

INTERPRETATIONS AND EMENDATIONS OF EARLY ENGLISH TEXTS.

(Cf. *Anglia* XXV—XLV.)

IX.

- Arkiv = Arkiv för nordisk filologi. Lund.
Assmann = B. Assmann in Bibliothek der ags. Poesie III. Leipzig 1897 f.
B.-T. = Bosworth and Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford 1882 ff.
Dahlgren = F. A. Dahlgren, Glossarium. Lund 1914 ff.
DRP = E. A. Kock, Die deutschen Relativpronomen. Lund 1901.
ERP = E. A. Kock, The English Relative Pronouns. Lund 1897.
Fritzner = J. Fritzner, Ordbog. Kristiania 1886 ff.
G.-K. = Grein and Köhler, Sprachschatz der ags. Dichter. Heidelberg 1912.
Ipt. = E. A. Kock, Interpretations (*Anglia*).
JJJ = E. A. Kock, Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings. Lund 1918.
Krapp = G. Ph. Krapp, Andreas. Boston 1906.
NRP = E. A. Kock, die niederdeutschen Relativpronomen. Lund 1904.
Schmidt = W. Schmidt, Daniel und Azarias. Bonn 1907.
Shipley = G. Shipley, The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Baltimore 1908.
Strz. = E. A. Kock, Kontinentalgermanische Streifzüge. Lund 1919.
Wülfig = E. Wülfig, Syntax. Bonn 1894 ff.
Wülker = R. P. Wülker in Bibliothek der ags. Poesie I, II. Kassel und Leipzig 1883 ff.

244. *he wæs his maga sceard,
freonda gefylled* *Æð.* 40—41.

Professor Klaeber, in his kind and appreciative review of my Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings (*Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.* 19, 411), adduces *gefylled* as an additional instance of uninflected adjectives (*freonda gefylled* = *freonda gefylledra*). He sets down the meaning 'deprived' as 'certainly spurious'. — We get on the right track if we read Fritzner's statement (1, 402 a): '*fella*, formindske, = *skerða*'. The parallelism of

sceard and *gefylled* then seems palpable (*sceard* : *gefylled* = *skerða* : *fella*). 'Deprived' is a somewhat free translation of both words. The former properly means 'in which has been made a *skarð*, i. e. a notch', hence 'damaged', 'made to suffer loss'; cf. Germ. *Abbruch leidend* (*an*). The latter means 'felled', hence 'heruntergebracht', 'brought down', 'reduced', 'formindsked'.

245. *fardenera gedræꝥ* An. 43.

O. E. *gedræꝥ* belongs to *dragan*. It literally implies a dragging or pulling hither and thither; hence continued restless activity, bustle, commotion, tumult, noise, unruhiges verworrenes Treiben, restlessness: *fardenera gedræꝥ*, 'bustle of wicked men' (parallel: *cirm micel*), *earmblic ylða gedræꝥ*, 'pitiful bustle of men', An. 1555 (parallel: *wop*), *secan deofla gedræꝥ*, 'der Teufel wüstes Treiben suchen', 'to seek the devils' restless conversation', Beow. 756.

O. E. *gedreag* belongs to *dreogan*, just as *sceat*, *seað*, *teag*, *hlyt*, etc. belong to *sceotan*, *seoðan*, etc. The verb *dreogan* [Go. *dringjan*; cf. O. No. *drýggja*] denotes various sorts of intense activity, exertion, endurance; the noun likewise means intense prolonged activity, restless motion to and fro, commotion, tumult, uproar: *earmblic ælða gedreag*, 'pitiful tumult of men', Cri. 1000 (parallel: *cirm & cearu*, *wop*, *gewin*), *ofer deop gedreag*, lit. 'over deep commotion', i. e. 'over the tossing sea', Rā. 7 : 10, *sinsorgna gedreag*, 'tumult of lasting sorrows', Kl. 45 (parallel: *breostceare*).

It will appear from these notes that I disapprove of 1. the identification of the two synonyms *gedræꝥ* and *gedreag* (B.-T., G.-K.), no matter how easily they may have been confused in olden times; 2. the translation 'assembly', 'throng' (B.-T. Suppl., Krapp); 3. the translation 'wide extent' (Krapp, p. 81).

246. *Hu me elþeodige . inwitwrasne,*
searonet, seoðað An. 63—64.

elþeodigra inwitwrasnum,
bealuwe, gebundene ib. 946—947.

on hæpenum hæfteclammum Edm. 10.

hu he in ellþeodigum yrmðum wunode An. 163.

It may be inferred from nos. 84 and 158 that I construe An. 63 f. in this way: *elþeodige inwitwasne seodað me*, 'foreign chains torment me'. Others alter the text: *elþeodige *seowað me inwitwasne*, 'foreigners weave chains for me'. Here follow a few remarks on the above quotations.

1. The chains tormented the apostle at the moment when he cried for help. Therefore 'foreign chains torment me' is more to the point than 'foreigners weave chains for me', which suggests preparation rather than execution.

2. In the second quotation, which contains the same words (*elþeodig, inwitwasn*) in a similar position, *elþeodigra* is a qualification of *inwitwasnum*.

3. The same holds good of the synonyms in Edm. 10: *hæþenum* is a qualification of *hæfteclammum*.

4. Variæ lectiones in Edm. 10 are *hæþenum* and *hæþenra*. Similarly An. 63 and 946: *elþeodige* and *elþeodigra*.

5. Also in An. 163 *elþeodigum* qualifies the following noun.

6. Krapp's erroneous idea that *elþeodigra* An. 946 is dependent on the preceding *eal þæt mancynn* is not altogether unprecedented. Wülker's view, according to which *beahwe* would not be a variation of *elþeodigra inwitwasnum*, belongs to a very common category of errors (no. 114).

247. *þy læs ic lungre scyle,
ablended in burgum æfter billhete,
þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra,
laðra leodsceaðena, leng þrowian,
edwitspræce An. 77—81.*

Editors and lexicographers commit the usual error, letting Andrew 'endure abusive speech through abusive speech' (cf. no. 222, JJJ 55, Arkiv 35, 122). *Þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra* and (*þurh*) *laðra leodsceaðena edwitspræce* are parallel. For prep. + noun || noun, see nos. 85, 170, 297, JJJ 15, 36, 41, 55. Insertion of a hemistich between a possessive word and the noun which it qualifies is not uncommon; see for instance Beow. 2351 f. (*Hrodgares .. sele*), Rā. 7: 9 f. (*hyra .. drohtað*), An. 223 f. (*bletsunge .. mine*), Gen. 32 f., 49 f. *Þrowian* is intransitive. — Translation:

'lest, blinded in this city
by hateful sword, I now should longer suffer

from hurtful sayings and abusive speech
of cruel gluttons, loathsome foes of men.'

248. *þær se halga wer*
in Achaia, Andreas, wæs,
leode lærde on lifes weg An. 168—170.

Wülker's and Krapp's semicolon after *wæs* looks like a mere whim. Cf. the prose: *mid þy þe he wæs in Achaia þæm lande & þær lærde his discipuli.*

249. *nu bið fore þreo niht, þæt he on þære þeode sceal*
(gast onsendan) An. 185,

'now it is three days before he etc.' In O. No. we find *firir sem hann*, 'førend han' (Fritzner 1, 518 a), which is almost the same as O. E. *fore þæt he.*

250. *Ðæt mæg engel þin eað geferan*
**of heofenum: con him holma began*
An. 194—195.

Grimm and Wülker were not aware of the fact that a hemistich like *of heofnum* (×'×), *of heofenum* (×'××) could not be expected in the middle of a poem like *Andreas*. But they had the good sense to connect the words in a natural manner, putting a stop between *heofenum* and *con*. Krapp, again, full of modern prosodial wisdom, adopts Kemble's method, severing *of heofenum* from *engel*, and *con* from *him*. He resembles an archæologist who, having dug out two ancient statues, and finding that one of them has no head, does not dig further in order possibly to find the missing part, but simply knocks the head off the other statue and sticks it on to the first.

G.-K., s. v. *heofon*, quote 71 a-verses containing a prepositional phrase like *of heofenum* (*on heofne, to heofonum*, etc.). The phrase: a) alliterates 22 times with an adjective preceding in the same hemistich (An. 89, Gu. 77, etc.), 8 times with a noun preceding in the same hemistich (Beow. 52, Cri. 286, etc.), 19 times with a verb in the same hemistich (An. 168, Beow. 505, etc.), 14 times with a word in the b-verse only, the preceding words being unaccentuated (Beow. 1571, Ex. 376, etc.), and no word following in the same hemistich (except the adverb *up* in *& to heofnum up* Gen. 1675); b) is 7 times left

outside the alliteration (Gen. 533, 2541, etc.). — The remaining a-verse, the one in discussion, stands isolated, no matter whether we read **on heofne* or **on heofne con*. That points to corruption.

