], *adv.* since, then, when, once, afterwards, thereafter 33, 706, 1193 etc; **siððan** 1106.

syððan[2], *conj.* after, since, when, once, as soon as 5, 240, 295 etc; **siððan** 1223, **seoðþan** 534.

syxtȳne, *num.* sixteen 490.

taan, *see* **tān**.

tācen, *n.* sign, token 88, 711, 742, 1338; characteristic 29; pledge 214.

ge-tācnian, *wv.* 2, inscribe 1512.

taligan, *wv.* 2, consider, **þæs þe ic sōð talige** in my true opinion 1563.

tān, *m.* twig, lot-twig 1103; *a. sg.* **taan** 1099.

ge-tǣcan, *wv.* 1, show, teach; *pret. sg.* **getǣhte** 6; *pret. subj. sg.* 485.

tǣl, *f.* fault 633.

tǣlige, *see* **telian**.

†tæl-met, *n.* measure 113.

teala, *adv.* as is right; **gif gē teala hycgað** if your purpose is right 1612.

tēar, *m.* tear 59.

telian, *wv.* 1, count, reckon, tell 1103; *pres. sg.* **tælige** 1484; *pp.* **geteled** 665, 1035.

(ge-)tellan, *wv.* 1, count, reckon, tell; *pp.* **getealde** 833.

tempel, *n.* the Temple 667, 707n, 1634.

tēogan, *wv.* 2, fashion; *pret. sg.* **tēode** 797.

ge-tēogan, *wv.* 2, create, fashion; *pret. sg.* **getēode** 14.

tēon, *sv.* 2, haul 1230.

tēon-cwide, *m.* reproach 633; slander 771.

tīd, *f.* time, hour, moment 113, 214, 911 etc; **dæges tīde** the space of one day 1407n.

†tigel-fāg, *adj.* adorned with tiles 842n.

(ge-)tihhian, *wv.* 2, lay claim to 1320.

ge-timbran, *wv.* 1, build, timber 1633; *imp. sg.* **getimbre** 1671.

ge-tingan, *sv.* 3, press upon; *pret. sg.* **getang** 138.

tīr, *m.* glory 485; *g. sg.* **tȳres** 105.

tīr-ēadig, *adj.* illustrious, illustriously blessed, glorious 2, 665, 883, 1681.

tō[1], *adv.* too, very 98, 212, 612, 1301, 1432; **tō forhte** frightened 1609; (*stressed*) to (it) 1348, on 711.

tō[2], *prep. w. d.* to, towards 40, 47, 81 etc; for, as, in 27, 76, 111 etc; on, at 221, 1539; from 449, 909, 1152; according to 653, 796; with, at 27, 40, 90 etc; *with infl. inf.* 23, 73, 206 etc.

tō-bregdan, *sv.* 3, separate; *pret. subj. pl.* **tōbrugdon** draw apart 159; *intr. middle* **tobrugdon** tore themselves, were torn 1527.

tō-dælan, *wv.* 1, dole out 152.

tō-drīfan, *sv.* 1, scatter; *pret. sg.* **todrāf** 1688; *pp. nom. pl. m.* **tōdrifene** 1426.

tō-gadore, *adv.* together 1438.

tō-gēnes, *prep. w. d.* toward, against, to meet 45, 657, 1011.

tō-gīnan, *sv.* 1, come apart; *pret. sg.* **tōgān** 1523.

tō-glīdan, *sv.* 1, glide away; *pret. sg.* **tōglād** 123.

tō-hlīdan, *sv.* 1, split open; *pret. sg.* **tōhlād** 1587.

tō-licgan, *sv.* 5, run in different directions *pret. pl.* **tōlāgon** extended 1234.

tō-lūcan, *sv.* 2, dislocate; *pp.* **tōlocen** 1404.

