THE OLD ENGLISH *RUNE POEM*, AN EDITION

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June, 1967

For Siri, Lisa, and Ådel

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to my supervisory chairman, Professor John Algeo--lāreōwa craeftlīcost--, for his learning and his support of my work from beginning to end, and I am grateful for the criticism and scholarly example of the other two members of my committee, Professor Aubrey Williams and Professor Oscar F. Jones. I would also like to extend my hearty thanks to Professor Alton Morris for his reading of this thesis and also for his kindnesses in years past.

PREFACE

The earliest records of any of the Germanic languages
are written in the runic fuþark, a name taken from the first
six letters of this ancient and mysterious alphabet.   The
origins of the fuþark are obscure, but most scholars now be-
lieve it to have been developed by a Germanic tribe which
was in contact with certain North Italic alphabets sometime
in the period c. 250 to 150 B. C.   The runes, each of which
signifies a sound and a common noun, were in the beginning
used primarily for casting lots and for divination, being
scratched on sticks and dice, and only secondarily for in-
scriptional purposes. But during the next five hundred
years, as a result of the Germanic migrations, the fuþark
became the common property of all the Germanic peoples and
its inscriptional uses were realized, so that early forms
of the Germanic languages are preserved to this day, scratched
on various bits of wood, metal, and stone, from Greece to
Greenland.

Apart from a few isolated instances, the runes occur
but rarely in manuscripts. Most inscriptions are brief,
consisting only of a few words or sentences at the most,

but they provide a significant body of evidence in the early cultural and linguistic history of the Germanic peoples. The magnificent Golden Drinking Horn of Gallehus (fifth century) contained, until it was stolen and melted down, one of the earliest examples of Germanic alliterative verse: ᛖᚲ ᚺᛚᛖᚹᚨᚷᚨᛊᛏᛁᛉ ᚺᛟᛚᛏᛁᛃᚨᛉ ᚺᛟᚱᚾᚨ ᛏᚨᚹᛁᛞᛟ: ek hlewagastiR holtijaR horna tawido: I, Hlewagast, Holt's son, made the horn. Inscriptions on tombstones and monuments abound in Sweden and Denmark, and coins, swords, and stone cross fragments contain some of the earliest examples of Old English. One of the noblest works of art of early England is the Ruthwell Cross, with its inscriptions from the Dream of the Rood and the triumphant ᚲᚱᛁᛊᛏ ᚹᚨᛖᛊ ᛟᚾ ᚱᛟᛞᛁ : Krist waes on rodi. As recently as the last three years, hundreds of new runic inscriptions have been dug up from the wharf foundations in Bergen, Norway. Most of these date from Hanseatic times and include scratchings on combs and mirror cases, shipping labels, business letters written on sticks, and some are not without literary interest as one verse epistle which reads:

> Unn þu mer,
> ann ek þer
> Gunnhildr.
> Kyss mik
> kann ek þik.

(You love me; I love you. Gunnhild. Kiss me: I know you well.) Runic traditions are vigorous in Scandinavia as late as the sixteenth century, but in England, after the introduction of Christianity in the seventh century, the runes

seem to have fallen into disuse.

The Old English _Rune Poem_, a product of this period of declining vitality of the English runic traditions, has not suffered from the neglect of the scholar. Like all runic documents, the _Rune Poem_ has been devoted close study, and because it contains a wealth of both runic and cultural lore, a large body of scholarship has built up around the poem, nearly all of it dealing with the runes-- their values, names, and meanings. This edition makes use of the annotations of Dickins and Dobbie, but the main purpose here has been to place the poem in the literary traditions of the period, so that the poem can emerge as a poem, and not merely a document of linguistic interest. Therefore, in addition to a summary of the manuscript history and language, annotations and glossary, the present edition offers a study of the genre of the poem, from the point of view of both the vernacular and Latin traditions, a study of the stylistic techniques, and a study of the theme and structure of the poem.

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Introduction

MANUSCRIPT

The unique manuscript of the <u>Rune Poem</u> was extant
as MS Cotton Otho B. x. fol. 165 until the fire of 1731,
which destroyed it and so many other early English manu-
scripts. Fortunately, however, George Hickes (1642-1715),
pamphleteer, divine, and antiquarian, had printed the poem
in the <u>Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica</u> of his ponderous <u>Thesaurus</u>
(1705), which contains among other things grammars of Old
English and Gothic, Old High German, and Icelandic, specimens
of these languages, some runic and numismatic lore, and Hum-
phrey Wanley's catalogue of Old English manuscripts and
printed books. All subsequent editions of the <u>Rune Poem</u> have,
therefore, been based on Hickes' printing of the poem in the
<u>Thesaurus</u>.

The earliest notice of the MS Cotton Otho B. x. oc-
curs in a note of Sir Robert Cotton in the 1621 catalogue of
the Cottonian collection (Harley 6018, f. 162$^\text{v}$). The note
records the loan to William Camden of "A Saxon book of divers
saints lives and the Alphabett of the old Danish letter amonghs
Mr. Gocelins." N. R. Ker infers from this that the MS along
with the <u>Rune Poem</u> folio belonged at one time to John Josce-
lyn (1529-1603),[1] Archbishop Parker's Latin secretary and
sometime Cambridge Latin and Greek lecturer, who collected a
number of important Old English manuscripts,[2] and Ker suggests

that the Rune Poem MS folio, a single leaf, was bound with
the MS of saints' lives "perhaps by Joscelyn."[3]

In Thomas Smith's Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum
Bibliothecae Cottonianae (Oxonii MDCXCVI) occurs the first
complete description of the contents of the MS, yet Smith
fails to mention the Rune Poem, which, according to Wanley's
Catalogus, was found on f. 165. In Smith we read the follow-
ing description of the verso of that folio:

> Characteres Alphabeti peregrini, numero
> tantum decem. Aliqui ex his videntur
> esse literis Runicis similes. 165 b.[4]

In Humphrey Wanley's copy of Smith's Catalogus now in the
Bodleian Library as Add. MS. 18041 (Gough London 54) there is
the annotation in Wanley's hand: "Litterae antiquae Runicae
numero plane viginti et nouem cum observatt. Saxonicis."[5] And
in Wanley's own Catalogus, published in the same volume as
Hickes' Thesaurus, folio 165 is described as follows:

> XXVIII. fol. 165 Folium quod olim ad alium
> quendam librum pertinuit, nunc hujus pars,
> in quo continetur Alphabetum Runicum cum
> explicatione Poetica, Saxonice, quod non
> ita pridem descripsi rogatu Cl. D. Hickesii,
> qui in Gram. Anglo-Saxonicae, cap. 22 de
> Dialecto Normanno-Saxonica. P. 135. illud
> typis evulgavit.[8]

Hempl has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the
rune values and several variant names found in Hickes' edition
are borrowed from MS Cotton Domitian A. ix. f. 11[v], which fuþorc
Hickes reproduces on the next page after the Rune Poem (Thesau-
rus, p. 136).[7] And C. L. Wrenn has produced further evidence
that Hickes added the runic paraphernalia to the facsimile:

Hickes himself was quite candid about
his additions when printing the Runic
Poem. There is, he says, on p. 165 of
the MS. 'Runarum Danicarum, tam sim-
plicium quam duplicium, descriptio
quaedam poetica, Anglo-Saxonice expli-
cata.' It is of this 'Descriptio' that
he writes as follows:
Plane quasi ab omnibus doctis spectatu
dignam, hic cum runis aere incisis,
operae et sumptus pretium exhibere judi-
camus, Latinis additis ex adverso elementis,
ad ostendendam runarum potestatem, una cum
iis nominibus quibus appellantur ipsae runae.
The italics are my own: but, with the corrob-
orative evidence of Wanley quoted above /the
description in his Catalogus 7, I think there
can be little doubt that Hickes, as Hempl
long ago suggested, added the marginal rune-
names and rune-values deliberately for the
better carrying out of his purpose, which
was, of course, primarily philological.[8]

Wrenn has also pointed out the likelihood that Hickes' tran-

scription was actually made by Wanley,[9] since in the descrip-

tion of Galba A. ii. (Catalogus, p. 237) Wanley says:

IV Alphabeta Runica diversa, quae cum
aliis ex hujusce Bibliothecae Codd. MSS.
descripta D. Hickesio imprimenda dedi.

Wrenn comments: "It may be, therefore, that the whole of

Hickes' transcriptions of runic fuþarks and alphabets rests

on those originally made by Wanley."[10] Ker also asserts that

the Rune Poem was printed "no doubt from Wanley's transcript."[11]

The history of the Rune Poem MS may therefore be re-

constructed, from the evidence given above, as follows: The

medieval scribe transcribed the poem including only the single

runes and the verses. A later Old English scribe added the

names of the runes as a gloss. The Rune Poem folio became

detached from the original manuscript (if it was ever bound),

and was bound with a MS of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints, per-
haps by Joscelyn (1529-1603). The MS (now Cotton Otho B. x.)
was acquired by Sir Robert Cotton, apparently from Joscelyn,
and was lent to William Camden. In 1696 Thomas Smith de-
scribed Cotton Otho B. x., overlooking the Rune Poem but not-
ing ten runes on the verso of f. 165. Wanley transcribed the
poem as well as the fuþorcs of Cotton Galba A. ii. and Domi-
tian A. ix., noted Smith's omission in his copy of Catalogus
1696, and described Otho B. x. for his own Catalogus 1705.
Hickes published Wanley's transcriptions of the Rune Poem
and the fuþorcs, adding to the facsimile of the poem (if they
were not already present in Wanley's transcription) the Latin
values, the variant names, and variant runes from Wanley's
transcription of Dom. A. ix. In 1731 MS Otho B. x. was
badly damaged by the fire and f. 165 was destroyed.

Since the Rune Poem folio did not originally belong
to Otho B. x., the few leaves that survived the fire can be
of no value in determining the peculiarities of the hand,
nor can we even be sure just how the poem was arranged on
the page. But from a comparison of the letter counts of
single pages of several representatives MSS and of the Rune Poem
it seems likely that the poem was transcribed on both the
recto and the verso of f. 165. It is also probable that the
MS scribe, quite in keeping with Old English verse trans-
scription, did not divide the poem into stanzas as Hickes
has done. And if the runes occurred within the lines, this

situation would account for Smith's overlooking the poem,
which followed hard on the heels of a Saxon penitential, and
would account for his noting (incorrectly?) only ten mis-
cellaneous runes at the end of the poem, perhaps the nine
runes which Hickes includes at the bottom of the facsimile:
Hos characteres ᚠ ᚱ ᚻ ᚹ ᛏ ᚥ ᚱ ᛇᚷ ad alia sestinans
⌐sic, read festinans ⌐, studioso lectori interpretanda re-
linguo.

In arranging the text of the poem for this edition,
I have taken the liberty of dividing it into stanzas, but
the rune names, Latin values, and the variant runes, have
been omitted.

NOTES

[1]N. R. Ker, A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p. 228.

[2]On Joscelyn's antiquarian activities, see Eleanor N. Adams, Old English Scholarship in England from 1566 to 1800 (New Haven, 1917), p. 38.

[3]Ker, p. 230.

[4]Quoted from R. Derolez, Runica Manuscripta (Brugge, 1954), p. 17.

[5]Cited by Ker, p. 230.

[6]H. Wanley, Catalogus, p. 192.

[7]G. Hempl, MP, I (1904), 135-141.

[8]C. L. Wrenn, "Late Old English Rune-Names," Medium Aevum, I (1932), 25. The question of the relationship between the Rune Poem folio and Hickes' facsimile is complicated by a runic alphabet found in Hickes' Icelandic grammar later in the Thesaurus. On a page filled with tables of runic alphabets from various sources (including Dom. A. ix., St. John 17, Galba A. ii) is an alphabet "ē Cod. MS Bib. Cott. Otho B. 10." (Gram. Is., p. 4, table II, 3), which contradicts the evidence from the facsimile of the Rune Poem: (1) The incorrect values Y and Z are given to ᛦ and ᚱ , but the values are correct in the runic alphabet of Dom. A. ix. (MS source of the Rune Poem's accretions) and the facsimile of the Rune Poem. (2) The two H variants, the N, EO, and ING variants are included (all of which are found in Dom. A. ix. and the facsimile), but the ᛗ and ᛥ variants are not included (found in Dom. A. ix. and the facsimile). (3) The ᛏ rune, having neither name nor value in the facsimile, is given the value Z, whereas it has the value K in the Dom. A. ix. alphabet. (4) The values of daeg and man are reversed (presumably following the evidence of Dom. A. ix. against the evidence of the correct name glosses found with the poem; see line 59n). This reversal was not an idle slip since Hickes in his charts of the derivations of the runes from Greek and Latin (Gram. Is., p. 4) gives the value M to ᛗ and D to ᛗ . At least one conclusion may be

drawn from all these inconsistencies: The additions Hempl
and Wrenn ascribe to Hickes are really those of Wanley, and
although Hickes knew that some elements had been added to
Wanley's transcription of the Rune Poem, he either did not
know, or did not distinguish the MS evidence from the ad-
ditions in making up his alphabetical charts. These in-
consistencies have little bearing on the text of the Rune
Poem, but in view of our dependence on Hickes alone for
the runes of the lost MSS Galba A. ii. (destroyed by fire
in 1865) and Otho B. x., and in view of the contradic-
tions in the descriptions of Otho B. x., the question of
the reliability of Hickes' reproductions needs further
study.

[9]Wrenn, p. 27.

[10]Ibid., p. 27.

[11]Ker, p. 230.

LANGUAGE AND DATE

An analysis of the language of the poem reveals few
forms that can be assigned only to any non-West Saxon dia-
lect, and the relatively few unexpected spellings can in al-
most every case be seen as the result of the levelling of
vowels of unstressed syllables and the smoothing of early
West Saxon diphthongs, both of which are to be regarded as
late West Saxon changes (see Kemp Malone, "When did Middle
English begin?", _Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies_, _Language
Monograph_, No. 7, 1930, pp. 110-117). In addition, the change
m > n   in final unstressed syllables is evidence for a
late MS date (see Campbell, Par. 378). Deviations from the
standard Alfredian texts are discussed in detail below:

A. Vowels in stressed syllables:

1. The tendency throughout the text to confuse
the graphs _i_ and _y_: The _byþ_-formula which begins nearly
every stanza is spelled _byþ_, except in 45, 48, 49, 52, 58,
and 81, where we find _biþ_. In line 6 _is_ is written beside
_ys_ 8, and _wile_ _for_ _drihtne_ 3, beside _dryhten_ _wyle_ 61. Other
instances of _i_ alternating with _y_ include _hihte_ 45, _unstyl-
lum_ 58, and _gerȳsena_ 72. This spelling of _i_ where we should
expect _y_ and vice versa can tell us nothing positive about
the rounding or unrounding of the front vowels, and the oc-
currence of alternations in words which occur more than

once further precludes any final decision as to their pro-
nunciation.

2. Syllan 33 for earlier sellan must also be
regarded as a lWS change common to the group sel- (Camp-
bell, Par. 325).

3. Byrneb 17 is lWS y for biernan (Campbell,
Par. 299a), eWS variant of birnan < *brinnan, class III
strong verb. Breneð 43, on the other hand, is a variant of
the causative baernan, a weak verb ultimately from *brannjan
(Campbell, Par. 193d).

4. Hlehter 38 and wexeð 42, e < ea, are examples
of lWS smoothing (Campbell, Par. 312), or Anglian smoothing
(Bülbring, Par. 313).

5. Wature 42 and waetere 26 (beside waetre 89)
exhibit the parasitic vowel in the dative singular, u (prob-
ably representing /ə_7) written for e. Since OE ae and a
coalesced in lOE times in a, wature may be further evidence
for a late MS date (c. 1100?, cf. Campbell, Par. 329.3).

6. Trȳwe 48 for trīewe is a WS feature (Bül-
bring, Par. 188). Hwyrft 25 shows a similar WS monophthong-
ization of ie to y (Campbell, Par. 300).

7. Ēst 68 beside Ēast is more than likely a
reflection of the lWS monophthongization of diphthongs
(Campbell, Par. 329.2).

8. The vowels o/a are commonly in free varia-
tion before nasals as in onfeng 44, and anfeng 8, the a/o
variation presumably being extended to the noun by analogy
from the verb onfōn.

9. Beþ 46 beside baeþ 79 and sēmannum 45 for expected saēmannum is quite possibly a Kentish character- istic. The raising of ǣ to ē in the Kentish Gospels is a tenth-century change (Campbell, Par. 288).

B. Vowels in unstressed syllables:

1. The unstressed vowels a, u, o, e and i fell together as schwa in late OE, and the large propor- tion of inconsistent spellings in the Rune Poem testifies to a certain confusion on the part of the scribe as to how this schwa should be represented. Thus we find frōfur 1, 11, 58 for expected frōfor, oftust 17, 41 and gelīcust 30 beside oftast 73, faerylde 49 beside faerelde 86, wynan 37 and māgan 59 for expected wynnum and māgun, staþule 82 for expected stabole, herenys 19 for herenes, underwreþyd 37 for underwreþod, tūdder 52 for tūddor, and nēþun 64 for nēþan.

2. Syncopation in brīdles 66, fōdres 88, waetre 89 (Campbell, Par. 388, 389) and haefþ 23, 41 (Campbell, Par. 732). The uncontracted hafaþ 88, beside the expected haefþ 23, 41 may be WS, since the form does occur in prose texts (Campbell, Par. 762), or it may be Anglian, since it is found regularly in Vespasian Psalter (Campbell, Par. 762) and in Anglian poetic texts (Sievers-Brunner, Par. 417c). The syncopated hwyrft 25 for hwyrfþ is also probably WS (Campbell, Par. 732). The regular WS hylt 82 beside un- syncopated healdeð 48 is given by Sievers (Beitr., X, 474) as evidence for a Southern origin of the poem. Verb

syncopation in Anglian texts is rare, and if the poem were
Anglian, line 82b would read <u>stede</u> <u>rihte</u> <u>haldeð</u>. Such a
measure cannot be made to conform to any of Sievers'
five verse types (or Creed's, cf. <u>PMLA</u>, LXXXI, 23); hence
it must be inferred that the line, if Anglian, violates the
patterns of OE versification. It is therefore likely that
the poem is not of Anglian provenance. In line 48 however,
either <u>healdeð</u> or <u>hylt</u> would give a metrical line (Sievers'
D^2).

      C. Consonants:

        1. There is metathesis in lWS /sk/ to /ks/,
as in <u>fisces</u> 46 and <u>fix</u> 87 (Campbell, Par. 440).

        2. Assimilation of 3 sing. pres. ending of <u>fþ</u>
> <u>ft</u> as in <u>hwyrft</u> 25 is rare. J. Hedberg (<u>The</u> <u>Syncope</u> <u>of</u>
<u>the</u> <u>Old</u> <u>English</u> <u>Present</u> <u>Endings</u>, Lund, 1945) cites no in-
stance of <u>fþ</u> > <u>ft</u> occurring in the prose texts, and accord-
ing to Campbell (Par. 481.5) the change <u>fþ</u> > <u>ft</u> which oc-
curs in, for example, lWS <u>beoft</u>, does not occur in the
verbs. In the case of <u>hwyrft</u> there are two possible ex-
planations: either (1) <u>hwyrft</u> represents scribal confusion
with the noun <u>hwyrft</u> 'a turn, going, course'; or, (2) what
is more likely, with the syncopation of <u>feþ</u> > <u>fþ</u>, the <u>f</u>
became devoiced, and the final spirant dissimilated to a
stop. It is doubtful that the <u>t</u> of <u>hwyrft</u> represents a
spirant (Campbell, Par. 57.7), or that <u>t</u> is here an alterna-
tive phonological form <u>-et</u> of the 3 sing. pres. ind. (Camp-
bell, Par. 735b).

On the basis of the evidence above we can say that
the scribe confuses the graphs i̱ and y̱ in stressed position
and that the schwa of unstressed syllables is represented
variously by u̱, o̱, a̱, y̱, and e̱. These are common features
of lWS, but there are a number of pairs of variant spellings
which indicate the absence of a vigorously standard scribal
tradition (wature/waetere/waetre, ēst/Ēast, onfeng/anfeng,
beb/baeb, hafab/haefb, healdeð/hylt, fisces/fix, etc.). In
addition to the pairs of variant spellings, there is a cu-
rious bunching up of less expected forms between lines 37-
46, and these lines will bear closer examination.

While one would not go so far as to say (as has J.
Dover Wilson in regard to the compositor of the First Folio)
that these lines were copied in a state of eagerness to get
on with the job however carelessly, "after an interval for
refreshment from 'a stoup of ale,'" nevertheless in line
37 we find two instances of final m̱ > ṉ, a̱ alternating with
u̱ in the dative plural, and y̱ for o̱ in the past participle:
wyrtrumun underwrebyd wynan on ēble. In addition, within
these lines we find the most significant vocalic variant
spellings, those reflecting lWS or Anglian smoothing (hlehter
38, wexeð 42) and the quite possibly tenth-century Kentish
raising of æ̆ > ĕ (sēmannum 45 and beb 46). And here also
is the form wature 42 with the less expected parasite vowel.
In addition to the high frequency of unexpected and possibly

dialectal spellings peculiar to these ten lines, it is here
that we find the only gap in the text of the poem. Some-
thing has been omitted from the line wlancum ðar wigan sittaþ
39, although the omission is not noted by Hickes. It is, of
course, entirely possible that the omission was made by Wanley
in his transcription, but it is just as likely to be the error
of a scribe who, rather carelessly repeating dialectal accre-
tions and adding a few of his own, failed to understand some
of the runes and their accompanying verses, and who conse-
quently in his confusion omitted two or three words from the
MS. It is not therefore coincidental that these spellings
and omissions should occur within these two stanzas, (peorþ
and eolh-secg), the rune-names of which are quite rare in OE
and the significations of which would have been preserved
only in a strong runic tradition.

Three tentative conclusions may be drawn from the
linguistic evidence of the text and from the mixture of forms
and the lacuna of lines 37 to 46: (1) The MS of the Rune
Poem is tenth or eleventh century, when the vigor of the
runic traditions had been all but lost. Such lWS spellings
as n for final m, the levelling of unstressed vowels, and
the smoothing of diphthongs preclude an earlier date for
the MS. (2) The MS had a checkered history, and may have
been copied by Anglian and Kentish scribes before its final
redaction by the West Saxon Cottonian MS scribe. (3) The
original dialect of the poem cannot be known with certainty

although, because of the several syncopated verbs, notably hylt 82, the poem is presumably not of Anglian origin, but rather is Southern. The occurrence of the Ior rune, with its Kentish connections (see line 87n), and the Kentish spellings sēmannum 45 and beb 46 suggest at least the possibility of Kentish origin, though the poem is more than likely of West Saxon provenance.