To this metrical consideration we may add two phraseological ones: 1. *engel of heofenum* is a standard phrase, whereas Kemble's 'from the heavens he knows the passages etc.' is as unique as it is quaint. 2. In verbal phrases like *con hīm* An. 195, Beow. 2062, *ah hīm* An. 518, *ongan hīm* Gen. 259, *wand hīm* ib. 446, *hwearf hīm* ib. 762, etc., the unaccentuated dative is an inseparable appendage to the preceding verb (but *hīm . . gewat* Gen. 1049, 1920, 2018, etc.). Krapp's *con* — pause — *hīm* is unparalleled.

It seems quite evident that an alliterating word is missing at the beginning of l. 195. No word is more likely than *halig*; cf. *halig of heofenum* An. 89, *halig of heofonum* Gu. 77, 657, *halig under heofenum* El. 975, *halig of heahðu* Cri. 760, 789, *halig of heolstre* An. 243, etc. — Translation:

'Thy [holy] angel from the heavens may
do that more easily: he knows the ocean's way!'

251.

Da com morgentorht

*beacna beorhtost ofer breomo sneowan,
halig, of heolstre, heofoncandel blac,
ofer lagoflodas An. 241—244.*

Grimm, G.-K., B.-T., Krapp all err in the assumption that *blac* means 'shone'. *Blac* is a variation of *beorht*. I arrange the sentence, with its abundant parallelism, in a tabular manner, and adduce a few similar periods:

Parallel subjects	Verb	Parallel adverbial adjuncts
<i>beacna beorhtost heofoncandel blac</i>	<i>com sneowan</i>	<i>ofer breomo ofer lagoflodas An. 242 ff.</i>
<i>deormod hæleþ gomolfear hæleþ</i>	<i>wearð adrcæfed</i>	<i>ofer ypa gewealc ofer wætera geþring Edg. 2: 24 ff.</i>
<i>awyrgeðe womsceaðan arleasra sceolu</i>	<i>beoð beftested</i>	<i>in þæs wylmes grund in gleda gripe El. 1297 ff.</i>
<i>barno that betsta sum drohtines</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>te Simon Petruse te themu erle Hel. 4992 ff.</i>

See further Cri. 1532 ff., Dan. 637 ff., Gen. 1907 ff., etc.

252. *swa . . ne wiste se etc.* An. 261.

The meaning is: 'without Andrew knowing', 'ohne dass Andreas wusste'. Krapp's way of twisting the words is a remarkable performance. See JJJ 44 and — concerning l. 493, where the error is repeated — Ipt. no. 120.

253. *Dis is anlicnes engelcynna
þæs bremestan mid þam burzwarum
in þære ceastre *is* An. 717—719.

B.-T., s. v. *breme*, mutilate the lines, leaving out both *engelcynna* and *is*. Holthausen, unfortunate as usual, inserts **þe* before *mid*. Krapp takes up this **þe* and gives a translation worthy of the 'emendation': 'This is a representation of the most illustrious of the tribes of angels which is in that city [i. e. heaven] among the dwellers there'.

Þæs bremestan is God's; *anlicnes engelcynna þæs bremestan* = *anlicnesse engla sinra* 713. The images were placed in the temple of Jerusalem, the city of the Lord. And that is the sense of *in þære ceastre [h]is*. The word-order is the same as in *on þam wicum his* Gen. 1738, *mid ðy ful-tume his*, etc. (Wülfig, § 249 e). The scribal error **is* occurs elsewhere. — Translation:

'This is, amongst the people of His city,
a representing of angelic orders
of the most Glorious one.'

254. *ge *monetigað
godes ece bearn* An. 746—747.

For G.-K.'s and B.-T.'s impossible verb, supposed to mean either 'contemn' or 'admonish', Cosijn proposed *mon cigað*, 'call a man'; cf. the Greek text: λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἀρθροποιον. The emendation is 'admirable', says Krapp. Certainly a *t* for a *c* was a common error. But where on earth did the *e* come from? Let us try to be more 'admirable' still:

*ge mon e[h]tigað
godes ece bearn,*

'you take to be a man th' eternal son of God'.

Cf. *diabolus, den sie ahtont Got*, 'the devil whom they take to be God', Notker (ed. Piper 2, 630). This **etigað* for *ehtigað*

is the same inaccuracy as *gedryt for gedryht (Cri. 519), O. H. G. *liot, *trotin, *retlich, etc. for liot, trohtin, rechtlich, etc. (Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 154, Anm. 5).

255. *on þa leodmearce*
to Channaneum An. 777—778,

'to the land of Canaan'. See no. 169 and ZfdA. 48, 193 f., where the common idiom is fully explained. The haze that hangs over Judæa (*Iudeas*) and Canaan (*Channaneas*) hangs also over several other countries.

256. *Hie ða ricene het rices hyrde*
to eadwelan opre siðe
secan mid sybbe, swegles dreamas,
& þæs to widan feore willum neotan
An. 807—810.

The parallelism *to eadwelan secan* = *secan swegles dreamas* has been explained by me in no. 124. The pronoun *þæs* formally goes with the first of the parallel members; cf. *þæt æðele cyn, engla ordfruman, þæt* etc. Sat. 20 f. (JJJ 69). Logically, of course, it refers to the central idea expressed by the parallel substantival phrases. Krapp's statement, 'the antecedent of *þæs* is contained in *swegles*', is not correct.

257. *þa gelædan het lifes brytta*
.. englas sine .. leofne .. ofer lagufæsten,
*oð ðæt *sæwerige *slæp *ofereode*
þurh lyftgelac on land becwom An. 822—827.

It was a sleepy voyage. In l. 464, the disciples dropped off: the apostle had been preaching to them, 'oð ðæt hie semninga (at length, no. 216) slæp ofereode'. In l. 820, the apostle himself succumbed: he had kept on talking to the sailors, 'oð ðæt hine semninga slæp ofereode'. In l. 826, our friend the scribe, weary with the sea, nodded with the rest: *sæwerige slæp ofereode* ...

Evidently these words (cf. l. 862) were inserted by mistake into the description of the miraculous journey through the air. The sleeping saints could not possibly fall asleep. And there is no *oð þæt*, *'so lange als' (G.-K.). To these negative arguments may be added a positive one. What we

expect in a period containing *lædan*, *oð ðæt*, and *becwom* is something about the destination, as in Gen. 1649 ff.: *gewiton him .. whta lædan ..*, *oð þæt hie becomon .. þær hie* etc. (ll. 1650 b—51 b are parenthetical; cf. Gen. 1793 ff., 2400 ff.). Similarly:

þa Ʒelædan het .. leofne ..
oð ðæt þurh lyftƷelac on lond becwom.

258.

þæt hie Ʒod wolde
onmunan swa mycles An. 894—895.

ðe (for this reason) *he usic on herƷe Ʒeceas*
to ðyssum siðfate sylfes willum,
onmunde usic mærdā, & me þas maðmas Ʒeaf,
ðe (because) *he usic Ʒarwizend Ʒode tealde*
Beow. 2638—41.

Onmunan in the second quotation has been rendered in many different ways: 1. 'intend to give someone a chance to do a thing' (G.-K.: 'gedachte uns Gelegenheit zu Ruhmestaten zu geben?'); 2. 'think him fit for it' (B.-T.); 3. 'expect him to do it' (G.-K.: 'sich zu einem einer Sache versehen?'); 4. 'exhort him to do it' (Chambers, Hall, Holthausen, Sedgefield: 'remind of', 'urge on to', 'exhort to', 'ermahnen zu'). The same verb in the first quotation has been rendered by: 5. 'deem worthy' (B.-T., Krapp), 'einen einer Sache würdigen' (G.-K.).

All these translations are wrong. *On* means 'on', and *munan* means 'think'. Therefore *onmunan* means 'think on'. If *wyrðne* is added, the whole phrase means 'think on someone as worthy', 'deem, or consider, worthy', e. g. *his hlaforð æƷhwelcere are wierþne onmunan*, 'think on his lord as (consider his lord) worthy of every honour'. But *onmunan* + acc. + gen. means 'think on someone in connection with something', 'remember one with something', 'einen mit etwas bedenken' (G.-K.). *Onmunde usic mærdā* means 'remembered us with honours' (*whom to remember with honours* Shakspeare, Cor. II, 2, 50 ff.). The signification of the verb is in both quotations the same.

I add the remark that, in my way at looking at matters, the three clauses with *Ʒeceas* (Beow. 2638), *onmunde* (l. 2640 a), and *Ʒeaf* (l. 2640 b) all tell of distinctions, whereas the

editors insert a *‘behave yourselves!’ between the creditable picking-out and the liberal gifts.

259. *ðæt ðu on feorwegas feras ne cude,*
ne in þa ceastre becuman mehte,
þing gehegan, þreora nihta
fyrstgemeances An. 928—931.

Krapp: ‘accomplish the meeting, i. e. the meeting with Matthew’. That is to make the signification of a general phrase too narrow. *Þing gehegan* simply means ‘arrive [by appointment]’, ‘meet’, ‘[programmäfsig] eintreffen’. It might have been used just as well if Matthew had not been in Marmedonia.

