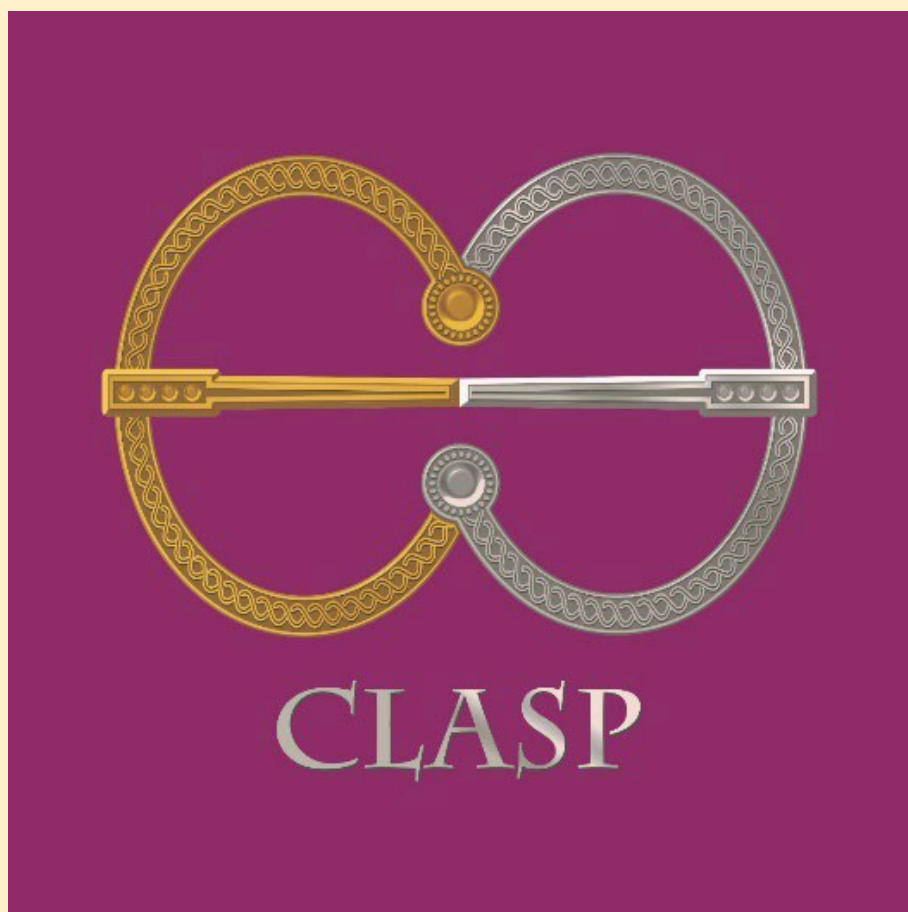# *METRICALITIES*
Studies in Old English Verse

Eric Stanley

with Prefatory Remarks by Rafael Pascual

edited by Andy Orchard

Oxford
MMXXII

METRICALITIES:
Studies in Old English Verse

Eric Stanley

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Rafael Pascual

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

Editorial Note

Andy Orchard

It was about a dozen years ago (the files are dated 2010) that Eric Stanley sent me the typescript that forms the basis of this book, expressing the hope that I might be able to assist in getting it published as a monograph. Being Eric, he also laid down two firm strictures, namely that the volume carry the title *Metricalities*, and the second that the two parts of the book not be split, since (so he believed) more interest might be roused by their travelling together. Alas, given the vagaries and demands of academic publishing, little interest could be roused at all in what seemed to some a short book on a very niche area, with a highly limited potential readership: the exigencies of the market-place meant that there was no great appetite for the topics or their juxtaposition or (perhaps especially) the title itself; the suggestion of publishing the material as a series of separate articles was firmly rejected by Eric, as being a route he had gone down before (as the *Bibliography* below makes clear).

Metricalities, then, has seemed to me a book in search of a home, and while I would not dream of claiming that *CLASP* would have seemed to Eric the most suitable, I do hope that it will bring this work to the audience most likely to find it useful. The files Eric gave me were in an even then rather antiquated word-processing format, which was unable to render many of the special characters correctly (of which, given the subject-matter, there were very many), and most of my own work has involved replacing those to the best of my ability, reformatting the whole piece, and tidying up the very occasional typographical error or repetition; I don't doubt that Eric's own impeccable editorial eye would have improved things immeasurably.

The two main sections of the book carry the daunting titles of 'Kaluza's So-Called "Law"' and 'The Broken Verses of Old English', neither on their own likely to carry broad appeal, and with a still more limited audience interested in both. Conscious of the fact that these sections (notably the first) need some contextualization (which Eric would doubtless have supplied in his own inimitable

fashion), I asked Rafael Pascual to offer some brief Prefatory Remarks. Rafael also adds some comments on some less well-known aspects of Eric's life (making good use of material uncovered by Mark Griffith) that demonstrate what a mighty man he was, in so many ways. Eric, always the most private of men, never spoke about himself very much at all, but was (occasionally) voluble about his wife, Mary, their daughter, Ann, both of whom predeceased him, as well as his grandchildren, James and Victoria; he spoke little about his deep Anglican faith, which sustained him for most of his long life.

By contrast, Eric always expressed grave doubts about what modern scholarship could achieve with certainty with regard to the recovery and appreciation of Old English verse. Not for nothing did his own contribution to the celebrated (and sometimes grossly mis-represented) conference on the dating of *Beowulf* held in Toronto in 1980 carry the characteristic sub-title 'Some Doubts and No Conclusions', while (again characteristically) when asked for a title for the first of two *Festschriften* published in his honour, he chose a quotation from Donne: 'Doubt Wisely'. Readers of this volume will note that despite his own great authority, he seldom expresses certainty, and in these pages it is as rare as it is refreshing in academic prose to find comments such as 'I was wrong' or 'I am not so sure'; those who knew Eric will recognize the sceptical twinkle that accompanies the penultimate word of his judgement on a particular broken verse that it is a 'breach corrigible by imaginative emendation'. Eric was never stirred by flights of fancy, preferring what he calls here 'what to many readers may seem mere archival archaeology', while instinctively drawing back from 'the Germanic Antiquity of Romantic scholarly dreams'.

If the readers of this volume may be few and with a narrow focus, Eric's own purview was correspondingly wide, encompassing an astonishing range of interests covering both language and literature in the broadest sense, as testified by his always prolific reviews: it is striking that in 1965, the year he wrote in short form half the articles that would form *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, and the year before he edited the important collection *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, to which he contributed a splendid paper on *Beowulf*, he also reviewed Tassinari's *Brush Up Your Italian*, while in 1968, the year that his ground-breaking article on 'Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Penitent's Prayer*' was reprinted in Bessinger and Kahrl's *Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry*, he reviewed Behre's *Studies in Agatha Christie's Writings*.

In seeking to supplement Eric's two studies with a Selection of Pertinent Publications, I am conscious that Eric would have thought any such selection from the complete list of his more than 600 publications impertinent indeed. They are chosen here because they seem most relevant, and (especially in the reviews) most indicative of his extraordinary range of expertise. The articles are based mainly on a copy of his CV that Eric gave me in 2006 for quite another purpose, and I have updated the list where I can; there has been no such attempt to update the relevant scholarship for 'Kaluza's So-Called "Law"' and 'The Broken Verses of Old English', of which (especially for the former) there has been a significant amount: but attempting to do so without Eric's outlook and expertise seems an impertinence too far.

Indeed, if anything can be held to characterize Eric's approach to Old English poetry, it may be said to be distilled in the closing sections of the final study (sections **48.1–7**), which (while I cannot completely concur) moved me when I first read them, and move me still: the authentic voice of Eric, who I knew and admired and loved across four decades as his student, colleague, and ultimately unworthy successor. This book, finally, is for him.

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Pembroke College
August 2022

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Prefatory Remarks

Rafael Pascual

The landmarks in the academic career of Eric Stanley (1923–2018) are public and well-known. He won a place at University College, Oxford, in 1941, but because of the War he did not officially matriculate until 1948. During his time as an undergraduate (1948–1951), he attended all the lectures given by C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien.[1] Upon finishing his undergraduate degree, Alan S. C. Ross appointed him to a lectureship at the University of Birmingham, which he left in 1962 to take up a readership at Queen Mary College, London. Two years later he was promoted to a full professorship in that same university, and in 1974 he became a professor at Yale. Eric's stint there was short. In 1977, he was appointed Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, a post from which he retired in 1991 to become emeritus professor. He was a respected and influential academic as well as a prolific author of scholarly writings (he published more than 600 items in total). Some of his publications remain milestones in the field. A list of the most relevant of them, compiled by Andy Orchard, is offered at the end of this volume.

People who knew Eric well agree that he was a reserved individual, reluctant to talk about his private life except on very rare occasions. As a result, not many are aware that he was born in Koblenz, a city in western Germany bathed by both the Rhine and the Moselle, and at that time capital of the Rhine Province of the Free State of Prussia. His birth name was Einhard Sternberg, which he would retain until officially and permanently resigning it in favour of Eric Gerald Stanley in 1948, just before matriculating at Oxford (as can still be seen in the London Gazette of the 30th of January of that year, p. 757). His father, Bruno, was born in Berlin in 1882, and her mother, Olga, was born in Hamburg in 1885. He had an older brother, Arno, born in 1921. The four of them had fled their native Germany for Lancashire in 1934. Einhard's Exemption from Internment certificate, issued

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[1] See his 'C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien As I Knew Them (Never Well)', *The Journal of Inklings Studies* 4 (2014): 123–41.

in Preston in November of 1939, states two reasons for the tribunal's decision: 'Jewish' and 'Refugee from Nazi Oppression'.[2] Almost nothing is known of Einhard's whereabouts during the war years, but, as Mark Griffith put it to me in personal communication, 'a clever fluent German anti-Nazi must have had his uses'. He is thought to have been in London at least for part of the conflict.

Eric was fully conversant with German scholarship on Old English, the amount of which is vast. Of all German-language scholarly works on the subject, he chose to translate Max Kaluza's treatise on prosody, 'Zur Betonungs- und Verslehre des Altenglischen' ('On the Accentuation and Versification of Old English'). This piece first appeared in the *Festschrift* in honour of Oscar Schade, published in Könisberg in 1896. In his contribution, Kaluza advocated that Karl Lachmann's four-lift analysis of Old High German half-lines be extended and applied to Old English alliterative poetry. Thus, according to Kaluza, a verse like *Beowulf* 16a, *lange hwīle*, ought to be analysed / \ / \ rather than / x / x (i.e., with stress on *-ge* and *-le*). This analysis failed to persuade most scholars of Kaluza's time. As P. J. Cosijn put it in his review of a previous work by Kaluza, *Studien zum germanischen Alliterationsvers*, published in Berlin in 1894:

> In the Anglo-Saxon inflexional system each final syllable is, in fact, unstressed when immediately after a syllable bearing primary stress. That is proved by *word* derived from *wordu*: for apocope is possible only when stress is completely absent. Therefore also *ealde*, *láfe*, etc., have completely unstressed vowels; *e* is derived by weakening of *ǽ*, and only their colour, if you will call it so, protected them from becoming silent. *Ealde láfe* has thus in no case fourfold ictus, not even two primary and two secondary ictus, but only twofold ictus.[3]

Cosijn's words capture what remains to this day the *communis opinio*, namely that Old English inflectional syllables are fully unstressed, and that the loss of final *u* and *i* after long root syllables or their resolved equivalents is to be attributed not to their lack of stress, but to their quality or colour (they are, after all, the only two close vowels in the phonological system of Old English). Kaluza's discussion is not, however, without interest, and in his analysis he anticipated the view that prefixes evince a special prosodic behaviour (verses like *Beowulf* 20b, *gōde gewyrcean*, for example, in which the second syllable of the first, disyllabic drop is a prefix, are found in the second half of the line much more frequently than verses

[3] This translation is Eric's: see p. 11 below.

like 708b, *wrāþum on andan*, in which the second syllable of the drop is a monosyllabic preposition).[4]

Of greater interest to scholars of Old English today, and the principal reason behind Eric's decision to translate 'Zur Betonungs- und Verslehre des Altenglischen', is the regularity that Kaluza adumbrated in that piece and which he more fully articulated in his *Englische Metrik in historischer Entwicklung* of 1909.[5] This regularity, now commonly known as Kaluza's Law, states that there is a correlation between the operation and suspension of resolution, on the one hand, and, on the other, the etymological length of the endings involved. The correlation is most clearly observed in secondary stress contexts in *Beowulf*. Thus, nominative singular *wine*, an *i*-stem deriving from earlier *winĭ, with short final *i*, must undergo resolution in 2357a, *frēawine folca*, for that verse to scan correctly. On the other hand, the potentially resolvable nominative singular *fruma*, from earlier *frumō, must suspend resolution in 31a, *lēof landfruma*, if that verse is to evince an acceptable rhythmical pattern.[6] The chronological implications of this regularity were worked out by R. D. Fulk in his 1992 study, *A History of Old English Meter*: because the etymological length of endings like nominative singular -*e* and -*a* was available to the poet, *Beowulf* must have been composed before those endings lost their length.[7] Fulk dated the loss of length from the endings to c. 725 in Mercia and to c. 825 in Northumbria, and since he thought *Beowulf* to be Mercian, c. 725 is, according to him, the likeliest *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the poem. Not everybody would agree with Fulk that the poem is Mercian or that the loss of length from the endings can be so precisely dated (it is based, after all, on the spelling of a relatively small number of place names and proper names in charters). But it appears reasonable to many that compliance with Kaluza's Law indicates that *Beowulf* was composed early in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The implications of Kaluza's Law for the study of Old English literary history are thus considerable. Eric was of the opinion that a dating of *Beowulf* based on Kaluza's Law is contingent upon acceptance of his four-lift analysis of

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[4] In this connection, see Edwin Duncan, 'Weak Stress and Poetic Constraints in Old English Verse', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 92 (1993): 495–508. Note, however, that the larger frequency of verses like *gōde gewyrcean* in the off-verse might well be due to metrico-grammatical rather than purely prosodic factors.

[5] Max Kaluza, *Englische Metrik in historischer Entwicklung* (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1909), §52; translated into English by A. C. Dunstan as *A Short History of English Versification* (London: George Allen, 1911).

[6] *Frēawine folca* is a Type A2a verse, with *wine* occupying a resolved half lift: / \ / x; *lēof landfruma* is a Type D2, a variety of Type D, / / \ x, in which the half-lift is in third position and short.

[7] R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), §§170–83.

half-lines like *lange hwīle*. The implausibility of this analysis, Eric thought, therefore casts doubt on that line of dating (this is the view that he expressed in the afterword to his translation of Kaluza, also presented in this volume). Relatively recent developments in the field of Old English metrics, however, suggest not only that Kaluza's Law is detachable from his four-lift interpretation of verses, but also that it shows Sievers's analysis to be correct.[8] Sievers posited the existence of resolution to preserve the integrity of his four-position rule (according to which every normal verse is regular, regardless of its number of syllables, as long as it consists of exactly four metrical units or positions). *Frēawine folca*, for example, would consist of five positions if -*wine* did not resolve, whereas *lēof landfruma* would consist of only three if *fruma* did not suspend resolution.[9] A few years after the publication of Sievers's work, Kaluza found out that the operation of resolution happens to correlate with the etymological length of the endings involved. This etymological length is a non-metrical phenomenon of which Sievers himself had not thought when formulating his rule.[10] That Sievers's metrical rule of resolution led to the unpredicted and remarkable discovery of a correlation between a metrical and a non-metrical entity suggests that resolution (the cornerstone of Sievers's analysis) is real, and that his four-position interpretation is correct.[11] Moreover, the only precondition for the discovery of the correlation was Sievers's notion of resolution, not Kaluza's four-lift theory. Therefore, acceptance of Kaluza's Law does not entail acceptance of a four-lift analysis of verses like *lange hwīle*.

   Kaluza's Law encourages us to rely on Sieversian metrics for the dating and the textual criticism of Old English poetry. Reliance upon Sievers involves not only the editorial emendation of verses that fail to comply with the four-position rule (especially when their inauthenticity is corroborated by problems of a non-metrical nature), but also the preservation of manuscript readings against unwarranted

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[8] See, for instance, R. D. Fulk, 'Early Middle English Evidence for Old English Meter: Resolution in *Poema morale*', *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 14 (2002): 331–355; and Rafael J. Pascual, 'Bliss's Rule and Old English Metrics', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 32 (2019): 209–13.

[9] Without resolution of *wine*, *frēawine folca* would scan / \ x / x; and with resolution of *fruma*, *lēof landfruma* would scan / / \.

[10] The distinction between long and short endings is borne out by the evidence afforded by the spelling of some Gothic forms (e.g. *giba* 'gift' as opposed to *jainþrō* 'thence', even though both endings, -*a* and -*ō*, descend from *-*o*). On the length of endings in Germanic, see George Lane, 'Bimoric and Trimoric Vowels and Diphthongs: Laws of Germanic Finals Again', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 62 (1963): 155–70.'. See also R. D. Fulk, *A Comparative Grammar of the Early Germanic Languages* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2018), §5.4.

[11] For Eric's belief in the fundamental correctness of Sievers, see his review of Fulk's *History of Old English Meter*, *Æstel* 1 (1993): 175–182, at 175.

emendation proposals (an application of Sieversian metrics of which Eric would have wholeheartedly approved).

Text-critical considerations are integral to the second piece by Eric presented in this volume: 'The Broken Verses of Old English'. In this piece, Eric carries out an exhaustive analysis of unpaired half-lines in Old English poetry (an appendix with a list of unpaired half-lines by poem is included). Broken verses have often been considered the result of defective scribal transmission, but here Eric raises and considers the possibility that poets intentionally produced them for aesthetic effect. It has been demonstrated that poets were occasionally willing to depart from alliterative and metrical rules for literary reasons,[12] and so Eric's contention is worthy of serious scholarly attention. These two pieces are now offered for the perusal of Old English scholars in homage to the memory of Eric Stanley, and also in the hope that they will arouse excitement about Old English metre and will lead to further work on the subject (an outcome that no doubt would have very much pleased Eric).

Oxford, Feast of Saint Edith Stein, 2022

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[12] Mark Griffith, 'Verses Quite like *cwen to gebeddan* in *The Metres of Boethius*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005): 145–67; 'Offa's Vengeance and *The Battle of Maldon*', in Rachel A. Burns and Rafael J. Pascual (eds), *Tradition and Innovation in Old English Metre* (York: Arc Humanities Press, forthcoming).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

KALUZA'S SO-CALLED 'LAW'

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111 years ago, published in what is now Kaliningrad in a *festschrift* for the *Germanist* Oskar Schade, Max Kaluza made a contribution to the 'doctrine' of Old English accentuation and versification, 'Zur Betonung- und Verslehre des Altenglischen'.[1] The paper, in effect a confutation of Sievers's metrical system, is not readily available in all scholarly libraries, and has, as far as I know, never been translated into English. The following is a very literal translation, in which I have preserved the gigantic length of some of Kaluza's sentences, while punctuating them in an attempt, I hope, to clarify their meaning.[2]

[101]   **On the Accentuation and Versification of Old English**
by
Max Kaluza, Königsberg in Prussia

In the Preface to the *Fables* Dryden made the following judgement about Chaucer's versification:

> The Verse of *Chaucer*, I confess, is not Harmonious to us; but 'tis like the Eloquence of one whom *Tacitus* commends, it was *auribus istius temporis accommodata:* They who liv'd with him, and some time after him, thought it Musical; and it continues so even in our Judgment, if compar'd with the Numbers of *Lidgate* and *Gower* his Contemporaries: There is the rude Sweetness of a *Scotch* Tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect. 'Tis true, I cannot go so far as he who

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[1] *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Oskar Schades* (Königsberg: Hartung, 1896), 101–33; also in a 'separate', pp. 1–33.

[2] I quote Dryden from *Fables Ancient and Modern; Translated into Verse, from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer: with Original Poems* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1700), 'Preface', sigs *A–*D2^{vo}, at *B2–*B2^{vo}. I impose Kaluza's letter spacing on the original printed text.

publish'd the last Edition of him; for he would make us believe the Fault is in our Ears, and that there were really Ten Syllables in a Verse where we find but Nine: But this Opinion is not worth confuting; 'tis so gross and obvious an Errour, that common Sense (which is a Rule in every thing but Matters of Faith and Revelation) must convince the Reader, that Equality of Numbers in every Verse which we call *Heroick*, was either not known, or not always practis'd in *Chaucer*'s Age. It were an easie Matter to produce some thousands of his Verses, which are lame for want of half a Foot, and sometimes a whole one, and which no Pronunciation can make otherwise.

Dryden thus transferred the English pronunciation of the seventeenth century, in which *e* of the final syllable was already totally mute, to the language of the fourteenth century, in which it still had its full validity, and could accordingly be used as an unstressed syllable in a verse line. He therefore declared Chaucer's versification to be entirely faulty and irregular, and he was so convinced of the correctness of this view of his that he regarded the opposite opinion, that Chaucer's verse line, when correctly pronounced, contained regularly ten syllables, as so erroneous and contradictory to sound commonsense that it did not seem to him worth the trouble of confuting it. And yet this [102] [contradictory] view is now the one generally held: Dryden's remarks arouse in experts merely a silent smile.

Yet at the present time too we have not progressed very much further than Dryden in several points, and many commit the same error as he committed and are guilty of the same injustice against the ancient poets, if they transfer the pronunciation and details of accentuation of modern German or English to the language and the verse line of the earliest German or English poems, and, in consequence, regard its versification as irregular and arbitrary; and if they are not able to perceive as lifts even the weaker lifts of the alliterative line, and so they miss in it the regular alternation of lift and dip; or allow verse lines of two, three, and four lifts, of four and five feet, to occur regardless side by side with irregularly long feet and regularized bars, as occurs in several of the more recent theories of alliterative versification. Schade's warning (*Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 1, p. 2) is not heeded: that in research of the old metres we must look away 'entirely from our modern conceptions of this matter ..., conceptions with which a time long ago has nothing in common'. Because we would, for example, read half-lines like *lange hwīle, geong in geardum, þurh mīne hand, in geārdagum*, and the like, with only two lifts, we are

therefore to limit ourselves to two lifts per verse lines — from a time about a thousand years ago when, however, 'the spoken word had a much greater importance than today' (Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I, p. 290) — not only the half-lines just quoted but also much longer half-lines which we can conveniently scan with four lifts, for example, *gewāt him þā tō waroðe, gehēdde under heofenum, mid his hæleða gedriht*, and the like. And just like Dryden, these modern prosodists conduct themselves entirely negatively towards any opinion that strives to recognize in the ancient verse lines a strictly regular structure consisting of a fixed number of lifts; without sufficient examination such a theory is rejected out of hand as reprehensible, erroneous, and contrary to sound commonsense. Let us hope that in another two hundred years experts will regard with a quiet smile the theories of the prosodists whom I have in mind, as we now regard Dryden's opinion. In the meantime we must not sit back and do nothing, but rather we must endeavour as far as we can to correct and improve by explanation the prevailing, erroneous conceptions of the prosodic structure and accentuation prevalent a long ago ago. For that reason I wish to throw some light on a few of the now widely disseminated theories about the accentuation of the ancient Germanic languages, especially those which are of importance for an understanding of the ancient metre. As in my paper on Old English versification (*Studien zum altgermanischen Allitterationsvers*, Berlin 1894, Heft 1.2), I confine myself in doing so, in the first place, to Old English, that being nearest to the sphere of my studies otherwise.

[103] 1. The accentuation of Old English disyllabic simplicia with long stem-syllable.

Within the many opinions contradicting each other on Old Germanic prosody Otfrid's versification appears as the only fixed point; Lachmann's perceptive investigations have so elucidated its internal structure for all time evermore that no later scholarship can alter anything in it. If we now wish to stride forth on the path that Lachmann has cleared for us, and, taking his results as basis, transfer the peculiarities of Otfrid's metre, as regards the number and scansion of his lifts, to alliterative versification, which is only a little older, one must contradict the attempt 'to disfigure the perception of Germanic metre that has been arrived at as a result of the unprejudiced analysis of the sources, through the one-sidedly theoretical correction ... from the point of view of later rhyming verse' (Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, p. 1). And yet I know nothing more natural than that we should indeed

apply to the poetry of an earlier age the rules of Old Germanic metre that we have ascertained from Otfrid's clear and transparent metrical structure, instead of judging them simply and solely according to our modern feeling, however 'unprejudiced' that feeling may appear to be; and I regard, among all the arguments that may be adduced in support of the four-lift theory of the alliterative line, this reference to the characteristics of Otfrid's metrical structure as the most important and most indisputable. As I have detailed in what I wrote on Old English metre (*Studien*, I, p. 15), at the end of a line words of the pattern – × are always employed in Otfrid with two lifts, those of the pattern – – × always with three lifts; and this metrical characteristic, which Otfrid could not have taken from the versification of Latin hymns, and which he could not have invented on his own, must be derived from the earlier metre of the alliterative line. We must accordingly scan as having two lifts above all words at the end of the line such as *drihten*, *hwīle*, *fingras*, *wordum*, *mihte*, etc., and scan as having three lifts words such as *līðende*, *ærende*, *yldesta*, *moncynnes*, *lagu-strǣte*; and from that follows readily the impossibilty of the two-lift theory and the necessity of four lifts.

Shortly after the appearance of my treatise, but apparently independently of it, Kögel (in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur bis zum Ausgange Mittelalters*, I, pp. 289–90) gave as his view a statement with roughly the same sense. He said:

> The line ends always with the fourth lift ...... the final lift is never permitted to be followed by a dip. The consequence is that the final patterns $\acute{-}$ × and $\acute{-}$ – × are to be scanned $\acute{-}$ $\grave{×}$ and $\acute{-}$ $\grave{-}$ $\grave{×}$. This is a fundamental rule of all genuine Germanic metre, the neglect of which is a principal weakness of Sievers's system: and this fault alone is sufficiently proof that it is untenable. Where did the rhyming verse get those final patterns from if not from alliterative verse? And if still even in the Middle High German period, when the short rhyming couplets are recited [104] straightforwardly, as Hermann Paul (*Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, 1, p. 932) rightly supposes, their end – ◡ is still to be scanned $\acute{-}$ ◡̀, for what reasons is any other scansion of alliterative verse to be made probable? That such sonorous [*klingend*] terminations are no longer to our taste nowadays, what can that prove for a time long ago? All the more so since they are still usual in the popular verse of today? I know little Alemannic children's verses that are neither sung nor danced to, but are just recited simply; and yet there

survives in them that truly ancient termination reaching back in quite undiminished force far beyond the separate existence of the Germanic people (as Saturnian verse and the oldest Greek metres show). Let us not forget that in those ancient times much more time was devoted to speaking and that the spoken word had far greater importance than today. We can then understand the heavy, forceful, slow rhythms in which one syllable occupies every beat. For the thought-laden content of the old songs the grand, rhythmical, lapidary style is the only form that is adequate. To dispute that style away in consideration of the taste of today means snuffing out the soul of that ancient art-form.

In English studies, those who scan Laȝamon's verse line as of four lifts must treat the Old English line, if they wish to be consistent, in the same way and ascribe to it too four lifts to the line. Trautmann, who was the first to identify Laȝamon's verse line with that of Otfrid (*Anglia*, 3, 153ff.), that is, recognized four lifts in the line while still believing the alliterative line to be of two lifts, sought to lessen the contradiction in his conception, first, by declaring Laȝamon's verse line to be directly modelled on Otfrid's, an assumption that is quite unlikely, and secondly, by distinguishing Lachmann's rules of accentuation from Lachmann's rules of scansion. In his study 'Zur alt- und mittelenglischen Verslehre (*Anglia*, 5, Anzeiger, p. 111) he says:

> Lachmnann has the not inconsiderable merit that he recognized Otfrid's verse line and the corresponding Middle High German verse lines as regular lines of four lifts, and taught us to read them so. He did, however, fall into the error that he sought to derive certain peculiarities of these lines from rules of word-accentuation, which do not and did not exist. I read the verse lines of Otfrid, the corresponding Middle High German verse lines, and those of the *Brut* and a whole lot of other Middle English writings, as Lachmann did or would have done, that is, I recognize for the relevant poems the validity of his metrical rules; but I reject the validity of his rules of accentuation.

And a little further on he says (p. 113):

> If I suppose Lachmann's metrical rules to be, on the whole, valid, but reject decidedly rules of accentuation what separates him from me is in fact only our differing opinions about the reason for certain details of

accentuation. Lachmann's opinion was that in Old and Middle High German speech the accentuation was, for example, *wísóta fólló éndéten næmé*, and because they were so accentuated in speech we find in Old and Middle High German verse lines these accentual hits that differ from Modern High German. I believe, [105] on the other hand, that Old and Middle High German ordinary diction was accentuated as is Modern High German, that is, *wísota, fóllo, éndéten næme*; and the second accentual hit of such words (*wísóta,   næmé*), where they occur in rhythmic diction, is not an accentual hit dictated by the pronunciation of the word but an accentual hit dictated by verse stress.

Also in his paper, published in 1877, 'Lachmanns Betonungsgesetze und Otfrids Vers' (pp. 12–13), Trautmann expresses a similar view:

The secondary stresses, found frequently, at any rate in Old and Middle High German poets, on the second syllable of words the first syllable of which is long, are not word-stresses, as Lachmann thinks, but metrical stresses; they have their origin quite simply in a licence of Germanic metrical structure by which it is permitted that a long stressed syllable may take the place of a lift plus following dip ..... In lines II. iii. 57 *in krísté gerédinót*, II. ii, 6 *soso íh hiar fórná giscréip*, II. ii. 4 *sie ráfsta thár so hártó* the words *kriste, forna*, and *harto* have a stress on the second syllable too. Could that be perhaps because of a rule 'C' of accentuation, 'disyllabic words with long first syllable have secondary stress on the second syllable'? Lachmann did not maintain that, and similarly these days no one probably would dare to maintain that: the untenability of such a rule would be simply too palpable. The second stress in *kriste, forna*, and *harto* is explicable only as metrical,

and even now, when Trautmann has at last come to the recognition[1] that the Germanic alliterative verse line is not one of two stresses but 'one of four stresses like Otfrid's line, its descendant' (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 5, p. 87), and that accordingly the

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[1] Luick too, who has recently (Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II/1, pp. 996 ff.) scanned with four stresses the verse line in Laȝamon's *Brut* and in *King Horn*, is in consequence of the factual evidence going to be led to declare the alliterative verse line as similarly one of four stresses. At present he is indeed far from doing so; but Trautmann too expressed himself (*Anglia*, 2, pp. 168–9) as decidedly against the four-stress theory, as Luick does now (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 4, p. 294), and yet he has at last been converted to it. Schipper (*Grundriss der englischen Metrik* (Vienna, 1895) denies the scansion of disyllabic words with long stem-syllable as of two stresses both for the Old English alliterative verse line and for the poems of early Middle English: he is at least more consistent than Luick.

alliterative verse line is to be defined and scanned as is Otfrid's verse line; nevertheless he seems in no way to have altered his opinion that Lachmann's rule of accentuation has no validity; for (in 'Zur Kenntnis des altgermanischen Verses, vornehmlich des altenglischen', *Anglia Beiblatt*, 5, p. 91) he repeatedly speaks of this, that also syllables that carry no accentual hit can occupy a lift and fill a whole metrical stress, and in his review (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 5, p. 134) of my paper on the Old English verse line he accuses me of believing 'in the long discarded rule of descending accentuation'.

In an essay 'Zur Accent- und Lautlehre der germanischen Sprachen, 1. Das Tieftongesetz ausserhalb des Mittelhochdeutschen (Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, 4, pp. 522 ff.), Sievers takes a point of view similar to that of Trautmann, attacking the rule established by Lachmann that when the stem-syllable is long the following syllable bears the accent, when the stem-syllable is short the third syllable bears the accent, and contradicting what Lachmann had maintained: 'We have no right to declare the final [106] vowel of disyllabic words in Middle and Old High German without more ado as bearing secondary stress' (p. 528). He explains the actual use made of the inflexional syllables as the final lift in Otfrid and in later rhyming verse exactly as Trautmann did: 'Whether the *e*'s of *hörte*, *blinde*, as distinct from the *e* of *tage*, are able to bear the ictus depends as much on the greater accentual vigour of the first syllable as indirectly on the ability of the stem-syllables to fill an entire metrical beat.' Paul ('Geschichte des germanischen Vokalismus', Paul and Braune *Beiträge*, 6, p. 134) agrees with this opinion of Sievers: 'According to Sievers's argument there can be no doubt that the position of secondary stress in Germanic does not depend, as had been accepted before him, on the quantity of the syllable that bears the primary stress'; and Heusler (*Über germanischen Versbau*, p. 63) says:

> Likewise I agree with Sievers (*Altgermanische Metrik*, p. 16) that Möller was wrong to base the connection of linguistic quantity and linguistic secondary stress firmly Lachmann's rule. If only *wīsa*, but not *witan*, can be lengthened to $\acute{=}$ $\grave{\times}$ it is simply because of the dilatability of *wī-* and the indilatability of *wi-*. In this matter the linguistic accent is of no consequence, the quantity is of immediate consequence.

Heusler seeks further to attribute to the original Indo-European verse line the disyllabic scansion of words of the structure – × at the end of a line of verse, and he goes on to say:

> Accordingly I regard as impossible any doubt that already the original Indo-European verse line had this sonorous (*klingend*) scansion, and it therefore clearly follows that an expiratory accent on the final syllable is not involved. The metrical scansion of a disyllabic word or part of a word with dilatable penultima resulting in $\acute{\underline{\ }}$ × goes back from the outset to purely prosodic practice, not to a linguistic necessity.

In Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, designed, after all, to fix our present state of scholarship, this recent doctrine of the absolute unaccentuatedness of all final and inflexional syllables of disyllabic words has been sanctioned. Ten Brink (*Altenglische Litteratur*, in Paul's *Grundriss*, II/1, p. 517), however, says: 'the gradation of rank of lifts corresponds within the half-line in general to the natural gradation of the accentual strength of the syllables'; but Sievers, in his presentation of Germanic metrics (*Grundriss*, II/1, p. 889, and so also in his book *Altgermanische Metrik*, p. 126), maintains: 'All final syllables are considered unstressed without prejudice to their quantity.' Paul (*Grundriss*, II/1, p. 919, says of the end of Otfrid's verse line: 'The verse line more often ends with secondary stress..... This secondary stress falls most often on a syllable that would in prose be unstressed, a syllable immediately following a long bearer of the second primary stress.' Finally, Kluge attempts to prove the unstressableness of inflexional endings by reference to the history of the language, giving the following details (*Grundriss*, I, p. 342):

> It follows from the rules governing endings that *ă, ĭ, ŭ, (ŏ, ĕ)* — the syncopated or apocopated vowels — could not have been accorded low stress; the following had therefore one stress [107] only: *dáɣa(z)*, *wúlfa(z)*, *gásti(z)*, *dáuþu(z)*; *birizi, biriði, berome, berandi*; *dáɣami(z)*, *wúlfami(z)*, *ɣástimi(z)* dative plural; *súniwiz* nominative plural 'the sons'; *námini(z)* Latin *nomini(s)*; *ɣúmini(z)* Latin *hominis.*
> If now *ă, ĭ*, and *ŭ* in *daga, wulfa, gasti, dauþu*, and *wordō-wordu* are not for Proto-Germanic, or, respectively, Proto-West-Germanic, to be considered as having low stress, it follows that the second syllable of the word does not bear low stress, but is unstressed.

Finally we find quite the same argumentation in Cosijn again, who in his review (*Museum*, II/10, cols 353–4) of my paper on the Old English verse line controverts my opinion on the scansion of such half-lines as *lángè hwílè* by the following counter-arguments:

In the Anglo-Saxon inflexional system each final syllable is, in fact, unstressed when immediately after a syllable bearing primary stress. That is proved by *word* derived from *wordu*: for apocope is possible only when stress is completely absent. Therefore also *ealde, láfe*, etc., have completely unstressed vowels; *e* is derived by weakening of *ǽ*, and only their colour, if you will call it so, protected them from becoming silent. *Ealde láfe* has thus in no case fourfold ictus, not even two primary and two secondary ictus, but only twofold ictus, no more. If all the same we do find such half-lines as *wísfæst wordum*, then it is more probable that the poet found no objection in it to use a secondary stress in the dip, than that he caused a primary or secondary stress to fall on an absolutely unstressed syllable. To call upon Otfrid for support proves nothing whatsoever: this miserable versifier with his *fingar thínan* and suchlike monstrosities — *fingar* with svarabhakti *a*! — dictates the song, not the recitation. The conclusion is surely somewhat daring that the throats(?) of all Old Germanic poets must have been from versifiers because the monk of Weissenburg conveniently made it so hideous for himself.

From all these remarks, and they could be further increased, it emerges that a high percentage, perhaps the majority, of the scholars of today are of the opinion that simplicia with long stem-syllable were not able ever, or only in rare cases, to claim in Proto-Germanic a linguistic secondary stress on the second syllable. If in spite of that such words are scanned with two stresses at the end of German and English lines in rhyming verse, then according to their opinion this is supposed to have become possible because in such cases a verse ictus fell on a syllable which, by nature, was unstressed. Otfrid and later German poets, as also Laȝamon and the poets of the early Middle English period were wretched rhymesters and poetasters who in their clumsy way were at a loss how to do it otherwise than that they put a linguistically unstressed syllable into a position of metrical lift. Only the authors of alliterative verse provide a laudable exception by keeping themselves free form stress patterns of this kind which is contrary to the rules of accentuation — for such this

kind of irregular accentuation must seem; — and they paid heed only to the primary accent of a word. That is why the alliterative half-line has only two lifts, never more, with now and then at most an occasional secondary lift.

Is one not doing a grave injustice to our friends Otfrid and Laȝamon and their contemporaries and followers? Did they really know their language so little that they dared to act so contrary to the [108] innermost essentials of the Germanic verse line, which is based solely and exclusively on stress, so that they put in positions of lift syllables that from the very earliest times onwards had always been totally unstressed, in other words, that they managed to create verse lines comparable in being contrary to all principles of accentuation to the well-known distich?:

Ín Weimar únd in Jená macht mán Hexámeter wíe der,
Dóch die Péntametér sínd noch viel éxcellentér.

Surely it is possible and permissible that a syllable that had been stressed earlier, but the accent of which was a little weakened as time progressed, might occupy a dip, but it is impossible to presume that a syllable that had originally been unstressed might occupy a lift; for that would be to deny that the Germanic verse line has an accentual system as its basis. And even if individual poets had dared to let unstressed syllables pretend to be lifts these could never have been accepted as true lifts by their listeners. Heath (*Transactions of the Philological Society 1891–1893*, pp. 381–2) is fully justified when he says:

> Scholars have denied that Lachmann's Law applied to the spoken language. But this is a priori improbable, for it neglects the very close connection between verse and the spoken tongue in Early Germanic times — besides which, if it only applied to the verse, this highly conventional system of accentuation (as it then would be) would certainly strike an audience as unnatural and fail to catch on.

Contrary to Trautmann and Sievers, Paul and Heusler, Kluge and Cosijn I am firmly convinced that Otfrid and Laȝamon and those alliterative poets, whose verse line is in principle not at all different from that of rhyming verse lines, were able to place the inflexional endings of disyllabic words with long stem-syllable into lifts because from Proto-Germanic times onwards these syllables were indeed stressed. Because words like *lange, hwīle, folcum, geardum, wolcnum, bearme, wīde,*

etc., at the time that produced the alliterative poems, bore two clearly developed linguistic accents, a primary stress on the first syllable and a secondary stress on the second, for that reason the poets could in no way do anything other than to transfer two metrical lifts also to these words, with the result that they merely introduced such words with one word consisting of two lifts or two words consisting of a single lift with or without an intervening dip (*lange hwīle, folcum gefrǣge, geong in geardum, wēox under wolcnum*); or if such a word stood in the middle of a half-line they introduced it by just one further lift and let it be followed by one further single lift (*him on bearme læg, blǣd wīde sprang*). Only at the beginning of a verse line, preferably in the case of more weakly accentuated word-classes (verb, pronoun, prepositions), it is possible for the second syllable to suppress the secondary accent that properly belongs to it; scansion with one single lift is therefore permissible for these words under discussion (e.g., *grētte Gēata lēod, sīde sǣ-næssas, sægdest from his sīðe, hæfde þā gefǣlsod, ond mīnra eorla gedriht*, etc.); in the middle of the half-line this occurs [109] also in the case of prepositions (e.g., *wēox under wolcnum*).

The linguistic development of German as of English forced a further weakening of the final syllable of words. It is therefore not surprising if, after the final decline of the age of alliterative verse, that is, in the case of Laʒamon and Otfrid, we find scansion with two lifts of these words in the middle of the verse line only if a syllable in dip follows, a syllable which because of its own unstressed quality allows the already somewhat reduced secondary stress to emerge more clearly. At the end of the verse line scansion with two lifts remains the same as before. In an even later period the original secondary stress is no longer accounted as a distinct lift, yet it has not for that reason been entirely lost even to this day. We sometimes accord to disyllabic words at the end of a verse line or sentence a distinctly perceptible secondary stress, not only in song (*Im Krug zum grünen Kránzè, In einem kühlen Gründè*, etc.), but also in nursery rhymes (*Wer bäckt Kúchèn, Der muss súchèn*), at the end of questions, and in general in all slow recitation, thus specifically in declaiming poetry and in preaching.

This conception that the original secondary stress, which was proper for inflexional endings of disyllabic words with long stem-syllable, was slowly weakened in the course of centuries, so that in alliterative verse still in all positions of the verse line, in rhyming verse it was still possible to account it so until about the thirteenth century at any rate at least at the end of the line, while such stress has now vanished in ordinary speech, emerging only in singing and celebratory recitation, it surely

corresponds to the actual linguistic development much better than the opposite conception that inflexional endings were quite unstressed in the earliest periods of time, and that nonetheless, however, such stress could still be employed as a fully valid metrical lift at a later period by the creators of German and English rhyming verse. Is it really conceivable, as even a short time ago L.R. in the *Revue Métrique*, I/2, p. 59, maintained that the quite identical verse line was read in *Muspilli*, 14 (*dār ist līp āno tōd, lioht āno finstrì*) with two lifts, in Otfrid 1.18.9 (*thār ist līb āna tōd, lioht āna finstrì*), however, with four lifts? In contradiction of that this cannot be reiterated often enough:

> Nowhere and at no time in a genuine Germanic metre is the 'feminine' (*klingend*) ending scanned other than as with two beats. That the ending should have lost this scansion in the alliterative verse line is an assumption completely plucked out of the air (Kögel, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* , 39, Anzeiger, p. 331).

In a very attractive way Fleischer, 'Das Accentuationssystem Notkers in seinem Boethius' (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 14, pp. 153–4), derived the validity of Lachmann's rule of secondary stress from the general rhythm of the language which must be essentially the same as the rhythm of music. In music in four-four time there follow upon each other:

[110] crotchets [♩], following each other, bearing principal accent, bearing no accent, bearing secondary accent, bearing no accent, ♩ ♩ ♩`♩. Two crotchets can be contracted into one minim [𝅗𝅥]; if in place of the first two crotchets there is a minim, clearly the component of the bar that bears the secondary accent must follow: 𝅗𝅥 ♪ ♩. Similarly in the rhythm of speech, of the spoken language, short syllables bearing the principal accent, bearing no accent, bearing secondary accent, and finally bearing no accent follow one another, or a long syllable accentuated, next to a syllable bearing secondary accent, and then a syllable bearing no accent; and this is the natural foundation of Lachmann's law.

I wish to add to that that the fourth crotchet of the bar, both at the end and in the middle of the verse unit can be replaced by a rest; in the case of words of only two syllables, the first of which is long, secondary stress therefore remains on the

second syllable, in the case of trisyllabic words with short first syllable secondary stress remains on the third syllable, *wórdùm, héofenùm.*

Moreover the necessity of Lachmann's Law can be clearly demonstrated by reference to the historical development of Old English from the Proto-Germanic original language: a long syllable bearing primary stress must be followed immediately by a syllable bearing secondary stress. The rule propounded by Kluge (Paul's *Grundriss,* I, p. 342) as a negative criterion for deducing Germanic secondary stress is, in fact, correct, and it follows that Lachmann's rule of secondary stress is not to be simply applied to Proto-Germanic:

> No vowel eliminated by syncope can have borne secondary stress; total unstress is to be presumed prehistorically for all vowels syncopated as a result of the rule affecting the final sound of a word: therefore the vowels in the final syllables of the following were unstressed, *wulfa(z), gasti(z), dauþu(z), bëriði-biriði, berandi.* Furthermore all medial vowels are unstressed, *hauzida* (OE *hȳrde*), *háirizō* (OE *hērro*), *lángito* (OHG *lę̄nzo*).

But the further conclusion of Kluge's is only acceptable if, and this is not treated so, this rule is expressly confined to disyllabic simplicia in Proto-Germanic, or, as the case may be, in Proto-West-Germanic, for disyllabic words before and disyllabic words after the laws of final sounds and of syncope come into effect, that is, for example, Proto-Germanic *wulfaz* nominative singular and OE *wulfas* nominative plural, Proto-Germanic *dauþum* accusative singular and OE *wulfum* dative plural, Proto-Germanic *gastim* accusative singular and OE *dryhten* nominative singular cannot readily be equated the one with the other seeing that Old English words are derived from Proto-Germanic trisyllabic word-forms; and that is why the further conclusion of Kluge's (p. 342) can be accepted only within expressly defined limits: 'Now if *ă, ĭ,* and *ŭ* in *daga, wulfa, gasti, dauþu, wordō–wordu* are to be assumed as having secondary stress in Proto-Germanic, or, as the case may be, in Proto-West-Germanic, it follows that the second syllable does not bear secondary stress but is unstressed.' For that reason it is quite unjustified for Cosijn, in the place quoted above, deduces from loss of *u* in *wordu* that the final syllables too of *ealde lāfe,* etc., should have had 'absolutely unstressed vowels' and that 'in the Anglo-Saxon inflexional system every final syllable was unstressed when it immediately

follows a syllable bearing primary stress'. If indeed, as Cosijn assumes and Kluge appears to assume that all Old English inflexional endings, e.g., *-e* of dative singular, *-a* of genitive [111] plural or the endings with final consonant, *-es* genitive singular, *-as* nominative plural, *-um* dative plural of nomina of the *o*-declension were just as unstressed as *a, i, u* in *wulfaz, gastiz, dauþuz, wordu*, then these too would have had to be lost under the influence of the preceding primary stress of the stem-syllable. The very fact that in Old English certain final vowels were lost, others, however, were not, proves that in Proto-Germanic only some of the inflexional endings were unstressed, and that those inflexions and affixes that were not effected by the laws of final sounds and of syncope, must originally have borne stress, that stress preserving them from loss. Though Cosijn appeals to the witness of the fact that in *ealde lāfe*, and the like, *e* is weakened from ealier *a*; mere weakening and alteration of the vowel are by no means signs of absolute want of accent, since, as everybody knows, in the Old Germanic languages even vowels in syllables bearing primary stress suffer the most diverse alterations and variations.

Kluge's law of the want of stress of the second syllable of a word does not even apply absolutely to Proto-Germanic, for those words have to be exempted from it that in Proto-Germanic bear the primary stress on the second syllable. This primary stress cannot have been lost immediately and without trace after the shift of accent, it must have been preserved for a long time in the individual Germanic languages; loss of vowel did not occur for that reason in these disyllabic words either. According to Hirt (*Der indogermanische Akzent*, pp. 13, 30, 45, and passim) in Indo-European as in Celtic, Italic, and still today in Polish, a primary stress on the second or third syllable accorded to a secondary stress, or 'counter-stress' on the first syllable; in such words accent-shift consisted merely in an 'interchange between primary and secondary stress' (Sievers, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 4, p. 539, note 1). At any rate we therefore may rightly assume for this group of words even in the Germanic individual languages that side by side with the more recent principal stress on the first syllable we may still pronounce (in place of the earlier principal stress) a secondary stress on the second syllable; thus, e.g., OE *óxà, túngè, fóldè, mṓdòr, éahtà, búndòn, wúrdòn*, etc.

