THE CRAFT AND CUNNING OF ANGLO-SAXON VERSE
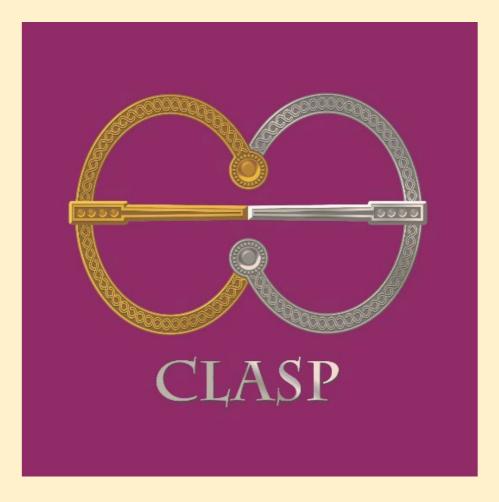## and Other Studies

Andy Orchard

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Back cover image: statue of King Alfred (871–99) at Wantage, © the editor

Preface

The material collected here was mostly compiled without the benefits of the various tools offered by *CLASP* itself, and are offered as a spur to further study now that the funding-period for the project is complete. A further extended study necessarily belongs here, namely my 2019 British Academy Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture ('Alcuin and Cynewulf: the Art and Craft of Anglo-Saxon Verse'), which was read 11 April 2019 and published in the *Journal of the British Academy* for 2020, and which is freely available via both the British Academy and *CLASP* websites. In that paper, which (as does *CLASP* itself) freely uses the term Anglo-Saxon strictly to denote the commonly understood period between the influx of Germanic peoples into what would only much later become England in the fifth century, and the Norman Conquest and its extended aftermath; it is, more importantly a useful shorthand for denoting the literature produced in that period, in either of the two prevailing literary languages of Old English and Anglo-Latin.

It is a convenient and by no means entirely inaccurate caricature that the vernacular was the language of everyday communication and so the language of popular verse, while Latin was the preserve of the literate, mostly acquired through the mediation of the Christian church. Yet it has long been clear that while Old English poetry undoubtedly preserves aspects of common inherited Germanic poetic tradition most clearly seen in (for example) surviving Old Saxon and (especially) Old Norse–Icelandic verse, both in terms of (for example) metre and diction, the overwhelming majority of extant Old English poetry was composed by literate (most likely Latinate) poets, often explicitly employing Latin sources. It was in that context that *CLASP* in general, and the Gollancz Lecture in particular, sought to continue a move that has been steadily growing for many decades towards considering the verse of both literary languages in tandem, for mutual illumination.

The material offered here has been divided into two parts, namely 'Texts and Contexts' and 'Parallels and Echoes'; the former part is in a sense an extended gloss on the latter, which offers lists of both internal and external parallels and echoes to be found in the signed poems of Cynewulf on the one hand and between *Beowulf* and a representative selection of the longer narrative poems in Old English

on the other; for comparison, an analogous set of lists relating to a single ninth-century Anglo-Latin poem, Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* can be found in the Gollancz Lecture (pp. 348–76), again highlighting how apparent similarities between the poetic traditions in Anglo-Latin and Old English play out. Five types of parallel are proposed here, perhaps suggesting direct borrowing on the part of one poet from another (in whichever of the favoured literary languages), and very brief examples are given, preceding the much longer lists for both the four signed poems of Cynewulf and for *Beowulf*, where plenty of further illustrative examples for each type may be found.

Likewise, the first part of the material given here ('Texts and Contexts') gives a series of case-studies where similar examples of the five types may be found. The first three papers focus mainly on the pre-Alfredian period, while the final two broaden the horizon to include the riddle-tradition that encompasses not only Anglo-Latin and Old English, but further material in Classical, Christian, and Late Latin, as well as in Old Norse–Icelandic; these papers suggest further fruitful areas for complementary study along the lines laid down by *CLASP*. The second and third papers ('The Earliest Old English Poetics: an Anglo-Latin Perspective' and 'Early Anglo-Latin Heroic Verse') suggest a number of areas of overlap between Anglo-Latin and Old English verse, in such areas as sound, specifically alliteration, and other poetic techniques.

The opening paper that gives the title to the volume as a whole ('The Craft and Cunning of Anglo-Saxon Verse') represents a slight reworking of what was in fact my Inaugural Lecture, delivered after I was elected to the Rawlinson and Bosworth Chair of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford nearly a decade ago, and some years before *CLASP* was conceived. The paper, like the volume as a whole, only emphasizes the extent which the study and appreciation of the poetry of the period, in whichever of the two literary languages, can best be advanced by considering all of this sometimes brilliant, sometimes baffling, often beautiful, and always beguiling pure poetry together.

Pembroke College
August 2022

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The Craft and Cunning of Anglo-Saxon Verse

In an attempt to explore the Germanic background for vernacular verse, C.L.Wrenn cites a poem from the North African *Latin Anthology* compiled around the time of the defeat of the Vandal empire in 534, and preserved uniquely in the late eighth-century Codex Salmasianus (Paris, BNF 10318), where it has the arresting title *De conuiuiis barbaris* ('on barbarian banquets'). The obviously rather less than impressed Latin poet clearly contrasts Vandal culture with that of Rome:[1]

> Inter 'eils' goticum 'scapia matzia ia drincan'
> Non audet quisquam dignos edicere uersus.
> Calliope madido trepidat se iungere Baccho,
>   Ne pedibus non stet ebria Musa suis.
> ['Among the 'cheers' of the Goths, they make poetry, eat, and drink:
> No one dares to utter any worthy verses.
>   Calliope fears to join herself to well-oiled Bacchus,
>   Lest the drunken Muse does not stay on her feet.']

Wrenn quotes only the opening couplet, which preserves five of the only seven words to have survived of the Vandal language (they are the 'Goths' refered to here: given their fiercesome repuataion as warriors, it is perhaps appriopriate that the only other two words of their language to have survived, *Froja armes*, mean 'Lord, have mercy'!).[2]

> While it has been suggested that the Germanic word *scapia* here means not 'make poetry' (a verb cognate with Old English *scop*, 'poet'), but rather a viocative noun signifying 'waiter' or 'attendant', so representing a boorish demand for more sustenance, but the content of the second line (and indeed the entirety of the second couplet) surely highlights the poetic context, and here I prefer Wrenn's

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[1] C. L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London, 1967), p. 75. For the full text, see *Anthologia Latina, sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum: I: Libri Salmasiani Aliorumque Carmina*, ed. Alexander Riese (Lepizig, 1894), p. 187 (nos 285 and 285a). There is a black-and-white electronic facsimile of the whole manuscript at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90784055; the poem appears on p. 141, immediately before the *Aenigmata* of Symphosius, on which see below.
[2] Magnús Snædal, 'The Vandal Epigram', *Filologia Germanica = Germanic Philology* 1 (2009): 181–214.

reading.[3] The manuscript-layout makes it clear that the poem has four lines, but the fact that the first three are hexameters, while the fourth is a pentameter, caused some rather literal-minded early editors to split the text. To do so is rather to miss the point, which is poetry: the two couplets represent both of the most common and most celebrated of Latin metres, the hexameter (made up, as its name suggests of six metrical feet) and the so-called elegiac couplet, comprising a hexameter followed by a pentameter (made up of five metrical feet); the poet thereby signals which metres he considers most representative of 'worthy verses'.

The first line of the elegiac couplet (and the third line of the poem as a whole) combines two Classical mythological references, to the muse Calliope on the one hand, and the wine-god Bacchus on the other. Moreover, Calliope is no ordinary muse, but specifically the muse of heroic (in other words, hexameter) verse, and evidently what she fears to lose in the face of the onslaught of Bacchus (personifying the drinking that, like poetry, links the two halves of the poem), is her footing (note the punning sequence *Calliope ... trepidat ... pedibus*), reducing the six feet of the hexameter to the five of the final pentameter. The poem therefore clearly links drinking and verse, and demonstrates the dangerous allure of both: in short, this pretty little piece also usefully highlights the sometimes uneasy interaction between Latin and the vernacular, given that part of the point of the paper will be that the entire corpus of Anglo-Saxon verse, whether composed in Latin or Old English, can most profitably be considered as a whole, and that we miss much when we see things from only only one side, or (as in early commentary on this poem on barbarian banquets) consider only half the poetry to hand.[4]

This poem (sometimes called 'The Vandal epigram'), like so many that have survived in Anglo-Saxon England, is preserved by chance in only a single copy, where it was evidently carefully placed to link with the set of poems that follow it in the same manuscript, namely the much more widely attested *Aenigmata* ('riddles') of Symphosius, to which in fact the Codex Salmasianus is the earliest witness. We know little of the life of Symphosius, whose name, in so far as it it is evidently taken from the Greek-derived noun *symposium* ('banquet', 'party', specifically 'drinking-party'), and may have been a *nom-de-plume*, meaning

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[3] Wrenn's translation of the first couplet 'While the Goths are saluting each other with healths, they make poetry, eat and drink: no one dare to recite worthy verses' (p. 75). For the interpretation 'Waiter' for *scapia*, see Mangnús Snædal, especially pp. 204–10.

[4] *A Consolidated Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (*CLASP*), funded by the European Research Council (www.clasp.ox.ac.uk).

'drinking-party animal' or somesuch.[5] Symphosius's *Aenigmata* are informly composed of three hexameters each, but are preceded by a seventeen-line Preface which purports to give the context for the composition of the *Aenigmata*, and, like the verses on the barbarian banquet which immediately precedes it in the Codex Salmasianus, also mentions a drunken muse, and the dangers of being a poet at a well-oiled banquet.[6] The Preface reads in full as follows, with a reference to the customarily boozy banquets of the feast of *Saturnalia*, which took place in mid to late December:[7]

> Annua Saturni dum tempora festa redirent,
> perpetuo semper nobis sollemnia ludo,
> post epulas laetas, post dulcia pocula mensae,
> deliras inter uetulas puerosque loquaces,
> cum streperet late madidae facundia linguae,
> tum uerbosa cohors studio sermonis inepti
> nescio quas passim magno de nomine nugas:
> est meditata diu; sed friuola multa locuta est.
>   Nec mediocre fuit, magni certaminis instar
> ponere diuerse uel soluere quaeque uicissim.
> Ast ego, ne solus foede tacuisse uiderer,
> qui nihil adtuleram mecum quod dicere possem,
> hos uersus feci subito discrimine uocis.
>   Insanos inter sanum non esse necesse est:
> da ueniam, lector, quod non sapit ebria Musa.
> ['While the festival season of Saturn was returning,
> festivities that were always perpetual fun for me,
> after the happy banquets, after the sweet draughts of the table,   5
> among the dribbling crones and the lippy lads,
> when the eloquence of a well-oiled tongue clamored far and wide,
> then the wordy throng in their zeal for senseless speech
> pondered long some sort of random trifles with grand titles:
> but they uttered many a frivolous thing.   10
>   It was no small matter, but like a great contest,
> the setting and solving in various ways in turn.

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[5] See further in general T. J. Leary, *Symphosius, The "Aenigmata:" An Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

[6] A. Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 69 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), pp. 2–5 and *idem*, *A Commentary on The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, Supplements to the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2021), pp. 9–14 (hereafter *OEALRT* and *COEALRT* respectively).

[7] See further Leary, *Symphosius*, pp. 1–6 and 53–64; the *Preface* begins on p. 142 of the Codex Salmasianus.

But I, who had brought nothing with me that I could say,
so that I alone was not seen to be shamefully silent,
composed these verses with extemporized song.   15
    Among the unwise there is no need to be wise:
forgive, reader, the fact that a drunken Muse makes no sense.']

A further line by the sixth-century poet Venantius Fortunatus, seems to be the only one so far identified that also includes the arresting image of the *ebria Musa* ('drunken muse'), in a context that makes it likely that he is borrowing from one or other of these earlier texts.[8] Whether what is often called the Vandal epigram borrows from Symphosius, or vice-versa, some connection between these texts seems clear not only from their contiguity in the Codex Salmasianus which uniquely contains the epigram, but also from the same sequence of echo-words in both (*Inter ... madido ... ebria Musa; inter ... madidae ... ebria Musa*).

Now, Symphosius is a foundational figure in the history of Anglo-Saxon verse, because Aldhelm, who is said to have been a poet in both Latin and Old English, and proclaims himself the first of the Germanic race to compose extensively in Latin verse, explicitly names Symphosius as a model for his own set of 100 *aenigmata*, which he descries as amongst his earliest efforts.[9] Aldhelm tells us that he learnt how to write Latin poetry at the famed Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian (the latter was a North African who presumably introduced Symphosius as a teaching-text into Anglo-Saxon England), likely some time between 670 and 674, and included his *aenigmata* along with a pair of poetic treatises sent as a gift to King Aldfrith of Northumbria (himself a noted poet in Irish) soon after the latter's accession in 685.

Did Aldfrith also know the tale of Symphosius's performance anxiety and subsequent flow of extemporised song at the drinking-party? The idea that Symphosius's story was known in Northumbria is appealing, given its similarity to

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[8]The Fortunatus poem in question (XI.xxiii) also opens with the phrase *Inter delicias*, and mentions the *ebria Musa* in line 8 the phrase also appears in an anonymous inscription (*Carmina epigraphica* 1552b.12), again testifying to its circulation, perhaps (via Symphosius) as a school-text. See further P. Mastandrea and Luigi Tessarolo, *PoetriaNova 2: A CD–ROM of Latin Medieval Poetry (650–1250 A.D.), with a Gateway to Classical and Late Antique Texts* (Florence, 2010), which contains around 900,000 lines of Latin verse. Venantius Fortunatus was certainly a poet whose works were known and echoed in Anglo-Saxon England (though his output is so extensive that it is not clear that this specific poem was one such): see further R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979), 279–95, incorporating M. Lapidge, 'Appendix: Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', at pp. 287–95.
[9] See further Andy Orchard, 'Aldhelm the Poet and Old English Verse', in *Malmesbury and Wiltshire in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Stewart Brookes, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* (2022): 37–45.

Bede's account of the sudden poetic inspiration of Cædmon after his own episode of performance anxiety at a *conuiuium* ('banquet'): the later Alfredian version describes it more specifically as a *gebeorscipe* ('a feast at which alcoholic drink is served'; 'a carousal').[10] Now, despite what is routinely written, while Bede is very careful to associate Cædmon's inspiration with Whitby, the monastery of the famed Abbess Hild (a place where of course Latin was routinely spoken and recited), he is equally careful *not* to link the episode with her in person: he twice declines to name the abbess to whom Cædmon reports, and it may be more reasonable, as has been suggested, to connect Cædmon and his poem to a period soon after the death of Hild in 680, and in the time of her successor, Ælfflæd, who happens to be Aldfrith's half-sister.[11] The circulation of two such similar stories of performance anxiety and sudden poetic production (one in Latin, one in Old English) in Anglo-Saxon England in the last decades of the seventh century forms in any event a useful and suggestive context for further consideration of verse in the two main literary languages.[12]

Cædmon's Hymn itself is testimony to the close inter-relationships between Latin and Old English verse, since the vernacular version that is widely held to be the original, is largely preserved in the broader manuscript context of Bede's Latin *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* ('ecclesiastical history of the English people'), where Bede offers a Latin rendering, with a suitable caveat about the problem of rendering verse from one language to another (*HE* IV.23):

> Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime conposita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri.
> ['This is the sense, but not the actual order of the words, which he sang in his sleep, for songs, however well composed, cannot be translated word for word from one language into another without damage to their beauty and dignity.']

Now, Bede's enthusiasm for the text of *Cædmon's Hymn* has rarely been matched by modern scholars, but if we mark it up to emphasize certain aspects of specific

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[10] See further, for example, 'Poetic Inspiration and Prosaic Translation: the Making of Cædmon's Hymn', in *'Doubt Wisely': a Festschrift for E.G. Stanley*, ed. Jane Toswell and Elizabeth Tyler (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 402–22.

[11] See Dennis Cronan, *Cædmon's Hymn*: Context and Dating', *English Studies* 91 (2010): 817–25.

[12] Andy Orchard, '*The Dream of the Rood*: Cross-References', in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. Samantha Zacher and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 225–53.

appeal to Anglo-Saxon poetic sensibilities, its artistry is, perhaps, more readily apparent:

> Nu scylun hergan   hefaen-ricaes uard,
> metudæs maecti   end his mod-gidanc,
> uerc uuldur-fadur,   sue he uundra gihuaes,
> eci dryctin,   or astelidæ.
> 5   He aerist scop   aelda barnum
> heben til hrofe,   haleg scepen;
> tha middun-geard   mon-cynnæs uard,
> eci dryctin,   æfter tiadæ
> firum foldu,   frea all-mectig.
>
> ['Now we must praise the guardian of the heavenly kingdom,
> the might of the creator and the thoughts of his mind,
> the works of the glory-father, just as he, the eternal Lord,
> established the origin of every wonder.
> He first created for the children of men   5
> heaven as a roof, the holy creator;
> then middle-earth the guardian of mankind,
> the eternal Lord, afterwards established
> the earth for men, the Lord almighty.']

Most obvious here is Cædmon's use of no fewer than seven different terms for God, employed eight times in these nine lines, which might be schematically arranged by line-number (indicated by '<>'), as follows:

> <1>   *hefaen-ricaes uard* ['the guardian of the heavenly kingdom']
> <2>   *metudæs* ['the creator']
> <3>   *uuldur-fadur* ['the glory-father']
> <4>   *eci dryctin* ['the eternal Lord']
> <6>   *haleg scepen* ['the holy creator']
> <7>   *mon-cynnæs uard* ['the guardian of mankind']
> <8>   *eci dryctin* ['the eternal Lord']
> <9>   *frea all-mectig* ['the Lord almighty']

Note that there are four such designations in each half of the poem (lines 1–4 and 5–9), dealing with God's miraculous nature on the one hand and his creation on the other (the medial line 5, begging the second half, ist he only one devoid of a divine designation), and with one formula (*eci dryctin*) and one example of a formulaic system (*hefaen-ricaes uard*; *mon-cynnæs uard*) repeated in each half. Echo-words (given here in blue italics) likewise unite the two parts, with the shared

elements overlapping in the medial lines 4–5 (*hefaen ... uard ... maecti ... eci dryctin; scop ... heben ... scepen ... uard eci dryctin ... all-mectig*), which are also highlighted by continued vocalic alliteration; there is another aural embellishement in line 7, where the half-lines are connected by rhyme (*middun-geard mon-cynnæs uard*).

In terms of diction, *Cædmon's Hymn* is also of interest, containing seven forms that are only or mostly found in poetry (*metudæs; uuldur-fadur; or; aelda; firum; foldu; frea*), two of which (*aelda* and *foldu*) have congnates in other Germanic languages that are likewise only found in poetry,[13] and so may represent an inherited poetic Germanic word-hoard, while there is also a purely poetic compound (*uuldur-fadur*) that may speak to a spirit of innovation; many such purely poetic compounds appear only once.[14]

The identification of poetic words in Old English has a long history, to which a string of scholars, not least Holthausen, Grein, Köhler, Sweet, Klaeber, Clark Hall, Cronan, and most of all Mark Griffith (of this parish) have contributed: pending the conclusion of the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* and here I rely on the independently produced work of Cronan and Griffith, both of whom focus on simplexes. Cronan eschews adjectives, while Griffith, discounting words rarely attested, also counts verbs, including those with prefixes, while both are wary of compounds, albeit for slightly different reasons. Even so, the most permissive list of the two, offering 350 items, is dwarfed by the current findings of the Toronto *Dictionary*, which identifies more than 2,500 words found only or mostly in poetry, in words beginning with the letters A–I alone, of which around 1,500 are listed as occurring only once, and more than a quarter of those are from *Beowulf*, which, to put it in context, represents less than 10% of extant Old English verse, and just 1% of the total corpus.

These figures tally nicely with findings of Father John Madden of the Toronto Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, who in his 1953 Harvard dissertation 'Studies in Word-Frequencies in Anglo-Saxon Poetry' calculated that in the 30,271 lines of Old English poetry in his survey, comprising 168,496 forms 'which are reduced by grammatical and semantic analysis to 8,157 different words,

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[13] Dennis Cronan, 'Old English Poetic Simplexes' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1986); *idem*, 'Poetic Words, Conservatism, and the Dating of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004): 23–50.

[14] See further Andy Orchard, *Word-hord: a Lexicon of Old English Verse, with a Particular Focus on Nominal and Adjectival Compounds* (CLASP: Oxford, 2022), available through the *CLASP*-website.

not including Latin words and textual cruxes'.[15] Madden divided the 8,157 lexical units in three 'lists'comprsising 'parent-words:'words that are not compounds or could not be further reduced or included under another 'parent-word''; next, 'all words compounded with the more common prefixes and suffixes'; and finally, 'compound-words strictly so called, i.e. words made up of an adjective–noun or noun–noun combination'. Of the 8,157 different words in Madden's study, 4,884 (60%) are compounds; of these 1,398 (17%) are compounds with common prefixes and suffixes; 3,486 (43%) are noun–noun or adjective–noun compounds; only 3,275 (40%) are 'parent words', described by Madden as 'the core of the Anglo-Saxon poetic vocabulary'. As Madden puts it: These figures testify to the highly synthetic nature of the diction of Anglo-Saxon poetry, with well over half of the words being compounds'.[16] And nearly 60% of the noun–noun or noun–adjective combinations are found only only once, or only in a single author or text, representing around a quarter of the total vocabulary. By way of comparison, there are about 9,954 words in the 28,000 lines of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined, and according to the online Perseus vocabulary tools, of those 1541 occur only once, mostly compounds (about 15%).

The idea that if only we had much more Old English poetry those forms, especially compounds, that now seem unique would not in fact be so might appear on the face of it an attractive one (since undoubtedly it must in some sense be true), and is certainly the notion regularly trotted out by who want to appeal to a wider so-called oral-formulaic tradition. Certainly, it is the idea propounded first by the father of oral-formulaic theory, Milman Parry, and then interestingly refined by his disciple Albert Lord, who interestingly did not share such faith, and instead suggested that while strict forms, especially compounds, might well be unique, they would all be part of wider formulaic systems.[17] But such an analysis is essentially meaningless: we all talk and write by fitting words or forms to pre-existing patterns of syntax and rhythm. Instead of appealing to a nebulous and rather romantic notion of what we do not know, and maybe never will, we might do better to work with what we actually have.

Let us imagine that we had only only six of the seven major manuscripts containing Old English poetry, and assess the impact of the sudden discovery of

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[15] John F. Madden, C.S.B., 'A Frequency Word-Count of Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 221–25.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[17] See in general Andy Orchard, 'Oral Tradition', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 101–23; *idem*, 'Looking for an Echo: the Oral Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Literature', *Oral Tradition* 18 (2003), 225–27.

the seventh. As it happens, three of those manuscripts (Corpus 201, and those containing the *Paris Psalter* and the *Metres of Boethius*) each witness only a comparatively small number of compounds, most of which are widely attested anyway: together, they contribute barely anything to number of hapax forms, so that the sudden discovery of any number of similar manuscripts would do little to whittle away our current tally of uniquely attested compounds. But imagine instead if we did not have, say, the Vercelli Book: the number of unique compounds we would then find in (say) *Beowulf* would rise by less than 50 (i.e. forms that are currently unique to *Beowulf* and one or other of the six poems in the Vercelli Book), while there are around 250 compounds unique to the Vercelli Book poems, so its sudden discovery, so far from reducing the total tally, would in fact lead to a significant *increase* in our knowledge of uniquely attested forms.

The study of compounds, particularly these rare or unique compounds (so-called *hapax legomena*, literally 'words said once', though most would consider a more suitable restriction words confined to a single text or author) have attracted far less academic scrutiny, with the honourable exception of Arthur Brodeur (for *Beowulf*) and the independent doctoral studies of Waldorf on the one hand (trawling through Bosworth-Toller) and Talentino on the other (focusing on poetic compounds in the longer poems).[18] All these studies highlight the specialized and unusual nature of the poetic word-hoard, a factor thrown into still further relief by the extraordinarily valuable studies by (for example) Eric Stanley on prose words that creep into verse and Mark Griffith (again) on poetic words that appear in (for example) glosses as well as their distribution in texts whose poetic qualities are routinely ignored or overlooked, such as the *Paris Psalter* or the *Meters of Boethius*.[19] Certainly, by marking up poetic words, unique compounds, rhyme, and continued alliteration, one can arrive at a kind of synaesthetic appreciation of Old English poetry that allows one literally to see the difference between various poets and their work. Having spent a fair amount of time working through all of the longer poems in the corpus (which is to say those over 300 lines, which together

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[18] A.G. Brodeur, *The Art of 'Beowulf'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); A.V. Talentino, 'A Study of Compound *Hapax Legomena* in Old English Poetry', (unpublished PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1971); N.O. Waldorf, 'The *Hapax Legomena* in the Old English Vocabulary: A Study Based upon the Bosworth–Toller Dictionary' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1953).

[19] Eric Stanley, 'Studies in the Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 72 (1971), 385–418; Mark Griffith, 'Poetic Language and the Paris Psalter: the Decay of the Old English Tradition', *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991): 167–86; *idem*, 'Old English Poetic Diction Not in Old English Verse or Prose – and the Curious Case of Aldhelm′s Five Athletes', *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014): 99–131.

make up around three-quarters of the total), the contours of individual artistry are thrown into stark relief, and 'purple' passages of poetic diction, often combined with runs of unique compounds become rather obvious. In more busy iterations, I have also overlaid a different kind of mark-up to indicate words and forms that are in a putative or demonstrable Latin source, or again to indicate phrases uniquely shared across the corpus, and chains of words that link specific passages; in such ways are revealed the craft and cunning of Anglo-Saxon poets who for the most part and with varying degrees of success seem to have striven for a careful combination of the inherited and the innovative, as they did in both Latin and the vernacular.[20]

To illustrate, one might look at two sets of words for the common concepts of 'sword' and 'ship', both of which are naturally staples of Old English verse. The *Thesaurus of Old English* suggests twenty-four Old English terms for 'sword', and that basic list can be augmented by further ten as follows, with references for the rarer terms given in square brackets):

> *beadu-lēoma* ('battle-beam', 'battle-flame') [*Beo* 1523a];
> *beadu-mēce* ('battle-blade') [*Beo* 1454a];
> *bēag* ('ring') [usually 'ring', but evidently 'sword' in *Beo* 2141b];
> *bill* ('blade')
> *brand* ('fire', 'flame', 'brand')
> *brogden-mǣl* ('wave-patterned sword') [*Beo* 1616a and 1667a; *El* 758a];
> *byrn-sweord* ('flaming sword') [*Blickling Homily X*.56];
> *ecg* ('cutting edge');
> *fēla lāf* ('remnant of files', 'files' leavings') [*Beo* 1032a];
> *fȳres and fēole lāf* ('remnant of fire and file') [*Ridd69* 3b–4a][21];
> *gūþ-bill* ('war-blade') [*Beo* 803a and 2584a; *WaldB* 13a];

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[20] R. Dérolez, 'Anglo-Saxon Literature: "Attic" or "Asiatic"? Old English Poetry and its Latin Background', *English Studies Today*, 2nd ser. (1961), 93–105; M. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', *Comparative Literature* 31 (1979), 209–31; *idem*, 'The Anglo-Latin Background', in *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*, ed. S. B. Greenfield and D. G. Calder (New York, 1986), pp. 5–37; A. Orchard, 'Latin and the Vernacular Languages: the Creation of a Bilingual Textual Culture', in *After Rome*, ed. T. Charles Edwards, The Short Oxford History of the British Isles, vol. 1 (Oxford: OUP, 2003), pp. 191–219; *idem*, 'Enigma Variations: the Anglo-Saxon Riddle-Tradition', *in Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, 284–304; *idem*, 'Old English and Latin Poetic Traditions', in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. C. Saunders (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), pp. 65–82; *idem*, 'Old English and Anglo-Latin: the Odd Couple', in *The Blackwell Companion to British Literature, volume 1: the Medieval Period*, ed. R. DeMaria, Jr, H. Chang, and S. Zacher (Oxford: Blackwell, 2014), pp. 273–92; Emily Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 27–34.

[21] Numbering as in *OEALRT*. The solution suggested there is *SECG* ('man', 'sword', 'sedge').

gūþ-sweord ('battle-sword') [*Beo* 2154a];

gūþ-wine ('battle-friend') [*Beo* 1810a and 2735a];

hæft-mēce ('haft-blade') [*Beo* 1457a];

hamera lāf ('remnant of hammers', 'hammers' leavings') [*Brun* 6b];

heoru-wǣpen ('battle-weapon') [*Jud* 263a];

hilde-bill ('battle-blade') [*Beo* 557a, 1520a, 1666b, 2679a];

hilde-lēoma ('battle-beam', 'battle-flame') [*Beo* 1143a and 2583a];

hilde-mēce ('battle-blade') [*Beo* 2202b];

hilting ('hilt', so 'sword' by metonomy) [twice in glosses, glossing *macheram, gladium*];

hilt-sweord ('hilt-sword') [*Boethius* B.37.5];

hring-mǣl ('ring-patterned object') [*Beo* 1521b, 1564b (as adj. *Beo* 2037a: cf. *hring-mǣled GenA* 1992b)];

īsern, iren ('iron', and so 'sword');

māl-swyrd ('patterned sword') [twice in Ch 1503];

māþþum-sweord ('precious sword') [*Beo* 1023a];

mēce ('blade');

scēaden-mǣl ('patterned blade') [*Beo* 1939a];

secg (' ') [*Beo* 684a; *GenA* 2001a];

sige-mēce ('victory-blade') [*ChristC* 1530a];

sige-wǣpen ('victory-weapon') [*Beo* 804a];

sweord ('sword');

wǣg-sweord ('wave-patterned sword') [*Beo* 1489a];

wǣpen ('weapon');

wīg-bill ('war-blade') [*Beo* 1607a].

Of these thirty-three terms for sword, only three are found widely in both prose and verse, and these are the most commonplace terms (*brand*; *sweord*; *wǣpen*). There are four more (*bill*; *ecg*; *īsern, iren*; *mēce*) that in the sense 'sword' are only found in verse, more or less widely distributed, and two much rarer poetic forms one of which is unique to *Beowulf*, the other unique to *Beowulf* and just one other poem (*secg* [*Beo* 684a; *GenA* 2001a]; *bēag* [in general, carrying the sense 'ring', but apparently referring to a sword in *Beo* 2141b]).[22] But each of the remaining twenty-five terms is found either uniquely or is witnessed only in a single text; all but one of those is a compound. The exception is a diminutive, and looks like a coinage to cope with an unfamiliar term (*hilting* [glossing *macheram .i. gladium*; note that the first Latin word here from Aldhelm, itself needs a gloss); of the rest, three, all *sweord*-compounds, appear in prose (*byrn-sweord* [*Blickling X*.56]; *hilt-*

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[22] R. E. Bjork, R. D. Fulk, and J. D. Niles, ed., *Klaeber's Beowulf: 4th edition*, Toronto Old English Studies, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

sweord [*Bo* B.37.5]; *māl-swyrd* [*Ch* 1503]), and the first of these at least is found in a Doomsday context that is clearly elevated, even poetic *(& þonne he his byrnsweord getyhþ & þas world ealle þurhslyhþ, & þa lichoman þurhsceoteð, & þysne middangeard tocleofeð)*. We are left with twenty-one forms, nineteen of which are found in *Beowulf*, and seventeen of them only there, ten just once. The massive over-representation of *Beowulf* here again only emphasizes that poet's particular and highly focused interest on swords, and sword-types, a feature noted by both Caroline Brady and Hilda Ellis Davidson.[23] The sword-words also offer compelling evidence that the *Beowulf*-poet was capable of specific coinage: both of the sword-compounds that appear twice in the poem (*gūþ-wine* [literally, 'war-friend' and *hilde-lēoma* [literally, 'battle-flame']) appear first with the sense 'sword', a meaning that in each case is first effectively glossed (for *gūþ-wine*: Hrunting, *sweord*, *iren*, and *mece*, for the avoidance of doubt; for *hilde-lēoma*, *bill*, *ecg*, and *sweord*), and then when the form appears later in the poem (much later, in both cases) it carries primarily its literal sense (so 'warrior' and 'blaze'), but also still shades of 'sword'.[24] It is hard to deny the artistry of the *Beowulf*-poet, and his apparent pursuit of new forms, which, incidentally, as elsewhere in Old English verse commonly appear in clusters.[25] But not so in all things: if we perform the same kind of survey on Old English terms for 'ship', we see a different pattern emerge.

There are, according to an augmented list based on the *Thesaurus of Old English*,[26] more than 50 that signify 'ship' or 'boat' in general (for space, I have ignored a few of the more specific words, though they do not affect the general conclusions). The 48 terms that form the focus here are as follows:

> *āc* ('oak'; 'oak-beam' [also the name of the **A**-rune]);
> *æsc* ('ash'; 'ash-beam' [also the name of the **Æ**-rune]);
> *bāt* ('boat');
> *beam* ('tree'; 'beam');
> *bord* ('board'; 'shield'; 'planking');
> *brenting* ('prow'?) [*Beo* 2807b];
> *brim-hengest* ('sea-stallion') [*MRune* 47a and 66a; *And* 513b];

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[23] Caroline Brady, "Weapons' in *Beowulf*: An Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an Evaluation of the Poet's Use of Them', *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 79-141; see too, *eadem*, '"Warriors" in *Beowulf*: An Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an Evaluation of the Poe''s Use of Them', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983): 199-246; Hilda, R. E. Davidson and R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England : Its Archaeology and Literature* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998).

[24] Notes in K4

[25] Originality in *Andreas*; *Exodus*; *Beowulf*

[26] There is an exemplary website at https://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/.

brim-þyssa ('ocean-speeder') [*And* 1657b and 1699b; *El* 238a];

brim-wudu ('sea-wood') [*El* 244b; *GuthB* 1331b];

cēol ('keel'; 'vessel');

cnear ('type of seafaring vessel') ['*Brun* 37a'; also once as a gloss, glossing *nauibus actuariis*];

fær ('vessel') [*GenA* 1307a, 1323b, 1394b, 1419a, and 1544a; *Beo* 33b];

faroþ-hengest ('sea-stallion') [*El* 226b];

flōd-wudu ('flood-wood') [*ChristB* 853a];

flota ('floater'; 'sea-going vessel');

hærn-flota ('wave-floater') [*GuthB* 1333b];

lagu-mearg ('sea-horse') [*GuthB* 1332b];

lid ('sailing vessel') [*GenA* 1332a, 1410b, and 1479a; *And* 398a, 403b, and 1707b; B*run* 27a and 34a];

mægþ-egsan wyn ('relief of woman-terror') [*MaxI* 106b];

mere-bāt ('sea-boat') [*And* 246b];

mere-hengest ('sea-stallion') [*Ridd 14* 6b; *Met 26* 25a];

mere-līþend ('sea-traveller') [*SolSat II* 34b];

mere-þyssa ('sea-speeder') [*And* 257b and 446b];

naca ('vessel') [*Beo* 214a, 295b, 1896b, and 1903b*; *And* 266b and 291b; *Ridd58* 5a; *Husb* 40b; *MRune* 64b; *Sea* 7b];

nōw ('vessel');

sǣ-bāt ('sea-boat') [*Beo* 633a and 815b; *And* 438b and 480b];

sǣ-flota ('sea-floater') [*And* 381a];

sǣ-genga ('sea-traveller') [*Beo* 1882b and 1908b];

sǣ-hengest ('sea-stallion') [*And* 488a [also once, glossing *Ipotamus*]];

sǣ-līþend ('sea-traveller') [*Beo* 377b, 411a, 1818a, and 2806a; *Whale* 48b];

sǣ-mearh ('sea-horse') [*And* 267a; *El* 228a and 245b; *Whale* 15a];

sǣ-naca ('sea-vessel') [*Husb* 27a];

sǣ-wudu ('sea-wood') [*Beo* 226a];

scegþ ('vessel');

scip ('ship');

sund-hengest ('sea-stallion') [*ChristB* 852b and 862b];

sund-wudu ('sea-wood') [*ChristB* 677b; *Beo* 208a and 1906b];

wǣg-bord ('wave-board') [*GenA* 1348a];

wǣg-flota ('wave-floater') [*And* 487a and *El* 246a; *Beo* 1907a];

wǣg-hengest ('wave-stallion') [*El* 236b; *GuthB* 1329a];

wǣg-þel ('wave-planking') [*GenA* 1358a, 1446a, 1496a; *And* 1711a];

wæter-þyssa ('water-speeder') [*GuthB* 1329b; *Whale* 50a];

wudu-bāt ('wood-boat') [*And* 905b];

ȳþ-hengest ('wave-stallion') [*ASC CDE 1013*];

ȳþ-hof ('wave-dwelling') [*El* 252a];

ȳþ-lid ('wave-traveller') [*And* 278a and 445a];

ȳþ-lida ('wave-traveller') [*Beo* 198b];
ȳþ-mearh ('wave-horse') [*ChristB* 863a; *Whale* 49a].

Of these, the banal *bat* and *scip* are commonplace (and of course have come down into contemporary usage), while twelve others have rather specialized distribution, including attestation either mainly or only in verse or glosses, generally glossing rather specialized nautical terms (*āc*; *æsc*; *bāt*; *beam*; *bord*; *cēol*; *cnearr*, *flota*; *naca*; *nōw*; *scegþ*; *scip*). Of the thirty-six remaining rare or unique forms, nine are found in *Beowulf*, four of them uniquely, including the diminutive simplex *brenting*, so leaving a residue that is far from randomly distributed, and again therefore points to a particular poetic sensibility. While the notiuon of a ship as a 'sea-stallion' or 'sea-steed' of some sort is perhaps ingrained in our outlook, given the ubiquity in of such formulations in Old Norse–Icelandic verse (Meissner lists almost 260 different examples),[27] it is alarming to realize that such forms are relatively rare in Old English (there are only ten forms, appearing a total of 22 times) and are never found in *Beowulf*, at all, but are rather widespread in the writings of the obviously literate and Latinate Old English poet Cynewulf, as well as in the works of other poets who can plausibly be said to have had a Cynewulfian connection (such as *Andreas*, *Guthlac B*, and *The Whale*).[28]

One passage of Cynewulf's *Elene* in particular jumps out from this simple list,[29] and is, very obviously a purple passage, being replete with uniquely-attested compounds, and is a highly self-conscious display of poetic versatility: in *Elene* as a whole, poetic words or unique compounds (or both) are found in between one in two and one in three lines (33–50%): here the figure is 29 out of 36 (80%), an extraordinary proportion by any measure, and the more remarkable since in fact this passage has no warrant whatsoever in the Latin prose source; it is simply a *tour de force* of a kind that we can identify readily throughout the corpus. The passage

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[27] Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden: Ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn: Schroeder, 1921); see now https://skaldic.org/.

[28] Andy Orchard, 'Both Style and Substance: the Case for Cynewulf', in Anglo-Saxon Styles, ed. C. Karkov and G. H. Brown (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 2003), pp. 271–305; *idem*, 'Computing Cynewulf: the Judith-Connection', in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, and Readers*, ed. Jill Mann and Maura Nolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 75–106.

[29] One might note that a similar cluster of rare and unique ship-related terms is found at *Guthlac B*, 1329–33, in a passage which describes a punt-trip across the fens to announce the death of the saint with all the pomp of a full-blown sea-voyage. In this and other respects, *Guthlac B* rihly deserves its designation as 'Cynewulfian', if not an actual composition by Cynewulf himself (the end is missing, where one presumes any putative runic signature might stand.

in question, describing Elene's initial voyage in search of the True Cross, which reads as follows (*Elene* 226–60):

225	Ongan þa ofstlice eorla mengu	
	to flote fysan. Fearoð-hengestas	
	ymb geofenes stæð gearwe stodon,	
	sælde sæ-mearas, sunde getenge.	
	Ða wæs or-cnæwe idese sið-fæt,	
230	siððan wæges helm werode gesohte.	
	Þær wlanc manig æt Wendel-sæ	
	on stæðe stodon. Stundum wræcon	
	ofer mearc-paðu, mægen æfter oðrum,	
	ond þa gehlodon hilde-sercum,	
235	bordum ond ordum, byrn-wigendum,	
	werum ond wifum, wæg-hengestas.	
	Leton þa ofer fifel-wæg famige scriðan	
	bronte brim-þisan. Bord oft onfeng	
	ofer earh-geblond yða swengas;	
240	sæ swinsade. Ne hyrde ic sið ne ær	
	on eg-streame idese lædan,	
	on mere-stræte, mægen fægerre*.	MS *fægrre*
	Þær meahte gesion, se ðone sið beheold,	
	brecan ofer bæð-weg, brim-wudu snyrgan	
245	under swellingum*, sæ-mearh plegean,	MS *spellingum*
	wadan wæg-flotan. Wigan wæron bliðe,	
	collen-ferhðe, cwen siðes gefeah,	
	syþþan to hyðe hringed-stefnan	
	ofer lago-fæsten geliden hæfdon	
250	on Creca land. Ceolas leton	
	æt sæ-fearoðe, sande bewrecene,	
	ald yð-hofu*, oncrum fæste	MS *yð liofu*
	on brime bidan beorna geþinges,	
	hwonne* heo sio guð-cwen gumena þreate	MS *hwone*
255	ofer east-wegas eft gesohte.	
	Ðær wæs on eorle eð-gesyne	
	brogden byrne ond bill gecost,	
	geatolic guð-scrud, grim-helm manig,	
	ænlic eofor-cumbul. Wæron æsc-wigan,	
260	secggas ymb sige-cwen, siðes gefysde.	

['Then a multitude of men, began swiftly   225
to hasten down to the sea. Deep-sea-steeds,
stood ready, along the ocean-side,

sea-chargers moored beside the sound.
The lady's expedition had then become widely known,
when she came with her company to the covering of the waves: 230
there many a proud man stood on the shore
right by the Mediterranean Sea. At times there advanced
over the march-paths one troop after another,
and then loaded the wave-steeds
with battle-coats,with shields and spears,   235
with byrnie-bearing warriors, with men and with women.
Then they let the tall surge-riders slip spuming
over the mighty waves. Often the ship's side received
the breakers' buffets over the mingling of the waves;
the sea resounded. I never heard, neither before nor since   240
of a lady leading a finer looking force
on the ocean-tide, on the streets of the sea.
There he who watched that journey could have seen,
breaking over the waterway, the the water-wood scudding
under swelling sails, the sea-steed racing,   245
the wave-skimmer wading. The warriors were happy,
bold-spirited, and the woman was pleased with the trip
when the ring-prowed ships had crossed
over the water's fortress to a haven
in the land of the Greeks. They left the ships   250
at the sea-shore, wrapped with sand,
the ancient wave-vessels secure at their anchors,
to await on the surf the warrior's fate,
until the warlike woman with her company of men
should come back to them over the roads from the east.   255
There a linked corslet was widely seen
on a man, together with a splendid sword,
magnificent battle-dress, many a masked helmet
and the matchless boar-banner. The spear-soldiers,
men around the victory-queen, enthused for the trip.   260

The level of skill and sophistication demonstrated by Cynewulf here is astonishing indeed, and it is again worth emphasizing that the poet has no Latin whatsoever up which t base his poetic *jeu d'esprit*.

So: how did an Anglo-Saxon learn to produce verse? For Latin, we have a number of poetic treatises, the first of which was composed by Aldhelm, and (as already mentioned) sent to King Aldfrith of Northumbria shortly after his accession

in 685, comprising several distinct parts.[30] The part least studied nowadays, the so called *De pedum regulis* ('on the rules of feet'), was in fact the most innovative and most practically useful comprising simple lists of words with aparticular metrical shape, presumably to be used as building-blocks for individual lines; it is indeed the earliest such text (ususally called a *Gradus*) that survives.[31] Part of the list for the dactyl might: be cited here, since it focuses on a particular kind of poetic compound:[32]

> Solet etiam dactilus a nominibus figurae compositae provenire, quando a verborum significationibus gero et fero componuntur ut *setiger*, *squamiger*, *aliger*, *ferriger*, *furcifer*, fatifer, *corniger*, criniger, *armiger*, turriger, *naviger*, *flammiger*, veliger, *floriger*, fumifer, somnifer, *pinifer*, pomifer, *astrifer*, ostrifer, umbrifer, conifer, *glandifer*, buxifer, *spumifer*, *letifer*, laniger ut: *Lanigerae pecudes et equorum duellica proles.*
> ['For a *dactyl* ($\overline{}\breve{}\breve{}$) usually comes from noun-based compounds, when they are formed from the verbal elements *gero* ['I wear'] and *fero* ['I bear'], like 'bristle-bearing', 'scale-bearing', feather-bearing', 'iron-bearing', 'evil-bearing', 'death-bringing', horn-bearing', 'hair-wearing', 'weapon-bearing', tower-bearing', 'ship-bearing', 'flame-bearing', 'sail-bearing', 'flower-bearing', 'smoke-bringing', 'sleep-bringing', 'pine-bearing', 'apple-bearing', 'star-bearing', 'oyster-bearing', 'shadow-bearing', 'cone-bearing', 'acorn-bearing', 'bush-bearing', 'boxtree-bearing', 'foam-bearing', 'death-bearing', 'wool-bearing', as in *the wool-bearing flocks and the battling progeny of horses.* (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.662)']

Setigerae matris fecunda natus in aluo	Symphosius, *Aen.* 36.1
Lurida *setigeris* redundant uiscera filis	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 12.2
Vellera setigero producens corpore fulua	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 17.2
Non sum *setigero* lanarum *uellere* facta	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 33.2
Setigeras pecudum stimulans per uulnera pulpas	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 36.5
Setiger in siluis armatos dentibus *apros*	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 39.1
Setigero rursus constans audacior *apro*	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 100.10

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[30] See further Calvin B. Kendall, *Libri II De Arte Metrica et de Schematibus et Tropis: The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric* (Saarbrücken, 1991); see too Seppo Heikkinen, *The Christianisation of Latin Metre: A Study of Bede's 'De arte metrica'*, PhD dissertation (University of Helsinki, 2012).

[31] In the modern era, amny would-be Latin poets have made use of similar tools, perhaps none more widely employed than A. C. Ainger, and Henry Gilbert Wintle, *An English–Latin Gradus or Verse Dictionary*, 16th Impression (London: John Murray, 1954).

[32] Rudolf Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), p. 165/4–10.

Setiger aptauit leo rictibus ora nefandis	Eusebius, *Aen.* 52.2
Nauigeros calles ut pandam classibus index	Aldhelm, *Aen.* 92.4
Nec mare *nauigerum* spumoso gurgite uallaT	Aldhelm, *CdVP.* 31
Nauigero patrium nos *calle* reducet ad aruum	Bede, *VSC.* 1.245

This at first glance rather random torrent of some twenty-seven somewhat obscure-seeming words here seems deliberately arranged for mnemonic effect: note how the first three gesture towards the familiar trilogy of earth, sea, and sky, while elsewhere alliteration and rhyme combine to aid association. The relative scarcity of these compounds in Latin poetry as a whole is intriguing, and either suggests that Aldhelm knew some rather more obscure pieces of Latin poetry than we otherwise suppose, or, more intriguingly, given the evidence of such a practice ffrom Old English verse, that he is simply coining compounds to attract attention.

The fact that these compounds are found disproportionately frequently in Anglo-Latin verse and in clear chains strongly supports the notion that Anglo-Latin poets both learnt and used this lists: Aldhelm himself employs no fewer than sixteen of them in his own verse. Given the link already established between Aldhelm and Symphosius, it is particularly striking that the first compound here, *setiger*, should appear to be shared by both authors, with Aldhelm employing it in six of his *aenigmata*, and indeed coining certain combinations that he reuses; the Anglo-Saxon Eusebius continues the tradition. Each of these forms, then, has its own story, but here one might focus on just one: in employing the term *nauiger*, Aldhelm coins the phrase *nauigeros calles* ('ship-bearing paths', 'paths for sailing'), a rather arresting combination that Bede seems to echo, just as he often draws uniquely on parallel phrasing from Aldhelm in his verse.[33]

If we look further at the *aenigma* from which this phrase comes, we see further clues to how Anglo-Saxons chose to compose Latin verse (Aldhelm, *Aenigma* 92 [*FARUS EDITISSIMA* ('a very tall lighthouse')]):[34]

Rupibus in celsis, ‖ qua tundunt ǀ caerula cautes	DSSS
et salis undantes ‖ turgescunt ǀ aequore fluctus,	DSSS
machina me summis ‖ construxit ǀ molibus amplam,	DSSS
navigeros calles ‖ ut pandam ǀ classibus index.	DSSS
Non maris aequoreos ‖ *lustrabam* ǀ remige campos	DDSS
nec ratibus pontum ‖ sulcabam ǀ tramite flexo	DSSS
et tamen immensis ‖ errantes ǀ fluctibus actos	DSSS

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[33] See now M. Lapidge, ed., *Bede's Latin Poetry* (Oxford: 2019).
[34] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*

arcibus ex celsis || signans | ad litora **duco**   DSSS
flammiger imponens || **torres** | in turribus altis,   DSSS
ignea brumales || dum **condunt** | sidera nimbi.   DSSS
On high cliffs, where the **billows** pound the rocks,
and **salty waves** surging grow **swollen in the flood**,
construction has made me mighty with the **highest structure**,
so that as a guide I can point out **paths for sailing** to **ships**.
    I never used to travel the **watery plains of the sea** by **rowing**
nor did I ever plough **the deep** in **boats on a bending course**,
but instead I lead to shore those wandering and buffeted
by vast waves, by sending out a signal **from high peaks**,
flame-bearing, setting **torches on lofty towers**,
when wintry clouds conceal the **fiery** stars.

It has often been pointed out that there is little or no riddling element to Aldhelm's *aenigmata*, while others have queried their usefulness as teaching-tools. Both views again perhaps miss the poetic point: I doubt very much whether Aldhelm either composed his *aenigmata* for a purely didactic purpose or was primarily focused on their subject-matter alone: his clear intention seems rather to combine the two, and and to explore not simply the natural and created worlds, but also the world of Latin verse.[35]

Why else compose a poem where nine out ten lines share an identical scansion, where seven out of eight finite verbs (here in bold) occupy the medial position in the line, and where the main central notions surrounding the objects in question (here a lighthouse), namely a tall cliff-top, the sea, a fiery light, and shipping, should each appear multiple times in varied phrasing of mostly different metrical shapes (here colour-coded), presumably to be remembered and recycled, as many of these phrases are, both in Aldhelm's own poetry, and also that of other later Anglo-Latin poets.

Nor do the solutions to individual *aenigmata* always obviously dictate the verse vocabulary being instilled or explored: while in the case of the lighthouse, the verse-vocabulary covered is isomewhat self-selecting, Aldhelm's *aenigma* on *TORTELLA* ('round loaf of bread') includes five different words for 'shields', which were of course round in Anglo-Saxon England,[36] while the curious body-part riddle solved as *SCROFA PRAEGNANS* ('pregnant sow'), not only teaches us that there are 96 different kinds of metrical feet (again emphasizing Aldhelm's

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[35] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*
[36] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*

didactic poetic purpose), but also gives us six terms for different kinds of tree, a technique of variation well-known in Old English verse (Aldhelm, *Aenigma* 84):[37]

> Nunc mihi sunt oculi bis seni in corpore solo
> bis ternumque caput, sed cetera membra gubernant.
> Nam gradior pedibus suffultus bis duodenis,
> sed decies novem sunt et sex corporis ungues,
> 5   sinzigias numero pariter similabo pedestres.
>   **Populus** et **taxus**, viridi quoque fronde **salicta**
> sunt invisa mihi, sed **fagos** glandibus uncas,
> **fructiferas** itidem florenti vertice **quercus**
> diligo; sic **nemorosa** simul non spernitur **ilex**.
> ['Now I have twice six eyes in a single body,
> and twice three heads, which govern other limbs.
> For I travel supported on twice twelve feet,
> but my body has ten times nine plus six nails,
> I am equal in number in that way to the total tally of metrical feet. 5
>   The **poplar** and **yew**, the **willow-tree** too with bright-green leaves,
> are hateful to me, but I adore the bending **beech-tree** with its nuts
> and likewise the **acorn-bearing oaks** with verdant crown;
> and in the same way the **bushy holm-oak** is not despised.']

Presumably, student of Anglo-Latin verse, having memorized the entire *aenigma*, would then have a stunning variety of tree-names of varying metrical force and alliterative patterning on which to draw in the course of their own composition.

    Evidence that Aldhelm's *aenigmata*, like all his verse, were widely studied and deliberately echoed buy later Anglo-Saxon authors is widespread: indeed, it is harder to find an Anglo-Latin poet that did notecho Aldhelm than one who did. For a quick example, we might observe Aldhelm's influence on Alcuin's so-called 'nightingale' poems (Alcuin, *carmina 58–61*). The first such parallel is fiound in an *aenigma* that, while solved as *SALPIX* ('trumpet'), explicitly references the nightingale:[38]

> Garrula me poterit numquam superare cicada
> aut arguta simul cantans *luscinia ruscis*,
> quam lingua propria dicunt *acalantida* Graeci.
> [' No chirping grasshopper could ever surpass me
> or the lively *nightingale* singing at the same time *in the broom*:

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[37] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*
[38] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*.

that bird the Greeks call *acalanthis* in their own tongue.']

The distinctive phrase *luscinia ruscis* appears in two of Alcuin's nightinglae poems, for example when he descibes 'the ruddy **nightingale**, energetic enough **in the broom**' (*Indefessa satis rutilis* **luscinia ruscis** [Alcuin, *Carm.* 59.5]) or elsewhere asks 'what hand snatched you from me, **nightingale, in the broom**?' (*Quae te dextra mihi rapuit,* **luscinia, ruscis** [Alcuin, *Carm.* 61.1]). The other evident borrowing looks like a straight lift from Aldhelm's *aenigma* on the 'nightinglae' itself (*Aenigma* 22 [*ACALANTIS*]; alliterative effects are highlighted by underlining):

> Vox mea diversis variatur pulcra figuris,
> raucisonis numquam **modula**bor **carmina rostris**;
> spurca **colore tamen**, sed **non** sum **spreta canendo**:
> sic non cesso canens fato terrente futuro;
> nam me bruma fugat, sed mox aestate redibo.
> ['My beautiful voice is varied is different ways;
> I never shall **sing songs** with a harsh-sounding **beak**.
> **Although** I am dull **in colour**, I am **not** despised **in singing**:
> so I do not stop singing even when the future is frightening;
> winter makes me fly away, but I shall return as soon as summer.']

Alcuin incorporates this *aenigma* into his own work, speaking of how the nightingale performs even 'in buildings, **singing** lovely **songs** with a ruddy **beak**' (*In tectis,* **modula**ns *rutilo bona* **carmina rostro** [Alcuin, *Carm.* 58.12]) and is observed as being '**although** patchy **in colour** you were **not** patchy **in singing**' (Spreta **colore tamen** fueras **non spreta canendo** [Alcuin, *Carm.* 61.7]). In such echoes, we can still perceive the extent to which school-texts still resounded more than a century after they were likely first penned.

Note that the borrowed phrasing comes not only from Aldhelm's *aenigma* on the nightingale, but perhaps more alarmingly from some other lines on the nightingale embedded in an *aenigma* on a trumpet. No serious scholar doubts the extent to which successive generations of Anglo-Latin poets evidently remembered and repurposed a variety of verbal and other aspects of each other's verse, and that however much they may have assimilated formal word-lists like those offered explicitly in Aldhelm's *De pedum regulis* and implicitly in his *aenigmata*, the main source and inspiration seems to have come from the library of memorized poets and poems, not only school-text poets composing in Classical andChristian-Latin verse, but also the verses of their own compatriots.[39]

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[39] In this context, one might also emphasize the pivotal role of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, which was a seminal school-text throughout the period.

Now with regard to the obvious influence of Aldhelm's *aenigmata* on Alcuin's nightingale poems, by chance, there is also an Old English riddle generally solved 'nightingale' (*NIHTE-GALE*), the second in a sequence of bird-riddles in the Exeter Book, and one that also raises issues with regard to the poetic vocabulary of Old English verse, as well as its interrelationship with some other Old English poems extant (Exeter Book, *Riddle 8* [*EXE 8*]):[40]

> Ic þurh muþ sprece   mongum *reordum*,
> *wrencum singe*,   wrixle geneahhe
> heafod-*woþe*,   *hlude* cirme,
> healde mine *wisan*,   *hleoþre* ne miþe.
> 5   Eald æfen-sceop,   eorlum bringe
> *blisse* in burgum,   þonne ic bugendre
> *stefne* styrme;   stille on wicum
> sittað* *swigende*.   Saga hwæt ic hatte,   MS *siteð*
> þe* swa scirenige   sceawend-*wisan*   MS *þa*
> 10   *hlude* onhyrge,   hæleþum bodige
> wil-cumena fela   *woþe* minre.
> ['I speak through my mouth with many voices
> sing in modulations, switch continually
> the sounds in my head, cry out loud,
> maintain my melody, not hide my song.
>   An ancient poet of evening, I bring to men   5
> bliss in the townships, when I call out
> with varying voice: still in the buildings
> they sit in silence. Say what I am called,
> who, like a lady minstrel, loudly mimics
> the player's song, bids the fellows   10
> many welcomes with my voice.']

The whole riddle turns on the contrast between sound and silence: the tuneful musical performance of this 'evening-poet' contrasted with the audience's respectful silence. Note that in the eleven lines of the riddle there is not a single word that can be construed as purely poetic, but four forms that are unique to the poem, of which one, *scirenige* is a simplex of uncertain meaning, but resembles words for female performers in other Germanic languages. But while that simple word might well appear elsewhere if only more Old English survived, I suggest that it is to be doubted whether, however much more Old English verse might turn up, all of the three unique compounds (*heafod-woþe*; *æfen-sceop*; *sceawend-wisan*) might be

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[40] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*

witnessed elsewhere except in allusion to this very riddle. Let me focus initially on the arresting central compound *æfen-sceop*, which not only comprises the sole –*sceop* compound in extant Old English that does not refer to a human being, but, given the frequency with which the word *æfen* appears both as a simplex (around 425 times) and as a compounding element (there are 45 such compounds), is part of a small group of eight *æfen*-compounds found only in verse, all of which are in fact unique to the poems that contain them. Four of these are from *Beowulf*, again a disproportionate frequency that perhaps further attests to that poet's individual artistry, but even as a group ('evening-fierce' [used of Grendel], 'evening light', 'evening offering', 'evening rest', 'evening light', 'evening speech', or even the doleful and ill-omened 'evening song' found twice in *Exodus*), none of them carries the abstract baggage or anthropomorphising element implied by 'evening poet', which seems very likely a calque coined on the suggested solution: a *nihte-gale* ('night-singer') is, after all, very much another kind of 'evening poet'.

We can compare and contast this riddle with the one that immediately precedes it, andother bird-riddle universally solved as 'swan' (Exeter Book, *Riddle 7* [*EXE 7*]:[41]

>   Hrægl min **swigað**,   þonne ic **hrusan** trede,
>   oþþe þa wic buge,   oþþe **wado** drefe.
>   Hwilum mec ahebbað   ofer hæleþa byht
>   hyrste mine,   ond þeos hea *lyft*,
> 5   ond mec þonne wide   wolcna strengu
>   ofer folc byreð.   Frætwe mine
>   *swogað hlude   ond swinsiað*,
>   **torhte** *singað*,   þonne ic getenge ne beom
>   flode ond **foldan**,   ferende gæst.
> ['My raiment is silent when I tread the ground,
> or stay at home, or stir the waves.
>   Sometimes they raise me over men's houses,
> my garments, and this lofty air,
> and then the power of clouds   5
> carries me widely over folk.   My attire
> whistles loudly and makes music,
> brightly sings, when I no longer touch
> flood or field, a wayfaring spirit.']

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[41] *OEALRT*; *COEALRT*

While the 'nightingale' riddle has no poetic words at all, but rather four unique forms (*heafod-woþe*; *æfen-sceop*; *scirenige*; *sceawend-wisan*), this one has no compounds, but four poetic words (*hrusan ... wado ... torhte ... foldan*). The notion of a creature at home at once on land, in the water, and in air offers one pillar on which to base the solution, with the added paradox of silence in the first two cases, and sound in the last: the Old English verbs used to emphasize this paradox, namely *swigað ... swogað ... swinsiað ... singað* ('is silent ... whistles ... makes music ... sings') might be supposed to suggest, and indeed this is one of the riddles for which there has been a generally agreed answer for a long time, namely 'swan' (Old English *swan*).[42] The apparent simplicity of the *riddle* in purely linguistic terms   is, however, perhaps beguiling: just as we have seen that Anglo-Saxon poets freely cite and allude to other works and authors in their verse, so too here there seems a gesture towards a surviving Old English poem in the same Exeter Book manuscript, namely *The Phoenix*.

It has long been recognized that the 677 lines of *The Phoenix* falls easily into two halves, with lines 1–380 being based on a 170-line Latin poem called *De ave phoenice* ('about the poenix bird'), attributed to Lactantius.[43] The second part of the poem explains explicitly what is merely implied in the Latin, namely that the Phoenix, with its birth and rebirth, is a figure of Christ. At a point in *The Phoenix* for which we have the Latin source, the Old English poet describes how the miraculous bird salutes the sun in ways that readily recall both the contiguous swan and nightingale riddles (*Phoenix* 120–45; parallel words and phrases are indicated in ***bold italics***):[44]

120 Sona ***swa seo sunne*** sealte streamas	
hea oferhlifað, ***swa*** se **haswa** fugel	
beorht of þæs bearwes beame gewiteð,	
fareð ***feþrum*** snell flyhte on ***lyfte***,	
swinsað ond singeð swegle togeanes*.	MS *to heanes*
125 Ðonne bið ***swa*** fæger fugles gebæru,	
onbryrded breost-**sefa**, ***blissum*** hremig*;	MS *remig*
wrixleð ***woð-cræfte*** wundorlicor	
beorhtan ***reorde***, þonne æfre byre monnes	
hyrde under heofonum, siþþan heah-cyning,	

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[42] Andy Orchard, 'Performing Writing and Singing Silence in the Anglo-Saxon Riddle-Tradition', in *Or Words to That Effect: Orality and the Writing of Literary History*, ed. Daniel F. Chamberlain and J. Edward Chamberlin. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016), pp. 73–91.

[43] For some possible parallels between *De aue phoenice* and Aediluulf, see Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf', p. 375.

[44] Janie Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity: Latin Rhetoric in Old English Poetry* (Toronto, 2008), pp. 43–47.

130 wuldres wyrhta,   woruld staþelode,
    heofon ond eorþan.   Biþ þæs **hleoðres** *sweg*
    eallum song-***cræftum***   swetra ond wlitigra
    ond wynsumra   ***wrenca*** gehwylcum.
    Ne magon þam **breahtme**   byman ne hornas,
135 ne hearpan hlyn,   ne hæleþa *stefn*
    ænges on eorþan,   ne organan,
    sweg*-hleoþres *geswin*,   ne swanes *feðre*,   MS *sweg leoþres*
    ne ænig þara dreama   þe dryhten gescop
    gumum to gliwe   in þas geomran woruld.
140 *Singeð swa* ond *swinsað*   sælum geblissad,
    oþþæt *seo sunne*   on suð-rodor
    sæged weorþeð.   Þonne *swiað* he
    ond **hlyst** gefeð,   heafde onbrygdeð,
    þrist, þonces gleaw,   ond þriwa ascæceð
145 feþre flyht-hwate;   fugol bið ***geswiged***.
['As soon as the sun towers high   120
over the salt streams, the pale bird,
bright, leaves the tree in the grove,
travels swift on feathers, flying in the sky,
whistles and sings right up in the air:
then the bird's calling is so beautiful,   125
so inspired his heart, exulting in bliss,
as he modulates his song-craft more wondrously,
his bright voice, than any child of man
ever heard under heaven, since the high king,
the creator of glory, set up the world,   130
heaven and earth —the sound of that call
is sweeter and more lovely and more joyful
than any craft of song, than every melody;
there is no match for that sound: no trumpets, no horns,
no sound of harp, no voice of any man on earth,   135
no harmony of the musical melody,
of any organ, no swan's feather,
nor any of the joys which the Lord made
for man in this miserable world—
so it sings and whistles, buoyed up with bliss,   140
until the sun has sunk into the southern sky.
Then he falls silent and takes up listening,
sways its head, bold, wise in thought,
and shakes his feathers swift in flight
three times; the bird is made still.']   145

This rather ornate passage, describing an equally elaborate performance, is extraordinarily carefully structured around two envelope-patterns emphasizing on the one hand sound (lines 120–42a: *swa seo sunne ... swa ... swinsað ond singeð ... hleoðres sweg ... sweg-hleoþres ... singeð swa ond swinsað ... seo sunne* [note too the highly complex chiasmus here]) and on the other silence (lines142b–145: *swiað ... geswiged*).[45] The compound *sweg-hleoþres* seems to have been coined here to underline the central point of the chiasmus and match *hleoðres sweg*; certainly, it is only attested elsewhere in surviving Old English in *The Panther* 42b, another of the *Physiologus*-poems. Bearing in mind this patterning, it is striking that of these twenty-six lines eight have structural alliteration on the key sounds *s(w)*-, and seven of those contain elements with - *sw*-, while twelve further lines in this passage contain words or compounds in –*s*- or –*s*-groups (in Old English –*s*-, –*sc*-, –*sp*-, and –*st*- cannot alliterate structurally, but may do so as an extra alliterative ornament). And of course the passage from *The Phoenix*, moving from sound to silence, reverses the order of movement from silence to sound in the swan riddle.

In the context of a putative connection with the swan riddle, it is important to note not only that the passage from *The Phoenix* explicitly mentions the music of a 'swan's feathers' (*swanes feðre*, line 137b), so perhaps sparking off the conceit of a riddle based on sound and silence, but also precisely how this *tour de force* in *The Phoenix* departs quite dramatically from its source, and indeed at one point appears to minsunderstand it. There, the parallel passage reads as follows (*De ave phoenice* 43–54):

> Atque ubi Sol pepulit fulgentis limina portae
>   Et primi emicuit luminis aura leuis,
> 45   Incipit illa sacri modulamina fundere cantus
>   Et mira lucem uoce ciere nouam,
> Quam nec aedoniae uoces nec tibia possit

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[45] On the envelope pattern (also sometimes termed 'ring-composition'), see A. C. Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, 1935), pp. 9–29; H. P. Battles, 'The Art of the Scop: Traditional Poetics in the Old English *Genesis A*' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998), pp. 241–305; J. A. Dane, 'The Notion of Ring Composition in Classical and Medieval Studies: a Comment on Critical Method and Illusion', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 94 (1993), 61–67; J. D. Niles, 'Ring-Composition and the Structure of *Beowulf*', *PMLA* 94 (1979): 924–35; *idem, Beowulf: the Poem and its Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 152–62; W. Parks, 'Ring Structure and Narrative Embedding in Homer and *Beowulf*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 89 (1988), 237–51; C. B. Pasternack, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 13 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 120–46; C. Stévanovitch, 'Envelope Patterns and the Unity of the Old English *Christ and Satan*', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 233 (1996), 260–67; C. Stévanovitch, 'Envelope Patterns in *Genesis A* and *B*', *Neophilologus* 80 (1996), 465–78.

Musica Cirrheis assimulare modis;
Sed neque olor moriens imitari posse putetur
50   Nec Cylleneae fila canora lyrae.
Postquam Phoebus equos in aperta effudit Olympi
Atque orbem totum protulit usque means,
Illa ter alarum repetito uerbere plaudit
Igniferumque caput ter uenerata silet.

['But when the sun has struck the threshold of the shining gate,
and the gentle glimmer of first light has shone,
she begins to pour out the modulations of a sacred song,
and to urge on the new light with a marvellous voice,
that neither the voice of the nightingale nor a musical flute
[the Latin word is *tibia*] can match in Cirrhaean measures;
nor yet a dying swan be reckoned to be able to imitate,
nor the singing string of a Cyllenean lyre.
After Phoebus has sent forth his chargers into the openness of
Olympus,
and in his wandering has passed through the whole world,
she applauds him by beating her wings,
and, after she has three times saluted his flaming head, is still.']

The way in which the *Phoenix*-poet routinely ignores the Classical references here (*Cirrheis ... Cylleneae ... Phoebus ... Olympi*) is characteristic of his method elsewhere in the first part of the poem, as is his fondness for expanding anaphora in his source (note how the fourfold *nec ... nec ... neque ... nec* in the Latin has become a sixfold *ne ... ne ... ne ... ne ... ne ... ne*). Most striking of all, however, is the way in which the *Phoenix*-poet has treated the notion of what in his source is the dolorous music of a 'dying swan' (*olor moriens*: the false folk-etymological connection *olor–dolor* only reinforces the conceit), and transferred it to the sound of a swan's feathers, since that is precisely what the author of the swan riddle has elaborated upon. There may also be a more direct answer, given that the hollow bones of a swan's wings were used throughout the classical and medieval periods as flutes (note the use of the term *tibia* in line 47 of the passage from *De ave phoenice* above; there is a particularly fine example of a swan-bone flute from Anglo-Saxon England in the Jórvík museum in York). Several of the Exeter Book riddles deal with the afterlife of the creatures in question, most famously the bullock slaughtered to make a bible in *Exeter Riddle 24* (*EXE 24*), a sequence that focuses on the progression life–death–afterlife that is of course the necessary conclusion that comes from proper reflection on both *The Phoenix* and its source. And of course the same passage of *De ave phoenice* makes explicit mention of the music

of the nightingale (line 47: *aedoniae uoces*), so linking back to our 'evening poet'. In dealing with poetic and musical performance, these two or three Old English poets (given that the same author may have produced the two *riddles*) have not only employed different techniques, but seem consciously to have echoed each other, just as Anglo-Latin poets routinely do.

We are used to repetitions within poems, even those that seem most innovative, such as *Beowulf*, which clearly uses techniques of conscious echo and repetition, sometimes over hundres of line, to connect disparate passages, for example those describing poetic performance itself.[46] But *Beowulf* is not the only poem to describe poetic production, even if it is perhaps the most important. Given the recent controversy about King Alfred and his writings (or lack of them), it is surely striking that the one king we know from his biographer Asser to have loved Old English verse, memorized Old English verse, and ensured that his children were taught Old English verse should himself have been identified as a poet:[47] The *Metrical Preface* to the *Metres of Boethius* claims to be Alfred's own work:

> Đus Ælf*red* us   eald-*spell reahte*,
> cyning West-sexna,   *cræft* meldode,
> *leoð*-wyrhta *list.   Him wæs lust micel*
> *ðæt he ðiossum leodum   leoð spell*ode,
> 5   monnum myrgen,   mislice cwidas,
> þy *læs* ælinge   ut adrife
> selflicne *secg*,   þonne he swelces *lyt*
> gymð for his gilpe.   Ic sceal giet sprecan,
> fon on *fitte*,   *folc-cuðne ræd*
> 10   *hæleðum secgean.   H*liste se þe wille!
> ['Thus Alfred, king of the West Saxons,
> maker of verse, told us ancient tales,
> proclaimed skill, talent. He had a great desire
> that he should declaim verse to this people,
> merriment to men, various utterances,   5
> lest weariness drive out a self-possessed man,

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[46] See further Andy Orchard, '*Beowulf* and the Art of Invention', in *Old English Lexicology and Lexicography: Studies in Honor of Antonette diPaolo Healey*, ed. Maren Clegg Hyer, Haruko Momma, and Samantha Zacher (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2020), pp. 19–36.

[47] Keynes–Lapidge; *Metres* refs. Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2020); Susan Irvine and Malcolm Godden, *The Old English Boethius: with Verse Prologues and Epilogues Associated with King Alfred*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 19 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

when he cares little for such a thing
in his pride. I shall speak further,
seize in snatches of poetry celebrated counsel,
tell it to heroes. Let him hear it who will!']   10

There is an excellent recent analysis of this preface by Susan Irvine, who highlights on the one hand the explicit references to poetry, and the use of poetic words, and on the other words more associated with prose (notably *spell-*). It is perhaps worth pointing out that the word *ælinge* (here uniquely as a noun), is only found in prose outside this reference as an adjective (with the sense 'lengthy', 'tedious'), and only in three so-called Alfredian translations, namely those of the *Pastoral Care*, the *Soliloquies*, and the prose *Boethius*. I would add only that there is double alliteration in six of the ten lines, and continued alliteration in lines 3–4, which emphasizes the word-play on *leoð ... leod ... leoð* and *list ... lust*, the latter association perhaps also picked up in the last line, *Hliste*. Given the connection of Alfred's law-code (his so-called *dom-boc* or 'judgement book') with Moses and Mosaic Law, it is striking that the poetic preface should echo so closely (and, uniquely in the extant record) the opening lines of the Old English poem *Exodus* (*Ex* 1–7), which begins in praise precisely of 'the judgements of Moses (*Moyses domas*); once again, parallels are indicted in **bold italics**):[48]

> Hwæt! We feor and neah   gefrigen habað
> ofer middan-geard   Moyses domas,
> **wræclico** word-riht,   wera cneorissum,
> in **up-rodor**   eadigra *gehwam*
> 5   æfter **bealu**-siðe   bote *lif*es,
> *lif*igendra *gehwam*   langsumne *ræd*,
> *hæleðum secgan*.   Gehyre *se ðe wille*!

['Listen! We, far and near throughout middle-earth,
have learnt how the judgements of Moses
were declared to men, his wonderful laws
uttered in words to the generations of men,
to every one of the blessed a betterment of life   5
after the baleful journey, to all of the living
long-lasting counsel. Let him hear it who will!']

[48] See further Andy Orchard, 'Fresh Terror, New Horror: Fear and the Unfamiliar in the Old English *Exodus*', in *Fear in the Medical and Literary Imagination, Medieval to Modern: Dreadful Passions*, ed. D. McCann and C. McKechnie-Mason (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), pp. 131–56.

It is hard to imagine that an Anglo-Saxon who had heard or read the opening lines of *Exodus* would not have heard its echo here; at least if she or he had ears to hear. The peculiar and provocative pairing of *leoð* ('song', 'poetry') and *leod* ('people') found here is highly unusual in extant Old English: in fact, it is found elsewhere only once, perhaps unsurprisingly, later in another of the *Meters of Boethius*; the notion that the echo is deliberate seems strengthened by the circumstance that there another poet of note is at issue, this time Homer (*Metre 30*):[49]

> *Omerus* wæs   east mid Crecum
> on ðæm *leod*-scipe   *leoða* cræft*gast*,
> Firgilies   freond and lareow,
> þæm mæran sceope   magistra betst.
> 5   Hwæt, se *Omerus*   *oft and gelome*
> þære *sunnan wlite*   swiðe herede,
> æðelo *cræftas   oft and gelome*
> *leoðum* and *spell*um   *leodum* reahte.
> Ne *mæg* hio þeah *gescinan*,   þeah hio sie scir and beorht,
> 10   ahwærgen neah   *ealla gesceafta*;
> *ne* furðum þa *gesceafta*   ðe hio *gescinan mæg*
> *endemes ne mæg   ealla geond*-lihtan
> innan and utan.   Ac se *æl-miht*ega
> waldend and *wyrhta*   weorulde *gesceafta*
> 15   his agen *weorc   eall geond-wlit*eð,
> *endemes* þurh-syhð   *ealla gesceafta.*
> Ðæt is sio soðe   *sunne* mid rihte,
> be ðæm we *magon* singan   swylc butan lease.

['Homer was, east among the Greeks,
among that people the most skillful in song,
the friend and teacher of Virgil,
the best of masters for that famous poet.
   Listen, that Homer, often and again   5
greatly praised the sun's beauty,
its noble powers, often and again,
he told in poetry and stories to the people
And yet it can not illuminate, though it is clear and bright,
anywhere near all of created things;   10
nor indeed can illuminate entirely
shine through all the created things
inside and out. But the almighty
ruler and creator of the created things in the world,

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[49] See further Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*; Irvine and Godden, *Old English Boethius*.

wholly shines through his own works   15
emtirely looks through all created things.
That is really the true sun, about which
we can sing such things without lying.']

Even if a great many of the words here (indicated by highlighting) are in fact taken directly from the equivalent prose, what remains is of great interest. The absence or avoidance of poetic vocabulary, of compounds in general and unique compounds in particular, coupled with (and perhaps substituted for) the heavy use of echo-words on the one hand and continued alliteration (employing both consonants and vowels) on the other, marks the whole style of this poetry as different that of *Beowulf*, and again from that of Cædmon and Cynewulf.

I hope it will be clear from all of these examples that what makes Anglo-Saxon poetry, whether composed in Old English or Anglo-Latin, special is its extraordinary richness of diction, its curious combination of the inherited and the original, and the endless search of successive poets to find their own voices in verse, whether they chose to compose in Latin or in the vernacular. Anglo-Saxon poetry was born of an intriguing combination of distinct traditions, deriving from both an ancient and ultimately oral, vernacular, native, and initially pagan poetic background that can still be detected into the twelfth century, and from literate, Latinate, imported, and Christian verse the influence of which is already evident in the earliest extant Anglo-Saxon sources. Anglo-Saxon poets very evidently appear to have read and heard and repeated each other, even across the centuries, and in ways that we can still trace: we can choose to grieve for the incalculable and unknowable amount of Anglo-Saxon poetry that has undoubtedly been lost or we can choose to believe that what we have from across the linguistic divide, connecting poets from different periods, is worth reading in its own right. I firmly believe that the best days for the study of the craft and cunning of Anglo-Saxon poetry in both Latin and Old English still lie ahead, and that there is much yet to be discovered through tools unimaginable even a few years ago, but freely available today.

The Earliest Old English Poetics: an Anglo-Latin Perspective

It is perhaps a paradox that one of the earliest English poets whose name we know is now almost unknown, but then Lutting of Lindisfarne chose to compose in Latin, a fact that seems to have ensured the preservation of his poetry, while at the same time contributing to its neglect.[1] The three interconnected poems that Lutting wrote, each about the same twenty-line length (the first has twenty-one lines), but in different metres, can be closely dated by a specific clause in the first to shortly after the ninth hour (roughly 3pm) of 9th February, 681, when a certain Bede, also of Lindisfarne, the beloved teacher (*magister*) who Lutting tells us taught him to compose Latin verse, passed away.[2] The poems are now preserved on the final pages of a single manuscript, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Sangallensis 254, written about 860, although Lutting's poems were added during the first half of the following century, some 250 years after they were composed.[3] Lutting's first poem is an epitaph for Bede in hexameters, the second a hymn for Bede in five four-line stanzas of octosyllabic iambic dimeters, and the third a further hymn, this time in five more stanzas of rhythmical trochaic septenarii, in which eight-syllable lines with stress on the penultimate syllable (or *paroxytone*, represented by /×) are alternated with seven syllable lines with stress on the

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[1] Michael Lapidge, 'The Earliest Anglo-Latin Poet: Lutting of Lindisfarne', *Anglo-Saxon England* 42 (2013): 1-26. The poems are listed in Dieter Schaller and Ewald Könsgen, *Initia Carminum Latinorum Saeculo Undecimo Antiquiorum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Und Ruprecht, 1977) [hereafter *ICL*] as *ICL* 6934 (inc. *Hoc Christi famuli*), *ICL* 1001 (inc. *Ardens amoris mentio*), and *ICL* 6507 (inc. *Hic legentes octo pedes*). In her splendid book, Emily V. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 88 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 243–47, gives 'A Handlist of Named Authors of Old English or Latin Verse in Anglo-Saxon England', and names fifty such poets (not including Lutting, since Lapidge's article presumably appeared while the book was in production).

[2] See too David Howlett, 'Lutting, Bede, and Hiberno-Latin Tradition', *Peritia* (forthcoming); I am grateful to David Howlett for granting me access to his article pre-publication.

[3] There is an electronic facsimile at <www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0254>; Lutting's poems are on pp. 255–56.

antepenultimate syllable (or *proparoxytone*, represented by /××); in the modern notation, such verses are described as 8p + 7pp.[4]

The death of Bede of Lindisfarne, a virtuoso teacher of multiple metres, three of which Lutting reverently employs in celebration of his master, anticipated by exactly half a century the completion in 731 of the magisterial *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* ('ecclesiastical history of the English people'; hereafter *HE*) by a much more famous namesake, Bede of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow,[5] and it is apparently through confusion with the later Bede that Lutting's poems have been preserved, since they are immediately preceded by a version of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* ('the letter of Cuthbert on Bede's death) including the earliest Northumbrian version of the short Old English poem now known as *Bede's Death Song*.[6] Bede of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow (672/3–735), like his predecessor at Lindisfarne, was also a celebrated poet, and produced a sizeable corpus of polished Latin poetry in many metres,[7] while in his letter Cuthbert describes him as 'expert in our verse' (*doctus in nostris carminibus*), so making it not unlikely that *Bede's Death Song*, a five-line poem on the terrors of Doomday (a theme of recurring interest for Bede) may indeed be his own composition. Whether he composed it, or simply recited the poem from memory remains a matter of debate, but his fame certainly ensured the survival of *Bede's Death Song*, along with Lutting's verses. It is a further irony that it was this later Bede who gave subsequent generations an originating story for Christian vernacular verse that has been widely discussed, but in so far as it can be dated at all can be placed at around the same time Lutting wrote his Latin verse.[8]

In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, which he chose to compose in Latin, Bede offers a detailed account of how the aged cowherd Cædmon fled a drinking-party where he felt under pressure to produce a song, but that then, having retreated to the cow-shed (*stabula iumentorum*) and having been prompted by a mysterious

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[4] Dag Norberg and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004); the system is described on p. xxiv.

[5] Bertram Colgrave, and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; rptd 1991).

[6] The text of *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* is found in St. Gallen 254 on pp. 252-55, with *Bede's Death Song* on p. 253.

[7] Michael Lapidge, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2019).

[8] Dennis Cronan, '*Cædmon's Hymn*: Context and Dating.' *English Studies* 91, no. 8 (2010): 817-25; Andy Orchard, 'Poetic Inspiration and Prosaic Translation: the Making of *Cædmon's Hymn*', in *'Doubt Wisely: a Festschrift for E.G. Stanley*, ed. Jane Toswell and Elizabeth Tyler (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 402–22.

visitor described only as 'a certain person' (*quidam*), was able to produce a brief
nine-line hymn in Old English celebrating creation;[9] the vernacular versions of
Cædmon's Hymn that are rather more widely read now than Bede's suitably
poetic Latin paraphrase in prose are often literally marginal afterthoughts in the
many extant manuscripts.[10] Bede situates old Cædmon's social embarrassment at
Whitby (Old English *Streoneshalh*), but, despite routine insistence to the
contrary in modern times, twice declines to place it specifically to the period when
the famed founding abbess Hild (*c.* 614–680) held sway; the natural conclusion is
that Cædmon's poem dates after Hild's death in 680, when her immediate
successors were Eanflæd, formerly queen of Northumbria and widow of King
Oswiu (who reigned 642–70 and was buried at Whitby) and their daughter
Ælflæd;[11] it is therefore an open question whether Lutting's own hymn to God
(the second of his three related poems) may actually predate Cædmon's. The
obvious late seventh-century Hiberno-Latin influence on both Lindisfarne and
Lutting's verse combines with Cædmon's British name to emphasize a strong
Celtic connection;[12] the contemporary and competing school of Canterbury,
where Theodore (602–90; archbishop of Canterbury 668–90), a Greek-speaking
monk of Tarsus, and the North African educated Hadrian (born before 637, died
710) both made their considerable mark,[13] only adds to the extraordinary
complexity and confluence of poetic possibilities, alongside the vernacular, that
were available both north and south of the Humber within the few generations
that spanned the year 700.[14]

  This was certainly a fertile period for innovation and experiment, with a
focus firmly on verse. It is an oddity not often addressed that among the most
widely-copied and original texts surviving from the period should be a pair of

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9 *HE* IV.24[22]: Colgrave and Mynors, ed., *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 414–20.

10 Daniel O'Donnell, 'Bede's Strategy in Paraphrasing *Cædmon's Hymn*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 103 (2004): 417-32; *idem*, *Cædmon's Hymn: A Multimedia Study, Archive and Edition* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005); Alfred Bammesberger, 'Discrepancies between Bede's Rendering of *Cædmon's Hymn* and its Latin Rendering by Bede', in *Anglo-Saxon Micro-texts*, ed. Ursula Lenker and Lucia Kornexl, Buchreihe der Anglia 67 (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2019), pp. 329–46.

11 Dennis Cronan, '*Cædmon's Hymn*: Context and Dating.' *English Studies* 91, no. 8 (2010): 817-25.

12 For a wonderfully rich exploration of the theme, see Colin Abbot Ireland, 'The Celtic Background to Cædmon and his Hymn'(unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles 1986).

