Ricordo ancora il primo giorno a scuola,
le mie matite, i pennarelli blu.
che lontano quel tempo, come vola!
Verdi giorni che non tornan più.

Quanti giorni su quei neri banchi,
quanti sogni non ricordo più;
ma un pensiero assopito si fa avanti..
resta un ‘libro’.. che leggi ora tu.

Riccardo Zara & I Cavalieri del Re, ‘Cuore’, Sigla
Gnomic poetry plays a fundamental part of the so-called Old English Wisdom Literature. The Anglo-Saxons showed a strong tendency to inspect, wonder about, and ponder on the primary aspects of human thought, life and essence. This frame of mind is characterised by sequences of concise, tightly-structured proverbial utterances. Such briefness endows gnomic poetry with a sharp, authoritative force.

The Anglo-Saxon scop turns to a gnome, maxim, proverb, laconic, sententious saying to compose alliterative verses on native folklore and traditional patterns of thinking. In Old English literature, gnomic poetry inextricably blends pious Christian elements with ancient themes of a heathen far-flung Germanic tradition.

Gnomic verses not only deal with folklore, they also stand as a powerful and elaborate literary device to affirm a moral, or even to portray virtues or vices. Such a literary sensibility stands in the middle between a Christian religious tradition which traces its roots back to Old Testament proverbs and the typical Germanic wisdom-competition poems such as Old Norse Vǫluspá, Vafþruðnismál, Heiðreks Saga and so forth.

Yet, the Anglo-Saxon scop used the gnomic verse as a reliable fund of ethical dictum on which he would generally call to celebrate, in a poem, an episode worthy of celebration or to restate an accepted truth.

There are extant heterogeneous ‘compilations’ of gnomic verse to which scholars normally refer as Maxims I and II. Furthermore, there are some other examples to be found in other poems, such as in The Wanderer or in Beowulf. The Exeter Book and BL MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i contain the utmost examples of gnomic passages.

The vivid content of the Maxims caused a variety of opinions relating to both the significance of the style of these poems and the provenance of its content based on large number of literary sources. The purpose of this Doctoral dissertation is to carry out a scrutiny of the Old English gnomic
tradition, focusing on *Maxims I* and *II*, supply an edition of the texts, write a *variorum* commentary and an analytic glossary.

At the same time, this work aims to take into consecration the reason such a theme dendritically sprouts and suddenly reaches new heights in some crucial parts of Old English literature.
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PART ONE
1. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE POEMS

1.1 The Exeter Book

DATE, HISTORY AND PROVENANCE

In 1705 Wanley printed the inventory “Enumeratio terrarum, ornamentorum, vestimentorum, atque librorum quos sexcentis abhinc annis, Ecclesie Exoniensi contulit Leofricus Episcopus”.¹ Such a document is found in two identical and coeval Old English manuscripts drawn up around 1069-1072.² It was meant to list the donations bequeathed by Leofric, bishop of Devon and Cornwall, to his newly organised Episcopal see in Exeter, Devon, to the Dean and Chapter of St Peter’s Cathedral, before his death in 1072.³


² These inventories, which show even the same interlinear corrections, were possibly inserted after both copies had been drawn up. They are found in the quire at the beginning of the Exeter Book, ff. 1r-2v, and before a discourse on the relics given by King Athelstan (d. 940) to the monastery of Exeter, bound with a gospel-book, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 16, ff. 1r-2v. Worthy of a note that ff. 1r-2v in the Exeter Book are taken from a contemporary Gospel Book in West Saxon, Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ii. 2. 11, which was presented to the Exeter Cathedral by Leofric. The codex spoken of is now in Cambridge. It is likely that the folios were taken out from MS. Ii. 2. 11 and bound to the Codex Exoniensis before the Gospel Book was donated to Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1566. In the archives of Exeter Cathedral, there is also a Middle English transcript, Charter no. 2570, of the same inventory. See MICHAEL LAPIIDGE, ‘Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England’ in Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, MICHAEL LAPIIDGE and HELMUT GNEUSS (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 64-9 and also PATRICK W. CONNER, Anglo-Saxon Exeter. A Tenth Century Cultural History. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993, pp. 226-35, esp. pp. 230-5.

³ A number of Leofric’s donations can be still identified with some certainty. However, many of them are not in Exeter any longer where, instead, the codex has been kept ever since. As for the transcript of the donation list, see the paragraph “Record of the Gifts of Bishop Leofric to the Church and Monastery of St. Peter’s, Exeter” in MAX FÖRSTER, “The Donations of Leofric to Exeter’ in The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry. With Introductory Chapters by R. W. Chambers, M. Förster and R. Flower. London: P. Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd, 1933, pp. 18-30.
Amongst the number of benefactions listed in both inventories, one finds a manuscript which, in its current state, fits the description of, *mÿcel englisc boc begebwilcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht* ‘a large English book on various issues treated in verse’. As for the *mÿcel englisc boc*, Wanley also notes that, “Nam dum Codex esset perfectus & inviolatus, rectè dicetur liber Grandis; nunc aute, illi jam truncate Codici, tam incho quam in fine, ea quæ restant folia, una cum foliis septem alii libro præmissis in Volumen mediocriter crassum à Bibliopego jam denuo rediguntur”. Scholars concur that the manuscript spoken of is the Exeter Book, Cathedral Library MS. 3501, ff. 8-130, also known as Codex Exoniensis or Liber Exoniensis.4

The Dean and Chapter Charter 3671 is a detailed *Inventarium Librorum, Vestimentorum et aliorum Ornamentorum bonorum*, written in 1327. It lists the donations to St Peter’s Church in Exeter. There one reads a reference to the Codex Exoniensis amongst the “Multi alii libri vetustate consumpti, Gallice, Anglice, et Latine scripti, qui non appreciantur, que nulliu valoris reputantur”.5 In the Inventory of 1506, now missing, there is no mention of the Exeter Book. The manuscript has never been mentioned explicitly until the second half of the 1560s when John Joselyn (1529-1603), Latin Secretary to Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575), provided a transcript of the inventory at the beginning of the Exeter Book, ff. 1r-2v, in *A testimonie of antiquitie* (1567?). In the last article of the latter document, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 101, Joselyn refers to the *mÿcel boc* as, “[Hic] liber Saxonicus [habe]t quaternionem [in]sutam in principio [que] continent hanc [ca]rtam cum aliis”.

As Connor suggests, the quire mentioned above was added to the Codex Exoniensis around the fifteenth century. That was a time of manuscript revival, and the housing and refurbishing of them, although without any philological

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accuracy. Great attention was paid to the making of fabric-rolls and readjusting of codices. The Library of the Dean and Chapter must have played a pivotal role in such a tendency. Moreover, the Exeter Book is not acknowledged amongst the list of ‘Libri Saxonica Lingua qui ad manus Johannis Gocelin venerunt’, as recorded in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Nero C. iii, f. 208. The scrutiny of sources suggests that (1) the codex was rediscovered during the fifteenth century revival, (2) in the meanwhile it was damaged by an inappropriate use, and (3) it never left the Dean and Chapter since Leofric bequeathed it to the Minster.

Scholars generally concur that the codex was drawn up in the second half the tenth century, before the time Leofric was authorised to move the united bishopric of Crediton, Devon, and St Germans, Cornwall, to Exeter in 1050. Some critics suggested a specific range of time. For Keller, it was written before the Vercelli Book, around 960–980. Gameson concurs with him. Flower assigns

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7 John of Worcester mentions that under the papacy of Clement II (1046–1047), Leofric the Welshman, the king’s chancellor, was appointed to the bishopric of Devon and Cornwall after the death of Bishop Lyfing in 1046, see ’1046’ in The Chronicle of John of Worcester, vol. 2, REGINALD R. DARLINGTON and PATRICK MCGURK (eds), JENNIFER BRAY and PATRICK MCGURK (trs). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 542. The record of moving the Episcopal sees of Devon from Crediton to Exeter is found in several manuscripts. In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579, also known as the ‘Leofric Missal’, one reads, “Leofricus, anno Dominice incarnationis Millesimo . L. indictione .iii., cum magna Gloria inthronizatus , primus episcopus factus est Exoniensis ecclesie”, f. 3v (the whole record is on ff. 2r–3v), See FRANK BARLOW, ‘Leofric and His Times’ in Leofric of Exeter, pp. 1–16.

the codex around 970–990, Muir amid 965–975. Instead, at the dawn of Anglo-Saxon studies, Schipper and Wülker assigned the manuscript to the beginning of the eleventh century.

From the inventory at the beginning of the Liber Exoniensis, one realises that Leofric found few codices at the Minster when he moved the bishopric’s see from Crediton to Exeter. Amongst them, there were mostly service books, in Latin. By means of his benefaction of sixty-six books, the Bishop augmented significantly the collection of the Dean and Chapter. However, Leofric must have collected a number of codices from nearby monastic houses in order to re-establish the large scriptorium which Exeter already had at the time of Winfrid. It is not clear whether Bishop Leofric promoted the making of the Exeter Book or the codex had already been organised by its assembler and copied by the time


11 Exeter has played a vivid role in monastic life since the seventh century. When Boniface, (c. 672–754), born Winfrid, went on his mission, the Minster of St Mary and St Peter in Exeter consisted of a notable community of monks and nuns. In 932, King Æthelstan donated a part of his relics to the monastery. Among them are some relics of St Basil (worthy of a note that in a binding of a codex belonging to the Chapter was found an early tenth century fragment of a *Vita Sancti Basilii*). Due to Dunstan’s reforms, the ‘secular’ monks were expelled from Exeter in 968. A group of monks, presided over by Abbot Sideman, was sent from the monastery of Crediton to establish the Benedictine order. In 1003, Exeter suffered a Danish sack led by Sweyn. Under Æthelweard’s patronage (c. 1014–1018) the Minster witnessed a rebirth until the ealdorman was exiled. Exeter reached its ecclesiastical prominence in the South-West with the moving of the bishopric from Crediton by Leofric in 1050.

12 Among the sixty-six codices donated by Leofric to the Cathedral, fifty-five are works for ecclesiastical use, mainly for the liturgy, whilst eight contain poetry and three philosophy. They are all written mostly in Latin, but the Liber Exoniensis, King Alfred’s translation of Boethius’ *De consolatione Philosophiae*, an Anglo-Saxon Gospel Book and a Penitential. See MAX FORSTER, ‘The Donations of Leofric to Exeter’, pp. 16–8 and LESLIE J. LLOYD, ‘Leofric as a Bibliophile’ in *Leofric of Exeter*, pp. 32–42. As for the Latin books mentioned in Leofric’s donation list, see MICHAEL LAPIDGE, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 139–40.
it was donated to the Cathedral. One must consider that the Dean and Chapter had a number of works in Latin and very little in Old English. The Exeter Book is the most authoritative exemplar containing poetry. Moreover, it is also hard to establish whether the codex was drawn-up ad hoc for Leofric or it is just the result of the work of a compiler to pull together some poetry in Old English.

For Conner, the Codex Exoniensis consists of three minor manuscripts or “booklets”: (1) ff. 8r-52v, (2) ff. 53r-97v, (3) 98r-130v, bound in this order: 2-3-1. Fiona and Richard Gameson do not hold with Conner. Their scrutiny of the arrangement of the manuscript’s membrane denies it, since the parchment was arranged in the order it is bound, according to the old insular tradition. For Muir, Conner’s hypothesis is contradictory both codicologically (the condition of parchment in the folios Conner defines “external” to each single booklet) and palaeographically (form of ornamental initials). Meggison’s doctoral dissertation, overall, gives some support to Conner’s views. However, as Muir points out, his linguistic research is limited to just fifty words from the manuscript.

Wanley describes it as a “Codex membr. in fol. min. in quo præter SS. Evangeliorum Versionis vulgatæ, exemplar antiquum; habetur Saxonicé”. It is an example of spiritual and intellectual material for both a clerical and monastic erudite from Anglo-Saxon England. It contains homiletic and Christological poems, Saints’ lives and is characterised by a recurring penitential mood. In its ‘less religious’ section, one finds elegies, wisdom lore, riddles and the evocative secular verse. Thus, the Exeter Book is a vivid example of a cherished poetic


15 H. Wanley, Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis liberalter, p. 80.

16 As for a detailed description of the contents of the Exeter Book, see ASPR 3, pp. xxi-lxxvii.
otium which issues from that far-flung, heroic Germanic heritage which even some zealous Christians such as the Anglo-Saxon monks never surrendered.

Conner thinks that the three booklets pull together the various genres in the codex. The second booklet recalls continental culture and contains narrative and catalogue poetry, allegory and elegy (i.e. *Juliana, The Wanderer, Maxims I, The Whale*). The third is a combination of two different collections. Yet, it represents both clerical and monastic interests in religious and elegiac material (i.e. *The Descent into Hell, Deor, Soul and Body*), and primarily the Riddles. The first booklet deals with eschatology (i.e. *Christ and Guthlac*). Pasternack does not hold with Conner, mainly with his view on the second booklet. For Blake, since the codex is a miscellany, there is no specific principle of selection. Bradley’s views are similar. He believes that the compiler’s choice is coherent, although his purpose seems to organise a manuscript on some poetic common-place. Krapp and Dobbie understand the “sectional divisions” of the codex as the result of “natural divisions of thought”. For both Chase and Liuzzo, the scribe or the anthologist ordered the poems in this way since they are coherent thematically. Muir holds with Krapp and Dobbie. He thinks that the codex is an anthology of poems assembled from other sources, it is coherent, and it ought to be taken as such.

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All nineteenth century critics, but Flower, concur that the Exeter Book is the work of one hand. Flower and Hill think that it was copied by the same scribe who prepared a finely written manuscript containing Bede’s *Expositio super apocalypsin* and Augustine’s *De adulterinis coniugiis*, London, Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MS. 149.21 There, on f. 138, one finds an inscription written by an eleventh century hand, “+ æþel + æþelwerd ealderman gret”. Thus, the anthroponym ‘Æþelwerd’ may refer to Æthelweard, the Ealdorman who gave the manuscript to a monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in 1018.22 There is heated debate amongst critics as to identifying the monastery spoken of. Conner queries Tavistock, Crediton and Exeter. However, he favours the latter, since he believes that the codex was written there. Coveney argues that Lambeth MS. 149 and the Liber Exoniensis were produced in the same scriptorium.23 Sisam, Ker and Muir not only agree that the Exeter Book and Lambeth MS. 149 were copied by the same hand, but they also concur that the very scribe also drew up Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS. 319 which contains a copy of Isidore’s *De miraculis Christi* and the continuous interlinear glosses on the last two leaves. One may wonder whether the latter text is the same “Liber Isidori de miraculis Christi” bequeathed by Bishop Leofric to the Cathedral as in the inventory in the Exeter Book, f. 2r, and donated to the Bodleian Library in 1602.24 Scholars


The Manuscripts of the Poems

suggested several scriptoria, mostly in the South-West, where these codices may originate: mainly Crediton, Exeter, Tavistock, and Glastonbury, in connection to the scriptorium of Christ Church in Canterbury.\(^{25}\)

From my scrutiny of Bodley MS. 319, Lambeth MS. 149 and the Exeter Book, I believe they were written by the same hand.\(^{26}\) The Liber Exoniensis is one of the fruits of the Benedictine Reform and the rebirth of learning endorsed by King Alfred’s literacy campaign.\(^{27}\) The codex is a miscellany. Its poems have

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\(^{27}\) In the preface to his translation of Pope Gregory the Great’s *Cura Pastoralis*, King Alfred expands on the urge to restore the erudition England once held, when *man utanborders wisdom & lare bielder on lond sobe*, ‘men from abroad came here to [this] land in search of wisdom and learning’ in *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, HENRY SWEET (ed.), vol. 1, Early English Text Society, O.S. 45, 50. London: N. Trübner, 1871, ll. 11-2, p. 3 and Alfred the Great: *Aser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, SIMON KEYNES and MICHAEL LAPIIDGE (trs). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983, pp. 53-55.
been pulled together from some extant codices with a coherent, specific plan to
organise an ‘anthology’ and set a ‘literary canon’ amongst the Old English Poetry
at the disposal of its anthologist. Even if the tracking of the house of individual
manuscripts is often fairly thorny, the Exeter Book was copied in a scriptorium
dedicated to the Blessed Virgin: most likely Crediton, former bishopric of the
South–West and eminent centre of spirituality and ecclesiastical learning.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Exeter, Cathedral Library MS. 3501 is a plain codex, fairly well preserved on the
whole, although, in process of time, it has been scorched, stained by a burn or
damp, and suffered the loss of some folios.28 It is made of 131 parchment leaves.
Ff. 8–130 are original and were part of the codex that Leofric bequeathed to the
Cathedral. Yet, a folio at the commencement of the manuscript was lost, since
the first poem, Christ I, in f. 8r lacks its beginning.29 Instead, ff. 0–7 are a later
addition. On f. 0r one reads an inscription in sixteenth or seventeenth century
hand, Liber Decani et Capituli EXONIENSIS and 3501, the library classification
number. Ff. 1–7 consist of legal documents and other records of various kinds,
both in Latin and in vernacular, by eleven and twelfth century hands.30

28 For a full description of the Codex, see MAX FORSTER, ‘General Description of the Manuscript’ and
44–54; ASPR 3, pp. ix–xxv, and also B.J. MUIR (ed.), The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry, vol. 1,
pp. 1–41.

29 Likely, a small part of the codex and some other folios were lost. See JOHN C. POPE, ‘Palaeography and
Poetry: Some Solved and Unsolved Problems of the Exeter Book’ in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts &
Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker, MALCOM B. PARKES and ANDREW G. WATSON (eds). London:
Scholar Press, 1978, pp. 64–5. As for Pope’s earlier works on the matter, see also ‘The Lacuna in the
Text of the Cynewulf’s Ascension (Christ II, 566b)’ in Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the
Middle Ages and Later, E. BAGBY ATWOOD et ALII (eds), Austin: University of Texas, 1969, pp. 209–10
and ‘An Unsuspected Lacuna in the Exeter Book: Divorce Proceedings from an Ill-Matched Couple in

30 ASPR 3, p. x.
The Manuscripts of the Poems

Till 1930, when the manuscript was studied and photographed for the facsimile edition of 1933, the Exeter Book had an eighteenth century binding. It was apparently made before Wanley's time since he mentions it in 1705. The codex was rebound in the British Museum in the 1930s. The Liber Exoniensis is composed of 17 gatherings from 5 or 8 folios each, since one or more folios have been lost throughout the manuscript. The gatherings have been assembled without any internal partition through signatures, letters or numbers. Each folio has a size of about 12.5 x 8.6 inches and from 21 to 23 lines of text. Such lines, ruled with a hard point by means of guiding pricks, are spaced about 0.5 inches apart. Generally, the poems are separated by a few lines left vacant. Maxims I, ff. 88v (l. 13)–92r (l. 1), is found inside gatherings XI (ff. 83–90) and XII (91–97). Its folios are ruled in 21 lines.

The poems in the Exeter book have no titles. Some of them are divided into sections, generally characterised by a large initial capital and, at times, the whole first line is written in small capitals. Maxims I is subdivided into three sections: A, B, C, respectively ff. 88v–90r, 90r–91r, and 91r–91v.

Abbreviations. The Exeter Book shows a scanty variety of abbreviations. In Maxims I, the conjunction ond is replaced by the Tironian note ȝ. At times, it is written as if it were the first element of a compound stem. Common words such as þæt and þonne are shortened respectively as þ and þon. The former also occurs written entirely, whilst the latter is always abbreviated, but in B 46b. The macron or tilde, either on vowel or consonant, determines an omission of letters in final position of a word. Though the codex is not characterised by a general rule as for its abbreviations and their consistency, the dative plural ending –um is usually shortened as –ū. There are some other instances in which the bilabial

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nasal is omitted: $b\acute{a}$ ($B$ 35$a$), $b\acute{i}$ ($B$ 28$b$), $b\acute{a}$ ($A$ 69$b$; $C$ 57$a$), $tr\acute{y}$ | $man$ ($A$ 46$a$). In one occasion, velar plosive –$g$ + $e$, in $mon\acute{e}$ ($C$ 30$a$), are abbreviated as $mon\acute{g}$.

**Accent marks.** The codex has about six hundred acute accent marks, fifteen in *Maxims I*. Most of them occur over phonologically (and etymologically) long vowels as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectional Division</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Maxims I, A</em></td>
<td>89r</td>
<td>20a</td>
<td>å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89v</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>sár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46b</td>
<td>átemed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Maxims I, B</em></td>
<td>90r</td>
<td>10b</td>
<td>dóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13a</td>
<td>gód</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90v</td>
<td>33b</td>
<td>á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35a</td>
<td>bá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36b</td>
<td>wýn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>món</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43a</td>
<td>ácwele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Maxims I, C</em></td>
<td>92r</td>
<td>54a</td>
<td>géra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aréd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58a</td>
<td>món</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>67a</td>
<td>á</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *Maxims I*, $gód$ ‘good’ is accented once as an adjective ($B$ 13$a$) and as a noun ($B$ 50$a$), but it is not accented in $god$ $scop$ $gumum$ ($B$ 57$a$). The word $m\text{ā}n$ ‘evil’ occurs once as $m\acute{on}$ . It is accented to distinguish it from $m\acute{on}$ ‘man’ ($B$ 41$b$). Yet $m\acute{on}$ appears with an accent mark once ($C$ 58$a$).\(^{34}\) The adverb $å$ ‘always, ever’ is generally accented (but in $C$ 14$b$ and $C$ 40$a$), whilst if $å$- stands as a prefix it is accented. Krapp and Dobbie think that this might be an endeavour to stress out syllabic division.\(^{35}\) Berkhout believes that there are some instances of accent marks used as to point out vowel-length: $sár$ ($A$ 41$a$), $dóm$ ($B$ 10$b$), $bá$ ($B$ 35$a$). He also thinks that $géara$ and $aréd$ ($C$ 54) may have a metrical purpose since the line has no alliteration. I do not hold with Berkhout in taking these accents as

\(^{34}\) Worthy of note is that $m\acute{a}n$ ‘evil’, purposely written $m\acute{on}$, occurs in *Precepts* 82$b$, and that $m\acute{on}$ ‘man’ is written with an accent mark ($m\acute{on}$) also in *Guthlac* 989$a$.

\(^{35}\) ASPR 3, p. xxiv.
‘rhetorical’ in order to stress the “line’s pivotal or transitional function”. The line is evidently defective and the scribe does not use such a device elsewhere in Maxims I and in the rest of the Exeter Book. There is also an occurrence of an etymologically short vowel written with an accent mark as in wýn (B 36b).

**Capitals.** In the codex there are roughly eight hundred small capitals, more than half of these are initial I. Capitals have neither a specific syntactical value nor a sectional function. In Maxims I one finds: In (A 41b, 51a, 66a, 66b; B 27b, 52a) and Inwyrcan (A 66a). There are also five capitals which ought to be taken as oversize minuscules: Meotud (A 7a), In leohete (A 65b), Cyning (B 11a), Ne (B 42a) and Cain (C 60a). I regard R in Ræd (A 22a) as the only proper majuscule in Maxims I. In the manuscript, sixty ornamental capitals are the only form of ‘ornamentation’. Each section of the poem begins with a word in large capitals: FRIGE (A 1a), FORST (B 1a), and RÆD (C 1a). All of them have some scanty ornamentation in the initial letter.

**Punctuation.** Generally, the manuscript is characterised by two different ways of pointing: the interlinear point and the final marks. The former occurs rather irregularly and it has neither metrical, nor structural function. The latter frequently occurs at the end of the poems with a combination of these signs of punctuation: ; -, ? In Maxims I one finds: ; :7 in A, and :7 in B and C (as in the majority of the poems in the Exeter Book). It is worthy of noting that there is dot under the -i in sippan on f. 92r, l. 17.

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37 My count of small capitals in Maxims I does not entirely agree with Krapp and Dobbie, and Berkhout, see resp. ASPR 3, p. lxxx and A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnomic Poems, p. 12.

38 However, there are six ornaments, added by a different/later hand, which have been placed in the margin of the folios where they occur. See M. FORSTER, ‘General Description of the Manuscript’, p. 60 and O’KEEFFE, KATHERINE O’BRIEN, Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990, pp. 155-164, 186-9.

1.2 London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius, B.i

DATE, HISTORY AND PROVENANCE

MS. Cotton Tiberius, B.i has a more lively history than Exeter Book. Although there is scanty documentation on the codex during its early period, it is probable that the manuscript remained at Abingdon, Berkshire, until the time of the dissolution of monasteries begun in 1536 by Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485–1540), King Henry VIII’s chief minister and first Earl of Essex.

The antiquary John Leland (1506–1552) was the first to provide some information on the manuscript. In the fourth volume of his *Collectanea*, he mentions Robert Talbot (d. 1558), Rector of Burlingham, Norfolk, a close friend who introduced him to many important early English codices, including the ‘C’ or Abingdon version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Old English rendering of Orosius’ *Historiae adversum paganos*, both contained in MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i. Leland prints that “Mr. Talbote made this annotation in the front of Orosius historie, that he lent me, translatid ouit of Latine in to Saxon tunge”. Besides, Leland refers to many other notes all through the codex. Because of this information it is likely to suppose that Talbot was the owner of MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i. Yet, in those years, the manuscript was probably at the disposal of Robert Recorde (d. 1558) who, perhaps, consulted it whilst he was making a collation for the new edition of Robert Fabyan’s *Chronicles of London* for the printer John Kingston.


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41 *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebvs Britannicis collectanea*, T. HEARNE (ed.), vol. 4, p. 121.

42 *The chronicle of Fabian, whiche be nameth the concordaunce of histories, newly perused and continued from the beginnyng of Kyng Henry the seventh, to thends of Queens Mary*. London: Thon Kyngston, 1559. As for Rober Recorde, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 16, pp. 810–2.
The Manuscripts of the Poems

Mr. Boyer”. The person mentioned in John Joscelyn’s list should be William Bowyer, the Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, from whom, in 1566 (and possibly twice after), Laurence Nowell (c. 1510/20 – c. 1571) used to borrow manuscripts. A few years later, William Lambarde (d. 1601), Nowell’s student of Old English at Lincoln’s Inn also had access to the codex (and some others) whilst he was editing Archaionomia, a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws. Bowyer exchanged MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i (and three others) with Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first Baronet, (1570/1–1631) who built up a large private library, the Cotton Library. Such an acquisition is recorded in London, British Library, MS. Harley 6018, f. 154v, i.e. the catalogue of the Cotton Library of 1621.

MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i is openly mentioned for the first time in 1696 by Thomas Smith in his compilation of the Catalogue of the Cotton Library. In the eighteenth century, Sir Cotton’s heirs donated such a treasure to the newly created British Museum. The Cotton manuscripts are now stored at the British Library.

**Physical Description of the Manuscript**

In 1731, there was a fire in Ashburnam House. Many codices were lost, whilst others were singed or water-damaged. Yet, MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i was neither destroyed nor damaged.

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44 Jocelyn also refers to Bowyer as the possessor of the codex; see London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius A.iv, f. 30v. Worthy of noting that there are also some notes in Joscelyn’s hands in MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, ff. 162-163.


The manuscript contains four texts: the Alfredian translation of Orosius (ff. 3r-111v), the *Menologium* (ff. 112r-114v), *Maxims II* (ff. 115r-115v) and the C-Text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (115v-164r) which extends to the year 1066. 47 MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i is the work of thirteen hands. Ff. 1r-2v do not seem to belong to the rest of it. There is a clear similarity between the entry for the year 977 in the C-text to that in the B-text (MS. Cotton Tiberius A.iv) so that Ker suggests a common exemplar or direct copying. Since the B-text ends with year 977 it is likely that the assembler/planner of MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i decided to add the events of the following years to the C-Chronicle in order to make a complete history book.48 Since there are several references to Abingdon from the year 491, it is possible that the manuscript had been kept there ever since. Such a curiosity is also vital on a palaeographical level because the scribe who copied ff. 112-118 (the entries on Abingdon) was prevented from continuing his work. Hence the codex had been drawn up by the middle of the eleventh century.49 There is also a fragmentary addition to the entry of the year 1066, f. 164, by a later eleventh century hand.

MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i is made of thirty-five gatherings which collect 165 vellum leaves. Each folio has a size of about 11 x 7.7 inches and from 25 to 27 lines of text. Such lines are ruled with a hard point by means of guiding pricks, and spaced about 0.5 inches apart.

**Abbreviations.** The MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i scribe of *Maxims II* always replaces *ond* with the Tironian note ȝ and ȝet with þ. The former abbreviation can be written as if it were the first element of a compound stem. The dative plural ending –*um* is normally shortened to –ā: *fyrngearā* (12a), *beofenā* (35b), and *beagā* (46a). On one occasion, voiceless alveolar stop –t + er, in *aefer* (60a), is abbreviated as āft.


49 As for the dating, see *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, Appendices and a Glossary on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle,* vol. 1. JOHN EARLE and CHARLES PLUMMER (eds). Oxford: Clarendon, 1899, pp. xxx-xxxi.
**Accent marks.** The codex has a higher number of accents than *Maxims I*. The ten accent marks are: *þeǽr* (12a), *ánhaga* (19a), *gár* (22a), *éa* (30b), *tírfæstra* (32a), *rúm* (37a), *bí* (45a), *gód* (50a), *ǽr* (54b), and *ǽr* (56b). They mainly seem to be to mark vowel length even though there are some unaccented phonologically long monosyllables. The accent in *ánhaga* is likely written either to point out metrical stress or syllabic division since the MS. reads *earn án haga* (f. 115r, l. 13). A parallel problem to the latter issue also occurs in *þeges full éa of dune* (f. 115r, l. 20) for *ond egesfull éa of dune* (l. 30) and *be Ær facen dyde* (f. 115v, l. 10) to avoid *ǽrfacen*. One might wonder about a mechanical copying since the resulting syntax is somehow odd.

**Capitals.** The first line is written (in majuscule) in red ink. However, unlike the *Menologium* there are no rubricated capitals within the text. The first line of the chronicle at the bottom of f. 115v is in red ink and it is clearer. There is only one small majuscule *h* in *hycgean* (54b).

**Punctuation.** The punctuation in *Maxims II* is metrical. There are only three points lacking after the following words: *sceolan* (14a), *eorþan* (34b), and *heofenum* (35b). The poem ends with a final mark quite close to the semicolon: a point above a hook.

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2. OLD ENGLISH GNOMIC POETRY AND WISDOM LITERATURE

2.1 Definitions of ‘gnome’ in a comparative literary context

To the ancient Greeks a γνώµη was a ‘thought, judgement, opinion, maxim’. It held the basics of that which later ripened into moral philosophy. Sententious or gnomic writing, as a literary device, was widespread in Athens around the sixth century BC amongst Solon and his contemporaries. In *Institutio Oratoria* VIII.3.5, Quintilian glosses Greek γνώµη into Latin sententia. This shows how such a tradition was also present in Latin rhetoric.

In 1577 Henry Peacham supplied the first explanation of ‘gnome’: “short, pithy saying”. A gnome is also an adage, apothegm, maxim, paroemia, proverb, and sententia. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the headword ‘gnome’ as a “short pithy statement of a general truth; a proverb, maxim, aphorism, or apophthegm”. It also makes specific reference to the Old English verse. Indeed,

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gnomic poetry is a central part of Anglo-Saxon Wisdom Literature. Scholars are often firm in making a distinction between a gnome and a proverb. Yet, it is not always easy to see a clear difference. For Taylor, a proverb is a “saying” which has some function amongst the folk. Gilles thinks that gnomes are endowed with greater authority than proverbs, “they are not [...] the property of the folk. They are the comments of an individual, [...] they are often directed to a particular audience. They are wise but not clever.” I do hold with Gilles; yet, as far as I am concerned, gnomes, at times, also contain typical traits of proverbial literature.

Like the Greeks and the Romans of old, the Anglo-Saxons showed a strong tendency to inspect and wonder at the primary aspects of human thought, life and essence. The gnomic tradition had wide currency in medieval literature since Late Antiquity in an extraordinary, memorable form which is characterised by sequences of brief, tightly-structured proverbial utterances endowed with sharp authoritative force. The Anglo-Saxon scop made vivid use of a gnome, maxim, proverb; laconic, sententious sayings were used to compose alliterative verses on native folklore and the traditional mindset. Maxims I and II,
respectively recorded in the Exeter Book and MS Cotton Tiberius B.i, stand as the gnomic prototype of Old English wisdom literature.\(^9\)

However, there are some extant heterogeneous ‘compilations’ of gnomic verse in some other poems such as *Solomon and Saturn*, *The Wanderer* or in the ‘sermonising’ comment(s) in *Beowulf*.\(^{10}\) Moreover, there are poems of wisdom and learning with a high incidence of gnomic utterances as in *Vainglory*, *The Fortunes of Men*, *The Rune Poem*, *The Second Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, *Soul and Body* I, *The Descent to Hell*, *The Judgement Day* I.\(^{11}\) Gnomic poetry, usually, not only deals with folklore, but is also a dominant and multifaceted literary device to affirm a moral, or to portray a virtue or a vice.\(^{12}\) Modern scholars are divided into two schools of thought: one holds the idea that Old English gnomic poetry mirrors the distinctive Germanic wisdom-competition as in Old Norse *Vǫluspá*, *Vafþruðnmál*, *Grímnismál*, *Heiðreks Saga*,\(^{13}\) whilst the other pictures it as an extension of medieval paroemiology.\(^{14}\) The latter traces its roots back to Old Testament Salomonic proverbs and classical tradition.

The Anglo-Saxon *scop* used the gnomic verse as a reliable fund of ethical *dicta* on which he would generally to remember an episode worthy of celebration or to reaffirm a universal truth.\(^{15}\) *Maxims I* and *II* are endowed with an ‘esoteric’ knowledge of an olden past. They are two priceless hanks containing a genre whose thread not only embroiders wisdom poems but it also adorns Old English poetry with its authoritative force. This chapter endeavours to find the end of

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the skein which allows one to shed some new light on the two aforesaid hanks in order to unroll its yarn from the very core of such a poetic genre.

2.2 Dating, Authorship and Attribution

Ricci believes that *Maxims I* and *II* (*Charms*, elegies and epic poems) are some of the oldest extant poems in Old English, since they are “pre-Christian types”.16 Scholars have different opinions on both the dating and the likely authorship of the gnomic poems. For Brandl, *Maxims I* and *II* belong to heathen and/or ritual genre. He classifies them as “Altheimische Dichtung vor Alfred”. Yet, he regards *Maxims I A* and *B* as eighth-century poems and *Maxims I C* as Alfredian. The ‘case’ of *Maxims II*, instead, is somehow more difficult since he recognises a clear pagan/heroic component and, at the same time, a number of Christian additions by some Benedictine reformer.17 Timmer does not hold with Brandl as to the literary purging by some reformer; mainly, if one regards some words in poems, such as *wyrd* ‘fate’, in a pre-Christian sense.18

For Brooke, the gnomic verses are a collection of maxims (some of them are taken from *Beowulf* and *The Seafarer*). Some are rather old, from the heathen times, and the others are the result of a tenth century Christian work. Brooke also thinks that *Maxims I* and *II* were collected at York, around Ecgberth’s and Æthelberht’s time, by “some literary person who was interested in heathen verse and customs”. Afterwards, Brooke writes that the gnomic verses were collected in York and re-edited in Wessex with some additions.19 Greenfield queries the ninth century for the compilation of the poems. He assigns the work to a cleric

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who pulled together badly both old and more recent maxims. Sedgefield concurs with Greenfield as for *Maxims II*.20

Critics are mostly divided into two groups as to the authorship and, as a result, for the dating of *Maxims I*. Dietrich, Rieger and Sarrazin suggest a likely attribution of the poems to Cynewulf or his school.21 Nowadays, such a view is somehow obsolete. It is difficult to support it since scholars do not concur with the identity of Cynewulf.22 Moreover, the dating of Cynewulf’s signed poems is also an issue of animated debate, though, critics tend to assign them to a period of time between half of the eighth and ninth centuries.23 Trautmann rejects a would-be Cynewulfian attribution of *Maxims I*. Though some riddles in the Exeter Book can be assigned to him, he regards the other poems in the codex as post-Cynewulfian.24 Williams queries whether the *Maxims* were collected by


22 Kemble initially identified the poet with Cenwulf or Kenwulphus of Winchester (d. 1006), abbot of Wells, who died or might have been banished in 975. Grimm identified Cynewulf with Cenwulf (or Cynwulf) of Mercia, contemporary of St Aldhelm (c. 639-709), abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborneas. Cook pictured


23 After an examination of the vowel lowering in an acrostic signature within the *Book of Cerne* (c. 820-840, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS. L1.1.10), Amos assigned the works of Cynewulf to a period between the eighth and the tenth century. For Fulk, if Cynewulf had been a Mercian (or a Southern, unlikely as that seems) he cannot have been writing earlier than c. 750, and if he was a Northumbrian, no earlier than ca. 850. See ASHLEY C. AMOS, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts*, Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1980, pp. 103-5 and ROBERT D. FULK, “Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date” in ROBERT E. BJÖRK (ed.), *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England, vol. 4. New York - London: Garland, 1996, p. 16.

King Alfred himself. For Krapp-Dobbie, such a view is an accidental possibility, a conjectural theory.\textsuperscript{25} At the beginning of the divergences amongst scholars as to the dating of the poems, Strobl holds a wiser position. He considers \textit{Maxims I} as a heterogeneous collection of gnomes. Some belong to the conversion period and the others to the beginning of the eighth century.\textsuperscript{26} Robinson set forth a theory which goes beyond previous scholarship. He believes that the gnomic verses, like some other Old English literature, ought to be ascribed to a woman. In the case of \textit{Maxims I}, the folk wisdom, the comments on child-rearing, and the gnome on the Frisian wife welcoming home her husband at sea would be the evidence of the reliability of his view.\textsuperscript{27}

Williams and Anderson assign the compilation of \textit{Maxims II} after the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons, in the kingdom of Wessex, in a time of ardent zeal but when the beliefs of heathendom were still available.\textsuperscript{28} Galinsky and Kellermann have a similar view: the juxtaposition of Christ and \textit{wyrd} (\textit{4b-5a}) shows a transient, doctrinal course from paganism to Christendom.\textsuperscript{29} For Weber, instead, \textit{wyrd byð swiðost} ‘fate is strongest’ in \textit{5a} does not contrast the catechesis of the new faith. Yet, it shows a profound discernment of the human condition.

\textsuperscript{25} B.C. \textsc{Williams}, \textit{Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon}, p. 99 and \textsc{ASPR 3}, p. xlvii.

\textsuperscript{26} He also pictures some gnomes as a literary contextualisation of the time they were pulled together. For instance, the slaughtering of Abel by Cain in \textit{Maxims I C 55-63} is interpreted as an allusion to the blood feud of Oswald and Penda. See \textsc{Joseph Strobl}, 'Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen'. \textit{Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum} 31 (1887), pp. 54, 61-2.

\textsuperscript{27} \textsc{Fred C. Robinson}, 'Old English Poetry: The Question of Authorship' in \textsc{IDEM}, \textit{The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English}. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993, pp. 168-9. Worthy of noting that Krogmann postulates that the passage of the wife welcoming her husband (\textit{Maxims I B 23-29}) is a translation from a Frisian analogue, see \textsc{Willy Krogmann}, 'Stabreimverse friesischer Herkunft'. \textit{It Beaken} 26 (1964), pp. 334-46.

\textsuperscript{28} \textsc{Marjorie Anderson} and \textsc{Blanche Colton Williams}, \textit{Old English Handbook}. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; London: Harrap, 1935, p. 287.

\textsuperscript{29} \textsc{H. Galinsky}, 'Sprachlicher Ausdruck und Künstlerische Gestalt germanischer Schicksalsaufsäzung in der angelsächsischen Dichtung'. \textit{Englische Studien} 74 (1941), pp. 279-83 and, in addition, see \textsc{Günther Kellerman}, 'Wandlung und Fortwirken des germanischen Weltbildes in den religiösen Vorstellungen der angelsächsischen Stabreimdichtung'. \textit{Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft} 44 (1960), p. 253.
Mittner thinks that the application of the adjective *swið* to the noun *wyrd* shows some Christian influence.\(^{30}\)

Heusler’s view is challenging. He wonders whether *Maxims I* and *II* were meant for school use.\(^{31}\) Such a thought immediately places them in a monastic, Christian background. It is unmistakable that they consist of old, heterogeneous material pulled together to organise a collection of maxims which were part and parcel of the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind. Thus far, any query for authorship is unattainable. *Maxims I* and *II* cannot be considered as two completed poems. They are an anonymous abridgment of part of the ancient oral lore, perchance filtered or slightly altered by the influence Christianity.

