Draft edition of Andreas
Richard North and Mike Bintley

For Alexander and
for Helen
Editions have to move with the times. The last outing for Andreas, the Old English epic on St Andrew which survives at 1,722 lines, was Kenneth Brooks’ introduction, text, commentary and glossary of 1961, which gave the poem an improved text, its analogues a more rounded coverage, its metrical prosody a baptism in Kuhn’s Laws and the manuscript sequel The Fates of the Apostles a new edition. Brooks was a skilful editor, but his book confirms a prejudice still with us that the poet of Andreas was maladroit and out of control, botching temporal unities and clumsily imitating Beowulf. There again, perhaps he was only mocking Beowulf. Since Brooks’ time there have been some interesting developments. One is Celia Sisam’s edition in 1976 of a facsimile of the Vercelli Book in which Andreas and Fates are found. Another is Donald Scragg’s in 1992 of all 23 prose homilies in the same. A third is a growth in the understanding of West Saxon and Mercian scribal and dialectal interaction in and after the time of King Alfred. There has been the intense and not always friendly scrutiny to which Kuhn’s Laws have been subjected since Bliss applied them to Beowulf in 1958, and Brooks immediately thereafter to Andreas. A fifth advance has been made in the field of Cynewulf’s poetics and sources, and two more in the fields of Anglo-Saxon history and archaeology by which a burghal ideology in Andreas can now be identified. There have been yet more developments in digital palaeography and the study of the Old English language. These nine are what the present editors of Andreas will try to embody. Our final hypothesis – that the poem was composed very approximately in 890, by Æthelstan (d. 927), Mercian chaplain to King Alfred’s children, a scribe of charters, king’s envoy in Italy, Asia Minor and Syria and later the first bishop of Ramsbury, whence the poem was passed down through St Edith of Wilton to its copying for Archbishop Dunstan in St Augustine’s, Canterbury, in c. 975 – depends for the most part on suppositions which we know that not every scholar will accept. As a hypothesis, however, it is there for the record and may be revised or replaced like any other. Nor should any idea about authorship interfere with the enjoyment of an anonymous poem. Andreas is better than Brooks and many others thought it was, and our reason for re-editing the poem is to show this to the modern reader.

In the edition which follows, the titles of poems or prose works are given in the long form first, thereafter usually abbreviated. The number of abbreviations has been kept to a minimum. In references to notes within our edition, the number is given in bold (e.g. n. 171). The letter w is used for the customary WS wynn (ƿ). Macra are regularly put in for OE long vowels except in the section on Language and Dialect, or unless the Vercelli scribe indicates length by doubling the vowel. No macron is used for the masculine definite article unless this stands alone either as a substitute pronoun or as the head of a relative clause. Half-lines are numbered ‘a’ and ‘b’ in the section on Metre and Prosody and only when necessary to itemize separate half-lines. Translations of all texts are made by the editors unless otherwise stated. We would like to thank Ms Helen Gannon and Mr Patrick Brereton of the Exeter Medieval Texts Series in Liverpool University Press for their forbearance; and Prof Vincent Gillespie and Dr Richard Dance, editors of the Series, for theirs, as well as the anonymous reviewer, and in particular for Richard’s meticulous review of the language. Thanks also go to Prof Winfried Rudolf for reading the section on the manuscript; and to Dr
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RN MB
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<td>ASSAH</td>
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<td>BCS</td>
<td>Birch, <em>Cartularium Saxonicon</em> (repr. 1964)</td>
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<td>Brunanburh</td>
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<td>ChristS</td>
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<td>Descent</td>
<td><em>The Descent into Hell</em></td>
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<td>DOE</td>
<td>Dictionary of Old English (Toronto)</td>
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<td>Dream</td>
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<td>EETS</td>
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<td>JDay</td>
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<td>Primitive Germanic</td>
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<td>RES</td>
<td><em>Review of English Studies</em></td>
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<td>Ruin</td>
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<td>s.</td>
<td>century [saeculum]</td>
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3. Beginning of the poet’s self-interruption on MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folio 49 recto.

4. The *eadgip* colophon on MS Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folio 41 verso.

5. Pillars in St Wystan’s Crypt, Repton.

6. Ruins of a Roman town in Ephesus (Turkey).
Introduction

1 The Poem and its Analogues

*Andreas* opens [fitt I, unnumbered like all the others] with the apostles drawing lots to see where each will spread the Word. Matthew goes to Mermedonia, a city of cannibals. Soon he is arrested and thrown into prison along with other foreigners, but his mind stays true, even when the Mermedonians blind him and drug him with potion to make him behave like a beast. Expecting to be eaten like the other prisoners after a fattening of thirty days, Matthew appeals to the Lord to save him. The Lord assures him of deliverance in twenty-seven, waiting until then [III] to give the job to Andrew, who is then preaching far away in Achaea. Asked by the Lord, Andrew begs to be excused, but is roundly rebuked and told to find a ship by the shore the next morning. [III] When he arrives there with his disciples the next day, he finds that a boat has indeed put in, from Mermedonia. The captain, Jesus in disguise with two angels dressed as crew, forgoes the fare and takes them all aboard.

Andrew is repaid for his initial doubts with a tough journey at sea in nearly half the poem that follows (lines 230-980). [IV] During the voyage Andrew’s resolve, memory and loyalty to the Christian cause are tested by the Lord. The heavenly skipper first offers his passengers some bread. The weather worsens, but the disciples, even while seasick, prove their loyalty to Andrew by declining to be set ashore. Andrew’s better qualities emerge as he puts heart into his men with the story of Jesus calming the storm in Galilee. [V] When the disciples fall asleep, Andrew compliments the skipper, who then invites him to tell more. The memories Andrew now provides are of Jesus’ canonical works in the Holy Land [VI] and of Jesus’ first vain encounter with the Jewish priesthood in Jerusalem. [VII] This second tale consists of two apocryphal miracles in the Temple at Jerusalem. For the first miracle, Andrew says that Jesus called on the stone statue of an angel to speak to Jewish elders in confirmation that Jesus is the Son of God. For the second, when the Jews continue not to believe, Andrews says that Jesus commanded the statue to march to Mamre where the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lie buried. Ordered by the statue to confirm Jesus’ Godhead, the patriarchs rise up, march across country to the Temple and confirm the truth to their descendants, but with the same result. Andrew offers to tell more stories, warning God, however, that these are too big for his young mind to take. As he talks, Andrew falls asleep.

[VIII] The Lord’s angels now carry Andrew and his disciples over the sea, laying them down at dawn by the walls of Mermedonia. The next morning, Andrew wakes up, wakens his disciples and tells them that the captain was really Jesus and that he knew this anyway. The disciples respond by telling Andrew of a vision they have had of the future in heaven, in which they (but not Andrew) were privileged to see not only God the Father and the Son in glory but also all the apostles with archangels serving them. Andrew is relieved to hear of his future status and begs forgiveness of the Lord. In response, Jesus reappears, this time as a little boy, informing Andrew that he is soon to suffer greatly but not die, and ordering him thereby to rescue Matthew [IX] and stay behind to convert the Mernedonians to the faith.

Andrew gets up and goes into town. Coming near the jail, he sees all the guards dropping dead outside. With a prayer to the King of Heaven and the touch of a hand, he breaks down the door and walks in. Matthew greets him from the depths of the dungeon. There is a joyful conference (here a folio has been excised from the manuscript), whereupon Matthew leaves the jail leading the 297 other prisoners to
safety. [X] Andrew meanwhile walks into town to wait for the Mermedonian reaction, which is not slow in coming. Finding that their meals have escaped, and expecting nothing but hunger, ‘a pale guest at table’ (blāt bēodgast), the Mermedonians eat the seven dead guards and muster for an assembly. There they perform some divination to find the next victim, a ‘philosopher’ (ūðweota) whose wisdom extends to offering a son in his place. Before the moaning crowd can eat this boy, Andrew’s prayers melt their knives and the young man is saved.

[XI] After lamenting some more for their lost joys, the Mermedonians are incited by a devil to arrest the stranger who has emptied their jail. Andrew, as he waits for the mob to find him near a brass pillar in a lane between two houses, is reassured by the Lord. The pagans seize him and drag him into the open, and then around their ruined city until the sun goes down and they chain up his bloodied body in prison. [XII] While Andrew spends the night in bonds, a ferocious cold descends on the landscape outside, like ‘hoar-grey marching soldiers’ (hāre hildstapan). In the morning the crowd comes back to get him, and this time they flog the old apostle from dawn to dusk. Andrew holds out by begging for the Lord’s help, with ‘a ring of weeping’ (wōpes hring) leaving his breast with such effect that the devil reappears to encourage the Mermedonian torturers in their efforts.

Later that night, Andrew’s second in the cells, a party of seven devils walks in. Their leader taunts Andrew and orders the juniors to attack him, but a vision of the cross on Andrew’s countenance sends them packing. When their ‘father’ asks why, they tell him to go to it, [XIII] shaming him into action. The senior devil threatens Andrew with death, but Andrew puts him and the others to flight by reminding them of their humiliation by God. In the morning the Mermedonians arrive to lead Andrew out for the third (the poet says the fourth) time, and flog him all day. Now Andrew bitterly complains to the Lord, noting that the three hours’ crucifixion Jesus suffered is unequal to the three days of pain inflicted on him, and reminding Him of the words with which He promised the Disciples protection. The Lord’s voice returns, telling Andrew to look back on the trails of his blood. He does so and sees that trees have grown from his blood and are now sprouting blossom. Andrew now praises the Lord vehemently until the sun goes down, when the Mermedonians lead him back to the cells. In the night the Lord visits him again, telling him his sufferings are over and restoring his body to a state as good as new.

Just here [XIV] the poet breaks from his narrative with a digression of twelve lines (1478-89) on the epic stature of the story and on his inability to tell it. Picking up the thread again, he says that Andrew catches sight of some pillars by the wall propping up the floor above. Andrew orders one of these to let loose a flood of water, which it does from its base, and in the early morning the Mermedonians wake up to a salty tsunami which the poet describes as an over-generous ‘serving of mead’ (meoduscerwen 1526). The surviving townsfolk try to leave but find their escape blocked by a wall of fire encircling the walls. As the water rises to chest height, one man advises repentance and others follow suit, their remorse persuading Andrew to let the flood subside. Andrew leaves the jail and the waters part before him. The barrow for executions splits open, revealing a sinkhole through which the torrent drains to hell along with the fourteen worst Mermedonians. In one voice the survivors acknowledge Andrew’s mission from God and vow to obey him.

[XV] Andrew comforts the survivors and prays to the Lord for the resurrection of all young Mermedonians who have drowned. The town is rejuvenated and Andrew builds a church over the site of the jail. Back from the dead and renouncing idolatry, the good-natured young men and women of Mermedonia ask to be baptized. Andrew
raises them up as Christians, establishes Christian laws and consecrates a bishop by the name of Plato. Mysteriously then he tells the citizens of his wish to leave their sleek gleaming city with its treasure-hoards and palaces in order to take ship for home. The Mermedonians are uncomprehending and their cries reach the Lord, Who stops Andrew from leaving with orders to go back for seven more working days. On returning, Andrew teaches Christian precepts to the inhabitants and destroys their former shrines, rooting out the devil once and for all. His mission only now accomplished, Andrew sails to Achaea and his waiting martyrdom, whilst the Mermedonians bid him farewell, praising God like the true Christians they are.

No less gratuitously than this summary does the poet of Andreas retell his story of St Andrew as an epic poem in 1,722 extant Old English lines across fifteen unnumbered fitts. His poem is written out in the so-called ‘Vercelli Book’ of the later tenth century, in the customary prose format in which all Old English verse is preserved.1 The poet’s source is lost, but was most probably a Latin adaptation of the Greek apostolic romance, the Πράξεις Ανδρέου καὶ Ματθείας εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρώποφάγων ‘acts of SS Matthias and Andrew in the city of the Cannibals’ (hereafter Praxeis). This apocryphal narrative, along with many others, served as a complement to the canonical first- or second-century Acts of the Apostles.2 In its original form, before later redactions attempted to historicize the miraculous narrative, the Praxeis was probably written in Egypt in the fifth century as an addition to the mid-second century Acts of St Andrew.3 From these Acts of SS Matthias and Andrew come as many versions as there are analogues.4 The Praxeis inspired narratives in Latin, Old English prose, Ethiopic, Syriac and Coptic. The name ‘Matthias’, for the man who replaces Judas in Acts 1:21-26, is retained in the four main manuscripts of the Praxeis, but erroneously replaced by ‘Matthew’ in the remaining six and in nearly all derived texts.5 The Praxeis also provided additional narrative for four Lives of St Andrew: the Epitome (ch. 1) of Gregory of Tours in the late sixth century and three Greek Lives of St Andrew from the eighth and ninth.6

Among the Latin descendants of the Praxeis, the Bonnet Fragment, from the Codex Vaticellanus of the eleventh century, provides a brief Latin text closest to the Greek, but one which answers to no more than lines 843-954 of the Old English poem (from Andrew’s awakening outside Mermedonia to his arrival at the prison).7 The fullest surviving Latin analogue is preserved in the twelfth-century Codex Casanatensis (hereafter Casanatensis).8 This text, written in poor Latin, is further removed, but is mostly entire and follows the Praxeis in incident and chapter

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1 Brooks (1961). Ker (1991), 460 (item 394); Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, folios 29 verso to 52 verso. See below.
3 Bonnet (1959), 65-116. The older 1851 text by von Tischendorf is reprinted in Blatt, 32–94, and used by Boenig (1991a). Translation here is based on MacDonald (1990), 70-169; also in MacDonald (1993), 287-99. Transliterated, the whole Greek title is Praxeis Andreou kai Mattheia eis tēn polin tōn anthrōpophagōn.
4 Blatt (1930), 5-20, esp. 6.
5 Boenig (1991a), xxviii-ix.
6 MacDonald (1990), 23 (see also 181-85): Epiphanius’ Life of Andrew (s. ix); Laudatio S. Andreae, adapted from the foregoing by Nicetas of Paphlegonia (s. ix); and the Narratio Andreae (s. vii/ix).
8 Blatt (1930), 33-95: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1104, folios 26-43. Translation here based on Allen and Calder (1976), 14-34. See also Boenig (1991a) and Biggs (1990), 52-53.
numeration. Among other less close Latin adaptations is a condensed poetic text in Codex Vaticanus 1274, of the mid-eleventh century (hereafter Vaticanus), which keeps the original ‘Matthias’. Two Old English prose homilies with this story are fragmentary redactions of the same adaptation of a Latin text. One is in the later tenth-century collection of the Blickling Homilies and corresponds to lines 51-976 of Andreas (from Matthew’s arrest to Jesus’ instructions to Andrew outside Mermedonia). The other is in folios 386 recto to 394 verso of the eleventh-century CCC, MS 198. The Old English Andreas is as much a saint’s life as these analogues. It may be read in the same way as they are, as an account of the transformation of its subject, St Andrew, from reluctant apostle to fearless hero.

In this way it is likely that the main source of Andreas derives from an ancestor of the Praxis, from a text written before the eighth or ninth century. This source-text was probably in Latin, for the knowledge of Greek was rare in England after Theodore, Hadrian and Aldhelm, at least until Byrhtferth in the early eleventh century, and when Jesus is said to call the relief sculptures in the Temple Cheruphim et Seraphim ‘Cherubim and Seraphim’ on line 719, the scribe’s Latin copula, if not solely betraying an expectation of the dominant language, may go back to the poet. Moreover, the use of a Latin source for the Old English homily is revealed by the fact that the Blickling text includes a Latin sentence: Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis, et vidit naviculum in liitore et intra nave sedentes tres viros ‘Then St Andrew, rising in the morning, left for the sea with his disciples, and saw a little boat by the shore and three men sitting within the ship’ (answering to Andreas 244-46). In these ways, Andreas’ source is more likely to have been written in Latin than in Greek.

The surviving Praxis, despite its pre-eminence as an analogue, contains no name for the cannibals’ city, for which the name ‘Myrmidonia’ survives only by chance in a fifteenth-century sequel (Andrew’s Return to Myrmidonia). Moreover, no extant version of the Praxis refers by name to Achaea or to Plato or even to a bishop at the end. Whereas the Vaticanus and some versions of the Praxis name Andrew’s colleague Matthias rather than Matthew, only Vaticanus and Andreas name the bishop (as Plato) and specify Andrew’s departure from Mermedonia by sea. Only in Andreas and Casanatensis does the Mermedonian potion reduce its drinkers to animals, and in the Old English homily Matthew refuses the drink. Only in Andreas does Andrew ask the ship’s captain from where he has sailed. Vaticanus is alone in having Andrew and the disciples reach Mermedonia by boat, one which Jesus and the angels crew in angelic form; as well as in omitting all details of the voyage. Here, however, it is worth noting that the Old English homily has neither the giving of bread to the disciples nor a long dialogue between Andrew and the captain. The Casanatensis has

10 Kelly (2003), 158-63 and 195: Princeton, University Library, Scheide Library, 71, folios 136 recto to 139 verso. A composite full version is edited in Morris (1967), 228-29 (Corpus), 229-236 (Blickling) and 236-49 (Corpus).
12 Bodden (1986), 53-60.
13 See n. 1189. See also Zupitza (1886), 184-85.
14 Morris (1880), 231.
no miracle of the waking of the patriarchs. Only in Andreas and Vaticanus does Andrew enter the city without his disciples, and only in Andreas and implicitly in the Casanatensis are the dead guards eaten by fellow townsfolk.

However, despite these and more differences, the story is broadly the same in all versions. Vaticanus, though an eccentric poetic outlier, retains some details of an earlier version of the Praxeis which have dropped out of other versions. The same advantage to a greater degree may be claimed of the Casanatensis, which, from its discovery in 1909 until recent times, has generally been preferred as an analogue to the Praxeis. There are two conclusions to draw from these many minor discrepancies. One is that Andreas’ main source was a now-lost analogue of the Praxeis and Casanatensis which lay somewhere in between. The other is that any narrative incident in Andreas, which appears to be unique to Andreas, is best attributed to this lost source or to one related to it, unless there is reason to believe that it stems from the poet himself. The Old English homily, having been shortened, has relatively less to offer than these other analogues of Andreas.

The poet of Andreas has had mixed reviews, chiefly in comparison with Cynewulf, with whom he was first identified more than a century ago. Cynewulf is the otherwise unknown author of Christ II, Juliana, The Fates of the Apostles and Elene: four poems with runes in near-final positions which spell out the letters of his name. His short poem Fates follows Andreas in the Vercelli Book, on folios 52 verso to 54 recto, and it was once thought that his signature for Fates covered both poems. When the two poems were properly compared, Thomas Arnold found in Andreas ‘a level soberness of treatment, a steady procedure, a comparative absence of repetition, which distinguish it from the livelier, more animated, more pretentious, more coloured style of the Cynewulf poems’. Other commentators, however, have been happier to keep the praise and transpose the poets. Krapp’s earlier edition of both poems finds in the first one ‘a lack of restraint, a conscious and often labored use of the devices of Anglo-Saxon poetic style’. A specialist on Cynewulf blames the poet of Andreas for ‘petty tricks unbecoming the dignity of a great poet like Cynewulf’. Another Cynewulfian refers to his ‘lack of discriminative talent’. Brooks’ edition of Andreas did little to enhance its prospects, perhaps because his own comparison between its poet and Cynewulf reveals a preference for the latter, noting ‘a looseness and lack of organization in the narrative of Andreas’, albeit one dictated by the source, ‘that is quite foreign to the manner of Cynewulf’. C. L. Wrenn, praising Andreas for a lively style, still dismisses the poet’s skill as ‘routher than that of Cynewulf’.

Although the poet of Andreas has been commended for his compositional skill and typology, he has also drawn fire for ‘unevenness of achievement’ and ‘passages of oddity, ineptitude and strain’. Brooks finds that ‘expressions which are appropriate

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16 Brooks (1961), xvi.
17 Schaar (1949), 12-24.
18 See Brooks (1961), xx-xxi.
19 Arnold (1898), 121.
20 Krapp (1906), 1.
22 Schaar (1949), 326.
23 Brooks (1961), xxi.
24 Wrenn (1967), 134.
26 Kennedy (1943), 283.
in the signed poems [of Cynewulf] and in Beowulf are found in Andreas in contexts to which they are not suited’, that the poet adapts inherited formulae ‘in a clumsy manner’, and that he ‘uses the old epic military terminology whenever he has a chance’. 27 Brodeur concludes that the poem is still ‘occasionally marred by curious infelicities and awkwardnesses’. 28 Shippey finds that Andreas has a ‘diminished sense of reality’; Cherniss, that Germanic heroic concepts in Andreas ‘do not form a consistent ideological background for the narrative’ and are ‘secondary’. 29 Views of this kind have become so common that according to one salvaging admirer, the poem is characterized as ‘an embarrassing misapplication of the heroic style to the wrong subject’. 30 However, most of the same scholars praise the poet for imagination and vigour. Stanley B. Greenfield, finds some passages ‘not without merit’ and Alvin Lee praises Andreas’ craftsmanship even while calling it ‘bizarre’. 31 In Alison Powell’s more circumspect view the poet

has adapted his source with flair, turning the pedestrian Acts into a vivid narrative that combines a consistent typological scheme with heroic action. He demonstrates a subtle understanding of verbal parallelism, repeating both his own phrasing and that of other poets in a manner that suggests awareness of the rhetorical effects of repetition and even of allusions to other poems. 32

The rest of our Introduction seeks to fathom this poet’s mystery through a number of questions. How his poem is placed in the manuscript; what the text reveals about the poet’s dialect, metre, and origin; how his style works in relation to the poems of Cynewulf and to Beowulf; what political besides religious ideology may be discovered through his portrait of Mermedonia in this poem; where Andreas was most plausibly composed, for whom, when, and even by whom: the attempt to answer these questions, even with hypothetical answers, will help us to understand the blend of subtlety and wildness in Andreas.

2 The Manuscript

Andreas is written in folios 29 verso to 52 verso of Codex CXVII of the Biblioteca Capitolare (Cathedral Library) of Vercelli, Italy. Following Andreas after one blank line, and with only an uninitialed WÆT in majuscule to show for its entry into the same folio, The Fates of the Apostles continues to folio 54 recto, whereupon homily VI begins after another blank line. 33 The ‘Vercelli Book’, as it is now usually known, contains 23 anonymous prose homilies interspersed with six pieces of alliterative verse: Homilies I-V; Andreas and Fates; VI-XVIII; Soul and Body Dialogue I, Homiletic Fragment I (or ‘Deceit’) and The Dream of the Rood; XIX-XXII; Elene; and XXIII. 34 It measures 310 by 200 mm and consists of 19 quires (or gatherings) which are lettered A-T at the foot of each final folio and I-XIX in a modern hand at

27 Brooks (1961), xxi.
28 Brodeur (1968) 102.
31 Greenfield (1966), 105-06. Lee (1972), 85.
33 Brooks (1961), 56-60.
34 Scragg (1992), xxv.
the head of each first folio of a quire. There is one unnumbered modern blank flyleaf at the beginning, and two unnumbered flyleaves at the end, folios 136 and 137, of which the first, now the wrong way up, was originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript. Aside from these folios, the Vercelli Book is 135 parchment folios long.\(^{35}\) When compiled, it was at least 14 folios longer, in that some of its folios have been lost from the middle and end, including one after folio 42 in the middle of Andreas.\(^{36}\)

The agreed date of the manuscript is approximate, for it was copied in stages by one scribe in what is now called Canonical Square Minuscule, Phase II, for years or even at least a decade before c. 975;\(^{37}\) or then; or even for some years after, if the scribe was the long-lived retainer of an outdated hand. The scribe used a late WS standard, but otherwise copied what he saw before him so faithfully, whether through belief in the authority of the written word or by master’s command, that he preserved a largely unstandardized variety of rubrics and dialectal forms and abbreviations.\(^{38}\) The latter included his own, which Scragg regards as Kentish.\(^{39}\) Celia Sisam, opposed by Scragg, suggests on the basis of a reference to contemporary heathen attacks at the end of Homily XI that the manuscript was finished in the 990s or even in the early eleventh century, but the claimed heathen (and Christian) looting fits equally well with earlier periods such as the 940s.\(^{40}\) Scragg suggests on the basis of textual and linguistic associations that the Vercelli Book originated in the scriptorium of St Augustine’s in Canterbury.\(^{41}\) A more recent comparison with the hands, large initials and Insular hair-to-flesh quiring of mid-twelfth century manuscripts, those which are known to come from St Augustine’s, has since reinforced Scragg’s tentative conclusion.\(^{42}\)

The Vercelli Book has some illustrations which may, as Celia Sisam suggests, be the ‘doodles’ of later scribes: two gaping serpentine mouths lightly drawn at the bottom right of folio 123, in an apparent commentary to the sea-crossing described above in Elene (lines 225-240); and a prancing maned quadruped drawn boldly dead centre at the foot of folio 49 verso, moving gaily from right to left with tail in the air and mouth also agape at the same angle (to ten o’clock). The Sisams take this for a dog, others for a lion; the unshaded stripe down its head and lower back to a flamed tail might favour the dog (see Fig. 1).\(^{43}\) However, the beast’s neck has two tiers of hatched curls and his long plumed tail resembles that of a lion drawn faintly below Adam and Eve on p. 11 of the Canterbury-associated ‘Cædmon Manuscript’, Oxford, MS Bodley, Junius 11.\(^{44}\) According to Jennifer O’Reilly, who derives this creature from the tradition which is also represented in the St Mark’s Gospel frontispiece in the Lindisfarne Gospels (BL, MS Cotton Nero D.IV, folio 93 verso), the Vercelli beast has the ‘vestigial curls of a lion’s mane, and also the open jaws and protruding tongue which are characteristic of lions in early Insular gospel book images of the

\(^{35}\) Sisam (1976), 17-18.

\(^{36}\) See n. 1024-25. The other excisions are after folios 24, 55, 63, 75, 83, 85, 97, 100, 103, 111 and 120. Scragg (1992), xxiii. Sisam (1976), 59.


\(^{38}\) See Rudolf (forthcoming).


\(^{40}\) Sisam (1976), 36. Scragg (1992), 220.


\(^{44}\) Okasha and O’Reilly (1984), 43. Temple (1976), 76-77 and pl. 190.
Evangelist symbols’. Given where the Vercelli Book lion appears, beneath Andrew’s command to the pillar, prior to his victory over the pagans, it is plausibly a figura for Christ.

How and when the manuscript came to the monastery in Vercelli remains unknown. Written by later hands, the words writ þus ‘write thus’ at the foot of folio 63 verso, sclean (for slēan ‘strike’) on folio 99 recto in Homily XVIII, and some scribbles on the last flyleaf, tell us that this manuscript was still in use as a copy-text in England near the end of the tenth century. Kenneth Sisam dates the form sclean to the eleventh, but scl-graphemes in the Corpus Glossary and Kentish Glosses show that this addition could be older. Another addition to the manuscript is an excerpt from Vulgate Psalm 26:9, written with neums in small Caroline minuscule in a blank space on the lower half of folio 24 verso. The style of this text has been identified as North Italian, from the eleventh or twelfth century. Thus it is clear that the manuscript was in Italy, if not in Vercelli, by c. 1150 at the latest.

The first certain reference to this codex in Vercelli (though not the drawing in folio 49 verso) was inscribed in the cathedral’s library catalogue by Canon Giovanni Francesco Leone, in c. 1602: Liber Gothicus, sive Longobardus (eum legere no valeo) ‘Gothic or Langobardic book (beyond my powers to read it)’. In 1750, Codex CXVII was described as linguae theotiscae ‘of German language’ in the inventory of the library at Vercelli by an antiquary of Verona, Giuseppe Bianchini, who had asked for confirmation of this two years earlier in a letter to Cardinal Carlo Vittorio delle Lancie. The Vercelli Book was identified as Anglo-Saxon for the first time by Friedrich Blu(h)me, a German professor of law, in 1822; then transcribed in 1833-34 by a scholar from Tübingen, Dr C. [Johann Caspar] Maier, for the Record Commission of London. Although Maier knew no Old English, his accurate copy and notes formed the basis of Benjamin Thorpe’s edition in 1836, and of other editions preceding the publication of Thorpe’s, which was delayed until 1869. Although it was Maier’s use of reagent (in an effort to clarify the letter forms) which rendered Cynewulf’s runic signature partly illegible at the end of Fates in folios 53 verso and 54 recto, his transcript and notes provide a valuable commentary on the manuscript as it was nearly two centuries ago.

The order in which the scribe copied his various exemplars has been sought in much painstaking study of the manuscript’s 19 quires, the number of folios per quire and the changing decoration, lineations and rubrics in relation to contents and spellings. The folios of the Vercelli Book are usually ruled for 24 lines, but the rulings vary, from 23 to 33 lines, and Celia Sisam makes much of this in her case for the compilation of the codex. Scragg uses linguistic evidence to group three discrete blocks of copying in A (homilies I-IV), B (V-XXII) and C (Elene and XXIII), respectively in quires 1-3, 4-17 and 18-19. His three-booklet model has the virtue of caution and is now the order of the day. However, it overlooks the variability of foliation and line-rulings, and Sisam’s codicological investigation is more compelling.

45 Jennifer O’Reilly (pers. comm.).
47 Sisam (1953), 113. Campbell (1959), § 479.
48 Sisam (1953), 112-14.
49 Sisam (1976), 45-47.
52 As in Leneghan (2013), 630.
Her observations about the quiring of the Vercelli Book enable a more plausible, because cumulative, narrative of the compilation to be reconstructed. If we look at Sisam’s model, we see that this book seems to have grown in two stages, as an assembly of five collections which the scribe made partly by serial copying, partly by cannibalizing two of his older books.

The following guide to the disposition of quires in the Vercelli Book is intended to give a context to Andreas (quires 4-7):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Copying block</th>
<th>Quires Homily/Poem</th>
<th>Order of exemplars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A 1</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1 [last verso starts II]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B 2-3</td>
<td>II, III</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 4-9</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Andreas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Fates of the Apostles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VI-X</td>
<td>3 [last verso starts XI]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D 10-14</td>
<td>XI-XVIII</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Soul and Body Dialogue I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Homiletic Fragment I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E 15-19</td>
<td>The Dream of the Rood</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XIX-XXII</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elene</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Scragg does not accept Sisam’s or propose any order in which the homilies and poems may have been copied, his edition of the homilies separates homily V from Andreas and Fates, which he had previously grouped with it, in line with Sisam’s case for the disposition of exemplars.54

Homily V, on Christmas, appears to have been where the codex began, in that the scribe, having copied it, went on to amplify its message by adding more homilies before he copied Andreas and Fates. Quire 4 (folios 24-32), which starts with this homily, is ruled for 29 lines. This lineation differs from that of the quires to either side, which are ruled for 24 lines: when Andreas (starting with folio 29 verso) continues into quire 5 (folios 33-40) its line-ruling drops from 29 to 24 accordingly. Since the scribe did not avoid this anomaly by continuing with a 29-line ruling into quire 5 and beyond, at least until the end of the poems, it seems clear to Sisam that he did not copy Andreas and Fates immediately after copying homily V. If the different quires were ruled differently in advance and then handed to the scribe to fill in, then he may have copied Andreas directly after Homily V (although the 30 November saint’s day carries back rather than forward from 25 December). In this case the 5-line variability would speak for a minor and relatively parchment-poor scriptorium, and for a manuscript which was compiled hastily and with more regard for fitting text into available space than for the book’s final appearance or finish; in other words, not for St Augustine’s. On the other hand, if the scribe made the rulings himself, as seems more likely, Sisam’s deduction is to be preferred, that, before copying Andreas and in

54 Scragg (1992), xv; (2001), 343 (postscript). Scragg’s A answers Sisam’s AB; his B, her CDE1-2; his C, her E3-4.
a pause between labours, he seems to have joined quire 4 to quires 1-3. The latter was a ready-made assembly containing the homilies on Easter, Judgement, penance and Judgement now known as I-IV. The foliation of quires 1-3 is so peculiar as to show that this unit had a history of its own. Quires 1 and 2 each have nine folios, not a regular eight: each has four sheets (or bifolia) plus one half-sheet. Since homily I concludes on folio 9 recto and homily II begins on the final verso of this quire, it appears that homily I was all that this quire was meant to contain, before the scribe started copying again.

When the scribe finished this next job, copying homilies II and III in sequence to the end of quire 3, it might seem that he rested. Sisam, however, argues from the irregular foliation of quire 3 (folios 19-24) that he copied more in this block. Quire 3 has six folios, made up of two sheets folded double with one half-sheet on the front and another between the first two folios of the double fold. Sisam thinks it likely that the first half-sheet was originally a full sheet, whose other half was the outer folio of this quire; that this last folio, since removed, contained more material which led into at least one quire more; consequently, that the scribe cut loose quires 1-3 (bar the last folio) from an older codex and placed them at the head of his new book. Whether he intended to make this older assembly a prefix to homily V, or to suffix his new homily to homilies I-IV, is of less consequence. The isolated 29-line ruling of quire 4 tells us that the Vercelli Book took shape around homily V. The order of ecclesiastical festivals in the five homilies does not accord with the temporale, but the homilies of this amplified opening, if they are taken together, allow a life of Jesus to be extrapolated from the common spring-timing of Passion and Annunciation (I), then from Judgement (II-IV) and lastly from the Nativity (V) in mid winter, where the hope of salvation begins. Within the same historical scheme it may be inferred that Andreas and Fates continue with a joint aftermath to the Passion which celebrates the apostolic mission and the beginnings of the church.55

After Fates, Homily VI and its four successors appear to have been available in their sequence in one exemplar, a southeastern homiliary of the second half of the tenth century.56 The scribe copied homilies VII-X with the rubrics respectively ‘ii’-‘v’ at the end of each, and with ‘vi’ on the last verso of quire 9 anticipating one homily more. Scragg allows that these poems were together in the scribe’s exemplar.57 Sisam believes that the exemplar contained Andreas and Fates and also homilies VI-X in the same sequence. Whether or not the latter is so (and a boy Jesus does appear in both Andreas and homily VI),58 homily X may be read as a grand finale. It ends with the last folio of quire 9, on line 10 of folio 71 recto, with the rest of the page left blank. Then there is the fact that the scribe added a sixth sheet to quire 8, whose five sheets were already one more than the norm. Although homily XI begins on the last verso of quire 9, the extra sheet of quire 8 is evidence, according to Sisam, that the scribe intended to make quires 8-9 finish the whole sequence. In her view, the scribe ‘had no intention, at that time, of starting a tenth quire’. Homilies VI-X in quires 7 (final 3 folios) and 8-9 are to do with Jesus’ apocryphal infancy (VI), the virtue of temperance (VII), and the coming of Judgement (VIII-X). In that they progress from Christ’s life into his role as man’s king in heaven, it appears that they were meant to end the Vercelli Book in its first form.

55 Perhaps as an inspiration to teachers: see Leneghan (2013), 636-42.
56 Scragg (2001), 339.
57 Scragg (2001), 322.
58 On folios 41-42 recto and 55 verso, 56 recto.
Then there was an extension. Quires 10-14, ruled for 24 lines, appear to have been planned as one group (block D, folios 72-104). The homilies copied into them are XI-XIV (a series on the Rogation Days before Ascension) and XV-XVIII (a Mercian homiliary on Judgement, Epiphany (for the post-Nativity in January), Purification (or Candlemas on 2 February), and a short life of St Martin of Tours); these groups make two clearly defined sequences.\(^59\) The first sequence is rubricated with titles, with the first three homilies entitled first-second-third, while the second shares a majuscule M-abbreviation for the opening formula *Men þā lēofestan* ‘dearest people’.\(^60\) Because homilies XIV, XVI, XVII and XVIII, in particular, overrun the ends of their quires, which are respectively quires 10, 11, 12 and 13, it seems likely that these passages were copied consecutively with the currently named poems *Soul and Body Dialogue I* (‘Monologue’ would be more exact) and *Homiletic Fragment I* copied straight after after them.\(^61\)

The last side of quire 14, folio 104 verso, does not contain a blank space after this poetic sequence, but continues after the customary blank line with the opening of a new poem, *The Dream of the Rood*. The text of this poem runs on into quire 15, but here the lineation changes markedly to 32/33 lines. Thereafter quires 16 and 17 are ruled for 31 lines, quires 18 and 19 for 32 lines. In the light of this common new range of line-ruling, it seems that quires 15-19 may be treated as one scribal block (Sisam’s E, folios 105-35), despite the awkwardness of the bridging position of this poem. Scragg groups *The Dream of the Rood* and homilies XIX-X XII with the previous work (within his block B). He divides the codex into a third block (his C) with quire 18, the start of *Elene*, because quires 18 and 19, containing *Elene* and the fragmentary ‘homily XXIII’ (a short life of St Guthlac), are of uniform length with originally eight folios each.\(^62\) Yet the change in lineation speaks more in favour of Sisam’s argument that quires 15-19 have a unity all of their own. The asymmetry of the change in line-ruling within the facing first two pages of *The Dream of the Rood*, from 24 lines in folio 104 verso to 32 lines in folio 105 recto, is more likely to show that quires 15-19 represent part of an older collection made by the same scribe.

Quire 15 (folios 105-111) is irregular, at seven folios: it consists of three sheets with a half-sheet (folio 107) added; it is ruled for 32 lines as far as 109 verso, then for 33 lines on folios 110 and 111; the final verso, though ruled for 33 lines, contains only 31 lines of writing; in the last line, the words are spaced out, with elongated descenders. In these ways it seems that the scribe was at pains to make his text in quire 15 meet the beginning of the text in quire 16. His 31 lines of writing on folio 111 verso, which could have been 33 lines, match the 31 written lines on the facing page, folio 112 recto, which is the first page of quire 16. To make sense of this, Sisam argues that quire 15 was a recopied version of a quire which, like quire 16, had been ruled for 31 lines. The old quire 15 would have contained homily XIX and the first part of homily XX on most of its last six folios; homily XIX would have started part-way down the recto of the third folio. Whatever item came before, its text, starting on an earlier quire still, would have had to go. Yet the end of this textual item was on the the same recto, which could not be excised for fear of losing the beginning of homily XIX. This homily and homilies XX-XXI derive from a late WS collection whose order is attested elsewhere.\(^63\) The scribe, if he was not simply adapting lineation to fit

\(^{59}\) Scragg (2001), 339.

\(^{60}\) Scragg (1992), 221, 228, 234, 239; 253, 267, 281, 291.

\(^{61}\) Sisam (1976), 38.

\(^{62}\) Scragg (2001), 321.

\(^{63}\) Scragg (1992), 329; (2001), 239.
text into available space, may have solved this problem by recopying the whole quire and by substituting the unwanted text with a poem now known as The Dream of the Rood. To help with the greater length, he would have added a folio to the new quire and started the new textual item on the back of quire 14. The fact that the opening part of Dream has a rare ‘:*’ punctuation in common with the immediately preceding poems, whereas the text of Dream in quire 15 does not have this, may be explained by an interval in time between the copying of these parts of the poem in quires 14 and 15. The corollary is that Dream was a new item, chosen at least partly because its theme anticipated that of Elene at the start of the ready-made quire 18. The story of Empress Helena’s Invention of the True Cross, the main episode of Elene, may thus be seen already in folio 105 verso: Hwæðre mē þǣr Dryhtnes þegnas, / frēondas gefrūnon ‘yet in that place the Lord’s thanes, his friends, learned of me’ (Dream 75-76). Thus Sisam’s story for block E is that the scribe suffixed quire 14 with a four-quire block from one of his older books.

On this basis it may be argued that the Vercelli Book was put together in two stages, each time out of a deliberate composite of new and ready-made materials. Among other things, this kind of compilation would account for the fact that the second half of homily XXI near the end is a version of homily II. First there comes a collection which indirectly but persistently celebrates the life of Christ, in quires 1-9; then, in quires 10-19, an extension in a reconfigured homiliary which analyses the meaning of the Passion through eschatology with the help of four meditations in verse. Among many other effects, the two long poems, Andreas (and Fates) near the beginning and Elene towards the end, offer historically sequential narratives for the aftermath of the Passion. It has been argued that this book was an ascetic florilegium, compiled for a teacher of pilgrims, or for a preacher-reader of the ‘mixed life’ as advocated in the Alfredian translation of Gregory’s Pastoral Care, ‘perhaps an unreformed bishop’; also that it was owned by Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury (pallium 959-88). Some thematic corroboration for Dunstan’s compilation of the Vercelli Book might be sought in the argument that it begins with a celebration of the life of Christ. On the opening folio of Dunstan’s Classbook is a gigantic image of Christ with rod of judge looking away from a miniature prostrate Dunstan, with an inscription at the top which says that it was Dunstan’s drawing.

Once the Vercelli Book was finished, it made a long mixture of prose and verse which would best be understood by the person who put it together. Whether this was by the scribe or a master, or whether the scribe or the master was Dunstan himself, a certain attention to the manuscript’s impact may be inferred. For example, Sisam reasons that the scribe could have neatly finished Fates on the middle of the last verso of quire 7 (folios 48-55) if he had ruled quire 4 for 24/25 lines in keeping with the surrounding quires. However, as he would then have spoiled the visual effect of Cynewulf’s runic signature, by draping it over both sides of one folio, it appears from its disposition on facing pages, in folios 53 verso and 54 recto, that he wished or was

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64 Sisam (1976), 38-39.
65 Scragg (2001), 319.
67 Ó Carragáin (1975).
68 Leneghan (2013), 653.
69 Treharne (2007), 264.
70 Oxford, MS Bodley, Auct. F.4.32, folio 1 recto.
told to put it visually in one place. As for the other Cynewulf-signature in the codex, that in the epilogue to *Elene* on folio 133 recto, the scribe erases his first attempt at the *wynn*-rune on page-line 6, apparently because it too much resembled a runic thorn. Sisam treats this as evidence that he understood the signature. He may have done, or he may just have woken up to the difference between these letters. At any rate, his direction seems to have come from someone else.

Some errors in the copying make it less likely that the scribe directed the compilation of this codex himself. He wrote *S* for *Þ* for the initial of *Þa*, then erased the *S* without replacing it, on line 10 of folio 46 recto (line 1253 of *Andreas*). He was apparently responsible for the zoomorphic initials in the manuscript, drawing two of these hesitantly at the start of homily XIX on folio 166 verso and homily XIV on folio 112 recto. In folio 52 verso, however, he left out the initial *H* on *HWÆT* with which to mark the beginning of the poem now known as *Fates*. Despite a faint zoomorphic outline there to which he may have meant to return, the space in front of the majuscule *WÆT* is empty. It is also so curved and large that it seems likely that the scribe intended an unusually elaborate initial for this place (see Fig. 2). Three folios back is his remaining fully formed zoomorphic initial in the codex, also the largest: the *h* in *hæt* (for *hwæt*), on folio 49 recto (see Fig. 3). This is likewise for a *Hwæt* introduction, but here only for the unnumbered fourteenth fitt of *Andreas*, in which the poet’s persona interjects before the narrative climax. We may compare this with the left-margin initial thorn in *ÞVS ic fróð ?fús* “Thus I, experienced and keen”, which opens Cynewulf’s epilogue to *Elene* (line 1236) at the numbered fitt XV on folio 132 verso. Though enlarged, this initial has no decoration, in marked contrast to that for line 1478 of *Andreas*. Sisam shows that the initial *h* on this line of *Andreas* does not fit the rectangular space left by the scribe at folio 49 recto; what is needed there is not *h* but *hp* (for *hw*); consequently, it appears that the scribe drew his zoomorphic initial here prematurely for the beginning of Cynewulf’s poem three folios later. The likelihood of this error undermines a recent literary suggestion that Cynewulf appropriated *Andreas* with an epilogue now known as *Fates*, and that the scribe, in his own time, ‘seems to have thought the two poems were part of the same work’. It is likely, however, that *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* were together in the scribe’s exemplar. The common history of these poems seems clear in that they are punctuated more heavily than homilies VI-X and the other four poems, and because both of these works concern the apostles, with Andrew in each one. On the basis of theme, if the scribe indeed worked at St Augustine’s, it is reasonable to suppose that these two apostolic poems arrived together at this house in honour of all the apostles, in line with the contemporary dedication of St Augustine’s to SS Peter and Paul.

In his smaller details it appears that the scribe of the Vercelli Book was neither knowledgeable about the meaning of the Latin, nor attentive to that of the English words which he copied. Despite his corrections, frequent textual errors remain and the

71 Sisam (1976), 38.
73 Sisam (1976), 19.
74 Scragg (2001), 325.
75 Scragg (2001), 322.
76 Sisam (1976), 19. See n. 1478.
garbled Latin which he copied remains unclarified. Nor does he always follow the English texts of whose physical dimensions he has such an excellent grasp; for example, he copies homily XXIII after Elene as if it were another section of that poem. On a smaller scale he misunderstands older or poetic English, writing: *us ic* for *usic ‘us’* on line 15 of folio 32 verso (Andreas 286) as well as *huscworde* for *usic worde* on line 12 of 38 recto (Andreas 669); *eow ic* similarly for *eowic ‘you’* on line 27 of 32 recto (Andreas 259); *on crum* for (Anglian or early WS) *oncrum ‘anchors’* on line 8 of 123 verso (Elene 253, dat. pl.); and *ses essade* for *se sessade* on line 6 of 25 verso (Andreas 43). The many errors of this kind are listed after our text. The scribe standardizes some letters and linguistic forms, for instance *geh wæm* to *gehwam* on line 14 of 37 verso (Andreas 637) and *f* for (probably his own Kentish) *u* in *gedafenlicra* on line 11 of 86 recto (homily XVI). Copying Andreas, he confuses *ð* for *d* in *bedæleð* (for *bedæled*) on line 2 of folio 33 recto and *dugudum* (for *duguðum*) on line 1 of 33 verso, although he corrects *aðropen* to *adropen* on line 7 of 48 verso; and he confuses *p/lp*, writing *p* then correcting to *p* in *póp* on line 23 of 51 verso; these letters are confused elsewhere in the codex too. On the other hand the scribe resists or lacks the impulse to clarify or to rationalize sentences, such as one in homily III on 14 recto, or the conclusion of this homily on 16 recto, which are garbled in this as in all other versions. Nor does he realise that he is copying erroneous Latin. In the light of these findings, his approach is best described as mechanically faithful.