13 Michael Lapidge, "The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), 45–72; see further Michael Lapidge, *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

14 See, for example, A. Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf: the Art and Craft of Anglo-Saxon Verse', Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture for 2019, *Journal of the British Academy* 8 (2020): 295–399.

treatises concerning Latin metre, transmitted as part of a compilation, now known as the *Epistola ad Acircium* ('letter to the One from the North-West'), that was seemingly sent to a reigning king.[15] The opening, a highly mannered, purely panegyric, and personal address to said king, is itself indicative of a strong poetic sensibility:[16]

> Domino praestantissimo et prae ceteris regalium dignitatum gradibus glorificando mihique iam dudum spiritalis clientelae catenis conexo, illustri Acircio aquilonalis imperii sceptra gubernanti, illustris regalis regni regimina dispensanti Aldhelmus catholicae vernaculus ecclesiae, immarcescibilem sempiternae sospitatis salutem.
>
> ['To one most outstanding and deserving of glory above the other ranks of regal dignities, to one who has been linked to me for a long time by the bonds of spiritual retainership, to the illustrious Acircius, governing the realms of the northern empire, dispensing the royal governance of that illustrious kingdom, Aldhelm, a servant of the catholic church, sends unfading greetings of eternal well-being.']

The condensed and measured pomp of this opening address is impressive indeed, combining all manner of tropes of repetition, such as polyptoton (*regalium ... regalis regni regimina*), parallelism (*Illustri ... illustris*), alliteration (*praestantissimo et prae ceteris*; *gradibus glorificando*; *Acircio aquilonalis*; *sempiternae sospitatis salutem*), and rhyme (*gubernanti ... dispensanti*) that are the common currency of poetry in both Old English and Anglo-Latin.[17]

The king in question has been identified as Aldfrith of Northumbria (who ruled 685–704/5, and was in fact the step-son and step-brother of Eanflæd and Ælflæd of Whitby),[18] and the author of the assemblage was Aldhelm of

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[15] Michael Lapidge, 'Aldhelmus Malmesberiensis Abb. et Scireburnensis ep.', in *La transmissione dei testi latini del medioevo / Medieval Latin Texts and Their Transmission: Te. Tra. 4*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (Florence: SISMEL, 2012), 14–38.

[16] Rudolf Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), p. 61.

[17] On the poetic flavour of Aldhelm's prose, see Michael Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and Its Origins', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977): 39–76; Andy Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 73–125.

[18] The identification of the addressee is first made by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* V, 196.4–5, but is widely accepted; see Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thomson, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum = The History of the English Bishops*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), I.518–19 and II.256–57.

Malmesbury (639/40–709/10), at that time abbot, and himself a product of the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian, who makes the two metrical treatises, namely *De metris* ('on metres') and *De pedum regulis* ('on the rules of metrical feet') the primary focus of his compilation, with the metrical prinicples described there illustrated in a further embedded collection of what he himself describes as among his earliest compositions in metrical verse, namely one hundred *Aenigmata* ('riddles').[19] Aldhelm acknowledges his debt both in genre and number to the earlier collection of 100 *Aenigmata* by the North African poet Symphosius, whose work was presumably introduced to Aldhelm at Canterbury by the North African Hadrian; it is striking that Symphosius claims to have composed his poems after being embarrassed at finding himself at a drinking-party (*symposium*: the word sems to have supplied Symphosius's name) with nothing to sing, and the similarity of Symphosius's frame-story to that of Cædmon is self-evident.[20] In the *Epistola ad Acircium*, Aldhelm appeals to an acquaintance with King Aldfrith that he says stretched back more than twenty years, but which had sadly lapsed; among the many questions this rich epistolary gift raises are why a West-Saxon abbot might feel compelled or even able to write to a Northumbrian king, and why poetic metre might have been deemed an appropriate focus for a renewal of old acquaintance after decades in abeyance.

Several interconnected answers suggest themselves: both Aldhelm and Aldfrith were poets, both were of royal blood, and both had been trained in an Irish milieu, perhaps even together, while in addition Aldhelm had stood sponsor to Aldfrith when he was confirmed.[21] Aldhelm's association with Aldfrith and his family can be extended still further, in that it was partly to Cuthburg, former wife of Aldfrith and sister of King Ine of Wessex (ruled 689–726), that he dedicates his mighty twinned work in both prose and verse, 'On Virginity' (*De virginitate*), while she was a nun at Barking.[22] The *Epistola ad Acircium* is generally dated around 685, placing it (and the *Aenigmata* it contains) precisely in the period of

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[19] See now Andy Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 69 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021) [hereafter *OEALRT*], pp. 2–93 and *idem*, *A Commentary on The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, Supplements to the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2021) [hereafter *COEALRT*], pp. 1–112.

[20] See *OEALRT*, 444–45 and *COEALRT*, 515–17.

[21] Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007): 15-69; Colin A. Ireland, 'Where Was King Aldfrith of Northumbria Educated? An Exploration of Seventh-Century Insular Learning', *Traditio* 70, no. 1 (2015): 29-73.

[22] Michael Lapidge and Michael W. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Woodbridge: D.S Brewer, 2009), p. 52.

Lutting's poems and *Cædmon's Hymn*, and the twenty-year gap in the friendship of Aldhelm and Aldfrith brings the date squarely back to the time of the Synod of Whitby (664), when the apparent rift between them might have occurred when they were on opposing sides in the debate about whether to follow the Celtic or Roman practice over the dating of Easter: Aldfrith held to his Irish training, while Aldhelm embraced the Roman model, and in another rather polemic letter to a royal recipient, here Geraint (Geruntius) of Dumnonia (essentially, Devon and Cornwall), who died in 710, he relentlessly pressed the Roman position on both the dating of Easter and the preferred type of tonsure.[23]

It is notable that Bede of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow, who wrote his own treatise 'On the art of metre' (*De arte metrica*),[24] and clearly borrowed some of his own poetic phrasing from Aldhelm, as well from a similar range of school-text poets also laid under contribution by Aldhelm himself, should refer to both Aldfrith and Aldhelm in the same words: each was 'a man most widely learned' (*vir undecunque doctissimus*), a phrase first applied to the ancient Roman polymath Marcus Terentius Varro, and one that appears here to imply that both were celebrated for their excellence in both sacred and secular literature; certainly, Aldhelm and Aldfrith were apparently widely esteemed for their vernacular verse in Old English and Irish respectively.[25] In the case of Aldhelm, an extraordinary poem now known simply as *Aldhelm*, fittingly in both Old English and Latin (with a smattering of Greek thrown in for good measure) calls him both 'a fine author' (*bonus auctor* in Latin) and a 'noble poet' (*æþele scop* in Old English).[26] Still later testimony derives from William of Malmesbury, who himself cites as witness material attributed to no less an authority than Alfred the Great (king of Wessex 871–99), and not only the likelihood that William would have had access at Malmesbury to materials relating to Aldhelm's own time at the same foundation but also the fact that Aldhelm appears to have been, like Alfred, a

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[23] He may be the same legendary character celebrated as Gereint mab Erbin (see Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: a Study and Edition of the 'Englynion'* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 457–61 and 504–05.

[24] Calvin B. Kendall, *Libri II De Arte Metrica et de Schematibus et Tropis = the Art of Poetry and Rhetoric* (Saarbrücken, 1991); see too Seppo Heikkinen, *The Christianisation of Latin Metre: A Study of Bede's 'De arte metrica'*, PhD thesis, University of Helsinki, 2012.

[25] Colin A. Ireland, *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: An Edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhína Maic Ossu*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 205 (Tempe, AZ: CMRS, 1999).

[26] Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 282–83.

member of the West Saxon royal house lends the account some weight. Speaking of Aldhelm, William says plainly (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* V.190.3):[27]

> Litteris itaque ad plenum instructus, natiuae quoque linguae non negligebat carmina; adeo ut, teste libro Elfredi, de quo superius dixi, nulla umquam aetate par ei fuerit quisquam poesim Anglicam posse facere, cantum componere, eadem apposite uel canere uel dicere. Elfredus carmen triuiale, quod adhuc uulgo cantitatur, Aldelmum fecisse, causam qua probet rationabiliter tantum uirum his quae uideantur friuola institisse.
>
> ['Since he was so fully educated in literature, he did not neglect the poetry of his own language also, and to such an extent that, according to the book by Alfred I mentioned earlier, no one has ever in any period been his equal in being able to produce poetry in English, and to sing or recite the same as occasion called. Moreover, Alfred recalls that Aldhelm had produced a popular song, that is still commonly sung, adding an account by which he shows that such a man might justifiably spend time on those things that seem frivolous.']

Alfred's account, according to William, describes Aldhelm playing the part of a professional singer (*quasi artem cantitandi professum*) to bring his 'semi-barbarous' (*semibarbarum*) people to an appreciation of scripture. William's is just one of several apparent reflexes of the so-called *Dicta Ælfredi* ('sayings of Alfred') that speak of Aldhelm's skill as a vernacular poet, and it is worth quoting another:[28]

> Sanctus Aldelmus, Inae regis West-Saxonum amantissimi propinquus, citharaedus erat optimus, Saxonicus atque Latinus poeta facundissimus, cantor peritissimus, doctor egregius. ... Extitit enim primo docti uiri Maildulfi, dein archipraesulis Theodori, et eius cooperatoris abbatis Adriani discipulus.
>
> ['Saint Aldhelm, a kinsman of Ine, the most beloved king of the West Saxons, was a most excellent harp-player, a most eloquent Saxon and Latin poet, a most skilful singer and an outstanding teacher ... He was

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[27] Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thomson, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum = The History of the English Bishops*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), I.506 and II.251–52.

[28] Paul G. Remley, 'Aldhelm as Old English Poet: *Exodus*, Asser, and the *Dicta Ælfredi*', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, and and Andy Orchard, Toronto Old English Studies 14, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) I.90–108, at 94–100.

first a pupil of the learned Maíldub, and afterwards of Archbishop Theodore and his assistant, Abbot Hadrian.']

Moreover, Aldhelm's own early life coincided with the period of the conversion of the West Saxons, which does not seem to have been an especially smooth process, even within his own immediate royal family, so placing Aldhelm squarely at the intersection of the clashing values of the vernacular secular past, based on an oral tradition, and the Latin Christian future, focused firmly on written texts.

According to Bede, when Bishop Birinus (*c.* 600–*c.* 649/50), acting as missionary for Pope Honorius, came to the kingdom of the West Saxons (whom Bede say at that point were called the *Gewisse*), he found them 'most pagan' (*paganissimos*), determined to remain, and converted their king, Cynegils (*c.* 611–*c.* 642) in a ceremony of around 635 at which King Oswald of Northumbria (604–42) stood as godfather, a relationship later cemented when Oswald married Cynegils' daughter.[29] It is notable that Cynegils' son and successor, Cenwalh, at first refused conversion, but when he was driven from his kingdom by King Penda of Mercia, who had defeated and killed Oswald at Maserfield in 642, he finally converted while in exile with King Anna of East Anglia, and returned to rule Wessex in 645, a move apparently facilitated by King Oswiu of Northumbria, who succeeded Oswald (612–70; reigned 642–70). Another son of Cynegils, Centwine, was himself king of Wessex 676–86, and evidently fought a number of successful battles against the Britons, before renouncing the crown and going to live in a monastery, likely the one at Glastonbury to which he himself had granted land.[30] Such a narrative amply demonstrates the interconnected nature of the various royal houses at this period, as well as the way in which Christianity was introduced among the various well-born families of Wessex and elsewhere. Since the former warrior-king Centwine who retreated to a monastery appears to have been Aldhelm's own father, the young Aldhelm would have been acquainted with some or all of the main players in the process by which these 'most pagan' West Saxons came to embrace Christianity, and would have witnessed first hand the close interrelationships that bound both the secular and the newly converted aristocracy to the Church.[31]

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[29] *HE* 3.7: Colgrave and Mynors, ed., *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 232–37.

[30] On the general phenomenon, see Clare Stancliffe, 'Kings who Opted Out', in Patrick Wormald, Donald A. Bullough, and Roger Collins, ed., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, pp. 154-76.

[31] For an excellent overview, very pertinent for the present paper, see Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, *Beowulf,* and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy', in his *The Times of Bede: Studies in*

While king, Aldhelm's father Centwine briefly granted shelter to the exiled Bishop Wilfrid (*c.* 633–709/10; bishop of York 664–78), as the *Vita Wilfridi* by Stephen of Ripon explicitly indicates,[32] and the fact that Stephen states specifically that at this point Wilfrid's monks had stayed behind when their leader was driven out (*manentibus tamen illic monachis suis*)[33] lends particular poignancy to a letter written by Aldhelm to Wilfrid's abbots, likely precisely at this time, and preserved uniquely again by William of Malmesbury, where Aldhelm makes a clear comparison with aristocratic secular heroic values and those of the Church:[34]

> Ecce saeculares divinae scientiae extorres, si devotum dominum quem in prosperitate dilexerunt, cessante felicitatis opulentia, et ingruente calamitatis adversitate, deseruerint, et secura dulcis patriae otia exsultantis domini pressurae praetulerint, nonne exsecrabilis cachinni ridiculo et gannaturae strepitu ab omnibus digni ducuntur? Quid ergo de vobis dicetur, si pontificem qui vos nutrivit et extulit in exsilio solum dimiseritis?
> ['Consider those worldly folk, exiled from divine knowledge: if, once the wealth of the good times ceased and the struggle of disaster loomed, they were to desert the devoted lord that they cherished in times of plenty, and preferred the safe peace of their sweet homeland to the hardship of their exiled lord, are they not reckoned by everyone to be worthy of the ridicule of scathing laughter and the clamour of derision? So what will be said about, if you abandoned alone in exile the bishop who raised and brought you up?']

Such a grim fate is the forecast lot of those who abandon their lord, living or dead, in Old English poems from *Beowulf* to *The Battle of Maldon*, and is one

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Early English Christian Society and its Historian, ed. Stephen Baxter, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 30–105.

[32] Bertram Colgrave, ed., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) [hereafter *VW*].

[33] *VW* 40 p. 80.

[34] *Ep* 12, p. 502; Lapidge and Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 169–70 (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Winterbottom and Thompson, V.192:8 [pp. 512–13]; it is interesting that William immediately follows this observation with Aldhelm's letter to Æthilwald, discussed below); contrast Bede. Note too Bede's account of a secular warrior in the service of King Coenred of Mercia (ruled 704–9), whom when he fell sick the king urged to repent and confess, but who refused 'lest his companions should rebuke him' (*ne exprobrarent sibi sodales*) for doing something out of fear of death he would not do otherwise (*HE* V.13, pp. 502–05).

of several instances where the Latin evidence and that from vernacular verse can be mutually illuminating.[35]

In the case of Aldhelm's rebuke to Wilfrid's abbots, it is notable that in his *Vita Wilfridi*, Stephen had used the same term, *saeculares* ('wordly'), to describe how secular lords sent their sons to Wilfrid to be taught until, once they grew to be young men, they might be chosen either for life as warriors in a royal retinue, or as servants of the church:[36]

> Principes quoque seculares, viri nobiles, filios suos ad erudiendum sibi dederunt, ut aut Deo servirent, si eligerent, aut adultos, si maluissent, regi armatos commendaret.
> ['Secular lords too, noblemen, entrusted their sons to him to be brought up, so that they might either serve God, if they chose, or if they preferred when grown up he might commend them as warriors to the king.']

Aldhelm's own surviving correspondence, scattered as it is, confirms the notion that he too had responsibility for well-born youths whom he attempted to draw to God's service, while their own inclinations seem to have strayed towards the secular: he rebukes Wihtfrith for being drawn to Ireland, where the temptations of Classical (and so pagan) literature are declared as unpalatable as the apparently abundant brothels;[37] he chides Heahfrith for squandering time in Ireland when he might have been educated at Canterbury instead; and he reprimands Æthilwald for lingering too long over secular banquets, with their plentiful temptations, and for aimless wandering about on horseback.[38]

Unfortunately, we do not have the perspectives of Wihtfrith or Heahfrith, but we do have a letter to Aldhelm from Æthilwald, who also mentions

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[35] Putnam Fennell Jones, 'Aldhelm and the Comitatus-Ideal', *Modern Language Notes* 47 (1932): 378; for the idea that Aldhelm may even have influenced the *Beowulf*-poet, see Albert Stanburrough Cook, 'The Possible Begetter of the Old English *Beowulf* and *Widsith*', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy* 25 (1922): 281–346, esp. 335–39; *idem*, '*Beowulf* 1422', *Modern Language Notes* 39 (1924): 77–82.

[36] *VW* 21, p. 44; see too Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, p. 145.

[37] Lapidge and Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 139–40 and 154–55; G. T. Dempsey, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Irish', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 99C (1999): 1-22; see too Michael W. Herren, 'Scholarly Contacts between the Irish and the Southern English in the Seventh Century', *Peritia* 12 (1998): 24-53.

[38] G. T. Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Ending of Late Antiquity*. Studia Traditionis Theologiae 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); *idem*, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury and High Ecclesiasticism in a Barbarian Kingdom', *Traditio* 63 (2008): 47–88; *idem*, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury's Social Theology: The Barbaric Heroic Ideal Christianised', *Peritia* 15 (2001): 58–80.

composing both metrical and rhythmical verse,[39] presumably having learnt to do both from Aldhelm, just as Lutting did from Bede of Lindisfarne, and Aldhelm did from Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury. Æthilwald's letter to Aldhelm is only preserved in a single ninth-century manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 751 (Theol. 259), which mainly contains material relating to the Continental missionary activity of Boniface (c. 675–754), many of whose surviving works, especially in verse, clearly echo Aldhelm's own.[40] Æthilwald's letter concludes with a mention of three poems in two metres that he attaches as gifts:[41]

Huic autem nostrae parvitatis epistulae trina cantati modolaminis carmina binis generibus digesta subdidimus, quorum primum dactilico heroici poematis exametro ac pedestri, ut autumo, regula enucleate trutinatum et in LXX coaequantium vorsuum formulas, casu ita obtingente vel, ut verius dicam, supernae dispensationis nutu moderante, divisum; tertium quoque non pedum mensura elucubratum, sed octenis syllabis in uno quolibet vorsu compositis, una eademque littera comparis linearum tramitibus aptata cursim calamo caraxatum tibi, sagacissime sator, transmittens dicavi; medium vero meo tuoque clienti Wihtfrido de transmarini scilicet itineris peregrinatione simillimis itidem vorsuum et syllabarum lineis confectum repraesentans porrexi.

['Moreover, we have added to this letter from our lowly self three poems of poetic melody distinguished into two varieties: of which the first is plainly measured out in the dactylic hexameter of heroic verse and, I believe, according to metrical rule, and divided into the formulae of seventy equal verses, with the aid of luck, or (to speak more truthfully) with the guiding approval of divine dispensation; the third, written with swift pen and forged not by the measure of feet but with eight syllables placed in any one verse, and one and the same letter adapted to the paired paths of the lines, I have sent and dedicated to you, most wise master; the middle (poem), concerning the pilgrimage

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[39] See in particular Brent Miles, 'The *Carmina Rhythmica* of Æthilwald: Edition, Translation, and Commentary', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004): 73–117.

[40] See, for example, Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 248–53. For a facsimile of the manuscript, see Franz Unterkircher, *Sancti Bonifacii Epistolae: Codex Vindobonensis 751 der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Codices Selecti 24 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971); for an edition of Boniface's letters, including much material relevant here, see Michael Tangl, *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916).

[41] Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 496–97 (*Epistola* VII); cf. Lapidge and Herren, *Prose Works*, p. 166.

of sea-voyages, likewise composed of most similar lines of verses and syllables, I have sent without delay to my and your colleague, Wihtfrith.']

Æthilwald's hexameter poem of 'seventy equal verses' is now lost, and we can only assume, given the massive impact of Aldhelm on subsequent Anglo-Latin verse,[42] that it would have included some idiosyncratically Aldhelmian phrasing, but happily octosyllabic verses just like those described have survived uniquely in the same manuscript that has preserved a lengthy octosyllabic poem by Aldhelm himself, and one that indeed clearly influenced Æthilwald's rhythmical poems, as we shall see; the rest of the discussion will focus on the clearly inter-related corpus of octosyllabic verse that survives from both Aldhelm and Æthilwald and its relation to Old English verse.[43]

    In the *Epistola ad Acircium* Aldhelm uses a Vergilian allusion to emphasize his pride at being the first person of the Germanic race to compose metrical Latin verse.[44] About 4,000 lines of his Latin hexameters survive along with a much smaller number of rhythmical octosyllables, including a *Carmen rhythmicum* ('rhythmical poem') of 200 paired octosyllabic verses linked by end-rhyme of up to five syllables, describing a terrible storm that Aldhelm encountered when travelling from Cornwall through Devon.[45] The 100 pairs of verses recall the similarly canonical number of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*, and so strongly suggest that Aldhelm himself considered the rhymed octosyllables as pairs, as indeed they are laid out in the sole manuscript, Vienna 751, that is also the only witness to Æthilwald's letter to Aldhelm. Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* (hereafter *Ald1*) is followed in Vienna 751 by further set of octosyllabic verses, again laid out in 92 rhyming pairs, which are certainly 'concerning the pilgrimage of a sea-voyage' (*de transmarini ... itineris peregrinatione*), and so has been identified with the middle poem that Æthilwald tells Aldhelm he has sent to Wihtfrith (hereafter *Æth1*). This poem is in turn followed by 62 more rhyming pairs of octosyllables, which modern editors have

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[42] Andy Orchard, 'After Aldhelm: the Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992): 96–133; *idem, Poetic Art*, pp. 239–98.

[43] Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 19–72; Ingeborg Schröbler, 'Zu den Carmina Rhythmica in der Wiener Hs. der Bonifazius-briefe oder über den Stabreim in der lateinischen Poesie der Angelsächsen', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 79 (1957): 1–42.

[44] Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 202; Lapidge and Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 45–46.

[45] There are a number of relevant papers in Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks. *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 15–54 and 233–99.

divided into two, since the first 23 pairs constitute a hymn to God (hereafter *Æth2*), and the remaining 39 pairs praise an individual twice described in identical terms as 'the Old Protector' (*Cassem Priscum ... Cassis Prisci*), before being revealed as Aldhelm (*Althelmum*), whose Old English name does indeed signify 'Old Helmet', 'Old Protector', so suggesting that this is the poem that in his letter to Aldhelm Æthilwald claims to have 'sent and dedicated to you, most wise master' (hereafter *Æth3*). A final poem, also of 39 pairs of rhyming octosyllables (hereafter *Æth4*), apparently addressed to one Ofa or Offa (*Hova*; below, I generally assume Offa), echoes the extravagant praise of Aldhelm's spiritual worth, while focusing firmly on the physical excellence of his addressee.

It is notable that none of the octosyllabic poems attributed to Aldhelm and Æthilwald preserved uniquely in the Vienna manuscript has a title and that while the first has a clear indication of authorship, in the form of a concluding rubric: *FINIT CARMEN ALDHELMI* ('here ends Aldhelm's poem'), only the last, which speaks of itself as having been composed 'with the ... words of Æthilwald' (*Æth4* 4b) has a similarly clear indication of authorship. Three of the four poems that follow Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, namely Æthilwald's poem on pilgrimage sent to Wihtfrith and the hymns to God and Offa (*Æth1*, *Æth2*, and *Æth4*) are likewise preceded by the rubric *INCIPIT CARMEN AŁ* ('another poem begins'); the hymn to Aldhelm (*Æth3*) runs on directly from the hymn to God. In fact, Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* is also preceded by the same rubric *INCIPIT CARMEN AŁ*, although it is notable that it is copied before the usual rulings on the page, and so may have been an afterthought. The attributions accepted here are now generally accepted.[46]

Texts and translations of the octosyllabic poems of Aldhelm and Æthilwald in Vienna 751 are given in the Appendix below, including manuscript variants, the better to emphasize an important aspect of their transmission.[47] In particular, it has been argued from apparent scribal errors in the transmitted text of *Beowulf*,[48] that later scribes were mislead in their readings of certain letter-

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[46] See Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 171–76.

[47] Two further brief octosyllabic poems are printed by Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 235 and 512, the first of which, comprising two pairs of rhymed octosyllables describing the scene around the cross after Christ's crucifixion, is embedded in his prose *De virginitate*, and the second, twice as long, is appended to a charter, dated 680, perhaps in error for 685, in which King Cædwalla of Wessex grants land to Bishop Wilfrid.

[48] Michael Lapidge, 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000): 5–41; Leonard Neidorf, 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*', *English Studies* 99 (2018): 229-42; *idem*, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf': Language, Culture, and Scribal Behavior* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

forms in a form of minuscule script earlier than 750, and it is notable that several of the same kinds of apparently diagnostic scribal errors (of a kind variously called *translitteratio* or *metacharacterismos*) are also evident here, in the mid-ninth-century copying of poems composed around 700. There are multiple examples of open-topped **a** in Insular cursive minuscule, of which the most relevant in this immediate context are those which, it has been suggested, were written by Boniface himself,[49] and this seems to have led to confusion of **a** and **u** (and vice versa): *contritum* for *contritam* (*Ald1* 78b); *fluant* for *fluunt* (*Æth1* 67b); *pandunt* for *pandant* (*Æth1* 82b); *dicatus* for *dicatas* (*Æth1* 84b); *arebant* for *urebant* (*Æth3* 22a); *primum* for *primam* (*Æth4* 7a); *sequuntur* for *sequantur* (*Æth4* 25a). Other examples of apparent confusion of **c** and **t** (and vice versa) in *glaties* for *glacies* (*Ald1* 29b) and *crucibus* for *trucibus* (*Ald1* 30b); as well as apparent confusion of **n** and **r** in *muscanea* for *muscarea* (*Æth1* 72b; note, however, that the rhyme is with *aranea*) certainly suggest that *translitteratio* has occured, and the sheer number of errors in the transmitted text might indeed invite still further editorial intervention than that practiced here.[50]

Throughout the Appendix, the verses are arranged in pairs, following the structure suggested by both the rhyme-scheme and their manuscript layout in the sole manuscript witness, Vienna 751 (the half-lines evidently missing through eye-skip at *Æth3* 5b and *Æth4* 29b might suggest that there was at least one earlier copy, likely laid out differently); alliteration within individual octosyllables is indicated in **bold**, rhyme linking pairs of octosyllabic verses in *italics*, alliteration connecting rhymed pairs in ***bold italics***, and alliteration between consecutive rhymed pairs with <u>**bold underlining**</u>.

All of Æthilwald's poems adopt the basic rhythm of Aldhelm's octosyllables, but, as the discussion below makes clear, he also adapts Aldhelm's alliterative patterning in a way that moves it closer to what is found in the vernacular, as well as including a number of tropes and themes that are highly reminiscent of Old English verse. In this context, it is perhaps noteworthy that the same manuscript that preserves uniquely the octosyllabic poems considered

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[49] M. B. Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface: a Reassessment of the Problems.' *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1976): 161–79.

[50] For an excellent discussion of the issues, see Miles, '*Carmina Rhythmica*', pp. 75–77. Miles's editions and translations on Æthilwald's octosyllables are by no mean superseded by those in the Appendix below, which have been reformatted with a number of variant-readings and marked up to reflect patterns of rhyme and alliteration; Miles's commentary remains essential reading. Also useful in this context are David R. Howlett, '*Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum*', *Bulletin Du Cange (Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi)* 53 (1995): 119–40; Barker and Brooks, *Aldhelm and* Sherbourne, pp. 233–99; Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 519–37.

here, namely Vienna 751, should also constitute the sole witness to the third Old English poem usually considered alongside *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song* (both discussed above) as the earliest examples of Old English verse: *A Proverb from Wynfrith's Time* appears embedded in a Latin letter, in which a member of Boniface's continental mission appears to encourage a faltering colleague to join them on their heroic undertaking; this brief poem is described as a *Saxonicum verbum* ('Saxon expression'), which the anonymous addressee is encouraged to recall an evidently proverbial pair of verses that urge the advantages of swift and decisive action, and has several parallels with extant Old English heroic verse.[51]

The rhythm of Aldhelm's octosyllables (as well as those of Æthilwald) is simple, but uniform, and represents an idiosyncratic development of a form witnessed in a number of Hiberno-Latin poems, notably the abecedarian hymn *Altus prosator* traditionally ascribed to Columba (who died in 597), which Aldhelm appears to have known.[52] In the case of Aldhelm's octosyllables, each verse can be divided into two parts, with the first variable, and the second exhibiting a strict cadence with stress on the antepenultimate (*proparoxytone*) syllable, which is followed by two unstressed syllables (/××); following the usual notation for Latin rhythmical verse, such paired octosyllables are described as 8pp + 8pp. In fact, the antepenultimate stress in each of Aldhelm's octosyllables is always preceded by an unstressed syllable, so that each comprises two equal halves, with the first variable and the second invariably of the same pattern (×/××). The basic principles of Latin rhythm preclude dissyllabic or monosyllabic endings (which would register as /× or /) from this pattern, and so the cadence inevitably contains the final word in each verse; it is striking that within the individual octosyllables of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* one of the syllables in the final word alliterates with those preceding in 76.5% of lines, and in twenty-three cases with more than one, with fifteen of those twenty-one examples (just under 70%) occuring in the first half of the poem. Such evident alliterative patterning is unexampled elsewhere in Latin verse, except for some adonics securely attached to Alcuin of York and his circle, so making the link to Old English verse all but

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51 Tangl, *Die Briefe*, p. 283 (no. 146); the embedded poem appears (written out as prose, as is usual for Old English verse) on fol. 34r of Vienna 751. See further Alfred Bammesberger, '*Proverb from Winfrid's Time* and *Bede's Death Song*: Some Textual Problems in Two Eighth-Century Poems Revisited', *Anglia* 138 (2020): 259–76; E. G. Stanley, 'Guidance for Wayfarers: About to Do God's Work, Devoutly Recalled', in *Anglo-Saxon Micro-texts*, ed. Lenker and Kornexl, pp. 319–28.

52 Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 54–60.

certain;[53] in particular, the pairing of octosyllabic verses through rhyme here emphasizes the vernacular connection.

The relative frequencies of alliteration both within individual octosyllabic verses and between pairs of verses in the rhythmical verses of Aldhelm and Æthilwald is summarised in Table 1 below. The figures reveal a striking dichotomy in alliterative patterning between Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* (*Ald1*) and Æthilwald's account of pilgrimage from Wihtfrith (*Æth1*) on the one hand, and Æthilwald's various hymns and verses to God, Aldhelm, and Offa (*Æth2*, *Æth3*, and *Æth4*) on the other. Perhaps the sharpest difference between the two groups lies in the extent to which the rhyming pairs of octosyllables are linked by alliteration, given here as **ab (%)**: while in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* the pairs are so linked less that half of the time (49.0%), and in just over half of the pairs in Æthilwald's account of pilgrimage for Wihtfrith (57.6%), the case of the three remaining poems by Æthilwald the figures are both significantly higher and relatively consistent (82.6%, 76.9%, and 82.1% respectively). Interestingly, however, interlinear alliteration (indicated by **<u>bold underlining</u>**) is consistently high across all the poems in both groups, strongly suggesting a conscious aim by both Aldhelm aand Æthilwald broadly to echo vernacular verse, but one which Æthilwald appears to have taken to extremes with intralinear alliteration between pairs of rhyming octosyllables.

The addressee of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* is obscured by the salutation in the opening line, but the first word, 'Reader' (*Lector*), suggests that the poem was an epistolary one, directed to an individual described as 'Catholic Protector' and 'heroic Hostage', variously identified as an otherwise unknown Helmgils (albeit that the name is attested in the Durham *Liber Vitae*), as Hæmgils (abbot of Glastonbury 676/7–701/2), or, abandoning the proposed equivalences of the Latin and Old English terms for 'Protector' and 'Hostage' (namely *casses/helm* and *obses/gisl*), or even as King Aldfrith himself, who had certainly spent time as a hostage (note the resemblance of *aquilionis a circio* [*Ald1* 37a] to Aldhelm's salutation *Acircio aquilonalis* in his *Epistola* to the king).[54] In a dense section dealing with meteorological and astronomical phenomena (*Ald1* 31–45), Aldhelm takes delight in his use of Classical language, including a Late Latin term derived from Hebrew (*mazaroth*), signifying the twelve signs of the

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53 Norberg and Ziolkowski, *Introduction*, pp. 43–46; see too Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf.'

54 See Lapidge and Rosier, *Poetic Works*, 171–79; Katherine Barker, '*Usque Domnoniam*: the Setting of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, Literature, Language, and the Liminal', and 'The *Carmen rhythmicum*: Aldhelm, Poet and Composer of *Carmina*', in Barker and Brooks, ed., *Aldhelm and Sherbourne*, pp. 15–52 and 233–70; Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury*, pp. 191–92.

Zodiac: 'Phoebus ... the Great Bear ... the north-western region of the North ... the Pleiades ... Atlas Libra ... the zodiac ... Mazaroth ... Olympus ... Sirius' (*Phoebi ... Plaustri ... aquilonis a circio ... Pliadis ... Athlantis Librae ... zodiacus ... Mazaroth ... Olimpum ... Sirius*), presumably showing off what he had learnt from Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, where, according to Bede, astronomy and computus were taught alongside metre.[55]

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[55] *HE* IV.2: Colgrave and Mynors, ed., *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 332–36; see further Howlett, '*Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum*;' Katherine Barker, 'Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*', in Barker and Brooks, ed., *Aldhelm and* Sherbourne, pp. 283–89.

Table 1: The Distribution and Frequency of Alliteration in the Octosyllables of Aldhelm and Æthilwald

	Ta (#)	Ta (%)	Tb (#)	Tb (%)	Da (#)	Da (%)	Db (#)	Db (%)	øa (#)	øa (%)	øb (#)	øb (%)	ab (#)	ab (%)
Ald1	13	13.0	9	9.0	71	71.0	55	55.0	16	16.0	36	36.0	49	49.0
Æth1	16	17.4	11	12.0	53	57.6	40	43.5	23	25.0	41	44.6	53	57.6
* * *														
Æth2	7	30.4	1	4.3	16	69.6	9	39.1	0	0.0	13	56.5	19	82.6
Æth3	16	41.0	1	2.6	19	48.7	20	51.3	4	10.3	18	46.2	30	76.9
Æth4	11	28.2	3	7.7	25	64.1	15	38.5	3	7.7	21	53.8	32	82.1

Cumulative figures:

	Ta+Tb (#)	Ta+Tb (%)	Da+Db (#)	Da+Db (%)	øa+øb (#)	øa+øb (%)
Ald1	22	11.0	126	63.0	47	23.5
* * *						
Æth1	27	14.7	93	50.5	64	34.8
Æth2	8	17.4	25	54.3	13	28.3
Æth3	17	21.8	39	50.0	22	28.2
Æth4	14	18.0	40	51.3	24	30.8

Key:

T	Triple alliteration (at least)	a	Alliteration in the a-verse	#	Number of examples
D	Double alliteration	b	Alliteration in the a-verse	%	Percentage of examples
ø	No alliteration	ab	Alliteration between a- and b-verses		(by verse-pairs or lines, as appropriate)

all percentages correct to one decimal place

The poem closes with a direct address in Aldhelm's own voice (*Ald1* 83–100) the opening of which is richly peppered with no fewer than five exclamatory interjections in the space of space of six lines (*En … Ecce … En … Heu … En*). There are some significant parallels between Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* and the first of the Old English *Riddles* in the Exeter Book, which is generally solved 'wind' or 'wind of God', strongly suggesting that the author of the latter was well-acquainted with Aldhelm's poem;[56] other apparent links between the octosyllables of Aldhelm and Æthilwald and Old English verse are explored below.

Æthilwald's longest surviving octosyllabic poem, which, as we shall see, seems in part closely modelled on Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, describes a pilgrimage to Rome undertaken by three brothers in Christ, two of whom are from the same family, and the death there of one of them (*Æth1*); the surviving two brothers bring back extravagant and expensive gifts back home, including some multicoloured silk garments, leading Æthilwald to spend a significant amount of the poem describing their magnificence, in terms that broadly recall one of Aldhelm's *aenigmata*, that on the 'silkworm' (*bombix*).[57] At the beginning of his poem, Æthilwald ostentatiously flags up his paraphrasing of a handful of rather trivial lines of the curriculum-poet Caelius Sedulius, who is also a major source for Aldhelm, in several ways: first, by an lavish description of Sedulius extending over seven full lines (*Æth1* 3–9); second, by a somewhat clumsy piece of paronomasia on his name (*Æth1* 5b: *perse<u>dulo</u>*) that serves to highlight Æthilwald's fondness for using compound adjectives in *per-*, all of which are either rare or unique, and so may be (at least in his Æthilwald's own mind) coinages (compare in this poem *perflorea* [*Æth1* 5b], *perlongi* [*Æth1* 39b], *perflorida* [*Æth1* 53b], and *perniveo* [*Æth1* 80a]); and thirdly by recasting the echoed lines from Sedulius in ways that require close knowledge of the source.[58] The grim account of the dangers that faced travellers from the triple threat of sea-voyages, brigands, and wild beasts (*Æth1* 25–32) is carefully set out through anaphora (*Neque … neque … neque*), while the offerings that are brought back include books, garments, relics, and certain images of the Virgin Mary with gilding around the head (whether statuettes or icons is unclear), and the description of all these handsome gifts begins with the exclamation 'Listen' or 'Behold' (*En* [*Æth1* 54a]) that appears to function here in a way similar to that in

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56 *OEALRT*, 298–305; *COEALRT*, 327–42 (especially the notes on 1.31–36b, 36b–39a, 47–58a, 69b–78a, 78b–82.

57 *OEALRT*, 12–13; *COEALRT*, 23–24 (the *aenigma* in question is ALD 12).

58 For a good analysis of how Æthilwald adapts Sedulius, see Miles, '*Carmina Rhythmica*', pp. 96–97.

which the parallel expression *Hwæt* occurs as a mark or aural punctuation in Old English verse.[59]

Æthilwald's hymn to God (*Æth2*) likewise seems to reflect contemporary and existing secular heroic praise-poems, in much the same way as other hymns to God, such as *Cædmon's hymn* or the varied terms for God found in the poet's repudiation of Danish paganism in *Beowulf* (*Beo* 180b–183a). Æthilwald's is an extraordinary poem in many ways, couched in somewhat blood-curdling terms, and concludes by calling for the tortuous punishment of nothing less than the fiery pits of Hell for Æthilwald's enemies (*hostium ... hostium*) from a Father (*sator*) who is also called upon to offer protection against the missiles, spears, and arrows of those fighting for Christ (*Æth2* 18–23). The preceding seventeen lines comprise a single complex sentence, broadly divided into two parts, beginning with an elaborate opening address that combines the inexpressibility topos with that of abject humility (*Æth2* 1–8), followed by a prayer that God will offer protection to Christ's young warriors, helmet-clad and wearing breastplates on their shoulders, as they fight in deadly battle against their foes 'in flashing showers of spears' (*imbribus telorum emicantibus*), an image that is such a commonplace in Old English poetry that it can be employed in an oblique fashion, as when in *Beowulf* (and a likely related instance in *Andreas*) the compound adjective 'shower-hard' (*scūr-heard*) can be used of sword-blades (*Beo* 1033a; *And* 1133a), and when in *Judith* draws a sharp sword 'hard in showers' to cut off Holofernes' head (*Jud* 79a: *scurum heardne*).[60] Æthilwald employs the same phrase 'showers of spears' in a very similar context in his poem on pilgrimage for Wihtfrith (*Æth1* 20b: *telorum imbribus*), describing how the three pilgrims were likewise fighting the good fight.[61]

The fact that Æthilwald's poem in praise of Aldhelm follows directly on from his hymn to God with no indication of separation in the manuscript is intriguing, to say the least: Æthilwald praises God primarily as the defence (not to say 'Protector' or 'helmet') of his Christian warriors, and that is exactly the sense in which Aldhelm, the 'Old Protector' (in Old English, *eald-helm*) is also

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[59] See George Walkden, 'The Status of *Hwæt* in Old English', *English Language and Linguistics* 17 (2013): 465–88; William Sayers, '*Hwæt*: The First Word of the *Beowulf* Poem Revisited', *ANQ* 31 (2018): 213-17.

[60] For an excellent discussion of the metaphorical and figurative usages of forms like 'shower' (*scūr*) and 'storm' (*storm*) in Old English verse, see Dennis Cronan, 'Poetic Meanings in the Old English Poetic Vocabulary', *English Studies* 84 (2003): 397-425, at pp. 410–11.

[61] For a useful overview, see now Glenn Cahilly-Bretzin, 'Soldiering for Christ: The Role of the *Miles Christi* in Four Old English Saints' Lives', DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2020.

praised: modern editors, in ignoring the layout of the manuscript may have made two poems out of one, where Aldhelm is, in effect, directly compared to God; certainly, it is difficult to distinguish such language from that of Old English poetry, both secular and sacred. In *Genesis A*, for example, the term 'protector' (*helm*) is found four times for God, who is designated 'protector of all creatures' (*GenA* 113a: *helm eallwihta*; *GenA* 1290b: *helm allwihta*), 'protector of spirits' (*GenA* 2422b: *gasta helm*), and 'protector of angels' (*GenA* 2752b: *engla helm*), and four times for human kings, uniformly designated 'protector of nobles' (*GenA* 1858a, 2146a, 2657a, and 2722b: *æðelinga helm*). In *Beowulf*, by contrast, God is once designated 'protector of the heavens' (*Beo* 182a: *heofena helm*), albeit in a passage that some have seen as a later interpolation,[62] while human kings and warriors are seven times variously described as 'protector of the Scyldings', 'protector of the Weder-Geats', 'protector of the Scylfings', or even 'protector of the seamen' (*Beo* 371b, 456b, and 1321b: *helm Scyldinga*; *Beo* 2462a and 2705a: *Wedra helm*; *Beo* 2381b: *helm Scylfinga*; *Beo* 1623b: *lid-manna helm*).[63] Even if the manuscript has wrongly confected Æthilwald's hymn to God and his poem on Aldhelm, Æthilwald's praise of Aldhelm is undoubtedly extravagant: the latter's brilliance is compared directly to that of the sun and the moon, and stars and lightning in the bright sky, and having twice made capital from the Old English meaning of Aldhelm's name as 'Old Protector' (*Æth3* 8 and 26: *Cassem Priscum*; *Cassis ... Prisci*), he does so a third time, this time with Latin paronomasia, linking *Althelmum* with the terms *altissimum* and *altum* ('the highest' and 'the high'), both words routinely associated with God.

But if Æthilwald's poem in praise of Aldhelm is profuse, that in praise of Ofa or Offa is also somewhat overstated, and surely represents one of the earliest English (in this case, Saxon) examples of secular praise poetry: the top-to-toe description had parallels in both Classical and Irish models, but none close enough to suggest direct imitation, while the references to Offa's apparently extravagant hair and his exaggerated claim about Offa's ability to outpace horses set him squarely in opposition to Aldhelm, whose concern about coiffure and antipathy to horse-racing seem a reaction against contemporary aristocratic practise.[64] Bede also tells a story about Abbot Herebald of Tynemouth (who died

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[62] See, for example, J. R. R. Tolkien, *'Beowulf:' A Translation and Commentary* (London: HarperCollins, 2014), pp. 169-81.

[63] See further Cronan, 'Poetic Meanings', p. 406, who also discusses other 'protection' terms, notably *eodor* and *hlēo*, which are used in Old English poetry in a similar way.

[64] See, for example, Sinéad O'Sullivan, 'The Image of Adornment in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*: Cyprian and His Influence', *Peritia* 15 (2001): 48-57. For Aldhelm's opposition to idle horse-riding, see

around 731), who in his early youth was attached to the retinue of Bishop John of Beverley (who died 721) in order to study reading and singing, and when other young men were racing horses, he defied John's specific command to him not to join in, and became badly injured, although he was subsequently healed by the bishop's intervention.[65]

Many connections link the octosylabic poems of Aldhelm and Æthilwald. It is widely recognised that repeated formulas and paralells of diction are pervasive in Old English poetry, and it has been suggested that in certain cases such apparent echoes reflect direct knowledge of and specific borrowing from one poet or poem by another.[66] Likewise, a complex nexus of parallels and echoes connects all of these octosyllabic poems, beginning with a few obvious internal echoes in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, which lend structure to the narrative, as follows:

[AA 1]   *Ald1* 10–11 Ecce, nocturno **temp**ore,   orto brumali *turbine*,
                            quatiens **terr**am *tempestas*   **tur**babat atque vastitas,
        Ald1 69   His tantis *tempestatibus*   ac **terr**orum *turbinibus*

[AA 2]   *Ald1* 35   sed *caec*atus *caligine*   **velud** furva fuligine
        Ald1 81   scissa *cec*a *caligine*   **quasi** mortis imagine

[AA 3]   *Ald1* 60   *En* multa in miraculo   *nunc apparent* propatulo
        Ald1 83   *En* inquam noctis horrida   *nunc apparent* spectacula

Note that these internal echoes, while generally involving the same words or forms (highlighted here in *bold italics*) might also comprise examples of paronomasia or synonyms (given here in **bold**): the former are found in the first set of echoes ('**temp**ore ... *tempestas* ... *tempestatibus*; **terr**am ... **terr**orum') while the latter are found in the second set ('**velud** ... **quasi**'); very similar strategies are likewise found in evident echoes in Old English verse too, while Aldhelm himself employs the same techniques throughout the almost 3,000 lines of his Latin hexameter verse.[67]

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his letter to Æthilwald, discussed below, and note too the reference to horse-racing back from the monster mere in *Beowulf* 864–67a and 916–16a, providing an envelope around the salutary tale of Sigemund and Hrothgar.

[65] *HE* V.6: Colgrave and Mynors, ed., *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 464–69.

[66] See, for example, Andy Orchard, 'Computing Cynewulf: the *Judith*-Connection', in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, and Readers*, ed. Jill Mann and Maura Nolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 75–106; *idem*, 'The Originality of *Andreas*', in *Old English Philology: Studies in Honour of R. D. Fulk*, ed. Leonard Neidorf, Rafael J. Pascual, and Tom Shippey (Cambridge: Brewer, 2016), pp. 331–70.

[67] For a large number of examples in Aldhelm and later Anglo-Latin verse, see (for example) Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 239–80; for Old English verse, see (for example) Alison M. Powell, Powell, 'Verbal

There are, moreover, far more internal echoes within and between the four octosyllabic poems attributed to Æthilwald, especially given that these comprise just under twice as many pairs of octosyllables as Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, so strongly supporting their unity of authorship, as follows:

[ÆÆ 1] *Æth1* 7   evolutam labilibus   *mundi molem* rotatibus
        Æth3 11   *molem mundo* minacibus   eminentem cum arcibus

[ÆÆ 2] *Æth1* 14   fides necnon trilicibus   girat *thoracis humeros*
        Æth2 15   Quibus infesti fortibus   forant *thoracas humeris*

[ÆÆ 3] *Æth1* 20   quae fugax Orcus horridis   timet *telorum imbribus*
        Æth2 17   Afflant necantes *imbribus*   *telorum* emicantibus

[ÆÆ 4] *Æth1* 37   omnes hii *in* Domino   (bini *sane* pro *saeculo*)
        Æth4 28   nequit *sane in saeculo*   ullus fari oraculo

[ÆÆ 5] *Æth1* 54   En vehebant volumina   numer*osa per agmina*
        Æth3 27   glori*osa per agmina*   gemmifera ornamina

[ÆÆ 6] *Æth1* 68   sed quod magis *mirabile*   *mundo* et desperabile
        Æth4 29   quantum *mundo mirabilem*   <te praestes et laudabilem>

[ÆÆ 7] *Æth1* 79   *sic sic sane* sanguinea   Syricorum insignia
        Æth3 33   *sic sic sane* sublimibus   satis ornatum cultibus

[ÆÆ 8] *Æth2* 1   *Summum satorem* solia   sedit qui per aethralia
        Æth4 11   *Summo satore* sobolis   satus fuisti nobilis

[ÆÆ 9] *Æth2* 2   Alti Olimpi *arcibus*   obvallatus *minacibus*
        Æth3 11   molem mundo *minacibus*   e*min*entem cum *arcibus*

[ÆÆ 10] *Æth2* 18   *Illos illos Omni*potens   trudat aeternis tenebris
        Æth3 35   *illis illis* in *omni*bus   aequalem dico actibus

Parallels in *Andreas* and its Relationship to *Beowulf* and Cynewulf,' PhD, University of Cambridge, 2002, pp. 239–99. For other lists of examples in both languages, see, for example, A. Orchard, 'Old English and Anglo-Latin: the Odd Couple', in *The Blackwell Companion to British Literature, volume I: the Medieval Period*, ed. Robert DeMaria, Jr, Hesook Chang, and Samantha Zacher (Chichester: Wiley–Blackwell, 2014), pp. 273–92; *idem*, 'Beyond Books: The Confluence of Influence and the Old English *Judith*', in *John Miles Foley's World of Oralities: Text, Tradition, and Contemporary Oral Theory*, ed. Mark Amodio (York: ARC–Humanities, forthcoming); *idem*, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf'.

[ÆÆ 11]	*Æth3* 1	Aethereus qui *omnia* *mundi* Herus molimina
	Æth4 33	quia *mundi* per *omnia* cunctis claret confinia

[ÆÆ 12]	*Æth3* 9	*astra Olimpi ignito* ardui *orbi* vegeto
	Æth3 22	urebant *astra ignito* torrentis **globi** iaculo
	Æth3 29	*astra* convexi *Olimpi* *orbi* clarescunt viridi

[ÆÆ 13]	*Æth3* 13	*caeli* iubar e *culmine* croceo fundunt *fulmine*
	Æth3 34	*caeli ceu per culmina* *cand*unt exorta *fulmina*
	Æth4 15–16	ludent sub fronte lumina *lati ceu per culmina*
		*caeli cand*escunt calida clari fulgoris sidera

[ÆÆ 14]	*Æth4* 5	*Tete Herus* in *omnibus* clarum creavit actibus
	Æth4 34	Sospitem *tete* sordibus servet *Herus* ab *omnibus*

[ÆÆ 15]	*Æth4* 9	n**ullus** *valet* voluc**ribus** summi caeli sub nub**ibus**
	Æth4 31	**ullus** *valet* sonant**ibus** licet clamet concent**ibus**

Almost half of these parallels involve individual octosyllables exhibiting triple or even quadruple alliteration, always in the a-line, including two parallels where this alliteration has been boosted by the simple repetition of the first word, a stylistic tic that appears in at least three of Æthilwald's poems.[68] Such aural embellishments presumably helped cement these lines in the minds of the audience, so fostering the associations that such echoes might be expected to engender. It is notable that there are apparently no internal echoes either in Æthilwald's account of pilgrimage for Wihtfrith or his hymn to God, while there are in his poems on both Aldhelm and Offa [ÆÆ 12–15]; both of these poems also contain evident echoes of all three of the others.

Yet perhaps the most impressive set of parallels among the five octosyllabic poems considered here is that between Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* and Æthilwld's rhythmical verse, where it is clear that the echoes extend before the purely verbal, and into areas where the remembered recollection has apparently spurred specific innovation:

[AÆ1]	*Æth1* 10	*trini* fuere *famine* viri absque cunctamine
	Ald1 95	propalant evangelica *trini* Tonantis *famina*

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68 The seven parallels exhibiting at least triple alliteration are [ÆÆ 1, 7–10, and 12–13], and in the case of [ÆÆ 7 and 10] the first word is repeated. Given this proclivity, one is tempted to emend the forms *Tete* and *tete* to *Te, te* and (less certainly) *te, te* in [ÆÆ 13].

[AÆ 2]   *Æth1* 25   Neque furentes *vortices*   *undisonis fragoribus*
           Ald1 53   cum bulliret brumalibus   *und*osus *vortex* fluctibus
           Ald1 72   horr*isonis fragoribus*   concuti ac creporibus

[AÆ 3]   *Æth1* 31   oberrantes *per dev*ia   dum*osi ruris* limina
           Ald1 77   *per dev*exa ac lubrica   cliv*osi ruris* latera

[AÆ 4]   *Æth1* 45   qui evectus *florent*ibus   Paradisi *cespitibus*
           Ald1 6   *flor*ul*entis cespitibus*   et foecundis graminibus

[AÆ 5]   *Æth1* 76   *quorum per*splendit species   *pulchra* ceu *planities*
           Ald1 29   *quorum pulchra planities*   *per*lucebat *ut* glacies

[AÆ 6]   *Æth2* 14   Alma *per adminicula*   hostium demat spicula
           Ald1 75   hic pelluntur **pericula**   *per* Matris *adminicula*

[AÆ 7]   *Æth3* 7   virum virtutum rumore   fulgescentem *in aethere*
           Ald1 12   cum fracto venti federe   bacharentur *in aethere*

[AÆ 8]   *Æth3* 13   *caeli* iubar e *culmine*   croceo fundunt *fulmine*
           Æth3 34   *caeli* ceu *per culmina*   candunt exorta *fulmina*
           Ald1 47   Attamen flagrant *fulmina*   late *per caeli culmina*
           Ald1 93   forsan quassato *culmine*   quateremur et *fulmine*

[AÆ 9]   *Æth3* 15   *Titan* tremet *torrentibus*   taedis late **lucentibus**
           Ald1 19   unde *Titanis torri*da   labuntur **luminaria**
           Ald1 38   ac totidem *torrentibus*   septem **latet lampadibus**

[AÆ 10]   *Æth3* 17   *noct*em *nigram nubi*culis   lucens lustrat corniculis
           Ald1 27–28   quae catervatim *cael*itus   crebrantur *nigris nubi*bus
                        Neque *cael*orum culmina   carent *noct*urna nebula

[AÆ 11]   *Æth3* 21   sed lutosam liquoribus   **tellurem** *umectant*ibus
           Ald1 24   **mundi rotam** rorantibus   *umectabant* cum imbribus

[AÆ 12]   *Æth3* 37   surgens nempe prolixitas   refragat *atque vastitas*
           Ald1 11   quatiens terram tempestas   turbabat *atque vastitas*

[AÆ 13]   *Æth3* 39   *maneat inmortaliter*   fine tenus feliciter!
           Ald1 98   grates dicamus dulciter   *manenti inmortaliter*!

[AÆ 14]   *Æth4* 31   ullus valet *sonantibus*   licet clamet con*centibus*
           Ald1 63   suscitarent *sonantibus*   somniculosos *cantibus*

So, in the case of both [AÆ 2] and [AÆ 9], for example, Æthilwald appears to have combined a pair of lines from Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, with both instances based on a series of aural associations, leading Æthilwald in the first case to combine the rare and poetic compound adjectives 'wavy' (*undosus*) and 'horrid-sounding' (*horrisonis*) to produce a further rare poetic compound of his own in the form of 'wave-sounding' (*undisonis*), and in the second case varying the two terms used by Aldhelm for 'illuminations' or 'lamps' (*luminaria* and *lampadibus*) to suggest his own 'brilliant torches' (*taedis lucentibus*); note that simple sound-association with Aldhelm's use of the finite verb *latet* seems to have led to Æthilwald's etymologically wholly unconnected adverb *late*. Similar examples of the substitution of synonyms are found in [AÆ 5], where one term for 'like' (*ceu*) appears for another (*ut*), and [AÆ 11], where Æthilwald exchanges the simple word 'ground' (*tellurem*) for Aldhelm's periphrasis 'circle of the world' (*mundi rotam*), whereas sound-associations in [AÆ 3] seem to have helped produce Æthilwald's (*per devia dumosi ruris*) from Aldhelm's (*per devexa ... clivosi ruris*). The distribution of apparent echoes of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* throughout Æthilwald's octosyllables also seems significant: there are only one each in his hymn to God [AÆ 6] and his poem on Offa [AÆ 14], and they are among the weakest examples. By contrast, there are five clear echoes of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* in the 92 paired verses of his account of pilgrimage for Wihtfrith, a poem that also encompasses an evident reworking of some lines from the popular curriculum-poet Caelius Sedulius, as well as a further passage likely deriving from one of Aldhelm's own *aenigmata*, that on the silk-worm (*bombix*), discussed above.

Still more striking are the seven evident echoes of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* in the thirty-nine paired verses of Æthilwald's poem on Aldhelm himself, which are so obvious both individually and collectively that the master must surely have been expected to notice what he may have considered a misplaced homage: certainly they can only be deliberate. An even more suprising echo may be detected between this poem and Aldhelm's letter to Wihtfrith whom both Æthilwald and Aldhelm evidently knew well, where Aldhelm describes in startling detail the various enticements to be found in the brothels the frequenting of which he abhors: he highlights harlots decked 'with ruddy pure gold' (*obrizo rutilante*), while Æthilwald's poem on Aldhelm seems to speak cheekily of the latter's own attainments and adornments as being decked out 'with ruddy pure gold' (*rutilanti ... obrizo*). In a similar vein, Æthilwald's description of

his poem on Wihtfrith's journey as a 'pilgrimage of a sea-voyage' (*transmarini ... itineris peregrinatione*) echoes Aldhelm's own letter to Wihtfrith, decrying his trip to Ireland as a 'sea-voyage' (*transmarinum iter*). It is hard not to see at least some of these echoes of Aldhelm by Æthilwald as something of a provocation; such goading certainly seems to prompted a response.

Aldhelm's tetchy letter to the errant Æthilwald is uniquely preserved by William of Malmesbury (immediately following on from Aldhelm's observations to Wilfrid's abbots about secular loyalty to lords, quoted above), who gives it as an example of 'a notable warning to a student' (*praeclara discipuli ammonitio*).[69] The salutation is quite brief:

> Dilectissimo mihi filio et simul discipulo Adilwaldo, Aldhelmus extremus servorum dei salutem.
> ['To my most cherished son and also student Æthilwald, Aldhelm, the least of the servants of God, sends greetings.']

Aldhelm goes on to say that he has had cause to warn Æthilwald in person 'several times about several matters' (*aliquotiens de aliquibus*), but now sends this written warning, at the end of which he asks that Æthilwald keep it always among his books as a constant reminder. Then, after quoting from a Pauline epistle to the effect that it is love of Christ that forces him to offer this stern rebuke (*karitas Christi ... urget nos*), Aldhelm gets to the point:

> Itaque, fili mi carissime, licet adolescens aetate existas, vanissimis tamen oblectamentis huius mundi nequaquam te nimium subicias sive in cotidianis potationibus et conviviis usu frequentiore ac prolixiore inhoneste superfluis sive in equitandi vagatione culpabili seu in quibuslibet corporeae delectationis voluptatibus execrandis.
> ['And so, my dearest son, even though you are young in years, nevertheless you should not in any way expose yourself too much to the most empty enticements of this world, whether in the excessive practice of daily drinking-parties and feasts, taken to disgraceful extremes, or in blameworthy wanderng about on horseback, or in any of the other damnable pleasures of bodily indulgence.']

After another biblical quotation, this time from Ecclesiastes, Aldhelm chides Æthilwald further:

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[69] Ehwald Ep. 8 (499–500); Winterbottom and Thompson, *Gesta Pontificum*, V.193 (I.512–15).

Amori quoque vehementiori pecuniae et omni saecularis gloriae Deo semper odibilis iactantiae nequaquam ultra modum inservias
['Do not become enslaved beyond measure to an excessive love of money and to all the boastfulness of worldly glory, which is always hateful to God.']

There follows two more biblical quotations, this time from the first two Gospels, Aldhelm returns to his severe tone:

Sed multo magis, mi amantissime, vel lectionibus divinis vel orationibus sacris semper invigila! Si quid vero praeterea saecularium litterarum nosse laboras, ea tantummodo causa id facias, ut, quoniam in lege divina vel omnis vel paene omnis verborum textus artis omnino grammaticae ratione consistit, tanto eiusdem eloquii divini profundissimos atque sacratissimos sensus facilius legendo intelligas, quanto illius rationis, qua contexitur diversissimas regulas plenius ante didiceris.
['But it is much more important, my most beoved, that you are always attentive to divine readings and sacred discourse. If indeed you should strive to know anything further of secular literature, do so only for the reason that, since in scripture every or almost every passage is altogether in complete accord with the rules of the art of grammar, the more fully you learn beforehand the most varied rules of the system by which it is organised, the more easily will you understand in your reading the deepest and holiest senses of the same divine discourse.']

The errors of Latinity so evident in the octosyllables that Æthilwald mentions in his own letter to Aldhelm amply justify the latter's austere instruction to study grammar above all, and only to read secular literature for grammatical instruction, as part of a broader renunciation of aimless horse-riding, drinking-parties and feasts (where presumably secular verse in the vernacular might be performed). The whole letter is structured around its threefold varied superlative address, emphasising Aldhelm's fondness for Æthilwald as his 'most cherished … dearest … most beloved' (*Dilectissimo … carissime … amantissime*), in ways that pick up on the Pauline insistence that this castigation has been prompted by the love of Christ (*karitas Christi … urget nos*). Yet it is hard not to understand this letter as a condemnation of Æthilwald's repurposing of Aldhelm's octosyllables and refinement of his style in ways that brought Æthilwald's poems (with the exception on the one of pilgrimage for Wihtfrith) much closer to the alliterative patterning of Old English verse.

So who, then, was Æthilwald, Aldhelm's erstwhile errant student? The old notion was that the transmitted name conceals an original reference to King Æthelbald of Mercia (who reigned 716–57), on this argument educated by Aldhelm when as a young man he had been driven into exile, and who was excoriated by Boniface (in a letter of around 746/47, preserved not only in Vienna 751, but elsewhere) for ungodly behaviour, including treating church lands and the rights of church folk as his own, as well as debauching nuns.[70] Certainly, Æthilwald claims that the period of his education under Aldhelm's wing occurred during a period of deep unrest and wandering bands of marauders:[71]

> Aestivi igitur temporis cursu, quo immensis feralium congressionum expeditionibus haec miserrima patria lugubriter invidia vasatrice deformatur, tecum legendi studio conversatus demorabar.
> ['So in the summertime season, when this most miserable country was being battered by ravaging hatred in vast battles of bestial bands, I used to remain spending time with you in pursuit of reading.']

Given the *b/ff/v/u/w* conflation that is amply attested both aurally (in terms of alliteration) and visually (in terms of manuscript-spellings) in contemporary texts, including those of Aldhelm and Æthilwald, the gap between *Aediluald* and *Aedilbald* is perhaps less clear than one would wish.[72] It is also notable that, according to the *Vita S. Guthlaci* written 731×749 by a certain Felix, one of the closest companions among those who accompanied Æthelbald in his exile was one Oba or Obba (a name that might well equate to Ofa or Offa), since among the octosyllabic compositions attributed to Æthilwald is an extraordinary panegyric for another Offa, named as a close companion (*Æth4*).[73] Another idea, that Æthilwald can be identified with Æthelwold, bishop of Lindisfarne (721–40), has also been suggested, and is at least equally likely; an intriguing panegyric acrostic, couched in the form of a responsory, and with different-coloured inks indicating a change speakers, spelling AEDELVALD EPISCOPVS ('Bishop Aedeluald'), appears to have been copied into the so-called 'Book of Cerne', and may offer

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[70] Tangl, *Die Briefe*, pp. 146–55 (no. 73).

[71] *Epistola* 7, Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 495; see too Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, p. 147.

[72] See further Dempsey, *Aldhelm of Malmesbury*, pp. 189–91.

[73] B. Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 138–41 (chapter 45). See further in this context Andy Orchard, '*Lege feliciter, scribe felicius*: the Originality of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*',in *Guthlac: Crowland's Saint*, ed. Jane Roberts and Alan Thacker in Guthlac of Crowland: Celebrating 1300 Years, ed. Jane Roberts and Alan Thacker (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2020), pp. 25–54; M. A. Bacola, '*Vacuas in auras recessit*? Reconsidering the Embedded Heroic Material in the Guthlac Narrative', in *Guthlac*, ed. Roberts and Thacker, pp. 72–85.

further witness to poetic and literary innovation at Lindisfarne.[74] In this context, it is perhaps worth noting the recent arguments that have been made in support of the old notion that Aedeluald's successor as bishop of Lindisfarne, Cyniuulf (who was bishop 737 or 740–779 or 780, when he stepped down, dying in 782 or 783) is to be identified with the Old English poet Cynewulf.[75]

The notion that the undoubtedly creative poet who composed four such idiosyncratic and at the same time innovative poems should necessarily be identified either with the archbishop or the king is of course reductive: such a poet may have simply sunk into subsequent obscurity. Certainly, Æthilwald's octosyllabic verses, albeit witnessed in only a single manuscript, do not seem to have gone entirely unheard, and appear to have been echoed often in the few octosyllables of one Berhtgyth that have survived, in two letters addressed to her brother Balthard.[76] The first of these, a raw and somewhat desperate complaint about the fact that they are not together, is peppered with no fewer than four biblical quotations, all from the Old Testament, despite the main body of the text after the salutation and before the poem comprising only fifteen lines in the printed edition.[77] In the manuscript, the octosyllables are simply written out at prose, without the formatting found for those of Aldhelm and Æthilwald, but when reformatted read as follows [*Berht1*]:

*V*ale, *v*ivens *fe*liciter	*ut* *s*is *s*anctus *s*imp*liciter*,	
*t*ibi *s*alus *p*er *s*aecul*a*	*t*ribuatur *p*er culmin*a*.	
*V*ivamus *s*oli Domin*o*	*v*itam *s*emper in *s*ecul*o*.	
*pro*fecto ipsum *pre*c*ibus*	*p*eto *pro*f*u*sis *f*let*ibus*	flectibus *V*
5 *s*olo tenus *s*epissim*a*	*s*ubrogare auxili*a*:	sola *V*
ut *s*imus digni glori*a*	*u*bi re*s*onant carmin*a*	
*a*ngelorum *l*aetissim*a*	*ae*thralea *l*aetiti*a*.	laetititia *V*
*C*lara *C*hristi *c*lementi*a*	*ce*lse *l*audis in secul*a*.	
*V*aleamus angelic*is*	*v*ictrices iungi milibu*s*	iunge *V*

[74] See, for example, David N. Dumville, 'Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-Examination of the Origin and Contents of the Ninth-Century Section of the Book of Cerne', *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1972): 374–406; Michelle Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-century England* (London and Toronto: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 129–61.

[75] Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf.'

[76] Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 65–67; Jane Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', in *Latin Learning and English Lore*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe and Orchard, II.86–107, at pp. 88–91 (note that Stevenson reorders the verses, so disrupting the rhyme-scheme); Diane Watt, *Women, Writing and Religion in England and Beyond, 650–1100*. Studies in Early Medieval History (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 69–70 and 80–84.

[77] Tangl, *Die Briefe*, pp. 284–85 (no. 147); the letter appears on fols 34v–35r of Vienna 751.

paradisi *perpetuis* *p*erdurantes in gaudi*is*.

   Eloe Eloimque El   et <Saboath et> Michael   *elonqueel et michael V*

ac Saddai Adonai   alleva iam alleluia.   *acaddai adonai alleuatia alleluia V*

['Farewell, living blessedly, so that you may be simply holy,

may salvation forever be granted to you in the heights.

   Let us live our lives for God alone, always in the world;

assuredly I beseech him in prayers with copious tears

on the earth asking for help most frequently: 5

so that we may be worthy of glory, where the most happy

songs of the angels ring out in heavenly happiness.

   The bright mercy of Christ of lofty praise for ever.

   Let us be able to be joined victorious to the angelic throngs,

enduring in the perpetual joys of paradise.   10

   Eloe and Eloim (and) El and Saboath and Michael

and Saddai Adonai, hallelujah, alleluia.']

The closing stream of Hebrew names and titles for God and the archangel Michael, which may or may not be intended as further octosyllables, and are certainly badly botched in the manuscript, matches well the Old Testament flavour of the biblical quotations. The poem as a whole also has a clear structure, with the opening imperative singular 'Farewell' (*Vale*) giving way in successive sentences to first person plural subjunctives 'Let us live' (*Vivamus*) and 'Let us be able' (*Valeamus*: the deliberate parallel with the opening Latin *Vale* is hard to capture in English), all linked by alliteration. Compared with the high style of the poem, the salutation of the letter seems at first glance fairly spare:[78]

> Dilectissimo fratri in Domino et in carne carissimo Balthardo Berhtgyth in Christi nomine salutem
> ['To my most cherished brother in the Lord and the dearest in the flesh, to Balthard Berhtgyth sends greetings in the name of Christ.']

In fact, alliteration again makes plain the key connections (*Dilectissimo … Domino*; *carne carissimo*; *Balthardo Berhtgyth*), reversing alphabetical order (*D … D*; *c c*; *B B*), but associating spiritual and bodily love in a set of chiastic pairs with the names of Berhtgyth and her brother, whom she places first in that relationship.

   In the parallel salutation of Berhtgyth's second, subsequent, and (as far as the record shows) final letter to her brother, which contains a still more poignant

[78] In the manuscript, Berthtgyth's name appears as *Berthgyth* by metathesis, but the emendation is an easy one.

plea for his presence, Berhtgyth effaces her own name, and leaves the ovious parallels of her previous letter (not to say the obvious familial connection) to identify the sender (again, apparent echoes are highlighted in *bold italics*):

> *In nomine Domini* nostri Iesu *Christi et in* sancta trinitate *dilectissimo*
> fratri unico *Baldhardo* perennem *in Christo salutem*
> ['In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Holy Trinity, I send
> to my most cherished brother Balthard eternal greetings in Christ.']

This letter, rather longer than the first, but containing only two brief biblical quotations, split between Old and New Testaments, follows on immediately in the manuscript, but in this case the octosyllables, which begin at the top of the page, are laid out in rhyming pairs like those of Aldhelm and Æthilwald, and read as follows [*Berht2*]:[79]

> *P*ro me, quaero, oramin*a*   *pr*ecum; *p*andent *p*recipu*a*
> *t*ua formosa famin*a*,   *t*ua sopha scienti*a*,   *tuesophę entiae V*
> *u*ti noua ac veter*a*   *u*ti dira dis*c*rimina
> *Ch*ristus *a*b*o*let *c*rimin*a*   *c*um *i*nmensa *c*lementi*a*   *cremina V*
> 5 *u*t *a*rmata *a*ngelici*s*   *r*allata *l*egionibu*s*
> *d*extro ac *l*euo *l*ater*e*   *d*ialique maiestat*e*.
>   Haue [*salue?*], *c*are *c*rucicol*a*,   *s*alute tu *s*oror*e*a.   *saluta ta asorore V*
>   *F*ine tenus *f*el*iciter*   *f*amam *s*erua *s*impl*iciter*.   *serve V*
> ['I beg, the prayers of entreaties; let them reveal
> your beautiful utterances, through your wise knowledge,
> as new and old, as dread differences,
> may Christ take away your sins with immense mercy
> so that armed and supported by angelic troops   5
> on the right and left side in heavenly majesty.
>   Greetings, dear worshipper of the cross, with sisterly salutation.
>   Blessedly, right to the end, simply maintain fame.']

That these letters and poems are meant to be read as a pair is emphasized through the evident echo of the opening two line of *Berht1* (*feliciter ... simpliciter / tibi salus*) in the closing two lines of *Berht2* (*salute tu / ... feliciter ...*

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[79] Tangl, *Die Briefe*, pp. 285–87 (no. 148); the letter appears on fols 35r–35v of Vienna 751, with the poem beginning at the top of 35v.

simpliciter), using the device that in Old English poetry is known as the 'envelope pattern'.[80]

Both poems despite their comparative brevity, also show a very similar pattern of borrowing from the octosyllabic poems of both Aldhelm and Æthilwald; there are two apparent echoes of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, as follows:

[BA 1] *Berht1* 8 **Clara Christi clementia** celse laudis in secula.
        Ald1 61 **clara Christi clementia** per haec facta recentia

[BA 2] *Berht2* 4 Christus abolet cri**mina** **cum inmensa** clement**ia**
        Ald1 96 turris fregisse frag**mina** **cum inmensa** macer**ia**

Much more impressive, however, are the evident echoes that link these two poems by Berhtgyth specifically to two of Æthilwald's poems, namely his hymn to God (*Æth2*) and poem on Aldhelm (*Æth3*), which in fact appear together without a break in the manuscript, as follows:

[BÆ 1] *Berht1* 8 Clara Christi clem**entia** **celse laudis** in secula
        Æth2 8 car**min**are conc**enti**bus **celsae laudis** stridentibus

[BÆ 2] *Berht1* 4–5 *profecto ipsum precibus* *peto profusis fletibus*
                      solo tenus sepissima subrogare auxilia
        Æth2 9–10 *ipsum profecto precibus* *peto profusis fletibus*
                      allidens libentissime *solo tenus saepissime*

[BÆ 3] *Berht1* 2 *tibi salus per saecula* tribuatur per culmina
        Æth3 38 *tibi salus per secula* sospes et absque macula

[BÆ 4] *Berht2* 8 *Fine tenus feliciter* famam serua simplic**iter**
        Æth3 39 maneat inmortal**iter** *fine tenus feliciter*

The evidence of [BÆ 2–4] seems particularly strong, and appears to show Berhtgyth echoing consecutive lines of both of these poems by Æthilwald (if they are indeed discrete items), again in ways that have powerful parallels in Old English verse.

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[80] The classic definition, with copious examples is provided by Adeline Courtney Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature 122 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), 9–29; see further Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 78–82.

So what, then, are the lessons to be learnt with regard to the earliest English poetics from the contemporary Anglo-Latin perspective, as exemplified by the octosyllabic verse of both Aldhelm and Æthilwald? It seems clear that the bilingual poetic culture appears at this point particularly open to interaction, and that while we are used to considering the Latin sources of Old English poetry, we might also consider how vernacular verse seems to have influenced Latin poems produced in the period, and how close consideration of a consolidated library of Anglo-Saxon poetry might bring great benefits. Such gains are clear in at least three ways: first, with regard to alliterative patterning and use of rare or unique poetic compounds; second, that some recent assumptions about the copying of earlier verse by later scribes seem to align in both Old English and Anglo-Latin; and third, that apparent echoes, parallels, and formulaic phrasing are the common currency of verse in both literary languages, and were similarly used. Poets evidently spoke to each other throughout the period, it seems, in ways we are perhaps only beginning to appreciate again, if only we have ears to hear.

Moreover, while of course we will never be able to hear with the ears of the original audience the poets of the period expressed and echoed in the voice of their first fresh verse, but perhaps we should try a little harder than we have heretofore to weigh all of the evidence, in whatever language, in order to appreciate more fully what we do have, rather than simply speculating on what has undoubtedly been lost. Whether the Æthilwald who sent an evidently somewhat exasperated Aldhelm octosyllabic verses so obviously redolent of contemporary Old English verse is to be identified with a future king of Mercia, a future bishop of Lindisfarne, or none of the above is in a way immaterial: those verses clearly made their way to the continent, where they were evidently echoed, and amply attest to the persistent power of the poetry produced in both literary languages in what was still yet to become England, at this earliest period of all.

Appendix:

The Octosyllabic Poems of Aldhelm and Æthilwald in Vienna 751: Texts and Translations

Aldhelm, *Carmen rhythmicum* [*Ald 1*]

    Lector, casses catholice   atque obses anthletice,   catholicę *V* anthletice *V*
    tuis pulsatus precibus   obnixe flagittantibus
    ymnista carmen cecini   atque rem sponsam reddidi,   responsa *V*
    sicut pridem pepigeram.   Quando profectus fueram
5 usque diram Domnoniam   per carentem Cornubiam   dōnoniam *V*
    florulentis cespitibus   et foecundis graminibus,
    elementa inormia   atque facta informia
    quassantur sub aetherea   convexi celi camara,
    dum tremet mundi machina   sub ventorum monarchia.
10   Ecce, nocturno tempore,   orto brumali turbine,
    quatiens terram tempestas   turbabat atque vastitas,
    cum fracto venti federe   bacharentur in aethere   fracti *V*
    et rupto retinaculo   desevirent in saeculo.
    Tum libertate polita   et servitute sopita
15 spissa statim spiramina   duelli ducunt agmina,
    quibus bis sena nomina   indiderunt volumina.
    Horum archon, atrociter   fumam verrens, ferociter   archons *V* famam *V*
    furibundus cum flamine   veniebat a cardine,   flaminae *V*
    unde Titanis torrida   labuntur luminaria;
20 cumque flatus victoriae   non furerent ingloriae,   furirent *V*
    tremebat tellus turbida   atque eruta robora
    cadebant cum verticibus   simul ruptis radicibus.
    Neque guttae graciliter   manabant, sed minaciter
    mundi rotam rorantibus   umectabant cum imbribus.
25 Cum praepollenti pluvia   essent referta flumina,
    turbo terram terentibus   grassabatur grandinibus,
    quae catervatim caelitus   crebrantur nigris nubibus.
    Neque caelorum culmina   carent nocturna nebula,
    quorum pulchra planities   perlucebat ut glacies,   glaties *V*
30 donec nimbo ac nubibus   torve teguntur trucibus.   crucibus *V*
    Nam tenebrescunt turbine   disrupto rerum ordine
    germanae Phoebi numina   atque praeclara lumina;   germane *V*
    neque flagrabat flammiger   ductor dierum Lucifer,   doctor *V*
    sicut solet sepissime   auratum sidus surgere,
35 sed caecatus caligine   velud furva fuligine.
    Plaustri plane pulcherrima   non conparent curricula   curricola *V*
    aquilonis a circio   cursum servantis sedulo,

Aldhelm, *Carmen rhythmicum* [*Ald 1*]

Reader, Catholic Protector and heroic Hostage:
spurred by your entreaties earnestly requesting me,
as a singer of hymns I have sung this song and fulfilled what I agreed,
just as I had undertaken long ago. When I had set out
for dread Devon through Cornwall, which was lacking   5
any flowering turf or flourishing grass,
the mighty elements and the misshapen masses
shake beneath the heavenly dome of the vaulted sky,
while the structure of the world trembles under the winds' tyranny.
  Behold, at night-time, after a wintry squall arose,   10
a storm was battering the earth as devastation began to disturb it,
once the winds, having shattered their pact, began to rage in the air,
and, having burst their restraints, began to go berserk in the world.
  Then, having gained their liberty and cast off their bondage,
their blasts, immediately scattered, and to which books   15
have granted twice six names, form battle-lines of war.
  Their leader, viciously sweeping across the ground furiously,
frenzied in its gusts, began to approach from the direction
from where the blazing lamps of Titan set,
and since those blasts were not raging for some inglorious victory,   20
the disrupted earth began to tremble and the uprooted oaks
began to fall, with crown and roots disturbed at once.
  Nor did the raindrops begin to moisten gently, but menacingly
began to drench the circuit of the earth with dripping showers.
  When the rivers were flooded with excessive rain,   25
the whirlwind began to pound the earth with polished hailstones,
which throng in heaps from black clouds on high.
  Nor were the heights of heaven free from the fog of night,
and their beautiful smoothness began to shine like ice,
until they are grimly covered by shade and dread clouds.   30
  So with the order of things disturbed, the Godhead
of the sister of Phoebus grows dark, with her brilliant light;
nor was the light-bearing, flame-wearing, guide of days blazing,
just as he customarily does most often rise up as a golden star,
he was blinded by darkness, as if by a dusky dimness.   35
  The most splendid circuits of the Great Bear do not plainly appear
from the north-western region of the North, carefully keeping its course;
likewise the splendid sequence of the Pleiades, of the offspring of Atlas,

ac totidem torrent*ibus*   s̲eptem latet lampad*ibus*
*P*liadis *p*ulchra copul*a*   ab A̲thlantis *p*rosapi*a*:
40   haec con*sœ*ndunt per *e̲*th*era*   ab o̲rtu *s*olis *s*id*era.*

is hidden with its seven blazing torches:
these stars climb through the skies from the direction of the rising sun.   40

Tunc pari lance limpida   Librae torpebat trutina;

zodiacus cum cetera   cyclus fuscatur caterva,
quem Mazaroth reperimus   nuncupari antiquitus,
bis senis cum sideribus   per Olimpum lucentibus;
45   nec radiebat rutulus,   sicut solebat, Sirius,
quia nubis nigerrima   abscondunt polos pallia.

nugerrima *V*

   Attamen flagrant fulmina   late per caeli culmina,
quando pallentem pendula   flammam vomunt fastigia,
quorum natura nubibus   procedit conlidentibus,

quarum *V*

50   necnon marina cerula   glomerantur in glarea,
qua inruit inruptio   ventorum ac correptio.

ruit *V*

   Per pelagi itinera   salsa spumabant equora,
cum bulliret brumalibus   undosus vortex fluctibus;
oceanus cum molibus   atque diris dodrantibus
55   pulsabat promontoria   suffragante victoria:
sic turgescebat trucibus   pontus ventorum flatibus
infligendo flaminibus   scopulosis marginibus.

faminibus *V*

   Quid dicam de ingentibus   altithroni operibus,
quae nullus nequit numero   conputare in calculo?
60   En, multa in miraculo   nunc apparent propatulo:
clara Christi clementia   per haec facta recentia!

   Cum quarta gallicinia   quasi quarta vigilia |

40va   suscitarent sonantibus   somniculosos cantibus,
tum binis stantes classibus   celebramus concentibus
65   matutinam melodiam   ac synaxis psalmodiam:
en, statim fulcra flamine   nutabant a fundamine;
tigna tota cum trabibus   tremibunda ingentibus
vacillabant ab omnibus   aulae pulsata partibus.

pulsatis *V*

   His tantis tempestatibus   ac terrorum turbinibus
70   nostra pavent precordia,   tot monstrorum prodigia
quando cernebant lumina: tectorum laquearia
horrisonis fragoribus   concuti ac creporibus.

   Tum tandem cursu caterva   confracta linquens limina
portum petit basilicae   populante pernicie:
75   hic pelluntur pericula   per Matris adminicula!

   Quidam discrimen duobus   devitantes cum saltibus

duobus *sic V* diuitantes *V*

per devexa ac lubrica   clivosi ruris latera
metuebant magnopere   casam contritam crepore.

contritum *V*

   Porro cum tetrae tenebrae   preterissent et latebrae

tetro *V*

80   fatescente velamina   orto iubaris lumine,

fatescentes *V* iuuaris *V*

scissa ceca caligine   quasi mortis imagine,
tunc videns ab ecclesia   tigilli fusa fragmina,
   'En, inquam, noctis horrida   nunc apparent spectacula!

Then the gleaming scales of Libra, with its balanced pans, began to grow dim;
The cycle of the zodiac is darkened, along with the rest of its throng,
which we learn in ancient days was called Mazaroth,
with its twice six stars shining throughout Olympus.
 Nor was reddish Sirius gleaming as it usually did,   45
Since the blackest coverings of cloud obscure the skies;
and yet lightning flashes widely throughout the heights of heaven,
when their jagged points spew forth pale fire,
the origin of which derives from clashing clouds.
 Likewise, the blue sea-waves are piled up on the shingle,   50
where the assault and aggression of the winds assails.
 Throughout the paths of the sea the salty plains were foaming,
while the undulating swell began to boil with wintry waves;
when the ocean with its mighty bulk and savage flood-tides
began to pound the promontories with victory at hand: 55
in such a way the sea began to swell with savage gusts of winds
forced by blasts against the rocky shores.
 What shall I say of the mighty works of the one throned on high,
which no one can reckon or count in number?
 Listen, many now appear in a manifest miracle: 60
the mercy of Christ shining through these recent events!
 Then the fourth cockcrow, as if it were the fourth vigil,
roused with its resounding summons those slumbering,
when, standing in twin ranks responding to each other,
we celebrate the melody of Matins and the psalmody of the Divine Office: 65
listen, with the blast the pillars suddenly began to topple from their foundations;
all the beams, together with the vast rafters, shuddering,
began to shake, buffeted from all sides of the hall.
 Amidst these massive storms and tempestuous terrors
our hearts tremble, when our eyes started to see   70
so many signs of momentous events: that the wooden panelling of the roof
was shaking with horrid-sounding crashings and smashings.
 Then, finally, the congregation, abandoning the shattered thresholds at a run,
heads for the door of the church, while disaster was imminent:
at this point danger is deterred through the assistance of the Mother.   75
 Some, escaping the crisis in twin leaps
through the sloping and slippery aspects of uneven country
began to fear mightily that the building would be shattered by the crash.
 Yet when the black darkness and obscurity had passed,
and their cloak was fading with the rising brightness of dawn,   80
after the dark blackness was divided like the likeness of death,
then, seeing the rafter-fragments scattered from the church,
I say: 'Listen: the dread display of last night is now clear!

Ecce, casae cacu*mina*   *c*adebant ad funda*mina*,

85 qua *s*olebant lautissim*ae*   *s*umi dulces delici*ae*!

E*n*, genestarum apric*a*   *f*rondosarum *v*elamin*a*

pelluntur p*arietibus*   *f*labrorum *arietibus*!

Heu! tectorum tutamin*a*   *pro*sternuntur in plate*a*;

Ecce, *cr*ates a cul*mine*   ruunt *s*ine muni*mine*!