### 2.3 Analogues and Sources

Thorpe points out the resemblance of the gnomic verses (*Maxims I*) to poems in Old Greek and in the Norse literary world. He also thinks that, although “not indeed exactly in their present form”, they “are of very remote antiquity”.\(^{32}\) In fact, one should consider the influence that Christianity coming amongst the Anglo-Saxons since it might have veiled any obvious heathen flavour and substitute it with some religious colouring. As Thorpe mentions, one cannot see the similarity between the ‘proverbial’ philosophy in *Maxims* and Theognis of Megara’s *γνώμαι*, Hesiod’s *Εργα καὶ Ημέραι* and the works of a number of Greek gnomic poets.\(^{33}\) The latter works are characterized by a great deal of common

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\(^{32}\) B. THORPE (ed.), *Codex Exoniensis*, pp. viii–ix.

sense expressed by means of a simple, effective poetry. Such a tendency, however, is part and parcel of any ancient civilization, normally in its early stage, when man observes nature and relates himself to the environment.\textsuperscript{34}

\textit{Maxims I} and \textit{II} not only have some common features with ancient Greek gnomic poetry, but they are characterised by the archetypal Germanic flavour one might find in some other poetry, such as in the wisdom collections in Old Norse \textit{Hávamál}.\textsuperscript{35} The Eddaic poem, apart from some scanty mythological information, is an enormous source of heterogeneous lore in several lines of \textit{Maxims I} and \textit{II}. These gnomic verses blend pious Christian elements with ancient themes of the far-flung heathen tradition.\textsuperscript{36} There is hot debate amongst critics to establish whether the heathen material has been camouflaged by the fervent, monastic zeal once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England. Hence, the approach to these texts and their reading becomes quite hard if one tries not to balance both the Christian and the pagan issues therein. Grein, for instance, in \textit{Maxims I B 62 woden worhte weos} \textit{| wuldor alwalda} ‘Woden formed idols, the almighty wrought glory’ points out that \textit{alwalda} is an element of the noun phrase in apposition not to Woden but to the God of Christendom. It is worth noting that some other editors print \textit{wuldoralwalda} which, obviously, refers directly to Woden.\textsuperscript{37} For Williams, all

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Hugo Müller, \textit{Über die angelsächsichen Versus Gnomici}. Dissertation University of Jena, 1893, pp. 3–4.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Though they are not of Germanic origin, see the \textit{specula principum} in Old Irish: \textit{Senbianthra Fithail} and, especially, \textit{Tecosca Cormaic} ‘The Instructions of Cormac’. The latter is a ninth-century gnomic text. It is a dialogue between Cormac mac Airt, the legendary High-King of Ireland, and his son Coirpre Lifechair in \textit{Tecosca Cormaic}. \textit{The Instructions of King Cormaic Mac Airt}. Kuno Meyer (ed. and tr.). Royal Irish Academy. Todd Lecture Series 15. Dublin: Hodges and Figgis, 1909.
\item \textsuperscript{37} This is a peculiar issue which, at times, divides scholars quite sharply and becomes a stumbling block to the progression of the studies with an open mind and willing disposition to cooperate. The same problem, in a bigger scale, is also present amongst \textit{Beowulf} studies. As for the interpretation of \textit{alwalda}, see Christian W. M. Grein, \textit{Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie in Kritisch bearbeiteten Texten und mit vollständigen Glossar}, vol. 2. Kassel: Wigand, 1858, p. 343. Worth of mentioning is that Meaney doubts that the scop had any significant information about Woden, Audrey L. Meaney, ‘Woden in England: a Reconsideration of the Evidence’. \textit{Folklore} 77 (1967), p. 110. As for the different readings of \textit{wuldor alwalda} in \textit{Maxims I B 62b}, see the Critical Edition and the notes in the Variorum Commentary.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Christian elements in *Maxims I* and *II* are spurious.\(^{38}\) Timmer speaks in terms of a “blending” of both pagan and ‘holy’ issues to adapt them to the purposes of Christianity. He points out such an adaptation when he considers the themes of worldly glory in pre-mortal and post-mortal existence in *Maxims I* and *II*. He shows how, in *Maxims II*, *dom* means “glory” in 21a, but “(divine) judgement” in 60b and how, in *Maxims I*, *lof* and *dom* mean respectively “praise” and “glory”.\(^{39}\)

The question of Christian and heathen interference in the poems creates further problems if one turns to their plausible sources. Anderson and Hill have pointed out that some lines of *Maxims I* and *II* are a reminiscence of parts of the sapiential books in the Bible. However, Anderson just highlights the reference to Salomonic wisdom and suggests that it might be the case of mere analogues. He regards the poems as Christian literature, even its “quite pagan apothegms”.\(^{40}\) For Hill, instead, *Maxims I A* 35-36 and *Maxims II* 50-57a are the Old English paraphrasis of Proverbs 11:30 and Ecclesiasticus 33:15 respectively.\(^{41}\) Lendinara suggests that *Maxims I C* 55-63 is an interpolation from the account of Cain (and his descendants) in Genesis and in the Book of Enoch.\(^{42}\)

It is unfeasible and hazardous to say whether *Maxims I* and *II* have been purged from their heathen elements, typical of the Germanic tradition, and have been purified according to the standards of Christian writing. One cannot take away the Christian colouring to unveil the original text. It is also hard to identify

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specific sources. Moreover, all those who suggested clear references to Biblical sapiential books tend to disregard the fact that most of Salomonic proverbial utterances are widespread in the lore of ancient civilisations since they are chiefly based on common sense. I would also dismiss any source which finds its roots in Early Medieval Patrology. *Maxims I* and *II*, though recorded on parchment quite late, should be acknowledged amongst the oldest extant poems of the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus. Hence, it is quite difficult to imagine that deep, philosophical and doctrinal thoughts might have influenced the heathen Anglo-Saxons after their settlement after the migration period. Instead, Lendinara’s approach is truthful if one considers that some Old Testament stories soon became a source of great inspiration for Anglo-Saxon literature, since the murderous act of Cain is quite close to blood-feuds and vengeance which is archetypal of any heathen Germanic people before the conversion of all seven kingdoms. So, a still-pagan *scop* could easily have access to an Old Testament tale from a newly converted neighbour, and a devout monk could just change the names of two characters involved in an analogous story from the heroic tradition and place them in a Bible context.

### 2.4 Verse and Meter

The lore embedded in *Maxims I* and *II* and similar poetry deals with a variety of themes. It is very difficult to grasp the whole picture which the gnomist, or rather the assembler, had in mind, if he ever had one plan. The only cohesive device within such poems is the alliterative measure which entangles them.

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43 Weber suggests some parallels between *Maxims II* and Boethius’ *De consolatione Philosophiae*. Despite the great popularity of Boethius’ work in the High Middle Ages, especially in Anglo-Saxon England, *De consolatione Philosophiae* belongs to a later period of Old English literature. Some centuries after the migration period and after the formation of the corpus of the *Maxims*, see G.W. Weber, *Wyrd: Studien zum Schicksalbegriff der altenglischen und altnordischen Literatur*, pp. 97, 105, 111.

Scholars have shown great interest in the nature and structure of the verse of the maxims. They have tried to supply a verse format to apply to the collection of maxims. So far, such an attempt has not been fulfilled.

One cannot ignore the metrical irregularity of the *Maxims*. Kock points out that early Germanic wisdom poetry was characterised by brief utterances that do not fit later patterns of versification as in West Germanic or in Old Norse poetry. Yet, such aphorisms have been assembled into poems trying to fit the distinctive Old English metrical measure. *Maxims* consist of long hypermetric lines and a variety of pithy lines which may finish up with double alliteration. One certainly needs to pay attention to short lines and regard them as a hypermetric off-verse. Kögel thinks that, in the Exeter gnomes, such irregularity indicates an endeavour to adjust all of the early, short apothegms into the existing, longer verse.

Some scholars have turned to Old Norse prosody to expand on this issue. For Rieger, Sievers, and Williams, the verse pattern in the gnomic poems recalls the *ljóðháttr*, a stanzaic verse form typical of sententious poetry. Sievers justifies such a view by pointing out that the three-syllable lines in *Maxims I* do not fit any attested metrical system in Old English. The likeness of the verse of some wisdom poetry to the *ljóðháttr* is obvious. It allows Sievers to postulate that the

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47 As Berkhout points out, one or more short lines are added to a couplet. Thus, they make a *galdraglag* stanza (or continuation) as in *Maxims I C* 23–26, 42–45, and 53–56, see, *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnomic Poems*, CARL T. BERKHOUT JR (ed.), Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1975, p. 25.


49 A *ljóðháttr* is made of four line stanzas. The odd numbered lines are almost standard lines of alliterative verse with four lifts and two or three alliterations, with caesura. The even numbered lines have three lifts and two alliterations, but they have no caesura.
ljóðháttr must have originated in the early, common Germanic period. Thus, the pithy lines which have survived the later metric remodelling would be the remainder of the old pan-Germanic verse.

There are some occurrences in which alliteration is not met. Critics have different approaches to such an issue. Rieger specifies how, at times, the rhyme replaces the lack of alliteration. In Maxims I B 9, holen sceal inæled | yrfe gedæled, he would rather emend ele into holen, rather than admit the substitution of the alliteration. Holthausen, instead, tends to emend or arrange the lines into the needs of the ljóðháttr. Berkhouit makes a practical table of Krapp-Dobbie’s and Bliss’s hypermetrical line arrangements. As for the latter point, my edition concurs with Muir’s as for Maxims I and with Krapp-Dobbie’s as for Maxims II. There are also more conservative positions which venture to defend, as much as possible, the manuscript readings. Robinson suggests not assuming any irregular ljóðháttr instances in the Maxims unless “several occurrences of the type can be found clustering within a single section of the gnomic verses”. Kock defends the hypermetric lines in the Maxims from emendations.

In proportion, Maxims I has a higher incidence of hypermetric lines than Maxims II. According to Sievers’ classification, gnomic poems are characterised

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50 For a detailed account on the ljóðháttr, see EDUARD SIEVERS, Algermanische Metrik. Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, Ergänzungsreihe 2. Halle: Niemeyer, 1893, pp. 79-90.


54 EDUARD SIEVERS, ‘Zur Rhythmik des Alliterationsverses II’. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 10 (1885), pp. 209-314, 451-545 and 12 (1887), pp. 454-82. Kaluza also delt with hypermetric lines (even in Maxims I), see MAX KALUZA, ‘Die Schwellverse in der altenglische Dichtung’. 30
by a consistent number of A-verses, a minor group of D and E-verses and some B-verses. As for the occurrence of short and hypermetrical lines, and rhymes in the present edition, see the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poems</th>
<th>Short line</th>
<th>Hypermetric line</th>
<th>Rhymes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maxims I A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1. 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxims I B</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>ll. 9, 47, 50, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxims I C</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxims II</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the attempts to attribute an authorship and dating, Maxims I and II cannot be studied by any fixed metrical pattern like any other poem, since they are a collection of heterogeneous gnomes, possibly acquired from the oral tradition already in different meters, especially if one regards the coexistence of pithy short lines, archetypical of the Germanic verse, and later, long hypermetrical lines. So, there is no need to emend the texts to make them as similar as possible to any would-be pan Germanic verse and/or to the stanzaic form of the ljöðbáttr.

2.5 Language

The Exeter Book is drawn up in Late West Saxon (approximately tenth century) with some Anglian, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian dialectal variants. It is difficult to surmise if the extant poetic codices were also written previously in other dialects. If so, one might wonder whether they were later translated into


West Saxon. From the few occurrences of dialectal variants in the texts, it is unfeasible disclose linguistic provenance.\(^{56}\)

One can speculate on several issues. The scribe’s dialect was possibly West Saxon or a variety of it. He could understand the archaisms in the manuscript(s) before him since he did not change them. At the same time, one can argue why he left the Anglian, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian variants in the poems. Such an aspect, as Sisam explained, can reveal mechanical copying.\(^{57}\) Yet, some late West Saxon occurrences show that the antigraph(s) before the scribe ought to have been written at least some time before. So he must have added something. One might also query why the copyist decided to keep certain archaisms, update some other words in his contemporary speech but leave dialectal variants without any endeavour to impose his dialectal orthography.

This whole matter becomes even more complicated when dealing with such a heterogeneous corpus of gnomes which have been pulled together from a number of sources, possibly, of different dating. Therefore, it is better to regard *Maxims I* as a West Saxon text with some archaic words of the Southern koinè and non-West Saxon variants. There are no striking linguistic differences in the three sections of the Exeter Gnomes, both phonologically and morphologically.

*Maxims II* shows analogous issues to those discussed for *Maxims I*. Yet, it should be mentioned that though the language of the poem is late West Saxon, the text was copied by the same hand in the eleventh century (c. 1040) with the *Menologium* and a part of the C-Chronicle. The latter two texts were drawn up in the eleventh century.\(^{58}\) In the Cotton Gnomes there are even less occurrences of archaisms and dialectal variants. For Imelmann, the *Menologium* was possibly written in Abingdon, Berkshire and he assigns *Maxims II* to the same area. I do not hold with such a view since Imelmann’s theory is based more on external evidence rather than on a linguistic scrutiny of the sources. Besides, the gnomic verses in MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, even if they have been recorded later, are the


\(^{57}\) K. Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature, pp. 102-3.

\(^{58}\) ASPR 6, p. lxxv.
vestiges of some pan-Anglo-Saxon frame of mind, spread throughout the seven kingdoms.\(^{59}\)

All Scholars systematically quote Campbell’s *Old English Grammar* when they supply information on the language of the *Maxims* and the dialectal variants therein. Thus, I suggest turning to Dawson’s edition for a detailed account of consonants, and stressed and unstressed vowels in the poems. Kirk lists Early West Saxon forms as well as Non-West Saxon and Late West Saxon features of both *Maxims I* and *II*. Berkhout reports the phonological criteria which characterise the vowels, diphthongs and consonants of the two texts.\(^{60}\)

### 2.6. *Maxims I* and *II*: A Literary Interpretation

At the dawn of Anglo-Saxon studies, Turner defined *Maxims II* as “a very singular and curious composition”.\(^{61}\) Some two hundred years later, such a comment, also appropriate for *Maxims I*, is still an essential part of both work and debate amongst scholars. Many attempts have been made to define such a genre, if there is one, and to find a literary context.

Critics are divided into two schools of thought: one holds the idea that the *Maxims* are early literary forms, whilst the other pictures them as a later form which has been strongly influenced by the coming of Christianity. Fox and Arend, for instance, pointed out a likeness between the *Maxims* and the poetry

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of Pindar. For the Chadwicks, they are a typical literary form of the societies of the heroic age. Roughly one century later, Cavill holds a different position and fully supports the idea that the Maxims are not of heathen origin, although much of their content is secular. Lendinara was one of the first to point out such a non-acknowledgment of the Christian element in scholarly literature.

As Tripp suggested, the Maxims belong to the category of “complexity poems” since they are built upon the relationship between men’s ignorance and the intricacy of wisdom. It is out of such a complexity that one ought to find a common thread in reading and putting them into context. Maxims I and II, though reminiscent of some other gnomic corpus of early societies, are typically Anglo-Saxon. They are an authoritative source for noticing a far-off frame of mind; they are a bridge amid a Germanic past and a self-standing ‘English’ tradition. The work of previous doctoral dissertations (Dawson, Kirk, Berkhout and Gilles) supplies a literary interpretation of the Maxims by analysing the content of the three sections of the Exeter Gnomes and the Cotton Gnomes separately. Instead, in order not to lack in originality due to the accuracy of the aforesaid dissertations and risk providing just a literary variorum commentary here, I will now proceed by analysing Maxims I and II thematically. I will take into consideration a handful of gnomes, try to put them into context with the help of the contribution of previous scholarship and, especially, attempt

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64 P. CAVILL, Maxims in Old English Poetry, pp. 154–5.


to consider their analogous sources. Eventually, I will use the foregoing observations to provide my own view on the Maxims in the context of Old English Poetry.

The gnomes deal with general truths and essential reflections, normally based on human experience, and, at times, they lay down a moral. Yet, they also portray some habits of the Anglo-Saxons. Death has always played a key role. It was considered a vital step of one’s existence towards the eternities. The Anglo-Saxons, whether heathen or Christian, were rather sensitive to the cult of death and its rituals. In Maxims I C 9-14, one reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wineleas wonselig mon} & \quad \text{genimeð him wulfas to geferan} \\
\text{felafæcne deor.} & \quad \text{Ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.} \\
\text{Gryre sceal for greggum} & \quad \text{græf deadum men.} \\
\text{Hungre heofeð,} & \quad \text{nales þæt heafe bewindeð,} \\
\text{ne huru wæl wepeð} & \quad \text{wulf se græga} \\
\text{morþorcwealm mæcga} & \quad \text{ac hit a mare wille.}
\end{align*}
\]

(Friendless, forlorn, a man makes companions of wolves, very treacherous beasts. Full oft that companion tears him. There shall be fear of the grey wolf: a grave for the dead man. It grieves due to hunger; it does not circle around the grave in dirge, surely the grey wolf weeps not over the slaughter, the killing of men, it always wants it more).

For Mackie, such a passage emphasises the persistence of a heathen custom in Christian times where a band of horsemen used to ride round a memorial barrow to croon a funeral chant. Lendinara, instead, points out how the wolf therein is a veiled allusion to a feigning mourner. For her, this reflects man’s cynicism and weakness. She matches this odd funerary ritual with the song of the unnamed woman in Beowulf 3148b-3155a. Brown expands on the theme of the \emph{poculum mortis} in Maxims I B 7b–8a: \emph{deop deada wæg} ‘the deep, the dead wave’. He believes that \emph{wæg} means “cup of death” and it is a literary (funerary) figure. Russom holds a similar position. He thinks that the “deep cup” therein is a symbol of the profound slumber, even the endless slumber which falls upon all mortals. Russom points out that the theme of the cup has pre-Christian

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occurrences since it derives from ancient lore. Thus, Magennis was wrong in considering the *poculum mortis* motif a distinctive new trait of Christian literature.\(^6^9\)

Anglo-Saxon literature is primarily about battles, heroes and Christianity. Cross analyses the theme of (defensive) war in Old English poetry. He takes into consideration *Maxims I B* 57b–58:

\[
garnþ werum  
wig towiþre  
wiþfreþa bealdan.
\]

(heroes’ fierceness in fighting to protect their homes from attack.)

The Anglo-Saxons went through periods of constant internal feuds, wars and bloodshed that persisted even after their Christianisation. Such wars were not continuous. They were a series of conflicts that stretched over a long period of time. Cross gives examples for some justification for such defensiveness in a Christian theological context. “Just and public war” was a prerogative of laymen and their secular duties. The Church did not explicitly condemn it, but penitentials disclose some hidden censure of such a lawful duty.\(^7^0\)

Though devoted to the message of peace of the Christian faith, the Anglo-Saxons drew many parallels between the Old Testament people and their own experiences. *Maxims I C* 55–56a, 59a–63 shows how the morals behind Bible stories entered the wisdom lore:

\[
Wearð feþho fyra cynne  
siþþan furþum swealg  
eorðe Abeles blode.  
[...]
\]

\[
Slog his broðor swesne  
Cain þone cuwelm nerede  
cup wes wide siþþan,
\]

---


þæt ece nið ældum scod     swa aþolware
drugon wæpna gewin     wide geond eorþan
abogodan ond abyrdon     heoro sliþendne.

(There has been feud amongst humankind, ever since the earth swallowed up Abel’s blood. [...] Cain slew his own brother, plotted his murder. Afterwards it became known far and wide, the constant hate did hurt to men, as he who dwells in the plague. They endure the clash of weapons all over the earth, devised and tempered the piercing sword.)

The Anglo-Saxons endowed their religious poetry with a range of themes from their former pagan heroic tradition, such as wergild and vengeance. Thus, Cain’s murderous story entered with great impact the Old English poetic frame of mind.\footnote{See Charles D. Wright, “The Blood of Abel and the branches of Sin: Genesis A, Maxims I and Aldhelm’s Carmen de virginitate”. Anglo Saxon England 25 (1996), pp. 7-19, esp. pp. 12-4.} Because of its Biblical context, such an episode can be seen as a pretext to create poetry dealing with fighting and killing and, possibly, as a ‘justification’ for the debated Christian validity of the ethic of war. By doing so, the scop could openly narrate of battles even in holy narrations such as those in the Saints’ lives since the authority, i.e. the Bible, relates these sorts of events in the accounts of the countless warfare the Hebrews fought against their gentile neighbouring peoples with God’s blessing to slaughter them, since the Lord of Hosts Himself was at the helm of His Chosen People.

The latter observations allow dealing with another theme which is strictly related to the previous issue: the figure of the scop. For Opland, war and poetry are pulled together by the role of the scop, as recorded in Maxims I B 57a: god scop gumum ‘men [need] a good scop’.\footnote{Jeff Opland, Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry: A Study of the Traditions. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980, pp. 232-3.} It was the scop who was entitled to recount the deeds which took place in ancient days.\footnote{For Anderson, the scop was both keeper and spreader of the knowledge of such a past. “The scop sang not only sagas but poems in which were embodied the rude science and philosophy of his time [...] A quickly apprehensive and retentive memory was one of the most important qualifications for the scop’s calling” in Lewis F. Anderson, The Anglo-Saxon Scop, Toronto: Toronto University Press 1903, pp. 17, 21.} He was present at court, but he was also amongst the warriors in the battlefield as in The Battle of Maldon
309-320. Another vivid example can be seen at the beginning of chapter 208 of Oláfs saga Helga in Snorri Sturluson’s Heimskringla:74

Þá spurði hann, hvar Þormóðr skáld væri. Hann var þar nær ok svarar, spurði, hvat konungr vildi bonum. Konungr segir: <Tel þú os kvæði nökkut> [...]. Konungr þakkaði honum skemmtan sína. Siðan tók konungr gullhring, er stóð hálfa mörk, ok gef Þormóði.

(Then he asked where the skald Thormoth was. He happened to be near and asked what the king wanted of him. The king said, <I would have you recite some lay for us> [...] The king thanked him for his entertainment. Then he gave him a gold arm ring weighing half a mark.)

Thus, the scop had the duty to remember the deeds of the past and, by means of this poetic gift, motivate the warriors to win battles just as the far-off heroes he sang of did at the dawn of days.

The Maxims contain quite a few gnomes which deal with women, mainly those in authority, and their role in society. Heyne points out the custom of the giving of the drinking-cup by the woman75 in Maxims I B 13b-22:

Guð sceal in eorle
wig geweaxan, ond wif geþeon,
leof mid byre leodum, leothmod wesan
rune healdan, rumbeort beon
nearum ond mapnum. Meodoredenne
for gesiðmægen symle ægbwær
eodor æfelinga ærest gegeat
forman fulle to frean bond
ricene geræcan ond him red witan
boldagendum bem ætsonne.

(The woman shall prosper, beloved amongst her people. She shall be cheerful, keep a secret, shall be generous with horses and treasures. At the mead-banquet, always everywhere before the band of comrades, she shall greet the protector of the nobles first; quickly offer the first cup to the hand

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of the lord and know good counsel for the two of them together in the household.)

This passage is a vivid description of an important aspect of the woman’s role in Germanic and Anglo-Saxon society. It is also a brief reminder of both rights and duties of women who are in authority. Besides, it recalls Beowulf 628b-641 when Wealhtheow, king Hrothgar’s queen, offers to the Prince of the Geats the cup which symbolises the solemn oath to fight against Grendel.76

Daily life in Anglo-Saxon England was also centred on some other rituals such as initiation and purification. The coming of Christianity replaced these customs with the symbolism of purifying and cleansing of the ordinance of baptism. Whitebread recalls Maxims I B 28-29, where the Frisian wife waits for her husband at sea to come back home and wæscēð his warig hrægl | ond him syleþ wæde niwe || liþ him on londe | þæs his lufu bædeð ‘washes his sea-stained garments, gives him fresh clothes, grants him on the land what her love demands’. He believes that such a ritual, which is still a folk custom in New Guinea, was a regular tradition which the gnomist could not take into account.77 Worthy of note is that scholars have not expanded on a possible symbolism of the sea as a symbol of rebirth and the fresh garments as the white robes of righteousness that the faithful wear before the Most Holy One as in Rev 7: 9.78

Maxims I B 11-12a sheds some light on peculiar issues of marriage settlements in relation to a woman (queen):

_Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan,
 bunum ond beagum._

(A king shall buy a queen with properties, with cups and rings.)
For Judd, it was not the woman to be sold but the rights to her custody. Such a view gives some more details on the subject. Hence, the woman – highly praised in the gnome dealing with the passing of the cup – is not delegitimised as, by a first look, one might be inclined to understand.79 Actually, Judd’s interpretation reinforces the idea of women’s influence, their role and relationship in the household. One might query whether this gnome refers to all women, as it appears, or simply to those in authority. In Anglo-Saxon England, a marriage did not mean happiness or love. At times it put women in a rough position since they had to assume the role of peace-weavers and to unite two families that hated one another. In any case, no studies have expanded on the reason why the gnomist felt the need to state a similar apothegm.

Women, however, are also the custodians of some inner knowledge and powers such as those of magic. It was a prerogative of great authority since men, be they mortal or gods, turn to their wisdom. Old Norse Vpluspá is a brilliant example of it: a gigantic seeress gives arcane information about the end of the world to Woden, the father of the gods. Although there is no specific addressee, Maxims II 43b-45a might reveal something apparently hidden about such an arcane authority some women hold:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ides sceal dyrne crefte} \\
&\text{fæmne hire freond gesecean gif heo nelle on folce geþeon} \\
&\text{þæt hi man beagum gebicge}
\end{align*}
\]

(With secret craft, a lady, a virgin, must seek her friend, if she wants not to prosper amongst her people; a man buys her with rings.)

Meaney explains that, originally, *ides* meant “woman”. Such a word would reveal the woman in her sacral, mysterious aspect. And, obviously, it must be related to nobility as it is not a feature of ordinary people. I do agree with Meaney’s view. In the Germanic world, some women are endowed with particular, ‘supernatural’ powers which are firmly associated with sorcery and Meaney rightly thinks that

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_*dyrne crafte* can be read as “by magic.”

Thus, the _Maxims_ put a lot of emphasis on the role of women in authority, their society, their role as counsellor, warrantor of oaths and warden of sorcery. Before the coming of Christendom, magic was a pivotal aspect of Germanic society due to its would-be power. Sorcery was later replaced by the Christian doctrine of the priesthood, a heavenly power bestowed by God on men. Worthy of mentioning is that, unlike magic, the priesthood is a prerogative of males. Yet, with the establishment of the new faith, the role of the _ides_ does not fade away since this same word is also used to describe female saints and heroines such as Juliana, Elene and Judith. Hence, as to the profile of women in authority, the _Maxims_ are a veiled array of literary fragments which, if one puts them together, unfold significant aspects of Anglo-Saxon society which are not so easily detectable from other Old English poems. Schrader thinks that the comments on women one finds all through Old English poetry are not essentially the main trait, nor do they inevitably portray the real behaviour of a society. Instead, I firmly believe that the gnomes that deal with such female features are extremely precious. Christianity converted the hearts of the people; it did not eradicate all customs and the structure of a society. In spite of any creed, Anglo-Saxon England still centred its social life on women whose authority was to grant prosperity to a household, to a realm, and to keep the secret of great treasures of knowledge, even hidden treasures of a far-flung past which the Anglo-Saxons never gave up totally.

For Robinson, “there is more diversity than congruence in the structures posited, one wonders whether we are not approaching the problem in the wrong

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way when we limit our attention to the *Maxims* in isolation".\(^{83}\) Taylor is right in thinking of the *Maxims* in terms of a “time capsule”. In fact, they give a reliable outline of the customs once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England.\(^{84}\) Cavill is just as right in considering the wisdom of the Exeter and Cotton poems nomic. Indeed, they “order and organise experience and society”.\(^{85}\) Yet, I would rather see them as a collection of self-standing units, although they belong to a larger section (Exeter gnomes) or poem (Cotton gnomes).\(^{86}\)

As already mentioned, *Maxims I* and *II* are a heterogeneous collection of aphorisms, pithy sayings and gnomes from different sources and different stages of the Anglo-Saxon society. As Dawson notes, “the poems are not simply lists but mnemonic arrangements in sequences built up by multiple associations of ideas, either through meaning or thought sound”.\(^{87}\) Some are endowed with the ancient pagan wisdom whilst others sound like perfect Christian utterances, or at least the material has been filtered by the zeal of the new faith. For the same reason, I am not as prone to consider linguistic studies and the scrutiny of lexis as a result of their diversity and the variety of sources the collections of *Maxims I* and *II* might originate from. One cannot regard the *Maxims* as single poems just because of their regular occurrence of *sceal* and/or *bið*.\(^{88}\) It is rather more interesting to consider another aspect which has been somehow neglected by the scholarship: the presence of gnomic themes and voices in the poetic corpus.

*Maxims I A 4a* reveals that *gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan* ‘wise men must exchange wise words’. Hence, to the Anglo-Saxons, wisdom is meant to be

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shared. In *Maxims I A* 22–23a, one further reads, *raed sceal mid snyttro | ryht mid wisum || til sceal mid tilum* 'counsel shall go with wisdom, justice with the sage, a good man with good men'. The *Maxims* are a compilation of thoughts based on the knowledge of the world and they aim to instruct and advise by the authoritative force of some ancient learning. Because of their didascalic nature and purpose, a modern reader can take hold of both the mentality and the cultural setting of the Anglo-Saxons.

The previous analysis of those few themes in the two poems has offered a small viewpoint of the deep connection between the *Maxims* and the rest of Old English poetry. Mardsen has recently re-pointed out these numerous occurrences throughout the poetic corpus, especially in *Beowulf*. The latter poem consists of 6,364 half lines; 342 of these are gnomic utterance. Gnomes are mostly used to conclude a character’s remark endowing it with authoritative *dictum*. Yet, they

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92 Gnomes have different themes and are delivered by several voices: the poet (160 half lines), Hroðgar (93), Beowulf (75), Wiglaf (6), the Coastguard (5), and the Last Survivor (3). To Deskis, they effect thematic continuity and structuring, S.E. Deskis, *Beowulf and the Medieval Proverb Tradition*, p. 155. Indeed, gnomes are not merely sentence/episode linkers, they are rather unmistakably distinguished by formal differences and are used to underline and develop the major themes and attitudes which the *scop* intends his narrative structure to support, see E. Tuttle Hansen, *The Solomon Complex: Reading Wisdom in Old English Poetry*, p. 57. Gnomic passages are always strictly coherent to the narration flow and they cannot be considered disturbing elements of aphoristic didacticism, see Anne L. Harris, ‘The Vatic Mode in *Beowulf*’. *Neophilologus* 74 (1990), pp. 591–600, esp. p. 594. They rather have power and beauty in their own right, not a mere formulaic or ornamental function; see Thomas A. Shippey, ‘Maxims in Old English Narrative’ in *Oral Tradition, Literary Tradition: A Symposium*. Proceedings, Symposia at the Center for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages, Odense University, Hans Bekker-Nielsen et alii (eds). Odense: Odense University Press, 1977, p. 31, and Catherine Karkov and Robert Farrell, ‘*The Gnomic Passages of Beowulf*’ in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990), pp. 295–310, esp. p. 307.
can also be introductory or have a medial or parenthetical position. The maxims in *Beowulf* are a true cross-section of the Anglo-Saxon society, of its rules, values, and beliefs on the heroic and ethical code. By doing so, the *scop* creates a binding link of social interdependence. Thus, gnomes are a didactic instrument. Through them, truth and wisdom are imparted to society by the mighty power of solemn, authoritative lore. Worthy of note is that, although not as persistent as in *Beowulf*, one also discovers some gnomic voices in the elegies and, at times, even Christian poetry.

The few themes analysed in *Maxims I* and *II*, also recurrent randomly in the Old English poetic corpus, represent the pillars of the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind. The *Maxims* show a variety of customs of that time: from man’s primacy to human frailty in relationship with physical death. They disclose a world ruled by husbands who should hearken unto the counsel of their sage wives, and they put a lot of emphasis on the lore about some issues taken from daily life. All in all, the *scop* often turns to gnomic poetry to elevate his register to make his lay or narration more solemn. The *Maxims* are a catalogue of wisdom in which one could find knowledge and great inspiration. They are storages of great acumen at one’s disposal, to decorate and beautify poetry. They are definitely the priceless hanks I mentioned at the beginning. They are of the most sublime lyrical genre whose golden thread adorns Old English verses with the quintessence of poesy.

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PART TWO
EDITORIAL NOTE

The folios of the Exeter Book and BL MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, where Maxims I and II are contained, do not show any major defects that would impede a plain palaeographic scrutiny. I had direct approach to the codices and, when appropriate, I turned to facsimile editions. As for the Exeter Book, I treasured Muir’s digital edition in CD-ROM.

At first, I transcribed the poems from the manuscripts and set up a diplomatic edition (appended). Afterwards, I divided the two texts into verses according to the needs of the alliterative measure. On the right side of the page, an asterisk in square brackets [+] points out the beginning of a new folio.

I turned to all previous editions of the poems to organise the apparatus criticus. There, I supply all editors and critics’ emendations or readings. A list of abbreviations with the scholars’ name, work and year of publication are found below, before the edited text.

Graphic variants adopted by other editors have been ignored. Additions are given in square brackets. Common abbreviated words such as þ, þon, any word ending with a long (semi)vowel before nasal and final palatal ȝ have all been silently expanded. The Tironian note, ȝ, is printed as ond. All occurrences of ȝ have been normalised into y. Bilabial semivowel w and close back rounded vowel u are kept distinguished since the MS. has different letters. Emendations are in italics.

The texts have been repunctuated. Modern punctuation is found in my translation.
Table of Abbreviations


*Brwn*  Brown, C. ‘*Poculum Mortis* in Old English’, 1940.


*Fox*  Fox, S.  *Menologium seu calendarium poeticum ex Hickesiano thesauru*, 1830.

*Gr.¹*  Grein, C.W.M. (ed.) *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, vol. 2, 1858.


### Edition of Maxims I and Maxims II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hcks</td>
<td>Hickes, G. <em>Linguarium vett. septentrionalium thesaurus: grammatico-criticus et archeologicus</em>, vol. 1, 1705.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klbr</td>
<td>Klaeber, F. Rev. of <em>Plain Points and Puzzles</em>, by Ernst A. Kock, 1923.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kock1</td>
<td>Kock, E.A. <em>Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings</em>, 1898.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kock3</td>
<td>Kock, E.A. <em>Plain Points and Puzzles</em>, 1922.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Edition of Maxims I and Maxims II

Schlutt.² Schlutter, O.B. ‘Beiträge zur alten englischen Wortforschung II’, 1911.
Siev.¹ Sievers, E. ‘Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses II’, 1885.
Str.¹ Strobl, J. ‘Zum Wiener Hundsegen’, 1886.
Str.² Strobl, J. ‘Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen’, 1887.
Th. Thorpe, B. (ed. and trans.) Codex Exoniensis, 1842.
Wms Williams, B.C. (ed.) Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon, 1914.
01 Frige mec frodum wordum. Ne læt þinne ferð onhælne
02 degol þæt þu deopost cunne. Nelle ic þe min dyrne gesecgan
03 gif þu me þinne hygecræft hylest ond þine heortan geþohtas.
04 Gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan. God sceal mon ærest hergan
05 fægre fæder userne forþon þe he us æt frymþe geteode
06 lif ond lænne willan. He usic wile þara leana gemonian
07 meotud sceal in wuldre. Mon sceal on eorðan
08 geong ealdian. God us ece biþ
09 ne wendad hine wyrdæ. Ne hine wiht dreceþ
10 adl * ne yldo ælmihtigne [* f. 89’]
11 ne gomelað he in geste ac he is gen swa he wæs
12 þecodon gefylldig. He us þeponc syleð
13 missenlicu mod monge reorde
14 feorh cynna fela þemþ wide
15 eglon monig. Eardas rume
16 meotud arerde for moncynne
17 ælmihtig god efenfela bega
18 þecoda ond þeawa. Þing sceal gehegan
19 frod wiþ frodne biþ hyra ferð gelic.
20 Hi a sace semaþ sibbe gelærad
21 þa ær wonsælge awegen habbað

---

3a gif þu me þinne hygecræft hylest] gif þu þinne hygecræft hylest (Gr. 1, Siev. 2)
hygecræft] MS. hyge créft; hyge–créft (Tbl.)
11a gomelað] gomela (Wms)
12b þeponc] þonc (Gr. 1)
13b monge reorde] mon–gereorde (Tbl.)
14a feorh cynna] MS. feorh cynna; feorh–cynna (Tbl.)
16b moncynne] MS. mon cynne; mon–cynne (Tbl.)
17b efenfela] efen–fela (Tbl.)
22 red sceal mid snyttro    ryht mid wisum
23 til sceal mid tilum.    Tu beoð gemæccan
24 sceal wif ond wer     in woruld cennan
25 bearn mid gebyrdum.    Beam sceal on eorðan
26 leafum līþan    leomu gnornian.
27 Fus sceal feran    fæge sweltan
28 ond dogra gehwam    ymb gedal sacan
29 middangeardes.    Meotud ana wat
30 hwær se cwealm cymeþ    þe heonan of cyþþe gewiteþ.
31 Umbor yscð    þa æradl nimeð
32 þy weorþed    on foldan swa fela    fira cynnes.
33 Ne sy þæs magutimbras    gemet offer eorðan
34 gif hi ne wanige    se þas woruld teode.
35 Dol biþ se þe his dryhten nat    to þæs oft cymeð deað unþigned
36 snotre men sawlum beorgað    healdað hyra soð mid ryhte
37 eadig bið þe in his eþle geþihð    earm se him his frýnd geswícåð.
38 Nefre sceal se him his nest aspringð    nyd[ë] sceal þrage * gebunden. [* f. 89°]
39 Blîþe sceal bealoleas heorte.    Blind sceal his eagna þolian
40 oftigen biþ him torhtre gesihþe.    Ne magon hi ne tunglu bewitian
41 swegltorht sunnan ne monan.    Þæt him biþ sar in his mode
42 onge þonne he hit ana wat    ne weneð þæt him þæs edhwyrft cyme.

Edition of Maxims I and Maxims II

26a līþan] līþan (Brk.); belīþan (Hol.°)
26b gnornian] gnorian (Kirk); growan (Th.)
29a middangeardes] middan-geardes (Th.)
31b þa æradl] þær adl (Klbr., Dwsn)
    æradl] ær adl (Th., Gr.¹, Wülk.², Wms); æradl (Gr.²)
33a magutimbras] magu-timbras (Th.)
34a hi] he (Kirk)
35b of] eft (Siev.²)
37b eadig bið se þe in his eþle geþihð] eadig bið se þe his eðle geþihð (Siev.²)
38a nefre] næfre (Siev.²); nearo (Kock³); wæfre (Schltr.¹)
38b nyde] MS. nyd (Wülk.¹, Siev.², Kock³, Brk.)
40b hi ne] MS. hine (Siev.²); hi (K.-D., Dwsn, Muir)
    bewitian] MS. bewitian
41a swegltorht sunnan] swegl-torht-sunnan (Th.)
41b sar in his mode] sar on mode (Gr.³)
42a onge þonne he] MS. onge þon he (Siev.²); on ge þon he (Th., Gr.¹); onge þon (þonne?) he (Gr.²); on geþonne he (Wülk.²)
42b edhwyrft] ed-hwyrt (Th.)
43 Waldend him þæt wite teode se him mæg wyrpe syllan
44 hælo of heofodgimme gif he wat heortan clæne.
45 Lef mon læces behofað. læran sceal mon geongne monnan
46 trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe.
47 Sylle him wist ond wædo oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde.
48 Ne sceal hine mon cildgeongne forcwægan ær he hine acyðan mote.
49 Þy sceal on þeode gehfæon þæt he wese þristhycgende.
50 Styran sceal mon strongum mode. Storm oft holm gebringeð
51 geofen in grimmum sælum. Onginnad grome fundian
52 fealwe on feorran to londe hwæþer he fæste stonde.
53 Weallas him wiþre healdað him þæt he wære þristhycgende.
54 Swa biþ ær smîte þonne hy sund ne weceð
55 swa beþ þeoda gehweare þonne hy gehingad habbað.
56 Gesittad him on gesundum þingum ond þonne mid gesiþum healdað
57 cene men gecynde rice. Cyning biþ anwealdes georn.
58 Lað se þe londes monað leof se þe mare beodeð.
59 Þrym sceal mid wlenco þriste mid cenum
60 sceolon bu recene beadwe fremman.
61 Eorl sceal on eos boge eorod * sceal getrume ridan [* f. 90']
62 fæste feþa stondan. Færne æt hyre bordan geriseð
63 widgongel wif word gespringeð oft hy mon wommum bilihð

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44a hælo] hæle (Wms)
of heofodgimme] on heofodgimme (Gr. ¹)
45a lef mon] lefmon (Th., Holt. ²)
46a trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne] trymman, þæt he teala cunne, (Holt. ³)
48a cildgeongne] cildgeong ne (Gr. ¹, Wülk. ¹); cild geong ne (Th.)
49b þristhycgende] þrist-hycgende (Th.)
52a on feorran] feoran (Schlitz. ²); onforan (Kock ³)
52b he] hit (Gr. ¹, Holt. ⁴)
54b sund] MS. wind (Gr. ¹, Wülk. ¹, Wms, Mack., K.-D., Kirk, Shp.)
55a þeoda] þeode (Wms)
55b gehingad] MS. gehingað
60a sceolon] sceolon (Shp.)
61b eorod] MS. worod (Kirk)
sceal] scal (Siev. ²)
63a widgongel] wid-gongel (Th.)
gespringeð] gesprengeð (Ettm.)
63b bilihð] belihð (Ettm., Siev. ²)
64 hæleð hy hospe mænað oft hyre hlor abreopeð.
65 Sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan scir in leohte geriseð.
66 Hond sceal heofod inwyrcan hord in streonum bidan.
67 Gifstol gegierwed stondan hwonne hine guman gedælen.
68 Gifre bip se þam golde onfeð guma þæs on heahsetle geneah.
69 Lean sceal gif we leogan nellāð þam þe us þas lisse geteode.

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64b abreopeð abreoteð (Ettm.)
65a sceomiande scomiande (Ettm.); sceomiende (Siev.2)
66a heofod heafod (Ettm., Rieg.2)
    inwyrcan in-wyrca (Th.); inwrihan (Rieg.2)
66b streonum screonum (Rieg.2)
67a gifstol gif-stol (Th.)
67b hwonne gif (Gr.1, Rieg.2)
68b guma þæs on heahsetle geneah gifðo man þæs on heahsetle geneahhe (Rieg.2)
    heahsetle heah-setle (Th.)
EXETER B
[ff. 90v-91r]

01 Forst sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan
02 eorþe growan. Is brycgian
03 wæter helm wegan wundrum lucan
04 eorþan ciþas. An sceal inbindan
05 forstes fetre felameahtig god.
06 Winter sceal geweorpan weder eft cuman
07 sumor swegle hat sund unstille
08 deop deada wæg dyrne bīð lengest.
09 Holen sceal inæled yrfe gedæeled
10 deades monnes. Dom bīþ selast.
11 Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan
12 bunum ond beagum. Bu sceolon ærest
13 geofum god wesan. Guð sceal in eorle
14 wig geweaxon ond wif geþeon

\[3a\] wæter helm| wæterhelm (Ettm., Rieg.1, Wülk.1, K.-D.)
\[4b\] inbindan| anbindan (Con.)
\[5a\] fetre| fetru (Th., Ettm.)
\[5b\] felameahtig| fela meagtig (Hcks, Con., Ettm.); fela-meagtig (Th., Wms, Gr.1, Wülk.1)
\[7a\] sumor swegle hat| sumor swegle-hat (Th.); sumorswegele hat (Kock1)
\[8a\] deada| deadra (Wit); deāda (Brun, Brk.)
\[wæg\]| weg (Ettm.)
\[8b\] dyrne| dyrne (Con.)
\[dyrne bīð lengest\]| dyrne bīð ond lengest (Kirk)
\[9a\] holên| ofen (Holt.1)
\[inæled\]| in æled (Con., Gr.1, Wms), in æled (Th.)
\[10b\] se last| se last (Con.)
\[11a\] ceape| ceawe (Hcks)
\[12b\] sceolon| scealon (Con.)
\[14a\] wig geweaxon| wigge weaxan (Gr.2)
\[14b\] geþeon| geþihan (Rieg.1)

97
15 leof mid hyre leodum. Leohtmod wesan
16 rune healdan    rumheort beon
17 mearum ond maþmum. Meodorædene
18 for gesiðmægen    symle æghwær
19 eodor æþelinga    ærest gegretan
20 * forman fulle    to frean hond    [* f. 90’]
21 ricene geræcan    ond him ræd witan
22 boldagendum    bæm ætsomne.
23 scip sceal genægled    scyld gebunden
24 leoh linden bord. Leof wilcuma
25 friyan wife    þonne flota stondeð
26 bîþ his ceol cumen    ond hyre ceorl to ham
27 agen ætgeofa    ond heo hine in lāðaþ
28 wæscð his warig hrægl    ond him syleþ wæde niwe
29 liþ him on londe    þæs his lufu bædeð.
30 Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan. Oft hi mon wommum behlið.
31 Fela bið fæsthydigra    fela bið fyrwetgeornra
32 freoð hy fremde monnan    þonne se oþer feor gewiteþ.