This scribe’s fidelity in copying also appears through his corrections. He reveals exemplars by attempting diverse types of decorated initial and by successfully copying rubrics and headings as they are; punctuates apparently according to exemplar, in that Andreas and Fates are heavily punctuated whereas Elene is the most lightly so; adds accents equally contingently, with homily V accented most heavily, homilies VI-XIV the least; and renders not only ornamental and ordinary letter forms but also a huge variety of linguistic forms. As we have seen, he copies the rubrics ‘ii’ to ‘v’ (and ‘vi’) without purpose from the exemplar over homilies VII-X in quires 8-9, and in the same group of homilies, on the left margin of line 20 of folio 66 recto two pages into homily X, he copies a red-ink majuscule A, which appears to have marked a quire in final position in his exemplar. Earlier still, within the text of Andreas at the end of the written text on line 23 of folio 41 verso (Andreas 949), there appears the half-erased word *eadgip* in letters which are smaller than, but not visibly different from, the scribe’s hand (see Fig. 4). This name is unlikely to be a reader’s graffito, as it is written just after the punctus versus with which scribe finishes a sentence half-way along the page-line and thus concludes the (unnumbered eighth) fitt. Kenneth Sisam says that ‘only a romancer could make anything of this Edith’,

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80 Sisam (1976), 28, 41. Szarmach (1979), 186. See also Sisam (1953), 113.
81 Scragg (2001), 233. Leneghan (2013: 630, 645-49 ) suggests that the two items are deliberately paired.
82 Sisam (1976), 27.
84 Sisam (1976), 22 and n. 5, 23.
86 Szarmach (1979), 184-88.
90 The suggestion that ‘i’ is attached to homily VI is discounted in Scragg (2001), 323-24.
while his daughter Celia defines it as the work of a later hand. The colophon’s position, nonetheless, at the end of this fitt rather than in the margin may be taken as evidence that ‘Eadgīþ’ was the name of an earlier, not a later, copyist. The name is unusual for being written clearly and without the cipher which circumvents an accusation of vanity. A corrector’s attempt to erase the name makes it less likely that Eadgyth was the scribe of the Vercelli Book, whose associations, in any case, point to the male community of St Augustine’s; and more likely that she was a scribe of the Andreas exemplar whose name the scribe carried mechanically forward.

Moreover, this scribe’s use of accents in Andreas is unusual and distinguishes its exemplar from that of Fates. In general, accents may be added by scribes for a number of reasons. According to N. R. Ker, acute accents marked long monosyllables in manuscripts up to the end of the tenth century, by which time they were also marking stress in short closed syllables such as him, is, of, on, man / mon ‘man’. Mainly the acute accents mark long vowels, as in glād 371, wīs 624, mān 767. However, most of these accents over verse words, in Andreas and the other poems of the Vercelli Book, appear to be intended to indicate the stress with which long vowels often coincide. The scribe of the Vercelli Book uses acute accents for length and stress in both closed syllables and polysyllables (as for example, with īglānd (length and stress), āgeton (length) and mermedonia (secondary stress and possibly length) in respectively lines 9, 21, 28 of folio 29 verso). Stress is important with the accents in Andreas, whose text has more accents over historically short vowels than Elene, the book’s one poem of comparable length. In particular, the text of Andreas is distinguished from that of all other items in the Vercelli Book by the use of an acute accent to mark stress in ten instances of the word god ‘God’. This is an emphatic usage which Celia Sisam deems ‘exceptional’.

Before we look into this accent, two things are worth noting. One is that the half-erased eadgīþ colophon in Andreas 949, at the foot of folio 41 verso of the Vercelli Book, is flanked by instances of gōd for ‘God’ on both sides: above on folios 39 recto (lines 751, 758n, 760), 41 recto (line 896), 41 verso (line 925); and below on folios 43 recto (line 1030) and 46 verso (1281). The other is that the companions of young Eadgyth (later known as St Edith) of Wilton (961-84), a friend of Archbishop Dunstan, are said to have named her Goda. According to Goscelin of Canterbury, Edith’s biographer, an angel appeared when Edith died, and speaking to a nun, referred to her as Godam puellam ‘the maiden Goda’. Goscelin had taught at the convent of Wilton and wrote his Vita Edithae in c. 1080. Here he adds: sic enim graciosus appellabatur qua patria uoce Bona cognominatur, Aedgitha uero a sanctissima amita sua (...) celebratur ‘this is what she was called affectionately because in her native tongue it means “good”, but she is famous as “Edith” after her holy aunt [King Edgar’s sister].’ If the eadgīþ colophon were the scribe’s copy of St Edith’s colophon in the exemplar of Andreas and Fates, it would be appropriate to

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92 Winfried Rudolf (pers. comm.).
93 Ker (1991), xxxv.
95 Scragg (1971), 701, n. 2. Sisam (1976), 26, n. 8. The instances are: line 12 of folio 38 verso (line 703); 19, 23 (?), 24 of 39 recto (lines 751, 758, 760); 14 of 41 recto (line 897); 8 of 41 verso (line 925); 3 of 43 recto (line 1030); 5 of 46 verso (line 1281); 7 of 49 recto (line 1462); 6 of 52 verso (line 1717). In context of all accent marks, see Krapp (1932), xlix-li.
hypothesize Wilton as the tenth-century provenance for the Vercelli text of these poems.

Beside the ten instances of gód ‘God’ in the Vercelli Book, there is one case of OE gód ‘goodness’ in Andreas (line 998), at line 8 of folio 42 verso, which is accented possibly because the scribe, or that of his exemplar, mistook the word for ‘God’.\textsuperscript{98} The one other case of gód in the Vercelli Book has been read as the result of a confusion between ‘God’ and ‘good’, in gód is seo seofe lufu ‘Good is (that) true love’ (for Latin Deus caritas est ‘God is love’) in homily III, near the start of line 14 of folio 12 verso.\textsuperscript{99} But otherwise the text of Andreas stands out for having ten instances of gód for ‘God’ in the final two thirds of the poem. In Scragg’s view, this use of the acute accent ‘points to a distinctive tradition’.\textsuperscript{100} The use of an accent, as here, to indicate stress rather than length is in fact a harbinger of later practise. Krapp, editor of the Vercelli Book, hints at stress when he suggests that the accents of Andreas were intended to indicate ‘more probably some shade of quality than a degree of quantity’.\textsuperscript{101} Although Sisam found this acute accent paralleled in only one instance outside the manuscript, other types of accent were employed. Ker notes that the acute accent for stress, rather than for length, became the norm in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so that the distinction between long- and short-vowelled homonyms ‘could no longer be made in the old way’. Thus god ‘good’ is distinguished from the unmarked god ‘God’, by having: two accents in BL, Cotton Vitellius C.V (s. x/xi, xi\textsuperscript{i}); and a double o with accent in CCCC 178 (s. xi\textsuperscript{i}) and Cambridge, Trinity College R.9.17 (819), ff. 1-48 (s. xi/xii) and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{102} In other conditions, presumably where there was more confusion, some means was found to distinguish the Deity’s name. So god ‘God’ is marked with a reverse curl, as in gód, or with an angular sign, as in gódcundan ‘divine’, in Oxford, Bodley 340 / 342 (s. xex), a homiliary some of whose homilies are close to those in the Vercelli Book, others attributable to Ælfric.\textsuperscript{103} The word god for ‘God’ may also be found marked with a ‘c-like accent’ in all instances in BL, Cotton Claudius B.IV (s. xi\textsuperscript{i}), of Canterbury; and with c-shaped accent along with other types of accent in twelve other manuscripts from later, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.\textsuperscript{104}

Celia Sisam’s sole parallel to the ten instances of gód ‘God’ in the Vercelli Book is in the gloss to the Athanasian Creed in the Salisbury Psalter, in Salisbury Cathedral, MS 150 (s.x\textsuperscript{2}, xi/xii). Over the Gallican text Fides autem catholica hæc est: ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur, the scribe of the Latin wrote (from another version) geleafa seolicce se eallicca þis is þet we ænne 5od on ðære þrynnesse 7 pa þrynnesse on annesse we weorþian, literally ‘faith truly this is the whole that we worship one God in the Trinity and the Trinity in one’.\textsuperscript{105} Accents in the Latin of this text are more common, and in the gloss god ‘God’ is otherwise not marked at all. The other OE words there which are accented for stress are ðs ‘is’ (x 19), ác ‘but’ (x 5), swáswá ‘just as’ (x 3) and swaswá, ón ‘in’ and ðf ‘of” (each

\textsuperscript{99} Undefined in Scragg (1992), 74 (lines 1-2).
\textsuperscript{100} Scragg (1971), 706.
\textsuperscript{101} Krapp (1932), xxxiii.
\textsuperscript{102} Ker (1991), xxxv; in order: 285 (no. 220); 60 (no. 41A) and 134 (no. 89).
\textsuperscript{104} Ker (1991), 178-79 (no. 142).
\textsuperscript{105} Sisam and Sisam (1959), 305 (\textit{Hymn} XV.3); see also 12-13 (§ 25). Ker (1991), 449-51 (no. 379).
once).\textsuperscript{106} The rarity of English accenting in this Psalter may reflect the fact that the English text is a gloss. However, the form \textit{Sód} brings the scribe close to the usage in \textit{Andreas}, and if we look for the Salisbury Psalter’s scriptorium, we find that this manuscript has been traced to Wilton.

The Salisbury Psalter is datable to 969 x 987 by its reference to Dionisian lunar cycles.\textsuperscript{107} Although the Sisams trace the manuscript to the convent of Shaftesbury (Dorset), founded by Alfred for his daughter Æthelgifu, a more detailed study has since favoured Wilton (Wiltshire).\textsuperscript{108} Wilton, enlarged by King Alfred in 871 and ruled by WS nobility, was a royal convent like Shaftesbury. St Edith, especially after her death in 984 at the age of 23, was Wilton’s celebrity inmate, daughter of the abbess and King Edgar the Peaceable and also hostess to the king’s visitors. Edith’s mother Wulfthryth, having been Edgar’s mistress, was appointed by him abbess of Wilton after he took a woman named Ælfthryth for his second wife. Edith was two at the time and lived in Wilton probably as a secular for the rest of her short life.

Goscelin’s account of St Edith, though gushing, stylizes the relatively reliable witness of interviewees who knew people who knew the young princess. He says that Edith wore a hairshirt beneath fetching purple dresses and owned a prayerbook in which she wrote notes in her own hand.\textsuperscript{109} He also says that she read voraciously and yet subtly, composed prayers and embroidered fine garments with a precocity which drew the wonder of Dunstan, to whom she became a close friend. Wilton still kept Edith’s book \textit{memorabilia pignore in quo apostolicae lucent formulae, urginzina eius manu eum subscriptis oratunculis depictae} ‘as a token of her memory in which the apostolic precepts shine out, written in her virginal hand’ (ch. 8). Goscelin also says that Edith had \textit{manus pingendi, scriptitandi, dictitandi tam decentes, quam artificiose} ‘hands as elegant as they were accomplished in painting and in writing as scribe or as author’ (ch. 11). Of greatest interest is his description of Edith’s white cotton alb, the hem of which she had embroidered with

\begin{quote}
aureas apostolorum ymages Dominum circumstantes, Dominum medium assidentem, se uice suplicis Mariae affusam, dominica uestigia exosculantem (ch. 16)
\end{quote}

golden images of the Apostles surrounding the Lord, the Lord sitting in the midst, and herself prostrated in the place of Mary, the supplicant, kissing the Lord’s footprints.\textsuperscript{110}

Here it is worth noting that the \textit{eadgib} colophon in the Vercelli Book, besides being flanked by the relatively abundant \textit{gód} forms which recall Edith’s \textit{Goda} name, is copied at the end of the same fitt (the eighth) in which Andrew’s disciples relate their

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{106} Sisam and Sisam (1959), 9 (§ 18).
\textsuperscript{107} Sisam and Sisam (1959), 11 (§ 23).
\textsuperscript{108} Stroud (1979), 223-33.
\end{quote}
vision of heaven with Jesus in the centre surrounded by the Apostles (in Andreas 881-85).\(^{111}\)

Goscelin says, moreover, that Edith, entertaining her father’s international visitors, kept a zoo for the exotic animals they gave him. Some of these pets were so wild that none but Edith dared approach them. Even had she suffered, says Goscelin, the persecutions of Nero and Decius, \textit{tigrides ac leones mitigare potuisse, quae sic in pace truces animos nouerat placare} ‘she would have been able to tame tigers and lions, since she knew how to quieten their fierce souls in a time of peace’.\(^{112}\) Whether Edith kept a lion, as Goscelin’s words imply, cannot be known, but as he reveals that Edith loved animals, so it seems plausible that she drew the prototype of the maned quadruped now at the foot of folio 49 verso, as a Christ-like figura for Andrew at the beginning of his victory. Accordingly, as Archbishop Dunstan has been held to be the first owner of this book,\(^{113}\) it may be hypothesized that Edith copied \textit{Andreas} and \textit{Fates} as two works on the apostles as a gift for Dunstan in his role as the head of the apostolic abbey of Canterbury. In this case, we suggest that Dunstan, in honour or memory of his friend Edith of Wilton, ordered his scribe to transcribe her gift into the folios which survive in the Vercelli Book.\(^{114}\)

3 Language and Dialect

As we have seen, the manuscript shows that \textit{Andreas} and \textit{Fates} were probably two apostolic items in the same exemplar. Cynewulf is the poet of \textit{Fates} and his dialect has been deduced to be Mercian from the rhymes in the epilogue to \textit{Elene}.\(^{115}\) The following section looks into the dialect of \textit{Andreas} along the lines of Scragg’s impartial procedure in his edition of the Vercelli Book.\(^{116}\) All long marks are here removed from the text of \textit{Andreas} and other OE works, in order to represent the spelling of the scribe more closely.

\textbf{Phonology}

\textbf{A. Vowels in stressed syllables}

1. \(a\) occurs exceptionally

   (i) for \(ae\) in \textit{mearcpaðe} 1061, \textit{siðfate} 663: occasional WS. This spelling, which may show the results of levelling, is found with other words in Vercelli homilies I and X, VI (twice) and XIX.\(^{117}\)

   (ii) before \(l + \) consonant, where \(a\) has retracted rather than broken into \(ea\):\(^{118}\) in \textit{aldor 55, 70, 354, 708, 806, 913, aldre 938, 1351, aldres 1133, 1721, baldor 547},

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\(^{111}\) Andy Orchard (pers. comm.) suggests that the exemplar’s signature, if St Edith’s, was placed with personal reference over the words for the bodily torment which Jesus promises to Andrew in the following manuscript lines (\textit{Andreas} 950-54, now at the top of folio 42 recto).

\(^{112}\) Wilmart (1938), 65 (ch. 10). Hollis (2004), 42.

\(^{113}\) For one holistic reading, see McBrine (2009).

\(^{114}\) Dockray-Miller (2005) reads this Edith into the colophon too, but as the scribe’s gloss on the Lord’s calming of the storm which takes place (much) earlier in \textit{Andreas}.


\(^{116}\) Scragg (1992), xliii-lxxi.


\(^{118}\) Campbell (1959), § 143. Hogg (2011), § 5.15.
cald (201, 222, 253, 310, cald- 138, -baldum 171, -walda 751, 925, galdor- 167; and waldend. Although this sound-change is regarded as Anglian, it may have been common in Wessex also before the Alfredian subdiallcat. eald variant began to take hold. In the context of poetry it is best to treat al-spellings as the product of scribes who felt this and the other Anglian spellings to be proper to verse.\(^\text{119}\) Within this usage the word-form waldend is a yet more specialised case. Stanley, analyzing eald and ald spellings, suggests that the spelling waldend was fixed early as that of a nomen sacrum in West-Saxon influenced scriptoria, despite the growing normalization of eald over ald in the spelling of other words.\(^\text{120}\) Angelika Lutz, however, attributes the cause of this more broadly to archaism in the copying of verse.\(^\text{121}\) After Alfred, in either case, a WS scribe would have observed a spelling distinction between waldend and other wealdan-derived forms, whereas a Kentish scribe would have written weald generally in both stressed and unstressed positions. An Anglian scribe would have misapplied the convention differently: trained to write wealdan though he spoke waldan, he would have observed the waldend exception imperfectly because he would sometimes write wealdend with hypercorrection in order to align with the other WS forms. The text of Andreas presents this kind of mixture: it has waldend nine times as against wealdend six.\(^\text{122}\)

(iii) in the stem gast (1000, 1088, 1621, and possibly 728, 1296, 1617, 1694. In these lines the context excludes or only partially includes a reading of gāst ‘ghost, spirit’, the unfronted variant of gǣst. On Angl. gæst, which looks like a plausible source of the confusion with gǣst ‘spirit’, see Hogg § 5.79(2)(e), n. 12. Hogg notes in passing the genitive plural form <gasta> at Genesis (A) 1346. It is nonetheless possible, as Brooks (1000n) suggests, that some form of OE giest (which could include Angl. gest, or the rarer gæst) has here been confused with gāst. This suggestion is in keeping with Gretsch’s conclusion about the existence of a new supradialectal English in Alfred’s court.\(^\text{123}\)

2. æ occurs exceptionally
   (i) as an Anglian spelling for i-mutated a in a + l + consonant which has been retracted from æ + l + consonant, in bældest 1186, wælum 452, -wealme 1542; consistent with the Vespasian Psalter.\(^\text{124}\) The late WS spelling is observed in wyłm 367, 863 (and flodwyłm 517), with y for early WS ie as the i-mutation of ea, in ea + l + consonant which has broken from æ + l + consonant. See also e in similar positions under 3 (i), which may be due to the southern mutation of ea.\(^\text{125}\)
   (ii) for a, by front mutation, in hwænne 400, maęcgäṣ 422, 772, 1708; and in maęńig 1436, which also occurs 13 times in the Vercelli homilies.\(^\text{126}\) The form maęńig is a common late WS variant, but not common in Andreas, which has maęng- 10 times, at 583, 658, 814, 973, 1085, 1116, 1225, 1549, 1596, 1626.

\(^{119}\) Brooks (1961), xxxvii (D.4).
\(^{121}\) Lutz (1984), 54-55.
\(^{122}\) Waldend on lines 193, 213, 388, 539, 702, 855, 920, 1056, 1451; wealdend on lines 225, 248, 325, 576 (-es), 604, 799.
\(^{124}\) Brooks (1961), xxxv (C.3).
(iii) for ā in æne 1104, besides 3 times in the homilies;\textsuperscript{127} and in þæm 795, as against 68 instances of common WS or rare Kentish þam 14, 22, 48 etc (including three of þam 658, 885, 1205). The WS and non-WS form þæm is rare here;\textsuperscript{128} there is but one instance in Elene, in Hu maeg þæm geweordan 611a and none in The Dream of the Rood. Scragg finds no examples in the Vercelli prose, ‘the invariability of þam suggesting that this is the scribe’s preferred form’.\textsuperscript{129} As in the case of Elene 611, the one þæm in Andreas is probably retained because of an adjacent æ-vowel, in this case with two such vowels in of slepe þæm fæstan on line 795a. The spelling -hwam 65, 121, 320, 408, 637 is common, as against daeghwæmlice once in line 682; scribal standardization of these forms is clear in that gehwam 637 is corrected from gehwaem. In þæra 1496: Brooks suggests that the last is written for Mercian þeara, but þæra may also be late WS, and Scragg finds genitive plural þæra 17 times throughout the homilies.\textsuperscript{130}

(iv) for ā in MS wæst 1186, 1282. The repetition may show that this is a scribal error.

(v) for e in grundwæge 582, swæðorodon 533; possibly also in telige 1484 (for telige ‘reckon’ rather than talige ‘consider’);\textsuperscript{131} and perhaps in the second element of ælfæle 770: Kentish, and perhaps Anglian too.\textsuperscript{132} The form wages weard 632 may belong here, or the first word could reflect a play by the poet on weg ‘way’ and wǣg ‘wave’ (see n. 601).

(vi) for e in raced 1308, -raced 709, 1463, 1159: probably non-WS irregular front mutation of *raced (OS rakud).\textsuperscript{133}

(vii) for ea by Anglian smoothing in aht ‘council’ 410, 608, as in Elene 473 (also in the Vercelli Book); and in staercedferþþe 1243.\textsuperscript{134}

(viii) for ea in glewra 1483, by late WS monophthongization.\textsuperscript{135} Fates has æa in æglaewe 24, either a compromise spelling in variation of glewra, or one in which ea is influenced by the previous æ.

3. e occurs exceptionally

(i) for i-mutated a in a + l + consonant which has been retracted from æ + l + consonant, in awelled 1019, eldam 1057, fell 1609, -welm 495 (see note 2 (i) above). Of these words only the last, secondary in a compound streamwelm, is less important for being unstressed; the others all alliterate. Brooks takes this spelling of Anglian æ before l-groups, which also occurs in the Vespasian Psalter glosses, to be Kentish or of ‘Saxon patois’ in line with Campbell’s observation that this type of Anglian æ passed into e before the end of the period, as in the tenth-century Mercian Rushworth Gospel glosses.\textsuperscript{136} Campbell also considers e in eldo and welm occasionally in the Blickling Homilies to be due to ‘the mutation of southern ea, not of Angl. a’.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{127} Scragg (1992), xlv (1.A.2.vii).

\textsuperscript{128} Campbell (1959), § 708. Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 5.4-8.

\textsuperscript{129} Scragg (1992), lxv (1.E.6.iii).


\textsuperscript{131} Scragg (1992), xxxviii (D.7).

\textsuperscript{132} Campbell (1959), § 328. Hogg (2011), § 5.179.

\textsuperscript{133} Campbell (1959), §§ 193, 204.

\textsuperscript{134} Campbell (1959), § 223. Hogg (2011), § 5.98.

\textsuperscript{135} Campbell (1959), § 273.

\textsuperscript{136} Scragg (1992), xxxv (C.3).

\textsuperscript{137} Campbell (1959), § 193 (a: Ru¹) and n. 3. Hogg (2011), § 5.79(2)(a).
According to Brooks, this is Campbell’s view of the mutation in other welm spellings too, such as those in Andreas.

(ii) for æ which is first-fronted from a, in meðlan 1440, meðle 1436, 1626, medelhengendra 262, medelstede 658, 697, sel 762, beagselu 1657 (for -salu, influenced by the singular), fregn 1163, welwange 1226. All these forms could either show Mercian second-fronting\(^{138}\) or Kentish raising.\(^{139}\) Scragg takes fregn, which also occurs in homily I, as possibly showing a Kentish e for æ.\(^{140}\)

(iii) for WS æ\(^1\) by non-WS fronting, in edre 401, 643, 950, gefrege 668, 961, 1119, 1626, gesegon 455, 581, 881, sel ‘season’ 745, pegon 25 (ðegon), 593, 1112, wega 932, wegese 601. All these forms could either show Mercian second-fronting\(^{138}\) or Kentish raising.\(^{139}\) Scragg takes fregn, which also occurs in homily I, as possibly showing a Kentish e for æ.\(^{140}\)

(iv) for æ by late WS smoothing in scerp 1133,\(^{144}\) and either by smoothing or second fronting/Kentish raising (see note (ii) above) in agef 189, 85, 572, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375, forgef 486, scel(l) 952; for ëa by late WS smoothing in agef 1441, 1449, togenes 45, 657, 1011, and either by smoothing or by non-WS raising of æ\(^1\) (as in note iii above) in agefan 401 begete 378, ongeton 534, orgete 526, 759, 851, 1569.

(v) for i by early WS or Northumbrian lowering, or as a variant form of slightly different origin, in swelc 25 (there is no instance of -hwelc). Also in homily XII.\(^{145}\)

(vi) for WS ie or y, by i-mutation of ea, where ea has been broken from æ, in ermdu 1162, herd 1213, gerwan 1634, averged 1299, wierige ‘accursed’ 615, werigum ‘accursed’ 86, 615: probably non-WS.\(^{146}\) The form herme 671, without justification for the change from hearme, may be due to a scribal error,\(^{147}\) as with MS spelling werð (for wearð) on line 910 and the corrected MS spelling werd to weard on line 227.

(vii) for ea, by Anglian smoothing of ea broken from æ, in herigeas 1687, herig- 1124, weriges 1169.\(^{148}\)

(viii) for ea, by Anglian or late WS smoothing of ea which is broken from æ, in geseh 714, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448, mehte (also found in some early WS texts) 479, 929, fex 1427, wexe 1145, exle 1575. Brooks takes the e in gedrehte 39, awehte 584 (also in Fates 22), pehte 966, bepethe 1015, 1046 to have been introduced from the present tense.\(^{149}\)

(ix) for ëa, by Anglian smoothing, in adreg 164, ecne 636, 882, neh 542, 821, 833, 991, 1252,\(^{150}\) by Anglian or WS smoothing (Campbell) or palatal


\(^{140}\) Scragg (1992), xlvi (1.A.3.xv).

\(^{141}\) Campbell (1959), § 128.

\(^{142}\) Hogg (2011), §§ 5.188–91.

\(^{143}\) Hogg (2011), §§ 5.188–91.


\(^{145}\) Scragg (1992), xlv (1.A.3.xv).

\(^{146}\) Campbell (1959), § 200. Hogg (2011), § 5.82.

\(^{147}\) Brooks (1961), xxxv (C.5).


\(^{149}\) Brooks (1961), xxxiii (B.5). Campbell (1959), § 753 (9).

monophthongization (Hogg), in ðeh 271, 507 (ðeh h), 515, 542, 856, 900 (ðeh), 955, 1609.\(^{151}\)

(x) for WS ðe or ð by non-WS i-mutation of ða, nede 115, henðum 117, hehðo 873, 998, 1144 (also in Fates 118), herde 1176.\(^{152}\)

(xi) for eo in hefon 328, where the Anglian and WS form heofon (simplex and compounds in 33 instances) is back-mutated before a labial.\(^ {153}\) Given the rarity, this may be a scribal error.

4. i and y

(i) i is written for early WS ie after palatals, by merger of i and ie, in agifan 1415 and ofgifan 1655 and related forms (if gif- was not the true stem, rather than gef-;\(^ {154}\) and in scippend 278, cirm 41, 1237, cirm- 138. For ðe likewise, in gimdon 139, git 15, 51, 383, 632, 1487.

(ii) for the i-mutation of eo, the palatal diphthongization of a back vowel, in gingran 427, 847, 894, 1330: Anglian or early WS.\(^ {155}\)

(iii) i is written for early WS ðe followed by palatals (either as a result of the merger in note (i) above, or owing to late WS unrounding of y before a palatal), in hig 38, lig 1541, icest 1190; possibly also in cigað, if this form is not so changed after an initial palatal, as in note (i) above.\(^ {156}\)

(iv) i for ðo, by Anglian smoothing, in lihte 1397, betwinum 1103 (with loss of ð).\(^ {157}\)

(v) i in late WS unrounding of y (front-mutated from u, before c g h)\(^ {158}\) appears in hige(-) 233, 634, 971, 1005, 1054, 1213, 1252, 1654, 1691, as often as hyge(-) 36, 231, 341, 578, 817, 1087, 1557, 1664, 1709; also in oferhigdum 1318, but here outnumbered by oferhygdum 319, breosthegydum 997, gæsthegydum 861, gehygd(-) 68, 200, 1460, mishegyd 772. These examples may indicate the scribe’s preference for hygd as a fixed form. Late WS i for y is also in cinebaldum (n. 171), cining 828, 880, 912, 1192 and pryðcining 436, as against -cyning 35 times; drihten 73, 173, 248, as against dryhten 29 times. In contrast, Scragg notes that the Vercelli Book regularly has y before c, g, and h and in groups containing these letters, even where most late WS manuscripts have i-spellings.\(^ {159}\) Scragg finds this type of i-spelling occasional throughout the Vercelli Book and rarest in homilies VI-XIV (directly after Andreas) where only one instance of drihten occurs.

(vi) i occurs as an Anglian or Kentish parasite vowel in herigeas 1627, herigweardas 1124.\(^ {160}\)

(vii) Late WS y for an earlier ie, in scyppend 19, 192, 396, 434, 486, 787, scyððan 1047, scyðeð 1561, cyrm 1125, 1156; for ðe likewise, in untydde 1252, gyð 380, 814, 1039, 1195, hlyt 6, hyrd 360, scyna 76.\(^ {161}\)


\(^{152}\) Campbell (1959), § 200. Hogg (2011), § 5.82.


\(^{155}\) Hogg (2011), § 5.64.


\(^{158}\) Campbell (1959), § 316.

\(^{159}\) Scragg (1992), xlvii (1.A.4.iii).


(viii) Late WS y for eo between w and r, in wyrdə 208, wyrdəd 219, 972, wyrdəst 483, wyrdəde 55, 538 (wyrdude), wyrdədest 551, gewyrəd 116; wyrdən 215, 437, wyrdən 182, gewyrðæn 573; wyrdəndum 905.162

(ix) WS y for i in a palatal umlaut environment, in ryhte 1511.163 Late WS y for i after w-, in bhwyr 997, -hwylc 26, 132, 350, 411, 508, 785, 908, 933, 935, 980, 1100, 1152, 1228, 1283, 1372 (there is no instance of -hwilc), swylc 29, 89, 166, 247, 54, 589, 621, 704, 712, 881, 1029, 1036, 1257, 1687 (there is no instance of swilc).164 Late WS y for i also in bysmredon 962, bysmrīon 1293, bysmriegen 1357, mycel 287, 422, 815, 1166, 1481, 1605, 1690; syndan 5, 33, 295, 455, 1075, 1193, 1337, 1379, 1381, 1599, 1674, 1678, syðpan 240, 893, 1514, syþpan 43, 180, 706; symle 411, 651, 1153, as against sîððan 1106, sîþpan 1223; symles 64; synt 1422; synu 198, 391, synd 323, 744, 1365, syndon 264, 344, 676, 686, 689, 720, 973.165 The y already in early WS is in pyss 684, 973, pysson 88, 100, 112, 358, 446, 761, 1026, 1198 (dyssum) as against ðiss<a> 268, ðissa 386, ðissum 77. Late WS y for i in tyres 105, synne ‘his’ 1464.166

5. o occurs exceptionally
The letter o appears for a before nasals in brond- 504, con 15, const 1282, gong 869, 939, monna 1023, rond 9, 412, wenge 22. Scragg finds o for a before nasals nine times in homilv V (directly before Andreas), a frequency which is high relative to the rest of the prose, in which these spellings are occasional. Andreas also has ætsomne 994, 1091, tosomne 33, 1093, as against -samm- six times, in samnade 125, samnodaen 1124, gesamnodon 652, 1636, gesamnedon 1067, gesamnod 1098. At the other end of the codex, with the same disposition, Elene (1322 lines long) has ætsomne 833 and tosomne 1201, as against -samm- five times, in samnade 55, 60, samnodaen 19, gesamnod 26, 282. Scragg finds -somn- 10 times in the Vercelli prose, as against -samm- 14 times there.167 The spelling o rather than a before nasals is a feature of early WS or Anglian, and regularly so in the latter.168

6. u occurs exceptionally
For late WS for y in wunn 1713 (wurd for wyrd in Fates 42).

7. Instances of the use of ea
(i) as late WS for e, in feala 564, 584, 699, 710, 961, 969, 975, 1243, 1301, 1363, 1490, teala 1612; fela and tela are written neither here nor in Elene nor in The Dream of the Rood, both of which use feala; nor in the Vercelli prose.169
(ii) for i, in meaht 211, meahte 272, 922, 1323, meahton 1224, 1231, as against i by palatal umlaut in miht 340, 486, 595, 603, 624, 811, 816, 860, 1364, 1517, mihte 16, 477, 573, 986, 1129, 1393, 1543, mithon 132, 368, 565, 964, 1147, 1714: a ratio of 6:23.170 Conversely, Scragg finds meaht- 35 times in the Vercelli

166 Campbell (1959), § 315.
167 Scragg (1992), xlviii (1.A.6).
prose, as against *miht* only six times (all in homilies XIX-XXIII).\(^{171}\) In *Elene*, placed between homilies XX and XXIII, the ratio of verbal forms *meaht*: *miht* is 13:1. The *meaht*-forms are most likely to be early WS.

(iii) as the back mutation of *æ* arising from second fronting of *a*, in *eafor* 779, 1110, 1627, *eafoc* 30, *heafolan* 1142.\(^{172}\) These are all poetic words, not to be treated as a sign of exclusively Anglian dialect.\(^{173}\) Possibly also in *sceaðan* 1133, 1291, *folsceaðan* 1593, *leodsceaðena* 80, *deoölscseaða* 1115, although the *e* after *sc-* here may be a diacritic rather than the palatal diphthongization of a back vowel.\(^{174}\)

8. Instances of the use of *eo*

(i) For *e*, by back-mutation in *ondsweorodon* 857 (with *eo* for Merc. *ea*), *sceoran* (non-WS for early WS *scieran*) 1187.\(^{175}\) Also in *breogo* 305, *breogostol* 209, possibly by a Kentish back-mutation.\(^{176}\) The back-mutation of *e* before dentals belongs to general poetic dialect, as in *meotud-* 69, 140, 172, 357, 446, 517, 681, 694, 724, 789, 881, 902, 924, 984, 1207, 1289, 1469, 1498, 1513, 1602, 1632; *gemeotu* 454.

(ii) For *i* in *deogollice* 621, as a Mercian or possibly early WS variant of WS *dīgel*.\(^{177}\)

(iii) As an inverted spelling for *u* in *hweorfon* 640, *hweorfan* 1050 (for *hwurfen*).

(iv) Either Anglian (similar to *scyur* in the Lindisfarne Gospel glosses, Luke 12:54) or late WS for *ā* for a palatal glide after *sc* in *sceor* 512 (see n. 512).\(^{178}\)

(v) Anglian or Kentish for *y* in *seolof-* 340, 505, 921, 1300, 1441.\(^{179}\)

(vi) As a WS inverted spelling for *y* in *weorn* 769.\(^{180}\)

(vii) Anglian for *ēa*, by breaking of *ē1*, in *neon* 1176.\(^{181}\)

(viii) Non-WS *i*-mutation of *io* in *eore* 47, and of *īo* in *unheorne* 34, *steoran* 495, *steorend* 1336, *trewowe* 214, *getrewgeþofta* 984, *treowgeþoftan* 1050.\(^{182}\) The early WS reflexes are short and long *ie*, in late WS *y*. Possibly this is also the case in *neosan* 310, 484, 830, 1025, 1389, though Campbell is cautious.\(^{183}\)

(ix) For *io*, which has been back-mutated from *ī*, in *hneotan* 4, *cleofu* 310, *bremo* 242, *seolohan* 534, *cleopode* 1108. Of these forms, *hneotan* and *seolohan* are Anglian or Kentish; the others, of all dialects (although WS usually levels *eo* in these other forms to non-back-mutated variants).\(^{184}\) The form *cleopian* 1398 is either WS or Anglian.\(^{185}\)

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\(^{171}\) Scragg (1992), xlix (1.A.8.i).

\(^{172}\) Campbell (1959), § 207.

\(^{173}\) Hogg (2011), § 5.106.

\(^{174}\) So Hogg (2011), § 5.69.

\(^{175}\) Campbell (1959), § 207, 210; Hogg (2011), §§ 5.105, 5.106(1).

\(^{176}\) Campbell (1959), § 205, Hogg (2011), § 5.103.

\(^{177}\) Sievers (1951), § 141.3, n. 2.


\(^{179}\) Campbell (1959), §§ 146, 325. Hogg (2011), §§ 5.22, 5.171, n.2..

\(^{180}\) Campbell (1959), § 324.


\(^{183}\) Campbell (1959), § 416, n. 2.

\(^{184}\) Campbell (1959), § 205, Hogg (2011), § 5.103; on the levelling, see his § 5.111(1).

\(^{185}\) Hogg (2011), § 5.111(2).
(x) geongan 1311 for gangan, is more likely to be a scribal error by confusion with gengan ‘make to go’ 1095, than a Northumbrian form.\footnote{Campbell (1959), § 745 (d). Brooks (1961), xxxvii (C.22.)}


(i) \textit{hie} occurs 65 times (first on line 5), and there are no instances of either \textit{hi} or \textit{hy}; \textit{sie} 417, 1439, 1451, never \textit{si} or \textit{sy}.

(ii) By emendation for alliteration, in \textit{niedum} 1377 (MS \textit{medū}), \textit{ie} is written for late WS \textit{ỹ}.\footnote{Sisam (1953), 102.} This is probably an early WS spelling corresponding to non-WS \textit{nēdum}; compare \textit{ne} 115, \textit{nearonedum} 102, \textit{preanedum} 1624.

(iii) \textit{ie} is written for \textit{i} in \textit{gesiehðe} 620. The form \textit{sihð} would be regular late WS (by palatal umlaut); \textit{siehð} could either be early WS or, as Scragg suggests for this and some other \textit{ie} forms in the Vercelli Book prose, late Kentish.\footnote{Scragg (2001), 329 (Table 2), 330.}

10. Instances of the use of \textit{io}\footnote{Campbell (1959), § 205. Hogg (2011), § 5.103.} 

(i) Interchangeable with \textit{eo}, in \textit{bioð} 408, \textit{dioful} 1298, \textit{dioful-} 1641, \textit{gesion} 1225. The \textit{io} in \textit{giofum} 1519 may be either back-mutated \textit{i} from \textit{gifum} or back-mutated \textit{e} from a form corresponding to early WS \textit{giefum} (< *\textit{gefum}): early WS or earlier Anglian, or Kentish.\footnote{Campbell (1959), §§ 293–7, Hogg (2011), §§ 5.155–62.} In the paradigm of the definite article, the feminine \textit{sio} 167, 207, 1634 appears to be early WS (Campbell, § 708), as against \textit{seo} seven times in lines 107, 44, 613, 758, 1074, 1210, 1501. Scragg’s survey of the Vercelli prose finds conversely that \textit{sio} occurs more often than \textit{seo} in a ratio of 12:7.\footnote{Scragg (1992), lxv (1.E.6.iii).} In \textit{Elene}, where \textit{sio} occurs 14 times and \textit{seo} eleven, the numbers are more comparable. \textit{Sio} is most common in homilies I–XIV, which is also the area of \textit{Andreas} (between V and VI). Scragg concludes that the scribe copied these forms from exemplars, rather than standardizing them himself. The \textit{io}-spelling of \textit{eo} occurs throughout the Vercelli Book, with varied distribution, although “there is sufficient patterning of examples of \textit{io} to argue against them being, in the main, the introduction of the last scribe”.\footnote{Scragg (1992), 1 (1.A.9).}

(ii) \textit{io} for \textit{eo} by back mutation of \textit{i} (which appears as \textit{io} in early WS, earlier Anglian or Kentish), in \textit{frioðo} 918, \textit{sionwe} 1425.\footnote{Scragg (2001), 329 (Table 2), 330.} Here may belong \textit{io} for \textit{i} in \textit{niowan} 1670, \textit{niowinga} 1394: non-WS.\footnote{Campbell (1959), § 294. Hogg (2011), § 5.158.} 

11. Instances of the use of \textit{iu}\footnote{Campbell (1959), § 205. Hogg (2011), § 5.103.} 

The adverb \textit{iu} 438, 489, 661, 1377, 1387, a probably late WS variant spelling for WS \textit{gēo},\footnote{Campbell (1959), § 294. Hogg (2011), § 5.158.} never alliterates and there are no variant spellings in \textit{geo, gio} or \textit{eo}. Scragg finds \textit{iu} in the Vercelli prose only three times, in homilies XVIII, XXI and XXIII.\footnote{Scragg (2001), 329 (Table 2), 330.
12. Doubling of vowels for length
Long vowels are doubled in late WS faa 1593 (MS fáá), 1599 (MS fáá), taan 1099 (MS tá an) and oor 649 (MS óór). Scragg finds this 14 times in the Vercelli prose. There are no examples in the other poems.

B. Vowels in syllables with secondary stress or words with low sentence stress

1. a occurs in
Anglian or Kentish or less commonly late WS -ade suffixes for WS -ode, in Class II weak verbs, in asundrad 1243, bodad 1120, brycgade 1261, geopenad 889, gewlitegad 543, helmade 1305, hleodrade 537, 1360, myclade 1526, mycladon 1553, reordade 255, 415, 602, samnade 125, sessade 453, -stâdolade 536, 799, sweôðerade 465, þancade 1011, webbade 672, weorðade 1268, weorðadon 1055. As against 12 suffixes specifically in -ade, -ode suffixes are more common, with 49 instances, for example in gestaðelode 162, ondswarode 260, wunode 163.

2. e
(i) occurs as late WS for medial i before back vowels in gewlitegad 543, halegum 104, manegum 960, 1120, 1708, weregum 59. Frequent in the Vercelli prose.
(ii) occurs as late Anglian or WS for o, in variation of -od l -odon, in beheled 790, cwanedon 1536, gesamnedon 1067, teledon 1103, geteled 665, 1035, wenede 1682, wilmedon 448, wunedon 131, 868, 1158.
(iii) occurs as late WS for o in geofene 1531, 1615, heofenum 89, 168, 195.
(iv) occurs for ie in MS geomriende 1665 for metrically better (Anglian) geomrende (n. 1665). This disyllabic ende-ending is treated as a dating criterion for a terminus ad quem not much later than the Alfredian period.
(v) is omitted initially in gwyrhtum 1180, where a suspension mark over g is perhaps lost (compare MS ðseah 1492) and finally in est 483.

3. o occurs
(i) for a in bruconne 23.
(ii) for eo in wintergeworpum 1256; likewise for weorc in wundorworca 705, as against primarily stressed weorc 799, 1277, 1365; geweorc 1077, 1495 and eight instances in compounds, on lines 232, 737, 773, 804, 1066, 1235, 1370 and 1410. A late WS form.

4. u occurs

199 Scragg (1992), li (1.A.11).
206 Scragg (1992), xlix (1.A.7.ii).
(i) For epenthetic o in *foddurpege* 1101, and for superlative -or in *furður* 1350.\(^{207}\)

(ii) in -ude for WS -ode, in *ondswarude* 202, *wyrdude* 538. This indicates an early Anglian (or early WS) spelling.\(^{208}\)

C. Consonants

1. *b* is inorganic in adverbial *symble* 157, 659, 1384, 1581, as in homilies XV, XVI, XVII, as well as in *symbel* in homily VII.\(^{209}\)

2. *c*

   (i) *c* is written in *ch* in *ach* 1592, for *ah* 23, 518, 569, 1209, 1670, 1703 (see in 6 (ii) below).

   (ii) There is a metathesis of *sc* to *cs* in *acsigan* 1134, as against *geascodon* 43.\(^{210}\)

3. *d*

   (i) is confused with *ð* in unemended forms *dugud* 394, *dugudum* 342, and possibly *meord* 275 (though *meord* is accepted with *d* in *Guthlac* (B) 1041 and 1086).\(^{211}\) The other way about, with -*d* for-*d*, there is *adropen* 1425, *bedeleð* 309, *waða* 1457, *wyrded* 219. With -*d* for-*d* likewise, the Vercelli prose has *oferswided* in homily III, *getacnoð* in homily V and *hlystned* in homily XIV.\(^{212}\) Sisam notes that the scribe’s *ð* and *d* are commonly alike, apart from the crossbar, with much confusion.\(^{213}\)

   (ii) is omitted in *lan / sceare* 501 at the end of a page-line, and in *han hrine* 1000; also likewise in *han* in homily XIV as well as in *milheort* in homily XVIII and in some other words in which *and*- is confused with *on*-\(^{214}\)

4. *f* is replaced by *u* in *eauedum* 1142, as it is in *beigraene* in *Elene* 834, and in *gedauenlic* twice in homily XVI: a late WS spelling, more common in eleventh-century manuscripts.\(^{215}\)

5. *g*

   (i) is omitted after a vowel (and before especially *h, d, t, n*) with compensatory lengthening, in *ælmihti* 260 (though *god* follows), *frine* 633, *frinest* 629, *gefrunan* 1, *gramhydig* 1694, *widerhydig* 675, *seede* 1022, *oferbræd* 1306: early and (more commonly) late WS.\(^{216}\) Scragg finds this omission to be common in the Vercelli prose, except in homilies VI-XIV (directly after *Andreas*) where such *g* is always omitted (24 instances).\(^{217}\)

\(^{207}\) Campbell (1959), §§ 670; cf. 574(3). Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 3.58.

\(^{208}\) Campbell (1959), § 757.

\(^{209}\) Scragg (1992), liv (1.D.1).


\(^{211}\) Roberts (1979), 114-15.

\(^{212}\) Scragg (1992), lx (1.D.14.ii).

\(^{213}\) Sisam (1976), 23.

\(^{214}\) Scragg (1992), liv (1.D.3.i).


\(^{217}\) Scragg (1992), lv (1.D.5.iv).
(ii) is unhistorically supplied in a reverse spelling of the above, in *wiggendra* 1095.\(^{218}\)

(iii) is lost initially in *eogoðe* 1122, where *g* was palatal and no alliteration (on *d*) is required; and in *eador* 1627, where it was velar and no alliteration is allowed (*ea*, *un*, *eall*, *eador*): a late WS feature.\(^{219}\) Scragg finds this loss unambiguous (given the lack of confusion with a *ge-* prefix) before *eorn-* for *georn-* in the homilies after *Andreas*, in VI, VIII, X, XII.\(^{220}\) Neither *The Dream of the Rood* nor *Elene*, towards the end of the codex, have this loss.

(iv) represents, as medial (*i*) *g*, either an Anglian stem variant, or, in the case of *lifgende* 378, 459 and *lifigende* 1409, a late WS *lifian* (*leofian*) reformed as a stem of class II.\(^{221}\) The same participial form occurs in *Elene* as *lifgende* 486, *unlifgender* 878 and as *lifgende* in homilies I, V (before *Andreas*), and XXII, as *lifgende* in homily I, as *lifende* in homilies V, XIII and as *lyfgende* in homilies X and XXII.\(^{222}\)

(v) is written for *-h* (as a reverse spelling at the time of the unvoicing of historical *-g* to *-h*) in *befealg* 1326, *fealg* 284: late WS or Kentish (or late Anglian).\(^{223}\) This occurs with *feorg* 58, *þurg* 13, 63, *ðurg* 72 also in *Fates* and in the Vercelli prose (*feorg* in homily I).\(^{224}\) For the *-g > -h* unvoicing, see note 6 (i) below.

6. *h*


(ii) is written in the digraph *ch* for *-h* in *ach* 1592, a variant of *ac* and *ah*. This spelling for *h* is eighth-century Northumbrian (the Moore Bede and Durham *Liber Vitae*) and Mercian (*Erfurt Glossary* 364), although it appears once in WS in *Ealchstan* in the Winchester manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, s.a. 845.\(^{226}\) Fulk considers *ah* 23, 518, 569, 1209, 1670, 1703 to be the sign of an Anglian scribe; in his view, these aspirated forms are ‘probable evidence of the Anglian origins of *Andreas* and the *Fates of the Apostles*, or at least of an earlier Anglian recension’.\(^{227}\)

(iii) is written unhistorically in *be hlidenan* 1089, since emended to *belidenan*.\(^{228}\)

7. *l* is commonly omitted: in *eadorgeard* 1181, probably; the scribe omits *l* elsewhere in *eadermen*, homily I 59, besides *hreg* also in homily I and *deofum* twice in homily XXI.\(^{229}\) The scribe corrects his own *sceode* to *sceolde* with superscript in folio 44 recto 24 (*Andreas* 1132).\(^{230}\)

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\(^{218}\) Campbell (1959), § 271.


\(^{220}\) Scragg (1992), lv.


\(^{222}\) Scragg (1992), 444, sv. ‘*lifigende*’.


\(^{224}\) Scragg (1992), lvi (1.D.5.viii).


\(^{226}\) Campbell (1959), § 57 (3) and n. 4. Bately (1986), 43. Hogg (2011), §§ 2.60, 7.52.

\(^{227}\) Fulk (1992), § 353 (10).

\(^{228}\) Hogg (2011), § 7.48.

\(^{229}\) Scragg (1992), lvi (1.D.7.i).

\(^{230}\) Sisam (1976), 28.
8. m is omitted at the end of a page-line in hear / locan 95.

9. p is omitted in cam redden 4; also in camwerod in homily XV, in the latter perhaps by confusion of p and wynn.\(^{231}\) Note the partly erased initial p in pop 1666, which is here emended to wop.