90 Flatus *s*aevi *s*piramin*a*   haec fecerunt ludibri*a*.

Et *n*isi *n*atalic*ia*   *P*auli *s*ancti *s*ollemn*ia*

*t*uerentur *t*rement*ia*   *t*imidorum pre*c*ord*ia*,

*f*orsan *qu*assato *c*ulmine   *qu*ateremur et *f*ulmine,

*qu*emadmodum *cr*udel*iter*   novies binos *c*irc*iter*

95 propalant evangelic*a*   *t*rini *T*onantis *f*amin*a*

*t*urris *fr*egisse *fr*agmin*a*   *c*um inmensa *m*aceri*a*.

Ergo *Ch*risto in *c*ommu*ne*   a*d*empti a *d*iscrimi*ne*

grates *d*icamus *d*ulc*iter*   *m*anenti inmortal*iter*!

*D*oxa *D*eo in*genito*   atque *g*nato pro*genito*

100 *s*imul cum *s*ancto *s*upern*a*   flatu regenti *s*aecul*a*!'

See: the heights of the house fell right to the foundations,
where once the purest sweet delights would be undertaken. 85
　Listen, the sunny coverings of the leafy broom
are driven from the walls by the battering-rams of the blasts.
　Alas, the roofs' coverings are laid flat in the street.
　See, the thatch crashes from on high, without any defence.
These blasts of cruel wind caused violations. 90
　And unless the solemn feast-day of Saint Paul
was protecting the trembling hearts of the terrified,
perhaps we would have been struck with lightning once the roof was shattered,
just as the evangelical words of the threefold Thunderer
make plain that fragments of the tower viciously broke 95
twice ninefold bodies all around with its massive wall.
So let us who were snatched from danger
give sweet thanks together to Christ who remains immortal!
Glory to the unbegotten God and to the begotten son
ruling heaven forever along with the Holy Ghost!'] 100

Æthilwald's account of pilgrimage for Wihtfrith [*Æth1*]

Nuper dein labent*ibus* binis brumae tempor*ibus* de inlabentibus; brunae *V*
absque *m*ora *m*eatu*um* *m*ox *c*ompleta *v*ergenti*um*
(*qu*emad*m*odum *m*elli*f*icis *h*eroicorum *v*orsibus
*i*nlustris *qu*ondam poet*a*, Romae *u*rbis *i*ndigen*a*,
5   *st*ili *c*alamo stri*dulo* *c*araxante perse*dulo*
*g*acris in*g*erit *g*cedulis docti*l*oquus *S*eduliu*s*,
e*v*olutam *l*abil*ibus* *m*undi *m*olem rotat*ibus*
*pr*otellata *pr*aepat*ulis* inter*v*alla obstac*ulis* ptellata; p̄patulis *V*
*p*epulisse *p*ernic*iter* *p*arum sistens stabil*iter*) sistens *sic V*
10 trini *f*uere *f*amine *v*iri absque cunt*amine* cuntamine *V*
di*v*ulgati per *ae*ther*a* summi *O*limpi supprem*a*, deuulgati *V*
*V*irtutum *qu*os redimit*a* *cr*istatos *c*ingit *c*oron*a*;
parta *n*amque per *f*abric*am* aethralis Heri *v*eget*am*, paeta; uegitam *V*
*f*ides *n*ecnon *t*rilicibu*s* girat *t*horacis humero*s*. fidei; girant *V*
15 Sic *t*ruduntur *t*yrannid*is* *t*ela labaro tyron*is*, te labiosa *V*
quibus *h*orrende *i*n*ruit*, *i*mber *v*eluti ing*ruit*;
*b*ellicosus *i*n *ag*o*ne* *C*hristi, *ad*ver*s*o *ag*mi*ne*
*c*onsternatus *qu*o *qu*irit*at* *f*ur *v*ix erectus, indic*at*: qd̄ueritat; furuex *V*
'*C*h*r*isti *cr*ucis per *c*ulmin*a* *f*erimus *f*rontis *v*exill*a*,
20 quae *f*ugax Orcus horrid*is* timet telorum imbribu*s*.' quas; orcas *V*
At *v*os, *f*amosi *v*iribu*s* *v*iri sudantes strennui*s*,
trucem *v*icistis trop*eo* hostem *b*elli aether*eo*, |
qui *p*ropinquos et *p*atri*as* abspernantes *p*eregrin*as*
*i*gnoti ruris *c*espi*tes* ad*i*stis *c*ursu praepe*tes*! audistis cassu p̄cipites *V*
25 Neque *f*urentes *v*ortice*s* undisonis *fr*agoribu*s*
*t*urgentis *T*ithis *t*ellu*rem* debellantis per terro*rem*, thitis *V*
neque *l*atrones *l*ibid*is* glomerantes genuin*is*
*l*oetiferae *l*ibidin*is* *l*uridaeque cupidin*is*,
*ab*strahunt qui *ex*uv*ias* *l*egentibus per a*v*ias, abstrahuntq; *V*
30 neque *b*elvae *v*ibran*tibus* *r*abidi *r*ostri *r*ic*tibus* biluę *V*
oberrantes per *d*e*v*ia *d*umosi *r*uris limin*a* aberrantes *V*
*C*elsorum *Chr*isti mil*itum* re*f*renarunt propos*itum*. caelsorum *V*
cum a*g*ape pro nu*minis* iter suum cona*minis*
gradientes *s*ublim*ia* Petri petunt su*ffr*ag*ia*;
35 *i*llum *v*isendi gra*tia* *fr*equentant, ut amnes*tia* uissendi *V*
nancta *f*oret a nu*mine* Petri iuvante *f*amine: iuuanti *V*
omnes *h*ii in Domin*o* (*b*ini sane pro saecul*o*) sanę *V*
erant iuncti *b*itumin*e* germanitatis *v*iscid*e*. uscide *V*
Tandem, de*c*urso *c*on*c*ite perlongi *c*allis lim*ite*, decurre *V*
40 *e*dem *al*mam *ad*i*ere*, *p*atria quam *p*etiv*ere*, audiere patriam *V*
*u*bi *P*etri *c*orpuscul*um* iacet tellure *c*ondit*um*.

Æthilwald's account of pilgrimage for Wihtfrith [*Æth1*]

['Recently, then, as two winter-times slip by,
without any delay completed soon of movements sinking slowly down
(just as, once, the prominent poet, a native of the city of Rome
once in mellifluous hexameter verses,
with the screaming point of his reed-pen assiduously writing,   5
inscribed in sacred pages, Sedulius, skilled in speech,
narrating that the mass of the earth, reeling with teetering revolutions,
scarcely standing still, had speedily rejected intervals of time
long drawn out by extensive obstacles),
there were three men beyond doubt renowned   10
throughout the skies of the loftiest Olympus,
whose crested heads a wreathed crown of virtues encircles;
for faith has been born throughout the burgeoning creation
of the heavenly Lord and girds the shoulders with a triple-layered breastplate.
  Just so, the spears of tyranny with which it attacks viciously,   15
as when a shower sweeps in, are forced back by the standard of the young warrior,
where the Thief, scarcely able to stand upright in the opposing battle-line,
grunts dismayed,and the one battling in the conflict of Christ, makes clear:
'We bear atop our foreheads the banners of Christ's cross,
which Orcus dreads, fleeing from the vicious showers of spears.'   20
  But you, famous men, striving with strenuous might,
you have beaten the brutal enemy with a heavenly trophy of war,
you who, spurning familiar friends and homelands, swift in haste
have travelled to the foreign soil of an unknown land.
  Nor did the raging swirls, with wave-sounding crashings   25
of the swelling sea battling the land with terror,
nor by raiders massing with inborn malice
of murderous lust and ghastly greed,
who take away booty from those travelling over trackless wastes,
nor did beasts, with the shuddering maws of a wild snout,   30
wandering through the remote regions of thorny country,
rein back the purpose of the exalted warriors of Christ.
  Then, out of love for the Godhead, traveling over the route
of their endeavour, they seek out the sublime assistance of Peter;
they gather for the sake of visiting him, so that they might obtain an amnesty   35
from the Godhead with the aid of Peter's intercession:
they were all linked in the Lord (and two indeed in a worldly way)
with the cohesive bond of brotherhood.
  At last, once the end of the lengthy expedition had been speedily complete,
they reached the blessed building in the homeland that they sought,   40
where the body of Peter lies buried in the ground.

	Verse	
	Tum alter e felicibus couterinis fratribus	altar *V*
	prosilit de ergastulo carnis evulsus clanculo	
	clavigero et regiae caeli adhesit munitae:	
45	qui evectus florentibus Paradisi cespitibus	quo *V*
	sociatus sublimibus angelorum cum milibus	
	regnat, istic per saecula carpens aeterna gaudia.	
	Bini vivi, beantibus meritorum meatibus,	bini bini *V*
	virentes acsi floscula paradisi perflorea	
50	olim spretas agilibus patrias petunt cursibus,	ollim spraetas; pectunt *V*
	non quod luxu labilia cosmi quaerunt quisquilia,	cusmi; quiscilia *V*
	sed quod ferunt non minima carismatum donamina,	fert' *V*
	quibus ditatur area animarum perflorea.	didatur arida *V* pflorida *V*
41rc	En vehebant volumina numerosa per agmina	
55	multimodis et mysticis elucubrata normulis,	
	quorum auctori aius adesse constat alitus;	auctor *V*
	quae profetae, apostoli doctiloqui oraculi	
	indiderunt pergaminae almo inflati flamine.	
	Nunc vestium velamina bella produnt ornamina,	ulla pdunt oramina *V*
60	mirifico quae munere proferebant praepropere	que; pferebant ppore *V*
	quaeque ita inormia eliciunt exordia:	
	'pulchra prorsus propagine deprompta in origine	pulchro prosus *V*
	gnari quaedam genimina vermis feruntur minima,	fuerunt' *V*
	foliis quique vescitur, brumae meatu moritur;	meatū oritur *V*
65	cumque proles progreditur, ovorum alvo oritur,	
	neque illos qui genuit vermis, idem recaluit.	
	Foetus fluunt ex semine imo naturae germine;	foetum fluant *V*; germane *V*
	sed quod magis mirabile mundo et desperabile:	disperabile *V*
	ova viri et faeminae calificata calore	calificati *V*
70	parturire progenitum foetum vellere vegetum.	uegitum *V*
	Lana ostri elabitur vermiculo, cum vertitur,	
	spissam ceu aranea telam texit muscarea;	muscanea *V*
	tumque lana, latratibus fusi valde volantibus	fusae *V*
	filatim quae revolvitur, veluti setis torquitur.'	filā inqu; *V*
75	Inde sumuntur syrica, quae portabant, promiscua,	
	quorum persplendit species: pulchra ceu planities	
	paradisi puniceis purpurata cum rosetis,	roseis *V*
	quibus inter eburnea lilia lucent linea;	locant *V*
	sic, sic sane sanguinea Syricorum insignia,	insignea *V*
80	pulchre picta perniveo colore atque croceo;	
	viridi, fulvo, floreo fucata atque blaveo	laneo *V*
	ut peplorum per pallia pulchra pandant ornamina!	pandunt *V*

Then one of the two blessed brother born of the same mother
springs forth after being torn from the secret prison of the flesh,
and joined the key-bearer of the fortified royal dwelling-place in heaven;
who was borne away to the flowering turf of Paradise   45
reigns accompanied by sublime thousands of angels,
reaping eternal joys there throughout the ages.
    The two left living, flourishing like the budding flowers
of paradise in the pleasing passages of their rewards,
set out with nimble courses for the homeland they once spurned,   50
not because they seek the fleeting flotsam of the world with its luxury,
but because they bear no very trivial offerings of spiritual gifts,
with which a garden bed of souls, full of flowers, is enriched.
    Listen, they were bringing back through the battle-lines numerous volumes
composed laboriously with many kinds of mystic rules,   55
for the author of which the Holy Ghost is reckoned to have been close at hand;
and what the prophets, apostles of a revelation skilled in speech,
put down on parchment, inspired by the Holy Spirit.
    Now they offer up garments of attire, handsome adornments,
which they started to bring forth with great haste in a marvelous gift,   60
and which elicit an extensive opening as follows:
'Produced right from the first from a beautiful shoot
certain offspring of a clever worm which feeds on leaves
and dies at winter's approach are said to be very small;
and when progeny appears it springs from a womb of eggs,   65
nor did that worm, the same one that produced them, warm them.
    From that seed there flow youngsters, from the basest germ of nature,
but what seems to the world both more marvelous and hopeless:
the male and female eggs, heated by heat,
produce spawned offspring burgeoning with fleeciness.   70
    The wool of the purple dye falls away from the tiny worm, as it turns,
just as the fly-catching spider has woven its web;
and afterwards the wool is twisted thread by thread, with great grindings
of a spindle flying, which turns as if it is twisted with bristles.'
    From there, the various Syrian materials arise, which they were wearing,   75
the variety of which mightily shines, just as the fair plain
of Paradise is empurpled with scarlet roses
among which are ivory-coloured lilies in a line;
just so, just so do the clearly crimson outstanding examples of Syrian robes,
beautifully decked out with snow-white and saffron colouring;   80
stained with green, golden, florid, and blue,
as the fair ornaments are plain all over the garments.

Tum sanctorum reliqu*ias*   *n*on*n*ullorum *e*xim*ias*
*a*dvehebant *i*norm*iter*   dicatas, *n*utu *n*av*iter* |

41v 85 qu*a*e concedunt *o*ramin*a*   *o*rantium fideli*a*.
Necnon *a*dhuc munuscul*um*   quoddam *a*ddunt pulcherrim*um*,
*t*oracidas, *t*uent*ibus*   re*t*orquentes lumin*ibus*
imagines **au**riferi*s*   Christi *m*atris *c*apitibu*s*.
*C*umque *m*ulta *m*agnanim*a*   producebant donamin*a*,

90 *Ch*risti sponsae, *e*cclesi*ae*,   *c*uncta ferebant *o*pim*ae*
et *i*psorum et *o*mn*ium*   matri *Ch*risto *c*reden*tium*.
*V*aletote *f*eli*cibus*   *v*itam *c*lausuri *c*al*cibus!*

   Then they were bringing outstanding relics of several saints,
consecrated prodigiously, which thoroughly grant by assent
the faithful prayers of those who pray. 85
   They also still add a certain most beautiful little gift,
small statues, directing back to gazing eyes
images of the mother of Christ with gilded heads.
   And as they began to bring forth many magnanimous offerings,
they brought them all to Christ's bride, the fine church 90
both of themselves and of all those believe in Christ and his mother.
Farewell, you who are to end your life with blessed ends!']

Æthilwald's hymn to God [*Æth2*]

41va11   Summum satorem, solia   sedit qui per aethralia,
          alti Olimpi arcibus   obvallatus minacibus,
          cuncta cernens cacumine   caelorum summo lumine
          alta poli et infima   telluris latae limina,

5   cuius inmensa munera   nequeo prorsus, funera   prosus *V*
          antequam rictu rabido   raptent et rodant avido   rodent *V*
          ore halitum, corpore   mortis rigente torpore,   sortis rigenti *V*
          carminare concentibus   celsae laudis stridentibus,   caelsae *V*
          ipsum profecto precibus   peto, profusis fletibus

10   allidens libentissime   solo tenus saepissime   saepissimæ *V*
          curvatam colli cervicem   capitis atque verticem:
          titubanti tutamina   tribuat per solamina
          sacrosancta sublimiter,   suffragans manu fortiter
          alma per adminicula   hostium demat spicula,

15   quibus infesti fortibus   forant thoracas humeris,
          Christi tyronum cassibus   caesis foedis fragoribus
          afflant necantes imbribus   telorum emicantibus.   afflā; aemicantibus *V*
           Illos, illos Omnipotens   trudat aeternis tenebris,
          ubi typo teterrimus   tostos globorum gremiis   uby tipo *V* tortis *V*

20   girat torquens gurgitibus   atri ignis ultricibus.
           En, pilorum acerrima   parma pellat acumina, | pilarum *V*
41vc   hostium a ferocibus   protegens arundinibus
          concertantes agonibus   Christo semper fidelibus.

Æthilwald's hymn to God [*Æth2*]

['It is the loftiest Father, who sits among heavenly thrones,
bound round by the menacing citadels of high Olympus,
observing by the loftiest light everything in the summit of the skies,
the heights of heaven and the lowest thresholds of the expansive earth,
whose gigantic gifts I am utterly unable to sing   5
in strident songs of soaring praise
(before my demise snatches my breath away in its rabid maw
and gnaws it with its greedy mouth,
while my body stiffens in the listlessness of death)
— that is the one I earnestly beseech with prayers, with streaming tears,   10
most willingly and very often bending the curved nape of my neck
and the top of my head right down to the ground:
through his sacrosanct solaces may he sublimely bestow protection
on the one stumbling, strongly helping with his hand;
may he by kindly aid take away the missiles of enemies,
with which foes penetrate the breastplates on strong shoulders   15
once Christ's young warriors' helmets are hewn with loathsome blows
(the killers breathe forth in flashing showers of spears).
   Them, them may the Almighty thrust into eternal darkness,
where the foulest fiend tortures and turns the roasted
in the bowels of the earth, in avenging eddies of dark fire.   20
   Listen, may he turn away the sharpest spear-points with his shield,
protecting from the savage arrows of enemies
those striving in struggles ever faithful to Christ.']

41vc3   Aethereus qui omni*a*   mundi Herus molimin*a*

verbi tantum cum num*ine*   formasti in orig*ine*,

mihi, nova qui nu*tibus*   adgredior nutan*tibus*,   adgredirer *V*

litterarum cum l*usibus*   odas *c*oaptem *usibus*,   odis *V*

5   *f*acunda *f*unde *f*amin*a*;   <ut *f*austa per *c*on*amina*>   *5b missing in V*

*qu*eam *c*oepto in *c*ar*mine*   *c*elso proferre *f*a*mine*

*v*irum *v*irtutum rumo*re*   *f*ulgescentem in aethe*re*,

Cassem Priscum *c*um no*mine*   comptum, *v*eluti lu*mine*

*a*stra Olimpi igni*to*   *a*rdui *o*rbi *v*ege*to*   uegito *V*

10   larem librant luc*ifluam*;   lustrant *a*xis ign*ifluam*

molem mundo mina*cibus*   eminentem cum ar*cibus*,   aeminentem *V*

*f*umam *f*urvam *f*rig*oribus*   *f*oci *c*onplent *c*al*oribus*,

*c*aeli iubar e *c*ul*mine*   *c*roceo *f*undunt *f*ul*mine*:   et ulmine *V*

Titan tremet torr*entibus*   taedis late luc*entibus*   lat*ę* *V*

15   passim *o*rbis per marg*inem*   ad *u*sque *c*aeli *c*ard*inem*;

Phoebe *qu*oque flagrant*ibus*   fratrem iuvat *a*rdor*ibus*,   iubat *V*

noctem nigram nub*iculis*   lucens lustrat *c*orn*iculis*;   lucem *V*

*a*mbo sp*a*rgunt spira*mina*   ignis aethralis lu*mina*

neque *n*ocent nitor*ibus*   nemorosis cespit*ibus*

20   ruris rigati riv*ulo*   roscidi roris *s*ed*ulo*,

*s*ed lutosam liquor*ibus*   *t*ellurem *u*mectant*ibus*

*u*rebant *a*stra igni*to*   *t*orrentis globi iacul*o*:   arebant *V*

*gl*escunt, ut *gl*ebae *g*ermin*a*   dura atque *t*enerrim*a*,   CHECK

*s*itu *r*oscido robo*ra*   quaeque *v*irescunt tene*ra*;

25   *s*ucorum *s*umunt *s*apor*em*,   *s*i *v*erminant per *v*apor*em*.   verū nā *V*

Ita Cassis per culmin*a*   Prisci candunt pra*ef*ulgid*a*   pandunt *V*

*gl*oriosa per *ag*min*a*   gemmi*f*era *o*rna*mina*,

rutulanti redimit*a*   *o*brizo, *v*elud limpid*a*

*a*stra *c*onvexi Olimp*i*   *o*rbi *c*larescunt *v*irid*i*.

42r   30   Althelmum nam alt*issimum* | *c*ano atque clar*issimum*

alto nostratim no*mine*   nuncupatum et nu*mine*   nunccupatum *V*

pollentem per *c*aelest*ia*   potente ac terrestr*ia*,   potentē *V*

sic, sic sane sublim*ibus*   satis *o*rnatum *c*ult*ibus*,

*c*aeli *c*eu per *c*ul*mina*   *c*andunt ex*o*rta *f*ul*mina*:   cęu *V* porta *V*

35   *i*llis, *i*llis *i*n *o*mn*ibus*   *a*equalem dico *a*ct*ibus*.

quae *eff*ari *s*ubli*miter*   *o*des huius inor*miter*   quaeque fari *V* hodis *V*

*s*urgens nempe prolix*itas*   re*f*ragat atque *v*ast*itas*.   nēpē *V*

*t*ibi *s*alus per *s*e*cula*   *s*ospes et absque *ma*cula   sospis ab usque *V*

*m*aneat inmortal*iter*   fine *t*enus felici*ter*!   fi *V*

Æthilwald's poem on Aldhelm [*Æth3*]

['Heavenly Lord, you who formed from the first all the building-blocks of the world
with only the Godhead of the Word, pour forth fine speech for me,
who embarks on novelties, so that with favourable assent I may be able to adapt
the verses to familiar usages, with play on letters,
celebrate in lofty language at the beginning of my poem   5
a man shining in heaven through the reputation of his virtues,
embellished with the name of 'the Old Protector' —
like the stars of soaring Olympus with fiery brightness
spread light-flooding flame over the burgeoning earth
they roam the fire-flooding mass of the sky   10
which towers over the world in its menacing citadels;
they fill up the earth, dark from cold, with the heat of the hearth,
pour forth light from the height of heaven with saffron lightning.
Titan trembles with blazing torches
spreading light widely everywhere out
to the edges of the earth right up to the hinge of heaven.   15
Phoebe also assists her brother with burning heat,
illuminating with the cusps of her crescent moon
as she roams the night, black with wispy clouds;
both luminaries scatter their breath of fire from the sky,
nor do they harm by their brightness the wooded sod of earth
irrigated by an unremitting rivulet of dampening dew;   20
but the stars began to burn up the earth, muddy from liquid moisture,
with the burning javelin of a blazing sphere;
as the hard and very delicate seeds in a clod swell,
each delicate sapling burgeons in a moist spot;
they take up the savour of sap, if they sprout through the warmth.   25
So the gem-bearing embellishments of 'the Old Protector'
shine through the very bright heights, among the glorious companies,
adorned with ruddy pure gold, just as the bright stars
of vaulted Olympus become brilliant to the green earth.
For I sing of Aldhelm, the most exalted and most famous,   30
called by an exalted name among us and mighty
in the Godhead that is powerful throughout heaven and earth,
thus, thus fully furnished sufficiently with sublime refinements,
as lightning-bolts shine when they arise throughout the heights of heaven:
I say that he is equal to them, to them in all his deeds;   35
indeed, the prodigiously increasing length and extent
of this song fail to speak of these things fittingly,
May secure salvation, spotless through the ages remain
yours blessedly, without death right up to the end.']

Æthilwald's poem on Offa [*Æth4*]

42ra13

Vale, vale, fid*issime*,   philochriste car*issime*,   phile christe *V*
quem in cordis cubic*ulo*   cingo amoris vinc*ulo.*
  Have, Hova al*tissime*,   olim sodes sanc*tissime*,   ollim *V*
salutatus supplic*ibus*   Aethilwaldi cum voc*ibus.*

5   Tete Herus in omn*ibus*   clarum creavit act*ibus*,   tete *V*
forma et visu vir*ilem*,   facto et dicto sen*ilem.*
  Tuam primam prop*aginem*   per profundam ind*aginem*   primū *V*
curiose coni*cere*   mentis atque insp*icere*   curiosę *V*
nullus valet volucr*ibus*   summi caeli sub nub*ibus*;

10   tamen adgressi gaudi*is*   loquimur parum trepid*is.*
  Summo satore sobo*lis*   satus fuisti nobi*lis*,
generosa progen*itus*   genetrice, exped*itus*
statura, <val>de stab*ilis*   statu et forma ag*ilis.*   destabilis *V*
  Capud candescens crinibu*s*   cingunt capilli nitidi*s*;

15   ludent sub fronte lu*mina*,   lati ceu per cul*mina*
caeli candescunt calid*a*   clari fulgoris sider*a*;
genae gemellae c*ollibus*   glomerantur cum m*ollibus*,   cūollib; *V*
pedetemptim purpur*eo*   pictae fuco et niv*eo*,
rosa veluti rut*ulis*   radiat valde flosc*ulis*;

20   aures auscultant omni*a*;   verba ex ore prodit*a*
almi oris innum*era*   nequeunt fari mun*era.*
  Adest verbosae fulg*idum*   sophiae stemma luc*idum*: uerbosa *V* sopha et omne *V*
manus, manus mira*biles*,   multum podes placi*biles*,   placabiles *V*
tibiae cursu toret*es*   tam fortes, ut soniped*es*   tantū fortes ut sonipes *V*

25   saepe sequantur curs*ibus*   salientes praepet*ibus.*   sequunt' *V*
  Iam si centenis clam*itet*   quisque linguis et voc*itet*   nam *V*
ferrea voce frem*itans*   valde et ore crep*itans*,
nequit sane in sae*culo*   ullus fari ora*culo*,   fare *V*
quantum mundo mir*abilem*   <te praestes et laud*abilem.*>   *29b missing in V*

30   Neque altum ingen*ium*   explicare mortal*ium*
ullus valet, sonant*ibus*   licet clamet conce*ntibus*;
quod idcirco non *effero*   laude quavis nec r*effero*,   lauda *V*
quia mundi per om*nia*   cunctis claret confi*nia.*   q̃ *V*
  Sospitem tete sord*ibus*   servet Herus ab omn*ibus*,

35   tegat totum tuta*mine*   truso hostis acu*mine*,   togat *V*
mite reddens refu*gium*   robustum per suffra*gium*,   rite *V*
inque locet aethere*um*   caelestis sceptri gremi*um*,
ubi semper consorti*um*   perfruaris angelic*um*
fine carens, caeles*tibus*   vitam degens cespi*tibus.*   deges *V*

Æthilwald's poem on Offa [*Æth4*]

['Be well, be well, most faithful and dearest follower of Christ,
whom I clasp in the chamber of my heart with the bond of love.
　Greetings most lofty Offa, sometime most saintly intimate,
saluted with the suppliant words of Æthilwald.
　The Lord made you famed in all actions,　　　　　　　　　　　5
manly in appearance and aspect, a veteran in deed and speech.
　No one beneath the scudding clouds of the highest sky
can inquisitively suppose nor examine
through deep inquiry the first of your family line;
yet having embarked on it I shall speak a bit with fearful delight.　10
　You were sprung from the loftiest Father of noble stock,
born from a well-born mother, and endowed with stature,
very steady in state and nimble in appearance.
　A shock of shining hair surrounds your lustrous head;
eyes twinkle beneath your brow just as throughout the heights　15
of broad heaven blazing stars of bright brilliance lend their lustre;
twin cheeks ride high in gentle hills,
depicted delicately with colouring crimson and snow-white,
radiating greatly like a rose with ruddy flowers;
your ears hear everything; spoken words sprung from a gracious mouth　20
are not enough to utter your innumerable gifts.
　A crown of wordy wisdom attests shining brilliance:
hands, hands are wondrous, feet very pleasing,
smooth lower limbs, so powerful in running that galloping horses,
dashing, often trail in headlong races.　　　　　　　　　　　　25
　Now if anyone should cry out and speak with a hundred tongues
growling powerfully with an iron voice, shouting with their mouth,
truly no one in the world is able to utter in speech
how much you show yourself to be wondrous and worthy of praise,
nor can any mortal man explain your lofty intellect,　　　　　30
although he were to call out in resounding chants;
and for that reason I do not relate or recount with any kind of praise
what is clear to everyone throughout all the confines of the world.
　May the Lord keep you safe from all stains of sin,
cloak you wholly in his protection, once the enemy's attack has been repelled,　35
rendering gentle refuge through strong assistance,
and place you in the heavenly bosom of the celestial realm,
where you may always enjoy the companionship of angels
without end, spending your life on heavenly turf.']

3

Early Anglo-Latin Heroic Verse

I 'Literary formulaic borrowing'

In the course of an 85-line poem in Latin hexameters, composed for the dedication of a church founded by Abbess Bugga, Aldhelm mentions no fewer than three successive West-Saxon kings, namely Centwine (ruled *c.* 676–685/86), Ceadwalla (ruled 685/86–688), and Ine (689–726); the last was currently ruling when the poem was composed. All three kings abdicated with the intention of retiring to lead a monastic life, Centwine within the boundaries or his former realm, while the other two went to Rome, where Ceadwalla was baptized by Pope Sergius and died only a few days later, being buried in Old St Peter's accompanied by an impressive verse epitaph.[1]

Aldhelm witnessed charters issued by all three of these kings, and also had dealings with Centwine's predecessor, Cenwalh (ruled *c.* 642–*c.* 645 and from *c.* 648–*c.* 672), but his own royal connections are unremarked in the poem: he seems to have been a son of Centwine himself, and so brother of Bugga. At all events, Aldhelm is the only source to mention the martial achievements of Centwine, noting that he had waged three battles against unspecified enemies, and had triumphed three times (Aldhelm *Carmen ecclesiasticum 3* 10–11). Aldhelm introduces Centwine's successor with similarly warm approval of Ceadwalla's martial prowess, before hastening on to describe his trip to Rome and happy baptism (Aldhelm *Carmen ecclesiasticum 3* 17–28):

> Post hunc successit bello famosus et armis
> Rex Caeduualla, potens regni possessor et heres;
> Sed mox imperium mundi *sceptrum*que *relinquens*
> 20   *Turgida* cum ratibus *sulcabat caerula* curuis
> Et *maris aequoreos lustrabat remige campos.*
> Algida uentosis crep*itabant carbasa flabris,*
> *Donec barca rudi* pulsabat litora rostro;

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[1] See further 'King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols, Toronto Old English Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, pp. 171–93

> *Exin* nimbosas tra*nscendit passibus Alpes*
>
> 25 *Aggeribus niueis* et montis uertice saeptas.
>
> *Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae*
>
> Et simul ecclesiae *laetatur clerus in urbe*,
>
> Dum *mergi* meruit *baptismi gurgite* felix.

['After him, there took his place a man famed in war and weapons,

King Cædwalla, a powerful keeper and heir of the realm.

But, soon abandoning the kingdom and power of the world,

he ploughed the surging waters with a curved keel

and traversed the watery plains of the sea by oar.

The chilly sails crackled in the windy gusts

until the barque struck the shore with its untried prow;

then he crossed the stormy Alps on foot,

hemmed in by snowy stacks and mountain peaks.

The clemency of Rome rejoiced in his arrival;

and likewise the clergy of the church in Rome were gladdened

as the fortunate man deserved to be immersed in the waters of baptism.']

While this passage certainly contains examples of Aldhelm's customary recycling of phrases (marked in *bold italics*),[2] it is striking that there is perhaps less direct reliance on school-text authors that he might have acquired at Canterbury.

Ceadwalla's vividly-described journey to Rome is lent extra poignancy by the fact that Aldhelm had apparently made such a pilgrimage himself, when he returned

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[2] Note in particular almost an entire line shared with Aldhelm's *Aenigma* 92 (*FARUS EDITISSIMA* ['a very tall lighthouse']): *Non **maris aequoreos lustrabam remige campos*** (*Aenig* 92 5). Other evidence includes the following:

ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 506	Osuui germano terrestria *sceptra relinquens*.
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 576	Ecfredo moriens regalia *sceptra relinquens*
ALDHELM.CarmEcc 3 20	*Turgida* cum ratibus sulcabat *caerula*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 1102	*Turgida* fluctiuagis sopiuit *caerula* campis
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 2807	*Turgida* uentosis deponens carbasa malis
EVSEBIVS.Aenig 40 3	Trano per undisonas ac *turgida cerula* limphas
BEDE.VmetCuthbert.Vulg 1 116	*Sulcabat media puppis secura profundum*
CAEL.SED.Carm.pasch03 51	*Sulcabat medium puppis secura profundum*
IVVENC.Euang03 98	Cum *puppis medio sulcabat* in aequore fluctus
AEDILVVLF.DeAbbatibus 15 33	Cum celebrare suis *laetetur clerus in urbe*
AEDILVVLF.DeAbbatibus 20 13	Per cellam monachi; *laetatur clerus in urbe*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 984	Tingeret infantes *baptismi gurgite mersos*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 1222	Fecit *baptismi* purgari *gurgite mersos*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 1448	Qui simul in sacro *baptismi gurgite mersi*

with a papal bull from Sergius granting land to Malmesbury;[3] it has even been suggested, given his royal connections, that he also accompanied Ceadwalla on this occasion too.[4] In this case, Aldhelm emphasizes the speed and energy of the trip by the rapid repetition of five medial finite verbs in five successive lines (*sulcabat … lustrabat … crepitabant … pulsabat … transcendit*). While Aldhelm customarily favours the medial position for his finite verbs,[5] the close repetition of such notably poetic verbs, underlined by the concomitant concatenation of poetic adjectives in -*osus* and -*eus* artfully arranged just before the primary caesura (*aequoreos … uentosis … nimbosas … niueis*), as well as the deployment of a series of rare nouns from the Latin poetic register (*ratibus … caerula … remige … carbasa … barca*), all conspire to make this a self-consciously purple passage, and one well worthy of memorization, imitation, and emulation.

Perhaps the most obvious example of evident debt to this passage comes in the anonymous *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* ('the miracles of Bishop Nynian'), a poem of 504 hexameters that survives in a single manuscript with close ties to Alcuin, to whom, indeed the poem seems to have been sent.[6] Nynian's own pilgrimage to Rome is described in terms clearly designed to recall Aldhelm's account of Ceadwalla's journey (*Miracula Nyniae* 2.1–19 [30–48]; parallels with Aldhelm's earlier description are highlighted in bold italics):

2.1	30	*Exin* fluctiuagi co*nscendit* litora ponti
2.2	31	Atque sacer pande captabat uiscera cymbae
2.3	32	Extensaque auidis uol*itabant carbasa flabris*,
2.4	33	*Donec barcha rudi* transuecto robore pontum
2.5	34	Liquerat et fuluis proram defixit harenis.

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[3] Christine Rauer, 'Pope Sergius I's Privilege for Malmesbury', *Leeds Studies in English* 37 (2006): 261–91.

[4] See Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph'.

[5] See further Andy Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 94–97.

[6] *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, ed. K. Strecker, MGH PLAC 4.3 (Berlin, 1923), pp. 943–61; K. Strecker, 'Zu den Quellen für das Leben des Heiligen Ninian', *Neues Archiv* 43 (1920-22), 1-26; W. Levison, 'An Eighth-Century poem on St Ninian', *Antiquity* 14 (1940), 28–91; W. W. MacQueen, 'Miracula Nynie episcopi', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 4th series 38 (1959-60), 21–57; J. MacQueen, *St Nynia*, with a translation of the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and *Vita Niniani* by W. MacQueen (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005). See further A. Orchard, 'Wish you were here: Alcuin's Courtly Verse and the Boys Back Home', in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. S. R. Jones, R. Marks, and A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 21–43; for a still more nuanced view of the way in which *MNE* makes uses of the difficult school-text author Arator, see R. Hillier, 'Dynamic Intertextuality in the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*: remembering Arator's *Historia apostolica*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (2015), 163–79.

2.6	35	Inde pedem referens co*nscendit passibus Alpes,*
2.7	36	Lactea qua tacito labuntur uellera celo,
2.8	37	*Aggeribus niueis* cumulantur germina montis.
2.9	38	*Exin* sacratis perrexit querere plantis
2.10	39	Pontificis summi sanctis firmarier orsis,
2.11	40	Qui tum forte sacer ueterum munimenta priorum,
2.12	41	Culmen apostolicis meruit seruare triumphis.
2.13	42	*Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae,*
2.14	43	Terrarum domine candentia menia mansit
2.15	44	Perque dies plures diuina oracula uisit
2.16	45	Peruigil excubiis mundi luminaria poscens
2.17	46	Et ceteros passim lustrauit in ordine sanctos,
2.18	47	Quos deus eternis ornatos iure triumphis
2.19	48	Aurea florigere prouexit ad atria uitae.

['From there the sacred man went to the shore of the wave-tossed sea
and boarded the bowels of a wide-curved craft,
and the spread sails flew in the eager breezes
until after the rough timber had been carried across
the barque left the sea and fixed its prow on the golden sand.
  Then, proceeding on foot, he climbed by pacing the Alps,
where the milky fleeces slip from the silent sky,
and the mountain vegetation is heaped over by snowy piles.
  From there he continued on consecrated steps,
seeking to be strengthened by the holy utterances of the supreme pontiff,
who then happily deserved to guard the defences of ancient predecessors
and the sacred summit with its apostolic triumphs,
and at his arrival the mercy of Rome rejoiced.
  He stayed within the gleaming walls of the mistress of lands,
and over many days he saw divine oracles;
awake in his vigils, demanding the lights of the world,
and also visited everywhere in sequence other saints,
rightly adorned with eternal triumphs, whom God
had brought to the golden halls of the flourishing life.']

While of course given the general currency of the hundreds of thousands of lines of Latin verse, now more easily available and open to scrutiny than ever before, it might be argued that such obvious overlap is ultimately a matter of chance and

shared choice of formulas and formulaic systems widely available, it seems hard to deny the specific connection and direction of influence between poets composing perhaps a century apart.

There are further signs that this passage is a essentially a confection of school-texts, with an entire line taken from one the specific poems of the prolific Paulinus of Nola that is known to have circulated in Anglo-Saxon England, evidently in an edited collection.[7] This clear borrowing is but part of an extended nexus of such associations, which can be schematically illustrated as follows (with parallels again indicated by *bold italics*):[8]

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[7] *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina*, ed. W. Hartel, CSEL 30 (Vienna, 1899); see further N. Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 134–51 and 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse: a Postscript', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 392–96; T. W. Mackay, 'Paulinus of Nola', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: a Trial Version*, ed. F. M. Biggs, T. D. Hill, and P. E. Szarmach, with the assistance of K. Hammond (SUNY: Binghamton, NY), pp. 144–45.

[8] Evidence:

CAEL.SED.Carm.pasch3 70–71	Interea placido *transuectus* marmore puppem
	Liquerat et medios *lustrabat* passibus
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 2807	Turgida uentosis deponens *carbasa* malis
ALDHELM.Aenig 73 7	*fluctiuagi ponti* nec compensantur harena
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 5	Sic quoque *fluctiuagi* refrenans caerula *ponti*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 423	Humida *fluctiuagi* sacrantem caerula *ponti*
VERGIL.Aeneid10 794	Ille *pedem referens* et inutilis inque ligatus
VERGIL.Georg04 485	Iamque *pedem referens* casus euaserat omnis
PAVL.NOL.Carm18 24.	*Lactea qua tacito labuntur uellera caelo.*
BEDE.VmetCuthbert.Vulg 1 590–91	Sed cupiens solitis *sacri firmarier orsis.*
	Qui dum sidereis uerbi deuota uicissim
N.MiraculaNyniae 39–40	Pontificis summi *sanctis firmarier orsis*,
	Qui tum forte *sacer* ueterum munimenta priorum
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 1321	nc nostram pelagi per caerula *cymbam*
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 1656	r ut nostram mundi de gurgite *cymbam*
ARATOR.Act.apost1 755	Postquam cuncta uidens *lustrauit in ordine sanctos*
VERGIL.Aeneid08 312	Exquiritque auditque uirum *monimenta priorum*
ALDHELM.Aenig 65 1	Fida satis custos conseruans *peruigil* aedes
ALDHELM.Aenig 100 5	*Peruigil excubiis*: numquam dormire iuuabit
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 2671	*Peruigil* hanc pestem calcat constantia mentis
BEDE.VmetCuthbert.Vulg 1 89	*Peruigil* en modico magnalia tempore creui
FRITHEGOD.BrevVWilfred 846	*Peruigil excubias* Iesu dum soluis amatas
WULFSTANC.NmetSwithun 1 648	*Peruigil excubias* deducere nocte memen
WULFSTANC.NmetSwithun 2 701	Duxit ibi noctem coram patre *peruigil* unam
WULFSTANC.NmetSwithun 2 1117	In quo dum noctem solummodo *peruigil* unam
LVCAN.Phars04 7	*Peruigil* alterno paret custodia signo.
MART.CAP.Nupt1.021 17	*Peruigil* immodico penetrans arcana labore
ALC.AVIT.Carm05 219	Continuat precibusque frequens ac *peruigil* instat
ALC.AVIT.Carm06 242	*Peruigil* ut sancto sic uiuens cura sepulchro

2.1	30	*Exin fluctiuagi* conscendit litora *ponti*
2.2	31	*Atque sacer* pande captabat uiscera *cymbae*
2.3	32	Extensaque auidis uol*itabant carbasa flabris*,
2.4	33	*Donec barcha rudi transuecto* robore pontum
2.5	34	*Liquerat et* fuluis proram defixit harenis.
2.6	35	Inde *pedem referens* conscendit *passibus Alpes*,
2.7	36	*Lactea qua tacito labuntur uellera celo*,
2.8	37	*Aggeribus niueis cumulantur germina* montis.
2.9	38	*Exin sacratis perrexit querere* plantis
2.10	39	*Pontificis summi sanctis firmarier orsis*,
2.11	40	*Qui tum forte sacer* ueterum *munimenta priorum*,
2.12	41	*Culmen apostolicis* meruit seruare triumphis.
2.13	42	*Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae*,
2.14	43	*Terrarum domine* candentia menia mansit

ARATOR.Act.apost01 754	*Peruigil excubiis* commissi Petrus ouilis
ALDHELM.CarmEcc 5 6	*Culmen apostolici* celsum perdebat honoris
VEN.FORT.VSM.3 448	*culmen apostolicum* celsas et honore columnas
ALCVIN.VmetWillibrord 3.34 49	<u>Sed deus</u> omnipotens <u>sanctos qui</u> *iure triumphat*
ALDHELM.CarmEcc 5 13	Iunctus apostolicis gratatur *iure triumphis.*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 1119	Mox sator aeternus, <u>qui sanctos</u> *iure triumphat*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 1960	<u>Sed Deus</u>, insontes <u>qui</u> semper *iure triumphat*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 2261	<u>Sed Deus</u> ex alto, <u>qui sanctos</u> *iure triumphat*
ALDHELM.CarmVirg 2342	Necnon uirgineos sumpserunt *iure triumphos*
DRACONT.Laud.Dei.3 451	Poscit ab igne neces, hostis sua *iure triumpho*
CYPR.GALL.Hept04.Num 257	Vno uelut sensu *diuina oracula* ferrent
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 615–16	Ecce repente fuit *morbo* perculsus *acerbo*, *Perque dies multos valido crescente* dolore
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 885–86	Qui post tactus erat *morbo* iam carnis *acerbo*, *Perque dies multos valido crescente* dolore
N.MiraculaNyniae 43–44	Terrarum domine candentia **menia** mansit *Perque dies plures divina oracula* visit
N.MiraculaNyniae 291	*Perque dies plures* defunctus vivere membris
N.MiraculaNyniae 383–84	Inde domum repedans visitabat **menia** nota *Perque dies plures divina* negotia mensae
ARATOR.Act.apost02 1228	*Terrarum dominae* fundata cacumina sede
PROSP.Epigram019 1	Arcta uia est uerae quae ducit *ad atria uitae*
ALDHELM.CarmEcc 3 85	*Spiritus atque sacer* consorti laude fruatur!
N.MiraculaNyniae 161	*Atque sacer* sancti culpatur crimine prisco
N.MiraculaNyniae 267	*Spiritus atque sacer* casto de corpore tractus
AEDILVVLF.DeAbbatibus 15 20	Ac segetes spisso *cumulantur germine* cultae

2.15	44	*Perque dies plures diuina oracula* uisit
2.16	45	*Peruigil excubiis* mundi luminaria poscens
2.17	46	Et ceteros passim *lustrauit in ordine sanctos,*
2.18	47	Quos deus eternis ornatos *iure triumphis*
2.19	48	Aurea florigere prouexit *ad atria uitae.*

The extent to which precise patterns of interdependence and borrowing can be measured here is amply matched throughout all extant Anglo-Lain poetry, in ways, which seem closely to mirror similar tendencies towards the limited and somewhat self-evident echoing both within and between particular poets and poems in Old English, very much after the manner of what might be termed 'literary-formulaic' display, since there does seem to be an assumption that the audience (and this is perhaps a better term than 'readership' here, given the most common manner of dissemination of verse in the period.

II The Envelope Pattern

The prevalence of the so-called 'envelope pattern' (where there is a clear echo of the beginning and end of a self-contained passage or even entire text) in Old English verse has been widely noted, and, despite its undoubted prevalence in oral-formulaic material in other languages and cultures, has sometimes been held as particularly distinctive of vernacular verse.[9] But similar patterning is widespread in Anglo-Latin, and can be found from the late seventh century on, for example inthe verse of Aldhelm. Towards the end of his extensive *Carmen de uirginitate*, and after a magisterial survey of bibical and hagiographical virgins, Aldhelm offers a further gripping set of episodes depicting the battle of the vices and virtues, an evident addition to what is found in the equivalent prose treatise, and one that Aldhelm evidently thought was especially suited to verse. This extended passage reads as follows (*Carmen de uirginitate* 2454–72):

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[9] On the envelope pattern (also sometimes termed 'ring-composition'), see A. C. Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, 1935), pp. 9–29; H. P. Battles, 'The Art of the Scop: Traditional Poetics in the Old English *Genesis A*' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998), pp. 241–305; J. A. Dane, 'The Notion of Ring Composition in Classical and Medieval Studies: a Comment on Critical Method and Illusion', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 94 (1993), 61–67; J. D. Niles, 'Ring-Composition and the Structure of *Beowulf*', *PMLA* 94 (1979): 924–35; *idem, Beowulf: the Poem and its Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 152–62; W. Parks, 'Ring Structure and Narrative Embedding in Homer and *Beowulf*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 89 (1988), 237–51; C. B. Pasternack, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 13 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 120–46; C. Stévanovitch, 'Envelope Patterns and the Unity of the Old English *Christ and Satan*', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 233 (1996), 260–67; C. Stévanovitch, 'Envelope Patterns in *Genesis A* and *B*', *Neophilologus* 80 (1996), 465–78.

Ecce cateruatim glomerant ad bella falanges,
2455 Iustitiae comites et uirtutum agmina sancta;
His aduersantur uitiorum castra maligna,
Spissa nefandarum quae torquent spicula rerum,
Aemula ceu pugnat populorum turma duorum,
Dum uexilla ferunt et clangit classica salpix
2460 Ac stimulant Martem legionum cornua cantu.
His, inquam, denso uirtutes agmine plures
Occurrunt uitiis: gestantes bellica signa,
Cassida cum thoracis necnon ancile duelli
Et macheram uerbi peccati monstra necantem
2465 Se in spatium pariter portant ad proelia mundi;
Virtutes quoque parmarum testudine sumpta
Saeua profanorum contundunt tela sparorum.
  Virginitas igitur, quae calcat crimina stupri,
Quam non deturpat peccati scaeua cicatrix,
2470 Contra bellantes studeat certare cateruas
Octenosque duces, quibus haerent agmina saeua,
Viribus armatis nitatur uincere uirgo!

['Look: in droves the troops gather together for battle,
the companions of Justice and the holy companies of Virtues;   2455
against them there stands the wicked camp of Vices
that send spinning densely packed showers of darts of evil deeds,
just as the rival troops of two hosts come to fight,
while they bear banners and the battle-trumpet blared
and the horns of the hosts rouse up War with their song.   2460
Against these Vices, I say, there stand
more Virtues in dense formation, they carry battle-standards,
helmets with mailcoats, and also shields of conflict
and the sword of the Word that slays the monsters of sin,
as they likewise form up for the battle of the world.   2465
After they had taken up their protective shield-formation,
the Virtues beat back the cruel missiles of the wicked spears.
  So may Virginity, that tramples down the sins of licentiousness,
and whom the perverse scar of transgression does not disfigure,
be keen to contend against the warring troops,   2470
and may the virgin strive with armed force to defeat
the eight leaders to whom the cruel companies cling.']

While the whole of this lengthy passage is bound by an envelope-pattern that concentrates squarely on the language of war (*cateruatim ... bella ... agmina*; *bellantes ... cateruas ... agmina*), it is notable that the final five lines (2468–72) form

a further (if equally martially focussed) envelope-within-an-envelope, presented here with the bounding echoes marked in bold italics, with alliteration indicated in bold underlining, and rhyme with double underlining (2468–72):

> **_Virg_**initas igitur, <u>qu</u>ae <u>c</u>alcat <u>c</u>rimina stupri,
> <u>Qu</u>am non deturpat peccati s<u>caeua</u> <u>c</u>icatrix,
> 2470   <u>C</u>ontra bellantes studeat <u>c</u>ertare <u>c</u>ateruas
> Octenosque duces, <u>qu</u>ibus haerent agmina s<u>aeua</u>,
> **_Vir_**ibus armatis nitatur <u>u</u>incere **_uirg_**o!

These closing lines as a whole are full of a series of sound-effects, with heavy alliteration and assonance on *c/q* in the first three lines (*<u>c</u>al<u>c</u>at <u>c</u>rimina ... <u>Qu</u>am ... <u>c</u>i<u>c</u>atrix <u>C</u>ontra ... <u>c</u>ertare <u>c</u>ateruas*), more alliteration and rhyme linking the second and penultimate lines (*s<u>caeua</u> ... s<u>aeua</u>*), and a final flourish of alliteration and assonance (*<u>V</u>iribus arm<u>at</u>is nit<u>at</u>ur <u>u</u>incere <u>u</u>irgo*) that emphasizes the active force and power of the individual virgins (*Viribus ... uirgo*, doubtless with a further gesture to the virile, not to say manly [*uir/uiri*], nature of native warrior culture). Such a final alliterative flourish only highlights the impressive ammount of alliteration exhibited in the wider passage as a whole (*ad<u>u</u>ersantur <u>u</u>itiorum ... <u>S</u>pissa ... <u>s</u>picula ... <u>p</u>ugnat <u>p</u>opulorum ... <u>u</u>exilla <u>f</u>erunt ... <u>c</u>langit <u>c</u>lassica ... <u>c</u>ornua <u>c</u>antu ... <u>S</u>e ... <u>s</u>patium <u>p</u>ariter <u>p</u>ortant ... <u>p</u>roelia ... <u>p</u>armarum ... <u>s</u>umpta <u>S</u>aeua ... con<u>t</u>undunt <u>t</u>ela*). It is also notable that this passage begins with an exclamatory *ecce* ('look'; 'behold'; 'right'), evidently employing it, as a number of Anglo-Latin poets appear to, in ways cognate with those that we find for exclamatory *hwæt* in Old English verse.[10]

Similar use of the envelope pattern across several hundred lines of verse are not uncommon both in Anglo-Latin and Old English; as has already been noted elsewhere such a pattern lends clear structure to Alcuin's metrical life of the missionary Willibrord (c. 658–739), whom he claims as kin, which was composed c. 796 as part of an *opus geminatum* with a prose counterpart, in a manner rather similar to the prose and verse counterparts of Aldhelm's *De uirginitate*.[11]

After a verse preface of twenty-four lines in elegiac couplets (there is a smilar 84-line coda, also in elegiac couplets), Alcuin begins the poem proper with an account of Willibrord's origins and geographical allegiances (*Vita metrica Willibrordi* 1.1–10 [25–34]):

1.1	25	Venerat occiduis quidam de finibus orbis
1.2	26	uir uirtute potens, diuino plenus amore,
1.3	27	ore sagax et mente uigil, et feruidus actu,
1.4	28	ad te temporibus Pippini, *Francia felix*,
1.5	29	quem tibi iam genuit *fecunda Britannia mater*,
1.6	30	*docta*que nutriuit studiis sed *Hibernia* sacris,
1.7	31	nomine Wilbrordus, meritis uiuacibus almus:
1.8	32	qui peregrina petens domini deductus amore,
1.9	33	semina perpetuae cupiens caelestia uitae
1.10	34	spargere, qua rarus fuerat prius accola uerbi.

['A certain man came from the western edges of the world,
a man powerful in virtue, filled with divine love,
shrewd in tongue, alert in mind, and fervent in action,
to you, happy France, in the time of Pepin:
and fertile Britain, his mother, already bore him for you,
while learned Ireland nourished him with her sacred studies.
He was named Willibrord, gracious in his spirited merits.
Led by love of the Lord, he sought our foreign parts,
desiring to scatter the heavenly seeds of eternal life
where a cultivator of the word had been rare before.']

Some 350 lines later, Alcuin concludes his life of his kinsman Willibrord in a way explicitly designed to echo the opening (*Vita metrica Willibrordi* 33.1–12):

33.1	378	Nobilis iste fuit magna de gente sacerdos,
33.2	379	sed magnis multo nobilior meritis.
33.3	380	Vt dudum cecini, *fecunda Britannia mater*,
33.4	381	*patria Scottorum clara magistra* fuit.
33.5	382	*Francia* sed *felix* rapuit, ueneratur, habebat,
33.6	383	illius atque hodie membra sepulta tenet.
33.7	384	Hunc Wilgils genuit proprio pater inclytus aeuo:
33.8	385	uir sanctus, sapiens, ac pietate probus,
33.9	386	de quo uersifico liceat me ludere plectro,
33.10	387	lector, ut agnoscas qualis et ipse fuit;
33.11	388	et de quam sancta generis radice parentum
33.12	389	iste dei famulus progenitus fieret.

['That noble priest was from a great race,
but he was much nobler by his great merits.
As I sang before, fertile Britain was his mother,
and the fatherland of the Irish was his famous teacher.
But happy France seized him, revered him, held him
and keeps his buried limbs right up to the present day.
His father Wilgils, renowned in his own generation, engendered him:
and he was a holy man, wise and upright in piety,
concerning whom let me be allowed for me to play with a poetic
plectrum,
reader, so that you might learn what he was like too,
and from how holy a root of his parents' stock
that servant of God was brought forth.']

Perhaps the most notable aspect of this passage is its relentless focus on Willibrord's ancestry, and so implicitly Alcuin's own kin; what is also notable, however, is the extent to which Alcuin feels it necessary to make this envelope pattern explicit, something no Old English poet seems to do.

Elsewhere, Alcuin appears to exhibit familiarity with other poetic tropes commonly found in Old English verse, perhaps especially in the York poem, which was evidently designed for an Anglian audience in York (lines 1305–31 [1306–32]):

1305   Plurima quapropter praeclarus opuscula doctor
         edidit, explanans obscura uolumina sanctae
         scripturae, nec non metrorum condidit artem;
         de quoque temporibus mira ratione uolumen,
         quod tenet astrorum cursus, loca, tempora, leges,
1310   scripsit, et historicos claro sermone libellos;
         plurima uersifico cecinit quoque *carmina plectro.*
         Actu, mente, fide ueterum uestigia patrum,
         semper dum uixit, directo est calle secutus.
         Huius uita quidem qualis fuit ante magistri,
1315   claro post obitum signo est patefacta salutis.
         Aeger enim quidam patris dum cingitur almi
         relliquiis, penitus peste est sanatus ab illa.
         Te quoque *Pierio tangentes*, Balthere, *plectro*,
         et tibi, sancte, locum nostris in uersibus istum

1320 signantes petimus, placida tu mente teneto,
et rege nunc nostram pelagi per caerula cymbam
inter monstra maris, scopulosas inter ut undas,
ut possit portum portans attingere tutum.
   Est locus undoso circumdatus undique ponto,
1325 rupibus horrendis praerupto et margine septus,
in quo bellipotens terreno in corpore miles
saepius aerias uincebat Balthere turmas,
quae sibi multimodis uariabant bella figuris.
   Qui tamen intrepidus hostilia castra relisit,
tela malignorum, semper crucis arma beatus
belliger opponens, galeam scutumque fidei.
['Whereupon his much-famed scholar produced very many works,
explaining the obscure volumes of sacred Scripture,
and he also described the art of metre.
He also wrote with marvellous precision a volume on time,
which contained the courses, places, times, and laws of the stars,
as well as historical books in brilliant speech;
and he also sang very many poems in versified style.
In deed, in mind, in faith, he followed the footsteps of ancient fathers,
on a direct path as long as he lived.
Indeed, the quality of this teacher's life was made plain
by a clear sign of healing after his death:
for when a certain sick man was surrounded by relics of the holy father
he was utterly cured from his sickness.
Touching also on you in Pierian style, holy Balthere,
we seek to signal this place for you
in our verse; with a calm mind, now guard
and guide our craft through the ocean's billows,
among the monsters of the sea and the mountainous waves,
so that, fully laden, it may reach safe harbour.
There is a place surrounded on all sides by the wavy sea,
hedged in by bristling crags and steep confines,
where the battle-mighty warrior, while in his earthly body,
Balthere, quite often conquered the aerial hosts,
that brought many battles upon him in manifold forms.
Yet he fearlessly repulsed the enemy camps

and the darts of the wicked, always opposing them as a blessed warrior
with the weapons of the Cross, the helmet, and the shield of faith.']

In this case, most of the parallels (highlighted in *bold italics*) are to himself and
his predecessor and model Bede.[12]

Elsewhere, a more cosmopolitan passage (at least in terms of its sources) is
found earlier in the poem (lines 565–76):[13]

565 Plurima continuis domuit post regna triumphis
566 Osuui, nobiliter patrias et rexit habenas,
567 aequoreasque sibi gentes hinc inde subegit;
568 has *terrore premens*, illas mucrone *coercens*,
569 *uictrices aquilas* per regna ferebat ubique.
570 Legibus ille etiam fuerat iustissimus aequis,
571 inuictus bellis nec non in pace fidelis,
572 donorum largus miseris, pius, omnibus aequus.
573 Imperium retinens septenos nam quater annos,
574 compositis rebus felix in pace quieuit,
575 Egfredo tradens proprio diademata nato,
576 Egfredo moriens *regalia sceptra relinquens*,
['Oswiu subdued very many realms with uninterrupted victories,

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[12] BEDE.Aethelthryth.Vers 51   Et noua dulcisono modularis *carmina plectro*
ALCVIN.Carm 4 59   Quis Fulerade pius, lyrico te *tangere plectro*
ALCVIN.Carm 14 15   Versifico volui pauxillum *tangere plectro*
ALCVIN.Carm 18 18   *Piero plectro carmina* laeta canant
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 289   Quorum pauca libet lyrico nunc *tangere plectro*
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 378   E quibus hoc unum properanti *tangere plectro*
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 1311   Plurima uersifico cecinit quoque *carmina plectro*
ALCVIN.VmetWillibrord 3.13 3   Sed strictim quaedam properanti *tangere plectro*
ALCVIN.VmetWillibrord 3.34 57   Quae tamen haut libuit currenti *tangere plectro*
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 733   Illius ad tumulum morbo *sanatus ab illo est*
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 656   *Est locus* Oceano dictus cognomine Farne
BEDE.VmetCuthbert.Vulg 1 59   *Est locus* insignis fluuii super ostia Tini
[13] Evidence:
PRVD.Contr.Symm02 639.   Quae motus uarios simul et dicione *coercet*
PRVD.Contr.Symm02 640.   Et *terrore premit*. Nec enim spoliata prioris
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 10   *Victrices aquilas* caeli qui fertis in arcem
LVCAN.Phars01 339   Quod non *uictrices aquilas* deponere iussus
LVCAN.Phars05 238   *Victrices aquilas* alium laturus in orbem
PRVD.Psych 645   *Victrices aquilas* atque in tentoria cogi
ALCVIN.VPatRegSanctEubor 1273   Sumserat Aedbertus gentis *regalia sceptra*

nobly governing his homeland domain
and subjugating under him the shore-dwelling peoples here and there,
crushing some with terror, forcing others with the sword,
he bore his victorious standards of everywhere throughout the realms.
He was also most just with impartial laws,
invincible in battle and also dependable in peace,
generous in gifts to the needy, kindly, and fair to all.
For holding on to his power for twenty-eight years,
he died blessed by peace and with everything in order,
handing the crown over to Ecgfrith his son,
and, by dying, leaving the royal sceptre to Ecgfrith.']

A clearly parallel scene is found just previously in the poem, emphasizing the continuity of kingship (lines 499–506):

      Sanctus ter ternis Oswald feliciter annis
500 Imperio postquam regnorum *rexit habenas*
      Ipse, quas retinet famosa Britannia gentes
      Divisis linguis, populis per nomina patrum:
      Atque annos postquam ter denos vixit et octo,
      Augustas sacra Nonas iam morte dicavit,
505 Ascendit meritis caelestia regna coruscis,
      Oswi germano terrestria *sceptra relinquens*.

['Saint Oswald ruled the reins of the realm blessedly for thrice three years
by his governance, and afterwards (for famous Britain
contains races divided by language
and by people according to their ancestors' names),
after he had lived for thirty-eight years, he consecrated
August the fifth by his holy death,
ascending to the celestial realms through his shining virtues,
leaving the earthly authority to Oswiu, his brother.']

The parallels only emphasize the likeness and suitability for the crown of the relevant siblings.

In another pivotal scene early in his poem on York, Alcuin recasts Bede's memorable account of how in 627 the pagan priest Coifi of Goodmanham in Northumbria repudiated his ancestral faith, and deliberately broke the prohibitions against priests riding stallions and carrying weapons (line 178–87):

178 His rapuit dextra dictis hastile minaci,
179 atque marem conscendit equum non more sueto,
180 cui per colla iubae uolitant, tumet ardua ceruix;
181 pectore sublato uelox fodit ungula terram,
182 impatiensque morae quatiebat morsibus aurum.
183 Terribilis qualis curuo fit Parthus in arcu,
184 uel si longa leues uibrat hastilia Maurus,
185 talis et ipse petit iaculo fastigia fani.
186 *O nimium* tanti *felix* audacia facti!
187 polluit ante alios, *quas ipse sacrauerat aras*.
['After these words, he snatched up a spear with a threatening hand,
and, against tradition, he mounted a stallion
whose mane flew round its collar as its erect neck swelled.
With chest puffed up, its swift hoof dug the ground;
as, impatient of delay, it chafed a golden bit.
Just like the fearsome Parthian seems with bow curved:
or the nimble Moor sends long darts spinning,
so did he aim a spear at the top of the temple.
What blessed boldness in so great a deed!
He defiled before the rest the very altars he had consecrated himself.']

The first five lines of the passage focus on the image of a spear-wielding Coifi atop a splendid stallion, and offer a vignette that would stir the heart of anyone attuned to contemporary noble warrior-culture noble, whether in what was to become England or on the Continent. These five lines contain a rapid succession of six finite verbs, all emblematic of swift and decisive action (*rapuit ... conscendit ... uolitant tumet ... fodit ... quatiebat*), four of which focus on the priest's proud steed. There follow Alcuin's references to the exotic pagan warrior-races of the Parthians and Moors, which he may well have read about through his reading of Vergil and (especially) Lucan, now focusing on the other tabu aspect of Coifi's shocking behaviour, namely his use of flying weapons emblematic of pagan practice (*curuo ... arcu; longa hastilia; iaculo*). All of these references lead up to the immediate identification of Coifi's shocking *volte-face* with Vergil's vivid description of the poignant and shocking death of King Priam at the fall of Troy. There, Vergil describes how the old king was slaughtered 'among the altars, tainting with his blood the very fires he had sanctified himself' (*Aeneid 2*: 501–02

per aras / Sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis).[14] In a sense, Alcuin simply borrows the Vergilian reference from Bede, who concludes the relevant chapter in the *Historia ecclesiastica* in a like fashion.

All this evidence points to ample appreciation of the norms of Old English heroic and narrative verse, at least among the aristocracy (of whom Aldhelm and Alcuin can both certainly be counted; further pointers indicate a similarly shared sensitivity among other poets, notably those composing what are usually regarded as less elevated forms of verse, namely the Old English *Riddles* of the Exeter Book, where again Latin influence, refracted through the lens of the vernacular, is everywhere evident.

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[14] Note that the actual cadence *sacrauerat aras* occurs at *Aeneid* 3.305.

4

The Riddle of Anglo-Saxon Lewdness and Learning

Whenever the Exeter Book *Riddles* are discussed, the problematic issue of the so-called 'rude riddles' is often raised, as if such examples of *double entendre*, where an obviously rude solution is held to mask an innocent and everyday one, were a particular oddity and a proof of oral and native origins in a manuscript that otherwise has a distinctly bookish air, and, like most Anglo-Saxon literature that survives, largely seems to eschew sexual elements.[1] In fact, of course, that is precisely the point, and notwithstanding what has seemed a distinct tendency of some commentators in attributing a phallic solution to as many of the texts as possible (no fewer than twenty-two of the ninety Old English riddles in the Exeter Book have been so classified by a single scholar),[2] especially since of course not all of the designated 'rude riddles' involve phallic imagery, the misdirection towards sexual solutions is very evidently part of what Jack Niles has repeatedly called 'the play of the text',[3]

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[1] The background literature is on the 'rude riddles' is remarkably extensive; see especially (given here in chronological order) Edith Whitehurst Williams, 'What's So New about the Sexual Revolution? Some Comments on Anglo-Saxon Attitudes toward Sexuality in Women based on Four Exeter Book Riddles', *Texas Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1975): 46–55; Gregory K. Jember, trans., *The Old English Riddles: a New Translation* (Denver: Society for New Language Study, 1976); Ann Harleman Stewart, 'Double Entendre in the Old English Riddles', *Lore and Language* 3.8 (1983): 39–52; Reinhard Gleissner, *Die 'zweideutigen' altenglischen Ratsel des 'Exeter Book' in ihrem zeitgenössischen Kontext*, Sprache und Literatur: Regensburger Arbeiten zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik 23 (Bern, 1984); Julie Coleman, 'Sexual Euphemism in Old English', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 93 (1992): 93–98; Roberta Frank, 'Sex in the *Dictionary of Old English*', in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.,* ed. Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 302–12; Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso, 'Actitudes Anglosajones hacia el Humor: La Caracterización del Humor Obsceno y Sexual en los Acertijos del *Exeter Book*', *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 12 (December 2004): 17–36; Glenn Davis, 'The Exeter Book Riddles and the Place of Sexual Idiom in Old English Literature', in *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald (York: York Medieval Press, 2006), pp. 39–54; Mercedes Salvador-Bello, 'The Sexual Riddle Type in Aldhelm's *Enigmata*, the Exeter Book, and Early Medieval Latin', *Philological Quarterly* 90 (2012): 357–85. Other individual studies are given in the notes that follow.

[2] See in particular Jember, *Old English Riddles*, who who is perhaps the most imaginative in this regard.

[3] John D. Niles, 'Exeter Book Riddle 74 and the Play of the Text', *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998): 169–207; *idem*, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

While scholars wrangle at the margins of a definitive list of riddles riding on innuendo, there is in fact a good deal of consensus that there are pronounced sexual elements in at least seventeen in the Exeter Book, with the 'clean' solution emphasized here:[4] **EXE** 10 ('ox' [*OXA*]); 18 ('sword' [*SECG*]); 19 ('plough' [*SULH*]); 23 ('onion' [*CIPE*]); 35 ('bellows' [*BLÆST-BELG*]); 40 ('cock and hen' [*HANA OND HÆN*]); 42 ('key' [*CÆG*]); 43 ('dough' [*DAG*]); 44 ('Lot and his children' [*LOTH OND HIS BEARN*]); 52 ('churn' [*CYRN*]); 59 ('shirt', 'garment' [*CYRTEL*]); 60 ('borer' [*BOR*]); 61 ('glass beaker' [*GLÆS-FÆT*]); 63 ('onion' [*CIPE*]); 83 ('bellows' [*BLÆST-BELG*]); 85 ('bellows' [*BLÆST-BELG*]); 87 ('key' [CÆG]). Several features are clear from this bare list: first, that 'rude riddles' appear in both of the major groupings of riddles in the Exeter Book (**EXE 1–57** and **59–91**); second, that there are clusters within both of these groupings (**EXE 42–44** and **59–61**);[5] third, that there is evident duplication of subject-matter between these groupings (**EXE 23** and **63** ['onion']; **EXE 35, 83,** and **85** ['bellows']; and **EXE 42** and **87** ['key']). The last point is particularly pertinent to the deveveloping discussion below: nearly two decades ago, Mercedes Salvador-Bello perceptively pointed out the considerable degree of overlap in terms of solutions both between and within the two major groupings of riddles,[6] while more recently Peter Orton has built on these and other patterns, which he noted independently, to suggest individual authorship of particular clusters.[7] Here, I lean on their work and that of others to suggest that the kind of double-take innate in the solution of 'rude riddles' in fact offers a useful clue to how the final major grouping of riddles in the Exeter Book (**EXE 59–91**) has been arranged, since almost every single riddle in that cluster can be

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[4] Here and throughout I follow the conventions of my forthcoming set of texts, translations, and commentaries for *The Anglo-Saxon Riddle Tradition*, which will appear in 2015 in the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library series published by Harvard University Press. Collections of riddles are given a three-letter designator in bold, and solutions are presented in the original language (Latin or Old English) in capital italics, to make them stand out from the surrounding material. The parallel texts and translations presented here are as they appear in that volume, which inevitably has much supplementary material to what is found below.

[5] The first of these sequences could be extended further, if we count the obviously sexual **EXE 40** as in fact the 'secular' companion to the 'soul and body' riddle that immediately follows, in which case it would run **EXE 40/41–44**, See further Mercedes Salvador-Bello, 'The Key to the Body: Unlocking Riddles 42–46', in *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox, Medieval European Studies 3 (Morgantown, WV, 2003), pp. 60–96. For the second sequence, see further the Appendix below, pp. 00–00.

[6] Mercedes Salvador-Bello, 'The Compilation of the Old English Riddles of the *Exeter Book*' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Seville, 1997), pp. 347–48. The two versions of **EXE 28** in the manuscript represent a different kind of duplication.

[7] Peter Orton, 'The Exeter Book *Riddles*: Authorship and Transmission', *Anglo-Saxon England* (forthcoming).

explained as part of a pairing both across or within the larger groupings, between the learned and the lewd, the Latin and the vernacular, or simply between consecutive riddles.[8]

Given that few of the Exeter Book riddles come equipped with a solution (and those that do tend to be encoded, interpolated, or otherwise problematic),[9] the lewd solution in the cases of the *double entendre* riddles generally identified still hovers over the relevant texts, adding a layer of multivalency and ambiguity to the vernacular riddles that is in general deemed to be denied to the Latin *aenigmata* written and circulating in the Anglo-Saxon period, where (we are told) 'rude riddles' are all but absent, and solutions always travel with the texts. While the second of these shibboleths is easy to undermine,[10] and while recently Mercedes Salvador-Bello has discussed with great sensitivity the parallel existence in Latin of what has been termed 'the sexual riddle-type,'[11] there still seems to exist a distinct difference in both quality and quantity between Latin and the vernacular in terms of these sometimes highly sexualized texts of a deliberately equivocal nature. Here, by contrast, I shall argue that so far from epitomizing a crude counterpart to their elevated models, in fact the so-called 'rude riddles' represent a level of refinement in the development of the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, and that they demonstrate the later stages, progressively more lewd, of a clear line of borrowing and influence that leads back very directly to the same learned and Latin lineage that is the well-spring of the tradition.

Elsewhere, I have tried to demonstrate that the infamous 'onion' riddle in the Exeter Book (**EXE 23**),[12] which is one of the best-known and most often anthologized of the so-called 'rude riddles,' forms but the third and final link in a chain that leads directly back to a Latin *aenigma* by Symphosius (**SYM 44**), the grandfather of the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, with the riddler of **EXE 23** (in the first of the groups of riddles in the manuscript), matching a less salacious 'onion' riddle, **EXE 63**, which is in the final group of riddles, and indeed

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[8] See further the Appendix below, pp. 00–00.

[9] So, for example, the current first line of the riddle generally solved 'bow' (**EXE 21** [*BOGA*]) gives the answer in reverse, though that may be a later addition; the 'cock and 'hen' riddle gives the answer in runes as an anagram (**EXE 40** [*HANA OND HÆN*]); and one of the several 'boat'- or 'ship'-riddles gives what seems an erroneous solution in a Latin vowel-substitution cipher that is also evidently interpolated (**EXE 34** [*BAT*]).

[10] See, for example, Andy Orchard, 'Enigma Variations: The Anglo-Saxon Riddle-Tradition', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols, Toronto Old English Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, pp. 284–304.

[11] Salvador-Bello, 'The Sexual Riddle Type',

[12] Orchard, 'Enigma Variations,' pp. 296–97.

evidently building on this earlier vernacular version of the Latin in a blatant play to 'sex up' the text. A very similar chain, investigated in detail below, links the equally 'rude riddles' on 'bellows' in the Exeter Book (**EXE 35, 83,** and **85**: again note the distribution in both main groups of riddles), back to another Latin *aenigma* by Symphosius (**SYM 73**), and strongly suggests that part of the appeal of the 'rude riddles' in Old English would have lain for the original audiences in the identification of such lewd solutions with recognisable learned Latin texts familiar from classroom contexts. Such a conclusion may seem to some initially unpalatable, since for nativist Anglo-Saxon scholars considering the 'rude riddles', to put it Wilde-ly, to use one Latin parent may be regarded as a misfortune; to use two looks like carefulness. Furthermore, and appropriately enough, where *double entendre* 'onions' and 'bellows' are concerned, there are also a number of cross-winds to be considered, since that is precisely where swords (and other weapons), not to mention penises will come in.

In the first of these first brief chains, the earliest text (**SYM 44**) reads as follows (here I employ the mark-up I shall use throughout this paper, with **bold italics** signifying links between passages in the same language; <u>double underlining</u> links between passages in different languages; I use *simple italics* and <u>single underlining</u> to indicate less precise parallels):[13]

> <u>*Mordeo*</u> <u>*mordentes*</u>, ultro *non* <u>*mordeo*</u> <u>*quemquam*</u>;
> <u>*sed*</u> <u>sunt</u> <u>*mordentem*</u> multi <u>*mordere*</u> parati.
> Nemo timet <u>*morsum*</u>, <u>*dentes*</u> quia non habet ullos.
> ['*I* <u>***bite***</u> *the* <u>***biters***</u>, yet of my own accord *I* <u>***bite***</u> <u>***no one***</u>;
> ***but*** <u>there are many</u> prepared ***to*** <u>***bite***</u> <u>***the***</u> <u>***biter***</u>.
> No one fears the <u>***bite***</u>: it does not have any <u>***teeth***</u>.']

The given solution in most manuscripts is 'onion' (*CAEPA*),[14] and it is clear that the authors of the Exeter Book riddles were not the only ones to imitate the idiosyncratically insistent repetition of this *aenigma* in their own works. There are two such *aenigmata* in the anonymous collection of sixty-two texts known as the *Aenigmata Bernensia* ('Bern riddles'), a collection circulating in no fewer than

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[13] Two quite recent have greatly aided the understanding of Symphosius: Manuela Bergamin, ed. and trans., *Aenigmata Symposii: La fondazione dell'enigmistica come genere poetico,* Per Verba, Testi mediolatini con traduzione 22 (Florence, 2005); T. J. Leary, ed. and trans., *Symphosius, The 'Aenigmata:' An Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).
[14] Here and below I give the given or suggested solution in italicized capitals in the relevant language (Latin or Old English), following a Modern English version. I have levelled all such solutions to the nominative form, even when some manuscripts provide the Latin solutions in the ablative, following the preposition *DE* ('about').

nine Continental manuscripts, most of which are associated with Insular provenances and Insular contexts, and the earliest of which dates from the early eighth century.

Whether or not they were composed by or for an Anglo-Saxon audiende, several of these *aenigmata* have (as we shall see) close parallels within the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, and the striking words of **SYM 44** are evidently echoed in *aenigmata* on 'pepper' (*PIPER* [**BER 37.5**]: *Mordeo mordentem morsu nec vulnero dente* ['I bite the biter with a bite but I don't wound with teeth']) and 'wind' (*VENTUS* [**BER 41.3–4**]: *dente nec vulnero quemquam / mordeo sed cunctos* ['and do not wound anyone with teeth / though I bite everyone']), although the precise words of **BER 41** are in some ways closer to **BER 37** than to **SYM 44** (note *nec vulnero* in both); we shall see similar strings of association in the 'rude riddles' of the Exeter Book. In Anglo-Saxon England, **SYM 44** also made an impact in Latin. Tatwine (Archbishop of Canterbury, 731–34), for example, uses the same basic formulation in his *aenigma* on 'bell' (*TINTINNABULUM* [**TAT 7.6**]: *Mordeo mordentem labris mox dentibus absque* ['I am toothless, but with my lips soon bite the one who bites me']). Tatwine's model, Aldhelm (who died in 709 or 710), the father of the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition (albeit that he explicitly acknowledge Symphosius as inspiration), gives a characteristic twist to the same theme and morphological paradigm in his *aenigma* on 'nettle' (*URTICA* [**ALD 46**]), which is worth quoting in full:[15]

> *Torqueo torquentes*, sed nullum *torqueo* sponte
> laedere *nec **quemquam*** uolo, ni prius ipse reatum
> contrahat et uiridem studeat <u>decerpere caulem</u>.
>   Feruida mox hominis turgescunt membra nocentis:
> uindico sic noxam stimulisque ulciscor acutis.   5
> ['I trouble those who trouble me, but I trouble no one on my own;
> I don't want to hurt anyone, unless he first takes the blame
> and tries to <u>pluck</u> my bright-green <u>stalk</u>.
>   Soon the hot limbs of the one who harms me swell;
> that's how I repay injury and take revenge with sharp stings.']   5

It is striking that these four Latin *aenigmata* connected with **SYM 44** should each offer different solutions; the whole point, by sharp contrast, with the 'rude

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[15] For more on Aldhelm's *aenigmata* in general, see Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985).

riddles' in the Exeter Book seems to be that the 'correct' solution remains the same.

We might begin with **EXE 63**, which not only seems to allude very directly to **SYM 44** in its closing lines, but also in its sexualisation perhaps to channel Aldhelm's reinterpretation:

> Cwico wæs ic, ne cwæð ic wiht;   cwele ic efne seþeah.
> Ær ic wæs, eft ic cwom;   æghwa *mec reafað*,
> hafað *mec on headre*,   ond *min heafod* scireþ,
> *biteð* mec on bær lic,   *briceð* mine <u>wisan</u>.
>   Monnan ic ne *<u>bite</u>*,   nympþe he *me <u>bite</u>*;   5
> sindan þara monige   þe *mec <u>bitað</u>*.
> ['I was alive, but I said naught; nevertheless I die.
> I was before: back I came; everyone *ravages me*,
> keeps *me in confinement* and shears *my head*,
> *bites* me on the bare body, <u>plucks</u> my <u>stalk</u>.
>   I *<u>bite</u>* no man, unless he *<u>bites me</u>*;
> <u>there are many of those</u> who *bite me*.']   5

The distribution and density of first-person pronouns and pronominal adjectives here is extraordinary: the sequence *ic ... ic ... ic ... ic ... ic ... mec ... mec ... min ... mec ... mine ... ic ... me ... mec*, with thirteen first-person references crammed into six lines (and six of those in the first two) is hard to match elsewhere, while the patterns of alliteration, both primary and decorative, only highlight their importance. The parallel repetition and patterned distribution of words for 'biting' (*biteð ... bite ...bite ... bitað*) points the careful reader back to twin sources, namely **SYM 44**, which is rendered closely in a vernacular version in the final two lines here (**EXE 63.5–6**), as well as in the preceding line, where the phrase 'plucks my stalk' (*briceð mine wisan*) seems to recall 'plucks my bright-green stalk' (*viridem ... decerpere caulem*) of **ALD 46.3** (where the pronominal adjective must be understood). In contemplating these similarities, it is important to stress the role played by *aenigmata*, especially those of Symphosius and Aldhelm, in the Anglo-Saxon classroom, as well as to underline the differences: **EXE 63** makes no mention of 'teeth', since the Latin sound-play of **SYM 44** (*mordentes ... dentes*) would not work in Old English, and makes the creature in question much more vindictive and violent, a further trait shared with the aggressive language of blame, vengeance, and wounding found in **ALD 46**, especially in its final two lines. The flirtatiously sexualized language of **EXE 63** may also have its roots in Aldhelm, if a playful Anglo-Saxon went beyond **ALD**

46.4–5, with its warm and swelling members (*Fervida ... turgescunt membra*), and made a further connection between the phrase *viridem ... caulem* ('bright-green stalk') and a putative *virilem ... caulem* ('manly stalk'). Notwistanding the naturally phallic shape of a sprouting onion, an association would perhaps have been the more natural in Old English, where other vegetables in the same family as *cipe*, such as *cipe-leac* ('leek', 'onion', or 'shallot'), *gar-leac* ('garlic', notable for its 'head' [*heafod*], as at **EXE 63.3**), and *secg-leac* ('chive garlic', 'rush garlic") have, at least in the last two instances, elements that might be interpreted as 'spear' (*gar*) or 'sword' (*secg*) or 'man' (*secg*, only in poetry) or the plant 'sedge' (*secg* again).

In the latter context, it might also be mentioned that of the two riddles in the Exeter Book usually solved 'sword' (**EXE 18** and **69**: note again that they appear in two different sections of the manuscript), the first is heavily anthropomorphized as a man, indeed a man denied sexual pleasure and progeny, while the second (which again shares verbal echoes with the first) claims that 'Previously, I was set up among beautiful plants' (**EXE 69.2b–3a**: *Staþol wæs iu þa / wyrta wlite-torhtra*), so suggesting that the proper solution should be *SECG*, in all its various meanings. Against such a background, it seems significant that apart from the other 'onion' riddle, **EXE 23**, the connection of which with **EXE 63** we shall consider shortly, the only other Exeter Book riddle with a verbal echo of **EXE 63** should be the first of these 'sword'-riddles, where the creature in question describews how his lord 'holds me in confinement' (**EXE 18.13a**: *healdeð mec on heaþore*), in a phrase that parallels the plight of the onion, complaining that everyone 'keeps me in confinement' (**EXE 63.3**: *hafað mec on headre*). Of course, the tight confinement of a sword in (usually wool-lined) sheath has its own phallic associations, as even Archbishop Tatwine (to whose earlier fruity mention of 'biting lips' in **TAT 7.6** noted above we shall return below), in **TAT 30** on 'sword and sheath' (*ENSIS ET VAGINA*):

> Armigeri dura cordis compagine fingoR,
> cuius et hirsuti extat circumstantia pepli;
> pangitur et secto cunctum de robore culmen,
> pellibus exterius strictum, quae tegmina tute
> 5offensam diris defendunt imbribus aulam.
> I am created with the hard frame of a weapon-bearing heart,
> surrounded by the covering of a shaggy cloak;
> the whole tip is driven in between split oaken strength,
> tight with hide outside, and those coverings safely

shield the penetrated chamber from dread wetness.

The opening word *Armiger* ('weapon-bearing'), which takes part in the complicated acrostic–telestich that links together all of Tatwine's *aenigmata* seems particularly significant here, since in Old English, maleness is figured by precisely that trait: the adjective 'male' (*wæpned*), and a whole raft of related terms signify male children, boys, grown men, and the male sex (for example, *wæpned-bearn*, *wæpned-cild*, *wæpned-cynn*, *wæpned-had*, and *wæpned-mann*); it may be relevant here that in the only other of Tatwine's *aenigmata* to use the word *armiger* (**TAT 32** on 'arrow' [*SAGITTA*]), which begins, again as part of the acrostic, *Armigeros*, where the female creature in question flits around groups of young men, Mercedes Salvador-Bello has detected a sexualized meaning, 'as if suggesting the promiscuous behavior of a prostitute'.[16]

The argument advanced throughout this paper, namely that the Exeter Book riddles need to be measured against the range of Latin *aenigmata* that make up the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, even (and perhaps especially) in those cases which seem farthest from a classroom setting, finds particular support in the close echoing of a Latin source (in this case **SYM 44**) in the final lines of **EXE 63**, since precisely the same technique is found in at least two other Exeter Book riddles, in both cases where the presence of a source-text is explicitly signalled through the use of quotation. The first instance has been widely recognized and commented, but generally as if it were an isolated case, while the second departs so radically from the wording of its source that its significance as part of a tend has been largely overlooked. To take them in turn: **EXE 36** opens with a description of an explicitly male creature, where the term *wæpned-cynn* is used with double meaning of a male creature armed in this case also with a pair of horns:

> *Ic* þa wiht *geseah*   wæpned-cynnes,
> geoguð-myrþe grædig;   him on gafol forlet
> ferð-friþende   <u>feower wellan</u>
> scire sceotan,   on gesceap þeotan.
> 5   Mon maþelade,   se þe me gesægde:
> 'Seo wiht, *gif* hio *gedygeð*,   <u>duna briceð</u>;
> *gif* he tobirsteð,   <u>bindeð cwice</u>',
> I saw a creature of the weaponed kind,
> greedy with youth-glee; the life-sustaining one

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[16] Salvador-Bello, 'The Sexual Riddle Type,' p. 365.

granted him as tribute <u>four streams</u>,
brightly spouting, spurting at his whim.
   A man spoke, who said to me:
'That creature, <u>if</u> he *survives*, will <u>break the fields</u>;
if he is torn apart, he will <u>bind the living</u>.'