15a leof] MS. lof (Hcks, Th., Rieg.¹)
15b leohoamod] leoh mod (Hcks); leoh-mod (Th.)
16b rumheort] rum heort (Hcks); rum-heort (Th.)
17b meodorædene] meodo rædenne (Hcks); meodoro-rædenne (Th.); meodoræ denne (Dunn)
18a for gesiðmægen] MS. forge sið mægen; forge-sið mægen (Hcks); sorge siðmægen (Ettm.);

for gesiðmægon (Rieg.¹); for gesið-mægen (Th.); fore gesiðmægen (Mack.)
19a æþelinga] MS. æþelinge (Hcks, Muir); eodor-væþelinge (Th.)
20a forman] for man (Hcks)
20b hond] handa (Ettm.); honda (Siev.¹, Holt.²)
22a boldagendum] bold agendum (Hcks); bold-agendum (Th., Gr.¹)
22b ætsomne] æt-somne (Th.)
24a linden bord] lindenbord (Mack.)
24b wilcuma] wil-cuma (Th.)
26b ham] him (Hcks)
27a ætgeofa] æt geofa (Hcks); æt-geofa (Th.)
27b in lāðaþ] MS. inlāðaþ (Hcks, Th., Ettm.)
30a wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan] wif sceal [wiþ wer] wære gehealdan (Ettm.)
30b oft hi mon wommum behlið] Rieg.¹ omits the entire line
  behlið] belið (Gr.¹, K.-D., Kirk, Rod., Muir)
31a fæsthydigra] fast hydigra (Hcks, Sch.); fast-hydigra (Th.)
31b fyrwetgeornra] MS. fyrwet geornra (Hcks); fyrwet-geornra (Th.); fyrwetgeornra (Wm);

fyrwetgeorna (Ettm.); fyrwetgeorna (Wülk.¹)
Lida biþ longe on siþe. A mon sceal seþeah leofes wenan,
gebidan þæs he gebædan ne mæg hwonne him eft gebyre weorðe.
Ham cymeð gif he hal leofað nefne him holm gestyreð
mere hafað mundum. Mægðes agen wyn.
ceapeadig mon cyningwic þonne
leodon cyneþ þonne liþan cymeð.
Wuda ond wætres nyttāð þonne him biþ wic alyfe
mete bygeþ gif he maran þearf ærþon he to meþe weorðe.
Seoc se biþ þe to sellan ieteð. Þeah hine mon on sunnan læde
ne mæg he be þy wedre wesan Þeah hit sy wearm on sumera
ofercumen biþ he ær he acwele gif he nat hwa hine cwicne fede.
Mægen mon sceal mid mete fedan * morþor under eorþan befeolan [* f. 91’]
hinder under hrusan þe hit forhelan þenceð.
Ne biþ þæt gedefe deaþ þonne hit gedyrned weorðeð.
hean sceal gehnigan adl gesigan
ryht rogian. Ræd biþ nyttost
yfel unnyttost þæt unlæd nimeð.
God biþ genge ond wiþ god lenge.
Hyge sceal gehealden hond gewealden.
seo sceal in eagan snyttro in breostum

32a fremde] fremðe (Hol.)
33b seþeah] se þeah (Hcks); se þeah (Th., Ettm., Rieg.¹, Gr.¹, Wülk.¹)
35a ham] MS. há
36b mægðes agen wyn] MS. mægð egsan wýn (Th., Ettm., Gr.¹, Wms, Mack.); mægþ egsan wyn (Hcks);
mægða eagna wyn (Rieg.¹); mægða egna wyn (Wülk.¹);
mægðegsan wyn (K.-D.)
37a ceapeadig] ceap eadig (Hcks, Th., Ettm., Rieg.¹, Wülk.¹, Wms, Mack.); ceape eadig (Holt.¹); ceap-eadig (Gr.¹)
37b cyningwic] cyning wic (Hcks, Th., Ettm., Rieg.¹, Gr.¹, Wülk.¹, Kock², Wms, Mack., Rad.)
38 leodon cyneþ þonne liþan cymeð] leodum cypeð, þonne liða cymeð (Ettm.)
38a leodon] leodum (Gr.²)
39b alyfeð] MS. alyfeð
40a ærþon] ær þon (Ettm., Gr.¹, Wülk.¹, Wms)
weorþe] weofe (Hcks)
41a ieteð] ietað (Hcks)
43a acwele] a cwele (Hcks)
45b hit forhelan] hit for helan (Hcks)
47a gehnigan] gehingan (Hcks)
47b adl] hadl (Hol.¹, K.-D., Shp.)
adl gesigan] adlige sigan (Th.)
53 þær bið þæs monnes modgeþoncas.
54 muþa gehwylc mete þearf mæl sceolon tidum gongan.
55 Gold geriseþ on guman sweorde
56 sellic sigesceorp sinc on cwene.
57 God scop gumum garnþ werum
58 wig towiþre wicfreôa healdan.
59 Scyld sceal cempan sceaf reafere
60 sceal bryde beag bec leornere
61 husl halgum men hæþnum synne.
62 Woden worhte weos wuldor alwalda
63 rume roderas. þæt is rice god
64 sylf soðcyning sawla nergend.
65 Se us eal forgeaf þæt we on lifgaþ
66 ond eft æt þam ende eallum wealdeð
67 monna cynne. þæt is meotud sylfa.

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53b modgeþoncas] mod-geþoncas (Th.)
56a sigesceorp] sige sceorp (Hcks); sige-sceorp (Th.)
57b garnþ werum] MS. gar niþ werum (Hcks); gar niþ-werum (Th.); gar niþwerum (Rieg.);
                      gar niðwerum (Ettm., Bout.)
58a towiþre] to-wiþre (Th.); to wiþre (Hcks, Rieg.)
58b wicfreôa] wic freôa (Hcks, Th., Rieg.); wic freôu (Ettm.);
                      wicfreûu (Gr.); wic freôothelthan (Bout.)
61a husl] hus (Hcks, Ettm.); husel (Bout.)
61b synne] scïne (Bout.)
62a Woden] wodne (Rieg.)
62b wuldor alwalda] wuldor-alwalda (Th.); wuldoralwalda (Ettm.); wuldora alwalda (Bout.);
                          wuldor alwalda (Rieg.)
64a soðcyning] soð cyning (Hcks, Ettm., Rieg.)
65b þæt] þæt (Rieg.)
          on lifgaþ] onlífgaþ (Hcks); on-lífgaþ (Th.); onlífgaþ (Ettm.)
66a eft æt þam] eft þam (Bout.)
67a monna] monne (Hcks)
Edition of Maxims I and Maxims II

EXETER C
[ff. 91r-92v]

01 Ræd sceal mon secgan rune writan
02 leoþ gesingan leofes gearnian
03 dom areccan dæges onettan.
04 Til mon tiles ond tomes meares
05 cuþes ond gecostes ond calcrondes.
06 Nænig fira to fela gestryneð.
07 Wel mon sceal wine healdan on wega gehwylcum
08 oft mon * fereð feor bi tune þæt him wat freond unwiotodne. [* f. 91v]
09 Wineleas wonsælig mon genimeð him wulfas to geferan.
10 Felafæcne deor. Ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.
11 Gryre sceal for greggum græf deadum men.
12 Hungre heofeð nales þæt heafe bewindeð
13 ne huru wæl wepeð wulf se græga
14 morþorcwealm mæcga ac hit a mare wille.
15 Wræd sceal wunden. Wræcu heardum men.
16 Boga sceal stræle sceal bam gelic
17 mon to gemæccan. Maþþum oþres weorð.

2b leofes] MS. leofes (Hcks, Th., Mack.)
gearnian] gearman (Hcki);
4a til mon tiles] tilmun tiles (Hcks)
calcrondes] calc ronderes (Hcki); calc-rondes (Th.)
7a wel mon sceal] wel sceal mon (Ettm.)
wulfas] wulf (Ettm., Siew.;
10a felafæcne] fela-fæcne (Th., Wülk.); fela frecne (Ettm.); fela fecne (Gr.1)
greggum] grægum (Ettm.)
14a morþorcwealm] morþor-cwealm (Th.)
mæcga] mecga (Ettm.)
15a wræd] wræð (Ettm.)
wunden] wundrum (Csjn); wunde (Sbp.)
17b maþþum] maðum (Gr.1)

101
18 Gold mon sceal gifan. Mæg god syllan
19 eadgum æhte ond eft niman.
20 Sele sceal stondan sylf ealdian.
21 Liçgende beam læsest groweð.
22 Treo scolon brædan ond treow weaxan
23 sio geond bilwitra breost ariseð.
24 Wærleas mon ond wonhydig
25 ætreneð mod ond ungetreow
26 þæs ne gymeð god.
27 Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð het sîfthan swa forð wesan.
28 Wæra gehwylcum wislicu word gerisað
29 gleomen gied ond guman snyttro.
30 Swa monige beoþ men ofer eorþan swa beoþ modgeþoncas
31 ælc him hafað sundorsefan.
32 Longað þonne þy læs þe him con leoða worn
33 ofðe mid hondum con hearpan gretan
34 hafaþ him his gliwes giefe þe him god sealde.
35 Earm biþ se þe sceal ana lifgan
36 wineleas wunian hafaþ him wyrd geteod
37 betre him wære þæt he broðor ahte begen hi anes monnes
38 eorle eaforan * wæran gif hi sceoldan eofor onginnan [* f. 92']
39 ofðe begen beran biþ þæt sliðhende deor.
40 A scyle þa rincas gerædan lædan
ond him ætsonne swefan
næfre hy mon tomedle
ær hy deða todaele.

Hy twegen sceolon tæfle ymbßittan þenden him hyra torn toglide
forgietan þara geocran gesceafta habban him gomen on borde.
idle hond emetlan geneah tæfles monnes þonne teoselum weorpeð
seldan in sidum ceole nefne he under sgle yrne.

Werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ. Ful oft mon wearnum tihð
eargne þæt he elne forleose drugað his ar on borde.

Oft hy wordum toweorpað ær hy bacum tobreden.
Geara is hwær aræd.

Wearð fæhþo fyra cynne sifþan furþum swelg
eorðe Abeles blode. Næs þæt andæge nið.

Of þam wrohtdropan wide gesprungon
58 micel mon ældum monegum þeodum
59 bealoblonden niþ. Slog his broðor swæsne
60 Cain þone cwealm nerede. Cuþ wæs wide sīþan
61 þæt ece nið ældum scod swa aþolware.
62 drugon wæpna gewin wide geond eorþan
63 ahogodan ond ahyrdon heoro sliþendne.
64 Gearo sceal guðbord gar on sceafte
65 ecg on sweorde ond ord spere
66 hyge heardum men helm sceal cenum
67 ond a * þæs heanan hyge hord unginnost. [* f. 92v]
COTTON GNOMES
[ff. 112v-114r]

01 Cyning sceal rice healdan. Ceastra beoð forran gesyne
02 onðanc enta geweorc þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon
03 wrætlic weallstana geweorc. Wind byð on lyfte swiftust
04 þunar byð þragum hludast. Þrymmas syndan Cristes mycce. 
05 Wyrd byð swiðost winter byð celldost
06 lenc ten hrimigost he byð lgest celld
07 sumor sunwlitegost swegel byð hatost
08 hærefst hreðeadegost hæleðum bringeð
09 geares wæstmas þa þe him god sendeð.
10 Soð bið switolost sinc byð deorost
11 gold gumena gehwam ond gomol snoterost
12 fyngle froun frod se þær feala gebideð.
Edition of Maxims I and Maxims II

13 Wea bið wundrum clibbor wolcnu scriðað.
14 Geonge æþeling sceolan gode gesiðas
15 byldan to beaduwe ond to beahgife.
16 Ellen sceal on eorle. Ecg sceal wið hellme
17 hilde gebidan. Hafuc sceal on glofe
18 wilde gewunian wulf sceal on bearowe
19 earm anhaga eofor sceal on holte.
20 Toðmægenes trum. Til sceal on eðle
21 domes wyrcean. Daroð sceal on handa
22 gar golde fah. Gim sceal on hringe
23 standan steap ond geap. Stream sceal on yðum
24 mecgan mereflode. Mæst sceal on ceole
25 segelgyrd seomian. Sweord sceal on bearme
26 drihtlic isern draca sceal on hlæwe
27 fros frætwum wætere Fisc sceal on wætere
28 cynren cennan. Cyning sceal on healle
29 beagas dælan. Bera sceal on hæðe
30 eald ond egesfull. Ea of dune sceal
31 flodgræg feran. Fyrd sceal ætsomne
32 tirfæstra getrum. Treow sceal on eorle
33 wisdom on were. Wudu sceal on foldan
34 blædum blowan beorh sceal on eorðan

13a wea] wex (Cjrn); weax (Dbb., Rod.)
14a geonge æþeling] geonge æþeling (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Erl., Swt²); geonge æþelingas (Ettm.)
15b beahgife] beah gife (Hcks, Fox); beab gife (Ebl.); beaggife (Swt¹)
16b sceal wið hellme] sceal wið helme (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.);
                         sceal wið helme (Ettm., Gr.¹, Wülk.¹, Swt¹, Swt², Swt³, Sedg., Down, Ham.)
19a earm anhaga] earn an haga (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Erl.); earn anhaga (E.-P., Kl., Boll.)
19b eofor] ofor (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
20a toðmægenes] toþ mægenes (Hcks, Fox), toð mægenes (Ebl.)
22a fah] fag (Swt¹)
22b grím] grimm (Swt²)
24a mecgan] mencgan (Wülk.¹, Kl., Sedg., Swt², Swt³, Sedg., Dbb., Down, Ham., Shp., Rod); mencgan (Kock³)
               mereflode] mere flode (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.); on mereflode (Kock³)
25a segelgyrd] segel gyrd (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
28a cynren cennan] cynran cennen (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
30b of dune] of-dune (Swt²); oldune (Kl., Swt³, Shp.)
31a flodgræg] MS. flod græg (E.-P., Kock¹); fold græg (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.); foldgræg (Ettm., Gr.¹, Swt¹, Swt²)
31b ætsomne] æt somne (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Ettm.)
35  grene standan.  God sceal on heofenum
36  dæda demend.  Duru sceal on healle
37  rum recedes muð.  Rand sceal on scylde
38  fæst fingra gebeorh. *  Fugel uppe sceal  [* f. 115’]
39  lacan on lyfte.  Leax sceal on wæle
40  mid sceote scriðan.  Scur sceal on heofenum
41  winde geblanden.  In þas woruld cuman
42  þEOF sceal gagan þystrum wederum.  þYRS sceal on fenne gewunian
43  ana innan lande.  Ídes sceal dyrne cræfte
44  fæmne hire freond gesecean  gif heo nellæ on folce geþeon
45  þæt hi man beagum gebicge.  Brim sceal sealte weallan
46  lyfthelm ond laguflod  ymb eala landa gehwylc
47  flowan firgenstreamas.  Feoh sceal on eorðan
48  tydran ond tyman.  Tungol sceal on heofenum
49  beorht sceinan  swa him bebead meotud.
50  God sceal wið yfele  geogoð sceal wið yldo
51  lif sceal wið deaþe  leoht sceal wið þystrum
52  fyrd wið fyrdæ  feond wið oðrum
53  lað wið laþÆ  ymb land sacan
54  synne stælan.  A sceal snotor hycgean
55  ymb þyssæ worulде gewinn.  Wearh hangian

34b  beorh] beorg (Gr.1, Swt1)
38a  gebeorh] gebeorg (Swt1)
39b  wæle] wele (Ettm.)
40b  of] on (Swt1, Swt2, Swt3, Ham., Shp.)
42a  þEOF sceal gagan þystrum] ðEOF sceal gagan. In ðystrum (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.);
                                 þEOF sceal gagan in þystrum (Ettm., Gr.1);  eof sceal gagan þystrum (Kirk)
42b  fenne gewunian] fenne fæste gewunian (Ettm.); fenne geþunian (Erl.)
43b  dyrne cræfte] dyrncraeft (Ettm.)
44a  fæmne] fæmne (Hcks, Fox, Gr.1); fæmne (Ebl.)
          gesecean] geseccan (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Gr.1, Gr.2)
45b  sealte] sealte (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Ettm., Gr.1, Swt1, Swt2)
46a  lyfthelm ond laguflod] lyft helm þ lagu flod (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
46b  landa] land (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
47a  firgenstreamas] firgen streamsas (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
48b  heofenum] heofenú (Hcks); heofonum (Shp.)
50b  yldo] yldæ (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Gr.1); ilde (Ettm.)
51b  þystrum] þystrum (Ebl.)
54b  hycgean] ycgean (Erl.)
55b  wearh] wearg (Swt1)
56  fægere ongildan  þæt he ær facen dyde
57  manna cynne.  Meotod ana wat
58  hwyder seo sawul sceal  syððan hweorfan
59  ond ealle þa gastas  þe for gode hweorfæð
60  æfter deaðdæge  domes bidað
61  on fæder fæðme.  Is seo forðgesceaft
62  digol ond dyrne.  Drihten ana wat
63  nergende fæder.  Næni eft cymeð
64  hinder under hrofas  þe þæt her for soð
65  mannum sece  hwylc sy meotodes gesceaft
66  sigefolca gesetu  þær he sylfa wunað.

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56a ongildan  on gildan (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
57b meotod  meotud (Ettm.)
59a ealle  ealla (Boll.)
60a æfter  æft’ (Erl.)
   deaðdæge  deað dæge (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
60b bidað  bidan (Swt²)
61b forðgesceaft  forð gesceaft (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
63a nergende  mergende (Ebl.)
63b næni  nænig (Ettm., Gr.¹, Swt³)
64b for soð  forsoð (Wmi)
66a sigefolca  sige folca (Hcks, Fox, Ebl.)
   gesetu  geseta (Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Gr.¹)
The following commentary aims to sum up the work of scholars from the dawn of Anglo-Saxon studies to the present day in order to provide a full and handy overview of the status of the art of Maxims I and II. The notes are structured following a fixed order: 1) to expand on emendations, punctuation, and verse reorganisation, whether my own or those given by previous critics. In these cases, the readings in the apparatus criticus are relisted and further explained. 2) to provide scholars’ varying translations and/or interpretations of ambiguous words, lines and/or verses. 3) to offer a variety of analogues to sui generis Old English poems or any other source which might have influenced the word, line and/or verse of a particular entry. All references to Old English poetry are taken from the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records and references to the Poetic Edda are taken from Neckel-Kuhn’s edition. The Bible is quoted in Latin, from the Vulgate. I regard Maxims I as three independent parts (A, B, C) of the same poem with no progressive verse number. Scholars’ differing references to verses and chapters are always given in square brackets, as well for the organisation and numbering of the Psalms.

The thoughts and views of previous critics are never acknowledged as my own. If a quotation is not rephrased, it is always given in quotation marks. After the scholar’s surname, usually at the end of a sentence, I indicate in parenthesis the year of publication and the page(s) where an emendation or a statement appears. If a work is written or edited by more than one author, I abbreviate the surnames using the first letter of each surname separated by a hyphen. The references from Bosworth-Toller’s An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary indicate just the page of the entry. I specify whether they are taken from the supplement.

All translations from Old English, Old Norse, and some other Germanic languages are my own. They are given in single quotation marks, whereas any other translation is printed in quotation marks.
Exeter A [ff. 88v–90r]

1a. frige mec. For Williams, frige mec equals interroga me and recalls Ps 138: 23 [139: 23], scrutare me Deus et cognosce cor meum proba me et scito cogitationes meas (1914: 130). The reference to the psalm needs to be extended from 1b to 3b.


3b. ond þine heortan geþohtas. For Kirk, the possessive adjective þine seems to agree with geþohtas, accusative plural, not with heortan, genitive singular (1971: 114). Berkhout thinks that ll. 1-3 suggest the need not to hide one’s wisdom, but the impetus to share it to acquire greater wisdom, see Ecclus. 4: 28, non abscondas sapientiam tuam in decore suo; in lingua enim sapientia dignoscitur. He notes that the scop seems to address his audience
as in *Order of the World* 1–2, *wilt þu, fis hele | fremdne monnan || wisne woðboran | wordum gretan* ‘wilt thou, a noble man, a foreign man, a wise speaker, by words address?’ (1975: 90).

4a. *gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan.* Wülker, after Thorpe (1842: 333), has a colon after *geþohtas* in 3b. So, the *a*-line would be the end of the opening to *Maxims I, A* and the *b*-line as the beginning of the following gnomes (1883, I: 342). Williams holds with Grein (1858, II: 339) in opening the gnomes with *gleawe* (1914: 130). Berkhout is unsure whether such a sentence ends the ‘introduction’ or is the first gnome (1975: 90). As for *gieddum*, see ‘gied’ in B.-T. (474). Merbot interprets *gid* “riddle”, a keyword in wisdom lore (1883: 26–27). Williams takes *gied* as “proverb, riddle”. She recalls the uttering of maxims and/or proverbs, and the *topos* of wisdom context all through Germanic literature as in *Solomon and Saturn, Vafþrúðnismál, Alvíssmál*, and *Tragemundslied* (1914: 86–7, 130, 160). Yet, the resemblance between these lines and *Solomon and Saturn*, and *Tragemundslied* was pointed out previously by Strobl (1887: 55). For Berkhout, another suitable interpretation of *gieddum* is “song” or “poem” since it is recorded in verse (1975: 90). Muir thinks that among the sources and analogues for 4a one ought to consider Prv 1: 5–6 and Eph 5: 17–20 (2000², II: 557). Sheppard recalls the importance of *gleawe* and *gyd* in wisdom literature (2007: 133–5).

4b–5a. *god sceal mon ærest hergan || fægre fæder userne.* Thorpe has a stop mark after *hergan* (1842: 333), Grein places a comma (1858, II: 339). Wülker puts no punctuation (1883, II: 342) and Williams (1914: 118) holds with Grein. Kirk prints *fægre* at the end of 4b for a better syntactic unit. Such an “enjambment of alliteration” would occur in *Maxims I, B* 54–57 and in similar metrical type as *Maxims I, A* 37, 45, 61–62 [62–63] (1971: 114). Thorpe reads, “God before all must one praise fervently” (1842: 333), Williams, “God shall one first praise, becomingly, our Father” (1914: 130). Berkhout believes that it is no use


6a. *lif ond lænne willan*. Muir notes that the idea behind 4b-6a is fundamental to Christianity. Yet, it is a commonplace (2000, II: 557). 6a recalls *Christ* II 776b-777a, *se us lif forgeaf || leomu, lic ond gæst* ‘he who gave us life, limbs, body and spirit’

6b. *he usic wile þara leana gemonian*. Thorpe suggests, “he will remind us of those loans” (1842: 333). Williams’ translation is almost alike, but she reads *leana* “gifts” (1914: 130). Kirk regards *USIC*, accusative, as subject rather than the object of *gemonian* and translates, “he wishes us to be mindful of those gifts”. Thus the sentence would match with 4b (1971: 114). 6b recalls *Genesis* 2934 when Abraham, prevented by an angel to sacrifice his son Isaac, *segðe leana þanc* ‘uttered thanks for [bis] reward’ and showed gratitude to his God.

7a-8a. *meotud sceal in wuldre | mon sceal on eorðan || geong ealdian*. Thorpe inserts a semicolon after the translation of *eorðan* (1842: 333). Williams writes that such as punctuation “seems to break properly the gnome, ‘man shall *dwell* on earth’, from the following, ‘the young shall grow old’. It also throws strongly into contrast 7a with 7b, 8a with 8b” (1914: 130). Both Grein (1858, II: 339) and Müller (1893: 14) insert no punctuation after *eorðan*. Strobl favours a full stop after *eorðan* to reproduce some “schönen Parallelismus” with the following gnomes (1887: 56). Wülker places a comma after *eorðan* (1883, I: 342). K.-D. interprets 7a, 7b and 8a
as three separate statements with sceal to be supplied in sense in 8a, and wesan in both 7a and 7b (1936: 305). Dawson notes that 7a-8a is “an interesting study in ellipsis”. In both 7a and 7b wesan or beon, perchance dwellan or lifian, is omitted, whilst in 8a the infinitive is present. He also suggests that geong may agree with mon thus obtaining, “man shall, though young, grow old on earth” (1965: 31). Muir reads, “the ordaining Lord exists in glory, man belongs on earth, [and] the young must grow old” (2000², II: 554).

9a. ne wendað hine wyrda. Thorpe reads, “fates change him not” (1842: 333). For Williams, wendað means “affect”. Besides, she notes that “God has here become stronger than Wyrd” and recalls Maxims II 5a, wyrd byð swiðost ‘fate is cruellest’ (1914: 130).

9b-10b. ne hine wiht dreceþ || adl ne yldo | Ælmıhtıgın. Grein has no comma after dreceþ (1858, II: 339), whilst Thorpe (1842: 334) and Wülker (1883, I: 342) place some punctuation. Thorpe reads, “nor doth aught afflict him, disease nor ages, Almighty” (1842: 334). Williams, after Grein, translates, “nor doth one whit trouble, him disease nor age, the Almighty” (1914: 131). B.-T. glosses wiht “thing” (1222). For Dawson, wiht is an adverb “at all, in any way” and though the subject is plural, the verb is singular since it precedes it (1965: 31-32; 87, n. 1). 9b-10b recalls Hrothgar’s speech in Beowulf 1735b-1736a, no hine wiht dweleð || adl ne yldo ‘neither disease, nor old age deceive him at all’.


11b. ac he is gen swa he wæs. Muir thinks it recalls the liturgical formula, sicut erat in prinipio, est nunc et semper (20002, II: 557).


12b. geþonc syleð. Thorpe considers it singular (1842: 334); Williams, plural (1914: 131). As for syleð, Wright expands on sellan ‘give, sell’ (1908, § 254: 123 and § 276: 134).

13a. missenlicu mod. Thorpe translates, “various minds” (1842: 334); Williams, “different dispositions” (1914: 131).


15b. *eardas rume*. For Muir, Jn 14: 1-6 is a possible source (2000², II: 557).

17b-18a. *efenfela bega || þeoda ond þeawa*. Skeat reads, “an equal number both of customs and countries”. He comments that this ‘proverb’ occurs in most European languages in more than sixty forms, as in *patrie quot sunt, harum mores tot sunt* (Walther 1963, I: 682), see Singer’s reference to 17b-18a (1947, III: 125). Skeat recalls this gnome in dealing with later Medieval sources (1910: 66), mainly Chaucer’s *Troilus* and *Criseyde*, II: 28, 42, *in sondry londes, sondry ben usages and for-thy men seyn, ech contree hath his lawes*. See Robinson’s notes to ll. 28 and 42 (Robinson 1957: 818).

18b. *þing gehegan*. B.-T. reads ‘þing ge-hégan’ “have a meeting” (399). For Williams, it is a conventional expression used just in verse. It conveys the idea of ‘holding a parliament’ or a ‘meeting’. Such a formula, although in a different context, appears in *Beowulf* 425b-426a when the Prince of the Geats tells Hrothgar how he will face Grendel, *ana gehegan || þing wið þyrse* ‘I [shall] hold a meeting with the giant’. See also *Sigrdrífrumál* 24, when the valkyrie Sigrdrífa counsels the hero Sigurðr, *þú þingi á deilit við heimsca bali* ‘at the Assembly you do not contend with a fool’.


21a. *þa ær wontealge*. Kirk notes that *þa* is ambiguous since it can be either an adverb or the accusative singular feminine of *se*, related to *sibbe* in 20b. He favours the latter hypothesis. He supplies *awegen*, transitive, with an object otherwise missing in 21a (1971: 115).
22–23. **Ræd sceal mid snyttro** | **ryht mid wisum** || **til sceal mid tilum** | **tu beoð gemæccan.** Thorpe has a period after *tilum* and after *gemæccan* (1842: 334) and Grein a colon after *tilum* and a period after *gemæccan* (1858, II: 340). Afterwards, Grein has a period after *tilum* and a comma after *gemæccan* (1865: 428). For Dawson, *wisum* is a noun. It is possibly the adjective *wis* used as a noun and not *wisa, -an, -am* “leader”. He further notes that *tilum* is an adjective, whilst *til* “kindness” could be a neuter noun, not as *til* in *Maxims I, C 4a* or *Maxims II 20b*. He understands, “good counsel shall go with wisdom, justice with the wise, a good man with good men” (1965: 32). Strobl states that ll. 22–23 are a matching couplet related to the previous gnome by the meaning (1887: 56). Brandl regards 23b as an injunction to monogamy (1909, II: 961). For Williams, 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b make four gnomes (1914: 131). Howe explains that *ræd* and its derivates are used in the Latin–Old English glossaries to translate the verb *consulere*. Thus it means give advice. Yet, Howe also explains that it can also denote the act of explaining something obscure (2002: 7).

24–25a. **sceal wif ond wer** | **in woruld cennan** || **bearn mid gebyrdum.** It recalls *Fortunes of Men* 2–3a, þætte wer ond wif | **in woruld cennað** || **bearn mid gebyrdum** ‘that man and woman bring by birth children into the world’.

25b–26. **beam sceal on eorðan** || **leafum lifjan** | **leomu gnornian.** Thorpe prints *lifian* for *lifjan* and *gnornian* for *growan* (1842: 334). B.-T. glosses ‘*lifian*’ “to suffer loss [?]” (644). G.-K. reads *lifjan* “privari” (1912: 423). For Muir, Thorpe’s changes leave the passage bereft of poetry (2000², II: 554). Dawson notes that if one accepts *lifian, growan* is needed as in *Maxims II 33b–35a*. Besides, *lifjan* is a unique form and might be cognate with OHG *lidan* ‘suffer’. Dawson points out the similarity of *lifjan* to OE *lifan, OS* *litban* and ON *līða* ‘pass on, depart’ (1965: 33). Holthausen queries *belifjan* ‘go from, leave’ for *lifjan* (1935: 8). For K.-D., Holthausen’s change makes the dative *leafum* not entirely clear (1936: 305). Dawson believes that such a change is needless (1965: 33). For Muir, Holthausen’s emendation upsets
both the syntax and the rest of the verse (2000², II: 554). Berkhout changes \textit{liþan} into the weak verb \textit{liþian} “let loose, release”, ME \textit{lethen}, ‘free, loosen’. He defends the omission of \textit{i} given that it is a recurring mistake the Exeter copyist makes. See also \textit{bewitian} in 40b. Berkhout notes that the verb also occurs under the form of \textit{leophian} as in \textit{Gutblac 392a} and \textit{Riming Poem 40b} (1975: 91-2). Muir thinks that Berkhout’s emendation takes out the idea of a tree hurt by the loss of part of itself. Such a gloomy image of ‘people waxing old’ is present in 7b-8a (2000², II: 554). Thorpe reads, “a tree shall on earth with leaves flourish, with branches grow” (1842: 334); Grein, “der Baum soll die Blätter verlieren, seine Zweige sollen trauern” (1858: 340). Wülker holds with Grein (1883, I: 342). B.-T. understands \textit{beam sceal leafum liþan}, “a tree must lose its leaves” (644). Dawson thinks that B.-T.’s attempt is the most accurate (1965: 33). Williams translates, “a tree shall on earth suffer as to its leaves, lament its branches” and compares \textit{liþan} to OHG \textit{lidan} ‘go, suffer, yield’. She explains that \textit{leafum liþan} may also mean “give up leaves” (1914: 131). Muir reads, “a tree mush shed its leaves on the earth, its branches must mourn” (2000², II: 554). For Kirk, ll. 24-34 deal with the \textit{topos} of birth and death. He notes that Williams does not see such issue. Yet, her metaphor of the falling leaves suits the loss of children and matches with the sense of the following lines. Kirk also recalls \textit{Fortunes of Men} 1-9 (1971: 115). K.-D. translates, “part from its leaves” and thinks that Thorpe’s suggestion, \textit{leafum liþan}, takes out the figurative colour in the text. Besides, K.-D. reads 26a \textit{leafum beliden} and recalls \textit{life belidenes} ‘the departed’ in \textit{Elene 877a} and in analogous instances (1936: 305). Berkhout comments that K.-D.’s rendering of \textit{leafum liþan}, “part from its leaves”, is uncertain given that \textit{liþan} ‘part’ entails motion [away from] on the part of its subject. Hence, it would apply to the leaves, not to the tree (1975: 91). Wright explains that \textit{leomu} is a word subject to \textit{–u} umlaut at plural (1908, § 101: 52). A similar theme is found in \textit{Maxims II 33b-34a}, \textit{wudu sceal on foldan | bledum blowan} ‘on the earth, the wood shall bloom and blossom’. Strobl writes that, though similar, ll. 24-26 make no continuation. They compare the birth of mortal
being with their final fate (1887: 56). For Williams, “Brandl thinks the origin of this passage, 25ff, is to be found in Boethius, Cons. Phil. L. II, Met. 8. Perhaps he meant to cite Met. 6” (1914: 131). Brandl comments that ll. 25b-34 show how human beings, like the trees, must die so that the earth is not over populated (1909, II: 961). Such an idea of decay is also present in King Alfred’s Old English rendering of Boethius’ De Consolatione Philosophiae, all through chapter XXI – which ‘corresponds’ to Book II, Meter 8 of its Latin original. However, the decay Williams points out in Book II, Meter 6, chapter XVI.iv, is rather centred on secular history with exempla taken from the burning of Rome and Troy. It is hard to establish whether this gnome is taken from the aforesaid passage in the OE translation of De Consolatione Philosophiae. Yet, Brandl’s suggestion to read ll. 25b-34 with a close look at Book II, Meter 8 is somehow convincing. For Kirk, 25b-26 recalls Fortunes of Men 1-9 (1971: 115). See also Maxims II 33b-34a.

27b. fæge sweltan. Thorpe reads, “fated die” (1842: 335), Kirk does likewise (1971: 115). For Williams, 25b-29a might be a metaphorical way of saying that parents lose their children and strive against the parting. She takes 25b-26 literally, and 27-29a as a new gnome, independent from the previous, since “transitions are abrupt in gnomic verse, and veiled allusions unusual” (1914: 131-32). 27b recalls fæge swulton ‘the doomed men died’ in Andreas 1530b.

28-29a. ond dogra gehwam | ymb gedal sacan || middangeardes. Thorpe reads, “and everyday strive against separation from mid-earth” (1842: 335). Dawson understands, “and every day struggle at their going forth from the world” or “and every day struggle over the division of the earth”. This gnome has political allusions. It recalls a widespread war over territorial boundaries, and conveys an idea of separation. Yet, ll. 27-35 would deal with a fixed fate which takes away the people who ever struggle against it, rather than warfare (1965: 33). Kirk suggests, “and concerning each day

29b–30. metud ana wat || hwær se cwealm cymeþ | þe heonan of cyþpe gewiteþ. Thorpe edits 30a and 31b as two separate lines, with two stop marks: after cymeþ and gewiteþ. In his translation, he has, at the end of the line, a comma for 30a and a colon for 30b (1842: 335). Grein puts a period after cymeð and a comma after gewīteð (1858, II: 340). Afterwards, he places a comma after cymeð and a period after gewīteð (1865: 428). Thorpe reads, “the Creator alone knows; where the malady shall come, which hence from the land departs” (1842: 335). Williams queries hwær for hwonan and suggests, “the Creator alone knows whence the malady comes which hence from the country goes” (1914: 132). Klaeber does not hold with Williams. He compares ll. 29b–30 with Beowulf 3062b–ff. and reads, “Gott allein weiß, wann der tod kommt [für den,] der von hier, von der heimat hinweggeht” (1915-16: 429-30). Haworth does not hold with Williams’ rendering since hwær is a conjunction and suggests, “the Creator alone knows the man who will die, (in the places) where disease will come” (1916: 89). Kirk does not agree with Williams since hwær is clear in the MS. He considers the lines literally, “God alone knows where the sickness goes which turns hence from the country” (1971: 115). Dawson rejects Haworth’s view since hwær is interrogative and should pose a question. He translates, “the Creator alone knows where the pestilence arrives which departs from the land” and explains that since cuman means “arrive”, hwær shows static position in a place (1965: 134). Berkhout reads, “God alone knows where the pestilence goes that departs from this land [i.e., He alone knows the next area or country to be stricken]” (1975: 92); Bradley, “the ordaining Lord alone knows where death will go when it departs hence out of our ken” (1995: 346). Grein interprets cyþpe, ‘cyð’, “Landschaft”
(1861, I: 181), Wülker “cognitia, scientia” (1883, I: 343), and Dawson “country, land” (1965: 34). B.-T. gives no reference to 30b for the entry ‘cýþ’ (191). Williams, after Wülker, reads “knowledge” (1914: 132). Klaeber notes that cyþþe gewiteþ ought to be compared with ellor hwearf || aldor of eared ‘[the father] went elsewhere, that lord from the earth’ in Beowulf 55b-56a (1915-6: 430). K.-D. reads this passage is merely an allusion to the mysterious coming and going of death (1936: 305).

31. umbor yceð | þa æradl nimeð. Thorpe edits 31a and 31b as two separate lines: umbor yceð þa || ær adl nimeð. He places two stop marks: after þa and nimeð. In his translation, he places, at the end of the line, a comma for 31a and a semicolon for 31b (1842: 335). Grein has a comma after yceð and a colon after nimeð (1858, II: 340). Thorpe understands, “he the children increases, ere disease takes them” (1842: 335). Kock takes ll. 31-34 as an independent proverb. He takes umbor as subject and translates, “the baby adds, when early sickness takes” (1922: 23). K.-D. considers meotud in 29b the subject of yceð (1936: 305), so both Dawson (1965: 34) and Kirk (1971: 115). Klaeber holds with Kock’s translation and queries þonne rather than þa. He changes þa ærl into þer thus reaching Kock’s same meaning (1923: 315). For Kirk, the pronoun þa, accusative plural, is the object of nimeð (1971: 115). Dawson notes that Klaeber’s emendation is the only likely solution since it is accurate both grammatically and it is also possible on a palaeographical level (1965: 35). Williams reads, “he increases children, whom early disease takes [or, the child increaseth those (whom) disease has taken]” (1914: 132); Berkhout, “He multiplies children, whom disease takes away in their youth” (1975: 92). For Muir, Berkhout’ reading is soundest (20002, II 0: 555). Thorpe (1842: 335), Grein (1858, II: 340), Wülker (1882: 44), Holthausen (1910: 154), and Williams (1914: 119) hold with MS. ær ædl. Dawson does not hold with such reading as it would require the subjunctive (1965: 34). K.-D. refers to ærdead in Exodus 540a and similar compounds (1936: 305). Muir lists several other compounds such as ærdead, ærgewinn and ærgod with –ær as their first

32. *þy weorþeð on foldan swa fela | fira cynnes.* Thorpe reads, “therefore are on earth so many of the race of men” (1842: 335). Williams (1914: 132) and Kock’s rendering is almost identical to Thorpe’s (1922: 23). Berkhout understands, “for there would be so many men on the earth” (1975: 92).

33. *ne sy þæs magutimbræs | gemet ofer eorþan.* Thorpe translates, “there would not of the human race be measure on earth” (1842: 335); Williams, “there would not be [on the other hand] measure [limiting] of mankind on earth” (1914: 132). Kock suggests, “no end of offspring should we here possess” (1922: 23); Berkhout, “[that] there would be no limit to their offspring” (1975: 92).

34. *gif hi ne wanige | se þas woruld teode.* Thorpe reads, “if them decreas’d not he who this world created” (1842: 335); Williams’ version is similar (1914: 132). Kock suggests, “if he who made the world made not their number less” (1922: 23), Berkhout, “if He Who made this world did not decrease their number” (1975: 92). Williams considers *wanige* a transitive verb and refers to English *wane*, intransitive. She takes *hi* as accusative (1914: 132). For Dawson, *bi* refers to *magutimbres genet* at l. 33 which and even if singular, it “contains a plural idea” (1965: 35). Besides, 33–34a has a conditional clause in the apodosis and the *gif* clause in the protasis. Both verbs are in the subjunctive mood since the gnome deals with an idea of remote realisation. The past tense would denote unreality (1965: 35). For Williams, 29b–34 are awkward and show the weakness of the gnomist in versification and syntax (1914: 132). For Berkhout, the lines are intelligible.
They show the scop’s attempt to deal with some fundamental themes such as creation, death, God’s wisdom in organising the population of the earth (1975: 92). Kirk says that ll. 32-34 recall Wanderer 62b-65 (1971: 115).

35. *dol biþ se þe his dryhten nat | to þæs oft cyneð deað unþinged.* Shipley expands on the construction of *to*, with a personal pronoun and notes that it occurs “after a verb of motion to express object of motion”. He renders 35b, “to whom often cometh death uninvited” (1903: 118). For Kirk, *to þæs* seems to be causal as in Genesis 2885 and Beowulf 7, 16 (1971: 115). Muir suggests two sources for 35a: Prv 11: 30, *fructus iusti lignum vitae et qui suscipit animas sapiens est*, and Ps 13: 1, *victori David dixit stultus in corde suo non est Deus corrupti sunt et abominabiles facti sunt studiose non est qui faciat bonum*. As for 35b, he notes Rv 3: 2-3 (2000 2, II: 557). This gnome recalls Seafarer 106, *dol biþ se þe him his dryhten ne ondraðeð | cyneð him se deað unþinged* ‘foolish is he who fears not his lord, to him comes a sudden death’. See Solomon and Saturn 233a, *dol bið se ðe [...]. A similar formula to dol biþ se þe* also occurs in Wanderer 112a, *til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeð* ‘good is he who holds his faithfulness’.

36. *snotre men sawlum beorgað | healdað hyra söð mid ryhte.* Thorpe reads *sawlum beorgað* “take heed of their souls” (1842: 335). For both Williams (1914: 132) and Mackie (1934, II: 35) it means “protect their souls”. Williams also shows the construction of *beorgað* with dative *sawlum* (1914: 132). For Hill, 36a is likely dependent on the final clause of Prv 11: 30, *et qui suscipit animas sapiens est* (1970: 445). He reads 36b after Bede’s interpretation of Prv 11: 30 in his commentary *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, II.11, “qui, inquam, ita animas suscipit sapiens est quia nimium suae animae per haec unde sublimius cum domino regnet procurat” (PL 1968: col. 974). For Berkhout, it is hard to understand whether the scop refers to some other souls save for *snotre men*. Yet, 36b might be a straightforward expression form a specific, untraceable source.
As for *beorgað*, Berkhout suggests that *beorgan* could doubtfully mean “suscipere” (1975: 93).