10. r is metathesized in gyrstandæge 852 (emended from MS gyrstran daege)\(^{232}\) as apparently in sorbyrhen 1152 (for sorgbyrhen). Scragg finds nirnde probably for ne rinde in homily XX and fyrmðe in homilies VII and XIV for frymðe (14 times in the Vercelli prose).\(^{233}\)

11. Unhistoric doubling of etymological single consonants

(i) after a short vowel or diphthong, ell- in ellþeod 26, 163, 678, 972, 1559, full- 1640, scell 1483, sceall 181, snottre 659, snyttro 554, 631 (-a), 646 (-un), 1165, wættre 953: late OE.

(ii) after a vowel shortened from a long vowel, attor 770, attre 1331, foddorþege 160, foddurþege 1101, geliccost 501, 953, hlutterne (scribally corrected from hluterne) 312, hluttre 1063, untyddre 1252, upp 1792, prinnesse 1687: late OE;\(^{234}\) it ‘occurs sporadically’ in the Vercelli Book, with geliccost also in homily II.\(^{235}\)

(iii) after a long vowel, before scribal correction, in ecce 1064.

(iv) after a consonant, in -ferþþe 1233.

12. Simplification of etymological geminate (i.e. double) consonants\(^{236}\) The late WS forms are rare in Andreas: biterne 616, niða 1377, pisa in brimpisan 1657, 1699. Scragg, in contrast, finds 24 different words in 36 instances in the Vercelli prose.\(^{237}\) The older and conventional forms in Andreas, not included by Scragg, are con 195, eal 19, 945, man only in mancynn 69, 172, 446, 540, 846, 945, 1502, mon 646, feor 191, 252, 542, 638, 898, 928.

D. Accidence

1. Nouns

(i) a appears in -as as late WS genitive singular for -es in heofonas 1501, wuldras 523. Scragf finds genitive singular heofonas in homily XV and Adams in homily X.\(^{238}\)

(ii) e appears exceptionally, late OE for -u, in neuter nominative and accusative plural strong adjectives, in gewätte 375, swatige 1406, wæste 1159, wraetlice and agræfene 712.

(iii) o appears for u, for example in brego 61, 540, brimståedo 496, hehdo 873, 998, 1144, wædo 375, yrmdo 1190.

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\(^{231}\) Scragg (1992), lviii (1.D.10.i).


\(^{233}\) Scragg (1992), lviii-ix (1.D.11.ii).


\(^{235}\) Scragg (1992), lx-lxi (1.D.17.i).


\(^{237}\) Scragg (1992), lxi (1.D.18).

\(^{238}\) Scragg (1992), lii (1.C.1).
(iv) Late WS instrumental dative for -um occurs with -an in prymman 1139, waðuman 1280. MS ræswum 1622, since emended to ræswan, is a reverse spelling.

2. Pronouns
   (i) The accusatives of the first and second person pronoun singular are only me and þe, with neither mec nor þec. Nor do Soul and Body I, Homiletic Fragment I and The Dream of the Rood, between homilies XVIII and XIX, contain the archaic forms of these pronouns despite the likelihood that the third of these poems is derived from an archaic poem (whose other reflex is attested on the Ruthwell Cross in Northumbria c. 730). Mec occurs (written for þec) in the Vercelli prose only in homily XXIII.239 In Elene, before this homily at the end of the codex, mec and þec occur in the minority five times each (with mec at lines 469, 528, 818, 99, 1077 and þec at lines 403, 447, 539, 676 and 930). From this disposition it may be inferred that the scribe standardized these forms in all copying except in that of the final two quires (18-19: Scragg’s ‘C’); these had probably been copied at an earlier stage within the quire sequence 16-19 (Sisam’s ‘E’).240
   (ii) Archaic forms of the first and second plural personal pronouns are accusative usic (MS us ic) 286 and accusative eowic (MS eow ic) 259, 882, as against accusatives us 10 times (lines 265, 269, 273, 292, 330, 434, 596, 852, 1420, 1561) and eow once (lines 347).241
   (iii) A poetic and possibly Anglian-derived form of the first person plural pronominal possessive adjective occurs with accusative masculine singular userne 340, 397, 860 and genitive plural ussa 1319 (assimilated from (Northumbrian) *ūsra), as against the genitive of the pronoun used adjectivally in ure 454.242 Fates has usse 116 for the accusative plural feminine, while Elene has usse 425 and 458 for the nominative masculine plural in the formula fæderas usse. The -ss- forms occur in many late WS texts, and in the Vercelli prose there is ussum (homily I, XIV), usse (II), usses (XII) and ussa (II, XXII).243

3. Adjectives
   (i) nominative -e is omitted finally in est ‘kind’ 483.
   (ii) Late WS strong adjectival dative for -um in -on is in probably bestemdon 487 and by emendation haton 1241 (MS hat of).
   (iii) Late WS strong adjectival dative for -um occurs with -an in cealdan 1212.

4. Prepositions
   The preposition mid occurs 54 times, governing the dative case in 51 instances and the accusative in three: mid Andreas 79 (dative Andrea 1135, 1569), mid dryhten 626 and mid pas willgedryht 914 (Fates also has mid wuldorcining 74). This is often taken to be an Anglian usage, and Mitchell notes that most examples of mid plus the accusative ‘refer to individuals’.244

5. Verbs

239 Scragg (1992), lxv (1.E.6.i).
241 Hogg and Fulk (2011), § 5.32.
244 Mitchell (1985), § 1195.
(i) Forms of the second and third person present indicative of strong verbs are generally unmutated and rarely contracted in Andreas. Clearly mutated is cymeð 512, possibly so, gifed 1151. Unmutated are bebuged 333, blewed 646; probably færeð 497, if a non-WS form with first fronting (but i-mutated if a form with analogically restored a); forletest 1413, gehwoerfest 974, hateð 1505, hleotest 480, hwoerfest 1117, scyðeð 1561, snoweð 504, wyrðest 483 and wyrðeð 219 and 972. Uncontracted strong verbal forms in which i-mutation has been levelled away are generally regarded as Anglian or proper to verse, in the first case especially in the Vespasian Psalter (with the exception of cymeð) and in Northumbrian spellings. In the Vercelli prose, uncontracted and unmutated forms are typical of homilies I-II, V-XVIII (Andreas and Fates are copied between V and VI), contracted and usually mutated of III-IV and XIX-XXII. In Andreas, contracted and mutated singular present indicative forms of strong verbs are found only in the second person in becwist 193, 304, 418 and in the third in becwïð 210; these forms are typical of poetry. OE becwædan occurs only here in Andreas, nor is (ge-)cwædan found here in the present tense. The corresponding forms in weak verbs are likewise uncontracted.

(ii) In the stem vowel, the genitive plural past participle fordenera 43 reflects archaic i-mutation of ō. This is also in Cynewulf’s Christ II (in the Exeter Book), which has forden 1206, gedenra 1265 and bifen 1157. The change occurs in all dialects, and these forms are also comparable with Northumbrian dōen, which resembles the dissyllabic -fōen and -hōen (< *fangen and < *hangen.

(iii) An early w-infix in cuman (Class IV) is found in -cwom 738 278, becwom 827, as against forms with com in 21 instances (com 88, 124, 242 etc, becom- 666, 788, 1666 only); an Anglian or subdialectal early WS mutated present subjunctive of cuman occurs in cyme 188, 400, 660.

(iv) Fossilized reduplicating preterites of Class VII strong verbs hātan and lācan are in respectively heht 365, 1466 (and Fates 45) and forleolc 614, forleolce 1364; the poem more often has het, on lines 330, 587, 796, 807, 822, 931, 944, 1390, 1575, 1632. However, Elene gives heht in 19 instances (lines 42, 79, 91 etc), het only once (line 214). In the Vercelli prose, -het- is the usual form whereas -heht- appears only in homilies I (three times) and XVII (twice). It appears therefore that the exemplar of Andreas and Fates has standardized to het, less probably the Vercelli Book scribe. The reduplicating forms are a part of poetic language, although it seems that all the varied textual instances of these and other forms have some Anglian base or connection.

(v) The original form of the second person singular weak preterite indicative occurs in woldes 308, feredes 1363, forhogodes 1381. If not due to a scribal error, this -es ending matches the standard ending in the Vespasian Psalter (for example -

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245 Campbell (1959), § 742.
246 Brooks (1961), xxxviii (D.5).
250 Campbell (1959), § 742.
251 Scragg (1992), lxviii (1.E.7.ix).
hogdes), also in Northumbrian forms.\textsuperscript{253} There are no examples in \textit{The Dream of the Rood} or \textit{Elene}, and Scragg does not look for any in the Vercelli prose.\textsuperscript{254}

(i) Late WS indicative preterite plural (Campbell, § 735) for \textit{-an} occurs with \textit{-an} in \textit{gefrunan} 1, \textit{dydan} 27, \textit{geblendan} 33, \textit{murdan} 37 etc.

(ii) Late WS subjunctive plural for \textit{-en} occurs with \textit{-an} in \textit{aswebban} 72, \textit{habban} 976, and with \textit{-on} in \textit{tobrugdon} 159.

\textbf{Vocabulary}

The use of an Anglian poetic vocabulary is now treated as integral to early WS poetic composition, as a matter of traditional poetic language.\textsuperscript{255} Just as with some verse phonology which is apparently Anglian, certain words which were once specified as Anglian are now better treated as evidence of a poetic ‘Saxon patois’. From Alfred onwards into the reign of his son, Edward the Elder (899-924), this was the representation of a supradialectal English through various hybrids of WS and Mercian.\textsuperscript{256} At the same time, on the evidence of the manuscripts of the Old English Bede, there appears to have been some WS scribal and textual tolerance of Anglian forms even in WS centres which were removed from the evolution of a supradialectal WS-Mercian mix in Winchester or other towns.\textsuperscript{257} To illustrate the mix, the dialect of \textit{The Metres of Boethius} from the late ninth century is assured as southern, and Alfredian, on account of internal as well as contextual criteria, despite the fact that the poem contains many uncontracted verbal forms of Anglian type.\textsuperscript{258} Similarly to \textit{Judith}, which Griffiths but not Fulk takes to be a poem of WS origin,\textsuperscript{259} \textit{The Metres} has ten words which Franz Wenisch lists as Anglian: \textit{beðeccan}, \textit{gefrignan}, \textit{in}, \textit{mordor}, \textit{nānig}, \textit{recene}, \textit{þenden}, \textit{þrāg}, \textit{þrēat}, \textit{worn}.\textsuperscript{260} Each of these words is also attested in \textit{Andreas}, which has many others of Anglian type. Stressed words of Anglian type in \textit{Andreas} are \textit{beþehte} 1015; \textit{gefrægn} 1093, 1706, \textit{gefrunan} 1; \textit{mordor}-19, 177, 772, 975, 1004, 1140, 1303, 1599; \textit{recene} 1511; \textit{þrag} -107 (\textit{þrah}), 790, 1230 and 1598 (both \textit{ðrag}-); \textit{þreat} 376, 870, 1095, 1269, 1608, 1636; \textit{worn} 812, 904. Unstressed, so less significant, are \textit{in} 60 times as against \textit{on} 170 times, \textit{þenden} 1288, and once \textit{nānig} (544; stressed on lines 986, 1037). However, none of these words of Anglian type, perhaps with the exception of \textit{in},\textsuperscript{261} are unambiguous indicators of the dialect of the poet of \textit{Andreas}, for it is now believed that Anglian words were fashionable for West Saxon poets.

Those words which are more reliably taken to indicate Anglian poets are words which are not found in pure WS prose; that is, in prose which is defined as free of Mercian influence. Other words, if they appear rarely in Alfredian texts, may be treated as Anglian features which were introduced by Alfred’s Mercian translators. Of non-WS-adopted Anglian words in \textit{Andreas}, we have the following examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Scragg (1992), lxviii-lxx (1.E.8).
  \item Fulk (1992), §§ 356-59.
  \item Gretsch (2001), 286-88.
  \item Waite (2014), 78-79.
  \item Griffith (1997), 23, n. 75: ‘mainly at points where the underlying prose is different’.
  \item Wenisch (1982), 291-92; see also Wenisch (1979), 325. Sisam (1953), 119-39, esp. 124.
  \item Fulk (1992), § 362.
\end{itemize}
(i) *ac* as *num*(*quid*) ‘surely’, introducing a question, in *ac he he þara wundra a?* 569. In prose, the interrogative particles *ac* and *ac ne* occur only in Wærferth’s translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues* and in Vercelli homily I, both in WS texts originally of Mercian dialect; in the former, in the text in Oxford, MS Bodley, Hatton 78, from the second third of the eleventh century, *ac ne* is Saxonized into *hu ne* for greater intelligibility. 263 Fulk takes the *h*-final spelling of *ac* here to provide ‘probable evidence of the Anglian origins of *Andreas* and the *Fates of the Apostles*, or at least of an earlier Anglian recension’. 264

(ii) *bāsnian* ‘to await, abide’, in *basnode* 447, 1065. 265

(iii) *blinnan* ‘to cease’, in *blon* 1266. 266

(iv) *ealdorsācerd* ‘high priest’ 670. This word appears in Northumbrian and Mercian gospel glosses as well as in Vercelli homily I, of Mercian origin, and is found nowhere else in Old English verse. 267

(v) *gēna* ‘still’, in non-alliterating but stressed final position as *gena* 422, 475. Both this word and *gēt(a)* ‘still’ are found in Anglian prose, ‘but only the latter in pure West-Saxon texts’, while the use of *g(t)ēn(a)* is overwhelming in poems thought to be Anglian: *Genesis A* (7), *Beowulf* (13), and Cynewulf’s signed poems (20). 268

(vi) *lēoran* ‘to depart’, in *leorde* 124 and *leordan* 1042: Mercian, for it has no attestation in non-Mercian inspired WS prose and occurs in the language of the Vespasian Psalter glosses. 269 Kenneth Sisam’s reluctance to define this word as solely Anglian is based on the fact that neither *Beowulf*, which he considered to be an Anglian poem, nor *Genesis*, nor the signed poems of Cynewulf, has an instance. 270 Yet the word may be typical of a time after these poems were composed, or of a dialectal variant at the same time. OE *lēoran* occurs also in a number of poems, which may consequently be taken to be of Anglian origin; less probably, of a composition which aspires to a dialectal vocabulary which is proper to verse.

(vii) *meorð* ‘reward’, on line 275: Campbell treats this as an Anglian variant, with retention of *r* (< earlier *z*) and breaking of *e*, of the commoner *mēd* ‘meed’ (< *merd*, with loss of *r* and compensatory lengthening (n. 275). 271 For this word the spellings appear to be two: *meorð* once in the Mercian-WS translation of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (IV.31); and *meord* in *Guthlac* (B) 1041 and 1086.

(viii) *nemne* ‘except’ 664. The strongest indicator of a Mercian origin for *Andreas*. WS prose texts and poems favour *būtan*; Fulk takes the word

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262 Wenisch (1979), 97-102.
263 Hecht (1900-1907), 39 (line 19) and 149 (line 5). Scragg (1992), 18 (line 27: *Numquid... Ac ne*).
264 Fulk (1992), § 353 (10).
265 Wenisch (1979), 104. Jordan (1906), 58.
268 Fulk (1992), § 360. Jordan (1906), 49.
270 Sisam (1953), 129.
271 Campbell (1959), §§ 123, n.2 and 404.
nemne, a variant of Anglian nefne or nymþe (nemþe), to be ‘an exclusively Mercian lexical item’.  

(ix) oferhygd ‘pride’, in oferhygdum 319 and oferhigdum 1318: since Brooks’ edition, Hans Schabram identified this word as proper to Anglian dialect, as opposed to the WS or southern ofermōd. The glosses of the Vespasian Psalter have this word and derivatives for all 22 instances of superbia, superbus and superbire.  

(x) sceððan ‘to harm’, West-Saxonized with a palatal glide y for early WS ie in scydðan 1047 and scyðeð 1561. This word, although it appears in Alfredian prose, appears to be an Anglian loanword there in that it is foreign to southern glossators. Its occurrence as sceððan in Vercelli homily VII and gesceððan in XXII confirms the Anglian origin of these works.  

(xi) scūa ‘shadow’, in under dimscuan 141: its occurrence in Aldhelm glosses is the only apparent reason why this word is not accepted as Anglian, yet Wenisch argues that the glossator’s form reflects his own Anglian dialect.  

(xii) unfyrn ‘not late’, in unfyrn faca 1371: apparently ‘not late on any occasions’, with the genitive plural of masculine fec ‘time’, therefore ‘before long’ or ‘soon’ (n. 1371). This collocation is found in Resignation 43, in which a man says that he knows he must die ful unfyr<n> faca ‘with no delay at all’ (line 43); Jordan and Wenisch take this poem to be Mercian, in that it contains one accented use of lōran with leorde on line 31 (see (i) above). The word unfyrn occurs singly five times, all in prose: four times in the translation of Gregory’s Dialogues by Bishop Wærferth in the late ninth century; and once, in the opening words of Blickling Homily XII, for Pentecost Sunday, of the mid- to late tenth century. It has been argued that the more reliable text of Wærferth’s translation was written in his Mercian dialect. The language of the Blickling homily, though late WS, may have a Mercian base, for it has non-WS, probably Mercian, forms in the ē in ten nihtum and ned (in nedpeaðf (Northumbrian neid-). On this evidence it seems likely that the oddly rare adverb unfyrn is a word of Anglian origin.

Linguistic conclusion
The sole surviving text of Andreas was copied by a Kentish scribe whose dialect occasionally influenced the late WS standard in which he worked. The nature of this

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275 Brooks (1961), xxxiv-v (B (23)). Wenisch (1979), 211-12, 327 (4.2.3.a). Scragg (1992), 136 (line 67), 368 (line 12).
276 Wenisch (1979), 215-17.
277 Wenisch (1979), 175-78.
278 Hecht (1965), 226 (lines 3-4), 62 (line 24), 71 (lines 17-18).
281 Campbell (1959), §§ 42, 270, 682.
standard is now regarded as a topic on which much work remains to be done. This scribe, however, working towards his own understanding of late WS, appears to have standardized some words such as *pæm, me and þe, over pæm, me and þe, which do not occur (A.2.iii; D.2.i). With other elements, there again, such as the diphthong io or eo in *seo / sio or beόd / bióð, he seems at least partly to have followed the vagaries of an exemplar (A.10.i). His late WS forms include: -wylm (A.2.i); glewra (A.2. viii); scerp, aget, togenes (A.3. iv); hige, cining and drihten (A.4.v); cyrm, gyt, hlyt, hyrde, scyna, scyppend (A.4.vii); gewyrðan and wyrðymyd (A.4.viii); ryht and ysdan (A.4.ix); feala and teala (A.7.i); reverse spellings hweorfan and hweorfan (A.8.iii); late spellings wunn (A.6) and eaueðum (B.4); the variant spellings faa, taan and oor (A.12; cited here without their accents); the doubling of consonants (C.11); -as for -es (D.1.i) and -an for -um (D.1. iv) in nominal inflexional endings, and -an for -on (D.5.vi) and -en (D.5.vii) in verbal endings, with a reverse spelling -um for -an in *raeswun 1622 (D.1.iv). The scribe’s errors include waest for wast (A.2.iv) and possibly hefon (A.3.xi) and herme, werd and werð (A.3.vi) for heofon, hearme, weard and wearð. His late WS shows through in eogode and eador for geogode and geador (C.5.iii), whereas other forms, including breogo (A.8.i) may be Kentish (see also A.2.v; 3.i, ii, iii, iv; 8. v, viii, ix; 9.iii; 10.ii, ii; B.1; C.5.v).

There are also enough early WS forms to indicate that at an earlier stage, Andreas, together with its companion Fates, passed through a recension by a scribe using an early dialect of Wessex. There is early WS *i > i in scyppend, cirm, gimdon, git (for gīet; A.4.i); meaht for miht (A.7.ii); as well as he and sē and never *hilky or *silsy (A.9.i), niedum (MS medum) for nedum (A.9.ii), and probably gesiðe for gesiðe (A.9.iii); and perhaps early WS lowering in *swelc (A.3.v). More evidence of hybridity arises in cases of Anglian phonology and grammar. Some of the features are not usual in late WS, but are shared with Anglian texts; some are both Anglian and early WS; others are generally non-WS, that is, both Anglian and Kentish. The early WS forms support an Alfeldian context for the first recension of this poem. In phonology, there is Anglian bæld and wælm (and welm, apparently a southern mutation of wealm) besides beald and wylm (A.2.i); meðel and fregn by Mercian second fronting instead of meðel and fregn (A.3.ii); edre, segon and wæg besides æдре, sawon and wæg (A.3.iii); adreg and neh besides adreh i-g and neah (A.3.ix); betwinum besides betweonum (A.4.iv); the spelling o rather than a before nasals in con, gong, monna and -somme (A.5); and Anglian or Kentish seolf (A.8.vii) and hneotan, seopfan, and perhaps breomo, cleofu (A.8.ix).

As regards Anglian forms without WS variants in Andreas, the words aht and stærcd- have Anglian smoothing (A.2.vii), and the poem also uses herig and wērīg- instead of hearg and wērarg (A.4. vi) and -sweorodon instead of -swardon (A.8.i). Also perhaps Anglian, though their forms could be non-WS more generally (i.e. including Kentish), are e.g. sceoran (A.8.i), eo for y (A.8.viii), ea > e by i-mutation (A.3.vi, A.3.x), and probably also raced (A.2.vi). Among Andreas’ fairly numerous words in Anglian form are neon (A.8.viii), ach (C.6.ii) and retracted aldor and others of the same group which probably belonged also to early dialects in Wessex (A.1.ii), as well as being frequent in verse. Equally common property are traditional poetic words such as bold and the back-mutated meotud (A.8.i) and eafor, eafōð, heafolan (A.7.iii), the pronouns usic and eowic (D.2. ii) and userne (D.2. iii), the Anglian usage of the preposition mid with the accusative (D.4); forms of the second and third person present indicative of strong verbs which are both unmutated and uncontracted (D.5. i);

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282 Scragg (2009), 58-61.
and with the reduplicating preterites of strong verbs *hatan* and *lacan* (D.5.iv).

*Andreas* has moreover older (Anglian) second person singular forms of weak preterites in *woldes, feredes* and *forhogodes* (D.5.v). Where vocabulary is concerned, there is evidence of an Anglian interrogative construction with *ac*, and evidence of specifically Anglian words in mostly stressed, and so operative, forms of *bāsnian, blinnan, ealdorsācerd, gēna, lēoran, meorð, aferhygd, scyðdan* (for *sceðdan*), *-scūa* and *unfyrn*; as well as of a particularly Mercian word in *nemne*. This poet’s vocabulary might be represented as WS, were it not that much of it more closely resembles the Vespasian Psalter glosses’ Mercian dialect of the mid to late ninth century. The metrically sounder Mercian assumption *gēomrende* for MS *geomriende* on line 1665, which is supported by the Vespasian Psalter glosses (A.2.iv), gives yet another reason to date *Andreas* in or not much later than the period of Alfred (ruled 871-99).

In this way, the question about *Andreas* before its putative Alfredian recension is whether it was first composed in WS, with a traditional repertoire of Anglian words and features, or in a Mercian dialect which a WS scribe adapted into his or her own. Both options presuppose a WS poetic emulation of Mercia going as far back as the period 770-820 in which the power of King Offa and his successors inspired West Saxon poets. Against this background, either *Andreas* emulated Mercian poems, or it was a Mercian poem itself. In the first case, the *Paris Psalter* and *The Metres of Boethius* reveal that WS poets of the late ninth century imitated Mercian verse by playing to common features of dialect and by using Anglian words. In these circumstances, any adaptation to the WS dialect in the performance or copying of Mercian poems would be conditioned by dialectal resemblance between Mercian and WS. The second case looks stronger, however. Although the evidence with *Andreas* is of a supradialectal ‘Saxon patois’, the poem’s eleven non-WS Anglian words and one clear Mercian word tip the balance in favour of the poet of *Andreas* being a Mercian. In addition, the spelling of *ach* and the mixed spellings in the *waldend* group (with *ach* copied once and *wealdend* six times as against *waldend* nine) speak for a recension by a Mercian scribe in or for Wessex.

#### 4. Metre and prosody

The scansion of all Old English poems is usually based on a model of five types of Germanic alliterative half-line (A-E) which the grammarian Eduard Sievers observed and classified in the late nineteenth century. Sievers’ taxonomy was brilliant but theoretical, in that no contemporary treatise survives with which to prove it. The problem with Germanic half-lines is how to scan them without ambiguity, for the definition and ranking of some words in the stress hierarchy is variable; and as the half-lines usually have more words or syllables than the model allows, extra unstressed positions must be added to the two main stresses (or ‘lifts’). Some half-lines seem to have only one stressed element (A 3, ‘light verses’, or (a)), while others have three (‘heavy’, hypermetric). Although ‘resolution’ may be adopted to deal with these anomalies, by which two short syllables are counted as equal to one long, there can be disagreement here too. The linguist Hans Kuhn, notwithstanding this complexity, chose verse as the primary material for his monograph on word-order and

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284 Sievers (1893): A = /X/X; B = X/X/; C = X//X; D = //XX; E = /XX/.
sentence stress in early Germanic languages, because Germanic verse is archaic in form and offers information on stress. Basing his work on Sievers’ metrical types, Kuhn defined two observational facts about early Germanic prosody which are now known as ‘laws’: the *satzpartikelgesetz* ‘law of clause particles’; and the *satzspitzen gesetz* ‘law of the clause-initial position’. 285 According to the first law, the more prominent, it is natural for lesser unstressed words, such as conjunctions, pronouns, short adverbs and certain finite verbs, to cluster at the beginning of a clause. 286 The second law says that if there is an unstressed position (a dip or drop) at the beginning of a clause, it must contain at least one clause particle. 287 Thus the normal position of unstressed particles in the clause is that they occur either in a cluster immediately before, or in a cluster immediately after, the first stressed element in the clause; but not in both positions at once. Where an Old English half-line differs from this norm, it is sometimes said to ‘violate’ the law.

Alan Bliss translated Kuhn’s two syntactical laws and tried them out on *Beowulf*. 288 Having found that this poem closely adhered, he enshrined them as a metrical standard. Before long, the metrical skill of all Old English poems was judged by Kuhn’s Laws, as if these had been codified by a contemporary. When Dr K. Stevens applied them to the metre of *Andreas*, he vindicated Bliss’ interpretation of Kuhn’s Laws by using *Beowulf* as the yardstick. 289 Like Bliss and Brooks, Stevens posits underlying forms and sometimes favours emendation when the metre requires it: for example, with *hild<e>bedd* 1092a, where a medial syllable is grammatically required by the final short vowel. 280 However, he also uses the Laws to denigrate *Andreas*: ‘If *Beowulf* is considered to exemplify classical OE poetry written to a high standard, then we can safely say that the metre of *Andreas* also approaches that standard’. 281 The fallacy hereby engendered is that our poet strives to equal *Beowulf* and makes ‘clumsy’ and ‘unintelligent’ attempts to do so. 282

Lately the Kuhnian norm has run into trouble, however. Although the notion of *Andreas*’ metrical inferiority has gained a widespread acceptance, the inherent circularity in method has been noted, as well as a semantic difficulty in coining English terms out of Kuhn’s German. The validity of applying Kuhn’s verse-derived prosodic laws back to alliterative verse has accordingly been attacked or modified as well as accepted. 283 One view more recently winning ground is that the prosodic test of Kuhn’s Laws reveals linguistic change and may indicate relative chronology. 284 It has already been argued on the basis of metre that *Andreas* was composed later than Cynewulf’s poems, which have themselves been thought to be composed after *Beowulf* and before the Mercian-WS translation of the *Pastoral Care*. 285

The following discussion owes much to work which treats Kuhn’s Laws both as a relative dating criterion and as a latent poetic constraint. 286 The latter case is verified

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285 Kuhn (1933), 8, 43.
287 Suzuki (2012b), 7-12.
288 Bliss (1958), 6-10.
292 Stevens (1981), 25
by Daniel Donoghue, in whose view Anglo-Saxon poets ‘learned the “rules” rather
instinctively, roughly the same way that a child learns the complexities of a language,
not simply to abstract rules and principles as they are set out in grammar books, but
by imitation’.297 Where the Laws offer a dating criterion, Stevens finds that Andreas
does not differ significantly from Beowulf in such metrical features as the placement
of the caesura, anacrusis or extrametrical syllables in a half-line, double alliteration
and the general distribution of stressed syllables, ‘where the Andreas-poet is nearly as
scrupulous as the Beowulf-poet’.298 With contracted syllables, therefore, as where
the scribe writes tireadige hæleð (on line 2b) for the metrichly more suitable *tireadge
hæleð, there are many instances of metrically required syncopation both in Andreas
and Beowulf.299 In MS geomriende on line 1665 of Andreas, as we have seen, the
claim has been made for an underlying syncopated and also Mercian form géomrende,
on the basis of suitability to metrical type D.300 Two more representative examples
here are hāđ(e)ne sweðfon at line 1002b and ðen(i)ge hæbbe at line 1521b.
Syncopation seems equally certain to Stevens in cases where a ‘parasite vowel’
(supernumerary before l, r, m or n) is written though was probably not pronounced, as in
corrō(o)r dōrum getang 138b and ðeod(e)n lēofesta 288a. Moreover, Stevens would
remove the inflection from a series of infinitives on similar metrical grounds, in
beornas tō brūcanne 1160a, weor<e> tō gepoligenne 1659b, sār tō gепoliene
1689b; and, because of Brooks’ invocation of Kuhn’s Law, in mycel is tō seccanne
1481b.301 Kendall is not the first to find that Andreas ‘shared a traditional, orally-
based, metrical grammar with Beowulf’.302

Hypermetric ‘heavy’ half-lines, however, are proportionately more numerous in
Andreas. As Bliss counts 18 (and Stevens 2) of these in Andreas (1,722 lines), as
against 23 in Beowulf (3,182 lines), it appears that their frequency in Andreas is
nearly double, whereas more comparably Andreas has one great full-line cluster of
hypermetric lines to Beowulf’s three.303 The hypermetric frequency of Andreas
reveals that its poet is more relaxed than the poet of Beowulf about poetic
conventions, and that he regards certain moments in his narrative, such as the
culmination of Andrew’s hidden-miracle story to the ship’s captain, God in disguise
(lines 795-803), as worthy of the emphasis which a series of heavy bursts might
provide.

Stevens also studies the role of verbs in the metrical grammar of this poem. The
Kuhnian norm, which is Beowulfian prosody, puts the stressed finite verb as clause-
final, as in beorn ofer bolcan l beald reordade 602. Andreas sometimes keeps to this.
However, where verbs in a-lines are concerned, Stevens finds that in Andreas,
contrary to Beowulf, the finite verb is probably stressed in an a-line when the verb is
followed by a particle and alliterates with a stressed element (as in cleopode þā
collenferhð 1108a); but that it is not stressed where it does not alliterate (as in cōm þā

303 Clusters are given in bold. Bliss (1958), 158-59; Beowulf 1163ab, 1164ab, 1165ab,
1166ab, 1167b, 1168ab; then 1705ab, 1706ab, 1707ab; 2173a, 2297a; then 2995ab, 2996ab;
Andreas 51ab, 303ab; 795ab, 796ab, 799ab, 801b, 802ab, 803b; then 1022b, 1023ab; 1114a.
To Andreas Stevens adds 216a, 339a for sure, and less certainly 583a, 621a, 682a, 733a
(1981: 20). We include his first two.
on ūhtan 1388a). Thus he finds that in Andreas, contrary to Beowulf, alliteration is an indication of stress in a finite verb. In Stevens’ judgement, the Andreas-poet ‘is careful to give fully meaningful verbs alliteration, and therefore stress, and to give verbs which convey less information no alliteration’. To the extent, therefore, that the poet of Andreas is more willing to stress ‘meaningful’ finite verbs, his diction is more dynamic than that of the poet of Beowulf.

Kuhn’s first Law (of Clause Particles) is broken by the poet of Andreas many times. According to Stevens, the number of breaches is high in relation to Exodus and Beowulf, ‘which contain no apparent breaches’. Brooks saves as many lines as he can, but even after his normalization of seven examples, sixteen offences against Kuhn’s Law remain which Stevens represents as ‘mostly due to the poet’s unskilful handling of stock poetic formulas’. To Brooks’ remainder he adds ac manna gehwām ē mōd bið on hyhte on line 637, in which bið, the light or auxiliary verb displaced from clause-initial position, puts the line out of joint with Kuhn’s second Law (of Clause-Initial Position).

If we start with the set which Brooks can save, we may note that he takes seven sets of lines which violate Kuhn’s Laws in Krapp’s edition, and repunctuates them in order to normalize the prosody: lines 541b-42, 778-79, 952, 1006, 1118-19, 1207, and 1519-20. Let us take three examples. In lines 541b-42, Krapp gave:

Ā þīn dōm lyfað!
Ge nēh ge feor     is þīn nama hālig.

Brooks, followed by this edition, gives:

Ā þīn dōm lyfað
ge nēh ge feor;     is þīn nama hālig.

In lines 951-53, Krapp gave:

Is þē gūð weotod.
Heardum heoruswengum     scel þīn hrā dǣled
wundum weordan,

Brooks, followed by this edition, repunctuates to:

Is þē gūð weotod
heardum heoruswengum;     scel þīn hrā dǣled
wundum weordan,

In a third example, Krapp edited lines 1518-21 so, where Andrew tells the pillar that the Lord has given more honour to stone than to all families of jewels:

Þurh his hālige hēs     þū scealt hræde cȳðan

304 Stevens (1981), 6-11, esp. 9.
308 Krapp (1932), 18; etc.
gif ðū his ondgitan āenige hæbbe!

Brooks and this edition edit these lines so:

þonne eall gimma cynn
þurh his hālige hēs. ðū scealt hræde cyðan
gif ðū his ondgitan āenige hæbbe!

In these cases it may be observed that Krapp joined a-lines without verbs to b-line clauses with verbs because he believed that this type of line, where the clause starts with the beginning of the line, expressed the best meaning. His arrangements, however, violated what were becoming known as ‘Kuhn’s Laws’. One generation later, Brooks repunctuates Krapp’s text so as to join the a-lines to the preceding b-lines without loss of sense, and to start a new clause in the following b-line in keeping with Beowulfian *hakenstil*. From Brooks’ discussion it is clear that only a breach of what he considers to be good sense stops him from repunctuating other supposed violations of Kuhn’s Laws, in order to make the lines more metrical.

Brooks treats these sure violations as signs of an inferior poetic gift. The seven he selects include examples of the b-line verb-first violation of Kuhn’s first Law, where the verb alliterates on the third stress of the full line at the expense of a noun in the fourth stressed position: swā him bebēad meotud 789b and hrēopon friccan 1156b. Stevens places the latter example with five other b-lines in which the other alliterating element is not a verb: frēfra þīne 421b, swigodon ealle 762b, cyð þē sylfne 1212b, rēsdon on sōna 1334b and stōp ūt hræde 1577b. He regards hrēopon friccan as ‘probably a formulaic expression’ just as swā him bebēad meotud, as well as clang wæteres þrym on line 1260b;309 doubtless formulaic likewise is swigodon ealle, a b-line which occurs also in Beowulf 1699b. Brooks’ crowning example is an item on line 189:

Ædre him Andrēas āgef andsware

The b-line here contains a popular formula which recurs in lines 285b, 572b, 617b, 643b, 1184b, 1345b, 1375b, with a plural variant in āgef ondswære 401b. Although the poet (less likely the scribe) of *Andreas* once opts for the more metrically acceptable transposition ondswære āgef, in line 628, it seems that he prefers the verb-first version of this b-line despite its violation of traditional prosody. The latter formula appears also in Cynewulf’s *Elene* 455b, 462b, 662b, and in his *Juliana* 105b, 117b, 130b, 147b, 175b, 319b; it is also to be seen in *Guthlac* (B) 1163b and 1224b, which may or may not be Cynewulf’s work,310 and it occurs once in *The Battle of Maldon*, on line 44b. In the older view, as represented by Slay, ondswære āgef(a) could have been used in both positions, whether in a b-line after a stressed vowel in the a-line; or in the b-line safely after the original syntax had been broken by parallel phrases or by a subordinate clause. In *Andreas* there is also a verbal preterite, once in the b-line, double-stressed as *ond-sweerodon* 857, and more commonly in the a-line as *ond-swarode* (lines 260a, 277a, 290a, 343a, 510a, 623a, 925a (with and-)). Slay believed that the b-line āgef andsware shows that the poet has ‘confused and

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310 Roberts (1979), 43-44.
combined’ these variant constructions ‘to produce a technically faulty sentence’. By implication this error extends to the poet(s) of *Elene, Juliana* and *Guthlac* B, whose skill may be likewise impeached.

Here we may note the oddity of branding as inferior imitations those works which may be dated later than *Beowulf* on metrical grounds. With more regard for date than aesthetics, Fulk suggests more informatively that some time after *Beowulf*, forms of *andswarian* became metrically problematic; that this verb was generally avoided by Cynewulf (his one example is at *Elene* 396b); and that the formula *āge(a)f andsware*, so common in *Andreas*, ‘came into use because of uncertainty about the metrical value of *andswarian*’, despite having a different metrical problem of its own. Kendall suggests that the poet copied this form from a written text of *Beowulf* without regard for metre. Orton treats *āge(a)f andsware* more pragmatically, as a productive formula. It seems likely that the poet of *Andreas* would have agreed with Orton.

Another formula of *Andreas* which breaks Kuhn’s Laws is *aefter þām wordum*, relatively common also in other Old English poems. This a-line, where it occurs at the head of a clause, breaks Kuhn’s second Law in that both *aefter* and *þām* are proclitic elements in the initial dip, without an additional unattached particle to provide a secondary stress; in contrast, *sōna aefter þām wordum* keeps to this law in *Christ and Satan* 628a, because the adverb *sōna* is not a proclitic particle. As an unadorned clause-initial a-line, the words *aefter þām wordum* occur in *Exodus* 299 and 565, and in *Beowulf* 1492 and 2669; the a-line *aefter þyssum wordum* likewise opens a clause in *Andreas* 761 and 1026.

The formula *aefter þām wordum* appears further, with the addition of the lightly stressed verb *cōm*, in *Andreas* 1219a; and with *þyssum* instead of *þām*, the same formula is used in the a-line on line 88 of *Andreas*, again with the addition of *cōm*. Krapp placed *cōm* after the caesura on line 1219a, presumably in keeping with the other examples; yet before the caesura on line 88a. If this verb is placed after the caesura, the metre of the b-line in each case becomes irregular too. In this case Brooks saves the b-line by extending the long a-line formula with *cōm* in each case. Stevens, Kendall and Orton follow Brooks in this reading, which has not been challenged since. As in the case of the b-line formula *āge(a)f andsware*, the issue with Kuhn’s Laws is whether to treat these ‘laws’ (and Sievers’ metrical types, which they vindicate) as consciously articulated or as internalized poetic conventions. Currently there is some agreement that the Laws reveal changes to Old English syntax and metrical grammar over time. The addition of *cōm* to the formula *aefter þām (*þyssum*) wordum* may offend against the Law of Clause-Initial Position (of Clause Openings), but it is probably to be seen as a sign of a later date relative to Cynewulf and the poet of *Beowulf*. The poet of *Andreas* was more inclined than these others to give a verb just after a momentous start. Although he delays heavier verbs in lines 761 and 1026, he finds it natural to place the lighter verb *cōm* just after the formula on lines 88 and 1219.

The other anti-Kuhnian examples, those which Brooks is unable to save by argument or repunctuation, are found in lines 239a, 903b-4a, 914 and 1481. To take
them in order. Firstly, the phrase *se beorn wæs on hyhte* 239b offends against the Law of Clause Particles because the particles are placed after *beorn* and not before, and because the dip before *beorn*, here filled by the definite article, should not have been used (*beorn ofer bolcan ‖ beald reordade* 602 is a regular line, in contrast). Slay shows the same offence in *Se fugel is on hīwe* in *Phoenix* 311.317 ‘The mistake’, says Slay of this dip-filling with article, ‘is so common in the Old Saxon *Heliand* as to have become an allowable technique there’. It seems that in contrast, Anglo-Saxon poets had developed a certain metrical precision. Brooks posits that ‘an earlier poet would have omitted *se*’.318

A comparison with *flota wæs on ȳðum* in *Beowulf* 210b, shows that in this respect, *Andreas, The Phoenix* and the *Heliand* were all composed later than *Beowulf*. As we have seen, scholars since Brooks have moved towards redefining Kuhn’s Laws as a viable observation of archaic Old English prosody, with earlier patterns relatively more common in *Beowulf*. Displacement of the verb may furthermore be noted in lines 903b-4:

\[Ic\text{ on brimstrēame} \]
\[spræc \text{ worda worn, wāt æfter nū} \]

Brooks says the verb *spræc* contributes to ‘a clear case of bad technique’ in that it, or another verb, should have been placed in the preceding half-line at the start of the clause. Blaming the poet for having ‘misused the formula *worda worn*’, he offers alternatives, either in emending to *spræc spella worn* and then adjusting wāt æfter nū, or as:

\[Spræc \text{ ic on brimstrēame} \]
\[wordhlēoðres worn, wāt æfter nū \]

Less intrusively, Stevens proposes this emendation:319

\[Ic\text{ on brimstrēame} \]
\[worda worn spræc, wāt æfter nū \]

Stevens adds a further verse to the list of lines which offend against Kuhn’s Law, in the first half of *dydan him tō mōse ‖ meteþearfendum* on line 27 of *Andreas*. Although Kuhn excused the a-line on the grounds that a non-alliterating verb without preceding particle in the a-line should be given a stress (allowed a lift), Stevens finds that line 27a is the only such verse in *Andreas*: he emends the line, with equal restraint, to *him tō mōse dydan ‖ meteþearfendum*.

In the case of a more open comparison with *Beowulf*, Brooks singles out an imperative greeting with a name in the vocative, all in the a-line not far from the above on line 914:

\[Wes ðū Andrēas hāl mid þās willgedryht \]

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318 Brooks (1961), xliv.
It is unusual for the imperative *wes* to take stress, for it does not do so medially in *dryhtne þinum*.  In the case of line 914, Brooks says that the proper noun *Andrēas* should alliterate instead. He compares this line unfavourably with *Wæs þū Hrōðgār hāl*.  In Brooks’ view this *Andrēas* line ‘shows unskilful use of a poetic formula’; ‘the formula *wes ðu ... hal* has been clumsily used’.  In Stevens’ view this *Andrēas* line is metrically ‘totally corrupt’, along with the first half of line 1316 in which a vocative plays havoc with the otherwise adequately reinforced alliterating pattern (*Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas, ða hidercyme þinne*).  Kendall believes that the poet copied his line from a manuscript of *Beowulf* ‘and for convenience’s sake shifted the alliteration on to *wes*’. Whether or not the poet of *Andreas* was as manuscript-dependent as this verdict assumes, it appears that his diction allowed the imperative *wes* to take stress like a noun or adjective.

Aurally, in any case, this *w-*alliteration is reinforced by the fact that the name *Andrēas* alliterates with *willgedryht*, the more we hear the preceding ðū adding the right semi-vowel, to make /wandrēas/. This fast and loose pattern of alliteration is unparalleled: either just a little later in *Andreas* (*Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt l ēdre genēðan* 950 at the head of the unnumbered ninth fitt); or in poems which are agreed to be earlier, such as in *Exodus* (*Ne sleh þū, Abrahām, þīn ða ògen bearn 419*) and *Genesis A* (*árlēas of earde þinum, l swā þū Ābele wurde 1018*); or in *The Battle of Maldon*, which was probably made later than the Vercelli Book itself (*Hwæt þū, Ælfwine, þa hafast ealle gemanode 231*). In *Andreas* 914, however, there is yet another possibility. If a gap between spelling and sound is accepted in the a-line, the poet may be taking a liberty with *wes*, reinforcing this with *[w]andrēas*, and grouping these words with Andrew’s *willgedryht* with an indifference to spelling: all to give an aural expression to Jesus’ infant disguise.

Line 1481, the remaining case of Kuhn-breaches in Brooks’ discussion, might actually be assigned to the list of cases in which good prosody is saved by repunctuation. This line comes within the frame of the *Andreas*-poet’s personal digression in lines 1478 onwards. Here Brooks followed Wülker in finding a breach of Kuhn’s law where other editors did not see one. In the text below, it will be seen that Brooks joins the a-line *ofer mīn gemet* ‘beyond my capacity’ with the following clause, whose theme is that there is much to say, because he cannot fit these words with the previous lines about the poet relating St Andrew’s story for a long time. In Brooks’ view this half-line, if joined to the previous clause, ‘gives good metre but no sense’ or ‘is pointless’.  In his text:

[XIV]  

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H<\w>aet, ic hwīle nū hāliges lāre
lēodgiddinga, lof þæs þe worhte,
wordum wēmde, wyrd undyrne.
Ofer mīn gemet mycel is tō seeganne
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This arrangement both breaks the Law and makes awkward prosody for no better reason than that Brooks could not see how to read *ofer mīn gemet* with *wyrd undyrne*. Yet the meaning of the poet’s assertion seems clear enough if we attach the former

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320 Brooks (1961), xl, xlv.
322 Kendall (1996), 16.
323 Brooks (1961), xlv, 112.
half-line to its predecessor. The poet claims to be incompetent, and Kuhn’s Laws have helped scholars take him at his word, but the metrical prosody of Andreas is better read more generously. His verse is less conservative than Beowulf, although he was probably brought up on that poem. In its metre and prosody, Andreas is the work of a modernist who acclimatizes tradition.

5 Poetic Style

More so than on metre, much work has been done on the stylistics of Andreas and the poem’s relationship or lack of it with Beowulf, with the works of Cynewulf, and with other poems such as Genesis A and Guthlac A and B. The tendency in this type of study has been to attribute verbal parallels to a common culture of written and unwritten composition which is based on oral-formulaic style, without seeking to explain these as evidence of relationships between poets. The present edition aims to acknowledge the old stylistic basis of research, while allowing for the consideration of verbal parallels as signs of influence. At the time of writing, the most effective studies in the latter area are by Alison Powell and by Andy Orchard. On the basis of his own and Powell’s detailed work, Orchard claims that ‘the Andreas-poet knows and borrows freely from a palette of poems still surviving today’, finding that Andreas shares 28 compound nouns uniquely with all four signed poems of Cynewulf, 32 uniquely with Beowulf and 46 with other poems. The poet’s language matches that of Cynewulf pervasively: there are 149 larger verbal parallels unique to Andreas and one or more of Cynewulf’s signed poems; and whereas 374 lines out of the 3182 lines (12%) of Beowulf are paralleled in Andreas, the figure for Cynewulf’s poems is significantly higher, at 682 out of Cynewulf’s extant 2601 lines (26%).

These figures and their contextual illustrations speak for the poet of Andreas as one of a generation influenced by Cynewulf, whose metre is demonstrably older. Although there is no space for the quantity of illustration merited by these and other effects, a few examples of Andreas’ resemblance to other works may reveal not only the poet’s debts but also his originality. Perhaps he is not the despoiler of a tradition he does not understand.

