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INTRODUCTION

MANUSCRIPT.

The poem is contained in the Vercelli Book, or Codex Vercellensis, a manuscript volume of the early part of the eleventh century, discovered by Dr. Friedrich Blume in 1822 in the chapter library of the cathedral of Vercelli, where it still remains. It consists of 135 leaves, containing, besides a number of homilies and the life of St. Guthlac in prose, the following poems: *Andreas, Fates of the Apostles, Address of the Soul to the Body, Falsehood of Men, Dream of the Rood, Elene.*

How the manuscript reached Vercelli is a question upon which two leading hypotheses have been held. According to one, it would have been taken from England to Italy by Cardinal Guala-Bicchieri, who was Papal Legate in England from 1216 to 1218, who founded the monastery church of St. Andrew at Vercelli after his return from England, had it erected by an Englishman in the Early English style, and bestowed upon it relics of English saints. Moreover, he was the possessor of a library remarkable for that time, which he bequeathed to his monastery, and which contained a copy of the Bible in English handwriting. Finally, the monastery school, which in 1228 became a university, was attended by Englishmen, and, among others, by Adam de Marisco, the first teacher in the school which the Franciscans set up in Oxford; this must have been before 1226, the year of St. Francis's death, since it is expressly

stated that it was he who sent Adam, in company with St. Anthony of Padua, to the Vercelli school. As it is well known that Guala levied large sums upon the clergy before leaving England, there would be nothing surprising in his receiving books as well—perhaps, since he was so zealous a collector, as an equivalent for certain sums of money. Altogether, the considerations here presented would seem to render it probable that the Vercelli Book reached that city through Guala's agency. For a fuller presentation of this theory, see my *Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book*, Library Bulletin No. 10 of the University of California, 1888.

The other hypothesis is that of Wülker. He was told in Vercelli that at a comparatively early period there was in that city a hospice for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their way to and from Rome. There may, he concludes, have been a small library of devotional books attached to the hospice, and from this our manuscript may have passed into the possession of the cathedral library (*Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur*, p. 237; *Codex Vereellensis*, p. vi). I can only say that to me the probability of this hypothesis seems of the slenderest.

The poems of this collection were all published for the first time by Thorpe, probably from a transcript by Blume, as Appendix B to a Report on Rymer's *Foedera*, intended to have been made to the Commissioners on Public Records by Charles Purton Cooper, their secretary. According to Kemble, writing in 1843 (Preface to *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis*), 'It was intended as an Appendix, or rather as part of an Appendix, to another and very different composition, and was consequently compressed into the smallest possible space, without

introduction, translation, or notes of any description.' The same writer says: 'Circumstances prevented the publication of the book, but a few copies of it found their way into the hands of persons interested in the subject, both here and in Germany.' At last, in 1869, Lord Romilly, as Master of the Rolls, ordered the Appendixes, which had been in store since 1837, to be distributed. The editions of the poems by Kemble (1843, 1856), and of the *Andreas* and *Elene* by Grimm (1840), were based upon the text published by Thorpe.

For further details concerning the manuscript, see Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 237–43, and the remarks prefixed to his photographic facsimile of the poetical parts, under the title *Codex Vercellensis* (Leipzig, 1894).

The *Dream of the Rood* begins on the back of leaf 104 (line 6), immediately following the fragment of the poem called *Falsehood of Men*, and continues through this page and three more, ending at the bottom of the first page of leaf 106. There is a blot near the bottom of the first page, which, however, renders nothing illegible. At the top of the second page, the beginning of leaf 105, a new hand appears, according to Wülker, and continues beyond the limits of this poem. The second hand, which is manifestly smaller in the facsimile, begins with *wendan*, l. 22. The successive pages then end with *ðam*, l. 61; *on*, l. 105; and *wæs*, l. 156. The verse is written as prose. Accents are found over the vowels of the following words: *fáh*, l. 13; *áheawen*, l. 29; *áhof*, l. 44; *áhofon*, l. 61; *ród*, l. 136. The poem begins, after a break, with a capital H, enclosing a smaller capital w, as the beginning of *Hwæt*. Other manuscript peculiarities are noted in the variants.

EDITIONS.

Complete editions are by Thorpe (1837), Bouterwek (1854), Kemble (1856), Grein (1858), Stephens (1866), Pacius (1873), Kluge (1888), Grein-Wülker (1888).

Partial editions are by Sweet (1876; ll. 1–89) and Robinson (1885; ll. 14^{b}–56^{a}).

Editions accompanied by translations are those of Bouterwek, Kemble, Hammerich, Michelsen, Stephens, Pacius, and Robinson; Grein's translation is in his *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*. Explanatory notes are contained only in Pacius' edition, and those of the scantiest. No edition contains a full special glossary.

TRANSLATIONS.

Fourteen complete or partial translations have appeared. Complete translations are:

In German prose by Bouterwek (1854).

In German verse by Grein (1859) and Pacius (1873).

In English prose by Kemble (1856).

In English verse by Stephens (1866), Morley (1888), and Miss Iddings (1902).

Partial translations are:

Of lines 1–10^{a}, 16^{b}–20^{a}, 21^{b}–3, 28–49^{a}, 52^{b}–9^{a}, 61^{b}–5^{a} in English prose, by Kemble (1844).

Of lines 1–69 in Danish verse, by Hammerich (1873).

Of lines 1–69 in German verse, by Michelsen (1874).

Of lines 95–121 in German verse, afterwards translated into English, by Ten Brink (1877, 1883).

Of lines 1–89 in English verse, by Miss Hickey (1882), Moorsom (free paraphrase with brief epilogue, printed 1888, reprinted 1901), Miss Brown (1890).

Of lines 14^{b}–56 in English verse, by Robinson (1885).

Of lines 1–63, 122–56 in English verse, alternating with prose, by Brooke (1892).

Of lines 1–63, 122–41, 148^{b}–56 in English verse, alternating with prose, by Brooke (1898).

Specimens of all the versions which include lines 1–12 are given in the Appendix, pp. 47–54.

AUTHORSHIP.

With respect to the authorship of our poem, two chief opinions have been entertained:

A. The poem is by Cædmon.

B. It is by Cynewulf.

A. The Theory of Cædmon's Authorship.

The theory that the *Dream of the Rood* is by Cædmon depends upon certain considerations relative to the Ruthwell Cross. Of this notable piece of antiquity, no doubt the finest stone cross in existence, the following account is slightly condensed from a standard writer on Scottish archæology[1]: 'At Ruthwell, in Annandale, within eight miles of Dumfries, there stands a very remarkable monument. Its form is that of a tall free-standing cross. As it stands at present, the Cross is reconstructed. The whole height of the Cross is about 17½ feet, the shaft being 2 feet in breadth at the base, and 15 inches in thickness. The material is sandstone. It stood in the old church of Ruthwell till 1642, when the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews on 27th July of that year issued an order for its destruction as a monument of idolatry. The transverse arms are still wanting,

[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Times*, Second Series, pp. 232 ff.

those now on the monument having been supplied in 1823. The monument is sculptured with figure-subjects on the broad faces, and on its sides with scroll-work. The figure-subjects on the broad faces of the Cross are arranged in panels surrounded with flat borders, on which are incised the inscriptions which give to this monument its special interest. They are in two languages and two alphabets, one set being carved in Roman capitals, the other in runes. The runes are on the raised borders enclosing the two panels of scroll-work, and are arranged in vertical columns, extending from top to bottom, with the exception of the first line, which runs horizontally across the top of the panel. Consequently it reads from left to right across the first line, in the usual way, then continues in a vertical line down the whole of the right-hand border, returning to the top of the left-hand border, and reading vertically again to the base. As the lower part of the Cross is more wasted than the upper, there are places where the reading fails toward the bottom of each border, thus making four gaps in the continuity of the inscription[1].'

The general meaning of the runic inscription was first made known by Kemble in a paper published in vol. 28 of *Archæologia* (1840), and the substantial identity of the fragments with corresponding portions of the *Dream of*

[1] It may be added that there is a fine engraving of the Cross in *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. 4 (1833). The first archaeologist to call attention to this monument was William Nicolson, then Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop, of Carlisle, who visited it in April, 1697, after having been informed about it by Rev. James Lason in September, 1690. Nicolson sent a copy of the inscription to Hickes before September 11, 1697, and the latter published it in his *Thesaurus* in 1703. On July 5, 1704, Nicolson collated his transcript with the original. See my 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross,' in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 367-90.

the Rood was disclosed by the same scholar in a paper read November 24, 1842, and published in *Archæologia*. vol. 30 (1844).

The two inscriptions given below on pp. 3 and 4 are found respectively at the right and the left of one face, and the remaining two on the right and the left of the other face, the words *Crist wæs on* representing the horizontal line referred to above.

The first person to attribute the verses on the Ruthwell Cross to Cædmon was Daniel H. Haigh (1819-79). Writing in the *Archæologia Æliana* for November, 1856[1], Haigh said: 'Are we not justified in regarding the lines upon the Ruthwell Cross as fragments of a lost poem of his, a poem, however, which a later poet in the tenth century undertook to modernize and adapt to the taste of his own times, as Dryden did with some of the poems of Chaucer? I submit to the judgement of others this conjecture, based upon these grounds, viz. that on this monument, erected about A. D. 665, we have fragments of a religious poem of very high character, and that there was but one man living in England at that time worthy to be named as a religious poet, and that was Cædmon.' Haigh's reason for dating the Ruthwell Cross so early was its resemblance to the Bewcastle Cross, which, as he read the name of Alcfrid[2] upon it, he dated about 665.

[1] p. 173.

[2] He says (*The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, p. 37): 'The first [inscription] on the western face of the Cross at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, is simply a memorial of Alcfrid, who was associated by Oswiu with himself in the kingdom of Northumbria, and died probably in A. D. 664.' The inscription on the Bewcastle Cross is very uncertain (see Sievers in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* 1². 256; *Anglia* 13. 12, 13; cf. Vietor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 46), and in its present form probably late.

Again, writing in 1861, he said[1]: 'The poem of which these are fragments was probably one of those which Cædmon, who was living at the time when these monuments were erected, composed. That they belong to the seventh century cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier than those which occur in the contemporary version of Bæda's verses in a MS. at S. Gallen, and the copy of Cædmon's first song at the end of the MS. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which was completed two years after its author's death.'

This view of Haigh's was supported by George Stephens (1813–95), the runic collector, a friend and correspondent of Haigh's, and it is with Stephens's name that the theory is usually associated. Stephens, like Haigh, referred the cross to the seventh century, and ascribed the authorship of the verses to Cædmon. Stephens wrote as follows[2]:

'There is no doubt of the reading, though a letter or two is now injured. It is, on the right side:

CADMON

and, on the left side:

MÆFAUŒÞO

That is, the MÆ being a bind-rune:

CADMON ME FAWED (*made*). . . .

'So, by another form of the same verb, King Alfred has the expression *ged gefegean* for "to indite, compose, make, a song. . . ."

'This, then, is clear, outward evidence that Cædmon, whose name is also spelled Cedmon, here found in its North English and more original shape as Cadmon, was the author of these runic verses.

'But we have *three* arguments or proofs that the

[1] *Conquest of Britain*, p. 39. [2] *Run. Mon.* I. 419-420

beautiful poem, of which the lines on the Cross are an extract or episode or fragment, was written by no other than Cædmon.

'*First*, there is the above direct evidence of the runic carving on the top-stone of the Cross itself. The words are plain enough, and even the unsupported theory that this top-stone may be somewhat younger than the Pillar will not in the least weaken this broad statement. Even if later, the stone only asserted a known fact.

'*Second.* It was long ago suggested by Mr. Haigh, in his excellent paper in the *Archæologia Æliana*, that at the period when this monument was raised—the seventh century or thereabouts—there was no known man in all England, or in fact in all Europe, who could have written so noble an English lay save the author of the Biblical Paraphrase, which has always been acknowledged as his, even though we may admit some natural change and interpolation in later times in the course of its transcription into Old South English. Of course we here do not refer to the piece called *The Harrowing of Hell.* He therefore boldly concluded that, in his opinion, the *Dream of the Holy Rood* was from the pen of Cædmon. This splendid, though daring, assumption or implication has now been approved by the very stone itself.

'*Thirdly.* We have decisive internal evidence. A careful examination of the South English copy (see the Glossary) shows that the scribe was working from a North English original, even in those lines which are not carved on the Cross. But, in addition hereto, a slight acquaintance with the *Dream* will at once make us aware of one *very striking* peculiarity of style. This is, an extraordinary mixture of accents. Commonly we have the usual two-

accented line. But every now and then, under the pressure of poetic excitement, or personal taste, or the traditions of a local school, the bard breaks out into three, sometimes four, accents in one line, then sinking back again into the regular double tone-weight. One example will suffice to show what I mean [quoting lines 4–12 inclusive].

'Now, as far as I know, this rhythmical peculiarity is unknown in Old English verse except here, in Cædmon's Paraphrase, and in that noble epical fragment *Judith*. And I venture to assert that all these three are by one and the same Scóp. *Cædmon wrote them all.* They have all the same colour, all the same Miltonic sublimity, the same "steeling" of phrase, the same *sinking back* not only to the two-accented line, but sometimes to an almost prosaic simplicity in the intervals of his flights of genius. I am thus led to do for *Judith* what Mr. Haigh did for the *Dream*. I attribute it to Cædmon. After-discovery has proved the latter in the right; probably we shall never be able to produce direct evidence with regard to *Judith*.'

Elsewhere Stephens asserts: 'It cannot be later than the latter half of the seventh century, for it bears a grammatical form so antique (the accusative dual *ungcet*) that it has hitherto only been met with in this place, while the art-workmanship also points to the same period[1].'

This theory of Stephens's, then, rests on three main postulates:

1. The Cross was sculptured in the seventh century: that is, the figures and ornamentation are old.

[1] *Run. Mon.* 2. 420. The remark about *ungcet* came originally from Kemble (*Archæologia* 28. 359): 'The word *Ungket* is another incontrovertible proof of extreme antiquity, having, to the best of my knowledge, never been found but in this passage.' On this word see my 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross,' p. 384.

2. The inscription—which might conceivably have been a later addition—belongs to the seventh century.

3. The Cross bears the words 'Cadmon me made.'

As to the first of these postulates, the chief authority on the ornamentation, Sophus Müller, is thus reported by Bugge[1]: 'The Ruthwell Cross must be posterior to the year 800, and in fact to the Carlovingian Renaissance, on account of its decorative features. The free foliage and flower-work, and the dragons or monsters with two forelegs, wings, and serpents' tails, induce him to believe that it could scarcely have been sculptured much before A. D. 1000[2].'

As to the second postulate, I first showed in 1890[3], and again in 1901[4], that the language of the inscription on the Cross must be as late as the tenth century, and very likely posterior to 950. To repeat the conclusions formulated in the more recent article: While the general aspect of the inscription has led many persons to refer it to an early period, it lacks some of the marks of antiquity; every real mark of antiquity can be paralleled from the latest documents; some of the phenomena point to a period subsequent to that of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (about A. D. 950), and the *Durham Ritual* (A. D. 950–1000); and none flatly contradicts such an assumption. Moreover, a comparison of the inscription with the *Dream of the Rood* shows that the former is not an extract from an earlier poem written in the long Cædmonian line which is postulated by Vigfússon and Powell[5] and by Mr. Stop-

[1] Cf. my 'Notes,' p. 390.
[2] Cf. Müller, *Dyreornamentiken i Norden*, p. 155, note.
[3] *The Academy* 37. 153.
[4] Cf. p. xiv, note 1.
[5] *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* 1. 435.

ford Brooke[1], since the earliest dated verse is in short lines only, and since four of the lines in the Cross-inscription represent short lines in the *Dream of the Rood*[2]; it shows that the latter is more self-consistent, more artistic, and therefore more likely to be or to represent the original[3]; and it shows that certain of the forms of the latter seem to have been inadvertently retained by the adapter who selected and rearranged the lines for engraving on the Cross[4]. All this harmonizes with the evidence from grammar, and with the conclusions drawn from the character of the sculptured ornament.

As to the third postulate, it may be remarked that the forms *mæ* and *fauæþo* are impossible as Old English[5]; that, were they existent, *fauæþo* could not mean 'made'; and that, even allowing this to be true, the maker could in that case mean only the sculptor of the whole Cross, and not the author of the runic verses. But what is still more conclusive, Vietor, the latest competent scholar who has made a thorough examination of the Cross, declares that he can read no such inscription[6].

Summing up the evidence, then, the indications are as follows:

1. So far from the Cross-inscription representing an earlier form of the *Dream of the Rood*, it seems rather

[1] *Eng. Lit. before the Norman Conquest*, p. 197.
[2] 'Notes,' pp. 376-7. [3] Ibid., p. 378. [4] Ibid., p. 390.
[5] Cf. Bugge, *Studien*, tr. Bremner, 1. 494; Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 125.
[6] What he reads, and that, as will be seen, quite uncertainly, is this (*Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 11; cf. p. 12):

: (R?) D (D?) Æþ (:)
(MÆ?) (F) A Y R þ O

to have been derived from the latter, and to have been corrupted in the process.

2. Cædmon's name has never been on the Cross.

3. Linguistic considerations would refer the inscription to the tenth century, and probably to the latter half of that century.

4. Archaeological considerations are to the same effect as those drawn from the language.

Accordingly, there is no shadow of proof or probability that the inscription represents a poem written by Cædmon.

B. The Theory of Cynewulf's Authorship.

We pass now to the second hypothesis with respect to the *Dream of the Rood*, that which assigns its authorship to Cynewulf. Kemble[1] was the first to make the suggestion that all the poems of both the Exeter and Vercelli Books might be by Cynewulf, whom, however, he conceived to be an Abbot of Peterborough, living at the beginning of the eleventh century. Thorpe[2] believed that Cynewulf, the Abbot of Peterborough, was the author of the *Juliana* and perhaps all the Vercelli poetry. In all this, it will be observed, there is no specific attribution of the *Dream* to Cynewulf, but merely a conjectural assignment of the whole body of poetry in the manuscript which contains it. For an attempt to show why Cynewulf might be reasonably regarded as the author of the *Dream of the Rood* in particular, we must refer to the celebrated scholar Franz Dietrich.

Dietrich's view. Dietrich[3], in 1865, adduced a variety

[1] *Archæologia* 28. 362 3.

[2] *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), p. 501.

[3] *Disputatio de Cruce Ruthwellensi.* Marburger Universitätsschrift.

of arguments in support of his theory. Some of these, such as the presence of lyric passages in a narrative poem, are applicable to other Old English poems as well, and therefore have lost what cogency they may once have seemed to possess, but the rest are still worthy of attention.

As at least two of these arguments depend upon Cynewulf's statements concerning himself in the rune-passages of the *Christ*, the *Juliana*, the *Fates of the Apostles*, and the *Elene*, I adduce the relevant parts. The *Christ* has[1] (789–801): 'Alas! I expect, yea, and fear a sterner doom when the Prince of angels cometh again, since I have ill kept those things which the Saviour bade me in the Scriptures. For this, as I account truth, I shall behold terror, the punishment of sin, when many shall be led into the assembly before the presence of the eternal Judge. Then shall the COURAGEOUS[2] tremble; he shall hear the King, the Ruler of heaven, speak stern words unto those who in time past ill obeyed Him on earth, while as yet they could easily find comfort for their YEARNING and their NEED.'

The *Juliana* has (695 ff.): 'Greatly do I need that the saint afford me succor when the dearest of all things shall forsake me, when the two consorts shall dissolve their union, when my soul shall leave the body and go on a journey, whither I know not, to an alien abode. C, Y, and N shall depart in sadness. The King will be wroth, the Bestower of victories, when E, W, and U, stained with sins, awaits with trembling what sentence

[1] Whitman's translation (Boston, U.S.A., 1900).

[2] These words represent the runes that form the beginning of the name *Cyn(e)wulf*.

shall be passed upon him according to his deeds, as the award for his life. L F trembles, rests full of anxiety, remembering all the anguish, the woundings of the sins which I committed first or last in the world.' Cynewulf goes on to say that he must repent in tears, that he will need the intercession of Juliana, and that he begs every one who shall read the poem to pray for him by name that God would be merciful to him in that Great Day.

The *Fates of the Apostles* has: 'Here may he that is wise of prescience, he who rejoiceth in songs, discover who composed this lay.' Then follow the Cynewulfian runes.

The passage from the *Elene* is[1] (1237–77): 'Thus I, old and ready to depart by reason of the failing[2] house, have woven wordcraft and wondrously gathered, have now and again pondered and sifted my thought in the prison of the night. I knew not all concerning the right . . .[3] before wisdom, through the noble power, revealed a larger view into the cogitation of my heart. I was guilty of misdeeds, fettered by sins, tormented with anxieties, bound with bitternesses, beset with tribulations, before he bestowed inspiration through the bright order[4] as a help to the aged man. The mighty King granted me his blameless grace and shed it into my mind, revealed it as glorious, and in course of time dilated it; he set my body free, unlocked my heart, and released the power of song, which I have joyfully made use of in

[1] Slightly changed from my rendering in Cook and Tinker's *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*, pp. 141–2.

[2] Emending *fæcne* to *fæge*.

[3] Perhaps something lost.

[4] *Or*, gloriously.

the world. Not once alone, but many times, had I reflected on the tree of glory, before I had disclosed the miracle concerning the glorious tree, as in the course of events I found related in books, in writings, concerning the sign of victory. Until that the man[1] had always been buffeted by billows of sorrow, was an expiring Torch, though he in the mead-hall had received treasures, appled gold. Y (?) lamented; the Forced companion suffered affliction, an oppressive secret, though[2] before him the Steed measured the mile-paths and proudly ran, decked with wires[3]. Joy has waned, pleasure has decreased with the years; youth has fled, the former pride. U (?) was of old the splendor of youth; now, after the allotted time, are the days departed, the joys of life have vanished, as Water glides away, the hurrying floods. Every one's Wealth is transitory under the sky; the ornaments of the field pass away under the clouds like the wind when it rises loud before men, roams among the clouds, rushes along in rage, and again on a sudden grows still, close locked within its prison, held down by force.'

This may be condensed about as follows[4]:

1. When I was young I received gifts in hall, and was present when my horse careered across the plain in gorgeous trappings (*or, perhaps,* when the horses of others were raced); yet I was not happy, for I was still a sinner.

2. In later years I was converted, and life acquired a new meaning. I began to reflect, practised the poetic

[1] Emending *sæc* to *secg*.
[2] Emending *þǣr* to *þēah*.
[3] i.e. metal ornaments.
[4] Cf. my edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, p. lxvii.

art, thought deeply and read widely about the cross of Christ, and finally have been enabled to write this account of its invention by St. Helena.

3. The joys of sense, the pride of life, have departed with my youth. I am now an old man; yet I realize that I am not only ransomed from the power of sin, but have received special grace from on high, and by divine assistance have brought to a close this poem on a subject very near to my heart.

Dietrich, in advocating the assignment of the *Dream of the Rood* to Cynewulf, insists upon the following points of connexion between the *Elene* and the *Dream:*

1. The theme of both is the cross. Indeed, Cynewulf has much to say of the cross in the *Christ*[1]. We might especially compare the following extract (*Chr.* 1081–1102): 'There shall sinful men, sad at heart, behold the greatest affliction. Not for their behoof shall the cross of our Lord, brightest of beacons, stand before all nations, wet with the pure blood of heaven's King, stained with His gore, shining brightly over the vast creation. Shadows shall be put to flight when the resplendent cross shall blaze upon all peoples. But this shall be for an affliction and a punishment to men, to those malefactors who knew no gratitude to God, that He, the King, was crucified on the holy rood for the sins of mankind, on that day when He whose body knew no sin nor base iniquity lovingly purchased life for men with the price with which He ransomed us. For all this will He rigorously exact recompense when the red rood shall shine brightly over all in the sun's stead.'

[1] 'Uberrime de cruce Cynevulfus locutus erat iam in carmine Crist appellato' (p. 12, note).

2. In the *Dream of the Rood* the author says (126–31):

> And now my life's great happiness is this,
> That to the cross victorious I may come,
> Alone, above the wont of other men,
> To worship worthily. Desire for this
> Is great within my heart, and all my help
> Must reach me from the rood[1].

In the *Elene* Cynewulf says:—'Not once alone, but many times, had I reflected on the tree of glory before I had disclosed the miracle concerning the glorious tree, as in the course of events I found related in books, in writings, concerning the sign of victory.' Dietrich interprets the former passage as prophetic of a future work on the cross, and the latter as a backward reference to the *Dream of the Rood*. The impulse to compose the *Elene* is traceable to the vision which appeared to the author of the *Rood*[2].

3. Cynewulf is fond of speaking of himself and his feelings in the epilogues of his other poems[3], where he adds his name in runes. In like manner he comes forward in his own person in the *Dream of the Rood* (cf. the next section).

4. In both poems the author represents himself as old, having lost joys or friends, and as ready to de-

[1] Miss Iddings' translation, published in Cook and Tinker's *Select Translations*, pp. 93-9.

[2] 'Quod scilicet sibi summo animi ardore crucis contemplator proposuit, id poematis de crucis inventione compositi auctor luculenter exsecutus est. Credibile igitur est, Cynevulfum ad *Elenam* canendam illo somnio, quod poeta de cruce v. 137 sibi revera apparuisse asserit, animo impulsum esse.'

[3] 'Kynewulfus, qui de sua persona suisque sensibus in carminum maiorum epilogis loqui solebat, addito nomine suo Cynewulf, runis expresso' (p. 11). Cf. *supra*, pp. xviii–xx.

part. Thus in the *Dream of the Rood* we have (124–6, 131–4):

> My soul within
> Was quickened to depart, so many years
> Of utter weariness had I delayed.
> . . . . . .
> Of powerful friends
> Not many do I own on earth, for hence
> Have they departed, from the world's delights;
> They followed after Him, their glorious King,
> And with the Father now in heaven they live,
> Dwelling in bliss.

And in the *Elene*: 'Thus I, old and ready to depart by reason of the failing house. . . . Joy has waned, pleasure has decreased with the years; youth has fled, the former pride. U (?) was of old the splendor of youth; now, after the allotted time, are the days departed, the joys of life have vanished.'

5. The diction of the *Dream* resembles in various particulars that employed by Cynewulf. As, according to Dietrich, Cynewulf wrote not only the *Juliana*, *Christ*, and *Elene*, but also the *Andreas*, *Guthlac*, *Phœnix*, and *Riddles*, all references drawn from the latter group are excluded in adducing the correspondences which will be cited. Dietrich quotes three sets of correspondences in three successive notes, as follows:

a. Cynewulf is fond of denoting 'wound' by *dolg* (also *fcorhdolg*, *Chr.* 1454), which is likewise found in Old High German and Norse. Thus *Rood* 46:

> on mē syndon þā dolg gesīene;

compared with *Chr.* 1107–8:

> ond þā openan dolg
> on hyra Dryhtne gesēoð drēorigferðe;

also *Chr.* 1206–7:

dolg scēawian,
wunde ond wīte.