There are some striking stylistic features here, not the least of which is the rhyme *sceotan … þeotan* in line 4, preceded in lines 1–3 by the three compounds in the riddle: the ambiguous *wæpned-cynnes* is followed by two compounds, *geoguð-myrþe* and *ferð-friþende*, that are both unique in extant Old English, and seem to mean 'youth-glee' and 'life-sustaining' respectively, a further point to which we return below.

   This riddle is part of a broad group in both Latin and Old English, for which the solution is 'ox', 'bull-calf', or materials deriving from the same creature, notably 'horn', or 'leather'; such riddles are found in the Exeter Book in **EXE 10** and **70** (both *OX* ['ox'], again appearing in each of the two main groupings in the Exeter Book), as well as **EXE 12** and **76** (both *HORN* ['horn'], again in each of the two main groupings), as well as in, for example, **ALD 83** (*IUVENCUS* ['bullock']) and **SYM 32** (*TAURUS* ['bull']). More immediately pertinent to **EXE 36**, however, is one from a series attributed to a certain 'Eusebius', whose *aenigmata* travel alongside those of Tatwine in both of the main manuscripts that are the only ones to contain either of the collections. Given that Bede, who died the same year as Tatwine (735), addresses the learned Abbot Hwætberht of Wearmouth–Jarrow (716–47) as 'Eusebius', and commends his knowledge of computus, a highly specialized subject that is the topic of two of the *aenigmata* attributed to 'Eusebius', namely **EUS 26** (*DIES BISSEXTILIS* ['bissextile day']) and **EUS 29** (*SALTUS* ['cycle and the moon's leap']), it seems plausible to attribute authorship to Hwætberht, so adding to the list of highly educated Anglo-Saxon churchmen who chose to compose *aenigmata*. **EUS 37** reads as follows:

   Post ***genitrix me*** quam ***peperit mea*** saepe solesco
   inter ab uno ***fonte*** rivos <u>*bis* bibere *binos*</u>
   progredientes, et <u>*si vixero*</u>, <u>***rumpere colles***</u>
   incipiam; <u>***vivos moriens***</u> aut <u>***alligo***</u> multos.
   After ***my mother bore me***, I often used to drink
   <u>*four*</u> trickles streaming from the same <u>***spring***</u>;
   and <u>*if I should live*</u>, I shall begin to <u>***break***</u> the <u>*fields*</u>,
   or, ***dead***, I <u>***bind***</u> many of <u>***the living***</u>.

Note here that the specific solution, *VITULUS* ('bull-calf') is broadly hinted at not only by the repetition of words for 'life' and 'living' (where <u>*vita*</u> is the root-concept) , explicit in *vixero* and *vivos*, and implicit in the form *bibere*, which, given the conflations of <b>/<v> spelling found in early Old English (and witnessed, for example, in *The Leiden Riddle*, the riddle on the Franks Casket, the *Preface* to Aldhelm's *aenigmata*, and the opening line of **EXE 21**), might equally be read as *vivere*. **EUS 37** is itself evidently an echo of **ALD 83**, which may also have influenced **EXE 36**, and reads as follows:

> Arida spumosis dissolvens faucibus ora,
> <u>*bis binis bibulus*</u> *potum* de <u>*fontibus*</u> hausi.
> <u>*Vivens*</u> nam terrae glebas cum stirpibus imis,
> nisu virtutis validae disrumpo feraces;
> 5at vero linquit dum spiritus algida membra,
> nexibus horrendis homines <u>*constringere*</u> possum.
> I moisten my dry mouth with dripping jaws,
> when, <u>*drinking*</u>, I have taken a *sip* from <u>*four springs*</u>.
> When <u>*alive*</u>, by straining my mighty strength,
> I break up the fertile clods of earth with their roots below;
> but when the breath leaves my chilly limbs,
> I can <u>*bind*</u> men with terrible bonds.

Just as **EUS 37** is explicly solved in both manuscripts as *VITULUS* ('bull-calf'), so the solution to **ALD 83** is generally given (when it is at all) as *IUVENCUS* ('young bull'), and presumably 'Eusebius' chose to build on the basic clues of 'living', 'drinking', 'dying', and 'binding' given here, emphasizing the elements of 'life' (*vita*) to change the specific solution from *IUVENCUS* to *VITULUS*. Given that the Latin equivalents of the first elements of the unique compounds *geoguð-myrþe* ('youth-glee') and *ferð-friþende* ('life-sustaining') in **EXE 63.2a** and **63.3a** are *iuventus* and *vita*, one wonders whether the Old English poet is offering aural clues to his sources and parallels, as well as (through them) to the solution. A further prose reworking of **EUS 37**, in this case implausibly attributed to Bede himself, and, like several others in the same pseudo-Bede collection, employing an 'I saw' (*Vidi*) formula that equates to similar 'I saw' (*Ic [...] (ge)seah*) formulas in Old English, including the one in **EXE 36.1a**,[17] is found as **ps-BED 7**:[18]

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[17] Some version of the formula appears in twenty Old English riddles, seventeen of which are in the first major grouping (**EXE 11, 17, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 62, 66, 73**, and **83**). A

> *Vidi* filium inter *quatuor* *fontes* nutritum; *si vivus*
> fuit,dis*rupit montes*; *si mortuus* fuit, *alligavit vivos*.
> *I saw* a son reared among *four springs*; *if* he was a*live*,
> he *broke* up *mountains*; *if* he was *dead*, he *bound the living*.

The four springs, signifying the four udders, that characterize all these Latin texts, are also found in Old English, at the heart of an affecting riddle depicting the harsh life of an 'ox' (**EXE 70**, *OXA*):

> Ic wæs lytel [. . . . .]
> fo[. . . . .
> [. . . . .]te geaf   [. . . . .
> . . . .]þe   þe unc gemæne [. . . . .
> 5. . . . .] sweostor min,
> fedde me[c fægre]
>   Oft ic <u>feower</u> *teah*
> swæse broþor,   þara onsundran gehwylc
> dæg-tidum me   *drincan* sealed
> þurh *þyrel* þearle.   Ic *þæh* on lust,
> 10 oþþæt ic wæs yldra   ond þæt an forlet
> sweartum hyrde,   siþade widdor,
> mearc-paþas træd,   moras pæðde,
> bunden under beame,   beag hæfde on healse,
> wean on laste   weorc þrowade,
> 15 earfoða dæl.
>   Oft mec isern scod
> sare on sidan;   ic swigade,
> næfre meldade   monna ængum
> gif me ord-stæpe   egle wæron.
> I was little [. . . . .]
> [. . . . .
> . . . .] gave [. . . . .
> . . . . .] what we two together [. . . . . .
> . . . .] my sister
> brought me up [beautifully]
>   Often I *tugged* at <u>four</u>

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similar formula is found in the only Latin riddle in the Exeter Book (**EXE 86** [*Mirum mihi videtur*]), as well as elsewhere in Latin, once in the *aenigmata* of Boniface (**BON 13**: *cernebam*) and eight in the thirteen of pseudo-Bede (**ps-BED 2** and **7–13**: *vidi*); the Old Norse equivalent (*ek sá*) is also found in fifteen of the thirty-six riddles of Gestumblindi (*Gestumblindagátur*, **GES** in the edition).

[18] See in general Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge. *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1998.

beloved brothers, who each in turn
during the daytime gave me *drink*
briskly, through a *hole*. I *drank* with vigour,
until I was older, and left it all behind
to the swarthy herdsman, traveled more widely,
trod march-paths, trekked over the moors,
bound under a beam, with a ring around my neck,
on a trail of grief, suffered pain,
a share of sorrows.
                                    Often iron
struck me sorely in the side; I stayed silent,
never uttered at all to anyone,
even if the jabbing blows were awful to me.

EXE 70.12, depicting the poor beaten creature as it 'trod march-paths, trekked over the moors' (*mearc-paþas træd, moras pæðde*) is of great interest here. The words not only echo two lines in *Beowulf* describing the monstrous exile Grendel and his kin (*Beo* 103 [*mære mearc-stapa, se þe moras heold*] and *Beo* 1348 [*micle mearc-stapan moras healdan*]), but also the Old English *Rune Poem* (**OER 2.3** [*mære mor-stapa; þæt is modig wuht*], describing the rune ᚢ, (*UR* ['aurochs']), describing another mighty bovine. **EXE 70.12** is also of significance, since in the manuscript is actually reads *mearc-paþas Walas træd, moras pæðde*, which is difficult to scan; *Walas* ('the Welsh') were certainly 'march-dwellers', and its looks like this is an explanatory gloss that has become interpolated. Elsewhere in the Exeter Book riddles, Welsh slaves appear as 'the swarthy Welsh' in **EXE 10.4a** (*OXA* ['ox']: *swearte Wealas*), as a 'dark-haired Welsh girl' in **10.8a** (*won-feax Wale*), and as a 'dark-skinned Welsh girl' in **50.6** (*ÞERSCEL* ['flail']: *won-fah Wale*), so encouraging the idea that the 'swarthy herdsman' mentioned here in **EXE 70.11a** (*sweartum hyrde*) is likewise intended to be understood as Welsh.[19]

Note that **EXE 10**, which mentions Welsh slaves twice, is likewise solved 'ox', although it is also widely discussed as one of the more obviously sexualized of the *double entendre* riddles:

Fotum ic fere, foldan slite,

[19] Others of the Exeter Book riddles, fall squarely within the same purview, notably **EXE 47.4b–5a**, where an unwitting 'dark', 'swarthy', and "sallow-faced' 'servant' (*goþes ... þegn sweart ond salo-neb ...eorp unwita*) acts in a way central to a riddle topped and tailed by impotent or insouciant 'swallowing' (*swilgeð ... forswilgeð*), that harks back to the celebrated 'book-worm' riddle (**EXE 45**) that is itself derived from an *aenigma* of Symphosius with the same solution (**SYM 16**: *TINEA*).

grene wongas,   þenden ic <u>gæst bere</u>.
   Gif me feorh losað,   *fæste binde*
swearte Wealas,   *hwilum* sellan men.
5*Hwilum* ic deorum   *drincan selle*
beorne of *bosme*,   *hwilum* mec bryd triedeð
fela-wlonc fotum,   *hwilum* feorran broht
won-feax Wale   *wegeð ond þyð*,
dol drunc-mennen   deorcum nihtum,
10wæteð in wætre,   wyrmeð *hwilum*
fægre to fyre;   me on *fæðme* sticaþ
hyge-galan *hond*,   hwyrfeð geneahhe,
swifeð me geond sweartne.
                         Saga hwæt ic hatte,
þe ic *lifgende*   <u>lond reafige</u>
15ond æfter *deaþe*   dryhtum þeowige.

I travel on foot, <u>tear the earth</u>,
green fields, while I <u>carry my spirit</u>.
   If I lose my life, I *bind fast*
the swarthy Welsh, *sometimes* better men.
Sometimes I *give a drink* to a bold warrior
from my breast; *sometimes*, a bride treads me
proudly underfoot; *sometimes*, brought from afar,
a dark-haired Welsh girl *grips and grasps* me,
the dull drunk wench in the dark nights,
moistens me in water, *sometimes* warms me,
favourably by the fire; thrusts me in the *lap*
a *hand* enflamed, writhes rather much,
strokes me through the dark.
                        Say what I am called,
who, *living*, plunders the ground,
and, after *death*, gives service to mankind.

The binding-imagery here links back directly both to the Latin *aenigmata* (**ALD 83**, **EUS 37**, and **ps-BED 7**) and the Old English riddle **EXE 36**; as Nina Rulon-Miller has memorably expressed it, with perhaps excusable overstatement given the paucity of the material: 'in the riddles Welsh people appear almost without fail in relation to bovines or binding or both',[20] One is tempted to add

[20] Nina Rulon-Miller, 'Sexual Humor and Fettered Desire in Exeter Book Riddle 12', *Humour in Anglo-Saxon Literature.* Ed. Jonathan Wilcox. Cambridge, 2000. 99–126, at p. 117; see too John W. Tanke, '*Wonfeax wale*: Ideology and Figuration in the Sexual Riddles of the Exeter Book', *Class and Gender in Early English Literature.* Ed. Britton J. Harwood and Gillian R. Overing. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN, 1994. 21–42; Sarah L. Higley, 'The Wanton Hand: Reading and Reaching Into

boozing and bonking to Rulon-Miller's alliterative list, since it is worth noting that the four compounds in this riddle are all unique in extant Old English verse, and that all of them focus on the proud, dark-haired, drunk Welsh slave-girl (*fela-wlonc, won-feax, drunc-mennen*, and *hyge-gal*), who is evidently the one to watch.

Given the common conceptual link between ploughing and sex, as well as between slave-girls and sex,[21] combining the two seems logical, as here, or indeed in yet another of the *double entendre* riddles, generally solved 'plough' (**EXE 19**, *SULH*):

> Neb is min niþer-**weard**,   neol ic fere
> ond be <u>grunde græfe</u>,   geonge swa me wisað,
> har holtes feond,   ond hlaford min
> woh færeð   *weard* æt steorte,
> 5wrigaþ on wonge,   **wegeð** mec **ond þyð**,
> saweþ on swæð min.   Ic snyþige forð,
> brungen of bearwe,   bunden cræfte,
> wegen on wægne,   hæbbe wundra fela.
>   Me biþ gongendre   grene on healfe,
> 10ond min swæð sweotol   sweart on oþre.
> Me þurh hrycg wrecen   hongaþ under
> an orþonc-pil,   oþer on heafde,
> fæst ond forð-**weard**.   Fealleþ on sidan
> þæt ic toþum tere,   gif me teala þenaþ
> 15hinde-**weardre**,   þæt biþ hlaford min.

> My beak points **down**; prone I go
> and <u>dig up the ground</u>, travel as he guides me,
> the grey forest-foe, and my master
> walks bent over, a *guard* at my tail,
> presses forward on the field, **grips** me and **grasps**,
> sows in my track. I snuffle along,
> brought from the grove, bound with skill,
> fetched on a wagon: I have many wonders.
>   As I travel there is green on one side of me,
> and my track clear, black on the other.

Grammars and Bodies in Old English Riddle 12', *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England.* Ed. Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox. Medieval European Studies 3. Morgantown, WV, 2003. 29–59.

[21] See especially, Elizabeth Stevens Girsch, 'Metaphorical Usage, Sexual Exploitation, and Divergence in the Old English Terminology for Male and Female Slaves', In *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England,* ed. Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat, 30–54. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1994.

> Driven through my back, there hangs beneath
> a single cunning spear, another in my head,
> fixed and pointing *forward*. There falls to the side
> what I tear with my teeth, if he serves me well
> from *behind*, the one who is my lord.

Like many of the riddles we have been discussing here, this one divides roughly into two halves, although there are body-parts in both, beginning with the very first word, 'beak' or 'nose' (*Neb*), and following on with 'tail', 'back', 'head', and 'teeth' (*steorte ... hrycg ... heafde ... topum*), as well as a persistent focus on directions (-*weard* in the Old English, with perhaps a pun in **EXE 19.4b**, which speaks of a 'guard at my tail' [*weard æt steorte*]). Note the particularly close parallel to **EXE 10.8b** (*wegeð ond þyð*) in **EXE 19.5b** (*wegeð ond þyð*), and the reference to the creature's 'single cunning spear' in **EXE 19.12a** (*an orþonc-pil*), with the compound here a unique form in extant Old English, and in this context strongly suggestive of the male member, a tool driven with force from behind. We shall see further examples below of an instrument wielded firmly by a man at its back, all of which plug into the same cunning matrix. The verbal and thematic parallels that link all of these texts, whether in Latin or Old English strongly suggests the unity and coherence of the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, and the usefulness of considering material outside individual collections, and across linguistic boundaries.

Yet another chain of connections only underlines the importance of the apparent quotations of Latin sources implicitly in **EXE 63.5–6** (solved *CIPE* ['onion']) and more explicitly in **EXE 36.6–7** (solved *HRYÐER* ['bullock']). This nexus is of further significance, since it reaches back to the very beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon riddle-tradition, where Aldhelm, who notes Symphosius, alongside the Bible and (more puzzlingly) Aristotle as his inspirations, quotes the following line, which appears alongside the collection of Symphosius, but is of a different form, being just one line rather than the usual three (**ps-SYM 1**):[22]

> Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me.
> My mother bore me, and the same is soon born through me.

This *aenigma* is generally solved as 'ice' (*GLACIES*), which is a feminine noun in Latin, and is both produced by and a producer of 'water' (*AQUA*), another

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[22] Nancy Porter Stork, *Through a Gloss Darkly: Aldhelm's Riddles in the British Library Mediaeval Studies Royal 12.C.xxiii.* Studies and Texts 98. Toronto, 1990, gives a useful parallel text and translation of Aldhelm's *Preface*.

femine noun. In fact, this *aenigma* too is not the beginning of the trail, but clearly derives from a Greek αἴνιγμα found both in *Deipnosophistae* X.452a and the so-called *Palatine anthology* XIV.41:

> <u>Μητέρ’ἐμὴν τίκω</u> καὶ <u>τίκτομαι εἰμὶ δὲ ταύτης</u>
> ἄλλοτε μὲν μείζων ἄλλοτε μειοτέρη.
> <u>I bear my mother</u>, and <u>am born from the same</u>;
> Sometimes I’m bigger than her, sometimes smaller.

In the Greek, however, the second line is a problem with regard to ‘ice’ and ‘water’, and it is clear that the correct solution there is ‘night and day’, since both the nouns νύξ (‘night’) and ἡμερα (‘day’) are grammatically feminine, and one lengthens as the other diminishes in the course of a year, while only one of the equivalent Latin terms (*nox*) is clearly feminine: the other (*dies*) appears in both masculine and feminine forms, according to usage. Once again, we see an example where a creative riddler will borrow from an earlier text, but in so doing will change it significantly.

The mother–daughter paradox is widespread in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and is found in its least altered form, rendered as prose as **ps-BED 6** (*Quid est quod mater me genuit, et mox eadem gignetur a me?* [‘What is it: a mother produced me, and soon the same will be produced from me?’]), but also for example, in the so-called Lorsch and Bern riddle-collections, where it is found in (for example) **LOR 4.6–7** (*GELU* [‘ice’]); **BER 31** (*SIPHO* [‘siphon’]), **32** (*SPONGIA* [‘sponge’]), and **38.3–4** (*GLACIES* [‘ice’]). Outside the riddle tradition the same basic idea is even found in the Old English Boethius, in an evident explansion on the Latin source (*Bo* 28.59–64):

> Hwa wundraδ þæs
> oδδe oþres eft,   hwi þæt is mæge
> weorδan of wætere;   wlite-torh scineδ
> sunna swegle hat;   soma gecerreδ
> is-mere ænlic   on his agen gecynd,
> weorδeδ to wætre.
>   Who wonders about that,
> or something else again, how ice
> can come from water; the beautifully bright sun
> shines hot in the sky, the splendid sheet
> of ice quickly turns to water
> through its own nature.

Even the opening line of **EUS 37** above seems to gesture towards the trope (*Post genitrix me quam peperit mea* ['After my mother bore me']), before veering off to discuss the clearly masculine creature in question. Against such a setting, a further riddle in the Exeter Book seems self-evidently to allude to the same theme, again using a quotation to do so. **EXE 31**, which is routinely solved as 'ice' (*IS*), is part of the same nexus of texts, and reads as follows:

> Wiht cwom æfter wege   wrætlicu liþan,
> cymlic from ceole   cleopode to londe,
> hlinsade hlude;   hleahtor wæs gryrelic,
> egesful on earde,   ecge wæron scearpe.
> 5   Wæs hio hete-grim,   hilde to sæne,
> biter beado-weorca;   bord-weallas grof,
> heard-hiþende.
>   Hete-rune bond,
> sægde searo-cræftig   ymb hyre sylfre gesceaft:
>   'Is <u>min modor</u>   mægða cynnes
> 10þæs deorestan,   þæt is <u>dohtor min</u>
> eacen uploden,   swa þæt is ældum cuþ,
> firum on folce,   þæt seo on foldan sceal
> on ealra londa gehwam   lissum stondan.'
> A creature came sailing, wondrous, over the waves,
> splendid from the vessel, called to the shore,
> boomed loud; the laughter was terrible,
> awesome on earth, the edges were sharp.
>   She was hate-grim, slow to strife,
> bitter in battle-deeds; she dug into board-walls,
> plundering hard.
>   She bound a hate-rune,
> spoke, cunning-crafty, about her own creation:
>   '<u>My mother</u> is, of all the maids there are,
> the dearest, and she is <u>my daughter</u>,
> sprung up pregnant, as is well-known to men,
> to men among folk, when she has in the world,
> on every land to stand supreme'.

The aggressive female figure threatening ships (and note that the immediately preceding **EXE 30** seems to describe a type of ship) in vividly martial language has a close parallel in Norse literature, especially in the ogress Hrímgerðr (whose name, significantly enough, means 'Ice-godess') in the eddic poem *Helgakviða*

Hjörvarðssonar 30 threatens explicitly to stave in the fleet of her enemy. More important here is the fact that several verbal parallels, all of them within the passage of quotation, link **EXE 30**, solved 'ice' (*IS*), and **EXE 39**, solved 'water' (*WÆTER*), both in the first major group of riddles in the Exeter Book) and with **EXE 80**, also solved 'water' (*WÆTER*), in the second.[23]

If, against this background, we turn back to the other 'onion'-riddle in the Exter Book (**EXE 23**), likewise found in the other group of riddles to **EXE 63**, several further patterns seem to emerge:

> Ic eom wunderlicu wiht,   wifum on hyhte,
> neah-buendum nyt;   nængum sceþþe
> burg-sittendra,   nymþe bonan anum.
>   Stapol min is steap-heah,   stonde ic on bedde,
> 5neoþan ruh nat-hwær.   Neþeð *hwilum*
> ful cyrtenu   ceorles dohtor,
> mod-*wlonc* meowle,   þæt heo *on mec gripeð*,
> ræseð *mec on* reodne,   *reafað min heafod*,
> *fegeð mec on* fæsten.
>   *Feleþ* sona
> 10mines gemotes,   seo þe *mec nearwað*,
> wif wunden-locc.   Wæt bið þæt *eage*.
> I am a curious creature: what a woman wants,
> at the service of neighbours, and harmful to none
> of those at home except the one who hurts me.
>   My shaft is straight up, I stand in a bed,
> more or less hairy beneath. *Sometimes*
> the very lovely daughter of a churl takes a risk,
> *haughty* girl, so that she *grasps me*,
> rubs *me to* redness, *ravages my head*,
> *stuffs me somewhere* safe.
>   She soon *feels* it,
> her encounter with me, the one who *confines me*,
> the curly-locked lady: one *eye* will be wet.

Not all commentators have accepted easily the evident connection to both **EXE 63** and (still less easily) **SYM 44**; Philip Shaw has even suggested a specific

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[23] Compare **EXE 31.9–10** (*Is min modor mægða cynnes, / þæs deorestan, þæt is dohtor min*) with **EXE 39.2–4** (*þæt is moddor monigra cynna, / þæs selestan, þæs sweartestan, / deorestan þæs þe dryhta bearn / ofer foldan sceat to gefean agen*) and **EXE 80.4** (*modor is monigra mærra wihta*), as well as the use of the term *eacen* in **EXE 31.11a** with **EXE 80.21** (*Biþ sio moddor mægene eacen*) and **80.27b** (*cræfte eacen*).

reference here to the events described in the Old English poem *Judith*, where the 'curly-locked' (*wunden-locc*) heroine decapitates her would-be rapist, Holofernes in a not-so-sublimated form of castration, and stuffs his head in a bag.[24] The verbal parallels linking to the other 'onion' riddle are clear when one compares **EXE 63.2b–4** in particular (*æghwa mec reafað / hafað mec on headre, ond min heafod scireþ / biteð mec on bær lic*), but verbal paralells extend beyond this obvious pairing, most clearly to encompass others of the so-called 'rude riddles', particularly **EXE 43.3b–4a**, usually solved 'dough' (*DAH: bryd grapode / hyge-wlonc hondum* ['a bride took a grip / proud, in her hands']) and **EXE 59.5–6b**, usually solved 'shirt' (*CYRTEL: Siðþan me on hreþre heafod sticade / ... on nearo fegde* ['Then he would stick his head in my midst / ... and fitted it in tight']), in both of which cases there is a strong sexual subtext of masturbation on the one hand (as it were) and intercourse on the other.

Having established that such chains of association seem to feature widely within the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, we might examine another that sheds still further light on those already discussed. The three principal texts all of which are solved 'bellows' (Latin *UTER FOLLIS*; Old English *BLÆST-BELG*) can be quickly introduced, beginning again with Symphosius; **SYM 73** reads as follows:

> Non ego continuo morior, dum spiritus exit:
> nam redit adsidue, quamvis et saepe recedit;
> et mihi nunc magna est animae nunc nulla facultas.
> I do not die immediately when my breath departs;
> for it returns promptly, although it often goes away;
> now there is great deal of puff, now none at all.

In what will be by now a familiar scenario, the most nearly equivalent riddle in the Exeter Book (**EXE 35**) begins in a highly original fashion, but then, like **EXE 63**, reverts back closely to its Latin model:

> *Ic* þa *wihte* ge*seah*;   *womb* wæs on hindan
> *þriþum* a*þrun*ten.   *Þegn folgade*,
> *mægen-rofa* man,   ond *micel* hæfde
> gefered þæt hit *felde*,   fleah þurh his *eage*.

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[24] Philip Shaw, 'Hair and Heathens: Picturing Pagans and the Carolingian Connection in the Exeter Book and the *Beowulf*-Manuscript', *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ed. Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christine Pössel, and Philip Shaw. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 344. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006. 345–57.

5   <u>Ne swylteð he symle</u>,   þonne syllan sceal
  innað þam oþrum,   ac him <u>eft cymeð</u>
  bot in bosme,   <u>blæd</u> biþ <u>arǽred</u>;
  he sunu wyrceð,   bið him sylfa fæder.
  I saw that *creature*: the *belly* was in the rear,
  massively swollen. A servant attended,
  a *mighty powerful* man, and he had in a *big* way
  brought forth what *filled* it; that flew through an *eye*.
      <u>He does not keep on dying</u>, when he has to give
  his innards to that other, but <u>again</u> there <u>comes</u>
  a restoration in the breast, <u>breath</u> is <u>brought back</u>;
  he makes sons, and is the father himself.

The words indicated by double underlining, all clustered in the second half of the riddle, have close and direct parallels in the equivalent words and phrases in **SYM 73**, including the schoolboy misunderstanding of Latin *continuo*, which looks as if it should mean 'contnually', but in fact means 'immediately', with *symle*, which sould indeed mean 'contnuously', translated here by the phrase 'keep on'). Indeed, one might go further, and suggest that the final line of the riddle, with its references to sons and fathers, is a gesture towards the mother–daughter paradox, reformulated in a masculine context. Unlike the first reformulation of the Old English 'onion' riddle (**EXE 63**), however, which did not appear to be particularly sexulaized, **EXE 35** is itself very much a *double entendre* riddle, relying (for example) on the different senses of the form *blæd* (translated here as 'breath', but also signifying 'fire', 'glory', 'fruit') and *arǽred* (translated here as 'brought back', but also signifying 'raised', 'reared'); the connotations of sexual congress are in any case clear. Likewise, there is suggestive use of body-parts found in other 'rude riddles' here, specifically 'belly', 'eye', and 'breast' (*womb, eage*, and *bosme*), where no body-parts are mentioned at all; while 'womb' and 'breast' or 'bosom', are self-explanatory in this context, the 'eye' in particular links back to the final word of the more explicit 'onion' riddle above (**EXE 23**), just as the language of a dumb creature living and dying links back to the opening line of the other 'onion' riddle (**EXE 63**): 'I was alive, but I said naught; nevertheless I die' (*Cwico wæs ic, ne cwæð ic wiht; cwele ic efne sepeah*).

    Another 'bellows' riddle (**EXE 83**: again, in a different grouping within the Exeter Book from the first) has obviously close verbal parallels to the opening of **EXE 35**, but eschews entirely any vestige of connection with the Latin tradition that underlies the latter, opting instead to sex up the text still further, so producing one of the most explicit of the 'rude riddles':

> *Ic seah* wundorlice *wiht*,   *wombe* hæfde *micle*
> *þryþum* geþrungne.   *Þegn folgade*
> *mægen-strong* ond *mund*-rof;   *micel* me þuhte
> godlic gum-rinc,   *grap on* sona
> 5   <* * *>   heofones *toþe*
> bleowe of *eage*;   hio boncade,
> wancode willum.   Hio wolde seþeah
> niol[..............]
>
> *I saw* an amazing *creature*: she had a *big belly*,
> *massively bowed* out. *A servant attended*,
> *strong* in *might* and *sturdy* of hand: he seemed big to me,
> a good and manly man; he suddenly *grabbed*
> [her and ...] with heaven's *tooth*
> there blew from an eye-hole. She stamped,
> shuddered pleasurably; but she wanted nonetheless
> the depths [...]

Part of the difficulty in this riddle lies in the unusual and unexpected forms: in echoing the opening lines of **EXE 35**, the poet has recast the single compound *mægen-rofa* ('mighty powerful') into two, *mægen-strong* and *mund-rof* ('strong in might and sturdy of hand'), the second of which is unique in Old English poetry, so emphasizing the essential manliness of the male protagonist. Likewise, both the verbs *boncade* and *wancode*, for example, ending and beginning successive lines, are hard to interpret, though they do look remarkably like the modern sexual terms 'bonked' and 'wanked', and would be by far the earliest attestation of either, never mind both. In the case of the first, where there is some question as to whether the third letter is an <n> or an <r>, and in any case the putative infinitives, whether *boncian or *boncian*, are equally unattested, the Toronto Dictionary of Old English simply says '? To beat, stamp (if a form of *boncian) to bark, make a noise (if a form of *borcian);' as for the second, while some would emend to *þancode* (in the sense 'was glad'; 'gave thanks'), there seems a cognate in Old High German *wankōn* ('to waver', 'to vacillate'), which presumably underlies the modern slang term for masturbation.

   By contrast, the at first glance rather puzzling phrase 'heaven's tooth' (*heofenes toþe*) can be explained with reference to **BER 41**, which is solved 'wind' (*VENTUS*), and also demonstrates significant verbal parallels not only with **SYM 44**, the 'onion' *aenigma* with which we began, but also with the opening

line of Aldhelm's *aenigma* on 'wind' (*VENTUS* [**ALD 2.1**]: *Cernere me nulli possunt nec prendere palmis* ['No one can see me or hold me in their hands']):

> Velox curro nascens grandi virtute sonorus;
> deprimo nam fortes, infirmos adlevo sursum.
> Os est mihi nullum, **dente nec vulnero quemquam,**
> **mordeo** sed **cunctos** silvis campisque morantes.
> 5 *Cernere me quisquam* nequit aut nectere vinclis;
> Macedo nec Liber vicit nec Hercules umquam.
> I run swift and loud with great power, when I am born:
> I strike down the strong, and lift up the weak on high.
> I have no mouth, and *do not wound anyone with my* <u>*teeth*</u>,
> though I *bite everyone* loitering in woods and on plains.
> *No one can* **see me**, nor bind me with chains;
> not Alexander nor Bacchus nor Hercules ever conquered me.

The verb in the final line, 'conquered' (*vicit*), while found in the majority of manuscripts, appears as *vincit* ('binds') in two, presumably prompted by the 'chains (*vinclis*) and the binding imagery of the preceding line. The idea of binding or confining the wind is of course Classical (notably of Aeolus in Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.71–75), but also appears in Old English, notably in both **EXE 1** and an apocalyptic passage at the end of Cynewulf's *Elene* that has no basis in the putative Latin source (lines 1270b–76a):

> 1270   landes frætwe
> gewitaþ under wolcnum   winde geliccost,
> þonne he for hæleðum   hlud astigeð,
> wæðeð be wolcnum,   wedende færeð
> ond eft semninga   swige gewyrðeð,
> 1275 in ned-cleofan   nearwe geheaðrod,
> þream forþrycced.
>   the trappings of the land
> disappear under the clouds, most like the wind
> when it rises up loud before men,
> wanders around the skies, travels raging,
> and suddenly again falls still,
> narrowly constrained in needful enclosure,
> forcibly repressed.

The use here in **EXE 35.5b** of what be termed a riddle-within-a-riddle is in fact quite common throughout the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, and can provide

another layer of association between different texts. In somewhat the same way, the clue to the solution of **EXE 77** is found at **77.7b**, where the reader is invited to suggest 'what stirs up the woods' (*se þe wudu hrereð*):

> Ic eom bylged-breost,   belced-sweora,
> heafod hæbbe   ond heane steort,
> eagan ond earan   ond ænne foot,
> hrycg ond heard-nebb,   hneccan steapne
> 5ond sidan twa,   sagol on middum,
> eard ofer ældum.
>   *Aglac* dreoge,
> þær mec wegeð   se þe *wudu hrereð*,
> ond mec stondende   *streamas beatað*,
> hægl se hearda,   ond hrim þeceð,
> 10[f]orst [mec fr]eoseð,   ond fealleð snaw
> [on þ]yrel-wombne,   ond ic þæt [þ]ol[ian
> ....] mæ[g]   won-sceaft mine.

> I am bulging-breasted and swollen-throated,
> have a head and tail held high,
> eyes and ears and a single foot,
> back and hard beak, steep neck,
> and two sides, a stick in the middle,
> a domain above men.
>   I put up with an *awful assault*
> when there touches me what *stirs up the woods*,
> and as I stand *streams beat* me,
> the hard hail and rime covers
> and frost freezes me and snow falls on
> the one with a pierced belly, and I can endure
> my misery [................]

In this instance, as often elsewhere, the riddle splits easily into two parts; here, the first of which is an unlikely catalogue of body-parts of a type common within the tradition (and best-attested elsewhere in the Exeter Book by **EXE 82**, generally solved as 'one-eyed garlic-seller', again on the model of a Latin source, in this case **SYM 95**, which has the same solution [*LUSCUS ALIUM VENDENS*]). No fewer than twelve are mentioned, eleven in the first part and one in the second, many of them emphasized through compound words that are mostly rare or unique. The second part begins with a series of b-lines (**EXE 77.6b, 7b**, and **8b**), including the 'riddle-within-a-riddle', all of which can be matched closely in **EXE 1** (which is often edited as three texts; it is interesting

that the parallels here all come from different parts of the riddle). The parallels in question (from **EXE 1.8, 1.21 [1b.6]**, and **1.37–8a [1c.7–8a]**) can be presented schematically as follows:

> wæl-cwealm wera,   þonne ic ***wudu hrere***
>   * * *
>
> ***streamas*** staþu ***beatað***,   stundum weorpaþ
>   * * *
>
> of þam ***aglace***,   ac ic eþel-stol
> hæleþa ***hrere***
> grave slaughter of men, when I ***stir up the woods***
>   * * *
>
> ***streams beat*** cliffs, at times cast up']
>   * * *
>
> from that ***awful assault***, but instead ***stir up***
> men's homes

Critics quibble over the precise solution to **EXE 1**, but 'wind' or 'storm' would certainly fit both that riddle and the 'riddle-within-a-riddle' of 'what stirs up the woods at **EXE 77.7b**, so once again highlighting the interconnected nature of the Anglo-Saxon riddle-tradition.

Such interconnectedness is a particular feature of the 'rude riddles' of the Exeter Book, one of the most explicitly obscene of which (**EXE 60**), usually solved as 'borer' or 'poker' (*BOR*) offers almost a checklist of themes, tropes, and phrases from other like texts in the same manuscript, harking back here to the notion of a tool being worked from behind:

> Ic eom heard ond scearp,   hin-gonges ***strong***,
> forð-siþes from,   frean unforcuð,
> wade ***under wambe***   ond me weg sylfa
> ryhtne geryme.
>   Rinc við on ofeste,
> 5se mec on ***þyð***   æftan-***weardne***,
> hæleð mid ***hrægle***;   ***hwilum*** ut tyhð
> of ***hole*** hatne,   ***hwilum*** eft fereð
> on nearo ***nat-hwær***,   nydeþ swiþe
> suþerne secg.
>   Saga hwæt ic hatte.
> I am hard and sharp, ***strong*** going hence,
> firm heading forth, unafraid of my lord,
> I plunge ***under*** the ***belly***, the path itself

guides me right.
<div style="text-align:center">The guy is urgent</div>
who *shoves* me in from *behind*,
a man working undercover; *sometimes* he tugs me out
hot from the *hole, sometimes* he puts me back in,
into *some* narrow place, really pushes,
the chap from down south.
<div style="text-align:center">Say what I am called.</div>

This bipartite riddle, closing with the familiar formulaic challenge 'Say what I am called' (*Saga hwæt ic hatte*) that we saw above in **EXE 10.13b**, deals with the perspectives of the creature in question, but mentions in the first half a 'lord' (*frean*) who is evidently the person mentioned three times in different ways in the second half as a 'guy' (*Rinc*), 'man' (*hæleð*), and 'chap' (*secg*). Could all these be slang terms in Old English for 'penis'? The general thrust of the riddle certainly implies not so much *double entendre* as plain speaking.

There appears to be a further 'bellows' riddle in the final grouping of the Exeter Book (**EXE 85**), albeit that it is badly damaged; it is striking that almost all the words that can be read have strong parallels with the 'rude riddles' in general, and the other two 'bellows' riddles in particular (**EXE 35** and **83**):

[. . . . .
. . . .]se *wiht* *wombe hæfde*
[. . . . .
. . . . .]tne leþre wæs beg[. . . . .
5. . . . .] *on hindan*
grette wea[. . . . .
. . . .] listum *worhte*
hwilum eft [. . . . .
[. . . . . .] *þygan,* him þoncade
siþþan [. . . . .
10. . . .] swæsendum swylce þrage.
[. . . . .
. . . .] the *creature had a belly*
[. . . . .
. . . . .] was leather [. . . . .
. . . .] *behind*
greeted [. . . . .
. . . .] skillfully *wrought* ...
again *at times* [. . . . .
[. . . . . .] *shove,* thanked him

afterwards [. . . . .
. . . .] for deliciousness at such a time.

Indeed, so strong are the connections between these texts that one is tempted to see in the damaged form *wea...* in **EXE 85.6a** a further reference to a *wealh*, a Welsh slave of some kind, presumably in this case male.

By contrast, the drunk Welsh slave girl of **EXE 10** offers another kind of binding, and in that context it is of interest that where there are erotic elements in the Anglo-Latin *aenigmata*, though they tend on the one hand to be more subtle than those found in the Old English, and on the other to focus on the mouth (drinking and kissing) rather than activity further down. One that again seems to spark a chain of associated texts is Aldhelm's *aenigma* on 'glass cup' (**ALD 80** [*CALIX VITREUS*]):

> De rimis lapidum profluxi flumine lento,
> dum frangant flammae saxorum viscera dura,
> et laxis ardor fornacis regnat habenis;
> nunc mihi forma capax glacieque simillima *luc*et.
> 5   Nempe volunt plures collum constringere *dextra*,
> et pulchre *digitis* lubricum *comprendere* corpus;
> sed mentes muto, dum labris *oscula* trado,
> <u>dulcia</u> compressis impendens <u>basia buccis</u>,
> atque pedum gressus titubantes sterno ruina.

> I seeped out in a slow stream from cracks in the rock,
> when flames split the hard innards of the stones,
> and, with all restraint removed, the heat of the furnace takes control;
> now my flexible form shines most like ice.
>   In truth, many want to enclose my neck with their right hand,
> and press my beautifully smooth form with their fingers;
> but I change their minds by giving contact to their lips,
> pushing sweet kisses on pressed-together mouths,
> as I trip up with disaster their faltering steps.

This *aenigma*, like several already discussed here, has a bipartitie structure relating here first to the uncanny generation of the creature in question, with its contrast of fire and ice, and then to its amorous life as a *femme fatale*, luring the unwary to their doom. The second part in particular has a firm focus on body-parts, namely 'neck' (*collum*), 'right-hand' (*dextra*), 'body' (*corpus*, rendered here 'form'), 'fingers' (*digitis*), 'lips' (*labris*), 'mouths' (*buccis*), and 'feet' (as part of the phrase *pedum gressus*, rendered here 'steps'); the various body-part elements of

the 'rude' riddles discussed above fit firmly into this format, which also has a parallel (for example) in the line from the 'bell' *aenigma* of Tatwine noted above as modelled on Symphosius's 'onion' *aenigma* (*Mordeo mordentem labris mox dentibus absque* ['I am toothless, but with my lips soon bite the one who bites me']).

Many of the same features and themes are found in a Lorsch *aenigma* on a 'wine-cup' (*COPA VINARIA*), where the striking line **ALD 80.8** (*dulcia compressis impendens basia buccis*) is evidently echoed and considerably expanded, with a new twist (**LOR 5**):

> *Lucidus* et laetus *quinis* con*sid*ere *ramis*
> saepe solent pariter splendentes, laeta iubentes
> aedibus in mediis fieri non tristia corda.
>   Dumque simul ludunt *ramis*que tenentur apertis,
> 5 *dulcia* quin *bib*ulis tradunt et *bassia buccis*;
> mulcifer egreditur tantumque remanet adhaerens
> *lucidus* in *ramis*, quibus antea *sedit* uterque.
> A *bright* one and a joyful one, equally resplendent,
> are often used to *reclining in five branches*, bidding hearts
> be joyful and not gloomy in the middle of the hall.
>   And while they play together and are held in open *branches*
> they exchange *sweet kisses* with *mouths* that *drink* them in;
> the soothing one goes forth, and only one remains behind,
> *bright* still among the *branches*, where they both *reclined* before.

If the opening and closing lines of this *aenigma* both begin with the same emphasis on the 'bright' (*lucidus*) nature of one of the creatures in question, the term 'branches' runs through the *aenigma*, emphasized here three times in the same form (*ramis ... ramisque ... ramis*) in lines 1, 4, and 7, as if to emphasize that the 'branches' in question stand here for 'fingers'; of the two body-parts explicitly mentioned, the first, 'hearts' (*corda*) is tied very clearly to the repeated theme of 'joyfulness' (*laetus ... laeta*), while the second, 'mouths' (*buccis*) links back very directly to its apparent model (**ALD 80**), emphasizing the element of 'drinking' (*bibulis*); a new subsidiary theme of 'sitting' (*considere ... sedit*) has also been introduced. There is a further reworking of the same theme in prose (just as occurs in **ps-BED 7** above) found on folio 1r of the tenth-century manuscript St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 446 (**XMS X4**):[25]

> *Lucidus* et placidus sedebant in *quinque ramis*:
> *lucidus sedit*, placidus pertransiit.
> A *light* one and quiet one used to sit *in five branches*:
> *the light one sat*, the quiet one disappeared.

Here, in a highly telegrammatic distillation of the earlier material, it is as much the differences as the similarities that seem significant: the key word 'branches' (*ramis*), signifying the fingers, appears just once, and is the only reference to body-parts, while the by now very stripped-down and desexualized *aenigma* has been reduced to a clipped series of three doublets based on the terms 'light', 'quiet', and 'sitting' (*Lucidus ... lucidus*; *placidus ... placidus*; *sedebant ... sedit*). In each of these aspects, as well as its reference to 'five branches' (*quinque ramis*), this prose *aenigma* seems much closer to **LOR 5** (*quinis ... ramis*) than to **ALD 80**.

By contrast, the parallel Exeter Book riddle on 'glass-beaker' (**EXE 61** [*GLÆS-FÆT*]) seems closer to **ALD 80** although some elements reflect **LOR 5**:

> Oft ic secga   sele-dreame sceal
> fægre onþeon,   þonne ic eom forð boren
> glæd mid golde,   þær guman drincað.
>   *Hwilum* mec on cofan   *cysseð muþe*
> 5 *tillic esne*,   þær wit tu beoþ,
> *fæðme* on *folme   fingrum þyð*,
> *wyrceð his willa[n*   . . .]ð lu[. . .
> . . . .] fulre,   þonne ic forð cyme
> [. . . . .]
> 10   Ne mæg ic þy miþan, [. . . . .
> . . . . si]þþan on *leohte*
> [. . . . .]
> swylce eac bið sona   [. . . . .
> to]rhte getacnad,   hwæt me to sohte
> 15 re]celeas rinc,   þa unc geryde wæs.
> Often among the hall-joy of men I must
> flourish fairly, when I am brought forth
> bright with gold, where men drink.
>   *Sometimes* a *splendid servant* in a closed room,
> *kisses* me *on the mouth*, where we are two together,
> with *bosom* cupped in *hand, strokes me with fingers*,
> *works his will* [. . . . .

. . . .] full, when I come forth
[. . . . .]
  I cannot conceal in this way [. . . . . . .
. . . .] then in the *light*
[. . . . .]
so too it is straightaway [. . . . .
clearly indicated, what he wanted from me
the reckless man, when the way was cleared for us two.

This riddle divides into three, with only the middle section, which has the closest parallels with the Latin analogues, also exhibiting a brisk catalogue of four body-parts in three lines, namely 'mouth' (*muþe*), 'hand' (*folme*), 'bosom' (*fæðme*), 'fingers' (*fingrum*), with the final three in the same line, and all emphasized by alliteration. The damage obscures the potential significance of the reference to 'light' (*leohte*), which, although it is not in the same section as the other parallels, nonetheless maps onto the Latin *lucidus* of **LOR 5** and **XMS X4**, but also onto *lucet* of (**ALD 80.4**; translated there as 'shines').

Yet again, recognition of a Latin tradition underlying an Old English riddle encourages further analysis into the extent to which the vernacular reworking so produced itself has parallels with other riddles in the Exeter Book. Such is clearly the case here, where **EXE 61**, in the final major grouping, has two paralells of rather different kinds, both in the first grouping. So, for example, **EXE 9**, generally solved as 'wine-cup' (*WIN-FÆT*), has long been recognized as a duplicate in terms of subject-matter to **EXE 61**,[26] albeit one that has no element of innuendo at all, while **EXE 52**, by contrast, has no particular connection to either **EXE 9** or **61** in terms of subject-matter, being generally solved as 'churn' (*CYRN*), but it not only shares two half-lines with **EXE 61**, but exceeds it in suggestiveness as one of the more explicit of the *double entendre* riddles:

Hyse cwom gangan,   þær he hie wise
stondan in wincle,   stop feorran to,
hror hæg-steald-mon,   hof his agen
hrægl *hondum* up,   hrand *under* gyrdels
5hyre stondendre   stiþes *nat-hwæt*,
worhte his willan;   wagedan buta.
  Þegn onnette,   wæs þragum nyt
tillic esne,   teorode hwæþre

---

[26] See the studies noted in the Appendix below.

135

> æt stunda gehwam   *strong* ær þon hio,
> 10werig þæs weorces.   Hyre weaxan ongon
> *under* gyrdelse   þæt oft gode men
> ferðþum freogað   ond mid feo bicgað.
> A young man came striding, to where he knew
> she was standing in a corner, stepped up from afar,
> the strapping lad, raised his own
> clothing up in his hands, shoved something stiff
> under her girdle as she was standing,
> *worked his will*, they both shuddered.
>   The servant hurried, his *splendid slave*
> was useful at times, but then grew tired
> after a while, who had been stronger than her,
> grew weary of that work. Under her girdle
> there began to grow, what often good folk
> love in their hearts and pay for with their purse.

Winfried Rudolf has provided a very useful discussion of this riddle,[27] which again splits cleanly into two, and uses several of the by now familiar phrase and buzz-words that both characterize and help identify the so-called 'rude riddles', Mention is made in the first half of 'a young man' (*Hyse*), 'a strapping lad' (*hror hæg-steald-mon*), while in the second half we are told in parallel terms of a 'servant' (*Þegn*) and a 'splendid slave' (*tillic esne*), the second of which phrases matches **EXE 61.5a**, just as **EXE 52.6a** (*worhte his willan*) matches **EXE 61.7a** (*wyrceð his willan*). Likewise, both halves are connected by the twin phrases 'under her girdle' (*under gyrdels ... under gyrdelse*), which likewise echoes the phrase 'under the belly' of **EXE 60.3a** (*under wambe*). Sometimes it seems that all the Old English *double entendre* riddles seem to speak with just one voice.

* * *

And so we come full circle: big boys, bound bovines, loose women, louche servants, slaves loosened by liquor, and a generally earthy attitude towards daily life: the many connections between the so-called 'rude riddles,' and especially

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[27] Winfried Rudolf, 'Riddling and Reading: Iconicity and Logogriphs in Exeter Book *Riddles* 23 and 45', *Anglia* 130 (2012): 499–525; he argues that there is an Old Testament analogue here, just as the Old Testament supplies the solution to the incest-riddle **EXE 44** ('Lot and his children' [*LOTH OND HIS BEARN*]). See too the Old Testament reading by Philip Shaw (noted above) of another *double entendre* riddle, namely **EXE 23** ('onion'), and note that the Old English Prose riddle, perhaps to be attributed to Abbot Ælfwine of Winchester, also have an incest theme, and a likely Old Testament solution, namely 'Eve'.

their appearance in multiple versions in different parts and groupings of the Exeter Book, seem collectively to suggest a network of like-minded Latin-trained poets, or (perhaps less likely) a single single-minded Latin-trained poet making multiple verses on the same 'rude' themes. The fact that a variety of Anglo-Latin poets also employed many of the same techniques of borrowing, emulation, and outdoing of earlier works lends weight to the former idea, as well as to the notion that the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition deserves to be considered as a whole, whether the riddles were written in Old English or Latin.

It seems no accident that for reasons of space this somewhat frenetic discussion includes only about half of the seventeen so-called 'rude riddles' in the Exeter Book, but should still have thrown up sources, parallels, and analogues for their style, themes, and substance among a broad range of texts, both elsewhere in Old English, as well as a variety of Latin texts from across many different collections, each, whether or not composed by an Anglo-Saxon, having a demonstrable connection with the wider Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition. We might well conclude that the same Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, as rightly represented in both of the literary languages of the period, and celebrating not simply penises and swords, but alongside the a whole panoply of the accoutrements of church and classroom and scriptorium, is, in a reverse of the usual pattern for *double entendre*, at once both less lewd and more learned than much modern scholarship seems sometimes to suppose. Whatever the case, in many of these riddles and *aenigmata*, it is striking just how often the ancient scholarly fantasy of the mighty penis fails and falls: in Anglo-Saxon riddles, at least, the pen is far mightier, and far mightier precisely because of the Latin learning that penetrated Anglo-Saxon England not so much by the sword, as by the pen of the Word.

APPENDIX:
The distribution of riddle-types at the end of the Exeter Book

The thirty-three riddles that make up the final major grouping within the Exeter Book (**EXE 59–91**) seem at first sight a disparate bunch, but are in fact interconnected by a remarkably simple set of links, involving duplication, twinning, translation, and *double entendre*. It has been noted above that four of the first five are *double entendre* riddles, and two of those have parallels in the first major grouping (**EXE 1–57**), a trait that in fact extends to at least fourteen of the thirty-three, with nine of those in a sequence that is only broken by a lacuna in the manuscript. Others have parallels within this last grouping, or have a specific link to the riddle preceding or following, or are derived directly from a known Latin source (generally from Symphosius); many fall into more than one of these categories, which together account for no fewer than twenty-nine of the thirty-three.

Even the four apparent exceptions, three of which are only uncertainly solved, skirt around the edges of these categories: **EXE 86**, after all, is *in* Latin, **EXE 68** is fragmentary and comes immediately after the lacuna, being both preceded and followed by riddles with parallels in the first major grouping of riddles, and **EXE 77**, while having no direct counterpart in the first grouping, does at least seem to echo **EXE 1**, as well as echoing the *double entendre* riddles in its relentless documentation of body-parts, as we have seen. Only **EXE 79** seems puzzling within this wider sequence, although it too has parallels in Latin, notably with **SYM 92** (*PECUNIA* ['money']), which would in fact redeem it within this analysis. In the table that follows, I have used a variety of sigla, all given in **bold**, to signify various relationships (**!!** indicates a *double entendre* riddle; ↔ indicates a riddle with a parallel in the same major grouping; ↕ indicates a riddle with a parallel in the other major grouping; ≈ indicates a riddle with a close Latin source or analogue; ↑, ↓ indicate riddles with a specific link either to the one preceding or following; {} indicate a feature found in the first major grouping [**EXE 1–57**]; <> indicate a feature not found in the first major grouping [**EXE 1–57**]). Measured against those criteria, the connection between the first and last major groupings of riddles seems somewhat crystal clear while the so-called 'rude' riddles likewise seem to be firmly rooted in literate, Latinate, and indeed learned tradition.

Whether the final grouping of the Exeter Book riddles is considered the work of a composer or a compiler, it seems evident that the hand of a Latin-

trained individual with a fondness for both *double entendre* and duplication, as well as other kinds of matching, is at work, and is working its will. At all events, it is clear that the first grouping seems on this measure somewhat more scattered in its arrangement. Such patterning can be represented schematically as follows in Table 1.

Table 1 :
The Relationship between the Last and First Groups of Riddles in the Exeter Book

	LAST GROUP [EXE 59–91]		*FIRST GROUP* [EXE 1–56]	*SIGLA*
59	*CYRTEL* ('shirt', 'garment')			‼
60	*BOR* ('borer')			‼
61	*GLÆS-FÆT* ('glass beaker')	9	*WIN- FÆT* ('cup of wine')	↕<‼>
62	*BRIM-HENGEST* ('ship')	17	*SNAC* ('war-ship')	↕{↔}
		30	*SNAC* ('war-ship')	
		34	*SNAC* ('war-ship')	
63	*CIPE* ('onion')	23	*CIPE* ('onion')	↕{‼}
64	*GESCEAFT* ('creation')	38	*GESCEAFT* ('creation')	↕↔
65	*CRISTES BOOK* ('Gospel-book')	24	*CRISTES BOOK* ('Gospel-book')	↕
66	*IS* ('iceberg')	31	*IS* ('iceberg')	↕
67	*BELLE* ('bell')	2	*BELLE* ('bell')	↕{‼}
	[*lacuna* in the manuscript]			
68	*BEACEN-TORR* ('lighthouse')			
69	*SECG* ('sword')	18	*SECG* ('sword')	↕{‼}
70	*OXA* ('ox')	10	*OXA* ('ox')	↕{‼}
		36	*OXA* ('ox')	
71	*ÆSC* ('ash')			↓
72	*AC* ('oak')			↑↔
73	*AC* ('oak')			↔
74	*OSTRE* ('oyster')			↓
75	*CRABBA* ('crab')			↑↔
76	*HORN* ('horn')	12	*HORN* ('horn')	↕
77	*WEDER-COC* ('weather-cock')			
78	*CRABBA* ('crab')			↔
79	*GOLD* ('gold')			
80	*WÆTER* ('water')	39	*WÆTER* ('water')	↕
81	*FISC OND EA* ('fish and river')			≈
82	**OE unclear* ('one-eyed garlic-seller')			≈
83	*BLÆST-BELG* ('bellows')	35	*BLÆST-BELG* ('bellows')	↔↕‼
84	*BLÆC-HORN* ('ink-horn')			↔
85	*BLÆST-BELG* ('bellows')	35	*BLÆST-BELG* ('bellows')	↔↕‼
86	*AGNUS DEI* ('lamb of god')			
87	*CÆG* ('key')	42	*CÆG* ('key')	↕‼
88	*BOC* ('beech', 'book')			↔
89	*BLÆC-HORN* ('ink-horn')			↔
90	*GESCEAFT* ('creation')	38	*GESCEAFT* ('creation')	↕↔
91	*BOC* ('beech', 'book')			↔

5

Enigmatic Attitudes to Aquatic Themes
in Old Norse–Icelandic Verse

Old Norse–Icelandic literature is filled with maritime scenes and images, and the language of poetry, which is itself often figured as a liquid during various stages of the myth of the mead of poetry, is particularly replete with such water-related themes.[1] This paper begins with a focus on a cluster of four riddle-stanzas, all generally solved 'waves', in the so-called *Gestumblindagátur* ('riddles of Gestumblindi'), that appear in the three rather different redactions of *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs* ('the saga of Hervǫr and King Heiðrekr'), one of the *fornaldarsǫgur* ('sagas of the ancient age'), but then moves on to consider a rather wider context that covers other languages and traditions, some stretching back many centuries.[2]

The earliest manuscript of the *Gestumblindagátur*, Hauksbók, a compendium of lore mostly written by Haukr Erlendsson, the Icelandic lawspeaker, and including material clearly influenced by texts from Anglo-Saxon England,[3] can be dated *c.* 1306–08, but it remains uncertain how much older the text of the saga is, let alone the date of the embedded riddle-contest comprising the *Gestumblindagátur*, which appears as the third of the four groups of poetry, all in various eddic metres, around which *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs* is so obviously structured.[4] Whereas most of the stanzas are in *ljóðaháttr* ('song-metre'),

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[1] For the mead of poetry, see Anthony Faulkes, ed., *Snorri Sturluson, Edda. Skáldskaparmál and Háttatal* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), and *idem*, trans., *Snorri Sturluson: Edda* (London: Dent, 1987), *Edda*, 61–64 (*Skaldskaparmál* §§57–58); see too John Stephens, 'The Mead of Poetry: Myth and Metaphor', *Neophilologus* 56 (1972): 259–68. For a thoughtful analysis of sea-metaphors in early northwest European poetry, see Karin E. Olsen, 'Metaphorical Language in the Early Poetry of Northwest Europe' (unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Toronto, 1995), pp. 124–75.

[2] See in general Christopher Tolkien, ed. and trans., *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960); Jeffrey Scott Love, *The Reception of 'Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks' from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (Munich: Utz, 2013).

[3] See, for example, Arnold Taylor, '*Hauksbók* and Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*', *Leeds Studies in English* 3 (1969): 101.

[4] See further Hannah Burrows, in Margaret Clunies Ross, *et al.*, ed. *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, 8 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007–), 8.1: 366–487. Also invaluable in this respect is https://skaldic.abdn.ac.uk/m.php?p=skaldic. See too in general Andy Orchard, *The Old English and*

there are also seven in *fornyrðislag* ('old story metre'), two in a combination of *ljóðaháttr* and *fornyrðislag*, and one in the highly unusual metre of *greppaminni*; the sequence as a whole appears to showcase metrical variety.[5]

The thirty-odd stanzas (precise figures range from twenty-eight to thirty-six, depending on the recension)[6] that comprise the *Gestumblindagátur* are themselves set in a prose context outlining a wisdom-contest between the eponymous King Heiðrekr and his sworn foe, Gestumblindi, who is challenged to ask Heiðrekr a question he cannot answer. According to the saga, Gestumblindi (whose name also appears as *Gestr inn blindi* and seems to mean 'the blind stranger') makes a sacrifice to Óðinn, the chief god of the Æsir, who takes his place in the contest. The one-eyed Óðinn, who gave an eye in exchange for wisdom, often appears as a blind or half-blind disguised stranger, and among his many titles and poetic names (*heiti*), preserved in lists of poetic synonyms (*þulur*) are *Gestr* ('stranger'), *Blindi* ('blind'), *Blindr* ('blind'), and even *Gestumblindi*.[7]

Such wisdom-contests, in which the lives of the protagonists are often at stake, are common enough in eddic verse, and generally take place between creatures from different worlds. In fact, three of the first four eddic poems in the main Codex Regius manuscript (*c.* 1270) are of this form, with Óðinn as one of the leading characters, with the other parts played by a dead seeress in *Vǫluspá* ('the prophecy of the seeress'), a wise giant in *Vafthrúðnismál* ('the poem of Vafthrúðnir'), and King Geirrǫðr in *Grímnismál* ('the poem of Grímnir'), respectively.[8] Indeed, in *Vafþrúðnismál* the final riddle is of the unanswerable type,

Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 69, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2021), hereafter *OEALRT*, nd *idem*, *A Commentary on The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, Supplements to the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 69 (Washington, DC, 2021), hereafter *COEALRT*, from where all the abbreviations for the various riddle-collections (presented here in **bold**) are also taken; for the *Gestumblindagátur* (**GES**), see *OEALRT*, 570–93; *COEALRT*, 630–47.

[5] The distribution of metres is as follows: *ljóðaháttr* ('song-metre'): **GES 1–6, 8–11, 13–15, 18–25** (including **23a**), **29, 31, 33**, and **EP**; *fornyrðislag* ('old story metre'): **GES 17, 26–28, 30, 32**, and **34–35**; *ljóðaháttr* and *fornyrðislag* combined: **GES 12** and **16**; *greppaminni*: **GES 37**. It is notable that some conscious effort seems to have been made in the Uppsala recension to arrange the riddles by metre, with *ljóðaháttr* overwhelmingly predominating initially, and *fornyrðislag* mostly apparent in the closing riddles of the sequence.

[6] Seven of the riddles are only found in Hauksbók (**GES 7, 10-11, 13, 15, 30**, and **33**), while only one (**GES 23a**), a 'wave'-riddle discussed here, is not in Hauksbók.

[7] See Burrows, in Ross, et al., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 8.1: 406.

[8] For eddic verse, the standard edition remains Gustav Neckel, ed., *Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern I: Text*, rev. Hans Kuhn, 5th ed. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1983); see too Gísli Sigurðsson, ed., *Eddukvæði* (Reykjavík: Mál og Menning, 1998), and especially Klaus von See, Beatrice La Farge, Wolfgang Gerhold, Eve Picard, and Katja Schulz, eds., *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, 7 vols in 8 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993–2019). Translations are found in Carolyne Larrington, trans., *The Poetic Edda*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford, 1996); Andy Orchard, *The Elder Edda : A Book of Viking Lore* (London: Penguin Classics, 2011).

since only Óðinn can know it, and is a characteristically devious and treacherous way for Óðinn to curtail a contest he was never going to lose; he uses precisely the same question to bring the *Gestumblindagátur* to an end. Other eddic poems also share this structure, including *Alvíssmál* (where the protagonists are the god Þórr and a pale-nosed dwarf), *Fáfnismál* (the hero Sigurðr and the dragon Fáfnir), and *Sigrdrífumál* (Sigurðr and the valkyrie Brynhildr); beyond the Codex Regius, the same format is found in other poems in eddic metres, notably *Baldrs draumar* (where Óðinn again, this time calling himself *Vegtamr* ['way-tamer'] questions a dead seeress). Several of these texts offer parallels for the 'wave'-stanzas in the *Gestumblindagátur*, and help set them in a broader context, one that can indeed be widened further, into other languages from much earlier periods, as we shall see.

The *Gestumblindagátur* are often characterised as being rare in the Old Norse–Icelandic tradition, and this is almost true: three further riddling stanzas survive, each of the substantive lines of which carries an avian solution derived from knowledge of history, saga, and myth, demonstrates the highly sophisticated poetic device known ironically as *ofljóst* ('extremely clear'). In effect, each *ofljóst* reference offers a kind of mini-riddle of its own, where the clue supplies a homonym of the 'real' solution, and the same technique is found in one of the trickier stanzas of the *Gestumblindagátur* (**GES 34**).[9] The three Old Norse–Icelandic riddling stanzas extant outside the *Gestumblindagátur* are found in several manuscripts in what are clearly the same kind of learned, didactic, and encyclopaedic contexts that characterize many earlier collections of riddles and *aenigmata* in languages other than Old Norse–Icelandic, notably Old English and (Anglo-)Latin.[10] What is perhaps most striking about these other Old Norse–Icelandic riddling stanzas, quite separate from the *Gestumblindagátur* is how each bird-solution encourages the next; such clustering of riddles with the same or similar solutions is a feature of the wider riddle tradition outside Scandinavia too. The *Gestumblindagátur* themselves are clustered in different metres, and seem to come in clear groupings, distinguished in part by repeated formulas; while all the stanzas share a common concluding challenge (*Heiðrekr konungr / hyggðu at gátu* ['King Heiðrekr, consider the riddle']), other sequences of shared opening formulas of a type witnessed elsewhere in the wider early medieval (and again mostly Anglo-Saxon) riddle tradition.

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[9] *OEALRT*, 592–93; *COEALRT*, 647. See further Burrows, in Ross, et al., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 8.1: 449–50.

[10] See further Burrows, in Ross, *et al*., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 3.1: 631–37. See too Andy Orchard, 'Enigma Variations: The Anglo-Saxon Riddle-Tradition', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, Toronto Old English Series, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, pp. 284–304.

In an important and imaginative paper analysing many aspects of the four riddle-stanzas of the *Gestumblindagátur* generally solved as 'waves', Hannah Burrows makes a powerful nativist and oral-traditional case for the integrity of this grouping as exhibiting Old Norse–Icelandic attitudes to the kinds of supernatural female figures, inimical to the human world, represented by waves in a predominantly maritime society. In the course of her persuasive analysis, Burrows highlights a number of formulaic aspects of these riddle-stanzas and the way in which they are constructed from repeated themes, so suggesting an ultimately oral origin.[11] By contrast, here I suggest that such insights can be still further refined and developed by taking into account not only other clearly cognate riddle- and wisdom-stanzas both in the *Gestumblindagátur* and elsewhere in eddic verse, but also and perhaps especially the broader literary, Latinate, and Old English background that certainly precedes the *Gestumblindagátur* by several centuries, but with which they share so many aspects, especially with regard to aquatic themes.

One might conveniently begin with texts and translations of the four riddle-stanzas in question (**GES 21–23a**):[12]

GES 21

Hverjar eru þær snótir,   er ganga syrgjandi
        at forvitni fǫður?
Mǫrgum mǫnnum   hafa þær at meini orðit,
        við þat munu þær aldr ala.

['Who are those ladies who walk in sorrow, to their father's curiosity? To many men they have caused harm, and in that way they must live out their lives.']

GES 22

Hverjar eru þær meyjar,   er ganga margar saman
        at forvitni fǫður?
Hadda bleika   hafa þær inar hvít-fǫldnu
        ok eigut þær varðir vera.

['Who are those maidens who travel in multitudes, to their father's curiosity? They have pale hairstyles, those white-hooded women, though they weren't with any man.']

GES 23

Hverjar eru þær brúðir,   er ganga brim-serkjum í
          ok eiga eftir firði fǫr?
Harðan beð   hafa þær inar hvít-fǫldnu
          ok leika í logni fátt.

['Who are those brides who travel in sea-shirts, and plot a path along the fjord? They have a hard bed those white-hooded ones, and they don't play much when it's calm.']

GES 23a

Hverjar eru þær ekkjur,   er ganga allar saman
          at forvitni fǫður?
Sjaldan blíðar   eru þær við seggja lið
          ok eigu í vindi vaka.

['Who are those lasses who travel as a troop, to their father's curiosity? They are seldom kind to the troop of men, and they have to wake up in the wind.']

What links all these riddle-stanzas, apart from their broadly shared solution (although it is important to note that in no case are the given solutions identical, being in each case different periphrases for the concept 'waves'), is their largely formulaic phrasing, the fact that the creatures in question are all female, their connection to the life of the mind, their inimical relationship to mankind, and their lack of husbands. Each of these aspects is worth closer scrutiny.

Given that in several of the cognate Latin collections of *aenigmata*, successive runs of identical solutions are found,[13] while similar clusters of (for example) bird-riddles are found in the Old English riddles of the Exeter Book,[14] the variety of synonyms and circumlocutions found in these *Gestumblindagátur* seems part of the point: King Heiðrekr's combined answers to the four 'wave'-stanzas in the three redactions are *bylgjur* ('billows'), *bárur* ('surges'), *Ægis meyjar* ('Ægir's girls'), *Ægis dœtr* ('Ægir's daughters'), and *Ægis ekkjur* ('Ægir's lasses'). It will be noted that the first two of these are poetic synonyms (*heiti*) for 'waves', while the latter three are poetic circumlocutions or 'kennings' (*kenningar*); the sea-giant Ægir and his wife Rán ('plunder') are said to have nine daughters, whose names are given in various lists (*þulur*) of poetic *heiti* as *Bara* or *Bára* ('wave'), *Blóðug-hadda* ('bloody hair'), *Bylgja* ('billow'), *Dúfa* ('dipping'), *Hefring* ('raising'), *Himin-glæva* ('heaven-bright'), *Hrǫnn* ('wave'), *Kólga* ('cool wave'), and *Unnr* or

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[13] Similar sequences of riddles with the same or similar solutions can be seen elsewhere in (for example) the collections of Alcuin (**ALC 7–9** are all solved 'furnace' [*fornax*]) and Symphosius (**SYM 76** and **76a** are both solved 'flint' [*silex*]); the so-called 'Bern riddles' likewise have a sequence with the same or similar solutions (**BER 55–59** are all solved 'sun' [*sol*], 'moon' [*luna*], or 'sun and moon' [*sol et luna*] *S*).
[14] The riddles in question are **EXE 5–8**; see *OEALRT*, 308–13; *COEALRT*, 346–52.

Uðr ('wave'); in other lists the name *Drǫfn* ('breaker') is found in place of *Bára*.[15] It may well also be relevant that Ægir is one of the two main interlocutors (the other is Bragi, the god of poetry) in the wisdom-dialogue *Skáldskaparmál* ('the language of poetry'), a primary focus of which is an extended account of the acquisition of the mead of poetry.

The shared opening formula in these 'wave'-riddles, specifying a range of female characters (*Hverjar eru þær … er ganga* ['Who are those … who travel']) is also, as Burrows notes, found outside the *Gestumblindagátur* in a range of other eddic wisdom-contests, in each case dealing with powerful supernatural women. In the first example, in *Vafþrúðnismál*, Óðinn, disguised as *Gagnráðr* ('gain-counsel' or 'contrary-counsel'),[16] asks the wise giant Vafþrúðnir (whose name seems to mean 'mighty weaver'), the following (*Vafþrúðnismál* 48):

> Hverjar ro þær meyjar,   er líða mar yfir,
>   fróð-geðjaðar fara?'
> ['Who are those maidens who pass over the sea, travelling with wisdom of mind?']

The reference to 'wisdom of mind' seems to mirror to the rather perplexing reference to 'curiosity' in three of the four 'wave'-riddles, but Vafþrúðnir's answer, referencing the 'maidens of Mǫgþrasir, is, if anything, even more baffling than the question, but the basic parallel with the 'wave'-riddles of *Gestumblindagátur* is obvious, and it may be that 'waves' is a possible solution here too, or some other malevolent supernatural agency.[17] In a second case, the hero Sigurðr interrogates the dying dragon Fáfnir in a form of wisdom-contest, and clearly references supernatural female figures, in this case the Norns (*Fáfnismál* 12):[18]

> hverjar ro þær nornir,   er nauð-gǫnglar ro
>   ok kjósa mœðr frá mǫgum',

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[15] One might add that the use of the term *ekkjur* also seems to signify a poetic register, since in prose (and indeed in Modern Icelandic) the noun *ekkja* (plural *ekkjur*) generally means 'widow', while in poetry it can signify a younger woman, as seems to be indicated here (see Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis*, 2nd edn by Finnur Jónsson [Copenhagen: Atlas, 1966], *s.v.*).

[16] In one versified list of names (*þula*), Óðinn is named as the similar looking *Gangráðr* ('travel-counsel'). See Ross et al., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 3:739.

[17] For an intriguing (if equally puzzling) reference to *mar-líðendr* ('sea-travellers'), a unique compound that is echoed in the opening line here, and found in a sinister context in *Eyrbyggja saga* 16, see Burrows, 'Enigma Variations,' 207.

[18] On the role of the Norns in assigning the fates of mankind, see in general Karen Bek-Pedersen, *The Norns in Old Norse Mythology* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2011). See further Burrows, 'Enigma Variations,' 204–05.

['Who are the Norns, who come to those in need, and deliver mothers of children?']

The question hardly qualifies as a riddle, however, and is a simple demand for information about powerful supernatural female figures. Much more enigmatic is the enquiry made in another eddic poem by one *Vegtamr* ('way-tamer'), who is really Óðinn in disguise, when he raises a seeress from the dead (*Baldrs draumar* 12):[19]

Hverjar ro þær meyjar,   er at muni gráta
ok á himin verpa   hálsa skautum?'
['Who are those maidens who weep for love, and fling their cloth-flaps up to the sky?']

For some reason, it is this question that somehow allows the seeress to see through Óðinn's alias, and so angrily identify him: to the extent that she does not trouble to answer, any solution is moot, but to the extent that the phrase 'cloth-flaps' (*hálsa skautum*: literally 'neck-sheets') employs two terms that can be used for parts of sails, this riddle too may somehow signify 'waves'; clearly, these intertexts only highlight the enigmatic language of the 'wave'-riddles in the *Gestumblindagátur*.

Widening the focus further, however, it is clear that the formula *Hverjar eru/ro þær ... er* ('Who are those ... who') is just one of a number that appear throughout the *Gestumblindagátur*, several of them in combination, and with the majority having close parallels elsewhere in the broader and earlier Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition. In this case, for example, a parallel formula in Latin occurs in (for example) the pseudo-Bede *Collectanea*, in the forms *quae est illa mulier quae* (who is that woman who) and *quae est illa res quae* (what is that thing that), found in *aegimata* solved 'wisdom' (**ps-BED 1**: *sapientia*), 'age of man' (**ps-BED 4**: *aetas hominis*), and 'wind' (**ps-BED 5**: *ventus*).[20] Likewise, a parallel formula occurs in the Old English *Solomon and Saturn II*, where Saturn asks '*Ac hwæt is se dumba, se ðe on sumre dene resteð?*' ('But what is the dumb one, which rests in a certain valley?'), and goes on to describe a creature with seven tongues, each of which has twenty points, which Solomon solves as 'book'.[21]

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[19] See further Burrows, 'Enigma Variations,' 210–11.
[20] On the *Collectanea* in general, see Martha Bayless, and Michael Lapidge, ed., *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1998).
[21] *OEALRT*, 436–37; *COEALRT*, 504–05.

Similarly, an 'I saw' (*ek sá*) formula occurs in fifteen of the riddles in the *Gestumblindagátur*,[22] cognate with the Old English 'I saw' (*ic (ge)seah*) formula found in twenty riddles in the Exeter Book,[23] as well as with the parallel Latin 'I saw' (*vidi* or *cernebam*) formula that also appears in some twenty Anglo-Latin *aenigmata*.[24] Nine of these 'I saw' formulas in the *Gestumblindagátur* occur in the context of a still more complex formula: 'What wonder is it, / that I saw outside, / just before Dellingr's door?' (*'Hvat er þat undra, / er ek úti sá / fyrir Dellings durum?'*) in the central sequence **GES 8–16**. The first element itself has a parallel in the Anglo-Saxon riddle tradition, specifically in the second of embedded riddles in the Old English *Solomon and Saturn II*, where Saturn's asks, *'Ac hwæt is ðæt wundor ðe geond ðas worold færeð?'* ('But what is that wonder that travels throughout this world), describing a creature that wreaks havoc on land and sea and air, which Solomon solves as 'age', though certain verbal parallels with other riddles in the tradition seem to suggest that 'wind' might be more appropriate; certainly, there are several cases where the given solution can be questioned.[25]

One of the riddles in the *Gestumblindagátur* that comes in the middle of the formulaic sequence **GES 8–16** has the rather mundane-seeming solution of 'sow with piglets' (**GES 12**):[26]

> Hvat er þat undra,   er ek úti sá
>   fyrir Dellings durum?
> Tíu hefr tungur,   tuttugu augu,
> fjóra tigu fóta,   ferr hart sú vættr?
> ['What wonder is it, that I saw outside, just before Dellingr's door? It has ten tongues, twenty eyes, that creature travels hard with forty feet.']

Simple arithmetic suggests a tenfold combination of a pretty much any quadruped; the solution given, of a 'sow with piglets' (with presumably nine of the latter) certainly fits, but seems hardly specific; the fact that precisely the same solution is given for a seventeenth-century English riddle, and that the same 'sow and piglets'

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[22] The riddles in question are **GES 2, 8–16** (twice in **11**), **24, 30**, and **32–34**.
[23] The riddles in question are **EXE 11, 17, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 49, 50–51, 53–54, 57, 62, 66, 73**, and **83**.
[24] The *aenigmata* in question are **BED 14**; **ps-BED** 7–13; **ALC D71, 73, 75–76, 78, 80, 82**, and **85**; **BON 13, LOR 6**; **EXE 86**. See too **XMS X1–3**, which may also be part of the Anglo-Latin tradition.
[25] *OEALRT*, 438–39; *COEALRT*, 505. See too Thomas D. Hill, 'Saturn's Time Riddle: an Insular Latin Analogue for *Solomon and Saturn II* lines 282–91', *Review of English Studies* 39 (1988): 273–76; Daniel Anlezark, ed. and trans., *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 78–95.
[26] *OEALRT*, 576–77; *COEALRT*, 638. See further Burrows, in Ross, et al., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 8.1: 422–23.

theme can be traced back to ancient Greece suggests that the theme has wide currency.[27] In his edition of *Hervarar saga*, Christopher Tolkien (who also mentions the Greek antecedent) highlights an Anglo-Latin analogue in the late seventh-century *aenigmata* of Aldhelm that is certainly worth further scrutiny in the current context, since it helps to align the *Gestumblindagátur* with the wider Anglo-Saxon tradition.[28] The *aenigma* in question, which is solved 'pregnant sow' (*scrofa praegnans*), is considerably more complex than its Old Norse–Icelandic parallel (**ALD 84**):[29]

> Nunc mihi sunt oculi bis seni in corpore solo,
> bis ternumque caput, sed cetera membra gubernant.
> Nam gradior pedibus suffultus bis duodenis,
> sed decies novem sunt et sex corporis ungues,
> 5   sinzigias numero pariter similabo pedestres.
>   Populus et taxus, viridi quoque fronde salicta
> sunt invisa mihi, sed fagos glandibus uncas,
> fructiferas itidem florenti vertice quercus
> diligo; sic nemorosa simul non spernitur ilex.

['Now I have twice six eyes in a single body, and twice three heads, which govern other limbs. For I travel supported on twice twelve feet, but my body has ten times nine plus six nails, I am equal in number in that way to the total tally of metrical feet. The poplar and the yew and the willow-tree with bright-green leaves are hateful to me, but I adore the bending beech-tree with its nuts, and likewise the acorn-bearing oaks with verdant crown; and in the same way the bushy holm-oak is not despised.']

This rather broken-backed *aenigma* readily betrays its primary purpose as a didactic poetic tool, with the first five lines comprising a simple body-part riddle predicated on the flexible ways in which numbers can be expressed through both multiples and combinations of cardinals and ordinals (*bis seni ... bis ternumque ... bis duodenis ... decies novem*), and the final four lines comprising a tally of six different tree-types, three of which are unpleasant for pigs, and three that are favoured.[30]

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[27] Frederick M. Tupper, Jr., 'The Holme Riddles (MS. Harl. 1960)', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 18 (1903): 211–72, p. 226 (Riddle 54): '*Q.* as j went on my way j hard a great wonder of a monster that had 10 h[e]ads 10 tayls 40 feet & fore score nayls *A.* a sowe wth 9 piges', See further M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 364.

[28] Tolkien, ed., *Saga of King Heidrek*, 80.

[29] *OEALRT*, 70–71; *COEALRT*, 89–90.

[30] See too Cameron Laird, 'The Poetic Tradition of Anglo-Saxon Riddles' (unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Toronto, 2021), pp. 142–68.

The solution given, *scrofa praegnans* ('pregnant sow'), stems from the same piece of simple arithmetic as **GES 12**: the sow and her five unborn piglets each have two eyes, a single head, and four trotters, each with four nails: the final tally of ninety-six, here described as the number of different kinds of metre, matches the figure for metrical variety given by Aldhelm himself in his *De pedum regulis*,[31] a figure ultimately derived from Isidore, *Etymologiae* I.xvii.1 (using the term *syzygiae*, related to the *sinzigias* found here), while the six tree-types given here likewise match a sequence in *Etymologiae* XVII.vii.26–47, albeit in a different order; the didactic impulse is in any case evident.[32] The six tree-types given in the last four lines represent only limited metrical variety (*pōpŭlŭs ... tāxūs ... sălīctă ... făgōs ... quērcūs ... īlēx*), but it is also striking that the first tree to be mentioned, the 'poplar' (*pōpŭlŭs*) is singled out by Aldhelm in his metrical treatise 'on the rules of metrical feet' (*De pedum regulis*) as being a homograph for the much commoner word for 'people', which has a different scansion (*pŏpŭlŭs*).[33] As if to emphasize the fact that Aldhelm is relying on Classical models in his versification, in the opening line of the section specifying tree-types, he clearly echoes Vergil (*Georgics* 2.13: *populus et ... fronde salicta*). In short, Aldhelm's *aenigma* is less about pigs than about poetry itself.

Now, a number of Aldhelm's *aenigmata* focus on watery themes, but within that wider group there are several that focus specifically on aquatic vocabulary, and are clearly designed to aid the learning of a variety of verse terms and phrases that can be repurposed in poetic composition. A good example is the *aenigma* on a 'water-strider' (**ALD 38**):[34]

> Pergo super latices plantis suffulta quaternis
> nec tamen in limphas vereor quod mergar aquosas
> sed pariter terras et flumina calco pedestris;
> nec natura sinit celerem natare per amnem,
> pontibus aut ratibus fluvios transire feroces;
> quin potius pedibus gradior super aequora siccis.

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[31] Rudolph Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913–19), p. 150.

[32] See Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, trans., *The 'Etymologies' of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 47 and 345–46. Note that Isidore indicates 124 metrical feet in total, but specifies that the term 'syzygies' (*syzygiae*) refers only to combinations of two-, three-, or four-syllable feet, comprising thirty-two five-syllable feet and sixty-four six-syllable feet, for a total of ninety-six.

[33] Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, 164.

[34] *OEALRT*, 30–31; *COEALRT*, 49–50.

['Supported on four footprints I travel over fluids and yet I do not fear that I'll be drowned in the watery liquid, but I tread on foot equally on land and streams; nor does nature allow me to swim in a swift river, nor to cross ferocious waterways by bridge or boat; instead, I go with dry feet over calm waters.']

The precise solutions given vary in the different recensions, with (as commonly) the second recension giving a fuller and more specific answer than the first, which simply specifies *tippula* ('water-strider'); the second spells out (*De tippula id est vermis qui non nando sed gradiendo aquas transit* ('on the water-strider, which is to say the insect that crosses water not by swimming but by walking'). This paradox of walking on water is made abundantly clear by the greatly varied vocabulary used for each concept. These six lines contains no fewer than eight aquatic terms, exhibiting six different metrical patterns: *lătĭcēs ... līmphās ... ăquōsās ... flūmĭnă ... nātārĕ ... āmnēm ... flŭvĭōs ... aēquŏră* ('fluids ... watery liquid ... streams ... swim ... river ... waterways ... calm waters'), representing an aid to composition for aspiring poets that is not unlike Aldhelm's long lists of forms fitting the same metrical template that comprise the bulk of his treatise 'On the rules of metrical feet' (*De pedum regulis*), which alongside another 'On metres' (*De metris*) regularly circulate alongside his *aenigmata*. Extending the same conceit to the level of the phrase, Aldhelm here also gives three quite different ways of expressing the idea of walking: *Pergo ... plantis ... calco pedestris ... pedibus gradior* ('on footprints I travel ... I tread on foot ... I go with ... feet'). One might also note that in this specific *aenigma*, every single line has a different metrical profile, and that the preponderance of dactyls (‿◡◡) over spondees (‿‿) evident throughout the *aenigma*, especially in the closing pair of lines, presumably mimicking the light-footed tread of the creature in question, with the final line strikingly recalling Ovid's description of the enchantress Circe, whose mother is often said to be a sea-nymph, scudding on dry feet over the wave-tops (*Metamorphoses* 14.50): 'she skims on dry feet above the topmost waters' (*Summaque decurrit pedibus super aequora siccis*).[35]

A somewhat similar technique for inculcating the language of verse is found in another *aenigma* dealing in part at least with an aquatic subject, in this case a cooking-pot (**ALD 54**):[36]

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[35] Using the standard notation of 'D' for a dactyl, and 'S' for a spondee, and marking only the first four metrical feet (the final cadence of the fifth and sixth feet is fixed, with the fifth foot always a dactyl), the six lines of this *aenigma* can be analysed as DDSS, DSDS, DSSD, SDDS, DDDS, and DDDD, respectively.