Poetic allusions to Cynewulf

The text of this digression announces a persona trained in the craft of Cynewulf. In the manuscript, as we have seen, this section got an initial capital which is the most ornate in the codex. Although the scribe probably meant this for the start of The Fates of the Apostles three folios later, as Celia Sisam argues, the faint outline of a long differently-shaped zoomorphic initial for the latter poem gives reason to suppose that he mixed up two jobs, and that he was tasked with glorifying both poets, Cynewulf and the poet of Andreas as well. The poet says this:

324 Hamilton (1975), 82-94. Riedinger (1993), 305. For a determination that there is no relationship, see Peters (1951), 844-63.
326 Orchard (forthcoming), 5, 26, 37-58.
329 The versecraft of other passages may be found analysed in the notes.
Listen, for a while now I have been pleading words in verse ballad so as to teach what glories the saint performed, a history which, when revealed, lies beyond my capacity. A big task it is, a work of time-consuming study, to say everything he suffered in life from the start. Wiser in the law than I is the earthly man, by my reckoning, who shall find in his spirit the means of knowing from the beginning all the hardship that he courageously suffered in that fierce fighting. And yet the narration of a few lyrics more in little snatches on this theme must still be made.

It is an epic of ancient times, the great number of torments he endured, what harsh assaults in that heathen town.

This rakishly self-deprecating digression has no counterpart in the analogues, nor does it seem likely to be based on the poet’s apocryphal source to which he alludes in wyrd undyrne ‘a history revealed’ (line 1480). The local function of his intermezzo, as Fred Biggs initially suggests, may be to dissociate Andrew’s passion from the happy ending 300 lines later. At any rate, the opening diction of this modesty topos appears to be borrowed from Cynewulf. Not only does the above expression match wyrd undyrne with similar meaning elsewhere only in Fates 42, by which Cynewulf leads into the fate of St Bartholomew in ‘India’, but the diminutive lēoðgiddinga ‘verse ballad’ is emphasized as the poet’s term for his genre one line earlier on line 1479. The other place in the corpus where this compound occurs is once again in Fates 97, before Cynewulf gives the runes that spell his name:

Hēr mæg findan for<e>ͣţances ġlēaw,
Here may he find out, wise of forethought
that takes his pleasure with verse ballads,
who fashioned this fitt:

The poet of *Andreas*, portraying himself as a man unable to tell the story which āeglāwra mann ‘a man wiser in the law’ (i.e. the bible) shall findan on ferðe ‘find in his spirit’ (lines 1483, 1485), appears to pay homage to the person who can findan for<e>pances glēaw ‘find, wise of forethought’ the tale which Cynewulf tells through his name. Cynewulf in *Fates* requires a certain for<e>panc of the listener or reader sufficient to foresee the name cynewulf in wulcyn with the second element given first. Yet his reiterated f-words (findan... for<e>panc... fēgde ... [feoh]) speak also for the intricate labours of joining fitts together with patterns of alliteration and assonance. The poet of *Andreas*, though he claims not to, has mastered these techniques. His persona speaks in lines 1480-87 with a burst of reinforced alliteration over eight lines, with a chiasmic envelope pattern with l-words led by the word lēoð on either side in lines 1479 and 1488 (lēoð-, lof and lȳtlum, lēoð), and with two back-linked alliterations at the start in lines 1478-80 (in lāre and worhte). The word lāre, in particular, leading to lēoðgiddunga, appears to claim Cynewulf as the poet’s teacher of Old English verse composition.

*The Fates of the Apostles* opens with words and effects to which *Andreas* may make a consciously distilled reference. In *Fates*, with bold for the important words which are also in *Andreas*, and with underline for those in common with *Beowulf*:

Listen, I found, sad of journey, this song in feverish mind, gathered up widely how those princes made valour known, bright and illustrious. *Twelve* they were in deeds renowned, chosen by the Lord, beloved in life; praise sprang widely, might and glory over the middle world, of the King’s thanes a power not small.

*Beowulf’s* opening lies not far away, in that Cynewulf appears to use at least two parts of it even though his context is only figuratively warlike. In *Beowulf* the theme goes as follows:

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333 Brooks (1961), 59.
HWÆT, WĒ GÄRDEna    in gēardagum
þēodcyninga    þrym gefrūnon,
hū ðā æþelingas     ellen fremedon! (lines 1-3)

Listen, we have heard of the power 
of the nation-king of Spear-Danes in days of yore, 
how those princes carried out valour!

In Fates, as the above underlines show, Cynewulf appears to use Beowulf’s third line 
in his own third line, varied with the final verb. He matches the apostles with Danish 
princes, probably in order to say that they are better. There again, it is worth noting 
how smoothly he makes use of the older poet’s language, turning this to overtly 
Christian ends. His half-line *lof wīde sprang* ‘praise sprang widely’ for all the apostles 
on line 6, takes this adaptation further by rendering without shame the half-line *blǣd 
wīde sprang* ‘fame sprang widely’ which celebrates ‘Beowulf’ the mythical son of 
Scyld Scefing in Beowulf 18. The poet of Andreas, though he chooses Beowulf’s 
communal *wē* over Cynewulf’s new *ic*, encapsulates much of the latter’s opening in 
his first three lines:

[I]  
Hwæt, wē gefrūnan    on fyrndagum 
twelvē under tunglum    þirēadige hæleð, 
þēodnes þegnas.     Nō hira þrym ãlæg (Andreas 1-3)

I  
Listen, we have heard tell from ancient days 
of twelve illustrious heroes under the stars, 
*thanes of the King*. Never did their *power* fail

His own apostolic item is at least 1600 lines longer than The Fates of the Apostles, but 
both his opening and self-interruption show that he looks to Cynewulf for the stylistic 
model. His creation of a new compound from Cynewulf’s two-word formula, 
*fer(h)ð gefēonde* (lines 915, 1584) from *fer(h)ð gefēonde* (Elene 174, 990), shows the 
same tendency to distil.334

Elsewhere, though we cannot include it here, it has been shown that the Andreas- 
poet’s heavily borrows from, and alludes to, the other signed works of Cynewulf.335 
On the same line as a half-line elsewhere only in Beowulf, *offer mīn gemet* ‘beyond my 
powers’ (with which young Wiglaf, on line 2879, blames himself for failing to help 
Beowulf survive the Dragon), the poet of Andreas appears to look to Guthlac A for an 
exclamation which covers most of his second sentence, on lines 1481-83. *Mycel is tō 
seçganne*, he says, *þæt hē in lifē āдрēag, / eall æfter orde* ‘A big task it is say 
everything he suffered / in life from the start’. Soon after the start of fitt VII in 
Guthlac (A) 531-32, it is similarly said of St Guthlac that *Miczel is tō seçgan, / eall 
æfter orde, þæt hē on elne āдрēag* ‘A big task it is to say from the start everything he 
suffered in his zeal’.The formula is traditional, but where the one-line reinforced 
vocalic alliteration is broken in the case of Andreas, it seems that the poet of this work 
transposes two half-lines from Guthlac A. As Cynewulf says that St Bartholomew’s 
fate is *wurd undyrne* ‘a history revealed’ (Fates 42), and as St Bartholomew was 
known also for helping St Guthlac (Guthlac (A) 723; see also Vercelli homily XXIII),

334 Orchard (forthcoming), 31.
it may be conjectured that the poet of Andreas read Fates and Guthlac A in 
conjunction.

Poetic allusions to Beowulf

It also appears that the poet has internalized much of Beowulf. We have seen that he 
belittles his own persona with the same phrase as Wiglaf his; and that he uses an 
opening formula, in wē gefrūnan on fyrdagum; this renders tradition communally, 
just as Beowulf does with wē in gēardagum ... gefrūnon in lines 1-2. In addition, his 
self-interruption echoes Beowulf by citing a genre beyond the lēoðgiddinga ‘verse 
ballad’ in line 1479, or even his own performance with lītlum sticcum lēoðworda dǣl 
/furður ‘a few lyrics more in little snatches on this theme’ (lines 1488-9). He tells us 
that the desired type of poem is ambitious: fyrsægen ‘an epic of ancient times’ (line 
1489). If we look in Beowulf for the words to which this claim of genre may refer, we 
find an unnamed Danish noble accompanying Beowulf on his ride back from the 
Mere:

\[
guma 

gildhlaed 
gida gemyndig 

se dē ealfela 
ealdgesegena 

worn gemunde. (Beowulf 868-70)
\]

a man laden with boasts, mindful of episodes, 
who a whole multitude of old epics 
remembered in great number.

In Beowulf this king’s thane does in retrospect what his English imitator is about to 
undertake in Andreas. One line refers to ealdgesegena, the other to fyrsægen, both to 
celebrate a hero’s victory against the cannibal. Yet the younger poet sees the genre 
differently. The digression describes his approach to epic as if he were another Wiglaf 
facing the Dragon, his mentor almost dead.

Although our poet’s style of reference prefers Cynewulf to heroic epic (which he 
implies to be a monster), it is worth noting that his fitt-divisions have more in common 
with the speech-oriented fitt-divisions of Beowulf. The 14 divisions of Elene (before 
Cynewulf’s Epilogue) are numbered and tally in most cases with the same number of 
chapters in the Acts of St Cyriacus, a work which is close to its source. On the other 
hand, the unnumbered fitts of Andreas match the chapters of the Praxeis and 
Casanatensis only three times clearly, in the fifth, tenth, and eleventh fitts, for chs. 9, 
22, 24 respectively. 336 There is a less close join between the third, fourth, perhaps 
sixth, seventh, eighth, twelfth and fifteenth fitts, and respectively chs. 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 
26, 32. This apparent ratio of two fitts to one chapter is not only inconstant, but also 
indicative of a less bookish construction than Cynewulf’s; or of one which might be 
learned, but which keeps translation and composition apart as distinct exercises, 
perhaps because the first is more collaborative than the second. The Andreas-poet or a 
redactor seems to have revised the poem locally, without attention to the temporal 
unities, by removing a reference (such as survives in the Casanatensis) to Andrew’s 
preliminary incarceration immediately after his arrest by the brass pillar. Thus the 
finished text counts three incarcerations rather than two on line 1392, making a 
contingent error with four incarcerations rather than three on line 1458. 337 With this

336 Allen and Calder (1976), 60-68.
337 See nn. 1390-91, 1458-60.
revisionist style of composition, which is apparently more extemporizing than what
the Latinate *fitt gefēgan* might imply about Cynewulf, the poet of *Andreas* is closer to
*Beowulf* than he pretends.

Indeed the verbal parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* are high in number, and
there is a persistent likeness between these poems. Much has thus been done to prove
or disprove the possibility that the poet of *Andreas* leans heavily on *Beowulf*. At first
blush the notion of his borrowing adds serious heroic colour. Stanley and others see
some of these as the only evidence of *Beowulf*’s reception in another poem, whilst
Hamilton goes further in suggesting that the poet of *Andreas* ‘cultivated ways of
marking departures from the epic, or from the old heroic tradition that *Beowulf* best
conveys for us’. Against this view is Peters’ case that *Andreas* owes everything to
its source and consequently the debt is transposed: *Beowulf* borrowed from
*Andreas*. More carefully, although it is noteworthy that he takes only two ex-
amples (*Andreas* 303-03 and 360-62), Schabram points towards the same conclusion. He
believes that the claims of *Andreas*’ debt to *Beowulf* do not pass Schaar’s
methodological test, that the formulaic phrase, to be proved as a loan, should be
syntactically and contextually less viable than its alleged source. However, as
Schabram admits, there is something odd in a test which, in order to work, must
assume that *Andreas* is the work of a hack.

Opinion is also divided over the extent to which some verbal parallels may be
claimed as causative of others in a poetic system which was still formulaic. However,
the wider context offers much help: if we first find some parallels unique to *Beowulf*
and *Andreas*, and then make sense of the purpose of a loan in each case, the
likelihood of influence from one poem to the other is increased. To give one example,
St Andrew is named *beorn beadwe heard* ‘a warrior hard in battle’ (line 982) as he
marches on the jail to rescue St Matthew. These words, which recall the epithet
*beadwe heard* of Beowulf as he closes with Grendel’s Mother (*Beowulf* 1539),
make up a formula. However, this is one which occurs neither in prose nor elsewhere in
the 30,000 extant Old English poetic lines. In *Beowulf*, this formula is visibly related to
the words *bǫðvarr bjarki* ‘battle-ready little bear’, which are the basis for the names,
such as *Bodvar* and *Biarco*, of Beowulf’s deeply heathen counterpart in the later
Norse analogues. In *Beowulf*, in this way, the formula’s application is primary,
whereas in *Andreas* it is secondary. To make better sense of this epithet in *Andreas*, it
may be said that the poet recasts Andrew as Beowulf in order to make him emulate
the *miles in miles Christi*.

*Andreas* has a serious purpose, for ultimately it honours St Andrew and ends with
a paean of praise for the Lord. Yet in fulfilling this purpose the poet exhibits an ironic
sense of humour which seems related to his general wildness of expression. On
one hand, some comic effects will be inherited, for such possibilities inhere in the primary
Greek analogue of which a Latin adaptation was probably available to the poet of
*Andreas*. This seems to be the case with Andrew’s sea-journey to Mermedonia in
the first third of the story. The source would have given most of its initial length to

338 Stanley (1966), 110-11. Hamilton (1975), 82-86, esp. 82.
341 North (2006), 48-49.
207-09.
the dialogue between Andrew and Jesus disguised as the ship’s captain. On the other hand, *Andreas* is alive with a sense of humour, not only in this sea-crossing but in the rest of the poem, especially in several extravagant moments which appear to take *Beowulf* as their source. The poet goes further than Cynewulf would have done in depicting a rescue mission and conversion. It appears that this emulator of *Fates* recasts Mermedonia as the inverse of Heorot, starts by presenting Andrew as Beowulf’s inferior match, and then subjects his pagans to a mock-heroic ridicule, which his intended audience could not have enjoyed without knowing *Beowulf*. It could even be said that he adopts a Beowulfian style of epic in order to undermine the values of *Beowulf* itself.

It seems that the poet of *Andreas* borrows not only widely but also subversively from this poem. Some of his loans may be read as barbed references to the compassion with which the poet of *Beowulf* ennobles heathens, for instance where he describes the Mermedonian pagans before their conversion. The Mermedonians are important in meriting this, for they are both the opposition and the outcome: any mock-epic humour cannot be directed against them in their Christian state. Before conversion, however, they count as fair game. Having introduced us to the apostles at the beginning, he follows the source in beginning with Mermedonia, target of St Matthew’s mission. The inhabitants of this exotic country practice murder, arresting pilgrims to eat them after a fattening of thirty days. It is not a loaf, he says, or drink of water that men in this country once used, but blood and skin, the flesh of men come from afar, on which they dégon ‘dined’ (line 25). A Christian can eat the body and blood of Christ as bread and wine or water, but the Mermedonians hardly know this. These lines (21-25) on consumption suggest a pagan, albeit unwitting, parody of the Eucharist. In any other poem on pagans as safely removed from England as their city by the Black Sea, the Mermedonians might have looked little worse than the unbelieving Romans in *Juliana* and *The Fates of the Apostles*. Yet the poet of *Andreas* differs in the portrait of his pagans: he seems provoked by them. This may be seen in the formula with which he sums them up:  

Swylc wæs þēaw hyra,  
hēþenra hyht. Helle gemundon  
in mōdsefan, Metod hē ne cūþon,  
dēda Dēmend, ne wiston hē Drihten god,  
ne hē hūru heofena Helm herian ne cūþon,  
wuldres Waldend. (*Beowulf* 178-83)  

Such was their custom,  
hope of heathen men. They were mindful of hell  
in their hearts, did not know the Measurer,  
Judge of Deeds, nor were wise to the Lord God,  
nor knew how to praise the Helm of heaven,  
Ruler of Glory.
The Danes here resemble the old Israelites who were known for idolatry too (Exodus 32: 1-6). The Beowulf-poet’s advocacy for his heathens as honorary Israelites may be seen in that the Danes only pray to the devil out of ignorance, in the style of Scyld’s executors earlier in lines 50-52; otherwise they praise God most of the time. The monotheism into which King Hrothgar’s later invocations and ‘Sermon’ (lines 1700-86) are thus morally translated is that of the Israelites in all but name. To add to this spiritual salvage of Scandinavians, Hrothgar’s name is left out of the idolatry, and in both passages, Scyld’s funeral and the Danish sacrifices, the poet of Beowulf takes the care to soften the crimes of his heathens.

The half-line swelc was pēaw hira early in Andreas 25 shows that the poet makes a similar introduction, for both Andreas and Beowulf’s long Danish prelude are plotted with a hero setting off over high seas to rescue a foreign nation from cannibal assaults. Without knowing it, though doubtless the audience knew it, Andrew even likens his own expedition to Beowulf’s by praising the ship he is in with the words færeð fāmīheals fugle gelīcost ‘with foamy neck she sails most like a bird’ (line 497). His line recalls the Geat’s flota fāmīheals fugle gelīcost ‘vessel foam-necked most like a bird’ (Beowulf 218). However, the emerging differences between these poems make his line the mock of Beowulf’s. The cannibals in Andreas are introduced as the host nation itself, and most other parallels with Beowulf concern the manner in which he represents them. The source probably portrayed the Mermedonians as provincial non-Christians living through a sub-Roman apocalypse, but the poet of Andreas turns them into a parody of the Scyldings. A city full of Grendels? Having entrapped St Matthew, who visited them earlier, the Mermedonians invert the Heorot scenario in which it is the stranger who entraps the people. Andrew, as a hero who is forced to set out on his mission, is likewise the inverse of Beowulf. Having questioned the Lord’s command to save Matthew in three days, then looking for his transport to Mermedonia by the shore the next morning, he cuts a poor figure alongside the headstrong Geat who leaves for Denmark against his uncle’s wishes, having picked his own ship and crew. A saint’s modesty goes too far in Andrew’s initial reluctance to obey the Lord, to leave the mission in Achaia and to set off impulsively to reach Mermedonia within three days. However, the rest of the poem shows Andrew’s moral recovery and access of superhuman powers. It is partly to emphasise the Christian source of Andrew’s courage that this poet mocks Beowulf for its nostalgia for heathen values.

The exchange between Andrew on the shore and the sailors in the boat the next morning, as several commentators have noted, is marked by a comedy of misunderstanding which is based on Andrew’s failure to perceive that the ship’s captain is his old friend Jesus in disguise. The Praxeis makes the dialogue short and careful. The captain’s surprise is convincing, and there may be comedy in the apparent unworldliness with which Andrew reveals to the ship’s captain that Ναϊλον οὐχ ἐξομεν αἰι παρασγεϊν, ἀλλ’ οὗτος ἄρτοιν ἐξομεν εἰς διατροφὴν ‘we have no fare to offer you, nor do we even have a loaf for our sustenance’ (ch. 6). However, self-denial is part of a saint’s weaponry, and Andrew confirms his worth, for which the Lord is testing him, by saying that he is on a mission from God, and that if the captain cannot help, he and his men will find another boat. All this is before Andrew has

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345 See further Bintley (2009), 105-18.
boarded. The Casanatensis lets Andrew and the others board before this part of the exchange. This version explains more solemnly that the Lord is testing Andrew by asking for the fare. Andrew answers, *Crede mihi frater, quia nec aurum habeo, neque argentum, unde tibi naulum dare, set neque panem in sitarcis,* ‘Believe me brother, I have no gold, nor silver, with which to pay you my fare, nor even a loaf as part of my provisions’ (ch. 6).\(^{350}\) The Casanatensis captain responds with disbelief, rather than with irony, repeating the things which Andrew does not have in order to get an explanation. Andrew’s ensuing mission statement defends his saintly poverty more elaborately than in the Greek, but with the same elements. The whole scene, as Wilcox has observed, is structured around the Eucharist, in that the Lord breaks bread with Andrew which, since the disciples are too seasick to eat it, Andrew shares with Him. Andrew’s assurance to the captain, that the Lord will offer him bread as recompense, captures the unwitting irony of the apostle’s position.\(^{351}\)

*Andreas* here starts off with a departure from appears to be the source, when Andrew asks where the ship has sailed from, rather than where she is bound. Since the latter is more practical and all analogues make it into Andrew’s question, it seems likely that the poet takes the opportunity to allude to the Coastguard’s position when Beowulf and friends disembark in Denmark; as well as to his question *Hwæt syndon gē searohæbbendra* ‘what kind of armed men are you?’ in *Beowulf* 237 (-240). The Coastguard’s courtesy turns to good-humoured irony when Beowulf lets slip his opinion of King Hrothgar (lines 277-85). Conversely in *Andreas*, when the ship’s captain does his best to provoke Andrew on shore, the poet magnifies the latter’s hot saintly temper. The not so latent anger of St Andrew is given at the end of the *Praxeis* (ch. 33). Politely at first, hailing the captain, Andrew asks for passage, *þēh ic þe bēaga lȳt, / sincweor ðunga, syllan meahte* ‘though few are the rings, treasures and adornments I could give you’ (lines 271-72). Although he adds that God will repay the captain, soon he hears the captain provoke him concerning the dangers of going to Mermedonia. At last the captain accepts their strength of purpose, but then raises the stakes again by offering transport only when Andrew and friends have *gafulrǣdenne āgifen* ‘yielded up payment of tribute’, *sceattas gescrifene* ‘coins as prescribed’ (lines 296-97), to the sailors’ price. That Andrew answers *ofstlīce* ‘hastily’ (line 299) shows that he has temper, and the poet responds by calling him *wineþearfende* ‘in need of friends’ (line 300). Andrew’s answer is a provocative satire of heroic expectations. Later he explains that the Lord taught him to live without gold and silver (lines 337-38), but here he makes his poverty clear by ditching the coins for an exaggerated image of treasure:

> ‘Næbbe ic fǣted gold ne feohgestrēon, welan ne wiste ne wīra gespann, landes ne locenna bēaga, þæt ic þē mæge lust āhwettan, willan in worulde, swā ðū worde becwist.’ (*Andreas* 301-04)

> ‘I have no plated gold, nor riches of treasure, no wealth nor provisions nor fastening of wires, no land nor linked rings, with which I can possibly arouse your desire, such worldly pleasure as in words you reproach me for.’

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\(^{350}\) Blatt (1930), 43.

\(^{351}\) Wilcox (2003), 208.
Andrew makes a point about expectations: Andrew is a missionary and the captain should know better. He makes this point with the emphasis of the hypermetric line 303, which begins with *landes ne locenra bēaga* no land nor linked rings’ At first there seems to be a lack of clarity, for the phrase has been called an ‘objective genitive’, of a poet who ‘tries to write in the heroic style, but sometimes muddles it’. As Schabram has shown, however, the mixed accusative-genitive object complement has other OE instances. The poet’s skill is indeed vindicated if we read this half-line as a quotation from *Beowulf*.

In *Beowulf* the phrase *landes ond locenra bēaga* occurs in the third of but three hypermetric passages and belongs to a dénouement concerning Hygelac, Beowulf’s mother’s brother and best friend. In the story, Beowulf is now dead and an unnamed Geatish Messenger has come to the army with the news. He sketches a reverse history of the wars which the Geats have fought with their neighbours: first with the Franks, who killed Hygelac when he raided their territory; then with old king Ongentheow of the Swedes, who killed Hæthcyn in the battle of Ravenswood, threatened death to the Geatish survivors all night long, only to withdraw when Hygelac, the younger brother, marched in to save them in the morning. Hygelac routs the Swedes and sends his champions Wulf and Eofor after King Ongentheow. When the king falls after a ferocious fight, Hygelac loots the Swedish kingdom and returns in triumph. Then, with dire consequences for the stability of his own country, he rewards his two champions with excessive riches:

> ‘geald þone güðræs    Gēata dryhten,  
> Hrēðles eafora,   þā hē tō hām becōm,  
> Iofore ond Wulfē   mid ofermāðmum,  
> sealde hiora gehwaērūm    hund þūsenda  
> landes ond locenra bēaga   (ne ðorfte him ðā lēan oðwītan  
> mon on middangeardē    syddān hē ðā mērdā geslōgon),  
> ond ðā Iofore forgæf    āngan dohtor,  
> hāmweordūnge,    hyldo tō wedde.’ (*Beowulf* 2991-98)

> ‘The lord of Geats, Hrethel’s offspring, when he came  
to his home-seat, paid Eofor and Wulf  
for that war-charge with an excess of treasure,  
gave each of them one hundred and twenty thousand  
of land and linked rings (nor need any man in the middle world begrudge  
them that reward, since they had won those glories by fighting for them)  
and then he gave Eofor his only daughter  
as ennobler of his estate, the pledge of his loyalty.’

The authenticity of the hypermetric lines has been questioned, but they work well enough to show that the end of Hygelac’s career is implicit in its beginning. Hygelac’s prodigal generosity after his Swedish campaign will become a habit to be replenished by ever riskier ventures until the excess of it leads him and all but one of his men to an expeditionary disaster in Frisia. The image here is political and

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352 Hamilton (1975), 83.  
355 North (2006), 256-57. On Hygelac’s daughter as his sole overspending, see Hall (2006).
apparently far removed from the ship’s captain to shore situation that we have in Andreas. Yet it may still be argued that the half-line in Andreas is imported from Beowulf, because its negative version of the Geatish Messenger’s *hund þūsenda / landes ond locenra bēaga* (Beowulf 2995) can be read as the quotation from Beowulf which illustrates a spendthrift king.

The Andreas-poet’s view of treasure emerges in the course of another apparent allusion to Beowulf. Describing Andrew’s ship as filled with it, like Scyld’s, he makes it clear that this treasure is even greater:

\[
\text{\v{A}fre ic ne h\text{\`y}rde} \\
\text{\v{h}on cym\text{l}cor c\text{\`e}ol gehladenne} \\
\h\text{\`e}ahgestr\text{\`e}onum. (Andreas 360-62)
\]

*Never did I hear of any keel the comelier laden with high treasures.*

The poet of Beowulf uses similar language to describe Scyld Scyfing’s funeral ship before she is pushed on the deep, destination unknown:

\[
\text{ne h\text{\`y}rde ic cym\text{l}cor c\text{\`e}ol ge\text{\`y}rwan} \\
\text{hildew\text{\`e}pnum ond hea\text{\`o}ow\text{\`e}dum} \\
billum ond byrnum. (Beowulf 38-40)
\]

*Nor did I hear of a comelier keel made ready with war-weapons and battle garments, with axes and coats of mail.*

To the Beowulf-poet it is clear that this treasure, which he calls *p\text{\`e}odgestr\text{\`e}onum* ‘tribal treasures’ a few lines later (line 44), is socially important. Yet from the evident re-use of his crucial words in Andreas it appears that the later poet sees treasure differently. In one likely usage, the Andreas treasure is the merchant’s cargo in the hold; in another, as Schabram makes clear, it is the heavenly skipper and angelic or saintly complement.\(^{356}\) Where the apostle is concerned, Andrew’s scorn for material wealth is the right attitude to have.

There is little space here to discuss the situation comedy in the dialogue between Andrew and the Lord on the ship’s crossing. However, if we think, through Andrew’s ecstatic praise of God in lines 540-48, that he has finally grasped the identity of the gifted ship’s captain who asks him all the questions, we shall be disappointed. Instead, Andrew begins to patronize, exclaiming that God has shown favour *\text{\`h}issum h\text{\`y}sse* ‘to this boy’ (line 550) by honouring him with wit and eloquence: *Ic \text{\`a}t ef\text{\`e}nealdum \text{\`a}fre ne m\text{\`e}tte, he says condescendingly, on m\text{\`o}dsefan m\text{\`a}ran snyttro* ‘In a man of his age I have never met / greater cleverness of mind’ (lines 553-54). This dangerous parting flourish is lacking in the analogues, whose speech is smaller and ends with a paean to the Lord. The parallel is with Beowulf, though not in the form of a quotation. King Hrothgar uses a similar condescension on just before Beowulf takes his leave. The foreign champion has offered to help out in any trouble for Denmark in the future, such an invasion (lines 1826-35) and a possible threat to Hrothgar’s sons

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356 Schabram (1965b), 214-16.
Hrothgar takes neither offer seriously, but praises the wisdom of the man who makes the offer:

‘Þē þā wordcwydas wigtil Drihten
on sefan sende; ne hŷrde ic snotorlīcor
on swā geongum fêore guman þingian.’ (Beowulf 1842-43)

“These words you have uttered the wise Lord
sent to your heart; nor have I heard a man
at such young stage of life intercede more cleverly.’

In this comparison, the difference lies not between Andrew and Hrothgar, who are both beyond middle age, but between their interlocutors. Andrew’s condescension is far worse than Hrothgar’s because the young captain is God in disguise.

Andrew’s mistake is brought home to him in a Cynewulfian harmony. At first he and his companions are wafted asleep by angels to a place outside the walls of Mermedonia. Then he wakes up, wakens the disciples and pretends to have known all along that the captain was Jesus. They in turn reveal a vision of the heavenly future to which Andrew was not invited:

‘We to you, Andrew, will freely make known
our journey so that you in your own person may
clearly perceive every thought in our spirit.
Weary at sea we were overcome by sleep.
Then eagles came across the surge of waters
<moving> in flight, joyful in their feathers;
they drew the souls out of us as we slept,
carried us with gladness in flight aloft,
sang out for joy wth clear notes and calm,
loved us with kindness and dwelt there in praise
where song was perpetual and zodiac in motion,

dazzling the host-band and glory battalion.
Around the Prince stood angels in circles outwards,
thanes around the Chief in their thousands,
sang praise in the heights with holy voices
to the Lord of lords; their occupation was joy.

They have seen patriarchs, martyrs and David singing before Christ in heaven, as well as the archangels serving the twelve good disciples including Andrew himself (this is a vision of the future):

þǣr wæs wuldres wynn, wīgendra þrym,
aedelc onginn, nēs þēr ænigum gewinn.
þām bið wræcsīd wītód, wīte geopenad,
hec þāra <gefēana> sceal fremde weorðan,
hec hwearfian, þonne heōnon gangab.’ (lines 887-91)

‘There was ecstasy of glory, majesty of warriors,
excellence in action, nor strife with anyone.
For them ordained is exile, opening of torment,
who from that <joy> must be excluded,
to turn away in shame when hence they go.’

These jubilating lines resemble both Cynewulf’s Epilogue to Elene 1236-50 and parts of The Phoenix (such as lines 460-81) with sustained passages of perfect and imperfect internal rhyme (here variously underlined), as well as with lines with reinforced and cross-alliteration (in bold) and back-alliteration (in italics). In addition, the passages of reinforced alliteration have a diminuendo in that their length dwindles from nine to seven to the five lines with which the speech ends. The Cynewulfian echoes are concentrated in lines 866-70, which correlate with the angelic hymns to be heard in all quarters of heaven, and in lines 887-88. Heaven is thus made palpable to the apostle who has not yet arrived there. Moreover, the Cynewulfian effect gives the disciples as a younger generation which has swapped Beowulf for a more aureate style.

As if to re-emphasize Andrew’s age, the Lord reappears as an imperious infant, rebuking Andrew not for his myopia but for his original doubts. The result of this scene is the pain which is necessary if Andrew is to harden to the task. Doing so, and no longer hesitating to follow the Lord’s instructions, Andrew earns the hero’s epithet, beorn beaduwe heard ‘a warrior hard in battle’ (line 982), as he walks to the jail. As we have seen, this formula resembles Beowulf’s epithet beadwe heard, for when he closes momentarily barehanded with Grendel’s Mother (Beowulf 1539). From here on in, the Andreas-poet’s mockery is deflected from Andrew to the Mermedonian pagans, or to the epic genre itself.

This poet’s next surprise is to make Andrew look like Grendel breaking in to Heorot. As soon as Andrew reaches the prison, divine intervention ensures that all seven guards drop dead. Just as in the analogues, Andrew se hālga ‘the saint’ (line 996) prays to the Father quietly within his breast, praising godes dryhtendōm ‘God’s lordship’ (line 999). The Lord helps His warrior walk in:

Dūru sōna onarn
þurh han<d>hrine hāliges gastes,
ond þær in ēode, elnes gemyndig,
hæle hildedēor. Hēðene swēfon,
dröre druncne, dēaðwang rudon. (Andreas 999-1003)

At once the door rushed open with a touch from the hand of the holy guest, and inside, inspired by valour, marched in a man daring in battle. Heathens were sleeping, drunk with blood, had reddened the place of death.

The dead heathens outside are momentarily glimpsed as if sleeping inside. The effect is to remind us of a scene in Beowulf, of which further reminiscence is triggered by a hand-touch made to resemble Grendel’s forced entry. There is first the long-awaited approach of this wretched rinc ‘man’, who is drēamum bedǣled ‘of happiness deprived’ (lines 720-21). Then the splintering wood:

Dūru sōna onarn,
fȳrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum æthrān;
onbræd þā bealohýdig, dā hē gebolgen wæs,
recedes mūþan. Rāhe æfter þon
on fāgne flōr fōnd treddode,
Ēode yrremōd. Him of ēagum stōd
ligge gelīcost leocht unfaenger.
Geseah hē in recede rinca manige
swefan sibbegedriht samod ætgædere
magorinca hēap. (Beowulf 721-30)

At once the door rushed open, made firm with fired bonds, when he touched it with his hands; with evil purpose he swung it open, now he was enraged, the building’s mouth. Swiftly after that did the fiend tread in on stained floor, walk in wrathful of mind. From his eyes appeared, most like a flame, a light of no beauty. Saw there in the building many warriors, a kindred comitatus sleeping together, a band of young men.

Andrew is doing good in that is ready to snatch Matthew and other prisoners from a fate worse than death. Yet Andreas also plays with our expectations of Beowulf. As Hamilton says, the poet ‘reverses what we may think of as the received point of view’.³⁵⁹ Orchard sees a similar move towards Cynewulf later in Andreas, in the way that God’s restorative visit to Andrew’s cell, not long before the end of his sufferings in line 1462-63, is related with the same expressions as a devil’s visit to Juliana, in Juliana 242-43, just before her suffering is about to start.³⁶⁰ The aim is to surprise an

³⁵⁹ Hamilton (1975), 86.
³⁶⁰ Orchard (forthcoming), 22.
audience accustomed to literary disaster. In his own case, Matthew expects a cannibal but gets Andrew instead. When he enters, the poet’s hagiographic purpose emerges in the joy of his warm reunion with Matthew under the eyes of Christ (lines 1004-19). In this light, the statement *syb wæs gemǣne / bām þām gebrōðrum* ‘goodwill was shared between both brethren’ (lines 1013-14) emphasises the faith community of the Apostles and its ascendancy over all tribal kindreds such as the *sibbegedriht* ‘kindred comitatus’ sleeping in Heorot (*Beowulf* 729). The uplift is greater for coming after Andrew’s Grendel-like entry into the jail.

Not long after Andrew has dropped the guards and released all the prisoners, the townsfolk begin to starve. Not for the first time, the poet puts a strain on the story, using *Beowulf* to sharpen his attack on Mermedonian pagans. Illustrating their cannibalism in action, he presents another parody of the Eucharist. As sanctioned in the Casanatensis (end of ch. 24), the poet lets his Mermedonians eat the seven dead guards. The ensuing drama with the bad father, who offers his own son in lieu of himself, is handled in a way which might be contrasted with the death of King Hrothel in *Beowulf*, whose parental agony somehow redeems him.\(^{361}\) Having saved the son who was to be eaten instead of his father, Andrew submits to arrest, but not until the poet once more recasts the Mermedonians, where they *gesæt / rice tō rune, rǣd eahtedon* ‘sat powerful in secret counsel, they pondered their options’ (*Beowulf* 171-72). Having arrested Andrew, the Mermedonian judges spend the following three days in an orgy of torturing, flogging and dragging the saint in and out of his cell and around the city. His sufferings are presented on the level of realism. Andrew’s blood flows in gouts and his flesh is torn by the streets of this heathen city in a premonition of the Eucharistic wine and host which the cannibals will one day celebrate. His resolve weakens to the point that he rebukes Jesus for not being exact about the punishment he was led to expect. Christ, he says, suffered within one day, Andrew for three.

At this point the influence of Cynewulf returns, bringing an instrumental solo in aid of the saint. The un-*Beowulfian* verse pyrotechnics show Andrew’s pain reaching a peak:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘Dū ðæt gehēte þurh þīn hālig word,} \\
\text{þā ðū ūs twelfe trymoon ongūnne,} \\
\text{þæt ūs hēterōfra hīld ne gescēode,} \\
\text{ne līces dēl longre oððēoded,} \\
\text{ne synu ne bān on swađe ēagon,} \\
\text{ne loc of hēafōd tō forlōre wūde,} \\
\text{gif wē ðīne lāre lāstan woldon.} \\
\text{Nū sint sionwe tōslopen, is mūn swāt ādropen,} \\
\text{licġād eftet lānde loccas tōdrifene,} \\
\text{fex on foldan. Is mē feorhgedāl} \\
\text{Kēofre mycle þonne ðēos līcearo!’ (lines 1418-28)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{361}\)
nor any body-part be suddenly torn away,
nor sinew or bone have to lie on the path,
nor any lock from the head be lost,
if we would just follow your teaching.
Now sinews are softened, my blood has dripped out,
lying over land my locks have been scattered,
my hair on the ground. Parting from life for me
is preferable by far to this care of living!"

The rhymes are here underlined, while back- and forward-alliteration is given in italics and cross-linked alliteration in bold. The poet alliterates chiefly on h-, l- and s-. In particular, five out of eight lines in lines 1421-28 alliterate with l-, all proceeding from the word līces ‘of (my) body’ and ending with a paronomasia from lēofre to līcearo. This unique compound repeats the alternation of leoð<u> and līc on line 1404 (leoð<u> tōlocen līc sāre gebrocen) with the word līf (in līfes lēohtfruma) on line 1413. The intense concentration on liquids renders ululation. Aurally the poem here builds a bond between Andrew and the audience. When the Lord responds, restoring Andrew’s broken body to a state better than new, our man is transformed into the full apostle. His new powers make him an improvement on the half-monstrous Beowulf with whom the poet compares Andrew unfavourably in the first half of the poem.

The flood-scene that follows confirms St Andrew’s new powers in the poem’s greatest set-piece. Not only does the poet paint a vivid picture of the Mermedonians’ conversion, but he also mocks them as pagans by measuring their grief against Grendel’s. In the analogues of Andreas, St Andrew, now a fully fledged Christian hero, starts off the punishment and conversion of his cannibal captors by ordering a statue to discharge a salt-water flood through its mouth. This scene has been typologically read as a simulation of baptism. The waters rise higher, eating the cannibals who would have eaten Matthew. A wall of flame around the city, laid on by an angel (in the Praxeis, Michael) at Andrew’s request, makes sure that the Mermedonians stay on to drown. Later, in a vivid demonstration of the power of resurrection, Andrew restores ealle ‘all’ the former cannibals bar the fourteen executioners to life (line 1623). The analogues are unanimous in denying this forgiveness to the worst offenders, with the addition of the bad father, although the Praxeis gives them a prospect of resurrection after Andrew has made his second return to Mermedonia after converting all the Achaeans. This episode is the moment of Andrew’s victory in the Praxeis and Casanatensis, but the story there in comparison is functionally written.

In Andreas it stimulates a poetic tour de force. The stone wastes not a moment in obeying Andrew’s command. A stream wells up in the dawn, flows out and floods the city, covering the earth and increasing in size. Our poet, aware of typology but also unable to resist a metaphor, rises to the occasion by turning the flood into a heroic banquet: no food, and an unlimited helping of drink. His unique opening word parodies a metaphor at the climax of in the relevant scene in Beowulf. In Andreas:

Meoduscerwen wearð

æfter symbeldæge, slæpē tōbrugdon
searuhæb<br>ende. Sund grunde onfeng,
dēope gedrēfed. Duguð wearð āfyrhted
þurh þæs flōdes fǣr. Fǣge swulton,
geonce geofene gūðrǣs fornam
þurh þæs wēg. Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,
bīter bōrþegu! Byrlas ne gǣldon,
ombheþegnas. Þær wæs ælcum genōg
fram dæges orde drync sōna gearu. (lines 1526-35)

It was a serving of mead after the feast-day, men who kept weapons woke from their sleep. Sea enfolded ground, stirred from the depths. The company took fright at this flood’s assault. Doomed, they died, young men in ocean snatched by war-charge of salt swallow. That was a brewing of sorrow, a bitter beer-tasting! Cup-bearers did not dally, official servers. There was drink enough at once ready for all from the start of day.

From the sweetness of mead, this drink turns bitter, and the meoduscerwen figure has been imagined as poculum mortis.364 If this is so, ‘the cup of death’ forms part of the cultural background, for it does little to inform the passage. The immediate image is different, that of a wild party going wrong, a self-inflicted disaster, the poet’s metaphor for heathendom in general.

The meoduscerwen hapax in this passage has been explained without difficulty through the elements OE meodu ‘mead’ and scierwan ‘to dispense’; any notion that the latter word contains the opposite meaning, ‘deprive’, is laid to rest by the deluge of the context. However, meoduscerwen also recalls the notorious word ealæscerwen in Beowulf, likewise a hapax. Despite the likelier direction of poetic loans, most critics read ealæscerwen, which is even harder to interpret, as a word of the same category as the compound in Andreas.366 In Beowulf, the word ealæscerwen occurs at the height of Beowulf’s fight against Grendel, just when we see the monster about to lose. Beowulf has waited in the shadows, allowing Grendel to eat the unfortunate Hondsco so that he can move in for his armlock. Once in the grip, Grendel thinks of fleeing; at this moment Beowulf’s victory is achieved.

The poet of Beowulf uses ealæscerwen to announce this victory. Some critics state that the latter word is a negative metaphor for an attack as an overheavy drinking bout, but they overlook this tipping of the balance of power.367 The poet of Beowulf starts off by saying that Grendel’s was a gēocor sīð ‘melancholy mission’ (line 765). The hall of Heorot resounded:

Denum eallum wearð,

365 Calder (1986), 132.
ceasterbūendum, cēnra gehwylcum, 
eorlum ealuscwrwen. Yrre wǣron bēgen, 
rēþe renweardeas. Reced hlynsode. (Beowulf 765-70)

For all the Danes, for fortress-dwellers, 
for each keen man, for noblemen, happened 
a prescription of good fortune. Both were wrathful, 
fierce the house-janitors. The building boomed.

Both meoduscerwen and ealuscerwerwen are governed by wearð, the preterite of weordan ‘become, happen’. The use of the former is explicable if we accept a theory (of Ursula Dronke, by personal communication) that the ealu-prefix to the Beowulf compound denotes ‘good fortune’ rather than ‘ale’, its homophone; that ealu, connoting ‘prosperity’, is found inscribed as alu in runes on fourth-century bracteates, on a sixth-century pot lid in Spong Hill, and in Old Scandinavian on the Eggjum stone in eighth-century Norway; 368 and that the scierwen-base here connotes a carved dispensation of good fortune. 369 That image is in the three Norns in Völuspá ‘the sibyl’s prophecy’ (c. 1000), of whom Urðr ‘what has happened’ and Verðandi ‘what is happening’ are named as two (Skuld ‘what must happen’, as the third). These Norns are shown to carve men’s fates on slips of wood:

Þaðan koma meyjar margs vitandi
þrjár ór þeim sæ, er und þolli stendr.
Urð hétu eina, æðra Verðandi
ð skáru á skíði, Skuld ina þríðju;
þær lǫg lǫgðu, þær líf kuru
alda þørnum, ðrlǫg seggja. (Völuspá 20) 370

From there come maidens who know much, 
three from the lake which stands beneath the tree. 
Urðr they called one, Verðandi the second 
(they cut marks on wood), Skuld, the third. 
The maidens laid down laws, they chose lives 
for mankind’s children, the destinies of men.

Some notion of carved destiny appears in the word ealuscerwen in the scene in Beowulf. With the word ealu denoting ‘good fortune’, with scerwen being related to scieran ‘to cut’ and with four dative phrases embodying the recipients, our reading of this compound is best figured as an analogue of fate-inscribed symbols for men. Hereby the poet of Beowulf appears to mark the beginning of a Danish victory over Heorot’s twelve-year predator.

In Andreas, in mocking contrast, the compound meoduscerwen marks the beginning of doom for a heathen city. The poet of Beowulf, if ealuscerwen means ‘prescription of good fortune’ (Beowulf 769), describes people from the pre-Christian past respectfully with a metaphor alluding to their time. With meodscerwen the poet

369 North (1994), 74-75.
370 Dronke (1997), 12 (text) and 128 (note).
of Andreas may treat this word as antique nonsense. His purpose, being determined by the story in his source on St Andrew, is so different from that of Beowulf that his word-formation on the basis of a pun on the homophone in ealu-scerwen, as ‘a dispensation of ale’, looks like a wilful misreading. Even then, in the context of the destruction of cannibals with sea-water, meoduscwerwen is no less dramatic.

The poet continues to mock Heorot’s deliverance by letting his Mermedonians sing. As the flood-waters rise higher, and the townsfolk find themselves trapped between a fiery death in the encircling flames and a drowning in the waters, they begin to wail in lamentation. In the Praxeis: καὶ ἕκλαιον καὶ ἐβόων πάντες λέγοντες: ‘and they wailed and cried out, all of them saying “Woe to us!”’ (ch. 30); in the Casanatensis, exclamaverunt omnes in impetu, et fletu magno dicentes, ve nobis de ista omnia que supervenerunt nos ‘they cried out, all of them, in a convulsion, and with great weeping, they said “Woe to us for all those things which have come upon us!”’ (ch. 30). By admitting the error of their ways they earn the mercy which Andrew provides. The poet of Andreas gives this an extra edge, by turning the cannibal wail into a composition of songs:

Đǣr wæs ȳðfynde innan burgum
gēðomorgidd wrecen. Gehðo mǣndan
forhtferð manig, fūslēoð gōlon.
Egeslīc æled ēagsyne wearð, heardlīc heretēam, hlēoðor gryrelīc.
Þurh lyftgelāc lēges blēstas
weallas ymbwurpon, wæter mycladon.
ðǣr wæs wōp wera wide gehȳred,
earmīc ylda gedræg. (Andreas 1547-55)

Easy there was it to find inside the town a performance of the blues. Bewailed their grief many fear-stricken men, eager litanies chanted. Terrifying fire became clear to the eye, cruel devastation, voices raised in horror. With airborne commotion did blasts of flame envelop the walls, the waters grew higher. Weeping of men there was widely heard, piteous the mob of men.

He lets the humour run free because the Mermedonians, still pagan at this stage, are not yet human. There is more kindness in the way Grendel’s singing is described in Beowulf, when he begins to lose the battle in Heorot:

Swēg up āstāg
nīwe geneahhe. Norð-Denum stōd
atēlie egesa, ānra gehwylcum
þāra þe of wealle wōp gehýrdon,
gryrelēoð galan godes ondsacan,
sigelēasne sang, sār wanigean

371 Blatt (1930), 88-89.
A melody arose,
a new one, constantly. Danes in Norway were struck
with a terrible fear, any one of them
who heard this weeping from his sea-wall,
a litany of horror chanted by God’s adversary,
a song with no victory, an anguish keened
by hell’s captive. He held him fast
who was physically the strongest
of all men in that day of this life.

In this passage the poet of Andreas appears to recall Grendel, God’s adversary,
gryrelēōd galan ‘chanting a litany of horror’ (Beowulf 786), as he presents the natural
outcome of meoduscerwen festivity with the Mermedonian fūslēōd gōlon ‘they
chanted eager litanies’ (Andreas 1549).