SOURCES AND GENRE

Understanding the relationships between the pagan and Christian traditions has always been one of the larger concerns of Old English studies. Most of the disputes have been waged around Beowulf, beginning with F. A. Blackburn's essay "The Christian Coloring in the Beowulf"[1] and continuing to the very recent attack on the Christian-patristic point of view in "Beowulf and the Pitfalls of Piety."[2] It would not be appropriate to discuss here the various approaches to Beowulf that have been made, nor to consider the question of the fusion of pagan and Christian elements in Old English poetry as a whole, but an attempt will be made in this section to show that the assumption of earlier editors and critics that the Old English Rune Poem is derived from a much older pagan Germanic rune poem is merely an assumption, and to demonstrate that there are reasons some- what more compelling to place the poem within the Latin-Christian poetic traditions of the early Middle Ages. Any search for the source or the genre of the Rune Poem must be directed toward these traditions.

The histories of Old English literature nearly always discuss the Rune Poem in the sections on "survivals

of the Germanic-pagan traditions," and there is justifica-
tion for this since clearly the runes themselves are a sur-
vival of a tradition reaching back as far as the first or
second century. But the suggestion that the Old English Rune
Poem itself is a survival of an ur-poem can be based on noth-
ing but sheer speculation.

Alois Brandl makes perhaps the earliest suggestion
(1901) that the Rune Poem is drawn from a heathen poem:

> Während aber dieser Dichter, wie aus
> seinen Anspielungen auf den Himmels-
> könig hervorgeht, bereits Christ war,
> führt uns der Vergleich mit zwei ver-
> wandten skandinavischen Runen gedich-
> ten bis zu einer heidnischen Urform
> züruck.[3]

The one-page introduction of the first critical edition of
the poem (1915), that of Bruce Dickins, is based largely on
Brandl, and suggests that the poem is early, "pre-Alfredian
at least (with traces perhaps of an original from which the
Scandinavian poems are derived)."[4] One of the more judicious
statements concerning the origin of the poem is to be found
in Dobbie's edition (1942), where the poem is called a
"miscellaneous compilation from all kinds of sources, both
literary and popular."[5] But although Dobbie acknowledges
the obscurity of the exact nature of these sources and their
combinations, and although he suggests the possibility of
accretion, nevertheless he asserts, probably rightly, that
the poem as we have it "gives the impression of a complete
and unified work by a single compiler." Dobbie sees its

unity consisting in the <u>bib</u>-formula, the conformity of the length of stanzas, and the effect of finality in the last stanza.[6] Kemp Malone in <u>A Literary History of England</u> (1948) has lent his weighty opinion to the discussion, and in a chapter entitled "The Old Tradition: Popular Poetry," he says in regard to the source of the <u>Rune</u> <u>Poem</u>:

> It seems altogether likely that the runes from the first were learned by means of a poem in which each rune-name began a section, though in the original poem the sections may have been quite brief--possibly no more than a short verse each. From this original poem the three runic poems were presumably descended.[7]

Thus the notion of an original Germanic rune poem has persisted, but on the basis of no evidence at all, except the two later Norse rune poems.

These two poems, the source of the ur-poem speculation from the beginning, can however offer no evidence for an original: In the first place, the Old Norwegian <u>Rune</u> <u>Poem</u> may have grown out of someone's having heard the Old English poem in the thirteenth century, and the Old Icelandic poem, of the fifteenth century (Bruce Dickins' dates), may have been derived from one or the other. Furthermore, the only similarities between the Norse poems and the English poem are those that are a necessary consequence of the similar rune names and a shared storehouse of kennings.[8] Secondly, in regard to the stanza form, the second half of the Old Norwegian line is in each case an independent gnome with an end-rime:

Fé vaeldr fraenda róge;
    føðesk ulfr í skóge.

Úr er af illu jarne;
    opt løypr raeinn á hjarne.[9]

In the Old Icelandic poem each stanza is a series of three
kennings which define three aspects of each rune name, and
this is punctuated by the Latin equivalent of the name and
a synonym for 'king':

Fé er fraenda róg
    ok flaeðar viti
    ok grafseiðs gata.
      aurum   fylkir.

Úr er skýja grátr
    ok skára þverrir
    ok hirðis hatr,
      umbre   vísi.

Thus on the basis of stanza form it may be doubted whether
there is any connection between the two Norse poems, much
less between either of them and the Old English Rune Poem
or a Germanic ur- rune poem. And finally, the structure of
the Old English poem, the extension of the Germanic fuþark
of twenty-four runes to twenty-nine runes, and our poet's
sense of order and finality in the twenty-ninth stanza,
makes derivation from an earlier Germanic rune poem un-
likely. For all the secular lore that the poem does con-
tain, it has closer affinities to the Latin genres of
aenigma, gnomic catalogue poem, and abecedarium than to a
hypothetical Germanic-pagan rune poem genre.

      The riddling quality of the Rune Poem has often been
noted, and if the runes were not originally accompanied by

the name glosses, each stanza would be a riddle for some-
one unfamiliar with the names. The riddle itself is an an-
cient and respectable genre: We see it in the riddle of
Odysseus to Polyphemus, in the riddle of the Sphinx, in
the riddle of Samson to the Philistines, and the riddle is
found in the early literature of England in both Latin and
the vernacular. Aldhelm at the abbey of Malmesbury, under
the influence of its Irish founders, composed a series of
one hundred _Aenigmata_ modelled after the riddle cycle of
Symphosius, perhaps a sixth-century scholar of the Vandal
kingdom.[10] Aldhelm's riddles, like the _Rune Poem_, glorify
the creation, and the introductory poem has the line _Ald-
helmus cecinit millenis versibus odas_, in acrostic and
telestich.[11] As testimony to the relative wealth of the
English libraries, Aldhelm's knowledge of Latin authors
included his favorites Virgil and Sedulius, Ovid, Horace,
Terence, Perseus, Juvenal, Lucan, Juvencus, Paulinus of
Nola, Ausonius, Prudentius, Claudian, Prosper, Sidonius
Apollinaris, and, of course, the Fathers.[12] And this Ald-
helm was the same who, according to William of Malmesbury,
used to sit at the bridge and sing Old English lays to lure
people into church. Another collection of riddles, written
by Tatwine, Archbishop of Centerbury, testifies to the pop-
ularity of the genre, and Eusebius (Hwaetberht, abbot of
Wearmouth in 716) has a series of riddles of which four are

on the letters alpha, X, U, and I.[13] Whatever the currency
of the riddle may have been in pre-literary Germanic times,
the riddles of the Exeter Book, especially the adaptations
there of Aldhelm's Creation and Lorica, are evidence of the
widespread tendency in the Old English period to fashion
compositions in the vernacular after classical modes; and
the Rune Poem has some affinities with the riddle in its
enigmatic runes, its brevity of stanza, its overall cyclic
structure, and, however tenuously, its preoccupation with
letters as in the Aldhelm acrostic.

In addition to the riddle, a second medieval kind
in which the Rune Poem seems to participate is the cata-
logue poem. A poet may wish to have a catalogue of heroes
or gods fixed for posterity, or a catalogue of cities, or
rivers, or trees. The thulas of Widsith are the best-known
examples in Old English literature, but the two poems the
Fortunes (or Fates) of Men and Gifts of Men are closer
stylistically to the Rune Poem.[14] An early example of the
gnomic verse catalogue is found in Hesiod's Works and Days,
though since it may be doubted that the Old English poets
knew Hesiod, there are the Distichs of Cato, which every
scholar who passed through the medieval schools knew.[15]
Curtius has commented on the popularity of such gnomic
catalogues in the Middle Ages:

> In the antique poets there were hundreds
> and thousands of lines which put a psy-
> chological experience or a rule of life

> in the briefest form. Aristotle dis-
> cussed such apophthegms in his Rhetoric
> (II, 21). Quintillian called them "sen-
> tentiae" (literally: "judgments") because
> they resembled the decisions of public
> bodies (VIII, 5, 3). Such lines are
> "mnemonic verses." They are learned by
> heart; they are collected; they are ar-
> ranged in alphabetical order that they
> may be ready at hand.[16]

There is, of course, nothing peculiarly English about sen-

tences or gnomic verses: They are found in all literatures

throughout the world. But the fact that Anglo-Saxon

scholars did know collections of verses, catalogues, per-

haps arranged alphabetically, indicates the possibility

that the Rune Poem was composed by someone familiar with

the Latin genre. As in the case of the Old English rid-

dles, we find an example of the easy commerce between Latin

and the vernacular in the Old English Panther, Whale, and

Partridge of the Exeter Book. Whether these poems repre-

sent only a fraction of a larger Old English Physiologus

is debatable, but the point here is that this bestiary has

its analogue in the manuscripts of the Latin Physiologus,

particularly the ninth-century Bern MS: 233, and the elev-

enth century versified Physiologus.[17] Here, as in the case

of the thulas and the gnomic verses, we have a series of

descriptive verses, organized to form a catalogue, which

becomes a source for the Old English physiologus-catalogue

genre.

A third medieval genre to which the Rune Poem has

probable connections is the <u>abecedarium</u>, and the <u>abecedarium</u>
grows out of a rather simple notion that the letters them-
selves can be more than merely a way of representing the
sounds of a language, that letters may function in more
than one way. Both the Germanic runes and the Latin let-
ters, as shall be shown, were thought of as capable of mul-
tiple functions.

The runes, on the one hand, were intimately asso-
ciated with rite and magic. The word <u>rune</u> itself means
'mystery' or 'secret,' and (in spite of their "baptism" in
such monuments as the Ruthwell Cross) as proof that the
pagan uses of the runes were quite alive in Anglo-Saxon
England, we find in Bede the story of Imma.[18] This young
follower of the Northumbrian King Ecgfrith was taken pris-
oner, but his brother, believing him dead, said a mass for
him every day, and because of this mass, his fetters con-
tinually gave way. Bede tells the story to show the power
of the sacrament but also reports that Imma was asked by
his captors,

> hwaeðer he ða alysendlecan rune cuðe,
> ond þa stafas mid him awritene haefde,
> be swylcum men leas spel secgað ond
> spreocað, þaet hine mon forþon gebindan
> ne meahte.

Even as late as the eleventh century, Aelfric equates runes
and magic in a homily: ðurh <u>drycraeft</u> oððe ðurh <u>runstafum</u>,
'through magic or through rune-staves.'[19] A curious synthe-
sis of the pagan and Christian occurs in the poetic <u>Solomon</u>

and Saturn débat, where the Latin letters are accompanied by
the runes to spell out the opening words of the Pater Noster.
The passage advocates the use of the Lord's Prayer as a bat-
tle charm, each letter and rune symbolizing an angelic war-
rior who overcomes the devil. For instance:

> . ↑ T   . hine teswað   and hine on ða   94
> tungan sticað, / wraesteð him ðaet
> woddor   and him ða wongan brieceð.[20]

The Greek and Latin alphabets were likewise con-
sidered to have various powers, though probably these powers
were never as clearly defined as those of the runes. Isidor
says in the Etymologiae, known by all scholars in the Middle
Ages:

> Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa
> verborum, quibus tanta vis est, ut nobis
> dicta absentium sine voce loquantur.[21]

Concerning the mysticism of the Greek letters he asserts:

> Quinque autem esse apud Graecos mysticas litteras.
> Prima Υ , quae humanam vitam significat, de qua
> nunc diximus. Secunda Θ, quae mortem significat.
> . . . Tertia T , figuram demonstrans Dominicae
> crucis.[22]

And according to Curtius, the Gallic grammarian of the seventh
century, Virgilius Maro, also discusses the mysticism of the
alphabet.[23] The best illustrations in Old English of the
fondness for playing with letters, of allowing a letter to be
understood both literally and symbolically, or literally in
more than one way, are the Pater Noster of the Solomon and
Saturn, the Cynewulfian runic signatures, and the runes of
the Husband's Message. This allowing runes (or letters) to

function in more than one way has an analogue in the Latin
acrostic poems, though of course in the case of both the
runes and the acrostics, the device illustrates only a turn
of mind, a way of conceiving of the powers of letters, an
understanding of the multiple functions of letters. Like
these uses of the runes, the acrostic device affords an op-
portunity to display the ingenuity of the poet, but it func-
tions in a more practical way, to facilitate the memoriza-
tion of the lines.

Turning now to the acrostic and abecedarium genres
in Latin, we see that the acrostic poems are characterized
by the acrostic of the initial letters of each line, the
telestich (final letters), criss-cross, or any number of
other combinations. As an illustration of the complexity
to which the Carolingian poets aspired, a pupil of Alcuin's,
Joseph the Scot, has a poem of thirty-seven lines, each of
which lines contains exactly thirty-seven letters.[24] The
acrostic text, a poem itself whose subject matter is the
cross, takes the shape of a temple with peaked roof within
which are three crosses. Greatly reduced and schematized
the whole text resembles the figure below:

```
x x x x x O x x x x x
x x x x O x O x x x x
x x x O x x x O x x x
x x O x x M x x O x x
x O x x M M M x x O x
x O x x x M x x x O x
x O x x x M x x x O x
x O x I x M x I x O x
```

```
x O I I I M I I I O x
x O x I x M x I x O x
x O x I x M x I x O x
x O x I x M x I x O x
O x x I x M x I x x O
```

The first line of the poem reads Inclyta si cupias sancti

sub culmina templi, and the c of sancti is the first letter

of the acrostic text which begins at the roof peak and con-

tinues down to the left: Crux mihi certa salus Christi

sacrata cruore. The acrostic continues through each of the

three crosses. Another illustration of the device is the

brief Versus Bernowini Episcopi ad Crucem:

> Conditor aeterne, quem laudo versibus   istic
> Rex requiem Bernwini da, pater atque redemptor
> Virtus virtutum victor victoria   Heisu
> Xriste tu iustus iudex miserere mei   rex.[25]

The alphabetical poems sometimes tick off the letters with the

initial of each line, or with the initial of each stanza.

Both acrostic and alphabetic devices are mnemonic, but, ob-

viously, the acrostic sets up a secondary text (a word or

even whole sentences) in addition to the primary text of the

poem; the alphabetical, only the alphabet. It would not be

too great a claim to say that the acrostic and alphabetical

device is one of the most prevalent structuring devices of

Christian-Latin poetry, from its beginnings, through the

Carolingian period.

The earliest extant Christian verses in Latin are

those of Commodian, and all of the eighty poems which make

up his Instructiones are in acrostic or alphabetical form.

The poems are didactic, and according to F. J. E. Raby are
clearly intended to provide a solid grounding in the faith,
by polemics against Jews and heathen gods, by admonitions
to pursue the Christian way, and warnings of the terrors of
doomsday:

> D at tuba caelo signum sublato leone
> E t fiunt desubito tenebrae cum caeli fragore.
>
> S ummittit oculos dominus, ut terra tremescat,
> A dclamat et iam, ut audiant omnes, in orbem:
> E cce diu tacui sufferens tanto tempore vestra!
> C onclamant pariter plangentes sero gementes,
> U lulatur, ploratur, nec spatium datur iniquis.
> L actanti quid faciat mater, cum ipsa crematur?
> I n flamma ignis dominus iudicabit iniquos.[26]

After Commodian, the most important hymn writer is Hilary of
Poitiers (c. 310-66), two of whose three surviving hymns are
alphabetical.[27] That Augustine, a century after Commodian,
should have chosen the alphabetical structure for his _Psalmus_
contra partem Donati is testimony to its currency. He proba-
bly intended the hymn to be sung by his congregations, and
remarks, "_Tales autem abecedarios appellant_."[28] The device
seems to have been ignored by the greatest of the early Chris-
tian hymn writers; apparently the poetry itself made demands
which transcended such tricks of rhetoric. Thus Prudentius
(c. 348-405), the first great Christian poet,[29] and Ambrose
(c. 340-397), the father of Christian hymnody,[30] produced
no alphabetical hymns, nor did the poet of the _Vexilla regis_
and _Salve, festa dies_, Venantius Fortunatus (540-600).[31]

A minor Latin alphabetical poet of fifth-century

Italy, Sedulius, became "a Christian classic, cited by the grammarians, read as a model of style, and imitated by generations of versifiers."[32] Sedulius' fame rested largely on his long and allegorical Carmen Paschale, but he has two hymns, one of which is alphabetical and is particularly relevant to this study because it is quoted by Bede in the De Metri and is found in no fewer than twelve English and continental eighth- to tenth-century MSS.

> A solis ortus cardine
> Adusque terrae limitem
> Christum canamus principem,
> Natum Maria virgine.
>
> B eatus auctor saeculi
> Servile corpus induit,
> Ut carne carnem liberans
> Non perderet, quod condidit.
>
> C lausae parentis viscera
> Caelestis intrat gratia,
> Venter puellae baiulat
> Secreta, quae non noverat.[33]

The acrostic poems of Eugenius of Toledo, archbishop from 646 to 658, also were known by Bede, and according to Raby, "it is supposed that Alcuin took them over to Frankish soil, where the Carolingian poets admired and imitated them.[34]

It is well known that the English were taught to write by the Irish, whose conversion to Christianity antedates the mission of Augustine in 597 and who were largely responsible for the preeminence of Celtic Christianity in Northumbria. The early dependence on Ireland for the training of English scholars is evidenced not only in the adaptation of the Irish half-uncial rather than the Italian script,

but also in a letter of Aldhelm's to Eahfrith boasting
that stylistic conceits can now be acquired in England--
that one need no longer go to Ireland to learn the scholar's
craft.[35]

One can observe, however, that the genre of the al-
phabetical hymn was strong in Ireland from the very begin-
ning, and in addition to Augustine of Hippo, Sedulius,
Hilary, and other continental alphabetical poets, the Irish
must have been one source for the genre in England. The
very earliest Irish Latin verse is the alphabetical hymn of
Sechnall (or Secundius) on St. Patrick.[36] At least a half-
dozen other alphabetical hymns from the period of the great
Celtic monasteries of the sixth and seventh centuries have
survived, not the least important of which is the hymn Altus
Prosator, possibly written by Columba, founder of the mon-
astery at Iona, which tells the story of the world from cre-
ation to doomsday.[37]

Turning again to England, in the eighth century
there is a vigorous production of Latin hymns, and Bede him-
self says that he is the author of a hymnal of both metrical
and rhythmical verse. This has not survived, but we do have
his hymn in honor of St. Etheldreda in the Ecclesiastical
History (Bk. IV, ch. xx). The hymn is alphabetic from A to
Z with the last four couplets spelling in acrostic AMEN.
It also employs the "serpentine" or echoing device of repeat-
ing the first phrase at the end of each couplet:

A lma deus trinitas, quae saecula cuncta gubernas,
adnue iam coeptis, alma deus trinitas.
B ella Maro resonet, nos pacis dona canamus:
munera nos Christi, bella Maro resonet.
C armina casta mihi, foedae non raptus Helenae.
luxus erit lubricis, carmina casta mihi.
D ona superna loquar, miserae non proelia Troiae,
terra quibus gaudet: dona superna loquar. . . .

Unfortunately, Alfred's translators did not put the hymn into
Old English. After the Viking invasions in the tenth and elev-
enth centuries there is little Latin poetry of any consequence:
Frithegode (fl. 947) and Wulfstan (c. 950) are almost solitary
voices.[38] But the alphabetical traditions are strong enough
that Wulfstan has several hymns which, like Bede's hymn, are
both apanaleptic ("serpentine") and alphabetical.

The devices of acrostic and alphabet spring into full
flower in the poetry of the Carolingian revival, aided
partly by Alcuin, who carries on the traditions of the Irish
alphabetical poems of Aldhelm and Bede. Several of his acros-
tic poems have survived, and in verses on the library at
York, Alcuin mentions most of those whom we know to have writ-
ten in the alphabetic genre: Hilary, Augustine, Aldhelm, Bede,
and Sedulius. Others cited are Ambrose, Fortunatus, and Vir-
gilius Maro.[39] Suffice it to say here that structuring a poem
after the letters of the alphabet was a common practice in the
Carolingian age. With respect to a large body of non-
classical verse, written for the most part by Frankish and
Italian poets, Raby has said, "One striking feature of this
collection is the large number of alphabetical poems."[40]

And he continues, "This was an almost universal form, culti-
vated in Italy and Spain as well as in Ireland and England,
and its appearance here cannot be traced to any one partic-
ular influence."[41]

The one conclusion that this study of the alphabetic
genre leads to is that probably any Anglo-Saxon cleric or
scholar who could write, or could read Latin, would have been
in touch with some of these poems. And it is generally agreed
that the bulk of extant Old English literature, including its
poetry, was composed by men who could read Latin.

Two Latin poems, however, stand even closer to the
Rune Poem in form and intention than all the alphabetic poems
mentioned so far. They are both the product of the late
Latin rhetorical schools.[42] They both are exercises in in-
genuity and preciousness. They are both alphabetical poems
which take as their subject matter the letters of the alpha-
bet.

The first, De Litteris Monosyllabis Graecis ac Latinis,
is by Ausonius (mentioned earlier in connection with Aldhelm),
Gallic grammarian, rhetorician, and consul. The poem is in
the Technopaegnion, a rhetorical exercise of several poems
in which each line ends in a monosyllable. In a remark we
might speculate the Rune Poem poet to have echoed later,
Ausonius says in a letter to his friend, Paulinus of Nola:

> You may well exclaim, then: "Heavens, what time
> and toil!" Of a surety I have spent my pains upon

> a useless task: it is small, yet it brings a sense
> of surfeit; it is disjointed, yet a hopeless
> tangle; though it is something, it is proved to be
> worth just nothing. Nevertheless, I have taken
> pains to give it something of learning and lore; for
> the rule I was bound to keep debarred the lighter
> graces of poetry and rhetoric.[43]

A few verses will suffice to show its form and quality:

> Dux elementorum studiis viget in Latiis A
> et suprema notis adscribitur Argolicis Ω .
> Hϒꝗ quod Aeolidum, quodque Є valet hoc Latiare E.
> praesto quod   E Latium semper breve Dorica vox Є .[44]

Aldhelm of Malmesbury knew both Paulinas of Nola and

Ausonius; there can be little doubt that Ausonius is one

source of the mannerist extravagances of the Anglo-Saxon Latin

poetry and the Carolingian.[45] That Ausonius' alphabet poem is

a source for the genre of the Old English Rune Poem is only

a remote possibility. But they are both abecedaria whose sub-

ject matter is the letters themselves.

The other alphabet poem is somewhat closer to the

time and the place of the Rune Poem: it is the Versus Cuius-

dam Scoti de Alphabeto, found in several continental manu-

scripts and in the eleventh-century Cambridge University Li-

brary MS G. g. V. 35:

> A Principium vocis ueterumque inventio mira
>   Nomen habens domini sum felix uoce pelasga;
>   Exsecrantis item dira interiectio dicor.
>
> B Principium libri, mutis caput, alter et ordo,
>   Tertia felicis uere sum syllaba semper;
>   Si me graece legas, uiridi tum nascor in horto.
>
> C Principium caeli, primis et luna figuris;
>   Et me clerus amat, legeris si graece, latinus;
>   Littera sum terrae pedibus perscripta quaternis.
>
> D Ablati casus nox sum et pars septima linguae,
>   Omnipotentis habens nomen, cum 'us' bannita iuncta;[46]
>   Sum medium mille et ueterum mala nota deorum. . . .