A further exception of Kluge's rule are those dissyllabic words of Proto-Germanic, originally trisyllabic, which came into being through Indo-European or Proto-Germanic contraction of the vowels of the two final syllables, e.g., **wulfai* dative singular from **wulfo-ai*, **wulfōs* nominative plural from **wulfo-es*, **wulfēm*

genitive plural from *wulfe-ēm, for these are, as regards their accentuation, entirely equivalent to Proto-Germanic trisyllabic words, more especially since their trisyllabicity is preserved further by the slurring accentuation of the final syllables (cf. in this connection Hirt, 'Vom schleifenden und gestossenen Ton in den indogermanischen Sprachen', *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1, pp. 1ff., 195 ff., and *Der indogermanische Akzent*, pp. 114–15 and passim),

[112]   Unstress of the second syllable of Proto-Germanic disyllabic words with long first syllable is therefore established only for *wulfaz, gastiz, dauþus, wordu* (from earlier *wordō* with 'fully sounded' [?, *gestossen*], not slurred accent), and similar words, all became monosyllabic in Old English as the result of loss of the final syllable, *wulf, giest, dēað, word*, etc., so that in Old English secondary stress is not under consideration for these words. Some of the words that belong here, namely those the stem of which ended in syllabic *l, r, m, n*, did later indeed become disyllabic again in Old English as a result of the insertion of a secondary vowel, thus, e.g., *tempel* (Latin *templum*), *winter* (Gothic *wintrus*), *maððum* (Gothic *maiþms*), *tācen* (Gothic *taikns*). Secondary stress is not appropriate for the second syllable of these words because of their development, and indeed exactly these are the only disyllabic nomina with long stem-syllable which in Old English alliterative verse lines are used with single lift also aside from the opening of a (Sievers Type) D-half-line; e.g., *Salomōnes templ* (*Daniel*, line 60), *rodorbeorhtan tungl(u)* (*Daniel*, line 368), *symb(e)l-wynne drēoh* (*Beowulf*, line 1782), *wæl-fāgne wint(e)r* (*Beowulf*, line 1128), *ald(o)r-bealu eorlum* (*Beowulf*, line 1676), *hæfde kyninga wuld(o)r* (*Beowulf*, line 665 [MS *hæfde kyningwuldor*]), *morþor-bealo māga* (*Beowulf*, line 1079), *þær wæs hæleþa hleaht(o)r* (*Beowulf*, line 611), *māðm-æhta mā* (*Beowulf*, line 1613), *sinc-māð(þu)m sēlra* (*Beowulf*, line 2193), *hord-māð(u)m* (thus for MS *hordmad mum*) *hæleða* (*Beowulf*, line 1198), *mære māð(þu)m sweord* (*Beowulf*, line 1023), *wæp(e)n ond gewædu* (*Beowulf*, line 292), *beorht bēac(e)n godes* (*Beowulf*, line 570), *þæt wæs tāc(e)n sweotol* (*Beowulf*, line 833), *lāc ond luf-tāc(e)n* (*Beowulf*, line 1863); whereas words that look quite similar (e.g., *candel, ēðel, engel, fengel, īdel, brōðor, dohtor, mōdor, ealdor* 'lord', *ellor, lāðum* dative singular, *wrāðum* dative singular, *dryhten, þēoden, æfen, ellen, morgen*, etc.), in which the vowel of the second syllable was present already in Proto-Germanic and bore secondary stress, are used with two lifts without exception, though not at the beginning of a (Sievers Type) D-half-line; compare, e.g., *rodores candel* (*Beowulf*, line 1572), *ēðel sīnne*

(*Beowulf*, line 1960), *mihtig engel* (*Exodus*, line 205), *snotra fengel* (*Beowulf*, line 2156), *oð þæt īdel stōd* (*Beowulf*, line 145), *yldra brōþor* (*Beowulf*, line 1324), *ðēodnes dohtor* (*Beowulf*, line 2174), *Grendles mōdor* (*Beowulf*, line 1538), *ealdor ðīnne* (*Beowulf*, line 1848), *lāð æfter lāðum* (*Exodus*, line 195), *þær mē wið lāðum* (*Beowulf*, line 550), *waca wið wrāþum* (*Beowulf*, line 660), *Gēata dryhten* (*Beowulf*, line 1831), *þēoden mǣrne* (*Beowulf*, line 353), *mǣre þēoden* (*Beowulf*, line 129), *æfen-ræste* (*Beowulf*, line 646), *him þā ellen-rōf* (*Beowulf*, line 340), *on morgen-tīd* (*Beowulf*, line 484), etc. Only in later verse were were words with secondary vowel in the second syllable often equated with words with original vowel, and were therefore used with two lifts like them, e.g., *ōðer wundor* (*Exodus*, line 108), *morðor fremedon* (*Exodus*, line 146), *cyninga wuldor* (*Elene*, line 5), *wēa-tācen nān* (*Phoenix*, line 51), *sigores tācen* (*Elene*, line 85). In *Beowulf* this practice is very exceptional, and probably only to be met with in later parts of the poem, e.g., *wīg ofer wǣpen* (*Beowulf*, line 685), *e)aldor-lēasne* 'lifeless' (*Beowulf*, lines 1587, 3003). Here, but only here, it is possible to speak of this, that for the sake of scansion a syllable that was original unstressed was accorded a secondary stress.

If we ask for the stress of Proto-Germanic trisyllabic words with long stem-syllable, we have above all else to bear this rule in mind: 'It is impossible for two syllables that follow each other to have the same degree of accentual pitch or the same degree of accentual weight.' This assertion as first expressed by Hermann Paul [113] (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 6, p. 131), and explicitly approved by others (e.g., Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 106, Kaufmann, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 26, p. 265, 'the assertion that it is impossible for two equally strongly stressed syllables to stand next to each other, is not of the nature of an hypothesis, but rests on a law of apperception; cf. Wundt, *Psychologie*, II, 3rd edn, pp. 248 ff.' (Michels, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Anzeiger, I, p. 32; Hirt, *Der indogermanische Akzent*, p. 12). It follows from this assertion that in Proto-Germanic trisyllabic words beside the principal stress on the first syllable there must be a secondary stress resting on one of the following two syllables, and the laws governing in Old English the end of the word and of syncope, enable us immediately to determine more exactly the position of the secondary stress. Since only one unstressed syllable could be dropped, but not a syllable bearing secondary stress, if the third syllable was lost the second syllable of the Proto-Germanic original form must have borne secondary stress, if the second syllable was thrust out the third syllable of the original Proto-Germanic form must have borne the secondary stress;

18

and this secondary stress could not, when the word was shortened in Old English and in the other Germanic languages, have disappeared completely at once: it must have been preserved in the language for a long time still, even if it suffered further weakening in the course of centuries. Kluge (*Grundriss*, I, p.342) is wrong therefore when he says: 'The following have one lift ... *birizi, biriði, berome, berandi; dáɣami(z), wúlfami(z), ɣástimi(z)* dative plural; *súniwiz* nominative plural "the sons"; *námini(z)* Latin *nomini(s); ɣúmini(z)* Latin *homin(s).*' Instead we must deduce from Old English *blindne, blindre, blindra, hȳrde* an older accentuation, *blíndanð, blíndizð, blíndizē, háuzidð*, and from Old English *dryhten, wulfes, blindum, bindan, bindað*, etc., we must deduce an older accentuation *blíndàmma, drúhtìnaz, wúlfèso, bíndònom, bíndàndi*, and the presence of a secondary stress on these older trisyllabic forms entitles us further to assign a secondary stress on the second syllable to the disyllabic Old English words listed above, *blíndnè, blíndrè, blíndrà, hȳrdè, blíndùm, drýhtèn, wúlfès, bíndàn, bíndàð*, etc.,   That this inference is correct is indeed explicitly recognized by Sievers (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 4, p. 527:

> Whereas for Gothic *blinde*, Old High German *blinto* the existence of a low stress in our sense is not demonstrable in any way, it has to be regarded as at least highly probably that words like *hōrta* from *hōrita* still manifested this low stress also after their shortening.

Similarly Brugmann says (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I, p. 559:

> If, for example, in OHG *hōrta* (Gothic *háusida*) *i* has been lost, *i* remained in *nérita* (Gothic *násida*) the second syllable must in the former have been weaker than in the latter, and *hōrta* shows further that in the earlier **hōrita* the final syllable had secondary stress,

And Paul (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 6, p. 134) states: 'Without question *mikils* is to be derived immediately from an original form **mikìlaz.*'
Those originally trisyllabic forms, which had been reduced, already in Proto-Germanic or Indo-European times, to disyllables as the result of contraction of both

of the final syllables, had (as noted p. 111, above) 'slurring' accentuation on the inflexional syllable. It follows as a matter of course that these syllables could undergo no further shortening because of the laws governing final [114] sounds and in Old English too they were compelled to preserve secondary stress, so that we have to accentuate thus: *wúlfè, wúlfàs, wúlfà, bíndè* (present subjunctive), etc.

When trisyllabic words originally bore principal stress on the second syllable, this syllable continued to bear at least secondary stress even after the shift of accentuation to the first syllable, and this had to pass also into the separate Germanic languages; the third syllable, however, was unstressed and therefore was lost. Greek *μητέρα* thus corresponds to Old English *mốdòr*, Sanskrit *catváras* to Old English *fếowèr.*

Lastly there are also in Proto-Germanic tetrasyllabic simplicia with long stem-syllable. According to Paul's rule either the third syllable alone or the second and fourth syllables had to bear secondary stress, beside principal stress on the first syllable. In the former case the two unstressed syllables, the second and fourth, were lost in Old English; the third syllable, however, with the secondary stress that belonged to it by right, was preserved; compare Proto-Germanic *drúhtinèso* with Old English *drýhtnès*, Gothic *háilagàmma* with Old English *hāḷgùm.*[2] In the last case the unstressed third syllable is syncopated, the two syllables bearing secondary stress are preserved in Old English, and indeed, in accordance with Paul's law instanced above, the two secondary stresses have in their turn to be graduated in contrast with each other and with the principal stress; as a result the secondary stress, falling on the first syllable the position of which has been lengthened by syncope, bears the heavier accent. Thus we obtain from Proto-Germanic *háilàganō, háilàgizō, háilàgizē* the triply graduated Old English forms *hắlĭgnè, hắlĭgrè, hắlĭgrà.* If the suffix is long, originally so or as a result of its position or nature, for example, *-ing-, -end-, -est-, -ō-*, it cannot lose its own stress in those cases where an original secondary stress is borne by the third syllable of the word, it cannot be syncopated, and here too we obtain triply graduated accentuation: *Scýldĭngàs, Scýldĭngùm, ýldĕstà, þáncodè.*[3]

I cannot here go into all the details of the Old English inflexional system; I have to leave it to others to draw the consequences from the preceding analysis as they apply to Old High German, Old Saxon, and Old Norse; the following will, however, have become clear from the examples given, and will be assuredly confirmed by a late, more exhaustive investigation: 1. all monosyllabic short or shortened inflexional syllables derived from Proto-Germanic (*-az, -iz, -uz, -an, -u* derived from *-ō*) were unstressed and have therefore been lost in Old English when immediately following a long stem-syllable; 2. all monosyllabic long inflexional endings which have arisen through contraction of two short syllables, and which therefore had a 'slurring' accent, have preserved in Old English secondary stress on the final syllable; 3. all Proto-Germanic disyllabic endings had to bear secondary [115] stress on one of the two syllables, and this syllable bearing secondary stress was preserved in Old English, whereas the unstressed syllable was lost. For short derivational suffixes, as in *druht-in-, hail-ag-*, etc., it follows that these had to bear secondary stress when preceding a monosyllabic short suffix, whereas they were unstressed, and were therefore lost when preceding a suffix that was originally disyllabic, the first syllable of which bore secondary stress (a suffix that began with a vowel). When preceding a suffix the first syllable of which bore secondary stress and the first syllable of which therefore began after syncope with a consonant, the derivational suffix became long as the result of the coming together of two consonants; such a syllable cannot be lost therefore, indeed it must bear a stronger secondary stress than the final syllable with the result that here a triply graduated accentuation comes into being. Long derivational suffixes (*-ing-, -end-, -est-, -els-, -ō-*, etc) cannot be syncopated even before disyllabic suffixes beginning with a vowel; they are therefore given stronger secondary stress than the final syllable which was stressed slightly more weakly.

In this conception, the Old English laws governing final syllables and syncopation are most closely connected with the Proto-Germanic shift of accentuation. Strong expiratory accent on the first syllable of a word suppressed any immediately following unstressed syllable, in both disyllabic words and trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic words (*wúlfaz* to *wúlf, blíndanð* to *blíndnè, háiligàmma* to *hálgùm*), a syllable bearing secondary stress following immediately a fully stressed syllable, however, was preserved (*mṓdòr, wúlfùm* derived from *wúlfàmiz, hál̀ìgnè* derived from *háilàganð*) because such a syllable was able to counterpoise the strong accent with its independent, though weaker accent. A short final syllable following immediately a

syllable bearing secondary stress was similarly given over to loss of sound (*wúlfês* derived from *wúlfêso, wúlfùm* derived from *wúlfâmiz*). If however the principal stress would not endure an unstressed syllable next to itself the consequence was that the secondary stress, which in Old English followed a long syllable bearing principal stress, by no means suffered extinction itself in a short while, but rather it was present for a long time in the language, that is in the domain of English at all events well into the Middle English period.

After all these arguments I may indeed maintain as assured beyond dispute that Lachmann's law — according to which after a long first syllable the syllable following it bore secondary stress, and if this too was a long syllable also a third syllable bore secondary stress — has been proved valid for Old English in every particular.[4] One is therefore compelled to recognize that all Old English final syllables immediately following a long syllable bearing principal stress, or a syllable bearing strong secondary stress since Proto-Germanic times, bore secondary stress; and one will be compelled to find it no longer remarkable if the Old English poets used these syllables bearing secondary stress to [116] carry a full lift, as did Otfrid and later rhyming poets. It is a separate question how long this secondary stress was preserved in the language as it was actually spoken; we are, however, able to pursue clearly in the development of the English and German verse structure the gradual weakening of secondary stress. In Old English, Old High German, and Old Saxon alliterative verse, here and there also still in Otfrid (*fingar thīnan, mahtig druhtin*), a disyllabic word with long stem-syllable can be scanned as having two lifts; in Laȝamon and Otfrid and in later, early Middle English and German rhyming verse scanning these as with two lifts is without exception at the end of a verse line; within the line this is, however, permissible only when the following dip is wholly filled by an exceptional syllable. At an even later period finally the secondary stress that is proper for final syllables is no longer used as a full lift even at the end of a verse line, or only in exceptional cases (nursery rhymes, declamatory verse, song).

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[4] Even words with syllabic *l, r, m, n* are in later texts already subject to this rule (see p. 112, above). At most, therefore, such later spellings as *hāliges, hāligum, dōgores* form an exception (see p. 114, note 2).

2. The accentuation of trisyllabic simplicia with long stem-syllable and long middle syllable in Old English.

Closely connected with the question whether secondary stress is borne by the final syllable of disyllabic words with long stem-syllable the problem remains of the accentuation of trisyllabic words with long stem-syllable and long middle syllable. Schade ('Grundzüge der altdeutschen Metrik', *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 1, p. 11) says about this matter:

> The relationship of those syllables of a word that bear reduced stress is in the older languages the following: if the most heavily stressed syllable of a word is long the following syllable bears the second highest stress. The syllable that follows behind it have to be considered from the same point of view; with these one has to ask again and again if the syllable immediately preceding it is long or short.

Accordingly *hāligne, hāligre, hāligra, murnende, Scyldinga, yldesta, þancōde, scēawēdon, scēawian*, and the like, have three levels of accentuation, full stress on the first syllable, strong secondary stress on the second, and weaker secondary stress on the final syllable, as I have already expounded, in the previous section (p. 114, above), as arising linguistically from the historical derivation of these words from older forms. In Old English alliterative verse such words bear in all positions in the alliterative line three lifts; they therefore can be preceded by only one lift, or one lift only can follow them: *him sē yldesta, sǣ-līþende, Gode þancōde; murnende mōd; egsōde eorl*; only preterites ending in *-ōde* were occasionally used disyllabically: *weardōde hwīle, tryddōde tīr-fæst*. Since, however, here two different secondary stresses are borne by the last two syllables, which (as noted above) are graduated contrastingly, the secondary stress must, when we compare *murnende* with *murnan*, be stronger indeed on the second syllable of *murnende* than on the second syllable of *murnan*, and moreover the stress borne by the final syllable of *murnende* must have been weaker than that borne by the final syllable of *murnan*, a scale which we may

perhaps express by the formula *murnende, murnan*.

$$\overset{3}{m}\overset{2}{u}\overset{1}{rnende}, \quad \overset{3}{m}\overset{1\frac{1}{2}}{urnan}.$$

[117] If this is correct then the final syllable of a trisyllabic word conforming to the pattern − − × must have ceased to bear a lift earlier than the final syllable of a word

conforming to the pattern – ×, and this was indeed the case. For whereas in Old English alliterative verse a word like *murnende* has to be used without exception trisyllabically in all positions of the verse line, we find already in *Heliand* also disyllabic scansion at the beginning and in the middle of a verse line ; thus, for example, with three lifts, *uualdandes craft* line 277, *uualdandes uuord* line 575, *hēlagna gēst* line 11, *modagna cuning* line 686; but side by side with that verse lines with two lifts, *uualdandes uuilleon* line 106, *habda im hēlagna gēst* line 467, *tho sagda hē uualdande thanc* line 475; at the end of the verse line, however, scansion with three lifts is invariably to be found. In Otfrid and Laʒamon the words under discussion are still scanned trisyllabically, but at the beginning and in the middle of a verse line they have invariably two lifts. In contrast with *Heliand* and even more in contrast with Old English alliterative scansion a further weakening has taken place. In later rhyming verse similarly trisyllabic scansion of these words is of course completely precluded at the beginning and in the middle of a verse line; but at the end of a verse line too trisyllabic simplicia with long stem-syllable and long middle syllable occur only in isolated cases (cf. Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II/1, pp. 933–4, *swaz man der werbenden, an einem ābende*); corresponding compounds, such as *urloubes, unlange, hūsherre*, however, occur more often scanned with three lifts because the second and third syllable of compounded words of the pattern – – × bore secondary stresses somewhat more strongly than simplicia.

Orm too makes a distinction between the final syllables of disyllabic and those of trisyllabic words.[5] Because he does not allow a clash of two lifts he has to put in the middle of the verse line the weaker secondary stresses of the final syllables in both groups of words, and from that it follows for trisyllabic words that the first syllable occupies the dip, the second syllable alone occupies the lift; thus he accentuates *tiþénnde, Ennglísshe*, and so forth. In the 'sonorous' (*klingend*) ending of the second half-line, however, we find only disyllabic words, *wrohhte, fowwre, wille, nemmnedd*, etc., and similarly the second element of compounds, *(goddspell)bokess, (lerrning)cnihhtess, (þeossterr)nesse, (sahht)nesse*, etc., or perhaps Latin proper names with principal stress of the penult, thus *Bapptisste*; excluded are, however, trisyllabic simplicia such as *Ennglísshe, Judísskenn, tiþénnde, þusénnde*, and so forth. As I have noted above, it follows, first, that the secondary stress on the

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[5] [Minor errors in Orm's spellings made by Kaluza in quoting the *Ormulum* have been silently corrected.]

final syllable of trisyllabic words was weakened earlier than on the final syllable of disyllabic words, and secondly, that in Orm the 'sonorous' (*klingend*) ending was scanned truly as having two lifts, so that the second half-line contained four lifts exactly as did the first half-line: *þiss bóc iss némmnedd Órrmulúmm, forrþí þatt Órrm itt wróhhtè*, for otherwise it would be incomprehensible why Orm on the one hand entirely avoided at the end of the second half-line words with short stem-syllable, such as *sune, gode, lufe, tale*, and on the other hand trisyllabic words, such as *tiþennde, Ennglisshe*.

[118] This law too, of the triply graduated accentuation of words of the pattern – – × , has not been recognized by many. According to Sievers (*Altgermanische Metrik*, p. 125; Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II/1, p. 889) though long middle syllables bear after a long stem-syllable 'heavy secondary stress', and in (Sievers Type) C lines even take upon themselves the second principal lift, yet he considers the final syllable as unstressed, as are all other final syllables. Möller and Heusler endue these words with three lifts in (Sievers Type) C lines in which they are distributed on to two feet, *him sē /yl-/desta*, but with only two lifts in (Sievers Type) D lines in which they amount to one foot: *sǣ-/līðende*, the final syllable remaining unstressed. Heusler, in his paper, 'Über germanischen Versbau', pp. 65 ff., attempts to defend this different scansion from the objections raised by Sievers, but Kögel (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 39, Anzeiger p. 326) has convincingly demonstrated the inadequacy of Heusler's reasoning, and has convincingly demonstrated the necessity of scanning words of the pattern – – × as having three lifts; and following upon the details given in the previous section no doubt can arise that also the final syllable of a trisyllabic word with long stem-syllable and long middle syllable did not arise, but had to the right to claim secondary stress as due to it from ancient times.

Whereas Sievers and Heusler do no more than dispute the weakest stress in these words, that is, deny that the final syllables are stressed, Trautmann ('Lachmanns Betonungsgesetze und Otfrids Vers') noticeably questions the very existence of a secondary stress on the second syllable, and tries to explain the scansion of the end of the verse line with three lifts, which does indeed exist, and to explain on metrical grounds only the shift of secondary stress to the middle syllable in the middle of Otfrid's verse line ('Lachmanns Betonungsgesetze', pp. 16–17, and p. 17, note):

If Otfrid at the end of a verse line stresses thus, *ílòntò stéinòtì drúhtìnès*, again no law of accentuation is involved, only a metrical reason has a bearing on the matter: Otfrid had to give three stresses to the relevant words so as not to obtain verse lines with superimposed [*überklappend*] dip ... Truly he could hardly have sinned more grievously against his model, the *dimeter jambicus acatalecticus* than by admission of endings of the verse line with superimposed [*überklappend*] dip. But what would have happened if Otfrid had not provided *ílòntò stéinòtì drúhtìnès*, etc., once and for all with an established stress for the end of the verse line? His readers, accustomed through many hundreds of examples to equate a long stem-syllable with a lift and a dip, would without hesitation have spoken *ílònto* instead of *ílontó*, *stéinòti* instead of *stéinotì*, *drúhtìnes* instead of *drúhtìnès*, that is, would have closed the verse line with superimposed [*überklappend*] dip ... In order to give certainty to his verse line, so that he would not cause his readers to be undecided, and so that he himself was not to get into a dilemma every moment while versifying, Otfrid (or whoever it was who first wrote verse in his metre) had to decide on an invariable accentuation of trisyllabic words at the end of a verse line.

This very peculiar conception of the way Otfrid composed his verse lines and the way his [119] contemporaries read them has already been examined and rejected appropriately by Behaghel (*Germania*, 23, pp. 365 ff.); in spite of that it seems that Trautmann still to this day clings to his earlier conception, for, in his paper, 'Zur Kenntnis der altgermanischen Stabzeile' (*Anglia*, Beiblatt, 5, p. 93) he remarks on the scansion of trisyllabic words of the pattern − − × that it is in triple time: 'There is probably no need to say explicitly that in the last resort this use of scansion is a purely technical matter', and in his review of my work on Old English metre he censures that I still believe 'in the long antiquated law of an accentuation in descending order of stress'. Further, in Trautmann's review (*Anglia*, Beiblatt, 5, p. 134) of Kaluza's *Der altenglische Vers* (1894):

No! *ǣresta* did not have two secondary hits, but just one, and that struck the last syllable which sounded *ǣrestà*; this emerges clearly enough from the subsequent development of *ǣresta* and similar words. The explanation of this manifestation, to which Sievers refers, must

therefore be sought in something else, and in my opinion it has in the main a technical reason, etc.

So it seems that even now Trautmann believes that the ancient Germanic poets did not base their verse line on the actual accentuation of words, but rather on a quite conventional distribution of verse accents on stressed or also on unstressed syllables, an assumption that so strongly runs counter to the innermost character of the Germanic verse line that I surely have no need to refute it at length. Here I wish to examine more closely only one point. Trautmann avers that 'from the subsequent development of *ǣresta* and similar words' it supposedly emerges clearly enough that such words 'did not have two secondary hits, but just one, and that struck the last syllable'. Now we do indeed find *earste* (Kath. 855)[6] from *ǣreste* and *erst* (Chaucer) from *ǣrest*; this word is, however, a special case, because *r* followed by *st* was otherwise combined into the familiar *rst* with the result that the weakened *e* of the middle syllable was suppressed. In all other, supposedly 'similar' words, however, this very subsequent development — for example, *yldesta* to *eldest*, *cēnoste* to *keenest*, *ǣrende* to *errand*, *murnende* to *mourning*, *slǣpende* to *sleeping*, *þancōde* to *thanked* — shows most clearly that the second syllable, still preserved in Modern English, was more strongly stressed than the third, so that the law of accentuation in descending order of stress is by no means 'antiquated' as the result of Trautmann's arguments.

Equally conclusive for a stronger secondary stress on the second syllable is Orm's treatment of these words. If they were truly, as Trautmann believes, stressed only on the third syllable, not on the second, nothing would have been more natural than that Orm would have stressed the first and third syllables of trisyllabic words with short stem-syllable (e.g. *lúfedé* line 16712, *þóledé* line 11822, *wídewé* line 8632, *séfenndé* line 4169), and similarly also trisyllabic words with long stem-syllable, *típenndé*, *Énnglisshé*, *tácnedé*, etc. But he never does that; instead he has without exception *tiþénnde* Dedication line 176, *þusénnde* lines 1316 and 7757, *bærnénnde* line 17447, *ehhténnde* line 543, *Ennglísshe* Dedication lines 130, 132, 306, 308, etc., *mennísske* Dedication line 218, *Judísskenn* lines lines 283, 300, etc., *gildéne* line 8180, *Cristéne* Dedication lines 122 and 337, *tacnéde* lines 1756, 1772, 1776, *shifftédenn* lines 470 and [120] 497, etc., etc. How can Trautmann faced with such a

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[6] [Kaluza's reference is not to E. Einenkel's edition, EETS, o.s. 80 (1884), line 855, but perhaps to the MS Titus variant of line 883 (given at p. 41, apparatus), *ure earste aldren*; now available in S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne and E. J. Dobson (eds), *Seinte Katerine*, EETS, supplementary series 7 (1981), 48 line 612.]

clear proof continue to maintain that the middle syllables of these words had been unstressed in Old English? However poor a poetaster Orm may have been, and however the distribution of lifts on the syllables of words may have been at the personal preference of the poet, no Germanic poet would ever have dared to elevate an unstressed syllable in a word to a lift, and to suppress the two stressed syllables into a dip. Thus these objections of Trautmann's are likewise entirely untenable, and Lachmann's law of accentuation in descending order of stress remains in force.

3. The accentuation of disyllabic words with short stem-syllable in Old English and their use in the verse line.

Even if we place a lift on the end syllable of disyllabic words with long stem-syllable, and of trisyllabic words with long stem-syllable and long middle syllable, as, no doubt, is sufficiently justified by the preceding investigation, there remains still a fairly large number of Old English alliterative verse lines (some 8–10%) which would only contain four lifts if we scan disyllabic words with short stem-syllable at the end of a verse line as having two lifts. If that is so, words of the pattern ⌣ × are always preceded by a strongly stressed syllable that is long either inherently or by position (*in geār-dagum, on bearm scipes, lēof land-fruma, brego Beorht-Dena, mǣre mearc-stapa, bōt eft cuman, swutol sang scopes, scencte scīr wered, gūð-rinc monig, mago-driht micel*), whereas in other cases, in which a word of the pattern ⌣ × standing at the end of the verse line, can only bear one lift according to the whole disposition of the verse line, a weak lift or a dip immediately precedes it (e.g., *wið Grendles gryre, wið fēonda gehwone, heal-þegnes hete, fǣr-nīða gefremed*). From these facts I have derived the following law valid for the entirety of Old English alliterative verse ('Der altenglische Vers', in Kaluza, *Studien zum germanischen Alltierationsvers*, I/1, p. 78):

> At the end of a verse line a word consisting of two short syllables bears two lifts if the word is preceded immediately by a long strongly stressed syllable; the word is, however, accounted as with only one lift, that is the two syllables are slurred together, if it follows a weaker lift of a syllable in the dip.

This rule is not only a purely metrical requirement, but rather it has a deeper foundation. In the first case the disyllabic word at the end of the verse line subordinates itself in stress, as is to be seen in the examples given above, to the

preceding monosyllabic long word which bears the strongest lift of the verse line and is grammatically closely bound to it; together they form therefore a foot with accentuation in descending stress:

geār-dagum, bearm scipes, scīr wered, rinc monig, etc. In the last case, final disyllabic words with short stem-syllable, the scansion is independent of the preceding weaker lift or dip; it bears primary stress for which therefore the short syllable is insufficient; [121] it requires, as in other positions of the verse line, one long or two short syllables. Accordingly we get the forms *gryre, gehwone, hete, gefremed*. In my view, therefore, a disyllabic word with short stem-syllable never has the right to be accorded both a primary lift as well as a secondary lift, unlike, for example, the two syllables of *lange, hwile, murnan*, but only stronger and weaker secondary lifts, as in the second and third syllables of *yldesta, murnende*, that is, not *dagum, scipes, monig*, but *dagum, scipes, monig*.

      Trautmann, in his review (*Anglia*, Beiblatt, 5, p. 134) of my study of the Old English verse line, did not give sufficient consideration when he characterized as 'highly objectionable' that I 'attribute to the seventh and eighth centuries such a jumbling together of short and long syllables', seeing that Orm in the thirteenth century 'so clearly differentiates between short and long syllables that among his 20000 line endings of the pattern − × he has not mixed in a single ending of the pattern ◡ ×.' His imputation would have been justified only if I had maintained quite sweepingly, as Kögel has done formerly (*Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I, p. 289): 'At the end of a verse line ◡ × can in every case take the place of − ×', that is, as if, for example, *mǣrne þēoden* and *mǣrne cyning, secgan wolde* and *secgan wile, secga gehwylcum* and *fēonda gehwone* could have been interchanged, the one for the other, at will. For Orm this interchange of − × with ◡ × at the end of a verse line was quite impossible if for no other reason that in his verse a disyllabic word at the end of a verse line is never preceded by a long, strongly stressed syllable as is required by the above rule. The reference to Orm as also the imputation that I jumble together short and long syllables are quite unjustified.

Now in order to avoid the difficulty of transferring two lifts on to two short syllables Trautmann, as Amelung had done formerly,[7] he lets one single long syllable bear two lifts; thus he stresses *in gḗàr-dagum, òn béàrm scípes*, etc., and recently Kögel joins him in that opinion (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 39, Anzeiger, p. 325, though earlier (see above, p. 121) he had maintained the equivalence of – × with ◡ × at the end of a verse line. Now I ask in the first place: is it not less likely by far that one single, though long, syllable combines in itself a principal and a secondary lift than that two weaker lifts fall on two different, though short, syllables? For it is a principle valid in all ages of Old Germanic versification that every lift must be represented by at least one syllable; cf., e.g., Schade (*Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 1, p. 19): 'for the usual verse line the smallest number of syllables is therefore four, on to each one of which falls one lift.' Even if we were willing to admit that a long syllable, like *geār, bearm, sǣ, rinc, land*, were capable of taking upon itself two lifts, then it would still be all the more incomprehensible why this two-lift scansion of long syllables is only allowed to operate when a word of the pattern ◡ × stands at the end of a verse [122] line, but not also in other cases, why, for example, the reading is *on stefn stigon*, but never *on stefn stāh*, why *oð þæt sōð metod*, but never *oð þæt sōð god*, why *sē þē holm-clifu* but never *sē þē holm-clif*, why *on forð-wegas* or *fūs on forð-weg* but never *on forð-weg, gūð-rinc gold-wlanc* but never *gūð-rinc wlanc*, and so forth — why, therefore, trisyllabic lines are impossible in alliterative verse.

Trautmann does indeed give some examples, which in his opinion are correct, of verse lines consisting of only three syllables and in which one 'strongly meaningful' monosyllabic word is allowed 'to fill two feet' even when no word of the pattern ◡ × stands at the end of a verse line: *Elene*, line 377, *mōd-cwange* (but the manuscript and all editions read *mōd-cwānige*); *Andreas*, line 489, *giū ond nū* (read *nū þà*);[8] *Andreas*, line 1704, *ond sȳð nū* (read *syððan*);[9] *Genesis*, line 1323, *fær Nōes*, and, line 1423, *earc Nōes* (read *Nōēes*; cf. Sievers, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 19, pp. 448, footnote); *The Fortunes of Men*, line 81, *feoh þicgan* (read *ond feoh þicgan*;[10] cf. line 61, *and welan þicgan*). But in

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[7] [Kaluza gives no reference; presumably A. Amelung, 'Beiträge zur deutschen Metrik', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 3, (1871), 253–205 is meant.]

[8] [Emending the line by inserting *þa* at the end was first proposed by Ferdinand Holthausen, 'Zu alt- und mittelenglischen Dichtungen', *Anglia*, 13 (1891), 357–62, at p. 357.]

[9] [The correction of MS *syð* to *syððan* was first made by C. W. M. Grein (ed.), *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, II (1858), p. 51.]

[10] [Sievers supplied *ond* at the beginning of the line, 'Zur rhythmik des germanischen alliterationsverses', II,

Andreas, lines 489 and 1704, which, indeed, is the 'strongly meaningful' word? And does Trautmann similarly allot two lifts to the short syllables *fær* and *feoh*?[11] If side by side with tetrasyllabic alliterative verse lines trisyllabic lines had been readily permitted, why do they occur only in such an infinitesimally small number in the, approximately, 60,000 Old English half-lines that have been preserved for us, and how is it that, where they exist, they are with so slight an effort transformed into tetrasyllabic lines? Kögel too (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 39, Anzeiger, p. 325 footnote) cannot point to one single trisyllabic verse line among the examples he has adduced from *Heliand*, though he says: 'Monosyllabic final feet are not entirely avoided in "shortened" metrical types.' If, however, there are no trisyllabic verse lines, it follows that no single syllable can ever combine within it two lifts.

Like Kögel and Trautmann, others too, who adhere to the principle that one alliterative verse line consists of four lifts, not two, have taken exception to the opinion, first advanced by Schubert (*De Anglosaxonum arte metrica*, pp. 12 ff.), that disyllabic words with short stem-syllable are scanned as having two lifts; and, in order to avoid that opinion, have stated as fact any exception whatsoever. Thus Möller has decided on 'masculine' (*stumpf*) feet (×́ ×) as well as 'sonorous' (*klingend*) feet (×́ × ×̀); Fuhr[12] looks upon the ending *-dagum* as 'masculine' (*stumpf*), and assigns

[123] to the 'disyllabically masculine' lines *in geārdagum*, and the like, three lifts exactly as to the 'monosyllabically masculine' lines *him on bearme læg*, and the like. But all these attempts of avoiding scanning with two lifts *-dagum*, and the like, at the end of a verse line are unsustainable; no sufficient reason exists to assume the existence side by side of verse lines with three lifts and four lifts, of incomplete lines and complete lines (cf. Kaluza, *Studien*, I, pp. 24 ff.).

Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. 10 (1885), 451–545, at p. 516.]

[11] Trautmann (*Anglia*, Beiblatt, 5 p. 134) censures that I regard syllables such as *god, þæt, wæs, sceal* as short. He asks: 'Are not all these monosyllabic words long, and does not Orm write *þatt, wass, godd*, and so forth?' What Orm writes is in this context of no importance. I have learnt that only those syllables are long that contain a long vowel or a short vowel followed by two or more consonants (cf., e.g., Schade, *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 1, p. 11), I also know that what is practised in Old English alliterative verse contradicts Trautmann's conception, for a syllable that according to my conception is long is allowed to occupy the first lift of an A-Type line; e.g., *land gesāwon, geong in geardum, wēox under wolcnum, sōð is gecȳðed*, etc., but never a syllable that is long in Trautmann's opinion, such as *god, fær, feoh*, etc.

[12] [Kaluza gives no reference; presumably Karl Fuhr, *Die Metrik des westgermanischen Alliterationsverses: Sein Verhältnis zu Otfrid, den Nibelungen, der Gudrun, usw.* (Marburg: publisher, 1892).

That the advocates of the two-lift theory cannot approve the scansion of verse lines like *in geār-dagum, on bearm scipes*, etc. (cf. e.g. Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, p. 11; Luick, *Anglia Beiblatt*, 4, 294), goes without saying. Anyhow, Sievers was the first to point out the divergent treatment of words of the pattern ◡ ×, depending on whether it was preceded by a long fully stressed syllable or by a syllable bearing secondary stress or, as the case may be, by an unstressed syllable. In the former case they form, according to Sievers, two of the four members of the verse line, in the latter case only one member.

Now let us see if it is truly quite impossible for a word of the pattern ◡ × at the end of a verse line to bear two lifts under certain conditions.

That indeed disyllabic words with short first syllable can bear, besides principal stress on the first syllable, also a secondary stress on the second syllable, we are taught by Old Norse, which, according to the investigations of A. Kock, (*Språkhistoriska undersökningar im Svensk akcent* (Lund, 1887), and 'Zur urgermanischen Betonungslehre', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 14, pp. 75 ff.) had a strong secondary accent 'on almost every syllable that followed a simplex with short, fully stressed syllable'. Noreen, *Geschichte der nordischen Sprache*, Paul's Grundriss, I, 457:[13]

> This strong secondary accent is, in accordance with its origin, a reduced full stress. Its existence indicates either that the syllable bearing strong secondary stress had originally borne principal stress, or that the word is compounded, or that it has derived its accentuation by analogy with a compounded word.

Whatever was possible in Old Norse cannot, without closer investigation, be rejected for Old English. I therefore could have justified, by merely pointing to the

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[13] It is striking that Sievers in his account of Old Norse metrics, both in Paul's Grundriss as also in his book, *Altgermanische Metrik* has neither taken into consideration Kock's and Noreen's rules of accentuation, nor has he refuted them, and recognizes only the strong secondary accents in final syllables long by virtue of their position in disyllabic words and in middle syllables of trisyllabic words, the accents of which originate in his conception of metre (Grundriss, II/1, p. 877; *Altgermanische Metrik*, pp. 59ff. In his own account (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 4, p. 526) Sievers has formulated the more correct principle that in establishing the original accentuation phonological reasons weigh more heavily than metrical reasons. He should therefore have modified his system in line with the results of Kock and Noreen; truly, he would have had to overthrow his system in its entirety, and rebuild it anew on the basis of four lifts.

accentuation valid for Old Norse, the admissibility of scanning disyllabic words in the Old English alliterative verse line as having two lifts. Since, however, both Kock and Noreen — though in slightly divergent manner — trace back to Proto-Germanic or Indo-European accentuation this accent resting on the second syllable it will be [124] advisable if we seek to determine in detail for Old English which disyllabic words with short first syllable, occurring in the alliterative verse line, have the right to lay claim to a secondary accent on the second syllable, and which have not.

I have established in the first section (see pp. 110 ff., above) by going back to their earlier forms, that of the Proto-Germanic inflexional endings, originally unstressed, which were lost in Old English after a long syllable — involved are all originally short monosyllabic endings, or those subsequently shortened endings, e.g., *-az, -iz, -uz, -u* from *ō*; — whereas on the other hand all monosyllabic inflexional endings with 'slurring' (*schleifend*) accentuation bore secondary stress, such endings originating in Proto-Germanic disyllabic endings contracted to a single syllable; that secondary stress was still present in the Old English period, and for that reason it was still operative as a lift. Whatever was then valid for words with long stem-syllable was equally valid for words with short stem-syllable. An originally disyllabic form like *dagaz, saliz, sunuz*, just as much as *wulfaz, gastiz, dauþuz*, can only have borne an accent on the first syllable; for that reason words that remained disyllabic in Old English, *séle, súnu*, could only have borne stress on the first syllable, exactly as did those that had become monosyllabic, *dæg, wulf, giest, dēaþ*. Similarly unstressed was *-u*, derived from *w*, nominative and accusative singular of words of the *wo-* and *wā-* declensions, e.g. *béadu, béalu, séaru,* Nominative and accusative plural of neuters and feminines ending in *-u* (from *ō* with 'thrust' (*gestossen*) accent); thus *fátu, clífu*; *wrácu, gífu*, have only one lift. According to Paul's law, however, originally trisyllabic forms had to bear a secondary accent on one of the final two syllables; thus *dágèso, dágàmi*, exactly like *wúlfèso, wúlfàmi*; *gládàmma*, exactly like *blíndàmma*; *béràna, béràndi*, exactly like *bíndàna, bíndàndi*; *gládanō,*[14] *gládizò̄, gládizè̄*, exactly like *blíndanò̄, blíndizò̄, blíndizè̄*; and this secondary accent passed over into Old English. We must therefore accentuate in Old English: *dǽgès, dágùm, gládùm, béràn, béràð, glǽdnè, glǽdrè, glǽdrà*, and so forth; and, exactly like that, the 'slurred' (*schleifend*) Proto-Germanic accentuation must have maintained itself as secondary

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[14] [*sic*; Kaluza presumably meant to print a grave accent on final long *o*.]

stress on the endings *-e* of dative singular and present subjunctive, of *-as* of nominative plural, of *-a* of genitive plural of vocalic declensions and of nominative singular of the *n*–declension: thus, *sélè* dative singular; *dǽgè, dágàs, dágà; gúmà, námà; bérè* present subjunctive, etc. Disyllabic stems like *weorold, eorod, gamol, fæder, monig, micel,* and the like, are likewise entitled to lay claim to subsidiary stress on the second syllable; for they are either compounds, like *weorold* from *wer + alduz, eorod* from *eoh + rād, gamol* from *ga + māl,* or they had their principal stress originally on the second syllable, thus *fǽdèr* from earlier *fadér,* Greek πατήρ, etc., and the preterite plural and past participles of strong verbs, *stígòn, drúgòn, gífèn, hródèn,* etc., or lastly, there are the forms, disyllabic nominative singulars derived from trisyllabic forms, which according to Paul's rule must bear a secondary stress on the second syllable: *mícèl* from *míkìlaz, mónìg* from *mánàgaz,* and so forth. Only those disyllabic stems the second syllable of which was first [125] formed from syllabic *l, r, n* in the Old English period, such as *fugol* (Gothic *fugls*), *æcer* (Gothic *akrs*), *þegen* (Greek τέκνον), *segen* (Latin *signum*) are not allowed to bear secondary stress on the second syllable, exactly like the corresponding words with long stem-syllable, *tempel, winter, māðum, tācen,* etc.; dative singular *byrig* (nominative *burg, burh*) is no more allowed to bear secondary stress on the second syllable because its *i* serves only to indicate the palatal pronunciation of *g*. Therefore *fugol, æcer, þegen, byrig,* and the like are not allowed to be used with two lifts, whereas *micel, sweotol, fæder, wæter, eodor, rodor, bysig, monig,* and the like, the vowel of whose second syllable was present already in Proto-Germanic times, are allowed to be so used.

Let us see now how the actual employment in Old English alliterative verse of these disyllabic words of the pattern ◡ × agrees with the above theoretical hypotheses. I again base myself on the first thousand lines of *Beowulf* which I have already printed organized into groups (Kaluza, *Studien*, II), so that each of my statements can be readily checked. We find disyllabic words with short stem-syllable employed in different positions of the verse line and in different functions:

1. Both short syllables are equivalent to one long stressed syllable filling only one *mora* of the rhythmical model (◡̆ ◡ = ×̀ or ◡́ ◡ = ×́); they are therefore elided when occupying a lift. That occurs, (a) in the first, occasionally also in the fourth lift of a Kaluza Type A line: *folc-stede frætwan, Beowulf,* line 76, equivalent to *wīs-fæst wordum, Beowulf,* line 627); *nȳd-wracu nīð-grim, Beowulf,* line 193, occasionally *fyrd-searu fūslicu, Beowulf,* line 232 (= *snellīc sǽ-rinc, Beowulf,* line 691); (b) in the

fourth lift Kaluza Type B, D², and E lines: *on Grendles gryre*, *Beowulf*, line 478 (= *on flōdes ǣht*, *Beowulf*, line 42); *wīg-hēap gewanod*, *Beowulf*, line 477 (= *sǣ-bāt gesæt*, *Beowulf*, line 634); *sǣ-manna searo*, *Beowulf*, line 329 (= *heal-ærna mǣst*, *Beowulf*, line 78), and so forth.

2. Both short syllables are equivalent to one long strongly stressed syllable filling two *morae* of the rhythmical model: they therefore stand as for lift plus dip ($\breve{\cup} \times = \acute{}$). This is the case, (a) at the beginning of Kaluza Type D¹ and D² lines: *mere-līðende*, *Beowulf*, line 255 (= *sǣ-līðende*, *Beowulf*, line 377); *flota stille bād*, *Beowulf*, line 301 (= *blǣd wīde sprang*, *Beowulf*, line 18); (b) in the first or third lift of Kaluza Type A lines: *gamol of geardum*, *Beowulf*, line 265 (= *geong in geardum*, *Beowulf*, line 13); *fela-hrōr fēran*, *Beowulf*, line 27 (= *fea-sceaft funden*, *Beowulf*, line 7); *manna mægen-cræft*, *Beowulf*, line 380 (= *Grendles gūð-cræft*, *Beowulf*, line 127); (c) in the first lift of Kaluza Type E lines, where, of course, it serves only as the first element of compounds: *wlite-beorhtne wang*, *Beowulf*, line 93 (= *niht-longne fyrst*, *Beowulf*, line 528); (d) in the second lift of Kaluza Type C and D¹ lines, both as the first element of a compound and also as a simplex: *ofer lagu-strǣte*, *Beowulf*, line 239 (= *ofer hron-rāde*, *Beowulf*, line 10); *þā wið gode wunnon*, *Beowulf*, line 113 (= *þone god sende*, *Beowulf*, line 13); *hwetton hige-rofne*, *Beowulf*, line 204 (= *setton sǣ-mēðe*, *Beowulf*, line 325).

3. Both short syllables standing at the end of a line are equivalent to one long plus one short syllable filling two *morae* of the rhythmical model; they then bear one stronger plus one weaker secondary accent ($\breve{\cup} \times = \grave{\times} \grave{\times}$). This occurs at the end of Kaluza Type C and D¹ lines, both in the second element of a compound and in simplicia closely attached to the preceding long monosyllabic word: *in geār-dagum*, *Beowulf*, line 1 (= *for his won-hȳdum*, *Beowulf*, line 434); [126] *on stefn stigon*, *Beowulf*, line 212 (= *on sǣ wǣron*, *Beowulf*, line 544); *lēof land-fruma*, *Beowulf*, line 31 (= *fēond mancynnes*, *Beowulf*, line 164); *snotor ceorl monig*, *Beowulf*, line 909; *gūð-rinc monig*, *Beowulf*, line 839; occasionally also in the first foot of a Kaluza Type E line: *Norð-Denum stōd*, *Beowulf*, line 784 (= *weorð-myndum þāh*, *Beowulf*, line 8).

Now if in fact, as I have explained (pp. 124–5, above), the second syllable of some of the words of the pattern $\cup \times$ bore no stress, whereas some others did bear secondary stress on the second syllable, and had done so from time immemorial, and that secondary stress was still present in Old English, then we must expect that in

the diverse employment of these words in the verse line this difference in accentuation will find expression, so that predominantly or exclusively those words of the pattern ◡ × the second syllable of which was unstressed suffered slurring together in either the principal or the secondary lift, and conversely only those syllables at the end of a verse line can be scanned disyllabically that truly have the right to claim secondary stress on the second syllable; whereas when, at the beginning or in the middle of a verse line, a disyllabic word with short stem-syllable stands as for lift plus dip both groups can be employed indiscriminately. This distinction in the use of words of the pattern ◡ ×, advanced on theoretical grounds, is indeed fairly strictly maintained in Old English poetry, as I now intend to show in the example of the first thousand lines of *Beowulf*.

1.a. Wherever two short syllables are slurred at the second or fourth lift of a Kaluza Type A line, that is, at the weaker lift, exclusively those words occur the second syllable of which were unstressed: thus nominative and accusative singular of *i*-stems (*gilp-cwide, Beowulf*, line 641; *mund-gripe, Beowulf*, line 754; *dryht-sele, Beowulf*, lines 485, 768; *gest-sele, Beowulf*, line 995; *gold-sele, Beowulf*, line 716; *folc-stede, Beowulf*, line 76; *frēo-wine, Beowulf*, line 430); nominative and accusative singular of *u*-stems (*mægen-wudu, Beowulf*, line 236; *sǣ-wudu, Beowulf*, line 226; *sund-wudu, Beowulf*, line 208); nominative and accusative singular and plural of neuter *wo*-stems (*feorh-bealo, Beowulf*, line 156; *morð-bealo* [as we must read instead of the manuscript's *morð-beala*], *Beowulf*, line136; *fyrd-searu, Beowulf*, line 232; *gūð-searo, Beowulf*, lines 215, 328); nominative and accusative plural of neuter *o*-stems (*brim-clifu, Beowulf*, line 222; *sinc-fato, Beowulf*, line 623); nominative singular of feminine *ā*-stems (*nȳd-wracu, Beowulf*, line 193; *frēo-licu, Beowulf*, line 642); similarly in the rarely occurring slurring at the fourth lift of a Kaluza Type A line, nominative plural neuter (*fūs-licu, Beowulf*, line 232); *wyn-sumu* [as we must read instead of the manuscript's *wyn-sume*],[15] *Beowulf*, line 613).

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[15] [Kaluza fails to draw attention to his discussion, two years earlier (in *Studien*, II, p. 56) of this reading; F. in all his editions of *Beowulf* (1922 onwards) mentions, apparatus line 612, Kaluza's hesitant preference as '*wynsum* (?)', which accords with the Vespasian Psalter evidence. He and Kaluza say nothing about the necessity of reading **wynsumu*, and Kaluza had drawn attention to the readings in the Vespasian Psalter, where adjectives have *-sum*, not the expected *-sumu*, as stated by E. Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1st edn 1882, 2nd edn 1986), § 294 Anm. 2. When Rudolf Zeuner, *Die Sprache des kentischen Psalters (Vespasian A. I.* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1881), 137, compiled the evidence that adjectives with suffix *-sum* never ended in *-u*, he thought the text was Kentish. Henry Sweet, *A History of English Sounds* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), § 347, stated that the text was Mercian, 'probably ... West-Mercian'; I do not know when Kaluza knew that.]

A word that has the right to a linguistic secondary stress on the second syllable thus occurs nowhere at all in the second lift of a Kaluza Type A line; for if it were so then it would have to be, according to what has been said above (pp. 120–1) that a word of that pattern would have to be used as two lifts (a stronger and a weaker secondary lift), as is the case in Kaluza 'shortened' Type E lines: *bēag-hroden cwēn*, *Beowulf*, line 623b; *Sūð-Dena folc*, *Beowulf*, line 463b; *Norð-Denum stōd*, *Beowulf*, line 783b (see p. 130, below).

    1.b. Similarly when two short syllables are slurred in the last lift of a Kaluza Type B, D², and E lines, that is in a principal lift, thsecondary stress that might be thought to be borne on the second syllable of words of the pattern ◡ × could not be used with full force, because it is suppressed by the [127] immediately preceding primary stress; that is why we find here, besides forms of words that were unstressed on the second syllable, occasionally also such forms with original subsidiary stress; but these for the most part belong to more feebly stressed word classes (pronouns, adverbs, verbs). On the second syllable unstressed are: nominative and accusative singular of *i*-stems (*gryre*, *Beowulf*, lines 384, 478; *hete*, *Beowulf*, line 142; *hyge*, *Beowulf*, line 267; *mere*, *Beowulf*, line 846; *wine*, *Beowulf*, line 376); nominative and accusative plural of *u*-stems (*fela*, *Beowulf*, lines 36, 311, 408, 592, 877, 996);[16] nominative and accusative plural of neuter *wo*-stems (*searo*, *Beowulf*, line 329); nominative and accusative plural of neuter *o*-stems (*gesceapu*, *Beowulf*, line 651; *gewiofu*, *Beowulf*, 698); probably also *hador*, *Beowulf*, line 414, and the preterite participles of weak verbs (*ā-seted*, *Beowulf*, line 668; *gefremed*, *Beowulf*, lines 476, 955; *gewanod*, *Beowulf*, line 477; *besmiðod*, *Beowulf*, line 776). The following originally had linguistic secondary stress on the second syllable: pronouns (*hine*, *Beowulf*, lines 679, 880); *hwone*, *Beowulf*, line 155; *gehwone*, *Beowulf*, lines 294, 801); adverbs (*þonan*, *Beowulf*, line 820; *hreðe*, *Beowulf*, line 992); verb forms (*hafað*, *Beowulf*, line 474; *wile* 3rd person singular, *Beowulf*, lines 346, 446; *gewiton*, *Beowulf*, line 854; *ā-hafen*, *Beowulf*, line 128; furthermore *mægen*, *Beowulf*, line 518, and some forms of strong or weak nouns (*feore* dative singular, *Beowulf*, line 934; *gemete* dative singular, *Beowulf*, line 780; *sæce*, *Beowulf*, line 154 — *sefa*, *Beowulf*, line 49; *sefan*, *Beowulf*, line 278).