Once the survivors of this unofficial baptism have asked for a real one, Andrew
bids the flood subside, rejoicing at the change of heart (lines 1613-24). He orders the
building of a church over his old prison near where he brought most drowned
heathens back to life (line 1635). He ordains a bishop, whom the poet names Platan
‘Plato’ (line 1652). The Mermedonians are transformed into Christians, their city
into the Eucharist, all on a massive scale:

 aliqua gesamnedon seega þrēate
 wera seond þā wīnburg wīde ond sīde,
 eorlas ānmōde ond hira idesa mid,
 cwædon holdlice hȳran woldon,
 onfōn fromlice fullwihtes bēð
 Dryhtne tō willan, ond dīofulgild,
 ealde ealhstedas, ānforlǣtan. (lines 1636-42)

Mustered then in a mass of people
men through the wine-town far and wide,
gents with one purpose and their ladies too,
said they loyally wanted to listen,
piously receive the bath of baptism
by the Lord’s will, and leave off idolatry,
ancient sanctuary-places, once and for all.

Later the Lord refers to Mermedonia as wīnbyrig ‘wine-town’ (line 1672), doubtless a
city of the wine of the Eucharist. When Andrew wants to leave the city now, however,
with the job half done, the poet portrays it as a goldburg ‘gold-town’, with secga
seledrēam ond sincestrēon ‘hall-joys of men and treasure hoards’: the beorht
bēagselu ‘bright ring-palaces’. The transformation is physical, that of the city itself,
although the wealth is more than Andrew can stand (lines 1655-57). A new ideology

372 Blatt (1930), 145 (folio 157 verso).
which turns Mermedonia from ruin to reoccupied burh will be the subject of the next discussion.

6 Mermedonia

An enquiry into material backgrounds may have much to help our understanding of Andreas. One of the most significant aspects of the poet’s adaptation of the apocryphal legend, as Hugh Magennis points out, is the ‘development of place and setting’ which is achieved through the free exploitation of ‘features derived from the vernacular poetic traditions’. This contributes an ‘emotive dimension’ to places such as Mermedonia which is altogether absent from the analogues.\(^{373}\) This section will address the landscapes, architecture and material culture of Andreas in its Anglo-Saxon contexts. Attention to this aspect of Andreas is especially important because it reveals how the poet was attempting to present Mermedonia; as a place which, although unfamiliar to his audience in certain respects, was also accessible to them through their own landscape.

Mermedonia is described as a borderland early on, and as a place of transition between peoples and places. Boundaries and borderlands, for all their separation from the heart of Anglo-Saxon community, served various functions as places for assembly, judicial proceedings, executions, and warfare. Mermedonia is also demonstrably a place given over to the worship of Satan, and the reclamation of heathen places for Christian community is a central concern of the poem. No less significant, for similar reasons, was the appropriation of Roman identity by the Anglo-Saxon Church, which, through its re-use of stone spolia, also staked a claim to the Romanitas with which this masonry was imbued. On a more practical level, Andreas is also a poem that is concerned with travel and the means of travel, with roads across land and sea featuring prominently in Andrew’s journey to Mermedonia, as well as in his torture. Roads and other pathways like these serve as a backdrop to the poem’s urban sprawl, where fortifications jostle with gateways and towers. Mermedonia is consciously presented as a walled burh, in contrast with the vast majority of large Anglo-Saxon settlements, which were extramural before and indeed for most of the tenth century. This image of a walled town is a particularly important feature of Andreas for it sheds light on how both the city and the ecclesiastical reclamation of the intramural space were understood at the time. The poet appears to be interested in the role that the Church, through the building of a church within the town, has to play in transforming it into a place of Christian community.

Boundaries and meeting places

The opening description of Mermedonia presents it as a mearcland, a borderland in its most literal sense. Although this does not seem to fit with its being an igland unless the latter is to be understood as ēaland ‘a land across the water’, the words mearcland and igland together evoke a poetic sense of Mermedonia’s separation from the civilized world.\(^{374}\) Elsewhere the city is identified as a lēodmearc ‘territory’ (line 286), with the second element conveying the sense of a mearc ‘boundary’, which separates one lēod ‘people’ from another. Mermedonia is a borderland because it is on the fringes of human society and experience, like Grendel’s mere in Beowulf and the

\(^{373}\) Magennis (1996), 173; also Bintley (2009), 114-15.

\(^{374}\) See further Grosz (1969-70).
Crowland hermitage in *Guthlac*. This ælmyrcna ēðelrīce ‘homeland of strange border-dwellers’ (line 432) is an inhospitable environment for outsiders, and heroic deeds are required before it can become a place fit for the establishment and development of Christian community.\(^{375}\) Borderlands, being places separated from those where civilians and valuable property might be harmed, served as battle-sites throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.\(^{376}\) It is appropriate that Mermedonia is at first a borderland, as Matthew and Andrew go to do battle with evil there as soldiers of Christ (lines 1-11).

Assembly sites were frequently located on borders and boundaries. This was true both of minor meeting-places and those of relatively large territorial units such as hundreds:\(^{377}\) the hundred is a measure of land at a local governmental level for which there is evidence prior to the tenth century, but of whose form and function relatively little is known until Edgar’s Hundred Ordinance.\(^{378}\) These land units and their corresponding assemblies may have been much older, however. Lately some evidence has emerged which points to their existence earlier in the period.\(^{379}\) Every four weeks, from the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924), if not earlier, a hundred meeting was held to conduct fiscal and judicial processes.\(^ {380}\) Perhaps significantly, in the context of *Andreas*, these meeting places were often defined by landmarks including mounds, standing stones, or trees, though some early names for meeting places such as Manshead Hundred (Beds.) may suggest places of pre-Christian significance, as well as ‘references to OE heafod stoccan “head stakes”’, which probably indicate the display of heads on poles.\(^ {381}\) Although burial sites and place-names suggest that most executions and subsequent burials did not take place at hundred meeting places, Andrew Reynolds has demonstrated that the majority of execution sites are located at territorial boundaries, potentially as a means of separating criminals from the heart of human society.\(^ {382}\)

Mermedonia in *Andreas* is not a meeting place in its own right, but a meeting is held there, followed by an attempted execution, which may have been understood as a supernumerary hundred meeting. This takes place shortly after Andrew has freed Matthew and the other captives from the town jail. Deliberately placing himself in harm’s way, Andrew comes upon a mearcpaðe ‘boundary road’ (line 1061), besides which stands a brass pillar. Here he awaits the Mermedonians, who gather at this pingstede ‘assembly’ or ‘meeting place’ (line 1098), and use a magical tan (‘twig’ 1103) to decide upon their victim. A contemporary audience would have understood this as a counterpart to a meeting place on a boundary that was marked by a post and beside a routeway; what takes place there, as a version of their own judicial processes through which wrongdoers were condemned. The subsequent episode in which the Mermedonians choose their victim through heathen mysteries and the use of the divining rod, which initially marks the elder who then gives up his son, would thus appear as a grim inversion of the executions of the late-Saxon state, those which were conducted under Christian authority.

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\(^{375}\) See further Hall (1987).

\(^{376}\) Williams (2015).

\(^{377}\) Pantos (2003).

\(^{378}\) For the classic definition, see Hunter-Blair (2003), 232-36.

\(^{379}\) Reynolds (2009b).

\(^{380}\) Campbell (2011), 961.

\(^{381}\) Reynolds (2009a), 169, 224; (2011), 898.

\(^{382}\) Reynolds (2009a), 37, 203-6; for example on the boundaries of boroughs of ‘Cambridge, Eashing, Guildford, Steyning, and Winchester, and probably Old Sarum, Staines, and Wallingford, among others’: Reynolds (2011), 901-02.
Burial mounds
This discussion of execution sites is also relevant to the burial mounds in Andreas, of which there are two. The first of these is the burial place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob on line 802, which represents another significant Anglicisation of the landscape. It might seem surprising to find the Hebrew patriarchs interred in the burial architecture of Saxon pagan period. It is less so if the English saw themselves as northern Israelites, as has been argued on the basis of royal genealogies such as Alfred’s. If this is the case, the burial mound left open by these patriarchs is similar to the moldærn ‘earth-house’ where Christ is buried in The Dream of the Rood. The first barrow in Andreas would have been understood as a product of the pre-Christian era, and those interred in it as having been redeemed through the Harrowing of Hell.

Later in the period, however, these sorts of burial mounds were seen as the haunts of malign supernatural forces. Sarah Semple has demonstrated that there was a shift, from the memorialisation which barrows offered in the early-Saxon period, to a later understanding that they housed heathen souls. They were thus, according to Semple, appropriate places in which to bury the bodies of executed sinners who might then be tormented by the restless dead. The second mound in Andreas should be understood in these terms, as a place for the damned. This Mermedonian mound, in contrast with that of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, functions as a hell-mouth into which fourteen of the Mermedonians are swallowed as the flood subsides. It is tempting to see this mound as part of the jail’s architecture, but the text has nothing to show that this is so. Instead, the place corresponding to this mound in both Praxeis and Casanatensis is the town square, in which all the executions have taken place (ch. 31). Frustratingly, the poet identifies his version of this place only as se beorg ‘the barrow’ (line 1587), without offering clues to its location. Perhaps, however, this is because he assumes that we understand it to be sited near the þingstede (line 1098), at or near the brass pillar where there nearly is an execution. Aside from the jail, this is the only place that can be securely located within the walls of Mermedonia.

Pagan sites and Christian churches
The final Christian triumph in Mermedonia is the construction of a Christian church on the site where the prison had stood (lines 1632-35). This church becomes the seat of the bishop Plato, who is ordained there, and plays an assumed role in the baptism of the Mermedonians and the continuation of their faith. It is worth considering how the building of this church would have been understood in the context of the barrow that swallows the flood. There is no clear indication in the Old English poem that the barrow and the prison are the same thing or in the same place. In the narrator’s description a new church is built over the prison, not over the barrow. Yet the barrow is within the embrace of the town walls, and just as the presence of the Church supersedes the authority of Satan, the building of a church transforms a heathen waste into a Christian stronghold. As a result of later building in England, there is little evidence survives with which to confirm that burial mounds stood within the walls of Roman cities in Britain. One such exception may be the ‘Dane John’ mound that today stands within the embrace of Canterbury’s medieval wall: this was originally a Roman burial mound (or earlier) that formed the core of a Norman motte before the

384 See The Dream of the Rood 65; references from Swanton (1970).
385 Semple (1998); (2003); (2013).
building of Canterbury castle nearby in the twelfth century. There is no reason to connect this directly with the mound in *Andreas*, but it does raise the possibility that other burial mounds – or features thought to be burial mounds – may have existed in former Roman forts and towns, even if they may have been no more than heaps of rubble that had accumulated topsoil and vegetation.

Speculation aside, Anglo-Saxon England had a long tradition of building Christian churches in close proximity to former sites of heathen significance such as burial mounds, in keeping with Gregory the Great’s instructions to Mellitus. Building Christian churches near these sites absorbed their regional cult appeal and replaced it with an appropriate religious focus, creating continuity of worship in these places “through ritual appropriation of their monuments”. Places where churches were constructed alongside places of former heathen worship can be found throughout the landscape, including a notable instance at Yeavering, a pre-Christian site where Bede reports that preaching, conversion, and baptism took place. These things also happened in intramural sites such as Bath, whose first abbey was probably constructed in the late seventh century. Bath minster was built in close proximity to the hot spring in order to assume the power of this site over the surrounding area, rather than an earlier Roman temple on the site had co-opted the authority and worship of the pre-Roman deity Sulis. John Blair notes other examples of ritual wells whose significance had been incorporated into local Christian worship. These include Stevington (Beds.), where a tenth or eleventh century church lies near a holy spring, and Barton-on-Humber, where a church of c. 1000 stands near a cluster of wells surrounding the base of a monument. Similarly, a site at Ketton (Rutland) has shown evidence of burials focused around a presumed sacred tree, one which was later superseded by a nearby church. A particularly fine example is the church at Taplow that was constructed near to a pagan burial mound of the early seventh century. However, the date at which this church was built is contested, with Blair considering it to have been late-Saxon, whilst David Stocker has made a case for origins before the Viking Age. Not far from the mound and the church lies Bapsey Pond, which later sources claim to have been used by Saint Birinius for baptism, perhaps in c. 642.

There appear to be no known intramural sites where any mound-associated cult activity was supplanted by the construction of a church (this is not to say there were none, however). The important lesson to learn from these examples is that there is abundant extramural evidence for sites where the Anglo-Saxons built churches as symbols of the conquest of heathen worship, and that these sites included mounds. Despite the intramural location, an Anglo-Saxon audience, especially an ecclesiastical one, is likely to have understood the construction of the church in Mermedonia as part of this process.

*Roman spolia and the Mermedonian prison*

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388 Blair (2005), 54. See also Semple (2013), 131-32.
389 Blair (2005), 54-57.
391 Blair (2005), 379.
392 Blair (2005), 381.
394 *VCH* (1925) III, 240-45.
The prison in which Matthew and his fellow captives and later Andrew are held seems partly imagined with reference to the dragon’s barrow in *Beowulf*. After Andrew’s third day of torture by the Mermedonians, he is returned to the jail, whereupon he looks upon pillars supporting the building above him (lines 1492-95). These lines resemble the final battle in *Beowulf*, with Wiglaf looking down towards the mouth of the dragon’s barrow (lines 2715-19). The barrow in *Beowulf* has generally been understood as a prehistoric burial mound, although some have seen vaulted Roman roofing in the *siānbogan* ‘stone arches’ (line 2718) at its entrance. In the case of *Beowulf*, the extent to which the early medieval English would have known the difference between barrows that were Roman, prehistoric, or indeed the product of their more recent ancestors’ culture, is questionable.

This is not the case in *Andreas*, where rather more can be said about the architecture of the Mermedonian prison. The pillars in Andrew’s cell are of substantial size and support the wall of the building above. It is possible that they are also all made of marble, like the pillar from which the flood is summoned on line 1498. The pillars’ further description as *storme bedrifene* ‘scoured by weather’, on line 1494 is an interesting feature which seems difficult to interpret. For these pillars to have been weathered in this way, they must have been exposed to the elements. This could suggest that the jail was once above ground, but has become subterranean through the accumulation of topsoil: a possible, but rather contrived, solution, which does not account for the fact that the pillars are weathered inside a sheltered space. A more plausible suggestion is that the jail has been constructed from spoliated Roman pillars, or from ones which what the Anglo-Saxons would have recognised as such. This reading accounts for the fact that they have been manufactured out of marble, which prehistoric mounds in Britain were not.

Here the poet of *Andreas* departs from his likely source, for in the non-vernacular analogues Andrew speaks to a marble statue on a marble pillar (Casanatensis) or an alabaster statue on a pillar (*Praxeis*), from whose mouth the flood springs forth (ch. 29). It is important to understand something of the background to spoliation in England and on the Continent if this column is to be fully understood. The re-use of columns from Roman buildings is well known from late antiquity and the early medieval period in the construction of Christian churches. This is appropriate given that the jail serves as the foundation for the first Mermedonian church. Brandenburg records the common re-use of columns from earlier buildings in the construction of numerous early and medieval Christian churches in Rome itself: one striking example is S. Clemente, which boasts columns from an earlier (Christian) building and also stands over a site of Mithras. There are re-used column bases at S. Lorenzo in Damaso and columns, bases, and capitals at the church of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, which was built (in c. 1140) with many re-used capitals and ornamented bases.

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395 The editors of the revised Klaeber’s *Beowulf* support the view that these are neolithic rather than Roman: Klaeber (2008), 255. For arguments to the contrary, see Thornbury (2000), 86. See also Anlezark (2006), 351-52.


398 Brandenburg (2005), 23 (Lateran Basilica), 41-43 (Lateran Baptistry), 81 (Sta. Constanza), 87 (S. Lorenzo fuori le mura), 139 (Sta. Pudenziana), 144-45 (S. Clemente), 160 (SS. Giovanni e Paolo), 169 (Sta. Sabina), 179 (Sta. Maria Maggiore), 192-93 (S. Pietro in Vincoli), 220 (S. Giovanni a Porta Latina). On the spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, see also Kinney (1986), 387.
including some from the Baths of Caracalla.\textsuperscript{399} Constantine’s S. Pietro in Vaticano itself re-used of columns that were regarded ‘from the Middle Ages…as columns of Solomon’s Temple’, and which did have their origins in the eastern Roman Empire (if not in Solomon’s temple itself).\textsuperscript{400} Further north, Verhoeven notes a similar example of spoliation unique to Ravenna in its oldest church, S. Giovanni Evangelista, which dates to between 427-30.\textsuperscript{401} Ravenna itself may also have been the source for the spolia for Charlemagne’s Palatine Chapel at Aachen (now part of Aachen Cathedral), which features spoliated porphyry columns possibly taken from the palace of Theodoric after Charlemagne’s visit in 787, although Rome is also a possibility.\textsuperscript{402}

Roman spolia were frequently incorporated into early medieval churches in England too. Over 160 churches in Britain are associated with Roman structures, a process which Tyler Bell has argued to have been part of the conscious appropriation of Roman material which was taken to be synonymous with Christian culture from the early seventh century onwards.\textsuperscript{403} Although ancient columns were apparently not re-used as often in Anglo-Saxon churches as they were elsewhere, Roman columns were re-used at St Pancras, Canterbury, and others were created in conscious imitation of these at Reculver, which have since been relocated to the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.\textsuperscript{404} Further north still, the builders of Wilfrid’s abbey at Hexham made substantial use of stonework from Roman Corbridge: Stephen of Ripon, Wilfrid’s biographer, noted that the structure of this church included substantial columns.\textsuperscript{405} Although there is also material evidence for these, they have not survived intact.\textsuperscript{406} Jane Hawkes has also shown that carved figural columns were erected in early ninth century Anglo-Saxon England to demonstrate the imperial power of the Christian Church in former Roman provinces.\textsuperscript{407} These columns, examples of which are found at Masham, Dewsbury, Wolverhampton, and Reculver, were created in conscious imitation of Roman triumphal columns found elsewhere in Gaul and Italy, and which had formerly stood in Roman centres in Britain.\textsuperscript{408} At Wroxeter, Roman columns flank the entrance to the churchyard of St Andrew. This church, thought to stand in the area of the former Roman baths, is home to a tenth- or eleventh-century font ‘cut from a re-used (inverted) Roman column base’.\textsuperscript{409} That the baptismal flood in Andreas rises from the base of a marble column is partly due to the fourth- or fifth-century Mediterranean St Andrew legend, whose culture understood the use of Roman baths; and partly to the complex of ideas surrounding spoliated columns which derives from this culture in early Anglo-Saxon England.

One final location bearing comparison with Andreas is the crypt of St Wystan’s of Repton in Mercia (see Fig. 5). This crypt may originally have been constructed as a baptistery, but then became the crypt of kings: Æthelbald in 757, Wiglaf in 840 and St Wystan in 849. Later it was incorporated into the minster. St Wystan’s crypt is

\textsuperscript{399} Brandenburg (2005), 113, 136.
\textsuperscript{400} Brandenburg (2005), 96. Kinney (2001), 144-45.
\textsuperscript{401} Verhoeven (2011), 32.
\textsuperscript{403} Bell (1998); (2005).
\textsuperscript{404} Boulton and Hawkes (2014); Taylor and Taylor (1965), 146, 503-09; Biddle et. al. (1995), 137, 162-63.
\textsuperscript{406} Taylor and Taylor (1965), 304.
\textsuperscript{407} Hawkes (2009a), 31.
\textsuperscript{408} Hawkes (2009a, 38-41; (2003), 77-79; also (2002) and (2009b).
\textsuperscript{409} Bryant (2012), 390-91.
especially relevant to *Andreas*, because of its location in the royal heart of Mercia, its supposed origin as a baptistery, its semi-subterranean construction, and the fact that its vaulting rests on four (Anglo-Saxon) stone pillars.\(^{410}\)

![Fig. 5: Pillars in St Wystan’s Crypt, Repton](image)

**Pathways in Andreas**

*Andreas* features more travel than most Old English poems, and much of the first half is spent at sea on the way to Mermedonia, though the poet also includes reminders of *wega gehwām* ‘every path’ (line 65) along the *grundwæge* ‘earthly road’ (line 582) and the *upweg* ‘upward road’ (line 830) that is *lifes weg* ‘the way to life’ (line 170) for every righteous Christian. The emphasis on pathways is not so much a deviation from the poem’s analogues as an expansion on the source material, like the sea voyage in *Elene*. As in *Beowulf*, the sea is never very far away, and the frequency with which travel and sea roads are mentioned is at least partially a consequence of this.

Numerous epithets are used to describe the sea and its potential for travel, including *dēop gelād* ‘deep-sea roads’ (line 190), *holma begang* ‘ocean road’ (line 195), *swanrāde* ‘swan’s path’ (line 196), *beōdweg* ‘bathway’ (line 223, 513), *hranrāde* ‘orca’s road’ (line 266, 634 (hron-) 821), *hweles ēdel* ‘whale’s home’ (line 274), *lāde* ‘road’ (line 276), *farōdstrǣte* ‘tidal road’ (line 311), *lagolāde* ‘ocean path’ (line 314), *hwælmere* ‘whale-deep’ (line 370), *holmwege* ‘ocean-road’ (line 382), *lagustrǣm* ‘sea’s current’ (line 423), *warudgewinn* ‘tumult of surf’ (line 439), *ēagorstrǣmas* ‘sea-roads’ (line 441), *yōlāde* ‘wave-road’ (line 499), *sēlāde* ‘paths at sea’ (line 511), *farōdstrǣte* ‘tidal road’ (line 898), *brimrāde* ‘sea-road’ (line 1262, 1587), and *seolhpaðu* ‘seal-paths’ (line 1714). The high number of terms for cetaceans does not in itself mean that the poet was a seafarer, or that these kennings are necessarily more than poetic licence. These references to whales could reflect some aspects of

\(^{410}\) Taylor and Taylor (1965), 510-16.
Andrew’s Jonah-like reticence, or the face that he is on his way to harrow a hell on earth: St Augustine interprets Jonah’s time in the belly of the whale as a prefiguration of Christ’s harrowing of hell (De civitate Dei).\(^{411}\) The earthly voyage is expressed as a sea voyage in the familiar Christian topos also found in Cynewulf’s Christ (B) 411-17. One significant point to draw from all this is not only the great symbolic significance of the sea in Anglo-Saxon England, but also its centrality to ideas of travel and communication. The sea was not a barrier, but a complex, albeit potentially treacherous, network of roads.\(^{412}\)

Most of the second half of Andreas is set in or around Mermedonia, where are numerous references to paved streets and other roads and pathways. Some of these roads may be metalled. The division between pathways on sea and land is somewhat artificial, as the word herestrētā ‘raiding highways’ refers on line 200 to paths ofer cild wæter ‘over cold water’ (line 200), despite being customary for roads which were big enough to transport armies.\(^{413}\) Elsewhere the herestrētē ‘army highway’ (line 831) leading to the gates of Mermedonia, as a road leading to a burh’s gates, may be understood as metalled, for this surfacing was customary in Anglo-Saxon England and the Mermedonians are shown to be reasonably competent administrators. The other roads surrounding Mermedonia are described only in vague terms, as wegas ofer wīldland ‘ways over open country’ (line 198). These roads are comparable to the foldweg ‘country road’ (line 775) along which the talking statue wends its way after rebuking the Jewish elders in Andrew’s story of the Holy Temple; and to the mearcþþaðu ‘paths through the march’, along which Abraham and kinsmen travel to the trees of Mamre. The same word is also used on line 1061 to describe the strǣte ‘street’ on line 1062 within Mermedonian walls near which the brass pillar stands. This street and the others within the city walls are like Roman streets for the poet tells us that Andrew is dragged over wegas ‘roads’ (line 1234) which are strǣte stānþāge ‘streets paved with stone’ (line 1236) and on which he leaves a new trail, of blood (line 1422). A comparison is also drawn between the street approaching the prison in which Matthew and the other captives are held, and Heorot, when the poet describes how Andrew stōp on strǣte (stīg wīsode) ‘marched up the street (a pathway guided)’ in line 986, in a line which echoes the approach of Beowulf and the Geats to Heorot in Beowulf: strǣt wæs stānþāh, stīg wīsode ‘the street was stone-paved, a pathway guided’ (line 320). A final route-way is made when Andrew’s footsteps create burh strēamrāece strǣt gerȳmed ‘a cleared path through the driving current’ (line 1580), demonstrating God’s power over all of the various track-ways found by land and sea throughout the poem.

Mermedonia as a Roman city

Mermedonia is arguably the most fully described urban settlement in Old English poetry, alongside the urban place described in The Ruin. The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon settlements has seen significant advances since Brooks published his edition of Andreas. These must be adequately represented if we are to appreciate how a contemporary audience would have understood Mermedonia. The first things to outline are the physical features of Mermedonia as they are described in the poem, which an early medieval audience would have associated with Roman towns and forts throughout the British landscape. Mermedonia is identified as a Roman stone


\(^{413}\) Baker and Brookes (2013), 140-52.
settlement through reference to its buildings as *enta ãrgeweorc* ‘the former work of giants’ (line 1235). The basis of this term is only used in Old English poetry to refer to structures of prehistoric or Roman construction, save for two references to ancient weaponry in *Beowulf*.414 In *Beowulf* this formula also describes the golden hilt from Grendel’s Mother’s cave which is given over to King Hrothgar, on line 1679, and similar epithets are used of Ongentheow’s *eald sweord eotonisc, entiscne helm* ‘old giantish sword and giantish helm’, at line 2979. To Anglo-Saxons Roman towns may have been like prehistoric barrows in some respects. They had mostly lain derelict since the end of the occupation in the early fifth century, with some small-scale ecclesiastical reoccupation in Canterbury, London, York and a few other places. Some Roman towns, however, were to see a royal process of reinvention from the late ninth century onwards under the agency of Alfred and his successors. It turns out that this movement is entirely in keeping with what happens to Mermedonia in *Andreas*.

Mermedonia is most fully depicted when Andrew awakens before its walls, having been left there by an angel beside the *herestrête* ‘army highway’ (line 831). Chief amongst Mermedonia’s Roman urban features is the *burhwealle* ‘town wall’ (line 833), whose stature is emphasized by subsequent reference to *windige weallas* ‘windswept walls’ (line 43), which delineate the space within the walls that is filled with flood-water, from the space without, which is surrounded by celestial fire (line 1553). There are formidable gates in these walls: Andrew looks upon the plain *fore burggeatum* ‘before the town’s gates’ (line 840); and it is *to weallgeatum* ‘to the gates in the wall’ (line 1200) that the Mermedonians later throng. It is not clear whether or not Mermedonia has one gate only, but it seems likely that the town is meant to have more, given the multiplicity of entry-ways in Roman walled settlements which were re-used in the early medieval era. The one reference to *torras* (line 842) seems included to give an impression of Mermedonia’s stature and origins. A comparison with later medieval towns, such as San Gimignano, or even with such free-standing towers as were built in the late-Saxon period at Earls Barton and Barton-Upon-Humber, would be an anachronism.415 The ‘towers’ of Mermedonia are better understood as Roman wall towers, in the light of the *hreorge torras* ‘tumbled towers’ in *Ruin 3*.

The exact nature of the buildings in Mermedonia, as with nearly all structures described in Old English poetry, is relatively obscure. The poet’s reference to the *enta ãrgeweorc* ‘former works of giants’ (line 1235), around which Andrew is dragged, suggests that these are originally built from stone, like the pillars in the jail. The references to stone, both in the passage above and elsewhere, imply that Mermedonia’s buildings are in a state of disrepair. Moreover, the distinction between natural rock and masonry architecture becomes blurred and unclear, as the image of the ruins of Ephesus demonstrates in Fig. 6.

415 Shapland (2012).
In *Andreas*, the stone construction of Mermedonia’s buildings is also in keeping with the earlier description of its stone-paved streets. This feature would not have been familiar outside the old Roman contexts, whether in England or elsewhere in the former empire. Even settlements which had once been Roman towns would have had accumulated sufficient topsoil to have obscured these surfaces: for example, the street plan of Winchester, which was laid out at the time of Alfred, is an Anglo-Saxon creation distinct from its Roman predecessor. A final detail worth noting is that tiles (line 842) have either been used to roof Mermedonia’s buildings, or that its buildings have been constructed out of brick. OE *tigel* (< Latin *tegula*) refers to roof tiles or bricks, both of which imply terracotta and with it a certain *Romanitas*. Whether we take these *tigelfagan trafu* to be buildings with tiled roofs, or to be constructed out of red brick, or marked by the ubiquitous terracotta bonding courses that characterise many Roman buildings in Britain, this material bears the (sometimes literal) stamp of Roman culture. In these ways it is clear that *Andreas* presents Mermedonia as a walled city of Roman origin, with gates, towers, and stone streets, whose buildings were of masonry construction. In terms as broad as these, the poet’s desired audience could have equated Mermedonia with any one of the substantial walled Roman settlements throughout the English landscape, whose ubiquity meant

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416 Biddle (1976), 277; Collis (1978), 8; Madicott (1989), 4; Clarke and Ambrosiani (1991), 91.
that these details did not apply to any one specific place, but might be understood in a variety of contexts.

**Mermedonia as a WS burh**

On the more practical side, the poet’s description of Mermedonia evokes a re-used Roman settlement, with OE *ceastre* ‘fort, “-chester”’ being one of the contributory terms.\(^417\) For example, the term *ceastrewarena* ‘citizens*, at line 1125, identifies the Mermedonians as they prepare to slaughter the son of their ‘philosopher’. The significance and function of old Roman walled spaces varied significantly throughout the early medieval period. The poet frequently refers to Mermedonia, its buildings, and its inhabitants with the word *burh* (*burg*) or its compounds. John Baker has argued that the term *burh* in place-names did not imply a place with particular physical characteristics, but rather a place that was in some way defensible.\(^418\) In *Andreas*, however, the physical characteristics of Mermedonia and its defensive potential are clear enough through this description: it is a *burh* because it has a defensible circuit of walls, like a Roman town. Matthew prays that he will not be *āblended in burgum* ‘blinded in this town’ (line 78); Mermedonia is initially described as a *hāðnan burg* ‘the heathen town’ (line 111), but at the end of the poem it becomes a *wīnburg* ‘wine-town’ (line 1637), a *goldburg* ‘gold-town’ (line 1655), and a *wederburg* ‘fair-weather town’ (line 1697). It is also just cited as a *burh* (lines 982, 1120, 1541), whilst both Andrew’s dragging torture and the the Mermedonian flood-borne lamentation take place *innan burgum* ‘inside the town’ (lines 1235, 1547). Elsewhere, aspects of Mermedonia’s architecture emphasize their connection with the town as a fortified place, as Andrew awakens *burhwealle nēh* ‘near the town’s walls’ (line 833), *fore burgeatum* ‘before the town’s gates’ (line 840), before heading to the *burgloca* ‘stronghold’ (lines 940n, 1038, 1066) where he frees Matthew and is then locked up himself. Then there are the multiple ways in which the Mermedonians are identified with the *burh*, as *burgwaru* ‘city-dwellers’ (lines 184, 209, 1094, 1583), *burhsittend* ‘townsmen’ (line 1201), while Mermedonia is described as a *wera burgum* ‘town of men’ (line 1155). Interestingly, Christ himself is also described as a *būhrweard* ‘keeper of the town’ (line 660n) shortly before arriving at the Temple of Jerusalem, demonstrating his ultimate power over all cities. In short, Mermedonia is identified as a *burh*, its important buildings as burghal, and the Mermedonians themselves as *burh*-dwellers.

On the basis of this evidence it can be said that the poet of *Andreas* paints a picture of a town with Roman origins and physical features which is now an occupied and urban *burh*. To understand the implications of the latter, in terms of what Mermedonia would have signified to the audience of *Andreas*, it is important to identify *burhs* of Roman origin in early medieval England, and their contemporary significance. The Anglo-Saxon public *burh* originated in the late ninth century, during Alfred’s Viking wars, a network of fortified places of various kinds were built in order to increase regional defensive control, in such a way that each fortified place was situated within 40 miles of the next.\(^419\) These varied widely in character, with some serving purely as forts (or as fortified places for emergency refuge), whilst others contained within them some of the components for town life, including markets, minsters, and places

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\(^417\) At lines 41, 281, 719, 828, 929, 939, 1058, 1174, 1677.


of royal accommodation. Many of the burghal towns (as opposed to burghal forts), were newly built in imitation of Roman towns: Wallingford, Wareham and Cricklade are examples. More relevant to Andreas, however, are those burhs which re-used Roman walled towns, including those which the Burghal Hidage names at Winchester, Chichester, Bath, and Exeter. Other Roman towns not appearing in the document include London, Canterbury, and Gloucester: these also saw variously successful attempts to reoccupy them during Alfred’s Viking wars in the late ninth century, and after them in the early tenth. There is a strong reason to correlate these places with Andreas. Like Mermedonia, they were reoccupied walled Roman towns of the type which contemporaries called burh.

The Burghal Hidage outlines the execution of this plan. This document is likely to postdate 914 in its current form, for a time in the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924), but it has been treated as an indication of the way in which Alfred intended individual burhs to be maintained during his own reign (871-99). More particularly, Martin Biddle argues that the original burghal system was probably instituted at some point between 880 and Alfred’s ‘reoccupation’ of London in 886 (according to Asser and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). Jeremy Haslam believes that the system was begun earlier, in 879 and not long after the defeat of Guthrum’s army at Edington in 878, on the grounds that the Burghal Hidage matches Alfred’s wish that the Danes should withdraw from the bases at Cirencester and Fulham that threatened Wessex. Each stronghold was responsible for the defence of a certain area of land. The basis of the system was that if one man was sent from each hide in times of need, then every pole’s-length of their defensive fortifications work could be protected by four men. The vital link here, between the common people expected to support the burghal system and the burghal fortifications themselves, appears to be reflected in Andreas’ picture of the relationship between Mermedonians and their burh.

Summary
A tentative dating for Andreas may be based on the poet’s particular treatment of the landscape of Andreas, as he translates this into an early medieval English context. The judicial landscape of Mermedonia is strongly reminiscent of late-Saxon governance: a meeting, supernumerate to the Mermedonian’s monthly moot, is held on a border near a pillar, where legal proceedings with a (Satanic) religious basis are conducted. Not far from this place lies a barrow through which fourteen bad Mermedonians are sucked into hell when Andrew calls on the flood to subside. The depiction of this barrow as a place for sinners is in keeping with late-Saxon attitudes reflecting the use of burrows for the execution burials, and the belief that their evil dead would be tortured there by restless spirits. At the end of the poem a church is founded over the Mermedonian jail, at an unknown distance from this barrow. The construction of churches near sites of pre-Christian significance had taken place since the conversion

422 Baker and Brookes (2013), 55, 83, 89-90; see also Lavelle (2010).
424 Haslam (2006), 122-29. The abandonment of Cirencester and Fulham are to be found in chapters 60 and 61 of Asser’s Life of King Alfred, and the reoccupation of London (ch. 83): Stevenson (1959), 48, 69.
425 For a description of the form that these fortifications took when not incorporating Roman walls, see Hall (2011), 606; also Baker and Brookes (2013), 72-83.
period, and was well known to the Anglo-Saxons from the bible, from their own historical tradition, and through the efforts of English missionaries on the Continent. Although this process cannot be fixed in any particular point in the Anglo-Saxon period, while barrows in urban contexts are obscure, there is some indication that the fabric of this jail has been constructed from Roman spolia. This re-use of materials played a part in underpinning ecclesiastical buildings in England. The religious re-use of Roman stone and Roman buildings is known from the beginning of the seventh century onwards, in both intra- and extramural contexts, and this aspect of the poem cannot be dated to any particular point in the Anglo-Saxon period. However, the further development of minster churches did form part of the reoccupation of intramural space, to contribute to their economic and religious stimulus. A complex network of pathways by land and sea is also seen to traverse the landscape within and around Mermedonia. This town in Andreas is probably the most fully described urban setting in Old English poetry, and it is presented as a town of Roman origin with present status as a populated burh. Towns of Roman origin were occupied and slowly developed into burhs from the late ninth century onwards, under the impetus of Alfred and Edward the Elder and their successors. As Andreas describes the efforts of a missionary to transform an urban location from a seat of evil into a place of Christian community, by establishing a church and a bishopric, there are good grounds, based on the material contexts, to conclude that the poem reflects and even promotes King Alfred’s programme to reoccupy old Roman towns. This evidence aligns the composition of Andreas with the late ninth or early tenth century.

7 Date and Authorship

The few known facts about Andreas begin with its preservation in the Vercelli Book, whose place of provenance is held to be the south-east of England in the later tenth century. The copied text contains a rare distinguishing accentation in a spread of ten góð word-forms, one which associates this text with the same accentation in the same word in a late tenth-century gloss on the Salisbury Psalter. The poem is written in a late WS standard in which certain forms reveal its derivation from an early WS recension. Certain Anglian forms and vocabulary in the language of the text are typical of an early WS poetic patois, whereas others resemble the Mercian of the Vespasian Psalter glosses and of other manuscripts from the time of Alfred’s programme of translation from the late ninth into the early tenth centuries. The prosody tells us that the poem is metrically more relaxed than Beowulf, or even than Cynewulf’s works, one of which it precedes in the manuscript; Andreas also shares a high number of formulae and expressions with these poems. Finally, we have seen that the poet’s vocabulary for Mermedonia tallies with Alfred’s burghal programme, as that of a town with Roman appearance and origins which becomes an occupied Anglo-Saxon burh. This combination of features, with its indication of an Alfredian context, does not fit with what Brooks wrote about Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles, that they ’may have been written in their original form not much earlier than the middle of the ninth century’.

Several more arguments allow us to build on this. The Vercelli Book is dated by its sole hand to c. 975. By this and other palaeographical criteria the book is associated with St Augustine’s, Canterbury. Its personally varied arrangement of items has

426 Brooks (1961), xxxix. Ambiguous words, however: dating or terminus a quo?
further been indirectly compared with that of the Classbook of Archbishop Dunstan (pallium 959-88). During his reign in Christ Church, Dunstan is said to have read in the library at St Augustine’s nearby, and it has been suggested that he was the first owner of the Vercelli Book. Secondly, the text of Andreas has an emphatically high number of stressed gód forms for ‘god’ in the middle of which is a colophon eadgip which has been mechanically copied, then half erased, in Andreas on folio 41 verso. The young royal inmate of Wilton, Eadgyth or Edith (961-84), not only shares her common name with this colophon, but is said to have been known as Goda by the nuns who knew her; whilst the Salisbury Psalter, in which the other clear case of a stressed gód for ‘God’ arises, has been traced to Wilton. These findings give some reason to trace the poem’s exemplar to the convent of Wilton (or to Shaftesbury or to another minster) in Wessex earlier in the tenth century. It is not known whether Edith of Wilton copied Andreas with Fates and then gave the booklet to Dunstan, but she is said to have been both a copyist with an attachment to the Apostles and a friend of Dunstan, who, in his earlier roles as monk of Glastonbury and plural bishop of Worcester and London, served her father King Edgar (Wessex: 957-59; England: 959-75) in the centres of power in Winchester and royal minsters roundabout. The apostolic theme of Andreas and Fates, a poem of Cynewulf’s which follows Andreas in the Vercelli Book, enables us to hypothesize that these poems were Edith’s gift for SS Peter and Paul to whom St Augustine’s was dedicated.

Whether or not any of this is true, it seems likely that Andreas was archived in Wessex earlier in the tenth century. The language of this poem is late WS with Kentish and Anglian features, but with a few early forms which reveal that it passed through a WS recension perhaps by a Mercian scribe. The concentration of specifically Anglian forms and vocabulary in this WS poem lets us suppose that the poet of Andreas was himself a Mercian in Wessex. In its metre the poem is considered to be later in date than both Beowulf and the four extant works of Cynewulf. Highly probable is the heavy stylistic influence on Andreas of both earlier poets. In particular, the language of the poet’s self-interruption on line 1478 has been shown to be indebted to Fates, Guthlac A and Beowulf. Cynewulf’s poems have already been judged to be a Mercian by such linguistic criteria as his name, rhymes and metre, which have helped scholars to date his heyday to the mid ninth century. Pat Conner has proposed that Fates cannot be older than c. 875, because its main apparent source, the Martyrologium of Usuardus, was not composed until this time at the earliest. Conner’s argument, if accepted, does not conflict with the mid-ninth-century approximation for Cynewulf’s career, for an old poet can carry on working and it has been argued that Cynewulf wrote Fates with his powers in decline. Since the poet of Andreas appears to allude to Fates as his model, our first terminus a quo may be set in 875.

**Anti-Danish animus**

We have seen that the Andreas-poet seems to react with mockery to the apology for heroes and heathens which Beowulf provides. Mostly hereby he adapts quotations from this great work in order to subvert them. Andrew is at first no hero, but appears to be mocked as an inferior version of Beowulf until, after much humiliation, the boy Jesus raises him up as beaduwe heard ‘battle-hard’, an equal of the old superhuman

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Beowulf. And then, through three days of torture, Andrew gains access to powers which exceed Beowulf’s. As Andrew’s stature grows, the poet builds up his mockery of the Mermedonians, portraying them as Beowulf’s Danes now blended with their cannibal oppressor. Mermedonia becomes a living dead version of Heorot, and the drowning of this city a parody of Heorot’s deliverance from Grendel. This poet, who hates noble heathens, has no desire to imitate the grandeur of the poem from which he has borrowed. His misuse of Beowulf’s heroic lines and formulae comes closer to a Cervantesque commentary.

With his eyes thus set on human weakness, the poet of Andreas portrays unbelievers in terms of his present. This style extends to his portrait of the Jewish elders who fail to believe in Jesus (chs. 10-11). Despite their imputed heresy, he shows them sitting in an ecclesiastical council, charters and all:

‘þær bisceopas ond bōcēras
ond ealdormenn āht besæton,
maðelhægende’ (lines 607-9)

‘where bishops and book-keepers
and ealdormen sat in deliberation
holding assembly.’

The familiarity with working government here speaks for the poet as a participant. A cleric’s knowledge of lay habits is further inferrable from the lines on the Mermedonian conversion, flawed in its speed. Following his enforced return to Mermedonia, Andrew wastes the shrines:

Swylce se hālga herigeas þrēade,
dēofulgild tōdrāf ond gedwolan fylde;
þæt wæs Sātane sār tō geþolienne,
mycel mōdes sorg, þæt hē ðā menigeo geseah
hwefr̥fan higelblīðe fram helltrafum
þurh Andrēas ēste lāre
þō fægeran gefēan, þær nǣfre fēondes ne bið,
gastes gramhȳdiges, gang on lande. (Andreas 1687-94)

Just so did the saint subdue the temples,
scatter the idols and overthrow the error;
that for Satan was grievous to endure,
great sorrow in heart to see that multitude
with cheerful resolve renouncing hell-buildings
through the kind teaching of Andrew,
accepting that fair joy where never foe
nor fierce stranger makes passage on land.

This passage is matched by no analogue. One reason not to assign it to Andreas’ now-lost source is that its picture of the backsliding reality of conversion conflicts with the typology of extant analogues in which Andrew’s lesson from God is that, like God, he must love all souls who wish to be saved (ch. 33). The message of Andreas is that all converts need a second attempt. Andrew’s job with the Mermedonians is only half done until they are purged of their old religion, which – like the devil – is still there.
A further echo of Beowulf, moreover, confirms the poet’s other identifications of the devil’s party with Scandinavian heathens: the words fēond and MS gast refer to ‘enemy’ and ‘stranger’ as well as ‘fiend’ and ‘spirit’; with the present tense of bið, they are columns of invaders whose gang is in the here and now. In Beowulf 1884, when Beowulf and friends march to their ship evaluating their gains, they do so on gange ‘making passage’.

Two more of Andreas’ terms for Mermedonians go beyond Beowulfian echoes by suggesting non-legendary Danes. One of these is OE wælwulfas, elsewhere only in The Battle of Maldon 96, in a description of Norwegians going into battle (in 991). It is reasonable to suppose that the kenning was in use for Vikings earlier. In Andreas the poet calls his Mermedonian clerks wælwulfas, as eager to devour human victims, each of whom has the dates of his 30-day fattening marked on a calendar. Telling us that Matthew has no more than three days left on his, the poet says that it is swā hit wælwulfas āwriten hæfdon ‘as wolves of slaughter had written this down’ (line 149). The combination is surreal, but the mismatch recalls Asser’s note on a novice paganicae gentis ‘of heathen race’ in Athelney (in 893), who is non ultimum scilicet eorum ‘assuredly not the last of them’.³⁴⁰ Conversely, when the Mermedonians have become Christian, the Lord refers to them conventionally as þæt ēowde ‘that flock’ (line 1669), which Andrew stays on to educate properly. These terms are probably related to a quotation from Matthew 10:16 or Luke 10:3 in the Praxeis and Casanatensis (ch. 19), as the source of the poet’s stylisation of the Mermedonians into beasts, respectively before and after their conversion.³⁴¹ In the Praxeis, Andrew, questioning Matthew on reaching him in the jail, asks how he let himself be captured; Matthew, in rebuke, wonders if he did not hear the Lord say, Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων ‘Behold, I send you forth as flocks of sheep in the midst of wolves’; in the Casanatensis, this is ecce vos sicut oves in medio luporum.

Through his own source, the poet of Andreas turns the wolf-part of this expression into an epithet which is elsewhere known to be used for the Vikings.

The other term, f. hlōð, is used of the Mermedonians four times in Andreas (on lines 42, 992, 1389 and 1543). This noun means ‘band’ by synecdoche with a meaning derived from ‘booty, prize’, and the Winchester Chronicle (A) uses hlōþ wīcenga for ‘a Viking prize-gang’ collecting WS tribute in the annal for 879.³⁴² This appears to be the usage in Andreas, particularly on lines 992 and 1389 where the term recalls the slave trade for which the Vikings were famous. The word hlōð is naturally older than Vikings. Elsewhere it varies weorud ‘host’ for the band of God’s elect in the Harrowing of Hell in Christ III 1162, although ‘booty’ here is probably a more accurate meaning, in that Christ breaks into hell to free them. This word is also a legal term in Ine’s Laws for a group of men 7-35 strong, one either robbing or pursuing a private vendetta, as well as in other law-codes in which membership of a hlōð is a punishable offence.³⁴³ As ‘gangs’, more negatively, hlōð describes in the plural the fiends which torment St Guthlac in the fens in Guthlac (B) 896 and 915; the saint also says that he does not fear herehlōðe helle þegna ‘the plundering gangs of hell’s thanes’ in line 1069. In Juliana 676, secga hlōpe ‘gangs of men’ is Cynewulf’s term

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³⁴⁰ Calder (1986), 128. Stevenson’s suggestion (1959: 81 (ch. 94), 334, n. 94, 9) that this was Oda, future bishop of Ramsbury (928-41) and archbishop of Canterbury (942-58) is discounted in Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 103 and 272, n. 233.
³⁴¹ Blatt (1930), 69. See n. 149.
³⁴² Bately (1986), 51 (s.a. 879 [880]).
³⁴³ Liebermann (1903-16) I, 94 (Ine, §13, 1; 18); cf. 64 (Alfred, §31, 1) and 394 (Appendix Alfred-Guthrum, §2, 2).
for the 33 pagan warriors of Heliseus who get what is coming to them by dying with him at sea. For more organized looters, the word is also found in the WS Orosius, which, like the Chronicle, is also associated with Alfred’s reign. Here hloð denotes war-bands assembled by King Philip of Macedon in order to sack Greek towns. In this case, as in that of Mermedonians in Andreas, the word reflects the activity of Scandinavians.