260. *Aris nu hrædlice, ræd ædre ongit,*
beorn gebledsod! An. 936—937.

Þa aras hraðe, se ðe oft ræd ongeat,
Loth, on recede Gen. 2460—61.

Hall was in an awkward position: he stood before ‘a crux of the first water’. In such a position, it is a fine thing to *ræd witan* (An. 1088), *ræd ongietan*, *ræd ahyegan* (Gen. 2181), *ræd gehencean*, *ræd fon* (ib. 286 f.), ‘veta råd’, ‘hitta på råd’, ‘Rat wissen’, ‘Rat schaffen’ (O. No. *hitta ráð*, *gera ráð*, *kunna ráð*, *sjá ráð*). Both Hall and Krapp tried to do so. But both failed. Lot, on the other hand, managed. He was a resolute gentleman; he had often found a way out of a difficulty; now he sacrificed his daughters rather than the angels. And Andrew was told to show the same spirit of resolution and enterprise; he was told to ‘rise’ (exactly as Lot had done) and to ‘quickly find ways and means’!

261. There is considerable confusion as regards the number of men rescued by Andrew: the Greek version has in some MSS. 270, in others 249; the English prose version (Blickling Homily) has 248. The metrical text, An. 1035 f., is corrupt: it has *tu & hundteontig .. swylce feowertig*, which, of course means ‘142’ (Wülker, Shipley, and Krapp blunderingly make 240 out of it; cf. *þif & hundteontig .. & syxtig eac* Gen. 1184 ff., which means ‘165’, not ‘560’!). For **tu &* 1035, see no. 206. Krapp says of the incomplete lines 1036 and 1040:

‘It seems quite probable that the second half was never filled out; it should be noticed that the first half gives merely a number’. — It should be noticed, I think, that the first half of l. 1036 gives the wrong number. Now, if the number is too small, and the line is too short, it can hardly be too venturesome to assume that the missing hemistich contained the missing number. And although l. 1040 seems logically complete, something has probably been omitted. Let us look e. g. at Ex. 183 f. The lines might have run like this: *hæfde him alesen leoda dagesde | twa þusendo*. They would then have been logically complete, but structurally too short. Now they run instead: *hæfde him alesen leoda dagesde, | tireadigra, twa þusendo*. There may have been some such extension also in l. 1040. One possibility amongst a great many would be:

(he gelædde) *on frið dryhtnes*
twa hundteontig geteled rime
swylce feowertig [ð & fif & feower eac],
.
& þær wifa þa gyt weorodes to eacum,
[earnra idesa], anes wana þe fiftig
forhte zefreodode.

With *fif & feower* cf. *feower & þreo* Men. 54. With *wifa . . idesa* cf. *wifa . . idesa* Gen. 1260 f., *idesa . . wifa* ib. 821 f.

262. *ne læt nu bysmrian banan manncynnes,*
facnes frumbearn, þurh feondes cræft,
leahtrum belecgan, þa þin lof berað!

An. 1293—95.

Krapp: ‘The object of *bysmrian* and *belecgan* is not expressed’. — Certainly it is: *þa* means ‘those who’!

263. *Ofer min gemet mycel is to secganne,*
langsum leornung, þæt he in life adreaꝝ

An. 1481—82.

Most editors (including Krapp) connect *ofer min gemet* with the preceding line. Wülker takes *ofer min gemet* and *mycel* to be co-ordinate. I consider *ofer min gemet mycel* synonymous with O. No. *ofmikill* and parallel with *langsum leornung*. As for the length of the first member (*ofer min gemet*

mycel), cf. *firendæda to frece* Gen. 2580; *mundbora min* Jul. 156, *rice berofen* Rā. 4: 31, etc. For its position (opening the clause), cf. *Beow.* 3093 f., *Gen.* 869 f., etc. — Translation:

‘Beyond my power great to tell,
a study far too long,
is what he in his life endured’.

264. *þæt fram fruman cunne*
eall þa earfeðo, þe he mid elne adreah,
grimra guda An. 1485—87.

Parallelism misunderstood as usual (no. 114, *Arkiv* 37, 115 f.): *grimra* is used substantively; *guda* is an accusative like *earfeðo* and *þe*, not a genitive (G.-K., Krapp); cf. *synnigra slege* 956, *gramra gemot* 1059, *wæthreowra wig* El. 112, etc., where *slege*, *gemot*, *wig*, etc. are accusatives parallel with other accusatives. — Translation:

‘(a man) that knows
from the beginning all the woes
and the attacks of cruel foes
which bravely he endured’.

265. *He be wealle geseah wundrum fæste*
under sælwange sweras unlytle,
stapulas, standan storme bedrifene

An. 1492—94.

See B.-T. We should not, like Krapp, force the sense of *on middum þæm carcerne* (Prose version) into the wording of our poem. For the thoughts of the poet evidently dwelt outside: pillars placed inside the prison could not be ‘*storme bedrifene*’ — unless the poor storm was pent up in the dungeon like the ‘*luctantes venti tempestatesque sonoræ*’ in king Æolus’ cave!

266. *Is his miht & his æht ofer middangeard*
breme, gebledsod An. 1718—19.

On the strength of these lines lexicographers and editors all assume an adverb *breme* not otherwise recorded. This assumption cannot be put down as positively wrong; cf. the adverbs *whitige* and *ece* in the same period (ll. 1721 f.). But

I do not decide in favour of a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* when analogies are so strongly in favour of a well-known word as is the case here: *clæne, gecostad* Gu. 552, *forhte, afærde* An. 1340, Cri. 893, *deade, bibyrzde* Cri. 1159, *lungre, zelice* Beow. 2164 (nos. 106, 164), *milde, gemetfæst* Pa. 31 (= *milde & gemetfæst* Gu. 1080), etc.

267. *& þas lænan gestreon,*
id[e]l[n]e æhtwelan ealne, forhogodan
 Ap. 84—85.

Grein, Wülker, and Krapp read *ealle*. I prefer to alter **idle*. After *þas lænan gestreon*, there was some temptation for the scribe to write *idle*. But if *idle æhtwelan* is assumed to be right, it is hard to conceive why he should have introduced an erroneous *ealne*. For the parallelism, cf. El. 407 f.

268. *& þec dæg & niht, domfæst cyning,*
lofigen & lufigen, lux & tenebre,
þe þas werþeoda weardum healdað,
deop dryhtnes bibod; druzon hi þæt longc
 Az. 99—102.

Wülker's and Schmidt's punctuation is wrong. *Werþeoda* is not an accusative (G.-K.), but a nominative: it is the subject of *healdað*. The object of the said verb is the idea expressed by *dæg & niht, lux & tenebre, þe*, and *deop dryhtnes bibod*; cf. *halig bebodu healdan* Gu. 5, *his bebodu healdan* Gen. 526, *dryhtnes bibod heoldon* Cri. 1159 f., *healdan heofon-cyninges bibod* Sch. 36, etc. The parallelism is of the same kind as in An. 1486 f. (no. 264), Dan. 609 f., Gen. 1298 f., Met. 1: 58 f., etc. The meaning of the lines is this: 'Let Him be praised by light and gloom, by God's deep ordinances, which in their watches men observe, as they have long been doing.'

269. (we III. hæfdon cniehtas)
gebunden to bælc, in byrnendes
fyres leoman Az. 173—174.

The two prepositional phrases, here and in Dan. 414 f., are parallel. The editors err in the usual manner (no. 114).

270. *ne ge leafnesword*
Ʒuðfremendra Ʒearwe ne wisson,
maƷa Ʒemedu Beow. 245—247.

BuƷon þa to bence blædagande,
fylle ƷefæƷon; fæƷere ƷepæƷon
medoful manig maƷas þara,
swiðhigende, on sele þam hean,
HroðƷar & Hroþulf ib. 1013—17.

Recent editors alter the original text of ll. 1013 ff. They congratulate themselves on the ease with which *þara* may be turned into *warā*, i. e. *waran*, for *wæron*, not disturbed by the petty consideration that this **waran* is quite an isolated form. Against the original text it is argued (1) that it confines the task of emptying the cups to *HroðƷar* and *Hroðulf*; (2) that the point of the allusion is not that *HroðƷar* and *Hroðulf* are akin to the Danish nobility. — Both shots miss the mark. (1) By a modern *They all sat down to drink: Dick emptied many a cup*, the task of emptying the cups is not confined to Dick. Tom and Harry may have imbibed just as freely. But the reader's attention is drawn more particularly to one of the party, the one who interests the author most just then. In other terms, not the act, but the relation only, is confined to him. And in the old verses we are expressly told that the men enjoyed the treat. What has thus been said of the partakers in general, is in the next lines — in perfect harmony with ancient diction (cf. no. 210) — specialized with a view to introducing the two royal companions. (2) The passages quoted contain nothing of what we call kinship: *maƷas* has in both instances another and a wider sense.