Another such Cynewulfian word is *þurhdrīfan*. *El.* 707 has:

þēah ic ǣr mid dysige þurhdrifen wǣre;

and *Chr.* 1109:

swā him mid næglum þurhdrifan nīðhycgende.

With these compare *Rood* 46:

Þurhdrifan hī mē mid deorcan næglum[1].

b. Certain kennings are common to the *Rood* and the Cynewulfian poems. Thus (I add in brackets references omitted by Dietrich):

sigebēam, *Rood* 13, [127]: *El.* [420], 445, 665, 847, 861, 965, [1028].

wuldres trēow, *Rood* 14: *El.* [89], 828, 867, 1252.

wuldres bēam, *Rood* 97: *El.* 217 (*wuldres wynbēam*, *El.* 844).

bēacna sēlest, *Rood* 118; *wudu sēlesta*, *Rood* 27: *sēlest sigebēacna*, *El.* 975; *sēlest sigebēama*, *El.* 1028.

feorgbold, *Rood* 73: *selegeseot*, *hūs*, *Chr.* 1480, 1481.

hæfde his gāst onsended, *Rood* 49: *his gāst onsende*, *El.* 480.

c. Other parallels are:

(1) *Rood* 4:

Þūhte mē þæt ic [ne] gesāwe syllicre trēow.

[1] It should be observed that *dolg* also occurs, *Rid.* 6^{13}, 57^{1}; *dolgben*, *An.* 1399; *dolgslege*, *An.* 1177, 1216; *dolhwund*, *Jud.* 107; *syndolh*, *Bēow.* 817; *dolgian*, *Rid.* 60^{11}; and *gedolgian*, *Rid.* 54^{6}. All of these, except the *Judith* and *Beowulf*, would be regarded by Dietrich as strengthening his case. *Ðurhdrīfan* also occurs: *Sat.* 163; *An.* 1399.

El. 72–5:

Þūhte him whitescȳne on weres hāde
hwīt ond hīwbeorht hæleða nāthwylc
geȳwed ænlicra þonne hē ær oððe sið
gesēge under swegle.

(2) *Rood* 14–7:

Geseah ic wuldres trēow
wædum geweorðod wynnum scīnan,
gegyred mid golde; gimmas hæfdon
bewrigen weorðlice Weald[end]es trēow.

El. 88–90:

Geseah hē frætwum beorht
wliti wuldres trēo ofer wolcna hrōf
golde ge[g]lenged; gimmas līxtan.

El. 1023–4:

Hēo þā rōde hēht
golde beweorcean ond gimcynnum.

(3) *Rood* 48:

Eall ic wæs mid blōde bestēmed.

Chr. 1085:

bēacna beorhtast, blōde bistēmed.

(4) *Rood* 55–6:

Wēop eal gesceaft,
cwīðdon Cyninges fyll; Crīst wæs on rōde.

Chr. 1127, 1130:

Gesēgun þā dumban gesceaft,
. . . . . .
ond mid cearum cwīðdun, þēah hī cwice nēron.

(5) *Rood* 78–9:

'Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hæleð mīn se leofa,
þæt ic, &c.

El. 511–2:

Nū ðū meaht gehyran, hæleð mīn se lēofa,
hū, &c.

(6) *Rood* 103–9:

Hē ðā on heofenas āstāg; hider eft fundaþ
on þysne middangeard mancynn sēcan
on dōmdæge Dryhten sylfa,
ælmihtig God and his englas mid,
þæt hē þonne wile dēman, se āh dōmes geweald,
ānra gehwylcum, swā hē him ǣrur hēr
on þyssum lǣnum līfe geearnaþ.

Chr. 523–7:

Wile eft swā-þēah eorðan mǣgðe
sylfa gesēcan sīde herge,
ond þonne gedēman dǣda gehwylce
þāra ðe gefremedon folc under roderum.

(7) *Rood* 148–9:

Hiht wæs genīwad
mid blēdum and mid blisse.

Chr. 1346:

blǣd mid blissum.

Chr. 529–30:

Hyht wæs genīwad,
blis in burgum.

6. The *Dream of the Rood* is found in the Vercelli MS. between the *Andreas* and the *Elene*.

7. The liberties taken with the Biblical narrative are quite in Cynewulf's manner.

Rieger's arguments. In the third section of a paper written in 1868, and published in 1869[1], Max Rieger expressed himself to the following effect:

1. The poet of the *Rood* (Cynewulf, according to Rieger) actually had the vision he describes. He saw the cross in a dream, and listened to words which form the basis of the speech reported.

2. Inserting, with Grein, *rōde* before *riht* in *El.* 1241, Rieger translates: 'I knew nothing right about the cross until it disclosed to me greater knowledge by its glorious power[2].' He accordingly interprets this to mean that the vision of the *Rood* poem led to the composition of the *Elene*.

3. He brings 'guilty of misdeeds, fettered by sins[3]' (above, p. xxiii), into relation to *Rood* 13ᵇ–14ᵃ:

synnum fāh,
forwundod mid wommum.

4. With the 'tormented with anxieties, . . . beset with tribulations' of *El.* 1244–5 he associates *Rood* 125ᵇ–6ᵃ, 131ᵇ–2ᵃ.

5. Cynewulf was already old when he received this illumination (*El.* 1247); hence we may not refer it to any other occurrence than the vision.

6. Emending *willum*, *El.* 1252, to *hwīlum*, he translates, 'which I formerly had employed with pleasure in the

[1] 'Ueber Cynewulf,' in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 1. 215–26, 313–24.

[2] 'Ich wusste nichts rechtes von dem Kreuze, ehe es mir grössere Erkenntniss durch seine herrliche Macht enthüllte' (p. 314). Cf. with my translation on p. xix.

[3] *El.* 1243–4:

weorcum fāh,
synnum āsæled.

world'[1]. This means that Cynewulf had once been a poet, but that the oppression of sin had closed the fount of song. If *willum* be retained, Rieger admits that this might refer to an experience like that of Cædmon, but he adds that in this case the only poems referred to would be the *Dream of the Rood* and the *Elene*, for no others could lie between the vision and the period when Cynewulf was speaking. If the *Dream of the Rood* was really Cynewulf's first poem, we should expect a clear statement of this fact in that poem. As it is, there is no word in the *Dream of the Rood* to indicate that Cynewulf was a novice in poetry.

Ebert's objections. In 1884, Ebert published his views on the *Dream of the Rood*[2]. His objections to the attribution of the *Dream of the Rood* to Cynewulf are these:

1. In the *Elene* the discovery of the other two crosses is recorded, and the means by which that of Christ is distinguished from them; of this there is nothing in the *Dream of the Rood*, notwithstanding the allusions in 70, 73, 75.

2. In *Rood* 46 we have the nails called dark, whereas in *El.* 1113 ff. they shine like stars or jewels.

3. In the *Elene* there is no mention of the Saviour's blood (cf. *Rood* 23, 48).

4. If the poet describes himself as old and ready to depart, this trait is found elsewhere in Old English poetry.

5. Coincidences or similarities in expression between

[1] 'die ich weiland mit Lust in der Welt gebraucht hatte,' where the original has (1251–2):

þæs ic lustum brēac,
willum in worlde.

[2] *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Classe* 36. 81.

two poems might be due not only to their common authorship, but to

(*a*) Alliteration.

(*b*) The existence of a common stock of poetical expressions.

(*c*) Borrowing by the one poet from the other.

(*d*) Borrowing by both from a third.

6. The *Dream of the Rood* differs from Cynewulf's undoubted works in four respects:

(*a*) The frequency of *hwæðre*. This conjunction is here used nine times, but only once in the *Elene* and six [really three] times in the *Christ*. Here it shows an attempt at binding the sentences together, contrary to Cynewulf's practice[1]. In lines 24 and 47 it seems to be used in the sense of *autem*, in order to indicate the mere continuation of the narrative.

(*b*) The phrase *mǣte weorode* occurs in *Rood* 69, 124, but nowhere else in the poetry.

(*c*) The simplicity of the language, and its freedom from tedious repetitions[2].

(*d*) The free handling of the Biblical narrative. This had been already noted by Dietrich, who had cited *Chr.* 507 [502 ff.] as an illustration. Ebert contends that this is an embellishment rather than a change of the Biblical account, and that any modification of the Scriptural narrative in important points can neither be found in Cynewulf nor be rightly imputed to him.

[1] 'Es zeigt sich darin ein Streben nach Verknüpfung der Sätze, wie es Cynewulf durchaus nicht eigen ist, der vielmehr das Gegentheil liebt.'

[2] Dietrich had already said (p. 11): 'Rerum denominatio poetica plerumque est simplex.'

Wülker's objection. In 1888, Wülker, commenting[1] upon the newly-discovered runes belonging to the *Fates of the Apostles*, inferred, from the fact that Cynewulf so uniformly inserted his name in runes in his poems, that the *Dream of the Rood* must be by another hand.

Trautmann's views. In 1898, Trautmann[2] referred to Ebert's opinions, and objected to 6 (*a*) that *hwædre* may not in all cases have been written by the poet himself, and to 6 (*b*) that *weorod unmāte* is found in *An.* 1221 and 1684. He recognizes a considerable number of Cynewulfian words and phrases, but declines to attribute the poem to Cynewulf on the ground that *him gebiddan* (83, 122), *cwīðan* (56), the comparative *ārur* (108), and [*a*]*nforht wesan* (117) are unknown to Cynewulf; that there is a surprisingly large number of verses with six stresses; and that *blēom* (22) must be pronounced as two syllables, while in *El.* 759 it is pronounced as one.

Discussion of evidence. We may now review the evidence in favour of Cynewulfian authorship, adduce other testimony or further considerations, and finally attempt to form a reasonable conclusion.

The opinions of Kemble and Thorpe, since they are so far astray on the subject of Cynewulf's epoch, need not detain us.

Dietrich's arguments (pp. xvii ff.) may be taken up *seriatim*:

1. That from the similarity of theme between the *Elene* and the *Dream of the Rood* (together with the passage

[1] *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Classe*, pp. 40, 211.
[2] *Kynewulf*, p. 40.

from the Third Part of the *Christ*) is sound, if adequately supported by other considerations.

2. There is nothing in *Rood* 126 ff. to prove, or even to indicate, that Cynewulf was projecting a future poetical composition on this subject. All that he affirms is that the cross is the object of his devotion and hope. Moreover, the epilogue of the *Elene*, while it does not exclude the possibility of a reference to the *Dream of the Rood*, by no means necessarily postulates any such earlier poem. What is more natural than that he should have meditated frequently on the cross before he wrote the *Elene*? We are under no necessity of assuming that the *Dream of the Rood* is the record of an actual occurrence. If it is not, then the impulse to write the *Elene* is not traceable to a vision which never took place. If it is, then it marks either the beginning or the culmination of a series of poetical and religious reflections, and in either case belongs to a period at least as late as the threshold of old age. If it marks the beginning of such a series—if it indicates the poet's conversion to Christianity, as we might say—then we must account for his possession of the religious knowledge which would enable him to experience the dream and to realize its significance, and the poetical art which would enable him to embody his experience in a poem of such singular perfection in all but its closing section[1]. Did he have the religious knowledge before he dreamed the dream? Then the dream was at most the occasion, not the true cause, of the poetry which he subsequently produced. Was he destitute of such religious knowledge, unversed in theo-

[1] Cf. *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. lxxxii ff.

logical and poetic learning, unpractised in mystical contemplation, unschooled in the peculiar technique of this species of poetry? Then he could not have written the poem that we know until a considerable time after the vision appeared to him, and must have produced the series of his undoubted poems, comprising not less than 3716 lines[1]—more than the *Beowulf*—long after most of his powerful friends had departed from earth. To credit Cynewulf with such a feat in that age is to believe in an achievement quite unparalleled in literary history, since, even if we accept as fact the legends of Cædmon and the *Heliand* poet, we are dealing only with metrical translation, and not with poems of the originality and power which Cynewulf frequently displays. That an elderly man should learn to versify Scripture can be accepted without the hypothesis of miracle; but that an elderly man should have a vision which for the first time revealed to him the riches of the inner life, and afterwards should have become a scholar of remarkable historical and theological learning for his epoch, a poet of vigorous imagination, of unusual sublimity, of deep and tender feeling, the founder of a new school of poetry, an innovator in diction and technique, and the composer of a body of verse considerably greater than the *Beowulf*—this is asking us to believe what is otherwise quite unexampled, and what we must therefore hesitate to accept unless constrained by the most cogent evidence. That Cynewulf should have written such poetry in his

[1] *Christ* 1664; *Elene* 1321; *Juliana* 731. If we add the 156 lines of the *Dream of the Rood*, we have 3872 lines. This is almost one-fourth the number in the *Iliad*; more than one-fourth that in the *Divina Commedia*; nearly one-third that in the *Odyssey*; and nearly three-eighths that in *Paradise Lost*.

age—or what he regarded as age—is not incredible ; but that he should have remained unconverted to Christianity in its vital aspects until he was already old, and that he should then have accomplished such a result in the few remaining years of life, this is what taxes reason and imagination to conceive.

We have not yet considered the possibility that the *Dream of the Rood* marks the culmination (p. xxxi) of a series of poetical and religious reflections, or, if not the actual culmination, at least the religious and poetic maturity of the author. This is rendered probable by the admirable structure, the economy of treatment, the reserve of manner, the decision of touch, in the whole poem to at least the end of line 146. Up to that point it is no doubt the most perfect piece of art in Old English poetry, and is therefore clearly not the work of a novice either in feeling or in composition. But if it marks the culmination of his spiritual activity, then it stands in no such relation to the *Elene* as Dietrich would have us believe.

3. It is true (p. xxii) that Cynewulf does speak of himself, and it is natural on this account to associate him with the author of the *Dream of the Rood*. This argument, however, is subject to the drawback that lyric poetry commonly introduces the first person. Thus in Old English, besides the translation of the Psalms, several of the Hymns and Prayers (including No. 4, which has some points of resemblance with Cynewulfian passages), the *Wanderer*, the *Seafarer*, the *Wife's Lament*, *Husband's Message*, *Deor's Lament*, &c. Nevertheless, none of these bears any such close resemblance in tone and matter to the Cynewulfian epilogues as that borne by the *Dream of the Rood*.

4. This (p. xxii) is undoubtedly a valid argument. Cynewulf does represent himself as old in both poems.

5. The parallels between the *Dream of the Rood* and the undoubted Cynewulfian poems (pp. xxiii ff.) may be increased (those to doubtful ones in brackets).

Passing over (*a*), we may begin with:

(*b*) The kennings, especially those for the cross:

To the group containing the notion of 'victory' (always, no doubt, with ultimate reference to the Constantine story), add:

sigebēacen, El. 887, 994; *sigorbēacen, El.* 984, 1256; *sigores tācen, El.* 85, 184, 1120.

To phrases containing *wuldres*:

[*wuldres tācen, An.* 88.]

To the group of superlatives designating the cross, add:

bēama beorhtost, Rood 6; *bēacna beorhtost, Chr.* 1085 [and *An.* 242]; *tācna torhtost, El.* 164; *mǣrost bēama, El.* 1012, 1224 [beside *æþelust bēama, Men.* 84].

There is a type of kenning represented by *þæt fūse bēacen, Rood* 21, consisting of dem. + adj. + noun. This is otherwise found as follows:

þæt hālige trēo (*trīo*), *El.* 108, 128, 429, 442, 701, 840 [*Hy.* 8⁷]; *þæt wlitige trēo, El.* 165; *þæt mǣre trēo, El.* 214; *sēo hālig(e) rōd, El.* 720, 1011, 1243; *se hālga bēam, Chr.* 1093; *se æðela bēam, El.* 1073; *sēo hēa rōd, Chr.* 1064; *sēo rēade rōd, Chr.* 1101; *sē lēohta bēam, Chr.* 1089; *se beorhta segn, Chr.* 1061.

Phrases in which 'high' is applied to the cross are:

on gealgan hēanne, Rood 40; cf. *on hēanne bēam, Chr.* 1446, *Jul.* 309, *El.* 424; *on hēan galgan, Jul.* 482.

For phrases like *Dryhtnes rōd*, see note on 17.

For *feorgbold*, &c., see note on 70.

To the references under *gāst onsendan* might be added:
Jul. 310:

of galgan his gǣst onsende.

[*An.* 1327:

on gealgan his gāst onsende.]

Chr. 1452–3:

ānne forlēt
of mīnum līchoman lifgendne gǣst.

[Cf. *An.* 187, 1416; *Gu.* 1277; *Men.* 171.]

(*c*) Other parallels:

With *gestāh on gealgan hēanne, Rood* 40 (cf. 34), cf. *þe ic ǣr gestāg, Chr.* 1491; *on hira ānne gestāg, Chr.* 1171; [*āstāg. āstāh, Chr.* 727, *Sat.* 1549; *stāh, Hy.* 10[28]].

Under (3), p. xxix, add:

mid wātun bestēmed, and the note upon 48.

With *rōd wæs ic ārǣred, Rood* 44, compare the parallels in the note.

For *lēohte bewunden*, see note on 5.

For *forwundod*, see note on 14[a].

For *bifian*, see note on 36.

For *būtū ætgædere*, see note on 48.

For *sīdan*, see note on 49[a].

With *wrāðra wyrda, Rood* 51[a], compare *wrāðra wīta, Chr.* 804[a].

With *weruda God, Rood* 51[b], compare *Chr.* 407. 631.

With *āhōfon hine of ðām hefian wīte, Rood* 61, compare *El.* 482: *þā siððan wæs of rōde āhæfen rodera Wealdend.*

For *cōlode*, see note on 72.

For *bedealf*, see note on 75.

For *lāðost* as applied to the cross, see note on 88[a].

For *ofer eall wīfa cynn*, see note on 94[b].

For *mannum tō helpe*, see note on 102.

For *sc āh dōmes geweald*, see note on 107.

With *Rood* 108b–9, *swā hē him ārur hēr on þyssum lænum līfe geearnaþ*, compare *Chr.* 1233b, *swā hī geworhtun ār.*

For *ne mæg þār ānig*, see note on 110.

For *biter dēaþ*, see note on 113–4.

For *Rood* 117–8,

> Ne þearf ðǣr þonne ānig [a]nforht wesan
> þe him ār in brēostum bereð bēacna sēlest,

see note on 118.

With *of eorðwege*, *Rood* 120, compare *of eorðwegum*, *El.* 736.

For *blīðe mōde*, see note on 122b.

With *elne mycle*, *Rood* 123, compare *micle elne*, *Chr.* 1317.

For *līfes hyht*, see note on 126.

ic wēne mē, *Rood* 135: *Chr.* 789.

For *þār is*, see note on 139b.

wunian on wuldre, *Rood* 143: *Chr.* 347.

līf forgeaf, *Rood* 147: *Chr.* 776.

For *þām þe ār*, see note on 149.

With 150–2 compare *Chr.* 577–81.

6. This point (p. xxvii) is invalidated by Wülker (*Grundriss*, p. 193), who points out that between the *Dream of the Rood* and the *Elene* are the *Falsehood of Men* and certain homilies.

Rieger's arguments (p. xxvii) are in general sufficiently covered by the foregoing comments upon Dietrich.

Of Ebert's objections (p. xxviii) it may be said in order:

1. The *Dream of the Rood* is too brief and too lyric to admit of such irrelevant detail.

2. As to this poetic conception, the source of the *Elene* is also to be considered, which here has: 'Magna autem coruscatio de loco illuxit ubi inventa est sancta crux, clarior solis lumine, et statim apparuerunt clavi illi qui in dominico confixi fuerant corpore, *tamquam aurum fulgens in terra.*'

3. Why *should* the *Elene* mention Christ's blood?

4. See under 3, p. xxxiii.

5. None of these possibilities accounts for such numerous and striking resemblances.

6. (*a*) This argument may easily be made to prove too much. Thus in Part II of the *Christ*, which no one doubts to be by Cynewulf, the conjunction *þætte* occurs four times (451, 600, 656, 715), besides twice in Part I (143, 417), and once in Part III (1155). Moreover, the pronoun *þætte* occurs in 1588. But this form does not occur anywhere in the *Elene*. Hence, we might argue, the *Elene* is by Cynewulf; therefore (Part II of) the *Christ* cannot be. Or we might say: (Part II of) the *Christ* is by Cynewulf, therefore the *Elene* cannot be.

(*b*) This has been answered by Trautmann (see p. xxx).

(*c*) Many pages from Cynewulf's undoubted poems possess this quality.

(*d*) This may be easily refuted by pointing to *Chr.* 558 ff.; in Part I, to 164 ff.; or, in Part III, to 1144^{b}–6, not to multiply examples.

Wülker's argument from the omission of the runic name has its weight, but it is not easy to prove a negative. To say that because a poet usually signs his name to his work therefore he can never leave it unsigned, is surely going too far. Besides, it is at least conceivable that

the runes may have been lost; were they not nearly lost to our modern world in the case of the *Fates*?

By way of comment on Trautmann's views, we might adduce, as an example of *biddan* with reflexive dative, *El.* 1101: '*bæd him* engla Weard geopenigean uncūðe wyrd.' If the point is that *gebiddan* with the reflexive dative is not used in the sense of 'adore,' it might be answered that there was no such occasion in the Cynewulfian poems to introduce this notion. As for *cwīðan*, it occurs repeatedly in the Third Part of the *Christ* (891, 961, 1130, 1285, 1367); which, however, Trautmann is indisposed to attribute to Cynewulf. The comparative *ārur*, while not found in the undoubted Cynewulfian poetry, does occur in the *Beowulf*, and therefore belongs to a period as early as Cynewulf; its employment or omission is probably determined by metrical considerations. If *anforht wesan* is not found elsewhere, it can be replied that every poem of any length has words or phrases peculiar to itself. The large proportion of expanded lines must be admitted, but it should be observed that a considerable number of those in the Third Part of the *Christ* occur in solemn speeches, like the most of those in our poem.

As to the disyllabic pronunciation of *blēom*, *El.* 759 would perhaps be improved by the omission of *ond*, which would necessitate the disyllabic pronunciation of *blēom*; and this pronunciation is required in *Sal.* 150ª, *blēoum bregdað*. Moreover, the disyllabic pronunciation is the older, and therefore is at least as early as Cynewulf. Thus Sievers would emend *gefēan*, *Chr.* 1403, to a trisyllabic form (*PBB.* 10, 478), and Holthausen, following Sievers, the *Liffrēa* of *Chr.* 15ᵇ to *Liffrēga* (*LitBl. für*

Germ. und Rom. Phil. 1900, No. 11). If, then, the author of the *Dream of the Rood*, not being anterior to Cynewulf, is led by a metrical exigency to retain the original syllabification of a contracted word, just as it is done in another poem which dates at earliest from 800–850[1], we should not therefore conclude that Cynewulf may not have been that author. Note, for example, how, in the First Part of the *Christ*, *sīe* is required in 280, and *sī* in 414 (Holthausen, *supra*; how, in the Third Part, *sȳ* rightly occurs in 1322, and *sīe* in 1552; and how, in the *Elene*, *sīe* must be pronounced disyllabic in 675, though monosyllabic in 542, 773. 789, 817, and perhaps elsewhere.

To sum up, then, with respect to the authorship of our poem. The hypothesis which attributed it to Cædmon is *nil*. The arguments in favour of Cynewulf, so far as they possess validity, reduce themselves to four, all originally formulated by Dietrich. They are these:

1. The *Elene* and our poem have a common theme, namely, the cross.

2. Cynewulf is addicted to personal revelations, as his epilogues abundantly show. He was almost a poet of the Renaissance in his longing to be remembered, and to be remembered by name[2].

It is true, he does not reveal the nature of his specific

[1] Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 367.

[2] It seems never to have been observed, as a trait of Cynewulf's personality, that he twice reckons it among the afflictions of the damned that God never thinks of them any more. Thus, *El.* 1302–3:

Godo nō syððan
of ðām morðorhofe on gemynd cumað;

and *Chr.* 1536–7: Nāles Dryhtnes gemynd
siþþan gesōcað.

Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 6. 378–85.

sins, though he is ample in his confession of shortcomings in general; but he does, especially in the epilogue to the *Elene*, give abundant and precious intimations of his tastes and experience—intimations which must have been lucid to his contemporaries, and which are not wholly blind to us. Thus it may be admitted without hesitation that the poet's references to himself in the *Dream of the Rood* are quite in Cynewulf's manner.

3. In both the *Elene* and the *Dream of the Rood* the poet, in speaking of himself, falls into the elegiac tone. His appreciation of the joy of life is keen, and his sense of deprivation not less so. He feels poignantly the loss of friends and of vigour, the waning of youth and its delights, and under such circumstances is ready, nay eager, to depart. This similarity is too striking to be ignored.

4. The coincidences and resemblances between the *Dream of the Rood* and the Cynewulfian poetry are numerous and remarkable. They can best be explained, I believe, by the hypothesis of a common authorship; and this hypothesis is in some degree confirmed by the introduction, at the close of the poem, of the theme, familiar to Cynewulf, of the harrowing of hell. It could only have been a poet with whom it was an especially favourite topic who would have been willing thus to impair the artistic excellence of his production.

Making all due allowance, then, for the weakness of certain arguments both pro and con, the balance of probability seems to incline decidedly in favour of Cynewulfian authorship. Cynewulf was the first Old English author of whom we have any knowledge to lay emphasis upon the Invention of the Cross and Constantine's pre-

monitory dream; the cross glows in the firmament with Christ's blood in another of his poems; here, as there, the cross is a visionary one; as in the *Elene*, it is adorned with jewels and gold; and, as in both the *Elene* and the *Christ*, it towers high in air. There can be no doubt that the motive of this poem is derived from the Constantine story; and we can conceive of no other Old English poet at once interested in the theme, capable of such variations upon a favourite topic, and master of so much lyric intensity, elegiac pathos, sublime imagination, and economy of resources, all in combination. And if it is Cynewulf of whom we must think, it is Cynewulf in the maturity of his powers, rich with experience, but before age had enfeebled his phantasy or seriously impaired his judgement.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS.

The *Dream of the Rood* consists of an address uttered by the visionary cross to the poet (28–121), introduced by an account of its manifestation to him in a midnight dream (1–27), and followed by two passages, of which the first (122–48^{a}) embodies the reflections and sentiments awakened in the poet by his experience, while the second (148^{b}–56) briefly alludes to the feelings of the spirits in prison at the harrowing of hell, and to the joy of angels and saints when Christ returned in triumph to the kingdom of His Father. The address of the cross constitutes three-fifths of the whole, being about three and a half times as long as either the introduction or the poet's reflections, which have almost exactly the same

length. The concluding section, which has the air of an interpolation, or of an inartistic addition by the poet's own hand, is only about a twentieth of the whole. The poem is complete without it, and it seriously mars the unity of impression.