In short, such Viking wars as England suffered in 870-79, in 885-86 and 892-96, and again in 901-917, may have given the poet of Andreas cause to question the love for ancient Danes in Beowulf. Blair has observed that on the local level many minsters and churches of the eastern territories may have survived the modern Danish invasion with some use intact. On the other hand, there is the matter of what Alfred and churchmen outside the Danelaw thought that the Danes were doing inside the Danelaw. If the poet of Andreas reached Wessex from eastern Mercia in the late ninth century, he came as a refugee from abandoned minsters and towns. Nor is it less likely that Andreas embraces Alfred’s burghal programme, if the poet was a native of Mercia’s free west. It is true that some English monasteries were looted and burned, even if not all of them, as Alfred would have it in his Preface to the WS translation of Gregory’s Pastoral Care. The minster of Repton, site of a royal Mercian mausoleum, was partly demolished by Danes who made it into their headquarters in 873-74; while the episcopal sees of Leicester, Hexham and southern East Anglia simply disappeared. The loss of Leicester’s had such far-reaching consequences that when this diocese was re-established in 1927, after a hiatus of 1050 years, it was no longer known where the cathedral was. In the Mercian kingdom the see of Leicester had come second only to Lichfield, which now lay relatively safe outside the Danish zone. Later in the ninth century Alfred’s family responded to the immediate Mercian emergency by taking over the Leicester diocese. Blair believes that it was Alfred’s daughter Æthelflæd (d. 918), acting with her husband Ealdorman Æthelred of Worcester (d. 911), who removed this see to the refounded Dorchester-on-Thames. This Dorchester then got a Mercian bishop, probably a certain Wigmund whose name identifies him with the Trent-valley kindred of King Wiglaf of Mercia (827-39). Two earlier Wigmunds were Wiglaf’s short-lived son, who died before him in 836, and a priest abbot of c.792-c.814 who may have ruled the minster of Breedon-on-the-Hill, some 20 miles north of Leicester.

The ideology of Andreas, as we have seen, appears to reflect King Alfred’s plan to reoccupy the old Roman and other English towns. His first success was in London, which had been a Mercian trading mart based in Lundenwīc on the Strand to the west of the walled Roman city. The wīc fell into disuse through economic decline and sporadic Viking attacks, and in 871-72 the Vikings took possession of the Roman-
walled city. In 886, Alfred’s army entered London and reclaimed it for Wessex, in what was represented as a triumph for the burghal programme of the king. Alfred thereafter took the submission of all English not subject to the Danes and turned London over to Ealdorman Æthelred, whom he made his son-in-law. In the light of this turning point in Alfred’s anti-Viking campaign, there is better reason to treat 886 as the terminus a quo for Andreas.

WS royal patronage

The story with Andreas so far, then, is of a Mercian poet brought up on Beowulf and trained in the works of Cynewulf, or even by Cynewulf. In or after 886, the younger man would have made a poem on St Andrew of which a draft was copied, perhaps by a Mercian scribe, into a manuscript in Wessex. These incremental suppositions are strengthened by the facts that King Alfred was intimately connected to Mercia and is said to have loved English poems. When Alfred was four, in 853, his sister Æthelswith married King Burgred of Mercia; and it is not long after this wedding that Alfred is said to have won from his Mercian mother, by memorization, quendam Saxonicum poematicae artis librum ‘a certain English book of versecraft’. In 868 Alfred was himself married to a Mercian, to a princess named Ealhswith, whose mother Eadburh was probably descended from King Cenwulf (ruled 797-821). After Alfred had succeeded his brother Æthelred in 871 and defeated Guthrum’s army in 878, he invited Mercian scholars to his court as his first effort to foster a revival of monastic learning in Wessex. After c. 886, he extended invitations to non-English scholars: Asser, who was a monk or bishop of St David’s in Wales, the Franconian Grimbold of St Bertin, and John the Old Saxon from Germany.

Alfred’s Mercian allies, whose kingdom had fallen to the Danish earls in 873-4, were his subjects in all but name. The Danes installed for their local puppet a certain King Ceolwulf (II) who ceded them the eastern half of Mercia in 877 and then drops out of the record in c. 879. Ealdorman Æthelred took charge of western Mercia under Alfred’s direction in 880. This side of Mercia, having escaped the Danes, underwent a revival under Æthelred and especially Æthelflæd, whose subjects later hailed her as ‘Lady of the Mercians’. The tradition which Æthelflæd’s western subjects attempted to restore was Offa’s legacy of learning and power in the late eighth century. Cenwulf had prolonged this into the middle of the ninth, and later it is possible that a text of Beowulf crossed from Mercia into Wessex when Burgred (possibly the son of an illegitimate son of Cenwulf) married Alfred’s sister in 852. Alfred’s father Æthelwulf, who reigned 839-58, appears to have owned a text of this poem from which the names Sceaf, Scyld and Beowulf, extant in the first unnumbered fitt, are cited in his genealogy in the annal for 855, not in his obit in 858. Beowulf, whether or not in the book his mother gave Alfred in 853, could thus be regarded as one of the Saxonica poemata ‘English poems’, which the growing prince, according to Asser, relata aliorum saepissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat ‘most frequently hearing recited by others, readily retained in his

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444 Stevenson (1959), 20 (ch. 23).
memory’. If so, this poem was associated with the ideals of Æthelwulf’s court before his sons’ first and second Danish wars in the ninth century’s more ruinous second half. Despite these wars, Alfred’s Mercian subject allies continued to produce literature, of which we now have the poems of Cynewulf, the Life of St Chad, the Old English Prose Martyrology, and a translation which forms the basis of the WS version of Bede’s History of the English Church and People.

It is then no surprise that Alfred applied to his northern neighbours for help with his country’s learning before he wrote for that purpose to European scholars. His biographer Asser, writing in 893 of the king’s first wave of helpers, names four Mercians: Wærferth, bishop of Worcester; Plegmund, formerly a hermit of Cheshire; and two chaplains, the eruditos ‘learned’ mass priests Wærwulf and Æthelstan. Wærferth had known Alfred from the time of his ordination in c. 872. Asser says that he translated Pope Gregory’s Dialogues for the king; Alfred’s Preface to this translation says that the king looked tō mīnum getrēowum frēondum ‘to my true friends’ to carry out this task. Wærferth’s Mercian idioms have been detected in the WS Dialogues, also in the long Domboc ‘book of judgements’ which Alfred and advisers began to compile in the 870s. Wærferth is a beneficiary in the king’s will, of which drafts were made between 873 and 888.

Plegmund, missing from this will, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 890 (d. 923) after Alfred had vainly asked Grimbald. The two younger Mercians, Wærwulf and Æthelstan, are shown to witness together a few times later in the unreliable cartulary of Winchester. Keynes and Lapidge believe that they are the capellani ‘chaplains’ to whom Alfred, according to Asser, entrusted the making of candle-clocks. Wærwulf was beneficiary of a grant in 899 from Bishop Wærferth (S 1279), in which the bishop gives him as a long-standing obedient friend. If this was because he was one of the king’s getrēowum frēondum who had helped Wærferth to translate the Dialogues, Wærwulf may have come from the south-west of Mercia. The charters show that both he and Æthelstan, having become members of the cathedral community later known as the Old Minster, remained attached to the court in Winchester also in the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924). It is thus highly probable that these capellani also wrote charters and letters for Alfred and his son.

Æthelstan is identifiable with an Englishman who accompanied Sigehelm, ealdorman of Kent, on a WS legation to Rome and ‘India’. It is believed that this legate, necessarily a chaplain, was Alfred’s helper from Mercia, for an Æthelstan sacerdos ‘priest’ later witnesses in a charter in favour of Sigehelm (S 350). In the case of Rome, this journey was to deliver alms which Alfred intended to be the first in

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452 Hecht (1965), 1(MS CCCC 322).
454 Stevenson (1959), 303, n. 77, 10.
457 Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 293.
a series of tributes to the Vatican. According to the Peterborough Chronicle for 883 (E), Pope Marinus sent Alfred a splinter of the True Cross. Notice of the king’s alms, which appear to reciprocate the holy relic, appears in the same annal:

þry ilcan gēare lǣdde Sighelm 7 Æðelstān ða ælmesan tō Rōme þe Ælfred cing gehēt þider 7 ëac on Indea tō Sancte Thōme 7 tō Sancte Bartholomēē. 461

the same year Sigehelm and Æthelstan brought to Rome those alms which King Alfred promised to it, and also [some] in India to St Thomas and to St Bartholomew.

The notice of this legation has been regarded as misplaced from another annal, for it is mentioned neither by Asser nor in Æthelweard’s Chronicle sources nor in the oldest WS witness, the Winchester Chronicle (A); and it was apparently added, in the resumption in annal-writing which began in 892, into the annal for 883 in the Abingdon (B, C), Worcester (D) and Peterborough (E) Chronicles. The note on Pope Marinus in the earlier part of the 883 entry implies that the legation was Alfred’s repayment for the relic. Since the annalist records Marinus’ death in 885, Abels argues that the year of this legation was genuinely 883. 462 However, the linking of papal and royal gifts under 883 may be an error. There were four more alms-bearing royal legations in 887, 888 and 890, with a reduced mission in 889; and the Winchester text agrees with all other versions bar the Canterbury Chronicle (F) in recording these. Keynes and Lapidge consider this part of the annal for 883 to be misplaced from 886. 463 The latter year not only initiates the alms-giving sequence, but also fits with Alfred’s burghal triumph in that he is then said to have relieved London of Danish occupiers. Quid pro quo: London was what he wanted from God.

Whatever the meaning of Indea (and the Abingdon Chronicles (B and C) give Iudea ‘Judaea’ for their ultimate goal), the English tourists Sigehelm and Æthelstan would have passed through Macedonia to find Bartholomew’s place of martyrdom, and then through Constantinople and Anatolia to find St Thomas’ shrine in Edessa, which lay south of Cappadocia to the north of the present Syrian border. 464 St Bartholomew’s story is known to the poet of Andreas, for his wyrd undyrne ‘history revealed’ on line 1480 seems to re-use this apostle’s wurd undyrne in Fates 42: one line before Cynewulf refers to Indeum ‘India’ as St Bartholomew’s final earthly goal. Both Sigehelm and Æthelstan were men on the rise. Sigehelm’s daughter Eadgifu became Edward’s third wife in 919, the mother of Kings Edmund and Eadred, and grandmother of Edmund’s son Edgar (great-grandmother, therefore, of St Edith of Wilton). Æthelstan the priest adventurer, for want of recorded rival namesakes, is probably the man whom Plegmund later consecrated bishop of Ramsbury (d. 927) when he created the see for Wiltshire and Berkshire in a subdivision of the WS diocese in c. 909. 465

Although Alfred’s four Mercian helpers are not associated with poetry in Asser’s or any other record, a continuing association between Mercia and vernacular poetry is implicit in two more references to books of English poems in successive chapters of

461 Irvine (2004), 51 (s.a. 883).
462 Abels (1998), 190-91. Accepted in Scarfe Beckett (2003), 53 (‘884’).
463 Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 266, n. 198.
464 Stevenson (1959), 286-90. India is preferred in Scarfe Beckett (2003), 53.
the Life of Alfred. The first concerns the world’s first department of English literature. At the end of their programme of arts, Alfred’s young children Edward and Ælfthryth are said *psalmos et Saxonicos libros et maxime Saxonica carmina studiose didicere* ‘to have attentively learned the Psalms, and books in English, and especially English poems’ (ch. 75). Secondly, according to Asser, King Alfred did not cease, among manifold activities including metalwork and building design, *Saxonicos libros recitare, et maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere* ‘to read aloud from books in English and above all to learn English poems by heart’ (ch. 76). Since Edward and Ælfthryth were born in the early 870s, they were being taught to read and memorize Old English poems in the early to mid 880s, probably by the chaplains then at court. It thus seems inevitable that an 1800-line Mercian epic on St Andrew, if composed in Wessex then or later, was performed under the patronage of King Alfred or Edward his son.

**Alfred’s church of St Andrew**

Whether or not *Andreas* was performed on St Andrew’s day on 30 November in an eponymous church or minster, there is a reason to review the evidence for his dedicated churches in Wessex. Andrew was the patron saint of many churches in Anglo-Saxon England, although few records survive. The missionary Augustine had been prior of St Andrew’s on the Coelian Hill in Rome, and his sponsor King Æthelberht built the first English St Andrew’s in Rochester in c. 600. Dates for the other churches of St Andrew are mostly unknown, but these include St Andrew’s in Wroxeter (Shrops.), Braughing (Herts.) and Hexham (Northumberland); also St Andrew’s-by-the-Wardrobe, near the western wall within the city of London. There was a St Andrew’s at Banwell (Somerset), whose minster estate Alfred presented to Asser, together with that of Congresbury, on Christmas Eve, according to the Life of King Alfred (ch. 81). It is unknown whether Banwell’s church was dedicated to St Andrew at this time, but Asser would have taken possession of *parva illa* ‘these trifles’ (from the king’s English words) in 887. There was also a church of St Andrew at Cheddar (Somerset), whose community, probably monastic, is required by Alfred’s will to take Edward as its patron. Excavations there revealed a major rebuilding which is datable to c. 930, consistent with a vill for King Æthelstan (924-39), but Alfred’s will shows that the royal use of this property began at least two generations earlier.

The most datable case of a St Andrew’s in WS royal ownership is in a charter issued at Southampton, probably in 901 (S 1443). In this charter King Edward the Elder (899-924) buys two contiguous strips of land in Winchester on which to build a minster. Edward’s intention was to build this (the New Minster) as a mausoleum for his family, in preference to the cathedral (the Old Minster) in which Ecgberht and

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467 Anlezark (2006), 211. Colgrave and Mynors (1991), 142-43 (*HE* II.3). Miller (1890), 104.26-27: *in þære ceastre éac swyльce Æōelberht cyning hēht cirican getimbran 7 þā gehālgian Sce Andrēǣ þǣm apostoli* ‘in that city too King Æthelberht likewise ordered a church to be built and hallowed to St Andrew the Apostle’.
469 Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 27. Stevenson (1959), 68. Blair (2005), 324-35,
470 Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 175, 317-18, n. 25.
471 Blair (2005), 326-27.
Æthelwulf had been interred. In due course the New Minster housed Alfred, to whom the charter attributes the plan, along with his widow Ealhswith and Edward himself and two of Edward’s sons.473 In S 370, another charter from the same council, Edward endows his new project with lands on which the Old Minster had a claim.474 S 1443 is witnessed by many men including Bishop Wigmund and Priest Æthelstan, but not by Grimbald of St Bertin, whose death on 9 July 901 provides the basis for dating the charter in the second half of that year.475

Edward lets it here be known that he has acquired the first plot (a strip of land running east-west on the cathedral’s north side) from Bishop Denewulf of Winchester (878/879-908), the second (further to the north) from his witan ‘council’. In exchange, he says:

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\text{\textit{ic lēt be ealra West Sexna witena geðealhte 7 læafey tō biscepe 7 tō þām hīwun Sancte Andrēas cirican. 7 ðone worðig ðe ðærtō geunnan wes intō ðære stōwe: on ðæc līfe. ðæt hit nāge nān man frām ðære stōwe tō dēlanne.}}
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I give up to the bishops and the community, with the advice and permission of all the West Saxon counsellors, St Andrew’s church and the enclosure which was given thereto, unto the cathedral in perpetual inheritance, as that no-one may alienate it from the cathedral.476

Although there is no doubt that this St Andrew’s was royal property, the location is unknown. Rumble cites as a possibility the one St Andrew’s named among Winchester’s fifty-odd Medieval parish churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.477 In the 901 charter, however, Edward’s non-specifying reference suggests that the church lay in Winchester just like the cathedral. The later Winchester church of St Andrew’s lay some 15 minutes’ walk west of the cathedral on the corner of Gar Street (now Trafalgar Street, south off the east-west High Street near the western wall) and a lane (now St Clement Street, parallel to the High Street) which led towards Gold Street (now Southgate Street, the next eastwards). Though abandoned by 1412, the church was first named in 1172 in a document which confirms it to the Cathedral Priory, and named again in 1223 as monasterium beati Andree ‘monastery of the Blessed Andrew’. In King Edward’s charter, where the worðig may have been an ‘enclosure’ outside the town, there is the implication of a substantial income for St Andrew’s at the time of the earlier grant.478

As the Winchester-related St Andrew’s of S 1443 is neither named nor implied in Alfred’s last will, it will have passed to Edward in 899 as part of the royal office.479 Edward’s acquisition of the plot just north of the cathedral in 901 was unpopular with Bishop Denewulf, who begs the king, in another charter datable to 899 x 908 (S 1444), not to make Winchester lease Edward more of the community’s lands.480 Edward’s project was a provocation, for when the New Minster was finished, it dwarfed the cathedral alongside. Accordingly, it has been suggested that Alfred’s

475 Rumble (2002), 50, 54, 56.
476 Rumble (2002), 52. OE vowels here marked for length.
477 Rumble (2002), 52.
478 Keene (1985), 134-35 (Table I: Parish Churches), 627-28 (no. 237) and 598 (Fig. 68).
479 For the will, Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 173-78.
relations with the bishop had soured and that he planned the New Minster as a means of avoiding the cathedral’s prayers. Whatever bearing this suggested bitterness might have on *Andreas* is unclear. In S 1443, however, the way in which Denewulf is made to take St Andrew’s plus its *wörög* as a sop for Edward’s forced purchase suggests that Edward thought less of St Andrew’s than his father had, and that it was Alfred who endowed the church in his reign.

In short, since King Edward was interested neither in this church of St Andrew, nor in the enclosure which gave it added value, it seems unlikely that he would have patronized an epic on its saint. Indeed there is a second reason for treating Alfred as the more suitable royal patron, although neither he nor Edward had an interest in patron saints. Since Edward spent most summers and some winters of 901-17 fighting in the eastern Danelaw, the better time for him to patronize the poem would have been the period of relative peace with the Danes in 917-24. These years, however, come too late for the suggested urban ideological content of *Andreas*, because by then nearly all English townships in the Danelaw were reoccupied. So the most plausible *terminus ad quem* for the composition of *Andreas* in Wessex is the death of King Alfred in 899.

**Alfred’s ‘wealth and wisdom’**

As we have seen, the better *terminus a quo* for *Andreas* is Alfred’s first burghal triumph in 886, when that he claims to have won back London from heathen Danish occupiers. If the Sigehelm addition is misplaced under 883 as Keynes and Lapidge believe, 886 was also the year in which Ealdorman Sigehelm and (Priest) Æthelstan took Alfred’s alms to Rome as the first of four recorded payments of alms from the king.

Alfred’s ideology of alms provides a clue for the best hope of finding a year for *Andreas* between 886 and 899. *Andreas*, although it celebrates no king but Jesus, still contains four passages about treasure which may be related to a novelty about gold in Alfred’s ideology. The analogues provide no correspondence, and the likely source, therefore, no basis for these passages. However, they appear to match, and in one case, to stimulate, some contemporary statements about Alfred’s attitude to wealth. The first passage occurs in *Andreas* 360-62, in which the poet outdoes Scyld Scefing’s boat with the Lord’s, by saying that he never heard *þon cymlicor cēol gehladenne / hēahgestrēonum* ‘of any keel the comelier laden with high treasures’.

These are not only goods of the merchant ship but figuratively also the Lord, His angels, St Andrew and the latter’s disciples. The second is in *Andreas* 1113-14, where the poet says hypermetrically, and otherwise redundantly, of the starving heathens that *naes him tō māđme wynn, / hyht tō hordgestrēonum* ‘they had no pleasure in precious things, no hope in wealth hoarded’. The third, about the same people in *Andreas* 1159-60, refers to their halls as empty and says that *welan ne benohton / beornas tō brūcanne on þā bitran tīd* ‘of wealth the troops / enjoyed no profit in that bitter time’. Fourthly, when Andrew, having founded a church and bishop in Mermedonia, wishes to take ship, he informs his converts

寨 hē þā goldburg ofgifan wolde,

482 Thacker (2001), 253.
483 Keynes (2001a), 55.
secca seledrēam ond sincgestrēon,  
beorht bēagselu (lines 1655-57)

that he would give up the gold-town,  
hall-joys of men and treasure hoards,  
bright ring-palaces.

Here, although we are reminded that the apostle cannot abide luxury, his poet appears to assume that the Lord makes Christian laity wealthy and heathens poor, on the grounds that the leaders of a Christian city are enriched by the payment of tithes to their churches.

These four additions to what probably lay in the poet’s source bring Andreas into line with Christian capitalism as the king himself and two of his teachers present this. In the twelfth century, Alfred the self-proclaimed endower of churches was remembered as helping himself to their lands. In his own time, however, treasure was the justified entitlement of a king who considered himself a new lawgiver with the God-given authority of Moses and Solomon over church and laity alike. Alfred both gave and received generously in an economy which depended on his stewardship of God’s wealth. This took the form of land and treasure. With respect to the former, Alfred’s will reveals that both he and Edward considered all ‘bookland’ to be theirs, and were willing to acquire ever more of it at the expense of their bishops. It is true that Alfred founded and endowed monasteries for monks and nuns, fortifying Athelney, but Shaftesbury’s first abbess was his daughter Æthelgifu and his grants to these and other houses were relatively meagre. Where the king was concerned, more money flowed into his coffers than out of them.

King Alfred’s appropriation of wealth is expressed in his Preface to the translation of Gregory’s Pastoral Care. This preface, since it cites Grimbald and John the Old Saxon as his helpers, is datable to a year or two after their arrival in Wessex in 887-88. Here Alfred represents the state of learning of England in three periods: the present, his childhood, and the happy times before. In his childhood, he says, even before the Vikings burned them, the monasteries were filled with books and treasures and yet with monks who could barely read the books. Alfred pictures what these people might have said:

‘Ūre ieldran, ðā ðe ðās stōwa ǣr hioldon, hīe lufodon wīsdōm, ond ðurh ðone hīe begēaton welan, ond ūs lǣfdon. Hēr mon mæg gīet gesīon hiora swæd, ac wē him ne cunnon æfter spyrigean.’

‘Our elders, who held these foundations before us, they loved wisdom, and through it they got wealth, which they left to us. Here one can still where they went, but we know not how to follow their track.’

Then he returns to the present, to comment on his monasteries which now have relatively little learning. Since he has described these foundations as filled with

treasures while he was a child, the following reflection belongs to Alfred and his contemporaries:491

Ond for ðǣm wē habbað nū ðēgðer forlǣten ge ðone welan ge ðone wīsdōm, for ðǣm ðe wē noldon tō ðǣm spore mid ūre mōde onlūtan.

And for this we have lost the wealth as well as the wisdom, because we would not, with our minds, stoop to that trail.

The elegance of these clauses owes as much to vernacular poetry as to the hunting pursuits which afford the king’s main metaphor. Alfred’s alliterative artistry consists of his chiasmic move from seventh- and eighth-century (Kentish, Northumbrian and Mercian) forebears who used ‘wisdom’ to get ‘wealth’, back to his (WS) contemporaries who have lost both by not learning Latin. The corollary is that Alfred treats monastic learning as a source of income. He promises an æstel ‘pointer’492 to the value of fifty mancuses, or fifty oxen, for each house to which a copy of the Pastor al Care is sent, but the æstel is is a gift that looks for a reward. More investment than largesse, it bears witness to Alfred’s knowledge that giving alms entitles him to the use of beneficiaries’ lands.

Asser, writing in 893, reflects this new ideology at the beginning of his account of the king’s decision to give alms to the church (ch. 99):

solito suo more intra semetipsum cogitabat, quid adhuc addere potuisset, quod plus placeret ad piam meditationem; <quae> non inaniter incepta, utiliter inventa, utilius servata est. Nam iamdudum in lege scriptum audierat, Dominum decimam sibi multipliciter redditurum promississe atque fideliter servasse.493

he thought to himself in his usual manner about what more he might add that would be in keeping with his holy resolve; <one which>, initiated not without profit and profitably conceived, was quite profitably sustained. For he had once heard a passage in scripture to the effect that the Lord had promised to repay His tithe many times over, and had faithfully kept this promise.494

Keynes and Lapidge treat the scripture as unidentifiable.495 Nonetheless, there is an obvious source in the parable of the talents in Matt 24:14-30, in which the best servant, having doubled the value of his absent master’s five talents, is rewarded by the returning master with the single talent which the worst servant hoarded in the ground. As the latter sum is a tenth of the best servant’s new total, the story may be read as one in which the Lord rewards the servant with a sum equal to a tenth part of His increased wealth.

The parable of the talents also informs an imperfectly realised double acrostic dedicated to Alfred by one of his teachers, whom Lapidge identifies with John the Old Saxon, abbot of Athelney:

491 Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 125 and 295, n. 9.
493 Stevenson (1959), 85.
494 Adjusted from Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 105, 272-73, n. 238.
495 Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 273, n. 239.
En tibi descendant en celo Gratie tot E.
Letus erit semper, Alfræd, per competa ate L. [leta]
Fletus iam mentem sacris; satiare sirela F. [faleris]
Recte doces properas falsa dulcidine mure R. [rerum]
Ecce aptas clara semper lucrare talanta E. [talenta]
Docte peregrine transcurre rura sophie.

Behold, may all the Graces descend from heaven upon you!
You shall always be joyous, Alfred, through the happy walks of life.
May you bend your mind to heavenly affairs. Be disgusted with trappings!
Rightly do you teach, hastening from the deceptive charm of worldly things.
See, you apply yourself ever to gain the shining talents:
Run confidently through the fields of foreign learning.

With the words peregrine sophie ‘foreign learning’ in the last line, the poet reveals that it is specifically Alfred’s programme to teach wīsdōm which helps him to the talents: he gets one bag of silver for himself, as it were, for each ten in the Lord’s increased treasury. Over and above Alfred’s tax revenues, this verse stylizes his right to money both from annexing and from managing estates which belonged to his bishops. Alfred’s final endowments to the church have been put at an eighth of his disposable income. It is no less clear that he expected a return on the alms he sent to Rome in 883/886, 887, 889 and 890. Alfred’s use of episcopal and monastic wealth made him unpopular with churchmen, but it helps to explain the paradoxical way in which the poet of Andreas legitimizes treasure in the newly converted Mermedonian city. Being sanctioned in the above Latin poem, Alfred’s ‘talents’ set the best terminus a quo for Andreas in c. 888.

How the Alfredian ideology of treasure may further indicate a date for Andreas may be seen in an earlier passage in the Life in which Asser sums up Alfred’s rule. Having listed the king’s great cares and praised his achievements, Asser describes the ship of state:

Sed tamen ille solus divino fultus adminiculo susceptum semel regni gubernaculum, veluti gubernator praecipuus, navem suam multis opibus refertam ad desideratum ac tutum patriae suae portum, quamvis cunctis propemodum lassis suis nautis, perducere contendit, haud aliter titubare ac vacillare, quamvis inter fluctivagos ac multimodos praesentis vitae turbines, non sinebat (ch. 91).

Yet once he had taken over the helm of his kingdom, he alone, sustained by divine assistance, struggled like an excellent pilot to guide his ship laden with much wealth to the desired and safe haven of his homeland, even though all his sailors were virtually exhausted; similarly, he did not allow it to waver or

496 MS Bern, Bibliothek 671, folio 74 verso (s. ix). Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 192, 338 and n. 3. Text in Lapidge (1981), 81-83.
500 Stevenson (1959), 77 (cf. ch. 21).
wander from course, even though the course lay through the seething whirlpools of the present life.\textsuperscript{501}

Seafaring is common in first-person metaphors of literary endeavour, from Horace and Cicero to Aldhelm and Alcuin and beyond.\textsuperscript{502} It is rare as a figure for governance, however, and we know of no other examples. Stevenson’s only example is from \textit{c. 833}, when Bishop Agobard of Lyon wrote to Emperor Louis the Pious rejecting the latter’s royal in favour of his own ecclesiastical authority. Agobard, on the brink of a conflict with Louis which led to his deposition from the Lyon see, likens the present-day church to a ship, quoting words of Pope Gregory IV:

\begin{quote}
uetustam et putrescentem nauem, quem regendum occult\ Dei dispensation suscepi, ad portum dirigere nullatenus possim. Nunc ex adverso fluctus inruunt, nunc ex latere cumuli spumosi maris intumescent, nunc a tergo tempestas insequitur.\textsuperscript{503}
\end{quote}

The aged and rotting ship whose command I have taken over by hidden dispensation of God, I may by no means steer to harbour. Now the waves rush in from an unfavourable direction, now foaming masses of sea-water swell up, now from aft a storm attacks.

Sixty years later, Asser’s metaphor is different, for his ship is not the church but the state, and he likens not the Pope or himself but his beloved king to the Pilot of Galilee.

Asser’s expression for his royalist sympathies resembles \textit{Andreas}, in that his metaphorical portrait of Alfred as an outstanding merchant skipper, sailing with tired crew skillfully through a storm, reads like lines 360-62 and then 391-95 of this poem. There is first \textit{æðele be æðelum} ‘one noble by another’ sitting in the mock-Beowulfian \textit{cēol gehladenne / hēahgestrēonum} ‘keel laden / with high treasures’; then there is Andrew’s plea to the captain that his thanes are \textit{geþrēade} ‘subdued’ while the ocean resounds and the abyss is stirred, and that \textit{dugud is geswenced, / mōdigra mægen myclum gebȳsgod} ‘the troop is afflicted, this force of brave men is greatly oppressed’.

The correspondences between these texts allow \textit{Andreas} and Asser’s \textit{Life of Alfred} to be regarded as products of the same intellectual court environment.

So we end with a big hypothesis. One half of this is that \textit{Andreas} was composed in Wessex by a Mercian priest who was familiar with Alfred’s councils, and that this poet performed his work after Alfred reoccupied London and his continental advisers began to enable his educational reforms from \textit{c. 888} onwards, and before or when Asser wrote his \textit{Life of Alfred} in 893. This period of about five years was also the civic and intellectual zenith of Alfred’s reign. The other half of the hypothesis is that the exemplar of \textit{Andreas} and \textit{Fates} is traceable to the second half of the tenth century in Wilton (or Shaftesbury, or Sherborne) by comparison with St Edith of Wilton and the Salisbury Psalter. Above, we have suggested that Edward’s great-granddaughter Edith, in her convent at Wilton in the 970s, copied these poems as a gift for Dunstan, who had them recopied into the Vercelli Book in St Augustine’s. Other theories may do better, but ours is that Alfred’s chaplain \textit{Æthelstan}, some time after returning from

\textsuperscript{501} Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 101.
\textsuperscript{502} Curtius (1979), 128-30.
\textsuperscript{503} Van Acker (1981), 305-06. Stevenson (1959), 331, n. 91, 30.
the shrine of St Thomas in Asia Minor, and very approximately in 890, composed
Andreas for the court in Winchester, and that he left a copy in Ramsbury when he
died there as bishop of Wiltshire in 927.
Note on the Text and Translation

The text and translation uses a split-page format by which the reader may match the MnE rendering to the OE original. Appropriate fitt numbers are indicated in the OE text and supplied in the translation, in both cases in Roman numerals on the left, whereas the chapter numbers common to the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis are given in brackets in bold on the right. Folio numbers for the Vercelli Book are given in smaller type on the right, with vertical lines showing folio division in the OE text. Italics in the OE text indicate emended forms whose origins are given later in the List of Emendations. Angular brackets indicate textual insertions; square brackets, a lacuna which is either in the text or in the manuscript. Line breaks are given with fitt-divisions and also before and after a passage which encompasses a speech.

The policy with the translation is to offer a guide to the original which the reader may affirm or alter with reference to the Glossary. Speeches are usually in a different register in the OE text and their syntax more artfully entwined, and here it is sometimes harder to match items line for line. For this reason liberties are sometimes taken with the placing of verbs and pronouns. In the translation, capital initials are used for God the Father’s but not for Jesus’ pronouns whether demonstrative or relative. Synonyms and epithets for God and the Son are also initially capitalized. Alliteration is used wherever it does not strain the choice of MnE words, while some MnE reflexes are favoured over formally unrelated synonyms in the attempt to render the meaning sparer, more literal and in a form less elaborated than is found in prose translations. Some ingenuity is in any case necessary in that MnE is short of synonyms for ‘man’, ‘battle’, ‘glory’, ‘king’ and ‘sea’. For the sake of consistency, we aim within reason to keep the same translation for nouns and epithets regardless of where they are placed. Whether or not he alludes to *Beowulf*, the poet’s idiom is itself a mixture of practical modern with outdated heroic, with some expressions used for subversive effect, i.e. *haeled* ‘hero’ for a Mermedonian pagan.
Listen, we have heard tell from ancient days
of twelve illustrious heroes under the stars,
thanes of the King. Never did their power fail
in combat engagement when standards clashed,

once they had dispersed, as the Lord Himself,
High-King of Heaven, showed them by lot.

These were renowned men on earth,
brave captains and keen for campaign,
cheerful warriors, when shield and arm

on the field of plunder kept helmet safe
on the plain of doom. One of them was Matthew,
who was the first among Jews to begin
to write the Gospel in words with wondrous skill.

For him did Holy God fashion the lot
out to that land by water where no man
from the homeland of foreigners could yet
enjoy happiness: him often the hands of slayers
on the field of plunder cruelly harmed.

All bound in murder was that border country,
with devil’s crime, that men’s habitation,
hæleða ēðel; næs þēr hlāfes wist
werum on þām wonge, ne wæteres drync
tō brūconne, ah hīe blōd ond fel,
fīra flæschoman, feorrancumenra,

δēgon geond þā þēode. Swelc wæs þēaw hira
þæt hīe ēghwylcne ēllōëdodigra
dydan him tō mōse meteþpearfendum, 
þāra þe þæt ēaland útan söhte;
swylc wæs þæs folces freoðolēas tācenn,

unlēdrea eafoð, þæt hīe ēagena gesīhō,
hette<n> d heorogrimme, hēafodgimmnas,
āgēt<o> on gealgmōde gāra ordum.
Syððan him geblēndan bitere tōsomne
dryas þurh dwolcræft drync unheorne,

sē onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc,
heortan <on> hreðre; hyge wæs oncyrrred,
þæt hīe ne murndan after mandrēame,
hæleþ heorogrǣdige, ac hīe hig ond gārs
for metelēaste mēðe gedrehte.

Þā wæs Māthēus tō þāre mēran byrig (2)
cumen in þā ceastre. Þær wæs cirm micel
geond Mermedonia, mānfulra hlōð,
fordēnera gedræg, syþþan dēofles þegn<as>
| geāscodon ædelinges sīð.

Éodon him þā tōgēnes gārum gehyrsted,
lungre under linde; nalas late wǣron
eorre æseberend tō þām ōrlege.
Hīe þām hālgan þær handmade gebunden
ond fæstnodon fēondes cræfte,

hæleð hellfūse, ond his hēafdes sig<e>
ābrēoton mid billes ecge; hwæore hē in brōstum þā ġit
herede in heortan heofonrīces weard,
þēah ðe hē ātres drync atulne onfenge.
Éadig ond onmōd, hē mid elne forð

wyrdode wordum wuldres aldor,
heofonrīces weard, hālgan stefne
of carcerne; hīm wæs Ċrīstes lof
on fyrhōlocan fæste bewunden.

Hē þā wēpende wēregum tēarum

had come into the city. There was great outcry
through Mermedonia, the gang of the wicked,
the mob of the damned, when the devil’s thanes
found out about the prince’s mission.

Marched then against him equipped with spears,
swiftly under shields; in no way late were
the irate armed warriors on this field of war.
There they the saint’s hands bound up
and fastened with fiendish skill,

heroes hell-bound, and his head’s suns
with sword’s blade destroyed; yet still in his breast
in heart he praised Keeper of Heaven-Kingdom,
though having taken the terrible drink of poison.
Blessed and resolute, he with courage continued
to worship aloud the Prince of Glory,
Keeper of Heaven, in a saintly voice
from prison; for him was praise of Christ
in the spirit’s locker firmly enclosed.

He then weeping with weary tears
to his Lord of victory in sorrowful tones
gave greeting to the Chief of Man, with sad voice
to the Hosts’ Endower, and words thus uttered:
‘How strangers weave a web of cunning
with evil bonds about me! Ever have I constantly
on every path continued to do your will
eager at heart; now in my misery I must
carry out my actions like dumb cattle!
You alone know the thoughts of all,
Mankind’s Measurer, the heart in each breast;
if your will it be, O Master of Glory,
that breakers of faith with weapon’s edges,
with swords, should slay me, straight am I ready
to endure the fate that you, my Lord,
Angels’ Wealth-Giver, for the homeless man,
true Author of hosts’ deeds, wish to appoint.
Give me as a favour, Almighty God,
some light in this life, lest I should entirely,
blinded in this town with violence of blades,
by harmful decree of blood-ravening
lāðra lēodsceadena, leng þrōwian
edwitspréce. Ic tō ānum þē,
middangeardes weard, mōd stapolige,
fæste fyrhūlufan; ond þē, fæder engla,
beorht blædgifa, biddan wille

dæt ðū mē ne gescyrige mid scyldhetum,
werigum wrōhtsmiðum, ūn þone wyrrestan,
dugoða dēmend, dēað ofer | eordan."

Æfter þyssum wordum cōm
wuldres tācen hālig of heofenum, swylce hādre sig hl,
tō þām carcerne, þær geċyðed wearð
þet hālig god helpe gefremede.
Dā wearð gehȳred heofoncyninges stefn
wrētlic under wolcnum, wordhlēodres swēg
māres þēodnes; hē his maguþegne
under hearmlocan hāelo ond frōfre
beadurōfum ābēad beorhtan stefne:
‘Ic þē, Māthēus, mīne sylle
sybbe under swegle. Ne bēo ðū on sefan tō forht,

hostile despoilers of people, longer suffer speeches of contempt. I on You alone,
Middle World’s Keeper, do found my heart,
my firm spiritual love; and to You, Father of Angels,
bright Giver of Happiness, I will pray

that you allot not me among unjust oppressors,
accursed artesans of crime, the very worst,
O Judge of Hosts, death on earth.’

After these words came a sign of glory holy from heaven like the blinding sun
towards the prison, where it was revealed that Holy God had extended help.
Then was heard the voice of Heaven’s King, extraordinary beneath the clouds, harmony of the renowned King: He to His retainer

in locker of harm did health and comfort proffer to the war-brave in clear tones:
‘I to you, Matthew, with Myself do give fellowship under firmament. Be not in heart too fearful,
ne on mōde ne murn; ic þē mid wunige
ond þē a lýse of þyssum leóðubendum,
ond ealle þā menigo þē mid wuniað
on nearonēdum. Þē is nēorxnavang,
blǣda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost,
hāma hyhtlīcost, hālegum mihtum
torht ontŷned, þær dü tŷres mōst
tō wīdan fēore, willan brūcan.
Geþola þēoda þrēa; nis sēo þrāh micel
þæt þē wēlogan wītebendum,
synnige ðurh searocræft, swencan mōtan.
Ic þē Andrēas ādre onsende
tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre in þās hādēnan burg;
hē ðē a lýseð of þyssum lēodhete.
Is tō þēre tīde tælmet hwīle
emne mid sōde seofon ond twentig
nihtgerīmes, þæt dü of nēde mōst,
sorgum geswenced; sigore gewyrðod,
hweorfest of hēndum in gehyld godes.’
Passed then the holy Shelter of All Beings, Creator of Angels, to the uppermost kingdom of His home; He is rightful King, steadfast Governor, in every place.

II

Much was then Matthew with inspiration moved anew. Away night’s cover glided, departed entirely; light came in after, tumult of dawn. The company gathered, pagan war-braves in platoons pushed forward (combat-armour clanged, spears rattled) swollen with anger under shield-board cover; wanted to learn if still living they were who in the dungeon, made fast in shackles, had dwelt for a while in that cheerless abode, which man for consumption they could soonest deprive of his life at the time appointed. In runes and computation the carniverous
135 \[\text{āwritten wælgrǣdige wera endestæf,}\]
\[\text{hwæn }\text{e hīe tō mōse metęppearfendum}\]
\[\text{on }\text{þære werþēode weorðan sceoldon.}\]
\[\text{Cirndon caldheorte, cordor ōðrum getang,}\]
\[rēðe rāςboran rihtes ne gǐmdon,}\]
\[\text{meotudes mildse. Oft hira mōd onwōd}\]
\[\text{under dimscūan dēofles lārum,}\]
\[\text{þonne hīe unlǣdra eauedum gelỹdon.}\]
\[\text{Hīe }\text{dā gemētton mōdes glāwne,}\]
\[\text{hāligne hæle, under heolstorlocan,}\]
\[\text{bidan beadurōfne }\text{bāes him beorht cyning,}\]
\[\text{english ðerfruma, unnan wolde.}\]
\[\text{Dā wæs first ãgān frumrǣdenne}\]
\[\text{þinggemearces }\text{būtan }\text{þrim nihtum,}\]
\[\text{swā hit wælwulfas }\text{āwritten hæfdon,}\]
\[\text{þæt hīe bānhringas }\text{ābrecan }\text{þōhton,}\]
\[\text{lungrē tōlỹsan }\text{lic ond sāwle,}\]
\[\text{ond }\text{þonne }\text{tōdǣlan duguđe ond geogođe,}\]
\[\text{werum tō wiste ond }\text{tō wilþege,}\]
\[\text{fǣges flæschoman; }\text{feorh ne bemurndan}\]

135 had written down the deathstave of men, when into meals for meat-cravers in that nation of men they should be turned. Cold-blooded whooped, mob pressed on mob, their harsh counsellors heeded neither law nor Measurer’s mercy. Regularly their minds in dim shade were invaded by devil’s instructions, when they trusted in the violence of unhappy men. They now encountered a man clear in mind, hero of holiness beneath hidden confines, brave man abiding what the Bright King, Captain of the Angels, would offer him. By then the time first authorized for the date appointed was gone but for three nights, as wolves of slaughter had written it down, the time they thought to break up bone-rings, to separate entirely body from soul and then dole out to companies young and old, for the banquet and pleasant feasting of men, the flesh of one doomed; no care for his life had
155  These warriors ravenous, nor for how soul’s journey
     beyond pain of execution would be settled.
     They ever thus made appointment for after thirty
     nights in number; need in them was great
     that they should draw apart with bloody jaws
     the flesh of men as fodder for their feasting.

160  Then was He mindful, Who had founded
     the middle world with strong powers,
     how in foreign miseries the man remained,
     locked in limb-bonds, who had often shown
     love for Him before Hebrews and Israelites,
     just as He the Jews’ arts of enchantment
     had strenuously withstood. His voice was then
     heard from heaven, where the holy man
     in Achaea, Andrew, was to be found;
     the people he was teaching the way to Life,
     when to the man bold by kin the Glory of Kings,
     Mankind’s Measurer, unlocked mind-hoard,
     Lord of Hosts, and words thus uttered:
‘You are to go and lead a mission,
seek expedition where cannibals
inhabit a homeland, keeping their inheritance
with arts of deadly sin. Such custom that multitude has,
that to no man of people unknown to them
in that country may they grant his life
once the criminals of Mermedonia
find him alone without means. There a life’s parting,
a wretched homicide, will afterwards occur,
where I know your brother in victory to be languishing
with those city-dwellers, fastened in bonds.

Now among that nation, before three nights are up,
subject to violence from the hand of heathens,
by spear’s clutch he shall send on his spirit
eager for elsewhere, but that you get there first.’

Swiftly to Him did Andrew give answer:
‘How can I, my Lord, over deep-sea roads
bring off this journey by then to distant parts
swā hrädlíc, heofona scyppend,
wuldras waldend, swā ðū worde becwist?
Đæt mæg engel þín ēað gefēran

195 <hēah> of heofenum, con him holma begang,
sealte sæstrēamas ond swanrāde,
warōdaruða gewinn ond wāterbrōgan,
wegas ofer wīdlond. Ne synt mē winas cūðe
eorlas elfēodige, ne þær ēniges wāt
hælēða gehygro, ne mē herestrǣta
ofere cald wāter cūðe sindon.’

Him ðā ondwærude ece dryhten:
‘Ēalā, Andrēas, þæt ðū ā woldest
þæs sīofetes sǣne weorpan!

200 Nis þæt unēaðe eallwealdan gode
tō gefremmanne on foldwege,
ðæt sīo ceaster hider on þās cnēorisse
under swegles gang āseted wyrāe,
breogostōl brēme, mid þām burgwarum,
gif hit worde becwīð wuldras āgend.

as quickly, O Creator of Heaven,
Ruler of Glory, as you say the word?
Your angel can achieve that more easily

195 from <on high> in heaven, he knows the ocean road,
the salt sea-currents and the swan’s path,
tumult of shore-tides and terror of the water,
ways over open country. To me foreign gentlemen
are not friends or familiars, nor do I know there

200 the mind of any hero, nor are raiding highways
over cold water familiar to me.’

Answered him then the Lord Eternal:
‘O Andrew, that ever you would
be slow to start on this expedition!

205 It’s not beyond the ease of Omnipotent God
to bring it to pass in earthly parts
that the city right here in this country
beneath sun’s course be settled down, that famed principality with citizens in it,

210 if the Owner of Glory says the word.
You cannot be slow to start on this expedition
nor in wits too weak, if you well mean
to keep covenant with your Commander,
a pledge that is true. You be ready in time;
with this task there can be no delay.
You are to undertake this voyage, bearing your life
into the clutch of foes, where a struggle in the war
by the tumult of heathen men in battle, by the skill
of their troops in fighting, will be offered you.
You shall at once in the dawn of the day,
just as morning breaks at the ocean’s edge,
embark in a keel, and in cold water
plough through the bathway. Have a blessing
in the middle world from Me where you go.³

Off then moved the Holy, Keeper and Commander,
Alpha of Archangels, Middle World’s Guardian,
to seek His own country, that glorious homeland
where souls of the just are permitted
after ruin of the body to profit from Life.
[III] Now was a task to the high-born champion announced in the towns, nor soft was his intent, for he was determined upon a deed of courage, hard, bave and resolute, no laggard in battle, but ready, keen in war, in combat for God.

Moved out before dawn then in the early day over sand-dunes to the sea’s currents, bold in his plan, and his thanes alongside him, walking on the gravel; spear-man roared, rollers thundered. The trooper’s hopes were raised when proud on the shore he encountered a wide-bosomed ship. Then came morning-radiant, brightest of beacons over sea-brim hastening, holy from her hiding-place, heaven’s candle flashing over ocean floods. He in that place <found>

sailing-masters, three thanes magnificent, brave men sitting in a boat for the deep, eager to sail, as if they had crossed the sea; that was the Lord Himself, Commander of Hosts, Eternal Almighty, with His angels two.
They were gentlemen in costumes looking like seafaring men, men who move on ocean, when in flood’s embrace from distant parts in cold water they launch their keels.

Greeted them then who stood on the gravel, keen for the tide, glad he gave voice: ‘Where have you come from, sailing your keels, men of much skill in your deep-sea burster, alone in your vessel? Where did ocean bring you from across the rolling of waves?’