The poem is a series of enigmas on the letters from A to Z, generally describing the articulation of the letters and sometimes their use and form. Thus, C is _luna figuris_; R, _Est nomen durum_; X, _Per me saepe patet numerus de lege Sacratus_. Whether these verses were well known in England, or whether they have influenced the four letter-riddles of Eusebius (Hwaetberht) cannot be proved. But the _Versus_ has affinities with the _Rune Poem_ which may not be fortuitous: It is a series of verses on the letters themselves; there is a stanza descriptive in kind for each letter; the stanzas of the _Versus_ are three lines, of the _Rune Poem_ nearly all are three or four lines long; they are both riddling.

The _Rune Poem_ may be said, therefore, to participate in at least three genres, the riddle, the gnomic catalogue, and the _abecedarium_. Of the first two of these there are clear examples in both Latin and Old English, and in some cases, we can say with assurance that an Old English example is modelled on the Latin genre or even that a particular Latin riddle, the _Lorica_ for instance, is a source for the Old English riddle. We cannot point to any Latin _abecedarium_ and say that this is the source for the Old English _Rune Poem_, but for a poet familiar with Sedulius, the Irish hymns, and Bede, the alphabetical tradition would have been difficult to ignore. And the _Versus Cuiusdam Scoti_ might have provided the necessary link between the alphabetical hymns and a poem on the letters of the alphabet, or the fuþorc.

As was said at the beginning of this investigation, the precise relationship between the Christian literary traditions and the pagan literary traditions is still a matter for conjecture. Perhaps there is a tendency to place almost all Old English literature within the Christian traditions solely on the negative evidence of the dearth of surviving pagan Germanic literature. But when we have a poem such as the Rune Poem which has affinities with Latin genres, which is clearly Christian in its treatment of its clearly pagan runes, and which has several points of contact with monkish antiquarianisms, with the kind of rhetorical mannerisms we know to have been cultivated assiduously in Anglo-Saxon England from the seventh to the eleventh century--then we may see the poem for what it really is: a product of Christian Latin traditions. Like Beowulf, or the Seafarer, or the Dream of the Rood, the poem, however minor, is another attempt to bring together the best of both cultures, to Christianize the heathen fanes, to translate the runes into that kind of world, created and governed by a benevolent God, in which men can live in charity and peace.

NOTES

[1] _PMLA_, XII (1897), 205-225.

[2] John Halverson, _University of Toronto Quarterly_, XXXV (1966), 260-278.

[3] _Grundriss der germanischen Philologie_ (2nd ed.), ed. Herman Paul (Strassburg, 1901-1909), II, 1, 964.

[4] _Runic and Heroic Poems_ (Cambridge, 1915), p. 6.

[5] _The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems_ (New York, 1942), p. xlviii.

[6] _Ibid._, p. xlix.

[7] p. 34.

[8] Cf. OIce _Rune Poem_, kaldastr korna 7; OE _Seafarer_, corna caldast 32; OE _Rune Poem_, hwitust corna 25).

[9] Norse rune poems quoted from Dickins, _Runic and Heroic Poems_.

[10] F. J. E. Raby, _A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages_, vol. I (hereafter cited as _SLP_) (Oxford, 1957), p. 116.

[11] _SLP_, p. 171.

[12] M. Laistner, _Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A. D. 500 to 900_ (London, 1931), pp. 120-1; F. J. E. Raby, _A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages_ (hereafter cited as _CLP_) (Oxford, 1927), p. 143.

[13] Erika von Erhardt-Siebold, _Die lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen_ (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 251-256.

[14] Cf. their sum sceal-, sum bið-formulas to the ᚠ byp-formula of the _Rune Poem_.

[15] _SLP_, p. 44.

[16]Ernst Robert Curtius, _European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages_ (New York, 1953), p. 58. An example of such an alphabetical gnomic catalogue, the _Sententiæ_ of Publius Syrus, is found in J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, _Minor Latin Poets_, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1934), pp. 14-111.

[17]_ASPR_, III, 1.

[18]_Ecclesiastical History_, Book IV, ch. 22. Pagan uses of the runes include casting of lots (Tacitus, _Germania_, X), spells (_Sigrdrifumál_ in the _Poetic Edda_), and inscriptions (see Sven B. Jansson, _The Runes of Sweden_, London, 1962).

[19]Quoted by R. W. V. Elliott, _Runes_ (Manchester, 1959), p. 69.

[20]_ASPR_, VI, 35.

[21]_PL_, 82, col. 74.

[22]_PL_, 82, col. 76.

[23]Curtius, p. 313.

[24]_Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini_, ed. Ernest Duemmler (Hanover and Berlin, 1881), vol. I, p. 159.

[25]_Ibid._, p. 423.

[26]_CLP_, p. 13.

[27]_Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi_, vol 50, pp. 4ff.

[28]_PL_, 43, col. 23.

[29]_CLP_, p. 44.

[30]_CLP_, p. 43.

[31]_CLP_, p. 86.

[32]_CLP_, p. 110.

[33]_Analecta Hymnica_, vol. 51, p. 340.

[34]_SLP_, p. 151.

[35]Laistner, p. 119.

[36]_Analecta Hymnica_, vol. 51, p. 340.

[37] CLP, p. 134.

[38] CLP, p. 153.

[39] Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, vol. I, pp. 224-7.

[40] SLP, p. 209.

[41] SLP, p. 209.

[42] SLP, p. 55.

[43] Ausonius (Loeb Classical Library), ed. H. G. E. White (London, 1919), vol. I, p. 289.

[44] Ausonius, pp. 303-4.

[45] Cf. Curtius, "Mannerism," pp. 273-291.

[46] A. Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores (Leipzig, 1888), vol. 5, pp. 375-378.

TECHNIQUES AND THEMES

The Old English Rune Poem has never suffered from scholarly neglect. But the attention it has been paid is of two kinds only: one, that of the curious delver after runologic lore; and the other, that of the editor, who must necessarily erect a vast critical apparatus, which being so far out of proportion to the size of the poem only serves to obscure it. The poem hangs lost amid a maze of girders.

Bruce Dickins in his Runic and Heroic Poems makes no comment on the style except to say that "the versification is quite correct."[1] In Charles W. Kennedy's critical survey, The Earliest English Poetry, the Rune Poem is mentioned only in connection with the fuþorc: the poem "is hardly a literary composition, but represents a kind of alphabetic descriptive verse intended to facilitate memorization of the meaning of the several runes."[2] Stanley B. Greenfield, in his excellent Critical History of Old English Literature, only notes that "as poetry the verse needs little comment, though one may observe the christian emphasis in stanza 1, the use of formulas, the humor in the stanza on riding, and a pervasive riddling quality."[3]

Now there can be, as Dickins has said, no doubt that the verse is correct; but it is precisely the

assimilation of a large number of traditional devices in a relatively short poem that calls for comment. The poem is correct, and it is neat. That this fact has some bearing on the meaning of the poem should become clear as we investigate the various technical and thematic aspects of the poem in the course of this chapter. The poem as we have it must have been composed by a scop who was fully aware of the potentialities of the oral and literary traditions and who moved easily within the restrictions of his form.

Kennedy's statement that the poem is primarily mnemonic has been repeated by Kemp Malone, who, however, sees the poem as having descended from a much briefer original ABC poem,[4] but any mnemonic poem must have a kind of brevity or catchiness, as the Norse rune poems do, which facilitates memorization of the names. The stanza lengths in the Old English poem obviate such a mnemonic use: it would surely have been a greater task to memorize the stanzas than twenty-nine rune names; the order of the stanzas is entirely dependent upon the traditional order of the runes, which would therefore have to be learned first; and furthermore with the possible exception of two or three, the rune names were everyday nouns and therefore the stanzas do not give the apprentice runemaster any new information.

Greenfield's brief comments are a step at least in the direction of a critical interpretation, yet here only a few isolated devices are noted. The Christian emphasis

in stanza one is merely observed; Greenfield makes no at-
tempt at seeing this fact through or at making any analysis
of the poem as a whole, although each of his observations
is, no doubt, accurate.

Such commentary on the Rune Poem is typical: the
problem of reading it as a coherent and unified poem has
been universally side-stepped or at least ignored, and that,
because of its apparent sententiousness. What has probably
discouraged critical consideration of the poetry as much
as anything is that the poet seems indeed to have a firm
grasp on the obvious. Everybody knows that wealth is a com-
fort for every man and that one must bestow it freely on
others if one wants to obtain dom from the Lord. The sen-
tence is as familiar to the Old English Christian audience
as the commandment to love one's neighbor or the gnomic-
like "where your treasure is, there is your heart also."
But underlying the sententiousness of the lines there is
the implication of the kind of generosity the heroic poets
Widsith and Deor have sung about--of the necessity for be-
stowing gifts, rings and treasure, in the meadhall--so
that the seeming sententiousness of the first stanza is
alleviated by its working in both directions, Christian
and heroic. Or to put it another way, the stanza seems to
embrace both points of view, thus moving to a level some-
what more complex than the merely gnomic. Likewise, dom
means 'favorable judgment' and by extention 'earthly glory,'

but it also works in another direction, to <u>domesdaeg</u>, to
all that is unknown and terrible in death. Now as anyone
familiar with runes knows, runes as well as words are capa-
ble of evoking powerful associations. And as Professor
Randolph Quirk has shown recently, Old English words linked
by meter may "'interanimate' each other"[5]--words such as <u>dom</u>
and <u>deaþ</u>, or <u>eorl</u> and <u>aeþeling</u>:

> The name <u>Grendel</u>, for instance, is allit-
> eratively linked in more than half its two
> score occurrences with words congruently
> indicative of fierceness, especially <u>guð</u>
> and <u>gryre</u>: and it is surely unnecessary
> to point out that there is no question of
> the poet's being obliged to make such se-
> lections by reason of a scarcity of words
> which will alliterate. Frequently, the
> lexical connexion is in unison with the
> grammatical one; for instance: 'he hraðe
> wolde Grendle forgyldan guð-raesa fela'
> (<u>Beowulf</u> 1576 f.; and similarly 483, 591,
> and elsewhere). But we find notable in-
> stances in which the lexical connexion is
> maintained without a grammatical one, an
> effect which can be achieved not only be-
> cause the particular type of lexical con-
> nexion is already established in the poem,
> but also because the whole metrical tradi-
> tion has, as we have seen, established an
> expectation of lexical connexion.[6]

The interanimation of <u>deaþ</u> and <u>dom</u> is documented by Profes-
sor Quirk:

```
              wyrce se þe mote                    Beowulf 1387
domes aer deaþe
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and ealle þa gastas      þe for gode hweorfað     Maxims II 59
aefter deaððaege,     domes bidað
on faeder faeðme
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                    ic me mid Hruntinge           Beowulf 1490
dom gewyrce,       oþðe mec dead nimeð
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holen sceal inaeled,        yrfe gedaeled         Maxims I 79
deades monnes.,   Dom biþ selast.
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The lexical association of dom and dead was well enough es-
tablished that the connotative effects of dom, even when not
linked to 'death,' must have at least radiated in that di-
rection. Treasure is a comfort to every man, yet with the
word dom we are given our first clue of the outcome of the
poem. The poet has subtly undercut his argument of the
consolation of possessions right from the beginning of the
poem.

     The first stanza, therefore, although it may at
first glance appear even heavyhanded in its didacticism,
in its sententiousness, points to virtues both Christian
and heroic, and the connection of feoh with dom as glory
and dom as death hints at the impending doom of the final
stanza. The feoh-stanza can thus be seen as a paradigm of
the structure and meaning of the poem as a whole. But any
meaning that the poem may have can emerge only after a con-
sideration of its participation in the traditional modes of
Old English poetry; it is only by attempting to see what
the poet has done with this common store of metrical devices

and themes that the poem can be seen as much more than
doggerel.

Oral and literary traditions

A great deal of effort has gone into attempting to
discover whether an Old English poem is the product of a
live performance by a scop, transcribed in the hall, or
whether it is from its beginning a product of the pen of
the poet, alone in his closet. Professor Magoun's appli-
cation to Old English verse of Parry and Lord's researches
in oral literature has demonstrated the close connection
between formulaic poetry and oral poetry,[8] but as Profes-
sor Larry D. Benson has pointed out recently, the use of
formulas in an Old English poem does not imply necessarily
either oral composition or lettered, and furthermore a high
percentage of formulas has been found in poems which are
clearly the product of the pen (i.e. Exeter Book Riddle 35,
Phoenix, Meters of Boethius).[9]

It is entirely possible that the Rune Poem was
sung, that either the scop performed alone, reciting the
rune names as well as the stanzas, thus delighting an
audience already familiar with Latin alphabetical hymns
and acrostic poems, or that its sententiae were a kind of
"philological parlour game," the evidence for which in
Hellenic times Ernst Robert Curtius[10] quotes Athenaeus
(220 A. D.) in the Deipnosophistai ("Scholars at a Banquet")
X, 457:

Clearchus of Soloi, a man of the school of Aristotle, also tells us how the ancients went about this. One recited a verse, and another had to go on with the next. One quoted a sentence, and a sentence from some other poet expressing the same idea had to be produced. Verses of such and such a number of syllables were demanded, or the leaders of the Greeks and of the Trojans had to be enumerated, or cities in Asia and Europe beginning with the same letter to be named in turn. They had to remember lines of Homer which begin and end with the same letter, or the first and last syllable taken together must yield a name or an implement or a food. The winner gained a garland, but anyone who blundered had brine poured into his drink and had to drain the whole cup at a draught.

Perhaps in the meadhall it was the custom to recite the poem, each person taking a stanza and therefore being required to know the rune names and their order as well as the _sententiae_. Anyone who forgot a rune name or recited out of the traditional order would pay the penalty. Or perhaps the stanzas were uttered as a riddle: ic _byþ_ _frofur_ _fira_ _gehwylcum_ . . . _saga_ _hwaet_ _ic_ _hatte_; and of course the audience would guess the rune. Any of the riddles in the _Exeter_ _Book_ and more especially the indecent ones, could be adaptable to such entertainment, and perhaps it was at just such a philological game that Caedmon saw the harp approach:

Ond he for þon oft in gebeorscipe, þonne þaer waes blisse intinga gedemed, þaet heo ealle sceolden þurh endebyrdnesse be hearpan singan, þonne he geseah þa hearpan him nealecan, þonne aras he for scome from þaem symble, ond ham eode to his huse.[11]

On the other hand, because of its structural similarity

to the Latin alphabetical poems, because of the pleasure the
Anglo-Saxons took in reading runes (cf. the Cynewulfian runic
signatures, the runic riddles, and our ᚠ byb frofur . . .)
and because of the poet's obvious interest in the letter as
well as the spoken word, the poem would seem to belong to a
literary tradition.

But oral or lettered, like Beowulf (which was probably
transmitted orally or at least sung) or the Meters of Boethius
(which is clearly a literary production, a translation), the
Rune Poem derives its poetics from Germanic oral traditions,
and hence the poem can be discussed as if it were an oral com-
position.

Meter

Whether or not the harp was used in the recitation of
Beowulf or any other extant Old English poem can never be
finally proved. But John C. Pope in The Rhythm of Beowulf[12]
and recently Robert P. Creed[13] have devised a method of
scanning Old English poetry which provides, in addition, a
means of comparing the techniques of, say, Beowulf and the
Rune Poem.

According to Creed's adaptation and simplification
of Pope's thesis, the first hypothesis is that the measure
(quarter-line) rather than the verse (half-line) is the
primary prosodic unit, and he sets forth six patterns of
stress with but three significant degrees of stress (/ pri-
mary, \ secondary, and x minimum):

α	=	/ x	frugnon	Beowulf 2
β	=	/ x \	frofre gebad	Beowulf 6
γ	=	/ \ x	Scield Sceafing·	Beowulf 4
δ	=	/ or / (x)	þah (x)	Beowulf 8
ε	=	x or (/) x	(/) hwaet we	Beowulf 1
α′	=	/ \	gear-dagum	Beowulf 1
α-	=	\ x	þaet hine on	Beowulf 22

A second hypothesis is that the measure (of which there are
two in every verse, four in every line) is a unit of time and
that OE rhythm is isochronous, in spite of the number of syl-
lables that may inhabit any given measure. Creed states fur-
ther a series of rules for determining measure boundaries and
primary stresses:[14]

> I. Alliteration is the best guide to the first (and
> sometimes the second) primary stress in each
> verse.

That is, the alliterating sound must be identified in the
second half-line and if the first half-line begins with that
sound, the first syllable takes the primary stress (unless of
course the first syllable is a non-significant alliteration
such as preposition, demonstrative, conjunction). If the
first syllable does not alliterate as in Hwaet! we Gar-Dena,
Beowulf 1, Rule IV below should be observed. And if such is
the case, the second primary stress will fall on the first
alliterating syllable wherever it comes in the half-line.

> II. A primary stress always begins a measure.
> (There can thus be only one primary stress
> in each measure), except in those cases in
> which four or more non-alliterating

> light-stressed syllables make up the meas-
> ure. In these measures, and in these meas-
> ures only, the first primary stress is re-
> placed by a secondary stress ($\alpha -$, \ x).

III. Two immediately adjacent primary stresses
can occur only at the beginning of a verse.

IV. A stroke of the harp (or, in practice, a
timed pause) must substitute for the missing
first primary stress in a verse which other-
wise contains only a single primary stress.

V. Whenever a short syllable bearing primary
or secondary stress is followed by another
syllable with which it is closely associated
(in close juncture) the two syllables to-
gether receive resolved stress. No x should
be placed over the second of these syllables.
Instead, the two should be joined with a
curved horizontal bracket and together given
the same stress sign, / or \ . On the other
hand, when an etymologically short syllable
bearing primary or secondary stress is closed,
that is, when it ends with a consonant no
resolution is possible.

In order to handle measures of five or more syllables when
resolution is not possible, Creed devises the theory of
rhythmemes, where two or three syllables are linked under
one stress. Thus Beowulf 310a would be scanned

$$\frac{\overset{/}{\text{receda}} \quad \overset{x}{\text{under}}}{} \ \Big| \ \overset{/}{\text{rode}}\overset{x}{\text{rum}}$$

(or cf. above Beowulf 6, 1). Creed's further discussion of
the theoretical problems concerning the resolution of poly-
syllables into one stress need not be discussed here since
he has given the reader, in these rules, all the equipment
necessary to read the poetry rhythmically. His own scan-
sion of the first three lines of Beowulf is here reproduced:

| $\overset{x}{\underline{\text{Hwaet, we}}}$ | Gár-Déna | $^{(/)}$ $\overset{x}{\text{on}}$ | géar-dágum, |

| $\overset{/}{\text{þeod-}}^{(x)}$ | $\overset{/}{\text{cýninga}}^{x}$ | $\overset{/}{\text{þrymm}}$ $\overset{x}{\text{ge-}}$ | $\overset{/}{\text{frugnon,}}^{x}$ |

| $^{(/)}$ $\overset{x}{\underline{\text{hu þa}}}$ | $\overset{/}{\text{aeðelìngas}}^{x}$ | $\overset{/}{\text{ellen}}^{x}$ | $\overset{/}{\text{fremedon.}}^{x}$ |

If this theory of scansion is correct, a number of stylistic
devices in the Rune Poem become apparent.[15]

The pause in the third measure, non-alliterative, of
a line (an ϵ measure, in which the primary stress is taken
by the harp stroke, following Rule IV) serves to bunch up
the heavy syllables in the fourth measure (we always find a
final α', β, or γ measure in such cases). So that rather
than the regular $\alpha \mid \alpha$ sequence (/ x | / x) we have (rest)
x | / \ with a possible unstressed syllable occurring just
before or after the secondary stress. These lines are nearly
always run-on, and the syntax and the sense demand that the
reader be thrust into the next line. The effect of the en-
jambment is complemented by this crowding of stressed sylla-
bles into the end of the line, so that the syntax, the mean-
ing, and the thrusting rhythm all seem to complement each
other:

|(/) ðām ðe | sitteþ onufan| 14

|mēare | maēgenheardum|

|(/) and|wraēcna gehwām| 20

|ár and | aetwist

|(/) ðe can | wēana lȳt| 22

|sāres and | sorge,| (/) and him| sylfa haefþ |

|blǣd and | blysse| (/) and ēac | byrga geniht.|

(Compare also lines 25, 27, 32, 51, 56, 67, 72, 84, 87, and 88.) In the lines quoted above, this reading marks off the natural syntactic groupings that a sensitive reader would expect: the combination of "stress-thrust" and enjambment produces a linking of words into rhetorical units which transcend the narrower units of the verse or the alliteration (ðe can weana lyt sares and sorge; and him sylfa haefþ blaed and blysse). The contrasting sense of the phrases sares and sorge and blaed and blysse is further emphasized by the thrusts to sares and to blaed; the rapid pronunciation of the second half-line acts as an up-beat to sares and similarly to blaed.

Another result of Creed's method is that nearly every internal primary rest (necessarily the primary stress of the third measure) serves to introduce either a relative or subordinate clause, prepositional phrase, or a compound element.[16] Thus the rest, or the stroke of the harp, comes to signify that these kinds of qualifying or compounding

grammatical structures will follow. Thus:

$$|(\diagup)\quad \underset{\text{ðe him}}{\overset{x}{\rule{1.5em}{0.4pt}}}\Big|\overset{\diagup}{\text{mid}}\Big|\underset{\text{resteð}}{\overset{\diagdown\quad x}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\Big|\qquad\qquad 9$$

$$|(\diagup)\quad \underset{\text{ðe byþ}}{\overset{x}{\rule{1.5em}{0.4pt}}}\Big|\underset{\text{oþra}}{\overset{\diagup\;x}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\;\underset{\text{leas}}{\overset{\diagdown}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\;\Big|\qquad\qquad 21$$

$$|(\diagup)\quad \underset{\text{ðon}}{\overset{x\,x}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\Big|\underset{\text{God}}{\overset{\diagup}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\;\underset{\text{læteþ.}}{\overset{\diagdown\quad x}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\;\Big|\qquad\qquad 32$$

We have in each of these verses an additional metrical em-
phasis of the alliterating word: harp stroke, upbeat, land-
ing on the stressed word. And such a stress is appropriate
to the particular emphasis or contrast the poet seems to be
after, as we shall later see. Another important traditional
use of the internal rest is the þæt is formula, found also
in Beowulf, Dream of the Rood, and elsewhere:[17]

$$|(\diagup)\quad \underset{\text{þæt is}}{\overset{x}{\rule{2em}{0.4pt}}}\Big|\underset{\text{mōdig wuht.}}{\overset{\diagup\;x\quad\diagdown}{\rule{0pt}{0pt}}}\Big|\qquad\qquad 6$$

In almost every case of the primary harp stroke or rest an
expectation is set up for something that will corroborate or
perhaps punctuate the preceding verse:

	feohteþ mid hornum,	5
mære morstapa;	þæt is modig wuht.	
yr byþ aeþelinga	and eorla gehwaes	84
wyn and wyrþmynd		
	hafaþ faegerne eard	88
waetre beworpen	ðaer he wynnum leofaþ.	

Or the reader is set up for that which will qualify or even
contrast the preceding:

rad byþ on recyde   rinca gehwylcum   13
sefte, and swiþhwaet   <u>ðam ðe sitteþ onufan</u>
<u>meare</u>

        weorþeþ hi ðeah oft niþa bearnum
to help and to haele gehwaeþre,   <u>gif hi his hlystaþ aeror</u>.

      If the harp was struck on each primary rest, as Pope
and Creed believe, a curious musical phenomenon emerges from
a consideration of the relative frequency of such rests.
They seem to occur in lines 1-58 at the rate of about one
stroke per four half-lines (except in the <u>wynne</u>-stanza dis-
cussed above); or to put it another way, in the first 116
half-lines (to line 58) the stroke occurs in 23% of them.
But beginning with line 59 and continuing for some thirty
half-lines the rate of strokes doubles. Then there are no
rests for the next stanza and a half, and the average rate
for lines 74 to the end of the poem is back to 26%. Of
course, since the rest in Creed's system depends ultimately
on the syntax (i.e. relatives and conjunctions are never
stressed), what may appear by this scansion as a doubling
of musical energy may be a doubling of subordinate and cor-
relative syntactic structures only. But if the poem ever
was performed, this middle section would give the scop an
opportunity to modify the tone of his delivery, whether
purely rhythmic or musical as well, thus effecting the
change of mood which the digressions or the shift of
speaker brings about in the longer Old English poems.

The Rune Poem contains one of the few instances in
Old English verse of the hypermetric line, in the haegl-
and nyd- stanzas. Now these lines can be scanned with three
primary stresses to the half-time and α measures predominat-
ing. This would give the same total of primary stresses
(12) in each two-line stanza as are found in the three-
line stanzas which precede and follow them. Therefore, it
would take about the same length of time to utter the hy-
permetric stanzas as any of the normal three-line stanzas.
But if each half-line is given the normal two primary
stresses and the rhythmic beat of the primary stresses re-
mains consistent with the normal stanzas, the result is the
crowding of the measures and quickening of pace necessary
to get all the words into the measures. And such a quick-
ening of pace is perfectly commensurate with the sense of
the verses: Hail is thrown from the lofty height of heaven,
billows in a shower of wind, turns into water at the end.
The increase in the pace of the words thus is paralleled
by the hail-storm, and yet the steady four-stress rhythm
is maintained. The nyd-stanza is cast in the same rhythm,
and the hypermetrics here enforce what is a clear parallel-
ism of sense: As hail turns afterward into water, so need,
constraint, turns into a help or even a salvation, and the
parallelism of meter and sense is further enforced by the
repetition of weorþeþ, 'hail turns,' 'constraint turns.'

The poet has therefore not shifted into the hypermetric
line idly, but has utilized the rapidity of the line to
enhance the movement of the hail and to show that like hail,
constraint will surely pass away.

Of course, the most consistent unifying element in Old
English poetry is alliteration, and in the <u>Rune</u> <u>Poem</u> alliter-
ation is quite correct. Only two passages call for special
attention. Klaeber has remarked concerning the transverse
alliteration in <u>Beowulf</u> that "it was occasionally recognized
as a special artistic form,"[18] and it is found in the <u>Rune</u>
<u>Poem</u>:

a a b a b

<u>n</u>yd byþ <u>n</u>earu on <u>b</u>reostan; weorþeþ hi ðeah oft <u>n</u>iþa <u>b</u>earnum   27

<u>h</u>eard <u>h</u>rusan <u>f</u>aest, <u>h</u>yrde <u>f</u>yres   36

<u>w</u>yrtrumun <u>u</u>nderwreþyd <u>w</u>ynan on <u>e</u>þle.   37

Of the four hypermetric lines (25-28) the two of the <u>haegl</u>-
stanza exemplify what might be called double alliteration:

a a b a a c

<u>h</u>aegl byþ <u>h</u>witust <u>c</u>orna;   <u>h</u>wyrft hit of <u>h</u>eofones <u>l</u>yfte;   25

<u>w</u>ealcaþ hit <u>w</u>indes <u>s</u>cura;   <u>w</u>eorþeþ hit to <u>w</u>aetere syððan.   26

Rhetoric and diction

A rhetorical device frequent in this poem and in all
Old English poetry is variation, the repetition of the same
idea in the form of appositive or modifier. Professor Brodeur
has commented on the device in his <u>Art</u> <u>of</u> <u>Beowulf</u>:

> Variation . . . the chief characteris-
> tic of the poetic mode of expression . . .
> restrains the pace of Old English poetic
> narrative, gives to dialogue or monologue
> its leisurely or stately character, raises
> into high relief those concepts which the
> poet wishes to emphasize, and permits him
> to exhibit the object of his thought in
> all its aspects. But it could be a dan-
> gerous instrument in the hands of an in-
> ferior poet: it could impart on the one
> hand an effect of sheer redundancy, on
> the other an unpleasing jerkiness of pace;
> it could stiffen the flow of style, and
> clog the stream of thought.[19]

Perhaps the most traditional use of variation occurs in the

ur-stanza, where such a formula as felafrecne deor 5 or

maere morstapa 6 is paralleled by Exeter Maxims I, 147 fel-

afaecne deor (wolves) or Beowulf 103 maere mearcstapa

(Grendel). The function of such repetitions here is to slow

down the pace by repeating in other terms the subject of the

clause and hence to set the subject in "high relief," to use

Brodeur's analogy, by emphasizing its terror to animals and

man and its dominion over the moors. Two other instances

of appositive variation are halig heofones cyning 33 and

maere Metodes leoht 75 where the effect is to place God

clearly at the center of the seasonal cycle, as has been

noted, and to reemphasize God's power as the source of light.

Other instances of variation such as the repetition

in compound phrases of modifier or abstract nouns tend to

cloy the verse,[20] although part of the blame for such seeming

redundancies must rest on the modern reader, who is simply

unaware of the connotative values of words long since
dead. Suffice it to say here that there are two main cate-
gories of compounds in the poem, which may be called con-
trastive and correlative. The contrastive compounds offer
less immediate problems of interpretation: <u>sefte</u>, <u>and</u>
<u>swiþhwaet</u> 14, <u>blac</u> (pale?) <u>and</u> <u>beorhtlic</u> 17, <u>beornum</u> <u>and</u>
<u>ðearfum</u> 34, <u>eadgum</u> <u>and</u> <u>earmum</u> 76. But it is more diffi-
cult to see the effect gained by the correlatives, such as
<u>sares</u> <u>and</u> <u>sorge</u> 23 or <u>blaed</u> <u>and</u> <u>blysse</u> 24, though in this
particular instance the two compound phrases do stand in
contrastive relationship to each other. In general it can
be said that the compounds, most of which occur in the first
half-line, tend, like rime, to give a kind of stylistic
unity to the various parts of the poem within single stanzas
and even between stanzas, as do any repeated elements in any
poem.

Nearly all the techniques discussed above--meter,
variation, parallelism, alliteration--converge in the last,
and longest, stanza of the poem, as if to summarize in a
display of technical fireworks what has gone before:

```
          ear byþ egle    eorla gehwylcun                    90
          ðonn faestlice   flaesc onginneþ
          hraw colian,    hrusan ceosan,
          blac to gebeddan;  bleda gedreosaþ;
          wynna gewitaþ;    wera geswicaþ.
```

Here we find transverse alliteration in <u>hraw</u> <u>colian</u>, <u>hrusan</u>
<u>ceosan</u>, as well as the repetition of the <u>ge</u>-prefix. Also,

hraw colian, hrusan ceosan is linked to bleda gedreosaþ,
wynna gewitaþ, wera geswicaþ, by blac to gebeddan--linked
backward by the suffix rime -an to colian and ceosan, and
forward by the þ-alliteration to bleda.   Here too we have
the parallel infinitives hraw colian, hrusan ceosan, and
the parallel syntax of bleda gedreosaþ, wynna gewitaþ,
wera geswicaþ. The poem is finally brought to a close by
a device rare in Old English, rime, and here its effect
is the kind of tying-up that the final rimes of terza rima
or the English sonnet later achieve: we find the suffix
rimes -an thrice, -a thrice, and -aþ thrice. Such close
interplay of parallelisms and alliteration and rime is found
finally elsewhere, in Judith:

> þe gesceop wind ond lyfte,   347
> roderas ond rume grundas, swylce eac reðe streamas
> ond swegles dreamas, ðurh his sylfes miltse,

and in Beowulf:

> cwaedon þaet he   waere   wyruldcyninga   3180
> manna mildust   ond monðwaerust,
> leodum liðost   ond lofgeornost.

Thus the poet of the Rune Poem was, if nothing else,
a versifier well acquainted with all of the various devices
of the traditional poetry, and one might be tempted to see
in the poem, particularly in view of its nature as a cata-
logue, a kind of Old English Skáldskaparmál or Hattatál, a
repository of figures and meter. Furthermore, if it is re-
lated to late Latin alphabetical traditions, then the poem

may be an Old English mannerist production, with its de-
light in rune, riddle, and refinement of versification.

Theme and Structure

The only device for unifying the <u>Rune</u> <u>Poem</u> as a
whole is the <u>byþ</u>-formula, which begins nearly every stanza.
The formula (illustrated by ᚠ <u>byþ</u> <u>frofur</u>) occurs elsewhere
in both the Cotton and Exeter gnomic verses much abbreviated
(and sometimes with <u>sceal</u>):

> Wyrd byþ swiðost.   Winter byþ cealdost,   (<u>ASPR</u>, vi,
> lencten hrimigost (he byð lengest ceald). $\overline{55, 1. 5}$)

But, although there is in the <u>Rune</u> <u>Poem</u> some development of
the rune described, the resultant stanzas are short (two to
five lines) and are superficially as discontinuous as the
runes themselves. Each stanza can even stand alone as a sort
of vignette, each depicting a separate scene from Anglo-
Saxon life, or some plant, or some animal, so that within
each stanza we find the same unity as in, say, a stanza
from <u>Deor</u>. One might compare <u>Deor's</u>

> Deodric ahte   þritig wintra   18
> Maeringa burg;   þaet waes monegum cuþ.

and, at the first opportunity for a hero-stanza, the <u>Rune</u>
<u>Poem's</u>

> Ing waes aerest   mid East-Denum
> gesewen secgun   oþ he siððan est
> ofer waeg gewat,   waen aefter ran;
> ðus heardingas   ðone haele nemdun.

In <u>Deor</u> the relationship between the stanzas is enforced not

only by the similarity of theme[21] but by the refrain as well.[22] In the Rune Poem stanzas are linked by the runes and by certain parallel syntax, but any unity the poem may possess is gained only by overcoming the great disparity that the rune names necessarily exhibit. That is, the poet, setting out to write twenty-nine stanzas on twenty-nine things as diverse as Possessions, Aurochs, Thorn, or Ing, must handle each of these disparates in such a way within each stanza that an overall unity emerges.

As has been observed, the first stanza on feoh sets up a paradigm which underlies the structure of the poem. Possessions are a consolation, yet every man must bestow them generously if he wants to obtain glory or judgment in the presence of the Lord. A Christian paradox is implicit: he who would gain all must first lose all. And from the point of view of Anglo-Saxon heroic values, one must be a bestower of rings--for the strengthening of comitatus. The stanza works in both directions.

An implication of the aurochs and thorn stanzas is that one ought not fool around with that fierce animal on the moors--let him well enough alone--and that likewise a thorn thicket is no place to rest. Rather, as the verbal and rhythmical parallels (mid rested--inne restaþ) demonstrate, one would do better to rest within the hall, where the torch flickers blac and beorhtlic. The mouth and journey stanzas, preceded by the fierceness of the wild ox and the

thorn and followed by the joys of the hall may be seen as
an axis for this section of the poem, which precedes the
hypermetric lines. For it is in the hall that we hear the
best talk, that we find wits and wisdom and earls. To such
warriors in the hall, journey is easy, and the difficulties
of riding over mile paths, of exile perhaps, are contrasted
in the next three stanzas to the hall torch, to the honor
and praise that is attendant upon gifts, to the necessity
of comitatus, of supporting the needy (with the rhythmical
emphasis on ðe byþ oð ra leas), and to the "joy one has
who has enough prosperity in his burh."

The emphasis in this first section of the poem is,
therefore, on the necessity for strengthening the comitatus
by the giving of possessions to the rich and the poor alike,
and on the danger and possible pain one can bring upon him-
self if he ventures outside the burh, to the moors, among
the thorns, or on the meare maegenheardum. In other words,
a man has a place in this world and that is with kinfolk or
in a community of mutually supporting elements such as the
Court of Hroþgar or Eormanric (cf. Widsith 109 ff.) or the
abbey of Hild.

The hail stanza shifts into hypermetrics and the
poet treats hail, as well as need and ice in the next stan-
zas, in a way that is quite unusual in Old English poetry.
Hail is the whitest of grains as it hurls and billows from

the loft of heaven, and (with a hint of the lif is laene
theme to come) afterward it turns into water. Need like-
wise, as we have observed, can be turned into a help and
even a salvation. And so ice, ordinarily a most dreadful
of elements, is exceptionally cold and slippery, but glis-
tens glasslike, is gem-like, makes a frosty floor fair to
behold. The spring (ger) which follows immediately is the
manifestation of the benevolence of God: it is God rather
than Wyrd or Freyja who permits (ðon God læeteþ 32) that
bright fruits be given to earth for the rich and the poor--
the same halig heofones cynig 33 who caused the hail: hwyrft
hit of heofones lyfte 25.[23] Although heofones here is for-
mulaic, it is not fortuitous that the word occur in these
contexts. For, whatever association hail, need, ice, or ger
may have had with the Germanic world of malevolent natural
forces, or fertility cults, it is clear from these four
stanzas that the poet considered the natural forces of hail
and ice fair to behold, that he was optimistic about the out-
come of oppressions (as þaes ofereode, þisses swa maeg, Deor
7) and he believed God rather than the Germanic deities to
be at the center of the seasonal changes.[24] The runes as
well as their meanings have been Christianized, like the
heathen fanes under Augustine.[25]

One of the problems which the poet must have faced
was what to do with all those runic trees and plants--the
yew, elk-sedge, birch, oak, and ash. No doubt the poet

could have composed a stanza of mere biological description
for each plant, and let it stand at that; but he didn't.
Rather, he has taken pains to relate the plants to some as-
pect of their usefulness to man. Moreover, the trees seem
to take on almost human qualities; it is as though they are
related to man by the bond of comitatus. Thus the yew is
the guardian of the fire, a joy on the estate. The oak
from which the ship is built must keep its pledge: ' garsecg
('ocean") finds whether the oak has a worthy treowe' ('troth,'
with a pun on treow, 'tree'?). And so the ash, or spear,
dear to men, holds its place in battle 'though many men
fight against.' Thus even trees enjoy a place within the
community; man depends on the tree to keep its oath, to be
true to its nature, stib on stabule 82.

Another theme touched upon in the plant stanzas is
that of the proper "dwelling" place. Yew is on the estate,
wynan on eble 37. 'Elk-sedge has its dwelling (eard) most
often in the fens,' traditional abodes of monsters and exiles,
and that this is no place for any man to be is emphasized
by the harm that will come to any man who touches it, just
as we have noted in the thorn-stanza. For the thorn is
'evil of touch' (anfengys 8), and the elk-sedge'wounds grimly
any man who attempts seizure' (onfeng 44). Mention of dwell-
ing place is extended to the iar-fish stanza, and here the
fish 'has a fair dwelling (eard 88) surrounded by water where
he delights in joys.'

A third theme found in the tree stanzas is that of <u>bled</u> 'fruit,' 'blossoms,' or 'progeny.' And as we have been assured in connection with spring, <u>God laeteþ hrusan syllan beorhte bleda</u>. So although the birch (poplar?) is <u>bleda leas</u>, it nevertheless has suckers, has lovely boughs, is laden with leaves. The word <u>blaed</u>, which occurs twice in the poem, is a poetic word meaning 'fame, prosperity.' And as H. C. Wyld pointed out long ago, there is reason to believe that <u>bled</u> and <u>blaed</u> were associated semantically in the poetry. <u>Bled</u> 'flower' or 'progeny' is derived from <u>blowan</u> 'to blow, as a flower blooms' (cf. ModE <u>fullblown</u>), and <u>blaed</u> 'fame' from <u>blawan</u> 'to blow, as a wind, inspire.' The two verbs were derived ultimately from the same root.[26] It is probable that something of the sense of 'prosperity' in the lines <u>blaed and blysse</u> 24 (cf. <u>Dream of the Rood</u>, <u>mid bledum & mid blisse</u> 49) and <u>brucan on bolde bleadum oftast</u> 73 would be echoed along with <u>bled</u> 'fruit' in the penultimate line: <u>bleda gedreosaþ</u> 93.

The two runes which represent things not on the earth are <u>sigel</u> 'sun' and <u>tir</u> 'some constellation,' yet they are intimately related to the life of the Anglo-Saxon. The sun helps the sailor get his ship back to land, and <u>tir</u> keeps its pledge to man as it fares over the darkness of night. And a further point of similarity is that because they are heavenly bodies, they never fail:

> Sigel semannum <u>symble</u> biþ on hihte   45
>
> Tir . . . <u>a</u> biþ on faerylde   48
> ofer nihta‾genipu; <u>naefre swiceþ</u>.

But only two stanzas later we learn that man, every man, must
fail the other, 'because the Lord will by his <u>dom</u> (cf. <u>for</u>
<u>drihtne domes</u> 3) commit that wretched flesh to the earth.'
The poet is bound by the order of the fuþorc to follow stead-
fast <u>sigel</u> and <u>tir</u> by <u>beorc</u> and <u>eh</u>, but when he gets to <u>man</u>,
the verbal echoes are there: the love of kinsmen, the mirth
and laughter of the game of dice where warriors sit in the
beer hall, the <u>dom</u>, once as glory, now as judgment, and the
juxtaposition of the eternal and the mutable.

     After this moment of foreboding, however, we are
plunged back into vigorous life--to journey by sea where the
ship is tilting, "the sea-horse heeds not its bridle." And
this is followed up by Ing, the hero who also "made a jour-
ney" (<u>gewat</u>) over the waves. Yet the word <u>gewat</u> 69 works in
two directions, 'departed' and 'died,' as if gently reinforc-
ing the foreboding of the death of <u>man</u>.

     The poet had said:

     Man byþ on myrgþe his magan <u>leof</u>   59

but in the stanza following Ing, and contrasting the journey,
the exile, the poet says:

     Eþel byþ <u>overleof</u> aeghwyclum men   71

if he can <u>there</u> with justice and propriety enjoy, oftenest
in the hall, prosperity. And it is to display the bounty

of the homeland, man's proper abode, that the poet has con-
tinually fashioned his verses. The aurochs has his place
on the moors, the elk-sedge in the fens; the thorn is no
place for a thane to rest; the journey is hard, better to
stay in the hall with the torch, the wisemen, dicing; or if
one must travel, go with kinsmen and bandy words about the
horses, trust the oak ship that it will fare over the gan-
get's bath and, with the help of the sun, will return safely
to land.

The poem up to line 89 is, therefore, essentially
hopeful. The continual emphasis on comitatus, the goodness
of creation, of trees, of the sea, the homeland, lends a per-
vasive prosperity to each of the stanzas. Aebeling, eorl,
rinc, leod, haele, hearding, weleg, wiga--all terms for the
wealthy or princely--occur a total of sixteen times, and
the specifically poor (earm twice) only in the context of a
providential society. Words for prosperity and joy occur
in almost every line: wynn itself no less than six times
and blaed-bled five times. Such a net work of mutually
corresponding verbal echoes of comitatus, flourishing es-
tate, and prosperity is found in little extant Old English
poetry: In fact it is almost a cliche of Old English criti-
cism that pervading its poetry is an "elegiac" strain which,
as Professor Greenfield has recently shown, has as its chief
characteristics rather the loss of status (earm an-haga),
deprivation, sadness, and exile, with its concomitant moving

away from homeland, its endurance of hardship, its fruitless searching elsewhere for what has been lost.[27] In the Rune Poem we see the world through the eyes of one who enjoys prosperity of fortresses and hence the usual conventions of the elegy are turned upside down. From the very first stanza, where the dispensing of treasure is juxtaposed to dom we are set up for an expectation of the loss of treasure, exile and doom. Yet in stanza after stanza, this expectation remains unfulfilled. When the poet is faced with a rune that could naturally fit into the conventional elegiac mode, he does almost the reverse. Journey, for all the hardship and misery of the Seafarer, the Wanderer, The Fates of Man, is in the Rune Poem a laughing matter (sefte and swiþhwaet), and the heroes on horseback brag about their horses. Even the two sea journeys are hardly the woeful affairs met with in the Seafarer and Wanderer. Rather one might compare the treatment here with that of Elene or the return of Beowulf (though expanded somewhat) where heroes make joyful journeys, frightful perhaps, but in the company of a band of heroes, in comitatus (leodum). Faced with a rune nyd 'constraint,' the poet turns the expected conventional motif of the misery of the an-haga into a help and even a salvation. Hail and ice throughout Old English poetry bring only distress and affliction: hreo haeglfare, Wanderer 105, hrim hrusan bond, haegl feol on eorþan, corna caldast, Seafarer 32,

winterybe beleac isgebinde, Beowulf 1132. To emphasize the
misery of Andreas' exile, the poet gives a winter to Merme-
donia, heardum haegelscurum 1257, and Paradise is depicted
in both Phoenix and Judgement Day II as devoid of hail and
ice, ne forstes fnaest ne fyres blaest ne haegles hryre ne
hrimes dryre (Phoenix 15, cf. Judgment Day II, 265). In-
the Rune Poem, as has been noted, hail and ice are harmless,
lovely to behold, in striking contrast to their conventional
treatment.

But as the poem progresses in almost artless praise
of the beauty of the world and the joys of the hall, turn-
ing a number of expectations upside down, such as the journey,
constraint, ice and hail, the poet at the same time subtly
undercuts his argument with the duplicity of dom, the fail-
ure of every man to the other, the departure (funeral?)
of Ing, and finally, with the last lines, the grave.

Ear, in the last stanza, 'the earth' and hence 'the
grave' collects in one word all the terms for earth through-
out the poem (hrusan 33, 36, lande 46, eorþan 62, 77, foldan
88) as well as eard 'dwelling place' and eþel 'homeland.'
In five lines all the treasures that belong to life are
overthrown: that dom which is doom and was only insinuated
in the opening lines finally emerges to cover all.

> The grave is terrible to every earl
> when quickly begins the flesh,
> the corpse to cool--the livid one, to choose
> the earth for bed-companion . . . .

And the poet, reaching back into every stanza of the poem,

draws together the three main strands that have bound them
all:

<div style="text-align:center">

bleda gedreosaþ;   93
wynna gewitaþ; wera geswicaþ.

Blossoms fall;
joys pass away; treaties fail.
</div>

The poet has urged again and again the beauty of the world,
flowers, joy, kinship, but finally, having made the very best
he could of his runes of hail and constraint and all the rest,
when faced with the grave, he is powerless to make it any
less terrible than it is. The grave and the final verses of
the poem sweep away everything that has gone before.

The poet of the Rune Poem, therefore, was well versed
in the traditional devices of Old English poetry. He could
employ variation, the formulas, the hypermetric line, varia-
tions of the harp perhaps, rime, complex alliteration--all
quite cleverly. He knows the Old English poetic vocabulary
and is aware of the potentialities in words such as dom,
treowe, ebel, bled, brimhengest, glistnaþ glaeshluttor,
gewat. And in the poem he has built up a network of corres-
pondences in the use of various terms for nobleman, joy,
honor, consolation. But clearly, the most startling fact
that emerges from the various themes in the poem is the
poet's continual frustration of our expectations. In its
self-conscious reversal of the elegiac traditions, when
viewed against the background of Beowulf, Ruin, the Wife's

<u>Lament</u>, the gnomic verse, <u>Andreas</u> and a dozen other poems,
the poem becomes almost an anti-elegy--that is, until the
final stanza, when, in one terrible moment the corpse chooses
the earth for a consort and everything is lost. Seen as a
catalogue, the <u>Rune Poem</u> is little more than mere doggerel;
viewed against the background of a body of poetry with a
storehouse of extremely conventional metrics, language, and
themes, the poem can emerge as a unified, coherent, and for
its length, a forceful poem. In urging the critical method
of considering Old English poetry in terms of its thematic
conventions Professor Creed has written:

> There is <u>no</u> distance between the first
> occurrence of, for example, the theme
> of the singer and its second and subse-
> quent occurrences. There is no distance