In no. 98, Strz. 22 f., and Arkiv 37, 117, I have shown the true meaning of O. E. *winas*, O. Sax. *winos*, O. No. *winir*, and O. E. *hamsittende*, O. Sax. *hemsittiandi*, in numerous cases where the words were misinterpreted or — what was better — not interpreted at all. In that connection I also mentioned O. E. *leod* and *hlaford*, O. No. *bóndi*. To the same group of words belongs O. E. *maƷas*.

The statement made in the text, that *HroðƷar* and *Hroðulf* were the *maƷas* of the *blædagande*, means that the princes

were the compatriots of (belonged to the same people as) the distinguished warriors who sat down to the feast. 'Compatriots' is here used in a manner which reminds us of *leod*. This word, which properly meant 'member of a tribe or nation', was often used significantly of the foremost member, the prince; see no. 156. *Magas* has gone through a development of sense analogous to that of *winas* and *hamsittende*. It originally meant 'kinsfolk', 'Verwandte'. But at a time when the number of individuals forming a clan, a tribe, or a nation was much less than now, *magas* passed over from the sphere of the family or the clan to that of the tribe or the nation. That the chasm between family and nation is easily bridged, is proved by many words. Eng. *people* has the sense of 'nation'; *his people* is used colloquially for 'his family'. Here development has gone in the opposite direction. Eng. *folk* means 1. 'das Volk', 2. 'die Leute', 3. 'die Angehörigen'. O. No. *folk* means the same. In Swedish dialects *ett gammalt folk* means either 'an old nation' or, usually, 'an old married couple'. O. Sax. *gadubingos* means either 'kinsmen' (e. g. Christ and James, who were cousins, Hel. 1266) or 'fellow-countrymen' (e. g. Christ and his accusers, the Jews, Hel. 5216); cf. Go. *gadiliggs*, O. E. *gædeling*, Germ. *gatte*, *gattin*, etc. Eng. *kin* is used of relatives only, O. E. *cyn* also referred to the nation, nay, to more than that. Germ. *in das Geschlecht heiraten* leads our thoughts to uncles, nieces, and cousins, *das menschliche Geschlecht*, to Esquimaux, Hottentots, and a milliard and a half of their somewhat superior brethren. Swed. *släkt* means 'family', 'relations', *släkte* means 'race', 'generation'. And, last but not least, the O. E. words most closely connected with *magas* have run through the very same stages as *magas* itself: *mægð* = family > kinsfolk > tribe > nation; *mæg*, fem. = kinswoman > woman. Likewise O. Sax. *magwini* = kinsman > compatriot.

If the reader, by this time, inclines to the opinion that *magas* in l. 1015 can have the meaning 'compatriots', I think he will see that it must have that sense in l. 247. In the paragraphs cited above (no. 98 and Strz. 23), I pointed out the valuable help offered in many cases by the parallel expressions: *winas* = *hildiskalkos*, *hamsittendum* = *werum*, etc. In the sentence now discussed, *maga* is parallel with *gud-*

fremmendra, i. e. *maga* means the coast-warden's fellow-combatants, his fellow-countrymen, the Danes.

Any one who takes the trouble to examine all the passages containing *magas*, *winemagas*, *mægwine*, etc. will find further typical instances of the different significations of the words. He will also find numerous cases in which the narrower and the wider senses meet. — Translation of ll. 245 ff.:

'You knew not well (i. e. had not made
sure of, not obtained) the warriors' permission,
not the consent of my compatriots'.

Translation of ll. 1013 ff.:

'The glorious champions settled on the bench,
delighting in the feast. Their countrymen,
the valiant ones, Hroðgar and Hroðulf, took
in courtly manner many a cup of mead
within the lofty hall'.

And a motto for the treatment of good old verses:

Not twist and turn,
but read and learn ...

271.

ferhwearde heold

*ꝥuþmod *ꝥrummon; ꝥuman onetton*

Beow. 305—306.

*Ymb þæs helmes hrof heafodbeorge
wirum bewunden *walan utan heold,
þæt him fela *laf frecne ne meah-ton
searheard sceþþan, þonne scyldfreca
onꝥean ꝥrumum ꝥanꝥan scolde* ib. 1030—34.

*healdeð higemæðum heafodwearde,
leofes & laðes* ib. 2909—10.

æꝥwearde heold,

þe on land Dena laðra nænig

mid scipherge sceðþan ne meah-te ib. 241—243.

It is a coincidence that particular difficulties are offered by all the four passages in Beowulf where *healdan* is, or appears to be, connected with a compound noun meaning some sort of guard or protection. In l. 306 **ꝥrummon*, in ll. 1031 f.

**walan* and **laf* seem to be wrong; *higemæðum* in l. 2909 causes dissent; and before l. 241 there is a lacuna, not one of the 'Ich-nehme-eine-Lücke-an' sort, but a real one, proved by defects in sense and alliteration. — I will state my position as to the problems involved in the passages quoted.

A. Beginning with ll. 1030 ff., I lay stress on the following facts, not severally, but jointly: 1. The four nouns printed in spaced type are all analogous in shape. They all occur in b-verses. They are all connected with the verb *healdan*. 2. The verbs **wardōian*^a and **werzan*^a both mean 'guard', 'protect'. Of the corresponding nouns, **wardō* and **werzō*, the former is used both in a concrete and in an abstract sense, both of the thing and of the action. 3. The abstract phrase *ægwearde heold* in l. 241 is followed by a conjunctive clause telling of the hostile agency meant to be warded off. So is the phrase *heafodbeorge heold*. Schematic arrangement:

-e heold, þe . . sceðþan ne meakte (241 ff.),
-e heold, þæt . . sceþþan ne meakton (1030 ff).

The conclusion which I draw from the facts related is that *beorge heold* means the same as *wearde heold*. As for **walanutan*, the error is sufficiently explained as an anticipation (Seef. 75, JJJ 76). Therefore I follow Chambers in the interpretation of ll. 1030—31:

'around the helmet's crown the wire-bound wreath
held, on the outside, watch about the head'.

But I do not think that the simple and natural emendation *fela laf[e]* in the next line 'lands us in metrical difficulties'. Even notorious sticklers now begin to yield on this point.

B. In ll. 2909 f., I take *higemæðum* to be parallel with *leofes & laðes*, the change in construction (cf. no. 124) being the same as in: *habðun liudeo giwald, | allon elithiodun* Hel. 59 f., *that gi thesoro weroldes nu forð | skulun lioht wesan, liudio barnun* ib. 1390 f.

C. Finally, **gummon* 306? I do not believe in an original *gumman guman*; it is odd in form and weak in sense. The watching is, in all probability, attributed to the top portion of the helm both in ll. 1030 f. (see A) and in ll. 305 f. And there was no temptation for the scribe to insert an *r*:

Therefore I reject *gubmodum* as well. Probably the true solution has not as yet been found. If I were compelled, as editor, to make my choice, I should give preference to *grimmum*. For *grimmum* and **grumnum* (> **grummon*) have at least the same initial combination of consonants and the same number of successive down-strokes. Thus: 'the boar (on each helm) screened, stout, the fierce ones' lives'.

272. *þæt him heardra nan hrinan wolde*
iren ærgod, þæt ðæs ahlæcan
blodge beadufole onberan wolde Beow. 988—990.

þa wæs hord rasod,
onboren beaga hord ib. 2283—84.

(wæs) *breosthord onboren* Gu. 917.

O. F. *onberan*, identical with O. No. *á bera* (*bera vápn á*, 'angreifen', *áburðr*, 'Angriff'), has significations closely resembling those of Germ. *angreifen*: 1. [like Germ. *die Feile greift das Eisen an*] 'to act on', 'to cut', 'to bite', 'bita på', Beow. 990; 2. [like Germ. *einen Geldsack angreifen*] 'to touch', 'to dip into', 'to take something out of': a) with *hord* (used in a literal sense) as logical object, Beow. 2284; b) with the kenning *breosthord* as logical object, Gu. 917 (cf. Germ. *das Herz war angegriffen*). — Chambers and Sedgefield believe that *on-* means 'off'. That is not so. 'On' is not 'off', and 'off' is not 'on'. And the treasure was not 'carried off', or 'rifled'. The man took only one goblet. Sievers-Holthausen's **aberan* requires no comment. — Translation of Beow. 988 ff.:

'that he, the monstrous wretch, would not be hurt
 by any one amongst the brave one's swords
 that would incise his bloody warlike fist'.

273. *Ne huru Hildeburh herian þorfte*
eotena treowe: unsynnnum wearð
beloren leofum æt þam lindplegan,
bearnum & broðrum Beow. 1071—74.