To him then gave answer Almighty God, so that he who waited for the word knew not what kind of man among spokesmen it was with Whom he agreed terms from shore: ‘We are men of Mermedonian nation sailed from afar; us on the flood bore on the orca’s road a high-prowed bark, swift sea-stallion immersed in the strait,
until we put in at the shore of this country, pushed through the briny as wind drove us on.’

To Him then did Andrew humbly respond:
‘I would pray you, though few are the rings, treasures and adornments I might give you, that you brought us in your steep-prowed keel, in your high curved ship, over whale’s home to that tribe; there is a reward for you from God for being well-disposed to us on our road.’

Him again answered the Helm of Princes from the wave-farer, Creator of Angels:
‘Travellers from afar cannot stay there, nor from the country there do foreigners profit, for in that city a slow execution they suffer who lead their lives to that place from afar; and now you ask over wide-open ocean to lose your life in that living vendetta?’
To Him then did Andrew give answer:
‘Us a desire incites to that territory,
great hope of mind to that famous
town, dearest chief, if to us you will only
make on the tide your generosity known.’

Answered him the Chief of Angels,
Saviour of Men, from the prow of the bark:
‘You we will liberally with us
ferry with freedom over fishes’ bath,
right to the shore where desire minds you
to put in, just as soon as you your
payment of tribute have yielded up,
such prescription of coins as the shipmasters,
heralds over gunwale, will grant.’

To Him then hastily Andrew, facing,
in need of friends, delivered these words:
‘I have no plated gold, nor riches of treasure,
no wealth nor provisions nor fastening of wires,
landes ne locenra bēaga, þæt ic þē mæge lust āhwettan, willan in worulde, swā ðū worde becwist.

305 Him þā beorna breogo, þær hē on bolcan sæt, ofer waroða geweorp wið þingode:
‘Hū gewearð þē þæs, wine lēofesta, ðæt ðū sæbeorgas sēcan wolfes, merestrēama gemet, māðmum bedǣled, ofer cald cleofu cēoles nēosan?
Nafast þē tō frōfre on faroðstrǣte hlāfes wiste ne hlutterne drync tō dugoðe? Is se drohtað strang þām þe lagolāde lange cunnaþ.’

310 Ðā him Andrēas ðurh ondsware, wiþ on gewitte, wordhord onlēac:
‘Ne gedafenað þē, nū þē dryhten geaf welan ond wiste ond woruldspēde, ðæt ðū ondsware mid oferhygdum, sēce, sārcwide; sēlre bið ēghwām

no land nor linked rings, with which I may arouse your desire, such worldly will as in words you reproach me for.’

305 Then did Man’s Chief, where he sat on the gangway, negotiate with Andrew over dunes of the shore: ‘How did it happen, my dearest friend, that you wanted to visit sea-headlands, the edge of ocean’s currents, deprived of treasures, beyond cold cliffs to spy out a keel?
Have you nothing for your ease on the tidal road, not provision of a loaf nor any clear drink to keep you going? Life is tough for a man long exploring ocean paths.’

315 Andrew to Him then by way of answer, wise in wits, his word-hoard unlocked: ‘It does not become you, since the Lord gave you riches and food and worldly success, that you answer with thoughts of pride, or try sarcasm; it is better for each man
that with humility he openly recognize
a man eager to travel, as Christ commanded,
majestic chief. We are his thanes,
champions chosen; by right he is King,
Commander and Builder of the Power of Glory,
One God Eternal of All Things Created.
Just so He enfolds all with the force of one,
heaven and earth, with holy powers,
highest divine might. He said this Himself,
Father of Each Nation, and ordered us to go
winning souls through the world’s wide terrain:
“Go now into all corners of the earth
just as far as the water surrounds us
or highways lie upon the plains.
Preach the bright faith from town to town
across the bosom of the land; I will keep you safe.
Nor need you on that journey carry treasures,
gold or silver; for you every advantage
on your own terms will I liberally provide.”
Now you can hear for yourself what our mission is,
Him þā ondswarode Æce dryhten:
‘Gif gē syndon þegnas þæs þe þrym āhōf
ofer middangeard, swā gē mē secgaþ,
don gē gehēoldon þæt ēow se hālga bēad,
þonne ic ēow mid gefēan ferian wille
ofer brimstrēamas, swā gē bēnan sint.’

Þā in cēol stigon collenfyrhȳce,
ellenrōfe; Æghwylcum wearð
on merefarōde mōd geblissod.

[IV] Ðā ofer ȳða geswing Andrēas ongann
merelīðendum miltsa biddan
wuldrēs aldor, ond þus wordum cwæð:

‘Forgife þē dryhten dōmweordūnga,
willan in worulde ond in wuldrē blǣd,

you keen-witted man, I must quickly know
what you will bring us in the way of support.’

Answered him then the Lord Everlasting:
‘If you are thanes of Him Who raised glory
over the middle world, as you say you are,
and have held to what the Holy One told you,
then with pleasure I will ferry you
over ocean currents as you request.’

Climbed into keel then with hearts of courage
the men of bave cheer; in each one of them
on this deep-sea tide was the mind made glad.

IV Then over of tossing of waves Andrew began
on behalf of the sea-voyager to pray for grace
to the Prince of Glory, and words thus uttered:

‘May the Lord so give you honours of renown,
your will in the world and glory in heaven,
meotud manncynnes, swā dū mē hafast
on þyssum sīðfæte sybbe gecȳded!

Gesaet him þā se hālga holmwearde nēah,
æđele be æđelum; æfre ic ne hȳrde
þon cymlićor cēol gehladenne
hēahgestrēonum. Hæleð in sæton,
þēodnas þrymfulle, þegnas wlitige.
Dā reordode rīce þēoden,
ēce ælmihtig; heht his engel gān,
mǣrne maguþegn, ond mete syllan,
frē fran ðēasceaft ofer flōdes wylm,
þet hīe þē ēað mihton ofer ȳða geþring
drohtaþ ādrēogan þā gedrēfed wearð;
onhrǣred, hwælmere. Hornfisc plegode,
glād geond gārsecg, ond se grǣga mǣw
wælgīfre wand. Wedercandel swearc,
wīdas wēoxon, wāgas grundon,
| strēamas styredon, strengas gurron,
wædo gewǣtte; wæteregsa stōd

Mankind’s Measurer, as you with me have declared a kinship on this expedition!’

Sat down the saint then alongside the captain,
one noble by another; never did I hear
of any keel the comelier laden
with high treasures. Heroes sat within her,
chieftains majestic, thanes full of beauty.
Then did the Mighty King give voice,

Eternal Omnipotent; ordered His angel,
splendid young thane, to come serve a meal,
comfort men without means over flood’s surge
that they might more easily over waves’ throng
endure the life-style when disturbed it became,

when whale-deep was stirred. An orca played,
glid through the spear-man, while the white gull
keen for carrion circled. Weather-candle darkened,
the winds blew up, the waves churned,
the currents stirred, the cables rattled,
sheets were drenched; terror of the waters stood up
with the might of battalions. Thanes were minded to be afraid; not a man who did not expect he would not reach the shore alive, of those who with Andrew on ocean’s current had taken ship. Still it was unknown to him then who guided that vessel on the crossing.

To Him then the saint on the ocean road over mingling waters, Andrew the thane still loyal to his Chief said thanks when refreshed to the Mighty Counsellor: ‘For this dinner may the Righteous Measurer, Author of Light and Life, make you payment, the Ruler of Hosts, and give nourishment, the loaf of heaven, as lovingly as you to me declared your kindness on mountainous seas. Subdued now are these thanes of mine, young braves in the war. The spear-man roars, pouring giver of tides; the abyss is stirred, the depths troubled. The troop is afflicted,
mōdigra mægen     myclum gebŷsgod.’

Him of holme oncwæð     hæleða scyppend:
‘Lǣt nū geferian     flotan ūserne,
id tō lande     ofer lagufæsten,
ond þonne gebīdan     beornas þīne,
āras on earde,     hwænne ðū eft cyme.’

Ēdre him þā     eorlas     āgēfan ondsware,
þegnas þrothearde     þafigan ne woldon
þæt hīe forlēton     æt lides stefnan
lēofne lārēow,     ond him land curon:

‘Hwider hweorfað wē     hlāfordlēase,
geōmor     mōde,     gōde ōrfeorme,
synnum wunde,     gif wē swīcað     þē?
Wē bīoð lāðe     on landa gehwām,
folcum fracoðe,     þonne fira | bearn,
ellenrōfe,     æht besittaþ,
hwylc hira sēlost     symle gelǣste
hlāforde æt hilde,     þonne hand ond rond

this force of brave men is greatly oppressed.’

To him from the ocean replied Men’s Creator:
‘Let our vessel now ferry the company
to shore across the fastness of water,
and then let them wait there, those troopers of yours,
legates on land for when you come back.’

Forthwith the gentlemen gave him an answer,
the long-suffering thanes would not agree
that they should abandon at vessel’s bow
a dear teacher, while they chose the shore:

‘Where will we turn without a lord,
sad at heart, drained of advantage,
wounded with sin, if we desert you?
We shall be hated in every land,
despised by the people when children of men,
men of brave cheer, in their council consider
which came out best in constantly supporting
his lord in war, when arm and shield
on the plain of battle, by blades hacked up, 
endured dire straits in the play of strife.'

415 Then did the Mighty Chief give voice, 
King firm in faith, lifted words at once: 
‘If you are a thane of Him Who Sits in Majesty, 
of the King of Glory, as you claim you are, 
tell the secret of how the world’s talking creatures
he instructed under the sky. Long is this expedition 
over the fallow flood; give comfort to your 
young men’s minds. Much is still to come now 
of the road on sea’s current, the shore very far 
to look for; the crossing is in turmoil
from top to bottom. God can without trouble 
provide help for travellers at sea.’

Prudently then he began his disciples, 
men rich in glory, to cheer with these words: 
‘You intended when you put out to sea

to bring your life’s blood to a nation of foes,
ond for dryhtnes lufan dēað þrōwodon,
on ælmyrcna ēdelrīce
sāwe gesealdon. Ic ðæt sylfa wāt,
þæt ðū gescylded scyppend engla,
weoruda dryhten; wateregesa sceal,
geðyð ond geðrēatod þurh þrȳðcining,
lagū lācende, līðrā wyrðan.
Swā gesǣlde ū, ðæt wē on sǣbate
of er waruðgewinn wæda cunnedan,
faroðrīdende. Frēcne þūhton
egle ēalāda; ēagorstrēamas
bēton bordstæðu, brūn oft oncwǣð
ŷō ōðerre; hwīllum upp āstōd
of brimes bōsme | on bātes fǣðm
egesa ofer ųolīd. Ælmihtig þær,
meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan
beorht bāsnode; beornas wurdon
förhte on mōde, friðes wilnedon,
miltsa tō mǣrum. Þā sēo menigo ongan
clypian on cēole, cyning sōna ārās,
Angels’ Endower, stilled the waves,
water’s surges, rebuked the winds;
sea subsided, smooth was the expanse
of deep-sea currents. Then our hearts laughed
when we saw beneath the sun’s course
the winds and waves and terror of the waters
overcome with fright for fear of the Lord.
And so to you all I wish to say truly
that never will the Living God forsake
a man on earth, if his courage avails.’

Lectured thus the holy champion,
thinking of the code; the thanes he taught,
blessed soldier, cheered up the gentlemen,
until presently sleep overcame them
weary by the mast. The deep grew calm,
the action of waves once more receded,
fierce ocean-tossing; then in the saint was
after time of horror the soul relieved.
Began now to talk, wise in stratagems, (9)
clever in his wits, unclasped wordlocker:
‘Never have I met a seafarer better
or more resourceful, from what I see,
a helmsman cheerier, wiser in stratagems,
more clever with words. And yet of you there is,
gentleman unblemished, one more favour
I will ask; though few are the rings,
precious honours I might give you,
or plated vessels, I would get myself with you,
majestic chief, on good, if I could, terms
of friendship. A gift you will receive,
the holy comfort of majesty in heaven,
if to this weary voyager you prove liberal
in what you can teach. One skill of yours,
highborn hero, I would like to explore
is that you might teach me, now that the King,
Creator of Men, has given you the glory and power,
how it is you guide the brine-drenched
sēhengeste, sund wīsige.
Ic wæs on gifene, īu ond nū <Þā>

490 syxtyne sīðum on sǣbāte,
mere hērendum mundum frēorig,
ēagorstrēamas (is ðys āne mā),
swā ic ēfre ne gesēah ēnigne mann,
þrȳðbearn, hæleð þē gelēcne

495 stēoran ofer stēfnan. Strēamwelm hwileð,
bēataþ brimstæðo; is þes bāt ful scrīd,
færð fāmigheals fugole gelēcost,
glīdeð on geofone (ic georne wāt
þæt ic ēfre ne gesēah ofer ðōlāde

500 on sǣlēodan syllīcran cræft),
is þon gelēccost, swā hē on landscēare
stille stonde, þær hine storm ne mæg,
wind āwecgan, ne waterflōdas
brecan brondstæfne, hwædēre on brim snōweð

505 snel under segle. Ðū eart seolfā geong,
wīgendra hlēo, nalas wintrum frōd;
hafast þē<h> on fyrhē, fāroðlācende,

wave-coaster, the sea-stallion, on course.
I have been on the ocean by now

490 sixteen journeys in a boat at sea,
frozen in hands as they stirred the deep,
the currents of neptune (this is one more),
in such a way that I never saw any man,
O mighty youth, any hero like you

495 steering at the stern. The sea-surge roars,
the breakers beat; this boat slides easy,
with foamy neck sails most like a bird,
glides across the deep (I know for sure
that never on a wave-road have I seen

500 among seafarers a skill more amazing),
it is most like as if out in the country
she were standing still, where neither storm
nor wind can shake her, nor floods of water
break the steep prow, yet coasts along at sea

505 swift under sail. You yourself are young,
shield of warriors, in winters not experienced;
have yet in mind, as you ply the currents,
Him ondwarode ēce dryhten: ‘Oft þæt gesǣleð, þæt wē on sǣlāde scipum under scealcum, þonne sceor cymeð, brecað ofer bæðweg brimhengestum; hwīlum ūs on ūdum earfōdlīce gesǣleð on sēwe, þēh wē sið nesan, frēcne gefēran. Flōdwylm ne mæg manna Æenigne ofer meotudes ēst lungre gelettan; āh him līfes geweald, sē ðe brimu bindeð, brūne ūdā ðūð ond þrēatað. Hē þēodum sceal racian mid rihte, sē ðe rodor āhōf ond gefæstnode folmum sīnum, worhte ond wreōde, wuldras fylde beorhtne boldwelan, swā gebledsod wearð engla ēðel purh his ānes miht. Forðan is gesŷne, sōd ōrgete,

the answers of a gentleman. Of each man’s words in this world you know the true meaning!’

Answered him the Lord Everlasting: ‘Often it happens that we on paths at sea in ships under crews, when there comes a storm, plough the bath-way with brim-stallions; sometimes on the wave us a hardship befalls at sea, though we survive the journey, pass through the danger. No flood-surge can a man against Measurer’s grace hinder entirely; He has power of life who binds sea-brim or crushes and rebukes the dark waves. The nations shall He rule with justice Who raised the skies and fastened them with His own hands, fashioned and maintained, with glory filled the building’s bright wealth, that blest was the home of angels by His might alone. And so it can be seen, an obvious truth
known and acknowledged, that of the King
Sitting in Majesty you are a virtuous thane,
because the ocean straightaway knew,
spear-man’s compass, that you had the gift
of the Holy Ghost. The wash fell back,
mingling of ocean-billows, terror subsided,
wide-fathomed wave; the waters grew calm
once they took note that God you had
wrapped in covenant, He Who established
the bliss of glory with strong powers.’

Then did resound in the saintly voice
a champion stout-hearted, worshipped the King,
glory’s Commander, and words thus uttered:
‘Blessings be upon You, Master of Mankind,
O Healing Lord! Ever will Your judgement live
both near and far; sacred is Your name,
gloriously illuminated across nations of men,
celebrated for mercy! No man there is
of the race of heroes under heaven’s vault
that may describe or know in number
how majestically, O Prince of Peoples,
Comforter of Souls, You distribute Your grace!
Indeed it can be seen, O Saviour of Souls,
what favour you have shown to this boy,
with what gifts honoured him young as he is,
with what wise wit and eloquence!
In a man of his age I have never met
greater cleverness of mind.’

To him then from keel replied the Glory of kings,
asked him this boldly Beginning and End:
‘Say, perspicacious thane, if you can,
how it could have happened among men
that the people impious with evil thoughts,
tribes of the Jews, against God’s child
raised words of harm. Heroes ill-fortuned
never there believed of their Live-Giving Captain,
gallows-minded hostiles, that he might be God;
though he revealed to the hosts many wonders
manifest and visible, in their sin they could not recognize the Royal Son that was begotten as shelter and comfort for the tribe of men, for all earth’s inhabitants. In the Prince grew words and wisdom; surely of those wonders He who owns the Power would always reveal some part openly to the apostate people?’

To Him then did Andrew give answer: ‘How could it happen in the nation of men that you did not hear of the Healer’s powers, dearest of men, how He revealed his gifts far through the world, Son of the Lord? The dumb He gave speech, the deaf got to hear, of lame men and lepers the minds He rejoiced, those whose limbs long were diseased, weary men unhealthy, bound up in torments, through fortified towns blind men could see; just so did He on mankind’s earthly road raise many different people from death
with one word. Likewise many other miracles
the Brave Prince revealed through skilful might;
He hallowed before the war-troop
wine out of water and ordered it changed
to the general joy into wine of the better kind.
Just so did He feed up from two fishes
and five loaves of the human race no fewer
than five thousand; foot-troops sat down,
tired at heart, were glad of some rest,
weary after wandering, men on the earth
dined on this food which they found most pleasant.
Now you can understand, dearest boy,
how us the Guardian of Glory in word and deed
loved while alive, and through His lore drew us
to that shining joy where with all liberties they may
inhabit a homeland, happy with the angels,
those who seek the Lord after dying.'
VI  Then again Wave-Guardian unlocked wordhoard, 
man over gangway, boldly gave voice: 
‘Can you explain to me, so I know it is true, 
whether your Commander openly revealed 
his wonders in the world, those that he performed 
not a few times to the solace of the people, 
in the place where bishops and book-keepers 
and ealdormen sat in deliberation, 
holding assembly? To me it seems 
it was out of spite that they plotted evil 
with deep heresy; the devil’s instructions 
these death-wish heroes too eagerly obeyed, 
the faith-breaker’s fury. Them the outcome deceived, 
played false and perverted; now they shall at once, 
weary among the accursed, suffer punishment, 
biting burning in the slayer’s embrace.’

To Him then did Andrew give answer:  (11) 
‘I tell you it is true, that very often he did 
publicly perform before the people’s leaders
wundor æfter wundre on wera gesēhōe!
Swylce dēogollice dryhten gumena
folcrǣd fremede, swā hē tō friðe hogode.’

Him ondswarode æðelinga helm:
‘Miht ðū, wīs hæleð, wordum gesecgan,
maga mōde rōf, mægen þā hē cȳðde,
dēormōd on ðīgle, ðā mid dryhten oft,
rodera rǣdend, rūne besǣton?’

Him þā Andrēas ondsware āgef:
‘Hwæt frīnest ðū mē, frēa lēofesta,
wordum wrǣtlīcum, ond þē wyrdæ gehwǣre
þurh snyttra cræft sōð oncnāwest?’

Dā gīt him wǣges weard wið þingode:
‘Ne frīne ic ðē for tǣle ne þurh tēoncwide
on hranrāde, ac mīn hige blissað,
wynnum wrīdað, þurh þīne wordlæðe,
æðelum ēcne; ne eom ic āna ðæt,

…

wonder after wonder in men’s sight!
Secretly likewise the Lord of Men advanced
the people’s good, thinking thus to protect them.’

Answered him then the Protector of Princes:
‘Can you, wise sir, say some words,
brave-hearted fellow, about the powers he revealed
with daring, in secret, when often with the Lord,
the Ruler of Skies, you sat in private conclave?’

To Him then did Andrew give answer:
‘Why, dearest master, do you ask me these
wondrous questions, if of each thing you
know by intellect the truth of what happened?’

Still then the Wave-Guardian pleaded with him:
‘I ask not to find fault with you, nor in reproach
on the whale’s road, but because my mind is glad,
blooms with joy through your eloquence
increased with virtues; it is not for me alone,
but the heart of each man will lift in hope,
the spirit be relieved, of any who from far or near
in mind recalls how the Brave One performed,

640

Divine Son on earth below. Souls have passed on,
eager to travel, have sought joys celestial,
home of the angels, through that noble might.’

Forthwith Andrew gave Him an answer:
‘Now that I recognize the truth you have in you,
the wise understanding, the great triumph, given
by wondrous power (with intelligence
blooms the breast with bright bliss within!),
I am willing to say to you now in person
beginning and end, just as I would always

650

hear the Prince’s words and wisdom
from His own mouth in meetings of men.

‘Often wide armies gathered together,
people without count at the Ruler’s judgement,
where they hearkened to the Holy One’s lore.

(<12>)
Then the Protector of Princes would go back, bright Endower of Bliss, into another building where coming towards him, praising God, many to that place of assembly would come, wise hall-stewards; constantly they rejoiced, blithe-hearted troops, in Town-Keeper’s coming. So it befell one day, that the Judge of Victory was out walking, the Mighty Lord. Of His folk on that expedition were no more people than eleven soldiering heroes told, illustrious men; Himself made the twelfth. When we got to the seat of royalty where the Lord’s temple was timbered high and horn-gabled, renowned among heroes, made to shine in glory, us did the high priest with evil intentions in a speech begin to mock with insult; unclasped his hoard-locker, wove an accusation.

‘He had the wit to see
that we followed the path of the Righteous One, carried out his teachings; mixed up with woe, he raised up at once a loud voice malign: “What wretches you are more than any others, travelling long trails, going though any number of hardships! It is a foreigner without title in this country whose teachings you now follow, one quite unpropertied you declare is a prince, saying truly that it is the Measurer’s Son whom you dwell with day to day! To veterans it is known whence came that commander’s lineage: in this common land was he nurtured, from infancy raised at the knee of his kin. The father and mother sitting at home are called, from what we have found out from memory, Mary and Joseph. For them the lineage has two other offspring, boys born in a full-brother kinship, Simon and Jacob, who are Joseph’s sons.”
‘Swā hlēoðrodon hæleða rēswan,
dugoð dōmgeorne dyran þōhton
meotudes mihte. Mān eft gehwearf,
yfel endelēas, þēr hit ār ārās.

[VII] ‘Þā se þēoden gewāt þegna hēape
frem þām meðelstede mihtum geswīðed,
dugeða dryhten, sēcan dīgol land.
Hē þurh wundra feala on þām wēstenne
cræfta geċyðe þæt hē wæs cyning on riht
ofr middangeard, mægene geswīðed,
waldend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes,
an ēce god eallra gesceafta;
swylce hē ōðerra unrīm cȳðde
wundorworca on wera gesȳhðe.
Syþþan eft gewāt ōðre sīðe
getrume mycle, þæt hē in temple gestōd,
wuldres aldor. Wordhlēoðor āstāg
geond hēahræced; hāliges läre

‘Lectured thus leaders of heroes there,
cadres keen for renown, had no plans to reveal
the Measurer’s might. Mad crime returned,
evil endless to where it earlier arose.

VII ‘Moved then the Chief with His band of thanes
from place of assembly strengthened in powers,
Lord of the Hosts, to seek hidden country.
He through many wonders in that waste
made skilfully known he was King by right
of the middle world, strengthened in force,
Commander and Builder of Glorious Majesty,
One God Eternal of All Things Created;
likewise revealed a huge number of other
miraculous deeds in men’s sight.
Later He moved back a second time
(13) with a troop of great size to stand in the Temple,
Prince of Glory. The echo of words climbed
through the high house; the Holy One’s teaching
they in sin would not swallow, though so many true signs He showed them, where they looked on!

‘So it was with wondrously carved marvels, graven images of his own angels that He saw, Lord of Triumphs, in the hall panels, brilliantly painted on both sides of the hall, beautifully made; He uttered these words: “This is the likeness of the most illustrious division of angels <that> the inhabitants of that City have; Cherubs and Seraphs are their names in the joys of heaven. They before the face of the Lord Eternal stand stout to attention, praise with voices in sacred strains the Heaven-King’s majesty, Measurer’s protection. Depicted here are the forms of these holy beings, by hand’s skill carved on the wall, my thanes of glory.”

‘The Lord of Hosts pronounced words again,
heofonhālig gāst, fore þām heremægene:  
“Nū ic bebēode bēacen ætȳwan,  
wundor geweorðan on wera gemange,  
ðæt þēos onlīcnes eorðan sēce  
wlītig of wāge, ond word sprece,  
seege sōcwидum, ḟ̣y <sēl> gelīfen  
eorlas on cŷōde, hwæt mīn æðelo sīen.”  

730  
‘Ne dorste þā forhylman hǣlendes bebod  
wundor fore weorodum, ac of wealle āhlēop,  
frōd fyrngeweorc, þæt hē on foldan stōd,  
stān fram stāne. Stefna æfter cwōm  
hlūd þurh heardne, hlēoðor dynede,  
wordum wēmde; wrǣtlīc þūhte  
stōðhyegendum stānes ongin.  
735  
‘Sēpte sācerdas sweotolum tācnum,  
wītig wereðe, ond worde cwæð:  
“Gē synd unlǣde, earmra geþōhta  
searowum beswicene, oððe sēl nyton,  

Heaven-Holy Guest, before the war-troop:  
“Now I command a beacon to appear,  
a miracle to take place in the people’s midst,  
that this image to the earth find its way  
fair from its panel and speak some words,  
make a true declaration, the <better> that they believe,  
gentlemen in this country, what My lineage is.”  
735  
‘Dared not neglect then the Healer’s command  
this wonder before hosts, but from the wall leapt  
the wise ancient monument, to stand on the ground,  
stone from the stone. The voice came straight after,  
loud through the hardness, the sound boomed,  
echoed out the words; extraordinary they seemed,  
actions of the stone to this stubborn people.  
740  
‘The priests it inducted with clear signs,  
intelligently rebuked, and these words uttered:  
“You are misguided, deceived by the snares  
of miserable aims, or ignorant of bliss,  
745
mistaken in mind; a man you call Him,
Who is God’s eternal Child and shaped
bed-rock and ocean, heaven and earth
and rough waves, salt sea-currents
and the sun above with His hands.
This here is the very God Omnipotent
Whom your fathers knew in ancient days;
He dealt out His grace to Abraham,
then to Isaac, and then to Jacob,
honoured them with riches, promised
Abraham first of all a royal settlement,
that there from his kindred should be begotten
the God of glory. The evidence is among you,
open, obvious, with your eyes you can now
see the God of Victory, Firmament’s Owner.”

‘After these words the company waited listening
through the wide hall; all had fallen quiet.
Then once again the senior members proceeded
full of sin to say (the truth they did not acknowledge),
that it was a trick pulled off by witchcraft, by conjuring illusions, that the gleaming stone addressed the people. Mad crime flourished through each man’s breast, the brand-hot malice welled in the reason, a serpent stained with blasts, an all-destructive poison. Patent was there in this slander the sceptical mind, the perversion, enclosed with mortal sin, of young men. Then the Chief bid the monument set off, a stone the street, from the city precinct, and go forth to tread the country road, the green lanes, to take God’s mission by his instructions into the territory of the Canaanites, then in the King’s name to command Abraham with son and grandson first to move out of the earth-grave, to leave their land-rest, gather their limbs, receive their souls and quality of youth, newly to come forth in physical presence wise sages of old, to reveal to the nation
hwylcne hīe god mihtum  ongiten hæfdon. Gewāt hē ḥā feran, swā him frēa mihtig, scyppend wera, gescrifen hæfde, ofer mearcpaðu, ṭaet hē on Māmbre becōm beorhtē blīcan, swā him bebēad meotud, ṭe rē ṭā ĭicoman lange þrage, hēahfēdera hrā, beheled wǣron. Hēt þā ofstīce up āstandan Habrahām ond Isaac, ëdēling þrīdan Iācob of grēote tō godes gépinge, sneome of slǣpe þām fēstan; hēt hīe tō þām sīðe gyrwan, faran tō frēan dōme. Sceoldon hīe þām fōlce gecȳdan hwā æt frumsceaftė furðum tēode eordan eallgrēne ond upheofon, hwæt | se wealdend wǣre þe þaet weorc staðolade. 40r

Ne dorston hīe gelettan leng òwīhte wuldorcyninges word; geweotan dā dā wītigan ĥrī mōdige mearcland tredan. Forlǣtan moldern wunigean open eordscræfu; woldon hīe ædre gecȳdan frumweorca fæder. Þā þaet fōlce gewearð

785 which man they grasped by his powers to be God. Off it went walking as the Mighty King, Creator of Men, had prescribed, on paths through the march, to arrive in Mamre brightly gleaming as Measurer had bid him, where those bodies for a long while, high-fathers’ corpses, had lain concealed. In haste then he ordered to be upstanding Abraham and Isaac, the third being prince Jacob, up from the clods for conference with God, quickly from that fast sleep; ordered them to prepare for the journey, come to the court of the King. They were to reveal to the nation Who at the beginning of creation once fashioned the earth all green and heaven up above, what Ruler it was Who established that work. Nor dared they hinder for one moment longer the word of the King of Glory; the wise men three then moved off brave to tread through borderlands. The mound-house they left open as an earth-grave; would swiftly make the Father of First Works known. Then were the people
805  egesan gæclod, þær þā æðelingas  
wordum weordodon wuldres aldor.  
Hīe ðā rīcene hēt rīces hȳrde  
tō ēadwelan ðhare síde  
sēcan mid sybbe swegles drēamas,  
810  ond þāes tō wīdan fēore willum nēotan.  

‘Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hyse lēofesta,  
hū hē wundra worn wordum cȳde,  
swā þēah ne gelŷfdon lārum sīnum  
mōdblinde menn. Ic wāt manig nū gŷt  
815  mycel mære spell ðe se maga fremede,  
rodera rǣdend, ðā ðū arǣfnan ne miht,  
hreðre behabban, hygeþances glēaw.’  

Þus Andrēas ondlangne dæg  
herede hlēodorcwidum hāliges lāre,  
820  oððæt hine semninga slǣp oferēode  
on hronrāde heofoncyninge nēh.

---

805  stricken with terror where those princes  
worshipped the Chieftain of Glory in words.  
Them then quickly the Kingdom’s Shepherd ordered  
in their prosperity one more time  
to seek out with family the firmament’s joys,  
810  and freely to enjoy them for all time.  

‘Now you can understand, my dearest boy,  
how he revealed many wonders through words,  
though they did not trust in his teachings,  
men blind in heart. I know still many other  
815  famous great events that the Hero framed,  
Ruler of the Skies, that you cannot cope with,  
in your breast contain, intelligent as you are.’  

Thus did Andrew the livelong day praise  
with eloquent words the Holy One’s teachings,  
820  until presently sleep overcame him  
on a whale-road near the King of Heaven.
Then did the Giver of Life bid His angels convey over the jostling of the waves, ferrying in their embrace, into Father’s covenant the dear man with kindness over watery fastness, till the sleep-weary men had overcome the sea; through the play of air Andrew came to shore to the city where the King of Angels [ <Moved out> then the messengers, journeying <back> blessed on upward road to spy out their home; left the saint by army highway slumbering in fellowship below firmament’s shelter, contentedly near town’s walls awaiting in night-long duration his deadly oppressors, until the Lord allowed the candle of day brightly to shine. The shadows retreated, pale beneath clouds; then sky-blast came, heaven’s radiant gleam glancing over buildings. Awoke then the war-hardened, saw lie of the land before the town’s gates; steep mountains,
hleoðu hlīfodon, ymbe hārne stān
tigelfāgan trafu, torras stōdon,
windige weallas. Þā se wīs<ə> oncnēow
þet hē Marmedonia mægðe hæfde
sīðe gesōhte, swā him sylf bebēad,
þē hē him fōre gescrāf, fæder mancyannes.

845

Geseh hē þā on grēote gingran sīne,
beornas beadurōfe, bīryhte him
swefan on slǣpe; hē sōna ongann
wīgend wecccean, ond worde cwæð:
‘Ic ēow secgan mæg sōð ōrgete,
þet ūs gyrståndege on geofones strēam
ofr ārwelan æðeling ferede;
in þām cēole was cyninga wuldor,
waldend werōde. Ic his word oncnēow,
þēh hē his mǣgwīte bemiðen hæfde!’

Him þā æðelingas ondsweorodon,
geonge gēncwidum, gāstge rīnum:

850

cliffsides loomed, around the hoary rock
stood shacks adorned with tiles, towers,
windswept walls. Then the wise man knew
that he had come on adventure to seek the tribe
of Mermedonians, just as Mankind’s Father,
appointing him the mission, Himself had prescribed.

On the sand he caught sight of his servants,
men valiant in the war, alongside him
slumbering in sleep; soon he began
to waken the troops, and these words uttered:
‘I can tell you an evident truth
that yesterday on the deep-sea current
a Prince ferried us over the wealth of ocean;
in that keel was the Glory of Kings,
Commander of Humanity. I knew His words,
though He kept His countenance hidden!’

Him then the princelings did answer,
young in replies, with spiritual mysteries:
‘We to you, Andrew, will freely make known
our journey so that you in your own person may
clearly perceive every thought in our spirit.
Weary at sea we were overcome by sleep.
Then eagles came across the surge of waters
<moving> in flight, joyful in their feathers;
they drew the souls out of us as we slept,
carried us with gladness in flight aloft,
sang out for joy with clear notes and calm,
loved us with kindness and dwelt there in praise
where song was perpetual and zodiac in motion,
dazzling the host-band and glory battalion.
Around the Prince stood angels in circles outwards,
thanes around the Chief in their thousands,
sang praise in the heights with holy voices
to the Lord of Lords; their occupation was joy.
We recognised there the holy high fathers,
and martyrs in a troop of no mean size;
to Victory’s Lord they sang praise unfeigned,
cadre keen for glory. There also David,
blessed soldier, the son of Jesse, had

880 come before Christ, King of Israelites. Likewise we saw before Measurer’s Son you and yours standing increased with virtues illustriously blessed, twelve heroes told; waiting on you as you dwelt in majesty

885 were holy archangels. Well betide heroes who from those blessings may benefit; there was ecstasy of glory, majesty of warriors, excellence in action, nor strife with anyone. For them ordained is exile, opening of torment, who from that <joy> must be excluded, to turn away in shame when hence they go.’

The heart in breast then was comforted much in the saint, since in resounding utterance the disciples had heard that the Deity would

890 remember them this much over all men, and these words the shield of warriors said: ‘Now I, Lord God, have understood
that on the tidal road You were not far away,
Glory of Kings, when I climbed in the keel,
although on the wave, Emperor of Angels,
Solacer of Souls, I could not understand.
Be merciful to me now, Measurer Almighty,
be gracious, Bright King! On the ocean brim
I spoke a number of words, but now I know
Who it was ferried me in a wooden boat
with honour over the floods; the Soul of Grace
He is for the race of men! There help is ready,
mercy from the Glorious granted to each man,
great triumph given to any supplicant to Him.’

Visible before his eyes then appeared
the Prince revealed at that very moment,
King of Each Living Creature, in the form of a boy.
The Chieftain of Glory then uttered these words:
‘Greetings to you Andrew, and your happy band,
rejoice in your heart! I will keep you safe
so that criminal foes will not be permitted,
Fell to earth then, implored Him for protection, the hero wise in words, asked his Friend and Lord:

‘How did I do this, Commander of Men, Saviour of Souls, so sin against Your Person that I could not find You, as generous as You were on the sea-voyage, when I spoke more words before God the Measurer than I should have?’

Omnipotent God gave him an answer: ‘No sin did you ever commit as serious as when you refused me in Achaea, saying you knew not how to go to distant parts, nor would be able to get into the city, make your appointment within three nights’ space as I ordered when I told you to cross the tumult of waves; now you know better how easily I can advance and move anyone who is a friend of Mine

Fœll þā tō foldan, friōðo wilnode wordum wīs hæleð, winedryhten frægn:

‘Hū geworhte ic þæt, waldend fīra, synnig wið seolfne, sāwla nergend, þæt ic þē swā gōdne ongitan ne meahte on wǣgfære, þær ic worda gespræc mūnra for meotude mā þonne ic sceolde?’

Him andswarode ealwalda god:

‘Nō ðū swā swīðe synne gefremedest swā ðū in Āchāia ondsæc dydest, þæt ðū on feorwegas fēran ne cūðe ne in þā ceastre becumæ mehte,

þing gehēgan þrēora nihta fyrstgemearces, swā ic þē fēran hēt ofer wēga gewinn; wāst nū þē gearwor, þæt ic ēaðe mæg ānra gehwylcne fremman ond fyrþran frēonda mūnra

hostile ensnarers, to harm your soul.’
935 on landa gehwylc, þær mē lēofost bið.
Ārīs nū hrædlīc, rǣd ǣdre ongīt,
beorn gebledsod, swā þē beorht fæder
geweordāo wuldorgifum tō wīdan aldre,
craeftē ond mihte. Dū in þā ceastre gong,

940 under burglocan, þær þīn brōðor is;
wāt ic Māthēus þurh mǣnra hand
hrinen heorudolgum, hēafodmagan
searoneatta beseted. Dū hine sēcan scealt,
lēofne ālȳsan of lādra hete,

945 ond eal þæt māncynn þe him mid wunige,
elþēodigra ān witwrāsnum,
bealuwe gebundene; him sceal bōt hraðe
weorþan in worulde ond in wuldrē lēan,
swā ic him sylfum ēr secgende wæs. eadgīp

[IX] ‘Nū dū, Andrēas, scealt ēdre genēðan
in gramra gripe. Is þē gūð weotod

935 to any shore it pleases Me most.
Get up now quickly, take note of My plan,
blessed man, inasmuch as Bright Father
honours you for ever with gifts of glory,
skill and power. You go in the city

940 into the stronghold where your brother is.
I know that criminal hands have streaked
bloody wounds on Matthew, that your older kinsman
in a cunning net is caught. You are to find him,
free the dear man from the enemy violence,

945 and all the humanity who reside with him
by the spiteful chains of foreigners
wickedly bound. Him quickly shall help
be given in this world, and payment in the next,
just as I was telling him earlier to his face. Edith

IX ‘You now, Andrew, are at once to venture
into enemies’ grasp. War is assured for you,
heardum heoruswengum; scel þīn hrā dǣled
wundum weorðan, wættre gelīccost
faran flōde blōd. Hīe þīn feorh ne magon
dēaðe gedǣlan, þēh ðū drype ðolie,
synnigra slege. Ðū þæt sār āber;
ne lǣt þē āhweorfan hǣdenra þrym,
grim gārgewinn, þæt ðū gode swīce,
dryhtne þīnum. Wes ā dōmes georn;
lǣt þē on gemyndum hū þæt manegum wearð
fīra gefrēge geond feala landa,
þæt mē bysmredon bennum fæstne
weras wansǣlige, wordum tyrgdon,
slōgon ond swungon. Synnige ne mihton
þurh sārcwide sōð geçȳdan,
þā ic mid Iūdēum gealgan þehte;
rōd wæs ārǣred, þær rinca sum
of mīnre sídan swāt ūt forlēt,
drēor tō foldan. Ic ādrēah feala
yrmpa ofer eorðan; wolde ic ēow on ōon
þurh bliðne hige bŷsne onstellan,
swā on ellþēode ȳwed wyrðeð.
Manige syndon in þysse mǣran byrig, þāra þe dū gehweorfest tō heofonlēohte
þurh mīnne naman, þēah hīe morðres feala in fyrndagum gefremed habban.’

Gewāt him þā se hālga heofonas sēcan, eallra cyninga cining, þone clǣnan hām, ēaðmēdum upp, þēr is ār gelang
fira gehwylcum, þām þe hīe findan cann.

Ḍā wæs gemyn dig mōdgeþyldig, (19)
beorn beaduwe heard; ñōde in burh hraðe,
anrǣd ōretta, elne gefyrðred,
maga mōde rōf, meotude getrēowe.

Stōp on strǣte (stīg wīsode),
swā hine nēnig gumena ongitan ne mihte, | synfulra gesēo; hæfde sigora weard 42v
on þām wangstede wēre betolden
lēofne lēodfruman mid lofe sīnum.

as will be shown in this foreign land.
Many are those in this famous town whom you can turn to heaven’s light
975 through My name, though the murders are many they have carried out from ancient days.’

The Holy One then moved off to seek heaven, the King of All Kings, that clean homeland, upwards in humility, where grace belongs
to each and every man who can find it.

Then was he mindful, man of mental patience, (19)
warrior hard in battle; quickly entered town, a single-minded soldier sustained by valour, a fellow brave at heart, true to the Measurer.

Marched up the street (a pathway guided) so that him none of those men could notice, nor full of sin see him. The Victory Keeper had in that open place wrapped the beloved captain in the protection of His covenant.
By now the princeling had pressed on, Christ’s champion, into near the prison. He saw a heathen prize-gang together standing as guards before grated doors, seven in one place. Execution took them all, they fell without renown; sudden death snatched heroes blood-soaked. Then the saint prayed to the Gentle Father, in the thoughts of his breast praised to the heights Heaven-King’s goodness, honoured the Lord. At once the door rushed open with a touch from the hand of the holy guest, and inside, inspired by valour, marched a man daring in battle. Heathens were sleeping blood-drunk, had reddened the plain of death.

Caught sight of Matthew in the murder coffer, a hero brave and resolute, locked away in darkness, speaking praise to the Lord, honour to the Chief of Angels; he sat there alone, mournful with cares in that court of lamentation.
In the light then he saw his own dear comrade,
one saint saw another; hope was renewed.
He rose up to meet him, gave thanks to God
that they had ever been permitted to see one another
safe beneath the sun. Goodwill was shared
between both brethren, rejoicing anew,
each man covered the other with his arms,
they kissed and embraced. Both to Christ were
dear in His heart. A light shone about them
holy and heaven-radiant; their inmost hearts had
welled up with joy.

Then in his words did
first Andrew take the step with the noble man
within the cloister-confine, in his own utterance
greeting the God-fearing man, told him the outcome of battle,
the fight with wicked men: ‘Now are your people in high spirits,
heroes here in
1025   <eald> | gewyrht  eardes nēosan.’     43r

Æfter þyssum wordum wuldres þegnas,
begen þa gebrōðor,  tō gebēde hyldon;
sendon hira bēne  fore bearn godes.
Swylce se hālga  in þām hearmlocan

1030  his god grēt<o>e,  ond him gēoce bæd,
hǣlend helpe,  ær þan hrā crunge

fore hēðenra hildebrýmme;
don þā gelāedd of leoðobendum
fram þām fæstenne  on frið dryhtnes

1035  tū hundtēontig  geteled rīme,
swylce feowertig  <ond feower twēow>a
一代fram nīôe,  þær hē nænig<n>e forlēt
under burglocan  bendum fæstne;
on<d> þær wīfa þā gȳt,  weorodes tō ēacan,
anes wana þē fiftig  <forþgerīmed>
forhite gefroðode.  Fægen wǣron sīðes,
lungre lēordan,  nalas leng bidon
in þām gornhofe  gūðgeþingo.  

1025   <ancient>] deeds, to seek an abode.’

After these words the thanes of glory,
both these brethren, knelt down in prayer;
first sent their boon to the Bairn of God.
Likewise the saint in the locker of harm
greeted his God and asked Him for aid,
Healer for help, before his body might fall
before the majesty of heathens in battle;
and then led away from their limb-bonds
from that fastness into the Lord’s protection
two hundred that in number are told,
as well as forty <and twice four more>
preserved from enmity, leaving no man behind
in the stronghold fastened in bonds;
and of women, moreover, to add to the menfolk,
one short of fifty <numbered forth>
fearful ones he freed. Fain they were of journeying,
departed at once, would not at all longer await
outcome of battle in that court of lamentation.

158
Moved then off Matthew to lead the multitude
to God’s safe hold as the saint had bid him;
the band on a happy journey with clouds He covered,
lest the unjust oppressors came to harm them,
ancient enemies, with a flight of arrows.
Between them where the brave men held conference,
pledged comrades, before dividing forces,
each of the gentlemen confirmed the other
in the prospect of heaven; hell’s punishment
warded off with words. Thus the warriors with him,
heroes brave and resolute, in saintly voices,
tried champions, worshipped the King,
Ruler of Destiny, to Whose glory no end shall
ever be encompassed among the children of men.