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[16] [Kaluza looks upon indeclinable *fela* as a *u*-stem in Old English, because it had been so historically, cf. Greek πολύ, and because of vestigial forms (Anglian only), *feolo, feolu, fiolu*.]

2. Wherever, at the beginning of a line or in the middle, a disyllabic word with short first syllable stands in the principal lift, secondary stress, which may originally have belonged to a second syllable, can of course even less preserve its independence from the preceding principal stress than at the end of the line; for that reason both kind of words of the pattern ◡ ×, whether the second syllable is unstressed or stressed, are usable in the same way for filling the lift and dip at the beginning amd in the middle of the verse line. We find in detail the following condition:

2.a. The second syllable of words of the pattern ◡ × standing at the beginning of (Kaluza) type D^1 and D^2 verse lines was unstressed: nominative and accusative singular of *i*-stems (*gyre-lēoð*, *Beowulf*, line 786a; *hige-þyhtigne*, *Beowulf*, line 746b; *mere-līðende*, *Beowulf*, line 255a; *sele*, *Beowulf*, lines 81, 826b; *sele-rǣdende*,[17] *Beowulf*, line 51; *sele-weard*, *Beowulf*, line 668; *Sige-Scyldinga*, *Beowulf*, line 598; *sige-rōf*, *Beowulf*, line 620; *wine*, *Beowulf*, lines 30, 148); nominative and accusative singular of *u*-stems (*brego*, *Beowulf*, lines 427, 610; *duru*, *Beowulf*, line 722; *freoðo*, *Beowulf*, line 188; *heaðo-rǣs*, *Beowulf*, line 557; *mago-driht*, *Beowulf*, line 67; *medo-ærn*, *Beowulf*, line 69; *medu-benc*, *Beowulf*, *Beowulf*, line 777; *medo-ful*, *Beowulf*, line 625; *medo-stīg*, *Beowulf*, line 925; *sunu*, *Beowulf*, lines 268, 524, 591, 646, 981; *wudu*, *Beowulf*, lines 216, 298, 398); nominative and accusative singular of *u*-stems (*gearo*, *Beowulf*, line 121); nominative and accusative neuter of *u*-stems (*fela*, *Beowulf*, lines 153, 993); nominative and accusative plural of neuter *wo*-stems (*searo-hæbbendra*, *Beowulf*, line 237; *searo-wundr*, *Beowulf*, 921); nominative and accusative of neuter *o*-stems (*brimu*, *Beowulf*, line 570; *wado*, *Beowulf*, lines 546, 581), further *Heorot*, *Beowulf*, lines 166, 432; *segen*, *Beowulf*, line 47; *snotor*, *Beowulf*, line 909. On the other hand the following originally had secondary stress on the second syllable, which was, however, suppressed in the verse line: genitive and dative singular and plural of *o*-stems (*godes*, *Beowulf*, lines 711b, 786b; *smiðes*, *Beowulf*, line 406b; *gode*, *Beowulf*, line 227b, 625b; *fromum*, *Beowulf*, line 21a); accusative singular of *ā*-stems (*trode*, *Beowulf*, line 843b); nominative singular of *jo*-stems (*here-spēd*, *Beowulf*, line 64b); dative singular and plural of *i*-stems (*wine*, *Beowulf*, line 170b; *Denum*, *Beowulf*, lines 767b, 823b); all forms of *n*–stems (*Breca*, *Beowulf*, line 583b; *draca*, *Beowulf*, line 892b; *flota*,

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[17] [The manuscript reads *sele ræden ne*, and that reading is now defended by some conservative editors; see Else von Schaubert (ed.), *Heyne Schückings Beowulf*, II 'Kommentar' (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh,

Beowulf, lines 218a, 301b; *flotan*, *Beowulf*, line 294b; *guma*, *Beowulf*, lines 652b, 868a; *guman*, *Beowulf*, lines 215b, 306b; *gumum*, *Beowulf*, lines 127b, 321a; *maga*, *Beowulf*, lines 189b, 978a; *witan*, *Beowulf*, line 778b); nominative and accusative of disyllabic stems (*duguð*, *Beowulf*, line 498a; *eafoð*, *Beowulf*, line 960a; *eodor*, *Beowulf*, lines 428a, 663a; *eofor*, *Beowulf*, line 303b;[18] *eoton*, *Beowulf*, line 668b;[19] *fæder*, *Beowulf*, lines 55b, 316b; *geofon*, *Beowulf*, line 515b; *ides*, *Beowulf*, line 620b; *mægen*, *Beowulf*, line 445a; *reced*, *Beowulf*, lines 412a, 770b; *werod*, *Beowulf*, line 652n; — *atol*, *Beowulf*, lines 159a,[20] 165a, 592a, 732a, 816a, 848a; *micel*, *Beowulf*, lines 129a, 270b, 502b; *swutol*, *Beowulf*, [128] line 90a); adverbs (*glæde*, *Beowulf*, line 58a;[21] *raðe*, *Beowulf*, line 724b; *foran*, *Beowulf*, line 984b; *þanon*, *Beowulf*, line 123b; *hider*, *Beowulf*, lines 370b, 394b); infinitives (*etan*, *Beowulf*, line 444a; *swefan*, *Beowulf*, line 729a); present 3rd singular (*byreð*, *Beowulf*, line 448a; *eteð*, *Beowulf*, line 449a; *nymeð*, *Beowulf*, line 598a); imperative (*hafa*, *Beowulf*, line 658a); preterite participle (*hroden*, *Beowulf*, line 495b).

2.b. The following second syllables were unstressed in the first and third lift of (Kaluza) Type A verse lines: nominative and accusative singular of *i*-stems (*hyge*, *Beowulf*, line 755a; *hyge-rōf*, *Beowulf*, line 403b;[22] *mere-dēor*, *Beowulf*, line 558a; *sele-ful*, *Beowulf*, line 619a; *sige-hrēð*, *Beowulf*, line 490a; *wine*, *Beowulf*, lines 457b, 530b); nominative and accusative singular of *u*-stems (*freoðo-burh*, *Beowulf*, line 522a; *heaþo-dēor*, *Beowulf*, line 688a; *heaðo-rēaf*, *Beowulf*, line 401a; *heaþo-rōf*, *Beowulf*, line 381a; *Heoro-gār*, *Beowulf*, line 61a; *mago-ðegn*, *Beowulf*, line 408a; *medo-heal*, *Beowulf*, line 484a; *fela-hrōr*, *Beowulf*, line 27a); nominative and accusative singular and plural of *wo*- and *wā*-stems (*beado-hrægl*, *Beowulf*, line 552a; *geolo-rand*, *Beowulf*, line 438a; *searo-grim*, *Beowulf*, line 594a; *searo-net*, *Beowulf*,

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1961), 20–21.]

[18] [Kaluza has accepted the reading of R. P. Wülcker (ed.), *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie begründet von Christian W. M. Grein*, I 'Das Beowulfslied' (Kassel: Georg H. Wigand, 1883), 160: *Eofor licscionon*, with *licscionon* dative singular of an adjective, **licscione* 'of handsome stature', referring to Beowulf, see Sophus Bugge, 'Zum Beowulf' *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 4 (1873), 192–224, at p. 196.]

[19] [Kaluza has accepted the reading *eoton weard abead*, going back to Benjamin Thorpe (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, The Scóp or Gleeman's Tale, and The Fight at Finnesburh* (Oxford: Henry Parker, 1855), 45, his line 1341 '*the* ward announced *the* eoten'.]

[20] [Not in the manuscript; first supplied by Thorpe in his edition, p. 12, his line 320.]

[21] [More probably adjectival; see F. Klaeber, 'Notizen zum Beowulf: Über den Gebrauch einigerAdjectiva und Verwandtes', *Anglia*, 29 (1906), 378–82, at p. 379.]

[22] [No gap in the manuscript, but there is no second half-line; *hygerôf eode* was first supplied by C. W. M. Grein (ed.), *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie. 4 vols, incl. Sprachschatz* (Göttingen: Georg H.

line 406a; probably also *snotor*, *Beowulf*, line 826a); imperative ending in -*e* (*site*, *Beowulf*, line 489a); and the preterite participle of weak verbs (*genered*, *Beowulf*, line 827a). On the other hand the second syllable of the following originally bore secondary stress: nominative, genitive and dative plural of *o*-stems (*weras*, *Beowulf*, line 216a; *wera*, *Beowulf*, line 993a; *leomum*, *Beowulf*, line 97a); genitive plural of *i*-stems (*Dena*, *Beowulf*, line 498b; *gryra*, *Beowulf*, line 591b); all forms of *n*–stems (*flota*, *Beowulf*, line 210b; *guman*, *Beowulf*, lines 614b, 666b; *nacan*, *Beowulf*, line 295b; *sceaða*, *Beowulf*, line 274b;[23] *sefa*, *Beowulf*, line 594a); nominative and accusative singular of disyllabic stems (*eafoð*, *Beowulf*, lines 602a, 902a;[24] *eoton*, *Beowulf*, line 761a;[25] *hæleð*, *Beowulf*, line 51a; *mægen*, *Beowulf*, lines 236a, 380a;[26] *metod*, *Beowulf* lines 110a, 180b; *ofost*, *Beowulf*, line 256b; *wæter*, *Beowulf*, line 93b; *gamol*, *Beowulf*, lines 58a, 265a, 608a;[27] *geatol-līc*, *Beowulf*, lines 215a, 308a;[28] *seofon*, *Beowulf*, line 517a); adverbs (*hraþor*, *Beowulf*, line 543a; *geador*, *Beowulf*, line 491b; *samod*, *Beowulf*, lines 387b, 729b; *hider*, *Beowulf*, line 240a; *þyder*, *Beowulf*, line 379a; *þanon*, *Beowulf*, line 463a; *ufan*, *Beowulf*, line 330a); infinitives (*beran*, *Beowulf*, line 231a; *cuman*, *Beowulf*, line 244b; *swefan*, *Beowulf*, line 119a; *wesan*, *Beowulf*, line 272a); present 3rd singular (*swefeð*, *Beowulf*, line 600a); imperatives ending in -*a* (*gesaga*, *Beowulf*, line 388a; *waca*, *Beowulf*, line 660a); preterite plurals of strong verbs (*bugon*, *Beowulf*, line 327a; *glidon*, *Beowulf*, line 515a; *sigon*, *Beowulf*, line 307a; *gewiton*, *Beowulf*, line 301a); the preterite participle of a strong verb (*scofen*, *Beowulf*, 918a). The second syllable of the few resolved stresses occupying the second lift of a (Kaluza) Type B verse lines is unstressed: *i*-stems (*Hyge-lāc*, *Beowulf*, line 435b); *u*-stems (*Heoro-gār*, *Beowulf*, line 467b:[29] but originally stressed: dative singular of *i*-stems (*sele*, *Beowulf*, lines 713b, 919b); nominative and accusative of disyllabic stems (*fyren*, *Beowulf*, line 915b; *geogoð*, *Beowulf*, line 66b).

Wigand, 1857–1858, 1861–1864), I/1, 265.]

[23] [Recent editors follow Thorkelin transcript A and read *sceaðona*; Thorkelin B has *sceaðo*; see Kemp Malone (ed.), *The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf in Facsimile*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, I (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1951), p. 11 line 4, p. 13a line 1.]

[24] [At line 902a the manuscript reads *earfoð*, emended to *eafoð* following a suggestion first made by Jacob Grimm (ed.), *Andreas und Elene* (Kassel: Theodor Fischer, 1840), 100–101.]

[25] [The manuscript reads *eoten*.]

[26] [Most more recent editors treat *mægen–wudu* and *mægen-cræft* as compounds.]

[27] [At line 608a most more recent editors treat *gamol-feax* as a compound.]

[28] [Kaluza's *geatol-līc* for *geato-līc* is presumably a misprint and has no justification.]

[29] [At line 467 Heorogar is in fact spelt Heregar.]

2.c. Occupying the first lift of (Kaluza) Type E verse lines the following do not bear secondary stress on the second syllable: *i*-stems (*hete-nīðas, Beowulf*, line 152b; *Hige-lāces, Beowulf*, line 194b; *Scede-landum, Beowulf*, line 19b; *sele-reste, Beowulf*, line 690b; *sige-drihten, Beowulf*, line 391b; *sige-folca, Beowulf*, line 644a; *sige-lēasne, Beowulf*, line 787a; *Sigemunde, Beowulf*, line 884b; *wlite-beorhtne, Beowulf*, line 93a); *u*-stems (*heaðo-wylma, Beowulf*, line 82b; *heoro-drēore, Beowulf*, line 849b; *heoro-drēorig, Beowulf*, line 935b; *lagu-cræftig, Beowulf*, line 209a; *mago-rinca, Beowulf*, line 730a; *meodo-setla, Beowulf*, line 5b); *wo-* and *wā-* stems (*beadu-scrūda, Beowulf*, line 453a; *nearo-þearfe, Beowulf*, line 422b; *scadu-helma, Beowulf*, line 650a; *searo-þoncum, Beowulf*, line 775a; furthermore, *meþel-wordum, Beowulf*, line 236b); with original secondary stress on the second syllable: *jo*-stems (*here-sceafta, Beowulf*, line 335a); disyllabic stems with consonant ending (*fæder-æþelum, Beowulf*, line 911a; *fyren-ðearfe, Beowulf*, line 14b; *mægen-ellen, Beowulf*, line 659b; *woruld-āre, Beowulf*, line 17b).

2.d. In the second lift of (Kaluza) Type C and D[1] verse lines we find disyllabic words of the pattern ⏑ × without secondary stress on the second syllable: *i*-stems (*gryre-geatwum, Beowulf*, line 324a; *hete-þancum, Beowulf*, line 475b; *hige, Beowulf*, line 593b; *Hygelāces, Beowulf*, lines 261a, 342b, 407b, 737a, 758b, 813b, 914a;[30] *hyge-þrymmum, Beowulf*, 339a;[31] *mere-faran, Beowulf*, line 502a; *mere-fixa, Beowulf*, line 549a; *mere-strengo, Beowulf*, line 533a; *myne, Beowulf*, line 169b; [129] *sele, Beowulf*, line 411b; *Sigemundes, Beowulf*, line 875a;[32] *sige-hrēðig, Beowulf*, line 94a; *sige-wǣpnum, Beowulf*, line 804a; *wine, Beowulf*, line 350b; *wine-drihten, Beowulf*, line 862a; *wine-dryhtne, Beowulf*, line 360b; *wine-māgas, Beowulf*, line 65b; *wlite, Beowulf*, line 250b); *u*-stems ([*duru, Beowulf*, line, 389b;][33] *ealo-wǣge, Beowulf*, lines 481a, 495b; *ealu-scerwen, Beowulf*, line 769a; *heaþo-dēorum, Beowulf*, line 772a; *heaðo-lāce, Beowulf*, line 584a; *Heaþo-lāfe, Beowulf*, line 460a; *Heaþo-rǣmas, Beowulf*, line 519a; *heaðo-rǣsa, Beowulf*, line 526a; *heaðo-rincum, Beowulf*, line 370a; *heaþo-rōfe, Beowulf*, line 864a; *heaðo-wǣdum, Beowulf*, line 39b; *heoru-drēore, Beowulf*, line 487a; *lagu-strǣte, Beowulf*,

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[30] [In the manuscript the spelling of the name with *y* occurs only at line 813, *i* in the other six occurrences cited.]

[31] [The manuscript reads *hige þrymmum*.]

[32] [The manuscript reads *sige munde*, and several conservative editors do not emend; cf. E. von Schaubert's edition of *Heyne Schückings Beowulf*, II 'Kommentar', p. 63.]

[33] [No gap in the manuscript, a second half-line; *þā við duru healle* was first supplied by C. W. M. Grein (ed.), *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*. I/1 (1857), 265.]

line 239a; *lagu-strēamas*, *Beowulf*, line 297a; *magu-þegnas*, *Beowulf*, line 293a; *meodu-healle*, *Beowulf*, 638a; *sceadu*, *Beowulf*, line 707b; *fela*, *Beowulf*, line 164a); *wo*-stems (*beadu-folme*, *Beowulf*, line 990a; *beadu-rōfne*, *Beowulf*, line 501a; *bealo-hȳdig*, *Beowulf*, line 723a; *searo-nīða*, *Beowulf*, line 582a); imperative ending in *-e* (*gemyne*, *Beowulf*, line 659a); with secondary stress on the second syllable, *jo-* stems (*here-brōgan*, *Beowulf*, line 462a; *here-grīman*; *Beowulf*, line 396a; *Here-mōdes*, Beowulf, line 901a; *here-wæsmum*, *Beowulf*, line 677a); genitive and dative singular and plural of *o*-stems (*brimes*, *Beowulf*, line 28b; *grames*, *Beowulf*, line 765a; *gode*, *Beowulf*, line 113b; *getrume*, *Beowulf*, line 922b; *feorum*, *Beowulf*, line 73b); dative singular and plural of *i*-stems (*mere*, *Beowulf*, line 855a; *sele*, *Beowulf*, line 323b; *gryrum*, *Beowulf*, line 483b); dative singular of *u-* stems (*medo*, *Beowulf*, line 604a); nominative plural of adjectives (*cwice*, Beowulf, 98b); *n*-stems (*banan*, *Beowulf*, lines 158b,[34] 587b; *Brecan*, *Beowulf*, lines 506b, 531b; *graman*, *Beowulf*, line 777b; *magan*, *Beowulf*, line 943b; *sefa*, *Beowulf*, line 490b; *sefan*, *Beowulf*, line 473b); uninflected forms of disyllabic stems (*fæder*, *Beowulf*, lines 21b, 188a; *geogoð-fēore*, *Beowulf*, line 537a; *gomen-wāþe*, *Beowulf*, line 854b; *metod*, *Beowulf*, lines 706b, 967b; *Weder-mearce*, *Beowulf*, line 298b; *worold*, *Beowulf*, line 60a; *gehwæðer*, *Beowulf*, lines 584b, 814b); adverbs (*fela*, *Beowulf*, lines 586b,[35] 694b, 809b; *þanon*, *Beowulf*, line 691b; *fore-mærost*, *Beowulf*, line 309a; *fore-mihtig*, *Beowulf*, line 969b); infinitives (*onberan*, *Beowulf*, line 990b; *to-brecan*, *Beowulf*, line 780b; *gefaran*, *Beowulf*, line 738b; *ā-gifan*, *Beowulf*, line 355b; *ongytan*, *Beowulf*, line 308b);[36] preterite participles of strong verbs (*tō-brocen*, *Beowulf*, line 997b; *beholen*, *Beowulf*, line 414b; *gehroden*, *Beowulf*, line 304b; *forscrifen*, *Beowulf*, line 106b; *forsworen*, *Beowulf*, line 804b; *gewaden*, *Beowulf*, line 220b.

3. Where at the end of (Kaluza) Type C and D[1] verse lines, and occasionally in the first foot of (Kaluza) Type E verse lines, words of the pattern ⌣ × are scanned disyllabically we have reason to find only such words whose second syllable was entitled since Proto-Germanic times to bear secondary stress, if otherwise the poets

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[34] [The manuscript reads *banā*, for *banum*; but *-um* confusion with *-an* is not uncommon in the late West Saxon of the two *Beowulf* scribes; cf. Fr. Klaeber (ed.), *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (3rd edn; Boston, later issues Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1959), p. lxxxi, § 18. 1.]

[35] [The manuscript reading of the line has no alliteration, and some editors supply *fela* to provide it. Others supply *geflites*; thus first Ferdinand Holthausen (ed.), *Beowulf nebst dem Finnsburg–Bruchstück*, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1905, 1906), I, 19, II, 119. Mitchell and Robinson in their edition supply *swiðe*, but that alliterates with the second *nomen* of the first half-line, not with the first as is normal.]

[36] [The manuscript reads *ongyton*.]

in the creation of their verses took account of the actual accentuation of ordinary speech. In fact, words sufficiently frequent under categories 1. and 2. only very rarely lack secondary stress on the second syllable. The following belong here: nominative and accusative of *i*-stems (*Healf-Dene, Beowulf*, line 57; *ecg-hete, Beowulf*, line 84, but the passage is obscure;[37] *wīn-sele, Beowulf*, line 772, perhaps in agreement with *Beowulf*, lines 715, 994, *wīn-reced* is to be read here); nominative plural of *u*-stems (*fela, Beowulf*, line 530, perhaps in agreement with *Beowulf*, lines 2004, 2543, *worna fela* is to be read here [for manuscript *worn fela*]); nominative and accusative plural of neuter *o*-stems (*holm-clifu, Beowulf*, line 230; *fen-hleoðu, Beowulf*, line 821; *fen-hopu, Beowulf*, line 765; *mōr-hopu, Beowulf*, line 450); nominative singual of *ā*-stems (*hand-sporu, Beowulf*, line 987; *benc-þelu, Beowulf*, line 486); nominative singular of *wo*-stems (*gearo, Beowulf*, line 77). There are therefore only eleven exceptions in which a word with unstressed second syllable is scanned as bearing two lifts[38] at the end of the verse line; this contrasts with the 218 cases in which, for the reasons given above (pp. 124–5), the second syllable has indeed borne a secondary stress since ancient times, and that secondary stress is now to be accounted as an independent lift. Here belong: genitive and dative singular, and nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative plural of *o*-stems (*godes, Beowulf*, line 570; *scipes, Beowulf*, lines 35, 897; *scopes, Beowulf*, line 90; *dæge, Beowulf*, lines 197, 791, 807; *ǣr-dæge, Beowulf*, line 126; *dēað-dæge, Beowulf*, lines 187, 886; *līf-dagas, Beowulf*, line 794; *fold-wegas, Beowulf*, line 867; *wīd-wegas, Beowulf*, line 841; *wera, Beowulf*, line 120; *ealdr-dagum, Beowulf*, lines 719, 758; *geār-dagum, Beowulf*, line 1; *mist-hleoðum*, [130] *Beowulf*, line 711; *ār-stafum, Beowulf*, lines 317, 382, 458; *hærg-trafum, Beowulf*, line 175; *feor-wegum, Beowulf*, line 37; *gramum, Beowulf*, line 424); dative and accusative singular of *ā*-stems (*aldr-ceare, Beowulf*, line 907; *folc-scare, Beowulf*, line 73; *bēor-þege, Beowulf*, lines 117, 618; *mōd-þræce, Beowulf*, line 385; *līf-hraðe, Beowulf*, line 972; *fen-freoðo, Beowulf*, 852; *mǣl-ceare, Beowulf*, line 189; *andsware, Beowulf*, line 354; *ecg-þræce, Beowulf*, line 597); genitive and dative singular, and nominative and genitive plural of *i*-stems (*gegn-cwida, Beowulf*, line 367; *Healf-denes, Beowulf*, lines 189, 268, 344, 469, 646; *Hring-Dene* nominative plural, *Beowulf*, line 116; *Dena, Beowulf*, lines 242, 253, 658, 669; *Beorht-Dena, Beowulf*, lines 427, 610; *East-Dena, Beowulf*, lines 392,

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[37] [The manuscript has *secg-hete*.]
[38] [Though not so expressed, Kaluza must mean that the disyllabic word bears the lift on its first syllable, the second syllable is unstressed.]

617; *Gār-Dena, Beowulf,* line 1; *East-Denum, Beowulf,* line 829; *Gār-Denum, Beowulf,* line 602; *West-Denum, Beowulf,* line 383; *mund-gripe* dative singular, *Beowulf,* lines 380, 966; *nȳd-gripe* dative singular, *Beowulf,* line 977; *fǣr-gripum, Beowulf,* line 739; *fǣr-gryrum, Beowulf,* line 174; *bēor-sele, Beowulf* dative singular, lines 482, 492; *gūð-sele* dative singular, *Beowulf,* line 443; *hēah-sele* dative singular, *Beowulf,* line 648; *wīn-sele* dative singular, *Beowulf,* line 696; *hēah-stede* dative singular, *Beowulf,* line 285); all forms of *n*–stems (*gāst-bona, Beowulf,* line 177; *hand-bonan, Beowulf,* line 460; *cwealm-cuman, Beowulf,* line 793; *wil-cuman, Beowulf,* lines 388, 394; *mere-faran, Beowulf,* line 502; *land-fruma, Beowulf,* line 31; *ord-fruma, Beowulf,* line 263; *wīg-fruma, Beowulf,* line 665; *guma, Beowulf,* lines 20, 974; *seld-guma, Beowulf,* line 249; *driht-guman, Beowulf,* line 99; *dǣd-hata, Beowulf,* line 275; *līc-homa, Beowulf,* line 813; *ȳð-lidan, Beowulf,* line 198; *bān-locan, Beowulf,* lines 743, 819; *eard-lufan, Beowulf,* line 693; *nacan, Beowulf,* line 214; *nama, Beowulf,* line 343; *nama, Beowulf,* line 78; *nefan, Beowulf,* line 882; *and-sacan, beowulf,* line 787; *dol-sceaðan, Beowulf,* line 479; *fēond-scaða, Beowulf,* line 554; *hearm-scaða, Beowulf,* line 767; *mān-scaða, Beowulf,* lines 713, 738; *syn-scaða, Beowulf,* line 708; *syn-scaðan, Beowulf,* line 802; *dēað-scua, Beowulf,* line 160; *mōd-sefa, Beowulf,* line 349; *mōd-sefan, Beowulf,* line 180; *mearc-stapa, Beowulf,* line 103; *folc-togan, Beowulf,* line 840; *wiga, Beowulf,* line 630; *scyld-wiga, Beowulf,* line 288; *andwlitan, Beowulf,* line 690); uninflected forms of disyllabic stems (*cyning, Beowulf,* lines 11, 620, 864, 921; *gūð-cyning, Beowulf,* line 199; *lēod-cyning, Beowulf,* line 54; *fæder, Beowulf,* lines 262, 459; *eald-fæder, Beowulf,* line 373; *hæleð, Beowulf,* lines 190, 331; *metod, Beowulf,* line 980; *eald-metod, Beowulf,* line 946; *heal-reced, Beowulf,* line 68; *horn-reced, Beowulf,* line 705; *wīn-reced, Beowulf,* lines 715, 994; *wæter, Beowulf,* line 509; *wered, Beowulf,* line 496; *werod, Beowulf,* lines 290, 319; *flet-werod, Beowulf,* line 476; *līf-bysig, Beowulf,* line 967l *monig, Beowulf,* lines 399, 690, 777, 839, 855, 909, 919; *micel, Beowulf,* lines 67, 69, 170, 772; *nacod, Beowulf,* line 539; *sweotol, Beowulf,* lines 818, 834; *swegl-wered, Beowulf,* line 607); pronouns (*hyra, heora, Beowulf,* lines 178, 699); adverbs *eal-fela, Beowulf,* lines 870, 884; *hraðe, Beowulf,* 224, 741, 749; *tela, Beowulf,* line 949; *heonan, Beowulf,* line 252; *þanon, Beowulf,* lines 764, 845; *geador, Beowulf,* line 836; *fore, Beowulf,* line 136); infinitives, *beran, Beowulf,* lines 48, 291; *cuman, Beowulf,* line 281; *faran, Beowulf,* lines 124, 866; *galan, Beowulf,*

line 787; *sacan*, *Beowulf*, line 439; *sehan*, *Beowulf*, line 921;[39] *witan*, *Beowulf*, lines 252, 288; *wrecan*, *Beowulf*, line 874); present, second and third person singular, and plural (*hafast*, *Beowulf*, line 954; *talast*, *Beowulf*, line 595; *byreð*, *Beowulf*, line 296; *nimeð*, *Beowulf*, lines 441, 447; *nereð*, *Beowulf*, line 572; *wereð*, *Beowulf*, line 453; *hafað*, *Beowulf*, lines 940, 976; *leofað, lyfað*, *Beowulf*, lines 945, 955, 975; *starað*, *Beowulf*, line 997; *þolað*, *Beowulf*, line 284; *wunað*, *Beowulf*, line 284); present subjunctive (*bere*, *Beowulf*, line 437; *cume*, *Beowulf*, line 23; *nime*, *Beowulf*, line 452; *sleahe*, *Beowulf*, line 682);[40] preterite plurals of strong verbs (*bidon*, *Beowulf*, line 400; *drugon*, *Beowulf*, lines 15, 799, 832; *sculon*, *Beowulf*, line 684; *stigon*, *Beowulf*, lines 212, 225); preterite indicative 2nd singular (*flite*, *Beowulf*, line 507); preterite subjunctive (*mæge*, *Beowulf*, line 681; *duge*, *Beowulf*, line 590; *stige*, *Beowulf*, line 677; *swice*, *Beowulf*, line 967); preterite participle of strong verbs (*cumen*, *Beowulf*, line 376; *gyfen*, *Beowulf*, line 64; *gilp-hlæden*, *Beowulf*, 869; *gold-hroden*, *Beowulf*, lines 615, 641; *liden*, *Beowulf*, line 223; *hond-locen*, *Beowulf*, lines 322, 551; *wīd-scofen*, *Beowulf*, line 937; *sprecen*, *Beowulf*, line 644); preterite of weak verbs (dyde, *Beowulf*, lines 444, 672, 957; *dydon*, *Beowulf*, line 44). Three shortened (Kaluza) Type E verse lines belong here in which similarly only words with secondary stress on the second syllable are possible (*bēag-hroden cwēn*, *Beowulf*, line 624; *Norð-Denum stōd*, *Beowulf*, line 784; *Sūð-Dena folc*, *Beowulf*, line 463).

These facts talk indeed a fairly clear language. If in slurring of two short syllables on the secondary lift of a (Kaluza) Type A only such words are permitted which never had a a secondary [131] stress on the second syllable, and if conversely in scanning two lifts at the end of (Kaluza) Type C and D¹ only such words, with quite negligible exceptions, were used the second syllable of which bore secondary stress from time immemorial there truly must also have been in the spoken pronunciation of these two groups of words a still perceptible difference; otherwise the poets would not have been in a position to perform this distinction so cleanly. Who could have taught these poets to scan at the end of the verse line with two lifts *sele* dative singular but not *sele* nominative and accusative singular; *swutol* but not *fugol*,

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[39] [All the editions available to Kaluza printed *seon* as in the manuscript (with variously placed accents added). That contracted forms are to be scanned disyllabically, whence Kaluza's **sehan*, was and is well understood, since Eduard Sievers, 'Zur rhythmik des germanischen alliterationsverses', II, *Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen sprache und literatur*, 10 (1885), 451–545, at pp. 475–80.]

[40] [The manuscript reads *slea* (as do the editions with various added accents); Kaluza expands the well-understood contraction. See the preceding footnote.]

mægen but not *þegen*, *gifen* but not *swefen*, *bysig* but not *byrig*, unless it were indeed that *sele* dative singular, *swutol*, *mægen*, *gifen*, *bysig*, and the like bore in the spoken pronunciation secondary stress on the second syllable, which was lacking in *sele* nominative and accusative singular; *fugol*, *þegen*, *swefen*, *byrig*, and the like? Why should that distinction have been so strictly observed in these two cases where it was demanded by the rhythm of the verse line; in other cases, however, where it was not a requirement, specifically when two short syllables were used in the principal lift at the beginning of a verse line or in the middle of a line? For their mere pleasure, perhaps in order to make the creation of the verse more difficult, the poets would hardly have undertaken such a distinction, and truly with their defective knowledge of Proto-Germanic and Indo-European they not have been able to put such a distinction into effect unless the Proto-Germanic conditions of accentuation had been actually present in the living and spoken Old English language. For that reason it is to be hoped that in future no one will be able to maintain that a verse line ending in ⏑ × had the same value in all cases; it will on the contrary have to be recognized that the poets every time knew how to scan the same ending ⏑ × of the verse line, in accordance with the rhythm of the verse line and with the accentuation of the spoken language, the words about to be used, on the one hand with one lift, on the other hand with two lifts.

4. The pronunciation of tri- and tetrasyllabic words with short stem-syllable in Old English.

There is no need to go back to Proto-Germanic tetrasyllabic forms to prove the existence of secondary stress on the third syllable of trisyllabic words with short first and short middle syllable; words such as *mænigu*, *bisigu*, *metodes*, *werodes*, *weroda*, *sceaðena*, *eaferan*, *nigene*, *fremedon*, and the like must according to Paul's Law in every case bear secondary stress on the third syllable, and this secondary stress cannot be suppressed in the middle of the verse line as long as these forms have not themselves been reduced to two syllables. For that reason we find, for example, at the beginning of an extended (Kaluza) Type D verse line (*grētte Gēata lēod, mǣre mearc-stapa, sīde sǣ-næssas, hwetton hige-rōfne*), though words of the pattern ‒ × are used with one lift, but not of the pattern ⏑ ⏑ × which of course could take their place otherwise (in (Kaluza) Types A and B); and Orm too is forced [132] to assign two verse lifts to trisyllabic words with short first syllable (see the examples given

above, p. 119). If now we see that in (Kaluza) Type A verse lines words of the pattern ◡ ◡ ×, which in every case had to bear two lifts, could entirely at will take the place of words of the pattern ◡ ×, in a way, admittedly, that they stand either in the first or in the second foot, or in both feet (e.g. *metodes hyldo, Beowulf,* line 671; *werodes wīsa, Beowulf,* line 259; *weoroda ræswa, Beowulf,* line 60; *sceaðena þrēatum, Beowulf,* line 4; *Wedera lēode, Beowulf,* line 225; — *mādma mænigo, Beowulf,* line 41; *Scyldes eaferan, Beowulf,* line 19; *rinca manige, Beowulf,* line 729; *ellen fremedon, Beowulf,* line 3; — *bealuga bisigu, Beowulf,* line 281; *mægenes Deniga, Beowulf,* line 155; *niceras nigene, Beowulf,* line 575; etc.); it therefore follows moreover at the same time in every case the disyllabic scansion for all words of the pattern ◡ × that in occur in lines of the (Kaluza) Type A: this is accordingly a further conclusive proof for the necessity and correctness of the doctrine of four lifts in each verse half-line.

I have no idea how the adherents of the two-lift theory contrive to scan words of the pattern ◡ ◡ × with only a single lift in the verse lines quoted above and similar verse lines, seeing that they say nothing further about it. Sievers appears to reassure himself by assigning to these words, even when they only bear one single lift, nevertheless two of the 'members' of the verse line;[41] but this concept 'member', newly created by Sievers is otherwise completely unknown in the terminology of Germanic metrics. A 'member' can be either a 'lift' or a 'dip', or on the other hand neither of the two, neither meat nor fish, neither warm nor cold: it is impossible that a metrical system which is constructed on so variable a foundation will for that reason ever be able to achieve any satisfactory results.

Trisyllabic words with short first and long middle syllable require further separate consideration, such as *cyninga, wesende, þolōde,* and the like. If these words

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[41] [Eduard Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1893), 25 § 8, defines the term *Glied,* that is, 'member' — an essential unit of scansion, — thus: 'Die normale halbzeile zerfällt in vier, seltener fünf glieder, von denen zwei (sprachlich und daher auch im verse) stark betont oder hebungen, die beiden resp[ektive] drei andern schwächer betont sind. Die scheidung dieser gruppen hängt in erster line von der abstufung der natürlichen satzbetonung ab.' This may be translated: 'The normal half-line is divided into four, less frequently five *members,* two of which (in speech and therefore also in the verse line) are *strongly stressed,* or *lifts,* the other two, respectively three, are *more weakly stressed.* The distinction of these groups depends in the first place on the gradation of natural sentence stress.' Later in the same section he defines what he means by *more weakly stressed:* 'Die schwächer betonten glieder des verses zerfallem nach ihrem natürlichen (d[as] h[eisst] sprachlichen) tongewicht in zwei klassen: tonlose und nebentonige.' This may be translated: 'the *more weakly stressed members* of the verse line are divided into two classes according to their natural accentuation (*i.e.* as pronounced in unadorned speech): *unstressed,* and bearing *secondary*

occur alone by themselves they can only bear two of the lifts of the verse line (e.g. *haefde cyninga wuldr*, *Beowulf*, line 666;[42] *hwīlum cyninges þegn*, *Beowulf*, line 868; *þolōde þrȳð-swȳð*, *Beowulf*, line 131; etc.). Where, however, these words were able to lean against a preceding long monosyllabic word a shift in stress takes place, in that the first short syllable adjoins the preceding strongly stressed word as a syllable bearing secondary stress, and the stressed middle syllable now shifts into the position of principal stress. We thus have to stress *þéod-cỳníngà*, *Beowulf*, line 2; *cníht-wèséndè*, *Beowulf*, lines 372, 535; *ándswàródè*, *Beowulf*, lines 258, 340, similar to Middle High German *lánt-pflegǽre* (see Schade, *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 1, p. 9,14). These verse lines therefore do not belong to (Kaluza) Type D¹, to which I assigned them in my study of Old English metre (*Studien zum germanischen Alliterationsvers*, II, *Der altenglische Vers*, II, Die Metrik des Beowulfliedes (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1894), 79), but they are (Kaluza) Type A lines, which in their rhythm are closest to subtype 5 [*Studien*, II, II, p. 49], *lánd-gèsáwòn*, *wíl-gèsíðàs*.

Finally tetrasyllabic words of the pattern ◡ ◡ ‒ × are in their accentuation and in their employment within the verse line to be equated entirely with trisyllabic words of the pattern ‒ ‒ ×; they therefore bear a principal stress on the first syllable, a stronger secondary stress on the penultimate syllable and a weaker stress on the final syllable, and they have accordingly to be used trisyllabically in the verse line; e.g. *lifigende lāð*, *Beowulf*, line 816 (= *murnende mōd*, *Beowulf*, line 50); *æðelinga gedriht*, *Beowulf*, line 118 (= *Wælsinges gewin*, *Beowulf*, line 878); *hū þā æðelingas*, *Beowulf*, line 3 (= *þæt mid Scyldingum*, *Beowulf*, line 274); *unlifigende*, *Beowulf*, line 468 (= *sǣ-līðende*, *Beowulf*, line 377).

[133]   In order to give exhaustive treatment to the doctrine of accentuation in Old English and its use in verse I should have to deal in somewhat greater detail with the stress of compound words, more particularly because in this field too diverse mistaken views are to be corrected. For example, Hirt (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1895, col. 1288) believes that there are no syllables less stressed than the prefixes *ge-* and *be-*; Kluge (Paul's *Grundriss*, I, p. 344) comes to the mistaken conclusion, on

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stress.]

[42] [The manuscript reads *hæfde kyning wuldor*, retained for about a century as *Kyningwuldor* by most editors, except, W. J. Sedgefield (ed.), *Beowulf* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 3rd edn 1935); C. L. Wrenn (ed.) *Beowulf With the Finnesburg Fragment* (London: George G. Harrap & Co, 1953), with a defence, p. 197, of the emendation now generally deemed unnecessary, and not retained in W. F. Bolton's revised edition of Wrenn (1973). Kaluza's *ae* for *æ* is one of his rare imprecisions; *wuldr* for *wuldor* is his systematic representation of non-syllabic final liquids (and nasals).]

the basis of a few vocalic weakenings and quite isolated cases of loss of vowels in the second element of compounds, 'that the root syllables of second compositional elements do not by that very fact bear secondary stress;' and Luick (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 4, p. 294) and Trautmann (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 5, p. 134) object to my assumption of a shift of the principal stress from the first to the second element of certain compounds (*sǣ-bāt gesæt*; *medo-stīg gemæt*; *gūð-rinc monig*; *mago-driht micel*); though specially Luick and Trautmann should know that this very shift of accent was at all times usual in English prosody, and that today still in ordinary speech 'level stress' is the rule for a great part of compounds (cf. Vietor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, 4th edn, p. 287). I shall, however, have to save consideration of these and similar problems for a later occasion, for I fear that I have already exceeded unduly the space assigned to me most kindly by the organizers of this *festschrift*. I hope that my observations on the accentuation of the various forms of Old English simplicia and their use in verse will suffice to demonstrate that the four-lift theory, which is so readily made out to be contrary to the natural accentuation of words, accords precisely, far better than any other conception of alliterative verse with the accentuation of Proto-Germanic words which can be ascertained by the historical study of the language, and that even the 'so often censured' two-lift scansion of disyllabic words with short stem-syllable at the end of an alliterative verse line has its firm foundation in the development of the language.

2

KALUZA REDISCOVERED

1. The age of Max Kaluza: his way of reasoning.
In recent years Max Kaluza, a German scholar of the German Empire of 1871 to 1918, has gained some importance, because his scansion of Anglo-Saxon verse, based on the four-lift theory rejected by most scholars, has been rediscovered, and even used for the dating of Old English verse, especially of *Beowulf*.[1] In this paper I have no intention to take issue with the validity of that line of dating. My concern is the reasoning with which Kaluza tries to convince, though he did not convince many of his German-speaking contemporaries. Recently, however, he seems to have convinced some scholars who perhaps have not made acquaintance with the entirety of his regressive linguistic views.

2. Changes in the style of German academic writings.
In the last 150 years Modern German has undergone many changes. Scholars writing in German in recent times write in general more simply, more clearly, even when their subject is complex. Any attempt to translate into English Max Kaluza's 'Zur Betonungs- und Verslehre des Altengischen', setting forth what has been called 'Kaluza's "Law"' by scholars writing in English,[2] encounters difficulties: his outmoded *Professorendeutsch* says everything with great complexity, perhaps in some ways reflecting the impressive complexity of his subject. In addition to the complexity of the *Professorendeutsch* of Kaluza's day, there are his idiosyncrasies of scholarly argument designed to show that contradiction is unwarranted.

3. Kaluza's faith in the editorial scholarship of his time.
Kaluza wholeheartedly believes in the emendations widely accepted in his day, some of them accepted still. Admittedly, in his citing (at p. 129) the word *duru*

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[1] For a good set of bibliographical references, see Roberta Frank, 'A Scandal in Toronto: *The Dating of "Beowulf"* a Quarter Century On', *Speculum*, 82 (2007), 843–64.
[2] Published in *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Oskar Schades* (Königsberg: Hartung, 1896), 101–33. Schade was a distinguished scholar of Middle High German literature.

for his scansion at p. 129, he puts it in square brackets '*[duru]*' It has been supplied by many editors, alternatively *dura*, at lines 389 to 390 where an alliterative word is missing within what may be a larger gap, though there is no gap in the manuscript for this verse line, and other cures for the failing alliteration have been proposed.[3] Kaluza's paper published in 1896. The editions of *Beowulf* at that time in use were Christian W. M. Grein's standard edition in the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, and for these two editorial half-lines retained by Richard Paul Wülcker, in the revised edition of 1883; Grein's invented reading was followed by Moritz Heyne in his *Beowulf*, the fifth edition of which (1888) was prepared by Adolf Socin, and Grein's emendation remained unchanged.[4] Grein–Wülcker has for lines 388–90, with the words supplied by Grein in italics:

> 'Gesaga him eac wordum,   þæt hie sint wilcuman
> 'Deniga leodum!'   *Þa wið duru healle*
> *Wulfgar eode,*   word inne abead:
> ['Tell them also in speech that they are welcome to the people of the Danes.' *Then Wulfgar went towards the door of the hall,* offering these words within:]

The use for his purposes of the editorial word *[duru]* exemplifies that Kaluza is ready to take anything that may help to further his argument.

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[3] Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson (eds), *Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 61. Their suggestion that *leodum* be emended to 'an alliterating word like *we(o)rode*' does not provide satisfactory alliteration, unless at line 389a we are to read *werode Deniga* for *Deniga leodum*. References to other recent discussions of lines 388–90 are given in R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles (eds), *Klaeber's Beowulf*, 4th edn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 140; they do not introduce any words to fill a gap in which they do not believe.

[4] In quoting I do not reproduce editorial and typographical details of the texts quoted. R. P. Wülcker (ed.), *Das Beowulfslied ...*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie begründet von Christian W. M. Grein (Kassel: Georg H. Wigand, 1883), 163. A. Socin (ed.), *Beówulf ... herausgegeben von Moritz Heyne*, 5th edn, Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler, III, Angelsächsische Denkmäler, I (Paderborn and Münster: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1888), 12. Other editors find other solution to the lack of alliteration. Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson (eds), *Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 61, suggest that *leodum* may have been 'miswritten for an alliterating word like *we(o)rode*', but the *w*-alliteration required by the head-stave conflicts with the alliteration on /d/, and the half-line would have to be emended, not as Mitchell and Robinson emend, but to **werode Deniga*, where double alliteration on <w> might be preferable.

4. *Karl Lachmann (1793–1851): his four-lift theory of Middle High German verse.*

Kaluza labours under the urge to contradict any scholar, major or minor, who has contradicted him in his total acceptance of Karl Lachmann's belief that every Germanic verse line (that is, every half-line as now presented in editions) has four lifts. In that Kaluza is at one with Schade, the distinguished scholar of Middle High German who is the honorand of the festschrift to which the 'Betonungslehre' is a contribution. Schade writes:[5] 'Whatever pronouncement Lachmann has uttered is uttered so keenly and well that it is hardly likely that anyone can improve on him.' The eight-lift verse line, four lifts in each half, is an article of faith. Karl Lachmann, who was its important advocate for Old High German alliterative verse, including Otfrid's verse, carefully excluded Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse. Lachmann writes:[6] 'But the Anglo-Saxon verse lines not infrequently, and those in the Old Saxon *Heliand* and in the Bavarian *Muspilli* very frequently, are far longer, in fact, quite without any rule, with the result that in some verse lines the multitude of syllables becomes tiresome to the ear, which always seeks uniformity.' Lachmann recognized clearly that the ear attuned to Otfridian regularity seeks a regularity not to be found in Old English or Old Saxon verse, nor even in the Old High German *Muspilli*. Kaluza feels and expresses compulsive agreement with the four-lift theory. It is essential for his own *Betonungslehre*, his doctrine of how Old English poetry must be stressed. Any acceptance of his *Betonungslehre* requires the acceptance of the four-lift theory.

5. *Kaluza's absolute certainty that he is right.*

I do not recall reading any scholarly philologist, writing in German or English, who never admits doubt, even as a possibility. In Kaluza statements follow

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[5] Oskar Schade, 'Grundzüge der altdeutschen Metrik', in Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Oskar Schade (eds), *Weimarisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache Litteratur und Kunst* (Hannover: Carl Rümpler, 1854), I/1, 1–57, at p. 2: 'Was Lachmann einmal gesagt hat, das ist so scharf und gut gesagt, daß ihn schwerlich einer verbeßern kann.'

[6] Karl Müllenhof (ed.), *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie von Karl Lachmann* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1876), 'Über das Hildebrandslied', pp. 407–48, at p. 414 (first published in 1835): 'Aber die angelsächsischen Verse sind nicht selten und die im sächsischen Hêljand und im bairischen Muspille sehr häufig weit länger, und zwar ganz ohne Regel, so dass die Menge der Silben in manchem Verse ... dem Ohr, das immer die Gleichheit sucht, lästig wird.' Lachmann analyses Otfrid and other Old High German verse in two other papers ('Über althochdeutsche Betonung und Verskunst', *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 358–406). Eduard Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1893), 3–5, summarizes Lachmann's theory, and the theories of those who followed him; and at p. 3 Sievers draws attention to the fact that Lachmann carefully excluded Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Norse alliterative verse from the regularity he believed to have found in *Hildebrandslied*.

conclusively from each other: there is an inner necessity in every element asseverated. He uses 'must', *müssen*, very frequently, always meaning 'it must of necessity', never of suppositional inference, as in English 'it must seem so', or in German *so muss es wohl erscheinen*, in which of course *must* (*muss*) governs *seem* (*erscheinen*), so that the necessity lies in the seeming.

If I were an historicist I might be inclined to look in the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888–1918) for the political basis for such proclamations of incontrovertibility. I think that such an attempt at an historicist explanation is ill-founded. Order and regularity guided German scholarly thinking not only during that reign, or, at least, it guided Prussian thinking, including East-Prussian thinking, with Königsberg, its famous university city (now Kaliningrad), where Kaluza lived as a professor. Instead it is best to remember that the reign of William II coincided, in all German-speaking countries, and beyond, including in all English-speaking countries, with the most productive period of Neophilological scholarship.

Superficial psychological explanations are not much better than historicism; thus one might think that so loud and iterative insistence, on how right Kaluza is and how right those are who agree with him, how wrong those are who disagree with him, must conceal an inner insecurity. I doubt that; and even if it were true, that this was designed to hide his weak self, we have no means of knowing his true self, weak or strong.

6. *The laxness of Old English spellings, in obvious need of regularization.*
To an orderly mind it is remiss of the Anglo-Saxons that they had so little system in their use of thorn and eth. Kaluza, with martinetish rigour, regularizes the use of these letters, thorn word-initial only, eth medial and final. Ignoring the distribution of manuscript spellings in the first thousand lines of *Beowulf* which he has analysed, he prefers, though not consistently (cf. p. 128: *Hygelāc* line 435, but *Higelāces* line 194), the etymologically more correct to the lax actual spellings of the manuscript: thus a single Hygelac with *y* is preferred (p. 128) to six spellings with *i*. He corrects (p. 129) scribal *-on* for the infinitive ending *-an*, as at *Beowulf* line 308b, *ongyton*, manuscript *guman ... ongyton mihton* ['the men ... could perceive']: the editions do not emend, and Wülcker (Grein–Wülcker, p. 160) explains that he has retained *-on* as a dialectal form.

7. *Kaluza's summary of the two central points of his dogma.*

When Kaluza sums up his 'doctrine' at the end of his paper we may catch his tone and style in the eternal verity, as he thinks, of the underlying doctrine of four lifts to the line:[7]

> I hope that my observations on the accentuation of the various forms of Old English simplicia and their use in verse will suffice to demonstrate that the four-lift theory, which is so readily made out to be contrary to the natural accentuation of words, accords quite simply far better than any other conception of alliterative verse with the accentuation of Proto-Germanic words, which can be ascertained by the historical study of the language, and that even the 'so often censured' two-lift scansion of disyllabic words with short root-syllable at the end of an alliterative verse line has its firm foundation in the development of the language.