[36] *OEALRT*, 42–43; *COEALRT*, 62–63.

Credere quis poterit tantarum foedera rerum
temperet et fatis morum contraria fata?
Ecce larem, laticem quoque gesto in viscere ventris,
nec tamen undantes vincunt incendia limphae
ignibus aut atris siccantur flumina fontis,
foedera sed pacis sunt flammas inter et undas;
malleus in primo memet formabat et incus.
['Who could credit the union of such great things, and blend together fates contrary to the fates of customs? See how I combine warmth and water in the innards of my belly, and yet the welling liquid cannot quench the blaze, nor are the waters of the fountain dried out by the dark fires, but the flames and the waves have made a pact of peace; it was the hammer and the anvil that first formed me.']

The entire conceit of this *aenigma*, which is liberally decorated by *f/v* alliteration in every line, stems from the contained tension between fire and water that the cooking-pot exemplifies, a tension amply exemplified by the intertwined and utterly varied terms for each, with four for 'fire' (*larem … incendia … ignibus … flammas* ['warmth … blaze … fires … flames']) intertwined with six for 'water' (*laticem … undantes … limphae … flumina fontis … undas* ['water … welling liquid … waters of the fountain … waves']). Note the consistency of scansion here in five of the seven lines (all DSSS), with the exceptions the formulaic opening (line 1: DDSS) and the line introducing the contrast between fire and water (line 3: DDDS).

But perhaps the clearest example of this didactic focus in Aldhelm's *aenigmata* is found in another poem that again foregrounds the aquatic element, in this case in an *aenigma* ostensibly describing a lighthouse (**ALD 92**):[37]

Rupibus in celsis, qua tundunt caerula cautes
et salis undantes turgescunt aequore fluctus,
machina me summis construxit molibus amplam,
navigeros calles ut pandam classibus index.
Non maris aequoreos lustrabam remige campos
nec ratibus pontum sulcabam tramite flexo
et tamen immensis errantes fluctibus actos
arcibus ex celsis signans ad litora duco
flammiger imponens torres in turribus altis,
ignea brumales dum condunt sidera nimbi.

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[37] *OEALRT*, 76–77; *COEALRT*, 95–97.

['On high cliffs, where the billows pound the rocks, and salty waves surging grow swollen in the flood, construction has made me mighty with the highest structure, so that as a guide I can point out paths for sailing to ships. I never traveled the watery plains of the sea with oars nor did I ever plough the deep in boats on a bending course, but instead I lead to shore those wandering and buffeted by vast waves, by sending out a signal from high peaks, flame-bearing, setting torches on lofty towers, when wintry clouds conceal the fiery stars.']

The solution given is *farus editissima* ('a very tall lighthouse') in the first recension; second-recension manuscripts include a customarily longer explanatory gloss (*de pharo editisimo in rupibus pelagi posito* ['about a very tall lighthouse situated on the rocks of the sea']) that evidently derives from a description in Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* 9, describing virginity itself 'as if a lofty lighthouse, situated on a tall promontory of rock, shone out' (*quasi praecelsa farus in edito rupis promontorio posita splendescit*).[38]

Even if the metaphorical beacon of virginity evidently underlies the extended gloss of the second-recension manuscripts, the creature in question is described in detail in admirably practical terms, emphasized through repetition.[39] As one might perhaps suppose from the solution given, there are four areas of primary focus, namely the elevated position of the lighthouse, its blazing flame, its usefulness to shipping, and (most of all) a series of florid descriptions of the ocean itself. The threefold references to both shipping and flames are certainly varied, and come in clusters of single words: the former in lines 4–6 (*classibus ... remige ... ratibus* [*to ships ... with oars ... in boats*]), and the latter in lines 9–10 (*flammiger ... torres ... ignea* [*flame-bearing ... torches ... fiery*]), while the four references to the lofty cliff-top elevation of the lighthouse come as similarly structured pairs of phrases arranged in the first and last three lines of the *aenigma* as a whole (*Rupibus in celsis ... summis ... molibus ... arcibus ex celsis ... in turribus altis* ['On high cliffs ... with the highest structure ... from high peaks ... on lofty towers']). The sea-descriptions are similarly clustered, taking up a good deal of space in six of the first seven lines (*caerula ... salis undantes ... aequore fluctus ... navigeros calles ... maris aequoreos ... campos ... pontum ... tramite flexo ... fluctibus* ['billows ... salty waves surging ... in the flood ... paths for sailing ... the watery plains of the sea ... the deep ... on a bending course ... waves']). There are other signs that this is an *aenigma* clearly designed to be memorized and mined for its poetic language by

[38] Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, 238.
[39] For the intriguing notion that this *aenigma* might be related to an actual lighthouse at the site of a chapel associated with Aldhelm, see Katherine Barker, and Nicholas Brooks, *Aldhelm and Sherborne : Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 202–07.

later would-be versifiers, not least its extraordinarily uniform metre: nine of the ten lines of this *aenigma* are of the same metrical pattern (DSSS), while the exception (line 5 has the pattern DDSS) opens the new sentence that marks out the second part of the poem. Moreover, there is indeed some evidence that later Anglo-Latin poets did indeed memorize this very *aenigma* and repurpose its aquatic imagery in the manner suggested here; it is certainly striking that one of the more memorable of Aldhelm's descriptions of the sea as 'paths for sailing' (*navigeros calles*), perhaps more literally 'ship-bearing paths', one which calls to mind several parallel Old English kennings for the sea, should appear to have been echoed by Bede in his metrical life of Cuthbert (*Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 285: *navigero ... calle*).[40]

In this context, it is worth noting that Aldhelm cites as a model for his own poetic compositions (and specifically for the *aenigmata*) a single-line Latin, *aenigma* described simply as 'that piece of poetry' (*illud poeticum*) by Aldhelm,[41] which plays on the idea that the two feminine nouns 'ice' (*glacies*) and 'water' (*aqua*) represent two creatures that each produce the other (**ps-SYM 1**): *Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur a me* ('a mother bore me, and the same is soon born from me').[42] The notion of women producing offspring without male intervention, which might be described as the 'mother–daughter' paradox, is a commonplace of the wider riddling tradition, going right back to this aquatic original, and becoming such a traditional feature that it can be alluded to only in passing, and indeed transformed.[43]

So, for example, both of the two Exeter Book riddles commonly solved 'water', even though they are affected by physical damage, seem clearly to play on this inherited idea of motherhood and a wondrous birth (**EXE 39** and **80**). The first of these riddles follows immediately after missing folio, and although in its current state the opening is missing, the second line of the poem that survives states clearly of the creature in question that 'it is the mother of many races' (**EXE 39.2**:

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[40] Michael Lapidge, ed. and trans., *Bede's Latin Poetry*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 224.

[41] Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, 77.

[42] *OEALRT*, 496–97; *COEALRT*, 572.

[43] See further, for several examples, *OEALRT*, xxvi–xxvii.

þæt is moddor monigra cynna).[44] The second riddle contains a clear echo of this line in its own opening lines (**EXE 80.1–6a**):[45]

> An wiht is on eorþan   wundrum acenned,
> hreoh ond reþe,   hafað ryne strongne,
> grimme grymetað   ond be grunde fareð.
>   Modor is monigra   mærra wihta,
> fæger ferende,   fundað æfre;
> neol is nearo-grap.
> ['A creature is wondrously born on earth, rough and fierce: she has strong movement, grimly roars and goes about the ground. She is the mother of many famous creatures, passing peacefully, she always hastens; her close embrace is deep'.]

Presumably the reference to the wondrous birth of the creature in question is related to the mother–daughter paradox that pervades the riddling tradition, and the same notion of a pregnancy and birth that is entirely feminine in nature is revisited later in the same riddle (**EXE 80.21–27**):

> Biþ sio moddor   mægene eacen,
> wundrum bewreþed,   wistum gehladen,
> hordum gehroden,   hæleþum dyre.
> Mægen bið gemiclad,   meaht gesweotlad,
> wlite biþ geweorþad   wuldor-nyttingum,
> wynsum wuldor-gimm   wolcnum getenge,
> clæn-georn bið ond cystig,   cræfte eacen.
> ['The mother is increased in strength, wondrously enriched, laden with food, adorned with hoards, dear to men. Her power is made great, her might revealed, her beauty is made precious by glorious favours, a beautiful gem of glory, close to the clouds, she is liberal and pure-seeking, swollen with power.']

Note how the passage is delineated by an envelope-pattern (*mægene eacen ... cræfte eacen*), playing on the multiple sense of the word *eacen* (here translated as 'increased' and 'swollen', but also carrying the sense 'pregnant') with the same stress on strength, might, and power also emphasized in its midst (*Mægen ... meaht*), as

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[44] *OEALRT*, 358–59; *COEALRT*, 411–12. See too Corinne Dale, '*Freolic, sellic*: an Ecofeminist Reading of *Moddor Monigra* (R. 84)', in *Riddles at Work in the Early Medieval Tradition: Words, Ideas, Interactions*, ed. Megan Cavell and Jennifer Neville (Manchester: Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture, 2020), pp. 176–92.

[45] *OEALRT*, 402–05; *COEALRT*, 470–72.

well as a focus on glory highlighted by close repetition of two compounds unique to the poem (*wuldor-nyttingum ... wuldor-gimm*).[46]

A third Old English riddle in the Exeter Book, generally solved as 'ice' or 'ice-floe' is relevant here, since it clearly describes both a female creature hostile to mankind and offers an obvious instance of the mother–daughter paradox (**EXE 31**):[47]

> Wiht cwom æfter wege   wrætlicu liþan,
> cymlic from ceole   cleopode to londe,
> hlinsade hlude;   hleahtor wæs gryrelic,
> egesful on earde,   ecge wæron scearpe.
>   Wæs hio hete-grim,   hilde to sæne,   5
> biter beado-weorca;   bord-weallas grof,
> heard-hiþende.
>   Hete-rune bond,
> sægde searo-cræftig   ymb hyre sylfre gesceaft:
>   'Is min modor   mægða cynnes,
> þæs deorestan,   þæt is dohtor min,   10
> eacen uploden,   swa þæt is ældum cuþ,
> firum on folce,   þæt seo on foldan sceal
> on ealra londa gehwam   lissum stondan',
>
> ['A creature came sailing, wondrous, over the waves, splendid from the vessel, she called to the shore, boomed loud; the laughter was terrible, awesome on earth, the edges were sharp. She was hate-grim, slow to strife, bitter in battle-deeds; she dug into board-walls, plundering hard. She bound a hate-rune, spoke, cunning-crafty, about her own creation: 'My mother is, of all the maids there are, the dearest, and she is my daughter, grown up pregnant, as is well-known to men, to people among folk, when she has to stand supreme in the world, on every land',']

That the creature in question is female is made abundantly clear, and the dense cluster of six compounds in the middle section of the poem (lines 5–8) emphasizes the aggressive side of that creature's nature, essentially inimical to mankind, while the final speech is simply an elaborate recasting of the same mother–daughter/ice–water paradox that runs through the riddle-tradition, as we have already seen; there seem specific parallels to both of the Old English water-riddles already noted (**EXE**

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[46] Note the close repetition of the idea of 'how manifold in the power of that kin' in **EXE 80.8** (*hu mislic biþ mægen þara cynna*) and **56** (*hu mislic sy mægen þara cynna*).
[47] *OEALRT*, 342–45; *COEALRT*, 392–95. For the broader context of such parallels across traditional linguistic boundaries, see Orchard, 'Enigma Variations',

39 and **80**), as well as with the eddic poem *Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar*, where the cruel supernatural figure of the aptly named 'frost-goddess', Hrímgerðr, threatens the human hero Atli, while the martial and heroic language here can also be matched elsewhere in (for example) *Beowulf* and *Andreas*.[48]

Against this broader background of riddles being used for didactic and specifically poetic purposes within the wider tradition, it seems worthwhile to revisit the three stanzas that immediately precede the 'wave'-riddles in the *Gestumblindagátur*, all of which open with the same formula already discussed (GES 18–20):[49]

> ### GES 18
> Hverjar eru þær rýgjar   á regin-fjalli,
>   elr við kván kona?
> Mær við meyju   mǫg of getr,
>   ok eigu-t þær varðir vera.
> ['Who are those great women up on the mighty mountain? A woman begets with a woman, and a girl with a girl produces a son, though they weren't with any man.']

> ### GES 19
> Hverjar eru þær snótir,   er um sinn dróttin
>   vápn-lausar vega?
> Inar jǫrpu hlífa   um alla daga,
>   en inar fegri frýja.
> ['Who were those ladies who are battling weaponless around their lord? The darker ones defend all day long, while the lighter ones mount a challenge.']

> ### GES 20
> Hverjar eru þær leikur,   er líða lǫnd yfir
>   at forvitni fǫður?
> Hvítan skjǫld   þær um vetr bera,
>   en svartan um sumar.
> ['Who are those playful women who pass over the lands, to their father's curiosity? They bear a white shield throughout the winter, but black throughout summertime.']

In the first of these riddle-stanzas (GES 18), the term used here for 'great women'

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[48] These aspects are all detailed in *COEALRT*, 392–95.
[49] *OEALRT*, 580–83; *COEALRT*, 640–41. See further Burrows, in Ross, et al., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 8.1: 429–33.

(*rýgjar*) can also have the sense 'giantesses', and the solution given by King Heiðrekr, 'angelica' (*hvannir*; another redaction gives the more specific *fjall-hvannir* ['mountain-angelica']) seems somewhat trivial, while still appearing to gesture towards the overwhelmingly aquatic mother–daughter paradox witnessed above.[50] With regard to the second of these riddle-stanzas (**GES 19**), the solution offered by Heiðrekr describes the board-game *hnefa-tafl*, in which darker and lighter pieces (representing defenders and attackers respectively) are deployed around a central king-piece. Once again, an underlying or secondary solution of 'waves' seems feasible, since he comparative aggression of the lighter 'ladies' evidently also matches that of the stormy white-caps of winter, when contrasted with the dark summer waves. A similar kind of indirection may be in play in the next riddle-stanza (**GES 20**), solved by King Heiðrekr as 'ptarmigans' (*rjúpar*; another redaction gives the more specific *skóg-rjúpar* ['wood-ptarmigans']), presumably based on the difference between the ptarmigans' winter- and summer-plumage, but where again the contrast between the white waves of winter and the dark billows of summer seems somewhat clear.

After a series of riddle-stanzas a good number of which can either be solved as 'waves' or have clear connections with those that do, and after demonstrating a number of poetic metres, tropes, and techniques, and immediately after a stanza comprised entirely of the riddling word-play of *ofljóst* (**GES 34**), discussed above, the closing pair of stanzas in the *Gestumblindagátur* focus attention squarely back on the disguised figure of Gestumblindi himself, here revealed unambiguously as Óðinn (**GES 35** and **EP**):[51]

GES 35

Hverir eru þeir tveir,   er tíu hafa fætr,
augu þrjú   ok einn hala?
['Who are those two who have ten legs, three eyes, and a single tail?']

GES EP

Hvat mælti Óðinn
í eyra Baldri,
áðr hann var á bál hafðr?'
['What did Óðinn say in Baldr's ear, before he was put on the pyre?']

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[50] Note too the reference here to the fact that 'they weren't with any man', which echoes the 'wave'-riddle **GES 22** above; the line could also have the sense 'they did not have any husbands': the connection to the mother–daughter paradox is in both cases clear.
[51] *OEALRT*, 592–93; *COEALRT*, 647. See further Burrows, in Ross, et al., ed., *Skaldic Poetry*, 8.1: 450–52.

The masculine form here (*Hverir eru þeir ... er*) of the now familiar opening formula of the 'wave'-riddles and their immediate parallels (*Hverjar eru þær ... er*) both in Old Norse–Icelandic and beyond links this penultimate challenge in the *Gestumblinagátur* to those others in the compilation, and it is striking that this stanza is not so much a riddle at all as a test of rather basic mythological knowledge: while evidently connected conceptually to the kinds of enumerative body-part riddles seen above in (for example) **GES 12** ('sow and piglets') or **ALD 84** ('pregnant sow'), the picture of the one-eyed Óðinn riding his eight-legged steed, Sleipnir, not only introduces to the identity of Heiðrekr's actual interlocutor, but leads on to the final, unanswerable question, that only Óðinn can possibly know (**GES EP**).

It is, of course, fitting that it should be Óðinn, the god of both mystic lore and poetry, who closes down the one-sided wisdom-contest that the *Gestumblindagátur* comprise, given the extent to which the sequence as a whole seems specifically designed to showcase the possibilities and potential of poetry itself. The 'wave'-riddles of *Gustumblindagátur* not only demonstrate the liquidity of influence across the boundaries of time and language that characterizes the medieval riddle-tradition, but also emphasize the extent to which water itself and the mother–daughter paradox that , much like the mead of poetry, works well as a metaphor for the ways in which literary tropes and figures can flow and grow and spread in ways that by taking a multilingual and cross-cultural approach, we are only now beginning fully to appreciate.

HIS 2 DE MARI ('on the sea') Incipit de mari
        De hoc amplo anfitridis licumine
        loquelosum cudere nitor tornum.
        Hoc spumas mundanas obuallat pelagus oras,
        terrestres anniosis fluctibus cudit margines,
385   saxeas undosis molibus irruit aulon[i]as,
        infimas bomboso uortice miscet glarias,
        astrifero spargit spumas sulco.
        Sonoreis frequenter quatitur flabris
        ac garrula fatigat not[h]us flustra.
390   Tithica aetherium irrigant stilli<ci>dia girum,
        †calastrea glaucicomus uerberat competa pontus,
        periclitantes mactat naufragio puppes.
        Alias serenum compaginat tithis situm
        nec horrida tempestiui murmuris proflat susperia,
395   sed garrulae tranquello tabescunt undae fomento.
        Gemellum neptunius collocat ritum fluctus:
        protinus spumaticam pollet in littora adsisam
        refluamque prisco plicat recessam utero.
        Geminum solita flectit in orgium discurrimina:
400   afroniosa luteum uelicat †mallina teminum,
        marginosas tranat pullulamine metas
        uastaque tumente dodrante inundat freta,
        alboreos tellata flectit hornos in arua,
        assiduas littoreum glomerat algas in sinum,
405   patulas eruit a cautibus marinas,
        illitas punicum euellit conchas,
        belbicinas multiformi genimine harenosum euoluit effigies ad portum,
        fluctiuagaque scropheas uacillant aequora in termopilas
        ac spumaticum fremet tumore bromum.
410   interdum tumentem pastrica<t> [e]Nerius lidonem,
        nec solita marginosi tranat limina fundi;
        rostratas toruis fluctibus fulcit carinas,
        roboreas undisono bae<u>lat rates flu[a]stro,
        inmensasque murmoreo gurgite gestat scaphas,
415   ac ingentes talasicum nauigant liburnae gremium.
        Delficinum glaucis sub fluctibus ludicat seminarium,
        inormia uastum litigant c[o]etia per isthmum,
        erumnosos ruminant †gurgustos,
        uitreumque sugillant faucibus salum
420   ac tornos guttoricant piscellos;
        neptunia squaemeis uerrunt cerula gigris.
        Salsugenum gustantibus infestat pelagi unda saporem.

On the Sea
        Concerning the vast water of the ocean
I shall attempt to forge a wheel of words.
The spuming sea encircles the shores of the world,
it pounds against the margins of the land with its aged tides,
rushes into the rocky hollows with masses of water,   385
churns the pebbles at the bottom in a noisy vortex,
and shoots its spray to the furrow of the stars.
Often it is stirred by loud gales
and the wind harries the murmuring billows.
The sea's wetness moistens the ring of air,   390
The blue sea beats against stretches of sand,
making wracks of adventurous ships.
At other times Tithis maintains a quiet inactivity,
nor expels the shuddering sighs of its stormy roar,
but the chattering waves languish in tranquil mildness.   395
Neptune's flood has a double movement:
continually it propels the foamy tide to the shore
and enfolds it within its ancient womb as it flows backwards.
It directs its customary double motion to a double purpose:
the foamy tide covers the muddy land,   400
crosses the shore's boundaries in its burgeoning,
and floods vast channels in a swelling tidal wave.
It bends the white ash trees toward the earthen fields,
heaps up mounds of algae on the shore of the bay,
uproots open limpets from the rock,   405
tears away purple-coloured conchs,
spins the bodies of beasts toward the sandy harbour in multifold profusion;
the billowing waters undulate toward the canyons of rock,
and the foaming storm roars as it swells.
Sometimes, Nereus guides the burgeoning tide,   410
nor does it cross the customary threshold of the land's rim.
It bears be-prowed vessels in the wild swells,
carries strong ships on the loud waves,
and lifts huge boats on the marble-smooth deep.
gigantic vessels sail the bosom of the sea.   415
A school of dolphins plays beneath the blue waves,
large sea monsters struggle through the wide strait;
they eat up unfortunate sealife,
suck in smooth salt water through their mouths,
and swallow wriggling fish;   420
they sweep the Neptunian blue with their scaly heads.
Sea water has a salty flavour to those who taste it.

Si pantes mundani orbis acculae
internum aequoris spectarent uterum,
425 repentina mortiferum irruerint uoragine claustrum.

If all the inhabitants of the earth's sphere
were to gaze upon the inner cavity of the sea,
they would rush into the fast-whirling, deadly labyrinth.   425

Five Types of Parallel in Anglo-Saxon Sources

There are at least five types of parallel to be observed in both Old English and Anglo-Latin verse, which might be characterized as follows:

[1] *Multiple parallel* (a single source-passage echoed in several borrowings);
[2] *Expanded parallel* (the source-passage is expanded, often with less specific material);
[3] *Substitution parallel* (the borrowing is diluted or disguised, often using synonyms);
[4] *Combination parallel* (the borrowing combines scattered elements of the source);
[5] *Reduced parallel* (the source-passage is abbreviated in the borrowing).

There are plenty of examples of each, often in combination, to be observed both above and (especially) below. Some brief examples are given below, to be augmented *ad lib.*

[1] Some Multiple Parallels?

[M1]	*CE* 3.72–5	*Aureus* atque *calix gemmis fulgescit opertus*	
		Vt caelum rutilat stellis ard*entibus aptum*	
		Ac lata argento constat fabricata patena	
		Quae diuina gerunt *nostrae medicamina uitae*	
	DA 449–50	*Aureus* ille *calix gemmis* splend*escit opertus*	
		*Argenti*que nitens *constat fabricatus* in altis	
	DA 625–6	*Vt caelum rutilat stellis fulgentibus* omne	
		Sic tremulas uibrant *subter testudine templi*	cf. [L8]
	DA 649–53	*Aureus* ille *calix* tetigi quem carmine dudum	
		Ac lata argento pulcre *fabricata patena*	
		*Cael*atas faciem praetendunt *apte* figuras	
		Talia dum sanctae cumulant penetralia casae	
		Munera *quae nostrae* seruant *medicamina uitae*	

[M2]	*Jul* 233–9	to *carcerne* hyre *wæs cristes lof*
		in *ferð-locan* *fæste biwunden*
		milde mod-sefan mægen unbrice
		ða wæs *mid* clustre *carcernes duru*
		be*hliden homra geweorc* halig þær inne
		wær-fæst wunade symle heo *wuldor*-cyning
		herede æt heortan heofon-rices god
	And 52–8	*herede in heortan heofon-rices* weard
		þeah ðe he atres drync atulne onfenge
		eadig ond on-mod he mid elne forð

		wyrðode wordum *wuldres* aldor	
		heofon-rices weard halgan stefne	
		of *carcerne* him *wæs Cristes lof*	
		on *fyrhð-locan* *fæste bewunden*	
	And 1075–7	syððan *mid* corðre *carcernes duru*	
		eorre æsc-berend opene fundon	
		on*hliden hamera geweorc* hyrdas deade	

[M3] *El* 169–70 þa þa wisestan *wordum cwædon*
       for þam here-mægene þæt hit *heofon*-cyninges
  And 727–8 þa gen *worde cwæð* weoruda dryhten
       heofon-halig gast *fore þam here-mægene*
  And 1298–9 *for þam here-mægene* helle dioful
       awerged in witum ond þæt *word gecwæð*

[M4] *El* 219–20 æðel-cyninges rod Elene *ne wolde*
       þæs sið-fates *sæne weorðan*
  And 203–4 eala Andreas þæt *ðu* a *woldest*
       þæs sið-fætes *sæne weorþan*
  And 211 *ne* meaht *ðu þæs sið-fætes* *sæne weorðan*
  Fates 34 *siðes sæne* ac ðurh sweordes bite

[M5] *GuthA* 698–9 *ne* sy him *banes bryce* *ne blodig wund*
       lices læla *ne laþes wiht*
  And 1442–3 þurh *ban-gebrec* *blodige* stige
       <lices> lælan no þe *laðes* ma   \<MS *lic*>
  And 1473–4 *ne ban gebrocen* *ne blodig wund*
       <lice> gelenge *ne laðes* dæl   \<MS *licge*>

[M6] *GuthA* 704–5 snude gesecgan þæt ge *him sara gehwylc*
       hondum *gehælde* *ond him* hearsume
  GuthB 965 *sigor-fæst* in sefan seo *him sara gehwylc*
       symle forswiðde næs *him sorg*-cearu
  GuthB 1244 *sigor-fæst* gesohte *ond* me *sara gehwylc*
       gehælde hyge*sorge* *ond* me in hreþre beleac

[M7] *GuthB* 829–30 *ne lifes lyre* *ne lices hryre*
       ne dreames *dryre* *ne* deaðes cyme
  GuthB 1093 *æfter lices hryre* lean unhwilen
  Phoen 16–17 *ne* hægles *hryre* *ne* hrimes *dryre*
       ne sunnan hætu *ne* sin-caldu
  Phoen 53–4 *ne lifes lyre* *ne* laþes cyme
       ne synn *ne* sacu *ne* sar-wracu
  Phoen 645 *æfter lices hryre* lif eft onfeng

[2] Some Expanded Parallels?

[E1] *CE* 3.22–6 Algida uentosis crepitabant *carbasa flabris*
       Donec barca rudi pulsabat litora rostro

<div style="text-align:center">

Exin nimbosas *transcendit passibus Alpes*
Aggeribus niueis et montis uertice saeptas
Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae

</div>

CE 3.8   *Exin sacratam perrexit quaerere* uitam
MSN 32–42   Extensaque auidis uolitabant *carbasa flabris*
            *Donec barcha rudi trans*uecto robore pontum
            Liquerat et fuluis proram defixit harenis
            Inde pedem referens con*scendit passibus Alpes*
            Lactea qua tacito labuntur uellera celo
            Aggeribus niueis cumulantur germina montis
            Exin sacratis perrexit querere plantis
            Pontificis summi sanctis firmarier orsis
            Qui tum forte sacer ueterum munimenta priorum
            Culmen apostolicis meruit seruare triumphis
            Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Rome

[E2]   *CE* 3.47–53   *Classibus* et *geminis psalmorum con*crepet *oda*
            Ymnistae crebro *uox articulata resultet*
            Et celsum *quatiat clamoso carmine* culmen!
            Fratres concordi laudemus uoce Tonantem
            Cantibus et *crebris con*clamet turba sororum
            Ymnos ac psalmos et responsoria festis
            *Con*grua promamus *subter testudine templi*
   DA 496–506   *Classibus* in *geminis subter testudine templi*
            Fratribus immixtus *psalmorum con*cinat *odas*
            Dulcisona antiphonae modulantur carmina fusae
            Ast lector melos *uoce articulata resultans*
            Praedoctus biblis ad gaudia magna refundit
            Cumque die ducto missarum cantica *com*plent
            Fratres concordi comitantur carmine patrem
            Ad mensam nullus poterit tum dicere digne
            Quem studiose epulis cupiat sollemnia sancta
            Cum celebrare suis laetetur clerus in urbe
            Atque domum *quatitans clamoso carmine com*plent
   DA 553–4   Noctibus in furuis *fratrum* pausante caterua
            *Hymnos ac psalmos crebris con*centibus *odat*

[E3]   *Beo* 1567–8   *ban-hringas bræc*   bil eal ðurhwod
            fægne flæsc-homan   heo on flet gecrong
   And 150–4   þæt hie *ban-hringas*   *abrecan* þohton
            lungre tolysan   lic ond sawle
            ond þonne todælan   duguðe ond geogoðe
            werum to wiste   ond to wil-þege
            fæges flæsc-homan   feorh ne bemurndan

[E4]   *Jul* 233–9   to *carcerne*   hyre *wæs cristes lof*
            in *ferð-locan*   *fæste biwunden*
            milde mod-sefan   mægen unbrice
            ða wæs *mid* clustre   *carcernes duru*
            be*hliden homra geweorc*   halig þær inne

		wær-fæst wunade symle heo **wuldor**-cyning
		herede æt heortan heofon-rices god
	And 52–8	**herede in heortan heofon-rices** weard
		þeah ðe he atres drync atulne onfenge
		eadig ond on-mod he mid elne forð
		wyrðode wordum **wuldres** aldor
		heofon-rices weard halgan stefne
		of **carcerne** him **wæs Cristes lof**
		on **fyrhð-locan** **fæste bewunden**
	And 1075–7	syððan **mid** corðre **carcernes duru**
		eorre æsc-berend opene fundon
		on**hliden hamera geweorc** hyrdas deade

[E5] *El* 308–9   æfst wið are   **inwit-þancum**
                   wroht webbedan   eow seo wergðu forðan
      And 670–2   þurh **inwit-ðanc**   ealdor-sacerd
                    herme hyspan   hord-locan onspeon
                    wroht webbade   he on gewitte oncneow

[E6] *GuthA* 531–2   mægne **gemet**ᵉd   **micel is to secgan**
                      eall æfter orde   þæt he on elne adreag:
      And 1481–6   ofer min **gemet   mycel is to secganne**
                     langsum leornung   **þæt he in** life **adreag**
                     eall æfter orde   þæt scell æ-glæwra
                     mann on moldan   þonne ic me tælige
                     findan on ferðe   þæt fram fruman cunne
                     eall þa earfeðo   þe **he** mid **elne adreah**

[E7] *GuthB* 891   helpe ond hælo   **nænig hæleþa** is
                    þe areccan mæge   oþþe rim wite
      And 544–6   miltsum gemærsod   **nænig** manna is
                    under heofon-hwealfe   **hæleða** cynnes
                    ðætte areccan mæg   oððe rim wite
      El 635   ic **ne mæg areccan**   nu ic þæt **rim** ne can
      Panth 2–3   unrimu cynn   þe we æþelu **ne magon**
                    ryhte **areccan ne rim witan**

[E8] *GuthB* 1339–41 wiste wine leofne   him þæs **wopes hring**
                     torne gemonade   teagor **yðum weol**
                     hate hleor-dropan   ond on hreþre wæg
      And 1275–8   swungen sar-slegum   swat **yðum weoll**
                     þurh ban-cofan   blod lifrum swealg
                     hatan heolfre   hra weorces ne sann
                     wundum werig   þa cwom **wopes hring**
      El 1131   wifes willan   þa wæs **wopes hring**
      ChristB 537   hyra wil-gifan   þær wæs **wopes hring**

[E9] *Phoen* 123   **fareð feþrum** snell   **flyhte on lyfte**
      Phoen 340   **flyhte on lyfte**   fenix biþ on middum
      And 864–6   <**faran**> **on flyhte   feðerum** hremige   [*faran* not in MS]

us ofslæpendum   sawle abrugdon
mid gefean feredon   *flyhte on lyfte*

[3] Some Substitution Parallels?

[S1]	*CE* 3.43	*Et reciproca* Deo *modulemur carmina* Christo
	DA 615	*Et reciproca* suo *modulantur carmina* regi

[S2]	*CE* 3.67–8	*Quam sol per uitreas illustret* forte fenestras
		Limpida quadrato *diffundens lumina templo*
	DA 621–2	*Quam sol per uitreas illustrans* candidus oras
		Limpida praenitido *diffundit lumina templo*

[S3]	*Beo* 576	*under heofones hwealf* *heardran* feohtan
	And 1402	*under heofon-hwealfe* *heardran* drohtnoð
	And 545	*under heofon-hwealfe* hæleða cynnes

[S4]	*Beo* 1683	*morðres scyldig* ond his modor eac
	And 1599	syððan mane faa *morðor-scyldige*

[S5]	*GuthA* 265	*feonda fore-sprecan* *firenum* gulpon
	ChristB 733	*feonda fore-sprecan* *fyrnum* teagum

[S6]	*GuthA* 415	*under* haligra *hyrda gewealdum*
	ChristB 705	*under* hæþenra *hyrda gewealdum*

[4] Some Combination Parallels?

[C1]	*CE* 3.2	Nobilis erexit *Centuuini filia regis*
	CE 3.47	*Classibus* et *geminis* psalmorum *con*crepat odas
	CE 3.51	Cantibus et crebris *con*clamet *turba sororem*
	EB 10–12	Turba fratrum *geminis* adstant et *turba sororum*
		*Classibus con*cinnent praeconia regi polorum
		Coentuuini haec etiam fuit en pia *filia regis*

[C3]	*CE* 3.6–7	*Plurima basilicis* impendens *rura nouellis*
		Qua nunc Christicolae seruant monastica iura
	CE 3.50	Fratres concordi *laudemus* uoce *tonantem*
	MSN 72–4	*Plurima basilicis* construxit *rura nouellis*
		Que nunc eximio monachorum examine pollent
		Vere *Christicole seruant monastica iura*
	EB 5	*Plurima basilicis* nutrit pignora puella
	EB 9	*Qua nunc ,Christicolae laudant* simul ore *tonantem*

[C3]	*Beo* 92–3	cwæð þæt se æl-mihtiga *eorðan* worhte
		wlite-beorhtne *wang* *swa wæter bebugeð*
	Beo 1222–3	*ealne wide-*ferhþ weras ehtigað
		efne swa side *swa* sæ *bebugeð*

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And 332–4		faraðnu geond *ealle* *eorðan* sceatas
		emne swa wide *swa wæter bebugeð*
		oððe stede*wangas* stræte gelicgaþ

[C4]	*Jul* 148	þurh *gæst-gehygd* Iuliana
	Jul 181	*ongyte gleawlice* *gæsta* scyppend
	And 861	*ongitan gleawlice* *gast-gehygdum*

[C5]	*Jul* 310	þæt *he* of *galgan* *his gæst onsende*
	Jul 481–2	under reone stream sume ic *rode bifealh*
		þæt hi hyre dreorge *on* hean *galgan*
	And 1326–7	rices berædde ond hine *rode befealg*
		þæt he *on gealgan* *his gast onsende*
	El 480	*on galgan his* *gast onsende*

[5] Some Reduced Parallels?

[R1]	*CE* 3.59–64	Istam nempe *diem* qua *templi festa coruscant*
		Natiuitate sua sacrauit uirgo Maria
		Quam iugiter renouant Augusti tempora mensis
		Diuiditur medio dum torrens Sextilis orbe
		Qui nobis iterum *restaurat gaudia mentis*
		Dum uicibus redeunt *solemnia festa* Mariae
	DA 465–8	Vel quacumque *die* cum *templi festa coruscant*
		Omnibus his laetus nimium per *gaudia* sancta
		Aurea dulcisonae *restaurat* munera *mentis*
		Ac fratres precibus mulcet *sollemnia festa*

[R2]	*Beo* 38–44	*ne hyrde ic cymlicor* *ceol* gegyrwan
		hilde-wæpnum ond heaðo-wædum
		billum ond byrnum him on bearme læg
		madma mænigo þa him mid scoldon
		on flodes æht feor gewitan
		nalæs hi hine læssan lacum teodan
		þeod-*gestreonum* þon þa dydon
	And 360–2	æðele be æðelum æfre *ic ne hyrde*
		þon *cymlicor* *ceol* gehladenne
		heah-*gestreonum* hæleð in sæton

[R3]	*ChristB* 481–9	*farað nu geond ealne* yrmenne grund
		geond *wid*-wegas weoredum cyðað
		bodiað ond bremað *beorhtne geleafan*
		ond fulwiað folc under roderum
		hweorfað to <hæþnum> hergas breotaþ <MS *heofonum*>
		fyllað ond feogað feondscype dwæscað
		sibbe sawað on sefan manna
		þurh meahta sped *ic eow* mid wunige
		forð on frofre ond *eow friðe healde*
	And 332–6	*farað nu geond ealle* eorðan sceatas

emne swa *wide* swa wæter bebugeð
oððe stede-wangas stræte gelicgaþ
bodiað æfter burgum *beorhtne geleafan*
ofer foldan fæðm *ic eow freoðo healde*

7

Parallels and Echoes in Cynewulf's Four Signed Poems

Appendix A: Repeated formulas in Cynewulf's four signed poems
* signals parallels unattested elsewhere in the extant corpus
\# signals repeated phrases found in more than one of the four signed poems

[A1]   *ChristB* 440b   nu ðu geornlice   ***gæst-gerynum***
       ChristB 713b   giedda gearo-snottor   ***gæst-gerynum***

[A2]   *ChristB* 447   ***þæt þær in hwitum***   ***hræglum*** gewerede
       ChristB 454   ***þæt*** hy ***in hwitum***   ***þær hræglum*** oðywden

[A3]   \#*ChristB* 461   ***hæleð*** mid hlaford   ***to þære halgan byrg***
       \#*ChristB* 534   ***hæleð*** hygerofe   in ***þa halgan burg***

[A4]   *ChristB* 464a   ***ærþon up stige***   an-cenned sunu
       ChristB 544a   ***ærþon up stige***   ealle waldend

[A5]   *ChristB* 465b   efen-***ece*** bearn   ***agnum fæder***
       ChristB 532b   ***ece*** ead-fruma   ***agnum fæder***

[A6]   \#*ChristB* 474a   ***ond þæt word acwæð***   ***waldend*** engla
       \#*ChristB* 714b   ***waldend*** wer-þeoda   ***ond þæt word acwæð***

[A7]   *ChristB 484b   ond fulwiað   ***folc under roderum***
       *ChristB 526b   þara ðe gefremedon   ***folc under roderum***

[A8]   *ChristB 487   sibbe ***sawað***   on ***sefan manna***
       *ChristB 663   ***seow*** ond sette   geond ***sefan monna***

[A9]   *ChristB* 492   ***hlud gehyred***   ***heofon***-engla þreat
       ChristB 834   ***hlud gehyred***   bi ***heofon***-woman

[A10] *ChristB* 492b   hlud gehyred   heofon-***engla þreat***
       ChristB 738b   his eald-cyððe   þa wæs ***engla þreat***

[A11] *ChristB 493a   ***weorud wlite-scyne***   wuldres aras
       *ChristB 554a   ***weorud wlite-scyne***   gesegon wil-cuman

[A12] *ChristB* 499a   ***god-bearn of grundum***   him wæs geomor sefa
       ChristB 682a   ***god-bearn*** on ***grundum***   his giefe bryttað
       ChristB 702   siþþan ***of grundum***   ***god-bearn*** astag

[A13]   #*ChristB* 500a   ***hat æt heortan***   hyge murnende
        #*ChristB* 539a   ***hat æt heortan***   hreðer innan weoll   [MS *hreder*]

[A14]   #*ChristB* 507b   fægre ymb þæt frum-bearn   ***frætwum blican***
        #*ChristB* 522b   ond in frofre geseoð   ***frætwum blican***

[A15]   #*ChristB* 515a   ***æþelinga ord***   mid þas engla gedryht
        #*ChristB* 741a   ***æþelinga ord***   eðles neosan
        #*ChristB* 845a   ***æþelinga ord***   eallum demeð

[A16]   *ChristB* 521b   ond æþeleste   ***þe ge her on stariað***
        ChristB 570b   þisne ilcan þreat   ***þe ge her on stariað***

[A17]   *ChristB* 546b   eorla ead-giefan   ***englas togeanes***
        ChristB 548b   þæt him al-beorhte   ***englas togeanes***

[A18]   *ChristB* 549a   in ***þa halgan tid***   heapum cwoman
        ChristB 632b   heanum to helpe   ***on þa halgan tid***
        ChristB 739a   ***on þa halgan tid***   hleahtre bliþe

[A19]   *ChristB* 556b   folca feorh-giefan frætwum   ***ealles waldend***
        ChristB 577b   wile in to eow   ***ealles waldend***

[A20]   *ChristB* 557   ***middan-geardes***   ond ***mægen***-þrymmes
        ChristB 787   in ***middan-geard***   ***mægna*** gold-hord

[A21]   #*ChristB* 559b   ealles þæs gafoles   þe hi ***gear-dagum***
        #*ChristB* 821a   on his ***gear-dagum***   georne biþencan

[A22]   *ChristB* 561b   nu sind forcumene   ond ***in cwic-susle***
        ChristB 732a   ***in cwic-susle***   cyning inne gebond

[A23]   #*ChristB* 572b   gæsta gief-stol   ***godes*** agen ***bearn***
        #*ChristB* 744b   us her on grundum   ***godes*** ece ***bearn***

[A24]   #*ChristB* 583a   wesan ***wide-ferh***   wær is ætsomne
        #*ChristB* 784a   swa we ***wide-feorh***   weorcum hlodun

[A25]   *ChristB* 586b   hwæt we nu gehyrdan   hu ***þæt hælu-bearn***
        ChristB 754a   þæt ***þæt hælo-bearn***   heonan up stige

[A26]   #*ChristB* 600b   ðæt is þæs wyrðe   þætte ***wer-þeode***
        #*ChristB* 714a   waldend ***wer-þeoda***   ond þæt word acwæð

[A27]   *ChristB* 606b   under swegles hleo   ***sunne ond mona***
        ChristB 694a   ***sunne ond mona***   hwæt sindan þa

[A28]   *ChristB* 639a   wæs þæs ***fugles flyht***   feondum on eorþan
        ChristB 654   ne meahtan þa þæs ***fugles***   ***flyht*** gecnawan

[A29]	*ChristB* 643b	þe him beforan fremede ***freo-bearn godes***	
	ChristB 788b	in fæmnan fæðm ***freo-bearn godes***	
[A30]	#*ChristB* 649a	***þurh gæstes giefe*** grund-sceat sohte	
	#*ChristB* 710a	***þurh gæstes giefe*** godes þegna blæd	[MS *blæð*]
[A31]	#*ChristB* 650b	wende to worulde ***bi þon se witga*** song	
	#*ChristB* 691b	is weorc weorþað ***bi þon se witga*** cwæð	
[A32]	*#*ChristB* 660	***godes gæst-sunu ond us giefe sealde***	
	*#*ChristB* 860	***godes gæst-sunu ond us giefe sealde***	
[A33]	*ChristB* 707a	***gæstes þearfe*** ac hi godes tempel	
	ChristB 816b	þæt he ne agæle ***gæstes þearfe***	
[A34]	#*ChristB* 737	***haliges*** hyht-plega ***þa he*** to ***heofonum astag***	
	#*ChristB* 866	***halge*** on heahþu ***þa he heofonum astag***	
[A35]	**ChristB* 745b	ofer heah-hleoþu ***hlypum stylde***	
	**ChristB* 747b	heortan gehygdum ***hlypum styllan***	
[A36]	#*ChristB* 751b	geþungen þegn-weorud ***is us þearf micel***	
	#*ChristB* 847b	þeoda gehwylcre ***is us þearf micel***	
[A37]	#*ChristB* 760a	***halig of heahðu*** hider onsendeð	
	#*ChristB* 789a	***halig of heahþu*** huru ic wene me	
	#*ChristB* 866a	***halge*** on ***heahþu*** þa he heofonum astag	
[A38]	*ChristB* 761	þa ***us gescildaþ wið sceþþendra***	
	ChristB 775	þæt he ***us gescilde wið sceaþan*** wæpnum	
[A39]	*ChristB* 772a	***þenden*** we ***on eorðan*** eard weardien	
	ChristB 814a	***þenden*** him ***on eorþan*** on-medla wæs	
[A40]	*ChristB* 791a	***ðonne eft cymeð*** engla þeoden	
	ChristB 824b	bið nu eorneste ***þonne eft cymeð***	
[A41]	#*ChristB* 796	***fore onsyne eces deman***	
	#*ChristB* 836	***fore onsyne eces deman***	
[A42]	*ChristB* 821	***on*** his gear-dagum ***georne biþencan***	
	ChristB 849	***on*** þas gæsnan tid ***georne biþencen***	
[A43]	*ChristB* 852b	geond sidne sæ ***sund-hengestum***	
	ChristB 862b	hwær we sælan sceolon ***sund-hengestas***	
[A44]	*El* 2	***tu hund*** ond þreo ***geteled rimes***	
	El 634	***CC*** oððe ma ***geteled rime***	
[A45]	*#*El* 5	***acenned wearð cyninga wuldor***	

	*#*El* 178	acenned wearð cyninga wuldor
[A46]	*El* 13a	rice under roderum he wæs riht cyning
	El 147	rice under roderum þurh his rode treo
	El 631	rice under roderum ge he ða rode ne tæhte
[A47]	*El* 19b	wiges woma werod samnodan
	El 60b	ymb þæs wæteres stæð werod samnode
[A48]	*El* 23b	gearwe to guðe garas lixtan
	El 125b	gylden grima garas lixtan
[A49]	#*El* 27b	for folca gedryht fyrd-leoð agol
	#*El* 342b	ðam Dauid cyning dryht-leoð agol
[A50]	*El* 28b	wulf on wealde wæl-rune ne mað
	El 1098b	hleor onhylde hyge-rune ne mað
[A51]	*El* 29a	urig-feðera earn sang ahof
	El 111a	urig-feðra earn sið beheold
[A52]	#*El* 29b	urig-feðera earn sang ahof
	#*El* 112b	wæl-hreowra wig wulf sang ahof
	#*El* 867b	gesæton sige-rofe sang ahofon
[A53]	*El* 32	hergum to hilde swylce Huna cyning
	El 49	hæfdon to hilde þonne Huna cining
[A54]	*El* 32a	hergum to hilde swylce Huna cyning
	El 52a	herge to hilde hrefen uppe gol
[A55]	*El* 34a	abannan to beadwe burg-wigendra
	El 45a	bannan to beadwe beran ut þræce
[A56]	*El* 44b	under earh-fære ofstum myclum
	El 102b	geiewed wearð ofstum myclum
	El 999a	ofstum myclum eft gearwian
[A57]	*El* 54b	hleopon horn-boran hreopan friccan
	El 550b	to þam here-meðle hreopon friccan
[A58]	#*El* 57a	egsan geaclad siððan el-þeodige
	#*El* 1128a	egesan geaclod ond þære arwyrðan
[A59]	#*El* 74b	geywed ænlicra þonne he ær oððe sið
	#*El* 240b	sæ swinsade ne hyrde ic sið ne ær
	#*El* 974b	selest sige-beacna þara þe sið oððe ær
[A60]	*El* 76a	eofur-cumble beþeaht him se ar hraðe
	El 259a	ænlic eofor-cumbul wæron æsc-wigan

[A61] *El* 85a   *sigores tacen*   he wæs sona gearu
       El 184   *sylfum* on *gesyhðe   sigores tacen*   [MS *tacne*]
       El 1120   nu we *seolfe geseoð   sigores tacen*

[A62] *El* 85b   sigores tacen   he *wæs sona gearu*
       El 222b   hiere sylfre suna   ac *wæs sona gearu*

[A63] *El* 89a   wliti *wuldres treo*   ofer wolcna hrof
       El 827b   ongan þa wil-fægen   æfter þam *wuldres treo*
       El 866b   wundor for weorodum   be ðam *wuldres treo*
       El 1251b willum in worlde   ic þæs *wuldres treowes*

[A64] *El* 100a   *beorna beag-gifa*   swa he þæt beacen geseah
       El 1198a *beorna beag-gifan*   bridels frætwan

[A65] *El* 107b   hebban heoru-cumbul   ond *þæt halige treo*
       El 128b   Huna leode   swa *þæt halige treo*
       El 429a   hwær *þæt halige trio*   beheled wurde
       El 442b   þæt ðu gehyre   ymb *þæt halige treo*
       El 701b   heanne fram hungres geniðlan   ic *þæt halige treo*
       El 840b   hige onhyrded   þurh *þæt halige treo*

[A66] **El* 110a   *hlude for hergum*   hrefn weorces gefe
       *El 406a   *hlude for herigum*   ge nu hraðe ganga

[A67] *El* 110b   hlude for hergum   hrefn *weorces gefeah*
       El 848b   collen-ferhðe   cwen *weorces gefeah*

[A68] *El* 111b   urig-feðra earn   *sið beheold*
       El 243b   meahte gesion   se ðone *sið beheold*

[A69] *El* 119b   hetend heoru-grimme   *hilde-nædran*   [MS *heora grimme*]
       El 141a   *hilde-nædran*   heap wæs gescyrded

[A70] **El* 121b   stopon stið-hidige   *stundum wræcon*
       *El 232b   on stæðe stodon   *stundum wræcon*

[A71] *El* 126a   *on here-felda*   hæðene grungon
       El 269a   ofer *here-feldas*   heape gecoste

[A72] *El* 131b   wide towrecene   *sume* wig *fornam*
       El 136b   ymb Danubie   *sume* drenc *fornam*

[A73] **El* 143   Huna *herges   ham eft þanon*
       *El 148   gewat þa *heriga   helm ham eft þanon*

[A74] *El* 144b   þa *wæs gesyne*   þæt sige forgeaf
       El 264b   þær *wæs gesyne*   sincgim locen

[A75]	*El* 145b	Constantino *cyning ælmihtig*
	#El 865	oððæt him *gecyðde cyning ælmihtig*
	#El 1090	þæt þe *gecyðe cyning ælmihtig*
	El 1151a	*cining ælmihtig* þæt seo cwen begeat

[A76]	#*El* 147	rice under *roderum* þurh his *rode treo*
	#*El* 206	*on rode treo rodora* waldend
	#*El* 855	*on rode treo rodor* eal geswearc

[A77]	#*El* 154b	snude to sionoðe þa þe *snyttro cræft*
	#*El* 374b	þurh *snyttro cræft* selest cunnen
	#*El* 1171b	sawle sige-sped ond *snyttro cræft*

[A78]	*El* 155b	þurh *fyrn-gewrito* gefrigen hæfdon
	El 373b	ond findaþ gen þa þe *fyrn-gewritu*
	El 431b	frod *fyrn-gewritu* ond þa fæderlican
	El 560b	fricggan fyrhð-werige ymb *fyrn-gewritu,*

[A79]	#*El* 170b	for þam here-mægene þæt hit *heofon-cyninges*
	#*El* 367a	hu ge *heofon-cyninge* hyran sceoldon
	#*El* 747b	hædrum stefnum *heofon-cininges* lof

| [A80] | #*El* 173b | lærde wæron   *him wæs* leoht *sefa* |
| | #*El* 627b | Iudas maðelade   *him wæs* geomor *sefa* |

| [A81] | *El* 174a | *ferhð gefeonde*   þeah hira fea wæron |
| | *El* 990a | *ferhð gefeonde*   næs þa fricgendra |

| [A82] | *El* 188a | *hæleða cynnes*   ond to heofonum astah |
| | *El* 1203a | *hæleða cynnes*   to þære halgan byrig |

| [A83] | *El* 189b | ðus gleawlice   *gast-gerynum* |
| | *El* 1147b | ongan þa geornlice   *gast-gerynum* |

| [A84] | *El* 196b | befolen in fyrhðe   *wæs him frofra mæst* |
| | *El* 992b | feorran geferede   *wæs him frofra mæst* |

[A85]	#*El* 197	ond *hyhta* nihst *heofon-rices weard*	[MS *hyht*]
	#*El* 445	*ahangen wæs heofon-rices weard*
	#*El* 718	*ahangen wæs heofon-rices weard*

[A86]	*#El* 199	*þurh gastes gife georne* cyðan
	#*El* 1057a	*þurh gastes gife* to godes temple
	#El 1156	*þurh gastes gife georne* secan

| [A87] | *El* 199 | *þurh* gastes gife   *georne* cyðan |
| | *El* 1162 | *þurh* gleawe miht   *georne* cuðe |

| [A88] | *El* 202 | *æsc-rof* unslaw   þa se *æðeling* fand |
| | *El* 275 | eorlas *æsc-rofe*   mid þa *æðelan* cwen |

[A89]	*El* 204b	guð-heard gar-þrist *on godes bocum*	
	El 290a	*on godes bocum* þæt ge gear-dagum	
[A90]	#*El* 206	*on rode* treo *rodora waldend*	
	#*El* 482	of *rode* ahæfen *rodera wealdend*	
	#*El* 1066	mid þam *on rode* wæs *rodera wealdend*	
[A91]	*El* 209	*Iudea cyn* þæt *hie god* sylfne	
	El 836	*Iudea cynn* hie wið *godes* bearne	[*cynn* NOT IN MS]
[A92]	#*El* 211a	*to widan feore* wergðu dreogan	
	#*El* 1288b	þara þe gewurdon on *widan feore*	
	#*El* 1321b	wuldor-cyninges *to widan feore*	
[A93]	*El* 211b	to widan feore *wergðu dreogan*	
	El 951b	wiðerhycgende *wergðu dreogan*	
[A94]	#*El* 218a	*halig under hrusan* hyded wære	
	#*El* 625a	*halig under hrusan* þe ge hwile nu	
	#*El* 842a	*halig under hrusan* he mid handum befeng	
[A95]	*El* 236a	*werum ond wifum* wæg-hengestas	
	El 1221a	*werum ond wifum* þæt hie weorðeden	
[A96]	*El* 247	*collen-ferhðe* cwen siðes *gefeah*	
	El 378	*collen-ferhðe* swa him sio *cwen* bead	
	El 848	*collen-ferhðe* *cwen* weorces *gefeah*	
[A97]	*El* 249a	*ofer lago-fæsten* geliden hæfdon	
	El 1016a	*ofer lagu-fæsten* leof-spell manig	
[A98]	*El* 250a	*on Creca land* ceolas leton	
	El 262	*on Creca land* *caseres* bodan	
	El 998	*on Creca land* hie se *casere* heht	
[A99]	*El* 254b	hwonne heo sio guð-cwen *gumena þreate*	
	El 1095b	glæd-mod eode *gumena þreate*	
[A100]	*El* 255a	*ofer east-wegas* eft gesohte	
	El 995a	*ofer east-wegas* aras brohton	
[A101]	*El* 260a	*secggas* ymb *sige-cwen* siðes gefysde	
	El 997a	*secgas* mid *sige-cwen* aseted hæfdon	
[A102]	*El* 262b	on Creca land *caseres bodan*	
	El 551a	*caseres bodan* eow þeos cwen laþaþ	
[A103]	*El* 272a	*ymb lytel fæc* þæt ðæt leod-mægen	
	El 383a	*ymb lytel fæc* laðode wæron	

	El 959b	swa geleafful on swa *lytlum fæce*
[A104]	*El* 274a	þe þu *fæder engla* æt fruman settest
	El 783a	gedo nu *fæder engla* forð beacen þin
[A105]	*El* 281	þurh *rihte æ* *reccan* cuðon
	El 553a	*rihte reccen* is eow rædes þearf
[A106]	*El 287	*weras Ebrea* *wordum negan*
	*El 559	*weras Ebresce* *wordum negan*
[A107]	#*El* 289b	þurg witgena *word-geryno*
	#*El* 323b	þa wisestan *word-geryno*
[A108]	#*El* 290b	on godes bocum þæt ge *gear-dagum*
	#*El* 834b	greote begrauene swa hio *gear-dagum*
	#*El* 1266b	geogoð-hades glæm nu synt *gear-dagas*
[A109]	#*El* 291b	wyrðe wæron *wuldor-cyninge*
	#*El* 962a	*wuldor-cyninge* þæs hire se willa gelamp
	#*El* 1304a	*wuldor-cyninge* ac hie worpene beoð
	#*El* 1321a	*wuldor-cyninges* to widan feore
[A110]	*El* 295b	þe eow of wergðe *þurh* his *wuldres miht*
	El 726b	ond þu worhtest *þurh* þines *wuldres miht*
[A111]	*El* 299	fram *blindnesse* *bote* gefremede
	El 389	ða ge *blindnesse* *bote* forsegon
[A112]	*El 303a	*deman ongunnon* se ðe of deaðe sylf
	*El 311a	*deman ongunnon* ond gedweolan lifdon
[A113]	*El 304b	woruld awehte *on wera corþre*
	*El 543a	*on wera corðre* wisdomes beðearf
[A114]	*El* 316a	*on ferhð-sefan* fyrmest hæbben
	El 849a	*on ferhð-sefan* ond þa frignan ongan
	El 894b	ða wæs þam folce *on ferhð-sefan*
[A115]	*El* 330b	in cyne-stole *caseres mæg*
	El 669b	him oncwæð hraðe *caseres mæg*
[A116]	*El 332	*Elene maþelode ond for eorlum spræc*
	*El 404	*Elene maðelade ond for eorlum spræc*
[A117]	*#*El* 333	gehyrað *hige*-gleawe *halige rune*
	*#*El* 1168	on *hyge* healde *halige rune*
[A118]	*El* 336	*in cildes had cenned wurde*
	El 775	a*cenned wearð in cildes had*

[A119] *El* 338a   *ond þæt word gecwæð*   weard Israhela   [*word* NOT IN MS]
          El 344a   *ond þæt word gecwæþ*   wigona baldor
          El 440b   wende hine of worulde   *ond þæt word gecwæð*
          El 938   *ond þæt word gecwæð*   *wisdomes* ful
          El 1190   *wisdomes* gewitt   he *þæt word gecwæð*

[A120] **El* 343   *frod fyrn-weota*   *fæder* Salomones
          *El 431   *frod fyrn*-gewritu   ond þa *fæder*lican
          *El 438   *frod fyrn-wiota*   *fæder* minum
          El 542   *fyrn*-gidda *frod*   gif ðu frugnen sie

[A121] *El* 345a   ic *frumþa god*   fore sceawode
          El 502b   folca to frofre   syððan him *frymða god*

[A122] *El* 346a   *sigora dryhte*   he on gesyhðe wæs
          El 1139a   *sigora dryhtne*   þæs þe hio soð gecneow

[A123] #*El* 348a   *þrymmes hyrde*   þanon ic ne wende   [MS *weno*]
          #*El* 858b   geþrowode   *þrymmes hyrde*

[A124] #*El* 351b   witga for weorodum   *wordum mælde*
          #*El* 537b   on wera þreate   *wordum mældon*

[A125] *El* 352a   *deop-hycggende*   þurh dryhtnes gast:
          El 881a   *deop-hycgende*   hit wæs dead swa ær

[A126] *El* 357a   *wisdomes gewitt*   ond þa weregan neat
          El 1190a   *wisdomes gewitt*   he þæt word gecwæð

[A127] **El* 363   æfter *woruld*-stundum   *wundra gefremede*
          *El 778   in *woruld*-rice   *wundra gefremede*

[A128] #*El* 364   *hwæt we þæt gehyrdon*   *þurh halige bec*
          #*El* 670   *hwæt we ðæt hyrdon*   *þurh halige bec*
          #*El* 852   *hwæt we þæt hyrdon*   *þurh halige bec*

[A129] #*El* 371b   dryhtna dryhten   *ond gedwolan fylgdon*   [*dryhtna* NOT IN MS]
          #*El* 1040b deoful-gildum   *ond gedwolan fylde*

[A130] **El* 372b   ofer riht godes   *nu ge raþe gangaþ*
          *El 406b   hlude for herigum   ge *nu hraðe gangað*

[A131] *El* 378b   colleen-ferhðe   *swa him sio cwen bead*
          El 715b   of carcerne   *swa him seo cwen bebead*
          El 979b   cristenra gefean   *ða sio cwen bebead*
          El 1017a   *ða seo cwen bebead*   cræftum getyde

[A132] *El* 381a   þurh *mod-gemynd*   mæste hæfdon
          El 839a   þa wæs *mod-gemynd*   myclum geblissod

[A133] *El* 391b   þæt in Bethleme   **bearn wealdendes**
        El 850b   on hwylcum þara beama   **bearn wealdendes**

[A134] #*El* 395a   *syn-wyrcende*   soð oncnawan
        #*El* 943a   *syn-wyrcende*   in susla grund

[A135] *El* 398   þa *on fyrn-dagum*   *fæderas* cuðon
        El 425   in *fyrn-dagum*   *fæderas* usse
        El 528   ðus mec *fæder*   min *on fyrn-dagum*

[A136] *El* 402b   þe we gefremedon   on þysse *folc-scere*
        El 967b   ða wæs gefrege   in þære *folc-sceare*

[A137] #*El* 413a   *geomor-mode*   georne smeadon
        #*El* 555b   heo wæron gearwe   *geomor-mode*

[A138] *#*El* 418   *gidda gearo-snotor*   *ðam wæs Iudas nama*
        *#*El* 586   *giddum gearu-snottorne*   *þam wæs Iudas nama*

[A139] *El* 419a   *wordes cræftig*   ic wat geare
        El 314b   weras wis-fæste   *wordes cræftige*

[A140] *El* 421b   on ðam þrowode   *þeoda waldend*
        El 780b   swa þrymlice   *þeoda wealdend*

[A141] *El* 425b   in fyrn-dagum   *fæderas usse*
        El 458b   to feorh-lege   *fæderas usse*

[A142] #*El* 427   þæt we *fæstlice*   *ferhð staðelien*
        #*El* 796   ond þy *fæstlicor*   *ferhð staðelige*

[A143] *El* 430a   æfter *wig-þræce*   þy læs toworpen sien
        El 658a   ond þa *wigg-þræce*   on gewritu setton

[A144] *El* 438b   frod fyrn-wiota   *fæder minum*
        El 454b   þa ic fromlice   *fæder minum*

[A145] *El* 443b   frode frignan   *ond geflitu ræran*
        El 953b   hu se feond ond se freond   *geflitu rærdon*

[A146] *El* 449a   *ræd-þeahtende*   rice healdan
        El 868a   *ræd-þeahtende*   ymb þa roda þreo

[A147] **El* 453a   ðe *þone ahangnan cyning*   heriaþ ond lofiað
        El 687a   *þone ahangnan* god   þæt ðu hungre scealt
        El 797b   hyht untweondne   on *þone ahangnan* Crist
        **El* 933a   *þone ahangnan cyning*   þam ðu hyrdest ær

[A148] #*El* 455b   ealdum æ-witan   *ageaf ondsware*

	#*El* 462	ða me yldra min *ageaf ondsware*	
	#*El* 545	se ðære *æðelan* sceal *ondwyrde agifan*	
	#*El* 619	*him þa seo* eadige *ondwyrde ageaf*	
	#*El* 662	*him seo æðele* cwen *ageaf ondsware*	

[A149] #*El* 456   hu wolde þæt *geweorðan*   on *woruld-rice*
#*El* 778a   *in woruld-rice*   wundra gefremede
#*El* 1048   *in worldrice*   *weorðan* sceolde

[A150] #*El* 461   *soð* sunu meotudes   *sawla nergend*
#*El* 798   þæt he sie *soð*lice   *sawla nergend*

[A151] #*El* 461   *soð sunu meotudes*   *sawla* nergend
#*El* 474b   on sefan sohton   hu hie *sunu meotudes*
#*El* 564   *soð sunu meotudes*   for *sawla* lufan
#*El* 1318b   forsawon synna weorc   ond to *suna metudes*

[A152] *El* 481   *sige-bearn godes*   þa *siððan* wæs
El 862a   *sige-bearn godes*   ær he asettan heht
El 1146   *sige-bearn godes*   *sioððan* freoðode

[A153] #*El* 487a   *ðeoden engla*   ond his þegnum hine   [*hine* NOT IN MS]
#*El* 776a   *þeoden engla*   gif he þin nære
#*El* 857b   hwylcre þyssa þreora   *þeoden engla*

[A154] *El 490   onfeng *æfter fyrste*   *fulwihtes bæð*
*El 1033   *æfter first-mearce*   *fulwihtes bæð*
El 1267   *æfter first-mearce*   forð gewitene

[A155] #*El* 491a   *leohtne geleafan*   þa for lufan dryhtnes
#*El* 1136a   *leohte geleafan*   lac weorðode

[A156] #*El* 491   *leohtne* geleafan   þa for *lufan dryhtnes*
#*El* 947   *leohta* beorhtost   ond *lufan dryhtnes*
#*El* 1205b   læran leofra heap   *þæt hie lufan dryhtnes*

[A157] #*El* 497a   *synna leasne*   Sawles larum
#*El* 777a   sunu *synna leas*   næfre he soðra swa feala

[A158] *El* 503a   *niða nergend*   naman oncyrde
El 1085a   *niða nergend*   þurh þara nægla cyme

[A159] *El* 505a   *be naman haten*   ond him nænig wæs
El 755a   *be naman hateð*   he sceal neorxna-wang

[A160] *El* 520a   *lifes lattiow*   laðlic wite
El 898a   *lifes lattiow*   þa þær ligesynnig

[A161] *El* 525b   grimne geagn-cwide   wið *godes bearne*
El 562b   gast-halige guman   be *godes bearne*

	El 836b	Iudea cynn hie wið *godes bearne*	
[A162]	**El* 532	*hwæt* eow *þæs on sefan selest þince*	
	*El 1164	*hwæt* him *þæs on sefan selost þuhte*	
[A163]	*El* 539b	on þysse þeode *butan þec nu ða*	
	El 661b	hæleðum cyðan *butan* her *nu ða*	
[A164]	*El* 568a	*torn-geniðlan* þæs hio him to sohte	
	El 1306a	*torn-geniðlan* bið þam twam dælum	
[A165]	**El* 570	fæste *on fyrhðe* þæt heo *frignan ongan*	
	*El 849	*on ferhð*-sefan ond þa *frignan ongan*	
	El 1067b	æstnod frea mihtig be ðam *frignan ongan*	
	*El 1163	frodne *on ferhðe* ond hine *frignan ongan*	
[A166]	*El* 580a	*lacende lig* þæt eow sceal þæt leas	
	El 1110a	*lacende lig* leode gesawon	
[A167]	*El* 582b	on ge ða word geseðan *þe ge hwile nu* on unriht	
	El 625b	halig under hrusan *þe ge hwile nu*	
[A168]	*El* 587a	cenned *for cneo-magum* þone hie þære cwene agef	
	El 688a	*for cneo-magum* cwylmed weorðan	
[A169]	*El* 589a	*onwreon wyrda geryno* swa ðu hine wordum frignest	
	El 812b	þurh þin wuldor *inwrige wyrda geryno*	
[A170]	*El* 601	þæt he *be ðære rode riht* getæhte	
	El 1074	*rode* rodera cininges *ryhte* getæhtesð	
	El 1240a	*be ðære rode riht* ær me rumran geþeaht	NOT IN MS
[A171]	**El* 609	*Iudas hire ongen þingode* ne meahte *he* þa *gehðu*	
	*El 667	*Iudas hire ongen þingode* cwæð þæt *he* þæt on *gehðu* gespræce	
[A172]	**El* 612a	*meðe ond meteleas* mor-land trydeð	
	*El 698a	*meðe ond meteleas* mægen wæs geswiðrod	
[A173]	#*El* 624	hwær seo *rod* wunige *rador-cyninges*	
	#*El* 886	*rod* aræred *rodor-cyninges* beam	
[A174]	*El* 632	ic þæt *findan þæt swa fyrn gewearð*	
	El 641	*findan* on fyrhðe *þæt swa fyrn gewearð*	
[A175]	**El* 654	*ond þa* winter-gerim *on gewritu setton*	
	*El 658	*ond þa* wig-þræce *on gewritu setton*	
[A176]	*El* 655b	Iudas maðelade *gnorn-sorge* wæg:	
	El 976b	ond wæs Iudeum *gnorn-sorga* mæst	

| [A177] | *El* 661a | **hæleðum cyðan** butan her nu ða | MS **hæleðu** |
| | *El* 671a | **hæleðum cyðan** þæt ahangen wæs | |

[A178]	*El* 664a	ymb **þæt lifes treow** ond nu lytle ær	
	El 706b	ne leng helan be ðam **lifes treo**	
	El 756b	ond **lifes treo** legene sweorde	
	El 1026b	locum belucan þær **þæt lifes treo**	

| [A179] | *El 674a | **wisdom onwreon** swa gewritu secgaþ | |
| | *El 1242a | **wisdom onwreah** ic wæs weorcum fah | |

| [A180] | *El* 675a | æfter **stede-wange** hwær seo stow sie | |
| | *El* 1020b | stan-gefogum on þam **stede-wange** | |

| [A181] | *El 678b | geclænsian **Criste to willan** | |
| | *El 1010b | on Caluarie **Criste to willan** | |

| [A182] | *El 679 | **hæleðum to helpe** þæt me **halig** god | |
| | *El 1011 | **hæleðum to helpe** þær sio **halige** rod | |

| [A183] | #*El* 680a | gefylle **frea mihtig** feores ingeþanc | |
| | #*El* 1067a | gefæstnod **frea mihtig** be ðam frignan ongan | |

| [A184] | *El* 682a | **gasta geocend** hire Iudas oncwæð | |
| | *El* 1076a | **gasta geocend** godes agen bearn | |

| [A185] | *El* 683 | **stið-hycgende** ic þa **stowe** ne can | |
| | *El* 716 | stopon þa to þære **stowe** **stið-hycgende** | |

| [A186] | *#*El* 708 | ond ðæt **soð** to late **seolf gecneowe** | |
| | *#*El* 807 | nu ic þurh **soð** hafu **seolf gecnawen** | |

| [A187] | #*El* 711 | þæt hine man of **nearwe** ond of **nyd-cleofan** | |
| | #*El* 1275 | in **ned-cleofan** **nearwe** geheaðrod | |

[A188]	*El* 720b	hungre gehyned hwær **sio halige rod**	MS **halig**
	El 1011b	hæleðum to helpe þær **sio halige rod**	
	El 1223b	heortan gehigdum in ðam **sio halige rod**	

| [A189] | *El* 722a | lange **legere fæst** leodum dyrne | |
| | *El* 882a | lic **legere fæst** leomu colodon | |

| [A190] | #*El* 727 | **heofon ond eorðan** **ond** holm-þræce | |
| | #*El* 752 | **heofun ond eorðe** **ond** eall heah-mægen | |

| [A191] | *El* 751a | **weoroda wealdend** is ðæs wuldres ful | |
| | *El* 1084a | **wereda wealdend** willan minne | |

| [A192] | *El* 772a | **gif þin willa sie** wealdend engla | |
| | *El* 788b | swa ic þe weroda wyn **gif hit sie willa þin** | |

[A193]	*El* 785b	Moyses on meðle þa ðu *mihta god*
	El 818b	metud gemyndig læt mec *mihta god*
[A194]	*El* 787a	under *beorh-hliðe* ban Iosephes
	El 1008a	on þam *beorh-hliðe* begra rædum
[A195]	*El* 793a	of *ðam wang-stede* wynsumne up
	El 1103a	on *þam wang-stede* wenan þorfte
[A196]	#*El* 801a	*a butan ende* ecra gestealda
	#*El* 893a	*a butan ende* eallra gesceafta
[A197]	#*El* 803	swylce rec under *radorum* þær *aræred* wearð
	#*El* 886	rod *aræred* *rodor*-cyninges beam
[A198]	#*El* 813a	nu ic þe *bearn godes* biddan wille
	#*El* 963a	*þurh bearn godes* bega gehwæðres
	#*El* 1126a	*þurh bearn godes* bisceop þara leoda
[A199]	*El* 826a	*wundor þa* he *worhte* on gewritum cyðe
	El 896a	*wundor þa* þe *worhte* weoroda dryhten
[A200]	*El* 826b	wundor þa he worhte *on gewritum cyðed*
	El 1255b	wyrda gangum *on gewritum cyðan*
[A201]	*El* 835a	*ar-leasra sceolu* eorðan beþeahton
	El 1301b	þurh ær-gewyrht *ar-leasra sceolu*
[A202]	#*El* 838	þær hie *leahtra* fruman *larum* ne *hyrdon*
	#*El* 1209b	ond þæs latteowes *larum hyrdon*
[A203]	#*El* 839	þa wæs *mod*-gemynd *myclum geblissod*
	#*El* 875	on *mod*-sefan *miclum geblissod*
	#*El* 989b	þurh þa mæran word *mod geblissod*
[A204]	#*El* 841a	*inbryrded breost-sefa* syððan beacen geseh
	#*El* 1045a	*inbryrded breost-sefa* on þæt betere lif
[A205]	*El* 846	asetton þa on *gesyhðe* *sige-beamas* III
	El 964	ge æt þære *gesyhðe* þæs *sige-beames*
[A206]	*El* 869a	oð *þa nigoðan tid* hæfdon neowne gefean
	El 873b	on neaweste wæs *þa nigoðe tid*
[A207]	*El* 959a	hu *he swa geleafful* on *swa* lytlum fæce
	El 1047a	þæt *he swa geleaffull* ond *swa* leof gode
[A208]	*El* 961b	gleawnesse þurhgoten *Gode þancode*
	El 1138b	gnyrna to geoce *Gode þancode*

[A209] *El* 966b   wuldor-fæste gife   *in þæs weres breostum*
        El 1037b   wic gewunode   *in þæs weres breostum*

[A210] *El* 996a   hu *gesundne sið*   ofer swon-rade   [MS *spon rade*]
        El 1004a   ond *gesundne sið*   settan mosten

[A211] *El 1012   *gemeted wæs   mærost beama*
        *El 1224   *gemeted wæs   mærost beama*

[A212] #*El* 1021   girwan *godes tempel*   swa hire *gasta* weard
        #*El* 1057   þurh *gastes* gife   to *godes temple*

[A213] #*El* 1036b fæst on ferhðe   siððan *frofre gast*
        #*El* 1105a *fæder frofre gast*   ðurh fyres bleo

[A214] *El* 1051a   on *ræd-geþeaht*   Rome bisceop
        El 1161b   ricene to rune   þone þe *ræd-geþeaht*

[A215] *El 1053a *hæleða gerædum*   to þære halgan byrig
        *El 1107a *hæleða gerædum*   hydde wæron

[A216] *El 1053   *hæleða* gerædum   *to þære halgan byrig*
        *El 1203   *hæleða* cynnes   *to þære halgan byrig*

[A217] *El* 1060a   *niwan stefne*   nama wæs gecyrred
        El 1127a   *niwan stefne*   he þam næglum onfeng

[A218] *El* 1069b   þæt hire þa gina   *gastes mihtum*
        El 1099a   *gastes mihtum*   to gode cleopode

[A219] *#*El* 1077 *nerigend fira*   mec þæra *nægla* gen
        *#*El* 1172 *nerigend fira*   þu ðas *næglas* hat

[A220] *El 1087a *eallum eað-medum*   ar selesta
        *El 1100a *eallum eað-medum*   bæd him engla weard

[A221] *El* 1100b   eallum eað-medum   bæd *him engla weard*
        El 1316b   eces ead-welan   *him* bið *engla weard*

[A222] *Fates* 9a   *halgan heape*   hlyt wisode
        Fates 90a   þone *halgan heap*   helpe bidde   MS *halga*

[A223] #*Fates* 23a *hwæt we* eac *gehyrdon*   be Iohanne
        #*Fates* 63a *hwæt we* þæt *gehyrdon*   þurg halige bec

[A224] *Fates* 38b   mid Asseum   þanon *ece lif*
        Fates 73b   eadig for æ-festum   hafað nu *ece lif*

[A225] *Fates* 88b   nu ic þonne bidde   beorn *se ðe lufige*

*Fates 1*07b	sie þæs gemyndig	mann *se ðe lufige*

[A226]   **Fates* 89   **þysses** giddes **begang**   **þæt he** geomrum *me*
            *Fates 108   **þisses** galdres **begang**   **þæt he** geoce *me*

[A227]   **Jul* 1   hwæt we ðæt **hyrdon**   *hæleð eahtian*
            *Jul 609   siþþan heo ge**hyrde**   *hæleð eahtian*

[A228]   #*Jul* 9   wid ond **weorð**lic   ofer **wer-þeode**
            #*Jul* 507b   wraþe wrohtas   geond **wer-þeode**
            #*Jul* 643   he is þæs **wyrðe**   þæt hine **wer-þeode**

[A229]   **Jul* 12   **þegnas** þryð-fulle   oft hi **þræce rærdon**
            *Jul 333   **þegnas** of þystrum   hateð **þræce ræran**

[A230]   #*Jul* 34a   **freond-rædenne**   hu heo from hogde
            #*Jul* 71a   **freond-rædenne**   me þa fraceðu sind
            #*Jul* 107a   **freond-rædenne**   fæste gestaþelad
            #*Jul* 220a   **freond-rædenne**   he ne findeð þær

[A231]   #*Jul* 42b   fæste wiðhogde   þeah þe **feoh-gestreon**
            #*Jul* 102a   **feoh-gestreona**   he is to freonde god

[A232]   #*Jul* 45a   **ond þæt word acwæð**   on wera mengu
            #*Jul* 143b   witum wægan   **ond þæt word acwæð**
            #*Jul* 631b   wita neosan   **ond þæt word acwæð**
            #*Jul* 640b   weg to wuldre   **ond þæt word acwæð**

[A233]   **Jul* 49   ongietest **gæsta** hleo   *ic beo gearo sona*
            Jul 365b   to godes willan   *ic beo gearo sona*
            *Jul 398   onginne **gæst**lice   *ic beo gearo sona*

[A234]   #*Jul* 52a   þurh **deofol-gield**   dæde biþencest
            #*Jul* 150b   dumbum ond deafum   **deofol-gieldum**

[A235]   **Jul* 58b   ða se æþeling wearð   *yrre gebolgen*
            *Jul 90b   an-ræd ond yre-þweorg   *yrre gebolgen*
            *Jul 582b   het þa ofestlice   *yrre gebolgen*

[A236]   **Jul* 61a   **hreoh ond hyge**-blind   haligre fæder
            *Jul 595a   **hreoh ond hyge**-grim   ongon his hrægl teran

[A237]   *Jul* 67a   wið **þære fæmnan fæder**   frecne mode
            Jul 79a   **þære fæmnan fæder**   ferð-locan onspeon

[A238]   **Jul* 67b   wið þære fæmnan fæder   *frecne mode*
            *Jul 184b   ða for þam folce   *frecne mode*

[A239]   *Jul* 90a   **an-ræd ond** yre-þweorg   yrre gebolgen
            Jul 601a   **an-ræd ond** unforht   eafoða gemyndig

[A240]	*Jul* 100a	þinum **bryd-guman** se is betra þonne þu
	Jul 165a	hire **bryd-guma** bliþum wordum
[A241]	*#Jul* 105	**him þa seo eadge** **ageaf ondsware**
	#*Jul* 117	**hyre þa** þurh yrre **ageaf ondsware**
	#Jul 130	**him þa seo eadge** **ageaf ondsware**
	#*Jul* 147	**him seo** unforhte **ageaf ondsware**
	#*Jul* 175	**him seo æþele** mæg **ageaf ondsware**
	#*Jul* 319	**hyre** se aglæca **ageaf ondsware**
[A242]	*Jul* 109b	mæg-rædenne nemne he **mægna god**
	Jul 659a	æt **mægna gode** mæste þearfe
	Jul 729b	meorde monna gehwam forgif us **mægna god**
[A243]	#*Jul* 134	næfre **ic me ondræde** **domas þine**
	#*Jul* 210	ne **ondræde ic me** **domas þine**
[A244]	*Jul* 135b	ne me weorce sind **wite-brogan**
	Jul 196b	wiþer-hycgendre **wite-brogan** [MS *wiþer hycgen de*]
[A245]	*Jul* 136a	**hilde-woman** þe þu hæstlice
	Jul 663b	wið hettendra **hilde-woman**
[A246]	#*Jul* 139b	þæt þu mec acyrre from **Cristes lofe**
	#*Jul* 233b	to carcerne hyre wæs **Cristes lof**
[A247]	*Jul* 152	**þam wyrrestum** **wites** þegnum
	Jul 250	**þa wyrrestan** **witu** gegearwad
	Jul 340	ond **þa wyrrestan** **witu** geþoliað
	Jul 572	þurh **þa wyrrestan** **witu** meahte
[A248]	*Jul* 162a	**to his dom-setle** duguð wafade
	Jul 534a	**to his dom-setle** heo þæt deofol teah
[A249]	*Jul* 170	ond þe to swa **mildum** **mund-byrd** secest
	Jul 213a	**mildne mund-boran** mægna waldend
[A250]	*Jul* 174a	**gif þu onsecgan nelt** soþum gieldum
	Jul 251b	sar endeleas **gif þu onsecgan nelt**
[A251]	*Jul* 182a	**meotud mon-cynnes** in þæs meahtum sind
	Jul 436a	**meotud mon-cynnes** swa ic in minne fæder
	Jul 667a	**meotud mon-cynnes** milde geweorþe
[A252]	#*Jul* 183b	a butan ende **ealle gesceafta**
	#*Jul* 562a	**ofer ealle gesceaft** ana weolde [MS *wolde*]
[A253]	#*Jul* 188b	ond mid sweopum swingan **synna lease**
	#*Jul* 614a	**synna lease** ða cwom semninga

[A254]	*Jul* 202a	þurh þin **dol-willen** gedwolan fylgest	
	Jul 451b	þeah ic þec gedyrstig ond þus **dolwillen**	
[A255]	**Jul* 203	þonne *ic nyde sceal niþa gebæded*	
	*Jul 462	þæt *ic nyde sceal niþa gebæded*	
[A256]	*#Jul* 223a	waldeð **wide-ferh** wuldres agend	
	#Jul 467b	wom-dæda onwreon þe ic **wideferg**	[MS *þy*]
[A257]	*Jul* 226b	þæt he ne meahte **mod oncyrran**	
	Jul 326	**þurh mis**gedwield **mod oncyrren**	
	Jul 338	**þurh** myrrelsan **mod** ne oð**cyrreð**	
	Jul 363	**þurh mis**lic bleo **mod oncyrre**	
	Jul 439b	þæt ic in man-weorcum **mod oncyrre**	
[A258]	*#Jul* 228	**ahon** ond ahebban **on heanne beam**	
	#Jul 309	**ahon** haligne **on heanne beam**	
[A259]	*#Jul* 238b	wær-fæst wunade symle heo **wuldor-cyning**	
	#Jul 248b	ond seo weorþeste **wuldor-cyninge**	
	#Jul 428a	þurh **wuldor-cyning** willan þines	
[A260]	*#Jul* 242b	singal gesið **ða cwom semninga**	
	#Jul 614b	synna lease **ða cwom semninga**	
[A261]	*Jul* 243b	in þæt hlin-ræced **hæleða gewinna**	
	Jul 345b	gen seo halge ongon **hæleþa gewinnan**	
[A262]	*Jul* 261a	ic eom **engel godes** ufan siþende	
	Jul 563b	ecra ead-giefa ða cwom **engel godes**	
[A263]	*#Jul* 263a	**halig** of **heahþu** þe sind heardlicu	
	#Jul 560	heredon on **heahþu** ond his **halig** word	[*word* NOT IN MS]
[A264]	*#Jul* 270	ongan þa **fæstlice ferð staþelian**	
	#Jul 364b	þær ic hine finde **ferð staþelian**	
[A265]	*#Jul* 272	nu *ic þec* beorna hleo **biddan wille**	
	#Jul 278	swa *ic þe* bil-witne **biddan wille**	
[A266]	*#Jul* 276a	þinre **ead-gife** swa me þes ar bodað	
	#Jul 502a	**ece ead-giefe** anforleton	
	#Jul 563a	**ecra ead-giefa** ða cwom engel godes	
[A267]	*Jul* 299b	wiþ þa gecorenan **Cristes þegnas**	
	Jul 303b	þæt he acwellan het **Cristes þegnas**	
[A268]	**Jul* 313b	sweartra synna þe *ic asecgan ne mæg*	[MS *asengan*]
	*Jul 494b	searo-þoncum slog *ic asecgan ne mæg*	