In the introduction are blended reminiscences of the cross under three aspects—as beheld in vision by Constantine, as adorning the altar or borne in procession by ecclesiastics, and as the sign of the Son of Man revealed in the heavens at the Final Judgement. To the first belongs the general conception of the vision; to the second may be attributed the definite statement regarding the number and position of the gems; while the last is suggested by the presence of the heavenly host and the size of the cross upon which they all could gaze.

The introduction falls into three parts. The first (1–12) is narrative, and sets forth the vision itself. The second (13-23) is lyrical, and discloses the poet's emotions in the presence of the cross. The third (24–7) is a mere transition from the vision to the voice. The second of these divisions is contrived with much art. The argument of it may thus be outlined: 'Yes, this was a cross of victory and not of shame, a cross extraordinary in its aspect and surroundings; who was I, a wretch defiled and wounded by sin, that I should gaze upon it? Fair was the cross, it is true, and radiant with gems and gold; yet it was blood-stained too. I trembled at the view, as now it seemed to be flashing in jewels, now streaming with gore[1].' Here, while the poet presents a motive which is to recur later (80–91), he interests us at once in

[1] See *Chr.* 1085–1102.

the contrast and in his own feelings, and thus arouses an anticipation which the sequel is to gratify. The mood of the second subdivision is prolonged into the third, and the suspense is prolonged until finally broken by the utterance of the cross.

The second part, the address of the cross, is unique in its composition. The notion of representing an inanimate object as speaking to him who stands in its presence, and communicating information or counsel, is as old as the Greek epigram. This was originally an inscription on a monument, a statue, or a votive offering preserved in a temple, and not seldom represented the work of art, or the dead who reposed beneath the monument, as addressing the passer-by[1]. The most famous of these is the epigram by Simonides of Ceos (B. C. 556–468) on those who died at Thermopylæ:

Stranger, bear tidings to the Spartans that here, obedient to their words, we lie[2].

Another, famous in antiquity, quoted by Plato[3], and variously attributed to Cleobulus of Lindus (fl. B. C. 586) and to Homer, is thus translated from the four hexameters of the original by Colonel Mure:

> A maid of bronze am I, and here will stand
> On Midas' tomb, as long as on the strand
> The sea shall beat; as long as trees shall grow,
> Sun rise, moon shine, or liquid waters flow,
> So long by this sad tomb I'll watch and cry,
> 'Midas lies here!' to every passer-by.

[1] The Latin *Siste, viator*, prolongs this use.

[2] Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

[3] *Phædrus*, p. 264 D.

The following is Lucian's (*circa* A. D. 125–92) epigram on the death of an infant, as translated by Cowper:

> Bewail not much, my parents! me, the prey
> Of ruthless Ades, and sepulchred here.
> An infant in my fifth scarce finished year,
> He found all sportive, innocent, and gay,
> Your young Callimachus; and if I knew
> Not many joys, my griefs were also few.

Another, by Ausonius (*circa* A. D. 310–95), shows a tendency toward epigram in the more modern sense, the subject being Echo. The rendering, with the exception of the last two lines, is by Lovelace[1]:

> Vain painter, why dost strive my face to draw
> With busy hands, a goddess eyes ne'er saw?
> Daughter of air and wind, I do rejoice
> In empty shouts; without a mind, a voice,
> Reviving last-formed sounds, I bid them stay,
> And with unconscious converse love to play.
> Within your ears shrill echo I rebound,
> And if you'll paint me like, then paint a sound.

The epitaph on Virgil,

> Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
> Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces,

is well known.

The inscription on the gate of hell in the *Divine Comedy* (*Inf.* 3. 1 ff.) will occur to every reader.

Such epigrams in the first person are to be found in every literary period since at least the fifth century. Ovid puts one in the mouth of a parrot (*Amor.* 2. 6), and there is another, perhaps spurious, at the beginning of

[1] Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, p. 91.

Her. 9. They were cast on bells (see Longfellow's *Golden Legend*), carved or painted on the front of houses and chapels in Germany and Switzerland, and engraved on swords[1]. A famous one for a statue by Michael Angelo, who adapted it from the Greek, has been translated by Wordsworth[2], one of whose two versions we reproduce:

> Grateful is sleep, more grateful still to be
> Of marble; for while shameless wrong and woe
> Prevail, 'tis best to neither hear nor see.
> Then wake me not, I pray you. Hush, speak low.

In the Old English period, too, objects were personified, and fitted with epigraphic statements in the first person. Thus Alfred's preface to his translation of the *Pastoral Care* represents the book as speaking: 'Since King Alfred rendered my every word into English, and sent me to his scribes south and north,' &c. The inscription on Alfred's jewel is well-known: *Ælfred mec heht gewyrcan*[3].

It was natural that crosses, monumental and other, should receive inscriptions of this sort. Thus the Brussels

[1] See, for example, the inscription on Excalibur.

[2] Cf. Grimm's *Life of Michael Angelo* 2. 157. Giovanbattista Strozzi had addressed him in an epigram imitated from *Anth.* 4. 103; Michael Angelo's reply was based upon *Philost.* 1. 22, and runs as follows:

> Grato m'è 'l sonno, e più l'esser di sasso,
> Mentre che 'l danno e la vergogna dura;
> Non veder, non sentir m'è gran ventura;
> Però non mi destar, deh! parla basso.

[3] In an old copy of Lucian's *Necromantia* (n. d.) we read:

> 'Johannes Rastell [†1536] me fieri fecit.'

reliquary, supposed to contain fragments of the true cross, bears a couplet which has been thus translated [1]:

> Rood is my name. Once long ago I bore
> Trembling, bedewed with blood, the mighty King.

Lines 44 and 45 of our poem would be well enough suited for epigraphic purposes, and so would the corresponding lines of the Ruthwell Cross inscription. Moved by this consideration, Kemble long ago suggested that the *Dream of the Rood* might have been expanded from such an inscription. This is the first of the alternatives which he proposes in these words [2], the second being that which we now believe to deserve the preference: 'Two suppositions of equal plausibility may be made: first, when we bear in mind the great improbability of any cross ever supplying room enough for a very long inscription, and the great difficulty of carving one, we shall readily admit that the *Dream* might not unlikely be founded on some less voluminous original (an inscription, for instance, on a cross), which was extended by the taste or piety of the poet, with the addition of an introduction and an appropriate moral. Or, secondly, we may think it not unreasonable to suppose that, from some poem similar to, or identical with, that of the Vercelli Book, certain suitable passages were selected, and carved upon the blank spaces of the Ruthwell and other ornamented crosses [3].'

The intrinsic probability of the first hypothesis is somewhat lessened by the consideration that the Brussels

[1] Cook and Tinker's *Select Translations*, p. 103; see note on *Rood* 44.
[2] *Arch.* 30 38.
[3] Cf. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 125.

Cross inscription is apparently late, and that the suggestion for it may easily have been derived from the *Dream of the Rood.*

The personification found in epigrams of the sort we have been considering is frequently employed in longer poems, so that it is sometimes difficult to determine when they cease to be epigrammatic or epigraphic in character. An instance in point may be Longfellow's sonnet entitled *Ponte Vecchio.* Developments at some length are to be found, for example, in Wordsworth's *Address from the Spirit of Cockermouth Castle,* and in Tennyson's *The Brook, The Talking Oak,* and *Helen's Tower,* the two former by Tennyson introducing the discourses of inanimate objects in a frame of context somewhat after the manner of the *Dream of the Rood.*

An important class of epigrams conceived in this form is found in the collections of Latin riddles by Symphosius (fourth or fifth century), Aldhelm (A. D. 640–709), Tatwine (†734), Eusebius (eighth century), and Boniface (680–755). All of these, except the first, were Englishmen. As Symphosius had been indebted to Ausonius, and as Ausonius had been indebted to the Greek Anthology, so Aldhelm[1] acknowledged Symphosius as a predecessor, and in some sense a model. The English tradition thus instituted by Aldhelm was then followed by the others mentioned, and, in turn, by the author or authors of the collection of Old English riddles[2].

The Latin poets always, and the Old English frequently, make the object describe itself. Aldhelm defends himself

[1] ed. Giles, pp. 228–30.

[2] See Ebert, *Die Rätselpoesie der Angelsachsen, Ber. der Sächs. Ges. der Wissenschaften* 29 (1877) 20 ff.

by alleging the example of Holy Writ. The passage is interesting, as justifying by Scripture a tendency to vivify inanimate objects, by attributing to them not only speech, but deeds or sufferings, and even emotions. This seems like a mediaeval return to the Greek poetic mood, if it is not rather to be viewed as a continuation of it in an unbroken tradition; but against this is a freshness and vivacity in the best examples which is hardly equaled in the best Greek period, and is almost lost in the Decadence. Aldhelm says[1]: 'Porro quod etiam muta insensibilium rerum natura, de qua aenigma clanculum et latens propositio componitur, quasi loqui et sermocinari fingitur; hoc et in sacris literarum apicibus insertum legitur, quia nonnunquam . . . irrationabilis [creatura] sensus vivacitate carens intellectualium gestu et voce fungitur.' He then refers to Judges 9. 9–15; 2 Kings 14. 9 (2 Chron. 25. 18); Ps. 98. 8; Isa. 55. 12 (44. 23).

Symphosius' riddles are each compressed within three lines. Two are subjoined as specimens:

31. The Phoenix.

Vita mihi mors est, si coepero nasci,
Sed prius est fatum leti quam lucis origo;
Sic solus Manes ipsos mihi dico parentes.

74. Lime.

Evasi flammas, ignis tormenta profugi.
Ipsa medela meo pugnat contraria fato:
Ardeo de lymphis; mediis incendor ab undis.

[1] ed. Giles, p. 229.

Eusebius' 17th riddle, The Cross[1], runs thus:

Per me mors adquiritur, et bona vita tenetur;
Me multi fugiunt, multique frequenter adorant;
Sumque timenda malis, non sum tamen horrida justis;
Damnavique virum, sic multos carcere solvi.

The English poets, even when writing in Latin, show a tendency to greater elaboration of detail and vividness of presentation, along with completer personification. This tendency is already observable in Aldhelm, but manifests itself most fully in some of the Old English riddles. As an illustration take No. 27[2].

THE BIBLE-CODEX.

An enemy deprived me of my life,
Stripped me of worldly strength, immersed me then
In water, whence again he took me dripping,
Planted me in the sun, and there I lost
My nap of hair. The knife's keen edge then dressed me,
Sharpened with pumice. Fingers folded me,
And next the joyous quill traced eagerly
Across my burnished surface, scattering
The fluent drops along. Again it drank
Of the tinctured stream, again stepped over me
With blackening print. The craftsman bound me then
In leathern covers locked with golden clasps,
The wondrous work of artists. Thus adorned
With scarlet dyes resplendent, lo! in me
The glorious abodes afar renowned,
The Shield of nations, and good will toward men!
And if the children of this world will use me,

[1] Cf. Tatwine's riddle, in note on 28 ff.
[2] Translation by Herbert B. Brougham, in Cook and Tinker's *Select Translations*, p. 73.

The happier, the surer of success
They'll be, the keener-hearted, and in thought
The kinder, and more fraught with wisdom. Then
More friends they'll have—their own familiar friends,
So good and true, and capable, and trusty—
Who will prolong their fame and happiness,
And hedge them round with graceful gifts, and fast
In bonds of love within their bosoms fold them.
Find out what I am called for men's advantage!
Famous in sacred story is my name,
Renowned 'mongst heroes, and itself divine.

The resemblance between the mode of representing the cross in our poem and that employed in the Old English riddles has not escaped observation, and by Dietrich, who believed the whole collection of these riddles to be the work of Cynewulf, it was used as an argument in favour of his authorship of the *Dream of the Rood*[1]. As a matter of fact, it can hardly be maintained that the narrative of the cross contains anything enigmatic, but only that the mode of description, involving a quasi-personification and an account in the first person, resembles that of the riddles; and now that scholars have abandoned the hypothesis of Cynewulfian authorship for the riddles, it only remains to note the apparent genesis of the artistic procedure in this part of our poem. With two of the riddles the opening of the address by the cross (28-30[a]) shows a special affinity. These are Nos. 54 and 72, describing respectively the battering-

[1] Dietrich says (*Disputatio*, p. 11): 'Praeterea non rara est rerum descriptio aenigmatica potius quam diserte prolata. Sic non solum plura, ut quae v. 48, 57, 69, 75 describuntur, nonnisi recogitando de rebus et nominibus solvi possunt; sed etiam ipsum orationis initium, quo Crux naturam et originem suam indicat, aenigmatis forma exornatum est, cum referat [vv. 28 ff.].'

ram and the spear. The second of these is mutilated, but enough remains to show the character of the composition. The former begins: 'I saw in the forest a tree towering high, bright with its branches; the springing wood was gladsome; water and earth fed it fair, until'— and then its change to the battering-ram is described, all in the compass of thirteen lines. In the other riddle the spear itself speaks: 'I grew in the mead, and dwelt where earth and sky fed me, until those who were fierce against me overthrew me when advanced in years.' Here the poem numbers twice as many lines as the former. In all these we are reminded of the Homeric sceptre (*Il.* 1. 234 ff.), 'which,' said Achilles, 'shall no more put forth leaf or twig, seeing it hath for ever left its trunk among the hills, neither shall it grow green again, because the axe hath stripped it of leaves and bark.'

But indeed we are reminded of the descriptive art of Homer in the whole conduct of this address up to line 77. Just as in the account of the fashioning of Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18. 478 ff.), or the bed of Ulysses (*Od.* 23. 190 ff.)[1], the Old English poet gives us a narrative incidentally suggesting—and suggesting with peculiar power—the appearance of the object. Here it was a tree, hewn down, removed from its stump, fashioned for its purpose, borne away on men's shoulders, and fixed on a hill. Then it is scarred with nails and wet with blood, is buried in the earth, exhumed, and finally adorned with silver and with gold. Throughout the whole the revelation of deep feeling on the part of the wondrous wood enthralls us with its intensity. It is in reality the dull and blockish

[1] Cf. Lessing, *Laokoon*, chaps. 15, 16.

framework which shakes, but is too firmly fixed to fall; yet at the same time it is the living creature which quivers at the sight of its tortured King and Hero, the Lord of heaven and Master of mankind, yet remains there, loyal to His understood, though unexpressed, will. Over and over is repeated—'I dared not bow,' 'I must needs stand fast.' When it was cut from the green forest the tree was a living thing, and this life it seems to retain, only heightened by its unique and extreme vicissitudes, throughout all its experience. It feels like an angel or a poet, though one is ever conscious that it is a severed tree, removed by centuries from its leafage and its simple woodland joys. Like Undine, it has gained a soul. It is still actuated by the mere life of nature, but rendered sentient and intense by the touch of the Author of nature, the touch which, by an inverse process, darkened the sun in the heavens. In this respect, then, it is not alone. The whole universe sympathizes with its stricken Lord:

> Forth went a shadow, black beneath the clouds,
> And all creation wept, lamented long.

The concert of grief, in which 'universal nature did lament' her dying God, preceded the wail of His chosen companions and followers. And it is significant that this wail is soon over, for, 'o'erwearied,' they 'depart from their great King.'

The poet is not concerned to follow precisely the Biblical narrative; yet he does not blunder, but merely obeys the call of his art. He presents sharp contrasts, yet with unity of effect; with glooms and splendours fashioned into a masterly chiaroscuro. Thus we are led to infer (31, cf. 87, 88) that the Saviour's cross had

already been used for the execution of felons, or had at least been destined to that use. It is at the crucifixion, and not several hours afterward[1], that the earth quakes, because the trembling of the earth is here to be contrasted with the steadfastness of the cross. The sepulchre is shaped before our eyes (65^{b}-66), in order to enrich the narrative by presenting to us the disciples engaged in their labour of love; and for the same reason they sing their song of sorrow. And so we have ignominy contrasted with glory; Christ represented as a spirited conqueror at the moment when He is touching His death; the self-control of the cross emphasized, as a resolved, though reluctant, partner and instrument of Christ's sufferings; and a moment of comparative relief introduced, when, the bitter agony being over, and the throes of nature calmed, loving hands carve out His tomb, and loving voices chant His dirge. If we add that Christ's body on the cross is a blaze of light which only the darkness caused by the Passion can obscure, we shall see how skilfully every deviation from the Bible is utilized.

Then, too, we may note the generalizing power displayed by our poet in his account of the crucifixion—a power due to the stress of his lyric passion, which attains unity by picturesque conciseness. This is especially observable if one compares, for example, the narrative of the crucifixion in the Old Saxon *Heliand*, where the details of the Biblical story are rather expanded than compressed. In the *Rood* there are just four stages of the crucifixion, besides the erection of the cross. Christ approaches; He

[1] Cf. Matt. 27. 51.

ascends the cross; the nails are driven, and the spear-thrust inflicted; and the world is darkened. Here ends the crucifixion proper. There follow in order the descent from the cross; the fashioning of the new tomb; the chanting of the dirge; and the solitary watch of the cross by the grave, while the blood drips like tears. Two deeds complete the action narrated in this part—the crosses are felled and buried, and that of the Saviour is exhumed and adorned. Here are ten successive acts, skilfully chosen, clearly marked, impressively set forth, and convincingly related—all within the compass of forty-four lines; yet the whole produces an effect of lucidity and order rather than of confusion and obscurity.

But, after all, it is the rood's sheer humanity which is the striking invention of the poet, and in this he surpasses all his predecessors, whether epigraphic poets or celebrants of the cross. It rises to such a height of sympathetic passion, its delineations of scene and mood are so vivid, that we end by accepting it not only as a partner with the suffering and triumphant Lord, but even as His representative.

Of the third part there is not so much to say. Thrilled by the address of the rood, the poet, though aged and forsaken, rises superior to his sorrows. He touches them pathetically, it is true, but only to be dissolved in a rapture of anticipation.

The conclusion, as has been observed, is in quite a different manner, and seems alien to the prevailing sentiment of the poem. It is cool and objective in tone, and has no necessary and vital relation to what has preceded. Pending further elucidation, we can only conclude that it has either come here by accident, or that

the poet's judgement was at fault. The poem should have ended with 148ª, or perhaps better with 146.

Passing now from a view of its parts to a consideration of the poem as a whole, it is remarkable how little light is shed upon it by a comparison with the other dream- or vision-literature of the Middle Ages. The earlier mediæval period knew scarcely anything but the visions of a future life, which no doubt go back to the *Book of Enoch*, if not to some more primitive source. But the account of Fursey, for example, as given by Bede[1], is of a quite different order from this of ours. The allegorical dream, such as we have in the *Roman de la Rose* and in Chaucer, is also remote, and in general is much later[2].

When we turn to antiquity, it is somewhat better; but yet we can find no prototype, even remote, for the *Dream of the Rood*. In Homer there are lying dreams; the dream of Er, in the *Republic*, is worthy of Plato; and the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero was not without influence upon the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Divina Commedia*; but none of these could have affected our poem even indirectly. Other notable dreams are recorded in *Odys.* 4. 839 ff.; Herodotus 2. 139; 5. 56; 7. 12; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8. 7. 2; Pausanias 9. 23. 2; Livy 2. 36; 21. 22; but none of them is an instructive parallel. For one thing, our poet's dream was at midnight, whereas in antiquity it is only the dreams of a later hour that are true

[1] *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. 3, chap. 19.

[2] On mediæval dream- and vision-literature, see Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, pp. 324 ff.; *Études sur les Sources Poétiques de la Divina Commedia* (*Œuvres*, 2nd ed., 5. 349 ff.; 6. 443 60); *Romanische Forschungen* 2. 247-79; 3. 337-69; Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, pp. 55-9; Kraus, *Dante*, pp. 426 ff.

(Moschus 2. 2. 5; Horace, *Sat.* 1. 10. 33; Ovid, *Her.* 19. 195–6; Dante, *Inf.* 26. 7; *Purg.* 9. 13 ff.).

Since we are in search of dreams that betoken verities, the Bible ought to be more to our purpose[1]. Of all that are recorded, perhaps that of Jacob (Gen. 28. 11–18) bears the closest analogy to the one before us, especially in the combination of vision seen with utterance heard; yet even this did not inspire the *Dream of the Rood.*

If we consider Bede's account of Cædmon, we are struck by one analogy, at least: in each case a command is imparted to the poet to celebrate a particular theme—in the first, the creation of the world; in the second, the redemption of mankind by the death of the cross. As the one stands at the beginning of the Old Testament, the other epitomizes the New. The later poet may have had the earlier in mind, and may not have been unwilling to enter into generous rivalry with him; but there is this notable difference—Cædmon does not relate his own dream, while Cynewulf, if it be Cynewulf, does.

More impressive to the imagination of our poet, however, than any other vision was that of Constantine, first recorded by Eusebius[2]; and his whole conception may therefore be said to hinge upon that, though Oswald's victory at Heavenfield[3], with its general analogy to that of Constantine, had almost certainly continued

[1] Significant texts are Num. 12. 6; 24. 3, 4; Job 4. 13; 33. 14–17; Ezek. 1. 1 ff.; Joel 2. 28. For the dreams recorded in the Bible, see especially Gen. 7. 13; 20. 3; 28. 12; 31. 10, 24; 37. 5; 40. 5; 41; 1 Kings 3. 5; Dan. 2; 4; Matt. 1. 20; 2. 12, 13; 27. 19. For visions, Gen. 15. 12; 2 Kings 22. 19; Isa. 6; Ezek. 1; Dan. 2. 19; 7; Zech. 1; Acts 10. 9; Rev. 1; 4.

[2] A translation may be found in my edition of Cynewulf's *Christ*, p. 190.

[3] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. 2, chap. 3.

to impress the English imagination from its date till the period in question.

All other literary influences which may have actuated him must be reckoned as inconsiderable in comparison with the effect produced upon him by the circumstances of his time, and perhaps especially by the iconoclastic controversy, in which Charlemagne was involved, and no doubt Alcuin as well. The exception made in favour of the cross must have done much to stimulate staurolatry, since the tendency to worship some visible symbol was too strong to be repressed. North of the Alps the disposition to venerate the cross certainly received a powerful impulse about this time, as is shown by the poems, for instance, of Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus.

The *Dream of the Rood*, apart from its present conclusion, represents Cynewulf (as we believe) in the fullest vigour of his invention and taste, probably after all his other extant poems had been composed. Admirable in itself, and a precious document of our early literary history, it gains still further lustre from being indissolubly associated with that monument which Kemble[1] has called 'the most beautiful as well as the most interesting relic of Teutonic antiquity.'

[1] *Arch.* 30. 39.

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THE

DREAM OF THE ROOD

Hwæt, ic swefna cyst secgan wylle,
h[w]æt mē gemætte tō midre nihte,
syðþan reordberend reste wunedon.
Þūhte mē þæt ic gesāwe syllicre trēow
on lyft lādan lēohte bewunden,
bēama beorhtost. Eall þæt bēacen wæs
begoten mid golde; gimmas stōdon
fægere æt foldan sceatum, swylce þār fīfe wāron
uppe on þām eaxlgespanne. Behēoldon þær eng[*las*]
Dryhtnes eallе
fægere þurh forðgesceaft: ne wæs ðæ[t] hūrū fraco[ð]es
gealga,
ac hine þār behēoldon hālige gāstas,

1 B. wille. 2 MS., Th., St., H. hæt; B., K., H. þæt; Gr.[1], Sw., Kl., W. hwæt. 3 B. siððan. 4 D. ic ne; MS., *other Edd.* ic; B. syllicor; Sw. sellic. 5 Gr.[1] lyfte; B. liðan *for* lædan. 6 B. þis. 7 Th., K. *end line with* fægere; B. *emends to* feowere, *and so ends line;* St. feowere, *with the remark: This change was first supported by Bouterwek, and appears reasonable from the contrast with* fife *in the next line. The eye of the copyist probably took the* fægere *from line* 19 [10]; Gr. (*Dicht.*) *translates* feowere, *though his text has* fægere; H. feowere. Ebert *approves of Bouterwek's emendation on the grounds adduced by* St., *and* W. *follows.* 9 MS., Th., B., H., St. eaxle gespanne; K., Gr.[1], Kl., W. eaxlegespanne; Sw. eaxlgespanne; Gr.[1], Sw. þæt; MS., *Edd.* engel. 10 B., Gr.[1], H., Sw. þæt; MS., *other Edd.* þær; MS., St., H., Kl., W. fracodes. 11 MS. Ac.

men ofer moldan, and eall þēos mære gesceaft.

Syllic wæs se sigebēam, and ic synnum fāh,
forwundod mid wommum. Geseah ic wuldres trēow
wādum geweorðod wynnum scīnan,
gegyred mid golde; gimmas hæfdon
bewrigen weorðlice Weald[end]es trēow;
hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold ongytan mealhte
earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan
swātan on þā swīðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid s[o]rgum
gedrēfed;
forht ic wæs for þāre fægran gesyhðe. Geseah ic þæt
fūse bēacen
wendan wādum and blēom: hwīlum hit wæs mid
wātan bestēmed,
besyled mid swātes gange, hwīlum mid since gegyrwed.

Hwæðre ic þær licgende lange hwīle
behēold hrēowcearig Hālendes trēow,
oððæt ic gehȳrde þæt hit hlēoðrode;
ongan þā word sprecan wudu sēlesta:

12 Sw menn; MS. *adds* :7 *after* gesceaft. 13 MS. Syllic; Sw. sellic; MS. Ic; Sw. fag. 14 MS., Th., B., H., Sw. forwunded; Th. wommu; MS. *adds* :7 *after* treow. 15 K. geweorðode; Sw., Siev. geweorðod; MS., *other Edd.* geweorðode. 17 K.[2], Sw. bewrigen; MS., *other Edd.* bewrigene; MS., *Edd.* wealdes; D. (*Disp.*), Siev. (*PBB.* 10. 518 *suggest* wealdendes, *which* Kl. *adopts*; MS. *adds* :7 *after* treow. 18 MS. Hwæðre; B. ongitan. 19 B. ealdora; B. *note* (þurh) ylda (ealdora, *or* enta) ærgeweorc (ærgewinn); MS., Kl., W. ærgewin; *other Edd.* -gewinn; Gr.[1] *suggests* þær; Sw. ongann. 20 B. *makes a line of* 20[b]; MS. surgum; Th., B., K., H., St. sargum. 21 MS. Forht. 22 B. bleo(u)m. 23 B., Sw. besyled; Kl. besylwed; MS., *other Edd.* beswyled; MS. Hwilum. 24 MS. Hwæðre. 27 Sw. ongann.

'Þæt wæs gēara iū—ic þæt gȳta geman—
þæt ic wæs āhēawen holtes on ende,
āstyred of stefne mīnum. Genāman mē ðær strange
fēondas,
geworhton him þær tō wæfersȳne, hēton mē heora
wērgas hebban;
bæron mē ðær beornas on eaxlum, oððæt hīe mē on
beorg āsetton,
gefæstnodon mē þær fēondas genōge.
'Geseah ic þā Frēan mancynnes
efstan elne mycle þæt hē mē wolde on gestīgan.
Þær ic þā ne dorste ofer Dryhtnes word
būgan oððe berstan, þā ic bifian geseah
eorðan scēatas; eallo ic mihte
fēondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stōd.
'Ongyredo hine þā geong Hæleð—þæt wæs God ælmihtig—
strang and stīðmod; gestāh hē on gealgan hēanne
mōdig on manigra gesyhðe, þā hē wolde mancyn
lȳsan.