tō-lȳsan, *wv.* 1, separate 151.
torht, *adj.* radiant, bright 105, 1612.
torhte, *adv.* brilliantly 715.
torht-līce, *adv.* splendidly, in splendour 1681.
torn-genīðla, *m.* grievous enemy 1230n.
torr, *m.* tower 842.
tō-slūpan, *sv.* 2, slip away; *pp.* **tōslopen** torn 1425.
tō-somne, *adv.* together 33, 1093.
(ge-)trahtian, *wv.* 2, consider, prepare 1359.
træf, *n.* shack; *nom. pl.* **trafu** 842n.
tredan, *sv.* 5, tread 775, 802.
trēowe, *adj.* faithful, true 214.
ge-trēowe, *adj.* true 984.
trēow-geþofta, *m.* pledged comrade 1050.
trum, *adj.* firm 1477.
ge-trum, *n.* troop 707.
trymman, *wv.* 1, cheer up 428, 463; confirm 1051, 1681; strengthen 1419.
tū, *see* **twēgen**.
tungol, *n.* star 2.
twēgen, *num.* two 689; *a. f.* **twā** both 715; *a. n.* **tū** 1035, **tū hweorfan** divide forces 1050; *d.* **twām** 249, 589, **twǣm** 779.
twelf, *num.* twelve 2, 883, 1419.
twelfta, *ord. num.* twelfth 665.
twēntig, *num.* twenty 114.
twēogan, *wv.* 2, doubt; *pres. p.* doubting, skeptical 771.
tȳn, *num.* ten 1512.
tȳres, *see* **tīr**.
tyrgan, *wv.* 1, taunt 963.

þā[1], *pron. and def. art.*, *see* **se**.
þā[2], *adv.* then, at this time, by then, now 40, 45, 59 etc; **þā gȳt** still, moreover 1039.
þā[3], *conj.* when 171, 230, 385 etc; **þā þǣr** wherever 1569.
þafigan, *wv.* 2, agree 402.
þan, *see* **ǣr**[2], **for-þan**.
þanc, *m.* thought, thinking 557; thanks 384, 1112, 1150 etc; **on þanc** acceptably 1622.
ge-þanc, *m. or n.* plan 237.
þancian, *wv.* 2, thank 1011.
ge-þancul, *adj.* thoughtful 462.
þanon (þonon), *adv.* thence, from there 1065.
þǣr[1], *adv.* there 21, 41, 48 etc.
þǣr[2], *conj.* where, wherever 15, 105, 168 etc; when 805, 923, 967.

þæs, *see* **se**.
þæt[1], *pron. and def. art.*, see **se**.
þæt[2], *conj.* that 26, 30, 71 etc; so that 37, 707, 737, 916, 958, 1327, 1373; in order that 303, 368, 603, 860, 1183, 1214, 1333, 1357; when 115, 150, 185, 1211; while, in which 108, 1697; until 788, 1523; *exclam.* (to think) that 203.
þætte, *conj.* so that, that (he) 546.
þæt þe *conj.* that 1602.
þe[1], *rel. participle*, who, which, that 101, 164, 263 etc.
þe[1], *conj.* that, so that 1130; than 1040.
þē, *see* **lȳt**[1], **se**.
þēah (þēh)[1], *adv.* though; **þēh** 507 (<h>), 630.
þēah (þēh)[2], *conj. w. subj.* (*rarely ind.*), though, although 271, 476, 515 etc; **þēah þe** 53, 564; **þēh þe** that (*after expression of emotion*) 1609.
þearf, *f.* need 1166, 1605, 1652.
þearl, *adj.* severe 1598.
þearle, *adv.* severely 1115
þearlic, *adv.* grievously 1136.
þēaw, *m.* custom 25, 177; *pl.* code 462.
þeccan, *wv.* 1, cover; *pret. pl.* **þehton**, 1525; *pret. sg.* **þehte** 966.
þeg(e)n, *m.* thane 3, 43, 237 etc.
þegnian, *wv.* 2, serve, minister to 884.
þēgon, *see* **þicgan**.
þēh, *see* **þēah**.
þencan, *wv.* 1, think, mean, intend 212; *pret. pl.* **þōhton** 150; **dyrnan þōhton** had no plans to reveal 693.
þenden, *conj.* while, as long as 1288; **þendon** 1397, 1713; **þynden** 1323.
þēod, *f.* people, nation 25, 107, 185 etc.
þēod-bealo, *n.* arch evil 1136.
þēoden, *m.* chief, king, emperor 3, 94, 288 etc.
þēoden-hold, *adj.* loyal to a chief 384.
þēod-sceaða, *m.* despoiler of the nation 1115n.
þēs, þēos, þis, *dem. pron. and adj.* (*infl. stem* **þis-** *or* **þys-**), this, 77, 88, 100; *nom. sg. n.* **ðys** 492.
þicgan, *sv.* 5, dine on; *pret. pl.* **þēgon** 25, 593, 1112.
þīn, *pron. adj.* your 65, 70, 183 etc.
þincan, *see* **þyncan**.
þing, *n.* appointment 157, 930n.
ge-þinge, *n.* outcome, settlement 756, 1598; conference 794.
þing-gemearc, *n.* appointed time 148.