8. *From Indo-European and Proto-Germanic accentuation to the accentuation of Old English words.*

The accentuation of syllables after the stressed root-syllable of Germanic words demonstrates a shift from the freer accent of Indo-European to the fixed accent on the root-syllable of Germanic; compare Old Iranian *pitár* with Old English *fǽder*. It is difficult to assign a date to this shift. There is no evidence that in Old English disyllabic words the second syllable retained its accent (if inherited from Indo-European), and similarly in the final syllable of trisyllabic words, not even as a secondary accent. Old High German was more conservative than Old English, and must have been thought so at the end of the nineteenth century.[8] According to Kaluza, what to the uninformed beholder might seem unstressed and silenced inflexional syllables had life and sonority: Kaluza brings them back from their mythical past to a renewed reality. In the mythical aspect of philology that goes back ultimately to Jacob Grimm whatever lies in the linguistic heritage of a people cannot be wholly extinguished, but is reawakened in conditions that serve

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[7] Kaluza, 'Betonungslehre', p. 133: 'Hoffentlich genügen schon meine Ausführungen über die Betonung der verschiedenen Formen der einfachen Wörter des Altenglischen und ihre Verwendung im Verse, um darzuthun, dass die Lehre von den vier Hebungen, die man so gern als der natürlichen Wortbetonung widersprechend hinstellt, gerade weit besser als jede andere Auffasung des Alliterationsverses mit der sprachgeschichtlich festzustellenden Betonung der altgermanischen Wörter in Einklang steht, und dass selbst die "so oft gerügte" zweihebige Messung zweisilbiger Wörter mit kurzer Stammsilbe am Ausgange des Alliterationsverses in der sprachlichen Entwickelung ihre Begründung hat.'

[8] See W. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1896), § 35.

to recall the oneness of the Germanic peoples whatever their subsequent experience. In the history of accentuation it is clear that the Indo-European system, with the accent on the suffix in some positions of the paradigm and not on the root-syllable, was maintained long enough on the way to or into Proto-Germanic for the operation of the 'Law', formulated by Verner in 1875,[9] before giving way to the Germanic system of stress on the root-syllable. The history from Indo-European onwards into Old English led Kaluza to believe in secondary stress on what in Sievers's scansion are unstressed second syllables of disyllabic words:[10]

> We must therefore accentuate in Old English: *dǽgès, dágùm, gládùm, béràn, béràð, glǽdnè, glǽdrè, glǽdrà*, and so forth; and, exactly like that, the 'slurred' (*schleifend*) Proto-Germanic accentuation must have maintained itself as secondary stress on the endings *-e* of dative singular and present subjunctive, of *-as* of nominative plural, of *−a* of genitive plural of vocalic declensions and of nominative singular of the *n*–declension: thus, *sélè* dative singular; *dǽgè, dágàs, dágà; gúmà, námà; bérè* present subjunctive, etc.

That is how Kaluza scans *lángè hwílè* (*Beowulf*, line 16a) with two principal and two secondary accents.[11] He prefers and requires a four-lift theory, which imposes two principal and two secondary lifts to the half line. In his system the second syllable of *fǽdèr* bears secondary stress because it is from earlier *fadér*, cf. Greek *πατήρ*. Though Sievers, with superlatively good and detailed understanding of Germanic phonology and morphology, had drawn attention to the possibility that the dative of that word may have been trisyllabic, in the poets' language **fædere*, Kaluza returned to Indo-European accentuation, instead of aiming, with Sievers, to comprehend Old English metrical peculiarities in terms of Old English

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[9] Karl Verner, 'Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 23 (1875), 97–130.

[10] 'Betonungslehre', p. 124: 'Wir haben also auch dort zu betonen *dǽgès, dágùm, gládùm, béràn, béràð, glǽdnè, glǽdrè, glǽdrà* u. s. w., und ebenso muss auch die urg[ermanische] "schleifende" Betonung auf den Endungen *−e* des Dat. Sg. und des Conj. Praes., *-as* des Nom. Pl., *-a* des Gen. Pl. der vokalischen Stämme und des Nom. Sg. der *n*-Stämme im Altenglischen noch den Nebenton sich erhalten haben: *sélè* D. Sg.; *dǽgè, dágàs, dágà; gúmà, námà; bérè* Conj. Praes. etc.'

[11] See Kaluza, *Die Metrik des Beowulfliedes*, Studien zum germanischen Alliterationsvers, II Der altenglische Vers, part 2 (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1894), p.7. This half-line is Kaluza's first example to illustrate his system. It is thus scanned also in his 'Betonungslehre', pp. 102, 107, and 108.

developments.[12] By a similar return to the linguistic past Kaluza satisfied himself that *fugol* (Gothic *fugls*), *æcer* (Gothic *akrs*), *þegen* (Greek τέκνον), *segen* (Latin *signum*) 'are not allowed ... to bear secondary stress on the second syllable': in his language ('Betonungslehre', p. 125), *dürfen ... keinen Nebenton auf der zweiten Silbe tragen.*

More than half a century ago Alan Bliss referred to Kaluza'a work, and, in a footnote, found it wanting:[13] 'Unfortunately, Kaluza failed to describe his discovery accurately or to prove it statistically.' Other insufficiencies in Kaluza and in recent scholars who have been persuaded by him, as Bliss was not, are pointed out in two valuable studies by B. R. Hutcheson, in book-form and more briefly.[14] The underlying phonological weakness of Kaluza's theory was pointed out in a footnote by Bliss: 'That there was really any distinction of quantity in unstressed final vowels is highly improbable; ... many of the conventional Old English quantities are in fact prehistoric.'

9. *Do apparently unstressed syllables at the end of an Old English verse line carry a lift; are they* klingend *like such syllables in Middle High German verse?*

The scansion of the final syllable in a Middle High German line of verse is either *stumpf* 'masculine', or *klingend* 'sonorous' or 'feminine' (a term referring to French mute, often feminine, final *-e*, silent in speech but available for reawakening to full sonority in verse). The mythopoesis of Middle High German scansion was advanced musically by Wagner based on Hans Sachs's terminology, and *klingend* is one of the terms used. As far as I know, such terminology is not in use for English verse: the thing exists, though rarely, but there is in English no descriptive term for it. In *The Winter's Tale* Autolicus has ballads as part of the old-seeming, newly coined trumpery he sells; and he sings:[15]

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[12] Eduard Sievers, 'Zur rhythmik des germanischen alliterationsverses, II', *Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen sprache und literatur*, 10 (1885), 483. I do not know if Kaluza would have found comfort in the fact that in Greek the dative was accented on the inflexional syllable, πατρί, ignoring the fact that the dative *federe* was trisyllabic in the (Anglian) dialect of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and therefore probably in the language of some Old English poets.

[13] A. J. Bliss, *The Metre of Beowulf* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958, 2nd edn 1967), 31, note 1. Note 2 is his statement on the quantity of unstressed vowels.

[14] Bellenden Rand Hutcheson, *Old English Poetic Metre* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 78–94. a subsection (3.D), 'Kaluza's Law', of his third chapter, 'Resolution'; 'Kaluza's Law, The Dating of Beowulf, and the Old English Poetic Tradition', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 103 (2005), 297–322.

[15] Quoted from Charlton Hinman (ed.), *The Norton Facsimile The First Folio of Shakespeare* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1968), 309, *The Winter's Tale*, end of Act IV scene iii.

Iog-on, Iog-on, the foot-path way,
And merrily hent the Stile-a:
A merry heart goes all the day,
Your sad tyres in a Mile-a.

In these lines the ending of *Stile-a* and similarly, to rhyme and chime with it, the ending of *Mile-a* are not *stumpf*, as *stile* and *mile* would have been, but *klingend*. An innocent philologist of the twenty-first century might think the sonorous endings are needed for the music; a learned scholar of the nineteenth century might well think that Shakespeare here draws on the inherited disyllabicity of OE **stigil*, for, in Grimm's Romantic theory, whatever lies deep in the subconsciousness of a nation may be fully reawakened in the poetry natural to that nation. Kaluza does not refer to Autolicus, but perhaps he should have done, and surely, by his process of reasoning, it might have led him to see the common heritage in Autolicus and Otfrid:[16]

Er thar niheina stigilla   ni firliaz ouh unfirslagana.
[He (the Devil) had not moreover left there one single entrance unbarricaded.]

Shakespeare's use of a *klingend*, usually silent, final syllable at the end of a verse line is, of course, wholly out of tune with the unsung English of his time. Whether in popular song such syllables are *klingend* I do not know. Perhaps those who know about such things may suggest that those who sang ballads and other ditties at fairs produced disyllabic forms of monosyllables like *stile* and *mile* to fit in with the tune. To me such rhyming is a bookish thing. Inevitably, I think of Laȝamon's *Brut*, which Kaluza tries to bully into his strictly Germanic scheme, with rhymes like (dative) *kinga* (for *kinge*) to rhyme with *Melga* (line 6423):[17]

þe weore mid Melga: þan hæðene kinga.
[who were with Melga, the heathen king.]

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[16] Johann Kelle (ed.), *Otfrids von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch*, 3 vols (Regensburg: G. Joseph Manz, 1856–1881), I, 90, II. 4, 9.
[17] G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie (eds), *Laȝamon:* Brut, 2 vols, EETS, o.s. 250, 277 (1963, 1978), I, 334.

10. *Other myths involving Old English metrics.*

Popular culture, probably a contradiction in terms, is one source of myth extending into prosody. There was a time, perhaps to this day, when nursery rhymes were adduced to prove that Old English rhythms live on in colloquial speech.[18] Another myth, going back to Jacob Grimm if not further, longer lasting, and more insidious, is the belief in an unchanging community of Germanic peoples, regardless of distance in time or space, sharing an inherited family of Germanic dialects. In Kaluza's mind, as we have seen, Otfrid and Laȝamon flock together as metrically birds of a feather, though separated by 350 to 400 years and about 1000 km apart as the crow flies. Scandinavian verse, of mythical date, at a guess half a millennium later than the age of Anglo-Saxon poetry (itself stretching over a period of about 350 to 400 years), was thought by Kaluza to teach us how to scan Old English disyllabic words with stressed short root-syllable and strong secondary accent on the second syllable, seemingly unstressed but, in fact, in origin a reduced full stress. He rebuked Sievers for lacking faith in that myth or mystery, a faith that would have required Sievers to have faith also in Lachmann's four-lift theory, and, by that act of faith, abandoning the two-lift theory for Old English verse, which Sievers and others espoused. The rejection of the two-lift theory is an essential part of Kaluza's advocacy (in 'Betonungslehre', pp. 123–4) of what has been hailed as his 'Law'.

11. *The complexity of Kaluza's scansion, and the simplicity of Sievers's Five-Type theory.*

As the grandees of late nineteenth-century Neophilological metrics and phonology march past, with Sievers at their head, one has the impression that Kaluza is in the position of 'our Johnny' in the ancient joke recording his fond mother's cry as she watched them go past, 'Why, they are all out of step except our Johnny!' The rejected four-lift theory, Lachmann's own, was abandoned by almost all after Sievers had advanced, fully in 1885, his convincingly simple Five-Type theory: in Kaluza's view Sievers had been more nearly correct, though not as correct as Kaluza himself, in Sievers's earlier article of 1877 on accentuation,

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[18] See, for example, Marjorie Daunt, 'Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1946, 56–72; reprinted Jess B. Bessinger, Jr, and Stanley J. Kahrl (eds), *Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968), 289–304.

before he had fully formulated his Five-Type Theory based on two lifts to the line.[19]

Of course, sometimes Kaluza's scansion agrees with that of Sievers and of those who followed Sievers; thus, according to Kaluza ('Betonungslehre', p. 126):[20] 'a word that has the right to a linguistic secondary stress on the second syllable thus occurs nowhere at all in the second lift of a [Kaluza] Type A line; for if it were so, then ... a word of that pattern would have to be used as two lifts (a stronger and a weaker secondary lift), as is the case in [Kaluza] "shortened" Type E lines: *bēag-hroden cwēn*, *Beowulf*, line 623b; *Sūð-Dena folc*, *Beowulf*, line 463b; *Norð-Denum stōd*, *Beowulf*, line 783b.' This agrees with Pope's scansion, his Type E2.[21] But the habitual, coercive tone of Kaluza is very different from the persuasiveness of Pope: 'a word that has the right to a linguistic secondary stress on the second syllable', *Ein Wort, dem ein sprachlicher Nebenton auf der zweiten Silbe gebührt*; 'then it would have to be', *es müsste ja dann*. Similarly, perhaps even more stridently, when he analyses the scansion of his Types C and D[1] half-lines and occasionally the his Type E half-line, the first foot of which consists of a word of the pattern ∪ ×, 'we are allowed to find in the verse of poets, who otherwise in the formation of their verses pay regard to the contemporary accentuation of their ordinary speech, only such words the second syllable of which had, since Proto-Germanic times, the right to secondary stress.'[22] This, in fact, is the hub of Kaluza's Law.

12. *Inflexional syllables that have the right to bear a lift.*

If Kaluza is to be believed, the poets were forced by the inherited accentuation going back in time to Proto-Germanic and Indo-European to put stress on what looks like unstressed final syllables, as in *lange hwile*. Four lifts are, therefore, the rule, Lachmann's rule raised to a sacred fact by Kaluza, for the Old English half-line. Not all inflexional syllables have the right to such secondary stress. Furthermore, a not insignificant proportion of syllables that have this right do

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[19] 'Zur Akzent- und Lautlehre der germanischen Sprachen. I. Das Tieftongesetz außerhalb des Mittelhochdeutschen', *Beiträge*, 4 (1877), 522–39.

[20] Ein Wort, dem ein sprachlicher Nebenton auf der zweiten Silbe gebührt, kommt also in der zweitenHebung eines A-verses überhaupt nicht vorf, denn es müsste ja ... ein derartiges Wort auch zweihebig (als stärkere und schwächere Nebenhebung) gebraucht werden, wie dies in den 'verkürzten' E-versen: *bēag-hroden cwēn* B 624; *Sūð-Dena folc* B 463; *Norð-Denum stōd* B 784 ... der Fall ist.

[21] John Collins Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (2nd edn, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 368, Pope's E2.

[22] 'Betonungslehre', p. 129: 'dürfen wir, wenn anders die Dichter bei der Bildung ihrer Verse auf die wirkliche Betonung der gewöhnlichen Rede Rücksicht nehmen, nur solche Wörter finden, deren zweiter Silbe von urgermanischer Zeit her ein Nebenton zukam.'

not avail themselves of it. In the long centuries between the date of composition, in which Kaluza believed for these poems, and the date of the manuscript containing these poems, datable by palaeographers and codicologists, such contravening syllables crept in. Among examples given by Kaluza is the emended half-line 84a *þæt se ecghete* ('that the sword-hate'), the manuscript had *secghete* with the same meaning, which is no better as far as the final syllable is concerned; but the final syllable has not the right to bear a secondary lift: he says (p. 129) of line 84a (of which the second half reads *aþum swerian*, probably for some form of **aþumsweoran* 'son-in-law and father-in-law'): *die Stelle ist dunkel*, 'this passage is obscure'.[23] Kaluza places line 771b *þæt se win-sele* 'that the wine-hall' in the same section of his scansion; but here he is able to suggest that we should perhaps read *win-reced* (with identical meaning, cf. lines 714b and 993b); this compound has unimpugnable full stress (according to Kaluza) on the final syllable. Kaluza refers to several Old English poems, but has analysed only the first thousand lines of *Beowulf* for use in the Schade festschrift. His determination to find in the final syllable of disyllabic and multisyllabic words (disregarding, of course, syllables before the stressed root-syllable) full stress inherited from the Proto-Germanic and Indo-European stress system includes exceptions the importance of which he minimizes. He even includes words that go back in whole or in part to editors, not to the manuscripts. This is an insufficient statistical basis for any conclusion to be valid.

13. *Conclusion*

The more Kaluza insists on the rightness of his doctrine the less persuasive he seems. Some recent metrists have been persuaded more easily, perhaps because they have not read the whole of Kaluza's article in the Schade festschrift. They may have wished to be persuaded so that they could date some poems as very early, in agreement with a conclusion in dating that they had reached without having much to base it on. Kaluza, for all the work he has done, provides no firm foundation for scanning Old English verse as having four lifts to each half line, and that scansion is the essential basis for dating Old English poetry in accordance with his doctrine, a vicious circle or perhaps a chain of weak reasoning with more than one weak link.

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[23] The scansion is in his *Der altenglische Vers*, II 'Die Metrik des Beowulfliedes', p 31. (As indicated p. 29, Kaluza would scan line 84a: half-stress on *þæt*, no stress on *se*, full stress on *ecg*, half-stress on *het*, full stress on the final *e*.)

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[This bibliography refers to works both in my introduction to Kaluza's article in the Schade *festschrift* and to works in that article (Kaluza 1896). Kaluza did not give a bibliography. I hope that this bibliography, in alphabetical order, will help readers to find the works to which he refers. For ASPR see Krapp and Dobbie. EETS = Early English Text Society, o.s. = original series, s.s. = supplementary series.]

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THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH

4

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH,
I, Introduction and MS Junius 11

1.1 HENRY HOME, Lord Kames, is to be envied. In matters of taste and therefore in the appraisal of polite letters he, in his age, 1696-1782, could pronounce with certainty. Nine years after he had been raised to the bench, he dedicated to the king (Home, 1762: I, iii-iv) his great work of what might now be called literary theory, *Elements of Criticism*.[1] His long chapter 'Beauty of Language' contains a section on 'Versification' (Home, 1762: II, 353-463). English verse, from Milton onwards, Greek and Latin, French and Italian, for verse in these languages was the property of every gentleman. Milton is shown to have made 'happy use' (1762: II, 414) of enjambment; and Pope stands supreme in every aspect of poetry; Nicholas Rowe is briefly criticized (1762: II, 456), and Addison's *Rosamond An Opera* (Addison 1707) is praised (Home, 1762: II, 454-5). Shakespeare does not receive much mention in this section; perhaps he is not thought to have attained distinction, or that in those barbarous times he could not have attained distinction in polite letters. He is often mentioned in other sections, and, though often praised, he is not infrequently censured, censure that may be seen as summed in the observation about one of his significant errors in characterization (Home, 1762: III, 29): 'The fertility of Shakespear's vein betrays him frequently into this error.' A communion of taste is assumed throughout, and in matters of literary taste everything fundamental in the difference between verse and prose depends on the discernment of a good ear (1762: II, 412), 'that this ... holds true every good ear will bear testimony.'

1.2 It is very different when Old English is considered. Old English verse did not enter into literary criticism before the nineteenth century. Old English was simply not readily accessible to be criticized, for all the work of George Hickes

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[1] No doubt, the loyal dedication was partly in confirmation of where he stood after the rising of 1745, and perhaps in acknowledgement of the honour conferred on him when he was raised from the bar to the bench.

(1705, 1703).[2] Elizabeth Elstob, who dedicated her preface to Hickes, has a perfunctory section (1715: 66-9) in her *Grammar*, 'Of the *Saxon Poetry*', in which she refers to 'bold Figures', 'a kind of Rhime', that is, 'Words beginning alike', and 'Adonick Verse'.[3] Sensitiveness to poetic art is shown by her defence of monosyllables in English verse beginning with the poetry of 'Father Chaucer', and she continues to the poetry of her day (1715: xi-xxix).[4] She stresses (1715: xi-xii)

> that the ancient *Northern Languages*, do not wholly nor mostly consist of *Monosyllables*. I speak chiefly of the *Gothick, Saxon,* and *Teutonick*. It must be confest that in the *Saxon*, there are many *Primitive* Words of one Syllable, and this to those who know the Esteem that is due to Simplicity and Plainneβ, in any language, will rather be judged a Virtue than a Vice: That is, that the first Notions of things should be exprest in the plainest and simplest manner, and in the least compaβ: and the Qualities and Relations, by suitable Additions, and Composition of *Primitive* Words; for which the *Saxon* Language is very remarkable.

'The *Saxon*' was sufficiently understood for an appreciation of words enriched by affixation and compounding. It was not sufficiently understood for an appraisal, whether of censure or praise, of the 'one outstanding example of internal rhyme', namely, *Exodus* line 463b (Lucas, 1977: 43, 133): *flod blod gewod* (probably 'blood spread into the waters'). We do not know if 'outstanding' is to be interpreted as 'of exceptionally high quality' or less positively as 'prosodically unparalleled', and if that means in need of correction *metri causā*. Even as late as the early twentieth century, Blackburn (1907: xxxii, 58) confined himself to the comment on the half-line, 'quite in the style of our poet', without revealing in what respect it is quite in his style, and perhaps no more is meant than his 'vigor and energy' (praised in the Introduction) to be inferred from the triple internal rhyme, and the use of stressed monosyllables, the third of which is prefixed. Still, Blackburn was more appreciative than was Tolkien (Turville-Petre, 1981:70) who was vigorous in his condemnation of the line:

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[2] Especially, I, 177-222, ch. XXIII, 'De Poetica *Anglo-Saxonum*'.
[3] *OED* has only one quotation (of 1678) for the adjective *adonic*, and defines it as 'of a metre, consisting of a dactyl and spondee', following the meaning of French *vers adonique, vers adonien* (cf. Wartburg (1928–, vol. XXIV fascicle 137; 1973), 176). That sense is thought by Elstob applicable to *Rodera waldend* (which occurs frequently in the extant verse, also spelt *rodora*).
[4] This is subtler than Home, who, 45 years later than Elstob, has a general condemnation of monosyllables in English verse (Home, 1762: II, 385, and especially 421): 'English verse accordingly is almost totally reduced to dissyllables and monosyllables.'

> *Flod blod gewod*: the noisy exaggeration is a specimen in little of the faulty handling of this scene. Presumably *blod* is the subject. We need not to increase his fault by translating *gewod* as 'pervaded', which would indeed have required an intolerable deal of gore. When the verb is transitory, it means simply 'enter into'.

In an antitypical understanding, the crossing of the Red Sea is baptismal for the Israelites, and is the Last Judgement for the Egyptians (cf. Lucas, 1977: 55-6). The scene is momentous: did not those slain Egyptians the multitudinous seas incarnadine so that this Sea has ever since been called Red? 'Noisy exaggeration', 'faulty handling' are inappropriate response to a poet's setting forth one of the greatest events of *Heilsgeschichte*, in the Old Testament the greatest event after the Fall of Man: to realize it the poet makes use of the prosodic means available to him, triple internal rhyme, and thunderous stress on each of the rhyming syllables. Yet all such negative and positive reactions to the sounds of Old English verse are subjective. When, late in the nineteenth century, we come to the scansion of Old English Anglo-Saxonists felt that facts are staring at them as they contemplate the printed pages of edited texts.

 1.3 In the scholarship of Anglo-Saxonists who wrote on metre in English it took time for the long line, rather than the half-line, to be recognized, rightly or wrongly, as the standard unit of verse. Miss Elstob's recognition (1715: 68) of 'a kind of Rhime' (though end-rhyme is rare in Old English) remained fundamental because it tied the two half-lines into what might be regarded as a couplet, that is, into a long line. *Judith*, lines 15-27, was the first piece of Old English verse to be printed in long lines, influentially so by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (1812: 43), whose very title stressed that they had presented and edited Germanic verse in its own metre.[5] Stichic half-line poetic discourse is found in the description of the drowning of the Egyptian host, *Exodus* lines 458b-465a (Lucas, 1977: 132-3, but punctuated by me to show the syntactic, half-line disconnectedness):

<blockquote>

    Þær ær wegas lagon
  mere modgode. Mægen wæs adrenced.
  Streamas stodon. Storm up gewat
  heah to heofonum, herewopa mæst.

</blockquote>

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[5] The Brothers Grimm took the text from Thwaites's edition (1698: II, 21), a work dedicated to Hickes. Thwaites text of the poem is printed continuously as if prose, as in the manuscript.

Laðe cyrmdon.   Lyft up geswearc
    fægum stæfnum.   Flod blod gewod.
    Randbyrig wæron rofene.   Rodor swipode
    meredeaða mæst.

[Where there had been paths, the sea raged. The mighty army was drowned. The waters stood high. Storm rose up to the heavens above, the greatest of roars of the army. The hated ones cried out. The air grew dark above with doomed voices. Blood spread into the waters. The enclosing ramparts were broken. The greatest of marine disasters lashed the sky.]

As always in translating verse, and especially always in translating *Exodus*, many details are insecure. Robinson (1970: 106; 1993b: 148) writes appreciatively of lines 462b-463a): 'Certainly the *Exodus* poet did not shrink from mingling the senses in order to gain a striking dictional effect; describing the horror and confusion of the overwhelmed Egyptian soldiers...'. This statement emphasizes the 'striking dictional effect'; I wish to stress the striking prosodic effect of the poet's description of the end of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea. The language is as violent as the scene — Tolkien (Turville-Petre 1981: 71) speaks of 'the queer strange language', but what matters for this paper is that the rhythms, metrically based, seem unusual too: if only we knew, as Home (1762: II, 354) thought he knew of the poetry of his age, how to go beyond systematized metrics, how 'instead of rules, the ear must be appealed to as the proper judge'; and later on that page, if only we knew how an Anglo-Saxon might have distinguished in contemporary poetry what Home found, in the difference between prose and verse, 'readily distinguishable by every one who hath an ear' in the poetry of his age. More usually in Old English poetry there is a less stichic form of discourse. The sentence often begins mid-line. The half-line is not usually the syntactic unit, the self-contained sentence.

1.4 A single half-line, with no second half-line joined to it in alliteration, is a more extreme metrical anomaly, a greater irregularity, than a half-line sentence. See the important article by Bliss (1971), in which he lists some seemingly broken lines in the Old English *Maxims I* as conformable to another inherited triadic pattern of Germanic verse. I am not sure about the inheritance; but I am sure that in these *Maxims* and elsewhere such patterns occur. [6] There are many seemingly broken lines, single half-lines lacking a second half-line, in the transmitted Old

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[6] I do not accept all of Bliss's lines as single, and I think some lines in MS Junius 11 are single half-lines though not listed as such by him (1971: 447).

English verse. Are all such lines wrong, and, if wrong, in need of correction? The verse seems broken, perhaps the fault of scribes, perhaps the poets' *insouciance* to what is a major fault in the eyes and ears of metricists of the last 150 years or so, who often supply a half-line to correct what they regard as a metrical deficiency. Every line rejected by modern metricists as imperfect invites the questions, was the poet, was the poet's Anglo-Saxon audience as concerned with metrical rigour as is the modern metricist who rejects, and therefore 'corrects', the transmitted text. The activity of Anglo-Saxonists as of other Germanists since the time of the Brothers Grimm is based on faith based on the belief, amounting to an article of faith, that the heritage of alliterative metre was regular in its rhythmical prosody. The poets composed with sensitive ear to conform to that regularity; the scribes lacked that sensitivity, so that every emendation of the scribally transmitted text sought to restore the metricality of the poet's ur-text. It was, in that myth, a shared metricality: the poets who wrote Old English single half-lines, as in the *Maxims* of the Anglo-Saxons, were coheritors of a verse form of which the Old Icelandic poets who wrote in *ljóðaháttr* stanzas had also availed themselves. That such broken lines might be invented at any time separately by the poets of any of the Germanic peoples is not part of that scholarly tradition. That perhaps such independent invention might be the result of a poetic lack of rigour rather than of scribal lack of care with the ur-text was also a thought alien to that scholarly tradition.

That scholarly tradition did not envisage the possibility that total prosodic uniformity might not apply to all Old English verse as collected in the standard collections: by Grein (1857, 1858), by Wül(c)ker (1883, 1894) and Assmann (Wülker,1898) revising Grein, and by Krapp and Dobbie (ASPR, I-V, 1931-1953). In enterprise and accuracy their editions are great achievements; to my mind Grein's is the greatest achievement for he never had the opportunity to see any of the manuscripts the texts of which he was editing so learnedly. Whether such prosodic uniformity is justified was questioned by Bliss (1971) for the *Maxims*, and by Brandl (1881) for the poetry in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 201.

By editing all Old English verse in long lines a uniformity is forced on to it that may not be wholly appropriate for some of the shorter texts such as those of the charms that are identified as metrical. When Kemble (1849: I, 530-1) edited *For a Sudden Stitch* he still used the earlier way of presenting verse in half-lines, Hudibrastically as that form is sometimes called. It works well for a passage like lines 20-4, which in ASPR VI (1942: 122) look thus:[7]

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[7] In all quotations I editorial details are not reproduced; punctuation, length-marks, etc. are not followed; and the texts of older editions are standardized in line with current editorial practice; thus older German

Gif ðu wære on fell scoten oððe wære on flæsc scoten

oððe wære on blod scoten

oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne sy ðin lif atæsed;

gif hit wære esa gescot oððe hit wære ylfa gescot

oððe hit wære hægtessan gescot, nu ic wille ðin helpan.

[If you have been shot in (your) skin or have been shot in (your) flesh or shot in (your) blood or shot in a limb, may your life never be struck down. If it be the shot of the gods or (if) it be the shot of elves or (if) it be the shot of witches, I will help you.]

This passage is not untypical of the Metrical Charms in its prosodic freedom. Line 21 is a single half-line, and there is some correctly placed alliteration in three of the lines, though not in line 24b where *h* alliteration comes too late. Most prominent is the use of the syllable *scot*, four times in *scoten*, three times in *gescot*. I do not know if such repetition is incantatory; what is clear is that the repetition is shown more strikingly in Kemble's edition (1849: I, 531), in which the charm is printed in half-lines:

gif ðu wære on fell scoten,

oððe wære on flæsc scoten,

oððe wære on blod scoten,

oððe wære on lið scoten,

næfre ne sy ðin lif atæsed;

gif hit wære esa gescot,

oððe hit wære ylfa gescot,

oððe hit wære hægtessan gescot;

nu ic wille ðin helpan!

In this printed arrangement, as, no doubt, in any phrasal recitation or incantation the seven hemistichs, the last stressed syllable of each of which is *scot*, there is prosodic emphasis that goes beyond the alliterative regularity modern metricists of Old English verse admire.

1.5 A list of some of these broken lines, lines like *For a Sudden Stitch*, line 21 (lines lacking alliteration or allowing alliteration to fall on a syllable metricists think

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editors use *v* for wynn reproduced now by *w*, and *ä* is used for (short) *æ*, but these details are not usually followed in this paper.

incorrect, is perhaps a worthwhile compilation; and that is the subject of this study. Wülker (1883, 1894, and 1898 with Assmann) is a more convenient collection of verse texts for such a compilation than ASPR (1931-1953), for Krapp and Dobbie pursued a policy of not disfiguring the printed page by the use of square brackets to enclose words supplied editorially and italics for editorial changes; though they did use three or more dots to indicate a suspected lacuna. I follow the order and the line-numbering of texts as in ASPR I to VI.

2.1 In ASPR order *Genesis A* comes first. Like almost all Old English verse, *Genesis A* is metrically not as strict in its scansion as *Beowulf*, and the general point made by Sievers (1885: 458) in connection with metrically short half-lines may be right: the poems of MS Junius 11 are not always carefully written or copied. We do not know if the rhythmical pointing is authorial or scribal, and yet it does provide some guidance how to split the texts into half-lines, in the hope of combining two of the half-lines into alliterating long lines. It is not always possible to do so. Sometimes it may be possible, by ignoring manuscript pointing, to attach what is pointed as a single half-line to the preceding line, more often to attach it to the following line. The lengthened half-line so produced may constitute a hypermetric line, the scansion of which is insecure; that is, no single system of scanning hypermetric lines has met with universal acceptance.[8] But then it could be said that no system of scanning Germanic normal verse has met with universal acceptance.

2.2. Line 186, which begins p. 10 of the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927): *þa wæs Adames bryd*. Krapp, ASPR I (1931: 163), says, 'Something is needed to complete the line and the sense here.'[9] Doane (1978: 237) rightly says, 'There is no gap in the sense, however.' The name of Adam's bride, Eve, is not given in *Genesis A* before line 918, but then we lack the part of the poem covered by *Genesis B* (Doane, 1991: 207-31). In support of the likelihood that Eve was not named in the lines up to line 234 (after which *Genesis B* begins) it is relevant that she is not named in the Vulgate before Genesis 3:20, and that is long after line 234 of the poem. Corrections supplying a half-line variously expressing 'named Eve', or naming her, therefore, lack validity. In the half-line following line 186 Adam's bride is endued with, or brought to completion with, a soul, *gaste gegearwod*. The

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[8] Important among them: Sievers, 1887; Pope, 1966: 97-158; Bliss, 1967: 88-97, 129-34, 162-8; Hutcheson, 1967: 88-97, 129-34, 162-8.

[9] Similarly Stévanovitch (1992: I, 262; II, 468); in the apparatus (I, 262) she quotes Grein's invented half-line (1857: 6), *þe God Eue nemde*. She follows editors earlier than Doane (1978: 238) when she says (II, 468): 'il y manque au moins un hémistiche'.

naming comes later in the biblical account of Eve. One might think of borrowing *ælfscieno mæg* from lines 1827a and 2731 (with changed word-order) to provide a second half-line, but at the point of God breathing a soul into her, one should not be thinking of her body, especially not with reference to elfin beauty, perhaps ultimately a pagan thought. The text may well be complete as it stands. It is noteworthy that line 186 shares in the vocalic alliteration of the preceding line. The line is listed by Bliss, 1971: 447.

2.3 Line 1022: *Him þa Cain andswarode*. Thorpe (1832: 62 line 30)[10] does not emend; nor does Doane (1978: 127), who splits off *andswarode* as a second half-line, noting, however, that the manuscript pointing does not support that scansion, and his Commentary (1978: 248) draws attention to what he considers to be other irregularities. Holthausen (1914: 15, 93 *Anmerkung*) comparing lines 872 (his line 255) and 2187 (his line 1571) supplies *ædre* before *Cain* in his line 405, with the verb forming the second half-line.[11] This emendation is persuasive, and has been accepted by Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 33 and 173): of course, we cannot be sure if that is what the poet wrote.

2.4 Lines 1125-6 are pointed in the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 55): . *nigenhund wintra . ond XXX eac . þa he þas woruld*. It is difficult to accommodate proper names, and especially numbers in alliterative verse; Stévanovitch (1992: II, 502-4) has a good account of the problem. Krapp, ASPR I (1931: 36), wisely leaves *nigenhund wintra* unsupported by a second half-line. *XXX* = *þritig* alliterates with *þas*, and similarly line 1120 *XXX ... þisses lifes*. The pronouns are emphasizes, 'this life', 'this world', and that has the authority of lines 197, 790, and 806 in the metrically strict *Beowulf* (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, 2008: 8, 29) as well as of *Genesis A* lines 1600, 2452 (ASPR I, 1931: 49, 73), *Guthlac A* line 74, *Phoenix* line 151, *Gifts of Men* line 19 (ASPR III, 1936: 51, 98, 137); for alliteration on þ in *þas woruld* cf. *Guthlac A* line 125, *Phoenix* line 501, *Deor* line 31 (ASPR III, 1936: 53, 108, 179), and *Paris Psalter* Ps. 54.8.2 (ASPR V, 1932: 5). Bliss (1971: 447), lists *Genesis A* line 1125 (ASPR I (1931: 36).

2.5 Line 1199: there is no second half-line, as is not unusual in this poem; Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 170, note on line 703) draws attention to lines 1125 [see above], 1199 and 1601 [see below]. Earlier editors (and commentators) supply a half-line, or at least note that, in their view, a half-line is missing; so still Stévanovitch (1992:

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[10] Followed by Bouterwek (1854, 1850: I, 41) line 1019, its half-lines differently analysed.
[11] Thus first, Graz, 1894: 80) and again (according to Krapp, ASPR I, 1931: 173), 1896: 67-77, at p. 70, which I have not seen. Stévanovitch (1992: I, 318) follows Graz.

I, 330), who in her apparatus quotes the half-lines added by Dietrich (1856: 321, his line 1194), *dæge sine*, and Grein (1857: 32), *dædrof hæle*.

2.6 Line 1601: in what Wülker (1894: 391) and Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 49) print as one single long line, three half-lines, alliterating on *f*, are involved as pointed in the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 78). Line 1600 begins the number 350 which is completed as the second half-line of 1601: *ðreo hund wintra . þisses lifes . freo men æfter flode . & fiftig eac . þa he forð gewat .* 'three hundred winters of this life, free men since the Flood, and fifty more when he departed'. Thorpe (1832: 96 line 28) followed by Bouterwek (1854: 64 his line 1595), Grein (1857: 42), and later by Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 49) line 1601b, has as a single second half-line with double alliteration on *f*: *& fiftig eac þa he forð gewat.* Grein (followed by Wülker, 1894: 391, but in square brackets only) inserts, without authority from the manuscript, a fitt number, with the result that, in Grein's eyes, line 1602 begins a new fitt. In the manuscript, (Gollancz, 1927: 75), fitt XXIIII begins at line 1555, and, p. 79, fitt XXV begins at line 1637; a fitt of 82 lines is not unusually long. Grein's invented fitt numbering ignores the manuscript arrangement. Sievers follows Grein in believing that *þa he forð gewat* closes a fitt, though Thorpe (1832: 94 and 98) had shown the correct placing of fitt numbering. Sievers (1893: 145-6, § 98 [mainly on *Maxims I*, ASPR III, 1936: 156-63]) a year before the appearance of Wülker's revision of Grein, suggested that at the end of a fitt these three half-lines may conform to the stanzaic form of the Old Icelandic *ljóðaháttr*. Doane (1991: 78-9) calls this form 'triplets'. Bliss (1971: 446), centrally on the Exeter *Maxims I*, bases his article on this concept, and gives more examples in verse other than gnomic verse. If right, as I believe Bliss to be (though I doubt if he and Sievers are right to think of Old Icelandic verse forms when the Old English lines accommodate numbers), this metrical triad inevitably leaves the third half-line 'single'. Holthausen (1914: 37) emends *freomen*, adds a first half-line, and tinkers with the second half-line, but has had no followers. It is always a pleasure to read Ernst A. Kock's ironic comments; for example (1922a: X, 186) on those who seek to emend, unnecessarily, in Kock's opinion (with which I usually agree), and at the same time think ill of colleagues who also seek to emend, but differently; Kock is commenting on six Old English long lines (including *Genesis* line 1601) and one long line in *Heliand*, and writes [the bracketed words are added by me]:

> Of course, these [unemended lines] will not do in Leipzig, Bonn, or
> Kiel, for either they contain 'zu wenig' [too little] or 'zu viel' [too

much].[12] One 'Kenner' [authority] adds some words, who subtly thinks he can, another simply 'tilgt' [deletes], a third 'nimmt Lücken an' … [presumes *lacunae*…] Holthausen says somewhere of Trautmann: 'Es ist doch bezeichnend, dass die Durchführung seiner Theorie eine ungeheure Masse von Textänderungen erfordert. Sie geht nicht von den überlieferten Tatsachen, d. h. von den Texten aus, sondern von einer vorgefassten Meinung, und tut der Überlieferung beständig Gewalt an.' [It is indeed significant that putting his theory into practice requires a gigantic quantity of textual emendations. It does not start from the transmitted facts, i.e. from the texts, but from a preconceived opinion, and constantly does violence to the transmitted text.] This is an amusing instance of the pot calling the kettle black. The words themselves are, indeed, as sound and sensible as G. Neckel's statement in the introduction to his edda: 'Mehr als die Textkritik aus der Metrik kann die Metrik aus der Überlieferung lernen.' [Metrics can learn more from the transmitted texts than textual criticism can learn from metrics.]

2.7   Line 1929: Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 185) has a good note to explain why editors and commentators felt the need to supply a half-line, alliterating, and with a verb to govern *æhte sine*, acc. sg. or pl. (nom. pl. might be possible, but is unlikely in view of other uses of the noun in this poem). It might be possible, syntactically, to take *æhte sine* as the object of *geceas* 'selected … his possessions'; but the sense of the verb *geceas* 'selected' seems strained, and since in this poem *æhte* is used three times with *lædan* (lines 1767, 1873, 2622) emendation commends itself, perhaps in the fullest form, as in Grein (1857: 50) *lædde eall þider* preceding *æhte sine*, rather than more economically *lædde ealle* as the first half-line (with Krapp, ASPR I, 1931: 58; Stévanovitch, 1992: I, 376, II, 568), or Kock (1922b: 19), *lædde eadig*; or *ealle lædde* as the second half-line (with Holthausen, 1914: 49).

2.8   Line 1956 lacks alliteration: *mon for metode . þe him æfter a.* Doane (1978: 294-5) speaks of 'the shabby condition of the whole passage', and 'shabby' presumably refers to the state of the text, not to the state of the manuscript; he refuses to join the editors who 'repair in various ways' the alliteration. The phrase

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[12] Leipzig is, of course, Sievers, Bonn is Trautmann, and Kiel is Holthausen. In 1922 these were the universities identified with these three well-known scholars. If one were to name university cities at the end of the twentieth or the beginning of the twenty-first centuries one would perhaps think of places in the British Isles and in the United States, where emendatory ingenuity flourishes among Old English textual scholars, rather than in Germany.

æfter a occurs here only (in verse or prose) and *a æfter* occurs only twice, in two charters: *æfter a* would be suspect even if it alliterated with *mon for metode* in the first half-line, and if that were to alliterate on a vowel, and not on *m*, double alliteration would still be suspect. As also in other poems, the adverb *a* alliterates in *Genesis A* lines 7b, 915b, 1607a (ASPR I, 1931: 3, 30, 49), and is in the final non-alliterating lift in line 2700b: *freonda feasceaft . ic þæs færes a* (ASPR I, 1931: 80). Alliteration on *æfter* occurs in *Genesis A* in lines 1067 (in double alliteration with *Iarede*), 1450, 2178, 2184, 2450, so that line 1956 looks very anomalous (ASPR I, 1931: 34, 45, 2178, 73; 59). It is likely that *mon for metode* stands alone, as a single half-line; and that *þe him æfter . a* forms part of the next half-line with *þe him æfter a þurh gemynda sped*, but the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 92) has a point between *æfter* and *a þurh*. If the manuscript pointing is significant, as I believe it to be, there is no such phrase in Old English poetry as *æfter a*, and in modern punctuation we should read *þe him æfter, a þurh gemynda sped, mod ond dædum …*; Wülker (1894: 405) presents the line:

> mon for metode, þe him æfter . . . a

There is glaringly no solution in that presentation, nor in Krapp's or Doane's editions, in which the second half-line is given as *þe him æfter a*, ignoring the manuscript pointing by joining up *æfter a* as if some phrase like Modern English 'ever after'. In line 1957b Doane (1978: 173) rightly takes *mod* as *mode* with elision before the vowel of *ond*. The only textual problem is the placing of *þe him æfter* in lines 1956-7. It may be noted that the two lines alliterate on *m*. That may be compared with lines 1873-5 (ASPR I, 1931:57), three lines with vocalic alliteration: though rare, it is not illicit for alliteration to be shared by adjacent lines. The words *mon for metode* form a single half-line, without a second half-line to form a long line. As usually edited, *þurh gemynda sped* is the next half-line, Type B in Sievers's scansion: × × / × /, if *a* is thought to precede to form a trisyllabic dip that too is not illicit. If, however, *þe him æfter* were thought to precede this trisyllabic dip it would form a dip of seven syllables. Bliss's tabulation of hypermetric verses shows that there are parallels in Old English verse in *The Dream of the Rood* lines 42a, 61a, *Guthlac* line 376a, *Maxims I* line 47b; and *Solomon and Saturn* line 453b has a dip of eight unstressed syllables.[13] These five half-lines may make the reading of line 1956 permissible as:

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[13] See Bliss, 1967: 162-8; cf. Pope, 1966: 144-7; Bliss uses ASPR line numbers, Pope uses a variety of editions. On hypermetric and other lines of varying length cf. Stanley, 2009: 33-7.

> þe him æfter a þurh gemynda sped   mod' ond dædum

Bliss (1967: 88) says 'hypermetric verses … usually occur in groups of lines, but single lines and even single verses [i.e., half-lines] are sometimes found.' When they come in groups, or when a pair forms a long line, they may safely be regarded as hypermetric, even though the scansion of hypermetric lines is still not fully understood. When they come as single half-lines, however, that classification may not be apposite; yet the occasional existence of such long isolated half-lines may justify my interpretation. Whether such isolated hypermetric lines would have been distinguishable as faulty in taste or metre by the good ear of poet, scribe, or member of the original audience is a matter of literary speculation.

2.9 Lines 2045-8. '[N]o material is missing,' says Doane (1978: 177, apparatus), and that though one leaf has been cut out between *Him þa*, the last words on (Gollancz, 1927) p. 94, and the first words on p. 95, *abraham gewat .* ond *þa eorlas þry.* Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 62) and Doane (1978: 177) give line 2047 as a broken line, a single half-line listed as such by Bliss (1971: 447). Line 2045 is regular in every way, but the three half-lines that follow, long line 2046 and single half-line 2047, are far from regular. Holthausen (1914: 54), ever rejoicing in the luxury of conjecture, *konjekturfreudig*, as Hoops (1932: 2) calls him, produces the following two line (his lines 1430-1), ignoring his diacritics:

> þe him [tornum] ær   treowe sealdon,
> mid heora *mægne*[s] getrume: wolde his mæg huru,

Without emendation, these lines, written out here as three half-lines, do not alliterate satisfactorily:

> þe him ær treowe sealdon
> mid heora folce getrume
> wolde his mæg huru

Adventurously, the wording in these lines might be rearranged to produce the following lines, with *wolde his mæg huru* remaining as a broken line (and is listed by Bliss, 1971: 447):

> þe him ær mid heora getrume folce[s]   treowe sealdon,

> wolde his mæg huru

þe him ær mid heora getrume folce[s] remains suspect: a Sievers Type C line, with seven syllables in the dip cannot be paralleled, whether or not the first lift is resolved as here, not even in *Genesis B* (cf. Hutcheson, 1995: 224-6). With *folce* emended to a genitival form, it should be pointed out that it is unusual for the genitive to follow the noun it governs, but occasionally it does so, for example, at *Juliana* line 661b (ASPR III, 1936: 132) *ende lifes* (that *ende* is here acc. sg. is probably relevant). It is doubtful if this rearrangement of the words of these lines, with *folces* emended to *folce*, is truly a solution. I offer it as, perhaps, better than other imperfect attempts to correct the transmitted text, transmitted faultily probably because of the excision of a leaf of the manuscript.

2.10 Line 2055: *þæt h[i]e on twa healfe.* Except here, *healf* (usually inflected) occurring in long lines, is always stressed, and often alliterates. These words, with manuscript pointing before and after them (Gollancz 1927: 95), must stand as a single half-line, and they are treated so by Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 62) and Doane (1978: 179), who believes (1978: 299) that the scribe 'is still sleepy', to justify the emendation to *hie*,[14] but does not comment on the single half-line, listed by Bliss (1971: 447). Grein (1857: 54), followed by Holthausen (1914: 54, his line 1439), emends, to complete an alliterating first half-line, by adding **tirlice* 'gloriously', but neither the adverb nor its adjective is recorded.

2.11 Line 2143, *þe ic me agan wille* is preceded by a half-line metrically one syllable short, striking to any metrist, and perhaps significant: *nis woruldfeoh*. It seemed noteworthy to Graz (1894: 86), who put it among a small number of half-lines that could not be scanned according to his system,[15] and it certainly seemed significant to the *korrekturfreudig* Holthausen, who corrected it by turning *feoh* into genitive *feos*, disyllabic because contracted, and he invented a half-line beginning with *ænig*, designed to govern the supposititious *woruldfeos*. Though in connection with quite different cases of half-lines, short because the second lift of a Type A line is resolved, Sievers (1885: 458) generalizes that we should not

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[14] So also Bouterwek (1854: 80), Grein (1857: 54), and Holthausen (1914: 54, his line 1439).

[15] Graz's list of unscannable half-lines includes 1209a (a syllable short), 1645a (a syllable short), 2120a (a Sievers Type B3, [Sievers, 1893: 33-4 § 16, 2, 133 § 85,3]), 2227a (a syllable short), 2322a (a syllable short, and 2603a (faulty alliteration), and second half-lines (ignoring his list of half-lines which, had they existed, would have formed the other half of a single half-line) 1547-8 (see Doane, 1978: 276-7, for an attempt to fit four names into two long lines),1956b (see above), 2142b (discussed here), 2538b (a Sievers Type A3, out of place as a second half-line), 2603 (much unnecessarily emended, and discussed by Sievers, 1885: 513), and 2695b (Sievers, 1885: 312, Type 'F'; cf. Fulk, Bjork, and Niles [2008: 234] for discussions of *lissa gelong*, *Beowulf* line 2150a).

overlook the fact that such metrically short half-lines occur relatively often in the poems of MS Junius 11, so that one should not exclude the thought that these texts suffered more major corruptions. Another thought should not be excluded, in contradiction of Sievers and other strict metricists, that the authors of the 'Cædmonian' poems were less strict in their handling of metre than the poet of *Beowulf*, the analysis of whose metre underlies much of our understanding of the metre of Old English poetry in general: there may be more than just one single Germanic standard of metrical regularity in the extant verse of the Anglo-Saxons.

2.12 Lines 2147, 2149-50: the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 98) has: . *sodoma rice . ac þu most heonon . huðe lædan . þe ic þe æt hilde gesloh. Sodoma rice* perhaps a broken line (not listed by Bliss, 1978: 447); the accommodation of foreign names leads to occasional irregularity in Old English verse. Wülker (1894: 413, with the unnecessary emendation of *rice* to *rices*), treats *Sodoma rice*s as a single half-line. He treats the following twelve words as a single long line alliterating on *h*, with its first half hypermetric, but the manuscript point after *heonon* is against that scansion:

ac þu most heonon huðe lædan,   þe ic þe æt hilde gesloh

The emendation of *rice* to *rices* (first in Grein, 1857: 56) is unnecessary, as Doane (1978: 302) says; its case is 'parallel to *willgesteallum*', probably also to *ærgestreonum.* The whole of this area of text is metrically very insecure; in the following quotation of lines 2146b-2150, the punctuation is perhaps the most consistent with the metre and the manuscript pointing that can be contrived. There is no point in the manuscript between the words *wurde willgesteallum*, and the words *þæt ic wurde* are insufficient for a half-line with alliteration on *w*. It seems best, therefore, to regard *þæt ic wurde willgesteallum* as a hypermetric single half-line, though none of the editors seems disturbed by the metrical insufficiency of the first three words as a half-line.