28 Ic; B. gyt a. 29 M. wæ. 30 K. swefne; M. stevne; B., K., Sw. genamon. 31 Sw. weargas. 32 B. beron. 33 Sw. mannecynnes. 34 Th., K. ongestigan. 36 M. da. 39 ff. *The Ruthwell Cross has:*

geredæ hinæ God almehttig
þa he walde on galgu gistiga
modig fore allæ men;
bug . . .

39 MS. Ongyrede. 40 Sw. gestag; Gr.[1] healne. 41 Sw. manncynn.

Bifode ic þā mē se Beorn ymbclypte; ne dorste ic
hwæðre būgan tō eorðan,
feallan tō foldan scēatum, ac ic sceolde fæste standan.
'Rōd wæs ic ārǣred; āhōf ic rīene Cyning,
heofona Hlāford; hyldan mē ne dorste.
'Þurhdrifan hī mē mid deorcan næglum; on mē
syndon þā dolg gesīene,
opene inwidhlemmas; ne dorste ic hira ǣnigum sceððan.
Bysmeredon hīe unc būtū ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid
blōde bestēmed,
begoten of þæs Guman sīdan, siððan hē hæfde his gāst
onsended.
'Feala ic on þām beorge gebiden hæbbe
wrāðra wyrda: geseah ic weruda God
þearle þenian; þȳstro hæfdon
bewrigen mid wolcnum Wealdendes hrǣw,
scīrne scīman; sceadu forðēode,

42 Sw. hwæðere. 43 MS. Ac.

44 ff. *The Ruthwell Cross has:*

ic riicnæ kyningc,
heafunæs hlafard; hælda ic ni dorstæ.
Bismærædu ungket men ba ætgadre.
Ic wæs miþ blodæ bistemid,
bigoten of . . .

44 MS. Rod; M. areared. 46 B., K., Sw. þurhdrifon; B. hie; B., Sw. deorcum; B. sindon. 47 MS. Inwidhlemmas; K.[1] inwithlemmas, *indicating a break before and after, and adding in a note: The want of alliteration, and the context, both show this passage to be corrupt and defective;* K.[2] *note: There is no doubt something wrong here; probably a line or two missing;* Th. *note: This line* [47ª] *does not alliterate with the following one;* H. hiran; MS., Th., B., K., W. nænigum; Gr.[1], St., H., Sw., Kl. ænigum; M. ænnigum. 48 K. *om.* unc; K.[1] eal. 50 Sw. fela. 54 K., Gr.[1], St., Sw. *have no punctuation after* sciman; MS. forð eode.

wann under wolcnum. Wēop eal gesceaft, 55
cwiðdon Cyninges fyll; Crīst wæs on rōde.
Hwæðere þǣr fūse feorran cwōman
tō þām Æðelinge; ic þæt eall behēold.
Sāre ic wæs mid [sorgum] gedrēfed, hnāg ic hwæðre
þām secgum tō handa
eaðmōd elne mycle. Genāmon hīe þǣr ælmihtigne God,
āhōfon hine of ðām hefiġan wīte; forlēton mē þā
hilderincas 61
standan stēame bedrifenne; eall ic wæs mid strælum
forwundod.
Ālēdon hīe ðǣr limwērigne, gestōdon him æt his līces
hēafdum,
behēoldon hīe ðǣr heofenes Dryhten; and hē hine
ðǣr hwīle reste,

55 K.[1] wan.
56 ff. *The Ruthwell Cross has:*

Crist wæs on rodi.
Hweþræ þer fusæ fearran ewomu
æþþilæ til anum; ić þæt al biheald.
Sare ić wæs miþ sorgum gidrœfid,
hnag . . .

56 P. steape *for* cwi'don; K.[1] fyl. 57 B. hwæðre; MS., *other Edd.* hwæčere; K., Sw. ewomon. 58 Sw. æðele to anum; K.[1] eal; M. call. 59 MS. Saro; Th. mid-gedrefed; K. mid gedrefed; Gr.[1] *supplies* sorgum; *so* St., H., Sw., Kl., W. 61 Sw. hefigan. 62a ff. *The Ruthwell Cross has:*

. . . miþ strelum giwundad.
Alegdun hiæ hinæ limwœrignæ,
gistoddun him *æt his* liċæs *heafdum*,
bihealdun hiæ þer *heafun* . . .

62a B. stane bedrifene; K.[1] eal. 63 MS. Aledon; Sw. hine *for first* ðær. 64 Gr.[1] hi þær; H. ðærheofenes.

mēðe æfter ðām miclan gewinne. Ongunnon him þā
moldern wyrcan
beornas on ban[e]n[a] gesyhðe; curfon hīe ðæt of
beorhtan stāne,
gesetton hīe ðæron sigora Wealdend. Ongunnon him
þā sorhlēoð galan
earme on þā æfentīde, þā hīe woldon eft sīðian
mēðe fram þām mæran þēodne; reste hē ðær mæte
weorode.
Hwæðere wē ðær [g]ēotende gōde hwīle
stōdon on staðole, syððan [stefn] ūp gewāt
hilderinca. Hrēw cōlode,
fæger feorgbold.
Þā ūs man fyllan ongan
ealle tō eorðan—þæt wæs egeslic wyrd!
Bedealf ūs man on dēopan sēaþe. Hwæðre mē þær
Dryhtnes þegnas,
frēondas gefrūnon; [hīe mē þā of foldan āhōfon],

65 MS. Ongunnon; MS. moldærn; Sw., Kl. moldærn. 66 B. banan[a]; MS., *other Edd.* banan; Gr.[1] on; St., H. os; Sw. beorhtum. 68 Th., K., Gr.[1], Kl. eftsiðian. 70 MS., Th., Gr.[1], W. reotende; Th. *notes that the lines do not alliterate;* B. [h]reotende; K. geotende; Gr.[2], St., Sw., Kl. greotende; MS., B., K., Gr.[2], Sw., Kl., W. gode; Gr.[1], E. (?) rode. 71 Kl. *omits* syððan; *other Edd.* siððan; MS., K. up gewat; Th. uwgewat; B. [an] up gewat; Gr.[1] [storm] up gewat; Sw. [storm] up gewat, *later* [stefn] up gewat; Kl. [stefn] up gewat. 72 Th., B. hilde rinca; K. hilde rinca [sum]; St. hilderinca [eored]. 73 B. feorhbold; B. ðe (P. se) us fyllan; Sw. ongann. 75 Sw. deopum; B. hwæðere; Sw. ða *for* ðær. 76 MS. gefrunon gyredon; Th. *note, Here at least two lines* [*one long line*] *are wanting;* B., Sw., Kl. *assume the loss of a hemistich,* K. *that of a line;* Gr.[1] *emends as in our text;* St. *supplies* fram me hofon.

gyredon mē golde and seolfre.

'Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hæleð mīn se leofa,
þæt ic bealuwa weorc gebiden hæbbe,
sārra sorga. Is nū sǣl cumen,
þæt mē weorðiað wīde and sīde
menn ofer moldan, and eall þēos mǣre gesceaft,
gebiddaþ him tō þyssum bēacne. On mē Bearn Godes
þrōwode hwīle; forþan ic þrymfæst nū
hlifige under heofenum, and ic hǣlan mæg
ǣghwylcne ānra, þāra þe him bið egesa tō mē.
'Iū ic wæs geworden wīta heardost,
lēodum lāðost, ǣr þan ic him līfes weg
rihtne gerȳmde reordberendum.
Hwæt, mē þā geweorðode wuldres Ealdor
ofer hol[t]wudu, heofonrīces Weard,
swylce swā hē his mōdor ēac Marīan sylfe
ælmihtig God for ealle men
geweorðode ofer eall wīfa cynn.
'Nū ic þē hāte, hæleð mīn se leofa,
þæt ðū þās gesyhðe secge mannum:
onwreoh wordum þæt hit is wuldres bēam
se ðe ælmihtig God on þrōwode
for mancynnes manegum synnum

77 Gr.[1] [and] gyredon. 78 MS. Nu. 79 Gr.[1] *note* bealuwa weorn (worn)?; Gr.[2] bealuwara = baluwra *adj. gen. plur.*: MS., *other Edd.* bealuwara. 84 P. þic rymfæst. 86 B. ealra *for* anra. 91 K. holtwudu; Gr.[1] *note* holtwudu (?); MS., *other Edd.* holmwudu. 95 MS. Nu. 98 B. þrowade.

and Ād[ā]mes ealdgewyrhtum.

'Dēað hē þǣr byrigde; hwæðere eft Dryhten ārās
mid his miclan mihte mannum tō helpe.
Hē ðā on heofenas āstāg; hider eft fundaþ
on þysne middangeard mancynn sēcan
on dōmdæge Dryhten sylfa,
ælmihtig God and his englas mid,
þæt hē þonne wile dēman, se āh dōmes geweald,
ānra gehwylcum, swā hē him ǣrur hēr
on þyssum lǣnum līfe geearnaþ.
Ne mæg þǣr ænig unforht wesan
for þām worde þe se Wealdend cwyð:
frīneð hē for þǣre mænige hwǣr se man sīe
se ðe for Dryhtnes naman dēaðes wolde
biteres onbyrigan, swā hē ǣr on ðām bēame dyde;
ac hīe þonne forhtiað, and fēa þencaþ
hwæt hīe tō Crīste cweðan onginnen.
Ne þearf ðǣr þonne ænig [a]nforht wesan
þe him ǣr in brēostum bereð bēacna sēlest,
ac ðurh ðā rōde sceal rīce gesēcan
of eorðwege ǣghwylc sāwl
sēo þe mid Wealdende wunian þenceð.'

100 Gr.[1] and for; B., K. Adames; MS., *other Edd.* Adomes. 104 MS., Kl. mancynn; *other Edd.* mancyn. 113 wolde *corrected from* þrowode *by erasure of* þro *and addition of* l *above line.* 114–6 ðam beame . . . hie to, *written in smaller hand.* 115 MS. Ac. 117 MS. Ne; Gr.[1] *om.* ðær; P. þæ; B. ænigum fyrht; Gr.[1] onforht; Gr.[2] anforht; MS., *other Edd.* unforht. 119 MS. Ac.

Gebæd ic mē þā tō þān bēame blīðe mōde
elne mycle, þǣr ic āna wæs
mǣte werede; wæs mōdsefa
āfȳsed on forðwege; feala ealra gebād
langunghwīla. Is mē nū līfes hyht
þæt ic þone sigebēam sēcan mōte
āna oftor þonne ealle men,
well weorþian; mē is willa tō ðām
mycel on mōde, and mīn mundbyrd is
geriht tō þǣre rōde. Nāh ic rīcra feala
frēonda on foldan, ac hīe forð heonon
gewiton of worulde drēamum, sōhton him wuldres
Cyning,
lifiaþ nū on heofenum mid Hēahfædere,
wuniaþ on wuldre; and ic wēne mē
daga gehwylce hwænne mē Dryhtnes rōd,
þe ic hēr on eorðan ǣr scēawode,
o[f] þysson lǣnan līfe gefetige,
and mē þonne gebringe þǣr is blis micel,
drēam on heofonum, þǣr is Dryhtnes folc
geseted tō symle, þǣr is singal blis;
and [m]ē þonne āsette þǣr ic syþþan mōt
wunian on wuldre, well mid þām hālgum

122 B., K. þam. 126 Th., B. langung hwila. 127 MS. *has* ic *over line in same hand.* 131 MS. Nah. 132 MS. Ac; *erasure of* on *after* foldan; Th. heoron. 133 Th., B., K., St. *end line with* gewiton. 134 Kl. heofonum. 138 Gr.[1] *note* of (?); St. of; MS., *other Edd.* on. 139 MS. gebring. 142 B., Gr. (*Sprachschatz*) mo; MS., *other Edd.* he; P. siððan.

drēames brūcan. Sī mē Dryhten frēond
se ðe hēr on eorþan ǣr þrōwode
on þām gealgtrēowe for gum[e]n[a] synnum;
hē ūs onlȳsde, and ūs līf forgeaf,
heofonlicne hām.

Hiht wæs genīwad
mid blēdum and mid blisse, þām þe ǣr bryne þolodan.
Se Sunu wæs sigorfæst on þām sīðfate,
mihtig and spēdig, þā hē mid m[æ]nigeo cōm,
gāsta weorode on Godes rīce,
Anwealda ælmihtig—englum tō blisse,
and eallum ðām hālgum þām þe on heofonum ǣr
wunedon on wuldre, þā heora Wealdend cwōm,
ælmihtig God, þǣr his ēðel wæs.

144 P. drihten. 145 MS. her; Th. ær; K. *om.* her; P. prowode. 146 MS., *Edd.* guman. 149 St. blædum; MS., *other Edd.* bledum; Gr.[1] *note* þe ær(?) *and suggests as an alternative that possibly two lines on the Harrowing of Hell may have dropped out between* 148[a] *and* 148[b]; MS., *other Edd.* þe þær; K. þolodon. 151 MS., *Edd.* manigeo. 152 o *erased before* on. 154 St. heofenum. 156 *Last line on p.* 106[a] *of* MS., *ending with* :~ *Pacius follows in general the readings of* B. *throughout. Michelsen follows Hammerich, except as noted. Robinson prints* 14[b]–56 *after* Gr.[1], *adding the error* pæt *for* þæt, 21.

No account has been made in the variants of the difference between ð and þ. The abbreviation for *m* and *n* has been expanded without notice; the MS. uniformly represents *and* by the abbreviation.

A period followed by a capital seems to mark the end of a sentence or a section after gegyrwed, 24; stod, 38; beheold, 58; forwundod, 62; gewinne, 65; seolfre, 77; cynn, 94; onginnen, 116; rode, 131; *but not after* gealga, 10; gedrefed, 20; gange, 23; iu, 28; sceatum, 43; selest, 118. *There is a similar inconsistency with* :7; *cf. after* gesceaft, 12, *and* treow, 17. *Besides the foregoing, periods are common: at end of line, thirty-two times; at middle of line, twenty-one times; often standing for slighter pauses than the modern period.*

NOTES

Line 1. **Hwæt.** So begin *Beowulf, Exodus, Juliana, Fates of the Apostles, Andreas, Moods of Men, Solomon and Saturn.*

2-3. Cf. *Dan.* 122-3:

hwæt hine gemǣtte
þenden reordberend reste wunode.

2. **hwæt.** Grein's emendation is certainly right; Stephens supposes *hæt* to be an old form of *hit.*

gemǣtte. Cf. also *Dan.* 157:

swa his mandryhten gemǣted wearð.

3. **reordberend.** So 89; *Chr.* 278, 381, 1024, 1368; *El.* 1282; *An.* 419; and see under 2-3 above.

reste wunedon. Cf. *Beow.* 2902; *Ps.* 131[15].

4. The two most striking parallels are *Dan.* 496 ff. (based upon Dan. 4. 10 ff.) and *El.* 69 ff. The former describes the vision of the tree whose height reached unto the heaven, the latter that of the Shining One who pointed out to Constantine the Cross in the heavens. The latter runs:

þā wearð on slǣpe sylfum ætȳwed
þām cāsere, þǣr hē on corðre swæf,
sīgerofum gesegen swefnes wōma:
þūhte him wlitescȳne on weres hāde,
hwīt ond hīwbeorht, hæleða nāthwylc
geȳwed, ānliera þonne hē ǣr oððe sīð
gesēge under swegle.

The first line resembles *Dan.* 496:

þā him wearð on slǣpe swefen ætȳwed.

The second hemistich of the second line bears only a general resemblance to l. 3 above. All three poems begin lines with *þūhte* (*him, mē*), while *Elene* and the *Rood* have each a com-

parative (*syllicre, ænlicra*), and *gesēon* in the opt. (*gesēge, gesāwe*). In both *Elene* and the *Rood* the vision is of the cross. Cf. my note in *The Christ of Cynewulf* on 1084 ff. Possibly the poet may have been stirred by the apparition of a blood-red cross in the sky in the evening twilight of a day in 773; the *OE. Chronicle* records: 'Hēr oþīewde rēad Crīstes mæl on hefenum æfter sunnan setlgonge'; cf. the account of a similar occurrence in 806, a cross in the moon (only in MS. F).

ic. In supporting his emendation to *ic ne*, Dietrich adduces *An.* 498:

Ic georne wāt
þæt ic ǣfre ne geseah ofer ȳðlāfe
on sǣleodan syllicran cræft.

He also compares *An.* 471:

Nǣfre ic sǣlidan sēlran mētte,

and *El.* 72–5.

syllicre. One is tempted to emend this to *syllic* (cf. 13), but a line may possibly have been omitted by a scribe (cf. *El.* 74, above).

trēow. This designation goes back to the Gr. *ξύλον*, Lat. *lignum*, in Acts 5. 30; 10. 39; 13. 29; Gal. 3. 13; 1 Pet. 2. 24.

5. **on lyft lǣdan.** *Gu.* 438 has: 'wē þec in lyft gelǣddun.' *Lǣdan* is not otherwise used in the poetry in this passive sense; for the prose, cf. *Oros.* 138. 26: 'þā hīe gesāwan þā dēadan men swā þiclice tō eorþan *beran*,' and the other instances quoted by Wülfing, § 409.

leōhte bewunden. So also *Chr.* 1642; cf. *Ph.* 596. It is the Cherubim, in *El.* 733,

þe geond lyft farað lēohte bewundene.

6. The line occurs also *Gu.* 1283, there of the light at the saint's death.

bēama beorhtost. Such superlatives occur also *Rood* 118: *bēacna sēlest*; *Chr.* 1085; *An.* 242: *bēacna beorhtost* (*-ast*); *El.* 164: *ācna torhtost*; *El.* 1027: *sēlest sigebēama*; *El.* 1012, 1224: *mǣrost bēama*; *Men.* 84: *æþelust bēama*; cf. also *Rood* 27: *wudu sēlesta.*

7. Cf. 16. *El.* 90 speaks of the cross as

golde geglenged ; gimmas līxtan.

Didron says (*Christian Iconography* 1. 413) : 'It is to make the cross a centre of light that it is represented as loaded with diamonds and precious stones.' Not to mention the Sign of the Son of Man at the Last Day (*Chr.* 1085, &c.), Constantine's vision gives occasion to such descriptions ; see my note on *Chr.* 1085, note 4 above, and Ælfric, *Hom.* 2. 304 : 'Đā geseah hē on swefne, on ðām scīnendan ēastdæle, Drihtnes rōdetācn dēorwurðlice scīnan.' Cf. Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* 2. 192 (St. Eustace) : 'Betwux þæs heortes hornum glitenode gelīcnys þǽre hālgan Crīstes rōde beorhtre [MS. breohtre] þonne sunnan lēoma, and sēo anlīcnysse ūres Drihtnes Hǽlendes Crīstes ;' also 2. 150 : 'Hī . . . behēoldon sārige sōna tō heofonum, and gesāwon Drihtnes rōde dēorwurðlice þǽr scīnan, and Godes engel hī bær.' Add *Martyr.*, ed. Herzfeld, p. 206 : 'Hēo geseah ēac þæt englas hōfon ūp ongēan hyre [Hilda's] gāst swyðe micle ond wundorlice Crȳstes rōde, ond sēo scēan swā heofones tungol' ; cf. *Bibl. der Ags. Prosa* 3. 214. It is noteworthy that the Antiphon of the Magnificat for Vespers on the Feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross (May 3 and September 14) begins : 'O crux splendidior cunctis astris.'

begoten. Note the artistic variation between this and 49 ; nowhere else in OE. poetry in this sense, and only *El.* 1248 in another.

mid. Common in this poem in the instrumental sense : 14. 16, 20, 22, 23, 46, 48, 53, 59, 62 ; but 5, 15, 62, 77.

8–10. This is the first group of long lines, with which cf. 20–3, 30–4, 39–43, 46–9, 59–69, 75, 133. Vigfússon and Powell (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale* 1. 435) think that the long lines belong to a more primitive poem. They say : 'In the Lay of the Rood, attributed to Cædmon, as it seems, on the Ruthwell Cross, we have the purest extant piece of poetry in this metre. In the Vercelli Book, in which it is preserved, there is tacked on to it another poem on a somewhat similar subject, but wholly

different in style and metre, which may very possibly be Cynewolf's.' On this view see my article 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross' (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 375 ff.). Add the remarks of T. Gregory Foster (*Judith*, p. 36): 'The absence of such lines in the oldest parts of the *Beowulf*, and in a poem like the *Battle of Maldon*, seems to point to the conclusion that they were foreign to the real English folk-song. These songs were accompanied with music of the "glēobēam," and thus, if the accompaniment were to be really harmonious, an occasional lengthening of the lines was impossible. In simple recitation, which was probably more used for religious poems, the expanded line would be introduced, but, as we have seen above, only occasionally, and not in its longer form.' He subjoins (p. 40): 'Expanded lines are used to relate the main incidents of the story.'

8. fægere. It is no argument against *fægere* here to say that it occurs two lines below; repetition is common throughout the poem. *Fēowere* would, it is true, form a good antithesis to *fīfe*, but it is difficult to see just how four jewels would be placed at the foot of the cross, or at least why there should be just four there. Ebert (p. 83) thinks of the foot-rest of the crucifix, and assumes that the poet designated this by *folde*, so that *foldan scēatas* would mean the corners of this *suppedaneum*. This view is hardly worth refutation.

foldan scēatum. So 43, cf. 37; the combination is not unusual in the poetry. Sweet (*A. S. Reader*) translates *æt foldan scēatum* by 'at the surface of the earth'='at the foot of the Cross.'

swylce. So, too.

þǣr. An expletive use must be recognized in the poem, though it may be hard to distinguish with certainty all the cases in which it is thus employed; cf. 11, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 64, 70.

fīfe. No doubt at the junction of the two beams, in the form of a quincunx, one gem being placed in the centre. Cf. the *Golden Legend* (*Temple Classics*) l. 74: 'Whereof saith S. Bernard: In that Jesus showed the more great virtue of

patience, he commanded humility, he accomplished obedience, he performed charity. And in sign of these four virtues the four corners of the cross be adorned with precious gems and stones. And in the most apparent place is charity, and on the right side is obedience, and on the left side is patience, and beneath is humility, the root of all virtues.'

9. **eaxlgespanne.** *Eaxl-*, and not *eaxle-*, is the combining form of the word, if we may judge from *eaxlgestealla* in the *Beowulf*, *Elene*, and *Riddles*. It is just possible we should write *eaxle gespanne*.

Behēoldon þǣr. Cf. 11, and 25, 58.

englas. The MS. form is probably to be accounted for by the frequency of the Biblical expression, 'angel of the Lord,' as in Gen. 16. 7 ff.; 22. 11; Exod. 3. 2; Matt. 1. 20, &c.; cf. *Gen.* 2267. On the other hand, see Ps. 103. 20; Gen. 28. 12; 32. 1; Ps. 91. 11; Matt. 13. 41, &c. *Engel* as plural is not found, but the plural is required by the verb, and by *gāstas*, l. 11.

10. **fægere.** Hardly an adverb, if one regards either the verb or the following phrase.

forðgesceaft. Of the three meanings, (1) creature(s), (2) future, (3) bliss (?), assigned by the dictionaries for this word, the first accords best with the context. I would render by 'creation'; the angels were 'created fair.' This rendering is confirmed by Ælfric, *Hom.* 1. 10, where he speaks of the angels as 'wlitige, on micelre fægernysse gesceapene'; of Lucifer he says: 'Đā wæs þæs tēoðan werodes ealdor swīðe fæger and wlitig gesceapen'; and of the angels who became devils: 'Hī ealle wurdon āwende of þām fægeran hīwe þe hī on gesceapene wǣron'; and again: 'for-ðī-ðe God hī geworhte tō wlitegum engla geeynde.' In the *Genesis*, God is said to have created Lucifer fair:

> Hæfde hē hine swā hwītne geworhtne;
> swā wynlic wæs his wæstm on heofonum, þæt him cōm from weroda Drihtne;
> gelīc wæs hē þām lēohtum steorrum.

Lucifer boasts:

cwæð þæt his līc wǣre lēoht and scēne.

Sweet renders *þurh forðgesceaft* by 'through the future, in eternity.'

ðæt. Used as in *Wid.* 67: 'næs þæt sǣne cyning'; *Ps.* 89[13]: 'nis þæt manna ǣnig'; cf. *Rood* 28, 39, 74.

fracoðes. Wülker retains the MS. reading, with the remark: 'Da sich vom Adj. *fracod* neben *fracoð* findet, so dürfen wir wol auch für das Substantiv beide Formen ansetzen. Eine Aenderung ist daher unnötig.' To this it may be replied: (1) the etymology favours *ð* (*Gram.* 43. n. 4); (2) Sievers recognizes no *d* in the word (*Gram.* 201); the poetry has apparently *d* only in *Beow.* 1575, and this may well be a graphic error. Besides, is not *fracoðes* an adj. here?

gealga. A comparatively infrequent designation of the cross. With the hemistich cf. 40.

11. **ac.** Implying that the angels would not have paused to gaze upon the cross of a malefactor.

hine. No doubt *gealga*, but cf. 64.

hālige gāstas. Angels. So *Gen.* 2399; cf. *Sat.* 653; *Gu.* 60, 1215; *Dan.* 237, 526; *Gen.* 2430.

12. So 82.

men ofer moldan. Similarly *Ph.* 33; *An.* 1581; *Hy.* 3[12]; *Chr.* 421; *Gu.* 1203.

þēos mǣre gesceaft. In *Met.* 11[73] it signifies 'universe,' and so doubtless here.

gesceaft. Cf. 55.

13. **Syllic.** Cf. 4.

sigebēam. Only 127, and seven times in the *Elene*; similar compounds in the *Elene*, and nowhere else in the poetry, are *sigebēacen*, *El.* 887, 994; *sigorbēacen*, *El.* 984, 1256; cf. *sigores tācen*, *El.* 85, 184, 1120. Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, 1. 374, has *sigebēacn*. These expressions all refer, of course, to the victorious sign seen by Constantine.

13b–14a. Cf. *Sat.* 156b–7a :

Nu ic eom dāḋum fāh,
gewundod mid wommum.

14a. **forwundod.** For the form cf. *gewundæd*, *Ruth. Cr.* under 62 ff., and *Gram.*[3] 414. note 4. In this sense *Sat.* 131 ; *Hy.* 1[3] : *synnum forwundod*, cf. *Sat.* 157 ; otherwise *Rood* 62. Cf. *synwund*, *Chr.* 757, and see *Chr.* 763, 770, 1313, 1321 ; *Jul.* 355, 710 ; *El.* 514 ; *An.* 407 ; *Ps. C.* 51, 141, 154 ; *Alms* 9 ; *Hy.* 6[20]. The suggestion seems to come from Eph. 6. 16—cf. *Chr.* 756 ff., and notes—and its employment in OE. poetry to be peculiarly Cynewulfian (*Chr.*, *Jul.*, *El.*, *An.*) ; see *El.* 1242b ff.