þingian, *wv.* 2, negotiate, plead, agree terms 263n, 306, 632.

þing-stede, *m.* place of business 1098.

ge-þōht, *m.* aim 744.

þoli(g)an, *wv.* 2, suffer, endure 955, 1217, 1414

ge-þoli(g)an, *wv.* 2, suffer, endure 107, 1136, 1490 etc.

þon, *see* se.

þonne[1], *adv.* then, 152, 347, 399, 655, 1309.

þonne[2], *conj.* when, whenever 4, 9, 252 etc; than 924, 1089, 1178 etc.

þonon, *see* þanon.

þrāg (þrāh), *f.* time, while 107, 790, 1598.

þrāg-mǣlum, *adv.* repeatedly 1230.

ge-þræc, *n.* press, jostling 823.

þrēa, *f.* trouble, oppression 107, 1166.

þrēagan, *wv.* 2, rebuke, subdue; *pret. sg.* þrēade 452, 1687; *pp. nom. pl. m.* geþrēade 391.

þrēa-nēd, *f.* dire affliction 1264.

þrēat, *n.* mass, company, troop, crowd, battalion 376, 870, 1095 etc.

(ge-)þrēatian, *wv.* 2, rebuke, restrain 436, 520, 1115.

þrēo(ra), *see* þrȳ.

þridda, *ord. num.* third 793, 1391.

þrim, *see* þrȳ.

þrinnes(s), *f.* Trinity 1685.

ge-þring, *n.* throng 368.

þringan, *sv.* 3, push forward, throng; *pret. pl.* þrungon 126, 1203.

ge-þringan, *sv.* 3, press forward; *pp.* geþrungen 990.

þrīst(e), *adj.* bold 237, 1139, 1264.

þrīste, *adv.* boldly, quickly 1652.

þrīst-līce, *adv.* bravely 1185.

þrītig, *num.* thirty 157.

þroht-heard, *adj.* long-tried, long-suffering 402, 1139, 1264, 1391.

þrōwi(g)an, *wv.* 2, suffer, endure, languish, 80, 281, 414 etc.

þrȳ, *num.* three 245, 801, 1414; *a. f.* þrēo 185; *g.* þrēora 930; *d.* þrim 148.

þrym(m), *m.* majesty, might, power, glory, 3, 344, 723 etc; *inst. pl.* þrymman in majesty, majestic 1139.

þrym-fæst, *adj.* majestic 323, 479.

þrym-full, *adj.* majestic 363.

þrym-līc, *adj.* magnificent 245.

þrym-līce, *adv.* majestically 547.

þrym-sittende, *adj.* dwelling (sitting) in majesty 417, 528, 884.

þrȳð, *f.* power, might 376, 1148.

†þrȳð-bearn, *n.* mighty youth 494.

†þrȳð-cining, *m.* king of power 436.

þrȳð-full, *adj.* powerful 1329.

†þrȳð-weorc, *n.* monument 773.

þū, *pron.* you 68, 73, 85 etc, **scealtū** (scealt þū) 220; *a. sg.* þē 83, 100, 102 etc; *g. sg.*, *see* þīn; *d. sg.* þē 81, 97, 99 etc; *nom. pl.* gē you 256, 295, 337 etc; *a. pl.* ēow 336, 347, ēowic 259, 882; *g. pl. see* ēower; *d. pl.* ēow 297, 338, 346 etc.

ge-þungen, *pp. and adj.* virtuous 528.

þurfan, *prp. v.* need; *pres. pl.* ðurfan 337.

þurh, *prep. w. a.* through, by, by means of, according to, by virtue of, with 34, 66, 79 etc.

þurh-drīfan, *sv.* 1, slash; *pp.* þurhdrifen 1397.

þus, *adv.* thus 62, 173, 354 etc.

þūsend, *n.* thousand 591.

þūsend-mǣlum, *adv.* in thousands 872.

þȳ, *see* se.

þyder, *adv.* thither, there, to that place 282.

(ge)þȳn, *wv.* 1, crush; *pres. sg.* ðȳð 520; *pp.* geðyd 436.