37a. *eadig bīð se þe in his eþle geþihð*. It recalls *Seafarer* 107a, *eadig bīð se þe ealphod leofalþ* ‘happy is he who lives humbly’. Thorpe suggests “happy is he who is country thrives” (1842: 335). Williams’ translation is quite close, but she interprets *eadig* “blessed” (1914: 132). Mackie translates, “happy is he who prospers in his home” (1934: 35); Berkhout likewise (1975: 93).

37b. *earm se him his frynd geswicað*. Thorpe suggests, “miserable he whom his friends betray” (1842: 335). Williams’ interpretation is nearly alike (1914: 132). Mackie reads, “wretched he whom his friends deceive” (1934: 35); Berkhout likewise (1975: 93). Kirk comments that ll. 36-37 recall *Riming Poem* 80-83a [80-83] (1971: 115). For Mitchell, *se* seems to be a relative pronoun in the nominative case needed by the main clause and followed by a personal pronoun in the oblique case required by the adjective clause. He also lists similar instances such as *se him* in *Exodus* 380b and in *Maxims I, A* 38a, and *se mec* in *Guthlac* 703b (1964: 134-35). Muir suggests that l. 37, even though it has the form of the beatitudes, it does not seem to be taken purposely from the Bible. Yet, he recalls Lk 21: 16 (2000², II: 557).

38a. *nefre sceal se him his nest aspringeð*. Thorpe reads, “he shall never [...] whose provision fails” and notes that the verb here is wanting (1842: 335); B.-T., “never shall he thrive whose provision fails him” (706). Schlutter criticises Thorpe’s lack of a verb related to *sceal*. He understands, “inopia debetur cui victus deficit” (1910: 328); whilst Williams, “never shall he be blessed to whom his provision fails” (1914: 132). Kock has *nearo* for *nefre* and translates, “in straits a man will be whose food runs short” (1918: 37), Mackie, “never shall he be happy whom his store fails” (1918: 37). Kock has *nearo* for *nefre* and translates, “in straits a man will be whose food runs short” (1918: 37), Mackie, “never shall he be happy whom his store fails” (1914: 132). As for *se him*, see Mitchell’s explanation to *Maxims I, A* 37b (1964: 134-35). For Berkhout, *se him* is a relative construction and intends *wesan* after *sceal*. He suggests, “never shall his store fail him” (1975: 93). For Holthausen, *nefre*
sceal supplies in sense *eadig wesan* [37a] (1906-7: 199). Grein takes nefre “infirmus, invalidus” for *ne æfre* [with question mark] and proposes to look at *afor*. Besides, he intends *weorðan* after *sceal* (1864, II: 279). For B.-T., *nefre* is a variant form of *néfre* [*ne æfre*] “never” (706). Holthausen also notes that though Thorpe leaves a lacuna in the translation, he reads the right meaning of the gnome and recognises the lack of *eadig* [*wesan*] in the *a*-verse (1910: 155). Schlutter regards *nefre* either from a decayed form for *lewsa* or *nēfnef* = *næfnes*, or from *nēfre* ‘industry’ as Dutch *nijver* ‘industrious’ (1910: 328). Holthausen does not support Grein’s readings [*nefre* = *ne æfre* and the mention to *afor*], and Schlutter’s etymology and conjectures on *nefre* (1910: 155). Schlutter criticises Holthausen’s views and notes that one ought to consider *nefre* as an error for *uefre*, i.e. *wefre* (1910: 318). Kock takes *nearo* for *nefre* since the top part of an *a*, if faded or blurred, can be easily taken for *u*, same be said for *e* and *o* (1918: 37). Dawson writes that Kock’s emendation maintains both verse and syntax, since it assumes no ellipsis. Yet, it is less realistic on a palaeographical level. He favours an elliptical reading which keeps a parallel with l. 37 and creates an antithesis (1965: 36). Holthausen emends *nefre* into *nefig* / *næfig* “arm” (1919: 3). K.-D. thinks that *nefre* is a variant spelling of *néfre* and neither Schlutter’s nor Holthausen’s observations are credible (1939: 305). Berkhout notes, correctly, that all the readings of *nefre* are hard to justify on a palaeographical level. Hence, it is better to retain it, as in the MS., as the adverb “never” (1965, p. 94).

immer gefesselt”. He thinks that 38a separates the previous couplet from
the following six verses (1887: 56). For Williams, Holthausen’s changes
are comparable to her translation, “he shall be bound for a time by need”
(1914: 132). Kock reads, “a fetter will be fastened for some time” and he
explains, “we cannot expect to get out of captivity, or some difficulty, at
once” (1922: 24). Mackie suggests, “for a time he shall be bound by
distress” (1934: 35). Berkhout is inclined to hold with Mackie. Though,
it is not needed to emend MS. *nyd* into *nyde* in 37b if one takes it as a
parenthesis, returning in 38a with *eadig*. He understands, “and for a time
need will be constrained” (1975: 93); Kirk, “he shall be bound for a time
by need” (1971: 115).

39a. *bl Má bealoleas heorte*. Thorpe edits, *gebunden bliþ sceal bealo-les*
and makes *heorte* the initial word of 39b. He translates, “bound cheerfully
shall be the innocent” (1842: 335); Williams, “glad shall be the innocent
heart” (1914: 133).

39b. *blind sceal his eagna þolian*. Thorpe reorganises 39b: *beorte blind sceal his
eagna þolian* and translates, “the blind of heart shall his eyes lose” (1842:
335). Williams reads, “the blind shall suffer of [or loss of] his eyes”. She
notes that Thorpe “carries *beorte* over to 39b, so that the passage through
44 has a figurative meaning” (1914: 133). B.-T. glosses *þolian* “thole” as
in some dialects but interprets *þolian*, in 39b, “to suffer lack or loss of
something [with genitive], to lose” (1063).

40a. *oftigen bþ him torhtre gesihþe*. Thorpe suggests, “taken shall be from
them bright vision” (1842: 335). B.-T. reads, “he shall be deprived of
clear sight” and glosses *oftigen* as a variant ‘ofteón’ “deprive, take away”
with dative or accusative of person, genitive of thing, or dative of person
and accusative of thing (742). Wright shows that a small number of past
participles of strong verbs, among them *oftigen*, are subject to –i umlaut
of the stem-vowel (1908, § 442: 212). Williams states that “him refer[s] to

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blind, the person” (1914: 133). For gesihþe, Wright notes that in Anglian, due to –i umlaut, –io becomes –i before –a following guttural or r with guttural as in gesihþ ‘vision’ or West Saxon gesiehþ (1908, § 99: 51; § 184: 80). For Williams, gesihþe may be Late West Saxon (1914: 133).

40b. ne magon hi ne tunglu bewitian. Sievers keeps MS. bine (1887: 463). K.-D. emends the MS. into bi ne and notes that bine is a mistake made by the scribe, who intended, mistakenly, tunglu the subject of magon (1936: 158, 305), Muir concurs (2000², II: 249, 555). Dawson does not hold with Sievers’ since, maybe, the second ne was inserted wrongly (1965: 36-37). Kirk rejects K.-D.’s view on tunglu given that there is no reason not to read a double negation (1971: 115). Berkhout holds with Kirk’s view on MS. redundant negations since they are frequent in OE (1975: 94). Williams writes that bi refers to eagna in 39b, so K.-D. (1936: 305), and to tunglu ‘heavenly bodies’, with which sunnan and monan in 41a are in apposition. Besides, she queries whether the second –i in bewitian was inserted by a later hand (1914: 133).

41a. swegltorht sunnan ne monan. Thorpe has a stop mark after monan (1842: 335), so Kirk (1971: 92). Grein (1858, II, p 340), Wülker (1883, I: 343) and Williams put a colon (1914: 119). Thorpe suggests, swegl-torht-sunnan “the heaven-bright sun” (1842: 335). For Williams, Thorpe’s choice is inflectionally wrong since swegltorht is a regular form for accusative plural of this neuter adjective (1914: 133). 41a recalls Meters of Boethius 29: 24, swegeltorht sunne ‘the glorious sun’.

41b–42a. þæt him bip sár in his mode || onge þonne he hit ana wat. Kirk takes þæt as a pronoun referring to ll. 40–41a rather than a conjunction since bip would exclude an adverbial clause (1971: 116). Thorpe edits 42a: on ge þon be hit ana wat and reads 41b–42a, “that to him will be pain in his mind, in as much that he alone knows it” (1842: 336). Williams regards 41b–42a as one gnome, “that to him will be distressing in his mind, sorrowful, since
he alone knows it” (1914: 133). Grein edits on ge þon he (1861, II, 340) and understands onge for onga “aculeus” (1858, II: 340). Later, he edits onge þon (þonne?) be (1865: 428). Wülker prints on ge þonne (1882: 45). Later, he suggests onge þonne (1883, I: 343). G.-K. glosses ‘enge’ [‘ænge, ange, onge’] “angusts, ansius” and reorganises l. 42: þet him bið sar on mode, onge þon he hit ana wat (1914: 162). Williams takes onge as a variant for ange “troubled, sorrowful”, parallel to sar, as an adjective, in 41b. She thinks that if one holds with Grein’s proposal, onga “aculeus”, the translation would be, “a thorn, since he alone knows it” (1914: 133). Berkho ut compares onge to OHG ango ‘sting’ and makes reference to Riddle 23 3b-4a, ond me of bosme fareð || ætren onga ‘and to me, from the breast leaves a poisoned dart’. He holds with Grein’s reading of onge for onga, parallel with sar, as a noun. So, blindness in 40a is the cause of pain for he who feels it. The grief is even sharper if he alone is aware of it. Such a view would be further supported on a palaeographical level by the frequent alternation in the Exeter Book of a / o before nasals (1975: 94-5). See also ‘ange’ and its variants, and ‘onga’ in B.-T. (resp. 46, 751). Dawson notes that onge suits the context (1965: 37). Muir (2000, II: 556) thinks that Bradley’s translation captures the essence of the gnome, “to him this cruelly painful in his mind while he alone is aware of it and does not expect that any reversal of it will come to him” (1995: 347). As for the expression in bis mode onge, see Orosius II.v, da wes ðæm cyninge swiþe ange on his mode ‘then the king was deeply troubled in his heart’. For Roesch, Mt 5: 8, beati mundo corde quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt, could be the source of ll. 39-ff. (1971: 52).

44. hælo of heofodgimme | gif he wat heortan clæne. Thorpe prints belo of heafod-gimmum (1842: 336), Grein: belo on heafodgimme (1861, II, 340), Williams: bele of heafodgimme (1914: 120). However, Williams errs in reporting Thorpe’s reading, heafod- rather than heofod-, and in saying that, perhaps, the scribe made a spelling mistake (1914: 133). Dawson does not hold with bele for belo (1965: 44). Grein glosses ‘heafod-gim’ “capitis gemma, oculus” (1864, II: 43); Wülker suggests
that *beafod* is a dialect variant of *beafod* (1883, I: 343, 344-45). Berkhout notes that the maxims' collector writes at a distance from the heathen charms or medical remedies for healing the eyes. He points out that God can both cure the blind and punish one with the loss of sight (1975: 94). See also *beafodgimmas* 'eyes' in *Andreas* 31b and *beofod* in *Maxims I, A* 66a.

45a. *lef mon læces behofað*. Most editors have a stop mark after *behofað*, whilst Kirk places a semicolon as he perceives a relationship between a physician for the sick and the teacher for the young man (1971: 116). For Thorpe, *lefmon* means “lover” (1842: 336); for Grein, ‘*lef [lef?]*’ “debilis” (1864, II: 167). Holthausen follows Thorpe (1935: 8). For Dawson, *lefmon* refers to a sick man, not to a lover. He also compares it to ME *leman* (1965: 37). In a note to *Elene* 1214 [1213], Grimm translates *lef* “debilis, infirmus”. This passage relates how *laman, limseoce, | lefe cwomon* ‘the limping, the lame of limb, the weak came’ at Bishop Cyriacus’ hands to be healed (1840: 166). Grimm also recalls Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae* 38, 5 [l. 11], *gif se æppel lef bið* ‘if the pupil [lit. the apple of the eye] is injured’, and translates, “*si pupilla infirma est*”. Berkhout lists some sources for 45a: 1] Mt 9: 12, […] *non est opus valentibus medico sed male habentibus*. It recalls God’s healing power in *Maxims I, A* 43-44. 2] *De Natale Domini* Homily VIII, 1. 26, *nu biboueð þe forwunded wreche þet he habbe leche* ‘now it necessary that the injured wretch to get a physician’ (Morris 1868: 83). 3] ME *The Proverbs of Hendyng*, proverb 4, 1. 7, *leuf child lore byhoueþ* (Schleich 1927: 249). Berkhout reads *lef* “eager” and notes that *Maxims I, A*, 45a-ff. might have influenced the latter proverb as for the education of children in 45b (1975: 95).

46a. *trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne*. Holthausen emends 46a, for metrical reasons, into: *trymman, þæt be teala cunne*. He reagards ond *tyhtan* as a scribe’s addition. By doing so, 46a has four accents. (1910: 175). Kirk not only points out four stresses but also three alliterating letters (1971:
116). For Williams, Holthausen’s emendation has “a good deal of liberty with the text, mainly since the phrase trymman and tyhtan is essentially AS. in its tautological, alliterative quality” (1914: 133). Wülker regards 46a as an independent line (1883, I: 343-4), so Sievers (1893: 145) and Williams (1914: 120). Muir, wisely, suggests that this and a variety of lines in this poem seem exceedingly long. Yet, since they come from oral wisdom and lore they do not accord with the ‘fixed’ rules of the poetic line (2000², II: 556). As for a similar use of trymman ond tyhtan, see The Paris Psalter, Ps 111: 22a, getrymed and getyhted ‘encouraged and excited’.

46b. oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe. For Wülker, there is a gap before 46b. However, as K.-D. has already noted, there is no trace of a loss in the MS. (1936: 305). Wülker prints 46b [47b] with no a-verse as he thinks it has been lost: * * | oþþæt hine mon atemedne habbe (1883, I: 344). For Dawson, Wülker’s view is possible due to the shift from the indicative to the subjunctive (1965: 37). Sievers prints l. 46a as an independent verse and does not include it in his Schwelleverb list of OE poetry (1887: 455). Kaluza pulls together ll. 46-47 thus obtaining a Schwellevers (1895: 375). Sievers notes that ll. 45-46 show double alliterations in itself (1893: 145). For Williams, 46b [47] is an independent line. Though, she does not mention any loss (1914: 120).

47a. wist ond wædo. See wiste and wæda in Meters of Boethius 25: 39, and wiste ne wæde in Daniel 103a.

47b. oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde. Thorpe understands alete for aleda and reads, “till that he be led forth with understanding” (1842: 336). B.-T. suggests, “until he be brought to exercise his reason” (suppl., i: 33); Williams, “until he be brought into understanding” (1914: 133).

48a. cildgeongne. Grein prints cildgeong ne (1858, II: 341). Afterwards, he regards cild-geong as an adjective, nominative, and glosses it “kindjung”
(1861, I: 160). Clearly, Grein intends \(-ne\) as an adverb ‘not’. Williams takes *cildgeongne*, accusative, as a compound adjective whose second part receives adjectival inflection (1914: 134). Kirk understands *cildgeongne* either “while” or “as a young child” (1971: 116). As for the accusative of duration of time, see Mitchell (1968, § 189: 105).

50a. *styran sceal mon strongum mode*. Thorpe suggests, “with strong mind shall a man govern” (1842: 336). Klaeber does not hold with Thorpe and understands, “one shall [must] restrain a headstrong mind” (1915-16: 430); Mackie, “one shall restrain a violent mind” (1934, II: 35) and Berkhout, “a man must guide himself with a strong mind [or will]” (1975: 96). Muir specifies that recent editions favour Klaeber’s reading (2000, II: 556). For Wright, *styran* is subject to \(-i\) umlaut. He notes its occurrences throughout OE dialects (1908, § 138: 67-68). B.-T. glosses ‘steóran’ with the person in the dative “correct, restrain [one] from wrong” (917). Kirk explains that *styran* can also mean “steer something” [a ship]. Thus, he translates as, “a man must steer with a strong mind”. He writes that such an interpretation recalls the idea of a storm at sea which is related to *be* at l. 52b (1971: 116). Berkhout understands “a man must guide [himself] with a strong will”. He intends the reflexive *him* (1975: 96). 50a recalls *Seafarer* 109a, *stieran mon sceal strongum mode* ‘a man shall school the strong spirit’. For Muir, *Seafarer* 109a makes the meaning of 50a clearer (2000, II: 556). However, the MS. reads *stieran mod*, f. 83r, l. 6.

50b-51a. *storm oft holm gebringę | geofen in grimmum sælum*. Thorpe suggests, “the sea oft brings storm, the ocean in rough seasons” (1842: 336); Mackie, “in seasons of fierce weather the sea, the ocean, often brings storm” (1934: 36-7); Berkhout: “often in violent seasons the sea brings a storm” (1975: 96) and Bradley, “often a storm reduces the sea, the ocean, into raging conditions” (1995: 347). Williams considers *holm* the subject and *storm* the object (resp. 151, 167). For Klaeber, *storm* is
the subject of *gebringeþ*, in a perfective sense, and *holm* and *geofen*, in 51a, the objects. So, it would be the storm to turn up the sea into a bad state (1915-16: 430).

51b-52a. onginnað grome fundian || fealwe on feorran londe. Grein queries *fundian* for *fundai*. Thorpe emends *on feorran* into *on-faran*. He regards *geofen* [l. 51a] as the subject and translates, “[the ocean …] strives fiercely to tend, dusky, to move to land”. (1842: 336). Williams translates this as, “they begin angrily to hasten, the dusky waves, at a distance, to the land” (1914: 134); Berkhout, “from far out on the sea the fallow [waves] begin furiously to rush towards the land” (1975: 96). Kock regards *grome* as an adjective, nominative plural, parallel with *fealwe* and *on feorran* an error for *onforan* ‘afar’. Thus, he reads, “wroth dusky billows then afore begin to rush against the shore” (1922: 24); Bradley, “angry tawny waves far out start sweeping towards land trying whether it will stay firm” (1995: 347). Muir takes *grome* either as an adverb “angrily” or, after Kock as an adjective parallel with *fealwe* (2000², II: 556). Initially, Grein suggests *fealwe* as *yða* ‘billows’ (1858, II: 341), but he later queries “hundæ” (1861, I: 276). For Mead, *fealo* is an indefinite colour which seems pale yellow shading into red or brown, and at times into green. Its most common use is made in relation with water. He lists all occurrences of *fealo* in OE poetry (1899: 198-200). See also Lerner’s views on *fealo* (1951: 247-9). Berkhout relates *fealwe* to *fealwe wegas* ‘tawny waves’ in *Wanderer 46b* and *fealewe wægas* in *Andreas 1589b* (1975: 96).

52b. hwæþer he fæste stonde. Thorpe emends *stonde* into *stondeð* and translates, “yet it shall fast stand” (1842: 336); Berkhout, “[to test] whether it will stand fast (1975: 96). Dawson explains that some editors gloss *hwæþer* “yet, nevertheless”, but such reading is not correct since *stonde*, subjunctive, is an indirect question. Thorpe’s *stondeð* is thus ruled out by *hwæþer* (1965: 36). For Kirk, 50a fits the image of a storm which “follows and provides an antecedent” for *he* and endows *stonde*, in the subjunctive mood, with an
hortatory sense, “however let him stand fast” (1971: 116). Grein queries *bit* for *he* and *lande* for *londe* (1858, II: 341). For Williams, *he* refers to *lond* ‘land’, though neuter, in 52a, and suggests personification (1914: 134). For Holthausen, *bit* refers to *londe* in 52a and *he* to *storm*, l. 50b (1935: 8). Muir holds with Holthausen’s change of *he* into *hit* and notes that in passages of such a poetic density confusion of the gender in the pronouns is not exceptional (2000², II: 556). For Dawson, *londe* is a neuter and *he* is possibly carried over from “a poetic military formula” (1965: 36).

Strobl regards ll. 50-53 [51-54] together, especially its ethical union of nature and human life (1887: 57). Berkhout holds with Strobl and thinks that gender shift is likely in the course of such a comparison (1975: 96). Bleeth compares the natural simile of the “‘inner’ and ‘outer’ weather” in *Juliana* 647-652a with *Maxims I, A* 50b-53 (1969: 121). For Williams, if one holds with Strobl, *he* would be related to *mon* in 50a. So K.-D. (1936: 306). Williams points out the end-rhyme at ll. 52a and 52b. Besides, she regards the gnomes separately, keeping the meaning distinct in each case (1914: 134). 52b recalls *Maxims I, A* 62a, *fæste fēpa stondan* ‘the infantry stand fast’.

53a. *weallas him wipre healdað*. Thorpe suggests, “bulwarks shall hold against it” (1842: 336); Williams, “the walls shall hold resistance to them”. She notes that “*him*, that is waves, is implied in *fealwe*” (1914: 134), so Bleeth (1969: 122, n. 13). Berkhout suggests, “the cliffs hold firm against the waves” (1975: 96).

53b. *him bīþ wind gemæne*. Thorpe reads, “to them is the wind indifferent” (1842: 336). Wülker argues Thorpe’s translation but he does not expand on it (1883, I: 344). Williams reconsiders Grein’s query of *fealwe* for *yða*. She wonders whether *him* refers just to *weallas* in 53a or to *weallas* and *yða*, so Bleeth (1969: 122, n. 13). See also note to *Maxims I, A* 51b-52a. Williams takes 53b literally, “to them is the wind in common, mutual” (1914: 134). For Schlutter, *gemæne* is a synonym for *gemægne* “potestati
subiectus” and he suggests, “ihnen [den mauern] ist der wind untertan” (1911: 308); Berkhout, “they and the wind are equal in strength” (1975: 96). Schlutter recalls gemæne in Genesis A 155b-160a when, during the creation, frea engla heht || þurh his word wesan | wæter gemæne ‘the Lord of angels bade, by his word, that the waters come together’. Schlutter points out the occurrence of gemæne in the OE Regula Sancti Benedicti, chapter III, ll. 16-19, ac ealswa hit gerisð, þet ða geongran þam yldrum byren, swa eac gerisð, þet se ealdor, þet is se abbud, swiðe rihtlice and foreþanclice eal gestyhtige and gesette, þet him gemæne bid (Schröer 1888: 68) and translates it, “sed sicut discipulis convent oboedire magistro, ita et ipsum provide et iuste concedet cuncta disponere” (1911: 308). For Williams, though Schlutter’s view is not altogether convincing by way of proof, it deserves some recognition (1914: 134). Dawson relates gemæne to Latin communis and its Germanic cognates Gothic ga-mains, OS gi-méni, and OHG –meini (1965: 36).

54. swa biþ sæ smilte | þonne hy sund ne wecéð. Editors take 54a as an independent line. K.-D. notes that 54a and 55b [55] are two half-lines not bound together by alliteration (1936: 158). Robinson emends MS. wind into sund. He thinks that the lack of alliteration is due to textual corruption and notices the occurrence of wind [53b] in the preceding line of the MS. Besides, he points out the peculiar difficulty the scribe has in copying initial s and w all through the MS. (1966: 359-60, nn. 1 and 2); Berkhout concurs (1975: 75) and Muir, who suggests to look at the notes to Guthlac 391 and 494 (2000², II: 250). Robinson translates ll. 54-55, “as the sea is serene when she stirs not the waters, so are people at peace when they have been reconciled” (1966: 359-60). For Berkhout, Robinson’s emendation fixes the parallel and the analogous metrical construction in the swa / þonne clause. He understands, “when its waters do not disturb it [the sea]” (1975: 97). Strobl takes ll. 54-58 [55-60] as a reversal of ll. 50-53 [51-54] as it proceeds from nature, with an application to humankind (1937: 57). For Williams, the comparison introduced here
extends all through 57a [59a] (1914: 134). Berkhout sees the association of sæ to þeoda [55a] as the scop’s intention to relate man and nature (1975: 96). For Sievers, the meter here is similar to the ljóðaháttr stanza (1893: 145). See notes to Maxims I, C 24-26 and 50-53. Kock considers l. 54 [55-ff.] as a vestige of some ancient verse which was used ahead of the immigrations for pithy gnomes. Thus, it has survived remodelling and fit later metrical measures (1920: 175). For Dawson, l. 54 [ll. 54-55] relates to Hávamál 125, 148 and Sigdrifumál 19 (1965: 37). Berkhout (1975: 97) notes that l. 54 recalls Meters of Boethius 5: 7-ff., swa oft smylte sæ [...] ‘so often the still sea’.


56b. ond þonne mid gesiþum healdaþ. Thorpe (1842: 337), Williams (1914: 120) and Wyatt (1919: 137) have a period after healdaþ.

57a. cene men gecynde rice. Thorpe reads, “bold men have inborn sway” (1842: 337). B.-T. glosses ‘ge-cynede’ “innate, inborn, genial” (382). Williams suggests, “bold men (are) powerful through their nature”. She notes that since Wülker has no mark after healdaþ in 56b [58b] (1883, I: 344), “his reading would be substantially, ‘and then with comrades hold, bold men, genial rule’” (1914: 134).

57b-58. cyning bīp anwealde georn || lað se þe londes monað | leof se þe mare beodeð. Thorpe understands, “a king is desirous of power. Hateful is he who lays claim to land, dear he who proffers more” (1842: 337). Grein (1858, II: 341) and Wülker (1883, I: 344) insert a comma after georn.
Williams, after Thorp, has a full stop as she reads two gnomes, “a king is desirous of power. Hateful is he who claims land, dear he who gives more [land]” (1914: 134). For Kirk, georn means “careful” and suggests, “a king must be careful of royal power” (1971: 116). As for londes monað, B.-T. glosses ‘manian’ “to claim of a person [acc.], what is due [gen.]” (668).

Muir comments that 57b recalls Riddle 79. 1 [78. 1], ic eom æþelinges | æht ond willa ‘I am property and will of the prince’ (2000², II: 557).

59a. pryrm. B.-T. glosses ‘prymm’ as a word “denoting a glorious, magnificent person or object” (iii: 1074).

59b. priste. Thorpe reads “confident” (1842: 337); Williams, “in a good sense, confident” (1914: 135).

60. sceolun bu recene | beadwe freman. Thorpe (1842: 337) and Williams (1914: 135) regard this line as an extension of 59b and take it as one gnome.

61a. eorl sceal on eos boge. Thorpe reads, “a chief shall ride on horseback” (1842: 337); B.-T., “a chief shall ride on horse’s back” and notes that ‘boh, bog’ literally means “shoulder” (i: 115). Williams compares l. 61 with Maxims II 32, tirfæstra getrum. | Treow sceal on eorle ‘a brave band. Faithfulness must be in the earl’

61b. eorod sceal getrume ridan. MS. reads worod. Editors print eorod but Kirk. He thinks that worod makes sense and notes that there are other lines in OE poetry which do not follow the needs of the alliterative measure (1971: 45). Thorpe regards as it “squadron” (1842: 337). For Wright, eorod and weorod have nearly the same meaning since they both are subject to the shortening of vowels “in the first of second elements of compound words no longer felt as such [...] eorod = eoh + rad, troop of cavalry; werod = wer + rad, multitude, army” (§ 151, 1908: 70). Williams notes
that _eorod_ satisfies alliteration and contrasts with _feþa_ in 62a [64a]. For K.-D., _eorod_ suits the needs of alliteration without alteration of meaning (1936: 306). For Dawson _rad_ in _worod_ [*wer + _rad_] derives from _ridan_ ‘ride’ and gives an idea of expedition. So, _eorod_ means “mounted band”. He thinks that 61b recalls _Germania_ VI as for ‘military’ tactics (1965: 37).

62b. _fæmne at hyre bordan geriseð_. Thorpe translates, “a damsel it be-seems to be at her board” (1842: 337). Williams suggests, “it is fitting for a woman to be at her board, table. I find no other instance of the weak form, _borde_. It may mean table; it may refer to the embroidery board” (1914: 135). 62b recalls _Volsunga Saga_, chapter XXV [XXIV], ll. 4–5, where one reads of Brynhild’s skill in embroidering Sigurðr’s heroic deeds on a carpet, _hún lagði sinn borda með gulli_ [text normalised] ‘she overlaid her cloth with gold’ (Olsen 1906–8: 58).

63a. _widgongel wif word gespringeð_. Sievers splits 63a [65] into two half-lines: _widgongel wif_ | _word gespringeð_ (1887: 478), so Berkhout (1975: 76). Thorpe emends _gespringeð_ into _gesprengeð_ and understands, “a rambling woman scatters words” (1842: 337). Ettmüller prints after Thorpe’s change (1850: 286). B.-T. suggests, “a rambling woman gets words [a bad reputation, or reproofs?] by wandering” (ii: 444); Williams, “a gadding woman gets words [a bad reputation]” (1914: 135). For Berkhout, _widgongel_ is rare (1975: 76). Its right meaning would come from the OE version of Pope Gregory the Great’s _Pastoral Care_, chapter 49, ll. 6–7, _ðylæs we for dolsprece to widgangule weordœn_ “ne loquendo exterius evagemur” (Sweet 1871: 385,). Grein glosses _weord_ “corruptio, damnum” (1858, II: 341). For Berkhout (1975: 97), 63a recalls the Latin proverb, _omne bonum in tectis coniunx vagabunda ligurrit_ (Walther 1965, III: 579).

63b. _oft hy mon womnum bilihð_. Thorpe translates, “she is often charged with faults” (1842: 337). Ettmüller emends _bilihð_ into _belihð_ (1850: 286). For
Williams, Ettmüller’s emendation is a misprint since he follows Thorpe (1914: 120). Sievers follows Ettmüller but he takes 63b as an independent line (1887: 478). B.-T. interprets ‘be-hligan’ “dishonour, defame”, prints behlíð for bilhíð and reads, “man often defames her with vices” (80). Dawson notes that B.-T.’s emendation is a unique occurrence. He then compares bilhíð with hligan “to give a reputation for”. Thus, behligan means “to give a bad reputation”. Dawson refers to OF hlīa ‘admit, state’. Yet, he writes that bilhíð can possibly come from belean ‘scold’, if one considers belihíð its standard form, as OS and OHG laban ‘scold’. He also compares the content of 63b with Germania XIX (1965: 39). Williams writes that Sievers’ idea to have 63b as an independent line creates an analogous effect to that of ljóðaháttr (1914: 135). 63b recalls Maxims I, B 30b, ofþ hi mon wommmum behlíð, see note. For Muir, the variation bilhíð / behlíð is just a minor scribal mistake (2002, II: 557).

64. hæleð hy hospe mænāð | oft hyre hleor abreofeð. Thorpe emends abreofeð into abreoteð and reads, “a man thinks of her with contempt, oft her cheek smites” (1842: 337). B.-T. translates 64b, “her good looks are lost” (i: 4); Williams, “men think of her with contempt; often her face fades”. She notes that hæleð is evidently plural and that hleor is nominative. Besides, since mænāð is plural, Williams regards hleor as the subject of abreofeð, rather than mon as the understood or inferred subject (1914: 135).

65. sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan | scir in leohet geriseð. Thorpe reads, “a bashful man shall walk in the shade; the pure is befitting the light” (1842: 337). For Williams, Thorpe’s reading spoils the contrast within the gnome. She suggests, “a shamed man shall go in the shade; it is fitting that a pure one (walk) in the light” (1914: 135). Dawson writes that scir is admittedly a unique occurrence to mean moral purity (1965: 40). Kirk shows the special use of a before a nasal in man. It is next to sceomiande and, apparently, it suggests a northern influence (1971: 116). For Muir,

66a. **hond sceal heofod inwyrkan.** Thorpe translates, “the head shall influence the hand” (1842: 337); Williams, “hand shall lie on head” (1914: 135). For Kirk, hond is the subject and heafod the object, and suggests “the hord shall rest in the resting place” (1971: 117). Berkhout reads, “the head shall inform the hand” (1975: 98). Grein reads *heofod* ‘plausus’ (1858: 340). Later, in his *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, he does not gloss *heofod* and prints a question mark (1864, II: 63). For Wülker, *heofod* is a dialectal variant form for *heafod* (1883, I: 345). Tupper writes that *hond sceal heofod*, and the context of the gnome it belongs to, is crucial to unveil an obscure passage in *Charm XI* 23b-31, mainly the formula in 24a, *hand ofer heafod* ‘hand over head’. (1912: 97-100). For Grendon, the passage is obscure. In his note to 24a [23a] of *Charm XI*, he queries whether such a rite was part of certain prayers (1909: 221). For Tupper, 66a-67b is a description of some ritual among the Anglo-Saxons or in the Germanic *comitatus* when the lord dispenses the treasure to his thanes. He finds further support for such a theory in a number of sources, among them: 1] *Wanderer* 41-44 when the exile remembers the glad times with his lord. 2] *Beowulf* 1480-1482 when the prince of the Geats calls upon Hrothgar’s protection for his men and 3] when Wiglaf warns his companions of their pledge towards their *blaford* ‘lord’ [ll. 2630-ff.]. Tupper explains that such duties of faithfulness to one’s lord are attested in the *Germania* of Tacitus, chapter XIV (1912: 97-100). For Larson, the account of the hand over the warrior’s head is a token of such a far-flung ceremony (1907-8: 461, n. 11). Kirk holds with Tupper as for the dispensing of treasures. Yet, he thinks that the reference to *Wanderer* 41-44 and some rite in the *comitatus* is not clear (1971: 117). Berkhout thinks that the reference to the *comitatus* is quite feeble. Instead, he shows the occurrence of both hond and heofod in a sacrificial context (1975: 98) as in the OE *Heptateuch*, in Lev 1:4, *7 sette his hand ofer þære offerunge heafod* ‘and he shall place his hand upon the head of the brunt offering’ and, *sui generis*, in Lev 4: 15, 24: 13 (Crawford

66b. **hord in streonum bidan.** Thorpe emends *streonum* into *gestreonum* and reads, “the treasury awaits riches” (1842: 337); Williams, “treasure shall rest in its bed [casket]” (1914: 136) and Berkhout, “the treasure shall wait in its hoard” (1975: 98). Grein regards *streonum* as a dative plural feminine from *streon* “stratum” (1864, II: 489). Rieger does not hold with Grein and changes *streonum* into *screonum* “Schatzkammer”. He pictures, at the end of the gnome, a “sänger” asking for some reward at the end of the ‘singing’ of his lay (1869: 333). Strobl has an analogous intuition. He takes the passage as the request of some wanderer for alms (1887: 57). Williams does not hold with Rieger’s emendation since “he fails to understand what the ‘hord should be doing in bed’, the connection seeming to escape him” (1914: 136).

67. **gifstol gegierwed stondan | hwonne hine guman gedælen.** Grein (1858, II: 341) and Rieger (1869: 333) read *gif* for *hwonne*. Yet, they but leave it without explanation. Thorpe understands, “a present stand prepar’d, when men it bestow” (1842: 337); Williams, “the throne will stand prepared,
when men divide it [the treasure]” (1914: 136); Mackie, “the throne stand
arrayed until men distribute the treasure” (1934: 37); Kirk, “the gift-stool
stand prepared, until men distribute it [treasure]” (1971: 117); Berkhout,
“the throne stand in readiness, [until the time] when men may share it”
(1975: 98). 67a recalls Wanderer 41-44 where one reads how the exile laid
his head and hands on his lord's knees, embraced and kissed him, and
giefstolas breac ‘enjoyed the throne of gifts’ in 44b. For Dunning and Bliss,
giefstolas in Wanderer 44b ought to be read etymologically, “gift-throne”.
So, giefstolas breac means “received gifts from the throne” (1969: 112); see
K.-D.’s note to Wanderer 44b (1936: 289). In the introduction to the first
nine books of The Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus, Powell refers to
Book VII, 254 where one reads that a king’s thane duty is to owe him
loyalty and avenge him if he dies. Powell also notes that such allegiance
consisted in kneeling and laying the head down at the lord’s knee as in
Wanderer 41-44 (1894: xxvi-xxvii). Williams writes that the rewards given
at the giefstol can be the “gift of life or eternal joy might be fittingly
represented by the Divine Dispenser performing an act similar to that of
an earthly giver” (1914: 136).

68. gifre biþ se þam golde onfehð | guma þæs on heahsetle geneah. Thorpe
reads, “grasping is he who receives gold, a man to whom, in high station,
is enough” (1842: 337). For Krapp, 68b means simply “man [i.e. lord] on
high-seat hath possessed [or enjoyed] it” (1906: 85). For Williams,
Krapp, in 68a [70a], understands that the eager person wants the gold
which the lord, in 68b [70b], has possessed. She also writes that Krapp, at l.
69 [71], pictures the “usual reward for generosity” (1914: 136). Tupper
translates, “good is he who receives the gold, the man who is contented
on the high seat” (1910: 79). Kirk holds with Tupper’s interpretation of
gifre “good”. Yet, he considers þæs a comparative adverb and reads, “useful
is he who takes the gold, to that extent [i.e., to the extent of his ability to
capture treasure] is a man sufficient on the high seat” (1971: 117).
Williams reports Laurence’s and Ayers’ interpretations of l. 68. Yet, she
gives no reference to the titles of the aforesaid scholars. She comments, “Lawrence would read ‘the man on the high-seat is not lacking in it, i.e. the gold’. Ayres sees also a strong contrast, and reads, ‘greedy is he who receives the gold [but] the man (prince) on the high-seat is sufficient for him, or it’” (1914: 136). Shipley reads geneah as beneah (from benugan ‘need, enjoy’) and he translates l. 68, “covetous is he who receives gold, a man has need of it on a throne” (1903: 24). Williams suggests, “greedy is he who receives the gold, but the man on the high-seat will satisfy him” (1914: 136); Berkhout, “eager is he who receives [or will receive] the gold, of which the man on the throne [the Lord] has abundance” (1975: 98). Williams says that geneah derives from genugan ‘satisfy’ (1914: 136). For Kirk, such a reading entails its asyndetic coordination and transitive function (1971: 117). Williams appears to hold with Ayers [unnamed work] in translating þæs geneah “will be sufficient for that” and for the adverbial meaning of þæs (1914: 136). Gordon’s rendering is similar to Williams’ (1926: 310). Rieger emends 68b into gifēa man þæs on beahsetle geneabbe (1869: 333). B.-T.’s supplement (377) notes that geneah is the regularly used impersonal form of genugan, as Gothic ga-nah ‘suffice’, but it gives two examples of geneah with a subject: Maxims I, A 68 and the Blickling Homily XIV, ll. 4-5, nænig mennisc tunge ne geneab [...] ‘no mortal tongue is sufficient’ (Morris 1967: 165). Initially, B.-T. listed the aforesaid passages as impersonal, see ‘genugan’ (423). For Dawson, bit geneab means “it suffices”, “a person has enough, abounds in”. If one takes the verb personally, it means “to have abundance of” and, save guma is emended into guman, one must consider its personal meaning. He reads, “of which the lord in the high seat has abundance” (1965: 41). Grein emends gifre into gifre, a synonym for gredig “avidus, cupidus, vorax”. Yet, he makes no distinction between the two stems (1861, I: 506, esp. 525). Rieger reads gifre ‘acceptus, gratus’ since it derives from gifan ‘give’ (1869: 333). B.-T. glosses ‘gifre’ “desirous, eager, greedy” and ‘gifre’ “useful” (475). Kock notes that gifre “is he who receives the gold” and a guma, with an emphatic sense, “he in whose high seat there is enough”. He compares
guma with ON halr ‘independent, free man’ and rekkr ‘man, warrior’ in Hávamál 36-37, 48 (1918: 37). As for guma, see note to Maxims I, B 55b.

For Dawson, gifre derives from giefan ‘give’ [OS geðan, OHG geba, ON geða], and gifre is cognate with ON gífer ‘hostile’. He takes gifre “eager” with a suggestion of cen “gold received as reward” and guma “lord”. He reads, “eager is he who receives the gold” and compares l. 68 with Germania XIV (1965: 40-1).

69. lean sceal gif we leogan nellað | þam þe us þas lisse geteode. Thorpe reads, “recompense shall be (if we will not lie) to Him who us this favour has assign’d” (1842: 337); Kirk, “the reward shall [be], if we do not wish to play false, to him who did us this kindness” (1971: 117); Mackie, “there shall be recompense, if we will not prove false, to him who did us this favour” (1934: 37) and Berkhout: “there will be reward, if we are not false to Him who granted us this favor”. He notes that the aforesaid reward is granted from the Lord, not to Him (1975: 98). Kock notes that leogan means “fail”, not “mentiri” as OS liugan. He translates, “our gratitude, if we will not fall short, is due to him who spent on us such favours” (1918: 46). Berkhout writes that ll. 66-69 are endowed with a strong Christian eschatological statement and the scop’s return to a hortatory first person plural, in 5b-6, closes the poem. Thus, Maxims I, A is independent from B and C and is endowed with some Christian character (1975: 98-9). Muir relates 69a to Mt 25: 14-31 (20002, II: 557). 69b recalls Christ I 434, be him þære lisse | lean forgildeð ‘he will yield him guerdon for that love’.
Exeter B [ff. 90r–91r]

2a. *eorþe growan*. Conybeare translates, “terra vigescet” (1826: 228); Thorpe, “earth [shall] bring forth” (1842: 338), and Williams, “earth shall grow [with trans. suggestion]” (1914: 136). For Strobl, *growan* is not correct. He thinks that a word of different meaning should be there in its place (1887: 58). Williams notes that this gnome breaks a “unified passage”, yet, she points out that unity is not a feature of maxims. (1914: 136-7).

2a-3. *is brycgian* | *water helm wegan* || *wundrum lucan*. Conybeare translates, “glacies confringetur, aqua navem [ulmum] subvehet” (1826: 228-9). Thorpe queries *brecan* for *brycgian*, *wæteráholm* for *water helm* and suggests, “ice break, the watery deep agitate, wonderously lock up” (1842: 338); Ten Brink, “Eis sich wollen, der wasserhelm tragen” (1877: 124); Williams, “Ice shall bridge (over water), the water a covering wear, (ice shall) lock up” (1914: 137); March, “the ice, the water helmet, locks up the plants” (1879: 91). For Williams 3a is a repetition, she notes that her translation keeps the Old English verse structure (1914: 137). 2a, *is brycgian*, recalls *is brycgade* ‘the ice bridged’ in *Andreas* 1261b.

3b-5. *wundrum lucan* || *eorþan çipas* | *an sceal inbindan* || *forstes fetre* | *felameahtig god*. Thorpe queries *unbindan* for *inbindan* and *fetru* for *fetre*. He understands 4b-5a, “one shall unbind frost’s fetters” (1842, p. 338). Ettmüller 4a is one independent sentence; it is not related to *lucan* at l. 3b. He has a period after *lucan* and no mark after *çipas* (1850, p. 281). For Williams, such punctuation suggests the reading, “one shall bind up the plants of the earth” whilst she translates, “one shall unbind the frost’s fetters, the very mighty God” (1914: 137). Strobl understands 4b-5 as, “Gott allein löst das fesselnde band” (1887: 58). Williams writes that
ibindan occurs nowhere else, perchance it is interchangeable with onbindan. She queries whether to divide in form bindan and reads it as, “one shall bind on the fetters of the fetters of the frost” (1914: 137).