14b–17. Cf. *El.* 88–90 :

Geseah hē frætwum beorht
wlitig wuldres trēo ofer wolcna hrōf
golde geglenged ; gimmas līxtan.

Cf. *El.* 1023–4.

14b. **Geseah ic.** So 21, 33, 51.

wuldres trēow. See last quotation, and *El.* 827, 866, 1251 ; cf. *Rood* 97.

15. **wādum.** Cf. 22. Ebert (p. 85) thinks of silken cords or tassels, supporting his conjecture by the fact that once in a gloss (WW. 450. 33) *wāde* glosses *mataxa*, and that processional crosses are occasionally pictured as hung with small chains (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiqq. Chrétiennes*, p. 187 ; cf. Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 207 ; Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 131, &c.). The objections to this argument are (1) that *mataxa* in these glosses nowhere else means rope, but either bed or heckle ; (2) that chains and ropes are not identical. It is at least as natural to think of Eusebius' description of the Labarum, which includes the following : 'From the transverse piece which crossed the spear was suspended a kind of streamer of purple cloth, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones ; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to

the beholder. This banner was of a square form.' Would not such a streamer suit better the first hemistich of 22?

16. **gegyred.** See 23.

gimmas. Curious is the figure in *Bl. Hom.*, pp. 9, 10: 'He sealde his þone rēadan *gim*, þæt wæs his þæt hālige blōd.'

17. **Wealdendes trēow.** The emendation is justified by 25 and 136, but especially by 53; cf. *Æðelcyninges rōd, El.* 219; *Crīstes rōd, Gu.* 151, *An.* 1337, *El.* 972 (?); *ūsses Dryhtnes rōd, Chr.* 1084; *rōd . . . Rodorcyninges, El.* 624; *Crīstes rōde tācn, El.* 104; *Rodorcyninges bēam, El.* 886; *Heofoncyninges tācen, El.* 170–1; *Godes tācen, Jul.* 491; *bēacen Godes, El.* 109. For *Wealdend* cf. 53, 111, 121, 155.

18. **hwæðre ic.** So 24, 38; cf. *ic hwæðre*, 42, 59; *hwæðre mē*, 75; *hwæðere*, 57, 70, 101.

ongytan meahte. Cf. *Beow.* 1911: *ongitan meahton.*

19. **earmra.** Not 'sufferers' (K.), but no doubt the adversaries of Christ; cf. 30–48. For this general sense see *Gu.* 268, 310, 376, 408, 547, 658; *Ph.* 412; *Sal.* 494; *Sat.* 73.

ārgewin. Cf. 65, and *ealdgewin, El.* 647. The historic strife of these adversaries with the Son of God, as a designation of his crucifixion. Cf. the use of *gewin, Gen.* 322–3:

> Lāgon þā ōðre fȳnd on þām fȳre, þe *ār* swā feala hæfdon *gewinnes* wið heora Wāldend.

Similarly *Gen.* 296; *Gu.* 86, 105, 934; *Jul.* 421; *Moods* 59; *Gifts* 89. B. translates 19ª by 'der Fürsten Erzschatz,' equating it with *gold.*

þæt. Introducing an object clause after *ongitan*, or a consecutive clause?

ārest ongan. Apparently denoting the pluperfect, 'that it had once bled' (cf. 48ᵇ); on this theory the blood of 22, 23 would be visionary at a second remove, as the cross before the poet gave way to the reminiscence of that on which Christ suffered. Ebert conceives this differently. He says (p. 83): '. . . zumal er . . . erkennen konnte . . . dass der Baum auf der rechten Seite zu bluten begonnen. . . . Das Kreuz, das dem

Dichter bei seiner Darstellung vorschwebte, ist, wie sich aus ihr ergiebt, eine blutroth gefärbte *crux gemmata*.' He adduces the lines from Paulinus of Nola, A. D. 353–431 (*Epist.* 32. cap. 14):

> Ardua floriferae crux cingitur orbe coronae,
> Et *Domini fuso tincta cruore rubet.*

And again (cap. 17):

> Inter floriferi caeleste nemus Paradisi,
> Sub *cruce sanguinea* niveo stat Christus in agno.

To which might be added Fortunatus, 'Vexilla Regis prodeunt':

> Arbor decora et fulgida,
> Ornata Regis *purpura.*

But this would not necessarily prove that the cross which speaks is actually blood-red. Why, for example, should the cross *then* bleed on the right side, and how reconcile such a supposition with the use of *ārest*? *An.* 12, *Gen.* 30 afford but little help. The *hwīlum . . . hwīlum* points to an alternation from memory to vision, not to a visionary cross at once crimson and jewelled; cf., for example, *Chr.* 646–8.

Ebert's other illustrations deserve notice. One is the fine description occurring in Egbert's (d. 766) *Pontifical* (Surtees Society, No. 26): 'Radiet hic Unigeniti Filii tui splendor divinitatis *in auro*, emicet gloria passionis in ligno; *in cruore* rutilet nostrae mortis redemptio; in splendore cristalli,' &c. The other is the first line of Tatwine's (d. 734) riddle on the cross (cf. note on 28 ff.):

> Versicolor cernor nunc, nunc mihi forma nitescit.

Ebert says: '*Versicolor* ist purpurn, und das *nitescere* weist auf die Gemmen hin'; but neither statement is quite convincing. More pertinent is Cynewulf's description of the sign of the Son of Man at the last day, *Christ* 1081–9 (I quote Whitman's translation): 'There shall sinful men, sad at heart, behold the greatest affliction. Not for their behoof shall the cross of our Lord, brightest of beacons, stand before all nations, wet with the pure blood of heaven's King, stained with His gore, shining

brightly over the vast creation. Shadows shall be put to flight when the resplendent cross shall blaze upon all peoples.'

20. **swǣtan.** Only here as 'bleed'; cf. 23. Pacius says that in Switzerland 'sweat' still = 'blood' as a term of venery. Is there in this word, and in *swāt*, always a reference to the bloody sweat of Gethsemane?

swīðran. Probably the left side from the spectator's standpoint. Didron (1. 413) gives, as one of the characteristic attributes of God the Son, 'a simple mantle, ... thrown open to show the wound in the *right side*,' and Neale says (Neale and Littledale, *Comm. on the Psalms* 1. 305): 'All but universal tradition represents it as inflicted on the right side'; cf. 2. 549. This is due to the mediaeval love of symbolism; the centurion represents the primitive Church, whose place was on the right (see Malé, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, Paris, 1898, pp. 247–250).

Eall ic wæs mid .... So 48^b, 62^b; in this use nearly an adverb. For the order cf. 6^b, 21^a, 58^a.

Eall. Cf. also 37, 55.

ic wæs mid sorgum gedrēfed. So 59; cf. *Jud.* 88.

21. With 21^a cf. *El.* 96–8: 'Cyning wæs þȳ blīðra ... þurh þā fægeran gesyhðe,' the vision here also being that of the cross.

gesyhðe. Cf. 96.

Geseah ic .... Cf. *geseah hē ...*, *El.* 87.

þæt fūse bēacen. With this form cf. *þæt hālige trēo* (*trīo*), *El.* 108, 128, 429, 442, 701, 840; *Hy.* 8^{27}; *þæt wlitige trēo*, *El.* 165: *þæt mǣre trēo*, *El.* 214; *sēo hālig(e) rōd*, *El.* 720, 1011, 1243; *se æðele bēam*, *El.* 1073; *se hālga bēam*, *Chr.* 1093; *se lēohta bēam*, *Chr.* 1089; *sēo hēa rōd*, *Chr.* 1064; *sēo rēade rōd*, *Chr.* 1101; *se beorhta segn*, *Chr.* 1061. Note that with one exception all these are by Cynewulf.

fūse. Perhaps best rendered by 'mobile.'

bēacen. So 6, 83, 118; *El.* 92, 100, 109, 162, 784, 842, 1194; *Chr.* 1085; *An.* 242, 1203; *Gu.* 1283; besides the compounds with *sige* and *sigor*, for which see note on 60. As *bēacen*

(like *tācen* and *segn*) literally means 'sign,' as its combination with *sige-*, *sigor-* points to the words 'in hoc vince,' and as it is employed to translate *signum* in the immediate context of this command, it is natural to suppose that it is to the author of the *Elene* we must look as the introducer and disseminator of this class of expressions in OE. poetry. We might think of the 'sign of the Son of Man,' Matt. 24. 30, as responsible for these terms, except that (1) it has no direct connexion with any of these passages except *Chr.* 1084, and in that poem *bēacen* is used only once, as against twelve times in the *Elene*, and four in the *Rood*; (2) the extant prose translations of the Biblical verse are subsequent to the date of the poetry.

22. **wendan.** This passive or middle sense only in *Deor* 32; *Rim. Poem* 59. Cf. note on *lādan*, 5.

blēom. The colours of gold, jewels, and blood. This form is used by Cynewulf, *El.* 759; *Chr.* 1391.

mid wǣtan bestēmed. Cf. 48^{b}. Cicero speaks of a cross (*In Verr.* 4. 11. 26), 'quae etiam nunc civis Romani sanguine redundat.'

23. **besyled.** Only *El.* 597, and there, as here, misspelled. The word is another link between the two poems. In the prose it is found *Boeth.* 40. 2 (Sedgefield's ed.), as *besyled* (cf. OHG. *bisulian*). Sievers (*Gram.* 400. n. 2) recognizes only (*be*)*sylian*, not *beswylian* or *besylwan*.

swātes. The blood shed by Christ is called *swāt* in *Chr.* 1111, 1449–50 (cf. 1458); *An.* 968; *Gu.* 493; *Sat.* 545. Perhaps originally from Luke 22. 44.

gange. Flow. Not elsewhere in this sense.

24. **Hwæðre.** Merely to continue the narrative, without adversative force, according to Ebert (p. 91), and so 57, and perhaps 70.

hwīle. So 64, 70, 84.

25. **hrēowcearig.** Only *Jul.* 536; *Chr.* 367; *Gu.* 1026.

26. **oððæt.** So 32.

27. **wudu sēlesta.** Cf. Fortunatus:

> Crux fidelis, inter omnes
> Arbor una nobilis.

wudu. Not elsewhere in the poetry in this sense.

28 ff. Dietrich thinks of this as a sort of riddling statement, not to be understood without independent knowledge of the facts, and compares 48, 57, 69, 75. His words are: 'Non rara est rerum descriptio aenigmatica potius quam diserte prolata.' And again, referring to the passage here: 'Ipsum orationis initium, quo Crux naturam et originem suam indicat, aenigmatis forma exornatum est.' This may be better understood by a comparison with Tatwine's riddle, *De Cruce Christi*:

> Versicolor cernor nunc, nunc mihi forma nitescit:
> Lege fui quondam cunctis iam larvula servis,
> Sed modo me gaudens orbis veneratur et ornat.
> Quique meum gustat fructum, iam sanus habetur,
> Nam mihi concessum est insanis ferre salutem;
> Propterea sapiens optat me in fronte tenere.

The word *larvula* (*larbula*), in line 2, is interpreted in Napier's *OE. Glosses* (*Anec. Oxon.*) 23. 2, as *pūca*, 'goblin,' Eng. puck, and in the Wright-Wülker *Vocabularies* as *grīma*, or *egesegrīma*, 'spectre.' Dietrich's meaning may be still further illustrated by the OE. *Rid.* 56, with the meaning of 'cross.'

28. **gēara iū.** So *Moods* 57; *Creation* 11; *Wand.* 22; *Gu.* 11; *Met.* 1[1].

29-30. This suggests the Homeric account of the sceptre (*Il.* 1. 234-7): 'This staff that shall no more put forth leaf or twig, seeing it hath for ever left its trunk among the hills, neither shall it grow green again, because the axe hath stripped it of leaves and bark.'

29. **holtes on ende.** Cf. Ælfric, *Hom.* 2. 306: 'And sēo rōd is gemynd his mǣran þrōwunge, hālig þurh hine, *þēah þe hēo on holte wēoxe*.'

30. **stefne.** Cf. the felling of a tree, *Sal.* 296.

Genāman. So 60. Note the inversion — the verb preceding the subject: (1) at the middle of the line (optatives, or verbs with a negative, have a ?), 8, 9 (?), 14, 21, 33, 42 (?), 44, 47 (?), 51, 55, 59, 60, 61, 66, 69, 80, 124, 126, 129, 131, 144 (?);

(2) at or near the beginning, 13, 17, 39, 42, 44, 46, 48, 63, 67, 75, 110(?), 117 (?), 122.

fēondas. So 33, 38.

31. This would seem to imply that the cross had frequently been used for executions.

32. Cf. Matt. 27. 32, 33.

beorg. So 50. Cf. *El.* 716-8:

> Stōpon þā tō þære stōwe stīðhycgende
> on þā dūne ūp ðe Dryhten ār
> āhangen wæs.

Dietrich notes a departure from the Biblical account, as in 36^{b}–37^{a}, the 'feorran' of 57, 65^{b}-66, and 67^{b}.

33. **Frēan mancynnes.** So *Harr. Hell.* 33; *Hy.* 9^{14}.

34. **elne mycle.** So likewise 60, 123; cf. *Chr.* 1317, 'mid his micle elne.'

wolde. Cf. *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Surtees Society, No. 23), in the hymn 'Auctor salutis unicus' (p. 80):

> rōde willende þū āstige
> crucem volens ascenderas.

Add *Bl. Hom.*, p. 85: 'Hē lēt his līchoman on rōde mid næglum gefæstan'; Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* 2. 150: 'Ēalā þū wundorlice rōd, on þære ðe Crīst wolde þrōwian'; Ælfric, *On the New Test.* (Grein, *Bibl. der Ags. Prosa* 1. 13): 'Hē þrōwode sylfwilles dēaðe, on rōde āhangen'; *De Cons. Monach.* 786-7 (*Anglia* 13. 420): 'Gloriosas palmas tuas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere'; *Ib.* 794: 'Tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti.' Cynewulf has (*Chr.* 1491–2): 'Þe ic ær gestāg willum mīnum,' and the whole passage, 1379-1496, is to the same general effect. Cf. Gregory, *Past. Care*, ed. Sweet, p. 32: 'He nolde bēon cyning, and his āgnum willan hē cōm tō rōde gealgan; ðā weorðmynde cynehādes hē flēah, and ðæt wīte ðæs fracoðlecestan dēaðes hē gecēas.' So *Bl. Hom.* p. 33: 'Nis þæt nān wundor þēah se hēa Cyning and se ēca Drihten hine sylfne lēt lædon on þā hēan dūne, se hine sylfne forlēt from dēofles leomum and from yflum mannum bēon on rōde āhangenne.'

gestīgan. See 40.

35 ff. Ebert (p. 86) remarks that this (cf. 42, 45) seems like an answer to the lines in Venantius Fortunatus' Passion hymn, 'Pange, lingua':

> *Flecte ramos*, arbor alta,
> Tensa laxa viscera,
> Et rigor lentescat ille
> Quem dedit nativitas;
> Et superni membra Regis
> Tende miti stipite.

35. **ic . . . ne dorste.** Cf. 42, 45, 47.

ofer Dryhtnes word. So *Gen.* 593. Cf. Wülfing § 773.

Dryhtnes. The commonest designation for Christ in the poem: 75, 101, 105, 136, 140, 144. Most of the terms are employed only once each.

36. **būgan.** Cf. 42.

bifian. Cf. *Chr.* 826–7, 'þās miclan gemetu middangeardes beofiaþ'; *Chr.* 1143–4, 'sēo eorþe . . . beofode' (at the crucifixion); cf. *Chr.* 881.

38. **fæste stōd.** Cf. 43.

39. **Ongyrede hine.** Bouterwek, 'entkleidete sich'; Kemble, 'made ready'; Grein, 'rüstete sich' (but is exact in the *Sprachschatz*); Stephens, 'girded him'; Hammerich, 'gyorded sig'; Pacius, 'ward entkleidet'; Hickey, 'made him dight'; Morley, 'prepared himself'; Brown, 'prepared himself'; Brooke, 'armed himself for war.' Cf. Wülfing § 377 (also 40, 78, 109), who quotes *Bede* 540. 35, 'ungyrde hine ðā his sweorde'; 567. 24, 'hē . . . hine middangeardes ðingum tō ðon ongyrede and genacodade, þæt hē . . .' One is reminded of Entellus, as described by Virgil (*Aen.* 5. 421 ff.): 'He spake, and from his shoulders threw back his double cloak, and *stripped* the huge joints of his limbs, his huge, long, and brawny arms, and took his stand a giant in the midst of the arena'; cf. also Homer, *Od.* 22. 1–3, where Ulysses makes ready to attack the suitors: 'Then Odysseus of many counsels *stripped* him of his rags, and leaped on to the great threshold with his bow and quiver full of

arrows'; add *Od.* 18. 66ff. For the fact in the case of crucifixion, cf. Matt. 27. 35; Mark 15. 24; Luke 23. 34; John 19. 23, 24; Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, pp. 106, 435; Fulda, *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung*, 19. h; 33 (322).

geong Hæleð. Didron says (*Christian Iconography* 1. 249): 'The youthfulness of Christ, which is remarked on the most ancient Christian monuments, is a predominating and very curious fact. On sculptured sarcophagi, in fresco paintings and mosaics, Christ is represented as a young man of twenty years of age, or a graceful youth of fifteen, without any beard, the shape of his face round, the expression gentle, resplendent with divine youth, just as Apollo was figured by the pagans, and as angels are drawn by Christians.' Further he says (1. 251–3): 'During the first and second periods of Christian art, that is to say, from the second or third centuries down to the tenth, until the reign of the first Capetian kings, Christ was most generally depicted youthful and beardless. . . . Hroswitha, the celebrated nun (tenth century) of the convent of Gandersheim in Lower Saxony, still imagines Christ under the form of a young man. In the comedy of Callimachus, where she brings on the stage the raising of Drusiana by St. John the Evangelist, that apostle, the friend of Christ, says to Andronicus, the husband of Drusiana, "See, Andronicus! the invisible God appears to you under a visible form. He has assumed the features of a beautiful young man." Lastly, towards the close of the tenth century, under the Emperor Otho II, Christ is still an adolescent, a beardless young man.'

Christ is thus described by St. John Damascene (eighth century), as quoted in Didron 1. 248: 'Lofty stature, thick eyebrows, gentle eyes, well-formed nose, curling hair, figure slightly bent, delicate complexion, black beard, face of the colour of wheat, like that of his mother, long fingers, sonorous voice, and persuasive language.' Didron adds: 'In the West, a century later than the time of Damascenus, Christ was always thus depicted.'

According to McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia* 4. 884,

Epiphanius has a somewhat similar description. They say: 'The description given by Epiphanius (*Monach.* p. 29, ed. Dressel) has lately been discovered by Tischendorf (*Cod. Ven.* cl. 1, cod. 3, no. 12,000), . . . as follows: "But my Christ and God was exceedingly beautiful in countenance. His stature was fully developed, his height being six feet. He had auburn hair, quite abundant, and flowing down mostly over his whole person. His eyebrows were black, and not highly arched; his eyes brown and bright. He had a family likeness, in his fine eyes, prominent nose, and good colour, to his ancestor David, who is said to have had beautiful eyes and a ruddy complexion. He wore his hair long, for a razor never touched it; nor was it cut by any person, except by his mother in his childhood. His neck inclined forward a little, so that the posture of his body was not too upright or stiff. His face was full, but not quite so round as his mother's, tinged with sufficient colour to make it handsome and natural; mild in expression, like the blandness in the above description of his mother, whose features his own strongly resembled."'

Among the Fathers who thought of Christ as goodly in appearance are Jerome (Migne 22. 627; 26. 56); Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 (al. 28) *in Matt.*, p. 328; on Ps. 44 (45), p. 162), Hilarius (Migne 10. 353, cf. 355), and Theodoret. Cf. note on 73.

Hæleð. Christ is addressed as *Hæleð*, though his identity has not been revealed, in *An.* 484–94. Dr. Charles G. Osgood reminds me of Milton's lines (*The Passion*, 13, 14):

> Most perfect Hero, tried in heaviest plight
> Of labours huge and hard, too hard for human wight!

Add Carlyle, *Heroes*, The Hero as Divinity: 'The greatest of all Heroes is One—whom we do not name here.' But possibly *Hæleð* only = 'Man.'

þæt wæs. Cf. 28, 74.

God ælmihtig. Cf. 60, 98.

40. **strang and stīðmōd.** So *Sat.* 248.

gestāh hē on gealgan hēanne. Cf. *on gealgan stāh*, *Hy.* 10[28]; *Chr.* 727, 1171, 1491; *Sat.* 549. Among the various interpretations of *Cant.* 7. 8, '... I will climb up into the palm tree, I will take hold of the branches thereof,' was that identifying the palm tree with the cross. Thus Cassiodorus (?) (Migne 70. 1097): 'Potest et per palmam arbor Dominicae crucis exprimi, in quam Redemptor noster pro humani generis redemptione ascendit, etin qua hostem humani generis superavit.' Similarly, Gregory the Great (Migne 79. 536): 'In palmam ergo ascendit et fructus eius apprehendit, quia in cruce suspensus fructum invenit, apprehendit, et nobis tribuit.' And so Alcuin (Migne 100. 660): 'Apte quidem crux victrix palmae comparatur in quam Christus ascendens apprehendit fructus eius.' Cf. Neale and Littledale, *Comm. on the Psalms* 1. 304. This seems to be hinted at in George Herbert's *The Sacrifice*:

> Man stole the fruit, but I must climb the tree,
> The Tree of Life to all but only me.

Perhaps the mystical interpretation of *Cant.* 2. 8 may have furnished an earlier hint. As I have elsewhere shown (*The Christ of Cynewulf*, note on l. 720), Ambrose comments: 'In praesepi erat, et fulgebat in caelo, descendit in Iordanem, *ascendit in crucem*, descendit in tumulum,' &c. (Migne 14. 513; cf. 15. 1269-70). He is followed by (Pseudo-) Cassiodorus (Migne 70. 1064), Gregory (Migne 26. 1219), and Alcuin (Migne 100. 646-7). Cf. further the line of Prudentius (*Peristeph.* 10. 641):

> Crux illa nostra est, nos patibulum adscendimus.

Aldhelm has, ed. Giles, p. 236 (*Epist. ad Acircium*):

> Scandens in ligno Christus dedit arrham vitae.

In a charter of Edgar, bearing the date of 966 (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 2. 428), it is said of Christ: 'Ligno quippe perditum, ligni scandens gabulum, genus redemit humanum.' Other instances are: *Ben. Off.*, p. 74: 'Sexta hora pro nobis in crucem ascendisti'; *Bl. Hom.*, p. 97: 'þā hē on rōde gealgan āstāg.' In a hymn on St. Benedict, beginning

> Christe, sanctorum decus atque virtus,

(*Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Surtees Society, No. 23), occur the glossed lines (p. 70):

Siþþan āstreccende fōt on āsindrodum
Dein extendens pedem in remotis
hēahnyssa hē āstāh cwilmigan swīþorwillende
arduum scandit cruciare malens.

Cf. *De Cons. Monach.* 774 (*Anglia* 13. 419): 'Adoro te in cruce ascendentem.' See also the note on *Hæleð*, 39. In classical times the citations are scanty, but Plautus (*Bacch.* 2. 3. 127) represents the slave Chrysalus as punning on his own name under the form *crucisalus*; and the phrase *in crucem excurrere* occurs in *Most.* 2. 1. 12. See also Zöckler, p. 436.

T. Gregory Foster notes this hemistich (*Judith*, p. 35) as the only one in the poem transgressing the rule that in an expanded line it is the second chief stress that bears the alliteration, and considers the point significant on account of 'the discrepancy from the usage in poems certainly Cynewulfian.'

on gealgan hēanne. Cf. *Jul.* 482, *on hēan galgan*; *Chr.* 1446; *Jul.* 309; *El.* 424, *on hēanne bēam.*

gealgan. That it is conceived of as equivalent to *rōd* is evident from *Jul.* 481–3:

Sume ic rōde bifealh,
þæt hī hyra drēorge on hēan galgan
līf ālētan.

But this is a secondary sense, and hardly seems appropriate.

41. With 41ª cf. 66ª.

mancyn. Cf. 104.

42. **Bifode ic.** Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensage*, p. 523, compares the *Vǫluspá*:

Skelfr Yggdrasils
askr standandi,
Ymr it aldna tré
en jǫtunn losnar.

Beorn. Of Christ nowhere except *Chr.* 449, 530.

ymbclypte. Sweet remarks: 'The Old English idea of

Crucifixion was a very vague one, whence the inappropriate use of *ymbclyppan* here, and the general confusion of crucifixion with the gallows (l. 10), and hanging.' This seems to me too sweeping. To represent Christ as embracing the cross is a poetic mode of emphasizing his voluntary sacrifice (cf. note on *wolde*, 34). The whole subject of the cross in the Old English period has been investigated by Dr. William O. Stevens, recently Fellow in English of Yale University (*Yale Studies in English*, No. 23, New York, 1904).

42–3. **būgan tō eorðan, feallan tō foldan scēatum**. Cf. *Beow.* 2974–5, 'būgan sceolde, fēoll on foldan'; similarly *Beow.* 2918–9.

44. **Rōd wæs ic ārǣred.** Cf. *El.* 886, 'rōd ārǣred'; *An.* 967, 'rōd wæs ārǣred'; *Chr.* 1064–5, 'sēo hēa rōd, ryht ārǣred' (cf. *Gu.* 150, 1286); *Bl. Hom.* 91. 23, 'And sēo rōd ūres Drihtnes biŏ ārǣred on þæt gewrixle þāra tungla'; more remote *El.* 129, 'hē ārǣran hēt þæt hālige trēo.' In Böddeker's *Altenglische Dichtungen* (p. 211), a collection of Middle English poems from MS. Harl. 2253, which, according to its editor, may have been compiled about 1310, we see how remarkably the alliterative formula persisted:

Heȝe vpon a doune,
  þer al folk hit se may,
a mile from þe toune,
  aboute þe midday,
þe rode is vp arered;
his frendes aren afered,
  ant clyngeþ so þe clay;
þe rode stond in stone,
Marie stont hire one,
  aut seiþ 'weylaway'!

āhōf ic rīcne Cyning. See Ruthwell Cross. The Brussels Cross inscription is:

Rōd is mīn nama; gēo ic rīcne Cyning
bær byfigende, blōde bēstēmed.

Cf. 42, 48.

āhōf. Cf. *El.* 861.

45. **heofona Hlāford.** Cf. 64, 91.

hyldan. Here transitive; see Ruthwell Cross.

ne dorste. Cf. *El.* 735; *Chr.* 1168.

46–7ª. Ps. 22. 16. Cf. *Chr.* 1107–9:

ond *þā openan dolg*
on hyra Dryhtne *gesīoð* drēorigfērðe,
swā him *mid næglum þurhdrifan* . . .