þyncan, *wv.* 1, seem, appear; *pres. sg.* þinceð 609; **þæs þe mē þynceð** from the way it appears to me, what I see 472; *pret. sg.* þūhte 740, 1135, *pl.* þūhton 440.

þynden, *see* þenden.

þys, þysne etc, *see* þes.

ūhte, *f.* time before dawn 235, 1388.

un-cūð, *adj.* unknown 178.

under, *prep. w. a.* or *d.* under, beneath, in, into, below 2, 46, 93 etc; down to 1595; **under heolstorlocan** locked away in darkness 1005.

un-dyrne, *adj.* not hidden, revealed 1480.

un-ēaðe, *adj.* not easy, difficult 205.

un-forcūð, *adj.* unblemished 475n, 1263.

un-fyrn, *adv.* not late, soon; **unfyrn faca** without any delay 1371n.

un-hēore, *adj.* monstrous 34.

un-hwīlen, *adj.* without limit 1154.

un-hȳðig, *adj.* without booty 1078.

un-lǣd(e), *adj.* unhappy, wretched, misguided 30, 142, 744n.

un-lȳtel, *adj.* not small, of no mean size 876, 1237, 1270, 1493.

un-mǣte, *adj.* without measure, without count 653, 1219, 1682.

unnan, *prp. v. w. g.* offer, grant 146, 298.

ge-unnan, *prep. v. w. g.* grant, allow 179, 1131.

un-riht, *n.* unjust 1559.

un-rīm, *n.* huge number 704.

un-sǣlig, *adj.* ill-fortuned 561.

un-scyldig, *adj.* guiltless 1137.

un-slāw, *adj.* not sluggish 1711.

un-sӯfre, *adj.* unclean 1310.

un-twēonde, *adj.* undoubting 1242.

†un-tyddre, *adj.* unfragile 1252.

un-weaxen, *adj.* ungrown 1627.

ūp (upp), *adv.* up, upwards 443, 979, 1236 etc; **up āstandan** be upstanding 792; **upp ārǣrdest** you raised up, vaunted 1318; **upp āstāh** climbed up, arose 1125.

ūp-engel, *m.* archangel 226.

†ūp-gemynd, *n.* intention directed upwards, mind for above 1064.

ūp-heofon, *m.* heaven above 798.

ūp-līc, *adj.* uppermost 119.

uppe, *adv.* above 749.

ūp-weg, *m.* upward road 830.

ūre, *pron. adj.* our 454.

ūs, ūsic, *see* **ic**.

ūser, *pron. adj.* 340, 397, 860; *g. pl.* **ūssa** 1319.

ūt, *adv.* out 15, 968, 1221 etc.

utan, *interj.* let us (*w. inf.*) 1356.

ūtan, *adv.* from abroad 28; outwards 871.

utu, *see* **utan**.

ūð-weota, *m.* philosopher 1105n.

wāc, *adj.* weak 212.

wadan, *sv.* 6, travel, move 677, 1271.

ge-wadan, *sv.* 6, penetrate, invade; *pret. sg.* **gewōd** 1246.

wāg, *m.* wall, (wall-)panel 714, 732.

walca, *m.* breaker 1524.

waldend, *see* **wealdend**.

wana, *weak* or *indec. adj.* lacking, short of 1040.

wang (wong), *m.* plain, country 22; lie of the land 839.

wang-stede, *m.* place on a plain, open place 988.

wan-hāl, *adj.* unhealthy 580.

wann (wonn), *adj.* without ambient light, pale 837, 1169n.

wan-sǣlig, *adj.* ill-fortuned 963n.

waroð (waruð), *m.* shore 240, 263, 306.

†waroð-faruð, *m.* shore-tide 197.

†waruð-gewinn, *n.* tumult of surf 439.

wað, *f.* wandering 593.

waðuma, *m.* flood, stream 1280.

wæd, *n.* waves, water, deep sea; *nom. pl.* **wadu** 1545, **wædu** 533; *a. pl.* **wadu** 1457; *g. pl.* **wæda** 439.

wǣde, *n.* sheet; *pl.* **wǣdo** 375.

wǣg, *m.* wave 373, 456, 533 etc; *g. sg.* **wēges** 601n; *g. pl.* **wēga** 932.

wǣg-faru, *f.* sea-voyage; *d. sg.* **-fære** 923.

wǣg-flota, *m.* wave-coaster 487.

wǣg-þel, *n.* wave-file 1711.

wæl-gīfre, *adj.* keen for carrion 372; bloodthirsty 1271.