> between the many appearances of a given
> theme within a tradition. That is to say,
> every time a singer performs the same
> theme he and his audience hear and appre-
> ciate that performance against the music
> of all other performances of that theme.
> Whenever the singer pictures someone walk-
> ing in a hall, let us say, he and his au-
> dience superimpose that picture on their
> trained recollections of every similar
> picture. Or to vary the metaphor, the
> audience--singer included--<u>hears</u> each new
> performance of a theme counterpointed
> against all the old performances it has
> heard.[28]

Thus the final implication of the <u>Rune Poem</u> is like that of
"That passed away, and so may this" but with a darkening
irony in the <u>Rune Poem</u> that forces up an old theme: Wealth
and loved ones are a consolation, in this life, yet <u>lif is</u>

laene and these things will pass away. And the runes, remnants of a past both pagan and heroic, like the animals, heroes, and trees they conjure up, the runes, too, will pass away. As the pagan priest said, in a passage in the Venerable Bede reminiscent of this same mood of the passing of old ways and the transitoriness of life:

> The present life of man upon earth, O king, seems to me, in comparison with that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the house wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your ealdormen and thegns, while the fire blazes in the midst, and the hall is warmed, but the wintry storms of rain or snow are raging abroad. The sparrow, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry tempest; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, passing from winter into winter again. So this life of man appears for a little while, but of what is to follow or what went before we know nothing at all.[29]

NOTES

[1]Bruce Dickins, <u>Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples</u> (Cambridge, 1915), p. 6.

[2]Charles W. Kennedy, <u>The Earliest English Poetry</u> (New York, 1943), p. 13.

[3]Stanley B. Greenfield, A <u>Critical History of Old English Literature</u> (New York, 1965), p. 193.

[4]Kemp Malone, "The Old English Period (to 1100)" in <u>A Literary History of England</u> (New York, 1948), p. 34.

[5]Randolph Quirk, "Poetic Language and Old English Metre" in <u>Early English and Norse Studies</u> (London, 1963), p. 155.

[6]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 155.

[7]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 156-7.

[8]Francis P. Magoun, "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," <u>Speculum</u>, XXVIII(1953), 446-467.

[9]Larry D. Benson, "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," <u>PMLA</u>, LXXXI (1966), 334-341.

[10]Ernst Robert Curtius, <u>European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages</u>, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York and Evanston, 1963), p. 58.

[11]Samuel Moore and Thomas A. Knott, <u>The Elements of Old English</u> (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 258.

[12]John Collins Pope, <u>The Rhythm of Beowulf</u> (New Haven, 1942).

[13]Robert P. Creed, "A New Approach to the Rhythm of Beowulf," <u>PMLA</u>, LXXXI (1966), 23-33.

[14]Creed, p. 25.

[15]See Appendix for the scansion of the <u>Rune Poem</u> according to Creed's method.

[16]Relative clauses such as <u>oe</u> <u>him</u> <u>mid</u> <u>resteo</u> 9b in-
clude 14b, 21b, 22b, 44a; subordinate clauses as <u>gif</u> <u>he</u> <u>his</u>
<u>hylstab</u> <u>aeror</u> include 2a, 18a, 28b, 32b, 39b, 46a, 47a, 56b,
60a, 61a, 64a, 68b, 72a, 80a, 83a, 89b, 91a; prepositional
phrases as <u>ofer</u> <u>milpabas</u> 15b include 40a, 46b, 49a, 50a, 64b,
67b, 69a, 81a; and various compound elements connected by
<u>and</u> include 4b, 20b, 23b, 24b, 58a, 65a, 66a, 84b, 87b. Such
structures (40 in all) account for all the primary rests ex-
cept nine: <u>baet</u> <u>is</u> 6, non-alliterating verbs 27b, 48b, 52b, 85b,
88b, non-alliterating objects 59b, 62a, 70b.

[17]See line 6, note, for other instances.

[18]Fr. Klaeber, <u>Beowulf</u> <u>and</u> <u>the</u> <u>Fight</u> <u>at</u> <u>Finnesburg</u>
(Boston, 1950), p. lxx.

[19]Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, <u>The</u> <u>Art</u> <u>of</u> <u>Beowulf</u> (Ber-
keley and Los Angeles, 1959), p. 39.

[20]E.g. the <u>gyfu</u>-stanza where six abstract nouns in
variation refer to the same subject: <u>gleng</u>, <u>herenys</u>, <u>wrabu</u>,
<u>wyrbscype</u>, <u>ar</u>, <u>aetwist</u>.

[21]Norman E. Eliason, "Two Old English Scop Poems,"
<u>PMLA</u>, LXXXI (1966), 185.

[22]Kemp Malone, <u>Deor</u> (London, 1933), p. 17.

[23]See R. W. V. Elliott, <u>Runes</u> (Manchester, 1959), pp.
47, 50, 56, 60.

[24]Cf. Bertha S. Phillpotts, "Wyrd and Providence in
Anglo-Saxon Thought," <u>Essays</u> <u>and</u> <u>Studies</u>, XIII (1927), 7-27;
and B. J. Timmer, "Heathen and Christian Elements in Old English
Poetry," <u>NeoPhil</u>, XXIX (1944), 180-185; "Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon
Prose and Poetry," <u>NeoPhil</u>, XXVI (1941), 24-33, 213-228.

[25]The Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses with their runic
inscription from <u>The</u> <u>Dream</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Rood</u> are the most graphic
early (first half of the eighth century) illustrations of the
Christianizing of the runes.

[26]H. C. Wyld, "Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon
Poetry," <u>Essays</u> <u>and</u> <u>Studies</u>, XI (1925), 87.

[27]Stanley B. Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression of
the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," <u>Speculum</u>, XXX
(1955), 200-206.

[28]Robert P. Creed, "On the Possibility of Criticizing Old English Poetry," _Texas Studies in Language and Literature_, III (1961), 101.

[29]Bede, _Ecclesiastical History of England_, trans. A. M. Sellar (London, 1912), Book II, Chapter 13, p. 116.

Text

ᚠ byþ frōfur   fīra gehwylcum;
sceal ðēah manna gehwylc   miclun hyt dǣlan,
gif hē wile for drihtne   dōmes hlēotan.

ᚢ byþ ānmōd   and oferhyrned,
felafrēcne dēor,   feohteþ mid hornum,
mǣre mōrstapa;   þaet is mōdig wuht.

ᚦ byþ ðearle scearp   ðegna gehwylcum,
anfengys yfyl,   ungemetun rēþe
manna gehwylcun   ðe him mid resteð.

ᚩ byþ ordfruma   ǣlcre sprǣece,
wīsdōmes wraþu   and witena frōfur
and eorla gehwām   ēadnys and tōhiht.

ᚱ byþ on recyde   rinca gehwylcum
sēfte, and swīþhwaet   ðām ðe sitteþ onufan
mēare maegenheardum   ofer mīlpaþas.

ᚳ byþ cwicera gehwām   cūþ on fȳre;
blāc and beorhtlīc   byrneþ oftust
ðǣr hī aeþelingas   inne restaþ.

ᚷ gumena byþ   gleng and herenys,
wraþu and wyrþscype,   and wraecna gehwām

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ār and aetwist   ðe byþ ōþra lēas.

ᚹ ne brūceþ   ðe can wēana lȳt
sāres and sorge,   and him sylfa haefþ
blǣd and blysse   and ēac byrga geniht.

25 ᚻ byþ hwītust corna; hwyrft hit of heofones lyfte;
wealcaþ hit windes scūra; weorþeþ hit tō waetere syððan.

ᚾ byþ nearu on brēostan; weorþeþ hī ðēah oft niþa bearnum
tō helpe and tō hǣle gehwaeþre, gif hī his hlystaþ ǣror.

    ᛁ byþ oferceald,   ungemetum slidor;
30 glisnaþ glaeshlūttur   gimmum gelīcust;
    flōr forste geworuht   faeger ansȳne.

    ᛄ byþ gumena hiht   ðon God lǣteþ--
    hālig heofones cyning--   hrūsan syllan
    beorhte blēda   beornum and ðearfum.

35 ᛇ byþ ūtan   unsmēþe trēow,
    heard hrūsan faest,   hyrde fȳres,
    wyrtrumun underwreþyd   wynan on ēþle.

    ᛈ byþ symble   plega and hlehter
    wlancum . . .   ðār wigan sittaþ
40 on bēorsele,   blīþe aetsomne.

    ᛉ secg eard haefþ   oftust on fenne,
    wexeð on wat, wundaþ grimme,

blōde breneð   beorna gehwylcne
ðe him ǣnigne   onfeng gedēð.

45 ᚻ sēmannum   symble biþ on hihte
ðonn hī hine feriaþ   ofer fisces beþ
ōþ hī brimhengest   bringeþ tō lande.

↑ biþ tācna sum,   healdeð trȳwa wel
wiþ aeþelingas;   ā biþ on faerylde
50 ofer nihta genipu;   nǣfre swīceþ.

ᛒ byþ bleda leas,   bereþ efne swa oeah
tānas būtan tūdder;   biþ on telgum wlitig,
hēah on helme   hrysted faegere,
geloden lēafum,   lyfte getenge.

55 ᛗ byþ for eorlum   aeþelinga wyn;
hors hōfum wlanc   ðǣr him haeleþ ymb
welege on wicgum   wrixlaþ sprǣce
and biþ unstyllum   ǣfre frōfur.

ᛝ byþ on myrgþe   his māgan lēof;
60 sceal þēah ānra gehwylc   ōðrum swīcan
forðām Dryhten wyle   dōme sīne
þaet earme flǣsc   eorþan betǣcan.

ᛚ byþ lēodum   langsum geþūht,
gif hī sculun nēþun   on nacan tealtum,
65 and hī sǣȳþa   swȳþe brēgaþ,

and se brimhengest brīdles ne gȳmeð.

ᚷ waes ǣrest mid Ēast-Denum
gesewen secgun, ōþ hē siððan ēst
ofer wǣg gewāt, wǣn aefter ran;
70 ðus heardingas ðone haele nemdun.

ᚷ byþ oferlēof ǣghwylcum men,
gif he mōt ðǣr rihtes and gerȳsena on
brūcan on bolde blēadum oftast.

ᚻ byþ Drihtnes sond, dēore mannum,
75 mǣre Metodes lēoht, myrgþ and tōhiht
ēadgum and earmum, eallum brīce.

ᛁ byþ on eorþan elda bearnum,
flǣsces fōdor; fēreþ gelōme
ofer ganotes baeþ; gārsecg fandaþ
80 hwaeþer āc haebbe aeþele trēowe.

ᛁ biþ oferhēah, eldum dȳre,
stīþ on staþule; stede rihte hylt
ðēah him feohtan on fīras monige.

ᚻ byþ aeþelinga and eorla gehwaes
85 wyn and wyrþmynd; byþ on wicge faeger,
faestlīc on faerelde fyrdgeatewa sum.

ᛉ byþ ēafix ā and ðēah ā brūceþ

fōdres on foldan;   hafaþ faegerne eard
waetre beworpen   ðǣr he wynnum leofaþ.

90   �millᛉ byþ egle   eorla gehwylcun
ðonn faestlīce   flǣsc onginneþ
hrāw cōlian,   hrūsan cēosan,
blāc tō gebeddan;   blēda gedrēosaþ,
wynna gewītaþ,   wēra geswīcaþ.

Translation

Treasure is a comfort for every man
Yet must every one give it generously
If he wants to obtain honor from the lord.

Aurochs is fierce and great-horned,
A terrible beast that fights with its horns,   5
A notorious moor-haunter. That is a proud creature!

Thorn is severely sharp to any warrior,
Its seizure is painful and immeasurably fierce
To any man who rests among them.

Mouth is the source of every language,   10
Wisdom's support and consolation for the wise;
Happiness and hope for every earl.

Journey is easy for warriors in the hall,
And racking for those who sit up high
On the powerful horse, over the mile-roads.   15

Torch is by the living seen ablaze;
Bright and splendid, it burns always
Where noble men rest themselves within.

Gift of men is an honor and praise,
Support and worthiness; and for the miserable   20
Kindness and sustenance when they have nought else.

Joy he has, who knows little of woes,

Of sorrow and grief, who has for himself   25
Success and bliss, and the sufficiency of castles.

Hail is the whitest of grains as it hurls from the
        loft of the heavens;
It is rolled by the showers of wind; to water it
        turns at the end.

Need is oppressive to the heart, but she turns,
        for the children of men,
Into both a help and salvation, if they pay heed
        to it betimes.

Ice is very cold and immeasurably slippery;
It glistens clear as glass, most like unto gems;   30
Fashions a frosty floor, fair to behold.

Spring is the hope of men when God,
The holy King of Heaven, suffers to give to earth
Bright blossoms for warriors and beggars.

Yew is on the outside a rough-barked tree;   35
Firm and fast in the earth, the keeper of fire
Is sustained by roots, is the pride of the realm.

Dicing is ever a sport and laughter,
High-spirited . . . where warriors sit
Around the beer-hall, blithely together.   40

Elk-sedge has its place most often in the fen;
It grows in the water, wounds sharply
And burns with blood every man
Who dares to touch it at all.

Sun is ever the hope of sailors   45
When they sail over the fish's bath
And the sea-horse brings them back to land.

Tir is some kind of token; well keeps its faith
With noblemen; remains on its course
Over the darkness of nights; it fails never.   50

Birch has no fruit, yet it bears nevertheless
Shoots without fruits, is beautiful with branches
High in its crown, splendidly adorned
And laden with leaves, pressing up loftily.

The horse is for earls as a princely pleasure,   55
A steed splendid of hoofs, where heroes,
The wealthy on horseback, bandy words
About him, that is ever a remedy for the restless.

Man who is mirthful is dear to his kinsman.
Yet must every man fail all others   60
Because the Lord will by his law
Commit that wretched flesh to the earth.

Sea is by princes thought long-enduring
If they must venture on the tilting ship
And they by sea waves are terribly frightened   65
And the sea-horse heeds not its bridle.

Ing was at first seen by men
Among the East Danes, until he later eastward
Over the wave departed; a wagon ran after.
Thus, those brave men named that hero.   70

Homeland is cherished by every man
If he can make use of his right and customs,
At his dwelling, in constant prosperity.

Day is the Lord's message, dear unto men,
Great light of God, a joy and a comfort   75
To the rich and the wretched, beneficial to all.

Oak is on earth for the children of men
Bodily food. Oak fares constantly
Over the bath of the gannet, and sea will find out
Whether oak keeps its oath with earls.   80

Ash is towering, beloved of men,
Stiff in its station, holds to it steadfastly
Though many men battle against it.

Bow is for princes and earls alike
Delight and an honor; it is fair on horse,   85
Reliable on the journey, a real piece of war-gear!

Iar is always a river fish and yet ever enjoys
Food from the land; he has a fair dwelling
Covered with water where he lives in joy.

The grave is grim to every nobleman   90
When quickly begins the flesh,
The corpse, to cool -- the livid one, to choose
The earth for bed-companion; blossoms fall,
Joys pass away, and treaties are broken.

Annotations

1. ᚠ rune, <u>feoh</u> (ON. <u>fé</u>, Go. <u>fe</u>, Gothic 8th-cent. spellings are from <u>Vienna Codex 795</u>, Gmc. *<u>fehu</u>) 'goods, cattle, property' with the inscriptional value of the letter <u>f</u>. The rune is also used to represent the letter <u>b</u> (late Latin /ƀ_7), as in Franks Casket <u>afitatores</u> (= <u>habitatores</u>). On the interchange of <u>f</u> and <u>b</u> spelling see Campbell, Par. 57. The rune occurs in other poetic texts as signifying its name in <u>Fates of the Apostles</u> 98, <u>Christ</u> 807, <u>Elene</u> 1269, and possibly in <u>Juliana</u> 708 (see <u>ASPR</u>, III, 287 and Elliott, <u>ES</u>, XXXIV, 49ff., 193ff. for interpretations), and as signifying a sound or letter in the <u>Exeter Riddles</u>, numbers 19 and 64 (<u>ASPR</u>, III, 189, 230).

    <u>frofur</u>, T. Grienberger (<u>Anglia</u>, XLV, 204) suggests the interpretation '<u>auxilium</u>' rather than '<u>solatium, Trost</u>'; Dickins translates as 'comfort.'

2. <u>miclun</u>, a dative plural used adverbially, may be a stage of the change um > on, <u>an</u> (Campbell, Par. 387). Cf. <u>ungemetun</u> 8; <u>gehwylcun</u> 9, 90; <u>wyrtrumun</u> 37; <u>wynan</u> 37; <u>secgun</u> 68.

4. ᚢ rune, <u>ur</u> (ONorw. <u>ur</u> 'slag,' OIce. <u>úr</u> 'drizzle,' Go. <u>uraz</u>, Gmc. *<u>uruz</u> 'aurochs') probably retains the older meaning 'wild ox' with the inscriptional value <u>u</u>. Although this gigantic wild ox (<u>bos taurus primigenius</u>) had been extinct in Britain for centuries before the OE period (fossil remains are abundant in England in

the later Plistocene deposits), the aurochs was to
be found in the forests of Poland as late as mid-
sixteenth century. That they were known in Prussia
as well at least as late as the twelfth or thirteenth
centuries suggests that the Germanic and Scandinavian
tribes about the time of the invasion (450) could
have had first-hand knowledge of this enormous animal.
Cf. Lydekker, _Wild Oxen, Sheep, and Goats of all lands,
living and extinct_, London (1898), p. 11ff. Caesar
gives evidence that the hunting and slaying of the
aurochs was a sport among young men, the horns being
valued as drinking vessels (_Gallic War_, VI, 28):

> (The Aurochs) are a little below the
> elephant in size and of the appearance,
> color, and shape of a bull. Their
> strength and speed are extraordinary, and
> they spare neither man nor beast that has
> the misfortune to come their way. These
> the natives capture with much pains in pits
> and kill them. The youths harden themselves
> to this exercise and particular kind of hunt-
> ing. He who has killed the greatest number
> of them brings the horns to display as evi-
> dence of his courage and is highly applauded
> by his countrymen. So savage is the nature
> of these beasts that no matter how young
> they are captured, they can never be tamed.
> The great size, shape, and type of their
> horns make them quite different from the
> horns of our oxen. These are much sought
> after; and it is the custom to bind them
> with tips of silver and to use them as cups
> at their most sumptuous feasts. (Burdock's
> translation)

Although no drinking horn could have attained the fab-
ulous proportions of that one by which Þ orr was

hoodwinked (<u>Snorri Edda</u>, <u>Gylfaginning</u>, 46), yet the remains of two large horns uncovered in the Sutton Hoo excavation are 3½ feet long and have a capacity of six quarts (cf. Charles Green, <u>Sutton Hoo</u> (New York, 1963), p. 73).

<u>and</u> for Hickes' 7, so also in 20, 24, 58, 65, 84, where these have been expanded <u>oferhyrned</u>, for Hickes' <u>ofer hyrned</u>, is defined 'having horns above,' <u>B-T</u>, p. 735; so Grienberger and Dobbie. Dickins translates 'with great horns,' seeing <u>ofer</u> as an intensifier as in 29 and 71, <u>oferceald</u> and <u>oferleof</u>. The word is a hapax legomenon.

5. <u>felafrecne</u> for Hickes' <u>fela frecne</u>.

6. <u>maere morstapa</u>, cf. the formula in <u>Beowulf</u> 103, Grendel as <u>maere mearcstapa</u>. <u>morstapa</u> for Hickes' <u>mor stapa</u>. <u>þaet</u> for Hickes' Þ , and so in line 62.

For other instances of the "<u>þaet is</u>" formula in OE poetry see <u>Beowulf</u> 11, 863, 1075, 1812, 2390; <u>Dream of the Rood</u> 74; <u>Panther</u> 74; <u>Deor</u> 19, 23; <u>Daniel</u> 7, 24, 324. The formula seems to have been used as a kind of punctuation mark for a descriptive passage about a good king, sad woman, or a fearsome wight.

7. Þ rune, <u>born</u> 'thorn,' with the inscriptional value of <u>þ</u> and <u>ð</u>. The Scandinavian rune name <u>þyrs</u> (Gmc. *<u>þurisaz</u>) appears in the ONorw. <u>Rune Poem</u> as "Giant causes anguish to women," and in the OIce. <u>Rune Poem</u>

as "Giant≠torture of women and cliff-dweller and hus-
band of giantess" (Dickins' translations). Christian
scribes probably substituted the paler born for the
older pagan byrs 'giant, enchanter' (cf. Beowulf 426),
and so in the case of os and tir. The rune was