Þy læs þu eft cweðe
þæt ic wurde willgesteallum
eadig on eorðan   ærgestreonum
Sodoma rice.   Ac þu most heonon
huðe lædan   þe ic þe æt hilde gesloh
[lest you should say afterwards that I have become rich on earth by with companions in pleasure, with ancient treasures, with the realm of the

Sodomites.[16] But you are able to bring from here the booty which I have won for you in battle.]

Line 2149 has no alliteration, unless supplied by emendation, *se(o)lfa* (Grein, 1865: 417) has found favour, and for greater neatness some leave off *heonon*; cf. Holthausen (1914: 57), but by his time there was a rich tradition of editorial imaginativeness, as Krapp's note (ASPR I, 1931: 187), well records.[17]

2.13 Line 2441, *Þa to fotum Loth*, begins a new manuscript page (Gollancz, 1927: 112), and that is no reason for doubting the textual transmission. Thorpe (1832: 147) had noted that there was no alliterative second half-line; Bouterwek (1854: 93) added *on foldan*. Holthausen (1914: 69) follows Grein (1857: 64, also accepted by Graz (1894: 80), who invented a line that scans: *Þa to fotum feoll on foldan Loth*. Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 73) and Doane (1978: 197) accept the manuscript reading as a single half-line, and that is listed by Bliss (1971: 447). Wülker (1894: 424) comments that in the manuscript no gap is noticeable. The same is true of the sense: there is no gap.

2.14 Lines 2600-1. The manuscript pointing is better represented in Wülker's arrangement of these lines (1894: 430, his lines 2598-9, but he adds three dots to indicate some loss) than in that of the later editors: *hie dydon swa druncnum* is a single half-line, and the next long-line is *eode seo yldre to . ær on reste* 'they did thus to the drunken one, the elder one went first on to (his) bed.' To join up manuscript *druncnum . eode* is less satisfactory than to take *eode seo yldre to* as the next half-line, in agreement with the manuscript pointing. Bliss (1971: 447) does not list *hie dydon swa druncnum* as a single half-line, presumably accepting Krapp's reading (ASPR I, 1931: 77), and his note (p. 192) gives earlier emendations, as does Wülker's apparatus (1894: 430). Graz (1894: 86) lists line 2600 (his line 2598) as one of the very few lines he has not been able to accept or correct.

2.15 Line 2602-4: here *b* and *f* play a uniting role in alliterating, though, as pointed in the manuscript, both *hwonne him fæmnan to* and *bryde him bu wæron* are single half-lines, the alliteration of which is not shared by a second half-line (the manuscript, Gollancz, 1927: 123, has a point after *to*):

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[16] An earlier rendering of lines 2146b-2149a was given and defended (Stanley, 1986: 195) as: 'so that you shall not reply that I have become happy on earth with comrades in pleasure, with rich old indulgences, with the kingdom of the Sodomites.'

[17] For Graz (1896: 75, which I have not seen) Graz's earlier statement (1894: 80) to the same effect, might have been used by Krapp.

> heora **b**ega **fæ**der   ne wiste **b**londenfeax
> hwonne him **fæ**mnan to
> **b**ryde him **b**u wæron
> on **f**erhð̆cofan   **fæ**ste genearwot

Doane (1978: 313-14) has a good note. The first line and the last are not translated by him, and they present no real difficulty, the translation of the two half-lines in the middle are given here as translated by Doane (except that I add 'to him' for the second occurrence of *him*): 'the father of both of them, grey-haired, did not know when the women both were with him as a bride to him, firmly constrained [by drink] in the recess(es) of (his) mind.' In sense there is in these lines no deep-seated corruption; as Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 193) says, 'There is no indication of loss in the MS., and no change is necessary, except possibly the omission of *him* in l. 2603a.' It might seem that two broken lines in succession, each with *him* are very unlikely, and the two broken lines are not well joined up into a long line: *hwonne him fæmnan to bryde him bu wæron.* With double alliteration (on *b*) the second of the two single lines is not likely to be a second half-line in a long line. No wonder then that editors have variously reconstructed and emended this passage, yet none of their suggestions is persuasive. I wonder if the alliterative packaging of *b* and *f* does not present a prosodic configuration different from the customary long line: lines 2603a and 2603b are to be accepted as single half-lines, constituted as in Doane's lineation and as above, in line with the manuscript pointing.

   2.16 Lines 2647-8. Bliss (1971: 446) arranges these lines:

> modge**þ**ance,   and him miltse to **þ**e
>   se**c**eð?   Me **s**ægde ær . . .

It is unlikely to have been misprinted in the article since it corresponds to the arrangement in Wülker (1894: 432, but he has dots to indicate a loss before *seceð*). or since Bliss may have sought to classify these lines as close to the form of the *ljóðaháttr* stanza. In the manuscript *to þe seceð* is pointed as a separate unit, and it seems wrong to split off *seceð*, though *and him miltse* is not a satisfactory second half-line. Since it is common for the last lift of the second half-line to share in the alliteration of the following line, my inclination is to treat *and him miltse to þe seceð?* as the second half-line alliterating on *m*, its final lift leads to *s* alliteration in the next line, *Me sægde ær*, a single half-line. In *Beowulf* no second half-line identical in scansion with *and him miltse to þe seceð* is to be found; such a half-

line seems to require double alliteration, possible only in a first half-line (cf. Pope, 1966: 255, his Type A 23). The scansion of *Genesis A* is less strict, and a half-line with disyllabic anacrusis and trisyllabic middle dip may be thought permissible in a second half-line, the second lift of which begins with the letter that forms the alliteration of the next half-line. That is, however, a single half-line: *Me sægde ær*, pointed as a half-line in the manuscript. The lineation should be probably be:

> modgeþance,   and him miltse to þe seceð?
> Me sægde ær
> þæt wif hire   wordum selfa
> unfricgendum   …

[in the thought of (his) mind, and does he seek mercy for himself from thee? In her words, unasked by me, the woman herself had said to me …]

In the first of these lines *m* alliterates, and the *s* of *seceð* introduces the *s* of *sægde*: the non-alliterating second lift of the second half-line often introduces the alliteration of the following line. Here there may be a further alliterative subtlety. The single half-line *Me sægde ær* may require special stress on *Me*, and chimes with the alliteration of the preceding line; that may help to explain the prosody of the single half-line.[18]

2.17   Line 2810. Recent editors are content to leave the single half-line as it stands, *and þin mod trymeð*, but earlier Grein (1857: 73), followed by Holthausen (1914: 83), supplied a second half-line, *mago Ebrea*, by conjecture; or they indicated the loss of a half-line, thus Kock (1922a: 87). Bliss (1971: 447) lists line 2810 unemended.

3.1   In *Genesis B* there appear to be, at most, two single half-lines, and that though the metre is looser than that of *Genesis A*, more like that of Old Saxon verse, of which it is of course a translation. *Genesis B* has been edited more frequently than *Genesis A*, and I make no attempt to discuss all editorial variants, though I try to give the earliest or most influential of emendations. It could be said that the history of scholarship of *Genesis B* is in little a history of the modern scholarship of West Germanic. It begins (after the *editio princeps,* Junius, 1655: 6-21), followed much later by the, on the whole, faithful transcription by Thorpe

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[18] In *Beowulf,* a metrically more exact poem than any in MS Junius 11, *me* bears the alliterative stress at line 563b; cf. Stanley, 1989: 329-30.

(1832). Then Bouterwek (1854) did well before the systematization of German metre. Next, Grein's grasp was comprehensive (1857), and he wished to perfect what seemed to him imperfectly transmitted (though, alas, he never saw the manuscript evidence at first hand). Rieger's wide-ranging understanding (1861: 108-15, extracts only), is now all but forgotten in the English-speaking world of scholarship. Sievers's early display (1875) of unrivalled brilliance is admiringly remembered in all Germanic scholarship.[19] Wülker's conservative revision (1894) of Grein (1857) is of value still. Zangemeister and Braune (1894: 43 = 243) were the first to print *Genesis B*, lines 790-820, in parallel with the beginning of the Old Saxon text, and proved Sievers's scholarship right. Piper (1897: 460-86) was the first to print these texts, which he himself had seen in manuscript. The new century saw several editions designed for students, Behaghel (1903: 211-34), and many later editions, Klaeber (1931; 1st edn 1913), Timmer (1948), Whitelock's revision (1967: 127-35), of the extract in Sweet's *Reader* (1876: 145-52). Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 9-28) formed part of the first volume of what was designed as the new standard edition of Old English verse. Lastly, Doane's comprehensive edition (1991) has been used by me with great profit.

3.2 Line 357 was subjected to emendation by Rieger (1861: 111) in a footnote: it lacks *hame*. Behaghel (first in 1922: 216), inserts *ham*: *þam oðrum* [*ham*]; so still in Krapp (1931: 14) and Klaeber (1931: 7), but no longer in Whitelock (1967: 131), nor in Timmer (1948: 82, 53) who has the note, 'the addition of *hām* is an invention of modern editors'. Doane (1991: 212, 270), and at greater length (1991: 78-9) allies himself with Bliss (1971), in associating alliterative triplets with the *ljóðaháttr* stanza.

3.3 Line 703: *to forlæranne*. In the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 33) there is a point before and after this half-line. If pointing is regarded as absolute guidance to what constitutes a half-line it is improper to attach it, as did Thorpe (1832: 44) to the preceding words, and so turning these four words into one only doubtfully scannable half-line: *handweorc Godes to forlæranne*, / \ / × × × / \ ×. Even if the infinitive were emended to *forlæran* the metre would not be wholly regular. In this poem such a heavy second half-line is difficult to parallel. The half-line which follows opens with a cluster of four unstressed syllables: *Heo spræc ða to Adame*, line 704, and such a cluster, in a poem metrically as strict as *Beowulf,* would indicate a major new opening (cf. Stanley, 1992). I believe that nothing is missing in line 703; there never was a second half-line. Emendation of *hire* to *him* (line 702) is needed; Doane (1991: 294-5) says, 'There is probably some corruption, indicated

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[19] Of interest also in that we see the emergence of the publishing house of Max Niemeyer.

by the difficulty of MS *hire* and the lack of a *b*-verse in 703.' Doane emends to *hine* assuming confusion of insular <r> and <n>; cf. Thorpe (1832: 44), 'For *hire* I suspect we should read *him*,' and so later editors believing that *him* is the best emendation.[20] The manuscript reading may mean that Satan was a help to her to destroy God's handiwork (Adam). Bliss (1971: 447) lists this line.

4.1 In the edition of *Exodus* by Lucas (1977: 39-45), the metre of the poem is well discussed, but he says nothing about broken lines; far from it: he does not list Bliss (1971) on 'Single Half-Lines', though it came out six years before his edition, and by emendation he has got rid of the three single half-lines listed by Bliss, lines 246 and 305 as printed in Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 98, 99), and line 514 emended away by Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 105, 216 note giving the history of emedations of the line) as, with a different emendation, by Lucas (1977: 141). Blackburn admits no such emendations into the text itself, but his apparatus and his notes (1907: 29, 60) indicate that he considers the validity of some emendation. Tolkien's edition, though published in 1981 (Turville-Petre, 1981), goes back to his lectures on the poem, given at Oxford from the 1920s onwards, and belongs to a period of scholarship when emendation, including emendation *metri causā*, was felt to be the proper function of a good editor. It is not surprising, therefore, that he emended such single half-lines, or in the case of line 305 indicating, by three dots in the text, that (Turville-Petre, 1981: 10, 61) 'The end of this line is lost, by another of the tiresome omissions of this MS.' Irving (1953: 54, 56, 64) has seven asterisks for a missing first half-line at line 246, and seven asterisks for a missing second half-line at line 305, and he accepts an emendation at line 514. Thorpe (1832: 177-216), Bouterwek (1854: 111-33), Grein (1857: 76-93), Wülker (1894: 445-75, and Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 89-107) have the full text as part of their publication of all the texts of MS Junius 11. There are many partial texts.

4.2 Lines 160b-162. According to the manuscript pointing (Gollancz, 1927: 149) *þeod mearc tredan on hwæl* forms one half-line.[21] That is not accepted without 'correction'. The many early attempts to correct what seems mistaken pointing may be regarded as superseded by the most recent attempts to produce something better. Lucas (1977: 101-2) interprets *on hwæl* as a preterite *onhwæl* 'cried out (with pleasurable anticipation)'. It is based on glossing evidence, and a gloss in which *on hwileð* renders *reboat* 'bellows back' (Quinn, 1956: 204.8; *onhwileð* , Wright and Wülcker, 1884: I, col. 528.39) underlies his interpretation. Except that the verb,

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[20] Elsehwere *on helpe* takes the dative, and so also *hire* of the manuscript reading.
[21] See Robinson (1994b: 108-10), where lines 161-64a are set out as in the manuscript).

*onhwelan 4th class strong, is very rare, this is a not wholly impossible interpretation, though I cannot see where 'with anticipation' comes from, and even less where 'pleasurable' comes from. Irving (1972: 304-5) cannot believe Robinson's solution of this desperate crux, since that involves alliterating on *w* and *h*: *on wæl hreopon   herefugolas*. The manuscript spelling of *hwreopan* (*a* altered to *o*) with initial *hwr* (discussed by Robinson, 1994b: 99, footnote 11) 'perhaps an inadvertent blend of *hreopon* and *hweopon*', both class 7 strong verbs, *hropan* 'to cry' and *hwopan* 'to threaten'. Perhaps after *hwæl* the scribe expected initial *hw*, and therefore wrote it. He first wrote infinitive ending -*an* instead of plural ending -*on*, but that is common already in texts earlier than Junius 11 (cf. Hogg, 1992: 246 § 6.60). Tolkien's despairing view (Turville-Petre, 1981: 49) on line 161 seems, sadly, right: 'almost a whole line has been dropped... We cannot now recapture what is lost.' Tolkien justly praises Blackburn's handling of the text in his note on this crux, where he reorganizes the sequence of the lines and introduces words to complete the broken line: his edited text is free from any emendation.[22] What we have (in lines 160b-162) is certainly a broken line, but not a 'single half-line' in the sense used in this paper, and also by Bliss (1971), and he does not list line 161.

4.3 Line 246. As Wülker (1894: 458) says in his apparatus, 'In the manuscript no gap is indicated, yet the omission of an alliterative stave points that way.'[23] Manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 155) *. gar beames feng .* is to be accepted as it stands (with *garbeames* joined up; the word occurs only here). Editors from Thorpe (1832: 193) to Lucas (1977: 110), have noticed the gap, and several editors and commentators, from Grein (1857: 83) to Lucas (1977: 110), have supplied a half-line, intolerant of single half-lines, as listed by Bliss (1971: 447).

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[22] See Blackburn (1907: 45-6) for ten lines rearranged to replace imaginatively the transmitted text, and three and a half words added; and pp. xxix-xxxi for an explanation of his editorial policy. His ten lines are (three and a half words not in *Exodus* in bold, lines rearranged in italics):

> Þa him eorla mod   ortrywe wearð
> siððan hie gesawon   of suðwegum
> fyrd Faraonis   forð ongangan,
> oferholt wegan,   eored lixan,
> *þufas þunian,   þeod mearc tredan.*
> On hwælmere   **hreo wæron yða**;
> *garas trymedon,   guð hwearfode,*
> *blicon bordhreoðan,   byman sungon,*
> hreopan herefugolas   hilde grædige,
> deawigfeðere   ofer drihtneum.

A lesson is to be learnt from Blackburn's exercise: a lot of alteration is required for true improvement, and such vigorous rewriting is better relegated to the notes, and not admitted into the edited text itself.

[23] 'In der hs. ist nach *cræft* keine lücke zu merken, allein das fehlen des stabreimes deutet darauf hin.'

4.4 Lines 304-5. The editors from Thorpe (1832: 197) onwards have recognized that 'Here one line at least is wanting' in what the manuscript punctuates (Gollancz, 1927 :158), but with elements of compounds joined up: *. andægne fyrst . wæs seo eorla gedriht . anes modes . fæstum fæðmum . freoðowære heold .* Lucas (1977: 116) draws attention to the fact that three half-lines, 304a and 304b and 305, share vocalic alliteration, a triad listed by Bliss (1971: 447). Lucas gives the lack of a second half-line as his reason for supplying a half-line, and so earlier editors had done, supplying different half-lines, listed in the apparatus of Irving's edition (1953: 56), as well as in Lucas's note (1977: 116-17).

4.5 Line 514. The manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 169) points *. spel bodan .* as a half-line of three syllables only. The editors assume that something is missing, and various emendations have been proposed to correct the line. Tolkien (Turville-Petre, 1981: 75) appears to give preference to Grein's emendation (1857: 91): [*spilde*] *spelbodan*, which, if an emendation is needed, does seem the best: *sp-l--d* of the compound are anticipated. Irving (1953: 95) might have preferred *spelbodan* [*spilde*], but follows Sedgefield (1922: 97, his line 429) [*swa eac*] *spelbodan.* In any case, this is a not 'single half-line': it may, however, be a rare case of ´⏜ | ⏝ × being deemed metrically sufficient by poet or scribe, a Sievers shortened Type C without the initial dip (= shortened Type D without the first lift). This is certainly irregular, and usually emended away; there are, however, similar, irregular half-lines in the transmitted verse texts; for example, *Daniel* line 281a *dæda georn* (ASPR I, 1931: 119), though of course a different metrical pattern, ´× ⏜ or ´× ´. Irving (1953: 95) says: 'The half-line is metrically too short. It is unlikely that any important or essential words have been lost.' Grein's *spilde* and Rieger's *hyrde*[24] are 'important', if not 'essential', and other editor's have preferred to add a syllable or two, either at the beginning or at the end of the half-line which they think lacks a syllable, Blackburn (1907: 60) suggests *spelbodan* [*eac*], Lucas (1977: 141) [*eac þon*] *spelbodan.* If, however, some word unimportant and inessential is to be added, why add it at all? The answer is that unemended the half-line offends the ear of the modern metrists, though it may not have offended the ear of either poet or scribe or both, and did not offend Bliss (1971: 447), who lists line 514 as a 'single half-line'.

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[24] Rieger (1876: 46) does not explain how *hyrde spelbodan* is to fit in; he refers to the use of the word at line 124, on which see Irving's note (1953: 76).

5.1 The metre of *Daniel* has been treated with general disrespect, from which the introduction of Blackburn's edition is free (1907: xiii), surprisingly so for a work of that date:

> A number of special investigations of the metre of the poems of the Junius manuscript have been made, most of them with the purpose of finding arguments for or against theories of authorship, date, interpolations, etc. As might be expected, such articles contain numerous proposed emendations, as the writers consider all forms false that do not agree with their theories, and either propose to bring them into line by textual changes or brand the passages in which they occur as interpolations of later date when the stricter rules of metre had been relaxed.

The scholarship on which Blackburn is commenting is typified by Schmidt's edition (1907: 3), which appeared in the same year as Blackburn's:[25]

> The text of *Daniel* is quite defective. The poem has several gaps and, more especially, a pretty large number of passages that do not make sense and have apparently been incorrectly transmitted; moreover, many lines contravene the rules of metre so that the assumption suggests itself that the scribes have often inserted or left out words.

Farrell (1974: 20) fully accepts Bliss on 'Single Half-Lines': 'the lines in question are 38, 207, 238, 240, 288, 396, and 459. Lines 38m 240, and 396 have double alliteration, which is typical of single half-lines.' All these are listed by Bliss (1971), with the line-numbering as in Krapp's edition (ASPR I, 1931), for Farrell's 238 and 240 (as in his edition).

5.2 Line 38 is pointed in the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 174): . *herepoð to þære hean byrig* . Bliss (1971: 447) presumably scans it ⌣ × ⌣̄ × × × ⌣́ (×) ⌣ × (the parenthesized unstressed syllable depending on whether contracted *hean* is regarded as disyllabic, thus Graz (1894: 42). So scanned the (hypermetric?)[26] half-line is

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[25] 'Der text des Daniel ist ein recht fehlerhafter. Das gedicht hat verschiedene lücken und vor allem eine ziemlich große anzahl von stellen, die keinen sinn geben und offenbar falsch überliefert sind; außerdem verstoßen viele verse gegen die regeln der metrik, sodass die annahme nahe liegt, dass die schreiber oft worte eingefügt oder weggelassen haben.'
[26] Bliss (1967: 167) does not list the line as hypermetric, probably because the line is in the editions (other than Blackburn's, 1907: 68) emended, and ceases to be hypermetric, becoming two half-lines instead.

heavy and requiring double alliteration, which indeed it has. The line comes immediately after lines that seemed to early commentators of questionable genuineness; thus Schmidt (1907: 31), seemingly unaware of the device of anaphora, doubts if the double use of *dyrust* in lines 36 and 37 can be *echt*; he, following Cosijn (1895: 107),[27] emends to *here-pæð* [*tæhte*], and informs us that Moritz Trautmann, the general editor of the series in which his edition appeared, suggested *ywde* questioningly. Unemended *herepoð to þære hean byrig* does not seem a good line, judged by the strict standard of *Beowulf*. Sievers (1885: 513) judged line 38 so:[28] '38a *herepoð* is metrically inadequate, moreover stylistically too bare; it requires the addition of an accompanying adjective or genitive.' Though I accept Bliss's view (1971: 447) that line 38 is a single half-line, it does seem a very inelegant use of that licence.

5.3 Lines 205-8. The sense of these lines is difficult, as Farrell says, in his edition.[29] The following is Pope's translation (1983) of these lines; he solved the crux of line 206 by understanding *hearan* as *earan* (for Anglian *earon, earun*) 'are': 'Thegns said to the king that they were of the opinion, "there are captives in this high city who will not exalt this (idol), or honour this image that you have wondrously adorned."' Pope's arrangement into lines gets rid of the single half-line, because it becomes the second half-line alliterating *h* with *hæftas* and *hean*:

> Þegnas þeodne sægdon   þæt hie þære geþeahte wæron,
> 'hæftas {h}earan in þisse hean byrig   þa þis hegan ne willað,
> ne þysne wig wurðigean,   þe ðu þe to wundrum teodest.'

This eliminates the single half-line identified by Bliss (1971: 445-7) as such.

5.4 Lines 237-40. There are three half-lines with alliteration on *w*, of which the first is a broken line. Lines 237-8 are three half-lines with double vocalic alliteration on the first half-line; and they conform to the *ljóðaháttr* pattern, as Bliss (1971: 446-7) says; similarly Blackburn (1907: 115), 'The arrangement in the text is that of the Ms., which implies the omission of a half-verse.' With *drugon* in line 237,

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[27] Several other emendations have been suggested, and are referred to in notes to the editions.

[28] '38ᵃ *herepoð* ist metrisch unzulänglich, auch stilistisch zu kahl; es verlangt eine ergänzung durch beigesetztes adjectiv oder einen genetiv.'

[29] For *hearan* (line 206a) I accept Pope's suggestion (1983) that the initial *h* is inorganic, and that we should understand it as *earan* 'are'. This form, for more usual *earon, earun*, is recorded in the attested spellings s.v. *béon* in *DOE*, and also in the negated form *nearan*, in Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, MS Cotton Otho C.1., but I have not found these spellings in the apparatus of Hecht's edition (1900, 1907: I, 239), line 9) Otho has *nearan* where Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 322 has *nearran*.

a new manuscript page begins (Gollancz, 1927: 185). In the first long line (as given below) the manuscript has no metrical point between *ofn* and *innan*:

> Engel in þone ofn   innan becwom
> þær hie þæt aglac drugon,
> freobearn fæðmum beþeahte   under þam fyrenan hrofe.
> Ne mihte þeah heora wlite gewemman
> wylm þæs wæfran liges   þa hie se waldend nerede.

[An angel entered the oven where they (the Three Children) endured that torture, (he) covered the noble youths under that fiery roof. The surge of ever-moving flame could not, however, mark their beauty when the Saviour had rescued them.]

Lines 237-8 form a triplet, a long line followed by a half-line alliterating on vowels. The next two lines are less easily analysed, both line 239 and 240a have double alliteration, neither can be a second half-line. As a triplet with line 240, a single line with double alliteration followed by a long line with double alliteration, these three half-lines are not of the pattern of the *ljóðaháttr* stanza, where the single line is the last of the triad. That may be sufficient reason for regarding such triads as a licence to encompass three half-lines alliterating on the same letter, but quite unrelated to the *ljóðaháttr* stanza, and not going back to anything ancient and therefore heritable by any poet of any of the Germanic peoples.

    5.5 Line 288. The half-line *swa þu eac sylfa eart* is not represented in the passage of *Azarias* (ASPR III, 1936: 88-94; Farrell, 1974: 90-9) that covers these lines, except for *eac*, which in *Azarias* line 10, is not attached to *þu* 'you too', but to *þine willan*. There are no single half-lines in Azarias, but such half-lines are not uncommon in *Daniel* (cf. Farrell, 1974: 20). This may be among indications that *Azarias* is earlier than its use in *Daniel*, but the matter is more complex, ultimately unresolved, and nothing definite on the order in which these two closely related poems were written is to be gained from this single line. The frequency of single half-lines is not useful for dating Old English verse. Early editors and commentators supplied words to create a long line: Grein (1857: 102), added '*sigores valdend*', Cosijn (1895: 111) followed by Schmidt (1907: 15), added *soðfæst metod*.

    5.6 Line 396. In the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 192) *. eallum ece drihten .* is pointed as a single metrical unit, and it is a clear example of a single half-line. Modern punctuation, of course, requires that the address to God, *ece Drihten*, is

preceded by a comma. As usual, Grein (1857: 105), followed by Schmidt (1907: 18) emends to 'correct' scribal transmission, by adding *æfæstum* after *eallum*, Blackburn (1907: 121) thinks *eadmodum* a preferable emendation.

5.7 Line 459. The half-line *siððan he wundor onget* has no second half-line, and the more interventionist editors and commentators strive to complete it. Grein (1857: 107) adds *vorden in ofne*; Cosijn (1895: 112) adds *wyrd gewordne*; Schmidt (1907: 20, 37) adds *wyrd on ofne* in his text, and gives the source for this suggestion as [Moritz] Tr[autmann], the general editor of the series; in his notes he has '?' for this guess.

6.1 *Christ and Satan*, Liber II of MS Junius 11, was subjected to a corrector's busy activity. Much of what he did is minor, but even a 'correction' so minor as the adding of an inflectional *–e* can affect the scansion. Bliss (1971) shows that this poem has a greater density of such broken lines than any of the three poems in Book I, and that density seems to increase towards the end of the poem, perhaps by chance, perhaps by scribal carelessness (as early editors believed), perhaps by the author's increasing metrical lassitude, for the poet lacked the inclination, or the energy, displayed by the editors and commentators of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth. For a considerable time the only edition, other than in the collected poems, of which the editions by Grein (1857: 129-48) and Wülker (1894: 521-62) have retained their importance, was Clubb's edition (1925). Inevitably Krapp's edition (ASPR I, 1931) only six years after Clubb's was published, is very dependent on Clubb. In 1977, Finnegan (1977) published his 'A Critical Edition', and Sleeth appended to his *Studies* (1982) an edition on microfiches.[30] There are many cruces in the poem, and the manuscript readings are not always to be established because of the work of the corrector.

6.2 Lines 89-90. Sleeth (1983) comments on these lines 'passage corrupt, alliteration irregular or missing' and 'no meaningful scansion is possible'. Finnegan (1977: 95) says despairingly, 'The line in the MS is hopelessly muddled, and suggestions to restore the reading are as varied as they are ineffective.' The manuscript reading (Gollancz 1927: 215) may seem almost meaningless, buried under the weight of critical comment. Yet the manuscript reading should be given, even if faulty (abbreviations are expanded and word division of compounds ignored, but I give the corrector's wiping out the second *n* in *ðon{n}e*): *. wene ᵍᵉ þæt tacen sutol . and wærgðu : þa ic ofaseald wes . niðer under neˣssas . in ðone neowlan*

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[30] The author kindly sent me a mimeographed revision of his scansion of the poem (dated 18 July 1983). I refer to it as 'Sleeth (1983)'.

grund . Verb forms with double prefix *ofa-* are very rare indeed in verse, though not rare in prose.[31] I do not know how to scan *ofaseald*. The editors print *of aseald*, with *of* in some editions in the first half-line. Line 90 is all right unemended, *niðer under ne^æssas   in ðone neowlan grund*, and so it appears in the editions. The preceding line, that is, the two half-lines preceding, look as if they lack alliteration, but make good sense: 'imagine that manifest prodigy and punishment when I was banished (away).' The corrector's *ge* is best disregarded, as the editors have done. Perhaps the two half-lines (*and* begins the second half-line) are, quite irregularly, two 'single' half-lines; but how can they be single when they form one long line (without alliteration)? If it were thought possible to have two such half-lines, it would obviate emendation. The only way of regarding it even possible that these two half-lines do have alliteration, on *s*, though quite irregularly: *wene þæt tacen sutol and wærgðu | þa ic ofaseald wes*. Unless this is thought acceptable in a poem often metrically irregular, one has to regard the two half-lines as forming a non-alliterating long line. Bliss (1971: 448) lists 16 non-alliterating long lines in *Christ and Satan*, but line 89 in not one of them.

6.3 Line 145. The two words *ænigum sceððan*, marked by manuscript pointing (Gollancz, 1927: 216) as a metrical unit, are a clear example of a single half-line, and listed as such by Bliss (1971: 447). Early editors supply words to improve the metre: Ettmüller (1850: 197) adds *earmum, atolum* as the next half-line with *þe he to agan nyle* the second half-line; Grein (1857: 133) adds *eadigra* at the beginning of the line; and Clubb (1925: 13) adds *ðe of eorðan cumað* as a first line with *ænigum sceððan* as the second half-line. Later editors do not emend.

6.4 Lines 203-4 have been the subject of much editorial rewriting, and are discussed by Bliss (1971: 447). The manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 217) has for lines 199-204 (I print with capitals and compounds as in modern editions): a double punctus after *hæfde*, a punctus elevatus after *selde* and between *wuldre* and *mid*: . *He þæt gecydde . þæt he mægencræft hæfde : mihta miccle . þa he þa mænego adraf . hæftas of ðæm hean selde ·/ Gemunan we þone halgan drihten . ecne in wuldre ·/ mid alra gescefta . ceosan us eard in wuldre ·/ mid ealra cyninga cyninge . se is Crist*

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[31] Thorpe (1832: 270) prints *of-aseald*. Bouterwek (1850: 223) gives *ofadrifed* at *Genesis* line 964; cf. Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 173) on the placement of *of*, which Doane (1978: 125) gives as *of adrifen*, not *ofadrifen*, though that would do just as well and would show that, not the compound prefixation, but the stem is stressed. I have not been able to find from where Bouterwek (1850: 224) gets *ofâsealced niþer in þone neovlan grund*. His reference is to II. 90, and that must mean 'Liber II, line 90', i.e. *Christ and Satan* line 89 *aseald*, or *of aseald* in his edition. When he came to revise his edition in 1854 he no longer used any form of this verb, and yet did not put in a correction in his section 'Nachträge und Verbesserungen zum Glossar' (1854: 334-53, at p. 336, where he has further references to *âsealcan* but nothing under *ofâsealcan*).

genemned . The half-line *mid alra gescefta* appears to have a genitive plural after *mid.* Clubb (1925: 15, 78) suggests that this may be the result of a scribe failing to understand Anglian accusative forms after *mid,* acc. pl. 'with all creatures', *mid alla gescefta.* It is clear that the alliteration is irregular in line 199 (alliteration on the second element of a compound, *-cræft,* and the *m* of *mægen-* shares in the alliteration of the next line; and line 203 vocalic alliteration):[32]

> He þæt gecydde   þæt he mægencræft hæfde,
> mihta miccle,   þa he þa mænego adraf,   200
> hæftas of ðæm hean selde.   Gemunan we þone halgan drihten,
> ecne in wuldre   mid alla gescefta:
> ceosan us eard in wuldre   mid ealra cyninga cyninge,
> se is Crist genemned.
>
> [He revealed that he possessed mighty power, great strengths, when he drove out that multitude, (as) captives from that illustrious dwelling. Let us with all creatures be mindful of the holy Lord, the Eternal one in glory: let us determine in favour of a homeland for us in glory with the King of all kings, who is called Christ.]

The repetition of *in wuldre* is suspect. Lines 203-4 look like the kind of triad of half-lines which Bliss (1971) associates with the *ljóðaháttr* stanza, though he does not list line 204 as one of his single half-lines. The double use of initial *c* in the second of the three half-lines announces the *c* of *Crist,* and *mid ealra cyninga cyninge* cannot be taken as the first half-line with *se is Crist genemned* the second half-line without much rewriting of lines 199-204, thus by Ettmüller (pp. 198-9); and Krapp's note (ASPR I, 1931: 236-7) lists more emendatory activity, but he leaves the text unemended (except that he prints line 202b *mid alra gescefta ealdre*); Clubb (1925: 15) has:

> ecne al[l]a gescefta;   ceosan us eard in wuldre
> mid ealra cyninga cyninge,   se is Crist genemned.

Finnegan (1977: 75, 99) has, and Sleeth's text (1982) is similar:

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[32] The optative *ceosen,* here written *–an* (cf. Campbell, 1959: 302, § 735 (f)), cannot take precedence in alliteration of the nouns *eard,* so that *eard* must alliterate with *ealra,* and *cyninga cyninge,* which cannot alliterate doubly in the second half-line, introduces the *c* alliteration of the following half-line.

> ecne alra gescefta;   ceosan us eard in wuldre
>
> mid ealra cyninga cyninge,   se is Crist genemned.

Rather than tinker with the suspect *in wuldre*, it is probably best to regard *se is Crist genemned* as a single half-line; though lines 199-204 as transmitted in MS Junius 11 may well not be what the poet wrote.

6.5   Lines 224-5. Line 224 begins a fitt with a large capital Ð in the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 218): *Ða get ic furðor gefregen · feonda ondetan ·* and *feonda* (genitive plural) is impossible, *andettan* takes an accusative direct object, and dative indirect object. Either late plural form, *feond* or *feondas*, would be possible, with accusative and infinitive, literally: 'Then I yet further learnt the enemies confess ...' Line 225a with a manuscript point after *strang* is a single half-line, consisting of the five words *wæs him eall ful strang*, the initial vowel of *ondetan* ending the preceding line agreeing with the vowel of *eall*. The next line is regular again: *wom and witu;   hæfdon wuldorcyning*, and *wom and witu* are in apposition to *eall*: 'to them was all very fierce, the noise and the torments; they had ... the King of glory.' Bliss (1971: 447) gives line 225 (that is, *wæs him eall ful strang*) as a single half-line. That *feonda ondetan* is syntactically impossible is not relevant to the lineation. He discusses (1971: 446) line 225a, not in accordance with Krapp's edition (ASPR I, 1931: 143), *wæs him eall ful strang wom and witu*, but as line 225, *wæs him eall ful strang*, with *wom and witu*, as the next half-line (116a). Bliss's lineation seems right; and both Finnegan (1977: 76) and Sleeth (1982: 119-20 and microfiche) in their lineation agree. Bliss (1967: 168) therefore does not list Krapp's half-line as a hypermetric line.[33] In fact, Bliss's lineation is in line with Bouterwek (1854: 173), who also makes it a single half-line, whereas Grein (1857: 135, his lines 225-7) and Wülker (1894: 534, lines 225-7) add words or dots to indicate the omission of words in this passage, so that their scansion is not that of the manuscript.

6.6   Line 309. Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 145) follows Grein (1857: 137 footnote with '?'), and Grein had [*friðe*] *befæðmeð*, but the other editors (Clubb, 1925: 20; Finnegan 1977: 78; Sleeth, 1982: microfiche) follow Holthausen (1895: 232), who transfers *heo* from the preceding half-line to before *befæðmeð*. Bliss (1971: 447) lists 309 as a single half-line, presumably *befæðmeð fæder mancynnes*, but he does not list it as a hypermetric line in Bliss (1967: 168).

6.7   Line 312. Thorpe (1832: 283) clearly indicates that *awa to aldre* is a single half-line; and that seems right. Dietrich (1856: 362) wrote that in so negligent a

[33] *Christ and Satan* is not analysed by Hutcheson (1995). Graz (1894) admits regularizing emendations, so that his views on manuscript readings of metrically difficult lines do not emerge.

poet as the poet of Liber II of the manuscript no emendation to correct the metre is needed, 'He has made several such bad verse lines. The best evidence for that comes a few lines further on, lines 314 and 364 [? read 367].'[34] Editors (up to and including Clubb, 1925) resort to unacceptably violent emendation. The threefold formula, reiteratively 'for ever and ever', concluding the fitt begins with *awa to aldre* and ends with the similarly patterned *a to worulde, a buton ende* two lines later, the end of the fitt. With an Anglo-Saxon Christian poet such a formulaic expression has a greater potency than the need to stick to prosodic regularity, the ideal of Germanic metricists.

6.8 Lines 477-8. The manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 223) has no punctuation after *fah is æghwær* 'the evil one (or perhaps 'the stain of sin') is everywhere'; *æghwær* protrudes slightly into the margin, and these words seem to have been squeezed in. Otherwise there is nothing in the manuscript to arouse doubt: clearly *afyrhte eft*, much emended by editors and commentators. *DOE* s.v. *afyrhtan* 1.a. accepts the emendation of manuscript *he* to *hie*, first in Bouterwek (1854: 326), but *DOE* does not accept his further emendation of manuscript *afyrhte* 'frightened' to *afirrde* 'expelled', which is accepted by most editors. *DOE* translates: 'the fiend in his sins in turn frightened them.' The problems of these lines are not immediately relevant to the arrangement of these lines into long lines and half-lines. The best arrangement, since it does not result in double alliteration, *feond in firenum*, in a second half-line, is probably (as in Sleeth, 1982: 126), though he does not emend *he* to *hie*, but emends, as do most editors and commentators, *afyrhte* to *afyrde*):

> þæt h[i]e afyrhte eft
> feond in firenum: fah is æghwær.

If this lineation is accepted the single half-line is line 477a, not 478. Line 478 is listed by Bliss (1971: 447), following Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 150-1), whose lineation allows comparison with the *ljóðaháttr* stanza; Sleeth's arrangement does not.

6.9 Line 511 is an obvious single half-line, concluding with piety, *to haligum Drihtne*, what in the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 223-4) is set out as a single

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[34] '[E]r hat mehrere so schlechte verse als die langzeile ist gemacht. der beste beleg dafür ist sogleich 317.' Bouterwek (1854: 176) line 317 = 314 in ASPR I (1931: 146). These two lines are not single half-lines; their alliteration is less strict than Dietrich thinks appropriate. His note (1856: 362) on the line reads, 'die beispiellos schlechte alliteration *þam* : *þæt* bleibt auf dem dichter sitzen, wenn nicht etwa *wyrcan* vor *mot* ausgefallen ist' [the poet is to be held answerable for the outrageously bad alliteration *þam* : *þæt*, unless perhaps *wyrcan* has dropped out before *mot*].

section of text beginning at line 441. Grein (1857: 142) heightens the piety by adding *in heofonrice*, as if it were likely that a scribe would have omitted so obvious a formulation. As Krapp says (ASPR I, 1931: 243), 'the sense of the passage is complete as it stands, "and I then attained eternal joys at the hands of (to) the holy Lord."' Neither Finnegan (1977: 83) nor Sleeth (1982: microfiche) add a second half-line.

6.10   Line 526, *haligne Godes Sunu*, is the fifth half-line alliterating on *g*. Krapp's note (ASPR I, 1931: 243) gives the editorial history of the line [I have added the dates and page numbers]: 'Thorpe [1832: 298], Bouterwek [1854: 183], Wülker [1894: 550], Clubb [1925: 31] assume the loss of a half-line before *haligne*. Grein [1857: 143] supplies *ongeton* before *haligne*. There is no certainty that the loss occurred before *haligne*, and it may have been after *sunu*. But *bled*, l. 525, ends a line in the MS., and it may be that something dropped out in passing from one line to the next.' This account of scribal activity, 'something dropped out in passing from one line to the next', is to be rejected. Even so slovenly a scribe as copied this part of the poem is unlikely to have carried in his head the line of the manuscript into which he had not yet copied it. If we have to speculate how he did it, we should think, since this is a scribe who copies or inserts metrical pointing, that he carried in his head a half-line at a time. Finnegan (1977: 114) concedes that, though '[t]he line is metrically defective but makes good sense ... it just might be kept unemended.' I agree with Sleeth (1982: 127), who reasons, 'The combination of this half-line and the preceding line makes sense as a triplet, and the three half-lines are bound together by *g*-alliteration. Neither emendation or assumption of a gap is necessary.' It seems strange that Bliss (1971) did not include this line in his account, and he gave no reason for this omission.

6.11   Lines 552-3 have been much emended. The scansion of line 552 is irregular, but the sense is possible, 'where we have [*agan* for *agon*] the judicial decisions of the Lord.' Unlike many ancient and modern Indo-European languages, English, Old, Middle, and Modern, often uses the present indicative to express the futurity of a verb: *we agan* here is 'we shall have' (cf. Mitchell, 1985: §§ 617-21, especially § 618). There is no need to add *moton* (with Grein, 1857: 144) or *sculon* (with Holthausen, 1894: 383), unless the metre is to be improved, for as the line stands it is irregular even by the standards of this poem. To complete the single half-line *Drihtnes domas* (line 553) a second half-line *and duguðe þrym* was suggested by Bouterwek (1854: 184, his line 557), and followed by some later editors (up to and including Clubb, 1925: 32). Bliss (1971: 447) lists the line.

6.12 Line 555 is the third half-line of a triad alliterating on *w*. Early editors and commentators regard the single-half-line as insufficient; Sievers (1887: 477) speculates that after *wynnum* (Krapp, ASPR I, 1931: line 554a) there may be a gap of more than one half-line. Early editors (from Bouterwek, 1854: 184, up to and including Clubb, 1925: 32, and again Sleeth, 1982: 128) take *and we in wynnum wunian moton.   Us is wuldres leoht* to be one long line, the first half hypermetric, 'slightly irregular expanded C-verse. Compare the rhythm of *Dan[iel]* 455ᵃ,' says Clubb (1925: 120), wrongly scanning the line. Sievers (1887: 477) takes *wunian moton: us is wuldres leoht* to be one long line, with *and we in wynnum* the preceding incomplete line, followed by a gap. He asserts that, on the whole, it is infrequent for two neighbouring lines to alliterate on the same letter, which, in fact, does not apply to this poem. That is why he thinks the presumed gap is of more than just a half-line. If *and we in wynnum* is regarded as exceptionally bearing stress and alliteration on *we*, this is not an impossible half-line in this metrically inexact poem. Line 555 may perhaps be regarded as a single half-line, as does Bliss (1971: 447).

6.13 Line 569 is not included in Bliss's list (1971: 447), and it is doubtful if the passage can stand without significant emendation. The manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 226) has *þa hit þus gelomp: þa gyt nergende crist . þæt he þæs ymb ane niht . twelf apostolas . mid his gastes gife: gingran geswiðde .* and that makes sense anacoluthically: 'Then it happened thus when yet again Christ the Saviour, that he after one night gave strength to twelve apostles, (his) disciples, with the gift of his spirit.' Partly to dissolve the anacoluthon, partly to correct the failure to alliterate by inventing a second half-line after *þa gyt nergende crist*, several emendations have been proposed. A complete half-line is inserted by Grein (1857: 144), *mid ni[ð]ðum vunode* 'dwelt among mankind'. Bright (1903: 131) suggests emending *ane* to *tyn* (improved by Clubb, 1925: 123, to *tene*). Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 153) inserts *gecwæð* and thus alters the long line *þæt he þæs ymb tene niht   twelf apostolas* to a second half-line to go with *þa gyt nergende Crist: gecwæð þæt he þæs*, and taking the following long line to be *ymb tene niht   twelf apostolas*. The alliteration, however, should be on the *n* of *nergende*. Even so, Finnegan (1977: 85) accepts Krapp's emendation, unlike Sleeth (1982: 129 and microfiche) who reverts to the arrangement as in Wülker (1894: 552) but he reads *tene* for *an*). Possibly *þa gyt nergende Crist* is best taken as a single half-line in a very uncertain context.

6.14 Line 598, *ælmihtig God*, is clearly a single half-line, as Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 154, 244) recognized. Early editors assumed a loss, Thorpe (1832: 302) says

in a footnote, 'Here a leaf has certainly been cut out of the MS.', but fails to record that the last word on the manuscript page (Gollancz, 1927: 226), *on*, is repeated by the scribe as the first word on the next page, which, as Wülker (1894: 554) says, makes the loss of a leaf unlikely. Grein (1857: 145) supplies *oðre siðe* to provide a second half-line. No later editor followed him.

6.15 Line 602, *geond foldan sceatas*, is another straightforward single half-line. Grein (1857: 145) supplies *feóver* after *geond*, improved by Holthausen (1894: 383) by adding *þa* to produce the first half-line *geond þa feower*, and this is accepted by Clubb (1925: 34).

6.16 Line 613 is not a set of two regular half-lines. Grein (1857: 145) began the line with *glædmode*, and several other emendations have been proposed, and are listed in Krapp's note (ASPR I, 1931: 244-5). Bliss (1971: 447) lists this line, but he did not include it in his catalogue of hypermetric lines (1967: 168), and indeed it does not correspond to any of his patterns of hypermetric lines.

6.17 Line 624 provides, in the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, a very early example of the invention of a half-line felt to be missing from the manuscript: Thorpe (1832: 304) adds a footnote to *ac him bið reordiende*:[35] 'The words *rodera waldend* seem wanting after this line.' Bouterwek (1854: 186) and Grein (1857: 146) accept Thorpe's invention into their text. Later editors do not, but Clubb (1925: 35, 127) still indicates a gap and speaks of Thorpe's emendation as 'the best stop-gap'.

6.18 Line 652 is another obvious single half-line, and the early editors add a second half-line to complete the line: Bouterwek (1854: 187) *heofonrice to*, Grein (1857: 146) *to heofonrice*. Later editors either indicate a gap (Wülker, 1894: 557; Clubb, 1925: 37), or accept the manuscript reading as a single half-line (Krapp, ASPR I, 1931: 156; Finnegan 1977: 88; Sleeth, 1982: microfiche).

6.19 Line 658 is provided with an invented first half-line, *up gelæddest*, by Grein (1857: 146), followed by all later editors. As it stands in the manuscript the sense is deficient, and some emendation is required. Dietrich (1856: 366) presumes a

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[35] The manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 227) has the corrector's alterations, the addition of *r* above the *o* of *eo*, and *en* above an erasure of about two letter: *reoᶠdiᵉⁿde*. Krapp (ASPR I, 1931: 155) reads *reordende*, following Clubb (1925: 35), and followed by Finnegan (1977: 87) and Sleeth (1982: 129); the *i* is, however, unaffected by the corrector's alterations. The form *reordiende* is not otherwise recorded, and after a long stem the *i* does not accord with the form of the present participle of the grammars. The uncorrected form was short *reod-*, cf. *reodode* at *Elene* line 1238 (Gradon, 1958: 71). It is doubtful if that makes good sense, but it is not impossible as the authorial reading, understood no more by the corrector than by modern Anglo-Saxonists: 'But the eternal Lord is sifting you, he spoke for all to hear.' For 'sift' used figuratively cf. Luke 22:31. This textual problem is, of course, not relevant to the recognition of the line as a single half-line, listed by Bliss (1971: 447).

longer loss of text (as did Thorpe, 1832: 306), and what he is looking for is something like 'thanks be to thee that thou didst lead us upwards',[36] and the last bit of that is satisfactorily expressed by Grein, though he did not invent a line to express Dietrich's idea of giving thanks.

   6.20 Line 675. In the manuscript (Gollancz, 1927: 228) the pointing of line 674-9 is very light in appearance, and perhaps some of these points have been added by the corrector; there is no sign of a gap such as recorded after *nære* by Thorpe (1832: 307), 'Here is manifestly a great hiatus in the sense.' The manuscript reads: *wendest þu awyrgda · þæt awriten nære · nymþe me ænne · ac geseted hafast · sigores agend · lifgendum liht · lean butan ende · on heofonrice · halige dreamas* [Didst thou, accursed one, think that it were not written, except to me alone, but thou, Lord of glory, hast decreed light to the living, eternal reward, holy joys in the kingdom of heaven]. The sudden shift within direct speech from the invocation of the accursed one, *awyrgda*, spoken by 'the eternal Lord', *ece Drihten*, to the invocation by another speaker of the 'Lord of glory', *sigores Agend*, does not make sense. It is of course impossible to tell how much has been lost, and the editors differ in the number of asterisks they print and how they arrange their lines, only Clubb (1925: 38) assuming a loss both before and after *nymþe me ænne*, with another gap assumed by him after *dreamas*. With a text so corrupt there is no reason for thinking that *nymþe me ænne* is to be regarded as a single half-line as that concept is used by Bliss (1971); he does not list this line).

   6.21 Line 679, *Þa he mid hondum genom* is an obvious single half-line, listed as such by Bliss (1971: 447). It is the third half-line of a triad alliterating on *h* (thus Sleeth, 1982: 131). The early editors (Bouterwek, 1854: 188; Grein, 1857: 147; Wülker, 1894: 559) add it to the preceding line making it irregularly long, and Sievers (1887: 477) divides the lines up: *on heofonrice / halige dreamas || Þa he mid hondum genom*. He assumes there is a gap after *genom*, and in that gap, he assumes, stood the object of the verb *genom*, for the object *Drihten Hælend* (line 682) is too far from the verb, and is likely to have been in variation with the lost object. Graz (1894: 58) supplies that supposedly missing half-line, the missing object: *halig scyppend*; Clubb (1925: 38) supplies that object as *hæleða Scyppend*,[37] because Graz's *halig* does not show the accusative, which would be *haligne*, and metrically less satisfactory. Editors after Clubb assume no loss.

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[36] Dietrich: 'dank sei dir dafür, dass du uns hinauf führtest.'
[37] Clubb says, however (1925: 132), 'Not that such an object is absolutely necessary' because 'there can be no misunderstanding.'

6.22 Line 728, the penultimate line of the poem, introduces Christ's words to Satan, and forms a single half-line recognized as such by Bliss (1971: 447), but early editors (from Thorpe, 1932: 210) assumed a gap. Line 726 has no alliteration, and here too early editors assumed that each of the two half-lines had lost its alliterating other half-line, so that in the ending lines 726-8 seemed suspect to them and led to emendation. Clubb in his notes (1925: 136) prints Grein's emended text and his verse translation (1857, 1859: I, 148), and comments that it is 'metrically incorrect', but Clubb does not tell us that Holthausen (1894: 384) corrected the single, minor metrical imperfection in Grein's emendation. Bliss (1971: 448) includes line 726 in his list of lines without alliteration.