†wæl-grǣdig, *adj.* carnivorous 135.

wæl-grim(m), *adj.* grim as death 1415.

wælm, *see* **wylm**.

wæl-rēow, *adj.* cruel in slaughter 1211.

†wæl-wang, *m.* plain of slaughter 1226.

wæl-wulf, *m.* wolf of slaughter 149n.

wǣpen, *n.* weapon 71, 1069, 1145 etc.

wær, *n.* sea, briny 269n, 487 [OIce *ver*].

wǣr, *f.* covenant 213, 535, 824, 988.

wǣre, wǣron, *see* **bēon**.

wǣr-fæst, *adj.* firm in faith, firm in covenant 416, 1273, 1310.

wǣr-lēas, *adj.* faithless 1069.

wǣr-loga, *m.* faith-breaker, breaker of covenant 71n, 108, 613, 1297.

wæs, *see* **bēon**.

(ge-)wǣtan, *wv.* 1, drench; *pp. nom. pl. n.* **gewǣtte** 375.

wæter, *n.* water 22, 201, 222 etc; *d. sg.* **wætere** 587, **wættre** 953.

wæter-brōga, *m.* terror of the water (terrible water?) 197, 456 (*pl.*).

wæter-eg(e)sa, *m.* terror of the water (terrible water?) 375, 435.

wæter-flōd, *m.* flood of water 503.

wē, *see* **ic**.

wēa, *m.* woe 675.

ge-wealc, *n.* rolling 259.

weald, *adv. conj.* in case; **weald hū** *adv. w. subj.* however 1355n.

ge-weald, *n.* power 518, 1273, 1317, 1619.

wealdan, *wv.* 7, *w. g.* rule, wield (power) 1685; *int.* 1603.

ge-wealdan, *sv.* 7, practise 1365.

wealdend (waldend), *m.* commander, ruler, Lord 193, 213, 225 etc.

weall, *m.* wall 726, 736, 843 etc.

weallan, *sv.* 7, well up 1405, 1503, 1574, 1709; *pret. sg.* **wēoll** 769, 1240, 1275 etc.

weall-geat, *n.* gate in a wall 1203.

weard, *m.* guardian, keeper 52, 56, 82 etc.

weardigan, *wv.* 2, inhabit 176, 599.

wēa-tācen, *n.* token of woe 1119.

weaxan, *sv.* 7 (*orig. sv.* 6), increase, flourish, grow; *pret. sg.* **wēox** 568, 1536, 1677, *pl.* **wēoxon** 1545; blew (grew) up 373.

webbian, *wv.* 2, weave (accusation), accuse 672.

wecc(e)an, *wv.* 1, wake 850.

wedd, *n.* pledge 1631.

weder, *n.* weather, sky 837, 1256.

†weder-burg, *f.* town of fine weather 1697.

weder-candel, *f.* weather-candle 372.

weg, *m.* way, road, path 65, 170, 198 etc; **feorne weg** distant parts 191, 252; **wegas tōlāgon** diverse roads extended 1234.

wēl (well), *adv.* well 212, 885.

wela, *m.* riches, wealth 302, 318, 755, 1159.

wel-wang, *see* **wæl-wang**.

wēman, *wv.* 1, proclaim, echo out 740; plead 1480.

(ge-)wemman, *wv.* 1, blemish 1471.

wēn, *f.* hope, expectation 1074, 1087.

wēnan, *wv.* 1, *w. g.* or *þæt*-clause expect, hope 377, 1072, 1597.

wendan, *wv.* 1, change 587.

wennan, *wv.* 1, guide, direct 1682.

weorc¹, *n.* work 799, 1365.

weorc², *n.* pain, hurt 1277; blow (<c>) 1659.

ge-weorc, *n.* work 1077, 1495.

weorm, *m.* serpent 769.

weorn, *see* **worn**.

weorod, -ud, *see* **werod**.

ge-weorp, *n.* sandhill, dune 306.

weorðan, *sv.* 3, become, happen, be 137, 204, 211, **wyrðan** 182, 215, 437; *pres. 2 sg.* **wyrðest** 483, 3 *sg.* **wyrðeð** 219, 972, **weorðeð** 1383; *pret. 2 sg.* **wurde** 1408, 3 *sg.* **wearð** 90, 92, 350 etc., *pl.* **wurdon** 376, 447, 453 etc; *pres. subj. sg.* **weorðe** 276, **wyrðe** 208; *pret. subj. sg.* **wurde** 156, 1066, 1228, 1423, *pl.* **wurdan** 1619; *imp. sg.* **weorð** 902.