adopted by the scribes of OE MSS to represent that
sound for which the Latin alphabet had no symbol and
was used through the ME period. A derivative of born
(þe > þ^e > y^e) appears ultimately in such archaisms as
"Ye Olde Choppe Suey Shoppe" (Pyles, Origins and De-
velopment of the English Language, p. 31).

8. anfeng ys yfyl for Hickes' anfen-gys yfyl. So Dickins
and Dobbie after the suggestion of Grein (Germania, X,
428).

Grienberger (Anglia, XLV, 206) reads anfengys yfyl. y
for unstressed e, cf. eadnys 12, recyde 13, herenys 19,
underwrebyd 37, faerylde 49.

10. ᚠ rune, os (ONorw. oss 'estuary,' OIce. oss 'god,'
Go. aza, Gmc. *ansuz 'god') 'mouth' with the inscrip-
tional value o. Gmc. nasalized a became in OE o and
with loss of n, o became lengthened; thus the rune
name *ansuz > os, and its meaning was presumably changed
in Christian times to the Latin homophone os, 'mouth.'
The new shape of the rune is generally explained as
a ligature of ᚨ a plus ᚾ n (ᚨᚾ > ᚼ > ᚻ > ᚿ > ᚠ),
so Hempl, Dickins, Keller, Schneider, and Guinn (p.

33). The old rune ᚨ for Gmc. a developed by regular
phonetic change into ae and was renamed aesc 'ash.'
The word os does not appear elsewhere in OE except in
the personal names of the Os- variety and in the charm
"For a sudden stitch," (ASPR, VI, 122, line 23) Gif
hit weare esa gescot oððe hit waere ylfa gescot, etc.
(cf. also Beowulf, 112, eotenas ond ylfe and orcneas,
swylce gigantas) where in OE times the esa are con-
nected with the realm of pagan divinities. Other
glosses of os are 'speech, language,' and Isidore in
discussing orthographia makes the point that "Os, si
vultum aut ossum significat, per o solam scribendum
est, si personam, h praeponenda est." And only a few
lines later in the Etymologiae: "Etymologia est origo
vocabulorum," which resembles Os byþ ordfruma aelcre
spraece. There may be a connection between the equa-
tion of God, the Word, and Christ (in St. John's Gos-
pel I, 1: "In principio erat verbum") and the older
*ansus 'god' becoming os 'mouth-speech-language,' but
this is, of course, highly speculative. If the mean-
ing in the Rune Poem is 'mouth' after the Latin os, it
is the only rune of the original Gmc. fuþark to take
its name from a foreign language.

12. tohiht for Hickes' to hiht; otherwise we would expect
dat. sing. to hihte.

13. ᚱ rune, rad (ONorw. raeið, OIce. reið, Go. reda, Gmc.

*raið) 'riding' with the inscriptional value r.
Elliott points out (p. 57) that ᚱ is perhaps asso-
ciated with the belief that the soul takes a journey
after death (cf. The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, London,
1963; and the opening passages of Beowulf). Concern-
ing this pagan association of the runes, Elliott fur-
ther asserts: "Thus interpreted the r-rune could con-
ceivably have come to function almost as a journey-
charm, whether for the living or for the dead. In
the three runic poems the word 'riding' is interpreted
quite literally." A number of translations have been
suggested for rad: 'music' (Grein-Köhler, p. 540);
'furniture (of a horse),' 'harness (of a horse)'
(B-T, p. 781); 'equipment, tackle' (Chadwick, in
Dickins, p. 14); 'saddle' (Kemble, Archaeologia,
XXVIII, 340). Even as late as 1965 C. L. Wrenn
writes "Some Earliest Anglo-Saxon Cult Symbols,"
Franciplegius, ed. J. B. Bessinger and R. P. Creed,
p. 47): "It is now generally agreed that RAD of
the Runic Poem expresses the rhythmic music of harp
(or possibly flute): and in both such music and the
distant roll of a wagon may be heard a fractum murmur,"
Here, rad is taken as 'journey,' as in Elene 981.
on recyde, for Hickes' onrecyde.

15. maegenheardum, for Hickes' maegen heardum.

.

milþaþas, for Hickes' mil paþas. The word is com-
paratively rare (cf. Exodus 171, Elene 1263) and is
perhaps best translated 'road with milestones.'

16. ᚳ rune, cen (Gmc. *kenaz) 'torch' with the inscrip-
tional value k. For a discussion of the phonemic
distinctions between ᚻ, ᚳ, ᛡ , see Guinn, p. 44 ff.
Both Scandinavian Rune Poems have kaun 'boil, ulcer'
(Gmc. *kaunaz), but cen (ken, coen in St. John's Col-
lege MS 17) is given as the name in all the OE MSS
fuþorcs.   The interpretations of cen in each of the
Cynewulfian passages vary, but those given here repre-
sent the views of most editors: Elene 1257 cen drusende
'dying torch'; Fates of the Apostles 103 bonne ᚳ ond
ᚱ 'when torch and bow'(?); Christ 797 bonne   ᚳ
cwacað 'then the torch quaketh'; Juliana 704 geomor
hweorfeð / ᚳ ᚱ ond ᛦ 'the race of men (cyn) sadly
departs.'

19. ᚷ rune, gyfu (Go. geuua, Gmc. *gebo) 'gift, gener-
osity' with the inscriptional value of the velar
voiced spirant as in OE fugol. As Dobbie suggests
(ASPR, VI, 155), gyfu gumena implies a "double ef-
fect on the bestower (gleng, herenys, wyrþscype) and
on the receiver (wraþu, ar, aetwist)."

21. obra refers to ar ond aetwist (cf. Kock, Anglia, XLIII,
307 f.), or possessions in general, of which the
ruined man is deprived.

22. ᚹ rune, <u>wyn</u> (Go. <u>uuinne</u>, Gmc. *<u>wunjo</u>) 'joy' with the
inscriptional value <u>w</u>. Hickes' spelling (Kentish?) <u>wen</u>
is clearly taken from Domitian A. ix. (see C. L. Wrenn,
"Late Old English Rune-Names," <u>Medium Aevum</u>, I, 29),
since all other spellings in the poem are West Saxon
<u>wyn</u> (<u>n</u>). The case of <u>wynne</u> has been the subject of
some controversy. There is no way of knowing whether
the MS read ᚹ <u>bruceþ</u> or ᚹ <u>ne bruceþ</u> since runes writ-
ten for words only rarely occur in oblique forms in the
poetic texts and never with case endings. Support for
the ᚹ <u>ne</u> reading may be found in the use of runes in
the <u>Durham Ritual</u> gloss where ᛗ <u>es</u> = <u>daeges</u>, ᛗ <u>e</u> =
<u>daege</u> (cf. Derolez, pp. 401-2). Whatever the MS read-
ing, Hickes' ᚹ <u>ne</u> should be taken as gen. sing. since
<u>bruceþ</u> governs the genitive (so Dobbie) rather than
Dickins' dat. sing. Schneider (p. 60ff.) rejects the
meaning 'joy' and reconstructs a masc. <u>ja</u>-stem *<u>wynn</u>
meaning '<u>Sippenangehöriger</u>, <u>Gesippe</u>' on the basis of
the apparently masc. <u>se</u> ᚹ (<u>Christ</u> 804) and certain IE
cognates with the meaning 'family, race.' Schneider's
argument is too lengthy to be treated here, but his
connecting etymologically the word with OIrish <u>fine</u>
'<u>Familie</u>, <u>Stamm</u>' and OIrish <u>vana</u> '<u>Reibeholtz</u> <u>für die</u>
<u>Feuer-bohrung</u>' and ultimately as a sexual metaphor in
OIrish <u>vanas</u> '<u>Lust</u>' and Latin <u>Venus</u> all seems far-
fetched, as does his interpretation of the rune's form

as <u>Sippenbanner</u>: ᚦ . Whatever value his etymology
may have, it does not alter the fact that <u>wynn</u> trans-
lates 'joy, jubilation, exulation' in the <u>Metrical
Psalms</u>, and that here it stands with <u>blaed</u> and <u>blysse</u>
in juxtaposition to <u>weana</u>, <u>sares</u> and <u>sorge</u>.

23. <u>sorge</u> for Hickes' <u>forge</u>.

<u>him sylfa</u>. <u>Sylf</u> (declined strong and weak, Wright,
Par. 463) is an adjective in OE which is used to em-
phasize the pronoun it agrees with. Oftentimes it is
preceded by a reflexive dative pronoun, in which case
<u>sylf</u> still agrees with its referent, as opposed to agree-
ing with the preceding dative pronoun used as a re-
flexive dative object or a dative of interest. Thus
<u>sylfa</u> must be construed as a nominative singular mascu-
line of the weak declension: <u>and him sylfa haefþ blaed
and blysse</u> 'and he has, he himself, prosperity and joy.'
Compare also Aelfric's <u>Life of St. Swithin</u>, <u>Bishop</u> (ed.
G. I. Needham, London, 1966) p. 62 line 32: . . . <u>þaet
he geopenige him sylf mine byrgene</u>; or <u>Christ</u> 1115:
<u>Eall þis magon him sylfe geseon þonne</u>.

24. <u>byrga geniht</u> 'prosperity of cities'; <u>byrga</u> gen. pl. of
<u>burg</u> with i-mutation by analogy with n. a. pl. <u>byr (i)</u>
<u>g</u>.

25. ᚺ rune, <u>haegl</u> (ON. <u>hagall</u>, Go. <u>haal</u>, Gmc. *<u>hagalaz</u>)
'hail' with the inscriptional value <u>h</u>. The rune name
is spelled out in place of ᚺ in the <u>Exeter Riddle 43</u>,

line 11 (ASPR, III, 204) haegelas. hwyrft, synco-
pated and assimilated from hwyrfeþ.

26. scura has been retained, following most editors, as
nom. pl. fem. (cf. Go. skura and ON. skur, both femi-
nine), although the word is regularly masculine in OE.
The poet here makes effective use of rapid repetition
(hwyrft hit, wealcaþ hit, weorbeþ hit) and double al-
literation (aabaac, wealcaþ hit windes scura; weorbeþ
hit to waetere syððan).

27. ᚾ rune, nyd (ON. nauðr, Go. noicz, Gmc. *naubiz)
'need, constraint' with the inscriptional value n.
The rune name is spelled out in place of ᚾ in the
Exeter Riddle 42, line 8 (ASPR, III, 204) þaer sceal
Nyd wesan. For the common use of nyd in gnomic verse
cf. Exeter Maxims I, 38 nyde sceal þrage gebunden or
Sol. & Sat. 313 ned bið wyrda heardost. Schneider
rejects the meaning 'need' for the Rune Poem, sug-
gests that because hi 27 and his 28 refer to nyd, the
gender of nyd must be masculine, and proposes the
rune name *naubiz, *nauðis, masc. i-stem, with the
meaning "'Reiber' im Sinne von 'Feuerbohrer' . . .
und woneben ein *naubis, *nauðis fi. der Bedeutung
'Drangsal, Not, Zwang, Schwierigkeit'." (Schneider,
p. 137.) He further emends Hickes' breostan to
breodan < WS bredum and translates the stanza:

> Der Feuerbohrer (Reiber) ist nahe an den Brettern. Es
>   dreht er sich doch oft (=gar oft) den Kindern der
>   Menschen
> zur Hilfe und zum Heile, zu jedwedem ⎡for gehwaebre?⎤
>   wenn sie(die Menschen) zuvor seiner lauschen.
>   (Schneider, p. 140)

The first objection to Schneider's reading must be that
hi cannot be masculine, but rather is feminine, the
referent of which is the feminine nyd. Other editors
have not seen such difficulties with the gender of nyd,
and have taken nearu to mean 'narrow, oppressive'
rather than 'nahe, near.' B-T cites no meaning 'near'
for nearu. Furthermore, his 28 probably refers to the
general statement of line 27. For other examples of
the use of the neuter pronoun without regard to gender
or number, in contexts where the referent is a state-
ment, fact, or event, see Quirk and Wrenn, Par. 125.
Thus on grammatical and lexical grounds alone, Schnei-
der's reading must be rejected, along with his unjusti-
fiable emendation breostan > breodan. Dickins trans-
lates the last half-line 'to everyone who heeds it be-
times'; Dobbie, ' if they anticipate it.' Thus, a
literal translation may be:

> Need is a distress to the heart; she often turns,
> however, for the children of men into both help
> and prosperity, if they heed it betimes.

breostan, cf. miclun 2n.

28. gehwaebre for Hickes' ge hwaebre.

29. | rune, is (ON. is, Go. iiz, Gmc. *isa-) 'ice' with
     the inscriptional value i.

oferceald, ungemetum for Hickes' ofer cealdunge metum.

30. glaeshluttur for Hickes' glaes hluttur.

31. geworuht for Hickes' ge worulit.

32. ᚼ rune, ger (ON. ar, Go. gaar, Gmc. *jera-) 'year, warm part of the year' with the inscriptional value j. Elliott suggests the meaning 'harvest'; Dickins, 'summer'; and gear in Beowulf probably means 'spring':

winter ybe beleac / isgebinde, ob ðaet ober com / gear in geardas. Gear, following the stanzas haegl, is, nyd, makes an effective contrast.

ðon is usually emended to ðonne, but this is unnecessary. See Klaeber, MLN. XXXI, 429.

35. ᛉ rune, eoh (Gmc. *eihwaz) 'yew' with several inscriptional values. Dickins (Leeds Studies in English, 1932, p. 16) suggests an original value hw (Go. ƕ) and transliterates 3 (/χ/ in Ruthwell almeȝttig, /i/ in Dover jȝslheard). Whatever the original value of the rune may have been, the vocalic value in OE inscriptions is i. The consonantal value, though rare, is /χ/. As in the case of Ing. where the inscriptional value is that of the second phoneme /ŋ/, so with eoh, the rune occasionally took the value of the second phoneme /χ/. For a discussion of the problems surrounding the value of ᛉ, see Guinn, pp. 59-78. The rune name was applied by Anglo-Saxons learning the Irish script to Irish ᚲ, g, on the basis of similarity

of form between the Irish $\mathcal{S}$ and runic Z , and sur-
vives in ME as ᵹ 'yogh.' See Paues, MLR, VI (1911),
441-454.

37. wynan is taken by Grienberger (Anglia, XLV, 211) as
adverbial dative. Cf. breostan 27, magan 59.

38. ᚻ rune (usually ᚲ), peorþ (Go. *pertra) 'dicebox'
(?) with the inscriptional value p. Several expla-
nations have been suggested for the meaning of this
rune: 'pawn, in chess' (W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche
Runen, p. 239f.); 'chessman' (Dickins, p. 17); 'throat,
gullet' (Grienberger, Beitr. XXI (1896), 212). Other
conjectures are noted by Dobbie, p. 156. The most
recent discussion of peorþ is in Schneider, pp. 411-
435. After quoting Tacitus (Germania, Ch. 24) and
several OE passages relating to dicing, Schneider
demonstrates the popularity of gaming among other
Indo-European peoples, discussing the various vocab-
ularies related to casting the dice (Würfelvokabular).
Schneider, furthermore, reconstructs Gmc. *perþro
where the *-bro (< IE *-tra) is an instrumental suf-
fix and Gmc. *per < IE *ber 'throw, strew' is cognate
with Lith. beriu 'strew,' Let. beru 'strew,' Old and
Middle Irish dibircuid 'throw,' and L. fritillus
(< *fretillus < *fret-los < *bhretlolos 'Werferchen')
'dice-box.' Schneider's interpretation fits in well
with the stanza, but several objections may be raised:
The usual etymology given for the Latin 'dicebox' is

fritillus < fritinnio 'twitter' (onomatopoetic, as tintinnio). The b of Irish dibircuid must be derived from IE g^u, not the IE b of *ber. Furthermore, according to Prokosch (p. 68), reliable etymologies involving IE b > Gmc. p are extremely rare and in none of those he cites is the b initial. Schneider also finds a similarity between the usual shape of the rune ⌐ and a dice-box, and, in keeping with his larger thesis of the religious significations of the runes, asserts a symbolic meaning 'allmächtiges Schicksal.' But if peorþ does mean 'dice-box' or 'dicing,' the word must have lost its earlier religious significance by the time of the composition of the poem since dicing is plega and hlehter, blibe aetsomne.

39. wlancum, a metrically defective half-line for which several additions have been suggested: Ettmüller, wlancum willgesiðum; Rieger, wlancum on wingedrinc; Grein and so Kluge and Dickins, wlancum on middum; Grienberger, wlancum werum; Dobbie, wlancum plus and and another adjective, as for example wlancum and wisum. The omission is not noted by Hickes.

40. aetsomne for Hickes' aet somne.

41. ᛉ rune, eolh-secg (ON. yr, Go. ezec, Gmc. *algiz) with the inscriptional value ks or x, probably given to the rune arbitrarily, by scribes under the influence of the Roman alphabet who felt the need for

a convenient rune for ^{L}atin x (Guinn, p. 80). The
meaning of the rune name has been long disputed, and
no suggestion has proved definitive. This rune, rep-
resenting -z (R) in the Germanic fuþark, had become
a fossil by OE times, although its name survived be-
cause of its fixed position in the series. The va-
rious MSS give for example eolhx (Galba A. ii.), iolx
(Dom. A. ix.), ilcs (Salz. 140), and the use of the
rune on Cuthbert's Coffin (698 A.D.) indicates its
value to be x (ᛁᚻᚱ ᚣᚳᚱ = ᛁᚻᛋᚷᛈᛋ). Latin-OE
glosses (Sweet, Oldest English Texts) read papiluus :
ilugsegg (Epinal), papilus : ilugseg (Erfurt), papili-
vus : wiolucscel (Corpus), where papiluus is probably
'papyrus.' And the same vocabularies gloss gladiolum :
segg (Epinal), secg (Erfurt), and saecg (Corpus). Thus
on the basis of the OE glosses eolhsecg would mean
some sort of plant growing in the marsh, and this in-
terpretation fits the sense of the poem. Other sug-
gestions are 'seaholly' (Cockayne, Leechdoms III, p.
324), Latin helix 'willow' (W. J. Redbond, MLR, XXXI
(1936), 55), 'swan' (Schneider, p, 409). Hickes'
seccard haefþ was first emended by Grimm to secgeard
haefþ and editors since then have regarded secc as the
second half of the compound rune-name and have further
emended (cc = cg) to secg eard.

43. breneð is taken by Dickins as a form of beerneð,
    beyrneð 'covers' and cites Wulfstan (Napier's edition,
    pp. 182-3) Drihtnes rod bið blode beurnen. Grein (p.
    70) and Grienberger (Anglia XLV, 212) would take breneð
    as a causative verb from brun, brynan 'makes brown with
    blood.' Both Dickins and Dobbie rule out baernan 'to
    burn' as nonsensical, yet the thermal properties of
    the blood are asserted several times in Beowulf: waes
    þaet blod to baes hat, / aettren ellorgaest,1616; þa
    þaet hildebil/ forbarn brogdenmael, swa þaet blod
    gesprang, / hatost heaþoswata, 1666. Likewise Andreas,
    blod yðum weoll / haton healfre, 1240, and 1276.
    Another possibility is that the eohlx-secg inflicted
    a poison such as those in the "Nine Herbs Charm" (ASPR,
    VI, 119), and that it was thought to burn in the blood
    anyone who touched it. Allowing for the medieval be-
    lief in the blood's power to gush hotly and even to
    melt swords, the translation 'burns with blood' would
    therefore seem to fit the context wundaþ grimme better
    than 'makes brown with blood.'

45. ᛋ rune, sigel (ON. sol, Go. sugil, Gmc. *sowulo)
    'sun' with the inscriptional value s. At the end of
    Exeter Riddle number 6 (ASPR, III, 184) stands the
    rune for sigel, the answer to the riddle. Elliott (p.
    56) and Schneider (p. 92ff.) discuss the connections

between the early Germanic sun-worship and rune lore.

45. semannum for Hickes' se mannum.

46. ðonn, cf. line 32n.

hine is taken by Grienberger (Anglia, XLV, 212) and Dobbie (p. 157) as the pronoun, referring to brimhengest in the next line. But the present editor holds with Dickins that hine is a variant of heonan 'hence'; cf. B-T Supplement, p. 534, hiona, heona, heone, hena. feriaþ is, therefore, intransitive.

47. hi brimhengest for Hickes' hibrim hengest.

48. ↑ rune, tir (ON. tyr, Go. tyz, Gmc. *teiwaz 'the god Tiw,'as OE Tiwesdaeg), 'the god Tir with possible Norse influence' (see Grienberger, Arkiv for Nordisk filologi, XV, 15); or, 'some constellation,' with the inscriptional value t. Schneider emends tir to tiw, on the basis of the possible confusion of insular r and w (ᛏᛁᚱ for ᛏᛁᚹ), and asserts the interpretation 'god of war' with the underlying meaning 'spearpoint, weapon,' which the shape of the rune suggests.