Also *An.* 1399: *dolg*bennum *þurhdrifen.* Dietrich characterizes *dolg* (as against *ben, sār,* and *wund*) and *þurhdrifan* as peculiarly Cynewulfian; but the former occurs *Rid.* 6^{13}, 57^{4} (*dolgian, Rid.* 54, 60^{11}; *dolhwund, Jud.* 107; *Beow.* 817, besides *Andreas*); and the latter *Sat.* 163.

47. **inwidhlemmas.** Bouterwek translates by 'Schläge (?) der Bosheit,' Kemble by 'sounds of woe.'

47ᵇ. Cf. *Chr.* 1466, 'se ðe nǣngum scōd.' *Nǣnigum* is here forbidden by the alliteration.

48. **Bysmerodon hīe unc.** Matt. 27. 39 ff. Cf. *An.* 962–3: 'mē bysmredon . . . weras wansālige.'

būtū ætgædere. So *Jul.* 292.

mid blōde bestēmed. Cf. 22; *Ruthwell Cross*; *Brussels Cross*; *Chr.* 1085; *Beow.* 486; *Exod.* 448, *blōde bistēmed*; *An.* 1475, *drēore bestēmed*; *An.* 1239, *swāte bestēmed.*

49ª. **Guman.** So *Hel.* 5743: 'thes gumen grimman dōd,' and elsewhere, but not in OE. poetry. Cf. John 19. 5; Mark 15. 39; 1 Tim. 2. 5.

sīdan. John 19. 34. Cf. *Chr.* 1111, 1448, 1458.

49ᵇ. Similar are *El.* 480; *Chr.* 1452–3; *Jul.* 310; *An.* 1327; more remote *An.* 187, 1416; *Gu.* 1277; *Men.* 171. From Matt. 27. 50; Mark 15. 37, 39; Luke 23. 46; John 19. 30.

50–1ª. Cf. 79–80ª, 125–6ª. See also *Fin.* 25, 'fela ic wēana gebād, heardra hilda.'

wrāðra wyrda. Cf. *Chr.* 804ª, *wrāþra wīta.*

weruda God. God of hosts. So *Chr.* 407, 631.

52. þenian. Cf. 'Crīst wæs on rōde āþened,' *Ben. Off.*, p. 73. Kemble tr. 'serve.' For the construction see note on 5. For the fact cf. Fulda, *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung* 25 (262).

þȳstro. Matt. 27. 45. Cf. *Chr.* 1132.

53. Note the variation on 17.

mid wolcnum. Cf. *Chr.* 527; *An.* 1048.

54. scīrne scīman. Appositive with *hrēw*, like *fæger feorgbold*, 73. Cf. *Gen.* 137, *scīrum scīman*; for the general effect, *Chr.* 1088, *scire scīnaþ*. Even the Saviour's corpse is conceived as a source of light.

forðēode. Kemble and Grein treat this as a transitive verb of which *scīman* is the object. Kemble translates 'invaded'; Grein renders in the *Sprachschatz* by 'opprimere, subigere,' adducing OHG. *fardūhian*, and in the *Dichtungen* by 'unterdrückt' ('es hatte der Schatten unterdrückt den Schein der Sonne'). Dietrich renders by *supprimere*, and Stephens by 'fell heavy.'

55ª. So *Gu.* 1254; cf. *Beow.* 1374.

wolcnum. Cf. 53.

55ᵇ-6ª. Cf. *Chr.* 1127-30: 'Gesēgun þā dumban gesceaft ... gefēlan Frēan þrōwinga; ond mid cearum cwīðdun.' Add *Chr.* 1182, and 1174-5:

> Dā wearð bēam monig blōdgum tēarum
> birunnen under rindum rēade ond þicce.

The direct source of the *Christ* passage and this (besides *Heliand* 5674) is no doubt Gregory's *Hom. in Evang.* 1. 10, a more ultimate one being Leo the Great's *Serm. VI. de Pass. Dom.*, cap. 4, and other passages by the same author. See my notes on *Chr.* 1127ᵇ-98, 1130. These fathers may have derived suggestions from the Apocryphal 2 Esdras (4 Esdras) 5. 5 'Et de ligno sanguis stillabit,' and from the Gospel of Nicodemus (Tischendorf², p. 309): 'In tua morte omnis contremuit creatura' (cf. my notes on *Chr.* 1130; 1174-6ª). Perhaps the Latin fathers may have recalled Ovid's verses on the death of Orpheus (*Met.* 11. 41-9), especially since Orpheus was some-

times compared with Christ in the early Christian centuries (so by Justin Martyr, fl. A.D. 140, and by Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, cap. 1); see Piper, *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* 1. 1. 121 ff.; Kraus, *Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, art. *Orpheus*; and the authorities cited by them. Orpheus is sometimes found depicted in English mosaics of the same general epoch, according to Kraus. The Ovidian lines are:

Perque os, pro Iuppiter! illud
Auditum saxis intellectumque ferarum
Sensibus in ventos anima exhalata recessit.
Te maestae volucres, Orpheu, te turba ferarum,
Te rigidi silices, te carmina saepe secutae
Fleverunt silvae, positis te frondibus arbor
Tonsa comam luxit; lacrimis quoque flumina dicunt
Increvisse suis, obstrusaque carbasa pullo
Naides et Dryades passosque habuere capillos.

Cf. Milton's 'Whom universal nature did lament' (*Lyc.* 60). Ovid very likely obtained the hint from Bion's *Lament for Adonis* 31 ff.: '*Woe, woe for Cypris* the mountains all are saying, and the oak trees answer *woe for Adonis*. And the rivers bewail the sorrows of Aphrodite, and the wells are weeping Adonis on the mountains. The flowers flush red for anguish.' Bion is the model for Moschus, *Lament for Bion* 1–5: 'Wail, let me hear you wail, ye woodland glades, and thou Dorian water; and weep, ye rivers, for Bion, the well-beloved! Now all ye green things mourn, and now ye groves lament him, ye flowers now in sad clusters breathe yourselves away. Now redden ye roses in your sorrow,' &c.

For the form of 55[b] cf. *Chr.* 930[a], 'Dyneȝ dēop gesceaft.'

Cyninges fyll. Cf. *Beow.* 2912, *fyll cyninges.*

56[b]. Cf., though somewhat remote, *Chr.* 1114[b]: 'þā hē on rōde wæs.'

57. **Hwæðere þǣr.** Cf. 70, 75.

fūse. Eager ones. Joseph and Nicodemus, we may suppose; cf. John 19. 38, 39. Adj. used as noun.

feorran cwōman. Cf. *An.* 24; *El.* 1212–3.

58ᵇ. Cf. 24–5.

59. **þām secgum tō handa.** Cf. *Beow.* 1983, *hælum tō handa*; more remote, *Gen.* 1463.

60. **elne mycle.** Bouterwek, 'mit grosser Anstrengung (Kraft)'; Kemble, 'with great power.'

ælmihtigne God. Cf. 93, 98, 106, 156.

61. **āhōfon.** In this sense only *El.* 482, 'þā siððan wæs *of rōde āhæfen* rodera Wealdend.' See the description in *Hel.* 5715–34, especially 5732–4.

wīte. Note the figure, *wīte* = *rōd*; so 87.

hilderincas. Cf. 72. Only otherwise in four war-poems.

62. Bouterwek tr. 62ᵃ, 'in den Stein getrieben.'

bedrifenne. In this sense only *An.* 1496.

strælum. Cf. *Sat.* 509–11:

> Ic ēow þingade
> þā mē on bēame beornas sticedon
> *gārum* on galgum.

Can there be a distant allusion to Gen. 49. 24; Ps. 64. 3, 4, &c.? If not, the nails must be meant, and this is most likely.

63. **Ālēdon.** Compare and contrast *Beow.* 34, 3141.

limwērigne. A most expressive word, apparently coined for this place.

hēafdum. The plural as in Ælfred, *Cura Past.* 100. 17: 'ðone stān þe æt his *hēafdum* læg.' See Sweet's note on p. 480 of his edition, and Wülfing § 133. 2. II.

64. **reste.** Cf. 69.

65ᵃ. Cf. 69ᵃ, and *limwērigne*, 63.

mēðe. Cf. *Gu.* 1083.

gewinne. Cf. *ārgewin*, 19.

65ᵇ. Cf. 67ᵇ.

moldern. The word occurs *An.* 803; *Ph.* 564, like *moldgræf*, *Jul.* 690; *Ph.* 524.

66ᵃ. **banena.** The MS. *-an* is LWS.; cf. *Gram.*³ 276, n. 4.

Sweet says (*A. S. Reader*): 'This word is probably a mistake for some other, possibly *beorg* (cp. l. 32), and the original reading may have been *on beorges sīdan*. If the reading *banan* be retained, in the sense of "murderer," it can only be understood to refer to the cross, although this is very improbable.'

66b. The author is apparently thinking of a marble sarcophagus. Ælfric writes (*Hom.* 2. 262): 'Þā stōd on ðǣre stōwe sum *stænen ðrūh*, on ðǣre næfre ne læg nān eorðlic mann,' and again (1. 216): 'Ioseph and Nichodemus . . . bebyrigdon his līc ēr ǣfene on *nīwere ðrȳh*'; he, too, must therefore have conceived of the tomb as a stone coffin.

of. Sweet says: 'Perhaps rather *on* = "in."'

67. **sigora Wealdend.** So *Gen.* 126, 1112; *Exod.* 16; *Sat.* 218; *El.* 732.

sorhlēoð galan. Cf. *Beow.* 2460; *sorhlēoþ gæleð.* One might conceive of their praise as sung, with the exception of the last word, in the terms applied by his companions to Beowulf, as they circled round his barrow:

> Cwǣdon þæt hē wǣre wyruldcyninga,
> manna mildust ond monðwǣrust,
> lēodum līðost [ond lofgeornost].

Cf. *Hel.* 5741–2: 'Griotandi sātun idisi armscapana,' followed by (5744) 'uuōpiandi uuīb.'

68. **on þā ǣfentīde.** Cf. *Gen.* 2124; *Gu.* 1188; *Met.* 8[19], *on ǣfentīd.* The note of time is from Matt. 27. 57, &c.

69. **mēðe.** Artistic change of meaning from 65; here, 'sorrowful.'

fram. Cf. with *of*, 133, 138 (?).

mǣte weorode. Alone; so 124, where the sense is clearly given by the equation with *āna.* An interesting parallel is *βαιός*, in Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 750 *ἐχώρει βαιός*, 'went he in small force' (Jebb), where Liddell and Scott interpret *βαιός* as 'alone.' This is borne out by Suidas, s. v. *βαιαί* (ed. Bekker,

p. 210): *βαιὸς ἰδίως ἀντὶ εἷς*, the Sophoclean line being quoted in substantiation. Ebert notes as characteristic that the phrase is not found elsewhere, while Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 40) compares *weorod unmēte*, *An.* 1221, 1684.

70. **wē.** This, and the *ūs* of 73, 75, afford the only suggestion of the crosses of the two thieves.

gēotende. This is the only reading supported by another part of the poem. The cross streamed with blood at the crucifixion: so 19^{b}–20^{a}, confirmed by 22^{b}–3^{a}; but there is no intimation of its wailing.

gōde. *Rōde* is of course nonsense here, and there is no reason to doubt the MS. reading. On the other hand, the retention of *gōde* makes *rēotende* impossible.

71. **syððan.** Evidently a conjunction, not an adverb. The course of the thought seems to be (67–73): 'The disciples sang a dirge at eventide, just before leaving the tomb, when Christ was to lie alone. But we (the crosses) remained dripping with blood long after the dirge was sung. Meantime the corpse grew chill in death.' If *siððan* be regarded as an adverb we must understand: 'We stood dripping with blood a long while before the dirge was sung.' But surely, whatever be the measure of time employed, the 'good while' would follow the dirge rather than precede it.

stefn. Kluge's emendation suits the context (cf. 67^{b}); it occurs elsewhere in alliteration with *staðole*, *Dan.* 561: 'stille on staðole, swā sēo stefn gecwæð' (and see *Dan.* 582); it makes the meaning of *hilderinca* clear (cf. 61); and it is supported by such Biblical passages as Exod. 2. 23; 1 Sam. 5. 12; Jer. 14. 2; add 1 Macc. 5. 31.

72. **Hrāw cōlode.** Cf. *Gu.* 1258, *līc cōlode*; *El.* 883, *leomu cōlodon*; *Ph.* 228, *hrā bið ācōlad*; *Souls* 125, *līc ācōlod*; so the OS. *Heliand* (5702): *is lithi cōlodun.*

73. **fæger feorgbold.** Cf. 54, *scīrne scīman*, and Neale and Littledale, *Comm. on the Psalms*, 2. 98–100: '"Thy beauty, O King

Messiah," exclaims the Chaldee paraphrast [of Ps. 45. 3], "is greater than that of the sons of men."

Salve Iesu, Candor lucis,
Thronum tenens summi ducis!
Qui es passus poenas crucis,
Nobis sis propitius!
Salve Iesu, Fons amoris!
Qui es totus, intus, foris,
Plenus maximi decoris
Et superni luminis.

'. . . If with one voice, and basing their opinion on Isaiah's "He hath no form or comeliness, and when we shall see Him, there is no beauty that we should desire Him," S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, Hesychius, Euthymius, S. Gregory Nazianzen, followed by Remigius and Arnobius, deny that the Incarnate Word possessed human beauty, let us rather follow the more pious opinion of all the great teachers of the West, that of this Son of David also is that saying true, "in all Israel there was none so much to be praised for his beauty; from the sole of His feet even to the crown of His head there was no blemish in Him" [2 Sam. 14. 25]. It is the general tradition of the Church; it is the almost universal representation of the schools of Christian art. S. Bernard, in many and many a passage of ravishing beauty, tells us of the exquisite glory of our Lord's humanity. S. Anselm expressly blames a vision of S. Bridget for denying it. S. Isidore breaks forth with a rapture of admiration at the earthly glory of the Incarnate Word; and S. Thomas seems almost to claim such a belief as part of the Catholic faith. I pass over the most uncertain authority of the epistle to Abgarus, and that of Lentulus. But yet I firmly believe that a certain type of the face of our blessed Lord would not have been so universally received in Eastern and early Western art, unless it had possessed some real foundation. Every one must be acquainted with the general idea of that countenance as given in Byzantine icons, and crystallized, if we may so speak, in the West under the name of

the *Dieu d'Amiens*.' See Schnaase, *Gesch. der Bild. Künste* 3. 172.

Yet our author, like Molanus (Migne, *Theol. Curs. Compl.* 27. 301), cannot believe that Christ was beautiful upon the cross. He adds: 'But even towards the end of that weary thirty-three years, His face was so marred more than any man's, that the Jews asked, "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast Thou seen Abraham?" And then, when it had been smitten by the soldiers, when that Divine head had been crowned with thorns, when it was brought into the dust of death, then was not that prophecy of Isaiah fulfilled, "And when we shall see Him, there is no beauty that we should desire Him"?' Cf. note on 39.

With **feorgbold** Dietrich compares *sāwelhūs*, *Gu.* 1003, 1115; *hūs*, *Chr.* 1481 (see my notes on 14, and 820). Add *El.* 881, 1237. These terms, as well as *feorhhūs* (*By.* 296), *gæsthof* (*Chr.* 820), and *selegescot* (*Chr.* 1480), no doubt all go back to 2 Cor. 5. 1, rendered by Wærferth (*Dialogo Gregors*, p. 296): . . . 'þis eorðlice hūs ūres līchaman.' Other Biblical parallels are 2 Pet. 1. 13, 14; Isa. 38. 12; Wisd. 9. 15; Job 4. 19; and perhaps John 1. 14. The Greeks, especially the Pythagoreans and Platonists, employed the same figure, designating the body as a tabernacle, *σκῆνος*. References may be found under the word in Passow, *Handwörterbuch*; *Aeschinis Socratici Dialogi Tres*, ed. Fischer (Leipzig, 1786), Index; and under 2 Cor. 5 1 in Wetstein, *Norum Testamentum Graece* (Amsterdam, 1752); Kypke, *Observationes Sacrae* (1755); Meyer, *Handbook*. Among those who employ the term are Plato (according to Clement of Alexandria, p. 703; cf. the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* 365), Democritus, the Locrian Timaeus, &c. Similarly, among the Romans, Cicero employed *domicilium* (*Nat. Deor.* 1. 27. 76; *Tusc.* 1. 24. 58), cf. Velleius Paterculus 2. 69. 4; Ovid thus uses *domus* (*Met.* 15. 159; cf. *sedes*, 11. 788). English literature has always been familiar with the conception. Thus *Ancren Riwle*, p. 388 (*eorðene castle*); Sidney, *Defense of Poesy*, my ed. 12[7] (*clayey lodging*); Spenser, *F. Q.* 2. 9. 20 ff. (*castle*); allegory suggested by Plato, *Timaeus* 69, 70; Daniel, *Hist. Civil War* 4. 84 (*walls*);

Shakespeare, *Temp.* 1. 2. 458; *King John* 4. 2. 210; *Ant.* 5. 2. 51 (*house*); Milton, *Passion* 17; *P. R.* 4. 599 (*fleshly tabernacle*); *Hymn Nat.* 14 (*darksome house of mortal clay*); *Il Pens.* 92 (*mansion in this fleshly nook*); cf. *In Ob. Pr. El.* 37 (*moles carnea, cf. carcer,* 46); Bishop Hall, *Rem. Works* (1660) 205 (*clay cottage*); Weldon, *Court Jas. I.* (1651) 123 (*earthen cottage*); Waller, *On the Divine Poems* (*dark cottage*; cf. Fuller, *Life of Monica*); *Refl. on Lord's Prayer* (*tenement of clay*); Vaughan, *Burial* (*house*); Bunyan, *Holy War*, beginning (*walls*, of town); Carew, Works (1824) 66 (*clayey tenement*); Dryden, *Abs. and Achit.* 1. 158 (*tenement of clay*); Cowper, *Task* 2. 458 (*house of clay, hovel*); Watts, *Hymns*, 'Happy the Heart' (*dark abode*); Tennyson, *The Deserted House*; *St. Agnes' Eve* 19 (*earthly house*); Hawthorne, *Septimius Felton* (1883) 341 (*fleshy tabernacle*). Sometimes the terms denote the head, or skull, not the whole body. Thus Waller, *Of Tea* (*palace*); Byron, *Childe Harold* 2. 5, 6 (*temple, hall, dome, palace, recess, tower, tenement*); the anonymous *To a Skeleton*, printed, for example, in Bryant's *Library of Poetry and Song* (*cell, canopy, cavern*). More remote are Young, *Night Thoughts* 1. 128 (*gross impediment of clay*); Tennyson, *In Mem.* 120. 5 (*cunning casts in clay*).

The notion of prison, though allied, is not to be identified with the foregoing. It is first recorded in Plato (*Cratylus* 400; *Phaedo* 82, 114, cf. 62); then in Stobaeus, *Florileg.* 116; Philo, *De Migr. Abr.* 2 (cf. *Quod Deus immut.* 32; *Leg. Alleg.* 1. 33); Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 3. 434; Theodoretus Gr., *Aff. Cur.*, p. 821, ed. Schultz; cf. Philolaus in Boeckh, p. 151; Athenaeus 4. 157. In Latin literature see Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 734; Cicero, *De Sen.* 21. 77; *Rep.* 6. 14 (=*Somn. Scip.* 3); *Tusc.* 1. 30; Vell. 2. 27. 3; Lucan 5. 119; 6. 721; Seneca, *Ad Helviam* 11 (*Corpusculum hoc, custodia et vinculum animi*); Lactantius, *Inst.* 3. 18; 6. 17; Macrobius in *Somn. Scip.* 13; Valerius Maximus 2. 6; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 14. 3; Boeth. *Cons. Phil.* 2. pr. 7 (cf. Alfred's version, ed. Sedgefield, 45. 28); Bede, *H. E.* 4. 3; *Opp.* 8. 429. In English literature see, for example, Alfred's version of Augustine's *Soliloquies* 59. 35, 60; 67. 2 (cf. 63. 21; 66. 19); Chaucer,

K. T. 2203; Shakespeare, 3 *Hen. VI.* 2. 1. 74; *T. And.* 3. 2. 10 (cf. *King John* 3. 4. 19); Massinger, *Renegado* 3. 2 (*fleshy prison*); Shelley, *Cenci* 1. 1. 115; cf. Browning, *Paracelsus*, Part I (Paracelsus' penultimate speech).

74[b]. Cf. *Gen.* 1399, 'þæt is mære wyrd'; *Rid.* 48[2], 'mē þæt þūhte wrætlic wyrd.'

75. **Bedealf.** The verb only *El.* 1081 (of the nails), *dēope bedolfen.*

76. **[of foldan āhōfon].** Cf. *El.* 844–5 (of the rediscovered cross), 'āhōf of foldgræfe.'

77. **gyredon.** Cf. 16, 23.

golde. Cf. 5, 16.

golde and seolfre. Cf. *El.* 1023–7:

> Hēo þā rōde hēht
> *golde* beweorcean and gimcynnum,
> mid þām æðelestum eorcnanstānum
> beseltan searocræftum, and þā in *seolfren* fæt
> locum belūcan.

Cf. *Rid.* 56[3–5]:

> wrætlic wudutrēow, and wunden *gold*,
> sinc searobunden, and *seolfres* dǣl,
> and rōde tācn.

Add Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* 2. 144: 'mid *seolfre* bewunden.'

78. So *El.* 511; cf. *Rood* 95; *An.* 812.

79. **bealuwa.** The MS. reading is objectionable on more than one account. *Bealuwara* cannot be equated with *sārra sorga*, while *bealuwa* evidently can; cf. *Jud.* 181–2, 'mæst morðra gefremede, *sārra sorga*'; *Jul.* 311–3, 'fela . . . *bealwa* gefremede, sweartra synna.' A metrical parallel is *Ps.* 65[10], 'and ūs bealuwa fela on bæce standeð.' *And ūs bealuwa fela* = × × ⏑ × | × ⏑ × ; *þæt ic bealuwa weorc* = × × ⏑ × | × ⏓; and both are in the first hemistich. The objections to Grein's *bealuwra* are (1) that the form is not found in the poetry; (2) that if the adjective is thus used as a noun, it must mean

'evil one' (cf. *Sat.* 481), which cannot be equated with *sorg*, while the noun *bealu* admits this readily, as in *Sal.* 372-3:

Oft hēo tō *bealwe* bearn āfēdeð
selfre *tō sorge.*

weorc. Grein's suggested *weorn* is unnecessary because (1) *weorc* is found with such genitives as *gewinnes*, *wēan*; (2) because it occurs as the object of such verbs as *ðolian*, *ðrōwian*; cf. *Beow.* 1721, 'hē þæs gewinnes weorc þrōwade'; *Rid.* 71[12], 'ic wēan . . . weorc þrōwade.'

80[a]. So *Jud.* 182.

80[b]. Cf. *An.* 1167, 'nū is sǣl cumen.'

Is nū. Cf. 126[b].

nū. Emphatic, as in 84; contrast with *iū*, 87.

81. **wīde and sīde.** So *Gen.* 10; *Chr.* 394; *An.* 1639; *Gu.* 854; *Ps.* 56[6, 13]. Pacius notes this as the only instance of rime in the poem.

82. So 12.

83[a]. Cf. 122[a]. For the thought see Tatwine's riddle.

84. **þrōwode.** Cf. 98, 145.

86. **bið.** There is perhaps an implication of the future, as compared with the sense of *is*; see Glossary.

87 ff. Cf. Chrysostom, *Contra Iudaeos et Gentiles* 9: 'Attamen maledictum illud, exsecrabile, extremi supplicium symbolum nunc desiderabile amabileque factum est, . . . et quod omnes olim exhorrescebant, eius nunc figura ita certatim exquiritur ab omnibus, ut ubique reperiatur apud principes et subditos, apud mulieres et viros, apud virgines et nuptas, apud servos et liberos,' &c. See also Tatwine's riddle.

87. **Iū.** Cf. *gēara iū*, 18.

wīta heardost. Cf. 61, and *An.* 1472, *heardra wīta.*

88[a]. **lēodum lāðost.** Cf. *El.* 977-8, where the cross was 'Iudēum . . . wyrda lāȝost.'

88[b]-9[a]. Dietrich compares *Rid.* 63[3-4]:

And me weg sylfa
ryhtne gerȳme.

Add *Gu.* 70–1, 'se þe līfes weg gæstum gearwaþ'; Wulfstan 18. 11: 'And ðærtō gerȳmed hæfþ ūs eallum rihtne weg' (also 18. 17, 18).

līfes weg. See Acts 2. 28; Ps. 16. 11; Matt. 7. 14. So *Ap.* 31; *An.* 170.

90. **wuldres Ealdor.** Cf. *wuldres Cyning*, 133.

91. **ofer.** Cf., for example, *Chr.* 107, 1382. See Wülfing § 772.

holtwudu. So *Beow.* 1369; *Ph.* 171; cf. 29. Fortunatus' hymn, 'Pange, lingua, gloriosi,' has:

> Crux fidelis inter omnes
> Arbor una nobilis;
> Nulla silva talem profert
> Fronde, flore, germine.

The Antiphon at the Benedictus for the Lauds of the Invention of the Cross is: 'Super omnia ligna cedrorum tu sola excelsior, in qua vita mundi pependit, in qua Christus triumphavit,' &c. For the imagery cf. Judges 9. 8 ff.; Ezek. 31. 3 ff.; Dan. 4. 10 ff.

heofonrīces Weard. This first occurs in Cædmon's Hymn.

93ª. **ælmihtig God.** Cf. 106, 156, besides 153, and note on 39.

for. Grein assumes that this means 'above'; but cf. 112, and note that *ofer*, l. 94, signifies 'above.'

93ᵇ. **for ealle men.** Transferred by the Ruthwell Cross poet to a place corresponding to line 41.

94. Cf. Luke 1. 42, and *Chr.* 71 ff., 275 ff.

94ᵇ. So *Jul.* 432.

95–6. **ic þē hāte . . . þæt.** Cf. *Sat.* 694–5.

95ᵇ. So 78ᵇ.

96. **gesyhðe.** Cf. 14.

97. **wuldres bēam.** So *El.* 217; cf. *wuldres wynbēam*, *El.* 844.

98–9. Cf. 14, 145–6; *Men.* 85–6.

98. Cf. *Ben. Off.*, p. 72: 'þe hē siðþan on þrōwode.'

se ðe. Nominative instead of dative; cf. *Rid.* 4[96].

on þrōwode. So *Chr.* 1154.

100. **ealdgewyrhtum.** In another sense *Beow.* 2657; cf. *ārgewyrht* in this sense, *El.* 1301; *Chr.* 1241; *Jul.* 702; *Gu.* 960, 1052.

101ª. Cf. 113-4.

102. **mannum tō helpe.** Cf. *Chr.* 427, 1173; *El.* 679, 1012; for the form see 153.