Teut. **sunjō* means 'truth' [Go. *sunja*], 'truth established and used as reason or excuse for a certain mode of action': a) for non-appearance before the court: 'legal impediment', 'excuse' [O. H. G. *sunne*, O. No. *naudsyn*]; b) for not pleading

guilty: 'denial' [O. N. *syn*]; c) for prosecution or revenge (see no. 237): 'guilt', 'sin' [O. E. *synn*]. To this **sunjō* (but there was no nominative **unsunjō*, **unsynn*, Chambers) belong the compound instrumentals **unsunjō* [O. No. *úsynju*, O. Swed. *osini*] and **unsunjōm-* [O. No. *úsynjum*, O. E. *unsynnnum*, O. Sw. *osinum*]. The meaning is 'for no proper reason', 'without cause', i. e. a) 'without guilt', 'unjustly': *binda mann úsynju*, 'to bind a man without cause'; *úsynju ámcæltum vér Alora*, 'unjustly did we blame A.' (Fritzner); *unsynnnum wearð beloren leofum*, 'without guilt (schuldlos, Grimm) was she deprived of her dear ones', Beow. 1072 f.; b) 'for no good', 'to little advantage': *ósynjom væri hón svá fríð frú*, 'for no good would she be such a fair lady' (Fritzner); c) 'unfortunately', 'in an unlucky moment' (see Fritzner).

Consequently no alteration should be made in the text. It is not only perfectly correct, but throws a welcome light on the Scandinavian term, which has likewise been partly misunderstood.

274. *þu on sælum wes,*
goldwine gumena, & to Zeatum spræc
mildum wordum, swa sceal man dôn!
Beo wið Zeatas glæd, geofena gemyndig:
nean & feorran þu nu hafast!

Beow. 1170—74.

If the king had something from near and far, it was hardly gifts (Sedgefield, Holthausen, and others), but people in the hall. The lines may be defective. Taking them as they are, I hesitatingly render them in this way:

'Be full of joy, thou warriors' liberal prince ...,
 be gracious to the Geats, and think of gifts:
 from near and far thou now hast people here'.

275. *hreawic heoldon* Beow. 1214.

There is considerable dissent about the meaning of this phrase and the lines in which it occurs. For my own part, I cannot possibly attribute different significations to O. E. *hreawic healdan* and O. No. *velli halda*. The latter, like O. E. *wælstowe wealdan*, invariably means 'das Schlachtfeld behaupten'; 'remain masters of the field': *þú velli helet, en*

þínir fjandr flugu Hákonarmál 12; bíinn lésk at halda velli Vellekla 21; þæt hie wælstowe wealdan mostun Beow. 2984. O. E. healdan and wealdan are synonyms also in: ne mihte he gehæaldan heardne mece, wæpnes wealdan By. 167 f.

276. *wyrd ne eþon,
geosceaft grimme, swa hit aþanzen wearð
eorla manegum, syþðan æfen cwom,
ð him Hroþgar gewat to hofe sinum,
rice, to ræste. Reced wearðode
unrim eorla Beow. 1233—38.*

This old way of arranging the lines is the correct one. Chambers, Schücking, Sedgefield, and Hall err in different ways. Nowhere else in our poem is the adverb *siððan* followed by clause + *and* + clause; see e. g. ll. 470, 2207, 2395. But the conjunction *siððan* and a co-ordinating conjunction go well together: *syððan Ingelde weallað wælniðas, and him wiflufan colran weorðað* ll. 2064 ff.; *syððan mergen com, and we geseten hæfdon* 2103 f.; *syððan he Hroðgares sele fælsode and æt gude forgrap Trendeles mugum* 2351 ff.; *syððan Hredel swealt, oððe him Ongendecowes eaferan wæran* etc. 2474 ff. Notice particularly the striking congruency of ll. 1235 ff. and 2103 f.:

(Something happened,) *syþðan æfen cwom, and* etc.

(Something happened,) *syððan mergen com, and* etc.

I now construe An. 1219 ff. in the same way, thus cancelling no. 132 and returning to Wülker's punctuation:

(Something happened,) *sipþan . . , and* etc.

Holthausen erroneously places Beow. 901, 1235, 2051, 2064 under 'Adv.' — See also no. 281.

277. *Heo wæs on ofste, wolde ut þanon,
feore beorgan, þa heo onfunden wæs
Beow. 1292—93.*

I take the grammatical construction to be analogous neither to Germ. *er wollte in das Haus, um die Sachen zu retten*, where *wollte*, by ellipsis, acts as a main verb, and is qualified by the adverbial adjunct, whereas the infinitive expresses intention or purpose, nor to Germ. *er wollte die Sachen*

in das Haus retten, where *wollte* is an auxiliary, and the adverbial adjunct qualifies the main verb, but to Germ. *er wollte in das Haus, wollte die Sachen retten*, where the two expressions are parallel. Cf. no. 221, where the infinitive phrases — I now place them all on a par — are parallel with the preceding adverb *forð*.

278.

& nu oþer cwom

*mihlig manscaða, wolde hyre mæg wreccan,
 ze feor hafað fæhðe gestæled,
 þæs þe þincean mæg þegne monegum,
 se þe æfter sincgyfan on sefan greoteþ,
 hreþerbealo hearde Beow. 1338—43.*

Hall's *þæs þe þincean mæg hreþerbealo hearde*, 'which may seem a hard heart-sorrow', is impossible grammatically: *þæs þe* does not mean 'which'. Chambers' *þæs þe þincean mæg, hreþerbealo hearde*, 'as it may seem, heavy heart-woe', is false stylistically: it is what I call 'a piece of modern rhetoric' (JJJ 45), not Old English. Schücking's and Sedgefield's *hafað fæhðe gestæled .., hreþerbealo hearde*, 'hat die Feindseligkeit, das schwere Herzensübel vergolten', is based on the formal congruency of the two nouns, but goes against the structure of the whole period: an expression for grief (*hreþerbealo hearde*) is made parallel with a remote expression for hostility (*fæhðe*), although another expression for grief is found in its immediate vicinity (*greoteþ æfter sincgyfan*). There is a fourth manner of combining the words, and that is the right one: *hreþerbealo hearde* is not a predicative complement (Hall), not appositional (Chambers), not the object of *hafað gestæled* (Schücking, Sedgefield), but the object of *greoteþ*.

O. No. *grāta*, Swed. *grāta*, Germ. *weinen*, Engl. *weep, wail, mourn*, etc. all take either a prepositional phrase, e. g. *grāta eptir látinn*, 'bemourn someone's death', or else an object, e. g. *hon grét vá Valhallar*, 'she wept the woe of Walhalla'. So does O. E. *greetan*. The change in construction is the same as in: *bidðian be* = *bidðian* Gen. 1661 f., *secan to* = *secan* An. 808 f., Jul. 672 f., *wunian in, wunian on* = *wunian* An. 1672 f., Hy. 4: 110 ff., *astigan in, astigan on* = *astigan* Mod. 72 ff. See no. 124. Our *greetan æfter sincgyfan* means

the same as *grootan sincgyfan cwealm*; and *grootan hreþerbealo*, *sincgyfan cwealm* corresponds exactly to *mænan modceare*, *mon-dryhtnes cwealm* Beow. 3149, also to *ceare cwīðan*, *kyniŋ mænan* ib. 3172. Cf. *winemæga hryre*, *mine ceare*, *cwīþan* Wand. 7 ff. (JJJ 78) and German *darf ich dir's weinen*, *was mir meine Seele zerreisst?*, in which 'das, was die Seele zerreisst' answers to the O. E. *hreþerbealo hearde*. — Translation:

'and now another mighty miscreant
has come in order to avenge her son,
and has, pursuing the hostility,
gone far, as it may seem to many a man
who in his mind deplores his lord's depart,
deplores the hard affliction of his heart'.

As for the lord, the 'treasure-giver', Chambers' unsatisfactory note was written long before the appearance of my Interpretations IV (no. 98). Holthausen, with his **-gyfu*, 'Gabe', is referred to the end of no. 270.

279. *swa he ne mihte, no he þæs modig wæs,*
wæpna gewealdan Beow. 1508—09,

'so that he could not wield his weapons, no matter how brave he was (even though he was ever so brave)'. Uncertainty and confusion still prevails about such periods. I will therefore, by way of supplement to JJJ 67 and nos. 138, 182, supply editors, commentators, and lexicographers with a tabular survey.

a) '[n]ever-so'-clause in front.

1.	<i>lifira svá lengi</i>	<i>lpskr mun hann æ heitinn</i>	Atlamál 61
2.	<i>era svá brattr breki</i>	<i>þó kemstu heill of hafi</i>	Sigrðr. 10
3.	<i>eí svá hátt forað kemr • at hólða somun</i>	<i>hvern þær ór nauðum nema</i>	Fjolsv. 40
4.	<i>ir ne lebint nie so gerno</i>	<i>ir muozent verwandelon disen lib</i>	Mem. mori 7 f.
5.	<i>si ne dunchet in nie so minnesam</i>	<i>eina charza wila sund ir si han</i>	ib. 5 f.
6.	<i>si ne dihta sie nie so minnesam</i>	<i>si habent si ie doh ver- lazen</i>	ib. 13 f.
7.	<i>wiht [no] wæs [þæs] on-[wene]</i>	<i>sio hæfde wæstum win- dorlicran</i>	*Rä. 32: 4 f.

b) '[n]ever-so'-clause in the middle.