6a. winter sceal geweorpan. Regardless of the punctuation mark in the MS. after felameabtig god at 5b, Thrope joins it to 6a and translates, “the mighty God winter shall cast forth” (1842, p. 338); Williams, “winter shall depart”. Besides, she suggest comparing it with wintergeworpum ‘winterstorm’ in Andreas 1256a and wonders if weder (6b) “weather, bad weather” possibly means “good weather” (1914: 137). Williams gets her thoughts form a note from Krapp’e edition of Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles, see ‘wederburg’ (1906: 158). For Conybeare, weder means “tempestas” (1826: 229). See also ‘weder’ in B-T (1182).

6b. weder eft cuman. Both Ettmüller (1850: 281-2) and Grein (1958, II: 342) join 6b with sumor swegle hat at l. 7a as an embedded clause.


7b-8. sund unstille || deop deada wæg | dyrne bið longest. Ettmüller inserts a comma after wæg, a period after longest (1850: 282). Thorpe queries wæg for wæg and adds bolen in 8b as the last word (1842: 338). Berkhout follows Thorpe (1975: 77). Grein regards l. 8 as one sentence (1858, II: 342). Thorpe understands, “the sea is unstill; deep way of the dead. A secret shall be longest hidden” (1842, p. 338); Grein, “die tiefe todte Woge bleibt am längsten [unter der Eisdecke] verborgen” (1858, II: 342); Ten Brink, “Am längsten, in der tiefe birgt sich die todte woge. Die stechpalm soll in’s feuer” (1877: 124); Strobl, “die tiefe tote woge ist am längsten böse [gewesen]” (1887: 58) and Brooke, “the dead depth of ocean forever is dark” (1898: 317). As to dyrne, Conybeare edits dyme (1826, p. 229), for Williams it is a misprint (1914: 121). The form wæg is an orthographic
variation, and the change to \textit{weg} is unnecessary, see ‘weg’ in B.-T. (1183). For Müller, 8b is a separate gnome (1893: 28). Williams believes that ll. 7b-10 consist of series of pithy gnomes and translates, “the sea shall be unquiet; that is, it is the nature of the sea to be restless. The solemn \textit{dēop, profundus} way of the dead is longest secret” (1914: 137). Brown expands on the theme of the \textit{poculum mortis} in \textit{Maxims I B} 7b-8a: \textit{deop deada weg} ‘the deep, the dead wave’. He believes that \textit{wæg} means “cup of death” and it is a literary [funerary] figure (1940: 398-9). Russom holds a similar position. He thinks that the “deep cup” is a symbol of the endless slumber which falls upon all mortals. Russom points out that the theme of the cup has pre-Christian occurrences since it derives from ancient lore (1988: 175-9). Magennis is wrong in considering the \textit{poculum mortis} motif a distinctive new trait of Christian literature (1985: 517-36).

\textbf{9a-10a. holen sceal inæled | yrfe gedæled || deades monnes.} Berkhout adds \textit{ad} ‘funeral pyre’ before \textit{sceal inæled} (1975: 77). Holthausen suggests \textit{ofen} ‘furnace’ as subject for \textit{sceal} (1906-7: 199). Thorpe would read \textit{hæleð} but forces it into \textit{æleð} ‘men’ for the sake of alliteration (1842: 338). Williams believes that Thorpe has forces the text; l. 9 shows end-rhyme rather than alliteration (1914: 137). Grein edited \textit{in æleð} (1858, II: 342). Later, he glossed \textit{inæleð} as a participle of \textit{in-ælan}, ‘incendere’ (1864, II: 140). Thorpe translates, “shall among men the inheritance be divided” of a dead man” (1842: 338); Williams, “holly shall to the fire. The property of a dead man shall be divided” (1914: 137). Hanscom queries whether 9a means “means holly is good for burning” (1903-5: 439-63).

\textbf{10b. dom bip selast.} Thorpe regards \textit{dom} as “power” (1842: 338), Conybeare reads \textit{dom bip se last} as “judicium erit ultimum” (1926: 229); Williams “glory [fame] is best” (1914: 137). Wülker understands \textit{dom} as “ruhm”; He recalls \textit{Maxims II} 21 (1883, I: 345). Ten Brink suggests, “Ruhm ist das beste” (1877: 124). Chadwick considers \textit{dom} as \textit{kλὲα ἄνδρῶν} (1912: 329). Koegel, who traces origin back to Homer, translates, “dem toten ist
nachruhm das beste” (1894, I: 38-9). 10b recalls *Beowulf* 1387b-1388a, *wyrce se þe mote || domes ær deaþe* ‘let whoever can gain glory before death’.

11-12a. *cyning sceal mid ceape | cwene gebicgan || bunum ond beagum*. For Williams believes it is a good example of ornate diction (1914: 137). Judd thinks that it was not the woman to be sold but the rights to her custody (1974: 138). 11-12a recalls *Hávamál* 90-91 and *Maxims II* 44b-45a, *gif beo nelle on folce geþeon || þet hi man beagum gebicge ‘if she wants not to prosper amongst her people, so that a man buys her with rings’.

13b. *guð sceal in eorle*. For Heyne, the custom of the giving of the drinking-cup by the woman was a ritual once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England (1864: 39).

14a. *wig geweaxan*. Grein suggests *wigge weaxan; wigge* would be equivalent to *wige* (1865, II: 428).


17b. *meodoræddenne*. For Sweet, ‘meduræden[n]’ is a collective noun meaning “strong drink” (115), see also ‘ræden[n]’ in Wright (1908, § 610: 298). B.-T. glosses ‘meduræden[n]’ as “cellars, metonymy for liquors” (677). Williams is right when she says that it refers to the ceremonial of the
mead-cup as in *Beowulf* 628b–641 when Wealhtheow, king Hrothgar’s queen, offers to the Prince of the Geats the cup which symbolises the solemn oath to fight against Grendel. Thorpe (1842. 339) and Grein (1858, II: 342), in l. 17a, insert no punctuation from *maþmum*, through *gegretan*. Wülcker notes, “Ettm. ändert in: *sorge siðmægen simle ëghweor*” (1883, I: 346). Though, Ettmüller purely hold on to the MS.

**18b. for gesiðmægen.** Thorpe understands 18a as, “towards his friends, ever, everywhere”. He prints *for gesið-mægen*, but queries *for gesið-mægum* (1842: 339). Wülker and Williams gave the same reading. They both note incorrectly the manuscript. For Wülker, it reads *gesið mægen* (1883, I: 346). Williams notes that she fails to make any meaning out of these words, which palaeographically may simply be confused with *gesið mægen*. She follows the facsimile of the MS. and translates, “before the courtiers, the train (1914: 138). B.-T. glosses ‘gesið-mægen’ as “a multitude of companions” (442). Williams also points out Wülker’s inaccuracy; for her the correct reading is *sorge sið mægen* (1914: 122). However, the MS. shows *forge sið mægen*.

**19. eodor æþelinga | ærest gegretan.** In a note to æþelinga, Grein points out the likeness between *Exeter B 17-23a* and *Beowulf* 612–615. Williams translates, “[the wife] shall the nobles’ chief first greet” and points out the likeness of l. 19 to *Beowulf* 1216–ff. where Wealhtheow addresses the hero and gives him a collar. Worthy of note is that this line also recalls *Atlakviða* 38. See also Tupper’s comments on *Riddle* 80 and his reference to both this gnome and the lines in *Beowulf* above (1909: 218). Williams thinks that the gnome, from l. 15b to l. 22, refers to the queen and she understands the passage as follows, “he shall earn praise; be cheerful of mood; keep counsel; be munificent in horses, treasures; with [the ceremony of] the mead, before the train, always, everywhere, shall first greet the nobles’ chief [her husband]; the first cups to the lord’s hand
quickly present, shall know wise counsel for them [herself and husband],
the house owners, both together” (1914: 138).

20a. forman fulle. Thorpe queries feorman or feorme for forman (1842: 339).

21b. ond him ræd witan. As for ræd, see Maxims I A, note to ll. 22-23.

24a. linden. Williams notes that this is its only occurrence (1914: 138).

25b. frysan. Thorpe interprets it as “Frisian” (1842, p. 339); a great number of
scholars follow such reading. Instead, for Ettmüller, frysan derives from
frise (frese) ‘crispus, comatus’ (1851: 375). Grein follows Ettmüller (1861, I:
349). Brooke believes that such a gnome derives from one of the Frisian
band which seems to have settled to the North of the Tweed (1898: 223).
For March, frisan means “frizzled, ringleted, with a wealth of tresses”, but
not “Frisian” (1879: 91-2). Williams regards ll. 25-29 as referring to the
Frisian wife. She suggests, “Dear the welcome one to the Frisian wife,
when the vessel stands: when his ship is come and her husband at home,
her own provider, and she invites him in, washes his sea-stained garments
and gives him new weeds: pleasant is it to him on land whom his love
constrains” (1914: 138). Murray explains that the passage on the Frisian
wife is an exemplum of marital fidelity (1889: 390-ff.).

26b. ham. For Williams, Hickes misprints him for ham (1914: 122).


29. lip him on londe | þæs his lufu bædeð. Thorpe queries bidæð for bædeð
(1842: 339). Ten Brink translates, “Am lande wohnt ihm was seine lieb
ersehnet” (1877: 125). For March there is a missing word. He suggests,
“waiteth for him on the land […] that his love demandeth” (1879: 92);
Shipley “whom his love constrains, or, because [his] love constrains him [his]” (1903: 23).


32a. *freóð hy fremde monnan*. Thorpe translates, “strange men court them” (1842: 339); Williams, “she courts strange men”. She comments that grammar favours making woman the active agent instead of the object of the courting. She (1914: 139) thinks that this verse recalls *Tecosca Cormaic*, where the poets narrates that bad women are given to trysting (Meyer, 1909: 22, l. 38). Besides, see note 86 on p. 24 of the present work.

33b. *a mon sceal seþeah leofes wenan*. Thorpe edits *seþeab* and reads 33b as, “always ought a man nath’less to expect his friend” (1842: 340). For Williams, *leofes wenan* means “await a loved one” (1914: 139).
34a. gebidan þæs he gebædan ne mæg. For Grein ne can be omitted (1865, II: 342). Thorpe translates, “to await what he cannot control” (1842: 340); Shipley, “to await for what he may not compel (1903: 33) and Williams, “wait for what he may not hasten” (1914: 139).

35b–36a. nefne him holm gestyreð | mere hafað mundum. Thorpe translates, “unless him the ocean tosses, the sea has him in its clutches” (1842: 340); Williams “unless the ocean restrain him; the sea has him in its power” (1914: 139). Thorpe comments that mundum literally means “in hands” (1842: 340). Williams expands on it by saying that it may have an unfavorable meaning, “clutches”. If this were the case, hafað would also be modified by nefne (1914: 139).

36b. mægðes agen wyn. MS. reads mægð egsan wyn. Grein (1858, II: 342) punctuates it in such a way: gestyreð. Mere hafað mundunn mægð, egsan wyn, Ettmüller (1850: 282) and Rieger (1861: 130) concur. Thorpe prints mægð egna [or eagena] wyn “a maid is the delight of the eyes” (1842: 340). Holthausen follows Thorpe and emends into egna “der augen” (1906-07: 199). Grein edits mægð egsan wyn. He translates mægð as “natio, tribus”. Besides, he notes “wyn = win, gewin?” (resp. 1864, II: 216; 1858: 342). He believes that egsa, ægsa is cognate word to OS egso ‘possessor’ (1861, I: 342). Later, Grein emends egsan into egsan with no explanation (1865, II: 428). Besides, see ‘egsa’ in B.-T. (244). For Holthausen, is egna correct. Yet he believes that the following a-line is meaningless. He regards ceap as instrumental (1906-07: 199). Thorpe translates, “a maid is the delight of the eyes” (1842: 340); March, “the chief of terrors, i.e. the sea [holdeth] a family [many sailors]” (1879: 92). Wülcker writes, “obgleich die Ordnung der Gedanken bei Grein eine bessere ist, schloss ich mich der andren infachern erklärungsweise an” (1883, I: 347). Williams concurs with Holthausen and after him she suggests, “a maid [is] the delight of the eyes; through property a man [is] wealthy”. Though, her translation reads,
“a maid is the delight of the possessor” (1914: 139). Berkhout would rather read “the maiden’s own delight”, i.e. the sailor, her lover (1981: 249-50).

37-38. ceapeadig mon | cyningwic þonne | leodon cypeþ | þonne líþan cymeð.

Thorpe punctuates the text as follows, ceap eadig mon, cyning wic þonne, leodon cypeþ, þonne líþan cymeð (1842: 340), Rieger concurs (1861: 130). Grein instead, has the following punctuation, ceap-eadig mon cyning wic þonne leodon cypeþ (1858, II: 342). He later turns it into, wic þon leodon (=þam leodum) cypeþ (1865, II: 428). For Wulcker, “Diese änderung ist unmöglich, da þon nicht þon in der hs. Steht” (1883, I: 347). Yet, the MS. shows þon, not þon. Williams supports Wülcker’s view (1914: 139). Grein changes it in leodum cypeþ. In addition, he joins þam in l. 37b with leodum cypeþ (1865: 428). For Grein, leodon euqals “sailor” (1864: 182). March (1876: 67) holds with Grein in compounding ceap and eadig. See also ‘líðan’ in B.-T. (643). Thorpe translates: “a rich man his cattle, a king his dwelling then, with his people shall guard, when mariners come, wood and rather use; then to them is a dwelling granted” (1842: 340); March, “a rich man, a king, a settlement then for his people buys, when he comes sailing” (1876: 92); and Williams, “his property a wealthy man, the king a dwelling will sell, to the sailor when he comes sailing. He enjoys wood and water, when a dwelling is granted him” (1914: 139).

40. mete bygeþ gif he maran þearf | ærþon he to meþe weorþe. Thorpe reads, “meat he buys, if he needs more, ere he becomes too faint” (1842: 340); Williams, “he buys meat, if he needs more, before he becomes too faint”. She queries who is he and wonders whether it is still the “sailor-man” (1914: 140). My reading of weorþe follows the MS. All scholars hold with it, but Hickes who edits weoþe (1705: 221). Wülker adopts weorþe though he notes, incorrectly, that the MS. reads weoþe (1883, I: 347).

41a. seoc se bip þe to seldan ieteð. Thrope queries eteð for ieteð (1842: 340).
42a. *ne mæg he be þy wedre wesan*. For Thorpe it means “he may not be in the open air” (1842: 640); B.-T., “he may not be in the open air” (69). Williams considers it an idiomatic expression similar to modern English “can’t stand the weather” (1914: 140).

43. *ofercumen bëp he ær he acwele | gif he nat hwa hine cwicne fede*. Thorpe reads, “he will be overcome here he dies, if he knows not who will feed him leaving” (1842: 340); Williams, “overcome is he, he may soon die, if he know not one who may feed him living”. She also notes that ær might mean “before”. Besides she refers to B.-T. (6, 17).

44b. *morþor under eorþan befeolan*. Williams notes that morþor means “violent death, corpse of one whom he has killed”. Besides, she refers to W.W. Lawrence’s ‘The Banished Wife’s Lament’ (1908: 391). Ll. 44-45 recall *Sigrdrífermál* 33.

47. *hean sceal gehnigan | adl gesigan*. Hickes reads *gebingan* (1705), Berkhout supposes it is a misprint (1975: 77). Thorpe edits *adlige sigan* “the diseas’d sink” (1842: 79). For Holthausen (1906B7: 199), [b]adl “bent down” is equivalent to *heald* and *half*, see Sweet (84). Grein queries *hadl* for *adl* to satisfy the needs of the alliteration. He also queries *haðu* or *heðu* (1858, II: 343). Williams queries what Grein intended. She points out the rhyme *gehnīgan, gesīgan* and comments that *adl gesīgan* means “disease languish” (1914: 140).

48b. *ræd bīþ nyttost*. As for *ræd*, see *Maxims I A*, note to ll. 22-23.

49. *yfel unnyttost | þæt unlæd nimeð*. The *a*-verse is written over an erasure; *nyttost, unnyttost* is what Sievers calls “grammatischer reim” (1885: 481).

50. *god bīð genge | ond wiþ god lenge*. B.-T., in the entry ‘genge’ reads, “Good prevails and is lasting before God” (421) and under ‘lenge’, “Good hath affinity with God” (629). Klæber suggests that *lenge* means “at hand” (1905-06: 246). Williams points out the puns on ‘God’ and ‘good’ and the rhymes *genge* with *lenge*. She believes that the tone seems to be that of a real proverb; good would have affinity with God (1914: 140).

51. *hyge sceal gehealden | hond gewealden*. Thorpe suggests, “the mind shall be modest, the hand powerful” (1842: 341); Williams, “thought shall be restrained, the hand shall be controlled [by mind?]”. She believes it is a common gnomic idea. Besides, she points out the alliteration and the rhyme (1914: 140). It recalls *Wander* 11b-16 and *Maxims I A* 66a, *hond sceal beofod inwyrcan*, see note.

52. *seo sceal in eagan | snyttro in breostum*. Thorpe translates 52a, “sight shall be in the eyes” (1842: 341); Williams, “the apple shall be in the eye”. She comments that *seo*, a pleasing relic, means both “apple” and “pupil” (1914: 140). Worthy of a note is that there is a minor erasure after *in* and before *breostum*.

54b. *mæl sceolon tidum gongan*. Grein queries *sceolon on tidum* for *sceolon tidum* (1858, II: 343). Busse believes that ll. 54[b]-60 reveals how in the world of late Anglo-Saxon aristocratic people, the authority of books is rather to be associated to the scholar. Aristocracy was more into warfare (1988: 33).

55b. *on guman sweorde*. See *gifre […] guma, Maxims I A* 68, see note.
57-58a. god scop gumum | garniþ werum || wig towiþre. Thorpe prints gar
niþ-werum and reads it as, “a good poet for men, a weapon for enemies,
war for an adversary” (1842: 341). Ettmüller emphasises the figure of a
pagan god by a poetam christianum. Ettmüller follows Thorpe though his
reading “paganitatem sapiat” (1850: 283, note to ll. 57-58). Rieger holds
with Ettmüller as for his interpretation. Yet, prints gar niþwerum (1861:
131). Both Bouterwek (1854, xcvi) and Grein read göd ‘bonus’ (1858, II:
343). Grein regards ‘toviðre’ as “contra pugnam” (1864, II; 549).
Bouterwerk reads the gnome, “speer für die neidigen, kampf für den
widersacher, wohnung für friedenhaltende” (1854: xcvi); whilst Williams,
“a good scop for men, spear-strife for heroes [is fitting]; war for resistance
to hold peace among dwellings” (1914: 140). Cross gives examples for
some justification for such defensiveness in a Christian theological context.
“Just and public war” was a prerogative of laymen and their secular duties.
The Church did not explicitly condemn it, but penitentials disclose some
hidden censure of such a lawful duty (1971: 276-80). For Opland, war and
poetry are pulled together by the role of the scop (1980: 21).

61b. synne. Bouterwek reads scine as Zauberei ‘whichcraft’ (1854, p. xcvi). Stobl
comments that ll. 59-61 [130-132] “In den drei folgenden versen 130-132
ist je ein halbvers einem spruche gewidmet” (1887: 59).

62a. woden worhte weos. Thorpe suggests, “Woden wroght idols” (1842: 341);
Bouterwek, “Vôden machte Götzen”. He is doubtful whether to translate
woden as Woden or as Velend/Veland ‘Weland’ (1854: xcvi; xcvi, note 8).
For Grein, “allein Voden und der wahre Gott scheinen hier einander
entgegengesetzt: jener schuf nur Götzen; dieser aber die Glorie und die
weiten Himmel” (1858: 343). Williams reads, “Woden created idols [or
evils]” (1844: 140). Grein glosses ‘wōh’ as “iniquitas” (1864, II: 731), whilst
B.-T. glosses ‘wōh’ [adjective] as “crooked” and ‘wōh’ [noun,] as “wrong,
error” (1262). For Strobl (1887: 59-60), this gnome alludes to Ps 95, 5,
omnes dii gentium daemonia, dominus autem caelos fecit. In his Historia
ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum II.10, Bede says that Pope Boniface quotes from this psalm in his epistle to Edwin, King of the Angles. The gnomist might have made either a misleading translation or a mistake in taking *fecit* as a governing verb also for the first passage. It is worthy of mentioning is that in *Historia ecclesiastica* II.13, one finds a parallel for the rest of the speech in the description of king Edwin’s conversion, “In hac prædicatione veritas claret illa, quæ nobis vitæ, salutis et beatitudinis æternæ dona valet tribuere” (Colgrave, 1969: 184, ll. 18-20). For Williams, Stobl reference to the account in Bede is not correct. She believes that the final six lines of *Maxims I B* are the adding of a late scribe who was not acquainted with *Historia ecclesiastica*. For Williams, the passage can be taken from a Bible episode (1914: 141).

66a. *ond eft æt þam ende*. Thorpe suggests, “and at the end again” (1842: 342); Bouterwek, “wieder am ende” (1854: xcviì).
Exeter C [ff. 91r-92v]

1a. *ræd sceal mon secgan*. As for *ræd*, see *Maxims I A*, note to ll. 22–23.

2b. *lofes gearnian*. MS. reads *lofes*. Williams understands *lofes* as “merit praise, rather than merit a lover” (1914: 141). Hickes reads *gearman* (1705: 221), Berkhout supposes it is a misprint (1975, p. 81). Grein prints *gearnian* but he queries *geearnian* or *geornian* (1858, II: 349).

3b. *dæges onettan*. Thorpe translates, “by day hastens” (1842: 342); Williams, “daily be diligent” (1914: 141). For Wright, *dæges* means “daily, by day” (1908, § 557, p. 282), B.-T. concurs with Wright’s translation, see ‘*dæges*’ (193). Williams believes that 3b recalls Jn 9: 4, *me oportet operari opera eius qui misit me donec dies est venit nox quando nemo potest operari* (1914: 141).

4. *til mon tiles* || *ond tomes meares*. Thorpe understands, “a good man on a good” (1842: 342). Ettmüller suggests reading *til mon byð weorde tiles* (1850: 285). Grein notes that *mon* is a form of the verb *munan*. To him, *mon* is not a noun, ‘man’, as both Thorpe and Ettmüller read it (1858: 344). For Williams, Thorpe’s translation of *mon* “*mon*” does not fit the substantial meaning of *til*. She extends the same comment to Ettmüller. Williams, after Grein, reads *mon* as the third person singular of *munan* and translates, “a good man remembers [is careful of] a good and tame horse (1914: 141).

5b. *ond calcrondes*. Williams notes that *calcrondes* is a compound which occurs nowhere else (1914: 141).

6. *nænig firæ | to fela gestryneð*. Strobl explains that this line is the conclusion of a *fornyrðislag* strophe which is made up of ll. 1-3, 6; ll. 4 and 5 are out

8. oft mon fereð feor bi tune | þær him wat freond unwiotodne. For Thorpe, it means, “where he knows a friend to be void of reproach”. At the entry ‘tune’, B.-T. suggests, “passing the dwellings of men” (1019: iv) and at the entry ‘un-wirot’ reads “where he cannot look for a friend” (1138). Grein glosses ‘unwiotod’ as “non destinatus” (1964, II: 630). Ettmüller queries wine for freond (1859: 285). For Williams, the line seems to mean that one avoids a place where there are no friends. She suggests, “often one goes far by [about] the village, where he knows for himself no certain friend” (1914: 141).

9. wineleas wonsælig mon | genimeð him wulfas to geferan. Ettmüller emends wulfas into wulf (1850: 285). Sievers concurs with him and notes, “Nicht nur geferan ist wahrscheinlich, sondern auch das folgende felafæcne deor ist sicher singular” (1887: 464). Williams does not hold with such emendation since geferan may be dative plural; wulf would make a better construction (1914: 141). As for Maxims I C 9-14, Mackie, emphasises the persistence of a heathen custom in Christian times where a band of horsemen used to ride round a memorial barrow to croon a funeral chant. Lendinara, points out how the wolf therein is a veiled allusion to a feigning mourner. This reflects man’s cynicism and weakness. She matches this odd funerary ritual with the song of the unnamed woman in Beowulf 3148b-3155a (1973: 14-6). Cherniss compares the wolf with men and exile (1972: 109).

10. felafæcne deor | ful oft hine se gefera sliteð. Grein has a comma after geferan in 9b and a colon after deor (1858, II: 344). Thorpe interprets 10a as “a much crafty beast’ (1842: 342). Ettmüller edits fela frecne deor; for him, frecn means “periculosus, terribilis”(1850: 285). Wülker draws attention to Rune Poem 5a felafrecne deor ‘vey fierce animal’. For him, l. 10b seems to suggest frecn. Wülker edits felafæcne deor (1883: 349). Williams translates
accordingly, though she keeps the MS. in text, “the dangerous animal; full often the companion tears him” (1914: 141-2).

11a. *gryre sceal for greggum*. Ettmüller queries *gregum* for *greggum* (1850: 285). Mead explains that in ll. 11-13 there are two of the seven instances of this word in the whole Old English poetic corpus (1899: 189-90).


15. *wræd sceal wunden | wracu heardum men*. Thorpe queries *wræd* for *wraed* (1842: 343). For Williams, such a change is unneeded (1914: 142). Thorpe regards *wracu* as “exile”, see ‘wracu’ in B.-T. (1268). Ayres suggests, “the web shall be woven, misery [shall be] for the cruel man”. Once more, Williams reports Ayres’ view without giving any reference to the titles of the work quoted. Instead, she translates, “a bandage shall [be] wound; revenge shall be for the brave man” she interprets *wunden* from *windan*, “to wind”. She also notes that if the word is *wund* equals “wound”, the line to should be taken as, “a bandage shall be for the wound”. If this was the case, she cannot justify the construction of *wund*. Williams suggests an alternative reading “a fillet shall be rolled, twisted” (1914: 142).
16b-17a. sceal bam gelic | mon to gemæccan. B.-T. reads, “a bow must have an arrow, a man must to his mate” (412); Williams, “man shall have both alike for his companions”. For her, it is likely that the meaning may be that bow and arrow shall be to each other as man to mate. Williams (1914: 142) recalls ON Enn á boga ölvar “arrows for a bow” without any reference to both the poem she quoted [Skáldskaparmál 178].

17b. maþþum oþres weorð. For Thorpe, this b-line is the continuation of 17a and reads, “be the other’s treasure” (1842: 343). B.-T. in ‘mâðum’ reads, “[treasure] change hands” (671); Williams, “treasure become another’s” (1914: 142). Ettmüller (1850: 285) and Grein (1875: 428) insert a comma after 17a and a period after 17b. Yet, Grein originally placed a period at the end of 17a (1858, II: 344). Müller comments that “Der mann soll mit dem genossen so untrennbar verbunden sein wie bogen und Pfeil, […] ein geschenk des andern wert sein” (1893: 23).

18. gold mon sceal gifan | mæg god syllan. Williams notes that it might be a Christian thought (1914: 142) as it recalls Jb 1: 21 et dixit nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae et nudus revertar illuc Dominus dedit Domini nomen Domini benedictum.


21. licgende beam | læsest groweð. For Williams, læsest is a poetic form since lest is the only form common in West Saxon prose (1914: 142).

22. treo sceolon brædan | ond treow weaxan. Thorpe queries treawu for treo (1842: 343), see B.-T. (119; 1179). Williams thinks that this suggestion is unnecessary since treow is also a form of nominative plural. She translates,
“trees shall spread and truth be disseminated”. She also thinks that this line appears to pun on treo and treow; sio has for antecedent treow (1914: 143). See also note 32b-33a to Maxims II.

24. wærleas mon ond wonhydic. Holthausen edits monna, a weak form of the genitive singular (1910: 155).

26. þæs ne gymedð god. Grein originally printed gymed (1858, II, 285) and later suggested gymedð (1875: 428). For Sievers, the meter of ll. 24-26 is the same of the ljóðabáttr stanza (1893: 145), Ettmüller (1850: 285) concurs. See also note to l. 54a in Exeter A and ll. 50-53 in Exeter C. 27.

27. fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð | het sîþan swa forð wesan. Some editors, as recorded in the apparaturs criticus, would make a second line after gewearð. Wright expands on sceop for scop, (1908, § 128, 62). Williams recalls the structure of the ljóðabáttr strophe and notes that, as it stands, this line has six accents (1914: 143).

28. wæra gehwylcum wislicu | word gerisað. Ettmüller readjusts the word order of the MS. in wislicu word gerisað wera gehwylcum and notes that here multa desunt (1850: 285). Thorpe (1842: 343), Ettmüller (1850: 285) and Grein (1858, II, 285) would change wæra into wera, see B.-T. (1241). Williams, thinks such suggestion is useless since this form also occurs elsewhere. She reads, “to every one of men wise words are fitting (1914: 143).

29. gleomen gied | ond guman snyttro. For Müller, colorless guman gains its true significance if taken as ‘warrior’, in opposition to ‘singer’ (1893: 23).

30. swa monige beop men ofer eorþan | swa beop modgeþoncas. Williams believes that one would expect monige as Ettmüller (1850: 285) emends rather than monig. Williams quotes the maxim quot homines, tot sententiae but gives no reference to its author who should be Terence, P. Terentius
Afer; the original aphorism would be *quot capita tot sententiae*. Williams also recalls *Gifts of Men* [*Minds of Men*] 21-23 (1914: 143).

31a. *ælc him hafað sundorsefan*. Thorpe (1842: 344) prints, *ælc him hafað sundor || sefan longað*; Ettmüller (1850: 285) and Williams (1914: 125) *ælc him hafað sundorsefan longað* and begin a new clause with *þonne*. Thorpe reads, “each has to himself apart a desire of mind” (1842: 344); Williams, “each has for himself, apart, a desire of heart”. She comments that this is a typical *topos* of Anglo-Saxon literature: when one sits apart and ponders, he grows sad. Besides, Williams (1914: 143) points out that 31a recalls *Wanderer* 111, *swa cwæð snottor on mode | geset him sundor et rune* ‘thus said the wise to himself, thoughtful, sitting aside and also *Wife’s Lament* 52b-53 *wa bið þam þe sceal || of langoþe | leofes abidan* ‘harm to who ought to long whilst waiting the loved one’.

32. *longað þonne þy læs | þe him con leofa worn*. As Grein (1858, II, 285) and Wülker (1883, I: 350), I begin this line with *longað*. Thorpe (1842: 345) and Ettmüller (1850: 285) believe that there is a gap after *þonne*. Thorpe translates, “when * * * | unless he knows many songs” (1842: 345); Williams, “yet the less the man who knows many songs”. She points out the frequent allusion to the harp in Old English poetry. For Williams, this gnome recalls *Beowulf* 650, 2254 [?]. As for the allusion to the harp, see *Gifts of Men* 49 *sum mid hondum mæg | hearpan gretan* “one with his hands can play the harp”, and, *sui generis*, *Fates of Men* 80-81.

37b. **begen hi anes monnes.** Ettmüller prints this *b*-verse at the beginning of a ‘new’ line: *begen hi anes monnes, eorles weren* (1850: 285).

38. **eorle eaforan wæran | gif hi sceoldan eofor onginnan.** Thorpe queries *eorlice* for MS. *eorle* (1842: 344). Holthausen reads *eorlas* as a nominative plural (1910: 200). Ettmüller reorganises this line as: *eaforan, gif hi sceoldon eofor onginnan*. He queries *onwinnan* for *onginnan* (1850: 385). For Williams, there is no translation of *eorle* which compares favorably with that of *eorles* in apposition to *monnes*. She wonders whether *eorle* is dative and mens “to a man”. Williams also points out the pun on *eofora* and *eofor*, *weran* for *weren*, as Ettmüller already suggested (1850: 285), and *sceoldan* for *sceoldon* (1914: 143).

39b. **biþ þæt sliþhende deor.** Thorpe prints *slip-berde* but suggests regarding it as *slipbearde* (1842: 344). Ettmüller edits *slipbearde* and notes, wrongly, that the MS. reads *slöberde* (1850: 286). Yet, palaeographical analysis shows a clear hand which has unquestionably written *slöbhende*. Williams regards *slöberde* *deor* as “the bear” (1914: 143).

40-41. **a scyle þa rincas | gerædan lædan || ond him ætsomne swefan.** Thorpe queries *geræd rædan* for *gerædan lædan* (1842: 344). B.-T. glosses ‘ge-ræde’ as “trappings” (429), see also ‘ge-rêde’ (430). Yet, at the entry ‘ge-rêdan’ he refers to this gnome and glosses it as “arrange, dispose” (429). Grein does not give any meaning, he just mentions it is an accusative (1864, II: 440). Koegel suggests *geræd anlædan*. (1894, I: 75). Williams wonders whether this word stands for *ræd* “council”. If so, *lædan* might be figurative, and 40b might mean “lead a council”. She translates, “always shall these warriors carry their trappings, and with each other together sleep (1914: 143).

42. **næfre hy mon tomedle.** Thorpe edits *mon to mon || to meðolde*, in two different lines. He regards one of the *mon to* as a repetition (1842: 344), see also B.-T. (664). Thorpe is likely wrong in thinking some lines are
omitted after *swefan*, see Sievers (1893: 145). Wülker (1883, I: 351) and Williams (1914: 125) follow the MS. *mon to mon to mælde*. Grein emends *mon to mælde* and adds *mæg beswican* to make a long line (1858, II: 345). Holthausen would change to *tomælde* (1906-7: 200), see also B.-T. (1002) and Grein (1864, II: 545). Krapp and Dobbie suggest *mon tomælde* noting the metathesis (1936: 162, 308). Ettmüller omits ll. 42-43 without any comment (1850: 286). For Williams, enough is omitted after *mædle* to have a second long line in the strophe (1914: 144). Grein queries *mæg beswican* to fill the gap (1858, II: 345). As to ll. 40-45 (and likely to ll. 25-31), Müller comments that “für schlecht umgemodelte prosa”. He does not recognise the *ljóðaháttr* stanza (1893, 44). Koegel comments, “immer sollen die helden [einer gefolgschaft] sich in einander schicken und bei einander schlafen: dann werden sie sich gegenseitig niemals durch böse reden veruneinigen, bis sie der tod trennt” (1894, I: 75). Accordingly, Williams (1914: 144) would translate, “never shall one go to the assembly without the other”. She believes that l. 42 might refer to the second paragraph of an ancient ON decree, known as “formula of peace-making”, enclosed in the ‘Old Constitution’, a corpus of primitive laws and customs of the Icelanders (Vigfússon and Powell, 1905, I: 316).

44. *hy twegen sceolon tæfe ymsbittan* | *þenden him hyra torn toglide*. B.-T. notes that amongst the Icelanders ‘tæfe’ was a game, later known also in Anglo-Saxon England after the Viking raids, used of chess or draughts or of dicing (968). B.-T. also refers to *Germania*, XXIV. Williams thinks that the context seems to point to dicing or a board for dicing. She favours a meaning related to the table where drink and food is served (1914: 144)

45. *forgietan þara geocran gesceaftr* | *habban him gomen on borde*. Thorpe translates, “forget the miserable world, have to them past time on board” (1842: 345); Williams “they forget the shaping of bitter things” (1914: 144). Grein has reflexive *him* after *forgietan* (1858: 345). Ettmuller edits *borðe* without justifying such decision (1850: 286). Wright expands on the
evolution of *gesceafte* from an –*i* feminine to a neuter stem (1908, § 391: 184–5). See also ‘ge-sceaf’ in B.–T. (435). Williams suggests “on board” as to *on borde*. She notes that it is possible that the gaming board is referred to since the meaning fits the context (1914: 144). Yet, she takes the main information from ‘bord’ in B.–T. (116) without acknowledging it.

46a. *idle hond emetlan geneah tæfles monnes*. Thorpe edits *emet lange neah* and prints *bond* in the previous line (1842: 345). Ettmüller reads *emtað lange neah*. He also notes that he ignores the existence of a verb *emettan*. For Ettmüller, *emtað* derives from *emtian* or *emtīgean* (1850: 286). Williams does not hold with Ettmüller (1914: 144). Thorpe translates, “idle is the hand, [long leisure nigh], of the gamester but with the dice he throws (1842: 345). Grein glosses ‘neah’ as “satis diu” (1864, II: 284) and ‘emetian’ as “vacare” (1861, I: 57). Williams offers two readings. Accordingly to Grein, she suggests, “the idle hand of the dicer is at leisure long enough”. She also refers to the formula *sufficit vobis* in the OE Dt 1: 6, *genob lange* (Crawford 1922: 333). Williams also gives a second suggestion. She notes that *emet* comes at the end of a line and that –*ian* was carried forward *ge* of the “next word, as not unusual, was affixed to the preceding word; hence *iange*. Palaeographically, *i* for *l* is quite possible; a later scribe may have mistaken the letter, particularly since lange, a common word, would naturally present itself, in opposition to the form *iange*. Williams’ main reason for such a change is the fact that *emet* occurs nowhere else and “second, that *o* is uniformly written before nasals [in the Gn. Ex.], and *lange* would have been longe”. Thus, she would translate *idle hond emetian geneah* “it satisfies the idle hand to be at leisure” (1914: 144). Williams also lists some scholars on Anglo–Saxon games possibly borrowed from the Latin world (1914: 145).

46b. *þonne teoselum weorpeð*. Ettmüller (1850: 286) and Grein (1858, II: 345) place a period after *weorpeð*. Thorpe reads, “but with the dice he throws” (1842: 345). Shipley expands on the construction of verbs such as *weorpan*
with the genitive of instrument and renders 46b as “when he throws dice” (1903: 18, 61-2). Williams thinks that he refers to ceole at l. 47, not to the gamester. She translates, teoselum weorpeð, “throws with the dice”. (1914: 145). Frank notes that ll. 46-7 are rich in puns. She compares this passage with Gutblac 450 and Wander 114 (1988: 171).

48a. werig sceal se wip winde roweþ. Grein (1858, II: 345) and Wülker (1883, I: 352) print werig scealc, see also Grein (1864, II: 403). B.-T. does not refer to this line under scealc.

48b-49. ful oft mon wearnum tihō || eargne þæt he elne forleose | drugað his ar on borde. Thorpe suggests, “full oft one with threats urges the slothful, so that he loses courage, draws his oar on board” (1842: 345). Williams takes wearnum as “freely” and translates, “weary shall he [be, who] rows against the wind; very often one freely blames the timid, so that he loses courage, his oar becomes dry on board” (1942: 145). For Franks, ar is a pun and it recalls both “oar” and “honour” (1986: 171).

50. lot sceal mid lyswe | list mid gedefum. Thorpe reads, “craft shall be with falsehood, art with things fitting” (1842: 345); Koegel, “Betrug muss mit falschheit, list mit schlauheit verbunden sein; auf diese weise wird der stein [im breitspiel] heimlich beseitigt” (1894, I: 75); Williams, “cunning shall with thing evil, skill with things fitting” (1942: 145). At the entry ‘list’, B.-T. notes that list and lot are “names for a corresponding vice and virtue” (643), see also Grein (1864, II: 190-4). Sievers notes that ll. 50a-53 are characterised by the ljóðaháttr stanza (1893: 145); see note to l. 54a in Maxims I A and ll. 24-26 in Maxims I C.

51-54. þy weorpeð se stan forstolen || oft hy wordum toweorpað || ær hy bacum tobreden || geara is hwær aræd. Thorpe regards these lines as defective due to the want of context and alliteration. He sees a gap after forstolen, and makes no translation from bacum through aræd. (1842: 345).
Grein thinks that there is a slight omission after *ared*. Strobl emends *ared* into *arod* ‘ready’ and compares it to its ON equivalent: *andr* (1886: 215). See also Koegel (1894, I: 75). B.-T. glosses, hesitantly, *ared* as “resolute” (suppl. 45). By following Strobl, Williams notes that one may read the gnome: “the ready man is always prepared” (1914: 146). For the occurrence of *ared* see also *Wanderer* 33 *wyrd bið ful ared* ‘fate is inexorable’ and some other antonymous instances, *anræd*, in *Beowulf* 1529, 1575. Koegel suggests reading l. 54 as *geara is hwœr ahred* “tief ists irgendwo erregt”. Besides, he further comments, “der sinn der zeile kann nur sein: der innere zorn kommt zum ausbruch, die innere erregung macht sick in worten luft” (1894, I: 75). For Williams, such a rendering dwarfs l. 52 (1914: 146). So Thorpe suggests, “therefore is the stone stolen, * * * oft they by words o’erthrow, ere they * * *” (1842: 345); Williams, “cunning must meet cheating, by which the dice may be stolen: players often dispute before they turn their backs on one another; the courageous man will be ready [in case of a wrangle] (1914: 146). Berkhout reads *geara* as “formerly, long time ago” (1981: 250).

55-56a. *wearð fæþo fyra cynne | sīþan furþum swealg | eorðe Abeles blode.*
Thorpe understands “enmity has been among mankind, since that first swallo’d earth Abel’s blood” (1842: 345); Williams, “hostility has been among mankind since the earth first swallowed Abel’s blood”. She believes that this line opens a corrupt and thorny Christian gnome. For her, it shows the difficulty to “convert into a form approaching that first written down”. Besides, Williams notes that “*blode*, is. after *swelgan*” (1914: 146). As for ‘swelgan, see also B.-T. (947).

56b. *næs þæt andæge nið.* For Williams, the main meaning of *andæge* might be “open” (1914: 146). Accordingly, she recalls *Beowulf* 11, 1107 and 1935 in Sedgefield’s edition (1913: 164).
58a. *micel mon ældum*. Williams notes that she changes *mon* to *man* otherwise she would make nothing of 58a (1914: 146).


60. *Cain þone cwealm nerede | cuþ wæs wide siþþan*. Thorpe queries *nydde* for *nerede* (1842: 346); Grein *serede* for *nerede* (1858, II: 345). Strobl emends it into *þone cwealm gewræc* following *Beowulf* 107b where the scop refers to Cain, the murderer of blameless Abel (1887: 61). Williams queries what does *þone* refer to, whether Cain or Abel. “If the latter, then *nerede* may be for *ferede* or *generede*, and the meaning is, whom (that is, Abel) death took away” (1914: 146). Lendinara points out how giants are to be regarded as descendants of Cain (597: 85-98, esp. 89-91). Wright gives a brilliant account of the occurrence of the theme of the shedding of Abel’s blood all through OE poetry (1996: 12-4).