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH,
II, The Vercelli Book

7.1 Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: xxviii) says, 'The metrical punctuation in the poems of the Vercelli Book is very irregular, and contrasts sharply with the careful system of metrical points in the Junius Manuscript.' He is doubtful if it is metrical pointing: it 'seems to be syntactical, rather than metrical in purpose.' However, the points in *Andreas* are more frequent than, for example, those in *Beowulf* and are not to be ignored if the phrasing of the poem is to be understood: 'phrasical', or 'rhetorical' even, might seem a better description of the pointing than 'syntactical'. Single half-lines are infrequent in *Andreas*,[38] and loss of text is usually assumed when they occur by editors and commentators. After all the Vercelli poems were transcribed and printed by Thorpe (1836 or 1837), [39] the two long Vercelli poems were first edited, from Thorpe's transcription, by Jacob Grimm (1840: 1-50, 91-138), who gave them the names now in use; other editions of *Andreas* are by Kemble (1854: I), Grein (1858: II, 1-86) and Wülker (1894: 1-86), Baskervill (1891), Krapp (1906) and again (ASPR II, 1932), and Brooks (1961).

7.2 *Andreas*, line 829, as reported by Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 67), 'Some lines are wanting here, though there is no hiatus in the MS.' The manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 40ʳ) has no point between line 828b, *þe him cining engla*, and 829, *ða þa aras . siðigean .* with a point before and after *siðigean*.[40] Grimm (1840: 24) estimates that the gap is of a line and a half, and Kemble (1854: 48) prints asterisks to fill two half-lines. Grein (1858: 29) invents a long line, *in Achaia ær getacnode.* The next line is emended by beginning it with the editorial addition *Geviton* and introducing *eft*, to alliterate with *aras* interpreted as 'messengers', the sense

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[38] Bliss (1971: 447, note 31) that *Andreas* has one single half-line 'in 287, a smaller proportion than any poem in the Junius Manuscript.' This means that Bliss has found six single half-lines, and that is the number of single half-lines I have found. That number, however, includes two half-line about which I am in doubt.

[39] Thorpe named the poems thus: *The Legend of St. Andrew*, pp. 47-89; *The Fates of the Twelve Apostles*, pp. 90-7; *A Fragment, Moral and Religious*, pp. 98-9; *The Holy Rood, A Dream*, pp. 100-4, *The Invention of the Cross* pp. 105-38.

[40] Two facsimiles have been referred to, occasionally Foerster (1913), and usually Celia Sisam (1976).

accorded to it by other translators and compilers of glossaries, etc. Baskervill (1891: 35, 76) says that he has arranged the passage (= lines 827-30) as in the manuscript:

> Þurh lyftgelac on land becwom
> to þære ceastre, þe him cining engla þa þa
> aras siðigean eadige on upweg, eðles neosan,

And he translates the passage (p. 76):

> Through motion through the air he came into the land, to the city, from which then the king of the angels arose to go away from him in blessedness on the upway, to visit his native seat. They left the holy man, *etc.*

Krapp (1906: 121) condemns this translation, 'which satisfies neither the demands of the text nor the sense of the passage.' Much is added in the translation and in the text in Grein's translation into alliterative verse (1859: 23), which I translate:[41]

> The Prince of angels came by flight down to land to that [heathen] citadel which the Lord had [assigned] to him [before in Achaia]. On the way up the angels, the blessed ones, journeyed [back into heaven] to seek their home.

Baskervill's arrangement of the lines is obviously unmetrical, and ending the line with *ða þa* is not supported by manuscript pointing. Kock (1919: 300) completes line 829 thus: [*ær ætywde. Gewiton*] *ða þa aras siðigean* 'had shown. The attendants went on their way'. Emendation of this passage continues as late as Brooks's edition (1961: 27, 90): his line 829 reads (with *ða ða* for manuscript *ða þa*): <*Gewiton*> *ða ða aras <eft> siðigean*. In his notes he speaks of:

> the break in the sense, the defective metre, and the lack of a verb to govern *þe* show that some words are missing ... the loss of a single verse

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[41] I have enclosed in brackets Grein's additions in the translation and emendations in his text:
> Durch die Luft hin kam an's Land Flug
> zu jener [Heiden]burg, die ihm der Herr [bezeichnete
> vorher in Achaia], der Fürst der Engel.
> An den Aufweg eilten drauf die Engel [wieder
> in dem Himmel] selig ihre Heimat zu suchen.

may perhaps be assumed after 828; the only satisfactory stop-gap so far proposed is

      in Achaia   ær getæhte,

of which the first three words are from Grein, the last from Trautmann [1907: 118].

It may be possible to lineate the passage, and to reduce emendation to a plural ending for *becwom* and *an* or *ann*:

> Þurh lyftgelac   on land becwom[on]
> to þære ceastre,   þe him [an] cining engla,
> ða þa aras siðigean
> eadige on upweg,   eðles neosan.

If this is possible, line 829 is a single half-line, *ða þa aras siðigean*. The meaning is perhaps:[42]

> Through the tumultuous air came down to earth the messengers to that city — which the king of angels grants them — the blessed ones, journeying in their ascent to go to their home.

7.3   Line 890 is preceded in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 41^r) by an erasure (of about three letters, the first of which appears to have been *þ*) after the point concluding line 889. The line as it stands is: *þe þara sceal fremde weorðan*. The space between *fremde* and *weorðan* is slightly larger than most spaces. The line, probably not hypermetric, is Sievers Type A with anacrusis of four syllables; rare, suspect, *verdächtig*, says Sievers (1885: 273-4) of *Beowulf*, line 2636, *þæt we him þa guðgetawa*.[43] Unemended, *Andreas* lines 889-91 make good sense: 'Wretched exile is decreed, punishment made manifest, for him who must become a stranger to them', where *þara* refers to three phrases, *wuldres wynn* 'glorious joy', *wigendra þrym* 'glory of warriors', *æðelic onginn* 'noble enterprise', and therefore plural. It is possible to take line 890 as a single half-line. It might be regarded as

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[42] With *lyftgelac* either 'the tumultuous air' or 'the playful air', the former being preferable since it fits the use at *Andreas* line 1552.

[43] Cf. Hutcheson (1995: 35), who characterizes the poem: 'The *And* poet follows OE metrical rules with precision, and employs a wide variety of metrical types, though there are a higher number of metrical aberrant types here than in other poems of the ninth century or earlier.'

the last, non-rhyming half-line of a series of rhyming and assonating lines: *wynn ~ þrym, onginn ~ gewinn,*[44] as well as participial *witod ~ geopenad.*

7.4   Line 1036 is pointed in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 43ʳ) *tu ond hundteontig . geteled rime . swylce feowertig generede fram niðe .* It is a single half-line to accommodate a number. The notion of the alliterative long line in two half-lines was so firmly established in the minds of scholars that from the beginning, Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 72), 'Here a line is wanting', was firmly rooted in the perception of this line: Grimm (1840: 30) 'fehlt der halbe vers'; Kemble (1854: 60) indicates the omission of a half-line; Grein (1858: 34) supplies *eac feorcundra,* modified to *eac feorrancumene* by Cosijn (1896: 13); Baskervill (1891: 48), as a matter of principle, assumes no loss, but his lineation contravenes all notions of metre; Wülker (1894: 49 apparatus) tinkers with the text by wishing to delete the tironian note (for *ond*) in *tu* ond *hundteontig,* and suggests that line 1036 could have been the result of an earlier version having in numerals XXXX miscopied as LXX, and in line 1036 he wishes to emend manuscript *nænige* to *nænigne* as Grein (1858: 35) had done, and so also Krapp (1906: 41; and ASPR II, 1932: 31), and Brooks (1961: 33). There is a good note by Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 116), dealing with a number of emendations and suggestions of loss in the text.

7.5   Line 1040 is another single half-line to accommodate a number. In the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 43ʳ) *ond* is written *on*; as often the spacing between words is not as in the editions, and there is a wide space between *þagyt* and *weorodes* and between *gefreoðode* and *fægen*: *. on þær wifa þagyt   weorodes to eacan anes wana þefiftig . forhte gefreoðode   fægen wæron siðes .* Emendatory energy and skill was spent on these lines by the early editors (except Baskervill, 1891: 44, who divides the passage wrongly into long lines) and commentators, assuming that one or more half-lines are missing, led by Thorpe's note (1836 or 1837: 72), 'The want of connection in the sense and of alliteration shows that this part of the MS. is very defective', and Grimm's note (1840: 30), 'fehlt der halbe vers.' Grein (1858: 35) completes the line, *anes vana ealra fiftig* (omitting *þe,*[45] in a half-line that is metrically incorrect, as was established after his time).

7.6   Line 1090 lacks alliteration. The manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 43ᵛ) points the long line with *gefeormedon* as if a separate half-line. Invited to emend by Grimm's note (1840: 125), Ettmüller (1850: 149, his line 24) adds *deade* to begin the line. He is followed by Grein (1859: 36), Wülker (1894: 52), and Krapp (1906:

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[44] See the notes of Krapp (1906: 123), Brooks (1961: 93).
[45] Leading Krapp (1906: 129-30) to believe that *þe* before a numeral is unparalleled and wrong; but see Mitchell (1985: § 3242). Brooks (1961: 97-8), is also wrong about *þe,* and his reconstruction (with a second half-line *forþgerimed*) is an unnecessary regularization.

52; and ASPR II, 1932: 33); but Sievers (1885: 517) condemns the emendation as objectionable (*anstössig*), and Brooks in his notes (1961: 99) invents a second half-line to go with *gefeormedon*, and a first half-line to go with *duruþegnum wearð*. Without emendation, *gefeormedon* cannot be taken with what precedes: *him to lifnere gefeormedon*, a half-line wholly irregular. It seems irrelevant that the word alliterating with *lifnere* had been convincingly emended from *behlidenan* (? 'those who have had the lid put on') to *belidenan* ('the departed') which makes good sense (suggested by Grimm, 1840: 125). In that uncertain context it would be wrong to regard *duruþegnum wearð* as a single half-line.

7.7 Line 1139 is pointed in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 44ᵛ) with a point between *þroht heard* and *þrymman* in a context (lines 1136b to the end of 1140b) with no other point. There is a no continuity of sense or syntax between *wæs se leodhete þrohtheard* and *þrymman sceocan* so that *þrohtheard . þrymman sceocan* is not a possible single half-line in sense, whereas *wæs se leodhete þrohtheard* is in sense, 'the national hatred was hard to endure', a possible second half-line (though not likely in metre), leaving *þrymman sceocan* as single half-line, giving good sense and metre, 'mighty warriors departed in haste'. Editors and commentators have regarded line 1139 as in obvious need of emendation: Ettmüller (1850: 149, his line 73) created a first half-line *þrohtheard [and þrealic]*, followed by Grein (1858: 37), who in (1865: 423) preferred *þearl and þrohtheard*. Wülker (1894: 54-5) doubts if any emendation is required, because line 1141, *woldon æninga ellenrofe*, does not satisfy him either (though it is metrically all right, Sievers Type C and Type A), and if an emendation were needed he would look to line 1264a, *þrist ond þrohtheard* to provide it; and that is the emendation accepted by Krapp (1906: 45; and ASPR II, 1932: 34), and by Brooks (1961: 37). If, however, *wæs se leodhete þrohtheard* were metrically possible, it would constitute an irregular half-line so heavy that it should come with double alliteration as a first half-line, and not as here. At the end of the preceding line the initial consonant of *þrohtheard* introduces *þrymman sceocan*, which, in such a context must remain a doubtful single half-line.

7.8 Line 1434 is in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 48ᵛ) *me is miht ofer eall* preceded and followed by pointing. Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 82) says, 'A line is here wanting', and Grimm (1840: 42) similarly, *fehlt ein halbvers*. Kemble (1854: 83) follows Thorpe. Grein (1859: 45) adds the half-line *geond middangeard*. Wülker (1894: 69) draws attention to his censure of line 864, which, unlike Grein and later editors, he is not inclined to emend, and he finds no reason to complete line 1434 to scan better: *es ist eben ein schlecht gebauter vers* 'it is quite simply a badly

constructed line'.[46] Ettmüller (1850: 153, his line 367) was the first to emend, altering *eall* to *eallne* followed by *middangeard*. Grein's emendation (1859: 45) is followed by Krapp (1906: 57). Brooks (1961: 46) indicates a gap. This is the third half-line of a triad alliterating on *m*, and it is therefore an example of the kind of pattern that Bliss (1971) relates to the *ljóðaháttr* stanza.

8.1 There are no single half-lines in *The Fates of the Apostles*. The Vercelli *Soul and Body* has certainly one single half-line, line 111, of which Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 96) says, 'This line is without corresponding alliteration, and is not in the Exon MS.', and he puts *fingras tohrorene* in square brackets. As is his wont, Grein (1857: 202), in his conflated text of the poem in the Vercelli Book and in the Exeter MS, invents a second half-line: *fet toclofene*. Wülker (1894: 103) comments on his line 113 that in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 103ʳ line 9) there is not a trace of a gap.[47]

9.1 *Homiletic Fragment I*, line 8, *Forðan se witiga cwæð*, is the third half-line of a triad alliterating on *w*. Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 98) places the second half-line of the triad in square brackets, that is, he wishes to delete it at line 7b because it merely anticipates line 10b (his line 18), adding a footnote to the bracketed half-line: 'Manifestly an error, and subversive both of sense and alliteration; see line 18.' Grein (1858: 142), adds *sylfa* to the end of line 7b, and so produces two long lines, instead of the one line and a half of the manuscript:

> Byð þonne þäs vommes gevita [sylfa]
> veoruda dryhten. Forþon se vîtiga cwäð:

Wülker (1894: 108) arranges the lines as did Grein, but without Grein's *sylfa*, and in his footnote he says, 'After what has been said in relation to *Andreas* about the frequent, fairly deficiently formed verses in poems of the Vercelli Book, I find here no reason for emendation.'[48] Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 59) recognizes the single half-line.

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[46] Line 864 reads *on flyhte feðerum hremige*, emended by Grein (1859: 30) by beginning the line with *faran*, followed by Krapp (1906: 34; and ASPR II, 1932: 27), and Brooks (1961: 28), who puts in *faran* after *flyhte*. I doubt if it is to be regarded as an isolated hypermetric line. It makes good sense unemended.
[47] Wülker has his own, reduced facsimile (1895) of the Vercelli poems.
[48] 'Nach dem, was bei Andreas über die recht häufig mangelhaft gebildeten verse in gedichten der Vercellihs. Gesagt ist, finde ich hier keinen grund zur änderung.'

10.1 *The Dream of the Rood* has been edited very frequently, and in considering treatment of the only single half-line in this poem I have been selective in references to editions in readers, though I hope that I have not overlooked any work that invents for the first time a second half-line to go with the single half-line. I have ignored the single half-lines of the Ruthwell Cross version because details of half-lines presented and omitted are governed by considerations of space. In my opinion the metre of the poem is often inexact, but Hutcheson (1995: 34 note 127), says more moderately, 'E. G. Stanley re[g]ards *Dream* as "metrically inexact" ("Verbal Stress" [1975: 317]), but this view is, in my opinion, too extreme.'

10.2 Line 76, *freondas gefrunon*, is printed in Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 102) with asterisks after it to indicate a gap, with a footnote, 'Here at least two lines are wanting.' Kemble (1856: 88) follows. Grein (1857: 145) invents a second half-line, *hie me þa of foldan ahofon*. Stephens (1866[-1901]: I, 426) before the understanding of metre had been systematized, added the half-line *fram me hofon*. Dickins and Ross (1934: 30) leave the single half-line in their text, but add the note: 'If it be worth while attempting to fill the gap *hofon of foldgræfe* has the support of El 845-6' [= *Elene* 843-4; Gradon, 1958: 58]. Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 63 and 131) recognizes it as a single half-line. Swanton (1970: 126) has a note: '76b. Although no lacuna exists in the MS., a half-line or more appears to have been omitted from the text. ... the sense is adequate without addition. Such 'missing' second half-lines are not infrequent in the poetical MSS., and while commonly restored hypothetically, may have been deliberately left thus by the OE poet.' Fulk (2001: 72) retains, with alterations, Pope's note (last edn, Pope, 1981a: 68) on defective metre and scribal inadvertence: 'The reference here to St. Helena's discovery of the cross and its adornment under her direction is surprisingly brief, and since the meter is defective we may reasonably suppose that some material has been omitted through the inadvertence of a scribe [Pope, "that several verses have been accidentally omitted by a scribe"].' Line 76 is a single half-line, to be accepted as transmitted.

11.1 *Elene* has been edited often. Thorpe (1836 or 1837) draws attention seven times to what he considers to be missing half-lines, and, till Krapp (ASPR II, 1932) let them stand as single half-lines, the editors, among them some of the very greatest scholars of Old English verse, showed their ingenious learning by inventing half lines to complement the transmitted text. Pamela Gradon (1958), like Krapp a generation earlier, left them as transmitted. Her note (1958: 15) on line 22 gives a list of such lines (including line 371 as arranged by her, but not convincingly,

and line 439, the subject of a more plausible emendation): lines 371, 439, 451, 518, 582, 614, 1277, of which lines 371, 439, 582, and 1277 are not marked as wanting a second half-line in Thorpe's edition (1836 or 1837).

11.2 Line 22, *wæron hwate weras*, was seen from Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 105) onwards as incomplete; and so marked by Zupitza (1877: 1; 1883: 1; 1888: 2), with the various emendations proposed so far in his apparatus: a second half-line was invented: Ettmüller (1850: 156), *hildemecgas*; Grein (1858: 105), *on herebyrnan*; Körner (1878, 1980: II, 146), *hereþreatas*; Sievers (1882: 997), *hilde gefysde*. Holthausen (1914: 2; 1936: 2) variously emends both the transmitted half-line and the second half-line as produced by him, in his third and fourth editions (1914: 2; 1936: 2), *Wæron [wig] hwate weras [ætsome]*; Klaeber (1906: 271), a first half-line *swylce Hetware*; Trautmann (1907: 98), *wæron hwate [hæleþas heaþurofe] weras*. Such a collection of textual guesses is of interest as typifying the Higher Criticism of early modern Germanic scholarship. In their keenness to correct the transmitted texts scholars of that age, brought up in the faith that the Germanic poets' alliterative metre was an inviolable sacred heritage, never considered the possibility that the Anglo-Saxon poets might have had a less absolute view of prosodic regularity; or the likelihood that of the many guesses none goes back to the poet. Gradon's note on the line (1958: 26) belongs to a different world: 'But the half-line is complete in both metre and sense and, moreover, alliterates with the previous line. It may, therefore, be a metrical variant.'

11.3 Line 371, *ond gedwolan fylgdon*, is preceded in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 124ᵛ) by a point, the only point between the opening of the fitt at line 364 and the end of line 374. That may justify Gradon's arrangement of these lines (1958: 41):

> ond ge þam ryhte   wiðroten hæfdon,
> onscunedon þone Sciran,   Scippend, eallra Dryhten,
> ond gedwolan fylgdon
> ofer riht Godes.

Using her notes and often her glossary, this may be translated:

> and you had opposed that truth, rejected that Radiant One, the Creator,
> the Lord of all things, and have followed heresy against God's law.

This arrangement of the lines involves creating the heavy half-line *Scippend, eallra Dryhten*, comparable in heaviness with, but not identical in scansion with, line 701a, *heanne fram hungres geniðlan* with double alliteration, possible only in a first half-line. Double alliteration feels good in such a line with three lifts; so also (with elision) more like the *Elene* line, *Genesis* line 44a, *rece ond reade lige*.[49] Editors before Gradon emended line 371a, following Grein (1858: 114), who placed *eal(l)ra* at the end of line 370, and [*dryhtna*] *dryhten* as line 371a. The manuscript point supports Gradon; nevertheless, Grein's emendation seems persuasive: *dryhtna Dryhten* occurs not infrequently in Old English verse; see *DOE*, s.v. *dryhten*, 2.a.i.

11.4 Line 439: there is no pointing in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 125ʳ) between the beginning of line 436 and the end of line 440. All editors, from Grein (1858: 115) onwards, are agreed that the sense is incomplete. He provides a first half-line and two words before manuscript *eaferan* in the second half-line: [*þe hit syððan cyðde sylfa his*] *eaferan*. Holthausen (1905: 17) inserted *þe wæs Symon haten, sinum*; his last version (1936: 17) reads [*Symon wæs haten, sinum*] *eaferan*; Craigie (1926: II, 48) reads [*þam wæs Simon nama, swæsum*] *eaferan*. Cook (1919: 17) prints *fæder*[*e*]*minum, /* [*þe wæs Symon haten, swæsum*] *eaferan*. Unlike these earlier emendations, Gradon's edition (1958: 43) supplies fewer words, and is based on the likelihood that haplography led to the loss: [*fæder min*] *eaferan*. She has created a single half-line. It gives a likely reading, unless one objects to all emendation.

11.5 Line 451, *ond hira dryhtscipe*, is the third half-line of a triad alliterating on *d*, and Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 78) and Gradon (1958: 43) recognize it as such. Following Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 116), 'Here a line is wanting', editors supply a second half-line: Grimm (1840: 64, 150 note), *mid yldum deah* (before the understanding of metre was systematized); Grein (1858: 116), *bið gedyrsod æfre*, but (1865: 424) *dreames bruceð*; Brenner (1889: 481), *dreosan ne sceal* or *na dreosan sceal*;[50] Holthausen (1905: 17, and later edns), *deorlice bið*.

11.6 Line 518, *syðþan gelyfdon*, is the third half-line of a triad alliterating on *s*, and Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 80) and Gradon (1958: 46) recognize it as such. Following Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 118), 'Here a line is wanting', editors supply a second half-line, though Grimm (1840: 66) thought the first half-line was wanting: Grein (1858: 117), *in lifes fruman*; Holthausen (1905: 19), *leohtum geþoncum*,

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[49] Cited as hypermetric by Sievers (1887: 459). Gradon's arrangement of the lines does not have the approval of Bliss (1967: 164), who lists line 701a as a hypermetric line, but not line 370b. Gradon's edition was published in the same year as Bliss's first edition, so that he could not have considered her arrangement of the lines until he came to revise the book.

[50] The reference is in Krapp (ASPR II, 1932:139).

later editions (1910, 1914, 1936: 19) follow von der Warth (1908: 46), who supplies *þissum leofspelle*. Wülker (1894: 156) says that it is not easy to determine if the gap is better thought of as before or after *syðþan gelyfdon*; and in any case, he thinks, that as far as the sense of the passage goes, there is no reason to think that anything is lacking.

11.7 Line 582, *þe ge hwile nu on unriht* 'which for a while you wrongly', comes between two half-lines in paronomastic relationship, line 581a in Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 82), line 581b in Gradon (1958: 48), *ne magon ge ða word geseðan* 'you cannot prove the word', and line 583b, *ne magon ge þa wyrd bemiðan* 'you cannot conceal the event'. All this occurs in a set of hypermetric lines, the arrangement of which is difficult and greatly influenced by the wrong transcription or emendation of *apundrad*, in the manuscript (C. Sisam, 1976: fol. 126^v) unmistakably *p* not wynn. The verb occurs only here, and the related **apyndrian* (see *DOE* s.v.), also *hapax legomenon*, is a plausible construction of the manuscript reading with wynn (Goossens, 1974: 437, gloss 4483 damaged; cf. van Langenhove, 1941: fol. 44^v line 7 from bottom). By Thorpe's transcription (1836 or 1837: 119) as *awundrad* alliteration on *w* was mistakenly perfected, and so edited by Grimm (1840: 68), Kemble (1854: 35), and Grein (1858: 119). Wülker (1894: 159) emends to *awundrad*. Zupitza emends more drastically (1877: 20): *þæt leas* sceal || *awended weorðan*; (1888: 26): *þæt* eow seo *leas*ung sceal || *awended weorðan* (*awended* 'averted, changed'), with further emendations proposed in the apparatus. Holthausen (1910: 90) suggests tentatively a half-line *hydan þa halgan geryno* to fill an assumed gap before *þe ge hwile nu on unriht* (and so still 1936: 91). Holthausen (1905: 23, in apparatus; 1910: and so still 1936: 22) reinstates manuscript *apundrad* in his text, and his arrangement of the lines is the same as Gradon's (1958: 48), but whereas she is content to leave *þe ge hwile nu on unriht* as a single half-line he prints a series of dots in square brackets to precede that half-line. Elene's speech, lines 574-584a, is metrically not easy. Line 580b, *þæt eow sceal þæt leas apundrad* (alliterating on *l*) appears to be a Sievers Type A line with anacrusis four syllables long, rather than hypermetric; but Bliss (1967: 164), in his index of hypermetric verses, lists lines 580b to 589b as hypermetric lines (presumably, using the arrangement of lines as in ASPR II, 1932: 82). The word-play of *word geseðan* with *wyrd bemiðan* is paramount: the two infinitives are in inexact rhyme and heighten the antithesis of *word* 'word' and *wyrd* 'event', grander than the hackneyed antithesis of word(s) and deed(s). To be effective the sound of the first branch of that word-play must still be present when the second branch is heard. Two half-lines, the first a single half-line, separate these two elements.

Paronomasia weighs more heavily on this poetic utterance than the demands of prosodic regularity that preoccupied the minds of scholars of the nineteenth century and the earlier twentieth.

11.8 Line 614, if not emended, may be an isolated hypermetric line, though not listed as such by Bliss (1967: 164): *on gesihðe þu geweorðað*, and Gradon (1958: 26, note on line 22) regards it as a single-half-line. Thorpe (1836 or 1837: 120) says, 'Here some lines are wanting.' Grimm (1840: 69) speaks of just a small gap between *gesihðe* and *þu*. Kemble (1854: 36) indicates the loss of some words after *on gesihðe* and the loss of perhaps a word after *þu geweorðað*. Grein (1858: 110) inserts *gebroht* before *on*. Zupitza (first in 1877: 21) emends to *þu samod geweorðað*. Ten Brink (1879: 60) suggests *on gesihðe þu* gesette *geweorðað*, or leave off *ge-* before *weorðað*. Klaeber (1919: 252) has *geseted weorðað*.[51]

11.9 Lines 1276-7. Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 101, 151) sees a single half-line in *þream forþrycced*; Gradon (1958: 74) has *eall gewiteð* as a single half-line. The alliteration of line 1276 on *þ* stresses the pronoun of *þeos world*, and the same exceptional alliteration occurs in *The Phoenix* (ASPR III, 1936: 108) line 501, *þreatum þringað þonne þeos woruld* (*world = woruld*, disyllabic). Sievers (1885: 518) condemns alliteration at *Elene* line 1277 on *þeos* as 'quite impossible', and he appears to add *eall gewiteð* to *swa eall gewiteð* forming one half-line.[52] Sievers's dictum may have led Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 101) to give line 1277 as *Swa a þeos world eall gewiteð*, stating 'a] *Not in MS*.'. Among several emendations by Holthausen (1907a: 205; 1910: 47, his line 1278) *þeos æðele world* replaces *þeos world* to provide less exceptional alliteration. In his 4th edn (1936: 47) he inserts *ealde*, not *æðele*. Krapp (ASPR II, 1932: 151) has a long note on these lines, listing the many unconvincing emendations, probably based on Sievers's disapprobation of alliteration on *þeos*. The parallel in *The Phoenix*, however, makes all these emendations of *swa þeos world* unwarranted. Gradon's interpretation seems right.

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[51] I owe the reference to Gradon (1958: 49).
[52] 'Ganz unmöglich ist 1277 *swâ þeós eall gewîteð* mit alliteration auf *þeós*.' Sievers has no comment on *The Phoenix*, line 501; cf. 1885: 516.

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH,
III, The Exeter Book

12.1 John Josias Conybeare, so his brother, William Daniel Conybeare (1826: iv), tells us, 'more than once visited Exeter for the express purpose of consulting the valuable collection of Saxon poetry bequeathed to the library of that cathedral by Bishop Leofric. Some detached portions of the original matter thus collected, were from time to time communicated to the public through the channel of the *Archæologia, British Bibliographer*, &c.' The inconvenience of consulting the Exeter Book was of course not as great as the difficulty of going to Vercelli, or the sad difficulty of going from Germany to England that prevented Christian W. M. Grein from ever seeing any of the manuscripts from which he edited brilliantly, though in his emendations perhaps too imaginatively, almost all of Old English poetry. Wülker relates how illness and death prevented Grein from a journey to England that had been arranged.[53] He had to rely always on transcriptions made by and printed for others. Manuscript damage led some nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Anglo-Saxonists to try to supply half-lines and longer passages lost or made illegible, and these modern, scholarly attempts are ignored in this study. In the long poems of the Exeter Book, that is up to the end of *Juliana* (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 76ᵃ), single half-lines are so exceptionally rare, possibly *Christ C* line 1090 and more probably *Guthlac A* line 178, that there is every reason for thinking that in over 4500 lines the poets of the Exeter Book, unlike the poets of MS Junius 11, strove to avoid such irregularity, and that the regularity-seeking metrists are singing from the same hymn-sheet as the regularity-achieving poets of the longer poems in the Exeter Book. Single half-lines are rare in the shorter poems of the Exeter Book too: one such half-line is *The Wanderer* line 90b. The special requirements involving alliteration and end rhyme led to the single half-line of *The Riming Poem* line 25. *Widsith* includes

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[53] Wülker's short biography of Grein is in the preliminaries of Wülker and Assmann (1898), the volume edited by Assmann.

rhythmical patterns, among them single half-lines, unlike other Old English poems.

12.2 For comparative purposes, Bliss (1971: 447 footnote 31) found only one single half-line in the three parts of *Christ*. Bliss is not likely to have thought that line 1083, *synfa men*, is the sole single half-line, for that is best considered with -*fa* uncontracted, nor line 1288 with *donne* uncontracted (cf. Sievers, 1885: 478, 477). More likely, *Christ C* line 1090 is Bliss's single half-line, emended by Grein (1857: 177) an emendation accepted by later editors: *Þæt þeah to teonum [geteod] weorþeð*, but unemended *Þæt þeah to teonum weorþeð* makes good sense, and, as Sievers Type A with trisyllabic anacrusis, it scans satisfactorily though that is difficult to parallel. Even so, with only one sole single-half-line in a poem 1664 lines long, it is reasonable to wonder if that exceptional line is not the product of faulty scribal transmission rather than poetic creation. It is possible that the poets of *Christ* were as determined to avoid single half-lines, broken lines, as the martinetish metrists of Germanic poetry.

13.1 *Guthlac A* lines 177-8 are probably best arranged as below: after *bletsade* the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 35ᵃ) has a point:

> gyrede hine georne   mid gæstlicum wæpnum,
> wong bletsade .
> [he armed himself eagerly with spiritual weapons, he blessed the plain.]

That is how the lines have been arranged by many editors, though Thorpe (1842: 112) put *mid* in the first half-line, and some from Thorpe onwards assumed a gap after *bletsade*. In consulting and citing the early editions of *Guthlac* one is always faced with the minor technical complication that Thorpe (1842: 102-3) disregarded the clear manuscript opening of *Guthlac A* (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 32ᵇ), and he attached the beginning of the poem to the end of *Christ*, and then (Thorpe, 1842: 104-7) chose lines 30-92 to form a separate poem to which he gave the title 'Poem Moral and Religious'. Grein never saw the manuscript, and ignoring Thorpe's separate poem, began (1858: 71) *Guthlac* at what, ever since Gollancz (1895: 104) has been regarded, in agreement with the manuscript lay-out, as line 30 of *Guthlac*, lines 1-29 forming lines 1666-94 of his *Christ* (Grein, 1857: pp. 190-1). Grein (1858: 75, his line 149b) adds *þa he waldendes beacen* after *wong bletsade* (*beacen* the object of *aræde* at the end of the next line). Krapp (ASPR III, 1936: 262) lists Cremer (1888: 50) who added *syððan he wuldres beam*, and

Cosijn (1898: 116) who added *waldendes tacn*. Jane Roberts (1979: 134-5) splits the lines after *gæstlicum*, adds *& wædum* after *wæpnum*, and has a reference to Trautmann (1900: 174), who has *ond wordum* where she has *& wædum*; and to Holthausen (1899: 356) who supplies *Guðlac* after *wæpnum*. In the same note Roberts says, 'whether or not single verses were purposely composed by Anglo-Saxon poets, there is no other instance in this poem.' I am not sure what 'purposely' means here, hardly that a poet sets out to create deliberately and by design single half-lines. Unless here, there is no single half-line in *Guthlac A*, and Pope (1981b: 423) calls the metre of the poem 'surprisingly regular'. A poem of 818 lines is probably long enough for doubt about just one single half-line. Yet it seems wrong to split *mid gæstlicum wæpnum* though that is a heavy line, perhaps requiring double alliteration, not possible in a second half-line; and anacrusis seems irregular (*mid* was perhaps was added well after the poet for greater clarity). To regard *wong bletsade* as a single half-line introduced by *wæpnum* (at the end of the preceding line) is probably the best solution because it requires no emendation.

14.1 Thorpe (1842: 176) comments on *Guthlac B*, line 1234, 'no alliteration'. Assmann (1898: 90) prints *bi me lifgendum* and *Huru ic nolde sylf* as two separate incomplete lines (his lines 1208 and 1209). In the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 50ᵛ) a point precedes *bi me*; the next point comes at the end of line 1237. Grein (1858: 101) invents *leoda bearnum* to complete line 1line 1234a (his line 1207a) and *næfre on ealdre* to complete the next line. It is conceivable that *huru ic nolde sylf þurh gielpcwide* forms the hypermetric first half-line of line 1235. If so, *bi me lifgendum* is a single half-line. This is a possible, but not very likely, solution to the crux of these two lines. Single hypermetric half-lines are always suspect; and here certainly so. The other possibility is even less likely, that *bi me lifgendum* is attached to *gieddum mænden*, to form a hypermetric line 1233b: *gieddum mænden bi me lifgendum*. None of the early solutions proposed for line 1234 is plausible. The best now is Pope's tentative suggestion (1981b: 423-4): *Huru ic nolde [lisse] sylf* with *lisse* (accusative) meaning 'grace', in variation with *frofre* line 1236a. Pope offers no translation; the following is my attempt: 'Truly, I myself did not wish to hinder, through boastful speaking, the grace, the comfort of my soul, nor ever bring about the rightful wrath of God, my Father.'

15.1 The last phrase of *The Wanderer* line 92 is a clear example of a single half-line:

> Hwær cwom mearg?   Hwær cwom mago?
> Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa?

In this part of the poem the manuscript pointing (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 77[b]) is regular, marking off each phrase. I have not searched all the editions to see if any arrange the phrases so. Thorpe (1842: 291-2) ignores the manuscript point after the first phrase and prints, as do all later editors, the first two phrases as a half-line. The single half-line *Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa?* is used for special effect. The wise words at the end begin strikingly with five questions, each in itself a unit. This great poetic triad shares in multiple alliteration, perhaps (exceptionally) /hw/, and certainly /c/ and /m/.

16.1   *Widsith* includes metrical name-lists, in which some lines, it has been suggested, conform to a metrical pattern different from the normal pattern of Old English verse.[54] Some of what in the editions are printed as very long lines are in fact a long line plus a single half-line, a triad alliterating on the same letter (or a set of three half-lines the first and third of which alliterate on the same letter). It does not matter for the purpose of this study that the structure of each of these half-lines does not always conform to standard Old English metrical patterns, sometimes the second half-line of the three does not even alliterate with the first half-line. There is not of necessity some underlying proto-Germanic pattern to which they conform: the poet of *Widsith*, late in the history of Anglo-Saxon England (cf. Langenfelt, 1959), shows himself sufficiently to be inventive, and he might well not have been stuck as firmly in Germanic metrics as the metricists of Old English poetry. The lines are, first, 59-63:

> Mid Wenlum ic wæs   ond mid Wærnum
> ond mid Wicingum.
> Mid Gefþum ic wæs   ond mid Winedum
> ond mid Gefflegum.
> Mid Englum ic wæs   ond mid Swæfum
> ond mid Ænenum.
> Mid Seaxum ic wæs   ond Sycgum[55]

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[54] Especially insistent on this difference is Malone (1962: 60-75). Cf. Hutcheson (1995: 32 and note 118), with whom, on the whole, I agree.

[55] From Thorpe (1842: 322, by mistranscription) onwards, editors have inserted *mid* by emendation, *ond [mid] Sycgum*; except, among early editors, John Josiah Conybeare (William Daniel Conybeare, 1826:

ond mid Sweordwerum.
Mid Hronum ic wæs   ond mid Deanum
ond mid Heaþoreamum.

Next lines 68-9:

Mid Froncum ic wæs   ond mid Frysum
ond mid Frumtingum.
Mid Rugum ic wæs   ond mid Glommum
ond mid Rumwalum.

The single line, 76:

Mid Creacum ic wæs   ond mid Finnum
ond mid Casere,

and further, lines 79-81:

Mid Scottum ic wæs   ond mid Peohtum
ond mid Scridefynnum.
Mid Lidwicingum ic wæs   ond mid Leonum
ond mid Longbeardum.
Mid hæðnum[56]   ond mid hæleþum
ond mid Hundingum.

Line 83, like line 81, has no *ic wæs* after the first name:

Mid Ebreum   ond mid Indeum
ond mid Egyptum.

Line 84 is in line with the fuller metrical pattern of the first half-line with *ic wæs*; and lines 85 and 86 are without single half-line:

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15), Kemble (1835: 231), Guest (1838: II, 82), Leo (1838: 80); and, among more recent editors, Mackie (1934: 18), and Krapp and Dobbie (ASPR III, 1936:151).
[56] Thorpe (1842: 323) does not emend; but he adds *ic wæs* after *Hæðnum* in his edition of *Beowulf* (1855: 222), as do other editors earlier and later.

> Mid Moidum ic wæs   ond mid Persum
> ond mid Myrgingum,
> ond mid Amothingum.   Mid Eastþyringum ic wæs

Line 87 resumes, though not exactly, the pattern of the triad, and does so without *ic wæs* like line 83; so that it is presumptuous to put it in where it is missing in the manuscript, as also to add *mid* before *Idumingum* as some editors have done and some still do (thus Muir, 1994: I, 244):

> ond mid Eolum   ond mid Istum
> ond Idumingum.

A different catalogue begins at line 109, and lines 112 and 113 have a third, single half-line (*Fridlan* is trisyllabic):

> Heðcan sohte ic   ond Beadecan
> ond Herelingas.
> Emercan sohte ic   ond Fridlan
> ond Eastgotan.

The borderline between these units of three half-lines and hypermetric lines is not entirely clear; it seems best to regard lines 115-117, 119, 123 and 124 as hypermetric. Some long lines come close in patterning to the unit of a long line followed by a single half-line. The poet of *Widsith* is distinguished metrically by ignoring well-established rules, well-established, that is, by metricists.

17.1 *Maxims I* has been fully dealt with by Bliss (1971), and this poem is central to his argument. Except that I am not sure if he is right to associate the metre of the Exeter and the Cotton *Maxims* with the *ljóðaháttr* of Old Icelandic verse, I agree with his analysis, and therefore do not list the lines he has discussed authoritatively.

18.1 *The Riming Poem* line 35 comes as the fifteenth in a sequence of nineteen half-lines rhyming on *-ede* (line 28 only, the first long line of the sequence) and − *ade* (written *-ode* at line 30a). J. J. Conybeare (W. D. Conybeare, 1826: xxi) has six asterisks and the footnote attached to them, 'The defective alliteration shows that a line is here lost.' He presumes it is missing before *blæd blissade*; Guest (1838:

II, 98) presumes the second half-line is missing. Ettmüller (1850: 222) supplies a second half-line, *bleo glissade*, and that is retained by many subsequent editors, though there are editors who do not supply a second half-line (see Krapp and Dobbie's note, ASPR III, 1936: 313).[57] The editors of Old English verse are so firmly wedded to the idea that there must be, by ancient law, a pair of half-lines to every long line that they cannot believe in the existence of the occasional single half-line in a sequence of nineteen lines prosodically linked by end-rhyme.

19.1 *Soul and Body II* line 12 comes in a part of the Exeter text close to the Vercelli text of the poem. Exeter reads:

> þone lichoman   þe heo ær longe wæg
> þreo hund wintra,

with 'three hundred years' explaining *longe*. The same explanation occurs in the Vercelli text, but there is a second half-line (Krapp, ASPR II, 1932: 55), *þreo hund wintra, butan ær þeodcyning*. Kenneth Sisam (1953a: 31-2) compares parts of the poem in the two versions near the beginning of his study of the reliability of the manuscripts, and makes differences seem significant without telling us how the difference is to be reconciled, if that were possible. It is easy to speculate how any textual irregularity may have arisen to produce an isolated single half-line. Perhaps an earlier version had 300 in roman numerals, and so came to be the first phrase in the line, as edited by Wülker (1894: 92) in his 'exact printed transcript', *genauer abdruck*:

> þreo hund wintra . butan ær wyrce . ece dryhten .

The points, however, are not in the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 98ª): they are the editor's way of justifying his arrangement of half-lines. His note says that here the Vercelli text is decidedly better. I am not so sure.

20.1 *Wulf and Eadwacer,* line 3, *ungelic is us*, repeated line 8 (with final *e* of *ungelice* elided), is clearly a single half-line. Line 17, *bireð wulf to wuda*, and line

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[57] Cf. Krapp and Dobbie (ASPR III, 1936: 313). Macrae-Gibson (1983: 46-7) implies that something has been lost, which we cannot now recover: 'we cannot hope to recover what he did write.' He is commenting on the attempt to supply a missing line by Lehmann (1970: 443, 447). In her note she notes that the Exeter scribe (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 94ᵇ) started a new line after line 35, and she suggests that that 'made it easy for the scribe to drop a half-line'.

19, *uncer giedd geador*, are single half-lines. The poem has long been recognized as strophic, and has been printed so since Grein, 1858: 369).[58]

21.1 The Exeter *Riddles* have been variously numbered by the editors. Since this study is about single long lines and single half-lines I have followed the Krapp and Dobbie's numbering (ASPR III, 1936: 180-210, 224-5, 229-243) though for several of them I prefer the analysis, leading to separating parts of what in ASPR III is given as a single poem, at other times combining into one poem what in ASPR III is edited as more than one. I take them together; in the manuscript 1-59, 30 (second version) and 60, and 61-95 are in three separate groups. There are many editions and studies of the *Riddles*. I have been very selective in my references, but I hope that I have not overlooked work relevant to the issue of single half-lines. It is important to recognize that the prosody of the Old English riddles is not uniform, and is not uniformly the regular metre observable, for example, in the metrically strict *Beowulf*, though most of the riddles conform in most lines to that regularity. Even the way the lines are set out in the *Leiden Riddle* is uniquely different from the usual prose-like appearance of the poems in the manuscripts, Perhaps that is the result of its scribe being continental (cf. Parkes, 1972, with a facsimile); the same riddle, Exeter *Riddle 35* in the numbering of ASPR III (1936: 198), is not set out in long lines in the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 109[b]). It is a translation of Aldhelm's *Lorica* riddle. That and Exeter *Riddle 40*, a translation of Aldhelm's *De Creatura* riddle, are different from most Old English verse in their handling of the relationship of syntax to lineation, discussed by Herzfeld (1890: 28):[59]

> What distinguishes these two riddles [ASPR III, nos 35 and 40] from the others is the circumstance that the metrical organization coincides totally with the syntactical organization, whereas the rule is otherwise that the two organizations cross the one with the other (Rieger, 1876: 45).

[58] Thorpe (1842: 380) printed the poem in 35 lines, without regard to the sense, and closing each line with a point, without regard to the very light manuscript pointing (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fols 100[b] and 101[a]). His note (p. 527) on the poem, which he was the first to call 'Riddle I', says: 'Riddle I.—Of this I can make no sense, nor am I able to arrange the verses.'

[59] 'Was diese zwei Räthsel von den übrigen scheidet, ist der Umstand, dass die metrische Gliederung mit der syntactischen ganz zusammenfällt, während sonst die Regel besteht, dass beide sich kreuzen (Rieger in Zacher's Ztschr. VII, 45).' (Tupper, 1910: 161, quotes part of Herzfeld's statement.) Rieger's analysis of this aspect of poetic art sweepingly relates this organizational variation to the avoidance of monotony, and connects it with oral delivery as opposed to silent reading.

Like some other Old English poems, *The Riming Poem* with some consistency and similarly the first 15 lines of the runic passage at the end of *Elene*, rhyme and assonance play a part in *Riddle 28*, but far less consistently and using jingles within the half-line (cf. Stanley, 1994: 145). Much of this metrical variety is irrelevant to the occasional single half-lines in riddles, except to show that in these poetic texts there is more metrical variety than in the long poems transmitted in the same manuscript.

21.2 *Riddle 2*, line 4, *fam gewealcen*, is in the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 101ª) written *fam ge* new line *wealcen*, and Cosijn (1898: 128) suggested that the words should be read *famge wealcen* comparing *Andreas* line 1524, *famige walcan* 'foamy billows' varying *gifen* (= *geofon* 'ocean') in the preceding line. That a half-line is missing in the expectation of editors is certain, Ettmüller (1850: 289) supplies *flod aræred* in a footnote, Grein (1858: 370) adds *flod afysed*, both as a first half-line,[60] Mackie (1934: 88), three generations later, says, 'A half-line has clearly been omitted in the MS.', Williamson (1977: 136; his *Riddle 1*, line 19) avers, 'the meter indicates that at least a half-line is missing.' The metre indicates nothing: the metricists predicate that the line is incomplete.

21.3 *Riddle 18*, since Grein (1858: 378) after line 3 (or after the last half-line in Thorpe, 1842: 399), editors have disfigured this riddle with asterisks to indicate loss of text. Williamson (1977: 185) considers the possibility that the line may be a single half-line, and he refers to Bliss (1971), but he dismisses that possibility. Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 195) draws attention to the closing manuscript punctuation after *ma* (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 105ª); the manuscript has a separate paragraph for the riddles on this page. Muir (1994: I, 300) agrees with earlier scholars about line 3: 'Though there is no gap in the MS, it is clear that at least one verse is wanting here.' Pinsker and Ziegler (1985: 40, 180) believe that the riddle is two riddles, the second, just one long line long, begins with *ic wæs* at the end of the second manuscript line. That shows a disregard of the manuscript lay-out for *Riddles 1-59*.[61] The unemended text does make good sense: 'I am a wondrous thing; I cannot speak words, hold forth before people though I have a mouth, a wide belly. I was on board ship, and many more of my kin.' The solution, we are told by earlier scholars, is some kind of bottle or jug;

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[60] The line is still so 'completed' by Pinsker and Ziegler (1985: 18, 150; their *Riddle 1*, line 19).
[61] *Riddles* in group *61-95* consisting of just one long line have been so edited. For example ASPR *Riddles 76* and *79*, which appear as separate riddles in the lay-out of the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 127a). Williamson (1977: 110 and 352-6, 111 and 359-61) joins up *76* and *75*, and *79* and *80* forming his *Riddles 73* and *76*. His arguments are fairly convincing.

but why on board ship? Because no one yet has guessed the solution convincingly a gap is assumed after the single half-line *wide wombe*. The last line provides a complication difficult to reconcile with the preceding five half-lines if that describes a bottle or jug. I wonder if the end may not provide the clue, and all that precedes is designed to mislead. If so, it is neither incomplete nor incoherent. So far it has not been solved satisfactorily, partly perhaps because it is difficult to understand why the tense changes from *ic eom* to *ic wæs*. Here is an attempt: 'I am' describes me as I always am; 'I was' on a ship till I spoke of myself before people as a riddler. The way it is shaped an Anglo-Saxon thole (OE *þoll*) or rowlock appears to hold the oar in its mouth, and lower down it is thicker, even belly-shaped if a representation of the fourth-century rowlock on the Nydam (Denmark) warship is right (see Ellmers, 2003: 396). The thole stands with more of its kind, each tied to the thole-board of the vessel. I am only guessing: guessing is what one is supposed to do with a riddle.

21.4 *Riddle 36*, lines 4 and 6, two single half-lines, are separated by the line with Old English words, *monn, wiif, hors*, each followed by the 'encrypted' Latin (not entirely correct in spelling), *homo, mulier, equus* (see Trautmann, 1894: 49; Holthausen, 1907b: 208). The two half-lines alliterate on vowels. They form one long line interrupted by part of the solution of the riddle in English and in Latin, and are therefore not to be regarded as single. Whether the bilingual words were originally a marginal note, which has got into the text itself, or whether it is an interruption designed by the riddler to confuse, it is impossible to say.

21.5 *Riddle 40*, line 23, preceded by a point in the manuscript (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 110[b]) reads: *Ic eom on stence strengre*, and since Grein (1858: 388) all editors have assumed the loss of a word (or words). Grein supplied *micle*.[62] Neither the sense, nor the wording of the source,[63] requires emendation in the Old English text. A cluster of unstressed syllables often begins a new sentence, and the line begins a new idea; the pointing and the capital *Ic* confirm that. It is a Sievers Type A line with trisyllabic anacrusis, difficult to parallel.[64] (See also the following item.)

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[62] Thorpe (1842: 423) had arranged the unemended lines differently (with points not in the manuscript), *ic eom on stence · | strengre þon ricels ·* ; but that leaves line 24b, *oþþe rose sy*, as a single half-line, and has not been followed in any subsequent edition.
[63] Aldhelm's *Creatura*, printed conveniently for comparison by Pinsker and Ziegler (1985: 70-78, at 74); Aldhelm's *pulchrior* is not heightened by any intensifier.
[64] See Hutcheson, 1995: 97-103. Cf. Sievers, 1885: 273-4.

21.5.1 *Riddle 40*, line 25, *on eorþan tyrf*, is a clear single half-line, emended to produce a long line by Grein (1858: 388), who supplied a first half-line for it, *þe swa ænlice*. Other suggestions include Pinsker and Ziegler (1985: 72),

> [oþþe ænig wyrt   þara þe]   on eorþan tyrf

a not unattractive rewriting of the poem; and better than Tupper's suggestion (1910: 166; accepted by Trautmann: 1915: 24, 103) as a possible way of retaining much of the manuscript reading unemended. Of course, *oþþe* is unstressed and, therefore, Tupper says, line 24 (of his *Riddle 41*) 'obviously lacks alliteration; but such a lapse is not particularly conspicuous among the metrical weaknesses of this translation.' Lines 23-26a with line 24 as in Tupper's note (1910: 166):

> Ic eom on stence   strengre þonne ricels
> oþþe rose sy   [seo *or* þe] on eorþan tyrf
> wynlic weaxeð.
> [I am in smell stronger than is incense or the rose which on the greensward of the earth grows delightful(ly).]