8.	<i>he ne mihte</i>	<i>no he pæs modig wæs</i>	<i>wæpna ge- wealdan</i>	*Beow. 1508 f.
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c) '[n]ever-so'-clause at the end.

9.	<i>ic hine ne mihte ganges getwæman</i>	<i>no ic him pæs georne ætfealh</i>	Beow. 967 f.
10.	<i>mæg se godes cwīde hie geswenean</i>	<i>næfre hie ðæs syllice bleoum bregdað</i>	Sal. 146 ff.
11.	<i>wyrd sceolde sundur ge- dælan lif</i>	<i>no þou longe wæs feorh flæsce bewunden</i>	Beow. 2420 ff.
12.	<i>hunn a e friþ til mot</i>	<i>aldrih ceru swa mykil vigh</i>	Västgöta- lagen
13.	<i>einn rammari hugðumk öllum vera</i>	<i>fannka ek [svá] marga mogu</i>	*Fáfn. 16

280. *hyllt sceawode,
culde lafe, on ðæm wæs or writen
fyrngewinnes Beow. 1687—89.*

The signification of phrases containing *or*, *ord*, *angin*, *fruma*, *ende*, *lok* (O. No.) has been explained by me in JJJ 2 (and Arkiv 37, 131). Our *or* .. *fyrngewinnes* means 'an exposition of the ancient struggle', 'all about the old contest'. Even a small amount of reflection must tell us that it was the struggle itself, not its 'Anfang' or 'Ursprung' ('the rise of the primeval strife') that was engraved on the hilt. And the evidence adduced in the place referred to is decisive.

281. *on ðæm wæs or writen
fyrngewinnes, syðþan flod ofsloh,
zifen geotende, ziganta cyn Beow. 1688—90.*

*Æft þæt geiode ufaran dogrum
hildehlæmmum, syððan Hygelac læg,
& Heardrede etc. ib. 2200—02.*

*(he ær fela) gedigde
hildehlemma, syððan he Hrodgares,
sigoreadig secg, sele fælsode
& at zude forgrap Zrendeles mægum*

ib. 2350—53.

*No þæt læsest wæs
hondgemota, þær mon Hygelac slog,
syððan Æata cyning ... swealt* ib. 2354—58.

I believe that any one who studies carefully the above passages will find the following statements correct:

1. In all the quotations, the first hemistich of the second line is made up of a word denoting fight.
2. Each 'fight' is followed by a *syððan*.
3. In l. 2356 *syððan* has, practically, the same force as *þær* in l. 2355, the two subordinate clauses being parallel.
4. Each *syððan*-clause contains the fatal issue of a great struggle: the death of the giants (1689 f.); of Hygelac (2201, 2356 ff.), of Heardred (2202 ff.), of Grendel and his mother (2351 ff.).
5. The modern equivalent of *syððan* in all the above quotations is 'when' ('als') or, more freely, 'where', 'in which'.

We consequently cancel the weak **hildehlamma*, 'fighter'. Cf. the fact that O. No. *hjórvá hlamm, vápna glam*, 'din of swords', 'clang of arms', are common phrases, whereas the weak *glammi* occurs in no such collocation (it means 'wolf').

The naively primitive conception of ll. 2351 ff., according to which the poet would lay less stress on the terrible encounters with the demons than on the later battles with the human foes, meets us distinctly in Hall's translation, and seems to be in vogue everywhere. Of course the poet begins, in l. 2349 b, the enumeration of all the great dangers which the hero had escaped (cf. 2397) before his fatal day: the fights with Grendel and his mother (2351—54), with the Hetwaras (2354—68), with Ohthere (2391—96). Logically, therefore, the *syððan*-clause and the subsequent periods should be placed on a par. — Translation of ll. 1687 ff. (cf. no. 255):

'he eyed the hilt, the relic old, on which
was written all about the strife of yore
when by the flood the giants' race was killed';

of ll. 2200 ff.:

'It after came to pass, in later days,
through clashing fights -- where Hygelac was killed,

and swords took Heardred's life beneath the shield,
when warriors brave attacked him in his land —
that then the spacious realm came into Beowulf's hand';

of ll. 2350 ff.:

'he had come safe from many frays, in which
he purged, as conquering hero, Hroðgar's hall
and killed by violent clutching Grendel's kin';

of ll. 2354 ff.:

'Not least of close encounters was the fight
where Hygelac was slain — where, struck by sword,
the Geatic king lay bathing in his blood'.

That the two introductory words *syððan* and *ðær* are interchangeable appears from many other passages, e. g. *syððan* 2437 = *þær* 2486. The synonym *þonne* is used in *hildehlemmu*, *þonne* 2544. *Syððan*, 'when', also in An. 1075 etc.

282.

syðþan flod ofsloh,
zifen zeotende, ziganta cyn
— *freone zeferdon* — *þæt wæs frende þeod*
cean dryhtne Beow. 1689—92.

The spaced words have been interpreted in various ways. I decidedly do not attribute different meanings to *freone zeferan* in An. 516 a and to the same phrase in Beow. 1691 a. It means in both cases 'act boldly'. Cf. O. No. *hann hefir farit litilmannliga*, 'he has acted meanly'. Our *zeferdon* is plu-perfect in sense, like *zesawon* 2252 (no. 108), *zclæg* 3145 (no. 118), *hwearf* 55, *crungon* 1113, *fornam* 2772, *colode* Kr. 72, etc. Such an interpretation is, more than any other, in keeping with O. E. poetical style.

283.

Blæd is aræred
zeond widwegas, wine min Beowulf,
ðin, ofer þeoda gehwylce; eal þu hit zepylðum
healdest,
mægen, mid modes snyttrum Beow. 1703—06.

General uncertainty seems to prevail here. One editor speaks of 'stetige Bewahrung', another of 'standhafte Leistung'. I think Hall is on the right track. Beowulf had gained glory (*blæd* 1703) by means of his strength (*mægen* 1706; cf. *mægnes*

blæd 1761). But he kept clear of *oferhygd* (cf. ll. 1740, 1760). He had and enjoyed it all, fame and strength, with sober sense and discretion.

284. *hu mihtig god manna cynne*
þurh sidne sefan, snyttru, bryttað
earð & eorlscipe Beow. 1725—27.

sweotol is & zesene, þæt þe soð metod
on zesiddæ is, swegles aldor,
se ðe sigor seleð snytrum, mihtum,
& þin mod trymeð
godecundum gifum Gen. 2806—10.

In *Beow. 1725 ff.*, God is not said to bestow wisdom upon men. *Bryttian* has here, just as usual, an object denoting something that is directly enjoyed, like wealth and power; cf. *hra, sæd, gold, ziefe, ead, welan, land, woruld, mægyn*. Wealth and power, indeed, is the leading thought of this part of the oration (ll. 1724—57). As for the rich man's wisdom, it plays a somewhat poor part: *he his selfa ne mæg for his unsnyttrum / ende gepencean 1733 f.* It is God's wisdom that is praised in both quotations, and in both quotations His wisdom is coupled with His power: *mihtig . . snyttru : snytrum, mihtum*. The construction *þurh sidne sefan, snyttru, bryttað / earð & eorlscipe* is the same as in: *þurh hleoðorcyme, herige, genamon ! torhte frætwæ Dan. 710 f. (no. 193), lete wæter on willan, wynnnum, flowan Ps. LXXVII 21: 1 f., i. e. snyttru is an instrumental — like snyttru in El. 313 (JJJ 21), unsnyttru in El. 1284 — parallel with the preceding prepositional phrase, not an accusative parallel with the succeeding accusatives.*

In the second quotation we have an instance of asyndetic parataxis; cf. *ryhtum, gerisnum Fæ. 30, niþum, nearowrencum Mod. 44, heapum, geneahhe Cri. 930, etc.* The instrumental *snyttrum (unsnyttrum)* is well known from *Beow. 872, 942, Jul. 145, 308, etc.* G.-K.'s and B.-T.'s adjective **snytre* is of the same sort as their adjectives **proht, *niþ, *ingemynde (JJJ 11, 57, Ipt. no. 170)*. Cosijn's and Holthausen's **snyttru* — see end of no. 270.

285. *Hwilum he on lufan læted hworfan*
monnes modgeþonc mæran cynnes,
seled him on eþle corþan wynne
to healdanne, hleoburh wera Beow. 1728—31.

Nu sceal sincþego & swyrðzifu,
eall eðelwyn, eowrum cynne,
lufen, alicgean; londrihtes mot
þære mægburge monna æghwyle
idel hweorfan ib. 2884—88.