[A269]	*Jul* 317b	þu scealt furþor gen *feond moncynnes*	
	Jul 523a	*feond mon-cynnes* þa he mec feran het	
	Jul 630a	*feond mon-cynnes* ongon þa on fleam sceacan	[MS *flean*]
[A270]	*Jul* 322a	*hell-warena cyning* hider onsende	
	Jul 437a	*hell-warena cyning* hyht staþelie	
	Jul 544b	under hlin-scuan *hel-warena cyning*	[MS *helwerena*]
[A271]	**Jul* 327a	*ahwyrfen from halor* we beoð hyge-geomre	
	*Jul 360a	*ahwyrfan from halor* þæt þu heofon-cyninge	
[A272]	*Jul* 341a	*þurh sar-slege* nu þu sylfa meaht	
	Jul 547a	*þurh sar-slege* ic to soþe wat	
[A273]	**#Jul* 351	wræcca *wær*-leas *wordum mælde*	
	*#Jul 455	to þam *wær*-logan *wordum mælde*	
	#Jul 538b	wyrd wanian *wordum mælde*	
[A274]	*#Jul* 355a	*synna wundum* þæt þu þy sweotolicor	
	#Jul 710a	*synna wunde* þe ic siþ oþþe ær	
[A275]	*#Jul* 356a	*sylf gecnawe* þæt þis is soð nales leas	
	#Jul 443b	sorg on siþe ic þæt *sylf gecneow*	
[A276]	*Jul* 370	mæne *mod-lufan* þæt he *minum* hraþe	
	Jul 699	micle *mod-lufan* *min* sceal of lice	
[A277]	*#Jul* 378a	*leohtes geleafan* ond he larum wile	
	#Jul 653a	*leohte geleafan* to þam lifgendan	
[A278]	*Jul* 379a	*þurh modes myne* minum hyran	
	Jul 657a	*þurh modes myne* þonne eow miltse giefeð	
[A279]	**Jul* 390	*hean*-mod hweorfan *hroþra bidæled*	
	*Jul 681	*heane* mid hlaford *hroþra bidæled*	
[A280]	*#Jul* 435a	*þrym-sittendne* þinne getreowdes	
	#Jul 726b	þonne seo þrynis *þrym-sittende*	
[A281]	*#Jul* 439a	þæt ic in *man-weorcum* mod oncyrre	
	#Jul 459a	micelra *man-weorca* manna tudre	
	#Jul 505a	mircast *manweorca* hwæt sceal ic ma riman	
[A282]	*Jul* 446a	forþon *ic þec halsige* þurh þæs hyhstan meaht	
	Jul 539a	*ic þec halsige* hlæfdige min	
[A283]	*Jul* 456b	þu scealt ondettan *yfel-dæda* ma	[MS *ond dettan*]
	Jul 713a	þæt ic *yfel-dæda* ær gescomede	

[A284] *_Jul_ 457a   *hean helle gæst*   ær þu heonan mote
        *_Jul_ 615a   *hean helle gæst*   hearm-leoð agol

[A285] _Jul_ 477a   *þæt hi færinga*   feorh aleton
        Jul 484b   to geflite fremede   *þæt hy færinga*

[A286] _Jul_ 487b   wroht of wege   *þæt hi in win-sele*
        Jul 686b   witedra wenan   *þæt hy in win-sele*

[A287] #_Jul_ 496b   eal þa earfeþu   *þe ic ær* ond *siþ*
        #_Jul_ 548a   þæt *ic ær ne sið*   ænig ne mette
        #_Jul_ 710b   synna wunde   *þe ic siþ oþþe ær*

[A288] _Jul_ 533a   *on hyge halge*   hæþnum to spræce   [MS corr. from *halige*]
        Jul 604a   *on hyge halge*   heafde bineotan

[A289] _Jul_ 535b   breostum inbryrded   *bendum fæstne*
        Jul 625a   hu ic *bendum fæst*   bisga unrim

[A290] *_Jul_ 566a   *leahtra lease*   ond þone lig towearp
        *_Jul_ 583a   *leahtra lease*   in þæs leades wylm

[A291] _Jul_ 567a   *heoro-giferne*   þær seo halie stod
        Jul 586a   hat *heoro-gifre*   hæleð wurdon acle   [MS *æleð*]

[A292] _Jul_ 571a   sohte *synnum fah*   hu he sarlicast
        Jul 705b   sigora syllend   þonne *synnum fah*

[A293] _Jul_ 615   hean *helle* gæst   *hearm-leoð agol*
        Jul 629   gehyrde heo *hearm galan*   *helle* deofol

[A294] _Jul_ 668a   *sigora sellend*   sibb sy mid eowic
        Jul 705a   *sigora syllend*   þonne synnum fah

[A295] _Jul_ 696   *þæt* seo halge   *me helpe gefremme*
        Jul 722   *þæt me* heofona helm   *helpe gefremme*

Appendix B: Shared formulas in Cynewulf's four signed poems
* signals parallels unattested elsewhere in the extant corpus

[B1]   *ChristB* 440   nu ðu *geornlice   gæst-gerynum*
            El 1147   ongan þa *geornlice   gast-gerynum*

[B2]   *ChristB* 442a   þurh *sefan snyttro*   þæt þu soð wite
            El 382a   on *sefan snyttro*   heo to salore eft

[B3]   *ChristB* 444   *acenned wearð*   þurh clænne *had*
            El 775   *acenned wearð*   in cildes *had*

[B4]   *ChristB* 450a   þa *þurh hleoþor-cwide*   hyrdum cyðdon
            Jul 461b   nu ic þæt gehyre   *þurh* þinne *hleoþor-cwide*

[B5]   *ChristB* 451a   sægdon *soðne gefean*   þætte sunu wære
            Fates 81b   sige-lean secan   ond þone *soðan gefean*

[B6]   *ChristB* 455a   in *þa æþelan tid*   swa hie eft dydon
            El 786b   geywdest% þam eorle   on *þa æðelan tid*

[B7]   *ChristB* 459   on þam *wil*-dæge   *word* ne *gehyrwdon*
            El 221   ne ðæs *wil*-gifan   *word gehyrwan*

[B8]   *ChristB* 461   *hæleð* mid hlaford   *to þære halgan byrg*
            ChristB 534   *hæleð* hyge-rofe   in *þa halgan burg*
            El 1203   *hæleða* cynnes   *to þære halgan byrig*

[B9]   *ChristB* 463b   onwrah wuldres helm   *word-gerynum*
            El 289b   þurg witgena   *word-geryno*
            El 323b   þa wisestan   *word-geryno*

[B10]   *ChristB* 467a   from *deaðe aras*   dagena rimes
           El 187   of *deaðe aras*   *dryhten* ealra
           Fates 56   þurh *dryhtnes* miht   þæt he *of deaðe aras*

[B11]   *ChristB* 474a   *ond þæt word acwæð*   waldend engla
           ChristB 714b   ***dend wer-þeoda   *ond þæt word acwæð*
           El 1071b   onwrige wuldor-gifum   *ond þæt word acwæð*
           Jul 45a   *ond þæt word acwæð*   on wera mengu
           Jul 143b   witum wægan   *ond þæt word acwæð*
           Jul 631b   wita neosan   *ond þæt word acwæð*
           Jul 640b   weg to wuldre   *ond þæt word acwæð*%

[B12]   *ChristB* 474b   ond þæt word acwæð   *waldend engla*
           El 772b   gif þin willa sie   *wealdend engla*

[B13]   *ChristB* 475a   gefysed *frea mihtig*   to fæder rice
           El 680a   gefylle *frea mihtig*   feores ingeþanc
           El 1067a   gefæstnod *frea mihtig*   be ðam frignan ongan

| [B14] | *ChristB* 481 | farað nu geond **ealne   yrmenne grund** |
| | *Jul* 10 | lytesna ofer **ealne   yrmenne grund** |

| [B15] | *ChristB* 488a | þurh **meahta sped**   ic eow mid wunige |
| | *El* 366a | meotod **mihta sped**   Moyse sægde |

| [B16] | *ChristB* 490a | **strengðu staþol-fæstre**   on stowa gehware |
| | *Jul* 374 | stepeð **stronglice   staþol-fæst** ne mæg |

| [B17] | *ChristB* 492b | hlud gehyred   **heofon-engla** þreat |
| | *Jul* 642b | haligra hyht   **heofon-engla** god |

[B18]	*ChristB* 499b	godbearn of grundum **him wæs geomor sefa**
	El 173b	lærde wæron **him wæs** leoht **sefa**
	El 627b	Iudas maðelade **him wæs geomor sefa**

[B19]	*ChristB* 500a	**hat æt heortan** hyge murnende
	ChristB 539a	**hat æt heortan** hreðer% innan weoll
	El 628a	**hat æt heortan** ond gehwæðres wa

[B20]	*ChristB* 502b	geseon under swegle **song ahofun**
	El 29b	urig-feðera earn **sang ahof**
	El 112b	wæl-hreowra wig wulf **sang ahof**
	El 867b	gesæton sige-rofe **sang ahofon**

[B21]	*ChristB* 507b	fægre ymb þæt frum-bearn **frætwum blican**
	ChristB 522b	ond in frofre geseoð **frætwum blican**
	Jul 564a	**frætwum blican** ond þæt fyr tosceaf

[B22]	*ChristB* 508a	**cyninga wuldor** cleopedon of heahþu
	El 5	**acenned wearð cyninga wuldor**
	El 178	**acenned wearð cyninga wuldor**
	Jul 279b	þæt þu me gecyðe **cyninga wuldor**

[B23]	*ChristB* 509	**wordum** wrætlicum ofer **wera mengu**
	El 596a	**for wera mengo** wisdomes gife
	Jul 45	ond þæt **word** acwæð on **wera mengu**

[B24]	*ChristB* 515a	**æþelinga ord** mid þas engla gedryht
	ChristB 741a	**æþelinga ord** eðles neosan
	ChristB 845a	**æþelinga ord** eallum demeð
	El 393a	**æðelinga ord** þeah ge þa æ cuðon

| [B25] | *ChristB* 528a | **heah-engla** cyning   ofer hrofas upp |
| | *El* 750b | halig is se halga   **heah-engla** god |

| [B26] | *ChristB* 529 | **haligra** helm   **hyht** wæs **geniwad** |
| | *Jul* 607 | ða wearð þære **halgan   hyht geniwad** |

[B27]   *ChristB* 531a   **gesæt sige**-hremig   on þa swiþran hand
           El 867a   **gesæton sige**-rofe   sang ahofon

[B28]   *ChristB* 535a   **geomor-mode**   þonan hy god nyhst
           El 413a   **geomor-mode**   georne smeadon
           El 555b   heo wæron gearwe   **geomor-mode**

[B29]   *ChristB* 537a   **hyra wil-gifan**   þær wæs wopes hring
           El 221a   ne ðæs **wil-gifan**   word gehyrwan%
           El 814a   weoroda **will-gifa**   nu ic wat þæt ðu eart
           El 1111a   **hira will-gifan**   wundor cyðan

[B30]   *ChristB* 537   hyra **wil**-gifan   þær **wæs wopes hring**
           El 1131   wifes **will**an   þa **wæs wopes hring**

[B31]   *ChristB* 540a   **beorn breost-sefa**   bidon ealle þær
           El 804a   **beornes breost-sefa**   he mid bæm handum

[B32]   *ChristB* 541a   **þegnas þrym-fulle**   þeodnes gehata
           Jul 12a   **þegnas þryð-fulle**   oft% hi þræce rærd

[B33]   *ChristB* 546   eorla **ead-giefan**   **englas** togeanes
           Jul 276a   þinre **ead-gife**   swa me þes ar bodað
           Jul 502a   **ece ead-giefe**   anforleton
           Jul 563   **ecra ead-giefa**   ða cwom **engel** godes

[B34]   *ChristB* 547b   ðæt is wel cweden   **swa gewritu secgað**
           El 674b   wisdom onwreon   **swa gewritu secgaþ**

[B35]   *ChristB* 557   **middan-geardes   ond mægen-þrymmes**
           Jul 154   **middan-geardes   ond mægen-þrymmes**

[B36]   *ChristB* 559b   ealles þæs gafoles   þe hi **gear-dagum**
           ChristB 821a   on his **gear-dagum**   georne biþencan
           El 290b   on godes bocum   þæt ge **gear-dagum**
           El 834b   greote begrauene   swa hio **gear-dagum**
           El 1266b   geogoðhades glæm   nu synt **gear-dagas**

[B37]   *ChristB* 565b   wæpna wyrpum   siþþan **wuldres cyning**
           Jul 516a   onwrige **wuldres cyning**   wisdomes gæst

[B38]   *ChristB* 567a   wiþ **his eald-feondum**   anes meahtum
           El 493b   ne geald he yfel yfele   ac **his eald-feondum**

[B39]   *ChristB* 569a   of **feonda byrig**   folces unrim
           Jul 545a   in **feonda byrig**   þæt is% fæder user

[B40]   *ChristB* 571b   wile nu gesecan   **sawla nergend**
           El 461   **soð** sunu meotudes   **sawla nergend**
           El 798   þæt he sie **soð**lice   **sawla nergend**

[B41]   *ChristB* 572   *gæsta* gief-stol   *godes agen bearn*
         ChristB 744b   us her on grundum   *godes* ece *bearn*
         El 1076   *gasta* geocend   *godes agen bearn*

[B42]   *ChristB* 573a   *æfter guð-plegan*   nu ge geare cunnon
         Fates 22a   *æfter guð-plegan*   gealgan þehte

[B43]   *ChristB* 573b   æfter guð-plegan   *nu ge geare cunnon*
         El 167b   agifan togenes   ne ful *geare cuðon*
         El 399b   æt godes earce   ne we *geare*% *cunnon*
         El 531b   guma gehðum% frod   *nu ge geare cunnon*
         El 648b   geara gongum   ge þæt *geare cunnon*

[B44]   *ChristB* 576a   *gongað glæd-mode*   geatu ontynað
         El 1095a   *glæd-mod eode*   gumena þreate
         Jul 91a   þær he *glæd-mode*%   geonge wiste

[B45]   *ChristB* 580b   in dreama dream   ðe he on *deoflum genom*
         Jul 288b   dom-eadigre%   heo þæt *deofol genom*

[B46]   *ChristB* 583a   wesan *wide-ferh*   wær is ætsomne
         ChristB 784a   swa we *wide-feorh*   weorcum hlodun
         Jul 223a   waldeð *wide-ferh*   wuldres agend
         Jul 467b   wom-dæda onwreon   þe% ic *wide-ferg*

[B47]   *ChristB* 584b   godes ond monna   *gæst-halig* treow
         El 562a   *gast-halige* guman   be godes bearne

[B48]   *ChristB* 586a   *hwæt we* nu *gehyrdan*   hu þæt hælu-bearn
         El 364   *hwæt we þæt gehyrdon*   *þurh halige bec*
         El 670   *hwæt we ðæt hyrdon*   *þurh halige bec*
         El 852   *hwæt we þæt hyrdon*   *þurh halige bec*
         Fates 23a   *hwæt we* eac *gehyrdon*   be Iohanne
         Fates 63   *hwæt we þæt gehyrdon*   *þurg halige bec*
         Jul 1a   *hwæt we ðæt hyrdon*   hæleð eahtian

[B49]   *ChristB* 588a   *gefreode ond gefreoþade*   folc under wolcnum
         Jul 565a   *gefreode ond gefreoðade*   facnes clæne

[B50]   *ChristB* 589a   mære *meotudes sunu*   þæt nu monna gehwylc
         El 461   *soð sunu meotudes*   *sawla* nergend
         El 474b   on sefan sohton   hu hie *sunu meotudes*
         El 564   *soð sunu meotudes*   for *sawla* lufan
         El 1318b   forsawon synna weorc   ond to *suna metudes*

[B51]   *ChristB* 596   *swa lif swa deað*   *swa* him *leofre bið*
         El 606   *swa lif swa deað*   *swa* þe *leofre bið*

[B52]   *ChristB* 598b   wuniað in worulde   *wuldor þæs age*

| | *El* 1123b | onwrigen wyrda bigang   ***wuldor þæs age*** |

[B53] *ChristB* 599   þrynysse ***þrym***   ***þonc butan ende***
       El 810   ***þrym***-sittendum   ***þanc butan ende***

[B54] *ChristB* 600b   ðæt is þæs wyrðe   þætte ***wer-þeode***
       ChristB 714a   waldend ***wer-þeoda***   ond þæt word acwæð
       Jul 9   wid ond ***weorð***lic   ofer ***wer-þeode***
       Jul 507b   wraþe wrohtas   geond ***wer-þeode***
       Jul 643   he is þæs ***wyrðe***   þæt hine ***wer-þeode***

[B55] *ChristB* 610   ***to feorh-nere   fira cynne***
       El 897   ***to feorh-nere   fira cynne***
       Jul 509b   from fruman worulde   ***fira cynne***

[B56] *ChristB* 618a   ***cyning anboren***   cwide eft onhwearf
       El 392a   ***cyning anboren***   cenned wære

[B57] *ChristB* 631a   wolde ***weoroda god***   us se willa bicwom
       El 1149b   ***eg to wuldre   huru ***weroda***% god***
       Jul 515b   ***witgena   þeah þe him ***weoruda god***

[B58] *ChristB* 644b   monig mislicu%   ***geond middan-geard***
       El 16a   ***geond middan-geard***   mannum to hroðer
       El 1176a   ***geond middan-geard***   mære weorðan
       Jul 3b   Maximianes   se ***geond middan-geard***

[B59] *ChristB* 649a   ***þurh gæstes giefe***   grundsceat sohte
       ChristB 710   ***þurh gæstes giefe   godes*** þegna blæd%
       El 199   ***þurh gastes gife   georne*** cyðan
       El 1057   ***þurh gastes gife***   to ***godes*** temple
       El 1156   ***þurh gastes gife   georne*** secan
       Jul 316a   ***þurh gæstes giefe***   Iuliana

[B60] *ChristB* 650b   wende to worulde   ***bi þon se witga song***
       ChristB 691b   is weorc weorþað   ***bi þon se witga*** cwæð
       El 1188b   wæpen æt wigge   ***be ðam se witga sang***

[B61] *ChristB* 655   þe ***þæs*** upstiges   ***ondsæc fremedon***
       El 472   ***þæs*** unrihtes   ***ondsæc fremede***

[B62] *ChristB* 658a   ***halig*** from ***hrusan***   ahafen wurde
       El 218a   ***halig under hrusan***   hyded wære
       El 625a   ***halig under hrusan***   þe ge hwile nu
       El 842a   ***halig under hrusan***   he mid handum befeng

[B63] *ChristB* 658   ***halig*** from ***hrusan   ahafen wurde***
       El 975   ***halig*** under heofenum   ***ahafen wurde***

[B64] *ChristB* 660   ***godes gæst-sunu   ond us giefe sealde***

	ChristB 860	*godes gæst-sunu ond us giefe sealde*
	El 182	geomre *gastas ond* him *gife sealde*
[B65]	*ChristB* 662b	ond eac monigfealde *modes snyttru*
	El 554b	on meðel-stede *modes snyttro*
[B66]	*ChristB* 667b	ond secgan þam bið *snyttru cræft*
	El 154b	snude to sionoðe þa þe *snyttro cræft*
	El 374b	þurh *snyttro cræft* selest cunnen
	El 1171b	sawle sige-sped ond *snyttro cræft*
[B67]	*ChristB* 671b	reccan ryhte æ sum mæg *ryne tungla*
	Jul 498b	rodor aræred ond *ryne tungla*
[B68]	*ChristB* 671a	*reccan ryhte æ* sum mæg ryne tungla
	El 281	þurh *rihte æ reccan* cuðon
[B69]	*ChristB* 678a	hreran *holm-þræce* sum mæg heanne beam
	El 727a	heofon ond eorðan ond *holm-þræce*
[B70]	*ChristB* 678b	hreran holm-þræce sum mæg *heanne beam*
	El 424	þurh hete *hengon on heanne beam*
	Jul 228	*ahon* ond ahebban *on heanne beam*
	Jul 309	*ahon* haligne *on heanne beam*
[B71]	*ChristB* 690a	*ece to ealdre* engla ond monna
	El 1217a	*ece to aldre* þa gen him Elene forge
	Jul 646a	*ece to ealdre* þam þe agan sceal
[B72]	*ChristB* 706a	þær ða *syn-sceaðan* soþes ne giemdon
	Jul 671b	þurh sweord-slege þa se *syn-scaþa*
[B73]	*ChristB* 707	*gæstes* þearfe ac hi *godes tempel*
	El 1021	girwan *godes tempel* swa hire *gasta* weard
	El 1057	þurh *gastes* gife to *godes temple*
[B74]	*ChristB* 713a	*giedda gearo-snottor* gæstgerynum
	El 418	*gidda gearo-snotor* ðam wæs *Iudas nama*
	El 586	*giddum gearu-snottorne* þam wæs *Iudas nama*
[B75]	*ChristB* 715	*cuð þæt geweorðeð* þætte *cyning* engla
	El 1191	*cuþ þæt gewyrðeð* þæt þæs *cyninges* sceal
[B76]	*ChristB* 715b	cuð þæt geweorðeð þætte *cyning engla*
	El 79b	Constantinus heht þe *cyning engla*
	Fates 119a	þær *cyning engla* clænum gildeð
[B77]	*ChristB* 721b	mægeð unmæle ond þær *mennisc hiw*
	El 6b	in middan-geard þurh *mennisc heo*

[B78]   *ChristB* 726a   *ealra þrymma þrym*   wæs se þridda hlyp
           El 483a   *eallra þrymma þrym*   þreo niht siððan

[B79]   *ChristB* 727   *rodor-cyninges* ræs,   þa he *on rode* astag,
           El 147   rice under *roderum*   þurh his *rode treo*
           El 624   hwær seo *rod* wunige   *rador-cyninges*
           El 206   *on rode treo*   *rodora* waldend
           El 855a   *on rode treo*   *rodor* eal geswearc
           El 886   *rod* aræred   *rodor-cyninges* beam
           Jul 447   *rodor-cyninges* giefe   se þe *on rode treo*

[B80]   *ChristB* 728a   *fæder frofre gæst*   wæs se feorða stiell
           El 1036b   fæst on ferhðe   siððan *frofre gast*
           El 1105a   *fæder frofre gast*   ðurh fyres bleo
           Jul 724a   *fæder frofre gæst*   in þa frecnan tid

[B81]   *ChristB* 736a   *synnum gesæled*   wæs se siexta hlyp
           El 1243a   *synnum asæled*   sorgum gewæled

[B82]   *ChristB* 737   *haliges* hyhtplega   *þa he* to *heofonum astag*
           ChristB 866   *halge* on heahþu   *þa he heofonum astag*
           El 188   hæleða cynnes   ond *to heofonum astah*

[B83]   *ChristB* 740   *wynnum* geworden   gesawan *wuldres þrym*
           Jul 641   gemunað wigena *wyn*   ond *wuldres þrym*

[B84]   *ChristB* 751a   *geþungen þegn*weorud   is us þearf micel
           Jul 262a   *þegn geþungen*   ond to þe sended

[B85]   *ChristB* 751b   geþungen þegn-weorud   *is us þearf micel*
           ChristB 847   *þeoda* gehwylcre   *is us þearf micel*
           El 426b   þæt wæs þrealic geþoht   nu *is þearf mycel*
           Jul 695   mid *þeod*scipe   *is* me *þearf micel*

[B86]   *ChristB* 760a   *halig of heahðu*   hider onsendeð
           ChristB 789a   *halig of heahþu*   huru ic wene me
           ChristB 866a   *halge on heahþu*   þa he heofonum astag
           El 1086a   *halig of hiehða*   nu ðu hrædlice
           Jul 263a   *halig of heahþu*   þe sind heardlicu
           Jul 560   heredon *on heahþu*   ond his *halig* word%

[B87]   *ChristB* 760b   halig of heahðu   *hider onsendeð*
           Jul 322b   hell-warena cyning   *hider onsende*

[B88]   *ChristB* 762a   eglum% *earh-farum*   þi læs unholdan
           El 44a   under *earh-fære*   ofstum myclum
           El 116a   syððan heo *earh-fære*   ærest metton
           Jul 404a   þurh *earg-fare*   in onsende

[B89]   *ChristB* 768a   þy læs se *attres ord*   in gebuge

	Jul 471a	þurh *attres ord* eagna leoman
[B90]	*ChristB* 769b	biter bord-gelac under *ban-locan*
	Jul 476b	þæt him *ban-locan* blode spiowedan
[B91]	*ChristB* 774a	*biddan bearn godes* ond þone bliðan gæst
	El 813	nu ic þe *bearn godes* *biddan* wille
	El 963a	*þurh bearn godes* bega gehwæðres
	El 1126a	*þurh bearn godes* bisceop þara leoda
	Jul 666a	*biddað bearn godes* þæt me brego engla
[B92]	*ChristB* 780b	ænig on eorðan *ælda cynnes*
	Jul 727b	in annesse *ælda cynne*
[B93]	*ChristB* 785a	*geond sidne grund* us secgað bec
	El 1289a	ofer *sidne grund* soð-fæste bioð
	Jul 332b	þonne he onsendeð *geond sidne grund*
[B94]	*ChristB* 790	ond eac *ondræde* *dom* ðy% reþran%
	Jul 134	næfre *ic me ondræde* *domas þine*
	Jul 210	ne *ondræde ic me* *domas þine*
[B95]	*ChristB* 791b	ðonne eft cymeð *engla þeoden*
	El 487a	*ðeoden engla* ond his þegnum hine%
	El 776a	*þeoden engla* gif he þin nære
	El 857b	hwylcre þyssa þreora *þeoden engla*
[B96]	*ChristB* 796	*fore onsyne* *eces deman*
	ChristB 836	*fore onsyne* *eces deman*
	El 745	*fore onsyne* *eces deman*
[B97]	*ChristB* 803	*hwæt him æfter dædum* *deman wille*
	Jul 707	*hwæt him æfter dædum* *deman wille*
[B98]	*ChristB* 806	⌐ flodum bilocen *lif-wynna* dæl
	El 1268	*lif-wynne* geliden swa ⌐ toglideð
[B99]	*ChristB* 815	*forþon ic leofra* gehwone *læran wille*
	Jul 647	*forþon ic leof* weorud *læran wille*
[B100]	*ChristB* 822b	þæt us milde bicwom *meahta waldend*
	Jul 723b	*meahta waldend* on þam miclan% dæge
[B101]	*ChristB* 830b	ferð-werige onfon in *fyr-baðe*%,
	El 948b	þone fægran gefean ond on *fyr-bæðe*
[B102]	*ChristB* 832b	þonne mægna cyning *on gemot cymeð*
	El 279b	meðel-hegende% *on gemot cuman*
[B103]	*ChristB* 850b	nu is þon gelicost swa we on *lagu-flode*

	Jul 674a	leolc ofer *lagu-flod* longe hwile
[B104]	*ChristB* 857	*ærþon* we *to londe* *geliden hæfdon*
	El 249	ofer lago-fæsten *geliden hæfdon*
	Jul 677	*ærþon* hy *to lande* *geliden hæfdon*
[B105]	*ChristB* 864b	utan us to þære hyðe *hyht staþelian*
	Jul 437b	hell-warena cyning *hyht staþelie*
[B106]	*ChristB* 865a	ða us gerymde *rodera waldend*
	El 206	*on rode* treo *rodora waldend*
	El 482	of *rode* ahæfen *rodera wealdend*
	El 1066	mid þam *on rode* wæs *rodera wealdend*
	Jul 305	*on rode* aheng *rodera waldend*
[B107]	*El* 15b	mærðum ond mihtum *þæt he manegum wearð*
	El 501b	miltse gefremede *þæt he manegum wearð*%
	Fates 52a	þær *manegum wearð* mod onlihted
[B108]	*El* 19a	*wiges woma* werod samnodan
	Jul 576a	*wiges womum* ond wudu-beamum
[B109]	*El* 27b	for folca gedryht fyrd-*leoð agol*
	El 342b	ðam Dauid cyning dryht-*leoð agol*
	Jul 615b	hean helle gæst hearm-*leoð agol*
[B110]	*El* 43a	*ongean gramum* guð-gelæcan
	Jul 628a	*ongean gramum* Iuliana%
[B111]	*El* 57a	*egsan geaclad* siððan elþeodige
	El 1128a	*egesan geaclod* ond þære ar-wyrðan
	Jul 268a	*egsan geaclad* þe hyre se aglæca
[B112]	*El* 72a	þuhte him *wlite-scyne* on weres hade
	Jul 454a	ða seo *wlite-scyne* wuldres condel
[B113]	*El* 72b	þuhte him wlite-scyne *on weres hade*
	Fates 27a	*on weres hade* syððan wuldres cyning
[B114]	*El* 74b	geywed ænlicra þonne he *ær oððe sið*
	El 240b	sæ swinsade ne hyrde *ic sið ne ær*
	El 974b	selest sige-beacna þara þe *sið oððe ær*
	Jul 496b	eal þa earfeþu *þe ic ær* ond *siþ*
	Jul 548a	þæt *ic ær ne sið* ænig ne mette
	Jul 710b	synna wunde *þe ic siþ oþþe ær*
[B115]	*El* 86b	þæs halgan hæs hreðer-*locan onspeon*
	Jul 79b	þære fæmnan fæder ferð-*locan onspeon*
[B116]	*El* 87b	up locade *swa* him se *ar* a*bead*

	Jul 276b	þinre eadgife *swa* me þes *ar bodað*
[B117]	*El* 96a	*on clænra gemang* cyning wæs þy bliðra
	Jul 420a	*on clænra gemong* þu wið Criste geo
[B118]	*El* 121a	stopon *stið-hidige* stundum wræcon
	Jul 654a	stane *stið-hydge* staþol fæstniað
[B119]	*El* 170b	for þam here-mægene þæt hit *heofon-cyninges*
	El 367a	hu ge *heofon-cyninge* hyran sceoldon
	El 747b	hædrum stefnum *heofon-cininges* lof
	Jul 360b	ahwyrfan from halor þæt þu *heofon-cyninge*
[B120]	*El* 197	ond *hyhta*% nihst *heofon-rices weard*
	El 445	*ahangen wæs* *heofon-rices weard*
	El 718	*ahangen wæs* *heofon-rices weard*
	Jul 212	hæbbe ic me to *hyhte* *heofon-rices weard*
[B121]	*El* 198a	Ongan þa *dryhtnes æ* dæges ond nihtes
	Fates 10a	þær hie *dryhtnes æ* deman sceoldon
	Jul 13b	dædum gedwolene þa þe *dryhtnes æ*
[B122]	*El* 205b	hwær ahangen wæs *heriges beorhtme*
	Fates 21b	syþþan hilde-heard *heriges byrhtme*
[B123]	*El* 211a	*to widan feore* wergðu dreogan
	El 1288a	*þara þe gewurdon* on *widan feore*
	El 1321b	wuldor-cyninges *to widan feore*
	Jul 508a	*þa þe gewurdun*% *widan feore*
[B124]	*El* 212a	þa wæs *Cristes lof* þam casere
	Jul 139b	þæt þu mec acyrre from *Cristes lofe*
	Jul 233b	to carcerne hyre wæs *Cristes lof*
[B125]	*El* 220	þæs *sið*fates *sæne* weorðan
	Fates 34a	*siðes sæne* ac ðurh sweordes bite
[B126]	*El* 224b	byrn-wiggendra *beboden hæfde*
	El 412b	bald in burgum *beboden hæfde*
	Jul 11b	foron æfter burgum swa he *biboden hæfde*
[B127]	*El* 266a	wæs seo *ead-hreðige* Elene gemyndig
	Jul 257a	*ead-hreðig* mæg yrre gedygan
[B128]	*El* 268a	*georn on mode* þæt hio Iudeas
	Jul 39b	gold-spedig guma *georn on mode*
[B129]	*El* 291b	wyrðe wæron *wuldor-cyninge*
	El 962a	*wuldor-cyninge* þæs hire se willa gelamp
	El 1304a	*wuldor-cyninge* ac hie worpene beoð

	El 1321a	*wuldor-cyninges* to widan feore
	Jul 238b	wær-fæst wunade symle heo *wuldor-cyning*
	Jul 248b	ond seo weorþeste *wuldor-cyninge*
	Jul 428a	þurh *wuldor-cyning* willan þines
[B130]	*El* 292b	dryhtne dyre ond *dæd-hwæte*
	Jul 2a	deman *dæd-hwate* þætte in dagum gelamp
[B131]	*El* 333	gehyrað *hige*-gleawe *halige rune*
	El 1168	on *hyge healde* *halige rune*
	Jul 656	*healdað* æt heortan *halge rune*
[B132]	*El* 341b	wæstmum geeacnod þurh *weres frige*
	Jul 103b	þæs wyrþe þæt þu þæs *weres frige*
[B133]	*El* 348a	*þrymmes hyrde* þanon ic ne wende%
	El 858b	geþrowode *þrymmes hyrde*
	Jul 280a	*þrymmes hyrde* hwæt þes þegn sy
[B134]	*El* 351b	witga for weorodum *wordum mælde*
	El 537b	on wera þreate *wordum mældon*
	Jul 351	wræcca *wær*-leas *wordum mælde*
	Jul 455	to þam *wær*-logan *wordum mælde*
	Jul 538b	wyrd wanian *wordum mælde*
[B135]	*El* 356a	*feodon þurh feondscipe* nahton foreþances
	Jul 14	*feodon þurh* firen-cræft *feondscype* rærdon
[B136]	*El* 371a	*dryhtna*% *dryhten* ond gedwolan fylgdon
	Jul 594a	*dryhtna dryhtne* þa se dema wearð
[B137]	*El* 371b	dryhtna% dryhten *ond gedwolan fylgdon*
	El 1040b	deoful-gildum *ond gedwolan fylde*
	Jul 202b	þurh þin dol-willen *gedwolan fylgest*
[B138]	*El* 387a	werge *wræc-mæcggas* ond gewritu herwdon
	Jul 260a	hyre se *wræc-mæcga* wið þingade
[B139]	*El* 427	þæt we *fæstlice* *ferhð staðelien*
	El 796	ond þy *fæstlicor* *ferhð staðelige*
	Jul 270	ongan þa *fæstlice* *ferð staþelian*
	Jul 364b	þær ic hine finde *ferð staþelian*
[B140]	*El* 447b	min swæs sunu *ær þec swylt nime*
	Jul 255b	onsecge sigor-tifre *ær þec swylt nime*
[B141]	*El* 455b	ealdum æwitan *ageaf ondsware*
	El 462b	ða me yldra min *ageaf ondsware*
	El 545	se ðære *æðelan* sceal *ondwyrde agifan*
	El 619	*him þa seo eadige* *ondwyrde ageaf*

El 662	*him seo æðele* cwen	*ageaf ondsware*
Jul 105	*him þa seo eadge*	*ageaf ondsware*
Jul 117	*hyre þa* þurh yrre	*ageaf ondsware*
Jul 130	*him þa seo eadge*	*ageaf ondsware*
Jul 147	*him seo* unforhte	*ageaf ondsware*
Jul 175	*him seo æþele* mæg	*ageaf ondsware*
Jul 319	*hyre* se aglæca	*ageaf ondsware*

[B142]
El 456	hu wolde þæt *geweorðan*	on *woruld-rice*
El 778a	*in woruld-rice*	wundra gefremede
El 1048	*in world-rice*	*weorðan* sceolde
Jul 549a	*in woruld-rice*	wif% þe gelic

[B143]
El 467a	*on mold-wege*	man aspyrigean
Jul 334b	gif we gemette% sin	*on mold-wege*

[B144]
El 480	on *galgan*	*his gast onsende*
Jul 310	þæt he of *galgan*	*his gæst onsende*

[B145]
El 491a	*leohtne geleafan*	þa for lufan dryhtnes
El 1136a	*leohte geleafan*	lac weorðode
Fates 66a	*leohtes geleafan*	land wæs gefælsod
Jul 378a	*leohtes geleafan*	ond he larum wile
Jul 653a	*leohte geleafan*	to þam lifgendan

[B146]
El 491	*leohtne* geleafan	þa for *lufan dryhtnes*
El 947	*leohta* beorhtost	ond *lufan dryhtnes*
El 1205b	*læran* leofra heap	*þæt hie lufan dryhtnes*
Jul 501b	ond hy gelærde	*þæt hi lufan dryhtnes*

[B147]
El 497a	*synna leasne*	Sawles larum
El 777a	sunu *synna leas*	næfre he soðra swa feala
Jul 188b	ond mid sweopum swingan	*synna lease*
Jul 614a	*synna lease*	ða cwom semninga

[B148]
El 514a	*synna wunde*	gif we sona eft
Jul 355a	*synna wundum*	þæt þu þy sweotolicor
Jul 710a	*synna wunde*	þe ic siþ oþþe ær

[B149]
El 527a	selust *sige-leana*	seald in heofonum
Fates 81a	*sige-lean* secan	ond þone soðan gefean

[B150]
El 574	*ic* eow *to soðe*	*secgan wille*
Jul 132	*ic* þe *to soðe*	*secgan wille*

[B151]
El 589b	geryno swa ðu hine	*wordum frignest*
Jul 346b	wrohtes wyrhtan	*wordum frignan*

[B152]
El 591b	he is for eorðan	*æðeles cynnes*
Jul 18b	sum wæs æht-welig	*æþeles cynnes*

| [B153] | *El* 608 | hwæt ðu *þæs* to þinge   *þafian wille* |
| | *Jul* 108 | næfre ic *þæs* þeodnes   *þafian wille* |

| [B154] | *El* 648a | *geara gongum*   ge þæt geare cunnon |
| | *Jul* 693a | *geara gongum*   godes lof hafen |

| [B155] | *El* 663a | *wiðsæcest ðu to swiðe*   soðe ond rihte |
| | *Jul* 99a | *wiðsæcest þu to swiþe*   sylfre rædes |

| [B156] | *El* 665 | *sægdest soðlice*   be þam *sige*-beame |
| | *Jul* 561 | *sægdon soðlice*   þæt he *sigo*ra gehwæs |

| [B157] | *El* 686 | *ic þæt geswerige*   *þurh* sunu meotodes |
| | *Jul* 80 | *ic þæt geswerge*   *þurh* soð godu |

[B158]	*El* 708	ond ðæt *soð* to late *seolf gecneowe*
	El 807	nu ic þurh *soð* hafu *seolf gecnawen*
	Jul 356	*sylf gecnawe* þæt þis is *soð* nales leas
	Jul 443b	sorg on siþe ic þæt *sylf gecneow*

[B159]	*El* 711	þæt hine man of *nearwe* ond of *nyd-cleofan*
	El 1275	*in ned-cleofan* *nearwe* geheaðrod
	Jul 240a	*in* þam *nyd-clafan* nergend fira

| [B160] | *El* 712a | fram *þam engan hofe*   up forlete |
| | *Jul* 532a | of *þam engan hofe*   ut gelædan |

[B161]	*El* 727	*heofon ond eorðan* *ond holm*-þræce
	El 752	*heofun ond eorðe* *ond* eall heah-mægen
	Jul 112	*heofon ond eorðan* *ond holma* bigong

[B162]	*El* 728b	sæs sidne fæðm samod *ealle gesceaft*
	Fates 122b	ece ond ed-giong *ofer ealle gesceaft*
	Jul 183b	a butan ende *ealle gesceafta*
	Jul 562a	*ofer ealle gesceaft* ana weolde%

| [B163] | *El* 761a | *scyld-wyrcende*   sceaðan of radorum |
| | *Jul* 445a | *scyld-wyrcende*   scame þrowian |

| [B164] | *El* 764a | in *wita forwyrd*   þær hie in wylme nu |
| | *Jul* 556a | on *wita forwyrd*   wiste he þi gearwor |

| [B165] | *El* 769a | þeow-*ned þolian*   þær he þin ne mæg |
| | *Jul* 464a | þrea-*ned þolian*   is þeos þrag ful strong |

| [B166] | *El* 790a | þæt me þæt *gold-hord*   gasta scyppend |
| | *ChristB* 787b | in middan-geard   mægna *gold-hord* |

| [B167] | *El* 790b | þæt me þæt gold-hord   *gasta scyppend* |

| | *Jul* 181b | ongyte gleawlice   *gæsta scyppend* |

[B168]   *El* 795a   *lyft-lacende* ic gelyfe þe sel
           Jul 281a   *lyft-lacende* þe mec læreð from þe

[B169]   *El* 799a   *ece æl-mihtig* Israhela cining
           Jul 273a   *ece æl-mihtig* þurh þæt æþele gesceap

[B170]   *El* 801a   *a butan ende* ecra gestealda
           El 893   *a butan ende* *eallra gesceafta*
           Jul 183   *a butan ende* *ealle gesceafta*

[B171]   *El* 803   swylce rec under **radorum** þær **aræred** wearð
           El 886   rod **aræred** **rodor**cyninges beam
           Jul 498a   **rodor aræred** ond ryne tungla

[B172]   *El* 810a   **þrym-sittendum**% þanc butan ende
           Jul 435a   **þrym-sittendne** þinne getreowdes
           Jul 726b   þonne seo þrynis **þrym-sittende**

[B173]   *El* 811b   þæs ðu me swa meðum ond swa **man-weorcum**
           Jul 439a   þæt ic in **man-weorcum** mod oncyrre
           Jul 459a   micelra **man-weorca** manna tudre
           Jul 505a   mircast **man-weorca** hwæt sceal ic ma riman

[B174]   *El* 813   **nu ic þe** bearn godes *biddan wille*
           Jul 272   **nu ic þec** beorna hleo *biddan wille*
           Jul 278   swa **ic þe** bilwitne *biddan wille*

[B175]   *El* 817   *þara þe ic gefremede* nalles feam siðum
           Jul 354   *þara þe ic gefremede* nalæs feam siðum%

[B176]   *El* 838   þær hie **leahtra** fruman **larum** ne **hyrdon**
           El 1209b   ond þæs latteowes **larum hyrdon**
           Jul 371   **leahtrum** gelenge **larum hyreð**%

[B177]   *El* 839   þa wæs **mod**-gemynd **myclum geblissod**
           El 875   on **mod**sefan **miclum geblissod**
           El 989b   þurh þa mæran word **mod geblissod**
           Jul 608   ond þæs mægdnes **mod** **miclum geblissad**

[B178]   *El* 840   *hige onhyrded* *þurh* þæt **halige** treo
           Fates 53   *hige onhyrded* *þurh* his **halig** word

[B179]   *El* 841a   *inbryrded breost-sefa* syððan beacen
           El 1045a   *inbryrded breost-sefa* on þæt betere lif
           Jul 535a   *breostum inbryrded* bendum fæstne

[B180]   *El* 858   *geþrowode* **þrymmes** hyrde
           Jul 448   *geþrowade* **þrymmes** ealdor

[B181]	*El* 865	oððæt him *gecyðde* *cyning ælmihtig*
	El 1090	þæt þe *gecyðe* *cyning ælmihtig*
	Jul 279	þæt þu me *gecyðe* *cyninga* wuldor
[B182]	*El* 889b	lic ond sawl þær wæs *lof hafen*
	Jul 693b	geara gongum godes *lof hafen*
[B183]	*El* 900b	ongan þa hleoðrian *helle-deofol*
	Jul 629b	gehyrde heo hearm galan *helle-deofol*
[B184]	*El* 904a	iceð *ealdne nið* æhta strudeð
	Jul 623b	wæpnes spor wrecað *ealdne nið*
[B185]	*El* 906a	*man-fremmende* in minum leng
	Jul 137a	*man-fremmende* to me beotast
[B186]	*El* 910a	*feoh-gestrona* nis ðæt fæger sið
	Jul 42b	fæste wiðhogde þeah þe *feoh-gestreon*
	Jul 102a	*feoh-gestreona* he is to freonde god
[B187]	*El* 916	*rihte* spowan is *his rice brad*
	Jul 8	*ryht*-fremmendra wæs *his rice brad*
[B188]	*El* 920a	in *þam engan ham* oft getynde
	Jul 323a	of *þam engan ham* se is yfla gehwæs
[B189]	*El* 923a	*goda geasne* þurh Iudas eft
	Jul 216	ða sind *geasne* *goda* gehwylces
[B190]	*El* 935b	hæleð hilde-deor *him wæs halig gast*
	Jul 241b	heolstre bihelmad *hyre wæs halig gæst*
[B191]	*El* 941a	*morðres man-frea* þæt þe se mihtiga cyning
	Jul 546a	*morþres man-frea* hwæt þu mec þreades
[B192]	*El* 945b	worde awehte *wite* ðu *þe gearwor*
	Jul 556b	on wita forwyrd *wiste* he *þi gearwor*
[B193]	*El* 950a	*ade onæled* ond þær awa scealt
	Jul 580a	*ad onælan* se wæs æghwonan
[B194]	*El* 956b	þæs þe heo gehyrde þone *helle-sceaþan*
	Jul 157b	helpend ond hælend wið *hell-sceaþum*
[B195]	*El* 978	*þær hie hit for worulde* *wendan meahton*
	Jul 570	*þær he hit for worulde* *wendan meahte*
[B196]	*El* 996b	hu gesundne sið ofer *swon-rade*%
	Jul 675a	on *swon-rade* swylt ealle fornom

[B197]	*El* 1040a	*deoful-gildum* ond gedwolan fylde
	Jul 52a	þurh *deofol-gield* dæde biþencest
	Jul 150b	dumbum ond deafum *deofol-gieldum*

| [B198] | *El* 1041a | *unrihte æ* him wearð ece rex |
| | *Jul* 297a | *unryhtre æ* eac ic gelærde |

| [B199] | *El* 1049a | *Criste gecweme* þæt gecyðed wearð |
| | *Jul* 259a | *Criste gecweme* hwonan his cyme wære |

| [B200] | *El* 1056b | to bisceope *burgum on innan* |
| | *Jul* 691b | hy hit gebrohton *burgum in innan* |

[B201]	*El* 1077	*nerigend fira* mec þæra *nægla* gen
	El 1172	*nerigend fira* þu ðas *næglas* hat
	Jul 240b	in þam nyd-clafan *nergend fira*

| [B202] | *El* 1083b | ærþan me gefylle *fæder ælmihtig* |
| | *Jul* 658a | *fæder ælmihtig* þær ge frofre% agun |

| [B203] | *El* 1088 | þine *bene* on*send* in ða *beorhtan gesceaft* |
| | *Fates* 116 | *send*an usse *bene* on *þa beorhtan gesceaft* |

| [B204] | *El* 1089 | on *wuldres wyn* bide *wigena þrym* |
| | *Jul* 641 | gemunað *wigena wyn* ond *wuldres þrym* |

[B205]	*El* 1096a	*god-hergendra* ond þa geornlice
	El 1220b	on þam gum-rice *god-hergendum*
	Jul 6b	geat on græs-wong *god-hergendra*

[B206]	*El* 1099b	gastes mihtum *to gode cleopode*
	Fates 115b	ah utu we þe geornor *to gode cleopigan*
	Jul 271b	geong grondorleas *to gode cleopian*

| [B207] | *El* 1094a | *breostum onbryrded* bisceop þæs folc |
| | *Jul* 535a | *breostum inbryrded* bendum fæstne |

[B208]	*El* 1109a	*ða cwom semninga* sunnan beorhtra
	Jul 242b	singal gesið *ða cwom semninga*
	Jul 614b	synna lease *ða cwom semninga*

| [B209] | *El* 1119a | *acyrred fram Criste* hie cwædon þus |
| | *Jul* 411 | *acyrred* cuðlice *from Cristes* æ |

| [B210] | *El* 1124b | on heannesse *heofon-rices god* |
| | *Jul* 239b | herede æt heortan *heofon-rices god* |

| [B211] | *El* 1131 | *wifes willan* þa *wæs* wopes hring |
| | *Jul* 600 | *wifes willan* *wæs* seo wuldres mæg |

| [B212] | *El* 1160a | *heht ða gefetigean*   forð-snotterne |
| | *Jul* 60a | *het ða gefetigan*   ferend snelle |

[B213]	*El* 1207	*freond-ræddenne* *fæste* gelæston
	Jul 34a	*freond-rædenne* hu heo from hogde
	Jul 71a	*freond-rædenne* me þa fraceðu sind
	Jul 107	*freond-rædenne* *fæste* gestaþelad
	Jul 220a	*freond-rædenne* he ne findeð þær

[B214]	*El* 1215a	heane *hyge-geomre* symle hælo þær
	El 1297a	hæleð *hige-geomre* in hatne wylm
	Jul 327b	ahwyrfen from halor we beoð *hyge-geomre*

| [B215] | *El* 1259a | *æplede gold*   ᚾ gnornode |
| | *Jul* 688a | *æpplede gold*   ungelice wæs |

| [B216] | *El* 1268b | lif-wynne geliden   *swa ⌐ toglideð* |
| | *Fates* 102b | ne% lices frætewa   efne *swa ⌐ toglideð* |

| [B217] | *El* 1276a | *þream forþrycced* |
| | *Jul* 520a | *þream forþrycte*   ær þu nu þa |

| [B218] | *El* 1299a | *awyrgede wom-sceaðan*   in þæs wylmes grund |
| | *Jul* 211a | *awyrged wom-sceaða*   ne þinra wita bealo |

| [B219] | *El* 1301a | þurh *ær-gewyrht*   arleasra sceolu |
| | *Jul* 702b | secan oþerne   *ær-gewyrhtum* |

| [B220] | *El* 1302a | *in gleda gripe*   gode no syððan |
| | *Jul* 391a | *in gleda gripe*   gehðu mænan |

[B221]	*Fates* 15	*wide geweorðod* ofer wer-þeoda
	Jul 9	*wid* ond *weorðlic* ofer wer-þeode
	Jul 643	he is þæs *wyrðe* þæt hine *wer-þeode*

| [B222] | *Fates* 32a | *siðe gesohte*   swegle dreamas |
| | *Jul* 452a | *siþe gesohte*   þær ic swiþe me |

| [B223] | *Fates* 33a | *beorhtne bold-welan*   næs his broðor læt |
| | *Jul* 503a | *beorhtne bold-welan*   þæt him bæm gewearð |

| [B224] | *Fates* 46a | hæðen *ond hyge-blind*   heafde beneotan |
| | *Jul* 61a | hreoh *ond hyge-blind*   haligre fæder |

| [B225] | *Fates* 46b | hæðen ond hyge-blind   *heafde beneotan* |
| | *Jul* 604b | on hyge halge   *heafde bineotan* |

| [B226] | *Fates* 47a | forþan he ða *hæðen-gild*   hyran ne wolde |
| | *Jul* 22b | heold hord-gestreon   oft he *hæþen-gield* |

[B227] *Fates* 55b   awehte for weorodum   ***wundor-cræfte***
         Jul 575b   biwyrcan het   ***wundor-cræfte***

8

Parallels between *Beowulf* and Some Old English Narrative Poems

In the course of producing a new annotated edition and translation of *Beowulf*, designed to utilize layout that would replicate the mighty Classical editions of the past. The preferred layout offers the maximum amount of information available on every opening, featuring facing page text and translation, with marginal glosses and manuscript readings respectively, and with successive banks of run-across commentary dealing with points of language and literature.

With regard to the provision of verbal echoes and parallels both within and beyond, it became clear that while much basic information might economically be given in the telegrammatic form that such a layout necessarily imposed, more expanded lists, sorted by poem, would be both more useful and more compelling in making the case for the possible influence of *Beowulf* on later verse (or indeed the possible influence of earlier verse on *Beowulf*); such is provided in the edition, of which the material offered here is a further expansion, enabling the curious reader to test and explore the strength or weakness of the individual case in detail. For an example of how best to work through such lists of parallels, Alison Powell's doctoral thesis on the sources of and influences on *Andreas* provides a brilliant model, and I would urge every serious reader interested in pursuing the thread to make full use of her elegant analyses.[1]

It will be noted that in the case of verbal echoes and parallels linking *Beowulf* and *Andreas* in particular I have provided rather more material than Alison does in her closely reasoned account, and have done so deliberately to include (for example) rare compounds, the distribution of which seems significant in Old English verse as a whole (as the *Word-hord* volume produced under *CLASP*'s auspices eloquently testifies), as well as parallels that can be echoed entirely or in part elsewhere, as perhaps offering supplementary testimony to potential secondary borrowing; it is important to note that I have employed the same set of criteria throughout, for consistency, though that necessarily also involves a certain amount of overlap and repetition. The interested reader is urged to cross-reference continually, and to make full use of the tools now available through *CLASP* (it is somewhat ironic that both these lists and *Word-hord* were largely compiled without the benefit of such tools, which will doubtless make the production of more refined material much easier).

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[1] A.M. Powell, 'Verbal Parallels in *Andreas* and its Relationship to *Beowulf* and Cynewulf' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2002).

The evidence offered below, which is by no means intended to be exhaustive, not only supports the notion that Old English poets, like their counterparts composing in Anglo-Latin, freely borrowed from earlier poets and poems in a manner that might well be described as 'literary formulaic', and that the overwhelming majority of parallels and echoes to be found beyond *Beowulf* seem to break down into four or five main groups. First, and most famously, *Andreas*; then the four signed poems of Cynewulf (all of which also seem to have been known to the *Andreas*-poet), with *Elene* and *Juliana* overwhelmingly represented; third, biblical verse, with *Genesis A* and *Exodus* relatively over-represented (there are certainly parallels and echoes with *Daniel*, for example, some of which are incidentally noted below, but the overall evidence is less compelling); and fourth, the *Guthlac*-poems, which have their own complex interrelationship, as well as with the signed poems of Cynewulf.[2] There are two outliers that may form a later grouping, given here simply to indicate the extraordinary degree of parallels and repetitions with *Beowulf*, given their comparative brevity (349 and 325 lines respectively), namely *Judith* and *The Battle of Maldon*. Some even shorter poems seem to demonstrate significant parallels and echoes too, notably *Widsith*, but they are excluded here for simplicity's sake.

Current conventional dating for *Beowulf* (always a fraught issue, at least for some), would suggest that (except possibly in the case of *Genesis A* and *Exodus*) if there has been direct literary borrowing, it is *Beowulf* that is the source, whether directly or at some inestimable number of removes.[3] But then the primary purpose of providing such a list of potential parallels and echoes is to allow individual readers to make their own judgements about the relative strength or weakness of specific cases, and in particulat to asses the extent to which poetic borrowing from identifiable individual poets and poems, so demonstrably prevalent in Anglo-Latin verse, might not be similarly widespread in the case of the vernacular also.

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[2] See, for example, Andy Orchard, The Originality of *Andreas*', in *Old English Philology: Studies in Honour of R.D. Fulk*, ed. L. Neidorf, R. J. Pascual, and T. Shippey (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 331–70, and the references given there.

[3] For the broad picture (albeit sometimes somewhat intemperately expressed), see Leonard Neidorf, ed., *The Dating of 'Beowulf': a Reassessment* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2014).

Lists of Parallels and Potential Echoes between *Beowulf* and *Some Old English Narrative Poems*

Inevitably, there is a high degree of overlap below; I present the full lists to allow for the maximum degree of scrutiny and scepticism, and encourage specific follow-up; these lists are intended as a guide only.

Key to abbreviations and page-numbers[4]

Andreas	[And1–180]	188	1
Cynewulf *Christ B*	[CC]	26	19
Cynewulf *Elene*	[CE]	121	22
Cynewulf *Fates*	[CF]	15	32
Cynewulf *Juliana*	[CJ]	57	33
Exodus	[Ex]	75	38
Genesis A	[GeA]	103	43
Guthlac A	[GuA]	31	53
Guthlac B	[GuB]	42	55
Judith	[Jud]	41	59
Maldon	[Mald]	29	62

Andreas

[And1]	*And* 4	*camp*-rædenne þonne *cumbol* hneotan	
	And 1204	*cene under cumblum* corðre mycle	
	Jud 332	*cene under cumblum* on *comp*-wige	
	Beo 2505	ac in *compe* gecrong *cumbles* hyrde	
[And2]	*And* 8	*frome* folc-togan ond *fyrd-hwate*	
	Fates 12	*frame fyrd-hwate* feorh ofgefon	
	Beo 1641	*frome fyrd-hwate* feowertyne	
	Beo 2476	*frome fyrd-hwate* freode ne woldon	
[And3]	*And* 9	rofe rincas þonne *rond ond hand*	
<PB1>	*And* 412	hlaforde æt hilde þonne *hand ond rond*	
	Beo 656	siþðan ic *hond ond rond* hebban mihte	
	Beo 2609	ne mihte ða forhabban *hond rond* gefeng	
[And4]	*And* 25	ðegon geond þa *þeode* *swelc wæs þeaw hira*	
<PB2>	*Beo* 178	wið *þeod*-þreaum *swylc wæs þeaw hyra*	
[And5]	*And* 28	þara þe þæt *ea-land* *utan* sohte	
<PB3>	*Beo* 2334	*ea-lond utan* eorð-weard ðone	
[And6]	*And* 32	agetton *gealg-mode* gara ordum	
	And 563	grome *gealg-mode* þæt he god wære	

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[4] In the list for [And] only, a number of entries carry additional numbers in angle brackets, beginning with '<PB1>'; these refer to items that appear in Alison Powell's thesis (see n. 1 above), to which the reader is referred for further discussion.

Jul 531	*gealg-mod* guma Iulianan
Jul 598	grymetade *gealg-mod* ond his godu tælde
Dan 229	grim *and gealh-mod* godes spelbodan
Beo 1277	gifre *ond galg-mod* gegan wolde

[And7]	*And* 37	þæt hie ne murndan æfter *man-dreame*
	GenA 1176	Malalehel lange *mon-dreama* her
	Dan 570	þæt þu ne gemyndgast æfter *man-dreame*
	Ruin 23	meodo-heall monig //M//-*dreama* full
	Beo 1264	morþre gemearcod *man-dream* fleon
	Beo 1715	mære þeoden *mon-dreamum* from

[And8]	*And* 43	fordenera *gedræg* syþþan *deofles* þegnas
	Beo 756	secan *deofla gedræg* ne wæs his drohtoð þær

[And9]	*And* 45	*eodon him þa togenes* garum gehyrsted
<PB4>	*Beo* 1626	*eodon him þa togeanes* gode þancodon

[And10]	*And* 51	a*breot*on mid *billes ecge* Hwæðre he in breostum þa git
	Dan 708	blæd for*bræc*on *billa ecgum*
	Beo 2485	*billes ecgum* on bonan stælan
	Beo 2508	ban-hus ge*bræc* Nu sceall *billes ecg*

[And11]	*And* 64	*searo-net seowað* a ic symles wæs
<PB5>	*And* 943	*searo-nettum* beseted Þu hine secan scealt
	Beo 406	*searo-net seowed* smiþes orþancum

[And12]	*And* 72	*sweordum aswebban* ic beo sona gearu
	Brun 30	*sweordum aswefede* swilce seofene eac
	Jud 321	*swyrdum aswefede* Hie on swaðe reston
	Beo 567	*sweordum aswefede* þæt syðþan na

[And13]	*And* 72	sweordum aswebban *ic beo sona gearu*
	And 1535	fram dæges orde drync *sona gearu*
	And 1567	geoce ond frofre Us *bið gearu sona*
	And 1579	gleawmod gode leof Him *wæs gearu sona*
	Jul 49	ongietest gæsta hleo *ic beo gearo sona*
	Jul 365	to godes willan *ic beo gearo sona*
	Jul 398	onginne gæstlice *ic beo gearo sona*
	El 85	sigores tacen He *wæs sona gearu*
	El 222	hiere sylfre suna ac *wæs sona gearu*
	Beo 121	grim ond grædig *gearo sona wæs*
	Beo 1825	guð-geweorca *ic beo gearo sona*

[And14]	*And* 94	*mæres* þeodnes He his *magu-þegne*
	And 366	*mærne magu-þegn* ond mete syllan
	And 1140	*modige magu-þegnas* morðres on luste
	And 1515	*modige mago-þegnas* magas sine
	Wan 62	*modge magu-þegnas* Swa þes middan-geard
	Men 82	*modige mago-þegnas* for meotudes lufan

Beo 2079	*mærum magu-þegne*	to muð-bonan
Beo 2757	*mago-þegn modig*	maððum-sigla fealo

[And15] *And* 118   *Gewat him þa se halga*   helm ælwihta
         And 225   *Gewat him þa se halga*   healdend ond wealdend
         And 235   *Gewat him þa* on uhtan   *mid* ær-dæge
         And 977   *Gewat him þa se halga*   heofonas secan
         And 1058   *Gewat him þa* Andreas   inn on ceastre
         GenA 2162   *Gewat him þa se* healdend   ham siðian
         GenA 2885   *Gewat him þa se* æðeling   and *his* agen sunu
         Beo 1963   *gewat him ða se* hearda   *mid his* hondscole
         Beo 2949   *gewat him ða se* goda   *mid his* gædelingum

[And16] *And* 123   *niwan stefne*   *niht-helm toglad*
<PB6>   *And* 1303   *niwan stefne*   Nið upp aras
         El 78   ond be naman nemde   (*niht-helm toglad*)
         El 1060   *niwan stefne*   Nama wæs gecyrred
         El 1127   *niwan stefne*   He þam næglum onfeng
         GuthB 970   *niht-helma* genipu   Wæs neah seo tid
         GenA 1555   Ða Noe ongan   *niwan stefne*
         GenA 1886   *niwan stefne*   noman weorðade
         Wan 96   genap under *niht-helm*   swa heo no wære
         Beo 1789   *niowan stefne*   *Niht-helm* geswearc
         Beo 2487   Guð-*helm toglad*   gomela Scylfing
         Beo 2594   *niwan stefne*   nearo ðrowode

[And17] *And* 126   hæðne *hild-frecan*   heapum þrungon
         Beo 2205   hearde *hilde-frecan*   Heaðo-scilfingas
         Beo 2366   fram þam *hild-frecan*   hames niosan

[And18] *And* 127   *guð-searo* gullon   *garas* hrysedon
<PB7>   *Beo* 215   *guð-searo* geatolic   *guman* ut scufon
         Beo 328   *guð-searo gumena*   *garas* stodon

[And19] *And* 128   *bolgen-mode*   under bord-hreoðan
         And 1221   *bolgen-mode*   bæron ut hræðe
         Dan 209   Ða him *bolgen-mod*   Babilone weard
         GuthA 557   Hwæðre hine gebrohton   *bolgen-mode*
         Beo 709   bad *bolgen-mod*   beadwa geþinges
         Beo 1713   breat *bolgen-mod*   beod-geneatas

[And20] *And* 128   bolgen-mode   *under bord-hreoðan*
         El 122   bræcon *bord-hreðan*   bil in dufan
         Ex 159   blicon *bord-hreoðan*   byman sungon)
         Ex 236   *under bord-hreoðan*   breost-net wera
         Ex 320   ofer *bord-hreoðan*   beacen aræred
         Beo 2203   *under bord-hreoðan*   to bonan wurdon

[And21] *And* 150–4   þæt hie *ban-hringas*   *abrecan* þohton
<PB8>   *And* 151   lungre tolysan   lic ond sawle

And 152	ond þonne todælan duguðe ond geogoðe	
And 153	werum to wiste ond to wil-þege	
And 154	*fæges flæsc-homan* Feorh ne bemurndan	
Beo 1567–8	*ban-hringas bræc* Bil eal ðurhwod	
Beo 1568	*fægne flæsc-homan* heo on flet gecrong	
Jul 489	of *flæsc-homan* *fæge* scyndan	
GuthA 1031	*fæge flæsc-homa* fold-ærne biþeaht	

[And22] *And* 152   ond þonne to*dæl*an   *duguðe ond geogoðe*
<PB9> *And* 1122   *duguðe ond eogoðe*   *dæl* onfengon
         Beo 160   deorc deaþ-scua   *duguþe ond geogoþe*
         Beo 621   *duguþe ond geogoþe*   *dæl* æghwylcne
         Beo 1674   *duguðe ond iogoþe*   þæt þu him ondrædan ne þearft

[And23] *And* 155   grædige *guð-rincas*   hu þæs gastes sið
         And 392   geonge *guð-rincas*   *Gar*-secg hlymmeð
         Mald 138   Gegremod wearð se *guð-rinc*   he mid *gare* stang
         Beo 838   ymb þa gif-healle   *guð-rinc* monig
         Beo 1118   geomrode giddum   *Guð-rinc* astah
         Beo 1501   Grap þa togeanes   *guð-rinc* gefeng
         Beo 1881   *guð-rinc* gold-wlanc   græs-moldan træd
         Beo 2648   godra *guð-rinca*   wutun gongan to

[And24] *And* 181   *onfindaþ fea-sceaftne*   þær sceall feorh-gedal
<PB10> *Beo* 7   *fea-sceaft funden*   he þæs frofre gebad
         Beo 2373   no ðy ær *fea-sceafte*   *findan* meahton

[And25] *And* 196   sealte sæ-streamas   ond *swan-rade*
         El 996   hu gesundne sið   *ofer swon-rade*
         Jul 675   on *swon-rade*   Swylt ealle fornom
         Beo 200   *ofer swan-rade*   secean wolde

[And26] *And* 208   *under swegles gang*   aseted wyrðe
         And 455   syððan we gesegon   *under swegles gang*
         And 869   þær wæs singal sang   ond *swegles gong*
         Beo 860   *under swegles begong*   selra nære
         Beo 1773   *under swegles begong*   gesacan ne tealde

[And27] *And* 209   *breogo-stol* breme   mid þam burg-warum
         Beo 2196   bold ond *brego-stol*   Him wæs bam samod
         Beo 2370   beagas ond *brego-stol*   bearne ne truwode
         Beo 2389   let ðone *brego-stol*   Biowulf healdan

[And28] *And* 230   þa wæs ærende   *æðelum cempan*
<PB11> *Beo* 1312   eode eorla sum   *æþele cempa*

[And29] *And* 232–3   ah he wæs *an-ræd*   *ellen-weorces*
<PB12>   heard ond hige-rof   *nalas hild-lata*
<PB13> *And* 981–3   Ða wæs *gemyndig*   mod-geþyldig
             beorn beaduwe heard   eode in burh hraðe

		an-ræd oretta *elne* gefyrðred
	And 1370	þa þe æninga *ellen-weorcum*
	GuthA 641	þurh *ellen-weorc* anforlætan
	Beo 661	gif þu þæt *ellen-weorc* aldre gedigest
	Beo 958	We þæt *ellen-weorc* estum miclum
	Beo 1464	þæt hit *ellen-weorc* æfnan scolde
	Beo 1529–30	Eft wæs *an-ræd* nalas elnes læt
		mærða *gemyndig* mæg Hylaces
	Beo 2399	*ellen-weorca* oð ðone anne dæg
	Beo 2643	þis *ellen-weorc* ana aðohte
	Beo 2846	þæt ða *hild-latan* holt ofgefan
	Beo 3173	eahtodan eorlscipe ond his *ellen-weorc*
[And30]	*And* 236	ofer sand-hleoðu *to sæs faruðe*
\<PB15\>	*And* 255	*fus on faroðe* fægn reordade
	And 1658	*æt sæs faroðe* secan wolde
	Res 101	fleot *on faroðe* nah ic fela goldes
	Beo 28	Hi hyne þa ætbæron *to* brimes *faroðe*
	Beo 580	flod æfter *faroðe* on Finna land
	Beo 1916	*fus æt faroðe* feor wlatode
[And31]	*And* 240	syðþan he on waruðe *wid-fæðme scip*
\<PB14\>	*Beo* 302	seomode on *sale* *sid-fæþmed scip*
	Beo 1917	*sæl*de to sande *sid-fæþme scip*
[And32]	*And* 258	ane æg-flotan? Hwanon *eagor-stream*
	GenA 1374	of ædra gehwære *egor-streamas*
	Met20 118	þæt ðios eorðe mæg and *egor-stream*
	Met20 122	Þæt is agen cræft *eagor-streames*
	Beo 513	Þær git *eagor-stream* earmum þehton
[And33]	*And* 259	*ofer yða gewealc* eowic brohte?
	Beo 464	*ofer yða gewealc* Ar-Scyldinga
[And34]	*And* 266	*on hran-rade* heah-stefn naca
	And 634	*on hran-rade* ac min hige blissað
	And 821	*on hron-rade* heofon-cyninge neh
	GenA 205	geond *hron-rade* Inc *hyrað* eall
	Beo 10	ofer *hron-rade* *hyran* scolde
[And35]	*And* 267	*snellic sæ*-mearh snude bewunden
\<PB16\>	*Mald* 134	Sende ða se *sæ-rinc* suþerne gar
	Beo 690	*snellic sæ-rinc* sele-reste gebeah
[And36]	*And* 273	þæt ðu us gebrohte *brante ceole*
\<PB17\>	*El* 238	*bronte brim*-þisan Bord oft onfeng
	Beo 238	byrnum werede þe þus *brontne ceol*
	Beo 568	ymb *brontne* ford *brim*-liðende
[And37]	*And* 278	of *yð-lide* engla scippend

And 445	egesa ofer *yð-lid*	Ælmihtig þær
Beo 198	æþele ond eacen	Het him *yð-lid*an

[And38] *And* 303   *landes* ne *locenra beaga*   þæt ic þe mæge lust ahwettan
<PB18>   *Beo* 2995   *landes* ond *locenra beaga*   ne ðorfte him ða lean oðwitan

[And39] *And* 310   ofer cald cleofu   *ceoles neosan*
<PB19>   *Beo* 1806   cuma collen-ferhð   *ceoles neosan*

[And40]   *And* 316   wis on gewitte   *word-hord onleac*
         And 601   Ða gen weges weard   *word-hord onleac*
         Wid 1   Widsið maðolade   *word-hord onleac*
         Vain 3   *Word-hord* onwreah   witgan larum
         OrW 19   bewritan in gewitte   *word-hordes* cræft
         Met6 1   Ða se wisdom eft   *word-hord onleac*
         Beo 259   werodes wisa   *word-hord onleac*

[And41] *And* 320–1   sece sar-cwide   *Selre bið æghwam*
<PB20>   *And* 321   *þæt he* eaðmedum   ellor-fusne
         Beo 1384–5   Ne sorga snotor guma   *selre bið æghwæm*
         Beo 1385   *þæt he* his freond wrece   þonne he fela murne

[And42] *And* 332–4   Farað nu geond   *ealle eorðan* sceatas
<PB21>   *And* 333   *emne swa wide*   *swa wæter bebugeð*
         And 334   oððe stede-*wangas*   stræte gelicgaþ
         ChristA 439   *ealne widan feorh*   wunað butan ende   Amen
         Beo 92–3   cwæð þæt se ælmihtiga   *eorðan* worhte
         Beo 93   wlite-beorhtne *wang*   *swa wæter bebugeð*
         Beo 1222–3   *ealne wide-*ferhþ   weras ehtigað
         Beo 1223   *efne swa side*   *swa* sæ *bebugeð*

[And43] *And* 337   ne ðurfan ge on þa fore   *frætwe lædan*
<PB22>   *Beo* 37   of feor-wegum   *frætwa gelæded*

[And44] *And* 348   *ofer brim-streamas*   swa ge benan sint
         And 239   beoton *brim-streamas*   Se beorn wæs on hyhte
         And 903   bliðe beorht cyning   Ic on *brim-streame*
         Beo 1910   bunden-stefna   *ofer brim-streamas*

[And45] *And* 353   *mere-liðendum*   miltsa biddan
         GenA 1407   Þa gemunde god   *mere-liðende*
         Beo 255   *mere-liðende*   minne gehyrað

[And46] *And* 360–2   æðele be æðelum   Æfre *ic ne hyrde*
<PB23>   *And* 361   þon *cymlicor ceol*   gehladenne
         And 362   heah-*gestreonum*   Hæleð in sæton
         El 240–2   sæ swinsade   *Ne hyrde ic* sið ne ær
         El 241   on eg-streame   idese lædan
         El 242   on mere-stræte   mægen fægerre
         Men 101   Gregorius   *Ne hyrde ic* guman a fyrn

	Beo 38–44	*ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol* gegyrwan ...
	Beo 44	þeod-***gestreonum*** þon þa dydon
	Beo 1842	on sefan sende *ne hyrde ic* snotorlicor
[And47]	*And* 362	***heah-gestreonum*** Hæleð in sæton
	Beo 2302	***heah-gestreona*** Hord-weard onbad
[And48]	*And* 366	***mærne magu-þegn*** ond mete syllan
<PB24>	*Men* 82	modige ***mago-þegnas*** for meotudes lufan
	Beo 2079	***mærum magu-þegne*** to muð-bonan
[And49]	*And* 370	onhrered hwæl-mere ***Horn-fisc*** plegode
	Beo 540	heard on handa wit unc wið ***hron-fixas***
[And50]	*And* 371	***glad*** geond ***gar-secg*** ond se græga mæw
<PB25>	Beo 515	***glidon*** ofer ***gar-secg*** geofon yþum weol
[And51]	*And* 375	wædo gewætte ***Wæter-egsa*** stod
	And 435	weoruda dryhten ***Wæter-egesa*** sceal
	Beo 1260	se þe ***wæter-egesan*** wunian scolde
[And52]	*And* 390	ofer ***firigend-stream*** freode gecyðdest
	And 1573	***fleow firgend-stream*** flod wæs on luste
	Phoen 100	fugel feþrum wlonc on ***firgen-stream***
	Ridd10 2	flode underflowen firgenstreamum
	MaxII 47	***flowan firgen-streamas*** Feoh sceal on eorðan
	Beo 1359	frecne fen-gelad ðær ***fyrgen-stream***
	Beo 2128	feondes fæðmum under ***firgen-stream***
[And53]	*And* 393	***geofon geotende*** grund is onhrered
<PB26>	*And* 1508	***geofon geotende*** hwæt ðu golde eart
	Beo 1690	***gifen geotende*** giganta cyn
[And54]	*And* 414	æt nið-plegan ***nearu þrowedon***
<PB27>	Beo 2594	niwan stefne ***nearo ðrowode***
[And55]	*And* 421	***ofer fealuwne flod*** frefra þine
	Beo 1950	***ofer fealone flod*** be fæder lare
[And56]	*And* 425	grund wið greote ***God eaðe mæg***
	ChristA 173	geotan geomor-mod ***God eaþe mæg***
	Beo 478	on Grendles gryre ***god eaþe mæg***
	Beo 2764	searwum gesæled sinc ***eaðe mæg***
[And57]	*And* 426	***heaðo-liðendum*** ***helpe*** gefremman
<PB28>	Beo 1552	nemne him ***heaðo-***byrne ***helpe gefremede***
	Beo 1798	***heaþo-liðende*** habban scoldon
<PB29>	Beo 2955	***heaðo-liðendum*** hord forstandan
[And58]	*And* 429	ge ***þæt gehogodon*** þa ge ***on holm stigon***

<PB30>	*Beo* 632	ic *þæt hogode* *þa* ic *on holm gestah*
[And59]	*And* 430	þæt ge on *fara folc* feorh gelæddon
<PB31>	*And* 1060	*fara folc*-mægen gefrægen hæfde
	Beo 1463	*folc*-stede *fara* næs þæt forma sið
[And60]	*And* 438	Swa gesælde iu þæt we *on sæ-bate*
	And 490	syxtyne siðum *on sæ-bate*
	Beo 633	*sæ-bat* gesæt mid minre secga gedriht
	Beo 895	selfes dome *sæ-bat* gehleod
[And61]	*And* 439	ofer waruð-gewinn *wæda cunnedan*
<PB32>	*Beo* 508	ðær git for wlence *wada cunnedon*
[And62]	*And* 454	mere-streama gemeotu *ða* ure *mod ahloh*
<PB33>	*Beo* 730	mago-rinca heap *þa* his *mod ahlog*
[And63]	*And* 460	*eorl* on eorðan gif *his ellen deah*
	Ridd73 9	[]dlan dæl gif his ellen deag
	Beo 573	unfægne *eorl* þonne *his ellen deah*
[And64]	*And* 465	meðe *be mæste* *mere* sweoðerade
<PB34>	*Beo* 1905	þa wæs *be mæste* *mere*-hrægla sum
[And65]	*And* 487	hu ðu *wæg-flotan* wære bestemdon
	El 246	wadan *wæg-flotan* Wigan wæron bliðe
	Beo 1907	No þær *weg-flotan* wind ofer yðum
[And66]	*And* 497	færeð *famig-heals* *fugole gelicost*
<PB35>	*Beo* 218	*flot*a *fami-heals* *fugle gelicost*
	Beo 1909	*fleat famig-heals* forð ofer yðe
[And67]	*And* 499	þæt ic æfre ne geseah ofer *yð-lade*
<PB36>	*Beo* 228	þæs þe him *yð-lade* eaðe wurdon
[And68]	*And* 506	*wigendra hleo* nalas wintrum frod
	And 896	ond þæt word gecwæð *wigendra hleo*
	And 1450	Ða worde cwæð *wigendra hleo*
	And 1672	Wuna in þære win-byrig *wigendra hleo*
	GenA 2355	þe sceal *wintrum frod* on woruld bringan
	ChristA 409	*wigendra hleo* wuldres þines
	Capt 12	for his weorþscipe *wiggendra hleo*
	Men 66	wisra gewyrdum ac sceal *wintrum frod*
	Beo 1724	awræc *wintrum frod* wundor is to secganne
	Beo 429	þæt ðu me ne forwyrne *wigendra hleo*
	Beo 899	ofer wer-þeode *wigendra hleo*
	Beo 1972	þæt ðær on worðig *wigendra hleo*
	Beo 2114	þonne he *wintrum frod* worn gemunde
	Beo 2277	warað *wintrum frod* ne byð him wihte ðy sel
	Beo 2337	heht him þa gewyrcean *wigendra hleo*

[And69]	*And* 511	oft þæt gesæleð þæt we on **sæ-lade**
<PB37>	*Beo* 1139	swiðor þohte þonne to **sæ-lade**
	Beo 1157	sigla searo-gimma hie on **sæ-lade**

[And70]	*And* 516	**frecne** geferan **flod**-wylm ne mæg
<PB38>	*Beo* 1689–91	fyrn-gewinnes syðþan **flod** ofsloh
	Beo 1690	gifen geotende giganta cyn
	Beo 1691	(**frecne geferdon**) þæt wæs fremde þeod

[And71]	*And* 545	**under heofon-hwealfe** hæleða cynnes
	And 1402	**under heofon-hwealfe** **heardran** drohtnoð
	Met10 7	**heofones hwealfe** Higesnotrum mæg
	Beo 576	**under heofones hwealf** **heardran** feohtan
	Beo 2015	**under heofones hwealf** heal-sittendra

[And72]	*And* 559	þæt ða arleasan **inwid-þancum**
	El 308	æfst **wið** are **inwit-þancum**
	Met9 8	unrihtwises **inwid-þoncas**
	Met27 23	þæt he oðerne **inwit-þoncum**
	Beo 749	**inwit-þancum** ond **wið** earm gesæt

[And73]	*And* 591	fif ðusendo **feðan sæton**
<PB39>	*Beo* 1424	fuslic fyrd-leoð **feþa** eal **gesæt**

[And74]	*And* 600	þa ðe **æfter deaðe** **dryhten secað**
<PB40>	*Beo* 187	**æfter deað**-dæge **drihten secean**

[And75]	*And* 612	hæleð **hyn-fuse** hyrdon to georne
	Beo 755	Hyge wæs him **hin-fus** wolde on heolster fleon

[And76]	*And* 614	forleolc ond forlærde Nu hie lungre sceolon
	And 1364	forleolce ond forlærdest Nu leng ne miht
	GenB 647	**Forlec** hie þa mid ligenum se wæs lað gode
	Beo 903	on feonda geweald forð forlacen

[And77]	*And* 618	**Secge ic ðe to soðe** ðæt he swiðe oft
	Beo 590	**Secge ic þe to soðe** sunu Ecglafes

[And78]	*And* 620	**wundor æfter wundre** on wera gesiehðe
<PB41>	*Beo* 931	**wunder æfter wundre** wuldres hyrde

[And79]	*And* 622	**folc-ræd fremede** swa he to friðe hogode
<PB42>	*And* 1654	feorh-**ræd fremedon** sægde his fusne hige
	Beo 3006	**folc-red fremede** oððe furður gen

[And80]	*And* 627	**rodera rædend** rune besæton?
	And 816	**rodera rædend** ða ðu aræfnan ne miht
	DEdg 23	**rodera rædend** þa man his **riht** tobræc
	Beo 1555	**rodera rædend** hit on **ryht** gesced

[And81]	*And* 658	to ðam *meðel-stede* *manige* comon
	And 697	fram *þam meðel-stede* mihtum geswiðed
	Ex 397	*To þam meðel-stede* magan gelædde
	Ex 543	*on þam meðel-stede* *manegum* demeð
	Dan 145	Ne meahte þa seo *mænigeo* *on þam meðel-stede*
	El 554	*on meðel-stede* modes snyttro
	Mald 199	*on þam meþel-stede* þa he gemot hæfde
	Beo 1082	þæt he ne mehte *on þæm meðel-stede*
[And82]	*And* 659	snottre *sele-rædend* Symble gefegon
	Beo 51	*secgan* to soðe *sele-rædende*
	Beo 1346	*sele-rædende* *secgan* hyrde
[And83]	*And* 664	nemne ellefne *orett-mæcgas*
	Jud 232	Assiria *oret-mæcgas*
	Beo 332	*oret-mecgas* æfter æþelum frægn
	Beo 363	þone yldestan *oret-mecgas*
	Beo 481	ofer ealo-wæge *oret-mecgas*
[And84]	*And* 668	*heah ond horn-geap* hæleðum gefrege
<PB43>	*Beo* 82	*heah ond horn-geap* heaðo-wylma bad
[And84]	*And* 684	He wæs afeded on þysse *folc-sceare*
	GenA 1781	geond þa *folc-sceare* be frean hæse
	GenA 1872	*of* þære *folc-sceare* þæt he on friðe wære
	GenA 2479	þæt þu ðe aferige of *þisse folc-sceare*
	GenA 2681	*on þisse folc-sceare* facne besyrwan
	GenA 2830	*on ðisse folc-sceare* frætwa dælan
	El 402	þe we gefremedon on þysse *folc-scere*
	El 967	Ða wæs gefrege in þære *folc-sceare*
	Beo 73	buton *folc-scare* ond feorum gumena
[And85]	*And* 698	dugeða dryhten secan *digol land*
<PB44>	*Beo* 1357	dyrnra gasta hie *dygel lond*
[And86]	*And* 707	*getrume mycle* þæt he in temple gestod
<PB45>	*Beo* 922	tryddode tir-fæst *getrume micle*
[And87]	*And* 737	*frod fyrn-geweorc* þæt he on foldan stod
	And 1410	*fyrn*-weorca frea to *fæder* cleopodest
	GenA 1154	*frod fyrn-wita* [V] and nigonhund
	El 343	*frod fyrn-weota* *fæder* Salomones
	El 438	*frod fyrn-wiota* *fæder* minum
	El 1153	þurh *fyrn-witan* beforan sungen
	Phoen 84	*frod fyrn-geweorc* se hit on frymþe gescop
	Phoen 95	fæder *fyrn-geweorc* frætwum blican
	Beo 2123	*frodan fyrn-witan* feorh uðgenge
[And88]	*And* 762	geond þæt side sel *swigodon ealle*

\<PB46\>	*Beo* 1699	sunu Healfdenes *swigedon ealle*

[And89]	*And* 768–70	geond beorna **breost** brand-hata **nið**
\<PB47\>	*And* 769	**weoll on gewitte** weorm blædum fag
	And 770	**attor** ælfæle Þær orcnawe wearð
	Beo 2714–15	þæt him on **breostum** bealo-**niðe weoll**
	Beo 2715	**attor** on innan Ða se æðeling giong
	Beo 2882	**weoll of gewitte** wergendra to lyt

[And90]	*And* 784	**frode fyrn-weotan** folce gecyðan
	GenA 1154	**frod fyrn-wita** [V] and nigonhund
	El 343	**frod fyrn-weota** **fæder** Salomones
	El 438	**frod fyrn-wiota** **fæder** minum
	El 1153	þurh **fyrn-witan** beforan sungen
	Beo 2123	**frodan fyrn-witan** feorh uðgenge

[And91	*And* 787	**scyppend** wera **gescrifen hæfde**
\<PB48\>	*XSt* 33	hu he þæt scyldige werud **forscrifen hefde**
	MSol 162	bealwe bocstafas bill **forscrifeð**
	Beo 106	siþðan him **scyppend** **forscrifen hæfde**

[And92]	*And* 803	open eorð-scræfu woldon hie **ædre gecyðan**
\<PB49\>	*Beo* 354	ond þe þa ondsware **ædre gecyðan**

[And93]	*And* 818	Þus Andreas **ondlangne dæg**
	And 1274	Ða wæs eft swa ær **ondlangne dæg**
	GuthB 1277	**ondlongne dæg** oþ æfen forð
	Brun 21	**ondlongne dæg** eorod-cistum
	Beo 2115	Swa we þær inne **ondlangne dæg**

[And94]	*And* 833–4	bliðne **bidan** burh-wealle **neh**
\<PB50\>	*And* 834	his ned-hetum **niht-langne fyrst**
	El 67	on neaweste **niht-langne fyrst**
	Ex 208	Hæfde nyd-fara **niht-langne fyrst**
	Beo 528	**niht-longne fyrst** nean bidan