103ª. Cf. *Chr.* 737.

103ᵇ-9. Cf. *Chr.* 523-7.

104. Cf. *An.* 104, 'on middangeard mancynn sēcan'; also *Chr.* 523-4, 946-7.

106. **and his englas mid.** For the form cf. *An.* 237; *Dan.* 354; *Chr.* 1521, &c.

107. **wile dēman.** Cf. *Chr.* 803; *Sat.* 109. 623.

se āh dōmes geweald. Cf. *Gifts of Men* 27; *Chr.* 228; *El.* 726; Wulfstan 22. 2, 14; also *Sat.* 118.

108-9. Cf. *Chr.* 1233ᵇ.

109ᵇ. Cf. 138ª.

110. Echoed by 117.

Ne mæg þǣr ænig. Cf. *Chr.* 1628; 999, 1316.

112 ff. Cf. *Chr.* 1376ᵇ ff., 1474-5.

113. **for Dryhtnes naman.** *For . . . naman* imitates the Lat. *propter nomen* (*pro nomine*), which translates the Greek *διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος* (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος*), as in Matt. 10. 22; 19. 29; 24. 9; Mark 13. 13; Luke 21. 12, 17; John 15. 21; Acts 9. 16; 1 John 2. 12; 3 John 7; Rev. 2. 3; so in the O. T.: Ps. 23. 3, &c.

113-4. **dēaðes . . . biteres.** Cf. *Dan.* 223; *Chr.* 1474-5; Eccles. 7. 26.

114. Cf. Heb. 2. 9; also Matt. 16. 28; John 8. 52.

115. **fēa.** An adverb, according to Grein, who adduces *Ps.* 134[18].

117-8. For the general form cf. *Chr.* 779-81; for the meaning see *El.* 1229 ff.

117. An echo of 110.

anforht. This may be assumed on the analogy of such words as *ansund*, since *unforht* makes nonsense.

118. Cf. *Gu.* 770, 'beraƀ in brēostum beorhtne gelēafan'; also *Chr.* 1072, 'beraƀ brēosta hord.'

120. of eorƀwege. Cf. *El.* 736, 'of eorƀwegum ūp gefēran.'

121. Cf. *Doomsday* (Ex.) 89^{b}, 'se þe him wile lifgan mid Gode.'

mid. Thus used in 134, 143.

122^{a}. Cf. 83^{a}.

122^{b}. So *Chr.* 280; *Gu.* 580; *Hy.* 4^{74}.

123. **elne mycle.** So 34, 60; cf. *Chr.* 1317; Bouterwek, 'mit freudigem Muthe'; Kemble, 'with much power.'

āna. For the conjunction with *mēte werede* cf. Chaucer, *Knight's Tale* 1921, 'alone, withouten any companye'; somewhat similar are Shakespeare, *Hen. V.* 4. 3. 74; 2 *Hen. VI.* 1. 2. 69; *T. of A.* 5. 1. 110; *A. Y. L.* 2. 1. 49.

125. **āfȳsed on forƀwege.** Cf. *fūs on forƀweg*, *Exod.* 129; *Men.* 218; *Gu.* 773, 918; *fūs forƀwegas*, *Exod.* 248; *Rid.* 31^{3}; *āfȳsed on forƀsīƀ*, *Gu.* 911.

126. **langunghwīla.** Bouterwek, '(meine) Sehnsucht der Stunden (?)'; Kemble, 'of longing times'; Grein, 'Sehnsuchtsstunden'; Pacius (125^{b}-6^{a}), 'Sehnsucht füllte die sorgende Seele'; Morley, '(many) an hour of longing'; Brooke^{2}, 'long and weary days.'

nū. Contrasted with *þā*, 122.

līfes hyht. So *Chr.* 585; *Gu.* 631.

129. **mē is willa.** Cf. *Dan.* 581, 'is mē swā þēah willa.' For the general thought, cf. *Hy.* 4$^{69-72}$, and note the phraseology which suggests the *Rood*:

> *Hwæðre ic* mē ealles þæs *ellen* wylle
> habban and hlyhhan and mē *hyhtan* tō,
> frætwian mec *on forðweg*, and *fundian*
> sylf tō þām sīðe þe ic āsettan sceal.

Again (87-90):

Forþon ic *āfȳsed* eom
earm of mīnum cȳðle. Ne mæg þæs anhoga
lēoðwynna lēas leng drohtian,
winelēas wræcca.

Again (97-8):

Ymb sīð sprece,
longunge fūs.

Again (100-1):

Nāh ic fela goldes
ne hūrū ðæs frēondes.

133. **sōhton him wuldres Cyning.** Cf. *Gu.* 1054-5, 'þæt ic wuldres God sēce, Swegelcyning.'

134. **Hēahfædere.** Only here in this sense.

135. **wuniaþ on wuldre.** Cf. 143, 155.

ic wēne mē. So *Chr.* 789; cf. *Sat.* 50; *Ps.* 55^3.

137. Cf. 4; for the form see 145.

138. Cf. 109; *Gen.* 1211, 'of þyssum lænan līfe fēran'; *Hy.* 3^{53}, 'ær ic of þysum lænan līfe gehweorfe.'

139^a. Cf. 141^a.

139^b. **þær is.** So 140, 141. With the repetitions, cf. *Chr.* 1649-52:

Ðār is engla song, ēadigra blis;
þæ[r] is sēo dȳre Dryhtnes ousīen
eallum þām gesælgum sunnan lēohtra;
ðær is lēofra lufu.

Also *An.* 871, 'þær wæs singal song'; *Gu.* 1055, 'þær is sib and blis, dōmfæstra drēam.' For the ultimate sources in Augustine, Gregory, and Caesarius of Arles, and the reproductions in the homilies, see my note, *Chr.* 1649-64.

blis. So 141; similar repetitions in *Chr.* 1649, 1657; cf. 1646.

141. **geseted tō symle.** Rev. 19. 9; Luke 14. 15. For *tō symle*, cf. *Beow.* 484, 2104; *Dan.* 701; *Jud.* 15.

143. **wunian on wuldre.** So *Chr.* 347; *Dan.* 367.

well. Cf. 129.

hālgum. Cf. 154.

145-6. Cf. 98-9.

145. An echo of 137.

147. līf forgeaf. *Chr.* 776; *Gen.* 2843.

148. Hiht wæs genīwad. The words and the theme are those of *Chr.* 529-30:

Hyht wæs genīwad,
blis in burgum, þurh þæs Beornes cyme.

At the approaching death of Guthlac (*Gu.* 926-7),

Hyht wæs genīwad,
blis in brēostum.

149. mid blēdum and mid blisse. Cf. *Chr.* 1256, 1346, 1657.

þām þe ār. Cf. *Chr.* 799, 916, 1260; for *ār* see 114, 118, 137.

bryne þolodan. Cf. *Gu.* 545, *bryne þrōwian.* The reference is to the spirits in prison who were released by the Harrowing of Hell. This theme is continued to the end of the poem. Elsewhere it is found in the poetry: *Chr.* 25 ff., 145 ff., 558 ff., 730 ff., 1159 ff.; *El.* 181, 295-7 (?), 905-13; *Gu.* 1074 ff.; *Ph.* 417-23; *Rid.* 56[6]; *Pa.* 58 ff.; *Sat.* 374-557 (?); *Creed* 30 ff.; besides the *Harrowing of Hell.* In the prose see *Martyr.*, p. 50; Wulfstan, pp. 22, 145; *Bl. Hom.*, pp. 85-9; Ælf. *Hom.* 1. 28, 216, 480; 2. 6; *Ben. Off.*, ed. Feiler, pp. 56-7, 64; &c. Cf. the notes in my edition of the *Christ.*

150-2. Cf. *Chr.* 577-81:

Wile in tō ēow ealles Wāldend,
Cyning on ceastre, *corðre ne lȳtle,*
fyrnweorca Fruma, folc gelǣdan
in drēama drēam, ðe hē on dēoflum genōm
þurh his sylfes *sygor.*

150. Se Sunu. Nowhere else in the poetry thus absolutely (see 83). Cf. John 8. 36; Ps. 2. 12.

on þām sīðfate. So *Exod.* 521; *An.* 1664 (-fæte); *Rid.* 44[7] (-fæte).

151. mid. Cf. Hittle, p. 25.

mænigeo. Or perhaps *menigeo*; cf. 112. The only other instance in the poetry of MS. *man-* in this word is *Hy.* 10^{3}.

152. gāsta weorode. Contrast with 69.

153. tō blisse. So *An.* 588; *Men.* 62; cf. my note on *Chr.* 28, and *Rood* 102.

154^{b}. Cf. 149^{b}.

155^{a}. wunedon on wuldre. Cf. 143.

155^{b}–6. There is a suggestion here of *Chr.* 436.

156. The theme of these closing lines is of course the joy in heaven at the return of Christ with the Old Testament saints whom he had saved from Limbo, and is therefore at once suggestive of the triumph of Easter Day, and of the eternal rejoicing in heaven. Death is swallowed up in victory, the pains of the ignominious cross are forgotten, and the vision of the glorious rood is justified.

APPENDIX

1843. Kemble.

Lo! I the costliest of dreams will relate, which met me in the middle of the night, after the race of speakers dwelt in rest. Methought that I beheld a wondrous tree led through the lift, with light surrounded, brightest of trees: all that beacon was poured over with gold; gems stood fair towards the quarters of the world, and there were five also aloft in the axle-span. There all the angels of the Lord beheld it, fair, through the wide creation.[1]

1854. Bouterwek.

Merk auf! Ich will der Träume trefflichsten erzählen, der mir träumte zur Mitternacht, als die Sprachbegabten (Menschen) in Ruhe weilten.

Es deuchte mir, dass ich ein wunderbares Holz sähe in der Luft schweben, mit Licht umgeben, der Bäume glänzendsten: dies ganze (Wunder)zeichen war übergossen mit Golde; Edelsteine standen vier an des Bodens Gegend; gleicherweise waren dort fünf oben an der Achsel Gespann; es schauten dorthin die Engel des Herrn alle schön vermöge ihrer Seligkeit, nicht war dies jedoch eines Verbrechers Galgen, sondern auf ihn schauten dort heilige Geister, die Menschen auf Erden und diese ganze ruhmreiche Schöpfung.

1856. Kemble.

Lo! I the costliest of dreams will relate that met me in the middle of the night, after articulate speaking men dwelt in

[1] *Arch.* 30. 34.

rest. It seemed to me that I saw a wondrous tree led through the sky enveloped in light, brightest of beams: all that beacon was surrounded with gold; gems stood fair at the extremities of the earth, five also there were aloft on the axle-span: all the angels of the Lord beheld it fair through the firmament. That was no malefactor's gibbet indeed, but it there beheld holy spirits, men upon earth, and all this mighty creation.

1859. Grein.

Traun! ich will der Träume trefflichsten erzählen,
was mir hat geträumt um Mitternacht,
als in Ruhe weilten alle Redetragenden.
Mir däuchte, dass ich sähe einen seltsamen Stamm
mit Licht bewunden in den Lüften schweben,
der Bäume glänzendsten: das blinkende Zeichen
war mit Gold all übergossen, Gemmen stunden
vier an dem Fusse, wie da auch fünfe waren
oben an dem Achselgespanne. Das beschauten alle Engel Gottes
herlich für alle Zukunft; das war gewis nicht eines Uebelthäters Galgen,
sondern heilige Geister schauten hin auf ihn,
die Helden hier auf Erden und alle diese hehre Schöpfung.

1866. Stephens.

List, now, Lordings, to loveliest swefen, dream the daintiest at dead of night,
what time each speech-bearer slumber'd peaceful!
Methought I saw, then, sudden in mid-air,
mantling with light-rays, a marvellous Tree,
of beams the brightest. The pillar'd beacon
glitter'd with gold. Grac'd its corners
four the fairest gem-stones, while five as bright were sparkling
up above the span of the shoulder. All the Seraphs beheld it wistful,

Angel-hosts of endless beauty. 'Twas no wicked outcast's gallows,
but hie and haste to greet it holy Spirits,
men from our mid-earth, and each mystic orb-king.

1873. Pacius.

Merk ich melde der Träume trefflichsten
Der mir träumte zu mitten der Nacht
Da die Redebegabten ruhten.
Mir war ich erblickte den Wunderbaum
In Lüften fliegen von Licht umflossen,
Den glänzenden Baum, das ganze Bild war
Umgossen von Golde; Glanzsteine vier
Glühten zu Füssen ihm; fünf waren
Oben an der Achsel. Die Engel des Ewigen alle
Schauten selig schön, nicht eines Sünders Holz
Sondern Ihn sahen die guten Geister
Die Menschen alle, die mähre Erde.

1873. Hammerich.

Lyt! Jeg vil synge min søde drøm;
mig den mødte ved midnatstide,
mens rundt om alle roligt slumred.
Mig syntes, jeg så det sælsomste træ,
lysomluet i luften svæve:
en strålende stamme! Strøet med guld
overalt var tegnet; ædelsten stode,
fire om foden, men fem der var
om hint akselspand oppe. Alle drottens
engle det skued, de evigt fagre.
Sandelig var det ej synderens galge!
Mænd oven mulde jo, mægtige ånder,
den skønne skabning skued op til den.

1874. (Hammerich)–Michelsen.

Wisst! Singen will ich einen sel'gen Traum.
Er ist mir genahet in nächtiger Stund;
Die redenden Leute ruhten im Schlummer.
Mir deuchte, ich sahe einen seltsamen Baum
In Lüften schweben, vom Lichte umwoben,
Einen strahlenden Baum. Das Gebilde schien
Uebergossen mit Golde; und Gemmen standen
Vier an dem Fusse, und fünfe droben
Am Achselgespann. Alle Engel sahen's,
Sie, die schön erschaff'nen. Ein Schandpfahl war's nicht,
Dran die Blicke hingen der heiligen Geister,
Und der Erdenpilger, der edelsten Wesen.

1882. Hickey (Miss).

Lo, I will tell of the best of dreams, which I dream'd at deep midnight,
When men were lying at rest; meseem'd I saw the blessed Tree,
The loveliest Tree, the Tree most good, uplift and girt with light,
And flooded with gold; and precious gems at its foot were fair to see,
And five bright stones on the shoulder-span shone out full gloriously.

All the fair angels of the Lord gazing beheld it there;
'Twas not the rood of the sin-steept man, the cross of the ill-doèr,
But holy spirits lookt thereon, and men of mortal breath,
And all this mighty universe.

1888. Morley.

What! I will tell you the choicest of Dreams
That I dreamt at midnight when all talkers were still
In their rest.

For I saw, as it seemed, in the air a strange Tree
Moving circled with light, the most shining of stems;
All that sign was wrought over with gold, and four gems
Were below by the ground, five at spread of its arms;
On it gazed all the angels of God in their glory for aye.
Truly that was no gallows of shame whereon eyes of the angels were stayed,
And the eyes of the holy on Earth, and of all the Creator has made.

1888 (1901). Moorsom.

Ho, Brethren, list the dream I tell,
The best that e'er to man befell,
How, when the world was hushed to rest,
And men lay still by sleep oppressed,
Amid the visions of the night,
Before me rose a wondrous sight;
I dreamt a Tree of golden light
With radiant splendour glistening bright
Was borne upon the air;
Methought the four arms glimmered bare,
Save that on each a jewel rare
Flamed on the night a ruddy glare;
And five gems clustered, whence they sprung,
All ruby-red.
Above my head;
'Twas thus the Beacon-Ensign hung.

I saw the Fair-Ones in the sky,
With Spirits of the holy dead,
Intent upon the mystery;
And all that saintly were—'tis said—
All who by nobleness were led,
All on our earth
Of heavenly birth,
Cast longing looks on high.

1890. Brown (Miss).

Lo, I the best of dreams will tell,
That which medreamt in the middle of the night
When the speech-endowed remained in bed.
Methought that I saw a wondrous tree
Rising aloft, with light begirt,
The brightest of trees: all that sign was
Overlaid with gold; gems stood
Fair at the surface of the earth, likewise there were five
Up on the shoulder-span. The angels of the Lord beheld it
Fair through the future, nor was that truly the gibbet of a vile *one*,
But holy spirits watched it there,
Men upon earth, and all this great creation.

1892. Brooke[1].

Listen – of all dreams I'll the dearest tell,
That at mid of night met me (while I slept),
When word-speaking folk wonned in their rest.
I methought I saw led into the lift,
All enwreathed with light, wonderful, a Tree,
Brightest it of trees! All that beacon was
Over-gushed with gold; jewels were in it;
At its foot were four, five were also there
High upon the axle-span, and beheld it there, all the angels of the Lord
Winsome for the world to come! Surely that was not, of a wicked man the gallows.
But the spirits of the saints saw it (shining) there,
And the men who walk the mould and this mighty Universe.

1898. Brooke[2].

Listen, of all dreams, I'll the dearest tell,
That at mid of night, met me (while I slept),

When word-speaking wights, resting, wonned in sleep.
To the sky upsoaring, then I saw, methought,
All enwreathed with light, wonderful, a Tree;
Brightest it of beams! All that beacon was
Over-gushed with gold; jewels were in it,
At its foot were fair; five were also there
High upon the shoulder-span, and beheld it there, all the angels of the Lord,
Winsome for the world to come! Surely that was not, of a wicked man the gallows.
But the spirits of the saints saw it (shining) there,
And the men who walk the mould, and this mighty universe.

1901. Garnett.

Lo! choicest of dreams I will relate,
What dream I dreamt in middle of night
When mortal men reposed in rest.
Methought I saw a wondrous wood
Tower aloft with light bewound,
Brightest of trees; that beacon was all
Begirt with gold; jewels were standing
Four at surface of earth, likewise were there five
Above on the shoulder-brace. All angels of God beheld it
Fair through future ages; 'twas no criminal's cross indeed,
But holy spirits beheld it there,
Men upon earth, all this glorious creation.

1902. Iddings (Miss).

Hark! of a matchless vision would I speak,
Which once I dreamed at midnight, when mankind
At rest were dwelling. Then methought I saw
A wondrous cross extending up on high,
With light encircled, tree of trees most bright.

That beacon all was overlaid with gold;
And near the earth stood precious stones ablaze.
While five more sparkled on the shoulder-beam.
Gazing on it were angels of the Lord,
From their first being's dawn all beautiful.
No cross was that of wickedness and shame,
But holy spirits, men on earth, and all
The glorious creation on it gazed.

GLOSSARY

[Initial ð follows t; æ is placed like ae; otherwise the order is strictly alphabetical. Arabic numerals indicate the classes of the ablaut verbs; *w.* 1, &c., those of the weak verbs; *R*, the reduplicating; *PP*, the preteritive presents; *an*, the anomalous verbs. The double dagger, ‡, is used to designate words not elsewhere found in the poetry, according to Grein. When the designations of mood and tense are omitted 'ind. pres.' is to be understood; when of mood and tense only, supply 'ind.' if no other has preceded, otherwise the latter. Definitions are classed in groups, which are separated by semicolons.]

ac, *conj.*, but, 11, 43, 115, 119, 132.

Ādām, *pr. n.*, *gs.* Ād[ā]mes, 100.

æfentīd, *f.*, eventide, evening hour, *as.* æfentīde, 68.

æfter, *prep. w. dat.*, after, 65.

æghwylc, *adj.*, each, every, *nsf.* 120.

æghwylc, *pron.*, every one, *asm.* æghwylcne (æghwylcne ānra, every one), 86. *See* ānra gehwylc.

ælmihtig, *adj.*, almighty, *nsm.* 39, 93, 98, 106, 152, 155; *asm.* ælmihtigne, 60.

ænig, *pron.*, any, any one, *nsm.* 110, 117; *dsm.* ænigum, 47.

ær, *adv.*, before, formerly, 114, 118, 137, 145, 149, 153; *comp.* ārur, earlier, formerly, 108; *sup.* ærest, at first, aforetime, 19.

‡**ærgewin**, *n.*, former conflict, ancient strife, *as.* 19.

ærðān, *conj.*, ere, before (that), ār þān, 88.

æt, *prep. w. dat.*, at, 8, 63.

ætgædere, *adv.*, together, 48.

æðeling, *m.*, Lord, Prince, *ds.* æðelinge, 58.

āfȳsan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, hasten, urge forward, *pp. nsm.*, āfȳsed (ready, eager), 125.

āgan, *PP.*, *trans.*, have, possess, 3 *sg.* āh, 107.

āhēawan, *R.*, *trans.*, to cut down, *pp. nsm.* āhēawen, 29.

āhębban, 6, *trans.*, lift up, raise, *pret.* 1 *sg.* āhōf, 44; 3 *pl.* āhōfon, 61, [76].

ālęcgan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, to lay down, *pret.* 3 *pl.* ālēdon, 63.

ān, *num.*, one; alone, *nsm. wk.* āna, 123, 128; *gp.* ānra. *See* ānra gehwylc, æghwylc ānra.

and, *conj.*, and; but, 12, &c. (20 times); represented in the MS. by 7.

anforht, *adj.*, terrified, [a]nforht, 117.

ānra gehwylc, *pron.*, each one, every one, *dsm.* ānra gehwylcum, 108. *See* ǣghwylc ānra.

anwealda, *m.*, Master, Ruler, Lord, *ns.* 153.

ārǣran, *w.* 1, *trans.*, upraise, set up, *pp. nsm.* ārǣred, 44.

ārīsan, 1, *intrans.*, arise, rise (from death), *pret.* 3 *sg.* ārās, 101.

āsęttan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, set, place, *pret.* 3 *pl.* āsętton, 32; *opt.* 3 *sg.* āsętte, 142.

āstīgan, 1, *trans.*, mount, ascend, *pret.* 3 *sg.* āstāg, 103.

āstyrian, *w.* 1, *trans.*, remove, move, *pp. nsm.* āstyred, 30.

bana, *m.*, slayer, murderer, *gpl.* ban[*e*]n[*a*], 66.

bēacen, *n.*, sign, *ns.* 6; *ds.* bēacne, 83; *as.* 21; *gpl.* bēacna, 118.

bealu, *n.* evil, *gpl.* bealuwa, 79.

bēam, *m.*, tree, cross, *ns.* 97; *ds.* bēame, 114, 122; *gpl.* bēama, 6. *See* sigebēam.

bearn, *n.*, child, son, *ns.* 83.

bedelfan, 3, *trans.*, to bury, *pret.* 3 *sg.* bedealf, 75.

bedrīfan, 1, *trans.*, cover over, envelop, *pp. asm.* bedrifenne, 62.

begēotan, 2, *trans.*, pour over; shed, *pp. nsn.* begoten, 7, 49.

behealdan, *R.*, *trans.*, gaze upon, behold, *pret.* 3 *sg.* behēold, 25, 58; 3 *pl.* behēoldon, 9, 11, 64.

bēon. *See* wesan.

beorg, *m.*, hill, mountain, *ds.* beorge, 50; *as.* 32.

beorht, *adj*, bright, glittering, *dsm. wk.* beorhtan, 66; *sup. nsm.* leorhtost, 6.

beorn, *m.*, man; hero, *ns.* 42; *np.* beornas, 32, 66.

beran, 4, *trans.*, bear, carry, 3 *sg.* bereð, 118; *pret.* 3 *pl.* bēron, 32.

berstan, 3, *intrans.*, burst asunder, break, *inf.* 36.

bestēman, *w.* 1, *trans.*, bedew, wet, *pp. nsm.* bestēmed, 48; *nsn.* bestēmed, 22.

besylian, *w.* 1, *intrans.*, defile, stain, *pp. nsn.* besyled, 23.

bewindan, 3, *trans.*, encircle, wrap, *pp.* bewunden, 5.

bewrēon, 1, *trans.*, clothe, cover, *pp.* bewrigen, 17, 53.

bifian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, tremble, shake, *pret.* 1 *sg.* bifode, 42; *mf.* 36.

biter, *adj.*, bitter, sharp, *ysm.* biteres, 114.

blēd, *m.*, prosperity, blessedness, *dip.* blēdum, 149.

blēo, *n.*, hue, colour, *ip.* blēam, 22.

blis, *f.*, joy, happiness, *ns.* 139, 141; *ds.* blisse, 153; *dis.* blisse, 149.

blīðe, *adj.*, happy, joyful, glad, *nsm.* 122.

blōd, *n.*, blood, *dis.* blōde, 48.

brēost, *n.*, breast, heart, *dp.* brēostum, 118.

brūcan, 2, *trans.*, enjoy, partake of, *inf.* 144.

bryne, *m.*, fire, burning, *as.* 149.

būgan, 2, *intrans.*, bow down, bend, *mf.* 36, 42.

būtū, *pn.*, both (*from* bēgen twēgen), *a.* 48.

byrigan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, taste, eat, *pret.* 3 *sg.* byrigde, 101.

bysmerian, *w.* 1, *trans.*, mock, revile, *pret.* 3 *pl.* bysmeredon, 48.

ceorfan, 3, *trans.*, carve, hew out, *pret.* 3 *pl.* curfon, 66.
cōlian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, grow cold, *pret.* 3 *sg.* cōlode, 72.
Crīst, *pr. n.*, Christ, *ns.* 56; *ds.* Crīste, 116.
cuman, 4, *intrans.*, come, *pret.* 3 *sg.* cōm, 151; cwōm, 154; 3 *pl.* cwōman, 57; *pp. nsm.* cumen, 80.
cweðan, 5, *trans.*, say, speak; 3 *sg.* cwyð, 111; *inf.*, 116.
cwīðan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, lament, bewail, *pret.* 3 *pl.* cwīðdon, 56.
cyning, *m.*, King, *gs.* cyninges, 56; *as.* cyning, 44, 133.
cynn, *n.*, kind, race, *as.* 94.
cyst, *m.* (what is chosen), best, choicest, *as.* 1.

dæg, *m*, day, *gp.* daga, 136.
dēað, *m.*, death, *gs.* dēaðes, 113; *as.* 101.
dēman, *w.* 1, *trans.* (*w. dat.*), adjudge, *inf.* 107.
dēop, *adj.*, deep, *dsm. wk.* dēopan, 75.
deorc, *adj.*, dark, black, *dipm. wk.* deorcan, 46.
dolg, *n.*, wound, scar, *np.* 46.
dōm, *m.*, judgement, *gs.* dōmes, 107.
dōmdæg, *m.*, day of judgement, doomsday, *ds.* dōmdæge, 105.
dōn, *an., trans.*, do, *pret.* 3 *sg.* dyde, 114.
drēam, *m.*, joy, delight, *ns.* 140; *gs.* drēames, 144; *dp.* drēamum 133.
dryhten, *m.*, Lord, *ns.* 101, 105; *gs.* dryhtnes, 9, 35, 75, 113, 136, 140; *as.* 64, *vs.* 144.
durran, *PP.*, dare, *pret.* 3 *sg.* dorste, 35, 42, 45, 47.