61. *þæt ece nið ældum scod | swa aþolwar*. Thorpe queries *atol werum* for *aþol warum* (1842: 346). Grein notes that the *MS.* reads *aþol warum* although the hand is unequivocally clear and it shows *aþolwarum*. Yet, Grein edits *aþolwarum* and renders it as ‘citizen’ (1858, II: 345). As already mentioned in the above note, Strobl would change *gewræc* into *nerede*. He would also change *aþolwarum* to *aþom swarian* and read: “den mord rachte –kund war es seither weithin- dass ewiger hass die menschen schädigte, wie auch eidam und schwäher der waffen getöse vollführten über die erde”. He also believes that the Cain-Abel episode should be related to the Oswald-Penda feud-wars (1887: 60-1). Williams is right to doubt any historical reference (1914: 146), B.-T. glosses ‘aþol-ware’ as “citizens” (58). Williams does not
hold with B.-T. If that interpretation were correct, “eternal hate injured men, so citizens” it would be improbable (1914: 146).

62. **drugon wæpna gewin | wide geond eorpan.** Williams notes that *dreogan gewin* means “fight” (1914: 146).

63b. **heoro slitendne.** Thorpe queries *slitendne* for *slipendne* (1842: 346).

64a. **gearo sceal guðbord.** Thorpe prints *guð-bord*. He translates it “buckler” but notes that it literally means “war-board” (1842: 346).

65. **ecg on sweorde | ond ord spere.** Wülker writes *and* in italics to indicate the MS. sign for this word (1883, I: 352). For Williams, it is an error not to italicise since, in every instance, the MS. has 7 (1914: 146).

66a. **hyge heardum men.** For Williams it means [literally] “heart for the brave man”, hence it is, “the brave man must have courage” (1914: 146).

67. **ond a þæs heanan hyge | hord unginnost.** Thorpe understands, “and ever for the base in soul treasure most bounded” (1842: 346); Brooke, “and the smallest of hoards for the coward in soul” (1898: 209). Williams considers *þæs heanan hyge* as “for the soul of the base [hall be thought] a most limited treasure”. For her, ll. 64–67 show reversion to gnomic utterance (1914: 146).
Cotton Gnomes [ff. 115r–115v]

1. *cyning sceal rice healdan | ceastra beoð feorran gesyne*. Fox translates *gesyne* as “seen” (1830: 45), Turner concurs (1845, III: 288). Williams does not concur since “should be reserved for the pp. of *gesēon*”. She reads it as “visible”. Besides, Williams points out the diversity of Latinised *ceastra* and Saxon *burh*. Then, she mentions some studies about the use of stone amongst the Mediterranean peoples, not in the Germanic north (1914: 147). Schneider reads l.1 as containing the runes *ing* and *lagu* (1972: 110).

2a. *ordānc enta geweorc*. Turner otranslate, “the work of the mind of giants” (1845, III: 288). Williams does not hold with Turner since in this “case of *ordānc* forbids” (1914: 147). B.-T. glosses ‘ent’ as “giant” (2). Williams suggests, “cunning work of giants” and recalls the formulaic expression *enta geweorc* in *Beowulf* 2717b and in *Andreas* 1235a (1914: 147). Williams recalls the note ‘*enta ær-geweorc*’ in Krapp’s edition (1906: 138). This plain reference to giants might be the elaboration of a Biblical theme one finds form *Gn* 6: 4, *gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis postquam ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum illaeque genuerunt isti sunt potentes a saeculo viri famosi.

3a. *wrætlic weallstana geweorc | wind byð on lyfte swiftust*. 3a recalls *Ruin* 1b, *wrætlic* is *hæs wealstan* ‘such wallstone is wondrous’. Wright explains that *swiftest* is a rarer form of superlative (1908, § 444: 214).

4. *þunar byð þragum hludast | þrymmas syndan Cristes myccle*. Etttmüller prints *mycle*, but already the older form had given place to *myccle*. Wright explains that *myccle* is one of those words affected by consonant doubling due to –r or –l, with shortening of a preceding long vowel or diphthong (1908, § 260: 127). Editors print *myccle*. Sweet edits *myccle*. Yet, in the glossary of his *Reader*, he notes *micle* (1888, 263). Williams comments that
unar, syndan, bludast are rarer forms (1914: 147). Schneider thinks that l. 4 if properly adjusted reveals some relationship with the Tiw (1972: 110).

5. wyrd byð swiðost | winter byð cealdost. Williams notes that her punctuation of ll 5b-8a clearer than that suggested by former editors (1914: 147). B.-T. offers a variety of significances for ‘wyrd’ (1287), see Krapp’s note on wyrd for Andreas 613b, there he gives a brilliant account on the concept of fate in the pagan and Christian tradition (1906: 113). Wyrd also occurs in some other poems; see Genesis 2357a where it rather means ‘result’.

6. lencten hrimigost | he byð lengest ceald. Williams explains that lencten, “spring” is a distinctive Germanic word. In Anglo-Saxon England, it has acquired an ecclesiastical meaning. In other Teutonic languages, the only significance is ‘spring’, see OHG. Lengizin. Williams also notes that lencten is likely to refer to the lengthening of days in springtime. Hanscom points out the likeness between l. 6 and Menologium 35-36, especially with brime gebyrsted ‘adorned with frost’ at l. 35a (1903-5: 446).

7. sumor sunwlitegost | swegel byð hatost. Bollard edits sunwlitegost (1973: 182), for Berkhout it is an apparent misprint (1975: 86). Hickes reads it as, “estivus sol est formosissimus” (1705: 207); Fox (1830: 45) and Turner (1845, III: 288), “summer sun is most beautiful”; Williams, “summer is most sun-beautiful, i.e., beautiful from sun-shine” (1914: 147); see ‘sun-wlitig’ in B.-T. (937). Williams also comments, “note spelling sunwlitegost and [next line] hreðeadegost, for example in Alfred’s prose of similar forms” (1914: 147).

8. hærfest hreðeadegost | hæleðum bringeð. For Schräder, hærfeð denotes the ‘autumn’. This word, limited to OHG and Dutch, is attested after Tacitus (1893: 303). Hickes translates it as, “tempestivas autumnus” (1705: 207); Fox, “harvest is most blessed” (1830: 47); Turner, “fierce harvest is the happiest” (1845, III: 288); Williams, “autumn is most glorious”. She does
not hold with Turner’s translation since she thinks it is nonsense. Besides, she notes that by talking of autumn, the poet has finished the round about the seasons.

9. **geares wæstmas | ṭa þe him god sendeō.** MS. reads *geres*. Hickes edits *geref* (1705:207), for Berkhout it is a misprint (1975: 86). For Williams, both Plummer and Sievers edit *geares* (1914: 127). I do not hold with Williams. In fact, Plummer edits *geres* and, in the apparatus criticus, puts what is written in the MS. Cosjin notes that in *Orosius* occur both *gear* and *ger*, whilst in *Christ* just *gear* (1883, § 61: 85). Wright explains the evolution of –a, –ea and –æ in Old English; *geres* may be Kentish or Anglian or late West-Saxon (1908, § 124: 60); see also Hanscom (1903-5: 441). Williams believes that, for analogous relation of God to wind and change of seasons, ll. 5–9 recall *Meters of Boethius* 11: 55–61 (1914: 148).

10a. **soð bið swiælost.** MS. reads *swicolost*. Hickes translates, “verus facillime decipitur” (1705: 207). Grein comments that it is “sich leicht entziehend, leicht entgehend” (1864, II: 511). Earle rejects Hickes’ interpretation as he thinks this gnome has a “strange Machiavellian look”. Earle reads, “truth is most misleading” (1885: xxxv). B.-T. glosses ‘swicol’ as “occasioning offence?”. B.-T. queries *swiælost* for *swicolost* (954). Sweet favours *swuælost* rather than *swicolost* (1876: 183). Turner reads, “truth is most deserving” (1845, III: 288); Williams, “truth is most clear or evident”. She thinks that swiælost is palaeographically possible since c and t are often mistaken for each other. She refers to a line in *Tecosca Cormaic* which reads “everything true is sweet” (Meyer, 1909: 22, l. 36). Besides, Williams compares a habit amongst the Norsemen to make use of unclear words in treaties with 10a (1914: 148). Robinson believes that “truth is most evident” would be the best interpretation since truth can be regarded as elusive (1993: 84).

11–12. **gold gumena gehwam | ond gomol snoterost || fyrgearum fros | se þær feala gebideō.** Hickes edits *fyru gearum* (1705: 207). For Williams, it
is a misprint (1914: 127). For Berkhout, it is an apparent misprint (1975: 86). Williams understands, “the old most wise, old in bygone years, who earlier experienced many things. As to for fyrngearum, see Grein (1861, I: 363) and B.-T. (354). Gummere explains how in the Germanic world even if the oldest were given death their wisdom was cherished (1892: 205). Williams compares gebideð with gebedad in Andreas 1702a and she recalls the resemblance to Hávamál 133 and Hamðismál 27 (1914: 27). Robinson believes that this maxim on treasure and gold is strictly related with the one at l. 10a on truth (1993: 84).

13a. wea bið wundrum clibbor. Cosijn shows that clibbor is a cognate word of OE clifan and OHG klebar. He interprets clibbor as “clinging” rather than “burdensome” and emends MS. wea to wex (1881:148–9). Dobbie, after Cosijn, rejects wea as “woe/grief”. He edits weax and reads 13a as, “wax is wondrous sticky” (1942: 56). For Earle, clibbor means “adhesive”. He reads “woe is wonderfully clinging” (1885: xxxv). Grein glosses ‘wundrum’ as “mirabiliter” (1864, II: 752). For scriðað, see l. 40 and Beowulf 163b, 650b.

14. geongne æþeling sceolan | gode gesiðas. It recalls Heliand 1018–ff., see also Williams’ views on Christian the reading of heathen material (1914: 30).

15b. ond to beahgife. Ebeling edits beab gifê (1847: 119), for Williams it is a misprint (1914: 127).

16a. ellen sceal on eorle. Hickes translates, “virtus in duce, et gladius cum galea, bellum tolerabunt” (1705: 227). Both Fox and Turner see in bilde gebidan a complement to each half line of 16. Fox reads, “valour shall in the earl” (1830:47); Turner, “strength in the earl” (1845, III: 288); whilst Williams, “courage ought to be in a man” (1914: 148). Besides, she quotes an ON proverb, “oðlingr skyldi einkar–raoskar” but gives no reference to its source [Málsháttakvæði 5].
16b. *ecg sceal wið hellme*. For Williams, MS. *hellme* is a misspelling for *helme*. She refers to some representations of ancient chessmen found in the isle of Lewis and how they “show the sword held in the right hand resting against the helmet in the left” (1914: 148).

17. *hilde gebidan | hafuc sceal on glofe*. Hickes considers *glofe* as “clivo”; B.-T. “cliff” (481); Grein “rupes?” (1864, II: 516) and Brooke “cliff” (1898: 317). Williams suggests, “the hawk shall on [or, sit on] the glove of the falconer, the wild one dwell; or, the hawk, though wild, shall accustom himself to the glove” (1914: 148). 17a recalls *hilde gebad* ‘lasted in battle’ in *Beowulf* 2258b, whilst the content of the gnome reminds of *Fortunes of Men* 85ff.

19. *earm anhaga | eofor sceal on holte*. MS. reads *earn án baga*. Hickes does follow it and translates as “aquila in campo” (1705: 208); Fox, “eagle in field” (1830: 47); Turner, “the eagle in field” (1845, III: 289); Williams, “the eagle in the haw” and she explains that in Kent, a haw is a yard or enclosure (1914: 149). Williams writes that Ettmüller changed *earn* into *earm* and makes one word of *an + baga*, making “the passage aligned with the following gnomes”. She might have misread Ettmüller’s edition since Ettmüller edits *earm* and in the apparatus criticus he notes *earn* not as his variant. See *Beowulf* 2368a and *Wanderer 1a* as for [*earm*] *anhaga* ‘wretched solitary’ and B.-T. (suppl. 42).

20a. *toðmægenes trum*. The word *toðmægenes* is a hapax legomenon.

20b. *til sceal on eðle*. Hickes reads, “bonus civis” (1705: 208); Fox “the good man” (1830: 46), so Turner (1845, III: 289) and Williams (1914. 149).

21a. *domes wyrcean*. Williams understands, “do justice, win glory or renown” and she recalls *Beowulf* 1388-1399 (1914: 38, 149). Shipley explains the use
of *wyrcan* with genitive (1903: 63). 21a recalls *Beowulf* 1489b-1490a, *ic me mid Hruntinge dom gewyrce* ‘I will gain glory for myself with Hruntig.’

23a. *standan steap ond geap*. It recalls *steap geap gedreas* ‘high, wide they fell down’ in *Ruin* 11b and *steapes and geapes* in *Genesis* 2558b.


24b–25a. *mæst sceal on ceole || segelgyrd seomian*. Hickes suggests, “malus in navigio antennas sustinebit” (1705: 208); B.-T., “the mast shall be fixed in a boat and the yard hang from it” (864). Williams understands, “the mast shall on the ship, the sailyard, rest” (1914: 149). Grein glosses ‘segelgyrd’ as “segelgürtet” (1864, II: 424), Williams regards *segelgyrd* synonymous with *mæst* (1914: 149).

25b–26a. *sweord sceal on bearme | drihtlic isern*. Williams suggests, literally, “sword shall in bosom, on bosom, or in the lap” but she thinks that the correct translation would be, “the sword shall rest in the lap” (1914: 149). For Tupper, it is likely that the gnomist is dealing with some rite of the comitatus as in *Maxims I A* 66a, *hond sceal heofod inwyrcan*, see note. He recalls *Beowulf* 1143[-1144b] *ponne him Hunlafing | bildeleoman, || [billa selest,] ‘when Hunlafig placed on his lap the flash of battle’ and also l. 2194 *þæt he on Beowulfes | bearm alegde* ‘he placed it on Beowulf’s lap’ (1912: 97-100). Chambers holds a similar view (1912: 25). This gnome revelas that an old mode of holding the sword amongst royal personages, i.e. across the knees and with both hands. See the posture of King Geirrod at the end of
of *Grímnismál*, Geirrödr konungr sat oc hafi sverð um kné sér, oc brugöit til miðs ‘King Geirrod sat and had on his knee his sword, half drawn from the sheath’.

26b. **draca sceal on hlæwe.** Brandl expands on dragons dwelling in a cavern or on a mound (1908, II: 996). As for the description of the dragon’s mound, see *Beowulf* 2211b–2213a. Barley expands on this gnome and its likeness with those following up to l. 29 (1977: 224–9).

28a. **cynren cennan.** Hickes reads *cynran cennen* (1705: 208). For Williams, it is a misprint (1914: 128); for Berkhout, it is an apparent misprint (1975: 87).

29b–30a. **bera sceal on hæde || eald ond egesfull.** See note to *Maxims I C* 39b, *bý þet sliþhende deor.*

30b–31a. **ea of dune sceal || flodgræg feran.** Hickes suggests, “aqua de montibus irruens inundationem luteam faciet” (1705: 208); Fox, “the water from the hills shall bring with it grey earth” (1830: 49); Turner, “the water will from the hill bring down the gray earth” (1845, III: 289). B.-T. gives the compound ‘fold-græg’ and reads “rarth-colored water shall proceed from a hill” (299). Williams reads, “water from the hill shall travel, flood-gray.” (1914: 149). MS. reads *flod greg*. Grein edited *földgreg* (1858: 346); later, he emended it into *flödgreg* (1865: 428) and glosses it as ‘erdgrau’ (1861, I: 310). Mead explains that *flodgreg* occurs just here. In *Riddle 4* 19a there is a similar compound, *flintgregne flod* ‘grey like flint flood’ (1899: 189–90). Williams (1914: 128) errs in grouping scholars’ readings in note 31 of her apparatus criticus.

32b-33a. treow sceal on eorle | wisdom on were. See note 22 to Maxims I A, treo sceolon bædan ond treow weaxan.

33b-33a. wudu sceal on foldan || blædum blowan. Hickes understands, “sylvæ in terris facundæ florebunt” (1705: 208); Fox, “the wood shall on the ground blow with fruits” (1830: 49). Williams regards wudu as “tree”. She notes that blowan, “to bloom”, survives only in dialect in Modern English (1914: 150). 33b-33a recalls Maxims I A 25b-26, see note.

35. grene standan | god sceal on heofenum. For Mead, the recurring colour in the Old English poetry is green, the examples are found almost wholly in religious poems. There, he lists a numner of examples of it (1899: 200-1).

36b-37a. duru sceal on healle || rum recedes muþ. For Gummere, this passage is a meaningless figure (1892: 105). It recalls recedes muþan ‘the mouth of the mansion’ in Beowulf 724a.

39a. lacan on lyfte. It recalls laceð on lyfte ‘sports aloft’ in Fortunes of Men 23a.

39b-40a. leax sceal on wæle || mid sceote scriðan. Williams believes that the –i scriðan was written by a later hand (1914: 150). Hickes suggests, “salmo et raia in gurgitibus hinc illinc vagabuntur” (1705: 208). Fox reads 40b, “with shooting wander” (1830: 50); Turner, “will roll with the skate” (1845, III: 289). At the entry 'leax', B.-T. suggests, “swiftly shall the salmon in the stream’s eddy move” (627); Williams, “the salmon shall in the sea glide with rapid movement” (1914: 150). B.-T. glosses ‘scot’ as “a rush, dart” underwhich this gnome is quoted (839). Williams errs in reporting B.-T.’s interpretation of scot for this maxim since it not “shoot” (1914: 150). Grein glosses scot as “motus rapidus” (1894, II: 407). For Tupper, sceote may well stand for sceole. Thus, he recalls sigera sceolu ‘a company of conquering’ in Charm 11 25a (1910: 121).


42b. *þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian*. Earle edits 42b as one line and emends MS. *gewunian* into *geþunian* for the sake of the alliteration. He does not admit Hickes’ suggestion [gewunian] since it “weakens the sense, and destroys alliteration” (1885: xxxvi). Earle’s emendation does not solve the needs of the alliterative measure. Hickes regards *þyrs* as “latro” (1705: 208); Fox, “spectre” (1830: 51). It is a cognate word to ON *þurs* ‘giant’, it is an evil-minded giant with demonic features. It is also related to OHG *durs* ‘devil’ [literally, ‘the thirsty one’ as in B.-T. (1086)]. Brandl notes, “Man mag an Grendel, den aus der methalle verbannten, denken” (1908: 960). For Williams, *enta* and *wyrd* show some “early superstition in England” (1914: 150).

43b-45a. *ides sceal dyrne cræfte | fæmne hire freond gesecan | gif heo nelle on folce geþeon | þæt hi man beagum gebicge*. Sweet notes that dyrne cræfte is just an adverbial periphrasis: “secretly”, “clandestinely” (1876: 204). At first, Grein prints *geseccan* but queries *gefeccan* (1858, II: 347). But he finally emends it into *gesêccan* (1865: 428). For Sweet, *beagum gebicge* means “buy with rings [of gold], that is “seek in marriage” (1888: 208). Müller considers ll 43b-45a as prose (1893: 10) Gummere recalls *Maxims I B* 11-22 and explains how golden arm rings were amongst the presents of aristocracy (1898: 167). Yet, in the previous passage from *Maxims I, geþeon*, has a positive denotation. Hence, the purchase was honorable enough, something to be desired, according to old Germanic custom. Chadwick notes that, in Kent, wives seem to have been bought much in the same way as slaves or cattle. Thus, even marriage was a purchase (1907: 324). Williams suggest, “a woman shall by secret craft seek her
lover, if she does not wish publicly to be sought in marriage”. She believes that if one embeds *wille* into *nelle*, the meaning would then be, “the woman shall by secret craft seek her friend, if she would thrive among the people, that she may be bought with rings” (1914: 150). Meaney explains that, originally, *ides* meant “woman”. Such a word would reveal the woman in her sacral, mysterious aspect, in relation with magic (1979: 27-31). For Dane, *on folce geþeon* does not refer to marriage but to prostitution (1984: 43-59. As for the pivotal role and duty of women amongst the Anglo-Saxons, see Henry (1966: 79-81) and Fell (1984: 69). For Murray, this passage is a neat description of the duties of the king and queen, especially those concerning the latter (1989: 390-ff.).


47a. *flowan firgenstreamas*. As for *firgenstream*, Lawrence points out that the main concept it that, here, the water is not salt. He also compares it to the *Meters of Boethius* 20 75-ff. (1912: 212).

48b. *tungol sceal on heofenum*. Williams notes that *tungol* may be any heavenly body, here it most likely the sun (1914: 151).

49b. *swa him bebead meotud*. For Ferrell, *meotud* is a pagan word, but it was retained after the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons and it was used to refer to God (1893: 4).
50b. *geogoð sceal wið yldo*. Williams notes that *geogoð* is a later form and puts it into contrasts with an ancient word such as *meotud* in the previous note (1914: 151).

53b. *ymb land sacan*. See note 28-29a to *Maxims I A*. Williams notes that ll. 52-53 are an example of “grammatischer Reim” (1914: 151).

54a. *synne stælan*. Hickes suggests, “semper se obfirmabunt” (1705: 208); Fox, “they shall always steal on each other” (1830: 53); Turner, “sin will steal on” (1845, III: 289). At the entry ‘stælan’, B.-T. suggests “charge with crime” (908). Sweet notes, “lit. ‘institute sin’ = ‘wage hostility’, the ideas of ‘sin’, ‘injury’, ‘hostility’, being convertible” (1876: 204). Kock holds not with Sweet since *synne* just conveys wrongful hostility, or invasion, injury. Besides, he thinks that this gnome, as well as *Genesis* 1351-1352 and *Beowulf* 1339-1344, have been misinterpreted. The idea of accusing has developed into that of avenging (1923: 229), Klaeber concurs (1905-6: 261). For Williams, wrongful here hardly applies. She regards it as the idea related “to the group collectively [50-53]; hence, simply, avenge hostility” (1914: 151).

54b-55. *a sceal snotor hycgean || ymb þysse worulde gewinn | wearh hangían*. Williams comments that the hole in the MS. interfered with the long stemmed miniscule *h* in *hycgean*. Thus, the small squat capital *H* was writtin in such a way for this reason (1914: 151). Wülker inserts only a comma after *gewinn* (1883, I: 341); Williams a semicolon since she wants to divide two maxims (1914: 151). Hickes reads, “in mundanis rebus prudens semper conari debet, ut exlex suspendatur, et ut ei bene rependantur injuriae quas humano generi prius fecerat” (1705: 208); Fox, “ever shall the prudent strive about this world’s labor to hang the thief; and compensate the more honest for the crime committed against mankind” (1830: 53); Williams, “the outlaw shall hang, or be hanged; he
shall fairly pay the penalty for that he before did, crime to mankind” (1914: 151).

56a. fægere ongildan. Grein queries feore or fæge for fægere (1858, II: 347).


59b–60. þe for gode hweorfað || æfter deaðdæge | domes bidað. This passage recalls Beowulf 440-ff. Müller regards ll. 57–61 as prose, “wenigstens, 58, 59, denn die alliteration fällt in 58 auf sceal und in zweiten fusse auf syðdan, während sie in 59a fehlt” (1893: 11).

62a. digol ond dyrne. It is a recurring expression as dyrne ond degol in Christ 640 and, sui generis, in Elene 1092 and so forth.

63a. nergende fæder. Ebeling reads mergende (1847: 120). Williams notes it is a misprint (1914: 129).

64b. þe þæt her for soð. Earle ends the line with ber (1865: xxxvi).
Glossary

Abbreviations

a.: accusative
adj. : adjective
adv. : adverb
comp.: comparative
conj. : conjunction
d. : dative
dem. : demonstrative
f. : feminine
g. : genitive
i.: instrumental
ind. : indicative
inf. : infinitive
m. : masculine
n. : neuter
n. : nominative
num. : numeral
opt.: optative
pers. : personal
pl. : plural
poss.: possessive
pp. : past participle
PP. : preterit-present verb
ppv. : preterit-present verb
pres. : present
pret. : preterit
pron. : pronoun
R. : reduplicating verb
sg. : singular
sup. : superlative
\(W_n\) : ablaut verb (after Siever’s classification).
Glossary

A

á, adv., always: M1A 20, M1B 33, M1C 14, M1C 40, M1C 67, M2 54.
Åbel, pr. n., Abel: gs. Åbeles M1C 56.
äbrēoðan, 2, degenerate, deteriorate: 3 sg. äbreoþeð M1A 64.
ac, conj., but: M1A 11, M1C 14.
ācwelan, 4, die, perish: opt. 3 sg. ācwele M1B 43.
ācȳpan, w1, show, confirm: inf. M1A 48.
ādl, f./n., disease, sickness: ns. M1A 10, M1B 47.
æfter, prep. w. dat., after: M2 60.
āgan, PP., own, possess: pret. 3 sg. âhte M1C 37.
āgen, adj., own, proper: nsm. M1B 27.
æghwær, adv., everywhere: M1B 18.
æht, f., goods, property: ap. æhte M1C 19.
āhycgan, w3, devise, invent: pret. 3 pl. āhogodan M1C 63.
āhyrdan, w1, harden, temper: pret. 3 pl. āhyrdon M1C 63.
ālǣdan, w1, lead, le ad out: opt. 3 sg. ālǣde M1A 47.
ælc, pron., each, every: nsm. M1C 31.
ælde, m., men: dp. ældum M1C 58, M1C 61.
æled, m., fire: as. M1B 9.
agen, f., own: as. ēgsan M1B 36.
ælmihtig, adj., almighty: nsm. M1A 17; asm. ælmihtigne M1A 10.
alwālda, m., All-ruler, God: ns. M1B 62.
ālyfan, w1, permit, grant: ppv. ālyfed M1B 39.
æmetla, m., gamester: gs. æmetlan M1C 46.
ān, num., –1, one, certain one: nsm. M1B 4; gsm: ānes M1C 37. –2 alone:
nsm. āna M1A 29, M1A 42, M1C 35, M2 43, M2 57, M2 62.
andræge, adj., lasting a day. nsm. M1C 56.
ange, adj., troubled, sorrowful: nsn. onge M1A 42.
anhaga, m., solitary one: ns. M2 19.
anweald, m., empire, rule, power: gs. anwealdes M1A 57.
år, f., oar: ns. M1C 49.
ærđl, f./n., early (premature) disease; adj., early: nsf. M1A 31.
ær, adv., before, formerly, earlier: M1A 21, M1A 48, M1B 43, M1C 43, M2 12, M2 56. sup. Ærest, first, at first: M1A 4, M1B 12, M1B 19.

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Glossary

ær, conj., before: M1C 53.
äræd, adj., resolute, courageous: M1C 54.
äræran, W₁, uplift, raise up: pret. 3 sg. äræðe M1A 16.
äreccan, W₁, explain, expound: inf. M1C 3.
ārisan, 1, arise, come to be: 3 sg. ārisē M1C 23.
ārþon, conj., before: M1B 40.
āspringan, 3, spring out, lack, fail: 3 sg. āspringē M1A 38.
æt, prep. w. dat., at, in: M1A 5, M1A 62, M1B 66.
ātemian, W₁, tame, subdue: pp. asm. ātemedne M1A 46.
ātgeofa, m., food-giver, provider: ns. M1B 27.
ātsomne, adv., at once, together: M1B 22, M1C 41, M2 31.
aþolware, m., plague-dweller: ns. aþolware M1C 61.
āwegan, 5, take or carry away: pp. āwegen M1A 21.

B

bac, n., back: dp. bacum M1C 53.
bædan, W₁, compel, constrain, solicit: 3 sg. bæde M1B 29.
be, prep. w. dat., about, beside, by: M1B 42.
beadu, f., battle, war: as. beadwe M1A 60; ds. beadwe M2 15.
bēag, m., ring, bracelet, collar: ns. M1B 60; dp. bēagum M1B 12, M2 45; ap. beagas M2 29.
bēahgifu, f., distribution of rings, gifts: ds. bēahgife M2 15.
bēam, m., tree: ns. M1A 25, M1C 21.
bearm, m., bosom, lap: ds. bearwe M2 25.
bearn, n., child, offspring: as. or ap. M1A 25.
bearu, m., grove: ds. bearowe M2 18.
bebēodan, 2, command: 3 sg. bebēad M2 49.
befēolan, 3, commit, deliver: inf. M1B 44.
bēgen, adj., both: npm. M1C 37, M1C 39; npn. bū M1A 60, M1B 12;
gpmf. bēga M1A 17; dpmf. bēm M1B 22, M1C 16.
behligan, 1, dishonor, defame: 3 sg. bilīhō M1A 63, belīhō M1B 30.
behōfian, W2, have need of, need, require: 3 sg. behōfað M1A 45.
bēodan, 2, offer: 3 sg. beodeð M1A 58.
bēon, see wesan.
beorgan, 3, saxe, protect: 3 pl. beorgað M1A 36.
beorh, m., hill:
beorhte, adv., brightly: M2 49.
bera, m., bear, ns. M2 29; as. beran M1C 39.
betera, betre, adj., better (comp. of bet, good): nsn. betre M1C 37.
bewindan, 3, encircle, surround: 3 sg. bewindeð M1C 12.
bewitian, W2, observe: inf. M1A 40.
bī, prep. w. dat., by, about: M1C 8 (see be).
bidan, 1, wait, rest: 3 pl. bidað M2 60; inf. M1A 66.
bilīhō, see behligan.
bilwit, adj., merciful, mila: gp. bilwitra M1C 23.
bīdan, 1, wait, rest: 3 pl. bid að M2 60; inf. M1A 66.
bindan, 3, bind: pp. gebunden M1A 38, M1B 23.
blǣd, f., flower, blossom: dp. blǣdum M2 34.
blīþe, adj., joyful, glad, cheerful: nsf. M1A 39.
blōd, n., blood: is. blōde M1C 56.
blowan, R, bloom, blossom: inf. M2 34.
bōc, f., book: np. bēc M1B 60.
bōg, m., shoulder (hence, back): da. bōge M1A 61.
boga, m., bow: ns. M1C 16.
boldāgend, m., house-owner: dp. boldāgendum M1B 22.
borde M1C 45, M1C 49.
borde, f., table, embroidery board ds. bordan M1A 62.
brāðan, W1, grow, raise up, spread out: inf. M1C 22.
brēost, n., breast, heart, mind: as. M1C 23; dp. brēostum M1B 52.
brim, n., sea, surf: ns. M2 45.
bringan, W1, bring: 3 sg. bringeð M2 8.
Glossary

broðor, m., brother: as. brōþor M1C 37, M1C 59.
brȳd, f., bride: da. brȳde M1B 60.
bű, see bēgen.
bűne, f., cup: dp. bűnum M1B 12.
bycgan, W₁, buy, procure: 3 sg. bygeþ M1B 40.

C

Cain, pro n., Cain: as. M1C 60.
calcrond, adj., shoed, round of hoof: gsm. calcrondes M1C 5.
ceāp, m., cattle, goods: ds. cēape M1B 11; as. M1B 37.
ceāpēadig, adj., rich: nsm. M1B 37.
ceaster, f., city, castle, town: np. ceastra M2 1.
cempa, m., soldier: ds. cempan M1B 59.
cēne, adj., bold: dsm. or dpm. cēnum M1A 59, M1C 66; npm. cēne M1A 57.
ceol, m., keel, ship: ns. M1B 26; da. cēole M1C 47, M2 24.
ceorl, m., man, husband: ns. M1B 26.
cildgeong, adj., young as a child: asm. cildgeongne M1A 48
ćið, m., germ, sprig, sprout: ap. cīþas M1B 4.
clǣne, adj., pure: asf. clǣne M1A 44.
crǣft, m. skill, science, cunning: da. crǣfte M2 43:
cuman, 4, come: 3 sg. cymeþ M1A 30, cymeð M1A 35, M1B 35, M1B 38, M2 63; opt. 3 sg. cyme M1A 42; pp. cumen M1B 26; inf. M1B 6, M2 41.
cunnan, PP, 1. know: 3 sg. con M1C 32; opt 2 sg. cunne M1A 2; opt 3 sg. cunne M1A 46. - 2. can, be able: 3 sg. con M1C 33.
Glossary

cūð, adj., *known*: nsn. cūþ M1C 60; gsm. cūþes M1C 5.
cwēalm, mn., *torture, death, plague, murder*: ns. M1A 30, M1C 60.
cwēn, f., *a woman, a queen*: gs. cwēne M1B 11; ds. cwēne M1B 56.
cwic, adj., *living*: cwicne M1B 43.
cyn, n., *race, people, tribe, progeny*: gs. cynnes M1A 32; da. cynne M1B 67, M1C 55, M2 57.
cyning, m., *king*: ns. M1A 57, M1B 11, M2 1, M2 28.
cyningwīc, m., *royal abode*: as. M1B 37.
cȳpan, Wl, sell: sg. cȳpeþ M1B 38.

dād, f., *deed*: gp. dāda M2 36.
dæg, m., *day*: gs. dæges M1C 3.
daroð, m., *dart, spear*: ns. M2 21.
dēad, adj., *dead*: gsm. dēades M1B 10; dsm. dēadum M1C 11; gp. dēada M1B 8.
dēād, m., *death*: ns. M1A 35, M1C 43; dēaf; ds. dēafe M2 51.
dēādæg, m., *day of death*: ds. dēādæge M2 60.
dēgol, n., *secret, mystery*: as. dēgol M1A 2.
dēmend, m., *judge*: ns. M2 36.
dēop, adj., *deep, mysterious*: nsm. M1B 8.
dēope, adv., *deeply, thoroughly*: sup. dēopost M1A 2.
dēore, adj., *dear*: sup. nano dēorost M2 10.
dōgor, mn., *day*: gp. dōgra M1A 28.
dol, adj., *foolish*: nsm. M1A 35.
Glossary

dōn, anv., do, perform: pret. 3 sg. dyde M2 56.
dreccan, W1, vex, afflict: 3 sg. M1A 9.
drēogan, 2, fight: pret. 3 pl. drgon M1C 62.
drihten, m., Lord: ns. M2 62; as. dryten M1A 35.
drūgian, W2, become dry: 3 sg. drūgað M1C 49.
dūn, f., mountain, hill, down: ds. dune M2 30.
duru, f., door: ns. M2 36.
dyrne, adj., secret, hidden: nsm. M1B 8; nsf. M2 62; asn. dyrne M1A 2; ism. dyrne M2 43.

E

ēa, i., water, stream, river: ns. M2 30.
eafora, m., son: np. eaforan M1C 38.
ēage, n., eye: ds. ēagan M1B 52; gp. ēagna M1A 39.
ealdian, W2, grow old: inf. M1A 8, M1C 20.
eall, adj., all: asn. M1B 65; dsn. eallum M1B 66; gpn. ealra M2 46.
eard, m., land, country, region: ap. eardas M1A 15.
earg, adj., timid, weak: asm. eargne M1C 49.
earm, adj., poor, wretched: nsm. M1A 37, M1C 35, M2 19.
éce, adj., eternal: nsm. M1A 8, M1C 61.
ecg, f., edge, biade: ns. M1C 65, M2 16.
edhwyrft, m., change, return: ns. M1A 42.
efenfela, adj., indecl., so many, as many: M1A 17.
eft, adv., again, afterwards: M1B 6, M1B 34, M1B 66, M1C 19, M2 63.
églond, n., island: ns. M1A 15.
ellen, mn., strength, courage: ns. M2 16; ds. elne M1C 49.
ende, m., end: da. ende M1B 66.
ent, m., giant: gp. enta M2 2.
eodor, m., prince, protector: as. M1B 19.
eofor, m., boar: ns. M2 19; as. M1C 38.
ēoh, m., war-horse: gs. ēos M1A 61.
eorl, m., leader, nobleman, man: ns. M1A 61; ds. eorle M1B 13, M1C 38, M2 16, M2 32.
ēorod, n., host, army, band: ns. M1A 61.
eorðe, L, earth: ns. eorþe M1B 2, eorðe M1C 56; gs. eorþan M1B 4; ds. eorþan M1A 7, M1A 25, M1B 44, M2 34, M2 47, eorðan M2 2; as. eorþan, M1C 30, M1C 62.
etan, 5, eat: 3 sg. ieteð M1B 41.
ēðel, mn., home, native place: ds. ēþle M1A 37, eðle M2 20.

F

fācen, n., crime: as. M2 56.
fæder, m., father: ns. M2 63; gs. fæder M2 61; as. fæder M1A 5.
fæge, adj., doorned, fated: ns. M1A 27.
fægre, adv., fairly, beautifully: M1A 5; fægere M2 56.
fǣĥ全力打造, f., vengeance, feud, hostility: ns. M1C 55.
fǣmcne, f., woman, maid: ns. M1A 62, M2 44.
fǣst, adj., sure, fast: nsn. M2 38.
fǣste, adv., fast, finnly: M1A 52, M1A 62.
fǣdm, m., bosom, embrace: ds. fǣðme M2 61.
fǣĎman, W1, embrace, contain: 3 sg. fǣĎmef M1A 14.
fǣla, see fela.
fǣlu, adj., yellow, dun, dull-colored: npf. fealwe M1A 52.
fǣdan, W1, feed: opt, 3 sg. fǣde M1B 43; inf. M1B 44.
felafæcne, adj.: very crafty, evil: ns. felafæcne M1C 10.
felameahtig, adj., much, mighty: nsm. M1B 5.
fén(n), m., fén, marsh: ds. fenne M2 42.
feoh, n., cattle: ns. M2 47.
féond, m., enemy, foe: ns. M2 52.
feor, adv., far, at a distance: M1B 32, M1C 8.
feorhcyn, n., living kind: gp. feorhcynna M1A 14.
feorran, adv., from afar, far off: M2 1.
feran, Wl, go, pass, travel: 3 sg. fērē M1C 8; inf. 27, M2 31.
fēþa, m., infantry, band on foot: ns. M1A 62.
finger, m., finger: gp. fingr M2 38.
firas, mpl., living beings, men: gp. fira M1A 32, M1C 6, fyra M1C 55,
firgenstrēam, m., mountain-stream: np. firgenstrēamas M2 47.
fisc, m., fish: ns. M2 27.
flota, m., ship, fleet: ns. M1B 25.
folce, n., folk, people: ds. folce M2 44 (on folce, publicly).
folde, f., earth, world: ds. foldan M1A 32, M2 33.
for, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. for, for the sake of (w. dat.): M1A 16, M2 59.
            -2. for, because of (w. dat.): M1C 11. -3. before (w. acc.) M1B 18.
forgiefan, 5, give, grant, supply: pret. 3 sg. forgeaf M1B 65.
forgietan, 5, forget: inf, M1C 45.
forhelan, 4, cover over, conceal: inf. M1B 45.
forlēosan, 2, lose, destroy: opt. 3 sg. forlēose M1C 49.
forsōð, adv., truly, certainly: M2 64.
forst, m., frost: ns. M1B 1; gs. forstes M1B 5.
forstelan, 4, steal, deprive: pp. forstolen M1C 51.
forōð, adv., henceforth, forth: M1C 27.
forþon þe, conj., for, because: M1A 5.

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frætwe, pl. f., ornaments: inst. frætwul M2 27.
frēa, m., lord: gs. frēan M1B 20.
fremde, adj., strange, foreign: apm. fremde M1B 32.
fremman, W, perform, do: inf. M1A 60.
frēond, m., friend: as. M1C 8, M2 44; np. frēnd 37.
frēon, frēogan, W₂, love, court: 3 sg. frēoð M1B 32.
fricgan, 5, ask, question: imp. 2 sg. frige M1A 1.
frymð, mf., beginning, origin: ds. frymþe M1A 5.
fugel, m., fowl, bird: ns. M2 38.
ful, adv., very, full: M1C 10, M1C 48.
full, n., cup: ap. fulle M1B 20.
fundian, W₂, hasten, tend to: inf. M1A 52.
furfum, adv., at first, even: M1C 55.
fūs, adj., ready, prepared, ready for death: snm. M1A 27.
fyrd, f., army: ns. M2 31, M2 52; ds. fyrd M2 52.
fyrn, adv., formerly, long ago: M1C 27.
fyrngēar, n., a former year: dp. fyrngēarum M2 12.
fyrwetgeom, adj., curious, inquisitive: gp. fyrwetgeonra M1B 31.