[And95]	*And* 836–43	scire scinan **Sceadu sweðerodon**
\<PB51\>	*And* 837	**wonn under wolcnum** Þa com wederes blæst
	And 838	hador heofon-leoma ofer hofu **blican**
	And 839	Onwoc þa **wiges heard** (**wang sceawode**)
	And 840	fore burg-geatum **Beorgas steape**
	And 841	hleoðu hlifodon ymbe **harne stan**
	And 842	tigel-fagan trafu torras stodon
	And 843	**windige weallas** Þa se wisa oncneow
	And 1306	brun**wann** oferbræd **beorgas steape**
	GuthB 1280	**won under wolcnum** woruld miste oferteah
	Mald 130	Wōd þā **wiges heard** wæpen up āhōf
	Ruin 43	ofer **harne stan** hate streamas
	Beo 222	brim-clifu **blican beorgas steape**
	Beo 570–2	beorht beacen godes brimu **swaþredon**

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	Beo 571	þæt ic sæ-næssas geseon mihte
	Beo 572	*windige weallas* Wyrd oft nereð
	Beo 650–1	*scadu*-helma gesceapu scriðan cwoman
	Beo 651	*wan under wolcnum* Werod eall aras
	Beo 886–7	syþðan *wiges heard* wyrm acwealde
	Beo 887	hordes hyrde He under *harne stan*
	Beo 1224	*wind*-geard *weallas* wes þenden þu lifige
	Beo 1374	*won* to *wolcnum* þonne wind styreð
	Beo 1413–15	wisra monna *wong sceawian*
	Beo 1414	oþþæt he færinga fyrgen-beamas
	Beo 1415	ofer *harne stan* hleonian funde
	Beo 2553	heaðo-torht hlynnan under *harne stan*
	Beo 2744	hord *sceawian* under *harne stan*

[And96]   *And* 850   *wigend weccean*   ond *worde cwæð*
<PB52>   *Beo* 2046   *wig*-bealu *weccean*   ond þæt *word acwyð*
          Beo 3024   *wigend weccean*   ac se wonna hrefn
          Beo 3144   *wigend weccan*   wudurec astah

[And97]   *And* 858   geonge *gen-cwidum*   gastgerynum
          El 525   grimne *geagn-cwide*   wið godes bearne
          El 594   þæt he *gen-cwidas*   gleawe hæbbe
          Beo 367   ðinra *gegn-cwida*   glæd-man Hroðgar

[And98]   *And* 914   *wes ðu* Andreas   *hal* mid þas will-gedryht
<PB53>   *Beo* 407   *wæs þu* Hroðgar   *hal* ic eom Higelaces

[And99]   *And* 918   *Feoll þa to foldan*   frioðo wilnode
          Mald 166   *Feoll* þa *to foldan*   fealo-hilte swurd
          XSt 531   *Feollon on foldan*   and to fotum hnigon
          XSt 544   *feollon to foldan*   fulwihtes bæðe
          Beo 2975   *feoll on foldan*   næs he fæge þa git

[And100] *And* 920   Hu geworhte ic þæt   *waldend fira*
          Beo 2741   forðam me witan ne ðearf   *waldend fira*

[And101] *And* 942   hrinen heoru-dolgum   *heafod-magan*
          GenA 1200   þenden he hyrde wæs   *heafod-maga*
          GenA 1605   hyhtlic heorð-werod   *heafod-maga*
          Beo 588   *heafod-mægum*   þæs þu in helle scealt
          Beo 2151   *heafod-maga*   nefne Hygelac ðec

[And101] *And* 952   *heardum heoru-swengum*   scel þin hra dæled
          Beo 1590   *heoro-sweng heardne* ond   hine þa heafde becearf

[And102] *And* 955   *deaðe gedælan*   þeh ðu drype ðolie
          And 1217   *deaðe gedælan*   ðeah ðu drype þolige
          Beo 1589   syþðan he æfter *deaðe*   drepe þrowade

[And103] *And* 982   beorn *beaduwe heard*   eode in burh hraðe

<PB54>	*Beo* 1539	brægd þa **beadwe heard** þa he gebolgen wæs
[And104]	*And* 985–6	stop on **stræte** (**stig wisode**)
<PB55>	*And* 986	swa him nænig **gumena** ongitan ne mihte
	Beo 320–1	**Stræt** wæs stan-fah **stig wisode**
	Beo 321	**gumum** ætgædere Guð-byrne scan
[And105]	*And* 994	seofone ætsomne **Ealle swylt fornam**
	Jul 255	onsecge sigortifre **ær þec swylt nime**
	Jul 675	on swonrade **Swylt ealle fornom**
	El 447	min swæs sunu **ær þec swylt nime**
	El 676	Caluarie **ær þec** cwealm **nime**
	El 677	**swilt** for synnum þæt ic hie syððan mæge
	Beo 441	dryhtnes dome se **þe hine deað nimeð**
	Beo 452	onsend higelace **gif mec hild nime**
	Beo 447	dreore fahne **gif mec deað nimeð**
	Beo 1436	sundes þe sænra **ðe hyne swylt fornam**
	Beo 1481	hondgesellum **gif mec hild nime**
	Beo 1491	dom gewyrce **oþðe mec deað nimeð**
	Beo 2536	gold gegangan **oððe** guð **nimeð**
[And106]	*And* 995	druron **domlease deað**-ræs forfeng
<PB56>	*XSt* 230	dreogan **domlease** gewinn drihtnes mihtum
	Beo 2890	**domleasan** dæd **deað** bið sella
[And107]	*And* 996	hæleð **heoro-dreorige** ða se halga gebæd
	And 1083	ah þær **heoro-dreorige** hyrdas lagan
	El 1214	healte **heoru-dreorige** hreofe ond blinde
	Phoen 217	**heoro-dreorges** hus hreoh onetteð
	Beo 935	husa selest **heoro-dreorig** stod
	Beo 1780	þæt ic on þone hafelan **heoro-dreorigne**
	Beo 2720	Hyne þa mid handa **heoro-dreorigne**
[And108]	*And* 999	godes dryhten-dom **duru sona onarn**
<PB57>	*Beo* 721	dreamum bedæled **duru sona onarn**
[And109]	*And* 1002	**hæle hilde-deor** hæðene swæfon
<PB58>	*El* 935	**hæleð hilde-deor** (him wæs halig gast
	Beo 312	Him þa **hilde-deor** hof modigra
	Beo 834	syþðan **hilde-deor** hond alegde
	Beo 1646	**hæle hilde-deor** Hroðgar gretan
	Beo 1816	**hæle hilde-deor** Hroðgar grette
	Beo 2107	hwilum **hilde-deor** hearpan wynne
	Beo 2183	heold **hilde-deor** Hean wæs lange
	Beo 3111	**hæle hilde-dior** hæleða monegum
	Beo 3169	Þa ymbe hlæw riodan **hilde-diore**
[And110]	*And* 1011–13	Aras **þa togenes gode þancade**
<PB59>	*And* 1012	**þæs ðe hie** on**sunde** æfre **moston**
	And 1013	**geseon** under sunnan Syb wæs gemæne

Beo 1626–8	Eodon him *þa togeanes* *gode þancodon*	
Beo 1627	ðryðlic þegna heap þeodnes gefegon	
Beo 1628	*þæs þe hi* hyne ge*sund*ne *geseon moston*	

[And111] *And* 1037	*generede fram niðe* (þær he nænigne forlet	
PPs582 1	*Genere me fram niþe* naht-fremmendra	
PsFr582 1	*Genere me fram niðe* naht-fremmendra	
PPs1391 1	*Genere me wið niþe* on naman þinum	
PsFr1391 1	*Genere me wið niþe* on naman þinum	
Beo 827	*genered wið niðe* nihtweorce gefeh	

[And112] *And* 1062	*standan* stræte neah *stapul* ærenne	
<PB60> *And* 1487–95	*grimra guða* Hwæðre git sceolon	
And 1488	lytlum sticcum leoð-worda dæl	
And 1489	furður reccan þæt is fyrn-sægen	
And 1490	hu he *weorna feala* wita geðolode	
And 1491	heardra hilda in þære hæðenan byrig	
And 1492	He *be wealle geseah* wundrum *fæste*	
And 1493	under sæl-wage sweras unlytle	
And 1494	*stapulas standan* storme bedrifene	
And 1495	eald *enta geweorc* He wið anne þæra	
Beo 229	þa of *wealle geseah* weard Scildinga	
Beo 527–30	*grimre guðe* gif þu Grendles dearst	
Beo 528	niht-longne fyrst nean bidan'	
Beo 529	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecgþeowes	
Beo 530	'Hwæt þu *worn fela* wine min Unferð	
Beo 926	*stod* on *stapole geseah* steapne hrof	
Beo 1783	wigge weorþad unc sceal *worn fela*	
Beo 2003	wearð on ðam wange þær he *worna fela*	
Beo 2542–3	*Geseah* ða *be wealle* se ðe *worna fela*	
Beo 2543	gum-cystum god *guða* gedigde	
Beo 2716–18	þæt he *bi wealle* wis-hycgende	
Beo 2717	gesæt on sesse *seah* on *enta geweorc*	
Beo 2718	hu ða stan-bogan *stapulum fæste*	

[And113] *And* 1066	hwæt him *guð-weorca* gifeðe wurde	
<PB61> *Beo* 678	*guþ-geweorca* þonne Grendel hine	
Beo 981	on gylp-spræce *guð-geweorca*	
Beo 1825	*guð-geweorca* ic beo gearo sona	

[And114] *And* 1082	in carcerne *cwicne* <ne> *gemetton*	
<PB62> *Beo* 2785	hwæðer collen-ferð *cwicne gemette*	

[And115] *And* 1104	efne ofer ænne *eald-gesiða*	
<PB63> *Beo* 853	þanon eft gewiton *eald-gesiðas*	

[And116] *And* 1113	metes *mod-geomre* næs him to maðme wynn	
And 1708	mæcgas *mod-geomre* þær manegum wæs	
Beo 2894	morgen-longne dæg *mod-giomor* sæt	

[And117] *And* 1114   hyht to **hord-gestreonum**   Hungre wæron
          Jul 22   heold **hord-gestreon**   Oft he hæþen-gield
          Met14 11   **hord-gestreona**   ðonne he hiðer brohte
          Beo 1899   ofer Hroðgares   **hord-gestreonum**
          Beo 3092   **hord-gestreona**   hider ut ætbær

[And118] *And* 1115   **þearle geþreatod   swa se ðeod-sceaða**
<PB64>   *ChristC* 1595   þreað **þeod-sceaþan**   ond no þonan læteð
          ChristC 1609   Ðær sceolan þeofas   ond **þeod-sceaþan**
          Beo 560   **þreatedon þearle**   ic him þenode
          Beo 2278   **Swa se ðeod-sceaða**   þreo hund wintra
          Beo 2688   Þa wæs **þeod-sceaða**   þriddan siðe

[And119] *And* 1116   reow **ric**sode   þa wæs **rinc manig**
<PB65>   *Beo* 399   aras þa se **rica**   ymb hine **rinc manig**
          Beo 728   geseah he in recede   **rinca manige**

[And120] *And* 1118   breostum onbryrded   to þam **beadu-lace**
<PB66>   *Beo* 1561   to **beadu-lace**   ætberan meahte

[And121] *And* 1132   **sæcce gesohte**   sceolde **sweordes** ecg
<PB67>   *Beo* 1989   **sæcce secan**   ofer sealt wæter
          Beo 2562   **sæcce to seceanne**   **sweord** ær gebræd

[And122] *And* 1133   scerp ond **scur-heard**   of *sceaðan* folme
          Beo 1033   **scur-heard** *sceþðan*   þonne scyld-freca

[And123] *And* 1142   on þam hyse-beorðre   **heafolan** gescenan
          GuthB 1270   **heafelan** onhylde   hyrde þa gena
          ChristB 505   þe of þæs hælendes   **heafelan lixte**
          Phoen 604   hlifað ofer heafde   **Heafelan lixað**
          Beo 446   **hafalan hydan**   ac he me habban wile
          Beo 672   helm of **hafelan**   sealde his hyrsted sweord
          Beo 1120   hlynode for hlawe   **hafelan** multon
          Beo 1327   **hafelan** weredon   þonne hniton feþan
          Beo 1372   **hafelan hydan***   nis þæt heoru stow   [NOT IN MS]
          Beo 1421   on þam **holm-clife**   **hafelan** metton
          Beo 1448   ac se hwita helm   **hafelan** werede
          Beo 1521   þæt hire on **hafelan**   hring-mæl agol
          Beo 1614   buton þone **hafelan**   ond þa hilt somod
          Beo 1635   from þæm **holm-clife**   **hafelan** bæron
          Beo 1780   þæt ic on þone **hafelan**   heoro-dreorigne
          Beo 2679   hilde-bille   þæt hyt on **heafolan** stod
          Beo 2697   Ne hedde he þæs **heafolan**   ac sio hand gebarn

[And124] *And* 1145–6   Het wæpen wera   wexe **gelicost**
<PB68>   *And* 1146   on þam orlege   **eall** for**meltan**
          Beo 1608   þæt hit **eal gemealt**   ise **gelicost**

[And125] *And* 1159   weste **win-ræced**   welan ne benohton

Beo 714	Wod under wolcnum	to þæs þe he **win-reced**
Beo 993	wera ond wifa	þe þæt **win-reced**

[And126] *And* 1163   Fregn þa gelome   **freca** oðerne
       Ex 217   folc somnigean   **frecan** arisan
       Beo 1563   He gefeng þa fetel-hilt   **freca** Scyldinga

[And127] *And* 1173   **Her is gefered**   ofer **feorne** weg
       El 992   **feorran geferede**   Wæs him frofra mæst
       GenB 498   **feorran gefered**   ne þæt nu fyrn ne wæs
       MSol 178   **feorran gefered**   næfre ær his ferhð ahlog
       Beo 361   **Her syndon geferede**   **feorran** cumene

[And128] *And* 1208   scealt ðu Andreas   **ellen fremman**
<PB69> *Beo* 3   hu ða æþelingas   **ellen fremedon**
       Beo 636–7   feond-grapum fæst   Ic **gefremman** sceal
       Beo 637   eorlic **ellen**   oþðe endedæg

[And129] *And* 1227   leoda duguðe   Lyt sorgodon
       Ex 183   Hæfde him **alesen**   **leoda dugeðe**
       Ex 228   **alesen** under lindum   **leoda duguðe**
       GenA 2023   **leoda duguðe**   and Lothes sið
       Beo 2238   **leoda duguðe**   se ðær lengest hwearf
       Beo 2945   **leoda dugoðe**   on last faran

[And130] *And* 1235   **enta ær-geweorc**   innan **burgum**
<PB70> *And* 1495   **eald enta geweorc**   He wið anne þæra
       Wan 87   **eald enta geweorc**   idlu stodon
       Ruin 2   **burg**-stede burston   brosnað **enta geweorc**
       MaxII 2   orðanc **enta geweorc**   þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon
       Beo 1679   **enta ær-geweorc**   hit **on** æht gehwearf
       Beo 2717   gesæt on sesse   seah **on enta geweorc**
       Beo 2774   **eald enta geweorc**   anne mannan

[And131] *And* 1236   **stræte stan-fage**   storm upp aras
<PB71> *Beo* 320   **stræt** wæs **stan-fah**   stig wisode

[And132] *And* 1239–41   sar-bennum soden   **swate** bestemed
<PB72> *And* 1240   **ban**-hus abrocen   **Blod yðum weoll**
       And 1241   **haton heolfre**   Hæfde him on innan
       And 1275–8   swungen sar-slegum   **Swat yðum weoll**
       And 1276   þurh **ban**-cofan   **blod**-lifrum swealg
       And 1277   **hatan heolfre**   Hra weorces ne sann
       And 1278   **wund**um werig   Þa cwom **wopes** hring
       Beo 847–9   Ðær wæs on **blode**   brim **weallende**
       Beo 848   atol **yða** geswing   eal gemenged
       Beo 849   **haton heolfre**   heoro-dreore **weol**
       Beo 1422–3   Flod **blode weol**   (folc to sægon)
       Beo 1423   **hatan heolfre**   Horn stundum song
       Beo 2691–3   **hat** ond heaðo-grim   heals ealne ymbefeng

Beo 2692	biteran **ban**um he ge**blod**egod wearð	
Beo 2693	sawul-driore ***swat yðum weoll***	
Beo 3146–8	***wope*** be**wund**en (wind-blond gelæg)	
Beo 3147	oðþæt he ða ***ban-hus*** gebrocen hæfde	
Beo 3148	***hat*** on hreðre Higum unrote	

[And133] *And* 1240	***ban-hus*** a**brocen** Blod yðum ***weoll***	
And 1405	***ban-hus*** blod-fag benne ***weallað***	
GuthB 1367	***ban-hus*** a**brocen** burgum in innan	
Ex 524	beorht in breostum ***ban-huses*** weard	
Beo 2508	***ban-hus gebræc*** Nu sceall billes ecg	
Beo 3147	oðþæt he ða ***banhus*** gebrocen hæfde	

[And134] *And* 1245	swa wæs ealne dæg ***oððæt æfen com***	
\<PB73\> *PPs896* 3	and geefneð swa ***oþþæt æfen cymeð***	
PPs1296 2	***oðþæt æfen cume*** ylda bearnum	
Beo 1235	eorla manegum syþðan ***æfen cwom***	
Beo 2303	earfoðlice ***oððæt æfen cwom***	

[And135] *And* 1254	eorl ellen-heard ***ond-lange niht***	
GuthB 1287	æþele ymb æþelne ***ond-longe niht***	
Beo 2938	earmre teohhe ***ond-longe niht***	

[And136] *And* 1255	***searo-þancum*** beseted Snaw eorðan band	
Jul 298	Simon ***searo-þoncum*** þæt he sacan ongon	
Jul 494	***searo-þoncum*** slog Ic asecgan ne mæg	
El 414	sohton ***searo-þancum*** hwæt sio syn wære	
El 1189	snottor ***searu-þancum*** (sefa deop gewod	
Ridd35 13	Saga soð-cwidum ***searo-þoncum*** gleaw	
CPPref 7	ðurh sefan snyttro ***searo-ðonca*** hord	
Beo 775	***searo-þoncum*** besmiþod Þær fram sylle abeag	

[And137] *And* 1269–70	heofon-torht onhlad Ða com ***hæleða*** þreat	
\<PB74\> *And* 1270	to ðære dimman ding ***duguð unlytel***	
Beo 497–8	hador on Heorote Þær wæs ***hæleða*** dream	
Beo 498	***duguð unlytel*** Dena ond Wedera	

[And138] *And* 1274	***Ða wæs eft swa ær*** ondlangne dæg	
GuthA 390	***Ða wæs eft swa ær*** eald-feonda nið	
Beo 642	***Þa wæs eft swa ær*** inne on healle	
Beo 1787	***Þa wæs eft swa ær*** ellen-rofum	

[And139] *And* 1278	***wundum werig*** Þa cwom wopes hring	
Mald 303	***wundum werige*** Wæl feol on eorþan	
Beo 2937	***wundum werge*** wean oft gehet	

[And140] *And* 1312	***atol æglæca*** yfela gemyndig	
El 901	***eatol æclæca*** yfela gemyndig	
XSt 160	***atol æglæca*** ut of helle	
Beo 159	ac* se* ***æglæca*** ehtende wæs [GAP AT EDGE OF MS]	

Beo 592	*atol æglæca*	ealdre þinum
Beo 732	*atol aglæca*	anra gehwylces
Beo 816	*atol æglæca*	him on eaxle wearð

[And141] *And* 1324	Þone Herodes	*ealdre besnyðede*
Ridd26 1	Mec feonda sum	*feore besnyþede*
Beo 2924	þætte Ongenðio	*ealdre besnyðede*

[And142] *And* 1333	ðæt ge *guð-frecan*	gylp forbegan
Phoen 353	from þam *guð-frecan*	geomormode
Jud 224	grame *guð-frecan*	garas sendon
Beo 2414	gearo *guð-freca*	gold-maðmas heold

[And143] *And* 1344	*lind-gesteallan*	þæt eow swa lyt gespeow
<PB75> *Beo* 1973	*lind-gestealla*	lifigende cwom

[And144] *And* 1346	*fah* fyrn-*sceaþa*	ond his fæder oncwæð
<PB76> *And* 1593	*faa* folc-*sceaðan*	feowertyne
Jud 104	þone *feond-sceaðan*	fagum mece
Ridd14 19	flyman *feond-sceaþan*	Frige hwæt ic hatte
Beo 554	*fah* feond-*scaða*	fæste hæfde

[And145] *And* 1351	to þam an-hagan	*aldre geneðan*
Fates 17	for Egias	*aldre geneðde*
Beo 510	*aldrum neþdon*	ne inc ænig mon
Beo 538	*aldrum neðdon*	ond þæt geæfndon swa
Beo 1469	under yða gewin	*aldre geneþan*
Beo 2133	eorlscipe efnde	*ealdre geneðde*

[And146] *And* 1359	*wið þam æg-læcan*	eall getrahtod
Beo 425	*wið þam ag-læcan*	ana gehegan
Beo 2520	*wið ðam ag-læcean*	elles meahte

[And147] *And* 1366	weotud be gewyrhtum	Þu scealt *werig-mod*
GuthA 255	*Gewitað* nu awyrgde	*werig-mode*
Phoen 428	*Gewiteð werig-mod*	wintrum gebysgad
Wife 49	wine *werig-mod*	wætre beflowen
PPs683 1	Þær ic *werig-mod*	wann and cleopode
Beo 844	hu he *werig-mod*	on weg þanon
Beo 1543	oferwearp þa *werig-mod*	wigena strengest

[And148] *And* 1398	*ongan þa geomor-mod*	to gode cleopian
<PB77> *Beo* 2044	*onginneð geomor-mod*	geongum cempan

[And149] *And* 1402	*under heofon-hwealfe*	*heardran* drohtnoð
<PB78> *Beo* 576	*under heofones hwealf*	*heardran* feohtan

[And150] *And* 1405	ban-hus *blod-fag*	benne weallað
<PB79> *Beo* 934	bote gebidan	þonne *blode fah*
Beo 1594	brim *blode fah*	blonden-feaxe

Beo 2060	æfter billes bite	***blod-fag*** swefeð
Beo 2974	þæt he ***blode fah***	bugan sceolde

[And151] *And* 1457   ***wuldor-torht*** gewat   under waðu scriðan
        GenA 119   wonne wægas   Þa wæs ***wuldor-torht***
        GenA 2770   ***wuldor-torht*** ymb wucan   þæs þe hine on woruld
        GenA 2875   wegas ofer westen   oðþæt ***wuldor-torht***
        Beo 1136   ***wuldor-torhtan*** weder   Ða wæs winter scacen

[And152] *And* 1468   ***searo-hæbbendra***   sar þrowian
        And 1528   ***searu-hæbbende***   Sund grunde onfeng
        Beo 237   Hwæt syndon ge   ***searo-hæbbendra***

[And153] *And* 1472   ***lungre alysed***   ne loc of heafde
        PPs1457 4   ***lungre alyseð***   and him lif geofeð
        Beo 1630   ***lungre alysed***   Lagu drusade

[And154] *And* 1474   ***lic<e> gelenge***   ne laðes dæl
<PB80>   *Beo* 2732   ***lice gelenge***   ic ðas leode heold

[And155] *And* 1481   ***ofer min gemet***   mycel is to secganne
<PB81>   *Beo* 2879   ***ofer min gemet***   mæges helpan

[And156] *And* 1487   ***grimra guða***   Hwæðre git sceolon
        Beo 527   ***grimre guðe***   gif þu Grendles dearst

[And157] *And* 1490   hu he ***weorna feala***   wita geðolode
        Beo 530   hwæt þu ***worn fela***   wine min Unferð
        Beo 1783   wiggeweorþad   unc sceal ***worn fela***
        Beo 2003   wearð on ðam wange   þær he ***worna fela***
        Beo 2542   geseah ða be wealle   se ðe ***worna fela***

[And158] *And* 1492   He ***be wealle geseah***   wundrum fæste
        And 1493   under sæl-wage   sweras unlytle
        And 1494   ***stapulas*** standan   storme bedrifene
        And 1495   eald ***enta geweorc***   He wið anne þæra
        Beo 229   Þa of ***wealle geseah***   weard Scildinga
        Beo 2542   ***Geseah*** ða ***be wealle***   se ðe worna fela
        Beo 2716   þæt he ***bi wealle***   wis-hycgende
        Beo 2717   gesæt on sesse   ***seah*** on ***enta geweorc***
        Beo 2718   hu ða stan-bogan   ***stapulum*** fæste

[And159] *And* 1506   on þis fræte folc   ***forð onsende***
        El 120   þurh fingra geweald   ***forð onsendan***
        ChristB 764   in folc godes   ***forð onsendeð***
        Beo 45   þe hine æt frum-sceafte   ***forð onsendon***
        Beo 2266   fela feorh-cynna   ***forð onsended***

[And160] *And* 1531   geonge on geofene   ***guð-ræs*** fornam
        Beo 1577   Grendle forgyldan   ***guð-ræsa*** fela

	Beo 2426	Fela ic on giogoðe ***guð-ræsa*** genæs
	Beo 2991	geald þone ***guð-ræs*** Geata dryhten

[And161]	*And* 1533	biter ***beor-þegu*** Byrlas ne gældon
	Beo 117	æfter ***beor-þege*** gebun hæfdon
	Beo 617	bæd hine bliðne æt þære ***beor-þege***

[And162]	*And* 1534	***ombeht-þegnas*** Þær wæs ælcum genog
	GuthB 1000	an ***ombeht-þegn*** se hine æghwylce
	GuthB 1146	ar ***onbeht-þegn*** æþeles neosan
	GuthB 1199	***ombeht-þegne*** þa he ædre oncneow
	GuthB 1294	eadig elnes gemyndig spræc to his ***onbeht-þegne***
	Beo 673	irena cyst ***ombiht-þegne***

[And163]	*And* 1537	***ealde æsc***-berend wæs him ut myne
<PB82>	*Beo* 2042	***eald æsc***-wiga se ðe eall geman

[And164]	*And* 1542	***hatan heaðo-wælme*** Hreoh wæs þær inne
	El 579	***hattost heaðo-welma*** ond eower hra bryttað
	Ex 148	Wæron ***heaðo-wylmas*** heortan getenge
	GenB 324	***hatne heaðo-welm*** helle tomiddes
	Beo 82	heah ond horn-geap ***heaðo-wylma*** bad
	Beo 2819	***hate heaðo-wylmas*** him of hreðre gewat

[And165]	*And* 1547	Ðær wæs ***yð-fynde*** innan burgum
	Ex 580	***Þa wæs eð-fynde*** Afrisc neowle
	Beo 138	***Þa wæs eað-fynde*** þe him elles hwær

[And166]	*And* 1548	***geomor-gidd*** wrecen Gehðo mændan
	Beo 3150	swylce ***giomor-gyd*** Geatisc meowle

[And167]	*And* 1551	heardlic here-team hleoðor ***gryrelic***
	Ridd33 3	hlinsade hlude hleahtor wæs gryrelic
	Beo 1441	***gryrelicne*** gist Gyrede hine Beowulf
	Beo 2136	grimne ***gryrelicne*** grund-hyrde fond

[And168]	*And* 1555	earmlic ylda gedræg þa þær ***an ongann***
<PB83>	*Beo* 100	eadiglice oððæt ***an ongan***
	Beo 2210	eald eþel-weard oððæt ***an ongan***

[And169]	*And* 1565	ealle ***an***-mode (***ofost is selost***)
	Ex 293	***eorlas*** ær-glade ***Ofest is selost***
	Beo 256	***an***-fealdne geþoht ***Ofost is selest***
	Beo 3007	***eorl***scipe efnde Nu ***is ofost*** betost

[And170]	*And* 1574	oþþæt breost oferstag ***brim weallende***
<PB84>	*Beo* 847	ðær wæs on blode ***brim weallende***

[And171]	*And* 1590	geotende gegrind grund ***eall forswealg***
<PB85>	*GenA* 2559	swogende ***leg*** ***forswealh eall*** geador

	PPs10515 1	Þa eorðe togaan and *ealle forswealh*
	Beo 1122	lað-bite *lices* lig *ealle forswealg*
	Beo 2080	leofes mannes *lic eall forswealg*

[And172]	*And* 1599	syððan *mane faa* *morðor-scyldige*
<PB86>	*Beo* 978	maga *mane fah* miclan domes
	Beo 1683	*morðres scyldig* ond his modor eac

[And173]	*And* 1606	þæt we *gum-cystum* georne hyran
	Jul 381	godra *gum-cysta* geasne hweorfan
	Beo 1486	þæt ic *gum-cystum* godne funde
	Beo 1723	*gum-cyste* ongit ic þis gid be þe
	Beo 2543	*gum-cystum* god guða gedigde

[And174]	*And* 1619	*in feonda geweald* gefered ne wurdan
	Jul 159	fæder fæmnan ageaf *on feonda geweald*
	ChristC 1415	*on feonda geweald* feran sceolde
	PPs1203 1	Ne sylle he þinne fot *on feondes geweald*
	Beo 808	*on feonda geweald* feor siðian
	Beo 903	*on feonda geweald* forð forlacen

[And175]	*And* 1630	onfengon fulwihte ond *freoðu-wære*
	Ex 306	*fæstum* fæðmum *freoðo-wære* heold
	PPs118158 2	heora *friðo-wære* *fæste* healdan
	Beo 1096	*fæste frioðu-wære* Fin Hengeste
	Beo 2282	fæted wæge *frioðo-wære* bæd

| [And176] | *And* 1638 | *eorlas* an-mode   *ond* hira *idesa mid* |
| <PB87> | *Beo* 1649 | egeslic for *eorlum*   *ond* þære *idese mid* |

[And177]	*And* 1656	secga sele-dream ond *sinc-gestreon*
<PB88>	*Beo* 1092	efne swa swiðe *sinc-gestreonum*
	Beo 1226	*sinc-gestreona* beo þu suna minum

| [And178] | *And* 1657 | *beorht beag-selu*   ond him brim-þisan |
| <PB89> | *Beo* 1177 | *beah-sele beorhta*   bruc þenden þu mote |

[And179]	*And* 1667	*murnende mod*
	Wulf 15	*murnende mod* nales meteliste
	Beo 50	*murnende mod* Men ne cunnon

| [And180] | *And* 1710 | Hie ða gebrohton   *æt brimes* næsse |
| | *Beo* 2803 | beorhtne æfter bæle   *æt brimes* nosan |

Cynewulf, *Christ B*

[CB1]	*ChristB* 482	*geond wid-wegas* weoredum cyðað
	PPs10536 3	of *wid-wegum* þær we wean dreogað
	PPs14420 4	geond widwegas wearnum ealle
	Beo 840	*geond wid-wegas* wundor sceawian
	Beo 1704	*geond wid-wegas* wine min Beowulf

| [CB2] | *ChristB* 485 | Hweorfað to hæþnum   hergas **breotaþ** | |
| | *Beo* 1713 | **breat** bolgen-mod   beod-geneatas | |

[CB3]	*ChristB* 496	þa þe leofes þa gen *last weardedun*	
	GuthB 1338	*life* bilidenne *last weardian*	
	Met20 241	Sceal se lic-hama *last weardigan*	
	Beo 971	to *lif*-wraþe *last weardian*	
	Beo 2164	lungre gelice *last weardode*	

[CB4]	*ChristB* 499	god-bearn of grundum *Him wæs geomor sefa*	
	Res 95	sarcwide secga ond *him* bið a *sefa geomor*	
	Beo 49	geafon on gar-secg *him wæs geomor sefa*	
	Beo 2419	gold-wine geata *him wæs geomor sefa*	
	Beo 2632	sægde gesiðum *him wæs sefa geomor*	

[CB5]	*ChristB* 505	þe of þæs hælendes *heafelan* lixte	
	Beo 446	*hafalan hydan* ac he me habban wile	
	Beo 672	helm of *hafelan* sealde his hyrsted sweord	
	Beo 1120	hlynode for hlawe *hafelan* multon	
	Beo 1327	*hafelan* weredon þonne hniton feþan	
	Beo 1372	*hafelan hydan** nis þæt heoru stow	[NOT IN MS]
	Beo 1421	on þam holm-clife *hafelan* metton	
	Beo 1448	ac se hwita helm *hafelan* werede	
	Beo 1521	þæt hire on *hafelan* hring-mæl agol	
	Beo 1614	buton þone *hafelan* ond þa hilt somod	
	Beo 1635	from þæm holm-clife *hafelan* bæron	
	Beo 1780	þæt ic on þone *hafelan* heoro-dreorigne	
	Beo 2679	hilde-bille þæt hyt on *heafolan* stod	
	Beo 2697	Ne hedde he þæs *heafolan* ac sio hand gebarn	

[CB6]	*ChristB* 521	ond æþeleste *þe ge her on stariað*	
	ChristB 570	þisne ilcan þreat *þe ge her on stariað*	
	Beo 2796	ecum dryhtne *þe* ic *her on starie*	

| [CB7] | *ChristB* 537 | hyra *wil-gifan*   Þær wæs wopes hring | |
| | *Beo* 2900 | Nu is *wil-geofa*   Wedra leoda | |

[CB8]	*ChristB* 539	hat æt heortan *hreðer innan weoll*	
	Beo 2113	hilde-strengo *hreðer inne weoll*	
	Beo 2331	bitre gebulge breost *innan weoll*	
	Beo 2593	hyne hord-weard *hreðer* æðme *weoll*	

[CB9]	*ChristB* 550	sigan on swegle Þa *wæs symbla* mæst	
	Beo 1232	Eode þa to setle Þær *wæs symbla cyst*	
	Beo 1559	wigena weorð-mynd þæt *wæs* wæpna *cyst*	

[CB10]	*ChristB* 572	gæsta *gief-stol* godes agen bearn	
	Wan 44	in gear-dagum *gief-stolas* breac	
	MaxI 68	*gif-stol* gegierwed stondan hwonne hine guman gedælen	

	Beo 168	no he þone **gif-stol** gretan moste
[CB11]	*ChristB* 581	þurh his sylfes sygor **Sib sceal gemæne**
	ChristB 582	englum **ond** ældum a forð heonan
	Beo 1855	Hafast þu gefered þæt þam folcum **sceal**
	Beo 1856	Geata leodum **ond** Gar-denum
	Beo 1857	**sib gemæne** ond sacu restan
[CB12]	*ChristB* 615	æt his up-stige **þe we ær drugon**
	XSt 74	for ðam anmedlan **þe hie ær drugon**
	Beo 15	**þe** hie **ær drugon** aldorlease
	Beo 831	**inwid**-sorge **þe hie ær drugon**
	Beo 1858	**inwit**-niþas **þe hie ær drugon**
[CB13]	*ChristB* 623	feondum to hroþor fus-**leoð galan**
	Beo 786	gryre-**leoð galan** godes ondsacan
[CB14]	*ChristB* 666	æðele ondgiet **Se** mæg **eal-fela**
	Beo 869	**se** ðe **eal-fela** eald-gesegena
	Beo 883	hæfdon **eal-fela** eotena cynnes
[CB15]	*ChristB* 677	ofer sealtne sæ **sund-wudu** drifan
	Beo 208	**sund-wudu** sohte secg wisade
	Beo 1906	segl sale fæst **sund-wudu** þunede
[CB16]	*ChristB* 706	Þær ða **syn-sceaðan** soþes ne giemdon
	Beo 707	se **scyn-scaþa** under sceadu bregdan
	Beo 801	sawle secan þone **syn-scaðan**
[CB17]	*ChristB* 763	**wunde gewyrcen** þonne wroht-bora
	Beo 2906	**wunde gewyrcean** Wiglaf siteð
[CB18]	*ChristB* 764	in folc godes **forð onsendeð**
	Beo 45	þe hine æt frum-sceafte **forð onsendon**
	Beo 2266	fela feorh-cynna **forð onsended**
[CB19]	*ChristB* 767	symle wærlice **wearde healdan**
	Beo 319	wið wrað werod **wearde healdan**
[CB20]	*ChristB* 769	biter bord-gelac under **ban-locan**
	Beo 742	bat **ban-locan** blod edrum dranc
	Beo 818	burston **ban-locan** Beowulfe wearð
[CB21]	*ChristB* 773	utan us **to fæder freoþa wilnian**
	Dan 222	ne hie **to** facne **freoðo wilnedan**
	Beo 188	ond **to fæder** fæþmum **freoðo wilnian**
[CB22]	*ChristB* 806	//L// flodum bilocen **lif-wynna** dæl
	Beo 2097	lytle hwile **lif-wynna** breac

[CB23]	ChristB 811	burg-stede berstað Brond bið on tyhte
	ChristB 812	æleð eald-gestreon unmurnlice
	ChristB 813	*gæsta gifrast* þæt geo guman heoldan
	Beo 1123	*gæsta gifrost* þara ðe þær guð fornam
	Beo 1124	bega folces wæs hira blæd scacen

[CB24]	ChristB 812	æleð *eald-gestreon* unmurnlice
	ChristC 1570	hyra *eald-gestreon* on þa openan tid
	Beo 1381	*eald-gestreonum* swa ic ær dyde
	Beo 1458	Þæt wæs an foran *eald-gestreona*

[CB25]	ChristB 812	æleð eald-gestreon *unmurnlice*
	Beo 449	eteð an-genga *unmurnlice*
	Beo 1756	se þe *unmurnlice* madmas dæleþ

| [CB26] | ChristB 848 | þæt we gæstes wlite   ær þam *gryre-brogan* |
| | Beo 2227 | þæt þær ðam gyste   *gryre-broga* stod |

<p style="text-align:center">Cynewulf, Elene</p>

[El1]	El 10	ahæfen *hild-fruma* to here-teman
	El 101	heria *hild-fruma* þæt him on heofonum ær
	Beo 1678	harum *hild-fruman* on hand gyfen
	Beo 2649	helpan *hild-fruman* þenden hyt sy
	Beo 2835	for ðæs *hild-fruman* hond-geweorce

[El2]	El 21	foron *fyrd-hwate* Francan ond Hugas
	El 1178	feonda gehwylcne þonne *fyrd-hwate*
	Fates 12	*frame fyrd-hwate* feorh ofgefon
	Beo 1641	*frome fyrd-hwate* feowertyne
	Beo 2476	*frome fyrd-hwate* freode ne woldon

[El3]	El 27	For *folca* gedryht *Fyrd-leoð agol*
	Ex 578	*folc*-sweota mæst *fyrd-leoð golan*
	Beo 1424	fuslic *fyrd-leoð* Feþa eal gesæt

[El4]	El 33	*ymb-sittendra* awer meahte
	PPs784 2	eallum *edwit*-stæf *ymb-sittendum*
	PPs8835 2	and he on *edwit* wearð *ymb-sittendum*
	Met25 14	*ymb-sittenda* oðra ðeoda
	Beo 9	oðþæt him æghwylc þara *ymb-sittendra*
	Beo 1827	þæt þec *ymb-sittend* egesan þywað
	Beo 2734	*ymbe-sittendra* ænig ðara

| [El5] | El 36 | eored-cestum   þæt on *ælfylce* |
| | Beo 2371 | þæt he wið *ælfylcum*   eþel-stolas |

[El6]	El 39	ymb þæs *wæteres wylm* Werodes breahtme
	MSol 423	ne *wæteres wylm* ne wudu-telga
	Beo 1693	þurh *wæteres wylm* waldend sealde

[El7]	*El* 43	***ongean gramum*** guð-gelæcan
	Mald 100	Þær ***ongean gramum*** gearowe stodon
	Beo 1034	***ongean gramum*** gangan scolde
[El8]	*El* 55	mearh ***moldan træd*** Mægen samnode
	Beo 1881	guðrinc gold-wlanc græs-***moldan træd***
[El9]	*El* 64	***eaxl-gestealna*** wið ofer-mægene
	Ridd80 1	Ic eom æþelinges ***eaxl-gestealla***
	Beo 1326	***eaxl-gestealla*** ðonne we on orlege
	Beo 1714	***eaxl-gesteallan*** oþþæt he ana hwearf
[El10]	*El* 66	eorlas ymb æðeling ***eg-streame*** neah
	El 241	***on eg-streame*** idese lædan
	Jul 673	Heliseus ***eh-stream*** sohte
	ChristC 1167	ofer sine yðe gan ***Eah-stream*** ne dorste
	GenA 1415	eaforum ***eg-stream*** eft gecyrred
	Beo 577	ne ***on eg-streamum*** earmran mannon
[El11]	*El* 67	on neaweste ***niht-langne fyrst***
	Beo 528	***niht-longne fyrst*** nean bidan
[El12]	*El* 78	ond be naman nemde (***niht-helm toglad***)
	Beo 1789	niowan stefne ***Niht-helm*** geswearc
	Beo 2487	Guð-***helm toglad*** gomela Scylfing
[El13]	*El* 85	sigores tacen He ***wæs sona gearu***
	El 222	hiere sylfre suna ac ***wæs sona gearu***
	Beo 121	grim ond grædig ***gearo sona wæs***
	Beo 1825	guð-geweorca ic ***beo gearo sona***
[El14]	*El* 88	***fæle friðo-webba*** Geseah he frætwum beorht
	Wid 6	***fælre freoþu-webban*** forman siþe
	Beo 1942	þætte ***freoðu-webbe*** feores onsæce
[El15]	*El* 93	on þam frecnan fære ***feond oferswiðesð***
	Beo 279	hu he frod ond god ***feond oferswyðeþ***
[El16]	*El* 100	***beorna beag-gifa*** swa he þæt beacen geseah
	El 1198	***beorna beag-gifan*** bridels frætwan
	Beo 1102	ðeah hie hira ***beag-gyfan*** banan folgedon
[El17]	*El* 105	Heht þa ***on uhtan*** ***mid ær-dæge***
	Beo 126	Ða wæs ***on uhtan*** ***mid ær-dæge***
[El18]	*El* 109	beran ***beacen godes*** Byman sungon
	El 1193	bridels-hringum Bið þæt ***beacen gode***
	Beo 570	beorht ***beacen godes*** brimu swaþredon
[El19]	*El* 110	hlude for hergum Hrefn ***weorces gefeah***

	Beo 827	genered wið niðe niht *weorce gefeh*
	Beo 1569	sweord wæs swatig secg *weorce gefeh*

[El20]   *El* 114–115   Þær wæs *borda geþrec*   ond beorna geþrec
            El 115   heard hand-geswin   ond herga gring
            Mald 295   Ða wearð *borda gebræc*   Brim-men wodon
            Beo 2258   geswylce seo here-pad   sio æt hilde gebad
            Beo 2259   ofer *borda gebræc*   bite irena

[El21]   *El* 118   garas ofer *geolo-rand*   on gramra gemang
            Beo 438   *geolo-rand* to guþe   ac ic mid grape sceal

[El22]   *El* 120   þurh *fingra geweald*   forð onsendan
            Beo 764   fleon on fen-hopu   wiste his *fingra geweald*

[El23]   *El* 120   þurh fingra geweald   *forð onsendan*
            Beo 45   þe hine æt frum-sceafte   *forð onsendon*
            Beo 2266   fela feorh-cynna   *forð onsended*

[El24]   *El* 122   bræcon *bord-hreðan*   bil in dufan
            Ex 159   blicon *bord-hreoðan*   byman sungon)
            Ex 236   *under bord-hreoðan*   breost-net wera
            Ex 320   ofer *bord-hreoðan*   beacen aræred
            Beo 2203   *under bord-hreoðan*   to bonan wurdon

[El25   *El* 122   *bræcon* bord-hreðan   *bil* in dufan
            Beo 1567   ban-hringas *bræc*   *Bil* eal ðurhwod

[El26]   *El* 131   wide towrecene   Sume *wig fornam*
            Beo 1080   worolde wynne   *Wig* ealle *fornam*

[El27]   *El* 132   Sume *unsofte*   *aldor* generedon
            Beo 1655   Ic þæt *unsofte*   *ealdre* gedigde

[El28]   *El* 134   *flugon on fæsten*   *ond feore burgon*
            Mald 194   *flugon on* þæt *fæsten*   *and* hyra *feore burgon*
            Beo 1293   *feore beorgan*   þa heo onfunden wæs

[El29]   *El* 142   laðra lind-wered   *Lyt-hwon becwom*
            El 143   Huna herges   *ham* eft þanon
            Jud 310   *laðan cynnes*   *Lyt-hwon becom*
            Jud 311   cwicera *to* cyððe   Cirdon cyne-rofe
            Beo 2008   se ðe lengest leofað   *laðan cynnes*
            Beo 2354   *laðan cynnes*   No þæt læsest wæs
            Beo 2365   linde bæron   *lyt* eft *becwom*
            Beo 2366   fram þam hild-frecan   *hames* niosan
            Beo 2992   Hreðles eafora   þa he *to ham becom*

[El30]   *El* 148   Gewat þa heriga helm   *ham eft* þanon
            El 149   *huðe hremig*   (hild wæs gesceaden)

	Beo 123	*þritig þegna þanon **eft** gewat*
	Beo 124	***huðe hremig** to **ham** faran*
[El31]	*El* 150	***wigge geweorðod** Com þa wigena hleo*
	El 1195	***wigge weorðod** se þæt wicg byrð*
	Beo 1783	***wigge weorþad** unc sceal worn fela*
[El32]	*El* 152	***beadu-rof** cyning burga neosan*
	El 1003	*abeodan **beadu-rofre** gif hie brim nesen*
	El 1184	*bridels on blancan þonne **beadu-rofe***
[El33]	*El* 158	***sige-rof cyning** ofer sid weorod*
	Beo 619	*symbel ond sele-ful **sige-rof kyning***
[El34]	*El* 165	***wig-sped** wið wraðum þurh þæt wlitige treo*
	Beo 697	***wig-speda** gewiofu Wedera leodum*
[El35]	*El* 194	***Ða wæs on sælum sinces brytta***
	Beo 607	*þa **wæs on salum sinces brytta***
	Beo 1170	***sinces brytta** þu **on sælum wes***
	Beo 1922	*to gesecanne **sinces bryttan***
	Beo 2071	***sinces brytta** to hwan syððan wearð*
[El36]	*El* 195	***nið-heard cyning** Wæs him niwe gefea*
	Jud 277	***nið-heard** neðde swa hyne nyd fordraf*
	Beo 2417	*Gesæt ða on næsse **nið-heard cyning***
[El37]	*El* 201	***gold-wine gumena** in godes þeowdom*
	Jud 22	***gold-wine gumena** on gyte-salum*
	Beo 1171	***gold-wine gumena** ond to geatum spræc*
	Beo 1476	***gold-wine gumena** hwæt wit geo spræcon*
	Beo 1602	***gold-wine gumena** gistas setan*
[El38]	*El* 203	***leod-gebyrga** þurh **lar**-smiðas*
	El 556	***leod-gebyrgean** þa hie laðod wæron*
	Beo 269	***leod-gebyrgean** wes þu us **larena** god*
[El39]	*El* 210	*ahengon herga fruman Þæs hie **in** hynðum **sculon***
	El 211	*to widan feore **wergðu dreogan***
	El 950	*ade onæled ond þær awa **scealt***
	El 951	*wiðer-hycgende **wergðu dreogan***
	Beo 588	*heafod-mægum þæs þu **in** helle **scealt***
	Beo 589	***werhðo dreogan** þeah þin wit duge*
[El40]	*El* 221	*ne ðæs **wil-gifan** word gehyrwan*
	El 814	*weoroda **will-gifa** nu ic wat þæt ðu eart*
	El 1111	*hira **will-gifan** wundor cyðan*
	Beo 2900	*Nu is **wil-geofa** Wedra leoda*
[El41]	*El* 222	***hiere sylfre suna** ac wæs sona gearu*

	El 1199	*hire selfre suna* sende to lace
	Beo 1115	*hire selfre sunu* sweoloðe befæstan

[El42] *El* 223   wif *on will-sið*   swa hire weoruda helm
        ChristA 21 wlitigan *wil-siþes*   gif his weorc ne deag
        Beo 216   weras *on wil-sið*   wudu bundenne

[El43] *El* 238   *bronte brim*-þisan   Bord oft onfeng
        Beo 238   byrnum werede   þe þus *brontne* ceol
        Beo 568   ymb *brontne* ford   *brim*-liðende

[El44] *El* 240   sæ swinsade   Ne hyrde ic sið ne ær
        El 241   on egstreame   idese lædan
        El 242   on merestræte   mægen fægerre
        Beo 38   ne hyrde ic cymlicor   ceol gegyrwan
        Beo 39   hildewæpnum   ond heaðowædum
        Beo 40   billum ond byrnum   him on bearme læg
        Beo 41   madma mænigo   þa him mid scoldon
        Beo 42   on flodes æht   feor gewitan

[El45] *El* 242   on *mere-stræte*   mægen fægerre
        Beo 514   mæton *mere-stræta*   mundum brugdon

[El46] *El* 246   wadan *wæg-flotan*   Wigan wæron bliðe
        Beo 1907   No þær *weg-flotan*   wind ofer yðum

[El47] *El* 248   syþþan to *hyðe*   *hringed-stefnan*
        Beo 32   Þær æt *hyðe* stod   *hringed-stefna*
        Beo 1131   *hringed-stefnan*   holm storme weol
        Beo 1897   hladen here-wædum   *hringed-stefna*

[El48] *El* 256–57   *Ðær wæs on* eorle   *eð-gesyne*
                      brogden *byrne*   ond bill gecost
        ChristC 1234 *þær bið on* eadgum   *eð-gesyne*
        Beo 1243–45 bord-wudu beorhtan   þær *on* bence *wæs*
                      ofer æþelinge   *yþ-gesene*
                      heaþo-steapa helm   hringed *byrne*

[El49] *El* 256   Ðær *wæs* on eorle   *eð-gesyne*
        Beo 1110   Æt þæm ade *wæs*   *eþ-gesyne*
        Beo 1244   ofer æþelinge   *yþ-gesene*

[El50] *El* 257   brogden byrne   *ond bill* gecost
        Beo 40   *billum ond byrnum*   him on bearme læg
        Beo 2621   *bill ond byrnan*   oððæt his byre mihte

[El51] *El* 258   *geatolic guð*-scrud   grim-helm manig
        El 331   *geatolic guð*-cwen   golde gehyrsted
        And 127   *guð-searo* gullon   *garas* hrysedon
        Beo 215   *guð-searo geatolic*   guman ut scufon

| | *Beo* 328 | *guð-searo* gumena   *garas* stodon |
| | *Beo* 2154 | *guð-*sweord *geatolic*   gyd æfter wræc |

[El52]   *El* 259   ænlic eofor-cumbul   Wæron æsc-wigan
              Beo 2042   eald æsc-wiga   se ðe eall geman

[El53]   *El* 260   secggas ymb sige-cwen   *siðes* ge*fys*de
              El 1218   sinc-weorðunga   þa hio wæs *siðes fus*
              Phoen 208   Siteð *siþes fus*   Þonne swegles gim
              Beo 1475   snottra fengel   nu ic eom *siðes fus*

[El54]   *El* 273   *guð-rofe* hæleþ   to Hierusalem
              Beo 58   *gamol ond guð-*reouw   glæde Scyldingas
              Beo 608   *gamol-*feax *ond guð-*rof   geoce gelyfde

[El55]   *El* 308   æfst *wið* are   *inwit-þancum*
              Beo 749   *inwit-þancum*   ond *wið* earm gesæt

[El56]   *El* 312   *þeostrum geþancum*   oð þysne dæg
              Beo 2332   *þeostrum geþoncum*   swa him geþywe ne wæs

[El57]   *El* 332   Elene *maþelode*   ond *for* eorlum *spræc*
              Beo 1215   Wealhðeo *maþelode*   heo *fore* þæm werede *spræc*

[El58]   *El* 340   mihtum mære   swa þæs modor ne bið
              El 341   *wæstmum* geeacnod   þurh *weres* frige'
              Beo 1352   on *weres wæstmum*   wræclastas træd

[El59]   *El* 343   *frod fyrn-weota*   *fæder* Salomones
              El 438   *frod fyrn-wiota*   *fæder* minum
              El 1153   þurh *fyrn-witan*   beforan sungen
              Beo 2123   *frodan fyrn-witan*   feorh uðgenge

[El60]   *El* 376   *þurh sidne sefan*   secgan cunnen
              Beo 1726   *þurh sidne sefan*   snyttru bryttað

[El61]   *El* 386   Oft ge dyslice   *dæd gefremedon*
              Beo 585   swa deorlice   *dæd gefremede*
              Beo 940   þurh drihtnes miht   *dæd gefremede*

[El62]   *El* 402   þe we gefremedon   on þysse *folc-scere*
              El 967   Ða wæs gefrege   in þære *folc-sceare*
              Beo 73   buton *folc-scare*   ond feorum gumena

[El63]   *El* 414   sohton *searo-þancum*   hwæt sio syn wære
              El 1189   snottor *searu-þancum*   (sefa deop gewod
              Beo 775   *searo-þoncum besmiþod*   Þær fram sylle abeag

[El64]   *El* 447   min swæs sunu   *ær þec swylt nime*
              El 676   Caluarie   *ær þec* cwealm *nime*

El 677	*swilt* for synnum	þæt ic hie syððan mæge
Beo 441	dryhtnes dome	se *þe hine deað nimeð*
Beo 452	onsend higelace	*gif mec hild nime*
Beo 447	dreore fahne	*gif mec deað nimeð*
Beo 1436	sundes þe sænra	*ðe hyne swylt fornam*
Beo 1481	hondgesellum	*gif mec hild nime*
Beo 1491	dom gewyrce	*oþðe mec deað nimeð*
Beo 2536	gold gegangan	*oððe* guð *nimeð*

[El65]
El 450	duguðum wealdan	ac þara *dom leofað*
Beo 954	dædum gefremed	þæt þin *dom lyfað*

[El66]
El 458	to *feorh-lege*	fæderas usse
Beo 2800	frode *feorh-lege*	fremmað gena

[El67]
El 478	weras won-sælige	swa hie *wendon ær*
Beo 778	Þæs ne *wendon ær*	witan Scyldinga

[El68]
El 502	*folca to frofre*	syððan him frymða god
El 1142	*folcum to frofre*	Heo gefylled wæs
ChristC 1421	*folcum to frofre*	Mec mon folmum biwond
Beo 14	*folce to frofre*	fyren-ðearfe ongeat

[El69]
El 525	grimne *geagn-cwide*	wið godes bearne
El 594	þæt he *gen-cwidas*	gleawe hæbbe
Beo 367	ðinra *gegn-cwida*	glæd-man Hroðgar

[El70]
El 532	hwæt *eow* þæs on sefan	*selest* þince
El 533	*to gecyðanne*	gif ðeos cwen usic
Beo 256	anfealdne geþoht	Ofost is *selest*
Beo 257	*to gecyðanne*	hwanan *eowre* cyme syndon

[El71]
El 539	on þysse þeode	*butan þec nu ða*
Beo 657	ðryþ-ærn Dena	*buton þe nu ða*

[El72]
El 549	þrydedon ond þohton	Þa cwom *þegna heap*
Beo 400	*þryðlic þegna heap*	sume þær bidon
Beo 1627	*ðryðlic þegna heap*	þeodnes gefegon

[El73]
El 554	*on meðel-stede*	modes snyttro
Beo 1082	þæt he ne mehte	*on þæm meðel-stede*

[El74]
El 554	on meðel-stede	*modes snyttro*
Beo 1706	mægen mid *modes snyttrum*	Ic þe sceal mine gelæstan

[El75]
El 557	þurh heard gebann	*to hofe eodon*
Beo 1974	heaðolaces hal	*to hofe gongan*

[El76]
El 579	*hattost heaðo-welma*	ond eower hra bryttað
El 1305	of ðam *heaðu-wylme*	in helle-grund

	Beo 82	heah ond horn-geap *heaðo-wylma* bad
	Beo 2819	*hate heaðo-wylmas* him of hreðre gewat

[El77] *El* 602   þe ær in *legere* wæs   lange bedyrned
        Beo 3043   lang on *legere*   lyft-wynne heold

[El78] *El* 627   Iudas maðelade   (*him wæs geomor sefa*
        ChristB 499   god-bearn of grundum   *Him wæs geomor sefa*
        Beo 49   geafon on gar-secg   *him wæs geomor sefa*
        Beo 2419   gold-wine geata   *him wæs geomor sefa*
        Beo 2632   sægde gesiðum   *him wæs sefa geomor*

[El79] *El* 677   *swilt* for *synnum*   *þæt* ic hie syððan mæge
        Beo 1255   *swylt* æfter *synnum*   *Þæt* gesyne wearþ

[El80] *El* 679   *hæleðum to helpe*   þæt me *halig* god
        El 1011   *hæleðum to helpe*   þær sio *halige* rod
        Beo 1709   *hæleðum to helpe*   ne wearð Heremod swa
        Beo 1830   *hæleþa to helpe*   ic on Higelac wat
        Beo 1961   *hæleðum to helpe*   Hemminges mæg

[El81] *El* 694   siomode in sorgum   [VII] *nihta fyrst*
        Beo 545   fif *nihta fyrst*   oþþæt unc flod todraf

[El82] *El* 705   *dogor-rimum*   Ic adreogan ne mæg
        El 779   *dogor-gerimum*   no ðu of *deaðe* hine
        Phoen 485   *dogor-rimes*   þonne *deað* nimeð
        Met10 67   *deað* æfter *dogor-rime*   þonne he hæfð drihtnes leafe
        Beo 2728   *dogor-gerimes*   *deað* ungemete neah

[El83] *El* 722   lange legere fæst   leodum dyrne
        El 723   *wunode wæl-reste*   Word stunde ahof
        Beo 2901   dryhten Geata   deað-bedde fæst
        Beo 2902   *wunað wæl-reste*   wyrmes dædum

[El84] *El* 723   *wunode wæl-reste*   Word stunde ahof
        Beo 2902   *wunað wæl-reste*   wyrmes dædum

[El85] *El* 757   halig healdan   *Heard-ecg* cwacaþ
        Beo 1288   Þa wæs on healle   *heard-ecg* togen
        Beo 1490   *heard-ecg* habban   ic me mid Hruntinge

[El86] *El* 758   beofaþ *brogden-mæl*   ond bleom wrixleð
        Beo 1616   *forbarn broden-mæl*   wæs *þæt blod* to þæs hat
        Beo 1667   *forbarn brogden-mæl*   swa *þæt blod* gesprang

[El87] *El* 765   dreogaþ *deað-cwale*   in dracan fæðme
        Beo 1712   ond to *deað-cwalum*   Deniga leodum

[El88] *El* 821   in *þære beorhtan byrig*   þær is broðor min

| | Ruin 37 | on þas **beorhtan burg**   bradan rices |
| | Beo 1199 | **þære byrhtan byrig**   Brosinga mene |

| [El89] | El 831 | under **neolum** niðer   **næsse** gehydde |
| | Beo 1411 | **neowle næssas**   nicor-husa fela |

[El90]	El 837	**nið** ahofun **swa** hie **no sceoldon**
	XSt 410	þurh næddran **nið** **swa** wit **na** ne **sceoldon**
	Beo 2585	nacod æt **niðe** **swa** hyt **no sceolde**

| [El91] | El 844 | of fold-græfe   **Feðe-gestas** |
| | Beo 1976 | **feðe-gestum**   flet innanweard |

[El92]	El 878	**unlifgendes** ond up ahof
	Jud 180	Holofernus **unlyfigendes**
	Jud 315	hyra eald-feondum **unlyfigendum**
	Beo 468	min yldra mæg **unlifigende**
	Beo 744	**unlyfigendes** eal gefeormod
	Beo 1389	**unlifigendum** æfter selest
	Beo 2908	eorl ofer oðrum **unlifigendum**

| [El93] | El 882 | lic legere fæst   Leomu colodon |
| | Beo 1007 | þær his lic-homa   legerbedde fæst |

[El94]	El 901	**eatol æclæca** yfela gemyndig
	Beo 159	ac* se* **æglæca** ehtende wæs [GAP AT EDGE OF MS]
	Beo 592	**atol æglæca** ealdre þinum
	Beo 732	**atol aglæca** anra gehwylces
	Beo 816	**atol æglæca** him on eaxle wearð

| [El95] | El 905 | Þis is **singal sacu**   Sawla **ne** moton |
| | Beo 154 | **singale sæce**   sibbe **ne** wolde |

| [El96] | El 910 | feoh-gestrona   **Nis ðæt** fæger **sið** |
| | Beo 2532 | uncer twega   **Nis þæt** eower **sið** |

[El97]	El 935	**hæleð hilde-deor** (him wæs halig gast
	Beo 1646	**hæle hilde-deor** **Hroðgar gretan**
	Beo 1816	**hæle hilde-deor** **Hroðgar grette**
	Beo 2010	to ðam hring-sele **Hroðgar gretan**
	Beo 3111	**hæle hilde-dior** hæleða monegum

[El98]	El 961	gleawnesse þurhgoten **Gode þancode**
	El 962	wuldor-cyninge **þæs hire se willa gelamp**
	Beo 625	grette Geata leod **gode þancode**
	Beo 626	wis-fæst wordum **þæs ðe hire se willa gelamp**

| [El99] | El 962 | wuldor-cyninge   **þæs hire se willa gelamp** |
| | Beo 626 | wisfæst wordum   **þæs ðe hire se willa gelamp** |

[El100]	*El* 963	þurh bearn godes ***bega gehwæðres***
	Beo 1043	Ond ða Beowulfe ***bega gehwæþres***
[El101]	*El* 976	ond wæs Iudeum gnorn-***sorga mæst***
	Beo 2328	hreow on hreðre hyge-***sorga mæst***
[El102]	*El* 992	***feorran geferede*** Wæs him frofra mæst
	Beo 361	***Her syndon geferede feorran*** cumene
[El103]	*El* 996	hu gesundne sið ***ofer swon-rade***
	Beo 200	***ofer swan-rade*** secean wolde
[El104]	*El* 1056	to bisceope ***burgum*** on ***innan***
	GuthB 1367	ban-hus abrocen ***burgum in innan***
	Beo 1968	bonan Ongenþeoes ***burgum in innan***
	Beo 2452	to gebidanne ***burgum in innan***
[El105]	*El* 1060	***niwan stefne*** Nama wæs gecyrred
	El 1127	***niwan stefne*** He þam næglum onfeng
	Beo 1789	***niowan stefne*** niht-helm geswearc
	Beo 2594	***niwan stefne*** nearo ðrowode
[El106]	*El* 1073	Þu ***me eorla hleo*** þone æðelan beam
	Deor 41	þæt ***me eorla hleo*** ær gesealde
	Beo 791	nolde ***eorla hleo*** ænige þinga
	Beo 1035	***heht ða eorla hleo*** eahta mearas
	Beo 1866	ða git him ***eorla hleo*** inne gesealde
	Beo 1967	elne geeodon to ðæs ðe ***eorla hleo***
	Beo 2142	ac ***me eorla hleo*** eft gesealde
	Beo 2190	***het ða eorla hleo*** in gefetian
[El107]	*El* 1113	oððe ***gold***-gimmas ***grunde getenge***
	Beo 2758	***gold*** glitinian ***grunde getenge***
[El108]	*El* 1161	***ricene to rune*** þone þe ***ræd***-geþeaht
	Beo 172	***rice to rune ræd*** eahtedon
[El109]	*El* 1184	bridels ***on blancan*** þonne beadu-rofe
	Ridd22 18	***beornas*** ofer burnan ond hyra ***bloncan*** mid
	Beo 856	***beornas on blancum*** Ðær wæs Beowulfes
[El110]	*El* 1214	healte ***heoru-dreorige*** hreofe ond blinde
	Phoen 217	***heoro-dreorges*** hus hreoh onetteð
	Beo 935	husa selest ***heoro-dreorig*** stod
	Beo 2720	Hyne þa mid handa ***heoro-dreorigne***
[El111]	*El* 1215	heane ***hyge-geomre*** symle hælo þær
	Beo 2408	hæft ***hyge-giomor*** sceolde hean ðonon
[El112]	*El* 1239	***nihtes nearwe*** Nysse ic gearwe

	Beo 422	niceras *nihtes* *nearo*-þearfe dreah
[El113]	*El* 1244	bitrum *gebunden* *bisgum* beþrungen
	Beo 1743	*bisgum gebunden* bona swiðe neah
[El114]	*El* 1250	*leoðu-cræft* on*leac* Þæs ic lustum breac
	Gifts 29	leoda *leoþo-cræftas* lond-buendum
	Beo 2769	*gelocen leoðo-cræftum* of ðam leoma stod
[El115]	*El* 1252	*oft nales æne* hæfde in-gemynd
	ChristC 1194	*oft nales æne* ymb þæt æþele bearn
	Beo 3019	*oft nalles æne* el-land tredan
[El116]	*El* 1257	cnyssed *cear-welmum* //C// drusende
	Phoen 368	Forþon he *drusende* deað ne bisorgað
	Beo 282	ond þa *cear-wylmas* colran wurðaþ
	Beo 1630	lungre alysed Lagu *drusade*
	Beo 2066	æfter *cear-wælmum* colran weorðað
[El117]	*El* 1258	þeah he *in medo-healle* maðmas þege
	Ruin 23	*meodo-heall* monig //M//-dreama full
	Wid 55	mænan fore mengo *in meodu-healle*
	Wan 27	þone þe *in meodu-healle* min mine wisse
	Gifts 69	*on meodu-healle* Sum bið meares gleaw
	Beo 484	Ðonne wæs þeos *medo-heal* on morgen-tid
	Beo 638	*on* þisse *meodu-healle* minne gebidan
[El118]	*El* 1260	//N// gefera *nearu-sorge dreah*
	ChristA 69	niþum genedde *Nearo-þearfe* conn
	Beo 131	þolode ðryð-swyð þegn-*sorge dreah*
	Beo 422	niceras nihtes *nearo*-þearfe *dreah*
[El119]	*El* 1268	*lif-wynne* geliden swa //L// toglideð
	Beo 2097	lytle hwile *lif-wynna* breac
[El120]	*El* 1272	þonne he for hæleðum hlud *astigeð*
	El 1273	wæðeð be *wolcnum* wedende færeð
	Beo 1118	geomrode giddum Guð-rinc *astah*
	Beo 1119	Wand to *wolcnum* wæl-fyra mæst
	Beo 1373	þonon yð-geblond up *astigeð*
	Beo 1374	won to *wolcnum* þonne wind styreþ
[El121]	*El* 1287	in *fyres feng* folc anra gehwylc
	Phoen 215	þurh *fyres feng* fugel mid neste
	MSol 355	Ne mæg *fyres feng* ne forstes cile
	Beo 1764	oððe *fyres feng* oððe flodes wylm

Cynewulf, *Fates*

[F1]	*Fates* 3	*hu þa æðelingas* *ellen cyðd*on
	Ridd88 27	næfre uncer awþer his *ellen cyðe*

	Beo 3	*hu ða æþelingas* ***ellen*** fremedon
	Beo 2695	andlongne eorl ***ellen cyðan***

[F2] *Fates* 6   leofe on life   Lof ***wide sprang***
      Beo 18   *Beo*wulf wæs breme   (blæd ***wide sprang)***
      Beo 1588   hild æt Heorote   Hra ***wide sprong***

[F3] *Fates* 8   ***þeodnes þegna***   þrym unlytel
      Beo 1085   ***þeodnes ðegna***   ac hig him geþingo budon

[F4] *Fates* 12   ***frame fyrd-hwate***   feorh ofgefon
      Beo 1641   ***frome fyrd-hwate***   feowertyne
      Beo 2476   ***frome fyrd-hwate***   freode ne woldon

[F5] *Fates* 15   ***wide geweorðod***   ofer wer-þeoda
      ChristA 407   ***wide geweorþad***   Þu eart weoroda god
      Beo 1959   ***wide geweorðod***   wisdome heold

[F6] *Fates* 17   for Egias   ***aldre geneðde***
      Beo 510   ***aldrum neþdon***   ne inc ænig mon
      Beo 538   ***aldrum neðdon***   ond þæt geæfndon swa
      Beo 1469   under yða gewin   ***aldre geneþan***
      Beo 2133   eorlscipe efnde   ***ealdre geneðde***

[F7] *Fates* 56   ***þurh dryhtnes miht***   þæt he of deaðe aras
      XSt 604   deade of duste arisað   ***þurh drihtnes miht***
      Beo 940   ***þurh drihtnes miht***   dæd gefremede

[F8] *Fates* 62   sawle gesohte   ***sigores to leane***
      Beo 1021   segen gyldenne   ***sigores to leane***

[F9] *Fates* 78   *Beo*rnas ***beado-rofe***   Him wearð bam samod
      Beo 3160   ***beadu-rofes becn***   bronda lafe

[F10] *Fates* 80   ðurh wæpen-hete   ***weorc þrowigan***
       Ridd72 14   wean on laste   ***weorc þrowade***
       Beo 1721   þæt he þæs gewinnes   ***weorc þrowade***

[F11] *Fates* 83   ***lif wið lice***   ond þas lænan gestreon
       Beo 733   ***lif wið lice***   þa him alumpen wæs
       Beo 2423   ***lif wið lice***   no þon lange wæs
       Beo 2571   ***life ond lice***   læssan hwile
       Beo 2743   ***lif of lice***   nu ðu lungre geong

[F12] *Fates* 95   ***wæl-reaf*** wunigean   weormum to hroðre
       Phoen 273   ond þonne þæt ***wæl-reaf***   wyrtum biteldeð
       Beo 1205   ***wæl-reaf*** werede   hyne wyrd fornam

[F13] *Fates* 104   ***nihtes nearowe***   on him //N// ligeð
       Beo 422   niceras ***nihtes***   ***nearo***-þearfe dreah

[F14]	*Fates* 109	ond frofre *fricle* Ic sceall feor heonan
	Beo 2556	freode to *friclan* From ærest cwom
[F15]	*Fates* 121	*mycel ond mære* ond his miht seomaþ
	PPs1376 2	*micel and mære* ofer middan-eard
	Beo 3098	*micelne ond mærne* swa he manna wæs

Cynewulf, *Juliana*

[Jul1]	*Jul* 7	hæþen *hild-fruma* haligra blod
	El 10	ahæfen *hild-fruma* to here-teman
	El 101	heria *hild-fruma* þæt him on heofonum ær
	Beo 1678	harum *hild-fruman* on hand gyfen
	Beo 2649	helpan *hild-fruman* þenden hyt sy
	Beo 2835	for ðæs *hild-fruman* hond-geweorce
[Jul2]	*Jul* 16	*breotun* boc-cræftge bærndon gecorene
	ChristB 485	Hweorfað to hæþnum hergas *breotaþ*
	Beo 1713	*breat* bolgen-mod beod-geneatas
[Jul3]	*Jul* 22	heold *hord-gestreon* Oft he hæþen-gield
	Beo 1899	ofer Hroðgares *hord-gestreonum*
	Beo 3092	*hord-gestreona* hider ut ætbær
[Jul4]	*Jul* 27	fæmnan lufian (*hine fyrwet bræc*)
	MSol 248	ymb ða me *fyrwet bræc* [L] wintra
	Beo 232	fyrd-searu fuslicu *hine fyrwyt bræc*
	Beo 1985	fægre fricgcean *hyne fyrwet bræc*
	Beo 2784	frætwum gefyrðred *hyne fyrwet bræc*
[Jul5]	*Jul* 49	ongietest gæsta hleo *ic beo gearo sona*
	Jul 365	to godes willan *ic beo gearo sona*
	Jul 398	onginne gæstlice *ic beo gearo sona*
	El 85	sigores tacen He *wæs sona gearu*
	El 222	hiere sylfre suna ac *wæs sona gearu*
	Beo 121	grim ond grædig *gearo sona wæs*
	Beo 1825	guð-geweorca *ic beo gearo sona*
[Jul6]	*Jul* 56	*þurh hæstne* nið *heardra* wita
	Beo 1335	*þurh hæstne* had *heardum* clammum
[Jul7]	*Jul* 78	geswearc þa *swið-ferð* sweor æfter worde
	Beo 173	hwæt *swið-ferhðum* selest wære
	Beo 493	þær *swið-ferhþe* sittan eodon
	Beo 826	snotor ond *swyð-ferhð* sele Hroðgares
	Beo 908	*swið-ferhþes* sið snotor ceorl monig
[Jul8]	*Jul* 124	þæt þu ungeara *ealdre scyldig*
	Dan 449	swiðmod sinum leodum þæt se wære his *aldre scyldig*
	Beo 1338	*ealdres scyldig* ond nu *oþer* cwom

Beo 2061	*ealdres scyldig*	him se *oðer* þonan

[Jul9]
Jul 159	fæder fæmnan ageaf	*on feonda geweald*
ChristC 1415	*on feonda geweald*	feran sceolde
Beo 808	*on feonda geweald*	feor siðian
Beo 903	*on feonda geweald*	forð forlacen

[Jul10]
Jul 168	*ginifæste giefe*	geoguð-hades blæd
Beo 1271	*gimfæste gife*	ðe him god sealde
Beo 2182	*ginfæstan gife*	þe him god sealde

[Jul11]
Jul 180	*weoh-weorðinga*	ond wuldres god
Beo 176	*wig-weorþunga*	wordum bædon

[Jul12]
Jul 185	*beot-wordum spræc*	bealg hine swiþe
Beo 2510	Beowulf maðelode	*beot-wordum* spræc

[Jul13]
Jul 186	*folc-agende*	ond þa fæmnan het
Beo 3113	feorran feredon	*folc-agende*

[Jul14]
Jul 189	Ahlog þa se *here-rinc*	hosp-wordum spræc
Met1 71	healdon þone *here-rinc*	Wæs him hreoh sefa
Beo 1176	*here-rinc* habban	Heorot is gefælsod

[Jul15]
Jul 200	*sibbe* gesette	Læt þa *sace restan*
Beo 1857	*sib* gemæne	ond *sacu restan*

[Jul16]
Jul 203	þonne *ic nyde sceal*	*niþa gebæded*
Jul 462	þæt *ic nyde sceal*	*niþa gebæded*
Beo 1005	*nyde* genydde	*niþða* bearna

[Jul17]
Jul 223	*waldeð wide-ferh*	wuldres agend
Beo 702	*weold wide-ferhð*	Com on wanre niht

[Jul18]
Jul 246	*helle hæftling*	to þære halgan spræc
XSt 629	*helle hæftas*	hwyrftum scriþað
MSol 126	*helle hæftling*	ðæt he on hinder gæð
Beo 788	*helle hæft*on	Heold hine fæste

[Jul19]
Jul 253	*Wes* þu *on ofeste*	swa he þec ut heonan
Beo 386	*beo* ðu *on ofeste*	hat in gan
Beo 2747	*bio* nu *on ofoste*	þæt ic ærwelan

[Jul20]
Jul 255	onsecge sigortifre	*ær þec swylt nime*
Jul 675	on swonrade	*Swylt* ealle *fornom*
El 447	min swæs sunu	*ær þec swylt nime*
El 676	Caluarie	*ær þec* cwealm *nime*
El 677	swilt for synnum	þæt ic hie syððan mæge
Beo 441	dryhtnes dome	se *þe hine deað nimeð*
Beo 452	onsend higelace	*gif mec hild nime*

	Beo 447	dreore fahne	*gif mec deað nimeð*
	Beo 1436	sundes þe sænra	*ðe hyne* swylt *fornam*
	Beo 1481	hondgesellum	*gif mec hild nime*
	Beo 1491	dom gewyrce	*oþðe mec deað nimeð*
	Beo 2536	gold gegangan	*oððe* guð *nimeð*

[Jul21] | *Jul* 291 | waldend wundian | weorud *to segon* |
| | *Beo* 1422 | Flod blode weol | (folc *to sægon*) |

[Jul22] | *Jul* 296 | þære *wif-lufan* | wordum styrde |
| | *Beo* 2065 | weallað wæl-niðas | ond him *wif-lufan* |

[Jul23] | *Jul* 298 | Simon *searo-þoncum* | þæt he sacan ongon |
	Jul 494	*searo-þoncum* slog	Ic asecgan ne mæg
	El 414	sohton *searo-þancum*	hwæt sio syn wære
	El 1189	snottor *searu-þancum*	(sefa deop gewod
	Beo 775	*searo-þoncum* besmiþod	Þær fram sylle abeag

[Jul24] | *Jul* 315 | heardra *hete-þonca* | im seo halge oncwæð |
| | *Beo* 475 | hynðo on Heorote | mid his *hete-þancum* |

[Jul25] | *Jul* 317 | Þu scealt furþor gen | feond *mon-cynnes* |
	Jul 523	*feond mon-cynnes*	þa he mec feran het
	Jul 630	*Feond mon-cynnes*	ongon þa on fleam sceacan
	Beo 164	swa fela fyrena	*feond man-cynnes*
	Beo 1276	*man-cynnes feond*	ond his modor þa gyt

[Jul26] | *Jul* 328 | *forhte on ferðþe* | Ne biþ us frea milde |
| | *Phoen* 504 | *forht on ferþþe* | þonne fyr briceð |
| | *Beo* 754 | *forht on ferhðe* | no þy ær fram meahte |

[Jul27] | *Jul* 344 | þrag-mælum geþread | *þæt ic þe sohte* |
| | *Beo* 417 | þeoden Hroðgar | *þæt ic þe sohte* |

[Jul28] | *Jul* 350 | *facne bifongen* | Hyre se feond oncwæð |
| | *Beo* 2009 | *facne bifongen* | Ic ðær furðum cwom |

[Jul29] | *Jul* 370 | mæne *mod-lufan* | þæt he minum hraþe |
	Jul 699	micle *mod-lufan*	Min sceal of lice
	ChristC 1261	þurh *mod-lufan*	meotudes willan
	Husb 10	hu þu ymb *mod-lufan*	mines frean
	Beo 1823	þinre *mod-lufan*	maran tilian

[Jul30] | *Jul* 381 | godra *gum-cysta* | geasne hweorfan |
	Beo 1486	þæt ic *gum-cystum*	godne funde
	Beo 1723	*gum-cyste* ongit	ic þis gid be þe
	Beo 2543	*gum-cystum* god	guða gedigde

[Jul31] | *Jul* 392 | þæt ic ne meahte | *mægnes cræfte* |
| | *Beo* 418 | forþan hie *mægenes cræft* | minne cuþon |

| [Jul32] | *Jul* 405 | in **breost**-sefan   **bitre** geþoncas |
| | *Beo* 2331 | **bitre** gebulge   **Breost** innan weoll |

| [Jul33] | *Jul* 464 | **þrea-ned þolian**   Is þeos þrag ful strong |
| | *Beo* 284 | **þrea-nyd þolað**   þenden þær wunað |

| [Jul34] | *Jul* 476 | þæt him **ban-locan**   **blode** spiowedan |
| | *Beo* 742 | bat **ban-locan**   **blod** edrum dranc |

[Jul35]	*Jul* 476	þæt him **ban-locan** **blode** spiowedan
	ChristB 769	biter bord-gelac under **ban-locan**
	Beo 742	bat **ban-locan** **blod** edrum dranc
	Beo 818	burston **ban-locan** Beowulfe wearð

[Jul36]	*Jul* 483	**lif aletan** Sume **ic** larum geteah
	Beo 2750	æfter maððum-welan min **alætan**
	Beo 2751	**lif** ond leodscipe þone **ic** longe heold

[Jul37]	*Jul* 486	**beore druncne** Ic him byrlade
	Beo 480	ful oft gebeotedon **beore druncne**
	Beo 531	**beore druncen** ymb Brecan spræce
	Beo 1467	wine **druncen** þa he þæs wæpnes onlah

[Jul38]	*Jul* 487	wroht of wege **þæt hi in win-sele**
	Jul 686	witedra wenan **þæt hy in win-sele**
	Wan 78	Woriað þa **win-salo** waldend licgað
	XSt 93	wloncra **win-sele** ne worulde dream
	Beo 695	in þæm **win-sele** wæl-deað fornam
	Beo 771	Þa wæs wundor micel þæt se **win-sele**
	Beo 2456	**win-sele** westne windge reste

[Jul39]	*Jul* 489	of **flæsc-homan** **fæge** scyndan
	GuthA 1031	**fæge flæsc-homa** fold-ærne biþeaht
	Beo 1568	**fægne flæsc-homan** heo on flet gecrong

| [Jul40] | *Jul* 504 | **yrmþu to ealdre**   ond hyra eaferum swa |
| | *Beo* 2005 | **yrmðe to aldre**   Ic ðæt eall gewræc |

[Jul41]	*Jul* 531	**gealg-mod** guma Iulianan
	Jul 598	grymetade **gealg-mod** ond his godu tælde
	Dan 229	grim **and gealh-mod** godes spelbodan
	Beo 1277	gifre **ond galg-mod** gegan wolde

| [Jul42] | *Jul* 558 | susles þegnum   **hu** him **on** siðe **gelomp** |
| | *Beo* 1987 | **Hu lomp** eow **on** lade   leofa Biowulf |

[Jul43]	*Jul* 567	**heoro-giferne** þær seo halie stod
	Jul 586	**hat heoro-gifre** Hæleð wurdon acle
	ChristC 976	**hat heorogifre** Hreosað geneahhe

	ChristC 1059	*hat heorugifre* hu gehealdne sind
	Beo 1498	*heoro-gifre* beheold hund missera
[Jul44]	*Jul* 579	ond þa onbærnan het *bæl-fira mæst*
	ChristC 931	wælm-*fyra mæst* ofer widne grund
	Beo 1119	wand to wolcnum wæl-*fyra mæst*
	Beo 3143	ongunnon þa on beorge *bæl-fyra mæst*
[Jul45]	*Jul* 585	lig tolysed Lead *wide sprong*
	Fates 6	leofe on life Lof *wide sprang*
	Beo 18	Beowulf wæs breme (blæd *wide sprang*)
	Beo 1588	hild æt Heorote Hra *wide sprong*
[Jul46]	*Jul* 603	aswebban *sorg-cearig* þurh sweord-bite
	Jul 709	seomað *sorg-cearig* Sar eal gemon
	XSt 188	settan *sorhg-cearig* siðas wide
	Deor 28	Siteð sorgcearig sælum bidæled
	Beo 2455	Gesyhð *sorh-cearig* on his suna bure
	Beo 3152	song *sorg-cearig* swiðe geneahhe
[Jul47]	*Jul* 631	*wita neosan* ond þæt word acwæð
	Beo 125	mid þære wæl-fylle *wica neosan*
	Beo 1125	gewiton him ða wigend *wica neosian*
[Jul48]	*Jul* 671	þurh sweord-slege Þa se synscaþa
	ChristB 706	Þær ða *syn-sceaðan* soþes ne giemdon
	Beo 707	se *scyn-scaþa* under sceadu bregdan
	Beo 801	sawle secan þone *syn-scaðan*
[Jul49]	*Jul* 672	to scipe sceoh-mod *sceaþena þreate*
	Beo 4	Oft Scyld Scefing *sceaþena þreatum*
[Jul50]	*Jul* 673	Heliseus *eh-stream* sohte
	El 66	eorlas ymb æðeling *eg-streame* neah
	El 241	*on eg-streame* idese lædan
	ChristC 1167	ofer sine yðe gan Eahstream ne dorste
	Beo 577	ne *on eg-streamum* earmran mannon
[Jul51]	*Jul* 675	on *swon-rade* Swylt ealle fornom
	Beo 200	ofer *swan-rade* secan wolde
[Jul52]	*Jul* 685	to *þam frum-gare* feoh-gestealda
	Beo 2856	on *ðam frum-gare* feorh gehealdan
[Jul53]	*Jul* 691	þæt hy hit gebrohton *burgum in innan*
	El 1056	to bisceope *burgum on innan*
	GuthB 1367	banhus abrocen *burgum in innan*
	Beo 1968	bonan Ongenþeoes *burgum in innan*
	Beo 2452	to gebidanne *burgum in innan*

[Jul54]	*Jul* 696	þæt seo halge me *helpe gefremme*
	Jul 722	þæt me heofona helm *helpe gefremme*
	Wan 16	ne se hreo hyge *helpe gefremman*
	Beo 551	heard hond-locen *helpe gefremede*
	Beo 1552	nemne him heaðo-byrne *helpe gefremede*

[Jul55]	*Jul* 709	seomað sorg-cearig Sar *eal gemon*
	Beo 1185	uncran eaferan gif he þæt *eal gemon*
	Beo 1701	fremeð on folce feor *eal gemon*
	Beo 2427	orleg-hwila ic þæt *eall gemon*

[Jul56]	*Jul* 725	*dæda demend* ond se deora sunu
	MaxII 36	*dæda demend* Duru sceal on healle
	Beo 181	*dæda demend* ne wiston hie drihten god

Exodus

| [Ex1] | *Ex* 3 | wræclico *word-riht* wera cneorissum |
| | *Beo* 2631 | Wiglaf maðelode *word-rihta* fela |