Epinal, Erfurt, and Corpus Glossaries give tiig for mars, martis (Sweet, Oldest English Texts, pp. 77-78) so the poem's a biþ on faerylde, naefre swiceþ (thus referring rather to a star than the planet Mars) may simply be the poet's confusion. tacen means 'sign of the zodiac' in the computist writings, and the poet's emphasis on its fixedness may indicate that he took

tyr to be the North Star.   One treatise explains the
North Star and the South Star ('which we never see')
as þone norðran we geseoð; þone hatað menn scip steorra
(O. Cockayne, Leechdoms, III, London (1866), p. 270).
Tir can also be 'glory' or 'honor,' and it may be that
the poet understood tacen in the sense of emblem, or
symbol: 'Honor is a certain emblem; it well keeps
faith among noblemen' (the heroic lof-motif?).

49.   on faerylde for Hickes' onfaerylde.

51.   ᛒ rune, beorc (ON. bjarkan, Go. bercna, Gmc. *berkana)
'birch,' with the inscriptional value b. On the sym-
bolism of the birch in European fertility cults, see
Elliott, pp. 47, 50. Dobbie, following Dickins, sug-
gests that the birch is not the tree described in the
poem (ASPR, VI, 157). Several OE glosses (Epinal-
Erfurt, 792; Corpus, 1609) have birch : poplar; and,
as Dickins points out, the description in the poem
would fit the grey poplar. In view of the glossorial
equation poplar : birch, the emphasis in the poem on
suckers or root shoots (tanas butan tuddor) common
to the poplar, the similarity of the leaf of the birch
and some poplars, such as the aspen (Populus tremula)
(see L. J. F. Brimble, Trees in Britain, pp. 225, 235)--
we might conjecture that 'birch' was used commonly
to denote several species of poplar as well as birch

and that the loan word <u>populus</u> did not come into general use until some time after the Conquest.

53. <u>heah</u> for Hickes' <u>beah</u>.

<u>hrysted</u>, with r-metathesis.

55. ᛖ rune, <u>eh</u> (Go. <u>eyz</u>, Gmc. *<u>ehwaz</u>) 'horse.' Although the rune-name is sometimes given in MSS in its diphthongized form, <u>eoh</u>, the inscriptional value was probably <u>e</u>. In <u>Elene</u> 1261, the rune stands for <u>eoh</u>; in <u>Juliana</u> 706, for the letter <u>e</u> (see <u>ASPR</u>, III, 287). Several scholars have discussed the connection between horse and sun in the Germanic religion-cults (Arntz, p. 221; Schneider, p. 378; Elliott, p. 56).

56. Hickes reads <u>haelebe</u> <u>ymb</u> and following Sievers this has been emended by all editors to <u>haeleb</u> <u>ymbe</u> for metrical reasons. However, according to Creed's metrical system the verse is an ℰ-ά; Hickes's reading <u>haelebe</u> has been emended to the regular plural <u>haeleb</u>.

59. ᛗ rune, <u>man</u> (ON. <u>maðr</u>, Go. <u>manna</u>, Gmc. *<u>mannaz</u>) 'man' with the inscriptional value <u>m</u>. As Elliott points out, the rune-name may have originally referred to Mannus, the progenitor of the human race (cf. Tacitus, <u>Germania</u>, Ch. 2). Hickes' facsimile here shows ᛗ ᛞᛖᛉ ᛗᚪⁿ and for the <u>daeg</u> stanza ᛞᵐ ᛗᚪⁿⁿᛜ ᛞᛖᛉ , clear evidence that he merely reproduced the confusions of Cotton

Domitian A. ix,   fol. 11^V. See Hempl, MP, I, 135-141.

magan, see line 27n.

61. forðam for Hickes' for ðam.

63. ᚱ rune, lagu (ON. lǫgr, Go. laaz, Gmc. *laguz) 'water, sea' with the inscriptional value l.   The rune appears with its name-value in Fates of the Apostles 102, Elene 1268, and Christ 806. Its meaning in Juliana 708 is disputed (see ASPR, III, 287).

64. nebun, usually emended to neþan, is retained here as a possible late spelling of the simple infinitive (cf. M. Callaway, Jr., The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, p. 2).

65. saeyba for Hickes' sae yba.

66. brimhengest for Hickes' brim hengest.
    gymeð for Hickes' gym, and thus all editors.

67. ᛝ rune, Ing (Go. enguz, Gmc. *inguz) 'the god (?) Ing' with the inscriptional value ng. Very little is known about Ing. We learn from the poem that he was thought of as semi-divine, having first been seen by men among the East Danes, that he departed eastward over the sea (to the Baltic peoples?), and that a car followed him. Ing does not occur in OE elsewhere except in the compound Ingwine ('friends of Ing,' Beowulf 1044, 1319) as part of an epithet for Hroþgar, King of the Danes. Apart from these, there are no other references to Ing in the OE tradition. In Old Norse literature Ing does

not occur, but in <u>Ynglinga</u> <u>Saga</u> (ch. 20) the god Frey
is also called Yngvi or Inguni, as well as all his de-
scendents, the Swedish kings (H. M. Chadwick, <u>The</u> <u>Ori-</u>
<u>gin</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>English</u> <u>Nation</u>, pp. 216ff., 270). Danish
tradition knows no Ing, but in <u>Beowulf</u> the equation of
the Ingwine with the Scyldingas, the Danish kings,
would suggest that Ing was the predecessor of both
royal lines. Furthermore, the term <u>Inguaeones</u>, used
by Tacitus for the tribes of the Southern Baltic,
Swedes and Danes, would indicate a common ancestry
going back to the eponymous god or king, Ing. H. M.
Chadwick has conjectured that Ing was husband to Ner-
thus ('Mother Earth'), who travelled in a consecrated
car (cf. Tacitus, ch. 40).

68. <u>gesewen</u> for Hickes' <u>ge sewen</u>.

     <u>est</u> is emended to <u>eft</u> by Grein and Dobbie; for Klaeber's
     justification of this reading see <u>Archiv</u>, CXLII, 251.

70. Dickins suggests the possibility of <u>heardingas</u> being
     a personal name related to ON. <u>Haddingjar</u> (<u>Runic</u> <u>and</u>
     <u>Heroic</u> <u>Poems</u>, p. 20f.). <u>haele</u> may refer to a man or
     to a god hero; compare the similar use of <u>haeleþ</u> in
     <u>Dream</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Rood</u> 39: <u>Ongyrede hine þa geong haeleð</u>,
     (<u>þaet</u> <u>waes</u> <u>God</u> <u>aelmihtig</u>).

71. ᛟ rune, <u>eþel</u> (Go. <u>utal</u>, Gmc. *<u>obila</u>) 'property, land,
     homeland' with the inscriptional value oe > e. The rune
     is found in <u>Beowulf</u> 520, 910, 1702, and <u>Waldhere</u> 31,
     for <u>eþel</u>.

71. <u>oferleof</u> for Hickes' <u>ofer</u> <u>leof</u>.

72. <u>rihtes</u> for Hickes' <u>rihter</u>.

73. <u>bolde</u> for Hickes' <u>blode</u>.

74. ᛗ rune, <u>daeg</u> (Go. <u>daaz</u>, Gmc. * <u>dagaz</u>) 'day' with the
    inscriptional value <u>d</u>. On ᴴickes' facsimile of the
    <u>daeg</u> rune and its value, see line 59n. In the gloss to
    the <u>Durham</u> <u>Ritual</u>, this rune is used as a grammalogue
    for <u>daeg</u> some forty-two times, and here we also find
    the rune in the oblique cases: ᛗ <u>es</u> (<u>daeges</u>) and ᛗ <u>e</u>
    (<u>daege</u>); see Derolez, p. 401f. This rune is the last
    in the sequence of the common Germanic fuþark; the
    last five runes of the poem are Anglo-Saxon extensions
    of the fuþark.

75. <u>tohiht</u> for Hickes' <u>to</u> <u>hiht</u>.

77. ᚪ rune, <u>ac</u> 'oak' and 'acorn' with the inscriptional
    value <u>a</u>. The new <u>ac</u> rune is usually taken (following
    Hempl, <u>MLN</u>, XI (1896), 347-52) as a ligature of ᚨ and
    ᛁ representing Gmc. *<u>ai</u> with the stages ᚨᛁ > ᚨ > ᚪ
    (so Dickins, <u>Leeds</u> <u>Studies</u> <u>in</u> <u>English</u>, I, 16; Keller,
    <u>Anglia</u>, LXII, 24; Schneider, p. 292). Guinn (p. 33)
    cautions that since none of the intermediate stages is
    attested, the theory of ligatures cannot be held as
    proven, and suggests (p. 36) that the <u>ac</u> rune may be
    explained as a "simple diacritical marking of the
    regular vocalic rune 'a,!" just as the umlauted form
    of ᚢ came to be written as ᚣ (ur > yr). For a

parallel instance of the "wood for ship" metaphor,
see G. I. Needham, Aelfric: _Lives of Three English
Saints_, "Life of St. Edmund," line 29 on _Norðhymbra_
lande gelendon mid aescum.

79. _ganotes baeb_, cf. _Death of Edgar_ 26 (_ASPR_, VI, 23),
Beowulf 1861.

81. ᚨ rune, _aesc_ 'ash' with the inscriptional value _ae_.
Originally the fourth rune in the Germanic fuþark,
its place in the sequence was taken by the new _os_ rune
ᚩ and its name changed to a common noun incorporat-
ing the new sound value (Gmc. *_a_ > OE _ae_), _aesc_.
oferheah for Hickes' _ofer heah_.

83. _ðeah . . . monige_ is taken by Dickins as 'though at-
tacked /⎺ hewn?_7 by many a man,' though as Dobbie
points out in his note (p. 159), we probably have
here another double reference (cf. _ac_ stanza) to the
ash as tree and as spear. See Grienberger (_Anglia_,
XLV, 218) for this view.

84. ᚣ rune, _yr_ (ON. _yr_, Gmc. *ĭŭā) 'bow made of yew'
with the inscriptional value _y_. Several meanings
have been proposed for the rune name: 'horn' (F.
Holthausen, _Anglia_, XXXV, 176); 'saddle' or 'saddle-
bow' (Grienberger, _Anglia_, XLV, 219); _aexe-yr_ 'axe-
iron' (Dickins, p. 22, citing from Plummer's edition
of the _Anglo-Saxon Chronicle_, 1012E). Holthausen
argues that _yr_ (in the Cynewulfian acrostics) cannot

be a Norse loan-word because in Cynewulf's time
(eighth century) the word did not exist in ON.;
however, most scholars now would place Cynewulf's
poetry in the first half of the ninth century and
furthermore Gmc. *z had become North Gmc. R and
subsequently caused i-mutation long before the ninth
century. Apparently, the rune was created from
with an iota subscriptum of one kind or another to
represent y̆ (< ŭ by i-mutation). The rune appears
on the Franks Casket (date 700, Guinn, p. 265), the
Ruthwell Cross, and the Thames scramasax, as well as
occurring in the Vienna Codex 795 (date of its pro-
totype, eighth century, Derolez, p. 62) where it is
named yr. Whether yr at the time of its inception
was merely a variant of ur with no semantic meaning
or whether at that early time it was recognized as
homophonous with ON. yr and the Norse meaning 'bow'
borrowed, is a moot question.   But probably the
same situation obtains in the case of yr as with os
(cf. line 10n).   At least by the time of Cynewulf,
the meaning 'bow' must have been current, and this
period does coincide with that of the first Norse
invasions in England, 793 at Lindisfarne, 794 at
Jarrow, and the more frequent successful invasions
of 835 and on (see G. Turville-Petre, The Heroic Age
of Scandinavia, pp. 60, 71ff.). Elliott has convinc-
ingly argued for the rune name 'bow made of yew' in

the Cynewulfian passages (<u>English</u> <u>Studies</u>, XXXIV, 49-57, 193-204), and 'bow' seems to fit the context of the <u>Rune</u> <u>Poem</u> as well. According to May Lansfield Keller (<u>The</u> <u>Anglo-Saxon</u> <u>Weapon</u> <u>Names</u>, p. 49) in the year 784 bows with arrows and quivers were ordered as equipment for the Frankish cavalry, in 813 for every foot soldier, and references to the bow in the English laws of Aeðelbirht and Alfred leave little doubt that the English were likewise equipped. Few bows have survived, but those found near Oberflacht and the Nydam moor are commonly seven to eight feet tall, made of yew, and occasionally highly ornamented.

86. <u>fyrdgeatewa</u> for Hickes' <u>fyrd</u> <u>geacewa</u>.

87. ᛡ rune, <u>ior</u>, <u>iar</u> 'the sea, some sort of fish,' with the inscriptional value <u>io</u>, <u>ia</u>, <u>j</u>. This rune (quite unrelated to ON. *<u>iár</u> (> <u>ár</u>), Guinn, pp. 103-4) is considered by Guinn (p. 106) to have been developed in Northumbria during the first half of the eighth century, but since its name is a hapax legomenon and since the rune occurs on the Dover Stone and Thornhill III with the value /j/, in the MS fuþorcs with the name and value <u>ior</u>/<u>iar</u>, <u>io</u>/<u>ia</u>, its meaning and value are disputed. It may be that because <u>eo</u> and <u>io</u> fell together in Kentish as <u>io</u>, the <u>io</u> rune survived in Kent, the other dialects having little or no use for the rune. Hickes' text reads <u>iar</u> <u>byþ</u> <u>ea</u> <u>fixa</u>, and all editors have emended variously, taking <u>iar</u> to be some sort

of river-fish: eafix (Rieger, Dickins, and Dobbie);
eafisc (Grimm, Ettmüller, and Kluge); eafixa sum
(Grein, Wülker); eafixa (Grienberger).   Perhaps
eafixa is not a genitive at all but rather Hickes' mis-
reading for eafix ā: 'Iar is ever a river-fish, and
yet it always enjoys its food on land.' In the stanza,
two environments are described, yet the poet insists
that iar is a fish. Elliott (JEGP, LIV, 1-8), however,
retains Hickes' reading and translates 'iar is a river
of fishes,' which becomes the basis for his interpreta-
tion of iar. Recognizing that ear, the last rune in
the poem, has two meanings: (1) 'ocean, sea, wave'
(2) 'earth, soil, gravel,' Elliott says it is highly
probable that "in order to overcome the difficulty
of the meaningless ior, the maker of the Runic Poem
used it for the first of the two meanings of ear,
namely 'ocean, sea, wave,' a step facilitated no
doubt and perhaps even prompted by the phonetic close-
ness of the two names iar (phonologically the earlier
form and preserved, if Hickes' transcription is cor-
rect, in the poem) and ear" (JEGP, LIV, 4). And he
translates the iar stanza: the ocean is "'a river of
fishes, and yet it always feeds upon the land; it has
a fair dwelling covered with water where it lives hap-
pily.' Such a reading makes acceptable sense if we
consider the first half to imply the simple contrast

that although the sea is (like a river) full of fish,
yet it always eats in upon the shore" (<u>JEGP</u>, LIV, 5).
This interpretation does not, however, explain why the
poet should have switched the usual order of the last
two runes and given the more common meaning of <u>ear</u> to
<u>iar</u>. Schneider, through an apparatus of IE cognates,
reconstructs Gmc. *<u>euraz</u> > Kentish <u>ior</u> 'schlange,
<u>weltschlange</u>, <u>Midgardschlange</u>,' but although his evi-
dence for such a hypothetical meaning apart from the
<u>Rune Poem</u> is weighty, the rune itself and its name do
not spring from the Germanic or Anglo-Frisian fuþark
tradition, but rather from the sort of later runic
tinkering which produced <u>yr</u> and <u>ear</u>, as well as <u>iar/ior</u>.

87. <u>a bruceþ</u> for Hickes' <u>abruceþ</u>. Alliteration requires a
stressed vowel.

88. <u>on foldan</u> for Hickes' <u>onfaldan</u>.

90. ᛠ rune, <u>ear</u> 'earth, the grave' with the usual inscrip-
tional value <u>ea</u>. The more usual meaning of the common
OE noun <u>ear</u> is 'sea, or ear of corn,' but as Elliott has
pointed out (p. 54), the meaning 'sea' seems to have been
attached to <u>iar</u> and the meaning 'earth, grave' retained
for <u>ear</u>. The word is cognate with ON. <u>aurr</u> 'clay, loam.'

92. <u>gehwylcun</u>, cf. line 2n.
The final three lines of the poem involve an interplay
of time and transverse alliteration that is rare in OE
poetry: The only texts which have this sort of pattern

in the final lines are _Judith_ 348f., _Beowulf_ 3181f., and the _Rune_ _Poem_.

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Appendix

Feoh byþ	frofur	fira gehwylcum;
(/) sceal ðeah|manna gehwylc	miclun hyt|dælan,
gif he wile for|drihtne	domes|hleotan.

| Ur byþ| anmod | (/) and|oferhyrned,|
5 | felafrecne| deor, (x)| feohteþ mid|hornum,|
| mære| morstapa;| (/) þæt is|modig wuht.|

|Þorn byþ| ðearle scearp | ðegna gehwylcum,|
|anfeng ys|yfyl,(x)|ungemetun|reþe|
|manna gehwylcun| (/) ðe him|mid resteð.|

10 |Os byþ| ordfruma | ælcre|spræece,|
|wisdomes|wraþu (x)|(/) and|witena frofur|
|(/) and|eorla gehwam| eadnys and|tohiht.|

|Rad byþ on|recyde | rinca gehwylcum|
|sefte, and|swiþhwaet| (/) ðam ðe|sitteþ onufan|
15 |mære| maegenheardum| (/) ofer|milpaþas.|

| Cen byþ | cwicera gehwām | cūþ on | fyre; |

| blāc and | beorhtlic | byrneþ | oftust |

| (⁽⁾) ðǣr hī | aeþelingas | inne | restaþ. |

| Gyfu | gumena byþ | gleng and | herenys, |

20 | wraþu and | wyrþscype, | (⁽⁾) and | wraecna gehwām |

| ār and | aetwist | (⁽⁾) ðe byþ | oþra lēas. |

| Wynne | brūceþ | (⁽⁾) ðe can | weana lȳt |

| sāres and | sorge, | (⁽⁾) and him | sylfa haefþ |

| blǣd and | blysse | (⁽⁾) and ēac | byrga geniht. |

| Haegl byþ | hwītust corna; | hwyrft hit of | heofones lyfte; |

| wealcaþ hit | windes scūra; | weorþeþ hit tō | waetere syððan. |

| Nȳd byþ | nearu on breostan; | weorþeþ hī ðeah oft | niþa bearnum |

| tō | helpe and tō | hǣle gehwaeþre, | (⁽⁾) gif hī his | hlystaþ aeror. |

| Īs byþ | oferceald, | ungemetum | slīdor; (⁽ˣ⁾) |

30 | glisnaþ | glaeshlūttur | gimmum gelīcust; |

| flōr (⁽⁾) | forste geworuht | faeger (⁽⁾) | ansȳne. |

Gér byþ	gumena hiht	(') ðon	God lǽteþ--
hálig	heofones cyning--	hrúsan	syllan
beorhte	bléda	beornum and	ðearfum.

35 |Eoh byþ|útan | unsméþe|tréow,(x) |
|heard(x)|hrúsan faest,| hýrde|fýres,|
|wýrtrumun|underwreþyd | wýnan on|éþle.|

|Peorð byþ|symble | pléga and|hlehter|
|wlancum|. . . |(') ðar|wigan sittaþ|
40 |(') on|beorsele,| blíþe aetsomne.|

Eolhx secg	eard haefþ	oftust on	fenne,
wexeð on	wature,	wundaþ	grimme,
blóde	breneð (x)	beorna gehwylcne
(') ðe him	aenigne	onfeng gedeð.(x)

45 |Sigel(x) sémannum| symble biþ on|hihte|
|ðonhí hine|feriaþ|(') ofer|fisces beþ|
|(') oþ hí|brimhengest| bringeþ tó|lande.|

|Tír biþ|tācna sum,| (꞊) healdeð|trýwa wel|

|(꞊) wiþ|aeþelingas;| ā biþ on|faerylde|

50 |(꞊) ofer|nihta genipu;| naefre|swiceþ.|

|Beorc byþ|bléda léas,| bereþ efne|swā ðéah|

|tānas bútan|tudder;| (꞊) biþ on|telgum wlitig,|

|héah on|helme| hrýsted|faegere,|

|(꞊) geloden léafum,| lyfte ge|tenge.|

55 |Eh byþ for|eorlum| aeþelinga|wyn;|

|hors hófum wlanc| (꞊) ðaer him|haeleþ ymb|

|welege on|wicgum| wrixlaþ|spraece|

|(꞊) and biþ|unstyllum| aefre|frófur.|

|Man byþ on|myrgþe| (꞊) his|mágan léof;|

60 |(꞊) sceal þeah|ānra gehwylc| ōðrum|swican|

|(꞊) forðam|Dryhten wyle| dóme|síne|

|(꞊) þaet|earme flaesc| eorþan be|taecan.|

|Lágu byþ|léodum| langsum geþuht,|

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| gif hī sculun | nēþun | (/) on | nacan tealtum, |

65 | (/) and hī | saeyþa | swȳþe | brēgaþ, |

| (/) and se | brimhengest | bridles ne | gȳmeð. |

| Ing waes | aerest | (/) mid | East-Denum |

| (/) gesewen secgun, | (/) oþ hē | siððan ēst |

| (/) ofer | waeg gewāt, | waen aefter | ran; (*) |

70 | (/) ðus | heardingas | (/) ðone haele nemdun. |

| Eþel byþ | oferlēof | aeghwylcum | men, (*) |

| gif he mōt ðaer | rihtes | (/) and gerȳsena on |

| brucan on | bolde | blēadum | oftast. |

| Daeg byþ | Drihtnes sond, | dēore | mannum, |

75 | maere | Metodes lēoht, | myrgþ and | tōhiht |

| ēadgum and | earmum, | eallum | brīce. |

| Ac byþ on | eorþan | elda | bearnum, |

| flaesces | fōdor; | fereþ geōome |

| (/) ofer | ganotes baeþ, | gārsecg | fandaþ |

80 |⁽ʼ⁾ hwaeþer|āc haebbe| aeþele|trēowe.|

|Aesc biþ|oferhēah,| eldum|dȳre,|

|stīþ on|staþule;| stede|rihte hylt|

|⁽ʼ⁾ ðēah him|feohtan| ⁽ʼ⁾ on|fīras monige.|

|Ȳr byþ|aeþelinga| ⁽ʼ⁾ and|eorla gehwaes|

85 |wyn and|wyrþmynd;| ⁽ʼ⁾ byþ on|wicge faeger,|