G

gamelian, W₂, grow old: 3 sg. gomelāð M1A 11.
gangan, anv., go, take place, occur: inf. gongan M1B 54, gangan M2 42.
gār, m., arrow, dart: ns. M1C 64, M2 22.
gārnj, m., spear battle: ns. M1B 57.
gest, m., spirit, soul: ds. gest M1A 11; np. gāstas M2 59.
Glossary

gearo, adj., ready, prepared: nsm. geara M1C 54; nsn. gearo M1C 64.
gebædan, W1, compel: inf. M1B 34.
geborh, n., protection: ns. M2 38.
gebicgan, W1, buy, procure: opt. 3 sg. gebicge M2 45; inf. M1B 11.
gebidan, l, await, look for: 3 sg. gebideð M2 12; inf. M1B 34, M2 17.
geblædan, R, mix, mingle: pp. geblæden M2 41.
gebringan, 3, bring, produce: 3 g. gebringeð M1A 50.
gebyrd, f., birth: dp. gebyrdum M1A 25.
gebyre, m., favorable time, opportunity: ns. M1B 34.
gecost, adj., tried, chosen: gsm. gecostes M1C 5.
gecynd, f., nature: ds. gecynde M1A 57.
gedælan, W1, divide, distribute: opt. 3 sg. gedælen M1A 67; pp. gedæled M1B 9.
gedal, n., parting, separating: as. M1A 28.
gedefe, adj., seemly, fit, decent: nsm. M1B 46; nsn M1C 50.
gedyrnan, W1, conceal, hide, keep secret: pp. gedyrned M1B 46.
gefæra, m., companion: ns. M1C 10; dp. gefæran M1C 9.
gegierwan, W1, prepare, make ready: pp. gegierwed M1A 67.
gegrætan, W1, greet: inf. M1B 19,
gehgan, W1, do, perform, bold: inf. M1A 18.
gehnigan, l, bow: inf. M1B 47.
gehwā, pron., each, every, everything: dsm. gehwām M1A 28, M2 11.
gehwylc, pron., each, every one: ns. M1B 54; dsm. gehwylcum M1C 7, M1C 28; asn. M2 46.
geలeran, W1, teach, advise, persuade: 3 pl. gelærð M1A 20.
gelic, adj., like: nsmn. 1 M1A 9; nsn. M1A 53.
gelic, adv. similarly, alike: M1C 16.
gemæcca, mf., companion, mute, consort: ds. M1C 17; np. gemæccan M1A 23.
gemæne, adj., mutual: nsm. M1A 53.
gemet, n., measure, limit: ns. M1A 33.
gēn, adv., still, yet: M1A 11.

genægled, pp., nailed: M1B 23.
genge, adj., current, prevalent: nsn. M1B 50.
geniman, 4, take, accept: 3 sg, genimeð M1C 9.
genugan, 2, satisfy, suffice: 3 sg. geneah M1A 68, M1C 46
géocor, adj., sad, harsh: gp. (sb. use) géocran M1C 45.
geofu, f., gift: dp. geofum M1B 13.
geofen, n., sea, ocean: ns. M1A 51.
geogoð, t., youth: ns. M2 50.
geond, prep. w. acc., through, throughout: M1C 23, M1C 62.
geong, adj., young: ns. 8; asm. geongne M1A 45, M2 14.
georn, adj., desirous, eager: nsm. M1A 57.
gér, see géar.
gerǃcan, W1, reach, offer, present: inf. M1B 21.
gerǣde, n., trappings, harness. ap. gerǣdan M1C 40.
geris, l, suit, befit: 3 sg. gertseð M1A 62, M1A 65, gertseþ M1B 55; 3
pl. gerīs M1C 28.
gesceaf, fn., fate, destiny, condition: ns. M2 65.; as. gesceafte M1C 45.
gesēcean, W1, seek, get: inf. M2 44.
gesecgan, W1, tell, say: inf. M1A 2.
geset, n., seat, habitation: np. gesetu M2 66.
gesigan, 1, languish, decline: inf. M1B 47.
gesihð, f., vision, sight: gs. gesihpe M1A 40.,
gesingan, 3, sing: inf. M1C 2

gesittan, 5, sit: 3 pl. gesittað M1A 56.
gesið, m., companion, fellow: np. gesīðas M2 14; dp. gesiþum M1A 56.
gesiðmægen, n., multitude of companions, courtier-train: as. M1B 18.
gespringan, 3, 1. trans. get by going, cause to spring: 3 sg. gespringeð M1A
63. - 2. intrans. spring, arise: pret, 3 pl. gesprungon M1C 57.
gestrȳnan, W1, get, acquire, gain: 3 sg. gestrȳneð M1C 6.
gestȳran, W1, restrain, withhold: 3 sg. gestȳreð M1B 35.
gesund, adj., sound, favorable: dpn. gesundum M1A 56.
geswīcan, 1, w. dat., deceive, betray: 3 pl. geswīcað M1A 37.
gesȳne, adj., visible, plain: npf. gesȳne M2 1.
getēon, W2, make, assign, decree: pret. 3 sg. getēode M1A 5, M1A 69; pp.
Glossary

geteod M1C 36.

getrum, n., band, company: ns. M2 32; ds. getrume M1A 61.

gępón, W₁, do, perform: inf. M2 44.


gōdhan, l, thrive, prosper: 3 sg. gępód M1A 37.

gōdingian, W₂, make terms, settle a dispute: pp. geþingad M1A 55.

gēoht, mn., thought, mind: ap. gēohtas M1A 3.

gēonic, mn., thought, mind, understanding: ap. gēonc M1A 12.

gēowère, adj., harmonious, peaceful: npl. gēowère M1A 55.

gēþyldig, adj., patient, long-suffering: nms. M1A 12.

gewældan, R, rule, command: pp. gewælden M1B 51.


geweorc, n., work: ns. M2 2, M23.

geweorpan, 3, go away, depart, pass: inf. M1B 6.

geweorðan, 3, be, become: pret. 3 sg. geweð M1C 27.

gewin, n., battle, contest: as. M1C 62, gewinn M2 55.

gewit, m., knowledge, understanding: ds. gewitte M1A 47.

gewitan, l, go, depart: 3 sg. geweð M1A 30, M1B 32.

gewunian, W₂, dwell, remain: inf. M2 18, M2 42.

gied, n., proverb, tale, riddle: ns. M1C 29; dp. gieddum M1A 4.

giefu, f., gift: as. giefe M1C 34 (see geofu).

gif, conj., if: M1A 3, M1A 34, M1A 44, M1A 69, M1B 35, M1B 40,
    M1B 43, M1C 38, M2 44.

gifan, 5, give: inf. M1C 18.

giþre, adj., greedy: nsm. M1A 68.

giþstol, m., gift-seat, throne: ns. M1A 67.

gim, m., gem, jewel: ns. M2 22.

gleoman, m., gleeman, singer: ds. gleomen M1C 29.

glēaw, adj., wise: npl. glēawe M1A 4.

gliw, n., gle: gs. gliwes M1C 34.

glöf, f., glove: da. glöfe M2 17.


gōd, n., good, goodness: ns. M1B 50, M2 50.

gōd, adj., good: ns. M1B 13; nsm. M1B 57; npl. gōde M2 14.

god, m., God: ns. M1A 8, M1A 17, M1B 5, M1B 63, M1C 18, M1C 26,
Glossary

M1C 34, M2 9, M2 35; ds. gode M2 59; as. god M1A 4, M1B 50.

gold, n., gold: ns. M1B 55, M2 11; ds. golde M1A 68, M2 22; as. M1C 18.

gomen, n., game, sport: as. M1C 45.


græf, n., grave: ns. M1C 11.

grēg, gręg, adj., grey: nsm. gręga M1C 13; ds. gręggum M1C 11.


grētan, W, greet: inf. 17l.

grom, adj., severe, terrible, bitter: dp. grimmum M1A 51.

grome, adv., fiercely, cruelly: M1A 51.


gryre, m., horror, dread, terror: ns. M1C 11.

guman, m., man: ns. M1A 68; gs. guman M1B 55; da. guman M1C 29;
    np. guman M1A 67; np. gumena M2 11; dp. gumum M1B 57.

gūð, i., war, battle, fight: ns. M1B 13.

gūðbord, n., warlike board, shield: ns. M1C 64.

gyman, W, care far, take care of, regard: 3 sg. gymeð M1C 26.

H

habban, W, have, bold, possess: 3 sg. hafāð M1B 36, M1C 31, hafāþ M1C 34, M1C 36; 3 pl. habbað M1A 21, M1A 55; opt. 3 sg. hæbbe 46;
    inf. M1C 45.

hafuc, m., bawk: ns. M2 17.

hāl, adj., whole, hale, safe: nsm. M1B 35.

hælo, f., health: as. M1A 44.

hælecð, m., man, warrior, hero: np. hælecð M1A 64; dp. hælecðum M2 8.

hālig, adj., holy: dsm. hālgum M1B 61.

hām, m., home, ds. home M1B 26; as. M1B 35.

hand, L, band: ns. hond M1A 66, M1B 51, M1C 46: ds. hond M1B 20,
    handa M2 21; dp. hondum M1C 33.

hangian, W, hang, be suspended: inf. M2 55.
Glossary

harfest, m., harvest, autumn: ns. M2 8.
hat, adj., hot, fervent: nsm. M1B 7; sup. nsn. hätost M2 7.
hátan, R, command: prato 3 sg. hät M1C 27.
heð, f., heath, waste: ds. hæðe M2 29.
heðen, adj., heathen: dsm. hæðnum M1B 61.
he, pron., be: nsm. M1A 5, M1A 6, M1A 11, M1A 12, M1A 42, M1A 44, M1A 46, M1A 48, M1A 49, M1A 52, M1B 34, M1B 402, M1B 42, M1B 43, M1C 37, M1C 47, M1C 49, M2 6, M2 56, M2 66; nsf. hý M1A 63, M1B 32, hēo M1B 27, hē M1B 30, hēo M2 44 nsn. hit M1B 42; gsm. his M1A 35, M1A 37, M1A 38, M1A 39, M1A 41, M1B 26, M1B 28, M1B 29, M1C 34, M1C 49, M1C 59; gsf. hýre M1A 62, M1A 64, M1B 15, M1B 26, hīre M2 44; dsm. him M1A 37, M1A 38, M1A 40, M1A 41, M1A 42, M1A 43, M1A 47, M1B 28, M1B 29, M1B 34, M1B 35, M1B 39, M1C 8, M1C 9, M1C 31, M1C 32, M1C 34, M1C 36, M1C 37; dsn. him M2 49; asm. hine M1A 9, M1A 46, M1A 47, M1A 48, M1A 67, M1B 27, M1B 41, M1B 43, M1C 10; asf. hy M1A 54, M1A 64, hī M2 45; asn. hit M1A 42, M1B 45, M1C 14; np. hī M1A 20, M1A 40, M1A 55, M1C 37, M1C 38, hý M1C 44, M1C 52, M1C 53; gp. hýre M1A 19, M1A 36, M1C 44; dp. him M1A 53, M1A 56, M1B 21, M1C 41, M1C 44, M1C 45, M2 9; ap. hī M1A 34, hý M1C 43.
heaf, m., lamentation, weeping: ds. hēafe M1C 12.
heafod, n., head: as. heofod M1A 66.
heafodgim, mf., head jewel, eye: ds. heofodgimme M1A 44.
heahsetl, n., high seat, throne: ds. heahsetle M1A 68.
healdan, R, keep, preserve, bold: 3 pl. healdað M1A 36, M1A 53, M1A 56; inf. M1B 16, M1C 7, M2 1 (rice healdan, rule).
heall, f., ball: ds. healle M2 28, M2 36.
hean, adj., low, humble, abject, base: nsm. M1B 47; gsm. hēanan M1C 67.
heard, adj. = bard, brave: ds. heardum M1C 15, M1C 66.
hearpe, f., harp: as. hearpan M1C 33.
helan, 4, conceal: 2 sg. hylest M1A 3.
helm, m., helmet, covering: ns. M1C 66; ds. hellme M2 16; as. M1B 3.
hēofan, W, lament, grieve, wail: 3 sg. hēofoð M1C 12.
Glossary

heofen, m., *heaven:* dp. heofenum M2 35, M2 40, M2 48.
heofod, see heafod.
heoran, adv., *hence, from hence:* M1A 30.
heoro, m., *sword:* as. M1C 63.
heorte, f., *heart:* ns. 39; gs. heortan M1A 3; as. heortan 44.
hær, adv., *here:* M2 64.
hider, adv., *bither:* M2 64.
hild, f., *war, battle:* as. hilde M2 17.
hinder, adv., *down, behind:* M1B 45.
hlēow, n., *cheek, face:* ns. M1A 64.
hlūd, adj., *loud:* sup. nsm. hlūdast M2 4.
holen, m., *holly:* ns. M1B 9.
holm, m., *wave, sea, ocean:* ns. M1A 50, M1B 35.
holt, mn., *bolt, wood, grove:* ds. holte M2 19.
hord, mn., *board, treasure:* ns, M1A 66, M1C 67.
hosp, m., *reproach, contumely:* is. hospe M1A 64.
hraegl, n., *garment, dress:* as. M1B 28.
hreðeadig, adj., *glorious, noble:* sup. hreðeadegost M2 8.
hrīmig, adj., *rimy, covered with hoar-frost:* sup. nsm. hrīmigost M2 6.
hring, m., *ring:* ds. hringe M2 22.
hrōf, m., *roof:* ap. hrōfas M2 64.
hrūse, f., *ground:* ds. M1B 45.
hungor, m., *hunger, lamine:* ds. hungre M1C 12.
hūru, adv., *certainly, in any case:* M1C 13.
hūsl, n., *the bousel, the Eucharist:* ns. M1B 61.
hwā, pron., *who:* nsm. M1B 43.
hwær, adv., *where:* 30; everywhere M1C 54.
hwæðer, adv., *still, yet, however:* M1A 52.
hwonne, adv., *when:* M1A 67, M1B 34.
hwyder, adv., *whither:* M2 58.
Glossary


hygecraeft, m., intellect, wisdom: as. hygecraeft M1A 3.

I

ic, pron., I: ns. M1A 2; ds. mē M1A 3; as. mec M1A 1; np. wē M1A 69, M1B 65; dp. ūs M1A 5, M1A 8, M1A 12, M1A 69, M1B 65; ap. ûsic M1A 6.

ican, W1, increase, augment, eke: 3 sg. ȳceð M1A 31.

ides, f., woman: ns. M2 43.

ïdel, adj., idle, unemployed: nsf. idle M1C 46

iernan, 3, run: opt. 3 sg. yrne M1C 47.

ïteð, see etan.

in, adv., in, inside: M1B 27.

in, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. in, on, within, at, by (w. dat.): M1A 7, M1A 11, M1A 37, M1A 41, M1A 51, M1A 65, M1A 66, M1B 13, M1B 52, M1C 47. – 2. into, to (w. acc.): M1A 24, M1B 9, M2 41.


innan, prep., in, within: w. dat. M2 M1A 43.

inwyrcan, W1, perform (a rite): inf. M1A 66.


L


læce, m., leech, physician, doctor: gs. læces M1A 45.

lǣdan, W1, lead, take, carry: opt. 3 sg. lǣde M1B 41; inf. M1C 40.

laguflōd, m., water, stream: ns. M2 46.

land, n., land: gs. londes M1A 58; ds. londe M1A 52, M1B 29, lande M2
Glossary

læne, adj., fleeting, transitory: asm. lènne M1A 6.
lange, adv., long, a long time: lange M1B 33; sup. lengest M1B 8, M2 6.
læran, W₁, teach: inf. M1A 45.
læsest, adv., least: M1C 21.
lætan, R, let, allow: imp. 2 sg. læt M1A 1.
lǣ, n., injury, hurt, evil: ns. M2 53; ds. lāþe M2 53.
lǣ, adj., hateful: nsm. M1A 58.
lǣian, W₂, invite: 3 sg. lǣaþ M1B 27.
leaf, n., leaf, shoot: dp. M1A 45.
lǣest, adv., least: M1C 21.
lǣtan, R, let, allow: imp. 2 sg. læt M1A 1.
lǣ, n., injury, hurt, evil: ns. M2 53; ds. lāþe M2 53.
lǣ, adj., hateful: nsm. M1A 58.
lǣian, W₂, invite: 3 sg. lǣɑþ M1B 27.
lǣ, n., reward, recompense: ns. M1A 69; gp. læana M1A 6.
lǣ, m., salmon, pike: ns. M2 39.
lǣ, adj., weak, sick: nsm. M1A 45.
lēnge, adj., related, having affinity with: nsn. M1B 50.
lēoda, see līda.
lēode, f., people, race, nation: dp. lēodum M1B 15.
lēof, adj., dear: nsm. M1A 58, M1B 24; nsn. M1B 15; gs. lēofes (sb. use) M1B 33.
lēofian, W₂, live: 3 sg. leofaþ M1B 35.
lēogan, 2, tell lies: inf. M1A 69.
lēoht, n., light, a light: ns. M2 51; ds. lēohte M1A 65.
lēomu, see lim
leornere, m., learner, scholar, reader: da. leornere M1B 60.
lēoð, n., song, poem: gp. lēoþa M1C 32; ap. lēoþ M1C 2.
lícgan, 5, lie: ptc. npm. licgende M1C 21.
līda, m., sailor, traveler: ns. M1B 33; ds. lēodon M1B 38.
līfgan, W₂, live: 1 pl. līfgaþ M1B 65; inf. līfgan M1C 35 (see leofian).
līm, n., limb, branch of tree: ap. leomu M1A 26.
līnd, adj., made of the lime, or linden, tree: ns. M1B 24.
līs, t., mercy, favor: as. lisse M1A 69.
līst, m., skill, art, craft, cunning: ns. M1C 50.
Glossary

līð, adj., pleasant, sweet: ns. līþ M1B 29.

līðan, 1, sail : inf. līþan M1B 38 (līþan cymeð, comes sailing).

līðan, suffer: inf. līþan M1A 26.

lof, mn., praise, glory: gs. lofes M1C 2.

longað, m., desire, weariness: as. longað M1C 31.

lot, n., deceit, fraud: ns. M1C 50.

lūcan, 2, lock up: inf. M1B 3.

lufu, f., love: ns. M1B 29.

lyft, min., air, atmosphere, sky: da. lyfte M2 3, M2 39.

lyfthelm, m., cloud, air: ns. M2 46.

lysu, n., wrong, evil: da. lyswe M1C 50.

M

mæcg, m., man: gp. mæcga M1C 14.

magan, PP, may, can; 3 sg. mæg M1A 43, M1B 34, M1B 42, M1C 18; 3 pl. magon M1A 40.

mægen, n., might, strength: ag. M1B 44.

mægð, f., girl, maiden, woman: gs. M1B 36.

magutimber, n., progeny, all those who are born: gs. magutimbres M1A 33.

mǣl, n., meal, measure: np. mǣl M1B 54.


mǣnan, W1, speak of, relate: 3 pl. mǣnað M1A 64.

man(n), m., man: ns. mon. M1A 7, M1A 45, M1A 50, man M1A 65, mon M1B 37, M1C 9, M1C 17, M1C 24; gs. monnes M1B 10, M1B 53, M1C 37, M1C 46; ds. men M1B 61, M1C 11, M1C 15, M1C 66; as. monnan M1A 45, mon M1A 63, M1B 30; np. men M1A 4, M1A 36, M1A 57, M1C 30; gp. monna M1B 67, manna M2 57; dp. mannum M2 65; ap. monnan M1B 32.

māra, see micel.

mæst, m., pole to support saile mast: ns. M2 24.

māþum, māþum, m., treasure, jewel, ornament: ns. māþum M1C 17 dp. māþum M1B 17.

mearh, m., horse, steed: gs. mēares M1C 4; dp. mēarum M1B 17.

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meodorǣden, f., mead [ceremony of]: ds. meodorǣdenne M1B 17.
meotud, m., God, creator: ns. M1A 7, M1A 16, M1A 29, M1B 67, M1C 27, M2 49, meotod M2 57; gs. meotodes M2 65.
mere, m., sea, lake: ns. M1B 36.
merefłōd, m., flood of water, ocean: ds. merefłōde M2 24.
mete, m., food, meat: as. M1B 40, M1B 54; ds. mete M1B 44.
mēþe, adj., weary, exhausted: nsm. M1B 40.
micel, adj., much, great: nsn. M1C 58; npm. myccle M2 4; comp. gsm. (or asn.) maran; M1B 40; asn. māre M1A 58, M1C 14.
mid, prep. w. dat., with: M1A 22, M1A 25, M1A 36, M1A 56, M1A 59, M1B 11, M1B 15, M1B 44, M1C 33, M1C 50, M2 40.
middangeard, m., earth, world: gs. middangeardes M1A 29.
mīn, pron., my: asn. M1A 2.
missenlīc, adj., dissimilar, different, various: apn. missenlīcu M1A 13.
mōd, n., mina, spiritual opposed to bodily part of man: ds. mōde M1A 41, M1A 50; ap. mōd M1A 13.
mōdgeðonc, mn., thought: np. mōdgeþonc as M1B 53, M1C 30.
mon, see mān
mon, pron., one, they: n. mon M1A 4, M1A 45, M1A 46, M1A 47, M1A 48, M1B 33, M1B 41, M1B 44, M1C 1, M1C 7, M1C 8, M1C 18, M1C 42, M1C 48, man M2 45.
mōna, m., moon: as. mōnan M1A 41.
moncyn, n., mankind, men: ds. moncynne M1A 16.
monge, see monig.
manian, W₂, claim, ask: 3 sg. monað M1A 58.
monig, adj., many, many a: asn. monig M1A 15; npm. monige M1C 30; apf. monge M1A 13; dpf. monegum M1C 58.
morþor, mn., murder: as. M1B 44.
morþorwealm, m., slaughter, murder: as. M1C 14.
mōtan, anv., may, can, be able: opt. 3 sg. mōte M1A 48.
munan, PP, remember, be mindful of: 3 sg. mon M1C 4.
mund, f., power, protection: dp. mundum M1B 36.
mūð, m., mouth: ns. M2 37; gp. mūña M1B 54.

N

næglan, W₁, nail: pp. nsn. nægled M1B 23.

nænig, pron., none, no one: nsm. M1C 6, næni M2 63.

nales, adv., not, not at all: M1C 12.

nät, see witan.

ne, adv., not: M1A 1, M1A 9, M1A 33, M1A 34, M1A 40, M1A 42, M1A 48, M1A 54, M1B 34, M1B 42, M1B 46, M1C 13, M1C 26.

ne, conj., nor, neither: M1A 9, M1A 10, M1A 11, M1A 40, M1A 41.

nefne, conj., unless, except: M1B 35, M1C 47.

neref, adv., never: M1A 38.

nelle, see willan.

nergend, m., Savior: ns. M1B 64.

nergende, see nerian.

nerian, W₁, protect, save: pret. 3 sg. nerede M1C 60; ptc. nsm. nergende M2 63.

nest, n., provisions, victuals: ns. M1A 38.

niman, 4, take away, seize, carry away: 3 sg. nimeð M1A 31, M1B 49; inf. M1C 19.

nīð, m., trouble, effect of hatred: ns. M1C 56, M1C 61; nīþ M1C 59.

niwe, adj., new: apf., niwe M1B 28.

nīd, n., necessity, need, distress: is. nīd[e] M1A 38.

nyt(t), adj., useful: sup. nsn. nyt tost M1B 48.

nyttian, W₂, make use of, enjoy: 3 sg. nyttathan M1B 39.

O

of, prep. w. dat., 1. from, out of: M1A 30, M1C 57, M2 30.-2. of: M1A 44.
Glossary

ofer, prep. w. acc., over, upon, throughout: M1A 33, M1C 30.
ofercuman, 4, overcome, vanquish: pp. ofercumen M1B 43.
oft, adv., oft: M1A 35, M1A 63, M1A 64, M1B 30, M1C 8, M1C 10, M1C 48, M1C 52.
ofteon, 2, take away, deprive: pp. oftigen 40.
on, prep. w. dat. and acc., 1. on, upon, in, within (w. dat.): M1A 7, M1A 25, M1A 32, M1A 47, M1A 49, M1A 56, M1A 61, M1A 68, M1B 29, M1B 33, M1B 42, M1B 55, M1B 56, M1C 7, M1C 45, M1C 49, M1C 64, M1C 65, M2 2, M2 3, M2 16, M2 17, M2 18, M2 19, M2 20, M2 21, M2 22, M2 23, M2 24, M2 25, M2 26, M2 27, M2 28, M2 29, M2 32, M2 33, M2 34, M2 35, M2 36, M2 37, M2 39, M2 40, M2 42, M2 47, M2 48, M2 61. - 2. on, into, to (w. acc.): M1B 41, M1B 65.
ond, conj., and: M1A 3, M1A 6, M1A 18, M1A 24, M1A 28, M1A 46, M1A 47, M1A 56, M1B 14, M1B 17, M1B 21, M1B 26, M1B 27, M1B 28, M1B 39, M1B 50, M1B 66, M1C 4, M1C 52, M1C 19, M1C 22, M1C 24, M1C 25, M1C 29, M1C 41, M1C 63, M1C 65, M1C 67; M2 11, M2 15, M2 23, M2 30, M2 46, M2 48, M2 59, M2 62.
ōnettan, W₁, be busy, be active: inf. M1C 3.
on feorran, adv., afar, at a distance: M1A 52.
onfōn, R, receive, undergo a rite, accept: 3 sg. onfēhð M1A 68.
onge, see ange.
ongildan, 3, pay penalty, be punished for: inf. M2 56.
onhāle, adj., secret, hidden: as. onhālne M1A 1.
ord, m., point (of a weapon) : ns. M1C 65.
ōf þæt, conj., until: M1A 46, M1A 47.
ōfþe, conj., or, and: M1C 33, M1C 39.

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Glossary

R

reð, m., counsel, wisdom: ns. M1A 22, M1B 48; as. M1B 21, M1C 1.
rand, m., boss, edge, margin: ns. M2 37.
reæfere, m., brigand, robber: ds. reæfere M1B 59.
reced, mn., house, hall, palace: gs. recedes M2 37.
recene, adv., quickly, straightway: M1A 60, ricene M1B 21.
reord, f., speech, tongue, language: ap. reorde M1A 13.
rice, adj., powerful, mighty: nsm. M1B 63.
ricene, see recene.
ridan, 1, ride: inf. M1A 61.
riht, n., right, justice, truth: ns. ryht M1A 22, M1B 48; ds. rihte M1A 36.
rinc, m., warrior: np. rincas M1C 40.
rodor, m., firmament, heaven: ap. roderas M1B 63.
rūm, adj., roomy, spacious, ample, extensive: nsm. M2 37; apm. rūme M1A 15, M1B 63.
rūmheort, adj., liberal, munificent: nsm. M1B 16.
rūn, f., confidence, counsel, secret: as. rūne M1B 16; ap. rūne M1C 1.
ryht, see riht.

S

sacan, 6, fight, contend: inf. M1A 28, M2 63.
sacu, f., strife, sedition, dispute: as. sace M1A 20.
sæ, mf., sea: nsf. M1A 64.
sæl, mf., time, season: dp. sælum M1A 51.
sār, adj., painful, grievous, distressing: nsn. sār M1A 41.
sāwul, i., soul, life: ns. M2 58; gp. sāwla M1B 64; dp. sāwlum M1A 36.
scead, n., shade: ds. sceade M1A 65.
sceaf, m., shaft (of a spear): ns.M1B 59; ds. sceafte M1C 64.
sceomian, W₂, feel shame, be ashamed: ptc. sceomiandede M1A 65.
scēot, n., shooting, rapid movement: da. scēote M2 40.
sceðdan, 6, hurt, harm: pret. 3 sg. scōd M1C 61.
scieppan, 6, create, form: pret. 3 sg. scop M1C 27.
scīnan, 1, shine: inf. M2 49.
scip, n., ship: ns. M1B 23.
scīr, adj., bright, pure: nsm. M1A 65.
scop, m., poet: ns. M1B 57.
scriđan, 1, go, glide, creep: 3 pl. scrōða M2 13; inf. M2 40.
sclulan, anv., must, will, shall: 3 sg. sceal M1A 4, M1A 7, M1A 18, M1A 22, M1A 23, M1A 24, M1A 25, M1A 27, M1A 38, M1A 39, M1A 45, M1A 48, M1A 49, M1A 50, M1A 59, M1A 61, M1A 65, M1A 66, M1A 69, M1B 1, M1B 4, M1B 6, M1B 9, M1B 11, M1B 13, M1B 23, M1B 30, M1B 33, M1B 44, M1B 47, M1B 51, M1B 52, M1B 59, M1B 60, M1C 1, M1C 7, M1C 11, M1C 15, M1C 16, M1C 18, M1C 20, M1C 35, M1C 48, M1C 49, M1C 50, M1C 64, M1C 66, M2 1, M2 M1C 24, M2 17, M2 18, M2 19, M2 20, M2 21, M2 22, M2 23, M2 24, M2 25, M2 26, M2 27, M2 28, M2 29, M2 30, M231, M2 32, M2 33, M2 34, M2 35, M2 36, M2 37, M2 39, M2 40, M2 42, M2 43, M2 45, M2 47, M2 48, M2 50, M2 51, M2 54, M2 58; 3 pl. sceolon M1A 4, sceolun M1A 60, sceolon M1B 12, M1B 54, M1C 22, M1C 44, sceolan M2 14; pret. 3 pl. sceoldan M1C 38; opt. 3 pl. scyle M1C 40.
scūr, m., shower: ns. M2 40.
syclde, m., shield: ns. M1B 23, M1B 59; ds. scylde M2 37.
sē, sēo, ðeά, 1. dem. pron., def. art., the, this, that: nsm. M1A 30, M1A 35, M1A 37, M1A 38, M1A 58, M1A 68, M1B 32, M1B 41, M1C 10, M1C 13, M1C 35, M1C 48, M1C 51; nsm. sēo M2 58, M2 61; nsn. þēt M1A 41, M1B 46, M1B 63, M1B 67, M1C 56; gsm. þēs M1A 35, M1B 53, M1C 26, M1C 67; gen. þēs M1A 33, M1A 42, M1A 68, M1B 34, M1C 27; dsm. þēm M1A 69, M1B 66; dsm. þēm M1A 68, M1C 57; asm. þēt 43, M1C 12, M2 56, M2 64; isn. þē M1C 51; npm. þā M1C 40, M2 59; gp. þāra M1A 6, M1C 45. - 2. rel. pron., who, which: nsm. M1A 34, M1A 43, M1B 65; nsm. sēo M1C 23; gsm. þēs M1B 29; asm. þone M1C 60; asf. þā M1A 21;
sealt, n., *salt*: da. sealte M2 45.
seegan, W3, *say, tell, speak*: opt. 3 sg. sece M2 65; inf. M1C 1.
segl, mn., *sail*: da. segle M1C 47.
segelgyrd, m., *ward of a ship, sailyard*: ns. M2 25.
sel, adv., comparative, *better*: sup. nsm. sēlast M2 10.
seldan, adv., *seldom*: M1B 41, M1C 47.
selecc, adj., *strange, wonderful*: nsn. M1B 56.
sēman, W1, *settle (a dispute)*: 3 sg. sēmaþ M1A 20.
seó, f., *apple of the eye, pupil*: ns. M1B 52.
séc, adj., *sick, ill*: nsm. M1B 41.
se þe, pron., *who, which*: nsm. þe M2 12; npm. þa þe M2 2; apm. þa þe M2 9.
seþēah, adv., *nevertheless, however*: M1B 33.
sib(b), f., *peace*: as. sibbe M1A 20.
side, adj., *spacious, wide*: dsm. sideum M1C 47.
sigefolc, m., *victorious people*: gp. sigefolca M2 66.
sigescorp, n., *triumphal apparel*: ns. M1B 56.
sið, m., *journey, travel, voyage*: ds. siðe M1B 33.
siððan, adv., *after, from the time that*: siðan M1C 27, M1C 55, M1C 60, syððan M2 58.
slēan, 6, *slay*: pret. 3 sg. slōg M1C 59.
slitan, 1, *slit, tear*: 3 sg. sliteð M1C 10.
slīðan, 1, *harm, hurt, damage*: ptc. asm. slīþedne M1C 63.
slīðhende, adj., *vicious wuth the claw*: nsn. slīþhende M1C 39.
smilte, adj., *mild, pleasant, serene*: nsm. M1A 64.
snotor, adj., *wise, prudent*: nsm. M2 54; npm. snotre M1A 36; sup. nsm. snoterost M2 11.
snyttro, f., *wisdom, understanding*: ns. snyttro M1B 52, M1C 29; ds. snyttro M1A 22.
sōð, n., *truth*: ns. M2 10; as. M1A 36.
Glossary

soðcyning, m., king of truth, Deity: ns. M1B 64.
sper, n., spear, lance: da. sper M1C 65.
stælan, W1, avenge, institute: inf. M2 54.
stân, m., stone, die: ns. M1B 29.
standan, 6, stand: 3 sg. stondeþ M1B 25; opt. 3 sg. stonde M1A 61; inf. stondan M1A 62, M1A 67, M1C 20, standan M2 23, M2 36.
strǣam, m., stream: ns. M2 23.
strǣon, strǣowen, f., couch, bed, place where anything rests; hence, a chest or casket for treasure: dp. strǣonum M1A 66.
strong, adj., strong: dsn. strongum M1A 50.
styran, W1, steer, guide, rule: inf. M1A 59.
sumor, m., summer: ns. M1B 7, M2 7; ds. sumera M1B 42.
sund, n., ocean, sea: ns. M1A 54, M1B 7.
sundorsefa, m., peculiar mind: as. sundorsefan M1C 31.
sunne, f., sun: as. sunnan M1A 41, M1B 41.
sunwlitig, adj., sunbeautiful: sup. nsm. sunwlitegost M2 7.
swā, adv., so, thus: M1A 32, M1C 27, M1C 61.
swā, conj., as, even as: M1A 11, M2 49; swā . . . swā, adv. and conj., as . . . as: M1A 54, M1A 55, as . . . so M1C 30.
swēs, adj., one’s own: asm. swēsne M1C 59.
swefan, 6, sleep: inf. M1C 41.
swegle, adv., brilliantly: M1B 7.
swegltorht, adj., heavenbright: ap. swegltorht M1A 41.
swelgan, 3, swallow: pret. 3 sg. sweal M1C 55.
sweltan, 3, die: inf. M1A 27.
swift, adj., swift: sup. nsm. swiftust M2 3.
switol, adj., clear; sweet, evident: sup. nsm. switolost, M2 10.
swīð, adj., strong; sup. nai. swīðost M2 5.
sylf, pron., self, himself: nsm. sylf M1B 64, M1C 20, sylf M1B 67, M2 66.
syllan, W1, give, grant: 3 sg. syleð M1A 12, syleþ M1B 28; pret. 3 sg.
Glossary

sealde M1C 34; opt. 3 sg. syle M1A 47; inf. M1A 43, M1C 18.
symle, adv., always: M1B 18.
syn, i., sin, crime, wrong, hostility: np. synne M1B 61; ap. synne M2 64.
syððan, see siððan.

T

tæfl, f., a board for playing a game, a die: as. tæfle M1C 44.
tæfle, adj., gaming, given to play: gsm. tæfles M1C 46.
teca, adv., well: M1A 46.
téon, from tihan, 1, accuse: 3 sg. tihð M1C 48.
téon, W2, create, ordain, arrange: pret. 3 sg. tēode M1A 34, M1A 43.
teosel, m., small stone; hence die: dp. teoselum M1C 46.
tid, f., time, a certain time: dp. tidum M1B 54.
til, adj., kind, good, excellent: nsm. M1A 23, M1C 4, M2 20; gsm. tiles M1C 4; dp. tilum M1A 23.
tirfeast, adj., glorious: gp. tirfiestra M2 32.
tó, prep. w. gen. and dat., 1. w. gen., there, thither: M1A 35. -2.w. dat., to: M1A 52, M1B 20, M1B 26, M1B 58, M1C 9, M1C 17, M2 15.
tó, adv., too: M1B 40, M1B 41, M1C 6.
tom, adj., tame, not wild: gsm. tomes M1C 4.
tómeldan, 1, separate with hostile speech: opt. 3 sg. tómædle M1C 42.
tóbrēdan, 3, separate by a quick movement, turn the back, break off: opt. 3 pl. tóbrēden M1C 53.
tódælan, W1, separate, divide: opt. 3 sg. tódæle M1C 43.
tógldan, 1, glide away, slip off: opt. 3 sg. tóglide M1C 44.
torht, adj., bright: gsf. torhtre M1A 40.
torn, n., emotion (anger or sorrow): ns. M1C 44.
töðmægen, n., strength of tusk: gs, töðmægenes M2 20.
tóweorpan, 3, scatter, bandy: 3 pl. tóweorpað M1C 52.
tréow, f., faith, truth: ns. M1C 22, M2 32.
tréowu, n., tree: op. tréo M1C 22.

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trymman, W1, strengthen: inf. M1A 46.
tū, see twēgen.
tūn, m., inclosure surrounding a dwelling, a habitation of men: ds. tūne M1C 8.
tungol, n., heavenly body, sun, moon, star, planet: ns. M2 48; ap. tunglu M1A 40.
twēgen, num., two: nm. M1C 44; nn. tū 23.
tȳdran, W1, be prolific: inf. M2 48.
Þ, adv., there, where: þær M1B 53, M1C 8, M2 66.
ðæt, conj., 1. that, in noun clauses (subj. and obj.): þæt 42, M1C 37, M1C 49, M1C 61, M2 45. –2. that, in order that (in purpose clauses): þæt M1A 46, M1A 49.
ðe, pron., indecl., who, which, that: þe M1A 30, M1A 35, M1A 37, M1A 58, M1A 69, M1B 41, M1B 45, M1C 28, M1C 32, M1C 34, M1C 35, M2 59, M2 64.
ðēah, adv., though, although: þēah M1B 41, M1B 42.
ðēaw, m., custom, usage: gp. þēawa 18.
dencan, W1, think: 3 sg. þenceð M1B 45.
denden, conj., while: þenden M1C 44.
dēod, f., nation, people: da. þēode M1A 49; np. þēoda M1A 55; gp. þēoda M1A 18; dp. þēodum M1C 58.
dēoden, m., lord, ruler (God): ns. þēoden M1A 12.
dēof, m., thief: ns. þēof M2 42.
dēostru, fn., darkness: dpn. þŷstrum M2 42, dp. þŷstrum M2 51.
dēs, pron., this: gsf. þŷsse M2 55; dsf. þŷsse M2 2; asf. þás 34, M2 41.
dīn, pron., thy, thine: asm. þīnne M1A 1, M1A 3; apm. þīne M1A 3.
dīng, n., 1. meeting: as. þīng M1A 18. – 2. circumstance: dp. þīngum M1A 56.
Glossary

ðolian, W₂, suffer, lose, suffer loss: inf. þolian M₁ A 39.

ðonne, adv., when (half with a causal idea, since): þonne M₁ A 42, M₁ C 46.
- when: þonne M₁ A 54, M₁ B 25, M₁ B 32, M₁ B 38, M₁ B 39, M₁ B 46.

ðonne, conj., then, yet, þonne M₁ B 37, M₁ C 32 - correl. þonne...
- when... then: þonne... þonne M₁ A 55, M₁ A 56.

ðrögg, f., time, season: þrāge M₂ 1 A 3; dp. þrāgum M₂ 4.

ðriste, adj., bold: nsm. or npm. þríste M₁ A 59.

ðristhycgende, adj., firm of purpose: nsm. þristhycgende M₁ A 49.

ðrymm, m., glory, majesty, magnificence: ns. þrym M₁ A 59; np. þrymmas M₂ 41.


ðunar, m., thunder: ns. þun M₁ A 3.

ðurfan, PP, need, have need, be of need: 3 sg. þearf M₁ B 40, M₁ B 54.

ðy, conj., because: þy M₁ A 32.

ðy lāes, conj., the less, lest: þy lāes, M₁ C 32.

ðyrs, m., giant, demon: þyrs M₂ 42.

ðýstre, see ð eostru.

U


under, prep. w. dat. and acc., under: 1. w. dat. M₁ C 47. - 2. w. acc. M₂ 64. - case indeterminate: M₁ B 44, M₁ B 45.


ungin, adj., not ample: sup. nsm. ungingnost M₁ C 67.

unlǣd, adj., poor, miserable: nsm. M₁ B 49.

unnýt, adj., useless: sup. nsm. unnyttost M₁ B 49.


unwioted, adj., uncertain: asm. unwioletdne M₁ C 8.
Glossary

**uppe**, adv., *on high*: M2 38.
**ūser**, pron., *our*: asm., ēserne M1A 5.

W

**wæd**, f., *garment, dress*: as. wædo M1A 47; ap. wæde M1B 28.
**waldend**, m., *ruler, Lord*: ns. M1A 43.
**wamm**, mn., *moral stain, impurity*: dp. wommum M1A 63, M1B 30.
**wanian**, W2, *diminish, curtail*: 3 sg. wanige M1A 34.
**wær**, f., *compact, treaty*: as. wære M1B 30.
**wæter**, n., *water*: ns. M1B 3; gs. wætres M1B 39; ds. wætere M2 27.
**weall**, m., *wall, cliff*: np. weallas M1A 53.
**weallstān**, m., *stone far building*: gp. weallstāna M2 3.
**wearh**, m., *outlaw, villain*: ns. M2 55.
**wearm**, adj., *warm*: nsn. M1B 42.
**wearn**, m., *a multitude, great deal*: dp. wearnum M1C 48.
**weccan**, W1, *wake, waken*: 3 sg. weccēð M1A 54.
**weg**, m., *way*: ns. wēg M1B 8; gp. wega M1C 7.
**wel**, adv., *well*: M1C 7.
**wēnan**, W1, *expect, await*: 3 ag. wēncēð M1A 42; inf. wēnan M1B 33.
wendan, W₁, change, turn: 3 pl. wendað M1A 9.
weorpan, 3, throw: 3 sg. weorpeð M1C 46, M1C 51.
weordan, 3, be, become: 3 sg. weorpeð M1B 46, weord M1C 17; 3 pl. weorpeð M1A 32; pret. 3 sg. weard M1C 55; opt. 3 ag. weorde M1B 34; weorfe M1B 40.
wer, m., man: ns. M1A 24; da. were M2 33; as. M1B 30; gp. wēra M1C 28; dp. werum M1B 57.
wesan, anv., be, exist: 3 sg. bið M1A 8, M1A 19, M1A 35, M1A 40, M1A 41, M1A 54, M1A 57, M1A 68, M1B 10, M1B 39, M1B 41, M1B 43, M1B 46, M1B 48, M1C 35, M1C 39, bið M1A 37, M1A 53, M1B 8, M1B 26, M1B 31, M1B 33, M1B 50, M1B 53, M2 10, M2 13; is M1B 63, M1B 67, M1C 54, M2 61, byð M2 3, M2 4, M2 52, M2 6, M2 10; 3 pl. beoð 23, M2 1, beoð M1A 55, M1C 30, syndon M2 2, syndan M2 4; pret. 3 sg. wæs M1A 11, M1C 60, (w. neg.) næs M1C 56; opt. 3 sg. sỳ M1A 33, M1B 42, M2 65, wese M1A 49; opt. pret. 3 sg. wære M1C 37; opt. pret. 3 pl. wær M1C 38; inf. wesan M1B 13, M1B 15, M1B 42, M1C 27, bēon M1B 16.
wīc, n., place, dwelling: ns. M1B 39.
wicfreōðu, f., peace among dwellings: as. wīcfrea M1B 58.
wíde, adv., widely, in different places: M1A 14, M1C 57, M1C 60, M1C 62.
wīdgangol, adj., rambling, roving: nsn. widgongel M1A 63.
wīf, n., woman: ns. M1A 24, M1A 63, M1B 14, M1B 30; ds. wīfe M1B 25.
wīg, n., fight, conflict: ns. M1B 14; as. M1B 58.
wīht, fn., aught: as. wiht 9.
wicluma, m., welcome person: ns. M1B 24.
willa, m., will: as. willan M1A 6.
willan, anv., will, wish: 3 sg. wīle M1A 6, wille M1C 14; (w. neg.) 1 sg. nelle M1A 2; 3 sg. nelle M2 44; 1 pl. nellæð M1A 69.
wīnd, m., wind: ns. M2 3; ds. winde M1C 48, M2 41.
wind, m., friend: as. M1C 7.
wíneleás, adj., friendless: nsm. M1C 9, M1C 36.
winter, m., winter: ns. M1B 6, M2 5.
wís, adj., wise: dp. wíssum, M1A 22.
wídom, m., wisdom: ns. M2 33.
wist, f., sustenance, food: as. wist M1A 47.
wíte, n., punishment, torture: as. wite M1B 43.
wítan, PP, know, be aware: 3 sg. wát M1A 29, M1A 42, M1A 44, M1C 8, M2 57, M2 62; (w. neg.) 3 sg. náta M1A 35, M1B 43; inf. M1B 21.
wið, prep. w. dat. and acc., 1. w. dat., against: wiþ M1C 48, wið M2 16, M2 50, M2 51, M2 52, M2 53. -2. w. acc., with: wið M1A 19, wiþ M1B 30, M1B 50.
wiþre, n., resistance: as. M1A 62; ds. M1B 58.
wlanc, adj., splendid, sumptuous: nsm. M2 27.
wlenco, f., pride, high spirit: da. wlenco M1A 59.
Wóden, m., Woden, Teutonic god of war: ns. M1B 62.
wóh, n., wrong, injustice: ap. wéos M1B 62.
wolcen, n., cloud: np. wolcnu M2 13.
wonsǽlíc, adj., unblest, miserable: nsm. M1C 9; op. wonsælge M1A 21.
word, n., word, speech: np. word M1C 28; dp. wordum M1A 1, M1C 52; ap. Word M1A 63.
worn, m., multitude, many: as. M1C 32. See wearn.
woruld, f., world: gs. worulde M2 55; as. M1A 24, M1A 34, M2 41.
wrát, m., bandage, band: ns. M1C 15.
wrítan, 1, write: inf. M1C 1.
wríxlan, W1, exchange, deal: inf. M1A 4.
wróhtdropana, m., drop bringing strife or erime: np. wrohtdropan M1C 57.
wudu, m., wood: ns. M2 33; as. M1B 1; gp. wuda M1B 39.
wuldor, n., glory, heaven: ds. wuldre M1A 7; as. M1B 62.
wulf, m., wolf: ns. M1C 13, M2 18; ap. wulfas M1C 9.
Glossary

wunian, W₂, dwell: 3 sg. wunād M2 66; inf. M1C 36.
wyn, f., joy, delight: as. M1B 36.
wyrcean, wyrcean, W₁, work: pret. 3 sg. worhte M1B 62; inf. wyrcean M2 21.
wyrd, f., fate: ns. M1C 36, M2 5; np. wyrda M1A 9.
wyrp, f., recovery: as. wyrpe M1A 43.