ge-weorðan, *sv.* 3, (1) take place, happen 730, **gewyrðan** 573; *pres. sg.* **geweorðeð** will come to pass 1437; *pret. subj. sg.* **gewurde** 558; (2) become, be 1500; *pret. 2 sg.* **gewurde** 550, 3 *sg.* **gewearð** 167, 804; *pp. a. pl. m.* **gewordne** 457; (3) *impers.* **gewearð** 307.

weorðian (wyrðian), *wv.* 2, worship, honour 55, 538, 551 etc.

ge-weorðian (-wyrðian), *wv.* 2, honour, endow with honours 116, 938.

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wēpan, *sv.* 7, weep 59; *pret. sg.* **wēop** 1400; *w. a.* bemoan 1431.

wer, *m.* man 22, 35, 135 etc.

werian, *wv.* 1, rebuke 743; ward off 1053.

werig, *m.* accursed (person) 1169.

werig(e), *adj.* (*nom. sg. not recorded*), accursed 86, 615.

wērig, *adj.* weary 59, 580, 593, 1278; *poss. d. pl.* 615.

wērig-ferð, *adj.* exhausted 1400.

wērig-mōd, *adj.* weary of heart 1366.

werod (weorod, -ud), *n.* band, host, crowd, company, troop 62, 173, 388 etc; menfolk 1039; **weoroda hēap** band of hosts, host-band 870.

wer-þēod, *f.* nation of men 137, 543, 573; humanity 855.

wes, *see* **bēon**.

wēste, *adj.* waste, deserted 1159.

wēsten(n), *n.* waste, wilderness 699.

wex, *n.* wax 1145.

wīc, *n.* abode 131n; encampment 1310.

wicg, *n.* horse, mount 1095.

wīde, *adv.* widely, far, far and wide 333, 576, 1119 etc; **wīdne** wide-open 283; **wīde ond sīde** far and wide 1637; **tō wīdan aldre** for ever 938, 1721.

wīd-fæðme, *adj.* wide-bosomed, wide-fathomed 240, 533.

wīd-fērende, *adj.* far-travelling; *pl.* travellers from far off 279.

wīd-land, *n.* open country 198.

wīd-lāst, *m.* long trail 677.

†wīd-rynig, *adj.* flowing wide, wide waters in spate 1507.

wīf, *n.* woman 1039, 1597, 1666.

wīg, *m.* or *n.* combat, war 839, 1183, 1226, 1355.

wiga, *m.* fellow 1711.

wīgend, *m.* warrior, fighter, trooper 506, 850, 887 etc; *g. pl.* **wīggendra** 1095.

wihte, *adv.* at all 1522, 1661.

wil(l)-geofa, *m.* ideal endower, endower 62, 1282.

willa, *m.* will, desire 65, 70, 106 etc; *int. pl.* **willum** freely 810.

willan, *anom. v.* will, desire 84, 178, 292; *pres. 2 sg.* **wilt** 288; *pret. sg.* **wolde** 894, 970, 1109 etc; 2 *sg.* **woldes** 308, **woldest** 203, *pl.* **woldon** 129, 402, 803

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will-gedryht, *f.* happy band 914.

wilnian, *wv.* 2, ask for, beg for, implore, desire, 283, 448, 918, 1128.

wil-sīð, *m.* happy journey 1046.

†wil-þegu, *f.* pleasant feast 153.

wīn, *n.* wine 587.

wīn-burg, *f.* wine-town 1637n, 1672.

wind, *m.* wind 269, 373, 452, 456, 503.

windan, *sv.* 3, circle round; *pret. sg.* **wand** 372.

windig, *adj.* windswept 843.

wine, *m.* friend, associate 198, 307, 1431, 1464.

wine-dryhten, *m.* friend and lord 919.

wine-þearfende, *adj.* in need of friends 300.

ge-win(n), *n.* tumult, strife 197, 888, 932.

ge-winna, *m.* adversary, enemy 1197, 1249, 1301.

winnan, *sv.* 3, strive, labour; *pret. 2 sg.* **wunne** suffered 1380.

winnum, *see* **wynn**.

wīn-ræced, *n.* wine-palace 1159.