There is no need to supply '*seo* or *þe*'. In this riddle asyndetic parataxis occurs at line 61, where the editors from Grein (1858: 389) to Muir (1994: I, 318) supply the relative pronoun *þe* for a smoother reading, smoother, that is, when translating into German or English.[65] It makes no difference to the recognition of line 25 as a single half-line whether *þe* is inserted or not: *on eorþan tyrf*.

21.6 *Riddle 59*: lines 7b-16a may contain two single half-lines, but the passage has been variously emended. The manuscript pointing (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 114[b]), *dryht dolg don · swa*, is interesting because it throws light on Thorpe's suggestion (1842: 441), note on *dryht dolgdon*: 'apparently corrupt and without an alliterating [half-]line.—*dryht-dolg dón?*' He translates neither the manuscript half-line nor his emended line. Even Grein (1858: 396), ever inventive, could think of no second half-line and printed eleven dots. Dietrich (1865: 235) brilliant in solving the *Riddles*, he proposed 'chalice' for this riddle, generally accepted, and he emended the long line: *þone dysige dryht dolgdon furðum*. Tupper's *dolg, don* (1910: 43), with *dolg* the last word of the first half-line and

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[65] Cf. Mitchell (1985: §§ 2304-12, 'Apparent absence of a relative pronoun', especially § 2307). Whether asyndetic parataxis is likely or possible when the verb in the adjective clause is *weaxan*, and not a grammar word, may be a matter of opinion. Mitchell thinks it is possible; if so, there is no need to supply a relative pronoun.

don the first word of the second half-line, the separation of *dryht* and *don* is accepted by Trautmann (1915: 35), who turns *dryht* into a compound, *dryht*[*maðmes*]; Williamson (1977: 102); Krapp and Dobbie (ASPR III, 1936: 210) Pinsker-Ziegler (1985: 57) and Muir (1994: I, 330). Tupper (and Krapp and Dobbie, ASPR III) insert *ond* before *dryhtnes*, and Krapp and Dobbie's reading of these lines is the same as Tupper's. Wyatt's note (1912: 108) suggests *Dryhten dolgdon*, which he translates as 'the wounded Lord'. Trautmann (1915: 35) arranges the half-lines and emends:

> *dryht*[*maðmes*] *dolg.   Don swa þæs beages*

The next line, in Tupper, Trautmann, Krapp and Dobbie, Williamson, Pinsker-Ziegler, and Muir reads: *benne cwædon: ne mæg þære bene*. The other arrangement of the half-lines, Grein (1858: 396), Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 218), Wyatt (1912: 44), and Mackie (1934: 150) reads *swa þæs beages   benne cwædon*. The scansion of both *swa þæs beages* and *ne mæg þære bene* is faulty. The lines read unemended:

> him torhte in gemynd ·
> his dryhtnes naman   dumba brohte
> ond in eagna gesihð   gif þæs æþelan
> goldes tacen   ongietan cuþe
> dryht dolgdon ·
> swa þæs beages   benne cwædon
> ne mæg þære bene
> æniges monnes   ungefullodre
> godes ealdorburg   gæst gesecan
> rodera ceastre

Brought clearly, without speech, his Lord's name into his remembrance, and into sight of (their) eyes, if one knew how to recognize the symbol of that noble gold sign: the multitude wounded the Lord, as the wounds of the ring said. With the prayer of anyone unfulfilled, (his or her) soul cannot reach God's princely capital, the city of the heavens.

Much remains doubtful in this unsolved riddle, and a study of single half-lines must concentrate on the two lines, *dryht dolgdon* (11), and *ne mæg þære bene* (13).

Everything about *dryht dolgdon* is difficult: perhaps emend *dryht* 'multitude' to *dryhten* 'the Lord', perhaps accusative, the object of *dolgdon*. But what is the subject of that verb? If it is *dryht* singular can it govern a plural verb? Mitchell (1985: §§ 78-86) shows that there are a few cases, but they are exceptional; very doubtfully, this may be one of those exceptional cases: the multitude is a many, and many takes a plural verb. Then there is *dolgdon*, in the manuscript *dolg don* followed by a point. At *Riddle 53*, line 6, the past participle *gedolgod* 'wounded' occurs, from an unrecorded weak class II denominal **dolgian*. If the verb is emended to **dolgodon*, that would improve the metre, and would agree with the recorded participle. Denominals are usually class II weak, not class I, as *dolgdon* (unemended) is; and though there are many verb doublets, classes II and I existing side by side, they are more usually class I weak verbs going over to class II weak (cf. Campbell, 1959: § 753 (2)). The sense too is doubtful, as my attempt to translate the lines show. Before these lines, line 3b, manuscript *friþo spe bæd* was emended by Thorpe (1842: 440) to *friþo-spede bæd*, followed in all subsequent editions. As it stands, *dryht dolgdon* is a single half-line; but in such a difficult context it cannot be added to the list of such half-lines without a question mark, if at all; and *ne mæg þære bene* is not secure either, as the alternative arrangement of the half-lines shows.

21.7 Towards the end of the manuscript, involving many of the third group of *Riddles*, there is much damage. Two single half-lines, unaffected by the manuscript damage earlier and later in this poem, *Riddle 84* line 34, *þeah þe ferþum gleaw* 'though wise in mind';[66] and line 39, *firene dwæsceð* 'washes out sin' — the solution is 'water': baptismal water washes out sin. Thorpe (1842: 493) reports for both lines that a half-line is wanting, and several editors invent half-lines to fill the presumed gap, though there is no gap in the sense. For line 34 Grein (1858: 403) supplies *gefrigen hæbbe*, followed by Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 231), Tupper (1910: 58), Trautmann (1915: 47). For line 39 Grein (1858: 404) invents nothing. Dietrich (as reported by Assmann, in Wülker, 1898: 231) supplies *hi frea drihten*. Trautmann (1915: 48) creates a second half-line [*Hio foldan*] *oft*, the *oft* being taken from what in the editions is the first word of the next line. Muir's apparatus (1994: I, 375) is sure 'that at least one verse has been omitted', and Williamson (1977: 373, on line 34) has similar message for both lines 34 and 39, 'There is no gap in the MS. here but the lack of continuity in the sense of the passage indicates that at least a half-line has been lost', and 'There is no gap in the MS. here, but

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[66] The dative plural *ferþum* is used adverbially (cf. Mitchell, 1885: § 76), 'though intellectually and spiritually wise.'

the meter would seem to indicate the loss of a half-line.' I am always troubled when it is averred that the metre would indicate something: to me it always seems that metricists wish to indicate something. In their translations of lines 33-6 Mackie (1934: 225) and Pinsker and Ziegler (1885: 127) adopt the sense of Grein's invented second half-line, though that is not in their text. As often in Old English poetry the transitions are sudden in syntax (to make it less abrupt I introduce '(for) a person' where the text has just *mon* 'a person'); there is no gap in the sense, though it is never certain if the subject is to be understood as 'a multifariousness of wondrous things and events' *mengo wundra*, or as 'water' the solution of the *Riddle*:

> Though intellectually and spiritually wise, (for) a person discerning in thought,[67] a multifariousness of wondrous things and events is harder than the earth, older than warriors, it is more available than liberalities, more precious than jewels. It adorns the world, is prolific of offspring, washes out sin. It often with a uniform cover casts a surround, wondrously adorned, throughout mankind ...'

Lines 34 and 39 are single half-lines, and no words are wanting, until after *micle* (line 43) where the manuscript damage begins.

21.8 *Riddle 87* line 5, *heofones toþe*, comes before the manuscript damage begins within line 8. Grein (1858: 404) and Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 232) indicate that a half-line is wanting in their judgement, but they supply nothing. Most editors, led by Müller (1865: 19, which I have not seen), take the solution to be 'Blasebalg (bellows)'; but the end of the poem is damaged (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: fol. 129ᵃ), and the end might have revealed the subject more clearly. The single half-line *heofones toþe* 'heaven's tooth' is obscure: might it be a metaphor for something, a kenning for 'air' perhaps but how or why? or for wind, as has been suggested (without claiming certainty) by Marquardt (1938: 178-9 = 76-7 of separate)? Trautmann (1915: 134) believes that more than one half-line was lost because the subjunctive mood of *bleowe* might indicate that. The form may not be subjunctive, however, the final <e> being elided before the vowel of *on*. I believe

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[67] It is of some interest that *snottor* and *mod* come together at line 33a, and, familiar to all readers of Old English verse, in *The Wanderer* line 111, *modsnottor mon* as *Precepts* open, and again near its end (line 87), *modes snottor*, four times in the Exeter Book, and nowhere else in Old English. It shows a singularity of expression within the commonplaces of wisdom poetry. There is a manuscript point after *mode* at the end of the recto (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: 128ᵃ); *snottor* begins the verso, and that may explain away the significance of the punctuation.

nothing is lost: 'It seemed to me a splendid manly man grabbed on to it immediately with the tooth of heaven, blew into the eye, it barked,[68] willingly grew weak.'[69] It is not certain what the half-line 'heaven's tooth' and its context are about, but it is certainly a single half-line.

22.1 *The Wife's Lament* line 24, *is nu swa hit no wære* 'as if it had never been', is in no way marked by Thorpe (1842: 443) as unusual, nor, even earlier in the first edition of the poem, by W. D. Conybeare (1826: 244-9, at p. 247). Ettmüller (1850: 215), however, 'completes' the line by adding *nið todælde* 'enmity separated' (the verb occurs earlier in the poem), commenting that these words were wanting in the manuscript. Grein (1857: 245) does not emend, but notes Ettmüller's addition in the apparatus, and so also Wül(c)ker (1883: 303). The poem appears in several studies and readers, and the line is commented on by Schücking (1906: 443; 1919: 20), who suggests that *geworden* be inserted after *nu*, though he himself does not insert it. Leslie (1961: 47, 55) inserts *fornumen* as 'equally suitable', and he is followed by Muir (1994: 332). Fulk (2001: 40, 126, 201) inserts *seo neawest* which is translated in his glossary as 'presence (together), closeness, companionship'.[70] Krapp and Dobbie's note (ASPR III, 1936: 352) asserts boldly, 'That the greater part of l. 24*a* has been lost, is evident; but a confident reconstruction is hardly possible', and references to other emendations are given.[71] Krapp and Dobbie's text (ASPR III, 1936: 211) reads the line as a long line with dots after *nu* to indicate a word or words lost. Mackie (1934: 152) prints the six words as two half-lines, with the caesural space after *nu*. All these offerings, with the exception of Mackie's, seem less good than the transmitted text, in which in sound and emphasis *is nu* is echoed, without any interspersion, by *no wære*, the alliteration on *n*. Mackie achieves that, but it is doubtful if *is nu* can really constitute a half-line.[72] Even if Grein's suggestion (1857: 245, apparatus) to read *swa swa* were adopted, it would still not be a metrically normal line. It is not exactly like any of the hypermetric

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[68] Feminine *hio* because *wiht* is feminine. The <r> of *borcade* has the descender of <r> damaged (Chambers, Förster, and Flower, 1933: 129ᵃ, line 5), so that it is indistinguishable for <n>; in fact, neither **borcian* nor **boncian* is recorded. Forms of the strong verb *beorcan* 'to bark' are recorded, but not of a weak verb that might give *borcade*.

[69] No such verb as **wancian* is recorded, and Trautmann's suggestion (1915: 134) that the reading *wancode* should be interpreted as *wacnode* 'grew weak' as air is expelled is perhaps the best of several suggestions.

[70] The poem is added by Fulk, to Pope 1981a. His rendering of *nea(h)wist* may be compared with Bosworth and Toller (1882-1898: 711-12; 1908-1921: 648) where the emphasis is more etymologically directed to being near.

[71] Holthausen (1935: 9) suggests inserting *togangen* 'departed'. Imelmann (1907: 28) inserts *neahsibb eal* 'all near relationship', the compound occurs several times in Old English prose, never in verse.

[72] Cf. *Resignation A*, line 1 *Age mec*, discussed at 24.1, below.

lines as analysed by Bliss (1967: 162-8). It is either an irregular long line or an irregular single half-line.

23.1 *The Judgment Day I*, line 39, *fisces eþel* is preceded by three asterisks in Thorpe (1842: 447), and he comments, 'Here a line is evidently wanting.' Grein (1857: 196) supplies *and frecne grimmeð*, characterized by Sievers (1885: 515) as metrically questionable. Muir (1994: 628) speaks of '[t]he interruption in sense here', but no one after Grein appears to have ventured to supply a first half-line, except Shippey (1976: 120, 142), who supplies *floweð ofer foldan*, and modestly characterizes his suggestion as 'an unimaginative proposal'. All are agreed that something is wanting. Lines 36b-43a seem all right in sense, and all right in metre if the concept of the single half-line is accepted for *fisces eþel*, and if the metrical irregularity of *ne biþ þonne on þisse worulde* is overlooked:

> Þæt biþ þearlic gemot,
> heardlic heremægen.   Hat biþ acolod:
> ne biþ þonne on þisse worulde   nymþe wætres sweg,
> fisces eþel;
> ne biþ her ban ne blod,   ac sceal bearna gehwylc
> mid lice ond mid sawle   leanes fricgan
> ealles þæs þe we on eorþan   ær geworhtan
> godes oþþe yfles.

By the standards of Old English verse, these lines are not difficult:

> That will be a cruel council meeting, a harsh mighty host. What has been hot will be cold: there will then be in this world nothing but the noise of water, the home element of fish; neither bone nor blood will there be here, but every human being born, with body and with soul, will have to ask about the reward for everything, good or evil, that we have done previously on earth.

No half-line is wanting before (or after) *fisces eþel*.

24.1 Since Bliss and Frantzen (1976) published their article on the poem, *Resignation*, as Krapp and Dobbie (ASPR III, 1936, 215) called it, has been recognized as two poems, lines 1-69 *Resignation A*, and lines 70-118 *Resignation*

B. The opening line of the poem was read as *Ahelpe min se halga dryhten* (Thorpe, 1842: 452), until Mackie (1934: 164-5, 244) printed lines 1-2 as:

> Age mec se ælmihta god
> helpe min se halga dryhten   þu gesceope heofon *ond* eorþan

on which he commented, '*Age mec se ælmihta god* has always been omitted by editors; it is pretty clearly a false start.' He translated the lines:

> May the Almighty God have me!
> May the holy Lord help me! Thou didst create heaven and earth,

Muir (1994: 630-1) records one suggested emendation attempting to improve the metre: Holthausen (1935: 9) inserts *eca* after *se* to end the first half-line. The line does not consist of two regular half-lines: *Age mec* seems insufficient for a half-line, and that is why Holthausen emends.[73] Unemended the line is irregular; but the emendation is not persuasive. Mackie's translation of *age* as 'May ... have!' seems doubtful; *DOE* s.v. *agan*, I.A.9.a., 'Of a protector or patron: to hold (someone) in one's keeping', is better (cf. Stanley, 1987: 405-8).

24.2 *Resignation A*, line 37, is universally considered incomplete, From Thorpe (1842: 454), 'A line or more is here evidently lost', to Muir (1994: 340), 'It is clear from the incomplete sense of this passage that at least one word has been lost here, and perhaps a verse or more', there is agreement, though some think the loss is before *forgeafe*, others after. I doubt if the sense is incomplete, though the scansion of line 36, with *forgeafe* at the end, is irregular:

> halgan heofonmægnes.   Hwæt þu me her fela forgeafe.

The first half-line, 'of the holy heavenly Might', ends the previous sentence. The second half-line, alliterating on the *h* of *her*,[74] is a complete sentence: 'Truly thou hast given me much here.' Grein (1858: 283) inserts *hroðra* before *forgeafe* as the first half-line with, as the second half-line, *Gesette minne hyht on þec* 'I place my hope on Thee'. All other editors supply nothing other than asterisks to indicate a

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[73] Cf. *The Wife's lament*, line 24a *is nu*, discussed at 22.1, above.
[74] The *h* of *Hwæt* cannot alliterate; cf. Stanley (2000: 550-6), but *Resignation* is not mentioned.

loss of text. Line 37b, *Gesette minne hyht on þec* is a single half-line if, as I believe, we take *forgeafe* to end the preceding long line.

25.1 *Resignation B*, line 92, *gnornað on his geoguþe* 'he in his youth laments', is complete in sense and in metre as a single half-line. Thorpe (1842: 457) indicates a loss after the next half-line, Grein (1858: 285) assumes a loss after *geoguþe*, but supplies nothing. Muir (1994: II, 633, his line 23) recognizes that, 'there is no interruption in the sense', and grants that 'it is likely (or at least possible) that here, as elsewhere in the MS, there was originally an independent single half-line.'

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH,
IV, The Nowell Codex, *Beowulf* and *Judith*

26.1 *Beowulf* is metrically very exact, and no wonder, since the modern understanding of Old English metre is based, in he first place, on the metre of *Beowulf*. Any single half-line is, therefore, to be more readily regarded as suspect, a scribe's fault, not the poet's, than a single half-line in most other poems. Emendations have been suggested for all of them. Anyone writing on the poem is aware at the outset that it has been well edited many times, that each crux has been the subject of much discussion, well recorded by Dobbie (ASPR IV, 1953), and virtually all of it (up to 2008) now referred to in the latest edition, *Klaeber 4*, as it is often called (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, 2008). The facsimiles are good, and palaeographical and textual details have been very frequently scrutinized (Zupitza, 1959; Malone, 1963), even word spacing has been carefully recorded in print (Crépin, 1991). A former, senior colleague of mine said of one of our learned colleagues, neither of them medievalists, and neither much concerned with textual matters: 'He has a difficulty for every solution.' It is so with *Beowulf* cruces seemingly solved, each solution invites seeing a difficulty. What follows now, about half-lines in *Beowulf*, will be judged, perhaps justly, to be a last stand to justify the unemended text.

26.2 Lines 389-390 require a second half-line, if the single first half-line of 389, *Deniga leodum*, is presented as in *Klaeber 4* (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, 2008: 15). A second half-line is required to end Hrothgar's speech, lines 372-89; for without exception direct speech ends with a long line, and usually (but with five exceptions) begins with a long line.[75] Sometimes, when individual poets incline with some

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[75] Thus *Beowulf* lines 237-57, 260-85, 316-19, 333-9, 361-70, 391-8, 407-55, 457-90, 506-28, 530-606, 632-8, 655-61, 677-87, 928-56, 958-79, 1169-87, 1216-31, 1322-82, 1384-96, 1474-91, 1652-76, 1700-84, 1818-39, 1841-65, 1987-98, 2000-151 (and within it 2047-56), 2155-62, 2247-66, 2426-509, 2633-60, 2663-8, 2729-51, 2794-808, 2813-16, 2864-91, 2900-3027, 3077-109; **but beginning with a second half-line, 287b-300, 342b-7, 350b-5, 2511b-15, 2518b-37, 3114b-19.** Cf. *Andreas* lines 63-87, 97-117, 174-188, 190-224, 256-9, 264-9, 271-6, 279-84, 286-9, 292-8, 301-4, 307-14, 317-42 (and within it 332-9), 344-8, 355-8, 386-95, 397-400, 405-14, 417-26, 429-60, 471-509, 511-36, 540-54, 557-71, 573-600, 603-16, 618-22, 624-7, 629-31, 633-42, 644-817 (and within it 676-91, 717-26, 729-34, 744-760), 851-

regularity to a metrical practice, metrists elevate that practice to a law and come to believe in a Germanic *Gesetzmäßigkeit*, a sacred conformity to a Germanic law of their own invention or inherited from earlier scholarship. In *Beowulf* there is no direct speech that ends at the caesura, and there are very few speeches that begin at the caesura. If there were an exception I should not wish to emend it out of existence; on the other hand, I cannot believe in the solution of a crux or the analysis of a line that makes a direct speech end at the caesura. Robinson's otherwise persuasive emendation of *Deniga leodum* to *Deniga weorode* (1993b: 107-10) would be the only direct speech ending with a half-line against 43 that end with a long line, and in any case his emended half-line, like the unemended half-line should alliterate on *d*, not on *w* to alliterate with *word*. Orchard (2003: 169) speaks of three valiant defenders of the manuscript reading: I would agree with Kiernan (1981: 187) that there are lines in the poem that lack alliteration, and that *Deniga leodum.' Word inne abead* lacks alliteration is not reason enough to emend. This speech should not end, uniquely, on a first half-line, and that does not even alliterate. Line 389a forms part of a larger corruption.

26.3 Line 390b, *word inne abead*, is part of the same corruption as 389a. We are not told who the speaker is, and so, from a footnote in Kemble (1835: 28) onwards, several scholars have been tempted to insert the first half-line, *Wulfgar maþelode*. There still remains the problem of *inne* 'within' and not 'from within'; perhaps he offered words to the king within, but he is addressing the Geats while he and they are outside (cf. Tripp, 1992). None of the first half-lines supplied by editors mentioned by Dobbie (ASPR IV,1953: 136), and in *Klaeber 4* (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, 2008: 15, 140), including that edition's own, is convincing: the half-line is corrupt for whatever reason; cf. the despairing note by Gerritsen (1989: 450-1).

6, 859-91, 897-909, 914-17, 920-4, 926-76, 1164-7, 1173-83, 1185-94, 1197-1200, 1208-18, 1281-95, 1300-1, 1316-33, 1343-4, 1347-59, 1362-74, 1376-85, 1401-28 (and within it 1412-13), 1431-45, 1451-4, 1498-1521, 1558-68, 1602-6, 1609-12, 1664-74, 1717-22; **but beginning with a second half-line 1023b then a leaf lost ending perhaps 1025, 1467b-68.** *Genesis A* lines 196-205, 867-71, 873-81, 883-6, 897-902, 906-17, 919-24, 927-38, 1010-21, 1023-35, 1093-1103, 1255-62, 1296-1313, 1328-55, 1485-92, 1512-42, 1746-66, 1824-43, 2107-19, 2126-35, 2139-61, 2168-72, 2175-86, 2188-215, 2221-33, 2247-55, 2258-60, 2271-2, 2274-9, 2281-95, 2306-37, 2348-52, 2355-69, 2390-8, 2408-18 (manuscript damage makes the end uncertain), 2437-40 (followed by a single half-line), 2466-75, 2500-12 (manuscript damage makes the end uncertain), 2528-34, 2643-52, 2675-90, 2692-716, 2723-6, 2729-35, 2797-803, 2807-31 (manuscript damage makes the beginning uncertain), 2850-9, 2881-4, 2890-2, 2895-6, 2914-22; but beginning with a second half-line 1111b-16, 1900b-19; **ending at the caesura 888-95a, 1006-8a, 1037-42a, 1787-90a, 2478-84a, 2514-26a, 2638-41a, 2655-66a; beginning and ending at the caesura 2783b-91a.** *Genesis B* lines 235-6 (manuscript damage makes the beginning uncertain), 278-91 (*cwæþ he* in the middle of the opening line, and often condemned on metrical grounds), 356-440/1 (manuscript damage makes the end uncertain), 611-22 (earlier edd. end direct speech at 625), 655-83, but beginning with a second half-line 496b-521, 523b-46, 551b-87, 791-820, 824-6; **ending at the caesura 828-40a; beginning and ending at the caesura 726b-62a.**

26.4 Line 403, *under Heorotes hrof,* is the first of three half-lines alliterating on *h*. Line 404a *heard under helme* alliterates on two words beginning with *h*, and it must therefore be a first half-line. A verb is needed: perhaps *eode* and some noun beginning with *h* to complete the sense and the alliteration of the line. That would be two long lines alliterating on the same letter, which, in fact, is not exceptional in *Beowulf*.[76]

26.5 Line 1803 is left by Dobbie as a second half-line, *scaþan onetton*, preceded by three asterisks to indicate that there is a half-line missing. That gap has been filled in various ways by the editors. Kemble (1835: 127) said that a leaf was missing, but what is missing is the result of the scribe leaving out something when he turned from the recto to the verso of fol. 169. It is not impossible to make sense of the manuscript reading without emendation, if *beorht* is taken to the adjective used absolutely as if a noun, and that 'radiance, brightness' is understood to be the sun:

> gæst inne swæf
> oþþæt hrefn blaca   heofones wynne
> bliðheort bodode.   Ða com beorht scacan:
> scaþan onetton,
> wæron æþelingas   eft to leodum
> fuse to fare[n]ne.
>
> [The visitor slept within until the black raven, joyous at heart, announced heaven's joy. Then did that brightness hasten: the shadows hurried away, the nobles were ready to return to their people.]

The half-line standing alone is satisfactory, though the tradition of scholarship is contrary to that reading. The very fact that single half-lines are so rare in *Beowulf* is likely to lead one to question if the singleness of *scaþan onetton* is not the result of scribal failure.

26.6 Lines 2525-6 unemended are probably more effective than the various emended readings proposed. *Klaeber 4* (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, 2008: 249) gives

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[76] Lines with alliteration extending over two lines are: 64f. *h*, 70f. vowels, 111f. vowels, 216-17 *w*, 357f. vowels, 370f. *h* (371 new fitt), 396f. *h*, 489f. *s*, 606f. *s*, 644f. *s*, 799f. *h*, 808f. *f*, 830f. vowels, 865f. *f*, 871f. *s*, 906f. vowels, 915f. *f*, 919f. *s*, 936f. *w*, 969f. *f*, 1083f. *w*, 1183f. *h*, 1205f. *w*, 1239f. *b*, 1228f. vowels (some emendation), 1346f. *s*, 1368f. *h*, 1520f. *h*, 1552f. *h*, 1620f. vowels, 1622f. *l*, 1632f. *f*, 1703f. *b*, 1715f. *m*, 1762f. vowels, 1824f. *g*, 1865f. vowels, 1885f. vowels, 2011f. *m*, 2032f. *þ*, 2043f. *g* (perhaps distinguishing sounds), 2137f. *h*, 2171f. *h*, 2176f. *b*, 2201f. *h*, 2217f. *s*, 2259f. *b*, 2285f. *f*, 2336f. *w*, 2344f. *h*, 2362f. *h*, 2382f. *s*, 534f. vowels, 2553f. *h*, 2601f. *w*, 2863f. *s*, 2866f. vowels, 2987f. *h*, 3004f. *h*; extending over three lines 897-9. *w*. I was wrong in Stanley (1984: 250) about a sequence of three half-lines alliterating on the same letter being exceptional in *Beowulf*.

details about *oferfleon* and the function of the prefix *ofer-*. The prefixed verb is rare, here 'to flee (beyond?)' (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008: 419, Glossary, s.v.) 'flee from', in Ælfric's *Grammar* (Zupitza, 1880, 276 lines 9-10) 'to fly above', '*superuolo*', *ic oferfleo*. Probably *oferfleon fotes trem* constitutes a single half-line, followed, the next line, by *ac unc sceal weorðan æt wealle   swa unc wyrd geteoð* 'but it must go with us at the wall as fate allots to us'. The feebleness of the most favoured of several emendations, to insert *furður* (variously spelt) before *sceal*, indicates that nothing significant is missing in sense (cf. Fulk, 2007: 171-2). Anacrusis of more than two syllables would be exceptional in *Beowulf*, and that may be reason enough for doubting my interpretation of these half-lines.

26.7   Line 2792 is a single half-line, but the editors, ever since Kemble's note (1837: Appendix, note on his line 5581), have made explicit that Beowulf is speaking, though that is the sense of line 2791b-2792: *oðþæt wordes ord | breosthord þurhbræc*, with the speaker identified at line 2786b as *Wedra þeoden* 'lord of the Weather-Geats'. This is   the single half-lines in this poem the singleness of which is least in doubt. I can see no reason for thinking, with Mitchell and Robinson (1998: 146), that 'metre and meaning leave no doubt that a half-line is missing'.

27.1   *Judith* has not been edited as often as *Beowulf*, but often enough for a scholarly tradition to have been established when it comes to single half-lines. Unlike *Beowulf*, it has a high density of hypermetric lines, and line 62, *galferhð gumena ðreate* 'with a company of lascivious men', comes in the middle of a succession of 29 of such half-line. As Timmer (1952: 20) puts it, 'Other editors supply *gangan* and so make one normal line in the midst of a hypermetric group. It seems better to leave the text as it is in the manuscript, thus giving one hypermetrical half-line. Perhaps the second half is missing, or else it was never there.' Griffith (1997: 118-19) has a good note on the metre of this line in a cluster of hypermetric lines; he says:

> The line is incomplete, but there is no lacuna in the sense. ... [Theodor] Schmitz (1910), 40, takes *galferhð gumena ðreate* as a complete hypermetric a-verse in a line which lacks a b-verse. Such gaps occur sporadically in the poetry, but only very rarely in hypermetric verse (according to Bliss [1967:] 162-8, only elsewhere at *Res[ignation]* 1). They may result from scribal error, or a looser style.

As often when it comes to emending Old English verse, Ettmüller (1850: 142) is in the van, his line 62: *galferhð, gumena þreate* [*garberendra*] 'the lascivious one, with a host (of spear-bearing men)'. Grein (*Bibliothek* I, p. 121), adds *cyning* after *galferhð*; Koeppel (1893) proposes that *gongan* be added after *galferhð*, and that is accepted by some editors who alter the spelling to *gangan*. In a note to his translation, Garnett (1889: 47) proposes *guðfreca* after *galferhð* 'wanton'. Foster suggests the addition of *and grædig* after *galferhð. Resignation* line 1 is an opening prayer, *Age mec se Ælmihta God* 'May Almighty God hold me in his keeping.' It probably never had a second half-line to complete what seems complete without more (see 24.1, above).

   27.2 *Judith* line 287. The manuscript (Malone, 1963: fol. 208ᵛ, lines 10–15) reads (lines 285-9a; manuscript line-breaks indicated by '/'):[77]

> *her ys g'swutelod / ure sylfra forwyrd toweard g'tacnod þæt / þære tide ys*
> *mid niðum neah geðrungen þe / sculon losian somod æt sæcce forweorðan*
> */ her lið sweorde geheawen beheafdod healdend / ure.*

Produced as edited verse, this may be presented as:

> Her ys geswutelod   ure sylfra forwyrd,
> toweard getacnod   þæt þære tide ys
> mid niðum neah geðrungen   þe [we] sculon [nu][78] losian,
> somod æt sæcce forweorðan.   Her lið sweorde geheawen
> beheafdod healdend ure.

It is obvious that the third line lacks alliteration, and suggestions for different arrangement of the lines have been made. That after *geðrungen þe* a letter or two was lost in the margin is confirmed by the first edition before the manuscript was damaged: Thwaites (1698: [II] 25) reads *ðe we sculon losian*, and we must therefore insert *we*. Other improvements suggested themselves. These are listed in Wülker (1894: 310), of which the most useful and often followed in several of the more recent editions is that by Kluge to insert *nu* after *sculon*. The passage may be translated thus:

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[77] I have not followed manuscript word spacing, and have used *g'* for the abbreviated prefix *ge-*. The detailed description by Malone (1962: 112) does not, in this instance, reveal much.
[78] Kluge (1888: 102).

Here is made manifest our own destruction, the imminent (destruction) as a symbol, that the time is hastened near with afflictions in which we must now perish, must be destroyed together in conflict. Here lies our leader cut down beheaded with a sword.

Emended thus line 287 is probably to be regarded as satisfactorily repaired.

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH,
V. The Versified Psalms, and the *Metres of Boethius*

28.1 Sadly, the versified Psalms, most of them preserved in the Paris Psalter, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds latin 8824 where they follow King Alfred's prose versions of the first fifty Psalms, have always, and justly been regarded as inferior poetry. Fragments of Psalms 5:1-3, 19:9, 24:3-24:6, 27:10, 32:18, 34:1-34:3, 40:4, 43:27; 50:1, 50:10-50:13; and these versions often differing in minor details from those preserved in the Paris Psalter: 53:1, 58:1-58:2, 60:6, 64:6, 69:1, 70:7, 79:18, 84:4, 87:13, 89:15, 89:18-89:19, 101:1, 102:2-102:5, 118:175-118:176, 121:7, 139:1, 140:2. They are preserved in the Benedictine Office in Bodleian MS Junius 121. A version of Psalm 50 is preserved in the Kentish MS Cotton Vespasian D.vi. In what follows the Psalms are dealt with in the Vulgate order, but the Kentish Psalm is dealt with at the end. Considering how many lines the Paris Psalter and the Fragments in MS Junius 121 occupy it may be thought remarkable how little has been written on their metre. The alliteration is not always regular, especially in direct invocations of God. In a few lines there is no alliteration, more often the alliteration falls on a word in the wrong place in the half-line, or on a word class not heavy enough to bear it in the presence of other words in the line that would have been heavy enough. [79] The versifier of the Psalms, unlike those Germanic metricists who thought, and perhaps still think, that the inherited rules of prosody are inviolable, may have believed that in addressing God there are greater considerations, and if a breach of a rule of prosody is a sin, God has graver sins to forgive. Such breaches of the rules are not discussed in this article, unless the breach results in a broken line. The irregularity of many lines of the Psalms is such that very often it is questionable if a line constitutes a single half-line, and it is better not to pretend to certainty.

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[79]The metrical irregularities of the Fragments are criticized by Ure (1957: 71): 'The Psalm-verses are remarkable not only for their metrical irregularity but also for the number of 'end-stopped' lines, which is no doubt brought about by the fact that the translator was narrowly confined by his Latin original. Doubtless, too, it was this lack of freedom which rendered it impossible for him to achieve more than a very general approximation to the rules of metre and alliteration.'

28.2 One has to go to the older editors to see what suggestions might be made to improve lines considered by them as broken. Fragment Ps. 27:10.3 is such a line. The manuscript reads, without the caesural space (Robinson and Stanley,1991: plate 28.14):

> rece þu heo swylce   and on riht ahefe

This may be regarded as not an ideal line of verse, but sufficient.[80] No single half-line lacking a second half-line is involved. A more than sufficient account of early, supposed improvements are given by Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 330 = 84) who misreads *on riht* as *owiht*. From Psalm 51 onwards the Fragments are merely variants of the version in the Paris Psalter, from which they often diverge slightly.

28.3 Paris Psalter Psalm 52:5.6 is a single half-line: *æniges ne þurfon*, and early editors supply a half-line treating the half-line in the manuscript as the second half-line following their invention. Grein (1858: 150) inserted *þær hio onêgan*, so that the emended long line means 'they had no need to fear anything'; Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 333 = 87) follows him. As Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 207) says, however: 'incomplete lines are frequent in this text, and the Anglo-Saxon translation represents adequately the Latin *trepidauerunt timore ubi non erat timor*.'

28.4 It is perhaps possible that Psalm 55:6.1 is to be regarded as a single half-line: *Oneardiað þa ðe swa þencað*, where, as Krapp's note (1932: 209) suggests, *oneardiað* is an element-by element rendering of the opening word of the Romanum text, *inhabitabunt*.[81] In the manuscript there is a point after *þencað*, but the absence of a point after *Oneardiað* is not significant: it would be unusual to have a point at the caesura, if that is what it is considered to be, as by Grein (1858: 153), who inserts *sæte* after *on*; Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 90), who follows Grein.[82] It would be an unusual single half-line, even by the standards of the versifier of the Psalms.

28.5 Psalm 58:1.1 (and so also *Fragments*, Krapp, ASPR, V, p. 83), appears to be a triplet alliterating on *h*:

> Ahrede me,   halig God,
> hefiges niðes

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[80] Grein (1858: 148), emends unnecessarily, by inserting *and rihte* after *heo*.
[81] For the Latin text I use Kuhn (1965).
[82] See Colgrave (1958: fol. 67ᵛ). A point at the caesura of Psalm 55:9.4 is to be found on the last line of fol. 67ᵛ; but the break at that point is very strong.

[Rescue me, holy God from the fierce enmity...]

If that is right, *halig God* is metrically short, only three syllables, and it may be felt that to take the first four words as a half-line, as all the editors have done. Such an opening heavy line is probably more likely than taking this as forming a triplet of three half-lines alliterating on *h*, the second one of which is insufficient. But see, for example, Psalm 71:4.2 *on folce*, for a half-line of three syllables; see Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 30). Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 13) was content with *Iuda cuð* at Psalm 59:7.1, but I believe another line division to be preferable (see 28.6, below).

28.6 Psalm 59:7.1-2 may have been divided wrongly into half-lines and lines because from the beginning, in Thorpe's edition, a gap has been assumed; that gap was filled by Grein (1858: 158), who, finding *cuð* * * in Thorpe's text (1835: 149), emended it to *cuðlice*, and attached it to the five words of the preceding line.[83] The versifier had introduced *cuð*, which is not founded on the Romanum (Kuhn, 1965: 55): *Iuda rex meus, Moab olla spei meae* 'Judah (is) my king, Moab the pot of my hope'. Ignoring the editorial tradition, the Old English may be read:

> Cyninc ys me Iuda;
> cuð is me Moab,   mines hyhtes hwer

That agrees with the manuscript lineation (Colgrave, 1958: fol. 71ᵛ), with *mi/nes* split between the lines. Manuscript lineation is not decisive in such matters. Nevertheless, this is a more idiomatic reading, and the versifier has some sense when he explains the Hebraism that 'Moab is known to me, the pot of my hope', or perhaps less precisely, 'Moab is known to me *as* the pot of my hope'. If this is right, as I believe it to be, *Cyninc ys me Iuda* forms a single half-line. That the half-line is not metrically correct by the standards of *Beowulf* is not very exceptional in this text.

28.7 Psalm 65:3.5 *se hehsta hæleþa cynnes* is treated as a long line by all; Grein (1858: 163) adds *hyht* with a question mark in his apparatus, but does not emend; clearly *se hehsta* is short as a half-line. It seems rather that it is a hypermetric last half-line for this verse, but single hypermetric half-lines are suspect, though no more suspect than *se hehsta* as the first half-line.

28.8 Psalm 68:17.1 appears to be a triad alliterating on *c*, not a long line of exceptional length:

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[83] Holthausen (1920: 193), emends more extensively, [*ful*] *cuð*[*lice*]. and no more convincingly.

> Ne acyr þu æfre   fram þinum cnihte
> þin clæne gesyhð
[Turn not ever thy pure countenance from thy servant!]

The half-line *fram þinum cnihte* is of course metrically irregular, and the traditional view that the first seven words are one, perhaps hypermetric, half-line may seem preferable.

28.9 The end of Psalm 71:20.2 has *Wese swa, wese swa!*, presumably for an original *selah, selah!* for which the Romanum (Kuhn, 1965: 68) has *fiat, fiat*. As a second half-line double alliteration on *w* is irregular. It is best to regard the repetition, though bad metre, a satisfactory rendering of the Latin, and it would be misguided to see in these four words two metrically short half-lines, forming, with the preceding four words, *þurh his wuldres miht*, a triad alliterating on *w*.

28.10 Psalm 77:56.4, *fæste healdan*, looks like a clear example of a single half-line. The two words form a frequent collocation, but nowhere else in the Psalms do they form a single half-line; cf. Psalm 118:158.2, and see further *Exhortation to Christian Living*, line 65 (Dobbie, ASPR, VI, 1942: 69). The second half of the preceding line, *noldon his bebodu*, is metrically bad, and Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 215-16) toys with the notion that *fæste healdan* should be added to it to form a long second half-line.

28.11 Psalm 82:6.4 comes in a sequence of proper names, difficult to turn into satisfactory metre. *Gebal and grame manige* might be a single hypermetric half-line; if that is accepted, there is no need to supply (with Grein, 1858: 190) *swylce* to begin the line, even if it is recognized that *swylce* is one of the words, especially adverbs feeble in sense, not infrequently used by the versifier to give some semblance of regularity to his prosody.

28.12 Psalm 110:4.1-3 begins with two lines alliterating on *w*. In the manuscript (Colgrave, 1958: fol. 133ʳ) has *myhtum* (at line 3 in the edited text) preceded and followed by a point, which is unusual, and is commented on by Krapp (ASPR V. 1932: 221), 'In the MS. *myhtum* has a dot before and after, but this is of course no proof that nothing has been omitted.' Of course not, yet it does not invite Grein's emendation supplying *miclum* after *myhtum* (1858: 229, followed by Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 423 = 177), and by Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 95). In the manuscript this verse has more pointing than usual: after *worulde*, after *gemyndig*, after *gewitnesse*, after *swylce*, after *myhtum*, after *–weorcum*, after *fylde* in the lines quoted below. If anything, the points before and after *myhtum* countermand the phrasing resulting from Grein's emendation. The versifier often adds adverbs to

produce alliteration; *wel* (line 2), though not required by the Romanum (Kuhn, 1965: 111), has been added by the versifier, presumably for that purpose. It might be possible to arrange the lines as follows:

> And he on worulde   wearð gemyndig
> his gewitnesse
> þe he wel swylce myhtum   and mærweorcum
> fægrum gefylde   ...

[And he was mindful of his testimony which he liberally very much brought about with such powers and glorious deeds.]

In a text replete with adverbial line-fillers it would be unpersuasive to suggest that *wel* be omitted. The result would be much in the unstylish style of this versifier, and it would result in the first three half-lines forming a triad, with *his gewitnesse* a single half-line. Even with *wel* retained, but not alliterating, that might be a possible reading, and might perhaps still leave *his gewitnesse* as a single half-line.

28.13 The end of Psalm 116 has the emphasis on eternity, Romanum (Kuhn, 1965: 115) *in aeternum*, reinforced by emendation: Grein (1858: 234) followed by Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 429 = 183) supplies *ece* before *wunað*; Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 101) has *ece* inserted after *wunað*. The phrase *awa to feore* comes some twenty times in the versified Psalms, including the following: (Psalm 64:5.3) *ece and wræclic awa to feore*, (Psalm 6:2.2, Psalm 118:111.3, 118:142.3, 118:160.3, 144:21.5, 145:9.2) *on ecnesse awa to feore*, (Psalm 77:66.2) *ece edwit awa to feore*. Whether that justifies supplying *ece* at Psalm 116:2.4 is doubtful. Perhaps one might go all the way and read *wunað* [*on ecnesse*] *awa to feore*, which would be in line with the manner of the versifier. Better still perhaps, one might take *wunað awa to feore* as a single half-line, sufficient for rendering *manet in aeternum*.

28.14 Psalm 118:157.2 may be corrupt; the line does not alliterate, though that is an occasional prosodic phenomenon in this text. The possibility of corruption was suggested by Kock (1923: 273) who thought 'provisionally' that *ic cwic* might be a corruption of *ic þec*. The Old English freely renders the Romanum (Kuhn, 1965: 125): *Multi persequentes me et tribulantes me, a testimoniis tuis non declinaui* 'There are many that persecute me and oppress me, I have not turned aside from thy testimonies'. Earlier, Grein (1858: 247), followed by Assmann, (Wülker, 1898: 444 = 198) supplied *and me cnyssedon* at the beginning of line 2, presumably to render *et tribulantes me*; cf. Psalms 85:6.2 and 114:4.1, in both of which the verb renders *tribulatio*. The line does not conform to any metrical

standard, regardless of whether *hwæðere* is placed at its end or, with Grein and Assmann, at the beginning of line 3; *nolde ic cwic æfre swa þeah* is not a likely single half-line, but in this text nothing irregular is impossible. Probably *hwæðere* should be placed at the beginning of line 3.

28.15 Psalm 126:2.3 *wæccend weard gehealdan* emended by Grein (1858: 253) and Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 450 =204) to *wæccende*, citing Bouterwek, who gives this line in his 'Glossar' (1850: 287, s.v. *væccan*) as *ne mæg væccende veard gehealdan.* The inflexion of the present participle, with or without final -*e*, appears not to be governed by rules as strict as, for example, Krapp believes, when he says (ASPR V, 1932: 224) that *wæccende* 'satisfies the requirements of grammar', as if *wæccend* did not.[84] Krapp, who (p. 123) emends to *wæccende*, rightly says (p. 224) that the emendation 'still leaves l. 3*a* too short metrically'. Perhaps *wæccend weard gehealdan* is best regarded as a hypermetric single half-line, but hypermetric single half-lines are always questionable.

28.16 Psalm 149:2.2-3 is a triad of half-lines alliterating on *s*, with *swiðust ealra* a single half-line. Grein (1858: 275), followed by Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 475 = 229), supplies *on sylfra cyninge* to complete line 2, and in his edition *symble hihtan* begins line 3. The Romanum (Kuhn, 1965: 145) is not completely rendered by the text as transmitted: *super regem suum* underlies Grein's emendation. Krapp (ASPR V, 1932: 226) mistakenly states: 'The Latin indicates that little, if anything, has been lost.'

29.1 With the *Metres of Boethius* we enter a different world of competent poetry, by King Alfred, though his authorship has been questioned from time to time. Single half-lines are not to be found in this text. There are very few lines without alliteration. The textual problems, especially the dependence on the Junius transcript, Bodleian Library MS Junius 12, where Cotton MS Otho A.vi is totally or partly damaged, have led editors to regularize what, as far as one can tell, seems irregular. An example is the imposition of alliteration on *Metre* 11 line 57 (Godden and Irvine, 2009: text I, 431; Griffith's remarks I, 125-6; Textual Notes II, 231; Translation, II, 128): [*lencten deð*] *growan leaf grenian* 'spring makes the leaves grow and become green'.[85] It is possible, therefore, though unlikely that some single half-line may have been 'corrected' out of existence, if so by Junius rather than by

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[84] Cf. Mitchell (1985: § 974); elsewhere Mitchell makes it clear that rules are not readily deducible from the evidence of the texts, thus § 690.

[85] The emendation is suggested in the apparatus of Obst and Schleburg (1998: 44-5). It would have been useful to have examples of *don* + infinitive (not *gedon* + infinitive) causative in verse, other than here (cf. Mitchell, 1985: §§ 665-8).

modern scholars. Modern scholars do supply words, half-lines, and more, but without creating single half-lines. In Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 300-1 = 54-5) *Metre* 29 lines 56-7 and 85-6 have suffered vigorous additions (based on Grein, 1858: 337), but they did not survive in Godden and Irvine (2009: I, 528-9), though that text, difficult in detail, is not free from minor changes as the Textual Notes (Godden and Irvine, 2009: II, 238-9) make clear.

9

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH,
VI. The Minor Poems, and Conclusion

30.1 The manuscript of *Waldere* is unclear at lines I.7-8 (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plates 18.1-4). It is a possibility that there is a single half-line: *is se dæg cumen*, but this is preceded at the end of the manuscript line above it by some illegible letters. The half-line *dryhtscipe* is incomplete. It is conceivable that line 7 *gedreosan to dæge dryhtscipe ...* with line 8 forms a triad of half-lines alliterating on *d* (cf. Zettersten, 1979: 15):[86]

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[86] For *is* at the beginning of a half-line, in various constructions especially imperative or exclamatory, followed, not always immediately, by its subject or complement (there appears to be no example of an interrogative construction, except *Solomon and Saturn* 477a), see: *Genesis B* 356a, 424b; *Daniel* 284b, 302a, 580a; *Christ and Satan* 95b, 99a, 102b, 135b, 140a, 213a, 425b, 661b; *Andreas* 113a, 313b, 492b, 501a, 758b, 951b,1166b, (1261b, not VS), 1425b, 1427b, 1563a, 1605b, 1664b, 1718a; *Fates of the Apostles* 14b; *Dream of the Rood* 80b, 126b; *Elene* 553b, 633b, 636a, 703b, 751b, (770b, not VS), 916b; *Christ I* 152b, 185b, 365b, *Christ II* 751b, 782b, 847b, 853b; *Guthlac A* 53b, 318b, (538b, not VS), 714a, 787b; *Guthlac B* (1016b, not VS), 1044b, 1357b; *Azarias* 6b; *Phoenix* 20b, 28a, 68b, 291a, 293a, 301b, 305a, 308b, 424a; *Juliana* 464b, 551b, 695b; *Maxims I* (72b, not VS); *Order of the World* 8a; *Panther* 12b; *Whale* 8a; *Riddle 17* 8b, *31* 1a, *32* 1a, *33* 9a; *Wife's Lament* 24; *Resignation B* 91b, 110b; *Riddle 70* 2b, *88* 18b; *Beowulf* 375b, 476b; *Paris Psalter* 53.4 2a, 54.14 1b, 56.6 2a, 56.12 2a, 56.13 2a,58.7 2a, 59.7 2a, 61.2 2a, 73.1 3a, 75.2 1a, 75.5 4a, 78.5 3a, 85.4 2a, 87.3 2b, 88.73a, 93.19 3a, 96.1 2a, 99.4 2a, 101.4 3a, 102.8 3a, 103.23 3a, 106.1 3a, 107.4 1a, 107.5 2a, 107.7 2a, 108.22 2a, 112.4 3a, 116.2 1b, 118.109 1a, 118.140 1a, 118.142 1a, 118.142 4a, 120.2 1a, 130.3 2a, 135.3 4b, 135.28 2b, 137.8 2a, 138.15 5a142.4 4a, 144.13 3a, 148.8 2a, 148.13 3a; *Metres* 10 17b, 12 6b, 19 20a, 20 26b, 20 86a, 20 150a, 20 167a, 20 187a, (24 42b, not relevant!), 26 104b, 27 16b, 28 54b, 28 75b, 29 25a; *Durham* 1a, 9a, 14a; *Maxims II* 61b; *Seasons of Fasting* (79b, not relevant!), 144a; *Pastoral Care Epilogue* 6b; *Instructions for Christians* 106b. The concordance (Bessinger and Smith, 1978: 708-14) was used to establish the usage of *is*, with 797 occurrences. To these (at pp. 779-80) 94 uses of *nis* might be added, most of which are initial in their half-line. They have been ignored here because negation modifies not just the form of the verb, but also the syntax: as if adverb + verb in word-order.