Y

ȳcan, see ican.
yfel, n., evil: ns. M1B 49; ds. yfele M2 50.
ylde, f., (old) age: ns. 10; ds. ylde M2 60.
ymb, prep. w. acc., round about: 28, M2 46, M2 53, M2 56.
ymsittan, 6, sit around, sit at: inf. M1C 44.
yrne, see iernan.
ȳð, f., wave: dp. ȳðum M2 23.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1 - Translation of the Texts

EXETER A

01 Frige mec frodum wordum. Ne læt þinne ferð onhælne
02 degol þæt þu deopost cunne. Nelle ic þe min dyrne gesecgan
03 gif þu me þinne hygecræft hylest ond þine heortan geþohtas.
04 Gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan. God sceal mon ærest hergan
05 fægre fæder userne forþon þe he us æt frymþe geteode
06 lif ond lænne willan. He usic wile þara leana gemonian
07 meotud sceal in wuldre. Mon sceal on eorðan
08 geong ealdian. God us ece biþ
09 ne wendað hine wyrd. Ne hine wiht dreceþ
10 adl ne yldo ælmíhtigne
11 ne gomelað he in geste ac he is gen swa he wæs
12 þeoden gehylðig. He us geþonc syleð
13 missenlicu mod monge reorde
14 feorhçynna fela faþmeþ wide
15 eglond monig. Eardas rume
16 meotud arærde for moncynne
17 ælmíhtig god efenfela bega
18 þeoda ond þeawa. Þing sceal gehegan
19 frod wiþ frodne biþ hyra ferð gelic.
20 Hi a saca semaþ sibbe gelærað
21 þa ær wonsælge awegen habbað
22 ræd sceal mid snyttro ryht mid wisum
23 til sceal mid tilum. Tu beoð gemæccan
24 sceal wif ond wer in woruld cennan
25 bearn mid gebyrdum. Beam sceal on eorðan
26 leafum líþan leomu gnornian.
27 Fus sceal feran fæge sweltan
28 ond dogra gehwam ymb gedal sacan
29 middangeardes. Meotud ana wat
Translation of the Texts

01 Question me with wise words. Do not let your heart be hid,
02 or the mystery that you may know most deeply. I will not reveal my secret to you
03 if you conceal from me your wisdom and the thoughts of your heart.
04 Wise men shall swap maxims. First, one shall properly plead God,
05 our Father, since, in the beginning, he bestowed on us
06 life and fleeting will. He shall claim those gifts from us.
07 God shall dwell in splendour. Men shall live on earth,
08 the young waxes old. To us God is everlasting,
09 Fates change him not. Nothing affects him,
10 neither do age nor illness, the Almighty,
11 nor does he grow old in spirit, but he is still as he was,
12 a patient prince. He gives us thoughts,
13 different dispositions, several tongues;
14 an isle holds many in its wide embrace,
15 various races of people. These broad lands
16 the Lord set forth for humankind,
17 the Almighty God, as manifold of both
18 kindred and customs. The sage shall hold
19 a meeting with the sage: their spirits are similar.
20 They ever settle strife, they the preach peace
21 which wicked men have previously wrecked.
22 Counsel shall go with wisdom, justice with the sage,
23 a good man with good men. Two are consorts:
24 wife and man shall, in the world, bring forth
25 children by birth. A tree, upon the earth, shall
26 loose leaves, lament its limbs.
27 The dying man shall depart, the doomed man die,
28 and every day shall struggle with the parting
29 from this world. God alone knows
Translation of the Texts

30 hwær se cwealm cymeþ  þe heonan of cyþe gewiteþ.
31 Umbor yceð  þa æradl nimeð
32 þy weorþed on foldan swa fela  fira cynnes.
33 Ne sy þæs magutimbræs  gemet ofer eorþan
34 gif hi ne wanige  se þas woruld teode.
35 Dol biþ se þe his dryhten nat  to þæs oft cymeð deað unþinged.
36 Snotre men sawlum beorgað  healdæ hyra soð mid ryhte
37 eadig bið se þe in his eþle geþið  earm se him his frynd geswicæð.
38 Nefre sceal se him his nest aspringeð  nyð[e] sceal þrage gebunden.
39 Bliþe sceal bealoleas heorte.  Blind sceal his eagna þolian
40 oftigen biþ him torhtre gesiþæ.  Ne magon hi ne tunglu bewitian
41 sweglœorht sundan ne monan.  Þæt him biþ sar in his mode
42 onge þonne he hit ana wat  ne weneð Þæt him þæs edhwyrfte cyme.
43 Waldend him Þæt wite teode  se him mæg wyrpe syllan
44 hælo of heofodgimme  gif he wat heortan clæne.
45 Lef mon læces behofað.  Læran sceal mon geongne monnan
46 trymman ond tyhtan Þæt he teala cunne  oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe.
47 Sylle him wist ond wædo  oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde.
48 Ne sceal hine mon cildgeongne forcweðan  ær he hine acþan mote.
49 Þy sceal on þeode geþeon  Þæt he wese þristygcende.
50 Styran sceal mon strongum mode.  Storm oft holm gebringeþ
51 geofen in grimmum sælum.  Onginnæð grome fundian
52 fealwe on feorran to londe  hwæþer he fæste stonde.
53 Weallas him wiþre healdað  him biþ wind gemæne.
54 Swa biþ sæ smilte  þonne hy sund ne weceð
55 swa beð þeoda geþwære  þonne hy geþingad habbað.
56 Gesittæð him on gesundum þingum  ond þonne mid gesiþum healdæþ
57 cene men gecynde rice.  Cyning biþ anwealdes georn.
58 Lað se þe londes monæð  leof se þe mare beodeð.
59 Þrym sceal mid wlenco  þriste mid cenum
60 sceolun bu recene  headwe fremman.
61 Eorl sceal on eos boge  eorod sceal getrume ridan
62 fæste þeþa stondan.  Fæmne æt hyre bordan geriseð
where proceeds the pestilence that soars hence from the soil.

He increases the infants that illness bears off,

and thus there comes to be so many of mankind on earth.

There would be no limit of progeny in the world

if he who organised this earth did not diminish them.

Foolish is he who knows not his lord, oft death comes suddenly upon him

Wise men save their souls, duly retain their righteousness;

blessed is he who prospers in his abode, miserable is he whose friends deceives.

Never shall be happy he who his store fails, for a time he shall be bound by sorrow.

The pure heart shall be pleased. The blind man shall suffer his eyes:

he is deprived of clear sight. He cannot behold the bright stars,

the shining sun, nor the moon. It is grievous to his mind

when he is aware of his loneliness and has no expectation of his sight to return.

The Mighty appointed him that punishment, he can grant him recovery,

healing in his head's gem, if he knows his heart to be holy.

The sick man needs a physician. A man shall teach a youth

hearten and urge him to gain good knowledge, until one has educated him. 

Let him be granted food and clothing till he be led to understanding. 

He shall not be chastened when young before he can show his character. 

Then, he shall prosper amongst the people because he will be bold and brave.

A man shall restrain a violent mind. A storm often brings the sea,

the ocean, in fierce weather. The angry waves begin to hasten

from afar towards the shore, as if they stand firmly.

The cliffs resist them, they both endure the wind.

As the sea is still when the water does not stir it,

so are peoples settled when they have come to terms. 

They settle safely and then, amid their comrades,

brave men hold a natural sovereignty. A king is keen on power.

Loathed is he who lays claim to land, dear is he who donates more. 

Power shall go with pride; bold men with brave men;

both, together, shall be prone to begin a battle.

The earl shall sit on horseback, the cavalry ride in company,

the infantry stand fast. A woman is befit at her embroidery;
Translation of the Texts

63 widgongel wif word gespringeð oft hy mon wommum bilihā
64 hæleð hy hospe mænað oft hyre hleor abreoðē.
65 Sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan scir in leohte geriseð.
66 Hond sceal heofod inwyrkan hord in streonum bidan.
67 Gifstol gegierwed stondan hwonne hine guman gedælen.
68 Gifre biþ se þam golde onfehð guma þæs on heahsetle geneah.
69 Lean sceal gif we leogan nellað þam þe us þas lisse geteode.
a gadding woman brings backbite; often one blames her of guilt,

men speak of her with scorn, oft her beauty becomes paler.

A man who is ashamed walks in the shadow; the pure one deserves the light.

Hand shall lie upon head; riches remain in its resting place.

The gift-stool stands arrayed until men dispense the treasure.

Eager is he who receives that gold, the man on the high-seat has abundance of it.

There shall be recompense if we will not speak false to him who granted such a favour.
EXETER B

01 Forst sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan
02 eorþe growan. Is brycgian
03 wæter helm wegan wundrum lucan
04 eorþan cïpas. An sceal inbindan
05 forstes fetre felameahtig god.
06 Winter sceal geweorpan weder eft cuman
07 sumor swegle hat sund unstille
08 deop deada wæg dyrne bïð lengest.
09 Holen sceal inæled yrfe gedæled
10 deades monnes. Dom bïð selast.
11 Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan
12 bunum ond beagum. Bu sceolon ærest
13 geofum god wesan. Guð sceal in eorle
14 wig geweaxon ond wif geþeon
15 leof mid hyre leodum. Leohtmod wesan
16 rune healdan rumheort beon
17 mearam ond maÞmum. Meodorædenne
18 for gesiðmægen symle æghwær
19 eodor æþelinga ærest gegretan
20 forman fulle to frean hond
21 ricene geræcan ond him ræd witan
22 boldagendum þæm ætsomne.
23 scip sceal genægled scyld gebunden
24 leoht linden bord. Leof wilcuma
25 frysan wife þonne flota stondeð
26 bïð his ceol cumen ond hyre ceorl to ham
27 agen ætgeofa ond heo hine in laðað
28 wæscð his warig hrægl ond him syleþ wæde niwe
29 líþ him on londe þæs his lufu bædeð.
01 Frost shall freeze, fire melt wood,
02 earth produce growth. Ice shall form bridges,
03 the water carry a covering, wondrously lock up
04 the young sprouts of the earth. Only one shall unchain
05 the shackles of frost: the Almighty God.
06 Winter shall pass, fair weather return,
07 a warm summer with sun, the unstill sea,
08 the deep, dead wave is longest hid.
09 Holly shall burn, the legacy
10 of the departed divided. Fame is best.
11 A king shall buy a queen with properties,
12 with cups and rings. First they must both
13 be generous with gifts. In the earl, warlike valour
14 shall increase; the woman shall prosper,
15 beloved amongst her people. She shall be cheerful,
16 keep a secret, shall be generous
17 with horses and treasures. At the mead-banquet,
18 always everywhere before the band of comrades,
19 she shall greet the protector of the nobles first;
20 quickly offer the first cup to the hand of the lord
21 and know good counsel for the two of them
22 together in the household.
23 The sheep shall be nailed, the shield bound,
24 the bright-linden wood. Welcome is the beloved one
25 to his Frisian wife, when his ship is at anchor,
26 his vessel has arrived and his man can come home,
27 her own food provider, and she bids him in,
28 washes his sea-stained garments, gives him fresh clothes,
29 grants him on the land what her love demands.
Translation of the Texts

30 Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan. Oft hi mon wommum behlið.
31 Fela bið fæsthigdra fela bið fyrwetgeornra
32 freoð hy fremde monnan þonne se ðer feor gewiteð.
33 Lida bið longe on siþe. A mon sceal seðeah leofes wenan
34 gebidan þæs he gebædan ne mæg hwonne him eft gebyre weorðe.
35 Ham cymeð gif he hal leofað nefne him holm gestyreð
36 mere hafað mundum. Mægðes agen wyn.
37 ceapeadig mon cyingwic þonne
38 leodon cyref. þonne liþan cymeð.
39 Wuda ond wætres nyttad þonne him biþ wic alyfed
40 mete bygeþ gif he maran þearf ærþon he to meþe weorþe.
41 Seoc se biþ þe to seldan ieteð. Þeah hine mon on sunnan læde
42 ne mæg he be þy wedre wesan þeah hit sy wearm on sumera
43 ofercumen biþ he ær he acwele gif he nat hwa hine cwicne fede.
44 Mægen mon sceal mid mete fedan morþor under eorþan befeolan
45 hinder under hrusan þe hit forhelan þenceð.
46 Ne biþ þæt gedefe deaþ þonne hit gedyrned weorþeð.
47 hean sceal gehnigan adl gesigan
48 ryht rogian. Raæd biþ nyttost
49 yfel unnystost þæt unlæd nimeð.
50 God bið genge ond wiþ god lenge.
51 Hyge sceal gehealden hond gewealden.
52 seo sceal in eagan snyttro in breostum
53 þæt bið þæs monnes modgeþoncas.
54 muþa gehwylc mete þearf mæl sceolon tidum gongan.
55 Gold geriseþ on guman sweorde
56 sellic sigescorp sinc on cwene.
57 God scop gumum garniþ werum
58 wig towiþre wicfreoþa healdan.
59 Scyld sceal cempan sceaf reafere
60 sceal bryde beag bec leornere
61 husl halgum men hæþnum synne.
62 Woden worhte weos wulدور alwalda
30 A wife shall keep faith with her husband. Oft a man accuses her of vice.
31 Many are constant, many are curious,
32 she loves strange men when the other goes afar.
33 The sailor is long on the voyage. Yet, one shall ever await the beloved,
34 and expect what he cannot hasten for until he is granted again a chance.
35 He comes home again if he lives uninjured, unless the sea prevents him
36 and the ocean holds him in its clutches. A maid is the gladness of her possessor.
37 A wealthy man will sell goods, and the kingly abode
38 to a man when he comes on his voyage.
39 He has use of wood and water when an abode is arranged for him:
40 he buys food, if he need more, before he grows too faint.
41 He who eats too seldom will be sick. Though he be led into the sun,
42 he cannot endure the weather, though it be in the warm summer;
43 he is exhausted before he dies, unless he knows one who will keep him alive with food.
44 One ought to nourish strength with food; bury murder under the earth,
45 beneath, under the ground, by him who thinks to conceal it.
46 That is not seemly death when it is kept secret.
47 The humble shall bow down, sickness shall languish,
48 justice shall flourish. Good advice is the most useful,
49 evil the most harmful, which the ill-fated undertakes.
50 Good is appropriate and pertains to God.
51 The mind shall be ruled, the hand controlled.
52 Sight shall be in the eye, wisdom in the breast,
53 where the thoughts of man are.
54 Every mouth craves food, meals shall come at their proper time.
55 Gold fittingly appears on the sword of a man,
56 excellent ornaments of victory, jewels on a woman.
57 Men need a good scop, heroes’ fierceness in fighting
58 to protect their homes from attack.
59 A warrior shall have a shield, a spoiler a spear,
60 a bride a bracelet, a scholar books,
61 a holy man housel, the heathens sin.
62 Woden wrought idols, the Almighty wrought glory,
rume roderas. Þæt is rice god

sylf soðcyning sawla nergend.

Se us eal forgeaf Þæt we on lifgað

ond eft æt þam ende eallum wealdeð

monna cynne. Þæt is meotud sylfa.
the broad skies. That is a mighty God,
the very king of truth, the Saviour of souls.
He bestowed unto us all that we live by,
and, in the end, will rule again
all humankind. He is God himself.
Translation of the Texts

Exeter C

01 Ræd sceal mon secgan rune writan
02 leōþ gesingan lofes gearnian
03 dom areccan dæges onettan.
04 Til mon tiles ond tomes meares
05 cuþes ond gecostes ond calcrondes.
06 Nænig fira to fela gestryneð.
07 Wel mon sceal wine healdan on wega gehwylcum
08 oft mon fereð feor bi tune þær him wat freond unwiotodne.
09 Wineleas wonsælig mon genimeð him wulfas to geferan
10 felaðecne deor. Ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.
11 Gryre sceal for greggum græf deadum men.
12 Hungre heofeð nales þæt heafe bewindeð
13 ne huru wæl wepeð wulf se græga
14 morþorcwealm mæcga ac hit a mare wille.
15 Wæd sceal wunden. Wracu heardum men.
16 Boga sceal stræle sceal barn gelic
17 mon to gemæccan. Mæþum ofres weorð.
18 Gold mon sceal gifan. Mæg god syllan
19 eadgum æhte ond eft niman.
20 Sele sceal stondan sylf ealdian.
21 Liegende beam læsest groweð.
22 Treo sceolon brædan ond treow weaxan
23 sio geond bilwitra breost ariseð.
24 Wærleas mon ond wonhydig
25 ætrenmod ond ungetreow
26 þæs ne gymeð god.
27 Fela sceop meotud þæs þe lýrn gewearð het sifþan swa forð wesan.
28 Wæra gehwylcum wislicu word gerisað
29 gleomen gied ond guman snyttro.

228
A man shall utter good counsel, write runes,
sing songs, earn praise,
expound judgement, be diligent daily.
A good man remembers a good and tame horse,
known and tired, and round of hoof.
Nobody amongst men acquires too much.
On every road one ought to retain a friend closely;
oft one stays away from a town where he knows no certain mate.
Friendless, forlorn, a man makes companions of wolves,
very treacherous beasts. Full oft that companion tears him.
There shall be fear of the grey wolf: a grave for the dead man.
It grieves due to hunger; it does not circle around the grave in dirge,
surely the grey wolf weeps not over the slaughter,
the killing of men, it always wants it more.
A bandage ought to be bound. Vengeance is for the valorous man.
The bow shall be for the darts, to both alike
shall man be comrade. A treasure is worth of another.
One ought to give gold away. God can grant
possessions to the prosperous and take them back again.
A hall shall stand and wax old itself.
A fallen tree grows least.
Trees shall stretch forth and faith increase,
it blossoms in the breast of the meek.
A man false and foolish,
wicked and faithless:
God cares not for him.
The Lord created many things in the very beginning; he bade them thenceforth to stay.
Wise words are fitting for everyone:
a lay for the gleeman and carefulness for the man.
Translation of the Texts

30 Swa monige beof men ofer eorþan swa beof modgeþoncas
31 ælc him hafað sundorserfan.
32 Longað þonne þy læs þe him con leofa worn
33 ofþe mid hondum con hearpan gretan
34 hafaþ him his gliwes giefe þe him god sealde.
35 Earm biþ se þe sceal ana lifgan
36 wineleas wunian hafaþ him wyrd geteod
37 betre him waren þæt he broþor ahte begen hi anes monnes
38 eorle eaforan væran gif hi sceoldan eofor onginnan
39 ofþe begen beran biþ þæt sliþhende deor.
40 A scyle þa rincas gerædan lædan
41 ond him ætsonme swefan
42 næfre hy mon tomædle
43 ær hy deað todæle.
44 Hy twegen sceolon tæfe ymbßittan þenden him hyra torn toglide
45 forgietan þara geocran gesceafa habban him gomen on borde.
46 idle hond æmetlan geneah tæfles monnes þonne teoselum weorpeð
47 seldan in sidum ceole nefne he under segle yrne.
48 Werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ. Ful oft mon wearnum tihð
49 eargne þæt he elne forlose drugað his ar on borde.
50 lot sceal mid lyswe list mid gedefum
51 ðy weorþeð se stan forstolen.
52 Oft hy wordum toweorpað
53 ær hy bacum tobreden.
54 Geara is hwær aræd.
55 Wearð fæhþo fyra cynne sibhan furþum swealg
56 eorde Abeles blode. Ñæs þæt andæge nið.
57 Of þam wrohtdropan wide gesprungon
58 micel mon ældum monegum þeodum
59 bealoblonden niþ. Slog his broðor swæsne
60 Cain þone cwealm nerede. Cuþ wæs wide sibhan
61 þæt ece nið ældum scod swa aþolware.
62 drugon wæpna gewin wide geond eorþan

230
There are as many thoughts as men upon the earth:
each has a mind of his own.
He that knows many songs languishes the less
or can ripple the harp with his hands;
the one has in him the gift of music making which God granted unto him.
Wretched is he who must live alone;
fate has decreed he shall live friendless:
it were better for him that he had a brother, both
sons of the same man, if they should attack a wild boar,
or both of them a bear, that is a beast with vicious claws.
Ever shall those warriors bear arms
and sleep in company,
never let them be separated by words
er death parts them.
two shall sit at a game board, till their sorrows slip away,
forget the wretched world, enjoy themselves at the table.
The idle hands of the loafer are enough for the gamester when he throws the dice;
but seldom in a broad ship, unless it is running under sail.
Weary shall be he who rows against the wind. Full oft he is accused
with sloth, so that he grows disheartened, his oar becomes dry on board.
Guile goes with wickedness, capability with what is right,
thus is a stone stolen.
Men oft bandy words
before they turn their back upon each other.
He that is resolute is everywhere ready.
There has been feud amongst humankind, ever since the earth
swallowed up Abel’s blood. That was no mere one-day hate.
From that misdeed arose far widely,
great evil amongst men, for many nations
pernicious hostility. Cain slew his own brother,
plotted his murder. Afterwards it became known far and wide,
the constant hate did hurt to men, as he who dwells in the plague.
They endure the clash of weapons all over the earth,
63 ahogodan ond ahyrdon heoro sliþendne.
64 Gearo sceal gudbord gar on sceafte
65 ecg on sweorde ond ord spere
66 hyge heardum men helm sceal cenum
67 ond a þæs heanan hyge hord unginnost.
63 devised and tempered the piercing sword.
64 The shield shall be ready, the arrow-head on its shaft,
65 an edge on the sword and a point on the spear,
66 courage in the brave man, a helmet for a courageous man,
67 and, always, the least treasure for the coward of soul.
COTTON GNOMES

01 Cyning sceal rice healdan.  Ceaster beoð feorman gesyne
02 orðanc enta geweorc  þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon
03 wrætlic weallstana geweorc.  Wind byð on lyte swiftust
04 þunar byð þragum hludast.  Þrymmas syndan Cristes myccle.
05 Wyrd byð swiðost  winter byð cealdost
06 lencten hrimigost  he byð lengest ceald
07 sumor sunwlitegost  swegel byð hatost
08 hærfest hredæadegost  hæleðum bringed
09 geares wæstmas  þa þe him god sended.
10 Soð bið switolost  sinc byð deorost
11 gold gumena gehwam  ond gomol snoterost
12 fyrgearum frod  se þeær feala gebideð.
13 Wea bið wundrum clibbor  wolcnu scriðað.
14 Geongne æþeling sceolan  gode gesiðas
15 byldan to beaduwe  ond to beahgise.
16 Ellen sceal on eorle.  Ecg sceal wið hellme
17 hilde gebidan.  Hafuc sceal on glofe
18 wilde gewunian  wulf sceal on bearowe
19 earm anhaga  eofor sceal on holte
20 toðmægenes trum.  Till sceal on eðle
21 domes wyrcean.  Daroð sceal on handa
22 gar golde fah.  Gim sceal on hringe
23 standan steep ond geap.  Stream sceal on yðum
24 mecgan mereflode.  Mæst sceal on ceole
25 segelgyrd seomian.  Sweord sceal on bearme
26 drihtlic isern  draca sceal on hlæwe
27 frod frætwum wlanc.  Fisc sceal on wætere
28 cynren cennan.  Cyning sceal on healle
29 beagas dælan.  Bera sceal on hæðe
A sovereign shall rule over his kingdom. Cities can be seen from afar,
the skilful work of giants, which remains on this world, survive,
wondrous work of stone-walls. Wind is fastest in the sky,
thunder, at times, is loudest. The grandeur of Christ is great.
Fate is cruellest, winter coldest,
spring frostiest, for it is longest cold,
summer sunniest, the sun is hottest,
autumn most glorious, brings to men
the fruits of the year that God grants them.
Truth is most evident, most precious treasure,
gold to each men and the aged is the wisest,
sage due to past years, he who has much experienced previously.
Woe is wondrously wayward. The welkin whirls.
Noble comrades must urge a stripling prince
to encourage in battle and to bestow rings.
Boldness ought to be in the hero. Blade, a with helmet, must
experience battle. The hawk shall stand on a glove,
stay wild. The wolf shall dwell in the wood
wretched loner, the wild boar in the forest:
mighty in strong tusks. In his land, the good man
ought to gain glory. The shaft shall be in the hand,
the spear stained with gold. The gem on a ring,
high and broad. The stream, among waves,
shall mingle with the see-flood. Mast shall be on a ship,
the sail yard sway. The sword in the lap,
the noble steel, the dragon shall dwell in a mound,
old, proud of his treasures. The fish in the water
spawn its spices. The King in the hall
shall dispense rings. On the heath, the bear
Translation of the Texts

eald ond egesfull. Ea of dune sceal
flodgræg feran. Fyrd sceal ætsomne
tirfæstra getrum. Treow sceal on eorle
wisdom on were. Wudu sceal on foldan
blædum blowan beorh sceal on eorðan
grene standan. God sceal on heofenum
dæda demend. Duru sceal on healle
rum recedes muð. Rand sceal on scylde
fæst fingra gebohrh. Fugel uppe sceal
lacan on lyfte. Leax sceal on wæle
mid sceote scriðan. Scur sceal on heofenum
winde geblanden. In þas woruld cuman
þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum. Þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian
ana innan lande. Ídes sceal ðyrne crafte
fæmne hire freond gescecean gif heo nelle on folce geþeon
þæt hi man beagum gebicge. Brim sceal sealte weallan
lyfthelm ond laguflod ymb ealra landa gehwylc
flowan firgenstreamas. Feoh sceal on eorðan
tydran ond tyman. Tungol sceal on heofenum
beorhte scinan swa him bebead meotud.
God sceal wið yfele geogoð sceal wið yldo
lif sceal wið déaþe leoht sceal wið þystrum
fyrd wið fyrde feond wið oðrum
lað wið laþe ymb land sacan
synne stælan. A sceal snotor hycgean
ymb þyssæ worulde gewinn. Wearh hangian
fægere ongildan þæt he ær facen dyde
manna cynne. Meotod ana wat
hwyder seo sawul sceal syðdan hweorfan
ond ealle þa gastas þe for gode hweorfæð
æfter deaðdæge domes bidað
on fèder fæðme. Is seo forðgesceaf
digol ond ðyrne. Drihten ana wat
shall be old and awesome. Down the hill, the rivers shall run grey. An army shall stick together, a brave band. Faithfulness must be in the earl, wisdom in the warrior. On the earth, the wood shall bloom and blossom. On the ground, a barrow shall stand green. God shall dwell in the heavens, judge of deeds. In the hall, there shall be a door, the wide jaws of the building. The boss on the shield, a firm finger-guard. The bird, aloft, shall sport in the air. The salmon, in the water, shall move in rapid movement. From heaven, the shower, mingled with the wind, shall descend on this world.

A thief shall go in darkish weather. A giant must dwell in the fen, alone in his realm. With secret craft, a lady, a virgin, must seek her friend, if she wants not to prosper amongst her people; a man buys her with rings. The sea shall surge with salt; the air-cover and the sea-floods, round every land, mountain streams must flow. On the earth, cattle shall breed and teem. In the heavens, a star shines brightly as the Lord bade it. Good must strive with evil, youth with age, life with death, light with darkness, an army against an army, foes with one another, adversary against adversary, shall fight about the land and avenge the crime. The wise shall always wander at the conflicts of this world. The criminal must hang, properly atone for the crime he had previously committed against mankind. The Lord alone knows whether that souls shall pass afterwards and all the spirits that go before God, after the day of death, they await the doom in the Father’s embrace. Future destiny is secret and hid. The Lord alone knows,
næni eft cymeð
he þæt her for sóð
hwylc sy meotodes gesceafþ
þær he sylfa wunað.
the Father who redeems. No man returns another time
here under the roofs that truly
unfold to men the nature of God,
the abode of the victorious where he himself dwells.
Frig extr. mec frotum wordum nelæt þinne ferð on
hælne degol þætþu deopost cuñne nelle icþe min
dyrne gesecgan gifþume þinne hyge cræft hy
leþt þbine heortan geþohtas · gleawe men scolon gieddû
wrixlan god sceal mon ærest hergan fægre fæder user
ne forþon þehe us ætfrymþe geteode lif þlænne
willan heus ic wile þara leana gemonian · Meotud sceal
inwaldre mon sceal oneorþan geong ealdian god us ece
biþ ne wendað hine wyrda nehine wiht dreceþ adl
[f. 89r]
neyldo ælmihtigne · negomelað he ingæste ache is gen
swa he wæs þeoden geþyldig · heus geþonc syleð missenli
cu mod monge reorde feorh cyna fela fæþeme þi
de eglond monig eardas rume meotud arærde
formon cyna ælmihtig god efen fela bega þeoda
þæawa þing sceal ge hegan frot wiþ frotne biþ hy
ra ferð gelic hi ásace semaþ sibbe gelærað þæær won
sælge awegen habbað · Ræd sceal mid snyttro ryht
mid wisum til sceal midtilum tubeð gemæccan
sceal wiþ þwer in woruld cennan bearn midgebyrdû
beam sceal oneorðan leafum liþan leomu gnornian
fus sceal ferañ fæge sweltan þodgra gehwam ÿmb ge
dal sacan middan gærdes meotud anawat hwærse
cwealm cymeþ · þe heonan ofcyþþe gewiteþ umbor ýceð
þa ær adl nimeþ · þywefeped onfoldan swafela ÿra
þynnes nesy þæs magu timbres gemet ofer eorþan gif
hine wanige seþas woruld teode dolbiþ seþe his dryþ
ten nat to þæs oft cymeð deað unþinged snotre men
sawlū beorgað healdāð hyra soð mid ryhte · eadig bīð
sefhe ínhis eþle gehiðo earm sehim his frynd geswicað ·
nefre sceal sehim his nest aspringeð nyd sceal þrage
[f. 89v]
gebunden · bliþe sceal bealo leas heorte blind sceal his eagna
þolian · of tigen bīþ him torhtre gesiþhe nemagon hine tun
glu bewitian swegl torht sunnan nemonan þæthim bīþ sār
In his mode onge þœn he hit ana wat neweneð þ him þæs ed
hwyrft cyme waldend himþæt wite teode sehim mæg wyrpe
sylan hælo of heofod gimme gif he wat heortan clæne lef
mon læces behoðað læran sceal mon geongne monnan trú
man þythtan þæt he teala cunne ofþæt hine mon átemed
ne hæbbe sylle him wist þwædo ofþæt hine mon ongewitte
alæde ne sceal hine mon cil þa geongne forecwæðan ærhehine
acyþan motæ · þy sceal onþeode geþæon þæthe wese þrist hyc
gende · styraan scealm on strongum mode · storm oft holm
gebringeþ geofen Ingrimmum sælum onginnað grome fun
dian felwe onfeorrane tolonde hwæþer hefæste stonde
weallas him wiþre healdāð himþæþ wind gemæne swabiþ sæ
smilte þœn hy wind neweceð swa beþ þeoda gehære þœn hy
ge þingad habbað gesittæ himonge sundum þingum þ
þœn midge síþum healdąþ cene men gecynde rice cyning
bīþ anwealdes georn · lað seþe londes monað leof seþe ma
re beoded þrym sceal mid wlecono þriste mid cenum scoe
lun bu recene beadwe fremman eorl sceal on eos boge worod
[f. 90r]
scealge trume ridan feste fēþa stondan fæmne æt hyre
bordan geriseð widgongel wiþ wordge springed ofthy
mon woman biliða hæleð hy hospe menor ofthye hleeor
abreopheð sceomiande manscel insceade hweorfan scir In
leohte geriseð hond sceal heofod Inwyrca hord Instreo
num bidan · gifstol gegierwed stondan hwonne hine guman
gedælen gifre biþ seþan golde onseða guma þæs onheah
setle geneah · lean sceal gifwe leogan nellað þa þe us þas lis
se geteode :-:7
EXETER B
[ff. 90r-91r]

Forst sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan eorþe
growan is brycgian wæter helm wegan wundrū lucan
eorþan cīras ansceal inbindan forstes fætre
fela meahtiggod • winter sceal geweorgan weder eft cu
man sumor swegle hat sund unstille deop d eada wæg
dỳrne bīo længest holen sceal inæled yrfe gedæled deades
monnes dóm bīf selast • Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene ge
bicgan bunum ȝbeagum bu sceolon ærest geoftum gōd
wesan • guð sceal inerole wig geweaxon ȝwif geȝeoun lof mid
hyre leodum leohht mod wesan rune healdan rum heort
beon mearam ȝmāfjmum • meodo ræddenne forge sīd
mægen symle æghwar eodor, æþelinge ærest gegretan •
[f. 90v]
forman fulle tofrean hond ricene geræcan ȝhim
rød witan bold agendum bæm ætsomne • scip sceal ge
nægled scyld gebunden leohht linden bord leof wilcu
ma frysan wise ȝon flota stondeð bīf his ceol cumen
ȝhyre ceorl toham agen ætgeofo ȝheo hine Inlaðaþ
wæscð his warig hraegl ȝhim syleþ wæde niwe līþhī
on londe þæs his lufu bæðeð • wif sceal wīþ wer wäre
gehealdan oft himon wommun behlið • fela bīo fæst
hydigra fela bīo ȝyrwet geonra freoð hy fremde
monnan ȝon se ȝfer feor gewiteþ līda bīf longe on
sīþe ámon sceal seþeal leofes wenan gebidan þæshe
gebraðan nemæg • hwonne him eft gebyre weorðe • hā
cymeð gisfe hal leofaþ nefne him holm gestyreð
mere hafað mundum mægð egsan wīn ceap ead
ig mon cyning wie ȝon leodon cyreþ • ȝon līþan cy
með wuda ȝwertres nyttad ȝon him bīf wie alyfed mete
bygeþ gif he maran þearf æþon heto meþe weorfe •
seoc seþeßeto selde ieteð þeah hine món onsunnan
læde · Nemæghe beþy wedre wesæa þeahhit sy wearm on 
sumera ofer cumen biþ he ær he ácwele gifhe nat hwa 
hine cwcne fede mægen mon sceal midmete fedan
[f. 91r]
morþor under eorþan befeolan hinder under hrusan þe 
hit for helan þenceð · nebifþæt gedefe deaþ þonne hit ge 
dyrned weorþeð · hean sceal gehnigan adl gesigan ryht 
rogian ræd biþ nýttost yfel unnyttost þæt ·
unlæd nimeð · god bið genge þwifþ god lenge · hyge sceal ge 
healden hond gewealden · seo sceal Ineagan snyttro in 
breostum þærbið þæs monnes modgeþoncas muþa gehwylc 
mete þearf mæl sceolon tidum gongan goldge riseþ 
onguman sweorde sellic sige sceorp sinc oncwene god 
scop gumum gar niþ werum wig towþre wie freoþa heal 
dan · scyld sceal cempan sceafte sceafte sceal bryde 
beag bec leornere husl halgum men hæþnum synne woden 
worhte weos wuldor alwalda rume roderas þis rice 
god · sylf sóð cyning sawla nergend seus eal forgeaf 
þætwe on lífþ þæt æþam ende eallum wealdeð mon 
na cyne þæt is meotud sylfa :7
EXETER C
[ff. 91r–92v]

RED sceal mon secgan rune writan leof gesin
gan leofes gearnian dom areccan dæges onettan
·
tilmon tiles þromes meares cufes þgecostes þcalc
rondes nægig fira tofela gestrynæð · wel
mon sceal wine healdan onwega gehwylcum ofтом ·
[f. 91v]
ferð feor bitune þær him wat freond unwiotodne wine
leas wonselig mon genimeð him wulfas togeferan fela fæc
ne deor ful oft hine sege fera sliteð · gryre sceal for
greggum græf deadum men hungre heofeð nales þ heafe
bewinindeð · nehuru wæl wepeð wulf segrega morðor cwealma
mæcga achit amare wille · wræd sceal wunden wracu
heardū men boga sceal stræle sceal bam gelic monto
ge mæccan mæþum ofres weord gold mon sceal gifan mæg
god sylan eadgum æhte þeft niman sele sceal stondan
sylf ealdian licgende beam læsest groweð · treo sceolon
brædan þtreow weaxan sio geond bilwitra breost ariseð ·
wareles mon þwonhydig ætren mod þunge treow þæs ne
gymeð god · fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð het
þiffan swa forð wesan · wæra gehwylcû wislicu word gerisað
gleo men gied þguman snyttro · swa moniþ beþ þæg men ofer
eorþan swa beþ modge þoncas ælc him hafað sundor
sefan longð þon þylæs þehim con leþa worn ofþe mid
hondum con hearpan gretan hafaþ him his gliwes giæfe
þehim god sealde earm þþ þe þe sceal ana lifgan wine
leas wunian hafaþ him wyrd ge teod · betre him wære
þæt he broþor ahte begen hi anes monnes eorle eaforan ·
[f. 92r]
wæran gif hi sceoldan eorfor onginnan ofþe begen beran
þþ þæt slþ hende deor ascyłe þa rincas gerædan lædan
þhim æt somne swefan · næfre hy mon to mon tomælde
ærhy deãd todæle hy twegen sceolon tæfe · þymb sittan
þenden him hyra torn toglide forgietan þara geocran gesceafte habban him gomen onborde idle hond æmet lange neah tæfles monnes þon teoselū weorpeð seldan in sidum ceole nefnehe under segle þrēne wērīg sceal se wiþ winde roweþ ful oft mon wearnū tihð eargne þæt he elne forleose drugað his ar onborde · lot sceal mid lyswe list midge defum þy weorþeð sestan forsto len oft hy wordum toweorpað ær hy bacum tobreden géara is hwær arǣd w earð fæhþo fyra cynne sīþan fūrþum swealg eorðe abeles blode næs þæt andæge nið ofþa wroht dropan wide gesprungon · micel mōn æl dum monegum þeodū bealo bloden niþ slog his bro swæsne · Cain þone cwealm nerede cuþ wæs wide sīþan þ ece nið ældum scod swa ðolwarum drugon wæpna ge win wid egeond eorðan ahogadan þahyrdon heoro sli þendne gearo sceal guð bord gar onsceafte ecg onsweor de þord spere hyge heardū men helm sceal cenum þá [f. 92v]
þæs heanan hyge hord unginnost :}
COTTON
[ff. 115r–115v]

CYNING SCEAL RICE HEALDAN •
ceastra beoð feorran ge sýne • orðanc enta geweorc • þa þe on
þýsse eordan syndon • wrætlic weall stana geweorc • wind býð on
lýfte swiftust • ūunar býð þragū hludast • þýmmas syndan
cristes mýccele • wýrd býð swiðost • waert býð cealdost • lenc
ten hrimigost • he býð lengest ceald • sumor sun whitegost • swe
gel býð hatost • hærfest hreð eadegost • hæleðum bringeð • geares
wæstmas • þa þe hiom god sendeð • sōð bíð swicolost sinc býð deo
rost • gold gumena ge hwam • ðgomol snoterost • fýrn gearū
frod • se þe ár feala gebideð • wea býð wundrum clibbor • wolc
nu scriðað • geongne æþeling sceolan gode ge siðas • býldan tobea
duwe • ðto beah gifē • ellen seal on eorle • ecg seal wið hell
me • hilde gebidan • hafuc seal onglofe • wilde ge wunian • wulf
seal onbearowe • earn án haga • eorfor seal onholte • toð mæ
genes trum • til seal on eðle • domes wýrcean • darð seal on
handa • gár golde fah • gím seal onhringe • standan steap ȝ
geap • stream seal on ýðum • mecgan mere flode • mæst seal
on ceole • segel gýrd seomian • sweord seal on bearme • driht
lic isern • draca seal onhlæwe • froð frætwumwlanc • fisc
seal on wætere • cýnren cennan • cýning seal on healle •
beagas dælan • bera seal onhæðe • cald þeges full éa of dune
seal flod gægferan • fyrd seal æt somne tír fæstra ge
trum • treow seal on eorle • wisdom onwere • wudu sealon
foldan • blædum blowan • beorh seal oneorþan grene standan •
god seal onheofenū dæda demand • duru seal onhealle •
rum recedes muð • rand seal onscýlde • fæst fingra gebeorh •
[f. 115v]
fugel uppe seal • lacan onlyfte • leax seal onwæle • mid
sceote scriðan • scur seal onheofenū • winde ge blanden •
inþas woruld cuman • þeof seal gangan • þýstrum wede
rum • þyrs seal onfenne ge wunian • ana innanlande •
ides seal dýrne cræfte • fæmne hire freond ge secean •
gif heo nelle onfolce geþeon · þ hi man beagū gebiege ·
brim sceal sealte weallan · ȳft helm ȝlagu flod · ȳmb
ealra landa gehwylc · flowan firgen streamas · feoh
sceal on eorðan · týdran ȝtýman · tungol sceal onheofe
num · beorhte scinan · swa him be bead meotud · gód sceal
wþ ȳfele geogoð sceal wþ ȳldo · líf sceal wþ deaþe · leoht
sceal wþ þþstrum · fyrð wþ fyrde · feond wþ oðrum ·
lâð wþ laþe · ȳmb land sacan · sŷnne stælan · á sceal
snotor ȳcgean · ȳmb þþsse worulde ge winn · wearh
hangian · þégere ongildan · þ þ he ær facen dyde · manna
cŷnne · meotod ana wat · hwþþer seo sawul sceal · sŷððan
hweorfan · þþalle þa gastas · þ þ for gode hweorfað · æþ
deað dæge · domes bidað · onfæðer fæðme · is seo fórð
ge sceafþ · digol þþyrne · drihten ana wat · nergende ðþe
der · næni eft cŷmeð · hider under hrofas · þ þ þ her
for soð · mannum secge · hwylc þy meotodes ge sceafþ ·
sige folca gesetu · þ þ þ he sŷþa wunað ;
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