[Ex2]	*Ex* 22	feonda folc-riht *ða wæs forma sið*
	Beo 716	fættum fahne *ne wæs þæt forma sið*
	Beo 1463	folc-stede fara *næs þæt forma sið*
	Beo 1527	fæges fyrd-hrægl *ða wæs forma sið*
	Beo 2625	frod on forð-weg *þa wæs forma sið*

| [Ex3] | *Ex* 23 | þæt hine weroda god *wordum nægde* |
| | *Beo* 1318 | þæt he þone wisan *wordum nægde* |

[Ex4]	*Ex* 27	*gesette sige*-rice and his sylfes naman
	XSt 4	Seolfa he *gesette sunnan and monan*
	Beo 94	*gesette sige*-hreþig sunnan ond monan

[Ex5]	*Ex* 35	*hord-wearda hryre* heaf wæs geniwad
	Ex 512	*hord-wearda hryre hæleða* cwenum
	Dan 65	Gehlodon him to huðe *hord-wearda gestreon*
	Beo 1047	*hord-weard hæleþa* heaþo-ræsas geald
	Beo 1852	*hord-weard hæleþa* gyf þu healdan wylt
	Beo 2293	hyldo gehealdeþ *Hord-weard* sohte
	Beo 2302	heah-*gestreona Hord-weard* onbad
	Beo 2554	Hete wæs onhrered *hord-weard* oncniow
	Beo 2593	Hyrte hyne *hord-weard* hreðer æðme weoll

[Ex6]	*Ex* 35	hord-wearda hryre heaf *wæs geniwad*
	Wan 50	sare æfter swæsne *Sorg bið geniwad*
	Wan 55	cuðra cwidegiedda *Cearo bið geniwad*
	Beo 1303	cuþe folme *cearu wæs geniwod*
	Beo 1322	Ne frin þu æfter sælum *Sorh is geniwod*
	Beo 2287	Þa se wyrm onwoc wroht *wæs geniwad*

| [Ex7] | *Ex* 37 | Hæfde *man-sceaðan* æt middere niht |

	GuthA 650	mine myrðran ond **man-sceaþan**
	GuthB 909	minne **man-sceaþan** on mennisc hiw
	ChristC 1559	Ðonne **man-sceaða** fore meotude forht
	Beo 712	mynte se **man-scaða** manna cynnes
	Beo 737	mæg Higelaces hu se **man-scaða**
	Beo 1339	mihtig **man-scaða** wolde hyre mæg wrecan
	Beo 2514	mærðu fremman gif mec se **man-sceaða**

[Ex8] Ex 40   *lað* leod-hata   land *drysmyde*
Beo 1375   *lað* gewidru   oðþæt lyft *drysmaþ*

[Ex9] Ex 49   Swa þæs fæsten dreah   *fela missera*
Beo 153   fyrene ond fæhðe   *fela missera*
Beo 2620   he frætwe geheold   *fela missera*

[Ex10] Ex 58   *enge an-paðas   uncuð gelad*
Beo 1410   *enge an-paðas   uncuð gelad*

[Ex11] Ex 80   wand ofer *wolcnum*   hæfde witig god
Beo 1119   Wand to *wolcnum*   wæl-fyra mæst
Beo 1374   won to *wolcnum*   þonne wind styreþ

[Ex12] Ex 98   *Þa ic on morgen gefrægn*   modes rofan
Beo 2484   *Þa ic on morgne gefrægn*   mæg oðerne

[Ex13] Ex 100   wuldres woman   *Werod eall aras*
Beo 651   wan under wolcnum   *werod eall aras*
Beo 1790   ofer dryht-gumum   duguð *eal aras*
Beo 3030   wyrda ne worda   *weorod eall aras*

[Ex14] Ex 126   gesawon *rand-wigan*   rihte stræte
Ex 134   *rand-wigena ræst*   be þan readan sæ
Beo 1298   rice *rand-wiga*   þone ðe heo on *ræste* abreat
Beo 1793   rofne *rand-wigan   restan* lyste

[Ex15] Ex 146   ða heo *his mæg-winum*   morðor fremedon
Ex 314   for *his mæg-winum*   Swa him mihtig god
MSol 361   on *his mæg-winum*   maran are
Beo 2479   *Þæt mæg-wine*   mine gewræcan

[Ex16] Ex 148   Wæron *heaðo-wylmas*   heortan getenge
Beo 82   heah ond horn-geap   *heaðo-wylma* bad
Beo 2819   hate *heaðo-wylmas*   him of hreðre gewat

[Ex17] Ex 159   blicon *bord-hreoðan*   byman sungon)
Ex 236   *under bord-hreoðan*   breost-net wera
Ex 320   ofer *bord-hreoðan*   beacen aræred
Beo 2203   *under bord-hreoðan*   to bonan wurdon

[Ex18] Ex 165   *atol æfen-leoð*   ætes on wenan

	Ex 201	*atol æfen-leoð* egesan stodon
	Beo 2074	*eatol æfen*-grom user neosan
[Ex19]	*Ex* 175	cyning cin-berge (*cumbol* lixton)
	Beo 2505	ac in compe gecrong *cumbles* hyrde
[Ex20]	*Ex* 183	Hæfde him *alesen* *leoda dugeðe*
	Ex 228	*alesen* under lindum *leoda duguðe*
	Beo 2238	*leoda duguðe* se ðær lengest hwearf
	Beo 2945	*leoda dugoðe* on last faran
[Ex21]	*Ex* 186	on þæt eade riht *æðelum deore*
	Beo 1949	*æðelum diore* syððan hio Offan flet
[Ex22]	*Ex* 191	*cyningas on corðre* Cuð oft gebad
	Ex 466	*cyningas on corðre* cyre swiðrode
	Beo 1153	*cyning on corþre* ond seo cwen numen
[Ex23]	*Ex* 200	Forþon *wæs* in wicum *wop up ahafen*
	Beo 128	þa *wæs* æfter wiste *wop up ahafen*
[Ex24]	*Ex* 211	Wæron orwenan *eðel-rihtes*
	Beo 2198	eard *eðel-riht* oðrum swiðor
[Ex25]	*Ex* 214	eall seo *sib-gedriht* *somod ætgædere*
	GuthB 1372	mid þa *sib-gedryht* *somud*-eard niman
	Phoen 618	Swinsað *sib-gedryht* swega mæste
	Beo 387	seon *sibbe-gedriht* *samod ætgædere*
	Beo 729	swefan *sibbe-gedriht* *samod ætgædere*
[Ex26]	*Ex* 217	folc somnigean *frecan* arisan
	Beo 1563	He gefeng þa fetel-hilt *freca* Scyldinga
[Ex27]	*Ex* 231	gar-berendra *guð-fremmendra*
	Beo 246	*guð-fremmendra* gearwe ne wisson
[Ex28]	*Ex* 236	*under bord-hreoðan* breost-net wera
	Beo 2203	*under bord-hreoðan* to bonan wurdon
[Ex29]	*Ex* 236	under bord-hreoðan *breost-net wera*
	Beo 1548	*breost-net broden* þæt gebearh feore
[Ex30]	*Ex* 252	*Ahleop þa* for hæleðum hilde-calla
	Beo 1397	*Ahleop ða* se gomela gode þancode
[Ex31]	*Ex* 258	*werodes wisa* wurð-myndum spræc
	Gifts 55	*weorudes wisa* ofer widne holm
	Beo 259	*werodes wisa* word-hord onleac
[Ex32]	*Ex* 261	*eorla unrim* Him eallum wile

	Beo 1238	*unrim eorla* swa hie oft ær dydon	
[Ex33]	Ex 262	*mihtig* drihten *þurh mine hand*	
	Beo 558	*mihtig* mere-deor *þurh mine hand*	
[Ex34]	Ex 271	and eow *lif-frean* lissa bidde	
	Dan 395	lofiað *lif-frean* lean sellende	
	ChristA 15	leomo læmena nu sceal *lif-frea*	
	ChristA 27	hwonne us *lif-frea* leoht ontyne	
	Beo 16	lange hwile Him þæs *lif-frea*	
[Ex35]	Ex 293	*eorlas* ær-glade *Ofest is selost*	
	Beo 256	anfealdne geþoht *Ofost is selest*	
	Beo 3007	*eorl*scipe efnde Nu *is ofost* betost	
[Ex36]	Ex 298	*wrætlicu wæg*-faru oð wolcna hrof	
	Beo 1489	*wrætlic wæg*-sweord wid-cuðne man	
[Ex37]	Ex 299	æfter þam *wordum* *werod eall aras*	
	Beo 3030	wyrda ne *worda* *Weorod eall aras*	
[Ex38]	Ex 300	modigra mægen Mere *stille bad*	
	Beo 301	Gewiton him þa feran Flota *stille bad*	
[Ex39]	Ex 302	segnas on sande *Sæ-weall* astah	
	Ridd60 1	Ic wæs be sonde *sæ-wealle neah*	
	Beo 1924	selfa mid gesiðum *sæ-wealle neah*	
[Ex40]	Ex 303	*up-lang gestod* wið Israhelum	
	Beo 759	æfen-spræce *up-lang* a*stod*	
[Ex41]	Ex 306	*fæstum* fæðmum *freoðo-wære* heold	
	PPs118158 2	heora *friðo-wære* *fæste* healdan	
	Beo 1096	*fæste frioðu-wære* Fin Hengeste	
	Beo 2282	fæted wæge *frioðo-wære* bæd	
[Ex42]	Ex 315	þæs dæg-weorces deop *lean forgeald*	
	Beo 114	lange þrage *he him ðæs lean forgeald*	
	Beo 1541	heo *him* eft hraþe *andlean* forgeald*	[MS *handlean*]
	Beo 1584	laðlicu lac *he him þæs lean forgeald*	
	Beo 2094	yfla gehwylces *ondlean forgeald*	
[Ex43]	Ex 316	siððan *him gesælde* sigor-worca hreð	
	Beo 890	hwæþre *him gesælde* ðæt þæt swurd þurhwod	
[Ex44]	Ex 316	siððan him gesælde sigor-worca *hreð*	
	Beo 2575	*reð* æt hilde Hond up abræd	
[Ex45]	Ex 323	Be þam *here-wisan* hynðo ne woldon	
	Beo 3020	nu se *here-wisa* hleahtor alegde	

[Ex46]	Ex 339	ead and æðelo *he wæs* gearu *swa þeah*
	Beo 1929	Hæreþes dohtor *næs* hio hnah swa þeah
	Beo 2967	forð under fexe *Næs he* forht *swa ðeh*

| [Ex47 | Ex 361 | frum-cyn feora *fæder-æðelo* gehwæs |
| | Beo 911 | *fæder-æþelum* onfon folc gehealdan |

[Ex48]	Ex 375	*on bearm scipes* beornas feredon
	Beo 35	beaga bryttan *on bearm scipes*
	Beo 896	bær *on bearm scipes* beorhte frætwa

| [Ex49] | Ex 397 | To *þam meðel-stede* magan gelædde |
| | Beo 1082 | þæt he ne mehte on *þæm meðel-stede* |

[Ex50]	Ex 403	angan ofer eorðan *yrfe-lafe*
	PPs7770 2	and Israhela *yrfe-lafe*
	Beo 1053	*yrfe-lafe* ond þone ænne heht
	Beo 1903	*yrfe-lafe* Gewat him on naca

[Ex51]	Ex 408	*ealde lafe* (ecg grymetode)
	Beo 795	eorl Beowulfes *ealde lafe*
	Beo 1488	ond þu Unferð læt *ealde lafe*
	Beo 1688	*ealde lafe* on ðæm wæs or writen

[Ex52]	Ex 418	wuldres hleoðor *word æfter spræc*
	Beo 315	wicg gewende *word æfter* cwæð
	Beo 341	wlanc wedera leod *word æfter spræc*

[Ex53]	Ex 420	sunu mid sweorde *Soð is gecyðed*
	PPs7318 1	Geseoh þu nu sylfa god *soð is gecyðed*
	Beo 700	selfes mihtum *Soð is gecyþed*

[Ex54]	Ex 443	ac hie gesittað *be sæm tweonum*
	Ex 563	gesittað sige-rice *be sæm tweonum*
	PPs718 2	*be sæ tweonum* sidum ricum
	Beo 858	þætte suð ne norð *be sæm tweonum*
	Beo 1297	on gesiðes had *be sæm tweonum*
	Beo 1685	*ðæm selestan be sæm tweonum*
	Beo 1956	*þone* selestan bi sæm tweonum* [MS *þæs*]

[Ex55]	Ex 449	Wæron beorh-hliðu *blode bestemed*
	Dream 48	Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere Eall ic wæs mid *blode bestemed*
	BrCross 2	bær byfigynde blode bestemed
	ChristC 1085	beacna beorhtast *blode bistemed*
	Beo 486	eal benc-þelu *blode bestymed*

[Ex56]	Ex 450	*holm heolfre* spaw hream wæs on yðum
	Beo 1131	hringed-stefnan *holm* storme *weol*
	Beo 2138	*holm heolfre weoll* ond ic heafde becearf

[Ex57]	*Ex* 456	*atol ȳða gewealc* ne ðær ænig becwom
	Sea 6	*atol ȳþa gewealc* þær mec oft bigeat
	Ridd22 7	*atol ȳþa* geþræc ofras hea
	Beo 848	*atol ȳða* geswing eal gemenged
[Ex58]	*Ex* 463	fægum stæfnum *flod blod* gewod
	Beo 1422	*Flod blode* weol (folc to sægon)
[Ex59]	*Ex* 467	sæs æt ende *Wig-bord* scinon
	Beo 2339	*wig-bord* wrætlic wisse he gearwe
[Ex60]	*Ex* 471	*searwum æsæled* sand basnodon
	Beo 2764	*searwum gesæled* Sinc eaðe mæg
[Ex61]	*Ex* 492	*weollon wæl*-benna Witrod gefeol
	Beo 2065	*weallað wæl*-niðas ond him wif-lufan
[Ex62]	*Ex* 492	weollon *wæl-benna* Witrod gefeol
	Beo 1936	ac him *wæl-bende* weotode tealde
[Ex63]	*Ex* 516	þanon Israhelum *ece rædas*
	Dan 30	eorðan dreamas *eces rædes*
	Met20 224	eorðlicu þing ofer *ecne ræd*
	Beo 1201	Eormenrices geceas *ecne ræd*
	Beo 1760	*ece rædas* ofer-hyda ne gym
[Ex64]	*Ex* 524	beorht in breostum *ban-huses* weard
	Beo 2508	*ban-hus gebræc* Nu sceall billes ecg
	Beo 3147	oðþæt he ða *ban-hus* *gebrocen* hæfde
[Ex65]	*Ex* 532	lengran *lif-wynna* Þis is læne dream
	Beo 2097	lytle hwile *lif-wynna* breac
[Ex66]	*Ex* 535	þysne *gyst-sele* gihðum healdað
	Beo 994	*gest-sele* gyredon Gold-fag scinon
[Ex67]	*Ex* 550	*manna mildost* mihtum swiðed
	Beo 3181	*manna mildust* ond mon-ðwærust
[Ex68]	*Ex* 557	*burh and beagas* brade rice
	Beo 523	*burh ond beagas* Beot eal wið þe
[Ex69]	*Ex* 557	burh and beagas *brade rice*
	Beo 2207	syððan Beowulfe *brade rice*
[Ex70]	*Ex* 564	*beor-selas* beorna Bið eower blæd micel
	MRune 40	*on beor-sele* bliþe ætsomne
	Beo 482	þæt hie *in beor-sele* bidan woldon
	Beo 492	*on beor-sele* benc gerymed

	Beo 1094	*on beor-sele* byldan wolde
	Beo 2635	*in bior-sele* ðe us ðas beagas geaf

[Ex71] *Ex* 571   feorh of feonda dome   þeah ðe hie hit *frecne geneðdon*
        Beo 959   feohtan fremedon   *frecne geneðdon*

[Ex72] *Ex* 578   folc-sweota mæst   *fyrd-leoð* golan
        Beo 1424   fuslic *fyrd-leoð*   Feþa eal gesæt

[Ex73] *Ex* 580   *Þa wæs eð-fynde*   Afrisc neowle
        Beo 138   *Þa wæs eað-fynde*   þe him elles hwær

[Ex74] *Ex* 586   on *yð-lafe*   ealde madmas
        Beo 566   be *yð-lafe*   uppe lægon

[Ex75] *Ex* 586   on yð-lafe   *ealde madmas*
        Beo 472   *ealde madmas*   he me aþas swor

Genesis A

[GeA1] *GenA* 16   sægdon lustum lof   heora *lif-frean*
        GenA 868   *lif-frea* min   leafum þecce
        GenA 1808   his *lif-frean*   him þæs lean ageaf
        Dan 395   lofiað *lif-frean*   lean sellende
        Beo 16   lange hwile   Him þæs *lif-frea*

[GeA2] *GenA* 49   *Him seo wen geleah*   siððan waldend his
        GenA 1446   on wæg-þele   Eft *him seo wen geleah*
        Beo 2323   wiges ond wealles   *him seo wen geleah*

[GeA3] *GenA* 54   bælc forbigde   *Þa he gebolgen wearð*
        Beo 723   on*bræd þa* bealo-hydig   *ða he* gebolgen* wæs* [MS *he ge* FADED]
        Beo 1539   *brægd þa* beadwe heard   *þa he gebolgen wæs*
        Beo 2220   bu-folc beorna   *þæt he gebolgen* wæs*   [MS *gebolge*]
        Beo 2550   let ða of breostum   *ða he gebolgen wæs*

[GeA4] *GenA* 55   besloh *syn-sceaþan*   sigore and gewealde
        Jul 671   þurh sweord-slege   *Þa se syn-scaþa*
        ChristB 706   *Þær ða syn-sceaðan*   soþes ne giemdon
        Beo 707   se *scyn-scaþa*   under sceadu bregdan
        Beo 801   sawle secan   þone *syn-scaðan*

[GeA5] *GenA* 59   on gesacum swiðe   *selfes mihtum*
        Beo 700   *selfes mihtum*   Soð is gecyþed

[GeA6] *GenA* 80   *þeoden his þegnum*   þrymmas weoxon
        Beo 2869   *þeoden his þegnum*   swylce he þrydlicost

[GeA7] *GenA* 119   wonne wægas   *Þa wæs wuldor-torht*
        GenA 2770   *wuldor-torht* ymb wucan   þæs þe hine on woruld
        GenA 2875   wegas ofer westen   oðþæt *wuldor-torht*

	Beo 1136	*wuldor-torhtan* weder Ða wæs winter scacen

[GeA8] *GenA* 131   *wlite-beorhte* gesceaft   Wel licode
       GenA 188   *wlite-beorht* wæron   on woruld cenned
       GenA 220   wætre *wlite-beorhtum*   and on woruld sende
       GenA 1560   þa him *wlite-beorhte*   wæstmas brohte
       GenA 1728   *wlite-beorht* ides   on woruld brohte
       GenA 1804   þær him *wlite-beorhte*   wongas geþuhton
       Met25 4   wædum *wlite-beorhtum*   wundrum scinað
       Beo 93   *wlite-beorhtne* wang   swa wæter bebugeð

[GeA9] *GenA* 205   geond *hron-rade* Inc *hyrað* eall
       Beo 10   ofer *hron-rade*   *hyran* scolde

[GeA10] *GenA* 224   Hebeleac utan   *On* þære *eðyl-tyrf*
       GenA 1735   of þære *eðel-tyrf*   Abraham and Loth
       GenA 1774   *on* þa *eðel-turf*   idesa lædan
       GenA 2678   *on* þas *eðel-turf*   æhta læddest
       GenA 2708   Ic þæt ilce dreah   *on* þisse *eðyl-tyrf*
       GenA 2734   of *ðisse eðyl-tyrf*   ellor secan
       DEdg 6   in *ðisse eðel-tyrf*   þa þe ær wæran
       Beo 410   *on* minre *eþel-tyrf*   undyrne cuð

[GeA11] *GenA* 230   *ginne rice*   þære is Geon noma
       Beo 466   ond on geogoðe heold   *ginne rice*

[GeA12] *GenA* 884   freolucu fæmne   *frea-drihten* min
       GenA 2730   ðin *frea-drihten*   þæt þu flett-paðas
       Met26 9   Wæs his *frea-drihtnes*   folc-cuð nama
       Beo 796   wolde *frea-drihtnes*   feorh ealgian

[GeA13] *GenA* 905   *wide siðas*   and þa worde cwæð
       Beo 877   Wælsinges gewin   *wide siðas*

[GeA14] *GenA* 917   lað *leod-sceaða*   hu þu lifian scealt
       ChristA 273 æt þam *leod-sceaþan*   lifgende god
       Beo 2093   To lang ys to reccenne   hu ic ðam *leod-sceaðan*

[GeA15] *GenA* 921   *hearde genearwad*   hean þrowian
       ChristA 364 hetlen hel-sceaþa   *hearde genyrwad*
       Beo 1438   heoro-hocyhtum   *hearde genearwod*

[GeA16] *GenA* 928   *wynleas*ran *wic*   and on wræc hweorfan
       Wife 32   *wic wynna leas*   Ful oft mec her wraþe begeat
       Beo 821   secean *wynleas wic*   wiste þe geornor
       Beo 1416   *wynleas*ne wudu   wæter under stod

[GeA17] *GenA* 1011   wraðum *on wæl-bedd*   wær-fæstne rinc
       Beo 964   *on wæl-bedde*   wriþan þohte

[GeA18]	*GenA* 1016	wlitige to woruldnytte ac heo **wæl-dreore** swealh
	GenA 1098	**wæl-dreor** weres Wat ic gearwe
	Beo 1631	wæter under wolcnum **wæl-dreore** fag

| [GeA19] | *GenA* 1041 | **aldre beneoteð**   hine on cymeð |
| | *Beo* 680 | **aldre beneotan**   þeah ic eal mæge |

| [GeA20] | *GenA* 1046 | mid **guð-þræce**   **gretan dorste** |
| | *Beo* 2735 | þe mec **guð**-winum   **gretan dorste** |

| [GeA21] | *GenA* 1071 | **æðelinga gestreon**   oðþæt aldor-gedal |
| | *Beo* 1920 | Het þa up beran   **æþelinga gestreon** |

[GeA22]	*GenA* 1071	æðelinga gestreon oðþæt **aldor-gedal**
	GenA 1959	oð his **ealdor-gedal** oleccan wile
	Beo 805	ecga gehwylcre Scolde his **aldor-gedal**

[GeA23]	*GenA* 1154	**frod fyrn-wita** [V] and nigonhund
	El 343	**frod fyrn-weota** fæder Salomones
	El 438	**frod fyrn-wiota** fæder minum
	El 1153	þurh **fyrn-witan** beforan sungen
	Beo 2123	**frodan fyrn-witan** feorh uðgenge

[GeA24]	*GenA* 1176	Malalehel lange **mon-dreama** her
	Beo 1264	morþre gemearcod **man-dream** fleon
	Beo 1715	mære þeoden **mon-dreamum** from

[GeA25]	*GenA* 1200	þenden he hyrde wæs **heafod-maga**
	GenA 1605	hyhtlic heorð-werod **heafod-maga**
	Beo 588	**heafod-mægum** þæs þu in helle scealt
	Beo 2151	**heafod-maga** nefne Hygelac ðec

[GeA26]	*GenA* 1205	drihtnes duguðe nales **deaðe swealt**
	Beo 892	dryhtlic iren draca **morðre swealt**
	Beo 2782	middel-nihtum oðþæt he **morðre swealt**
	Beo 3037	Wedra þeoden wundor-**deaðe swealt**

[GeA27]	*GenA* 1220	woruld-dreama breac Worn **gestrynde**
	GenA 1221	ær his **swylt-dæge** suna and dohtra
	Beo 2798	ær **swylt-dæge** swylc **gestrynan**

[GeA28]	*GenA* 1233	bearna strynde him **byras** wocan
	GuthB 985	bittor bædeweg Þæs þa **byre** siþþan
	Phoen 128	beorhtan reorde þonne æfre **byre** monnes
	Phoen 409	bittre bealo-sorge Þæs þa **byre** siþþan
	DEdw 10	and Bryttum eac **byre** æðelredes
	Beo 1188	Hwearf þa bi bence þær hyre **byre** wæron
	Beo 2018	bædde **byre** geonge oft hio beahwriðan
	Beo 2053	Nu her þara banena **byre** nathwylces
	Beo 2445	to gebidanne þæt his **byre** ride

	Beo 2621	bill ond byrnan oððæt his **byre** mihte
	Beo 2907	ofer Biowulfe **byre** Wihstanes
	Beo 3110	Het ða gebeodan **byre** Wihstanes
[GeA29]	GenA 1269	micle **man-sceaðan** **metode** laðe
	GuthA 650	**mine** myrðran ond **man-sceaþan**
	GuthB 909	**minne man-sceaþan** on **menn**isc hiw
	ChristC 1559	Ðonne **man-sceaða** fore **meotude** forht
	Beo 712	mynte se **man-scaða** **manna** cynnes
	Beo 737	mæg Higelaces hu se **man-scaða**
	Beo 1339	mihtig **man-scaða** wolde hyre mæg wrecan
	Beo 2514	mærðu fremman gif mec se **man-sceaða**
[GeA30]	GenA 1275	forgripan **gum-cynne** grimme and sare
	Ridd88 17	gingran broþor Eom ic **gum-cynnes**
	Beo 260	We synt **gum-cynnes** Geata leode
	Beo 944	æfter **gum-cynnum** gyf heo gyt lyfað
	Beo 2765	gold on grunde **gum-cynnes** gehwone
[GeA31]	GenA 1307	Þu þæt **fær** gewyrc fiftiges wid
	GenA 1323	gefæstnod wið flode **fær** Noes
	GenA 1394	for mid fearme **Fære** ne moston
	GenA 1544	of **fere** acumen flode on laste
	Beo 33	isig ond utfus æþelinges **fær**
[GeA32]	GenA 1374	of ædra gehwære **egor-streamas**
	Beo 513	Þær git **eagor-stream** earmum þehton
[GeA33]	GenA 1395	**wæg-liðendum** wætres brogan
	GenA 1432	**wæg-liðende** swilce wif heora
	Whale 11	swa þæt wenaþ **wæg-liþende**
	Beo 3158	**wæg-liðendum** wide gesyne
[GeA34]	GenA 1407	Þa gemunde god **mere-liðende**
	Beo 255	**mere-liðende** minne gehyrað
[GeA35]	GenA 1415	eaforum **eg-stream** eft gecyrred
	Beo 577	ne on **eg-streamum** earmran mannon
[GeA36]	GenA 1468	on beam **hyre** gefeah bliðemod
	Beo 1372	hafelan hydan Nis þæt **heoru** stow
[GeA37]	GenA 1487	**fæger** on **foldan** Gewit on freðo gangan
	Az 119	**fæger folde** ond fæder rice
	Beo 773	**fæger fold**-bold ac he þæs fæste wæs
	Beo 1137	**fæger foldan** bearm Fundode wrecca
[GeA38]	GenA 1520	besmiten mid synne **sawl-dreore**
	Beo 2693	**sawul-driore** swat yðum weoll

[GeA39]   *GenA* 1532   *Weaxað and wridað*   wilna brucað
            Beo 1741   *weaxeð ond wridað*   Þonne se weard swefeð

[GeA40]   *GenA* 1555   Ða Noe ongan   *niwan stefne*
            GenA 1886   *niwan stefne*   noman weorðade
            El 1060   *niwan stefne*   Nama wæs gecyrred
            El 1127   *niwan stefne*   He þam næglum onfeng
            Beo 1789   *niowan stefne*   nihthelm geswearc
            Beo 2594   *niwan stefne*   nearo ðrowode

[GeA41]   *GenA* 1563   on his wicum wearð   *wine druncen*
            GenA 2606   *wine druncen*   gewitan ne meahte
            GenA 2635   þær se waldend læg   *wine druncen*
            Beo 480   ful oft gebeotedon   *beore druncne*
            Beo 531   *beore druncen*   ymb Brecan spræce
            Beo 1467   *wine druncen*   þa he þæs wæpnes onlah

[GeA42]   *GenA* 1587   *geoce gefremede*   gode wæron begen
            Dan 232   Gearo wæs se him *geoce gefremede*   þeah þe hie swa grome nydde
            Beo 177   þæt him gast-bona   *geoce gefremede*
            Beo 2674   geongum gar-wigan   *geoce gefremman*

[GeA43]   *GenA* 1631   þæt he *mon*-cynnes   mæste hæfde
            GenA 1632   on þam mæl-*dagum*   *mægen* and *streng*o
            Beo 196–7   *se wæs mon*-cynnes   *mægenes strengest*
            Beo 196–7   *on þæm dæge*   *þysses lifes*
            Beo 789–90   *se þe manna wæs*   *mægene strengest*
             Beo 789–90   *on þæm dæge þysses lifes*
            Beo 806   *on ðæm dæge* þysses lifes
            Beo 1270   hwæþre he gemunde   *mægenes strenge*

[GeA44]   *GenA* 1643   wintrum *wæl-reste*   werodes aldor
            GuthB 1033   *wunian wæl-ræste*   Wiga nealæceð
            GuthB 1368   *wunað wæl-ræste*   ond se wuldres dæl
            Beo 2902   *wunað wæl-reste*   wyrmes dædum

[GeA45]   *GenA* 1654   *æðelinga bearn*   eard genamon
            GenA 1698   *æðelinga bearn*   ungeþeode
            GenA 1737   *æðelinga bearn*   eard genamon
            GenA 2002   *æðelinga bearn*   ecgum ofþegde
            GenA 2091   *æðelinga bearn*   oðle nior
            GenA 2131   eft on eðel   *æðelinga bearn*
            GenA 2620   *æðelinga bearn*   Ammonitare
            Sea 93   *æþelinga bearn*   eorþan forgiefene
            Beo 888   *æþelinges bearn*   ana geneðde
            Beo 1408   ofereode þa   *æþelinga bearn*
            Beo 2597   *æðelinga bearn*   ymbe gestodon
            Beo 3170   *æþelinga bearn*   ealra twelfe

[GeA46]   *GenA* 1661   Ða þær mon mænig   be his *mæg-wine*

	Beo 2479	Þæt *mæg-wine* mine gewræcan

[GeA47]   *GenA* 1673   oðþæt for wlence   and *for won-hygdum*
             Beo 434   *for* his *won-hydum*   wæpna ne recceð

[GeA48]   *GenA* 1702   *Weox* þa *under wolcnum*   and wriðade
             Dream 55   *wann under wolcnum*   Weop eal gesceaft
             Beo 8   *weox under wolcnum*   weorð-myndum þah
             Beo 651   wan *under wolcnum*   werod eall aras
             Beo 714   wod *under wolcnum*   to þæs þe he win-reced
             Beo 1631   wæter *under wolcnum*   wæl-dreore fag
             Beo 1770   weold *under wolcnum*   ond hig wigge beleac

[GeA49]   *GenA* 1714   Ða *mago-rincas*   metode geþungon
             GenA 2287   minum secge   þæt se *mago-rinc* sceal
             GenA 2330   ac ic þam *mago-rince*   mine sylle
             Ridd22 5   Ne meahton *mago-rincas*   ofer mere feolan
             Met1 26   Þeah wæs *mago-rinca*   mod mid Grecum
             Met10 56   forðæm þa *mago-rincas*   maran wyrðe
             Beo 730   *mago-rinca* heap   Þa his mod ahlog

[GeA50]   *GenA* 1730   *Gewat him þa mid* cnosle   ofer Caldea folc
             GenA 2162   *Gewat him þa* se healdend   ham siðian
             GenA 2621   *Gewat him þa mid* bryde   broðor Arones
             GenA 2885   *Gewat him* þa se æðeling   and his agen sunu
             Beo 1963   *gewat him ða se* hearda   *mid his* hondscole
             Beo 2949   *gewat him ða se* goda   *mid his* gædelingum

[GeA51]   *GenA* 1742   and fife eac   þa he *forð* gewat
             GenA 1743   misserum frod   *metod-sceaft seon*
             ChristC 887   eall monna cynn   *to meotud-sceafte*
             Men 172   Matheus his   *to metod-sceafte*
             Beo 1179   folc ond rice   þonne ðu *forð* scyle
             Beo 1180   *metod-sceaft seon*   Ic minne can

[GeA52]   *GenA* 1743   misserum frod   *metod-sceaft* seon
             Beo 1077   *meotod-sceaft* bemearn   syþðan morgen com
             Beo 1180   *metod-sceaft* seon   Ic minne can
             Beo 2815   mine magas   to *metod-sceafte*

[GeA53]   *GenA* 1769   *gum-cystum god*   golde and seolfre
             Beo 2543   *gum-cystum god*   guða gedigde

[GeA54]   *GenA* 1781   geond þa *folc-sceare*   be frean hæse
             GenA 1872   *of* þære *folc-sceare*   þæt he on friðe wære
             GenA 2479   þæt þu ðe aferige   of *þisse folc-sceare*
             GenA 2681   *on þisse folc-sceare*   facne besyrwan
             GenA 2830   *on ðisse folc-sceare*   frætwa dælan
             Beo 73   buton *folc-scare*   ond feorum gumena

[GeA55] *GenA* 1812   *wicum wunode*   and wilna breac
         Beo 3083   *wicum wunian*   oð woruld-ende

[GeA56] *GenA* 1821   horn-sele hwite   and *hea byrig*
         GenA 2519   Ic wat *hea burh*   her ane neah
         Dan 698   herega gerædum   to þære *heah-byrig*
         Beo 1127   hamas ond *hea-burh*   Hengest ða gyt

[GeA57] *GenA* 1835   ell-ðeodigra   *uncer twega*
         GenA 2883   siððan wit ærende   *uncer twega*
         Beo 2532   *uncer twega*   Nis þæt eower sið

[GeA58] *GenA* 1843   fremena *friclan*   and us fremu secan
         Fates 109   ond frofre *fricle*   Ic sceall feor heonan
         Beo 2556   freode to *friclan*   From ærest cwom

[GeA59] *GenA* 1857   his selfes *sele*   *Sinces brytta*
         GenA 2642   *sinces brytta*   þurh slæp oncwæð
         GenA 2728   to Sarran   *sinces brytta*
         El 194   *Ða wæs on sælum*   *sinces brytta*
         Wan 25   sohte *sele*-dreorig   *sinces bryttan*
         Jud 30   *swið-mod sinces brytta*   oðþæt hie on *swiman* lagon
         Beo 607   þa *wæs on salum*   *sinces brytta*
         Beo 1170   *sinces brytta*   þu *on sælum wes*
         Beo 1922   to gesecanne   *sinces bryttan*
         Beo 2071   *sinces brytta*   to hwan syððan wearð

[GeA60] *GenA* 1895   þa rincas þy   *rumor secan*
         GenA 1896   *ellor* eðel-seld   Oft wæron teonan
         Beo 138   Þa wæs eað-fynde   þe him *elles* hwær
         Beo 139   *gerumlicor*   ræste *sohte*

[GeA61] *GenA* 1972   bryda and beaga   *bennum seoce*
         Beo 2740   feorh-*bennum seoc*   gefean habban
         Beo 2904   sex-*bennum seoc*   sweorde ne meahte

[GeA62] *GenA* 1974   fife foran   *folc-cyningas*
         GenA 2074   feower on fleame   *folc-cyningas*
         GenA 2754   *folc-cyninge*   freora and þeowra
         Beo 2733   fiftig wintra   næs se *folc-cyning*
         Beo 2873   Nealles *folc-cyning*   fyrd-gesteallum

[GeA63] *GenA* 1978   *gombon gieldan*   and gafol sellan
         Beo 11   *gomban gyldan*   Þæt wæs god cyning

[GeA64] *GenA* 1991   hlud hilde-sweg   *Handum brugdon*
         Beo 1443   Scolde here-byrne   *hondum gebroden*

[GeA65] *GenA* 1993   *ecgum dihtig*   Þær wæs eað-fynde
         Beo 1287   *ecgum þyhtig**   andweard scireð   [MS *dyhtig*]

	Beo 1558	ealdsweord eotenisc *ecgum þyhtig*

[GeA66] *GenA* 1993   ecgum dihtig   *Þær* *wæs eað-fynde*
        Beo 138   *Þa* *wæs eað-fynde*   þe him elles hwær

[GeA67] *GenA* 1998   *æt þæm lind*-crodan   *leofum be*drorene
        Beo 1073   *be*loren *leofum*   *æt þam lind*-plegan

[GeA68] *GenA* 1999   *fyrd-gesteallum*   Gewiton feorh heora
        Beo 2873   Nealles folc-cyning   *fyrd-gesteallum*

[GeA69] *GenA* 2003   will-gesiððas   Hæfde *wig-sigor*
        GenA 2004   Elamitarna   ordes wisa
        GenA 2005   *weold* wæl-stowe   Gewat seo wæpna laf
        Beo 1554   *geweold wig-sigor*   witig drihten

[GeA70] *GenA* 2003   *will-gesiððas*   Hæfde *wig*-sigor
        Beo 23   *wil-gesiþas*   þonne *wig* cume

[GeA71] *GenA* 2005   *weold wæl-stowe*   Gewat seo wæpna laf
        Beo 2051   *weoldon wæl-stowe*   syððan Wiðergyld læg

[GeA72] *GenA* 2006   *fæsten secan*   Fynd gold strudon
        Beo 2950   frod felageomor   *fæsten secean*

[GeA73] *GenA* 2007   ahyðdan þa mid herge   *hord-burh* wera
        Beo 467   *hord-burh* hæleþa   ða wæs Heregar dead

[GeA74] *GenA* 2023   *leoda duguðe*   and Lothes sið
        Beo 2238   *leoda duguðe*   se ðær lengest hwearf
        Beo 2945   *leoda dugoðe*   on last faran

[GeA75] *GenA* 2028   cwæð þæt him wære   *weorce on mode*
        GenA 2792   *weorce on mode*   þæt he on wræc drife
        Beo 1418   winum Scyldinga   *weorce on mode*

[GeA76] *GenA* 2035   hældon *hyge-sorge*   heardum wordum
        GenA 776   hynða unrim   forþam him *hige-sorga*
        ChristA 174   gehælan *hyge-sorge*   heortan minre
        GuthB 1009   hefig æt heortan   *Hyge-sorge* wæg
        GuthB 1205   þæt þu *hyge-sorge*   heortan minre
        GuthB 1245   gehælde *hyge-sorge*   ond me in hreþre bileac
        Beo 2328   hreow on hreðre   *hyge-sorga* mæst

[GeA77] *GenA* 2078   and Gomorra   *golde berofan*
        Beo 2931   gomela io-meowlan   *golde berofene*
        Beo 3018   ac sceal geomor-mod   *golde bereafod*

[GeA78] *GenA* 2123   godes bisceope   *Þa* spræc *guð-cyning*
        Beo 199   *godne* gegyrwan   cwæð hu *guð-cyning*

	Beo 1969	geongne *guð-cyning* *godne* gefrunon
	Beo 2335	*gledum forgrunden* him ðæs *guð-kyning*
	Beo 2563	*god guð-cyning* gomele lafe
	Beo 2677	*gledum forgrunden* Þa gen *guð-cyning*
	Beo 3036	*godum* gegongen þæt se guðcyning
[GeA79]	*GenA* 2141	and þisse eorðan *agend-frea*
	GenA 2239	Ongan æf-þancum *agend-frean*
	Beo 1883	*agend-frean* se þe on ancre rad
[GeA80]	*GenA* 2148	eadig on eorðan *ær-gestreonum*
	ChristC 996	eall *ær-gestreon* eþel-cyninga
	Beo 1757	eorles *ær-gestreon* egesan ne gymeð
	Beo 2232	in ðam eorð-huse *ær-gestreona*
[GeA81]	*GenA* 2200	*gode mære* Ne geomra þu
	Beo 1952	in gumstole *gode mære*
[GeA82]	*GenA* 2310	*soðe gelæste* þe ic þe sealde geo
	Beo 524	sunu Beanstanes *soðe gelæste*
[GeA83]	*GenA* 2332	freond-sped *fremum* He onfon sceal
	Beo 1932	*fremu* folces cwen firen ondrysne
[GeA84]	*GenA* 2337	*woruld-cyningas* wide mære
	Az 185	*woruld-cyninges* weorn gehyrdon
	Beo 1684	on geweald gehwearf *worold-cyninga*
	Beo 3180	cwædon þæt he wære *wyruld-cyninga** [MS *wyruldcyning*]
[GeA85]	*GenA* 2337	woruld-cyningas *wide mære*
	PPs1042 2	secgað his wundor eall *wide mæru*
	PPs1445 4	eall þin wundur *wide mære*
	Ridd26 16	ond þa wuldor-gesteald *wide mære*
	Beo 898	Se wæs wreccena *wide mærost*
[GeA86]	*GenA* 2343	bryd *blonden-feax* bringan meahte
	GenA 2602	heora bega fæder Ne wiste *blonden-feax*
	Brun 45	beorn *blanden-feax* bil-geslehtes
	Beo 1594	brim blode fah *blonden-feaxe*
	Beo 1791	wolde *blonden-feax* beddes neosan
	Beo 1873	*blonden-feaxum* him wæs bega wen
	Beo 2962	*blonden-fexa* on bid wrecen
[GeA87]	*GenA* 2355	þe sceal *wintrum frod* on woruld bringan
	Beo 1724	awræc *wintrum frod* wundor is to secganne
	Beo 2114	þonne he *wintrum frod* worn gemunde
	Beo 2277	warað *wintrum frod* ne byð him wihte ðy sel
[GeA88]	*GenA* 2359	bletsian nu *swa þu bena eart*
	Beo 352	beaga bryttan *swa þu bena eart*

[GeA89]   *GenA* 2432   gastum togeanes   gretan **eode**
                GenA 2433   cuman cuðlice   **cynna gemunde**
                Beo 612   word wæron wynsume   **Eode** Wealhþeow forð
                Beo 613   cwen Hroðgares   **cynna gemyndig**

[GeA90]   *GenA* 2447   *in undor edoras*   Þær him se æðela geaf
                GenA 2489   *in under edoras*   and þa ofstlice
                Beo 1037   *in under eoderas*   Þara anum stod

[GeA91]   *GenA* 2464   spræc þa ofer ealle   **æðelinga gedriht**
                Beo 118   fand þa ðær inne   **æþelinga gedriht**
                Beo 357   eald ond anhar   **mid his eorla gedriht**
                Beo 431   þæt ic mote ana   ond* **minra eorla gedryht**   [NOT IN MS]
                Beo 633   sæbat gesæt   **mid minra secga gedriht**
                Beo 662   ða him Hroþgar gewat   **mid his** hæleþa **gedryht**
                Beo 1672   sorhleas swefan   **mid** þinra **secga gedryht**

[GeA92]   *GenA* 2503   alæde of þysse **leod-byrig**   þa ðe leofe sien
                Beo 2471   lond ond **leod-byrig**   þa he of life gewat

[GeA93]   *GenA* 2539   bryd mid bearnum   **under burh-locan**
                Beo 1928   **under burh-locan**   gebiden hæbbe

[GeA94]   *GenA* 2546   **lange þrage**   **Him þæs lean forgeald**
                Beo 114   **lange þrage**   he **him ðæs lean forgeald**
                Beo 1541   heo **him** eft hraþe   **andlean* forgeald**   [MS **handlean**]
                Beo 1584   laðlicu lac   **he him þæs lean forgeald**
                Beo 2094   yfla gehwylces   **ondlean forgeald**

[GeA95]   *GenA* 2550   **laðan cynnes**   Lig eall fornam
                Beo 2008   se ðe lengest leofað   **laðan cynnes**
                Beo 2354   **laðan cynnes**   no þæt læsest wæs

[GeA96]   *GenA* 2550   **laðan** cynnes   **Lig eall for**nam
                Phoen 505   læne lond-welan   **lig eal** þigeð
                Beo 1122   **lað**-bite lices   **Lig ealle for**swealg

[GeA97]   *GenA* 2559   **swogende leg**   forswealh eall geador
                Beo 3145   sweart ofer swioðole   **swogende leg**

[GeA98]   *GenA* 2559   swogende **leg**   **forswealh eall** geador
                Beo 1122   lað-bite **lices**   lig **ealle forswealg**
                Beo 2080   leofes mannes   **lic eall forswealg**

[GeA99]   *GenA* 2563   leoda **lif-gedal**   Lothes gehyrde
                GuthB 1046   leoma **lif-gedal**   long is þis onbid
                Beo 841   laþes lastas   No his **lif-gedal**

[GeA100] *GenA* 2574   woruld gewite   **Þæt is wundra sum**

Dan 417	wis and wordgleaw	***Þæt is wundra sum***
Beo 1607	wig-bil wanian	***Þæt wæs wundra sum***

[GeA101] *GenA* 2829   þæt þu ***rand-wigum***   rumor mote
         Beo 1298   rice ***rand-wiga***   þone ðe heo on ræste abreat

[GeA102] *GenA* 2896   mon-cynnes weard   ***swa him gemet þinceð***
         Met29 41   moncynnes fruma   ***swa him gemet þinceð***
         Beo 687   mærðo deme   ***swa him gemet þince***
         Beo 3057   efne swa hwylcum manna   ***swa him gemet ðuhte***

[GeA103] *GenA* 2920   ***gin-fæstum gifum***   Þe wile gasta weard
         Jul 168   ***ginifæste giefe***   geoguð-hades blæd
         Met20 227   ***gin-fæsta gifa***   ***god*** ælmihtig
         Beo 1271   ***gim-fæste gife***   ðe him god sealde
         Beo 2182   ***gin-fæstan gife***   þe him god sealde

GuthlacA

[GuA1]   *GuthA* 2   engel ond seo eadge sawl   Ofgiefeþ hio þas ***eorþan wynne***
        Beo 1730   seleð him on eþle   ***eorþan wynne***
        Beo 2727   ***eorðan wynne***   ða wæs eall sceacen

[GuA2]   *GuthA* 82   secað ond gesittað   ***sylfra willum***
        ChristC 1483   unsyfre bismite   ***sylfes willum***?
        Met10 19   mid eowrum swiran   ***selfra willum***
        Beo 2222   ***sylfes willum***   se ðe him sare gesceod
        Beo 2639   to ðyssum sið-fate   ***sylfes willum***

[GuA3]   *GuthA* 86   ***eaweð him egsan***   hwilum idel wuldor
        Beo 276   ***eaweð þurh egsan***   uncuðne nið

[GuA4]   *GuthA* 158   ***elne geeode***   þa he ana gesæt
        Beo 893   hæfde aglæca   ***elne gegongen***
        Beo 1967   ***elne geeodon***   to ðæs ðe eorla hleo
        Beo 2676   ***elne geeode***   þa his agen wæs
        Beo 2917   ***elne geeodon***   mid ofer-mægene

[GuA5]   *GuthA* 195   ***mod-cearu*** mægum   gif he ***monna*** dream
        GuthB 1010   ***micle mod-ceare***   ongan ða his magu frignan
        GuthB 1342   ***micle mod-ceare***   He þære mægeð sceolde
        Wife 40   þære ***mod-ceare***   minre gerestan
        Wife 51   ***micle mod-ceare***   he gemon to oft
        Beo 1778   ***mod-ceare micle***   Þæs sig metode þanc
        Beo 1992   mærum ðeodne?   Ic ðæs ***mod-ceare***
        Beo 3149   ***mod-ceare*** mændon   ***mon***-dryhtnes cwealm

[GuA6]   *GuthA* 208   siþþan he ***for wlence***   on westenne
        Beo 338   ***wen ic þæt*** ge ***for wlenco***   nalles for wræc-siðum
        Beo 442   ***wen ic þæt*** he wille   gif he wealdan mot
        Beo 508   ðær git ***for wlence***   wada cunnedon

	Beo 1206	syþðan he **for wlenco** wean ahsode
[GuA7]	*GuthA* 216	idel ond æmen eþel-riehte feor
	Beo 2198	eard eðel-riht oðrum swiðor
[GuA8]	*GuthA* 229	ahofun hearm-stafas **hleahtor alegdon**
	Beo 3020	nu se here-wisa **hleahtor alegde**
[GuA9]	*GuthA* 255	Gewitað nu awyrgde **werig-mode**
	PPs683 1	Þær ic **werig-mod** wann and cleopode
	Beo 844	hu he **werig-mod** on weg þanon
	Beo 1543	oferwearp þa **werig-mod** wigena strengest
[GuA10]	*GuthA* 266	Oft we ofersegon **bi sæm tweonum**
	PPs718 2	**be sæ tweonum** sidum ricum
	Beo 858	þætte suð ne norð **be sæm tweonum**
	Beo 1297	on gesiðes had **be sæm tweonum**
	Beo 1685	ðæm selestan **be sæm tweonum**
	Beo 1956	þone* selestan **bi sæm tweonum** [MS **þæs**]
[GuA11]	*GuthA* 371	Ne mæg min lic-homa wið **þas lænan gesceaft**
	Met20 157	Sona hit forlæteð **þas lænan gesceaft**
	MSol 328	lifiað on **ðisse lænan gesceaft** Ieo ðæt ðine leod gecyðdon
	Beo 1622	oflet lif-dagas ond **þas lænan gesceaft**
[GuA12]	*GuthA* 390	**Ða wæs eft swa ær** eald-feonda nið
	Beo 642	**Þa wæs eft swa ær** inne on healle
	Beo 1787	**Þa wæs eft swa ær** ellen-rofum
[GuA13]	*GuthA* 398	þihð in þeawum He wæs þeara sum
	Beo 1372	hafelan hydan Nis þæt heoru stow
[GuA14]	*GuthA* 434	gyldan **gyrn-wræce** Guðlac sette
	Beo 1138	gist of geardum he to **gyrn-wræce**
	Beo 2118	gearo **gyrn-wræce** Grendeles modor
[GuA15]	*GuthA* 436	hæfde feonda **feng** **feore gedyged**
	Beo 578	hwaþere ic **fara feng** **feore gedigde**
[GuA16]	*GuthA* 508	Gefeoð **in** firenum **frofre ne wenað**
	Ridd5 4	frecne feohtan Frofre ne wene
	Beo 185	**in** fyres fæþm **frofre ne wenan**
[GuA17]	*GuthA* 534	wið onhælum **ealdor-gewinnum**
	Beo 2903	Him on efn ligeð **ealdor-gewinna**
[GuA18]	*GuthA* 540	under **nyð-gista** nearwum clommum
	Beo 2699	þæt he þone **nið-gæst** nioðor hwene sloh
[GuA19]	*GuthA* 553	nergan wið **niþum** ond hyra **nyd-wræce**

	Beo 193	*nyd-wracu niþ*-grim niht-bealwa mæst
[GuA20]	*GuthA* 557	Hwæðre hine gebrohton **bolgen-mode**
	Beo 709	bad **bolgen-mod** beadwa geþinges
	Beo 1713	breat **bolgen-mod** beod-geneatas
[GuA21]	*GuthA* 569	Ongunnon **grom-heorte** **godes** orettan
	Ridd4 6	gretan eode ic him **grom-heortum**
	Beo 1682	**grom-heort** guma **godes** ondsaca
[GuA22]	*GuthA* 641	þurh **ellen-weorc** anforlætan
	Beo 661	gif þu þæt **ellen-weorc** aldre gedigest
	Beo 958	We þæt **ellen-weorc** estum miclum
	Beo 1464	þæt hit **ellen-weorc** æfnan scolde
	Beo 2399	**ellen-weorca** oð ðone anne dæg
	Beo 2643	þis **ellen-weorc** ana aðohte
	Beo 3173	eahtodan eorlscipe ond his **ellen-weorc**
[GuA23]	*GuthA* 650	mine myrðran ond **man-sceaþan**
	GuthB 909	**minne man-sceaþan** on mennisc hiw
	ChristC 1559	Ðonne **man-sceaða** fore meotude forht
	Beo 712	mynte se **man-scaða** manna cynnes
	Beo 737	mæg Higelaces hu se **man-scaða**
	Beo 1339	mihtig **man-scaða** wolde hyre mæg wrecan
	Beo 2514	mærðu fremman gif mec se **man-sceaða**
[GuA24	*GuthA* 672	**bryne-wylm** hæbben nales bletsunga
	XSt 27	þær heo **bryne-welme** bidan sceolden
	Beo 2326	bolda selest **bryne-wylmum** mealt
[GuA25]	*GuthA* 696	þeostra þegnas **þrea-niedlum** bond
	Beo 2223	ac for **þrea-nedlan** þeow nathwylces
[GuA26]	*GuthA* 706	**on** his **sylfes dom** siþþan wæron
	GlorI 4	soð-fæstra sib and ðines **sylfes dom**
	Beo 2147	sunu Healfdenes on minne **sylfes dom**
	Beo 2776	**sylfes dome** segn eac genom
[GuA27]	*GuthA* 736	eadges **eft-cyme** Oft he him æte heold
	Descent 130	þeoden leofa þines **eft-cymes**
	Beo 2896	ende-dogores ond **eft-cymes**
[GuA28]	*GuthA* 773	**Wæs se fruma** fæst**lic** feondum **on** ondan
	Beo 2309	fyre gefysed **Wæs se fruma** eges**lic**
	Beo 2310	leodum **on** lande swa hyt lungre wearð
[GuA29]	*GuthA* 797	**cempan gecorene** Criste leofe
	Beo 206	**cempan gecorone** þara þe he cenoste
[GuA30]	*GuthA* 809	**beorgað** him **bealo-niþ** ond gebedu secað

	KtPs 111	fram blod-gete and **beala-niðum**
	KtPs 151	Forðon he gebette **bala-niða** hord
	Beo 1758	Be**beorh** þe ðone **bealo-nið** Beowulf leofa
	Beo 2404	**bealo-nið** biorna him to bearme cwom
	Beo 2714	þæt him on breostum **bealo-niðe** weoll
[GuA31]	*GuthA* 817	wlitig wuldor-fæst **ealne widan ferh**
	ChristA 439	**ealne widan feorh** wunað butan ende Amen
	Beo 1222	**ealne wide-ferhþ** weras ehtigað

Guthlac B

[GuB1]	*GuthB* 820	**folcum gefræge** þætte frymþa god
	Men 54	**folcum gefræge** Swylce emb feower and þreo
	Beo 55	**folcum gefræge** (fæder ellor hwearf
[GuB2]	*GuthB* 835	þurh ælda tid **ende gebidan**
	Phoen 562	æfre to ealdre **ende gebidan**
	Beo 1386	Ure æghwylc sceal **ende gebidan**
	Beo 1387	**worolde lifes** wyrce se þe mote
	Beo 2342	æþeling ær-god **ende gebidan**
	Beo 2343	**worulde lifes** ond se wyrm somod
[GuB3]	*GuthB* 932	**worulde lifes** Wæs gewinnes þa
	GuthB 946	in þisse won-sælgan **worulde life**
	GuthB 1047	**worulde lifes** ða wæs wop ond heaf
	Beo 1387	**worolde lifes** wyrce se þe mote
	Beo 2343	**worulde lifes** ond se wyrm somod
[GuB4]	*GuthB* 933	yrmþa for eorðan **ende-dogor**
	GuthB 1152	**ende-dogor** ætryhte þa
	GuthB 1167	þam ytemestan **ende-dogor**
	GuthB 1201	**ende-dogor** Ongon þa ofostlice
	GuthB 1285	eadig on elne **ende-dogor**
	Beo 2896	**ende-dogores** ond eft-cymes
[GuB5]	*GuthB* 944	**breost-hord** onboren Wæs se bliþa gæst
	Sea 55	bitter in **breost-hord** Þæt se beorn ne wat
	Beo 1719	**breost-hord** blodreow Nallas beagas geaf
	Beo 2792	**breost-hord** þurhbræc
[GuB6]	*GuthB* 961	feonda gewinna **Næs he forht** se þeah
	Beo 2967	forð under fexe **Næs he forht** swa ðeh
[GuB7]	*GuthB* 970	**niht-helma** genipu Wæs neah seo tid
	Wan 96	genap under **niht-helm** swa heo no wære
	Beo 1789	niowan stefne **Niht-helm** geswearc
[GuB8]	*GuthB* 976	Ða **wæs** Guðlace on þa **geocran** tid
	GuthB 1048	geongum **geocor sefa** geomrende hyge
	GuthB 1138	**geocorne sefan** gæst-gedales

MaxI 182	forgietan þara **geocran** gesceafta	habban him gomen on borde
Dan 616	**geocrostne sið** in godes wite	
Beo 765	on grames grapum	Þæt **wæs geocor sið**

[GuB9]
GuthB 979	**hat ond heoro-grim**	Hreþer innan weol
ChristC 1523	**hat ond heoro-grim**	On þæt ge hreosan sceolan
PPs1456 6	hungur **heaðu-grimne**	heardne geþoledan
Beo 548	**heaðo-grim** ondhwearf	hreo wæron yþa
Beo 2691	**hat ond heaðo-grim**	heals ealne ymbefeng

[GuB10]
GuthB 979	hat ond heoro-grim	**Hreþer innan weol**
Beo 2113	hildestrengo	**hreðer inne weoll**
Beo 2331	bitre gebulge	breost **innan weoll**
Beo 2593	hyne hordweard	**hreðer** æðme **weoll**

[GuB11]
GuthB 980	born **ban-loca**	Bryþen wæs ongunnen
Beo 742	bat **ban-locan**	blod edrum dranc
Beo 818	burston **ban-locan**	Beowulfe wearð

[GuB12]
GuthB 985	bittor bæde-weg	Þæs þa **byre** siþþan
DEdw 10	and Bryttum eac	**byre** æðelredes
Beo 1188	Hwearf þa bi bence	þær hyre **byre** wæron
Beo 2018	bædde **byre** geonge	oft hio beahwriðan
Beo 2053	Nu her þara banena	**byre** nathwylces
Beo 2445	to gebidanne	þæt his **byre** ride
Beo 2621	bill ond byrnan	oððæt his **byre** mihte
Beo 2907	ofer Biowulfe	**byre Wihstanes**
Beo 3110	Het ða gebeodan	**byre Wihstanes**

[GuB13]
GuthB 1000	an **ombeht-þegn**	se hine æghwylce
GuthB 1146	ar **onbeht-þegn**	æþeles neosan
GuthB 1199	**ombeht-þegne**	þa he ædre oncneow
GuthB 1294	eadig elnes gemyndig	spræc to his **onbeht-þegne**
Beo 673	irena cyst	**ombiht-þegne**

[GuB14]
GuthB 1004	**þone leofestan**	lareow gecorenne
Beo 2823	**þone leofestan**	lifes æt ende

[GuB15]
GuthB 1009	hefig æt heortan	**Hyge-sorge** wæg
GuthB 1205	þæt þu **hyge-sorge**	heortan minre
GuthB 1245	gehælde **hyge-sorge**	ond me in hreþre bileac
Beo 2328	hreow on hreðre	**hyge-sorga** mæst

[GuB16]
GuthB 1009	hefig æt heortan	Hyge-sorge **wæg**
GuthB 1010	micle **mod-ceare**	Ongan ða his magu frignan
Beo 1777	ic þære socne	singales **wæg**
Beo 1778	**mod-ceare** micle	Þæs sig metode þanc

[GuB17]
GuthB 1021	ferð afrefre	Wast þu **freo-dryhten**
XSt 433	fægen in firnum	þæt **freo-drihten**

XSt 545	Fæger wæs þæt ongin	þæt **freo-drihten**
XSt 565	**onfeng freo-drihten**	and hine forð lædde
XSt 639	fæhðe and firne	þær ðe hie **freo-drihten**
Beo 1169	**Onfoh** þissum fulle	**freo-drihten** min
Beo 2627	mid his **freo-dryhtne**	fremman sceolde

[GuB18]   *GuthB* 1033   **wunian wæl-ræste**   Wiga nealæceð
            GuthB 1368   **wunað wæl-ræste**   ond se wuldres dæl
            Beo 2902   **wunað wæl-reste**   wyrmes dædum

[GuB19]   *GuthB* 1046   leoma **lif-gedal**   long is þis onbid
            Fort 45   þær him **lif-gedal**   lungre weorðeð
            Beo 841   laþes lastas   No his **lif-gedal**

[GuB20]   *GuthB* 1061   **drusendne hyge**   Ongan þa duguþa hleo
            GuthB 1379   hean-mod hweorfan   **hyge drusendne**
            Phoen 368   Forþon he **drusende**   deað ne bisorgað
            Beo 1630   lungre alysed   Lagu **drusade**

[GuB21]   *GuthB* 1070   **swiðe onsitte**   ne mæg synne on me
            Beo 597   **swiðe onsittan**   Sige-Scyldinga

[GuB22]   *GuthB* 1073   **sorg-wylmum soden**   sar wanian
            GuthB 1262   **soden sorg-wælmum**   A ic sibbe wiþ þe
            Beo 904   snude forsended   Hine **sorh-wylmas**
            Beo 1993   **sorh-wylmum seað**   siðe ne truwode

[GuB23]   *GuthB* 1073   sorg-wylmum soden   **sar wanian**
            Beo 787   sigeleasne sang   **sar wanigean**

[GuB24]   *GuthB* 1095   rof **run-wita**   wæs him ræste neod
            Beo 1325   min **run-wita**   ond min ræd-bora

[GuB25]   *GuthB* 1132   mod ond **mægen-cræft**   þe him meotud engla
            ChristC 1279   mircne **mægen-cræft**   man-womma gehwone
            Met26 105   **mægen-cræft** micel   moda gehwilces
            Beo 380   manna **mægen-cræft**   on his mund-gripe

[GuB26]   *GuthB* 1171   noht longe ofer þis   **Læst ealle** well
            GuthB 1172   wære ond winescype   word þa wit spræcon
            GuthB 1173   leofast manna   Næfre ic **lufan** sibbe
            Beo 2663   **Leofa** Biowulf   **læst eall** tela
            Beo 2664   swa ðu on geoguð-feore   geara gecwæde

[GuB27]   *GuthB* 1203   Ic þec halsige   **hæleþa leofost**
            Beo 1296   Se wæs Hroþgare   **hæleþa leofost**

[GuB28]   *GuthB* 1208   Oft mec **geomor sefa**   gehþa gemanode
            Beo 49   geafon on gar-secg   **him wæs geomor sefa**
            Beo 2419   gold-wine geata   **him wæs geomor sefa**

	Beo 2632	sægde gesiðum *him wæs sefa geomor*
[GuB29]	*GuthB* 1223	þurh cwide þinne *hwonan* his *cyme sindon*
	Beo 257	to gecyðanne *hwanan* eowre *cyme syndon*
[GuB30]	*GuthB* 1235	þurh *gielp-cwide* gæstes mines
	Beo 640	*gilp-cwide* Geates eode goldhroden
[GuB31]	*GuthB* 1270	*heafelan* onhylde hyrde þa gena
	Beo 446	*hafalan hydan* ac he me habban wile
	Beo 672	helm of *hafelan* sealde his hyrsted sweord
	Beo 1120	hlynode for hlawe *hafelan* multon
	Beo 1327	*hafelan* weredon þonne hniton feþan
	Beo 1372	*hafelan hydan** nis þæt heoru stow [NOT IN MS]
	Beo 1421	on þam *holm-clife* *hafelan* metton
	Beo 1448	ac se hwita helm *hafelan* werede
	Beo 1521	þæt hire on *hafelan* hring-mæl agol
	Beo 1614	buton þone *hafelan* ond þa hilt somod
	Beo 1635	from þæm *holm-clife* *hafelan* bæron
	Beo 1780	þæt ic on þone *hafelan* heoro-dreorigne
	Beo 2679	hilde-bille þæt hyt on *heafolan* stod
	Beo 2697	Ne hedde he þæs *heafolan* ac sio hand gebarn
[GuB32]	*GuthB* 1280	*won under wolcnum* woruld miste oferteah
	Dream 55	*wann under wolcnum* Weop eal gesceaft
	Beo 8	weox *under wolcnum* weorð-myndum þah
	Beo 651	*wan under wolcnum* werod eall aras
	Beo 714	wod *under wolcnum* to þæs þe he win-reced
	Beo 1631	wæter *under wolcnum* wæl-dreore fag
	Beo 1770	weold *under wolcnum* ond hig wigge beleac
[GuB33]	*GuthB* 1287	æþele ymb æþelne *ond-longe niht*
	Beo 2938	earmre teohhe *ond-longe niht*
[GuB34]	*GuthB* 1338	*life* bilidenne *last weardian*
	Beo 971	to *lif*-wraþe *last weardian*
	Beo 2164	lungre gelice *last weardode*
[GuB35]	*GuthB* 1346	*fæges* forð-sið *Fus*-leoð agol
	MaxI 27	*Fus* sceal feran *fæge* sweltan
	Beo 1241	*fus* ond *fæge* flet-ræste gebeag
	Beo 3025	*fus* ofer *fægum* fela reordian
[GuB36]	*GuthB* 1352	aswæman *sarig-ferð* wat his sinc-giefan
	GuthB 1378	sið-fæt minne Ic sceal *sarig-ferð*
	ChristC 1082	synfa men *sarig-ferðe*
	Beo 2863	sec *sarig-ferð* seah on unleofe
[GuB37]	*GuthB* 1359	*se selesta* *bi sæm tweonum*
	PPs718 2	*be sæ tweonum* sidum ricum

	Beo 1685	*ðæm selestan be sæm tweonum*	
	Beo 1956	*þone* selestan bi sæm tweonum*	[MS *þæs*]
	Beo 2382	*þone selestan* sæ-*cyninga*	

[GuB38] *GuthB* 1360 — þara þe we on Engle   *æfre gefrunen*
    Beo 70 — þonne yldo bearn   *æfre gefrunon*

[GuB39] *GuthB* 1365 — gewiten winiga hleo   *wica neosan*
    Beo 125 — mid þære wæl-fylle   *wica neosan*
    Beo 1125 — gewiton him ða wigend   *wica neosian*

[GuB40] *GuthB* 1367 — *ban-hus* a*brocen*   burgum in innan
    Beo 2508 — *ban-hus gebræc*   Nu sceall billes ecg
    Beo 3147 — oðþæt he ða *ban-hus   gebrocen* hæfde

[GuB41] *GuthB* 1367 — ban-hus abrocen   *burgum in innan*
    Beo 1968 — bonan Ongenþeoes   *burgum in innan*
    Beo 2452 — to gebidanne   *burgum in innan*

[GuB42] *GuthB* 1372 — mid þa *sib-gedryht   somud*-eard niman
    Phoen 618 — Swinsað *sib-gedryht*   swega mæste
    Beo 387 — seon *sibbegedriht   samod ætgædere*
    Beo 729 — swefan *sibbegedriht   samod ætgædere*

Judith

[Jud1] *Jud* 2 — gifena in ðys *ginnan grunde*   Heo ðar ða gearwe funde
    Beo 1551 — under *gynne grund*   Geata cempa

[Jud2] *Jud* 15 — Hie ða to ðam symle   *sittan eodon*
    Beo 493 — þær swið-ferhþe   *sittan eodon*

[Jud3] *Jud* 18 — boren æfter bencum gelome   swylce eac *bunan ond orcas*
    Wan 94 — Eala beorht *bune*   Eala byrn-wiga
    MaxI 82 — bunum ond beagum   bu sceolon ærest
    Beo 2775 — him on bearm hladon   *bunan ond* discas
    Beo 3047 — Him big stodan   *bunan ond orcas*

[Jud3] *Jud* 19 — fulle *flet-sittendum*   hie þæt fæge þegon
    Jud 33 — fylgan *flet-sittendum*   oðþæt fira bearnum
    Beo 1788 — *flet-sittendum*   fægere gereorded
    Beo 2022 — þa ic Freaware   *flet-sittende*

[Jud4] *Jud* 20 — *rofe rond-wigg*ende   þeah ðæs serica ne wende
    Beo 1793 — *rofne rand-wig*an   restan lyste

[Jud5] *Jud* 21 — egesful *eorla dryhten*   Ða wearð Holofernus
    Brun 1 — Her æþelstan cyning   *eorla dryhten*
    Beo 1050 — ða gyt æghwylcum   *eorla drihten*
    Beo 2338 — eall-irenne   *eorla dryhten*

[Jud6]	Jud 22	*gold-wine gumena*	on gyte-salum
	Beo 1171	*gold-wine gumena*	ond to geatum spræc
	Beo 1476	*gold-wine gumena*	hwæt wit geo spræcon
	Beo 1602	*gold-wine gumena*	gistas setan

[Jud7]	Jud 30	*swið-mod sinces brytta*	oðþæt hie on *swim*an lagon
	Wan 25	sohte sele dreorig	*sinces bryttan*
	Dan 100	*swið-mod cyning*	sinum þegnum
	Dan 161	þætte sona ongeat	*swið-mod* cyning
	Dan 268	Geseah ða *swið-mod* cyning	ða he his sefan ontreowde
	Dan 449	*swið-mod* sinum leodum	þæt se wære his aldre scyldig
	Dan 528	*swið-mod* cyning	hwæt þæt swefen bude
	Dan 605	*swið-mod* in sefan	for ðære sundor-gife
	GDPref 24	þæt is se selesða	*sinc[] brytta*
	MSol 92	*swið-mod sweopað*	and him on swaðe fylgeð
	MSol 121	*swið-mode sweopan*	swenga ne wyrnað
	Beo 607	þa *wæs on salum*	*sinces brytta*
	Beo 1170	*sinces brytta*	þu *on sælum wes*
	Beo 1624	*swið-mod swym*man	sæ-lace gefeah
	Beo 1922	to gesecanne	*sinces bryttan*
	Beo 2071	*sinces brytta*	to hwan syððan wearð

[Jud8]	Jud 39	*byrn-wigena* brego	bearhtme stopon
	Wan 94	Eala beorht bune	Eala *byrn-wiga*
	Beo 2918	þæt se *byrn-wiga*	bugan sceolde

[Jud9]	Jud 46	Holofernus Þær wæs *eall-gylden*
	Beo 1111	swat-fah syrce swyn *eal-gylden*
	Beo 2767	Swylce he siomian geseah segn *eall-gylden*

| [Jud10] | Jud 86 | ðrynesse ðrym Þearle ys me *nu ða* |
| | Beo 426 | ðing wið þyrse Ic þe *nu ða* |

[Jud11]	Jud 104	þone *feond-sceaðan fagum* mece
	Ridd14 19	flyman *feond-sceaþan* Frige hwæt ic hatte
	Beo 554	*fah feond-scaða* fæste hæfde

[Jud12]	Jud 107	druncen ond dolh-wund *Næs* ða dead *þa gyt*
	Beo 2141	feorh oðferede *Næs* ic *fæge þa gyt*
	Beo 2975	feoll on foldan *næs* he *fæge þa git*

[Jud13]	Jud 138	Bethuliam Hie ða *beah-hrodene*
	Ridd14 9	bosm *beag-hroden* hwilum ic bordum sceal
	Beo 623	þæt hio Beowulfe *beag-hroden* cwen

| [Jud14] | Jud 139 | *feðe-laste* forð onettan |
| | Beo 1632 | Ferdon forð þonon *feþe-lastum* |

| [Jud15] | Jud 142 | weras wæccende *wearde heoldon* |
| | Beo 319 | wið wrað werod *wearde healdan* |

[Jud16]	*Jud* 147	*leof* to *leodum* ond ða lungre het
	Beo 521	*leof* his *leodum* lond Brondinga
[Jud17]	*Jud* 175	þam burh-leodum *hu* hyre *æt* beaduwe ge*speow*
	Beo 3026	earne secgan *hu* him *æt* æte *speow*
[Jud18]	*Jud* 179	hæðenes *heaðo-rinces* heafod starian
	Jud 212	hyrned-nebba Stopon *heaðo-rincas*
	Met9 45	heaðorinca gehwilc heran sceolde
	Beo 370	se þæm *heaðo-rincum* hider wisade
	Beo 2466	no ðy ær he þone *heaðo-rinc* hatian ne meahte
[Jud19]	*Jud* 180	Holofernus *unlyfigendes*
	Jud 315	hyra eald-feondum *unlyfigendum*
	Beo 468	min yldra mæg *unlifigende*
	Beo 744	*unlyfigendes* eal gefeormod
	Beo 1389	*unlifigendum* æfter selest
	Beo 2908	eorl ofer oðrum *unlifigendum*
[Jud20]	*Jud* 181	þe us *monna mæst* *morðra gefremede*
	Sea 84	þonne hi *mæst* mid him *mærþa gefremedon*
	Beo 2134	*mærðo fremede* he me mede gehet
	Beo 2514	*mærðu fremman* gif mec se man-sceaða
	Beo 2645	forðam he manna *mæst* *mærða gefremede*
[Jud21]	*Jud* 194	fyllan folc-togan *fagum sweordum*
	Jud 264	hyra fyrn-geflitu *fagum swyrdum*
	Jud 301	Hi ða fromlice *fagum swyrdum*
	PPs8837 1	Fultum þu him afyrdest *fagan sweordes*
	Beo 586	*fagum sweordum* (no ic þæs fela gylpe)
[Jud22]	*Jud* 198	*mihtig* dryhten *þurh mine hand*
	Beo 558	*mihtig* mere-deor *þurh mine hand*
[Jud23]	*Jud* 222	hilde-nædran *of horn-bogan*
	PPs753 1	Þær he *horn-bogan* hearde gebendeð
	Beo 2437	syððan hyne Hæðcyn *of horn-bogan*
[Jud24]	*Jud* 224	grame *guð-frecan* garas sendon
	Phoen 353	from þam *guð-frecan* geomor-mode
	Beo 2414	gearo *guð-freca* gold-maðmas heold
[Jud25]	*Jud* 229	medo-werige *mundum brugdon*
	Beo 514	mæton mere-stræta *mundum brugdon*
[Jud26]	*Jud* 232	Assiria *oret-mæcgas*
	DEdw 11	Englum and Sexum *oret-mægcum*
	Beo 332	*oret-mecgas* æfter æþelum frægn
	Beo 363	þone yldestan *oret-mecgas*

	Beo 481	ofer ealo-wæge ***oret-mecgas***
[Jud27]	*Jud* 236	Swa ða ***mago-þegnas*** on ða morgen-tid
	Wan 62	modge ***magu-þegnas*** Swa þes middan-geard
	Men 82	modige ***mago-þegnas*** for meotudes lufan
	Beo 293	Swylce ic ***magu-þegnas*** mine hate
	Beo 408	mæg ond ***mago-ðegn*** hæbbe ic mærða fela
	Beo 1405	ofer myrcan mor ***mago-þegna*** bær
	Beo 1480	Wes þu mund-bora minum ***mago-þegnum***
	Beo 2079	mærum ***magu-þegne*** to muð-bonan
	Beo 2757	***mago-þegn*** modig maððum-sigla fealo
[Jud28]	*Jud* 272	mid ***toðon torn þoligende*** Þa wæs hyra tires æt ende
	GuthB 1056	***torn þoliende*** tearas geotan
	PPs11119 2	***toþum torn þolað*** teonum grimetað
	Beo 147	[XII] wintra tid ***torn geþolode***
[Jud29]	*Jud* 273	eades ond ***ellen-dæda*** Hogedon þa eorlas aweccan
	GenB 484	Sceolde hine yldo beniman ***ellen-dæda***
	Beo 876	***ellen-dædum*** uncuþes fela
	Beo 900	***ellen-dædum*** (he þæs ær onðah)
[Jud30]	*Jud* 274	hyra wine-dryhten ***him wiht ne speow***
	Beo 2854	wehte hyne wætre ***him wiht ne speow***
[Jud31]	*Jud* 276	þara ***beado-rinca*** þæt he in þæt bur-geteld
	Met1 18	abrocen burga cyst ***beadu-rincum*** wæs
	Beo 1109	betst ***beado-rinca*** wæs on bæl gearu
[Jud32]	*Jud* 277	***nið-heard*** neðde swa hyne nyd fordraf
	Beo 2417	Gesæt ða on næsse ***nið-heard*** cyning
[Jud33]	*Jud* 279	his ***gold-gifan*** gæstes gesne
	Sea 83	ne ***gold-giefan*** swylce iu wæron
	Beo 2652	mid minne ***gold-gyfan*** gled fæðmie
[Jud34]	*Jud* 310	***laðan cynnes*** Lyt-hwon ***becom***
	Jud 311	cwicera ***to*** cyððe Cirdon cyne-rofe
	Beo 2008	se ðe lengest leofað ***laðan cynnes***
	Beo 2354	***laðan cynnes*** No þæt læsest wæs
	Beo 2365	linde bæron ***lyt*** eft ***becwom***
	Beo 2366	fram þam hild-frecan hames niosan
	Beo 2992	Hreðles eafora þa he ***to*** ham ***becom***
[Jud35]	*Jud* 318	***dyre madmas*** Hæfdon domlice
	Beo 1528	***deorum madme*** þæt his dom alæg
	Beo 2236	***deore maðmas*** ealle hie deað fornam
	Beo 3131	***dyre maðmas*** dracan ec scufun
[Jud36]	*Jud* 320	***eðel-weardas*** eald-hettende

	Dan 55	Israela *eðel-weardas*
	Met1 24	sealdon unwillum eþelweardas
	Beo 616	ærest Eastdena *eþel-wearde*
	Beo 1702	*eald eðel-weard* þæt ðes eorl wære
	Beo 2210	*eald eþel-weard* oððæt an ongan
[Jud37]	*Jud* 321	*swyrdum aswefede* Hie on swaðe reston
	Beo 567	*sweordum* aswefede þæt syðþan na
[Jud38]	*Jud* 326	to *ðære beorhtan byrig* Bethuliam
	Beo 1199	*þære byrhtan byrig* Brosinga mene
[Jud39]	*Jud* 327	*helmas* ond hup-seax *hare byrnan*
	WaldB 17	æt ðus *heaðu*-werigan *hare byrnan*
	Beo 2153	*heaðo*-steapne *helm* *hare byrnan*
[Jud40]	*Jud* 332	cene under *cumblum* on *comp*-wige
	Beo 2505	ac in *compe* gecrong *cumbles* hyrde

<p align="center">*Battle of Maldon*</p>

[M1]	*Mald* 27	se on beot abead *brim-liþendra*
	Beo 568	ymb brontne ford *brim-liðende*
[M2]	*Mald* 42	*Byrht*moð *maþelode* *bord hafenode*
	Mald 309	*Byrht*wold *maþelode* *bord hafenode*
	Beo 1573	hwearf þa be wealle wæpen *hafenade*
[M2]	*Mald* 44	*yrre and ān-rǣd* āġeaf him andsware
	Beo 1575	*yrre ond ān-rǣd* Næs sēo eċġ fracod
[M3]	*Mald* 83	*þā hwīle þe hī wǣpna* *wealdan mōstōn*
	Mald 235–36	wigan tō wīġe *þā hwīle þe hē wǣpen* mæġe
	Mald 236	habban and healdan heardne mēċe
	Mald 272	*þā hwīle ðe hē wǣpna* *wealdan mōste*
	Beo 2038	þenden *hīe* ðām *wǣpnum* *wealdan mōston*
[M4]	*Mald* 99	*lid-men* to lande linde bæron
	Mald 164	To raþe hine gelette *lid-manna* sum
	Met26 63	lissum lufode *lið-monna* frean
	Beo 1623	Com þa to lande *lid-manna* helm
[M5]	*Mald* 99	lid-men to lande *linde bæron*
	Beo 2365	*linde bæron* lyt eft becwom
[M6]	*Mald* 100	Þær *ongean gramum* gearowe stodon
	Beo 1034	*ongean gramum* gangan scolde
[M7]	*Mald* 113	Wund wearð Wulfmær *wæl-ræste* geceas
	Beo 2902	wunað *wæl-reste* wyrmes dædum

[M8]	*Mald* 130	Wōd þā **wiġes heard** wǣpen up āhōf
	Beo 886	syþðan **wiġes heard** wyrm ācwealde
[M9]	*Mald* 134	Sende ða se **sǣ-rinc** suþerne gar
	Beo 690	snellic **sǣ-rinc** sele-reste gebeah
[M10]	*Mald* 138	Gegremod wearð se **guð-rinc** he mid gare stang
	Beo 838	ymb þa gif-healle **guð-rinc** monig
	Beo 1118	geomrode giddum **Guð-rinc** astah
	Beo 1501	Grap þa togeanes **guð-rinc** gefeng
	Beo 1881	**guð-rinc** gold-wlanc grǣs-moldan trǣd
	Beo 2648	godra **guð-rinca** wutun gongan to
[M11]	*Mald* 162–3a	Þā Byrhtnōð brǣd bill of scēðe
	Mald 163	**brād and brūn-ecċġ**
	Beo 1545–46a	Ofsæt þā þone sele-ġyst ond hyre seax ġe·tēah
	Beo 1546	**brād ond brūn-ecġ**
[M12]	*Mald* 166	**Feoll** þa **to foldan** fealo-hilte swurd
	XSt 531	**Feollon on foldan** and to fotum hnigon
	XSt 544	**feollon to foldan** fulwihtes bæðe
	Beo 2975	**feoll on foldan** næs he fæge þa git
[M13]	*Mald* 169	**har hilde-rinc** hyssas bylde
	Brun 39	**har hilde-rinc** hreman ne þorfte
	Rewards 57	**har hilde-rinc** hefie þe ðincaþ
	Beo 1307	**har hilde-rinc** on hreon mode
	Beo 3136	**har hilde-rinc** to Hronesnæsse
[M14]	*Mald* 194	**flugon on** þæt **fæsten and** hyra **fēore burgon**
	Beo 1293	**feore beorgan** þa heo onfunden wæs
	El 134	**flugon on fæsten ond feore burgon**
[M15]	*Mald* 199	**on þam meþel-stede** þa he gemot hæfde
	Beo 1082	þæt he ne mehte **on þǣm meðel-stede**
[M16]	*Mald* 204	**heorð-geneatas** þæt hyra heorra læg
	Beo 261	ond Higelaces **heorð-geneatas**
	Beo 1580	þonne he Hroðgares **heorð-geneatas**
	Beo 2180	**heorð-geneatas** næs him hreoh sefa
	Beo 2418	þenden hǣlo abead **heorð-geneatum**
	Beo 3179	hlafordes hryre **heorð-geneatas**
[M17]	*Mald* 212–13	**Ġe·munan** þā **mǣla** þe **wē** oft æt **meodo** sprǣcon
	Mald 213	**þonne wē** on bence bēot āhōfon
	Beo 2633–34	Iċ ðæt **mǣl ġe·man** þǣr **wē medu** þēgun
	Beo 2634	**þonne wē** ġe·hēton ūssum hlāforde
[M18]	*Mald* 226	þæt hē mid **orde** ānne **ġe·rǣhte**
	Beo 555	þæt iċ āglǣċan **orde ġe·rǣhte**

[M19	*Mald* 232	*þegenas* to *þearfe* nu ure *þeoden* lið
	Beo 2709	*þegn* æt *ðearfe* Þæt ðam *þeodne* wæs

[M20]	*Mald* 246b-47	þæt *iċ* heonon **nelle**
	Mald 247	*flēon fōtes trym* *ac* wille furðor gān
	Beo 2524b–25	**Nelle** *iċ* beorges weard
	Beo 2525	ofer*flēon fōtes trem* *ac* unc feohte sceal

[M21]	*Mald* 267	*Ecglafes bearn* him wæs Æsc*ferð* nama
	Beo 499	Un*ferð* maþelode *Ecglafes bearn*

[M22]	*Mald* 277	Hē *bræc* þone *bord-weall* and wið þā beornas feaht
	Beo 2980	*brecan* ofer *bord-weal* ðā ġe·bēah cyning

[M23]	*Mald* 285	*gryre-leoða* sum Þa æt guðe sloh
	Beo 786	*gryre-leoð* galan godes ondsacan

[M24]	*Mald* 295	Ða wearð *borda gebræc* Brim-men wodon
	Beo 2258	geswylce seo here-pad sio æt hilde gebad
	Beo 2259	ofer *borda gebræc* bite irena
	El 114–115	Þær wæs *borda geþrec* ond beorna geþrec
		heard hand-geswin ond herga gring

[M25]	*Mald* 296b–67a	gār oft *þurhwōd* / *fǣġes* feorh-hūs
	Beo 1567b–68a	bil eal *ðurhwōd* / *fǣġne* flǣsc-homan

[M26]	*Mald* 303	*wundum werige* Wæl feol on eorþan
	Beo 2937	*wundum werge* wean oft gehet

[M27]	*Mald* 307	þæt hi þær æt ðearfe *þolian sceoldon*
	ChristC 1385	ðystra þæt þu *þolian sceolde* Þu þæs þonc ne wisses
	Beo 832	ond for þrea-nydum *þolian scoldon*

[M28]	*Mald* 308	*unwaclice* wæpna neotan
	Jul 50	*unwaclice* willan þines
	Dan 673	ealh-stede eorla *unwaclice*
	Beo 3138	ad on eorðan *unwaclicne*

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