ēac, *adv.*, also, 92.
ealdgewyrht, *n.*, deed of old, former action, *dp.* ealdgewyrhtum, 100.
ealdor, *m.*, Prince, Lord, *ns.* 90.
eall, *adj.*, all, the whole of, *nsm.* 20, 48, 62; *nsn.* 6; *nsf.* 12, 82; eal, 55; *asn.* 58, 94; *npm.* ealle, 9, 128; *gp.* ealra, 125; *dpm.* eallum, 154; *apm.* ealle, 37, 74, 93.
earm, *adj.*, wretched; *npm.* earme, 68; *gpm.* earmra, 19.
ēaðmōd, *adj.*, humble; *nsm.* 60.
eaxl, *f.*, shoulder, *dp.* eaxlum, 32.
‡eaxlgespann, *n.*, shoulder beam, cross beam, *ds.* eaxlgespanne, 9.
efstan, *w.* 1, *intrans.*, hasten, *mf.* 34.
ęft, *adv.*, again, afterwards, back, 68, 101, 103.
ęgesa, *m.*, fear, awe, *ns.* 86.
ęgeslic, *adj.*, fearful, dreadful, *nsf.* 74.
ęllen, *n.*, zeal, courage, *is.* 34, 60, 123.
ęnde, *m.*, end, verge, *ds.* 29.
ęngel, *m.*, angel, *np.* eng[*las*], 9; englas, 106; *dp.* englum, 152.
eorðe, *f.*, earth, ground, *gs.* eorðan, 37; *ds.* eorðan, 42, 74, 127, 145.

eorðweg, *m.*, earthly way, *ds.* eorðwege, 120.

ēðel, *m.*, fatherland, home, *ns.* 155.

fæger, *adj.*, beautiful, lovely, *nsn.* 73; *dsf. wk.* fægran, 21; *npm.* fægere, 8, 10.

fæste, *adv.*, fast, firm, 38, 43.

fāh, *adj.*, stained, discoloured, *nsm.* 13.

fēa, *adv.*, little, 115.

fealu, *indecl. n.*, many, 50, 125, 131.

feallan, *R*, *intrans.*, fall, *inf.* 43.

fēond, *m.*, enemy, foe, *np.* fēondas, 30, 33; *ap.* 38.

‡feorgbold, *n.*, dwelling of the soul, body, *ns.* 73.

feorran, *adv.*, from afar, 57.

fīfe, *num. adj.*, five, *n.* 8.

folc, *n.*, people, *ns.* 140.

folde, *f.*, earth, ground, *gs.* foldan, 8, 43; *ds.* foldan [76], 132.

for, *prep.*, because of, on account of; for the sake of; before, in the presence of, *w. dat.* 21, 99, 111, 112, 113, 146; *w. acc.* 93.

forgiefan, 5, *trans.*, give, grant, *pret.* 3 *sg.* forgeaf, 147.

forht, *adj.*, fearful, afraid, *nsm.* 21.

forhtian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, to be afraid, to be fearful, 3 *pl.* forhtiað, 115.

forlǣtan, *R.*, *trans.*, leave, abandon, *pret.* 3 *pl.* forlēton, 61.

forð, *adv.*, away, 132.

forðgān, *an.*, *intrans.*, go forth, come forth, *pret.* 3 *sg.* forðēode, 54.

forðgesceaft, *f.*, creation, *as.* 10.

forðon, *conj.*, therefore, wherefore, 84.

forðweg, *m.*, departure, *ds.* forðwege, 125.

forwundian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, wound sore, *pp. nsm.*, forwundod, 14, 62.

fracoð, *adj. as. sb.*, wicked, (felon), *ys.* fraco[ð]es, 10.

fram, *prep. w. dat.*, away from, 69.

frēa, *m.*, Master, Lord, *as.* frēan, 33.

frēond, *m.*, friend, *ns.* 144; *gp.* freonda, 132; *np.* freondas, 76.

frīnan, 3, *trans.*, ask, inquire, 3 *sg.* frīneð, 112.

fundian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, make one's way, direct one's course, 3 *sg.* fundað, 103.

fūs, *adj.*, quick, ready, eager, *asn.* fūse, 21.

fyll, *m.*, fall, death, *as.* 56.

fyllan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, fell, cut down, *inf.* 73.

galan, 6, *trans.*, sing, *inf.* 67.

gang, *m.*, flow, *dis.* gange, 23.

gāst, *m.*, spirit, soul, *as.* 49; *np.* gāstas, 11; *gp.* gāsta, 152.

gealga, *m.*, cross, *ns.* 10; *as.* gealgan, 40.

gealgtrēow, *n.*, cross, *ds.* gealgtreowe, 146.

gēara, *adv.*, of yore, long since, 28.

gebīdan, 1, *trans.*, endure, *pret.* 1 *sg.* gebād, 125; *pp. nsm.* gebiden, 50, 79.

gebiddan, 5, *intrans.* (*w. refl. dat.*), pray, worship, 3 *pl.* gebiddaþ, 83; *pret.* 1 *sg.* gebæd, 122.

gebringan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, bring, *imp.* 2 *sg.* gebringe, 139.

gedrēfan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, distress, trouble, *pp. ns.* gedrēfed, 20, 59.

geearnian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, earn, deserve, 3 *sg.* geearnaþ, 109.

gefæstnian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, to fasten, make fast, *pret.* 3 *pl.* gefæstnodon, 33.

gefętian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, fetch, *opt.* 3 *sg.* gefętige, 138.

gefrīnan, 3, *trans.*, find out, get knowledge of, *pret.* 3 *pl.* gefrunon, 76.

gefyllan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, beat down, slay, *inf.* 38.

gegyrwan, *w.* 2, *trans.*, adorn, *pp. asn.* gegyred, 16; gegyrwed, 23.

gehwylc, *pron.*, every, each, *ds.* gehwylce, 136. *See* ānra gehwylc.

gehȳran, *w.* 1, *trans.*, hear, *pret.* 1 *sg.* gehȳrde, 26, *inf.* 78.

gemǣtan, *w.* 1 (*impersonal w. acc.*), dream, *pret.* 1 *sg.* gemǣtte, 2.

gemunan, *PP.*, remember, recall, *prcs.* 1 *sg.* geman, 28.

geniman, 4, *trans.*, take, lay hold on, *pret.* 3 *pl.* genāmon, 60; genāman, 30.

genīwian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, renew, restore, *pp. nsm.* genīwad, 148.

genōg, *adj.*, enough, numerous, *npm.* genoge, 33.

geong, *adj.*, young, *nsm.* 39.

gēotan, 2, *intrans.*, drip, *ptc. npm.* [g]ēotende, 70.

gerihtan, *w.* 1, *intrans.*, direct, *pp. nsn.* geriht, 131.

gerȳman, *w.* 1, *trans.*, open, prepare, *pret.* 1 *sg.* gerȳmde, 89.

gesceaft, *f.*, creation, *ns.* 12, 55, 82.

gesēcan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, come to, attain, *inf.* 119.

gesēon, 5, *trans.*, see, behold, *pret.* 1 *sg.* geseah, 14, 21, 33. 36, 51, *opt. pret.* 1 *sg.* gesāwe, 4.

gesęttan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, place, establish, *pret.* 3 *pl.* gesętton, 67; *pp. nsn.* gesęted, 141.

gesīene, *adj.*, visible, *npm.* 46.

gestandan, 6, *intrans.* (*w. refl. dat.*), stand, *pret.* 3 *pl.* gestōdon, 63.

gestīgan, 1, *trans.*, to ascend, mount, *pret.* 3 *sg.* gestāh, 40; *inf.* 34.

gesyhð, *f.*, sight, view; vision, *ds.* gesyhðe, 21, 41, 66; *as.* gesyhðe, 96.

geweald, *n.*, power, prerogative, *as.* 107.

geweorðan, 3, *intrans.*, become, *pp. nsm.* geworden, 87.

geweorðian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, honour; decorate, adorn, *pret.* 3 *sg.* geweorðode, 90, 94; *pp. asm.* geweorðod, 15.

gewin, *n.*, conflict, struggle, *ds.* gewinne, 65.

gewitan, 1, *intrans.*, depart, go, *prt.* 3 *sg.* gewāt, 71; 3 *pt.* gewiton, 133.

gewyrcan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, make, fashion, *pret.* 3 *pl.* geworhton, 31.

gimm, *m.*, gem, precious stone, *np.* gimmas, 7, 16.

God, *m.*, God, *n.* 39, 93, 98, 106,

hrēowcearig, *adj.*, sorrowful, troubled, *nsm.* 25.
hūru, *adv.*, indeed, verily, 10.
hwænne, *adv.*, when, 136.
hwēr, *adv.*, where, 112.
hwæt, *pron. n.*, what, *ns.* h[ƿ]æt, 2.
hwæt, *interj.*, lo, behold, 1, 90.
hwæðre, *conj.*, however, nevertheless, yet, still, 18, 24, 38, 42, 59, 75; hwæðere, 57, 70, 101.
hwīl, *f.*, while, time, *as.* hwīle, 24, 64, 70, 84.
hwīlum, *adv.* (hwīlum . . . hwīlum, now . . . now), 22, 23.
hyht, *m.*, hope, joy, *ns.* 126; hiht, 148.
hyldan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, incline, bow down, *inf.* 45.

ic, *pron.*, I, *ns.* 1, &c. (43 times); *ds.* mē, 4, 46, 83, 86, 126, 129, 135, 144; *as.* mē, 2, 30, 31, 32(2), 33, 34, 42, 45, 46, 61, 75, [76], 77, 81, 90, 122, 136, 139; [m]ē, 142; *ad.* unc, 48; *np.* wē, 70; *dp.* ūs, 147[b]; *ap.* ūs, 73, 75, 147[a].
in, *prep. w. dat.*, in, within, 118.
inwidhlęmm, *m.*, malicious wound, *np.* inwidhlęmmas, 47.
iū, *adv.*, long ago, 28, 87.

lǣdan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, be moved, move, *inf.* 5.
lǣne, *adj.*, transitory, fleeting, *dsn.* lǣnum, 109; *dsn. wk.* lǣnan, 138.
lang, *adj.*, long, *dsf.* lange, 24.
‡langunghwīl, *f.*, time of weariness, *gp.* langunghwīla, 126.
lāð, *adj.*, hateful, *sup. nsm.* lāðost, 88.
lēode, *fpl.*, people, men, *dp.* lēodum, 88.
lēof, *adj.*, dear, beloved, *vsm. wk.* lēofa, 78, 95.
lēoht, *n.*, light, *is.* lēohte, 5.
libban, *w.* 3, *intrans.*, live, 3 *pl.* lifiað, 134.
līc, *n.*, body, *gs.* līces, 63.
licgan, 5, *intrans.*, lie, *ptc. nsm.* licgende, 24.
līf, *n.*, life, *gs.* līfes, 88, 126; *ds.* līfe, 109, 138; *as.* 147.
limwērig, *adj.*, weary of limb, *as.* limwērigne, 63.
lyft, *f.*, air, (on lyfte, on high), *ds.* lyfte, 5.
lȳsan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, redeem, *inf.* 41.

mænigo, *f.*, multitude, throng, *ds.* m[æ]nigeo, 151; mænige, 112.
mǣre, *adj.*, glorious, great, *nsf.* 12, 82; *ds. wk.* mǣran, 69.
mǣte, *adj.*, small (i.e. no), *is.* 69, 124.
magan, *PP.*, can, have the power to, may, 1 *sg.* mæg, 85; 3 *sg.* mæg, 110; *pret.* 1 *sg.* meahte, 18; mihte, 37; 2 *sg.* miht, 78.
man, *m.*, man; one; *ns.* 73, 75, 112; *np.* męn, 12, 128; męnn, 82; *dp.* mannum, 96, 102; *ap.* męn, 93.
mancynn, *n.*, mankind, men, *gs.* mancynnes, 33, 99; mancyn, *as.* 41, 104.
manig, *adj.*, many, *gpm.* manigra, 41; *dpf.* manegum, 99.

Marīa, *pr. n.*, Mary, *as. wk.* Marīan, 92.
mēðe, *adj.*, weary, exhausted, *nsm.* 65; *npm.* 69.
micel, *adj.*, great, *nsm.* mycel, 130; *nsf.* 139; *dsf. wk.* miclan, 65; *ism.* mycle, 34, 60, 123; *disf. wk.* miclan, 102.
mid, *prep.*, with, among, by, *w. dat.* 121, 134, 143, 151; *w. dat.* or *instr.*, 7, 14, 16, 20, 22, 23 (2), 46, 48, 53, 59, 62, 102, 121, 134, 143, 149 (2), 151.
mid, *adj.*, middle, mid, *ysf.* midre, 2.
mid, *adv.*, together with, at the same time, 106.
middangeard, *m.*, world, *as.* 104.
miht, *f.*, power, might, *dis.* mihte, 102.
mihtig, *adj.*, powerful, mighty, *nsm.* 151.
mīn, *pron.*, my, *nsf.* 130; *vsm.* 78, 95; *dsm.* mīnum, 30.
mōd, *n.*, heart, soul, *ds.* mōde, 130; *is.* mōde, 122. *See* eaðmōd, stīðmōd.
mōdig, *adj.*, bold, courageous, *nsm.* 41.
mōdor, *f.*, mother, *as.* 92.
mōdsefa, *m.*, heart, soul, *ns.* 124.
molde, *f.*, earth, *as.* moldan, 12, 82.
moldęrn, *n.*, sepulchre, tomb, *as.* 65.
mōtan, *PP.*, may, 1 *sg.* mōt, 142; *opt.* 1 *sg.* mōte, 127.
mundbyrd, *f.*, help, protection, *ns.* 130.

nægl, *m*, nail, *dip.* næglum, 46.
nāgan, *PP. trans.*, not to have, 1 *sg.* nāh, 131.
nama, *m.*, name, sake, *ds.* naman, 113.
ne, *adv.*, not, 10, 35, 42, 45, 47, 110, 117.
niht, *f.*, night, *ds.* nihte, 2.
nū, *adv.*, now, 78, 80, 84, 95, 126, 134.

of, *prep. w. dat.*, from; out of; of, 30, 49, 61, 66, [76], 120, 133; o[f], 138.
ofer, *prep. w. acc.*, above, more than; on, upon; contrary to, 12, 35, 82, 91, 94.
oft, *adv.*, often, *comp.* oftor, 128.
on, *prep.*, in; on, upon; into; to, unto, at, *w. dat.* (*or instr.*), 9, 29, 32[a], 41, 46, 50, 56, 66, 71, 75, 83, 105, 109, 114, 130, 132, 134, 135, 137, 140, 143, 145, 146, 150, 152, 154, 155; *w. acc.* 5, 20, 32[b], 40, 68, 103, 104, 125.
on, *adv.*, on, upon, 34, 98.
onbyrigan, *w.* 1, *trans.* (*w. gen.*), taste, *inf.* 114.
onginnan, 3, *intrans.*, begin, *pret.* 3 *sg.* ongan, 19, 27, 73; 3 *pl.* ongunnon, 65, 67.
ongyrwan, *w.* 2, *trans.*, unclothe, strip, *pret.* 3 *sg.* ongyrede, 39.
ongytan, 5, *trans.*, perceive, *inf.* 18.
onlȳsan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, redeem, *pret.* 3 *sg.* onlȳsde, 147.
onsęndan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, give up, yield up, *pp.* onsęnded, 49.
onwrēon, 1, *trans.*, reveal, disclose, *imp.* 2 *sg.* onwrēoh, 97.
open, *adj.*, open, *npm.* opene, 47.

oððæt, *cong.*, until, 26, 32.
oððə, *conj.*, or, 36.

reordberend, *m.*, speech-endowed man, *np.* 3; *dp.* reordberendum, 89.
rẹst, *f.*, rest, repose, *ds.* reste, 3.
rẹstan, *w.* 1, *trans.* and *intrans.*, rest, repose, *pret.* 3 *sg.* rẹste, 64, 69.
rīce, *n.*, kingdom, realm, *ds.* 152; *as.* 119.
rīce, *adj.*, powerful, *as.* rīcne, 44; *gp.* rīcra, 131.
riht, *adj.*, true, *asm.* rihtne, 89.
rōd, *f.*, cross, *ns.* 44, 136; *ds.* rōde, 56, 131; *as.* rōde, 119.

sāl, *mf.*, time, *ns.* 80.
sār, *adj.*, grievous, *gpf.* sārra, 80.
sāre, *adv.*, deeply, greatly, 59.
sāwl, *f.*, soul, *ns.* 120.
sceadu, *f.*, shadow, darkness, *ns.* 54.
scēat, *m.*, surface, *dp.* scēatum, 8, 43; *ap.* scēatas, 37.
scēawian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, see, behold, *pret.* 1 *sg.* scēawode, 137.
scẹððan, 6, *trans.* (*w. dat.*), do harm to, injure, *inf.* 47.
scīma, *m.*, radiance, splendour, *as.* scīman, 54.
scīnan, 1, *intrans.*, shine, *inf.* 15.
scīr, *adj.*, bright, clear, effulgent, *asm.* scīrne, 54.
sculan, *PP.*, must, must needs, be to, 3 *sg.* sceal, 119; *pret.* 1 *sg.* sceolde, 43.
se, *adj. pron.*, the; he; who; that; this, *nsm.* 13, &c. (eight times); *nsn.* ðæ[t], 10; þæt, 6, 28, 39, 74; *gsm.* þæs, 49; *dsmn.* þām, 9, 50, 58, 59, 69, 111, 143, 146, 150; ðām, 61, 65, 114, 129, 154; ðān, 122; *dsf.* þǣre, 21, 112, 131; *asm.* þone, 127; *asf.* þā, 20, 68; ðā, 119; *asn.* þæt, 18, 21, 28, 58; ðæt, 66; *np.* þā, 46, 61. *See* se ðe.
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sẹcg, *m.*, man, *dp.* secgum, 59.
sẹcgan, *w.* 3, *trans.*, relate, *opt.* 2 *sg.* sẹcge, 96, *inf.* 1.
sēlest. *See* gōd.
seolfor, *n.*, silver, *is.* seolfre, 77.
se ðe, *pron.*, who, he who, *nsm.* 98, 113, 145; *nsf.* sēo þe, 121; *gpm.* þāra þe, 86; *dpm.* þām þe, 149, 153.
sīde, *f.*, side, *ds. wk.* sīdan, 49.
sīde, *adv.*, widely, 81.
sigebēam, *m.*, cross of victory, *ns.* 13; *as.* 127.
sigor, victory, triumph, *gp.* sigora, 67.
sigorfæst, *adj.*, triumphant, victorious, *nsm.* 150.
sinc, *n.*, treasure, *dis.* since, 23.
sīngal, *adj.*, continual, perpetual, *nsf.* singal, 141.
sīðfæt, *mn.*, journey, *ds.* sīðfate, 150.
sīðian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, depart, journey, *inf.* 68.
siððan, *adv.*, thereafter, syþþan, 142.
siððan, *conj.*, after (that), when (that), 49; syððan, 71; syðþan, 3.
sorg, *f.*, sorrow, trouble, *gp.*

sorga, 80; *dip.* s[o]rgum, 20; [sorgum], 59.
sorhlēoð, *n.*, dirge, *as.* 67.
spēdig, *adj.*, prosperous, successful, *nsm.* 151.
sprecan, 5, *trans.*, speak, *inf.* 27.
stān, *m.*, stone, *ds.* stāne, 66.
standan, 6, *intrans.*, stand, *pret.* 1 *sg.* stōd, 38; 3 *pl.* stōdon, 7, 71; *inf.* 43, 62.
staðol, *m.*, foundation, base, *ds.* staðole, 71.
stēam, *m.*, moisture, blood, *is.* stēame, 62.
stefn, *m.*, trunk, *ds.* stefne, 30.
stefn, *f.*, voice, cry, *ns.* [71].
stīðmōd, *adj.*, brave, unflinching, *nsm.* 40.
strǣl, *m.*, arrow, *dip.* strǣlum, 62.
strang, *adj.*, strong, unyielding; firm, *nsm.* 40; *npm.* strange, 30.
sunu, *m.*, son, *ns.* 150.
swā, *conj.*, as, even as; according as, 92, 108, 114.
swǣtan, *w.* 1, *intrans.*, bleed, *inf.* 20.
swāt, *n.*, blood, *gs.* swātes, 23.
swefn, *n.*, vision, dream, *gp.* swefna, 1.
swīð, *adj.*, strong; *comp.* right (hand): *asf.* swīðran, 20.
swylce, *conj.*, just as, 8; swylce swā, just as, 92.
sylf, *pron.*, (him)self, (her)self, *nsm. wk.* sylfa, 105; *asf.* sylfe, 92.
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tō, *prep.* (*w. dat.*), to; towards; at; as far as 2, 31, 42, 43, 58, 59, 74, 83, 86, 102, 116, 122, 129, 131, 141, 153.
trēow, *f.*, tree, cross, *as.* 4, 14, 17, 25.

ðā, *adv.*, then, þā, 27, 33, 35, 39, 65, 67, 73, [76], 90, 122; ðā, 103.
ðā, *conj.*, when, þā, 36, 41, 42, 68, 151, 155.
ðǣr, *adv.*, there, þēr, 8, 9, 11, 24, 31, 33, 35, 57, 60, 75, 101, 110; ðār, 30, 32, 63, 64 (2), 69, 70, 117.
ðǣr, *conj.*, where, þǣr, 123, 139, 140, 141, 142, 156.
ðǣron, *adv.*, therein, 67.
ðæt, *conj.*, that, in order that, when: *in subject clauses*, þæt, 4, 29, 127; *in object clauses*, þæt, 19, 26, 79, 96; *in final clauses*, þæt, 34, 107; *in temporal clauses*, þæt, 81.
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ðearle, *adv.*, violently, þearle, 52.
ðegn, *m.*, follower, disciple, *np.* þegnas, 75.
ðęncan, *w.* 1, *trans*, think, propose, 3 *sg.* þęnceð, 121; 3 *pl.* ðęncað, 115.
ðęnian, *w.* 1, *trans.*, be stretched, strained, extended, þęnian, *inf.* 52.
ðēoden, *m.*, Lord, King, *ds.* ðēodne, 69.
ðes, *pron.*, this, *nsf.* ðēos, 12, 82; *dsn.* ðyssum, 83, 109; ðysson,

138; *asm.* ðysne, 104; *asf.* ðās, 96.

ðolian, *w.* 2, *trans.*, endure, suffer, *pret.* 3 *pl.* ðolodan, 149.

ðonne, *adv.*, then, at that time, þonne, 107, 115, 117, 139, 142.

ðonne, *conj.*, than, þonne, 128.

ðrōwian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, suffer, *pret.* 3 *sg.* þrōwode, 84, 98, 145.

ðrymfæst, *adj.*, glorious, þrymfæst, *nsm.* 84.

ðū, *pron.*, thou, *ns.* 78, 96; *as.* þē, 95.

ðurfan, *PP.*, need, have reason to, 3 *sg.* þearf, 117.

ðurh, *prep. w. acc.*, through, by reason of, by means of, 10, 18, 119.

ðurhdrīfan, 1, *trans*, pierce, *pret.* 3 *pl.* ðurhdrifan, 46.

ðyncan, *w.* 1, *intrans.*, seem, appear, *pret.* 3 *sg.* þūhte, 4.

ðȳstro, *fm. pl.*, darkness, gloom, *np.* 52.

under, *prep.*, beneath, *w. dat*, 55, 85.

unforht, *adj.*, undaunted, fearless, *nsm.* 110.

ūp, *adv.*, up, 71.

uppe, *adr.*, up, above, 9.

wǣd, *f.*, garment, vesture, *ip.* wādum, 15, 20, 22.

wǣfersȳn, *f.*, spectacle, show, *ds.* wæfersȳne, 31.

wǣta, *m.*, moisture, blood, *dis.* wātan, 22.

wann, *adj.*, dark, black, *nsf.* 55.

wealdend, *m.*, King, Lord, *ns.* 111, 155; *gs.* wealdendes, 53; weald[end]es, 17; *ds.* wealdende, 121; *as.* 67.

weard, *m.*, guardian, lord, *ns.* 91.

weg, *m.*, way, *as.* 88.

well, *adv.*, well, fully, 129, 143.

wēnan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, look for, expect, 1 *sg.* wēne, 135.

węndan, *w.* 1, *intrans.*, alter, change, vary, *inf.* 22.

weorc, *n.*, pain, *as.* 79.

weorod, *n.*, host, company, *ds.* weorode, 69, 152; werede, 124; *gp.* weoruda, 51.

weorðian, *w.* 2, honour, worship, 3 *pl.* weorðiað, 81; *inf.*, 129.

weorðlice, *adv.*, worthily, duly, fitly, 17.

wōpan, *R.*, *intrans.*, weep, lament, 3 *sg.* wēop, 56.

werg, *m.*, outlaw, felon, criminal, *ap.* wergas, 31.

wesan, *an.*, *intrans.*, be, exist, 3 *sg.* is, 80, 97, 126, 129, 130, 139, 140, 141; bið, 86; 3 *pl.* syndon, 46; *pret.* 1 *sg.* wæs, 20, 21, 29, 44, 48, 59, 62, 87, 123; 3 *sg.* wæs, 6, 10, 13, 22, 28, 39, 56, 74, 124, 148, 150, 156; *opt.* 3 *sg.* sī, 144; sīe, 112; *pret.* 3 *pl.* wāron, 8; *inf.* 110, 117.

wīde, *adv.*, widely; wīde and sīde, far and wide, 81.

wīf, *f.*, woman, *gp.* wīfa, 94.

willa, *m.*, desire, *ns.* 129.

willan, *an.*, will, 1 *sg.* wylle, 1; *pret.* 3 *sg.* wolde, 41; *pret.* 3 *pl.* woldon, 68; *opt.* 3 *sg.* wile, 107; *pret.* 3 *sg.* wolde, 34, 113.

wīte, *n.*, punishment, torment, torture, *ds.* wīte, 61; *gp.* wīta, 87.

wolcen, *nm.*, cloud, *dp.* wolcnum, 55; *dip.* wolcnum, 53.
wom, *mn.*, iniquity, *dip.* wommum, 14.
word, *n.*, word; command, *ds.* worde, 111; *as.* 35; *ap.* 27; *ip.* wordum, 97.
woruld, *f.*, world, *gs.* worulde, 133.
wrāð, *adj.*, cruel, *gpf.* wrāðra, 51.
wudu, *m.*, tree, *ns.* 27.
wuldor, *n.*, glory, heaven, *gs.* wuldres, 14, 90, 97, 133; *ds.* wuldre, 135, 143, 155.
wunian, *w.* 2, *intrans.*, dwell, abide, 3 *pl.* wuniaþ, 135; *pret.* 3 *pl.* wunedon, 3, 154; *inf.* 121, 143.
wynn, *f.*, joy, gladness, *ip.* wynnum, 15.
wyrcan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, make, frame, *inf.* 65.
wyrd, *f.*, event, occurrence, experience, *ns.* 74; *gp.* wyrda, 51.

ymbclyppan, *w.* 1, *trans.*, embrace, clasp, *pret.* 3 *sg.* ymbclypte, 42.

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