The very manner in which I bring these two passages together will suggest to some of my readers that there is a closer connection between *lufan* and *lufen* than anyone has hitherto divined. The few lines have so many clear words and ideas in common that it would be strange if the two obscure words, so similar in form, should not also have something to do with each other; cf. *lufan* : *lufen*; *hworfan* : *hweorfan*; *monnes* : *monna*; *cynnes* : *cynne*; *eþle* : *eðel*-; *wynne* : *-wyn*; *-burh* : *-burge*; also *seled* : *-zifu*; *corþan* : *lond*-.

Instead of treating my readers to a full account of how 'God's thought turns to love', or 'des Mannes Sinn in Liebe entbrennt', or how the same 'Sinn in Wonne wandelt', or how *lufan* becomes **heahlufan*, or **hyhte*, or **hlisan*, or **luste*, or **luston*, and how *lufen* can find no home among 'Hoffnung', 'Nahrung', 'Trost', and 'Grundbesitz', I will give my explanation at once.

The phrase *alefan eðel* [to æhte] Sat. 116, 278 means 'grant landed property (land, residence)'. To the verb *lefan* (Teut. **lauw-ian*^a) belongs the noun *lufen* (Teut. **luw-n*-), 'the granting', 'that which has been granted', 'estate held by grant', 'tenure', 'tenancy', 'feoff'. Gradation and derivation [Teut. *eu* : *au* : *u*; *n*-suffix] are the same as in **leuz-n*- (Go. *liugn* n.) : **lauz-n*- (O. H. G. *lougna* f.) : **luz-in*- (O. S. *lugina* f.). Cf. Teut. **haw-n*- (O. No. *hofn* f., 'haven'), **lah-n*- (O. H. G. *lehan* n., 'grant'), etc. The Teut. **luw-n*- occurs also in other languages: M. L. G. *in* (*uppe*, *to*) *slotloven* is used in reference to 'pfandweise oder administrative Übertragung von Landesschlössern' (Lübber-Walther). So is Early Swed. *slotslofen*, e. g. *wij them antwardat haffue wårt slott Stocholm vtj en ärlig och redlig slotloffuen i så m...*, at

the skola thet oss igen vpantuarda, ee nār wij helst wppa eska,
 'we have handed over to them our castle Stockholm by true
 and honest commission, in such manner that they shall
 return it to us whensoever we shall demand it' (Dahlgren).
 Gender and inflection varied. Notice the similarity of Early
 Swedish *antwarda i slotslofven* and O. E. *sellan burh to*
healdanne. The form *lufan* (for original *lufne*) in l. 1728
 is probably due to confusion with *lufu*, 'love'. — Translation
 of ll. 1728 ff.:

'Sometimes he lets a high-born man's desire
 be altogether bent on tenancy,
 and grants him to possess, within his land,
 the lovely soil and men's protecting castle'.

Translation of ll. 2884 ff.:

'Now shall receipt of gold, and gift of sword,
 and all delightful land and tenancy
 away be taken from your kith and kin'.

In the new-won light we may consider, and possibly
 modify our opinion about, some other O. E. passages.

A. With *lufan*, *eple*, *-burh* in Beow. 1728 ff., *lufen*, *eðel-*,
-burge ib. 2884 ff., we may compare *lufan*, *eðel-*, *byrig* in
 Dan. 52 ff. (JJJ 13). Assuming for *lufan* the same significa-
 tion as in Beow. 1728, reading *eðelwearda*, and connecting
 appositional phrase and *penden*-clause (*Israela eðelwearda*
lufan, *lifwelan*, *penden hie let metod*) in the same way as
 in Beow. 2037 f. (*Heaðobeardna gestreon*, *penden hie ðæm*
wepnum wealdan moston; cf. *beorht wela*, *penden* etc. Dan. 9 ff.),
 we should arrive at the following interpretation:

'From south and north a carnage-cruel crowd
 assembled then and travelled to the west,
 in heathen kings' array, against the lofty city —
 the tenancy and earthly rich possession
 of Israel's lords as long as God allowed them'.

B. The corrupt **otor calle lufen* Dan. 73 possibly stands
 for *ofer calle lufne*, 'without any tenure', i. e. without any
 privilege bestowed on free men.

C. Cf. also Metr. 1: 57 ff. (JJJ 61).

286. *ne gesacu ohwær,
ecg hete, cowed* Beow. 1737—38.

Typical parallelism, like *ef imu than is sundea astar thiu, / loswerk, ni ledon* Hel. 3231 f. O. E. *gesacu* = M. H. G. *gesache*. The verb is intransitive ('shows itself', 'appears', 'arises'), like *ætywde* An. 1168, *oðywde* El. 163, etc. Some editors leave the text intact, others corrupt it.

287. *Heht þa se hearda Hrunting beran
sunu Ecglafe, heht his sweord niman,
loflíc iren, sægde him þæs *lænes þanc,
cwæð, he þone gudwine godne tealde,
wigcræftigne, nales wordum log
meces ecge: þæt wæs modig secg*
Beow. 1807—12.

The only explanation of these much-discussed lines that I can acknowledge as natural, materially, phraseologically, and syntactically, is the following. *Se hearda* is Beowulf. *Heard* or *se hearda* without an accompanying noun occurs in ll. 342, 376, 401, 404, 1963, 2539, each time about the hero of the poem. I refuse to believe that the poet in speaking of the two, Beowulf and Unferð, should have deprived the former of his usual characteristic epithet in order to bestow it on the latter — the same Unferð that 'ne dorste dryhtscype dreogan' and thus 'dome forleas, ellenmærdum'. The word-order *Hrunting . . sunu Ecglafe* is common (JJJ 24 f.). Beowulf is the logical subject of all the finite verbs: *heht, heht, sægde, cwæð, log, wæs*. He asks the owner of the borrowed sword to take it back: *his sweord niman* = *Hrunting beran*. He thanks him for the loan (*lænes*) of it, generously and courteously adding a word of praise instead of telling how little good it had really done him. *Læn* and *lean* are confused also in Ex. 150.

288. *eode weorð Denum,
æþeling, to yppan, þær se ofer wæs,
hæle hildedeor, Hroðgar grette*

Beow. 1814—16.

Stops are put by Sedgefield after *wæs*, by Wülker, Chambers, and Holthausen after *yppan* and *wæs*, by Holder

after *yppan* and *hildedeor*, by Schücking after *yppan*, *wæs*, and *hildedeor*.

It is not certain that *weorð Denum* is used substantively, like *præcrofe* in Gen. 2030, *harðhugaðr* in Þrymskv. 31. *roskr* in Atlamál 54, etc. And it is possible to let *hælc hildedeor* go with *grette*; see no. 215. But with the whole of the material placed before me in a manner that renders a full survey easy, I feel compelled to give to the period an appearance that does not differ unnecessarily from that of so many others. I take the parallel members to be three:

‘The darling of the Danes,
the noble man, the hero famed in war,
went to the high-seat where the other was,
and greeted Hroðgar’,

just as in An. 73 ff., 171 ff., 386 ff., 1170 ff., Hel. 622 ff., 625 ff., Guðr.-hvot 19 (Arkiv 37, 131), etc., or, with the finite verb of another clause following asyndetically (no. 215), in An. 1067 ff., Cri. 1012 ff., etc. I ask my learned colleagues particularly to notice Beow. 1644 ff.:

*Ða com in gân caldor ðegna,
dædcene mon, dome gewurþad,
hælc hildedeor, Hroðgar grclan!*

289. *Zif ic þonne on corþan owihte mæg
þinre modlufan maran tilian,
gumena dryhten, ðonne ic gyt dyde,
gudgeweorca ic beo gearo sona*

Beow. 1822—25.

It seems natural enough to render *owihte* by ‘durch irgend etwas’, ‘irgendwie’, ‘by any means’ (like a Latin *ablatus instrumenti*). However, in all other instances recorded by G.-K., B.-T., and Wülfing (§ 259), the absolute instrumental *owihte* (*auhte*, *ohte*, *nohte*) has another meaning. The clause in which it stands invariably contains a comparative: *fier owihte* Cri. 248, *leng owihte* An. 800, Cri. 343, *laðra owihte* Beow. 2432 (corrupted by Sievers), *owihte maran* ib. 1822 f., *auhte þy mara* Met. 16: 20, *ohte ðy ma* Bede 623: 5, *nohte ðy læs* ib. 627: 38. *Fier owihte* (in different

sorts of clauses) means 'somewhat further', 'a little further', 'any further', 'further at all', *laðra owihle* means 'a whit less liked' (Hall), and so on. I must therefore consider it probable that *owihle maran* likewise means 'any more', 'at all greater' (like a Latin ablativus mensuræ). And *gearo gudgeweorca* agrees well with *gearo gyrnwraece* Beow. 2118, *gearo willan þines* Jul. 49. The similarity of the two clauses *gudgeweorca ic beo gearo sona: ic beo gearo sona willan þines* is particularly striking. I translate the lines in the following manner:

'And if I, therefore, in this world am able
to gain at all more fondness of thy heart
than I have so far done, o lord of men —
for warlike deeds I shall at once be ready!'