The word *nu* quite often stands at the end of a second half-line, rarely at the end of a first half-line: *Genesis* 736b, 815b, 1717b, 2155b, 2204b, 2286b, 2359a, 2412b, 2689b, 2816b, 2825b; *Daniel* 291a, 472a, 763a; *Christ and Satan* 393a, 411b, 591a; *Andreas* 283a, 678b, 759b, 904b, 1478a; *Dream of the Rood* 84b; *Elene* 388b, 607b, 625b, 764b, 915b; *Christ III* 1474a; *Phoenix* 447b; *Seafarer* 33b; *Deor* 39b; *Riddle 40* 1; *Judgment Day I* 83a; *Resignation B* 116b; *Beowulf* 375b, 602b; *Paris Psalter* 58.4 2b, 62,9 5a, 63.7 3a, 66.1 2a, 68.4 2a, 70.3 2b, 70.5 3a, 73.20 1b, 78.12 2b, 79.2 1a, 81.8 1a, 83.8 1a, 87.9 1b, 88.43 1a, 89.16 2b, 90.13 2a, 93.8 1b, 102.5 4a, 102.20 2b, 103.6 2b, 103.16 5b, 105.36 1a, 106.42 1a, 107.6 5b, 108.21 1b, 113.25 2b, 114.5 1b, 118.32 2b, 118.36 1b, 118.70 1a, 118.83 3b, 118.146 3b, 118.169 2b, 118.173 1b, 120.4 2b, 121.8 1b, 124.2 3a, 128.1 2a, 130.5 2a, 131.9 2b, 131.15 1b, 132.4 3a, 133.1 1a, 138.16 1a, 138.18 2a, 139.13 1b; *Metres* 3 8b, 7 14b, 8 40a, 8 42b, 10 57b, 16 11b, 20 264b, 22 14b, 24 64a, 25 27b, 28 82b; *Finnsburg* 10a; *Judgment Day II* 176b, 243b; *Lord's Prayer II* (6a), 109b, *Fragments of Psalms* 34.1 1a,

> Gedreosan to dæge   dryhtscipe [nu]
> is se dæg cumen

Usually the editors[87] place *nu* (unclear in the manuscript) at the beginning of the second half-line of line 8, the first half-line is an editorial invention; but *nu* stands in correlation with *nu gy(t)* and goes with *to dæge*. As the long list of uses in the footnote establish, there is no reason for thinking that *is* at the beginning of its half-line or of *nu* at the end of the preceding half-line is so rare as to make the lineation I suggest impossible or unlikely; *is se dæg cumen* is the third of the half-lines concluding the triad alliterating on *d*.

31.1 *The Battle of Maldon* survives only in David Casley's transcript preserved as Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B.203 (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plates 15.1-12). Line 172 is a single half-line, and the early editors supplied a half-line (but that practice has been discontinued):

> [heard heaðurinc]   he to heofenum wlat

thus first Ettmüller (1850: 137); or,

> he to heofenum wlat,   [hleoðrode eorl]

thus first Körner (1878, 1880: II, 80). A hundred years later, Scragg (1981: 78) toys with two contrasting ideas simultaneously: 'The lack of an off-verse in line 172 provides a dramatic pause, but may not be deliberate.' Drama is not involved here, just an introduction to direct speech. In his text Scragg (1981: 62) assumes loss of the second half-line, and he prints three asterisks after *wlat:* but the asterisks have been abandoned in his later edition (Scragg, 1991: 24). The beginning of the next line is irrelevant to the single-half-lines, but seems to have been assumed by some as a sign of corruption. In late Old English *geþance* had become *iþance* and the first person singular pronoun *ic* in low stress was on its way to losing its final consonant, so that *geþance* may well stand for *ic geþance*, and provides no grounds for thinking line 172 corrupt and incomplete. Of course, we have no means of knowing if, in

40.4 2b, 43.27 1a, 102.5 4a; *Prayer* 67a; *Metrical Charms 2* 61a, *4* 5a. The concordance (Bessinger and Smith, 1978: 884-90) was used to establish the usage of *nu*, with 705 occurrences.

[87] Following Bugge, 1868, 1869: 306, who inserted *nu* instead of *Ac* in Stephens's *editio princeps*, (1860: 48) line 13, preceded by line 12: *dryhtscipe* [*feallan*].

the now silent second half of line 172, some comment (alliterating on *h*, as in Körner's half-line), in sentiment such as (line 211b) *he on ellen spræc*, or (line 230b) *æscholt asceoc*, might not have existed in the poet's original. Line 172 is a clear example of a single half-line.

32.1 In the obscure *peorð*(?) stanza of *The Rune Poem* the second line (line 39) seems incomplete, or unmetrical unless a single hypermetric half-line, which is always suspect:[88] *wlancum ðar wigan sittaþ.* Hickes (1705, 1703: I, 135; cf. Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 11) has a point after *plega* in what is in the editions line 38, and Wilhelm Grimm (1821: 220, 229) assumes that something is missing after *plega*. Ettmüller (1850: 288) inserts *villgesiðum* after *vlancum*; he was the first to arrange the stanzas of the poem (including the *peorð* stanza) into long lines. Grein (1858: 352) inserts *on middum* after *vlancum*, and is followed by other editors. Rieger (1861: 137) in a footnote suggested that the supposed gap should perhaps be filled by *on vîngedrince*, but that was not followed by anyone. Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 156) avers that 'A word or two must have dropped out of the text', and he makes the further suggestion that *and wisum* might have dropped out, but does not insist that that reading should be adopted, not even in his own text (p. 29), where he has three asterisks instead. Five dots occupy the same position in the text in Halsall (1981: 88), and in her notes (p. 129) she cites (but does not adopt) the emendation *wlancum* [*werum*] by Grienberger (1921: 211), which would require further interference to make it scan, as Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 156) indicates. The line *wlancum ðar wigan sittaþ*, 'to proud ones, where warriors are sitting', is metrically too irregular to be regarded as a safe example of single verse lines.

33.1 In both manuscripts (Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 422 and MS 41), *Solomon and Saturn* has *Saturnus cwæð* and *Salomon cwæð* to introduce the speakers. These are not thought to be metrical, and the manuscript lay-out and script (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plates 12.1.1 to 12.25) gives visual proof of the otherness of these words.

33.2 The metre of line 334, *gewurdene wyrda*, has been variously represented by the editors, and has received comment. Kemble (1847: 164; his lines 665-8) produced a lineation and provided a meaning, both no longer accepted:

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[88] Bliss (1967: 168) lists the eight half-lines, 25a-28b, as hypermetric, but not line 39 unemended.

Gewurdene	Accomplished
wyrda, ða beoð	Fates, these are
ða feowere	the four
fæges rapas.	ropes of the doomed man.

The manuscript (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 12.19) is not clear enough to be sure if there is any punctuation after *wyrda* or *beoð*; it is clear that these words are written on two lines, and that *beoð* ends the first line, and that is how Grein (1858: 364, followed by Assmann, in Wülker, 1898: 320 = 74) prints it. The text is now presented, following Sievers (1887: 480), beginning with a single half-line:

> Gewurdene wyrda,
> ðæt beoð ða feowere   fæges rapas.

The sense is obscure too. Vincenti's belief (1904: 73 note 2) that the form *gewurden* for more regular *geworden* is the result of wordplay on *wyrd* is unlikely since the past participle with /u/ occurs ten times (according to the on-line *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*) including once in the related 'Prose Dialogue' in the same manuscript (Menner, 1941:, 168-71, at 169 line 7 from bottom.[89] The sense is perhaps: 'Destinies come to pass, that are the four ropes of the doomed man.'

33.3 Line 480 lacks alliteration: *ðæt sie his calendcwide arunnen.* The meaning is perhaps 'that his allotted time may be run out.' The compound *calendcwide* occurs only here. Dobbie's note (ASPR VI, 1942: 170) hints at the possibility that *cwide* may be corrupt; that seems unlikely since it is the second element of many compounds. As is his habit, Holthausen emends to supply an alliterating word, *clane* or *clæne* 'entirely', before *arunnen*, accepted by Menner into his text (1941: 102, his line 470; note p. 142). The inserted adverb is very general; and when time runs out does it not always run out completely? The emendation is feeble in sense. It is better to regard the line as an unmetrical half-line.

34.1 *The Menologium* in Cotton MS Tiberius B.i is regularly pointed in the manuscript (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plates 16.1-6), thus identifying half-lines.

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[89] Playing with near sounds is of course common in Old English verse, and need not imply etymological wordplay. For the manuscript see Robinson and Stanley (1991: plate 12.8 line 3 from bottom). See further Menner's note (1941: 132-3) on his line 325a.

There are irregularities, sometimes corrigible by reference to the Computus and elementary arithmetic. Line 71 is not a single half-line, *þæt embe nihgontyne niht*, for not nineteen nights are involved, but 24, and, following Henel (1934: 79-80), we should read *þæt embe nihgontyne niht* [*and fifum*].[90]

34.2 Line 76 may be involve another arithmetic problem. May is named in English, line 78, *þrymilce* (spelt *þrymlice* in the manuscript, perhaps in error), and in Latin, line 79 *maius*. The words of the single half-line 76, *smicere on gearwum*, perhaps 'beautifully in (its) adornments',[91] say nothing about the number of days that have elapsed before May arrives. Since line 76 seems to lack a second half-line, early editors supply a first half-line for it: Grein (1858: 3) supplies *smylte and smeðe* 'mild and agreeable', an alliterative pair created by him in amplification of *smicere* and suitable for May. A little later, Grein (1865: 422) produces *þæs embe siex nieht*, modified by Imelmann (1902: 59) to read *ymb syx niht þæs* to improve the metre.[92] The half-line *smicere on gearwum* is sufficient in sense, though it does not provide a statement about the number of days; it is sufficient as a single half-line.

35.1 *Maxims II* has been considered by Bliss (1971), and this poem would have been central to his argument, but in the manuscript it contains no single half-lines, unlike *Maxims I* in the Exeter Book.

36.1 *The Judgement Day II* is metrically in some respects different from earlier poems: lack of alliteration is relatively common; rhyming of the two half-lines in a long line is quite common (and often inexact), and such rhymes may go with lack of alliteration; there are relatively many single half-lines, for which editors have not usually supplied words to correct what might have been thought by them a metrical error in need of correction. The reason is that Brandl (1881) had explained that this poem has single half-lines without needing to have them complemented to produce an alliterating long line. It is terminologically unwise to speak of such lines as having 'metrical faults'.[93] The attempts of earlier scholars to correct the metre

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[90] Earlier attempts to emend the line are irrelevant after Henel's emendation, which is accepted by Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 51, 171).

[91] Malone (1969: 195) translates the half-line: 'in comeliness clothed'.

[92] Dobbie (ASCR IV, 1942: 51, 171-2) accepts Imelmann's emendation, but reverts to Grein's spelling *siex*; O'Keeffe (2001: 4 and footnote 22) points out that *syx* is better (cf. line 203).

[93] As does Fulk (1992: 198 footnote 52) at one point, though he is alive to the possibility that this late poem does not follow in all respects the 'rules' of earlier verse. In fact, and in fairness to him, Fulk uses 'metrical faults' to mean features not found in verse thought to belong demonstrably to an earlier period, and the word 'fault' so used by him attaches no stain of incompetence to a late poet (cf. p. 264).

of this late verse are not listed in the following notes on *The Judgement Day II*. The comparison of the poem with the related prose text in Bodleian MS Hatton 113 fols 68ʳ to 70ᵛ provides evidence that, as one would expect, there is greater conformity in the verse in the handling of single half-lines to the norms of poetry.[94] That is not to suggest that from such a comparison it is possible to deduce if the prose precedes the verse in composition, or the verse the prose.

36.2 Lines 99-100 are composed of three half-lines, two of which alliterate on *d* but the first of these two half-lines, *eac swa þa duna* is metrically irregular, and the second half-line alliterating on *d* rhymes internally, *dreosað and hreosað*. That internal rhyme may well seem heavier, and may therefore be allowed to stand alone as a single half-line. *Eall eorðe bifað* may share vocalic alliteration with *eac swa þa duna* to form a long line, *duna* leading in the *d* of *dreosað*. Caie (2000: 90), however, lets *Eall eorðe bifað* stand as a single half-line.

36.3 Line 104 *eal bið eac upheofon*, 'all heaven above will also', has been generally accepted as a single half-line, ever since Brandl (1881).

36.4 Lines 121-2 were taken together as a single line by Lumby (1876: 8) and other early editors, including Wülker (1894: 258): *þæt gehwylc underfo · dom be his dædum · æt drihtne sylfum* (with manuscript pointing added (see Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 23.2). Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 61) follows Löhe, who (1907: 53-68) comments at length on how *The Judgement Day II* departs from strict metrical convention, and in his text (p. 16) takes *þæt gehwylc underfo* to be a single half-line.[95]

36.5 Line 178 is felt, by most editors, to be incomplete, and comparison with the related prose homily and the underlying Latin poem leads many of them to add a second half-line: *Wa, þe nu þu þeowast* [*þissere worulde*], most fully explained by Löhe (1907: 59-60). The meaning with the second half-line supplied from the prose homily is clear though slightly odd in pronominal syntax, 'Woe, who now doest serve this world.' The supplied half-line is an improvement, though, in the opinion of Caie (2000: 120), perhaps not essential. The coming together of faulty alliteration in the preceding line, where *þearfe* should be the head-stave, with

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[94] Wülker's edition (1894: 256-71) is conveniently arranged for such a comparison.
[95] Löhe (1907: 56, 59) lists twelve single half-lines, most of which are now lineated differently, and he comments on lines 121-2.

þeowast in the next half-line, may help to explain how the error might have arisen: a scribe, working mechanically and concentrating on alliterative letters and half-line phrasing, may have felt *þissere worulde* in his exemplar to be *de trop*; and so he left it out. Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 180 note; 63 text) introduces *þissere worulde*, and emends the first half-line further, perhaps unnecessarily. Taking *Wa, þe nu þu þeowast* unemended it is a somewhat irregular single half-line, but emended by using the prose to provide the second half-line it is a, perhaps not hopelessly irregular long line.

36.6 Line 196a is in most editions a very long first half-line (alliterating on *m*): *hwilum he eac þa teþ for miclum cyle* 'at times too (people's) teeth on account of the great cold'. The manuscript (Robinson and Stanley 1991: plate 23.3) has no point after *teþ*. I agree with Caie (2000: 94, 121), who considers *hwilum eac þa teþ* to be a single half-line.[96]

36.7 Line 270 has, ever since Brandl (1881: 99), been regarded as *einen zu kurzen ganzvers*, that is, a single half-line: *wuldor and wurðmynt* 'glory and honourable dignity', but not by Löhe (1907: 83, note on his line 272), who, thinking that the Old English poem is a very strict rendering of the Latin poem, believes that perhaps a whole long line is missing in our text.

36.8 Line 276 *wuldraþ and wel hylt* 'glorifies and holds in high regard' is seen by Brandl (1881: 99) as a single half-line, but not by Löhe (1907: 83, note on his line 278), who avers that this line too was originally complete, but is so no longer in the text as we have it.

36.9 Line 289 *þær symle scinað* 'there (they) will radiate always'. The subject is to be understood from *hy* 'they, *scil.* those in glory', or from *byrgum tomiddes* (line 286b), the cities, the dwelling-places of God's apostles. Löhe (1907: 62) is dissatisfied with the poet's rendering of the Latin source and supplies a second half-line, *scire ceastra* 'beauteous cities'. Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 182) rightly remarks that there is nothing in the Latin to correspond to *scinað*, and regards line 289 as a single half-line.

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[96] Löhe (1907: 60) comments on lines 195-6 (his lines 196-7) in a manner that illustrates the dangers of literary value judgements when editing an Old English verse text. He thinks line 195b (his 196b) *einen lächerlichen und ganz prosaischen zusatz*, 'a laughable and quite prosaic addition' to the original text, and therefore would gladly leave the half-line out and replace it by *hwilum eac þa teþ*, with *ofnes* presumably alliterating with *eac*.

37.1 *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer* are probably best considered as one poem, a view advanced by Robinson (1994a: 180-93), who edits the 112 lines as a poetic unit, with the new title 'The Rewards of Piety'. It has relatively many single half-lines, but Robinson does not comment on them. While there is no reason to doubt that 'The Rewards' are a unit, I doubt if that unit can be shown to be by the poet of *The Judgement Day II*, on the grounds of relative frequency of single half-lines and shared transmission in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 201. In giving the line numbers I first give those in ASPR VI (1942: 67-70) followed in parentheses by those in Robinson's edition when it differs.

37.2 Line 12 is preceded by a line that has no alliteration, so that there are three half-lines without alliteration, line 12 with two stressed syllables beginning with a vowel. Line 12 is best regarded as a single half-line (cf. Brandl, 1881: 99), though among earlier scholars Holthausen (1912: 87) vigorously emended and supplied what he thought wanting in the transmitted text (see Dobbie; ASPR VI, 1942: 183).

37.3 Line 39, *gif he him God ne ondræt* 'if he does not fear God', has been emended by Holthausen (1912: 87) by inserting *on geogoðe* between *him* and *God*. As they stand unemended, the six words form a, metrically not very good, single half-line.

37.4 Line 46, *þa man mæg mid fæstenum* 'which one can with fasts', is another metrically not very good single half-line. It has been emended unconvincingly by Holthausen (**1912: 87**), who inserts *fæste* after *man*. Robinson (1994a: 193, note on line 46) suggests a wider area of correction: he reads *þa man þe man* as accusative plural with *man* (long *a*) 'those sins which one' reduced in the transmitted text by haplography. I have found no convincing parallel in verse or prose, for such a use of *man* 'evil deed, sin' in either nominative or accusative plural, though Robinson's is a more imaginative emendation than Holthausen's.

37.5 Lines 66-7 in Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 69 text; 184 note), follows Holthausen (1895: 197), and departs from the arrangement of the single long line with *embe þæt* at the end of the (non-alliterating) line 66 (as in Wülker, 1894: 276, line 65), an arrangement to which Robinson (1994a: 190, 194) returns. Lumby

(1876: 32) omits *þæt*; Holthausen and Dobbie think it should be *þa*, feminine to agree with *sauwle þine*. Robinson (1994a: 194) accepts the manuscript reading, 'natural gender having superseded grammatical gender'.[97] In the manuscript (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 24) *a hi winnað embe þæt* is enclosed by points: it forms the second half-line, without alliterating.

37.6 Lines 84-5 = *A Summons to Prayer* lines 3-4, are treated as two single half-lines by Lumby (1876: 36), and so again by Robinson (1994a: 192). They are represented as two broken lines with missing Latin second half-lines indicated by dots both in Wülker (1894: 277), and in Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 69), presumably because in this macaronic part of *The Rewards of Piety* every Old English, first half-line is provided with a Latin second half-line, but not · *a butan ende* · *saule wine* · (with manuscript pointing separating the half-lines; cf. Robinson and Stanley, [1991: plate 24]). In a text the alliteration of which is irregular, it is conceivable that these two half-lines form a non-alliterating long line, rather than two broken half-lines with missing Latin second half-lines, but unlikely; Grein (as reported by Wülker, 1894: 277) wished to supply *omnipotens* to alliterate with *ende*, and *sine fine* to alliterate with *saule wine*, thus creating two macaronic long lines. Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 69 text; 184 note) reads *þine* for, clearly, manuscript *wine*, and then he has to emend *þine* to *þinre*.

38.1 In the manuscript (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 25) *The Lord's Prayer II* follows on immediately from *The Rewards of Piety*. Line 6 is a single half-line, with a second half-line supplied by Ettmüller (1850: 231), *cyning vuldres* (accepted by Grein, 1858: 287); but, as Dobbie indicates (ASPR VI, p. 185), that would repeat, not quite *verbatim*, line 2a. There is no call for any emendation to this single half-line consisting of five monosyllables, *ac hwar cymð heo nu*, the sense of which is complete, 'but where comes it now?'

38.2 Line 70, *rihtlice dælest* 'justly sharest out', is to be accepted as another single-half-line. Again Ettmüller (1850: 233, followed by Grein, 1858: 288) unnecessarily supplies a second half-line, *rumheort hlaford* 'large-hearted Lord'.

39.1 In MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 201 (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 26.2) *The Gloria I* follows on immediately from *The Lord's Prayer II*.

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[97] Robinson's formulation suggests the use of the neuter pronoun *þæt* referring to an antecedent different in gender or number, as described for Alfredian prose by Wülfing (1894: I, 374 § 257, 2.(b).

A closely related version occurs in *The Benedictine Office*. Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 75-7) gives the text of that version with Corpus variants. Line 24 shows the textual problems of looking for metrical regularity in these late poems. *The Benedictine Office* reads (with manuscript pointing, see Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 28.2):

> · on syx dagum · and on þone seofoðan þu gerestest ·
> [in six days and on the seventh thou didst rest]

The Corpus text reads (with manuscript pointing, see Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 26.2):

> · on six dagum · seofoðan þu gerestest ·

Here *seofoðan* is an oblique case of time, and that has been expanded by adding *on þone* to clarify the syntax, with the further addition of *and*. Holthausen (1907b: 202), instead of assuming that *The Benedictine Office* had added four syllables to a sufficient poetic text, thought that there was something missing after *gerestest*, the first and only surviving word of the next line. That word might appear to be the opening of a single half-line. It is best ignored as part of an unmetrical line in *The Benedictine Office*, but perfectly well transmitted in the Corpus MS.

40.1 *The Lord's Prayer III* in *The Benedictine Office*, last line, reads *weorðe þæt* rendering *Amen*. If that were a verse line, and that is far from certain, unlikely even, it would be an unmetrical single half-line.[98]

41.1 *Psalm 50* line 31 seems extraordinarily long; it overflows the line in Grein (1858: 277), Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 478 = 232), and Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 89), with the result that *geðohtas* stands on its own in the next line. It would not have been so if the triadic prosody of the line had been recognized, alliterating on *m*, with coincidental, and not metrically significant, transverse alliteration on *w*:

> Miltsa ðu me,   meahta Walden,
>   nu ðu wast manna geðohtas

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[98] Cf. Robinson (1980) for the comparable *geweorþe þæt* at the end of *The Metrical Epilogue to MS 41, Corpus Christi College*, where the words also render *amen*.

[Have mercy upon me, Lord of mights, now that thou knowest people's thoughts!]

The *editio princeps* by Dietrich (1854: viii) did print it on two lines (with *walden* emended to *valden*d), as Assmann duly noted. Dietrich, a brilliant scholar, was working before the scholarly understanding of Germanic metre had been systematized is a way that led Anglo-Saxonists to feel that whatever lay outside the system was a breach of laws inherited from *Urgermanisch*, a breach corrigible by imaginative emendation.

42.1 *A Prayer* survives in two versions, that in Cotton MS Julius A.ii is complete, that in Lambeth Palace MS 427 (The Lambeth Psalter), a fragment of lines 1-15 only, edited by Logeman (1889: 103). Line 25 is a single half-line: *hæfst and waldest* 'doest hold and rule'. Grein (1858: 281, his poem III line 5) supplies a first half-line, *hæleða helpend* 'paraclete of men'. Bouterwek (1854: 328-31), unlike Grein followed by Assmann (Wülker, 1898: 211-17), presents the prayer as a single poem (as does Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 94-6), and has as a single line line 25, *hæfst and vealdest ana ofer ealle eorðan and heofonan*, which he translates 'hältst und waltest allein über all der Erde und des Himmels' (holdest and rulest alone over all of the earth and of heaven). In view of the fact that several lines in this text are perhaps longer than normal (sometimes with alliteration on unexpected syllables), for example lines 33, 37, 41, this is perhaps not an altogether unacceptable interpretation of the lineation; but it is probably less convincing than taking *hæfst and waldest* as a single half-line.

43.1 *The Seasons for Fasting* is a stanzaic poem, transcribed by Laurence Nowell in British Library MS Addit. 43703. Kenneth Sisam's chapter (1953b) gives a very good description of the imperfections of text, probably mainly the result of Nowell's faulty grasp.[99] There is no clear example of a single half-line, though the alliteration and the number of syllables per half-line often fail to conform to regular scansion.

44.1 The Franks Casket, front, line 3, *hronæs ban* 'the whale's bone' or 'whalebone', appears to be a single half-line, but of course a runic inscription making use of limited space should probably not be considered in terms metrical regularity or irregularity.

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[99] Sisam (1953b: 59 footnote 1) shows that the lost Cotton MS Otho B.xi was better in detail than in Nowell's transcription.

45.1   The Metrical Charms have many metrical irregularities, and it is a reasonable assumption that whoever composes a metrical charm and whoever copies it as a very sovereign against some ill is more concerned about the message than about any metrical rule that might make it only doubtfully acceptable to Anglo-Saxon metricists. I take these charms together, though of course they are separate metrical creations. Their irregularities include lack of alliteration, as well as double alliteration in the second half-line as now usually edited. *For Unfruitful Land*, the penultimate verse line reads, *geunne us growende gife* 'grant us the gift of growing'. There is no pointing in the manuscript (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 19.4.5). Storms (1948: 176) prints it as a single half-line. The line preceding it, the first half-line in Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 118) is metrically imperfect, and both these lines alliterate on *g*. All that can be said is that the line does not conform to regular scansion.

45.2 *The Nine Herbs Charm* is similarly problematic by the standard of prosodic regularity, especially, but not only, in handling of alliteration. Line 10 consists of two half-lines, the first with double alliteration on *b*, the second with double alliteration on *f*: *ofer ðe bryde bryodedon, ofer þe fearras fnærdon* 'over you brides cried out, over you bulls snorted'. A pair of single half-lines, each with double alliteration, is best regarded as an irregular long line. Line 12 has double alliteration in its second half-line, *swa ðu wiðstonde attre and onflyge* 'so may you resist poison and infection'.

45.3   Line 34 similarly has double alliteration in the second half-line, *þær geændade æppel and attor* 'there an appel and poison put an end to it' (but the meaning of the line is uncertain).

45.4   Line 56 appears to be a single half-line, as far as it is possible to assert that in such irregular versification: *oððe ænig norðan cume* 'or any come from the north'. The early editions sometimes regard this part of the charm as prose, some arrange the lines differently, and Storms (1948: 190) supplies a second half-line, *oððe ænig suþan* 'or any from the south'.

45.5 *Against a Dwarf*, verse lines 2, 3, and 4 look long in Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 121), but are differently lineated by Storms (1948: 166), on separate lines *cwæð þæt þu his hæncgest wære* 'said that you were his stallion', *ongunnon him of*

þæm lande liþan '(they) did journey from the land', and *þa ongunnan him* 'ðah' *þa colian* 'then (they) did cool however'. How these lines are arranged is uncertain; Wülker (1883: 326) lineates the first two lines as does Storms, but the third as in ASPR VI. It is best to regard the metrics of this charm as too irregular for even the first of these lines to be regarded as a single half-line, alliterating on *h* as if forming a triad with the preceding long line alliterating on *h* (if it is a long line).

45.6 *Against a Sudden Stitch* line 14, *iserna wund swiðe*, has been thought incomplete, ever since Jacob Grimm (1844: 1192) edited the charm in long lines.[100] He indicated an omission (presumably of a half-line) before *iserna*, and that made early scholars emend. Without much confidence, I would suggest that this half-line and the lines preceding and following it be arranged thus, all not metrically exact:

> Sæt smið sloh   seax lytel
> iserna wund swiðe.   Ut lytel spere
> gif her inne sy.

I have not much confidence in my translation: 'The smith was sitting, his little dagger struck an iron wound strongly. Out little spear, if it be inside here.' If this is right the two lines beginning with *iserna* form a triad alliterating on vowels. The manuscript (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 19.7.2) has no pointing.

45.7 Line 21, *oððe wære on blod scoten*, was again marked as incomplete (after *scoten*) by Grimm (1844: 1192-3), who thinks that *oððe wære on b*an *scoten* might be a better reading, and so still in Storms (1948: 142). There are four half-lines ending in *scoten*, the last three beginning with *oððe*. Line 21 is a single half-line in a rhetorical pattern not typical of Old English verse.[101]

45.8 Line 27, *fleoh þær on fyrgen hæfde*, was differently edited by Grimm (1844: 1192-3), addressing the witch, *fleo þær on fyrgen!* 'flee into the mountain[102] there!'; and emending *hæfde* to *heafde* he believes that the sick person is addressed now, *Heafde hal westu* 'be thou cured in (thy) head!' Twentieth-century editors emend

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[100] Kemble (1849: I, 530-1) printed it, as Heathendom 8, in half-lines (without mentioning Grimm's edition, and without indicating that anything might be missing).
[101] One might think of such anaphoric lines as Laȝamon, Caligula lines 7297-9, omitted in Otho (Brook and Leslie, (1963, 1978: I, 378-9).
[102] Grimm could not have known that *fyrgen* is recorded only as the first element of nominal compounds.

fyrgen hæfde to *fyrgenheafde*.[103] A full account of the manuscript reading is given s.v. in *DOE* (cf. Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 19.7.3, showing considerable manuscript wear). Dobbie's long note (ASPR VI, 1942: 213) gives a good account of the many attempts to make sense of the line. Grimm (1844: 1193) thinks that the purveyoress of the sudden stitch is being addressed, a witch, *Zauberin*, because of the description of the pain as *hægtessan gescot* (and *esa gescot* as well as *ylfa gescot*), the shot of 'witches', of 'gods', of 'elves', reinforced perhaps by the German for one such pain, lumbago, *Hexenschuss*, 'witch-shot'. She is asked, according to Grimm, to depart into the mountain (*fyrgen*, accusative). The crux is unresolved, and the metrical implications play only a very minor role in it.

45.9   *A Journey Charm*, unlike several of the metrical charms, is, though not metrically exact, at least sufficiently close to Old English metrical composition, that perhaps any single half-lines deserve to be considered. Major departures from standard Old English prosody as now understood include the following: line 2 has double alliteration in the second half-line; in lines 7, 10, 18, 22 (which rhymes), 36, 38, 40, 42 no alliteration binds the half-lines into a long line; alliteration often falls on a syllable other than the first stressed syllable in the half-line. Line 3, *wið þane grymma gryre* 'against that cruel horror', is such a single half-line, though, it seems, not much emended (beyond adding a final *n* to *grymma*); no one seems to have thought of supplying a second half-line.

45.10   It seems doubtful if, in the *Journey Charm*, lines 13 and 15, *Abrame and Isace*, and *and Dauit and Iosep*, can be regarded as single half-lines. Some grammarians are troubled by the final *e* of *Abrame and Isace and* …; that may look like a dative, but elision probably means that the two names would not sound as if in the dative. Their biblical names might easily have been fitted into metre as systematized by modern Anglo-Saxonists. In lines 13 to 18 thirteen names (as well as *Christes*) are named, and alliteration is maintained strictly only in line 16, *and Euan*[104] *and Annan and Elizabet*. Elsewhere in the charm there are more correct metrical lines; for example, line 27, *Matheus helm Marcus byrne* 'Matthew (be my) helmet, Mark my armour'. Lines 13 and 15 are, however, not unusual in being unmetrical.

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[103] The emendation goes back to Sweet (1876: 123), presumably recalling Grimm's emendation of *hæfde*.
[104] Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942: 127), reads *Evan* for manuscript *euan* (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 19.3.2).

46.1 *Instructions for Christians* is not included in Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942), because no edition was available; but in the verse concordance (Bessinger and Smith, 1978) it found a place alongside the poems in ASPR. The edition is by Rosier (1964), with correction (1966), Robinson (1966: 119-20), and important further corrections by Torkar (1971). Line 70 is a single half-line: Rosier (1964: 19) says, 'The b-line is incomplete'; in fact, there is no 'b-line'. Torkar (1971: 176-7) discusses the relationship of the passage in which the half-line occurs with its source; that may mean that the extant copy may not faithfully give the wording of the original. It does not alter the fact that, as we have it, line 70 is a single half-line: *ne bið ællunga gelice* 'it is not altogether alike'.

46.2 *Instructions for Christians* line 170 is described by Rosier (1964: 21) as 'The b-line is incomplete', when there is no 'b-line'. As presented in the text as we have it, there is no gap in the sense; *þeah he ne fæste nawiht* 'though he by no means fast'.[105] It is a single half-line.

47.1 *The Grave* is so late that one might not wish to include it in any survey of Old English verse, and Dobbie (ASPR VI, 1942) did not include it in his edition of *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, presumably because in the tradition of editing Old English verse it had never been thought early enough. We did include it (Robinson and Stanley, 1991: plate 36), partly on the grounds that it was, though late, not safely early Middle English verse, and we wished for completeness. For the limited purpose of an account of single half-lines, which was not under consideration in 1991, inclusion seems fully justified because the elaborate edition,[106] Buchholz (1890: analysis of metre lxxv-lxxvi; text 11; translation 27), after listing the four lines that lack alliteration, has line 21 introduced by *Ein Halbvers liegt vor*, 'one single half-line is present'. In the manuscript, as he says (p. 19), there is no gap. Buchholz's lineation seems unsatisfactory to me (I impose, without certainty, a caesural gap on his long lines); the lines follow on from line 18a, the Soul addressing the Body, *Nefst ðu nenne freond* 'Thou hast no friend':

> Ðæt æfre undon ðe   wule ða dure
> . . . .   and þe æfter lihten.
> For sone þu bist ladlic   and lad to iseonne.
> For sone bið þin hæfet   faxes bireued.

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[105] The sense is not helped by Rosier's text (1964: 16), who at line 168 prints *ful fæstlice* as if it were a compound adverb.

[106] For earlier editions see Buchholz (1890: iii).

[You have no friend] who will ever undo the door for you and in that way reduce the burden for you. For you will soon be loathsome and loathsome to look upon, for soon your head will be stripped of its hair.]

There are only two or three lines (11, 18 and 19) that are not end-stopped; and only one sentence begins at the caesura (line 12). That, however, may be sufficient warrant to lineate the lines thus:

> Ðæt æfre undon ðe   wule ða dure
> and þe æfter lihten. For sone þu bist ladlic
> and lad to iseonne,
> for sone bið þin hæfet   faxes bireued.

So arranged, *and lad to iseonne* is the last line, a single half-line of a triad alliterating on *l*.

48.1 Some conclusion is required with which to end a long study involving what to many readers may seem mere archival archaeology. The modern exploration of Anglo-Saxon England including its literature and based on its language goes back almost two hundred years. It is too long a period and involves too many scholars for easy generalizations. As an admiring reader of the works of the Brothers Grimm I like to stress that they could not be accused of Wagneresque posturing for their work on the subjects of Germanic Antiquities. Their heart was in it. When the illiberal king of Hanover demanded a display of loyalty by oath, some professors in Göttingen were sacked because they refused to swear such a new reactionary oath. The Brothers Grimm would not swear that oath because they had sworn an earlier oath: they were too conservative in their loyalties for a new politically motivated, reactionary oath of allegiance. Jacob Grimm wrote a moving essay on his dismissal. He writes of his work as a medievalist (1838: 11):[107]

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[107] 'Es gibt noch ein Kennzeichen für beide Parteien. Die Liberalen verachten das Mittelalter und schreien wider Barbarei und Feudalismus; die Servilen tragen eine gewisse Sehnsucht danach zu Schau. Ich darf hier ein Wort mitsprechen, der ich gerade mein Leben an die Untersuchung unseres Mittelalters setzte. Ich habe mit innerer Freude getrunken an seinen stillen Brunnen, die mir kein Supf schienen; in die rauhen Wälder unsrer Vorfahren suchte ich einzudringen, ihrer edlen Sprache und reinen Sage lauschend. Weder die alte Freiheit des Volks blieb mir verborgen, noch daß es schon, bevor des Christenthums Segen ihm nahte, sinnigen, herzlichen Glauben hegte.'

There is yet one more indication for the two parties. The Liberals despise the Middle Ages and cry out against barbarism and feudalism; the Obsequious display a certain longing for it. I may say something about that, as one who has devoted my life to the study of our Middle Ages. I have with inner joy drunk of its peaceful wells, which seemed no swamp to me; I tried to penetrate into the wild forests of our ancestors, listening to their noble language and pure narration. Neither the ancient freedom of the people remained hidden from me, nor that, even before the blessing of Christianity drew near, they cherished a thoughtful and sincere faith.

He did display a certain longing for the Middle Ages, and invested it with an unwarlike nobility. Jacob and his brother Wilhelm were dismissed along with five Liberal Göttingen professors, though they were effectively librarians rather than professors. There is always in Jacob Grimm's writing of himself as a scholar and of his scholarly endeavours a pleasing measure of modesty.

48.2   Karl Lachmann, the other founding father of modern Germanic scholarship, was not given to modesty. He entered Middle High German textual scholarship from the Classics; his first work, magnificent in many ways, is his edition of the *Nibelungenlied*. In the opening paragraph of the preface of that edition (Lachmann, 1826: iii) we meet an authoritative sense of superiority over the scribes to whom he was, and to whom we are, indebted for the preservation of that romance, *Epos* in German lexis: [*die*] *handschrift, die es am wenigsten überarbeitet giebt, nur zu zwei dritteln weder sorgfältig genug noch mit kritischer nachhülfe ... herausgegeben* 'the manuscript which gives the least reworked version, two thirds of which have been edited ... but neither with sufficient care nor with critical support'. Lachmann's very title proclaims an ideal, an unattainable ideal: he has edited the two poems *in der ältesten gestalt mit den abweichungen der gemeinen lesart* 'in (their) most ancient configuration with the deviations (from it) of the shared reading'. The shared reading is that of the extant manuscript witnesses; they deviate from the editor's reconstruction of the most ancient configuration.

48.3   The scholarly veneration of all that is ancient in the monuments of Germanic antiquity is found in Grimm (1822: 3), who defends emendation and

linguistic regularization of thirteenth-century texts, but thinks such procedures less safely appropriate for texts of the earliest period:[108]

> The older a monument is the higher is its venerability, its inviolability even. In emending a thirteenth-century text we allow ourselves what would be ill-applied for a text of the eighth century, where our standard is scantier, and every false step more disturbing.

The contrast is the handling of a text of the age of the *Nibelungenlied* and the text of the *Hildebrandslied*, and all Old English texts may be thought of as venerable because ancient, like the *Hildebrandslied*; and inviolable because we often have not enough evidence to standardize, though that has not stopped scholars from supplying what seemed to them missing half-lines. Brandl (1881), unique in his time, was ready to accept that the late verse in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 201 might not have been written strictly according to the prosodic rules of *Beowulf*, but it was, of course, late and therefore, in the eyes of many traditionalist scholars, degenerate.

48.4 The poetic texts of Germanic Antiquity, among them the verse of the Germanic tribes that settled in England, have come down to us in manuscripts of a later period. The scribes were demonstrably unreliable.[109] The transmitted text may be seen as a venerable ruin, and the work of restoration, *Wiederherstellung*, is a task for textual scholars, a duty. The Brothers Grimm (1812: 1-4, 80-1) showed how to edit the early poems, *Hildebrandslied* and *Wessobrunner Gebet*, the former in story reaching back to a pre-Christian Antiquity, the latter early in the acceptance by the Germans of a new Faith expressed in the prayer (lines 12-15):[110] 'in thy mercy grant unto me true Faith | and good will, wisdom and sagacity | and the strength to withstand devils | and to drive out evil and to do thy will.' First, they print the documentary text, *Urkundlicher Text*; secondly, the restoration, *Wiederherstellung*; and thirdly, the translation (and in the case of the *Hildebrandslied* a Modern German paraphrase, for the literal translation,

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[108] 'mit dem höheren alter eines denkmahls steigt seine ehrwürdigkeit, ja unverletzlichkeit; was wir uns bei der herstellung eines textes aus dem dreizehnten jahrhundert erlauben, würde an einem aus dem achten übel angewandt seyn, wo unser maßstab dürftiger, jeder fehlschritt störender ist.'

[109] Kenneth Sisam (1953a) demonstrated their unreliability to instruct the Anglo-Saxonists of the later twentieth century, who were and are inclined to defend the texts as transmitted.

[110] In the Grimm Brothers' translation: 'gib mir in deiner Gnade rechten Glauben | und guten Willen, Weisthum und Klugheit, | und Kraft, Teufeln zu widerstehen | und Arg zu vertreiben und deinen Willen zu wirken.'

Wörtliche Uebersetzung, is far from the German of 1812); followed by many notes to explain how they were able to turn the chaotically transmitted text into their restoration, translation (and paraphrase).

48.5 It might be thought that the restorative endeavours died with the Brothers Grimm. Not so: Sievers, as late as December 1929, produced a restored version of *The Dream of the Rood* together with a text of some of the lines as Cædmon himself would have uttered them.[111] Pope (1981a: 12, 68) was content to indicate, by three asterisks in the text, that line 76b was lost, though in his notes he spoke of 'several verses'; and Fulk (2001: 12, 72) inflates the asterisks to six in lines 76b and 77a and in his notes 'several verses' has become 'some material'. Sievers heard the scribe's voice up to line 73a and then again from line 78a; the lines between he assigned to the voice of Cædmon, but even Sievers did not know what Cædmon sang in those 'several verses'. Impressive in Sievers's work on *Beowulf* (Westphalen, 1967: I 124 and plates III and IV; Sievers dates his work 1930), guided by *Schallanalyse*, is his brilliant reconstruction of the early Northumbrian language, which he believed to be of the poet's time.

48.6 Such restorative work, from the Brothers Grimm to the early twenty-first century, is increasingly recognized as speculative. The invention of half-lines thought missing in the transmitted texts has found a decreasing number of advocates. There is perhaps a statistical problem. In the long, and metrically strict *Beowulf*, only line 2792 seems a single half-line, and here too there are now defenders of that singleness.[112] What is the greatest number of lines before an editor is willing to accept that the versifier my have admitted one single half-line: 200, 500, 1000, 1500, etc.?[113] *Beowulf*, 3182 lines with just one single half-line, it seems too low a rate of incidence. Perhaps we should emend: and yet should we, when the sole reason is that one single half-line in 6363 half-lines is an incidence too low for comfort? Perhaps neither the *Beowulf*-poet nor his audience regarded the failure to provide a second half-line as a sinful sacrilege, the breach of the prosodic laws inherited from the Germanic Antiquity of Romantic scholarly dreams.

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[111] Sievers's handwritten edition is preserved in Leipzig University, and very well edited by Bütow (1935: 176-85; the date of Sievers's work is given by him in Bütow's facsimile), with a full explanation of how the doctrine of *Schallanalyse* guided Sievers.

[112] Among them Orchard (2003: 50), and cf. Fulk, Bjork, and Niles (2008: 256) for other defenders.

[113] Cf. Roberts (1979, 134-5, at 13.1 above) on perhaps one single half-line in *Guthlac A*.

48.7 It is no idle sport to trace back to the beginnings of modern Germanic scholarship the history of imaginative emendation and restoration. There were inveterate suppliers of half-lines to fill gaps thought to have been occasioned through scribal inadvertencies. Ettmüller, Bouterwek, and Grein were the most inventive before Neogrammarians had established theories of metrical grammar; Holthausen and Trautmann were the boldest, Cosijn, Wülker, and Kock the most cautious, Sievers the most learned in the golden age of Neogrammarian speculation. Scholars of that age, roughly from the 1880s to the 1920s, would have rebutted the word and the notion of speculation when it comes to their textual restorations; they would have sought to refute it by asserting that, while admitting degrees of aptness, they had proved by their learning that their emendations were a factual necessity. They might have admitted (as did Brand, 1881) that in late verse there could have been breaches of ancient prosodic laws committed by the versifiers themselves; expressed positively, a versifier's innovativeness, expressed negatively the degeneracy of that late verse. In theory at least, there might even be at any time such a thing as poetic incompetence, especially if incompetence means occasional deviation from the prosodic rigour of *Beowulf.* Incompetent, seemingly broken verses can never by emendation be persuasively restored or interpreted resulting in better regularity. It would be as mistaken to say that whatever is not strictly conformable with the metrical systems established by one or other of the metricists of Old English is wrong. Even the best of poets may have used single half-lines; and not all single half-lines are broken verses. We must not fall into the error of Henry Home (1762: II, 354) who believed that in judging poetry, 'instead of rules, the ear must be appealed to as the proper judge': for Old English the rules are of recent manufacture, and the poetry is of ancient invention and scribal contrivance usually beyond our ear and eye to judge. There is such a thing as error in the poetry of long ago; it manifests itself in discontinuity of sense. The belief is too simple for truth, that a single half-line constitutes an error, easily detectable by us the way we print their verse, but not by them whose scribes wrote it continuously as they wrote prose. A good ear or the rules of a prosodic system cannot reveal if or when an ancient poet has been (in Home's phrase about Shakespeare's creativeness, 1762: III, 29) betrayed into error; not even where he has been betrayed into error by a scribe.

11

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11

THE BROKEN VERSES OF OLD ENGLISH: CLASSIFIED SUMMARY OF LINES DISCUSSED

Half-lines and lines of Old English verse at odds with prosodic regularity

Genesis A: 2149, 2.12.

Exodus: 463b, 1.2, 1.3.

Daniel: 281a, 4.5.

Christ and Satan: 89, 6.2.

Andreas: 864, 7.6 and note; 1090, 7.6.

The Wife's Lament: 24, 22.1.

Resignation A: 1, 24.1.

Paris Psalter: *Psalm* 55:6.1, 28.4; 71:20.2, 28.9; 118:157.2, 28.14.

The Rune Poem: 39, 32.1.

Solomon and Saturn: 480, 33.4.

'The Rewards of Piety': *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, 66, 37.5; 84-5 = *A Summons to Prayer* 3-4, 37.6.

The Gloria I: *The Benedictine Office* text 23b, 39.1.

Metrical Charms: 1. *For Unfruitful Land*, penultimate verse line, 45.1; *Nine Herbs Charm* 10, 45.2; 34, 45.3; *Against a Dwarf* verse lines 2, 3, 4, 45.5; *For a Sudden Stitch* 27, 45.8; *A Journey Charm* 13, 15, 45.10.

Single half-lines, most of them isolated, some of them as the last half-line of a triad (cf. the *ljóðaháttr* stanza)

Genesis A: 186, 2.2; 1199, 2.5; 2047, 2.9; 2055, 2.10; 2143, 2.11; 2441, 2.13; 2600, 2.14; 2603a, 2.15; 2603b, 2.15; 2648b, 2.16; 2810, 2.17.

Genesis B: 357, 3.2; 703, 3.3.

Exodus: 246, 4.1, 4.3; 305, 4.1; 514, 4.1, 4.5.

Daniel: 38, 5.1, 5.2; 237b, 5.1, 5.4; 239, 5.1, 5.4; 288, 5.1, 5.5; 396, 5.1; 459, 5.1, 5.7.

Christ and Satan: 145, 6.3; ?204, 6.4; 225a, 6.5; ?309, 6.6; 312, 6.7; 477a, 6.8; 511, 6.9; 526, 6.10; 553, 6.11; ?555, 6.12; ?659a, 6.13; 598, 6.14; 602, 6.15; 613, 6.16; 624, 6.17; 652, 6.18; 679, 6.21; 728, 6.22.

Andreas: ?829, 7.2; 890, 7.3; ?1139b, 7.7; 1434, 7.8.

Soul and Body I (Vercelli): 111, 8.1.

Homiletic Fragment I (Vercelli): 8, 9.1.

The Dream of the Rood: 76, 10.2, 47.5.

Elene: 451, 11.5; 518, 11.6; 582b, 11.7; 1077, 11.9.

Christ C: ?1090, 12.1, 12.2.

Guthlac A: 178, 12.1, 13.1.

The Wanderer: 92b, 12.1; 15.1.

Widsith: 59-63, 68-9, 76, 79-81, 83-4, 87, 112-13, 16.1.

Maxims I (Exeter): 17.1; see A. J. Bliss, 'Single Half-Lines in Old English Poetry', *Notes and Queries*, 216 (1971), 442-9.

The Riming Poem: 35, 11.1, 18.1.

Soul and Body II (Exeter): 12, 19.1.

Wulf and Eadwacer: 3, 8, 17, 19, 20.1.

Riddle 2: 4, 21.2.

Riddle 18: 3, 21.3.

Riddle 40: ?23, 21.5, 21.5.1; 25, 21.5.1.

Riddle 59: ?11a, 21.6; ?13b, 21.6.

Riddle 84: 34 and 39, 21.7.

Riddle 87: 5, 21.8.

The Judgement Day I: 39, 23.1.

Resignation A: 1, 24.1, 27.1; 37b, 24.2.

Resignation B: 92, 25.1.

Beowulf: ?1803, 26.5; ?2525a, 26.6; 2792, 26.7, 47.6.

Judith: 62, 27.1.

Paris Psalter: *Psalm* 52:5.6, 28.3; ?58:1.1 (and *Fragments*), 28.5; 59:7.1, 28.6; ?65:3.5, 28.7; ?68:17.1, 28.8; ?77:56.4, 28.10; ?82:6.4, 28.11; ?110:4.1-2, 28.12; ?116:2.4, 28.13; ?126:2.3, 28.15; 149:2.3, 28.16.

Waldere: ?I.8, 30.1.

The Battle of Maldon: 172, 31.1.

Solomon and Saturn: 334, 33.2.

The Menologium: 76, 34.2.

The Judgement Day II: 100, 36.2; 104, 36.3; 121, 36.4; ?178, 36.5; 196a, 36.6; 270, 36.7; 276, 36.8; 289, 36.9.

'The Rewards of Piety': *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, 12, 37.2; 39, 37.3; 46, 37.4.

The Lord's Prayer II: 6, 38.1; 70, 38.2.

The Lord's Prayer III: ?38, 40.1.

Psalm 50: 30b, 41.1.

A Prayer: 25, 42.1.

The Franks Casket: front 3, 44.1.

Metrical Charms, *Nine Herbs Charm*: 56, 45.4; *For a Sudden Stitch* ?15b, 45.6; 21, 1.4, 45.7; *A Journey Charm* 3, 45.9.

Instructions for Christians: 70, 46.1; 170, 46.2.

The Grave: 22b, 47.1.

Seemingly irregular lines persuasively emended or interpreted resulting in better regularity

Genesis A: 1022, 2.3; 1929, 2.7.

Daniel: 207, 5.1, 5.3.

Christ and Satan: 658, 6.19.

Elene: 371, 11.3, 439, 11.4.

Guthlac B: 1234, 13.1.

Riddle 36: 4 and 6, 21.4.

Judith: 287, 27.2.

Menologium: 71b, 34.1.

The Judgement Day II: ?178, 36.5.

Seemingly irregular lines, corrupt and not persuasively emended into better regularity

Genesis A: 2045-8, 2.9.

Exodus: 161, 4.2.

Christ and Satan: 675, 6.20.

Beowulf: 389a, 26.2, 390b, 26.3, 403a, 26.4.

Lines, perhaps metrically imperfect to accommodate numbers or (foreign) names

    Genesis A: 1125-6, 2.4; 1601, 2.6; 2149a, 2.12.
    Andreas: 1036, 7.4; 1040, 7.5.
    Journey Charm: 13, 15, 45.10.

Lines perhaps to be regarded as (isolated) hypermetric half-lines

    Genesis A; 1956, 2.8; 2147, 2.12; 2149b + 2150a, 2.12
    Elene: 370b, 11.3; 614, 11.8.

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ERIC STANLEY:
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