winter, *m.* winter (year) 506.

winter-ceald, *adj.* winter-cold 1265.

winter-geworp, *n.* wintry drift 1256.

wīr, *m.* wire; **wīra gespann** bracelet, fastening of wires 302.

wīs, *adj.* wise, clever 316, 470, 624 etc; *weak* (*?*) *d. sg.* **wīson** 552; *comp. a. sg. m.* **wīsran** 474.

wīs-dōm, *m.* wisdom 569, 645, 650, 1678.

wīs-fæst, *adj.* wise 1167, with well-founded wisdom 1648.

wīsian, *wv.* 2, guide, show the way 381, 488, 985, 1099.

wis-līc, *adj.* true 509.

wist, *f.* food, banquet, provisions 153, 302, 312 etc.

ge-wit(t), *n.* wits 35, 212, 316 etc; understanding 645; reason 769; conscience 1265.

witan, *prp. v.* know; *pres. 1 sg.* **wāt** 183, 199, 433 etc, 2 *sg.* **wāst** 932, 1186, 1282; *pret sg.* **wiste** 261; *pres. subj. sg.* **wite** 546, 603. Negative forms: *pres. 2 pl.* **nyton** are ignorant of 745; *pret. pl.* **nyston** 1088.

ge-wītan, *sv.* 1, go, move off, move out, pass, walk (*often w. inf. and/or reflex. pron. in d.*); *pret. sg.* **gewāt** 118, 225,

235 etc; sank 1304, slid 1457, *pl.* **gewiton** 829, **geweotan** 801.

wīte, *n.* torment, punishment, penalty 580, 889, 1052 etc.

wīte-bend, *f.* bond of torment, torturing bond 108, 1561.

witian, *wv.* 2, ordain, appoint, assure; *pp.* **witod** 889, **weotod** 951, **weotud** 1074, 1366.

wītig, *adj.* intelligent 743.

wītiga, *m.* wise man 801.

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wiðer-feohtend, *m.* adversary 1183.

wiðer-hycgende, *adj.* (going) against reason 1072, 1172.

†wiðer-hȳdig, *adj.* malign 675.

wiðer-mēde, *adj.* evil minded, with a perverse spirit 1195.

wið-standan, *sv.* 6, *w. d.* withstand; *pret. sg.* **wiðstōd** 167.

wlite, *m.* face 1471.

(ge-)wlitegian, *wv.* 2, illuminate 543, **gewlitegod** made to shine 669.

wlite-lēas, *adj.* unradiant 1169.

wlitig, *adj.* fair, beautiful, dazzling 363, 732, 870 etc.

wlitige, *adv.* beautifully 716.

wlōh, *f.* fringe 1471.

wolcen, *n.* cloud 93, 837, 1046.

wōma, *m.* tumult, melee 1355.

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wōp, *m.* weeping 1155, 1278, 1554, 1666.

word, *n.* word, speech 13, 62 etc; question 630; name 778; **wordum** in words, aloud 55, 1268; **worde becwist** claim 418; **wordum sægde** promised 755.

word-cwide, *m.* word-utterance, eloquence 552, 1447.

word-hlēoðor, *n.* word-sound, echo of words 708; **wordhlēoðres swēg** harmony 93.

word-hord, *n.* word-hoard 316, 601.

†word-latu, *f.* slowness in obeying a word 1522.

word-laðu, *f.* eloquence; *a. sg.* **-læðe** 635.

†word-loca, *m.* wordlocker 470.

worn, *m.* many, a number 812, 904; **weorn** 677; **weorna feala** great number 1490.

woruld, *f.* age, world 304, 356, 509 etc; **woruld worulda** age of ages 1686.

woruld-spēd, *f.* worldly success 318.

wōð, *f.* loud voice, shout 675.

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†wudu-bāt, *m.* wooden boat 905.

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wuldor-gesteald, *n.* glory-dwelling 1686.

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†wuldor-spēdig, *adj.* rich in glory 428.

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wuldor-þrym(m), *m.* power of glory, glorious majesty 325, 702.

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wundor, *n.* wonder, marvel, miracle 564, 569, 584 etc; *inst. pl.* **wundrum** wondrously 1492; **wundrum glēaw** wonder-sharp 1497.

wundor-cræft, *m.* wondrous skill 13, great triumph 645.

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wyrðmynd, *f.* or *n.* honour; *inst. pl.* **wyrðmyndum** with honour 905.

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