290.

*þæt ic þe wel herize**& þe to geocce garholt bere* Beow. 1834—35.

þær ic, þeoden min, þine leode
weorðode weorcum ib. 2095—96.

ara ðinum earmum corðan tudre,
monna cynne Met. 4: 31—32.

god ere den guden ackerman!

Meister Stephans Schachbuch 2477.

Herize has been suspected, discussed, altered. Chambers declares that the verb, used as in Beow. 1834, is 'hard to parallel'. *Weorðian* is rendered only by 'honour', 'adorn', 'ehren', and the like. *Arian*, German *eren*, is rendered in a similar way, but also by 'show kindness', 'show mercy', and the like. I have cleared up the German word-group in Strz. 10 f. The three verbs have gone through one and the same development of sense: 'honour' > 'treat regardfully, considerately' > 'treat kindly, lovingly, graciously' > 'assist', 'help'. Beow. 1834 b means 'so that I may give thee good help'. Hall, the translator, instinctively found the right way, whilst all the editors wandered. Beow. 2096 a means 'helped by my works'. Metr. 4: 31 means 'help thy poor children on earth!' Cf. the prose: *help nu þinum earmum moncynne!* The German quotation means 'God help

the good husbandman'. — The double sense of the corresponding O. E. substantive has been correctly stated: *sy him ar*, 'sit deo gloria!' Ph. 663; *cymeð him seo ar* ('auxilium') of *heofenum* Seef. 107. *Hreð* (dat. *hroðre*, gen. pl. *hroðra*) also means 'gloria', 'honor', and 'auxilium'. Valuable gifts, for instance, may be both an honour and a help; see *Beow.* 2171. Of Christ it is said that he was born *to hroðre hæleda cynne*, 'to help, to save, mankind', An. 567. Andrew was sent *Matheus to hroðre* ib. 111. And a corpse, hanging *hrefne to hroðre*, is to the bird a help in the grossest sense (sustenance, food), *Beow.* 2448.

291. *Zif him þonne Hreþric to hofum Zeata
geþinged* *Beow.* 1836—37.

*Hafað him geþinged hider þeoden user
on þam mæstan dæge* *Dom.* 5—6.

Students of Old English must have an unpleasant sensation of quagmire when running over the various explanations of *geþingan (to)*: 'besluiten te gaan', 'determine, or decide, to come' (Cosijn, B.-T., Hall), 'betake oneself' (Chambers), 'have recourse to' (Sedgefield), 'appellare', 'supplicare' (G.-K.), 'einen Vertrag eingehen mit' (Schücking, Holthausen).

The exact force of *him geþingan (to)* is 'make arrangements (by negotiation, message, announcement) for oneself to go, or to come', 'appoint to go, or to come'. Cosijn's 'besluiten te gaan' is not adequate. For this phrase expresses nothing of any such agreement or preparation, any such fixing of place or time, as is involved in *geþingan*. Cf. Swed. *jag har tingat honom hit till klockan fem*, 'I have arranged with him to come here at five o' clock', 'ich habe ihn auf fünf Uhr hierher bestellt'. G.-K.'s article must be re-written. Schücking's and Holthausen's 'einen Vertrag eingehen mit' is altogether wrong. O. E. *þingian wið*, O. No. *þinga við*, means 'verhandeln (reden) mit'.

292. *Hroðgar mapelode him on andsware*
Beow. 1840.

Holthausen assumes a lacuna between the two hemistiches and enhances the beauty of the poem by an original

contribution. Sedgefield and Chambers applaud, 'as *him* clearly cannot here bear a full stress'. I recommend to the gentlemen a careful study (cf. no. 270, end) of the way in which the personal pronouns are used in the Edda. Certainly Þrymskv. 11, *nema hánum færi Þreyju at kván*, in which the pronoun is unstressed, and in consequence does not alliterate, represents a very large number of verses. But occasionally, as in Hym. 11, we find the other type:

fylgir hánum Hróðrs andskoti.

293.

Ic þa leode wat

*ge wið feond ge wið freond fæste geworhte,
æghwæs untæle ealde wisan*

Beow. 1863—65.

My interpretation of the last words is entirely different from the one generally given and accepted. Let me add: not by theory and speculation, but as a matter of course, did I read the lines in a manner answering to the following translation:

'I know the people are
of steadfast build both as to friend and foe,
their aged leaders wholly free of blame'.

An instrumental **ealde wisan* is not found elsewhere. But the double parallelism (*leode fæste geworhte, wisan untæle*) resembles ll. 1308 f., 2067 ff., An. 1075 ff., Gen. 1292 f. As for the genitive or the dative usually connected with *wisa*, 'leader' (as in *werodes wisa, þu eart hæleðum wisa*), a fresh *leode* (or *leoda*, or *hiera*) would be superfluous after *leode* in l. 1863; cf. no. 156.

294. *þætte freoðuwebbe feores onsæce
æfter ligetorne leofne mannan* Beow. 1942—43.

*þæt he sæmannum onsacan mihte,
heaðolidendum, hord forstandan* ib. 2954—55.

The verbs *sacan* and *onsacan* mean the same as O. No. *saka* and *ásaka*, Med. Lat. *causare* and *incausare*, 'accuse', 'contend'. Cf. *wroht*, 'accusation', 'contention'. *Mannan feores onsacan* means 'bring an accusation against a man in which

his life is concerned', 'try to take his life'. For the metre (L̄ | L̄), see no. 202. *Sæmannum onsacan* means 'contend with the sea-men', 'make head against them', 'resist them' (Sedgefield). *Hord* should not be connected with *onsacan*. There is, in Old Germanic poetry, no instance of verb + object + parallel verb in which object + verb make up a b-verse. The translations 'refuse', 'verwehren' (Chambers, Holthausen, and others) should be cancelled.

People who cannot refrain from doctoring the text might at least put a clear label on their bottle. *Onsecan* means the same as O. No. *sækja á*; cf. *ásókn*, 'accusation'. *Onsecan hwone hwæs* means the same as O. No. *sækja e:n til e:s*, 'assail one with the view of obtaining something', 'sue one for something', 'seek, or claim, or require, something from somebody', 'einem etwas abfordern'. 'Deprive', 'berauben', although practically suitable in this or the other case, is in itself as inaccurate as 'vanquish' instead of 'attack', or 'bessern' instead of 'ändern'.

295. *Huru þæt onhohsnod[e] Hemminges mæg*
Beow. 1944.

The verb has been derived from a man's contempt and a horse's hough-sinew. It has been rendered by 'scorned', 'detested', 'censured', and 'checked'.

The root **waið-* with an *-sn-* suffixed appears in O. E. *básnian*, 'to abide'; similarly **wūð-* in O. E. *býsnian*, 'to set an example', **hlu-* in O. E. *hlosnian*, 'to give ear', M. H. G. *luse-nen*, Swed. *lyssna*. If the root **hug-* in O. E. *hyge*, 'mind', O. No. *hugi*, 'mind', *áhugi*, *áhyggja*, 'mind', 'thought', 'care', *hugsan*, 'thought', 'consideration', were extended in the same way, the result would be an O. E. *hohsnian*, 'to give attention'. The O. No. prefix *á-*, in the nouns *áhugi* and *áhyggja* just quoted, would be an O. E. *on-*. Consequently *onhohsnode* = 'thought on', 'considered', 'took to heart', or the like.

296. *Hwihum mæru cwen,*
friðusibb folca, flet eall geondhwearf,
bædde byre geonge Beow. 2016—18.

Klaeber, in *Mod. Phil.* 3, 461 (1906), says of *bædde* that it 'is in fact unintelligible', and suggests **bælde* = *bylde*, as in

swa he I'fresena cyn on beorsele byldan wolde 1093 f. Chambers considers the conjecture likely. Schücking and Holthausen follow. Sedgefield opposes. So do I. I find *bædde* clear and appropriate: 'pressed', 'urged', 'nötigte' (viz. to accept what was offered; cf. Sedgefield and G.-K.). The verb occurs in O. H. G. in exactly the same way: Christ, drawing nigh unto Emmaus, made as though he would have gone farther, but the disciples *inan beiton*, pressed ('constrained', 'coegerunt') him to stay, Otr. V 10: 14; cf. *inti beiton inan sus quædenti: wone mit uns!* Tat. 228: 2. It is connected with a genitive in: *mih mammuntēs ni beittut*, 'ye invited (pressed) me not to any refreshment, or comfort', Otr. V 20: 103. In the Gothic Bible *baidjan* is used to translate Gr. ἀναγκάζω, 'compel', 'force', 'press' (by argument etc.). O. No. *beiddr fór ek* means 'aufgefordert fuhr ich', Am. 92. Cf. the Swed. synonym *truga*, which is used more particularly in reference to food and drink: *hon trugade sina gäster*, 'she pressed her guests to take some more', *jag trugar aldrig*, 'I always let my guests please themselves'.

(To be continued.)

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