|faestlīc on|faerelde| fyrdgeatewa sum.|

|Īar byþ|ēafix ā | ⁽ʼ⁾ and ðēah|ā brūceþ|

|fōdres on|foldan;| ⁽ʼ⁾ hafaþ|faegerne eard|

|waetre beworpen| ⁽ʼ⁾ ðaer hē|wynnum leofaþ.|

90 |Ear byþ|egle| eorla gehwylcun|

|⁽ʼ⁾ ðonn|faestlīce| flaesc onginneþ|

|hrāw|cōlian,| hrūsan|cēosan,|

|blāc tō gebeddan;| blēda gedrēosaþ,|

|wynna gewītaþ,| wēra geswīcaþ.|

Glossary

GLOSSARY

ā, adv., _always_; 49, _87a_, _87b_.

āc, m. a-stem, _oak_; ⎡ac⎤, rune name 77; ns. 80.

āefre, adv., _ever_, _always_; 58.

aefter, adv., _after_; 69.

āeghwilc, adj., _every_, _all_, _whosoever_; dpm. āeghwylcum, 71.

āelc, adj., _all_; gsf. āelcre, 10.

āenig, adj., _any_; asm. āenigne, 44.

āerest, adj., _first_; nsm. 67.

āeror, adv., _formerly_, before; 28.

⎡aesc⎤, m. i-stem, _ash tree_; 81.

aetsomne, adv., _at once_, _together_; 40.

aetwist, f. i-stem, _substance_, _sustenance_, _existence_; ns. 21.

aeþele, adj., _noble_, _excellent_, _glorious_; nsn. 80.

aeþeling, m. a-stem, _prince_, _king_, _hero_, _man_; np. aeþelingas 18; gp. aeþelinga 55, 84; ap. aeþelingas 49.

and, conj., _and_; 4, 11, 12a, 12b, 14, 17, 19, 20a, 20b, 21, 23a, 23b, 24a, 24b, 28, 34, 38, 58, 65, 66, 72, 75, 76, 84, 85, 87; abbreviated **7** seven times.

anfeng, m. a-stem, _a taking to one's self_, _touching_, _seizing_; ns. anfengys 8, onfeng 44.

ānmōd, adj., _fierce_; nsm. 4.

ān, num. adj. and subst., _one_; gp. ānra gehwylc (_each one_) 60.

ansȳn, f. i-stem, _face_, _form_, _view_; gs. ansȳne 31.

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ār, f. ō-stem, honor, respect, kindness; ns. 21.

baeþ, n. a-stem, bath; as. ganotes baeþ (sea) 79; as. fisces beþ (sea) 46.

bearn, n. a-stem, child, son; gp. beorna 43, dp. bearnum 27, 77; dp. beornum 34.

beon, anom. v., be; 3 sg. pres. ind. is 6, byþ, 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 21, 25, 27, 29, 32, 35, 38, 51, 55, 59, 63, 71, 74, 77, 84, 85, 87, 90, biþ 45, 48, 49, 52, 58, 81; 3 sg. pret. ind. waes 67.

⌐beorc¬, ō-stem, birch, aspen (?); ns. 51.

beorht, adj., bright, splendid; apf. beorhte 34.

beorhtlīc, adj., bright, lucid, splendid; nsm. 17.

bēorsele, m. i-stem, beer hall, banquet hall; ds. bēorsele 40.

beran, sv. IV, carry, extend, endure, produce; 3 sg. pres. bereþ 51.

betaēcan, wv. I, deliver, commit, send, betake; inf. 62.

beþ, see baeþ.

beweorpan, sv. III, surround; p. p. beworpen 89.

blāc, adj., bright, shining, livid, pale; nsm. 17, nsn. 93.

blāed, m. i-stem, enjoyment, prosperity, gift, honor; ns. 24; dp. blēadum 73.

blēd, f. ō-stem (?), fruit, shoot, branch, flower; np. blēda 93 gp. blēda 51; ap. blēda 34.

blīþe, adj., blithe, happy; npm. blīþe 40.

blōd, n. a-stem, blood; ds. blōde 43.

blyss, f. jō-stem, bliss; as. blysse 24.

bold, n. a-stem, building, house, hall; ds. bolde 73.

brēgan, wv. I, frighten, terrify; 3 pl. pres. brēgaþ 65.

brenan, wv. I, _cause to burn_; 3 sg. pres. breneð 43.

brēost, n. a-stem, _breast_; dp. brēostan 27.

brīce, adj., _useful_; nsm. 76.

brīdels, m. a-stem, _bridle_; gs. brīdles 66.

brimhengest, m. a-stem, _sea horse_ ("_ship_"); ns. 66; as.
    brimhengest 47.

bringan, sv. III, _bring_; 3 sg. pres. bringeþ 47.

brūcan, sv. II, _use, enjoy_; inf. 73; 3 sg. pres. brūceþ 22,

burh, f. cons-stem, _fortress, castle, city_; gp. byrga 24.

būtan, prep. with acc., _without_; 52.

byrga, see burh.

byrnan, sv. III, _burn_; 3 sg. pres. byrneþ 17.

⌐ cēn ⌐ m. a-stem, _torch_; ns. 16.

cēosan, sv. II, _choose, elect, select_; inf. 92.

cōlian, wv. II, _cool_; inf. 92.

corn, n. a-stem, _grain, seed_; gp. corna 25.

cunnan, pret. pres. vb. w. acc., _know_; 3 sg. pres. can 22.

cūþ, adj., _known, manifest_; nsm. 16.

cwic(o), adj., _alive, living, quick_; gpm. cwicera 16.

cyning, m. a-stem, _king_; ns. 33.

⌐ daeg ⌐ m. a-stem, _day_; ns. 74.

dǣlan, wv. I, _divide, separate, bestow, dole_; inf. 2.

dēor, n. a-stem, _wild animal, beast_; ns. 5.

dēore, adj., _dear, precious, excellent, noble_; ns. 74.

dōm, m. a-stem, _judgment, honor, doom_; gs. dōmes 3; ds. dōme
    61.

dryhten, m. a-stem, _lord, Lord God_; ns. 61; gs. Dryhtnes 74;
    ds. drihtne 3.

dȳre, adj., dear, beloved; nsm. 81.

ēac, adv. conj., also; 24.

ēadig, adj., happy, prosperous, rich; dpm. eadgum 76.

ēadnys, f. jō-stem, joy, prosperity; ns. 12.

ēafix, m. a-stem, river-fish; ns. 87.

eall, pro. adj., all; dp. eallum 76.

⌐ ēar_7, m. a-stem, earth, grave; ns. 90.

eard, m. u-stem, province, dwelling, home; as. 41, 88.

earm, adj., poor, wretched; asn. earme 62; dpm. earmum 76.

East-Dene, m. i-stem, East Dane; dp. East-Denum 67.

efne, adv., even, just, likewise; efne swa 51.

egle, adj., hateful, loathsome, horrid; nsm. 90.

⌐eh_7, n. a-stem, horse; ns. 55.

elde, m. i-stem pl., men; gp. elda 77; dp. eldum 81.

⌐ ēoh_7, m. a-stem, yew; ns. 35.

⌐eolhx_7, m. a-stem, papyrus (?), gladiolum (?), elk-; gs. 41.

eorl, m. a-stem, nobleman, hero, man; gp. eorla 12, 84, 90;
    dp. eorlum 55.

eorþe, f. n-stem, earth; ds. eorþan 62, 77.

ēst, adj. used adverbially, eastwards; 68.

ēþel, m. n. a-stem, country, land, one's own property, home;
    ns. ⌐ eþel_7, rune name 71; ds. eþle 37.

faeger, adm., fair, beautiful; nsm. 85; dsm. faeger 31; asm.
    faegerne 88.

faegere, adv., pleasantly, gently, fairly; 53.

faereld, m. n. a-stem, way, course, passage; ds. faerylde
    49, ds. faerelde 86.

faest, adj., fast, firm, stiff; nsn. 36.

faestlīc, adj., *fast*, *firm*; *reliable*; nsm. 86.

faestlīce, adv., *firmly*, *fast*, *quickly*; 91.

fandian, wv. II, *explore*, *seek*, *search out*; 3 sg. pres. fandaþ 79.

felafrēcne, adj., *savage*, *very wild*, *terrible*; nsn. 5.

fenn, n. ja-stem, *fen*, *marsh*; ds. fenne 41.

⌐feoh⌐, n. a-stem, *wealth*, *possessions*; ns. 1.

feohtan, sv. III, *fight*, *contend*; inf. 83; 3 sg. pres. feohteþ 5.

ferian, wv. I, *carry*, *bring*, *depart*; 3 sg. pres. fereþ 78; 3 pl. pres. feriaþ 46.

fīras, m. ja-stem pl., *men*; np. 83; gp. fīra 1.

fisc, m. a-stem, *fish*; gs. fisces 46.

flǣsc, n. i-stem, *flesh*; ns. 91; gs. flǣsces 78; as. flǣsc 62.

flōr, m. a-stem, *floor*; as. flōr 31.

fōdor, n. a-stem, *food*; ns. 78; gs. fōdres 88.

folde, f. n-stem, *earth*; ds. foldan 88.

for, prep. w. dat., *on account of*, *because of*, *according to*; 3, 55.

forst, m. a-stem, *frost*; ds. forste 31.

forðam, adv. conj., *for*, *because*; 61.

frōfur, f. ō-stem, *consolation*, *comfort*; ns. 1, 11, 58.

fȳr, n. a-stem, *fire*; gs. fȳres 36; ds. fȳre 16.

fyrdgeatwe, f. wō-stem, *war-accoutrement*, *equipment*; gp. fyrdgeatewa 86.

ganot, m. a-stem, *gannet*, *large sea-fowl*; gs. ganotes 79.

gārsecg, m. a-stem, *ocean*, *sea* (*spear-man* = Neptune?); ns. 79.

gebedda, f. n-stem, bed-fellow, consort; ds. gebeddan 93.

gedōn, anom. v., do; 3 sg. pres. gedēð 44.

gedrēosan, sv. II, fall, fail; 3 pl. pres. gedrēosaþ 93.

gehwā, pron. adj., each (one); gsm. gehwaes 84; dsm. gehwām 12, 16, 20.

gehwaeþer, pron., both; ds. gehwaeþre 28.

gehwylc, pron. adj., each, every (one); nsm. 2, 60; asn. gehwylcne 43; dsm. gehwylcum 1, 7, 13, gehwyclun 9, 90.

gelēodan, sv. II, grow, spring; p. p. geloden 54.

gelīc, adj., alike, like unto; nsn. comp. gelīcust 30.

gelōme, adv., often, continually; 78.

geniht, n. i-stem, sufficiency; as. geniht 24.

geniþ, n. i-stem, darkness, mist; ap. geniþu 50.

⌐gēr⌐7, n. a-stem year, spring; ns. 32.

gerȳsne, adj., fit, proper, convenient; gpn. gerȳsena 72.

gesēon, sv. V, see; p. p. gesewen 68.

geswīcan, sv. I, fail, desert; 3 pl. pres. geswīcaþ 94.

getenge, adj., near to, pressing upon; dsm. getenge 54.

geþyncan, wv. I, seem; p. p. geþūht 63.

gewītan, sv. I, depart, go away, die; 3 pl. pres. gewītaþ 94; 3 sg. pret. gewāt 69.

gewyrcan, wv. I, make, form, build; p. p. geworuht 31.

gif, conj., if; 3, 28, 64, 72.

gimm, m. a-stem, gem; dp. gimmum 30.

glaeshlūttur, adj., clear as glass; nsn. 30.

gleng, f. o-stem, ornament, honor; ns. 19.

glisnian, wv. II, glisten; 3 sg. pres. glisnaþ 30.

God, m. a-stem, God; ns. 32.

grimme, adv., grimly, fiercely, terribly; 42.

guma, m. n-stem, man; gp. gumena 19, 32.

⌠gyfu⌡, f. ō-stem, gift, generosity; ns. 19.

gȳman, wv. I, care, heed, be intent on; 3 sg. pres gȳmeð 66.

habban, wv. III, have, hold; 1 sg. pres. haebbe 80; 3 sg. pres. haefþ 23, 41, hafaþ 88.

⌠haegl⌡, mia-stem, hail; ns. 25.

hǣl, n. cons. stem, safety, salvation; ds. hǣle 28.

haele (þ), m. cons. stem, man, hero; ds. haeleþ 56, as. haele 70.

hālig, adj., holy; nsm. 33.

hē, hit, pers. pron., he; nsm. 3, 68, 72, 89; gsm. his 28, 59; dsm. him 23 (reflex.), 44, 56, 83; dsm. (instr.) sīne 61; npm. hī 18, 27, 28, 46, 47, 64, 65; dpm. him 9; nsn. hit 25 b; asn. hit 26a, hyt 2.

hēah, adj., lofty, high; nsf. 53.

healdan, sv. VII, guard, preserve, keep, maintain; 3 sg. pres. healdeð 48, hylt 82.

heard, adj., hard, firm, stubborn; nsn. 36.

hearding, m. a-stem, warrior, hero; np. heardingas 70.

helm, m. a-stem, crown, overshadowing foliage of trees; ds. helme 53.

help, f. ō-stem, help, aid, succor; ds. helpe 28.

heofon, m. a-stem; heaven, the heavens; gs. heofones 25, 33.

herenys, f. jō-stem, praise; ns. 19.

hī, see hē.

hiht, m. i-stem, hope, solace; ns. 32; ds. hihte 45.

hine, adv., hence; 46. (From heonan.)

hlehter, m. a-stem, _laughter_; ns. 38.

hlēotan, sv. II, _obtain_, _share in_; inf. 3.

hlystan, wv. I, _listen_, _hearken_; 3 pl. pres. hlystaþ 28.

hōf, m. a-stem, _hoof_; dp. hōfum 56.

horn, m. a-stem, _horn_; dp. hornum 5.

hors, n. a-stem, _horse_; ns. 56.

hrāw, m. n. a-stem, _corpse_; ns. 92.

hrūse, f. n-stem, _earth_; ds. hrūsan 33, 36; as. hrūsan 92.

hrystan, wv. I, _decorate_, _adorn_, _equip_; p. p. hrysted 53.

hwaeþer, conj., _whether_; 80.

hweorfan, sv. III, _turn_, _go_; 3 sg. pres. hwyrft 25.

hwīt, adj., _white_; nsm. comp. hwītust 25.

hyrde, m. ja-stem, _shepherd_, _pastor_, _guardian_, _keeper_; ns. 36.

/‾īar‾7, _a river fish_ (?), _the sea_ (?); ns. 87.

/‾Ing‾7, m. a-stem, _the god or king_, _Ing_; ns. 67.

inne, prep., _within_; 18.

/‾īs‾7, n. a-stem, _ice_; ns. 29.

lǣtan, sv. VII, _let_, _allow_; 3 sg. pres. lǣteþ 32.

/‾lagu‾7, m. u-stem, _water_, _sea_; ns. 63.

land, n. a-stem, _earth_, _land_, _country_; ds. lande 47.

langsum, adj., _long-enduring_; nsm. 63.

lēaf, n. a-stem, _leaf_; dp. lēafum 54.

lēas, adj., _void of_, _destitute_, _without_; w. gen. 21, 51.

lēod, m. a-stem, _man_, _prince_; dp. lēodum 63.

lēof, adj., _dear_, _pleasant_; nsm. 59.

leofian, wv. II, be dear, delight; 3 sg. pres. leofaþ 89.

lēoht, n. a-stem, light; ns. 75.

lyft, m. f. i-stem, air, sky; ds. lyfte 25,54.

lȳt, n. indecl., little; 22.

maegenheard, adj., main-hardy, powerful; ds. maegenheardum 15.

maēre, adj., great, famous, notorious; nsm. 6, nsn. 75.

māga, m. n-stem, son, relative, man; dp. māgan 59.

man(n) m. cons. stem, man; ns. �ⁿman⌉7, rune name 59; ds. men 71; gp. manna 2, 9; dp. mannum 74.

mēarh, m. a-stem, horse; ds. mēare 15.

Metod, m. a-stem, God; gs. Metodes 75.

micel, adj., much, great; dp. (adv.) miclun 2.

mid, prep., together with, among; 5, 9, 67.

mīlpaþ, m. a-stem, road with mile stones; ap. mīlpaþas 15.

mōdig, adj., bold, proud, headstrong; nsm. 6.

monig, adj., many;npm. monige 83.

mōrstapa, m. n-stem, moor-stepper; ns. 6.

mōt, pret. pres. (VI), must; 3 sg. pres. mōt 72.

myrgþ, f. ō-stem, mirth; ns. 75; ds. myrgþe 59.

naca, m. n-stem, ship; ds. nacan 64.

naēfre, adv., (ne ≠ aēfre), never; 50.

ne, conj., nor; 66.

nearu, adj., oppressive, strait; nsf. 27.

nemnan, wv. I, name, call; 3 pl. pret. nemdun 70.

nēþun, wv. I, venture on; inf. 64.

niht, f. athem., night; gp. nihta 50.

niþas, m. a-stem pl., men; 91. niþa 27.

̸ nȳd ̷ , constraint, need; ns. 27.

of, prep. w. dat., out of, from; 25.

ofer, prep. w. acc., over (generally with idea of movement);
15, 46, 50, 69, 79.

oferceald, adj., excessively cold; nsn. 29.

oferhēah, adj., excessively high; nsm. 81.

oferhyrned, adj., great-horned, high-horned; nsm. 4. (From
wv. hyrnan.)

oferlēof, adj., exceedingly dear; nsm. 71.

oft, adv., often; 27; comp. oftust 17, 41, oftast 73.

on, prep., on, in or at a place, among, during, by, with;
w. dat. 13, 16, 27, 37, 40, 41, 42, 45, 49, 52, 53, 57,
59, 64, 73, 77, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88; postpos. w. gen. 72.

onfeng, see anfeng.

onginnan, sv. III, begin, undertake; 3 sg. pres. onginneþ
91.

onufan, prep. w. dat., upon, on; 14.

ordfruma, m. n-stem, source, origin; ns. 10.

̸ ōs ̷ , mouth, language; ns. 10.

oþ, conj., until; 47, 68.

ōþer, indef. pron., something else; gp. ōþra 21; dp. ōðrum
60.

̸ peorð ̷ , dice-box (?), chessman (?); ns. 38.

plega, m. n-stem, play, sport, game; ns. 38.

̸ rād ̷ , journey; ns. 13.

recyd, n. a-stem, hall; ds. recyde 13.

restan, wv. I, rest; 3 sg. pres. resteð 9; 3 pl. pres.
  restaþ 18.

rēþe, adj., fierce, cruel, savage; nsm. 8.

riht, n. a-stem, right, law, judgment; gs. rihtes 72.

rihte, adv., rightly; 82.

rinc, m. a-stem, man, warrior; gp. rinca 13.

rinnan, sv. III, run, course; 3 sg. pret. ran 69.

saēyþ, f. jō-stem, sea wave; gp. saēyþa 65.

sār, n. a-stem, soreness, pain, grief, sorrow; gs. sāres 23.

scearp, adj., sharp; nsm. 7.

sculan, pret. pres. (IV), shall, must; 3 sg. pres. sceal 2,
  60; 3 pl. pres. sculun 64.

scūr, f. ō-stem, shower, storm; np. scūra 26.

sē, dem. pron. and def. art, the, that, that one; who;
  nsm. se 66; asm. ðone 70; ds. ðām 14; nsn. (rel.)
  asn. (dem.) þaet 62; nsm. rel. indecl. part. ðe 9,
  21, 22; indecl. part. w. dat. ðām ðe 14, ðe him 44;
  þaet always abbreviated þ.

secg, m. n. a-stem, sedge, grasslike plant (genus Carex);
  ns. 41.

secg, m. a-stem, man (poetic); dp. secgun 68.

sēfte, adj., comfortable, without pain, pleasant; nsf. 14.

sēmann, m. a-stem, seaman; dp. sēmannum 45.

⌈sigel⌉, n. (?), sun; ns. 45.

sīne, see hē.

sittan, sv. V, sit; 3 sg. pres. sitteþ 14; 3 pl. pres.
  sittaþ 39.

siððan, adv., since, afterwards; 68; syððan 26.

slidor, adj., slippery; nsn. 29.

sond, f. i-stem, _sending_, _message_; nsf. 74.

sorg, f. ō-stem, _anxiety_, _grief_; gs. sorge _23_.

sprǣc, f. jō-stem, _speech_; gs. sprǣce 10; as. sprǣce 57.

staþul, m. a-stem, _fixed position_, _station_; ds. staþule 82.

stede, m. i-stem, _place_; ns. 82.

stīþ, adj., _solid_, _rigid_, _stiff_, nsm. 82.

sum, pron. adj., _a certain_ (_one_); 48, 86.

swā, adv., _so_, _thus_; efne swā ðeah (_nevertheless_) 51.

swīcan, sv. I, _fail_, _fail in one's duty_ to _another_; inf.
w. dat. 60; 3 sg. pres. swīceþ 50.

swīþhwæt, adj., _very quick_, _active_, _very bold_; nsf. 14.

swȳþe, adv., _very_, _much_, _exceedingly_ (w. _verbs_, as _intensi-
fiers_); 65.

sylf, pron., _self_; nsm. reflex. w. dat. sylfa 23.

syllan, wv. I, _give to_, _deliver_, _commit_; inf. 33.

symble, adv., _always_; 38, 45.

syððan, see siððan.

tācn, n. a-stem, _token_, _sign_; gp. tācna 48.

tān, m. a-stem, _twig_, _shoot_; ap. tānas 52.

tealt, adj., _tilting_, _unsteady_; dsm. tealtum 64.

telga, m. n-stem, _branch_, _bough_; dp. telgum 52.

⌐tīr˸, m., _the god_ Tiw, _constellation_; _glory_ (?) ns. 48.

to, prep. w. dat.; _to_, w. _motion_ or _direction_, tō lande 47;
turn into, _become_, weorþeþ tō waetere 26; _to_, _for_, _as_,
tō helpe 28a, tō hæle 28a, tō gebeddan 93.

tōhiht, m. i-stem, _hope_, _consolation_, _solace_; ns. _12_, _75_.

trēow, n. a-stem, _tree_, _wood_; ns. 35.

trēow, f. wō-stem, faith, truth; as. trēowe 80, ap. trȳwa 48.

tūddor, n. a-stem, progeny, fruit; as. tūdder 52.

ðǣr, adv., there, where; 18, 56, 72, 89; ðār 39.

ðēah, adv., yet, still, however; 2, 27, 51, þeah 60, 87; conj., yet, however, when; ðeah 83.

ðearf, f. ō-stem, need; dp. ðearfum 34.

ðearle, adv., severely; 7.

ðegn, m. a-stem, thane, servant, retainer; gp. ðegna 7.

ðonn, conj., when; ðon 32, ðonn 46, 91.

⌐ðorn_⌐, m. a-stem, thorn; ns. 7.

ðus, adv., thus, 70.

underwrebban, wv. I, support; p. p. underwrebyd 37.

ungemet, adj., used adverbially, immeasurably, immensely; dp. ungemetun 8, ungemetum 29.

unsmēþe, adj., rough, unsmooth; nsn. 35.

unstylle, adj., restless, moving; dpm. unstyllum 58.

⌐ūr_⌐, m. a-stem, wild ox; ns. 4

ūtan, prep., on the outside; 35.

wǣg, m. a-stem, wave; as. wǣg 69.

wǣn, m. a-stem, wagon, carriage; ns. 69.

waet (e) re, n. a-stem, water; ds. waetere 26, wature 42, waetre 89.

wēa, m. n-stem, woe, misery, evil, affliction; gp. wēana 22.

wealcan, sv. VII, roll, toss, 3 pl. pres. wealcaþ 26.

wel, adv., well, rightly; 48.

weleg, adj., wealthy, rich; npm. welege 57.

weorþan, sv. III, *become*; 3 sg. pres. weorþeþ 26; 3 pl.
pres. weorþeþ 27.

wēr, f. ō-stem, *treaty*; np. wera 94.

wexan, sv. VII, *grow*, *increase*, wax; 3 sg. pres. wexeð 42.

wicg, n. ja-stem, *horse*; ds. wicge 85; dp. wicgum 57.

wiga, m. n-stem, *warrior*, *man*; np. wigan 39.

willan, anom. v., *wish*, *want*, *desire*; 3 sg. pres. wile 3;
3 sg. pres. wyle 61.

wind, m. a-stem, *wind*; gs. windes 26.

wīsdōm, m. a-stem, *wisdom*; gs. wīsdōmes 11.

wita, m. n-stem, *wise* *man*, *counsellor*; gp. witena 11.

wiþ, prep. w. acc., *towards*, *with*, *near*; 49.

wlanc, adj., *proud*, *high-spirited*, *bold*; ns. 56; ds.
wlancum 39.

wlitig, adj., *beautiful*; nsf. 52.

wraecu, f. ō-stem, *pain*, *misery*; gp. wraecna 20.

wraþu, f. ō-stem, *prop*, *stay*, *support*; ns. 11, 20.

wrixlan, wv. I, *exchange*, *bandy*; 3 pl. pres. wrixlaþ 57.

wuht, n. i-stem, *wight*, *creature*; ns. 6.

wundian, wv. II, *wound*; 3 sg. pres. wundaþ 42.

wyn(n), f. jō-stem, *joy*, *delight*; ns. wyn 55, 85; gs. /wyn/ne,
rune name 22; gp. wynna 94; dp. wynan 37; dp. wynnum 89.

wyrtrum, m. a-stem, *root*; dp. wyrtrumun 37.

wyrþmynd, f. ō-stem, *dignity*, *honor*; ns. 85.

wyrþscype, m. i-stem, *worth*, *honor*; ns. 20.

yfyl, adj., *evil*; nsm. 8.

ymb, prep. w. dat., *about*, *concerning*; 56.

/ ȳr /, *bow* *made* *of* *yew*; ns. 84.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Frederick George Jones, Jr., was born on October 5, 1938, in Jacksonville, Florida. He attended Duncan U. Fletcher High School, Jacksonville Beach, and was granted the Bachelor of Arts Degree cum laude from the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, in June, 1960. After teaching a year at Fletcher High School and two years at St. John's County Day School, Orange Park, Florida, he entered the Graduate School of the University of Florida. Since 1963, he has taught English at the University of Florida and has worked toward the completion of the doctoral degree. He is married to the former Adel Hansen, and they have two children, Siri and Lisa.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 20, 1967

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Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

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