Back then did Andrew walk into the city
relieved in mind to where he had learned
that the enemy militia would angrily be meeting,
until he encountered, along a path between houses
standing near the street a pillar of brass.
Sat then down beside it, had a pure love within him,
an eternal mind for angels’ bliss above him;
there within the stronghold he awaited
whatever war-deeds might be granted him.
By then wide armies were gathered together
by captains of the mob; to that fortress
came a troop of the faithless with weapons,
heathen battle-braves, to where the captives earlier
under latticed shadow had languished in harm.
Going against reason they hoped and wanted
to make great consumption of foreign people,
banquet by appointment; that hope deceived them
when, with its guard of honour, the prison door
the irate armed warriors found lying open,
hammer’s work unhinged, the sentries dead.
They then without booty turned back,
had lost what they lusted for, bore hateful tidings;
said to the mob that, of strangers from abroad,
out of these barbarians, not one was left
in carcerne cwicne <nē> gemētte<n>,
ah þær heorodrēorige hyrdas lāgan,
gēsne on grēote, gäste berofene,

faegra flāœschaman. ðā wearð forht manig
for þām fāœrspelle folces rēswa,
hēan hygegeōmor, hungres on wēnum,
blātes bēodgastes; nyston betaran rēd,
ðonne hē ða bēfidenan him tō līfnere

gefeormedon. [ ]

in āne tīd eallum ætsonrne
þurh heard gelāc hild<e>bedd styred.
Dā ic lungre gefrægn lēode tosomne,
burgwaraz bannan; beornas cōmon,

wīggendra þrēat, wicgum gengan,
on mēarum mōdige, mæðelhēgende,
æscum dealle. ðā wæs eall geador
tō þām þingstede þēod gesamnod,
lēton him þā betwēonum | taan wīsian

hwylcne hira ōðrum sceolde

in prison alive whom they could find,
but blood-soaked guards lay in that place
defunct on the floor, filched of their spirit,

flesh of death-fated men. Then took fright
from the fearful news many a prince of that people,
ashamed, depressed in reason, expecting hunger,
a pale guest at table; knew of no better idea
than that on the departed for life’s preservation
they should be fed. [ ]

For the door-thanes,
in one hour, for all of them together,
with harsh play was their war-bed disturbed.
Swiftly to the people I heard then a summons
to townsfolk go out; troopers converged,
a company of warriors spurring their mounts,
proud on their stallions, holding assembly,
glinting with spears. When together all people
were gathered to their place of business,
they made a lot-twig show from one to another

which of them should be first to forfeit
tō foddurþege feores ongyldan;
hihton hellcraeftum, heðengildum
teledon betwinum. Đā se tān gehwearf
efne ofer ēnne ealdgesiða,

1105
sē wæs ūðweota eorla dugode,
heriges on ōre hraðe siðdan wearð
fetorwrāsnum fæst, feores ōrwēna.
Cleopode þā collenferhō cearegan reorde,
cwæð hē his sylfes sunu syllan wolde

1110
on āhtgeweald, eaforan geon<gn>e,
līfes tō lisse; ħīc dā lāc hraðe
þēgon tō þance. Þēod wæs oflysted,
metes mōdgēomre, næs him tō māðme wynn,

1115
þearle geþrēatod, swā se dēodsceaða
rēow ricsode. Þā wæs rinc manig,
gūðfrec gumā, ymb hæs geongan feorn
brēostum onbryrded tō þām beadulācē;
wæs þæt wēatācen wīde gefrēge,
geond þā burh bodad beorne manegum,

his life as fodder for others to partake in;
drew lots with hell’s arts, with heathen rites
tallied between men. Then the twig passed
right over one particular old campaigner

1105
who was philosopher to the troop of nobles
in the host’s front line. Quickly thereafter was he
fastened in tight bonds, no hope for living more;
cried then the audacious with grieving voice,
said he would give up his own son

1110
into their power, his young heir, in exchange
for enjoying life; they on that offer quickly
dined with thanks. The nation was in craving,
serious about meat, had no pleasure in precious things,
no hope in wealth hoarded; with hunger they were

1115
severely restrained, so cruel did that despoiler
of the nation reign. Then was many a noble,
many a warlike man, over that boy’s life
in his breast inspired to the play of battle;
heard far and wide was that token of woe,

1120
to many a trooper proclaimed through the town
that in a crowd they sought to kill that lad,
that old and young companies would get their share
of life's sustenance. Swiftly at this summons
did heathen temple-keepers muster a war-party
from their citizens; sounds of clamour arose.
Then began the youngster with mournful voice,
bound before the band, his harm-dirge to chant,
destitute of friends, his life to desire of them;
nor could he, born to misery, find the grace,
the sanctuary in that mob, that would yield him
his life, his existence. Monstrous adversaries
had picked their battle; it should be the sword's edge,
sharp and shower hardened, forge-patterned,
that from a despoiler's hand would ask his life.
All miserable then did it look to Andrew,
a grievous arch-evil for him to endure,
that this one so guiltless his life should
promptly lose. The violence of that people
was <bold and> long-tried; swaggered majestic
in their lust for murder the proud young thanes,
woldon ēninga ellenrōfe
on þām hysebeorōre  heafolan gescēnan,
gārum āgētan. Hine god forstōd
hālig of hēhōo  hǣðenan folce;

1145
hēt wǣpen wera  wexe gelīcost
on þām ōrlege  eall formeltan,
þȳ læs scyldhatan  sceðdan mihton,
egle ondsacan,  ecea þrūum.
Swā wearð ālȳsed  of lēodhete,

1150
goeng of gyrne. Gode ealles ūnc,
dryhtna dryhtne,  þæs de hē dōm gifeð
gumena gehwylcum,  þāra þe gēoce tō him
sēceð mid snytrum;  þār bið symle gearu
frōd unhwīlen,  þām þe hīe findan cann.

[XI]  Þā wæs wōp hæfen  in wera burgum,  (24)
hlūd heriges cyrm;  hrēopon friccan,
mĒndon metelēaste,  mēde stōdon

men of brave cheer wanted all at once
to maim the head on that man-child,
gut him with spears. God defended him,
Holy from on high, against the heathen mob;
commanded men’s weapons most like wax
all to melt in that theatre of war,
lest the unjust oppressors might cause harm,
frightening adversaries, with their power of blades.
Freed was he then from this public violence,
younger from injury. Thanks be to God,
Lord of Lords, for the influence He gives
to every man who for aid from Him has
the cleverness to look; there ready constantly is
love without limit for the man who can find it.

XI  Then was raised a weeping in that town of men,  (24)
loud the war-band’s clamour; criers shouted,
lamented lack of meat, weak they stood,
hungre gehæfte. Hornsalu wunedon wēste, wīnræced; welan ne benohton beornas tō brūcanne on þā bitran tīd. Gesǣton searuþancle sundor tō rūne, ermdū eahtigan; nās him tō ēdle wynn.

Fregn þā gelōme freca ōderne: ‘Ne hēle sē ṣe hæbbe holde lære on sefan snyttro. Nū is sāl cumen, þrēa ōrmēte, is nū þearf mycel þæt wē wīsfæstra wordum hȳran.’

| Þā for þære dugoðe dēoful ætȳwde, wann ond wlitelēas; hæfde weriges hīw. 45r
1165 Ongan þā meldigan morþres brytta, helle hinca, þone hālgan wer wiðerhycgende, ond þæt word gecwæð: ‘Her is gefēred ofer feorne weg æðelinga sum innan ceastre
1170 ellþēodigra, þone ic Andrēas

by famine fettered. Horn-gabled halls remained, wine-palaces, deserted; of wealth the troops enjoyed no profit in that bitter time. The ingenious sat apart in secret counsel pondering their misery; home was no joy to them. Often then one brave chap would inquire of the other: ‘Let him not hide it who has friendly advice, cleverness or sense. A time is now come of infinite trouble, the need now great that we listen to the words of wise men.’ Then before this company the devil appeared, pale and unradiant; had the form of one accursed. Began then the dispenser of deadly sin, cripple of hell, to accuse the holy man against all reason, and uttered these words: ‘Here is one travelled from far away, a certain prince who, though within this city, is from a foreign country, of whom Andrew
nemnan hērde; hē ēow nēon gescēod, dā hē āferede of fæstenne manncynnes mā ṭonne gemet wēre.
Nū gē magon ēaðe oncūddēda wrecan on g<e>wyrhtum; lātað <wǣpnes> spor, ţren ecgheard, ealdorgeard scēoran, fēges feorhhood. Gāð fromlīce, ţet gē wiðerfeohtend wīges gehnǣgan!

Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware:
‘Hwæt, ðū þrīstlīce þēode lǣrest, baeldest tō beadowe! Wāst þē bāles cwealm, hātne in helle, ond þū here fȳsest, fēðan tō gefeohte; eart ðū fāg wið god, dugoda dēmand. Hwæt, ðū dēofles strēl, ācest þīne yrmðo! Dē se ælmihtiga hēanne gehnǣgde ond <on> heolstor bescēaf, þēr þē cyninga cining clamme belegde; ond þē syððan ā Sāta<n> nemdon, dā ðe dryhtnes ē dēman cūdon.’

was the name I heard; he intimately hurt you by ferrying out from the fastness around them more of man’s kind than were meet.
These present deeds of injury you can easily avenge on the doers; let the weapon’s track, iron edge-hard, shear through the life-fort, the blood-hoard of one doomed man. Go quickly and in combat bring the adversary down!’

To him then did Andrew give answer:
‘See how bravely you instruct this people, embolden them for battle! You know that a furnace hell-hot will punish you, though you inflame the war-band, this foot-troop, for a fight; you are outlawed from God the Judge of Hosts. See, you devil’s arrow,
how you increase your misery! You the Almighty brought low in disgrace and shoved in darkness, where, King of Kings, He laid chains on you, and ever since they have named you Satan who have known how to preach the Gospel.’
Still then the perverse spirit with his words, his fiend’s skill, instructed the mob to fight: ‘Now you can hear the enemy of the people, who has done to this war-band the greatest harm; this is Andrew, who cuts me in a flying

with extraordinary words to the men’s multitude!’ That was the sign, to towns-then made; they leapt up keen for battle in war-band’s revelry, to the gates in the wall the warriors thronged brave under banners in a big regiment towards

the field of war with spear-points and boards.

Words then did the Lord of Hosts utter, Measurer Strong in Might, said to his retainer: ‘Andrew, you shall do a deed of courage; stay not hidden before the multitude, but fortify

your mind against hard men! The hour is at hand when men cruel in slaughter will delay you with torments, with cold chains; make yourself known, harden your resolve, fortify your heart,
that they may recognize Me in you.

Neither can nor against My consent may they
deal to your body, guilty with sin as they are,
its death-blown, though you suffer beating,
mean murky blows; I remain with you.'

After those words came a host without measure,
lying professors with an armoured platoon,
swollen with fury; bore him out quickly
and there in the light the saint’s arms bound,
once the princes’ joy was brought in the open
and in person with their own eyes they could
see the brave victor. Many a man was there
on the plain of slaughter craving combat
in that division of people; little cared they
what their repayment after might be.        [Cas. jumps
Bid him then be led over countryside,
grievous enemy, be hauled there repeatedly
in the most perilous way they could find;
valiant men dragged him by caves in the downs,
around the stone cliffs, men of hardened hearts
just as far as the diverse roads extended,

once the works of giants within the town,
streets paved with stone. A storm rose up
through city buildings, no small outcry
from the heathen band. The saint’s body was
sodden with sore wounds, blood-bespattered,

the bone-house broken; blood welled in waves,
with hot gore. He held on within him
to undoubting courage; that was a noble heart
sundered from its sins, though so much searing
from deep-gashing blows must he endure.

So all the day until evening came was
that sunbeam scourged; searing pain invaded
the trooper’s breast again, until bright moved
the heaven-illuminating sun gliding to her setting.

Then they led the loathed adversary
to prison. To Christ’s mind, however,
he was beloved; in Andrew the saintly senses
near the heart were light, his mind unfragile.
The saint was then under shadow of darkness, gentleman of tempered courage, all night long ingeniously trussed. Snow bound the earth with wintry drifts, the fine weather cooled with harsh hail-showers, also rime and frost, hoar-grey marching soldiers, locked down the home of heroes, people’s houses. Their lands were frozen; with cold icicles did water’s majesty shrink across rivers and streams, ice bridged the pale sea-roads. Blithe stayed the heart of the gentleman unblemished, remembering courage, bold and long-suffering in his dire affliction the winter-cold night. Nor stopped he in conscience, dismayed by that terror, from what he earlier started, and so ever famously praised the Lord, worshipped Him aloud, till the jewel of glory was luminously revealed.

Then came the squad
to the dim dungeon, no mean troop of heroes,
bloodthirstily moving to crowd’s jubilation;
quickly they commanded the prince to be led,
hero firm in covenant, into the power of fiends.
Then again as before was he for the livelong day
scourged with searing blows. Blood in waves welled
through the bone-coffer, poured in thick gouts,
with hot gore; his body did not cease hurting,
weary with wounds.

Then came a ring of weeping,
moving out pale through the man’s breast,
the flood-stream welled, and he uttered these words:
‘See now, O Lord God, my condition,
Hosts’ Willing Endower! You see and understand
the hardships of each and every man.
I believe in you, my Author of Life,
that You are generous, that in Your overriding justice,
Saviour of Humanity, You will never,
Almighty Everlasting, leave me here alone,
provided that I ensure, while life’s blood lives in me on earth, that I, O Measurer, Your
loving instructions little do forsake.
You are a Shield against the despoiler’s weapons, O Author of Wealth Eternal, for all Your people;
let not now the slayer of mankind humiliate or the first child of wickedness through fiendish power
overwhelm with evil them who bear praise of You.’

Then the terrible demon appeared there, faith-breaker in fury; fighters were instructed before the war-troop by this devil of hell in punishments accursed, and these words he uttered:
‘Hit him in his mouth now, the sinful enemy of the people, he talks too much!’

Thereupon was the strife in this war stirred up anew; hate rose up high there until the gliding sun sank to her setting
beneath steep headland. Night covered over,
dusky, enveloped the steep mountains, 
daring and keen for glory, into the dim hall; 
must now in his need-coffer one night long 
firm in covenant inhabit that unclean encampment. 
Then came of seven walking into the chamber 
one terrible adversary with evil in mind, 
mean lord of soul-murder in murk shrouded, 
devil cruel in death, robbed of his hosts.

To the saint then he spoke mocking words: 
‘What did you, Andrew, mean by coming here 
into the power of fierce foes? Where is your glory, 
which in thoughts of pride you vaunted 
when you brought low the rites of our gods? 

Have you alone now laid claim to the whole 
land and people just as your teacher did? 
He, whose name was Christ, raised royal majesty 
over the middle world for as long as he could. 
That man did Herod bereave of his life,
1325  forcōm æt campe     “cyning lūdēa”,
rīces berǣdde     ond hine rōde befealg,
þæt hē on gealgan his     gāst onsende.
Swā ic nū bebebode     bearnum mīnum,
þegnum þryðfullum,     ðæt hē dē hnanegen.

1330  Gingran æt guðe,     lētað hēr ord,
earh ættre gemǣl,     in gedūfan
in fǣges ferō!     Gāð fromlice,
ðæt gē ġūofrecan     gygp forbēgan!’

Hīe wēron rēowe,     rēsdon on sōna
1335  gīfrum grāpum.     Hīe god forstōd,
staðulfæst stēorend,     þurh his strangan miht;
syððan hīe oncnēowon [Cas. resumes
on his mēgwstone,     māre tācen,
wurdon hīe ðā     on þām onfenge,
1340  forhte, āfǣre     ond on flēam numen.

Ongan eft swā āër     ealdgenīðla,
helle hæftling,     hearmlēod galan:

1325  overcame in conflict the “King of the Jews”,
him deprived of kingdom and to rood applied,
that from gallows he might send on his spirit.
Just so will I now command my children,
my thanes of power, to humiliate you.

1330  Disciples in the war, make spear’s points,
dart-heads patterned with poison, dive deep
in the doomed man’s spirit! Go quick
and crush this boasting of the war-brave!’

They were cruel, rushed in straightaway
with ravenous clutches. God defended him,
Steadfast Governor, with His strong might;
as soon as they recognised the rood of Christ [Cas. resumes
on his countenance, the token of renown,
they became afraid to make that onslaught,

1335  frightenened, fear-stricken, and were put to flight.

1340  Again as before did thus the old enemy,
prisoner of hell, chant his dirge of harm:
‘Hwæt wearð ēow swā rōfum, rincas mīne, lindgesteallan, þæt ēow swā lȳt gespēow?’

1345
H<im þā> earmsceapen āgef ondsware, fāh fyrmcsceafa, ond his fæder oncwaed:
‘Ne | magan wē him lungre lād ætfæstan, swilt þurh searwe. Gā þē sylfa tō;
þēr þū gegninga ġūde findest,
frēcne feohtan, gif ðū furður dearst
tō þām ānhagan aldre genēdan!’

1350
[WIII]
‘Wē ðē magon ēaðe, eorla lēofost,
æt þām secgplegan sēlre gelēran;
ær ðū gegninga ġūde fremme,
wīges wōman, weald hū ðē sæle
æt þām gegen slege. Utan gangan eft,
þæt wē bysmrigen bendum fæstne,
oðwītan him his wræcsīð; habbað word gearu
wið þām ėeglēcan eall getrahtod!’

‘What became of you, my warriors so brave, comrades in arms, that so little you succeeded?’

1345
One born to misery then gave him answer, outlawed ancient despoiler, and to his father replied:
‘An injury we cannot inflict on him suddenly nor any subtle death. Go to it yourself;
your war you will find there without delay, a dangerous fight if further you dare to venture your life with that lone survivor!’

1350
XIII
‘We can without difficulty, dearest of gentlemen, better instruct you in that sword-play before you rush headlong into battle, combat’s melee, however it may befall you in the counterattack. Let us go back again, see that we abuse him fastened in bonds, taunt him with his exile; let us keep our words all ready and prepared against this monster!’
He set up a roar then in a loud voice, beset with torments, and these words uttered:
‘You, Andrew, to the arts of a monster have long entrusted yourself; how many people you played false and perverted! No more may you now practise this work; grim for you are its penalties ordained according to deeds. Weary of heart, you shall, disgraced, without comfort, suffer agonizing harm, searing pains of execution; my men are prepared for this play of war, who will all at once, with deeds of courage, cause your death without any delay!
Who so mighty across the middle world may release you from your limb-bonds, what man among humans, against my consent?’

To him then did Andrew give answer: ‘God Almighty, of course, can easily; Saviour of Humanity, Who in chains once
fastened you, in fiery shackles, in a place
where it is you, since tied in torment for ever,
who have suffered in exile, lost glory
by scorning the word of the King of Heaven.
There was evil’s beginning, nor shall an end ever
come for your exile. You shall ever more
increase your misery; day on day constantly
will your living become more strenuous.’

It was then that he fled, who long ago
once framed that grim feud against God.

Came then before dawn in the half-light
a heathen prize-gang searching for
the saint in a crowd of people; bid lead out
the long-suffering thane for the third time,
would all at once make the brave man’s
courage melt away; such could not be.
Then as good as new was malice stirred up,
säre geswungen, searwum gebunden,
dolgbennum þurhdrifen, ðendon dæg līhte.

Ongan þā geōmormōd tō gode cleopian,
heard of hæfte, hālgan stefne;
wēop wērigferð, ond þæt word gecwæð:
‘Nāfrē ic gefērde mid frēan willan
under heofonhwewalfe heardran drohtnoð,
þēr ic dryhtnes ē dēman sceolde!
Sint mē leod<u> tōlocen, līc säre gebrocen,
bānhūs blōdfāg; benne weallað,
seonodolg swātige. Hwæt, ðū sigora weard,
dryhten hǣlend, on dæges tīde
mid Lūdēum geōmor wurde,
ðā ðū of gealgan, god lifigende,
fyrnweorca frēa, tō fæder cleopodest,
cininga wuldor, ond cwǣde ðūs:
“Ic ðē, fæder engla, frignan wille,
līfes lēohtfruma: hwæt forlǣtest ðū mē?”
Ond ic nū þrȳ dagas þolian sceolde

painfully scourged, intricately bound,
pierced with gashes as long as daylight held.

Then in depression did he call upon God,
a hard man from shackles, with holy voice;
wept on exhausted and uttered these words:
‘Never did I undergo at Lord’s will
under heaven’s vault any harder treatment
in any place I had to preach the Gospel!
My limbs are dislocated, body sorely broken,
bone-house blood-stained; the wounds well up,
gory sinew-gashes. See, O Keeper of Victory,
Healing Lord, how depressed You were
with the Jews in the space of one day,
when You, from the gallows, as Living God,
Lord of Old Labours, called to the Father,
the Glory of Kings, and spoke thus:
“Father of Angels, I will ask You this,
why forsake me, Author of light and the Life?”
And now it is three days I have had to endure
torments grim as death! God of Hosts,
I beg You for leave to give up my spirit into Your Own hand, Feast-Giver of Souls.
You promised this by Your sacred word when You started to strengthen us twelve,
that no warfare of maniacs would harm us, nor any body-part be suddenly torn away, nor sinew or bone have to lie on the path, nor any lock from the head be lost, if we would just follow Your teaching.

Now sinews are torn, my blood has dripped out, lying over land my locks have been scattered, my hair on the ground. Parting from life for me is preferable by far to this care of living!’

Replied then a voice to the stubborn man, words of the King of Glory resounded:
‘Bemoan not this exile, My dearest associate, for you it’s not too dangerous; I will keep you safe, enclose you with the power of My protection.
To Me is might of all <across the middle world>,
great triumph given. True it will be proclaimed,
by many a man at assembly on that great day,
that it will come to pass that this dazzling creation,
heaven and earth, together falls in on itself
before any words are made void
which I through My mouth proceed to say.
See now the path you have taken where your blood
has sprinkled gory trails through breaking of bones,
bruising of body; never more injury
by shunt of spears may they bring you
who did you the greatest, cruellest, harm.’

Looked back on track then a darling champion
after the eloquence of the King of Glory;
saw groves standing in bloom and adorned
with blossoms where his blood he poured before.

Then the shield of warriors spoke these words:
‘Thanks be and praise to You, Ruler of Nations,
for ever and again be glory to You in heaven
for not forsaking me, my Lord of Victory,
in pain, a stranger to this country and alone.’

So did the man of action praise the Lord
with holy voice until the blinding sun,
brilliant as glory, slid beneath the waves.

Then did the captains for the fourth time,
terrifying adversaries, lead the prince
to the prison; would pervert his able purpose,
the mind of the counsellor of retainers
on that dark night.

Then came the Lord God
into the barred hall, the Glory of Heroes,
and now greeted His friend, speaking
words of comfort, Father of Mankind,
Teacher of Life. He bid him of his body
enjoy good health: ‘Nor shall you ever longer
suffer pain of being humbled by armed men.’
Årás þā mægene rōf, sægde meotude þanc,
hāl of hæfte heardra wīta.
Næs him gewemmed wite, ne wlōh of hrægle
lungre ðalysed, ne loc of hēafde,
ne bān gebrocen, ne blōdig wund
lic<e> gelenge, ne lādes dǣl

þurh dolgslege drēore bestēmed,
ac wæs eft swā ēr þurh þā æōelan miht
lof lǣdende, ond on his līce trum.

[XIV] H<w>æt, ic hwīle nū hāliges lāre
lēodgiddinga, lof þæs þe worhte,
wordum wēmde, wyrd undyrne
ofr mīn gemet. Mycel is tō secganne,
langsum leornung, þæt hē in līfe ðæðerag,
eall æfter orde; þæt scell ðæglǣwra
mann on moldan þonne ic mē tālige
findan on ferðe, þæt fram fruman cunne

Arose then brave in body, gave Measurer thanks,
made whole from bondage of harsh torments.
His face was unblemished, no fringe from clothing
liberated suddenly, nor lock from his head,
no bone broken nor any bleeding wound
on body to be found, nor injury in any part
from gashing blow made moist with gore,
but now as before by that virtuous Might
was giving praise, and in his body firm.

XIV Listen, for a while now I have been pleading
words in verse ballad so as to teach what glories
the saint performed, a history which is, when revealed,
beyond my capacity. A big task it is, a work
of time-consuming study, to say all he suffered
in life from the start. Wiser in the law than I
is the earthly man, by my reckoning, who shall find
in his spirit the means of knowing from the beginning
all þā earfedo þe hē mid elne ādrēah,  
grīmra gūdā.  Hwædre | gīt sceolon  
lȳtlum stīccum lēōdworda dēl  
furður reccan.

Þæt is fyrsægen,  
1490  hū hē weorna feala wīa geðolode,  
heardra hilda, in þære hēðenan byrig.  
Hē be wealle geseah wundrum fæste  
under sælwāge swēras unlȳtle,  
stapulas standan storme bedrifene,  
1495  eald enta geweorc; hē wið ānne þēra,  
mihtig ond mōdrōf, mædel gehēde,  
wīs, wundrum glēaw, word stunde āhōf:  
‘Gehēr ḏū, marmanstān, meotudes rǣdum,  
fore þēas onsīyne ealle gesceafte  
1500  forhte geweorðā, þonne hīe fæder gesēoð  
heofonas ond eorðan herigea mǣste  
on middangeard mancynn sēcan.  
Læt nū of þīnum staþole strēamas weallan,

all the hardship that he courageously suffered  
in that fierce fighting. And yet the narration  
of a few lyrics more in little snatches on this theme  
must still be made.

It is an epic of ancient times,  
1490  the great number of torments he endured,  
what harsh assaults in that heathen town.  
By the wall he saw columns of no mean size  
wondrously firm beneath the first-floor storey,  
pillars standing scoured by weather,  
1495  old works of giants; he with one of them  
held conference, mighty and brave of heart,  
wise and wonder-sharp briefly made his speech:  
‘Hear, stone of marble, the plan of the Measurer  
before Whose face all things of creation  
1500  will take fright when they see the Father  
of Heaven and Earth with the greatest of hosts  
come to seek mankind in the middle world.  
Let now from your pedestal streams well up,
a river in flood, now that the Almighty
King of Heaven commands you to send
promptly forth into this apostate people
wide waters in spate to men’s destruction,
an outpouring ocean. Hear me, you are better
than gold or gifts of treasure! On you the King
Himself, Glorious God, in His words revealed
His mysteries in one instant and just laws
in ten commandments did inscribe,
Measurer Wise in Might! To Moses He gave them,
just as later, with truth unwavering, they were kept
by brave young thanes, kinsmen of Moses,
the God-fearing men Joshua and Tobias.
Now that you can understand how Angels’ King
adorned you in ancient days with gifts far beyond
any He gave to any family of precious stones
by His sacred order, you shall quickly show
if you have any understanding of Him!’

Not a jot slower than his speech did the stone
obey, but yawned wide. A stream welled out, flooded the landscape. Foamy breakers covered the earth in the early part of day, a sea-flood swelled. It was a serving of mead after the feast-day, men who kept weapons were torn from sleep. Sea enfolded ground, stirred from the depths. The company took fright at this flood’s assault. Doomed, they died, young men in ocean snatched by war-charge of salt swallow. That was a brewing of sorrow, a bitter beer-tasting! Cup-bearers did not dally, official servers. There was drink enough at once ready for all from the start of day. The water’s might increased. Men lamented, old spear-bearers. Their longing went outwards, to flee the fallow stream, to save their lives, wishing to seek refuge in mountain caves, a lodging in earth. An angel prevented them, overwhelming the town with gleaming fire, with white-hot war-surge. Savage in town
was the pounding sea, nor could warriors’ prize-gang take flight from the fort with success; waves grew higher, the deep sea roared, fire-sparks flew, flood welled with billows. Easy was it to find there inside the town a performance of the blues, bewailing their grief many fear-stricken men, eager litanies chanted. Terrifying fire became clear to the eye, cruel devastation, voices raised in horror. With airborne commotion did blasts of flame envelop the walls, the waters grew higher. Weeping of men there was widely heard, piteous the mob of men. One of them then, a destitute man, began to gather the people, shamed, downcast, spoke in lamentation: ‘Now you can see the truth for yourselves, that it was unjust of us to imprison the foreigner in a jail with shackles, torturing bonds. This fate harms us,
harsh and fierce. So obvious is this
that in my true opinion it is much better
if we free him from his manacles,
being all of one mind (haste is best)
while we pray to the saint to give us help,
aid and solace. For us will peace after sorrow
be ready at once if we look towards him.’

Wherever to Andrew it was now quite clear
in spirit-locker which way the people inclined,
there had a proud men’s <vigour> been humbled,
a majesty of warriors. Waters wrapped around,
a mountainous stream flowed, flood was in spate
until welling seawater climbed above chest-height
to men’s shoulders. The prince then commanded
the torrent to be still, storms to abate
around stone gates. He moved out quickly,
brave audacious man, gave up the jail
the wise man dear to God. For him a ready street
through the driving current <was> at once cleared.
Pleasant the plain of victory, ever dry was
ground of flood wherever his foot advanced.
The hearts of townsfolk became cheerful, spirits were gladdened. Aid after injury had come forth. Ocean subsided, tempest was lost to hearing at the saint’s command, sea-road abode. The barrow then split open, frightful earth-cave, and let the flood, the fallow-brown waves, sweep into it, ground swallowed all the inundating swirl. Not just the waves did he sink in that place, but also the worst of that company, wicked despoilers of people, fourteen moving in haste with the wave to perdition down to earth’s core. Panicked were then many fear-stricken men of folk remaining, expected the killing of <women> and men, an outcome severe, a time all the meaner when, stained with crime, murderous allies in war dropped into the abyss.
Of one mind then they all cried out:
‘Now it can be seen that the True Measurer, the King of All Creatures, rules in power, Who <earlier> sent this man here as herald in aid of nations; the need is now great that we eagerly obey the man of virtue!'

Then the saint began to bless these men, to cheer the crowd of warriors with words:
‘Do not be frightened, though the sinners’ kind chose their destruction. Death they have suffered, penalties matching deeds. For you a light of glory will brightly be revealed if your purpose is right.’

Sent then his boon before God’s Bairn, bade the Holy One extend some help to the youth division who in ocean earlier
through flood’s embrace had sold their lives, 
that those souls without supply of advantage, 
cut off from glory, into punitive damnation, 
the power of fiends, should <not> be carried.

When that message to Omnipotent God, 
through eloquent words of the holy guest 
was acceptably spoken to the Chief of Nations, 
he bid all those young men in good health 
arise from earth whom ocean had just killed.

When without delay in that place stood up 
many in the assembly, from what I have heard, 
offspring ungrown, each was all then united 
in limb and spirit, though earlier entirely 
through flood’s attack they lost their lives.

They received baptism and protective covenant, 
by their pledge of glory being sped from torment, 
the Measurer’s safe-keeping. Then the courageous 
craftsman of the King bid a church be timbered, 
God’s temple built where the youngsters arose

by Father’s baptism and the flood sprang forth.
Mustered then in a mass
men through the wine-town far and wide,
gents with one purpose and their ladies too,
said that they loyally wanted to listen,

piously receive the bath of baptism
by the Lord’s will, and leave off idolatry,
ancient sanctuary places, once and for all.
Raised up with the people was baptism then,
nobly among gentlemen, and God’s testament
exalted as law, as ordinance in the land
for those citizens, the church hallowed
in which God’s herald ordained one man
with well-founded wisdom, clear in his words,
as bishop to the people in that bright town,

and hallowed him before the war-troop
with apostle’s authority, Plato was his name,
for the nation’s needs; and quickly commanded
them keenly to carry out the teaching of this man,
frame life’s reward. Said his mind was fired up,
that he would give up the gold-town,
secga seledrēam ond sincgestrēon, beorht bêagselu, ond him brîmþīsan æt sæs faroðe sēcan wolde.

Þæt wæs þām weorode weor<e> tō geþoligenne, þæt hīe se lēódfruma leng ne wolde wihte gewunian; þā him wuldres god on þām siòfete sylfum ætływde, ond þæt word gecwæð, weoruda dryhten:

‘[ ]

folc of firenum? Is him fūs hyge,

gāð gēomriende, geohðo mǣnað weras wīf samod; hira wōp becōm, murnende mōd, fore [<mē> ] snēowan.

Ne scealt ðū þæt ēowde ānforlǣtan on swā nīowan gefēan, ah him naman | mīnne 52r on ferðlocan fæste getimbre!

Wuna in þære wīnbyrig, wīgendra hlēo, salu sinchroden, sеofon nihta fyrst;

hall-joys of men and treasure hoards, bright ring-palaces, and for him a brim-burster on the seashore was what he would seek.

For that host it was a heavy blow to endure that the people’s captain no longer wanted to stay there at all; so the God of Glory (33)

Himself on that expedition appeared to him, Lord of Hosts, and uttered these words:  ‘[

the people from wickedness? Their minds are keen, they go about grieving, lament in sorrow, men and women united; the weeping of them, their hearts in mourning, before <Me> has come [ ] hastening. You are not to abandon that flock of lambs

in such a new state of joy, you but build My name firmly in the confine of their hearts! Inhabit this wine-town, shield of warriors, its treasure-decked halls, for a time of seven nights;
After that you will sail with favour from Me.”

Back he then moved for a second time, proud, brave in body, to visit the city of Mermedonia; in the Christians flourished words and wisdom when they saw the thane of glory, herald of Nobility’s King, with their own eyes.

He taught then the people the way of faith, confirmed them in splendour, of the illustrious guided to glory a host without measure, to the sacred home of the celestial kingdom where Father and Son and Spirit of Solace in the majesty of the Trinity wield power over glory-dwellings in an age of ages. Just so the saint subdued the temples, scattered the idols and overthrew the error; that for Satan was grievous to endure,

great sorrow in heart to see that multitude with cheerful resolve renouncing hell-buildings through the kind teaching of Andrew,
tō fægeran gefēan, þær nēfre fēondes ne bið,
gastes gramhydiges, gang on lande.

1695 Þā wǣron gefylde æfter frēan dōme
dagas on rīme swā him dryhten bebēad
þæt hē þā wederburg wunian sceolde,
ongan hine þā fȳsan ond tō flote gryrwan,
blīsum hrēmīg; wolde on brimpīsan

1700 Āchāie <eard> ðōre sīde
sylfā gesēcan, þær hē sāwulgedāl,
beaducwealm gebād. þæt þām banan ne wearð
hleahtre behworfen, ah in helle ceafl
sīō āsette, ond sỹð<ðan> nō,

1705 fāh frēonda lēas, frōfre benohte.

accepting that fair joy where never foe
nor fierce stranger makes passage on land.

1695 When were filled by Ruler’s judgement
days in the number the Lord had commanded
him to stay in that fair-weather town,
he did rouse himself and make ready to sail,
buoyed with relief, in a brim-burster wanted

1700 <the land> of Achaea for a second time
to seek out in person, where his soul’s parting
awaited, death in the war. That for the slayer
was not treated with laughter, but into hell’s jaws
his course he set, and since then has never,

1705 outcast unfriended, enjoyed comfort at all.

So now hosts of people, from what I heard,
led their dear teacher to the vessel’s prow,
heroes dejected in mind. For many there
the thoughts were welling up hot in heart.

1710 They then at sea’s headland brought
aboard his wave-file no sluggish fellow;
stood then on shore weeping in his memory
for as long on the wave as the joy of princes
over the seal-paths they still could see,
and then fell to worshipping the Owner of Glory,
called out in their crowd, and thus spoke:
‘There is One God Eternal of All Creation!
His might and His power over middle world
are blessed in renown and His brilliance over all
in heavenly majesty shines upon the saints,
dazzling in glory to endure for all time,
with angels for ever; that is a Noble King!’
List of Emendations

To show the reader the instability of the text of *Andreas*, we have placed Brooks’ emendations to the poem’s many garbled MS forms, ahead of a column with G. P. Krapp’s own emendations, upon which Brooks also relied. The reader may thus compare Brooks’ and Krapp’s readings with our text in order to assess the value of any changes which have been made.

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1154. freod  freond  freod
1180. gwyrrhtum  gwyrrhtum  gwyrrhtum
1180. wæppnes  nothing in MS  wæppnes
1181. eadorgeard  eadorgeard  eadorgeard
1186. wæst  wæst  wæst
1191. on  nothing in MS  on
1193. satan  sata  satan
1194. æ  a  a
1225. sec  sec  sec
1230. teon ðragmælum  ðragmælum teon  ðragmælum teon
1233. stærcedferþþe  stærcedferþþe  stærcedferþþe
1241. haton  hat of  hatan
1242. untweonde  untweonde  untweonde
1246. sigelþorht  sigelþorht  sigelþorht
1253. þa  þa  þa
1282. wæst  wæst  wæst
1291. gescyldend  gescylded  gescyldend
1317. hwær  hwæt  hwæt
1331. attre  attre  attre
1337. rode  rade  rode
1345. him þa  h (im þa not in MS)  him þa
1377. niedum  medium  niedum
1404. leóðu  leóð  leóðu
1430. hleoðrode  hleoðrode  hleoðrode
1443. lices  lic  lic
1456. sigel  sægl  sægl
1457. wadu  waðu  waðu
1468. sar  sas  sar
1472. alysed  alysdale  alysed
1474. lice  lic  lice
1478. hwæt  h[w]æt  hwæt
1491. hilda  hildra  hilda
1492. fæste  fæstne  fæste
1493. sælwage  sælwange  sælwage
1496. modrofe  modrofe  modrofe
1508. geofon  heofon  geofon
1516. Iosua  Iosau  Iosua
1528. searuhebbende  searuhebbende  searuhebbende
1532. sealtes swelg  sealtes sweg  sealte sweg
1545. wadu  waðu  waðu
1549. galen  galen  galon
1562. her  nothing in MS  her
1571. maegen  nothing in MS  maegen
1579. weard  nothing in MS  wæs
1585. geofon  heofon  geofon
1597. wifa  nothing in MS  wifa
1604. ær  nothing in MS  not in Krapp
1619. ne  nothing in MS  ne
1622. ræswan  ræswum  ræswan
1642. eallhstadas  eolhstadas  eolhstadas
1647. se  sio  se
1653. hie  he  hie
1658. faroðe  foroðe  faroðe
1659. weorc  weor  weorc
1664. is  his  is
1666. wop  sop  wop
1667. me  nothing in MS  not in Krapp
1704. syðdan  nothing in MS – or error?  Syðdan
1721. aeldre  ealdre  ealdre
Commentary

1-3 The opening resembles that of The Fates of the Apostles, as well as Beowulf 1-3 (Hwæt, wē Gār-Dena in geārdagum ... þrym gefrūnon etc ‘Listen, we have heard of the glory ... of the Spear-Danes in days of yore’); also that of Exodus 1-7 (Hwæt, wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habbað ofer middangeard Mōyses dōmas etc ‘Listen, we both far and near have heard of Moses’ judgements in the Middle World’); less closely, Cynewulf’s Juliana 1-8 (Hwæt, wē ðæt hȳrdon hæleð eahtian, dēman dǣdhwæte etc, ‘Listen, we heard heroes deliberate, deed-keen men judge’). This ‘we have heard’ style is rarer than the apparently personal hwæt-opening of shorter poems such as Vainglory 1-2 (Hwæt, mē frōd wita on fyrndagum sægde, snottor ār, sundowundra fela! ‘Listen, a wise man learned in ancient days, a clever herald, told me many exceptional miracles!’). With its socially inclusive opening, Andreas starts off self-consciously as an epic.

4 cam<p>rǣdenne ‘in combat engagement’. Attested only here. The reading with p is consistent with the scribe’s omission of letters in more common words in the Vercelli Book (see Introduction, pp. §§-$$). The dative compound wīgrǣdenne, also on the a-line, describes Waldere’s unequal fight with an ambush party in the Vosges, in Waldere I 22. Simplex camp (variant comp) denotes a literal ‘battlefield’ in Brunanburh 8 and Judith 200; a figurative one in Andreas 234. The meaning of cam<p>rǣdenne is also figurative, although the opening context already shows the poet’s tendency to make his metaphors real. Until line 6, in which the soldiers’ commander is given as heofona hēahcyning ‘High-King of Heaven’, there is a vividly heroic typology which treats the twelve Apostles as the dispersed but still fighting remnants of a platoon.

6 <h>lyt getǣhte ‘showed by lot’. The apostles’ lot-casting accords with all prose analogues of Andreas of which the beginning is preserved. Although lots are redolent also of Germanic and other paganism, as Brooks shows (1961: 61), the verb which contains the divine agent of revelation, both here and with hlyt getēode ‘did fashion the lot’ on line 14, distinguishes this lot-casting from the Mermedonians’ predatory taan ‘lot-twig’ on line 1099.

11 on meotudwange ‘on the plain of doom’. This unique compound appears to represent the primary meaning of OE me(o)utwæt, ‘fate, destiny, doom’, with the secondary understanding that the Meotud ‘Measurer’ who has dispersed the Apostles also decides the time and place of each man’s passing. Compare dēadwang ‘plain of death’ on line 1003.

15 ūt on ðæt īgland ‘out to that land by water’. See n. 28.

19 mearcland ‘border country’. ‘District’ is the prosaic meaning of this compound in a tenth-century charter (Sawyer 1968: 840, § 4, line 4), and it seems likely that this word helps to render Latin provincia ‘province’, by which Mermedonia is introduced to us in the Casanatensis (ch. 1). However, the earlier denotation of mearc is ‘forest’, hence ‘uncultivated land’. This meaning prevails in Old Icelandic, in which, according to the thirteenth-century witness of the Vinland sagas, Markland was the name given to a New-World coast because of its woods (probably Labrador in c.
The word mearcland reappears closer to this sense on line 802, as a term for the empty country around Mamre. In the northern landscape, however, water is never far away: in Riddle 3 (solution possibly ‘wind’) 22, the word mearcland ‘borderland’, connotes country which borders the sea; and in Guthlac (A) 174, mearclond encapsulates the fenland wilderness near Crowland which is occupied by St Guthlac. The poet of Guthlac A describes this as bimþen ‘hidden’ and dygel ‘secret’ on lines 147 and 159. In all, then, mearclond connotes not only a provincia of the devolved Roman Empire, but also a liminal territory filled with formerly human monsters. Andrew himself calls Mermedonia ælmyrcna ēðelrīce ‘homeland of strange border-dwellers’ on line 432.

21 hæleða ēðel ‘homeland of heroes’. This term is unduly positive for the Mermedonia as the poet has described it, but it may represent the country in an earlier incarnation, or may anticipate the disturbing way in which Mermedonia begins to resemble the Danish kingdom of Beowulf (see Introduction, p. $$).

21-22 Both Andreas and the Old English homily in Blickling XVIII (and CCCC, MS 198) indicate that the Mermedonians eat flesh and drink blood, rather than bread and water, whereas the Praxeis contrasts bread and wine. In this the Praxeis, which represents the oldest version, is probably truer to the antique reality of drinking diluted wine daily as an insurance against dysentery. The later sources are acclimatized to a society in which wine is rare. A secondary meaning, however, is that the Mermedonian pagans practice an anti-eucharist which is reversed when they convert to Christianity and eat the body of Christ instead (Wilcox 2003: 210, 215-16). Boenig suggests that Andreas here reflects a controversy in the mid-ninth century between the monks Ratramnan and Paschasius Radbertus over whether to endorse respectively either a figural or a literal interpretation of Christ’s eucharistic flesh and blood (1980: 320; 1991b: 56-62).

23 ah ‘so’. For ac: the h-spelling indicates an Anglian origin for the poem, as with ach on line 1592 (Fulk 1992, § 353 (10)). Brooks (1961: 81), treating ah as an untranslatable particle, compares this interrogative use of the conjunction ac (DOE, sv. ac, H.1) with Hygelac’s question to Beowulf in Beowulf 1990-91: Ac dā Hröðgāre / wīdcūðne wēan wihtē bētest ‘Did you you cure Hrothgar’s widely famed woe in any way?’. Fulk also treats the latter adverb as an approximation of the Latin interrogative particle num ‘surely’ (1992, § 355), which works here if we render ēnigne on line 570 as ‘some’ rather than ‘any’.

25 Swelc wæs þēaw hira ‘Such was their custom’. This phrase, a consecutive or noun clause (Mitchell 1985: § 2855) for which the analogues give no likeness, seems likely to be the poet’s first overt allusion to Beowulf, to the identical half-line within swylc wæs þēaw hyra, / hēpenra hyht ‘such was their custom, hope of heathen men’ in its lines 178-79. The Mermedonians resemble the Danes in that both tribes worship the devil. Brooks’ statement about Beowulf that ‘the Danes are said to forsake Christianity’, when they turn to heathen rites, shows the success of the Beowulf-poet’s apology for heathens in later years (1961: 62).

28 þæt ēaland ‘land by the water’. Mermedonia is also made a destination in ût on þæt ðegland on line 15. All analogues of Andreas put the city on or near a shore
without stating the land to be an island. In support of this is Andrew’s apparent belief, in wesga ofer wīdland ‘ways over open country’ (line 198), that there is a land-route to Mermedonia. Other examples of OE ēaland mean ‘land by water’. In one, Beowulf describes King Beowulf’s hall, once the dragon has destroyed it, as ēalond, in apposition to lēoda fæsten ‘people’s fastness’ and eordweard ‘earth-fort’ on lines 2333-34. This instance (if the hall is not built on an island, or if the full half-line is not emended to eal ond ūtan ‘totally and from all around’) seems to mea n ‘land by the river’ or ‘land by the sea’. John 6:28 in the tenth-century Rushworth gospels is glossed ōðre sōðlīce ofer cōmon sciopu of ðǣm ēalonde nēh ðǣre stōwe ‘other ships indeed came over to the vicinity of that place from the country around the river [Tiber]’ over alia vero superuenerunt naues á tiberiade iuxta locum (Skeat 1877: 23). The study of English place-names supports ‘land by / over the water’ for OE ēaland, which has been interpreted as ‘newly cultivated land by a river’ (OE ēa ‘river’). Mermedonia fits this description. The towns Elland, by the river Calder in Yorkshire’s West Riding, and Ealand, by the river Trent in North Lincolnshire, are both inland, albeit Ealand was founded on the previously fen-enclosed Isle of Axholme. There is a similar naming in Brookland and Ponteland (Gelling 1984: 21 and 248-49).

The word īgland means ‘island’ although īgland is also a standard misspelling for ēaland. The word īglond varies īeg ‘isle’ in Wulf 4 and is fenne biworpen ‘enclosed by fen’ on line 5. In place-names, OE īglond means an ‘island’ proper: Nayland in Dorset and Nyland in Suffolk, which both acquired the n- from the ME phrase atten eiland(e) ‘at the island’, ‘are islands in the modern sense’ (ibid. 1984: 40); and OE īg or ī(e)g ‘most frequently refers to dry ground surrounded by marsh when it occurs in ancient settlement-names’ and ‘islands in the modern sense’ in later names (ibid. 1984: 34-35). As for MS igland ‘island’ in Andreas 15, there is an early confusion between spellings in these two words in the manuscripts of the WS version of Bede’s Historia ecclesiastica, where insula ‘island’, the term for Albion or Britain, is rendered ēalond as well as īglond (Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 14-15 (I.1); Miller 1890: 24.29). In Whale 12, where a whale looks like an ēalond ‘island’ to seafarers, the converse error may be seen. In these ways, it seems likely that īgland has been erroneously written for ealand on line 15 of Andreas. Brooks pragmatically suggests ‘land beyond the water’ for both īgland and ēaland in Andreas 15 and 28 (1961: 62). The riverine contexts of OE ēa, however, make ‘by the water’ preferable. Mermedonia does not appear to be on an island in Andreas.

30 unlǣdra eafoð ‘violence of the wretched’, literally ‘of the misguided’. In the plural, also in unlǣdra eaweðum ‘the violence of unhappy men’ on line 142. On unlǣd, see also n. 744. The noun eafoð correlates with se lēodhete ‘that violence’ of the Meredonian assembly on line 1138. Despite its moral negativity in Andreas, eafoð is a regular term for the physicality of warlike prowess in Beowulf, in which it occurs eight times (lines, 602, 902 (emended from MS earfoð), 960, 1466, 1717, 1763, 2349 and 2534). If Clemoes is right that OE eafoð fell into disuse (1995: 69-72, esp. 71), its relative rarity in Andreas is a sign that the poem may be later and more modern in attitude.

32 āgēt<on> on ‘would dispatch’. Spears also figure in the Meredonians’ hope of dispatching Andrew later, with gārum āgētan ‘to gut with spears’ on line 1143. In battle, dead Vikings are gārum āgēted ‘gutted with spears’ in Brunanburh 18; sumne sceal gār āgētan ‘a spear shall gut one man’ in Fortunes 16; and the verb āgētan also
means ‘to mine’ a precious metal from the earth in *Riddle* 83.7. As a simplex, OE *gētan* ‘to sacrifice’ describes part of the death which King Ongentheow promises the Geats besieged in Raven’s Wood, in *Beowulf* 2940. This verb *gētan* ‘to make pour’ is the causative of *gēotan* ‘to pour’; the preterite *gēat* ‘poured out’ is used of martyrs’ blood in the emperor’s execution of Christians in *Juliana* 6. As *gār* ‘spear’ is alliteratively associated with *āgētan*, a ritual element may be implied in the way the Mermedonian Heathens attack their victims.

41 *ceastre* ‘city’. The poet uses both *byrig* and *ceastre* to identify Mermedonia. *Ceastre* is used to gloss Roman pl. *castra* ‘encampment’, but *byrig* suggests that the intended meaning is not ‘encampment’, but ‘fortress’, which is the sense implied by place-names ending in *caster* and *chester* (< Latin *castrum* ‘fortress’). The extent to which the early English would have recognized the difference between different types of ruinous Roman settlements and their original function is questionable. However, they may have retained the ‘fortress’ meaning through place-names. *Andreas* contains one of the highest concentrations of *ceastre* in the poetic corpus, and in *Elene*, later in the Vercelli Book, *ceastre* describes both Jerusalem (lines 274, 384, 845) and all the other cities under Constantine’s power (line 972). Mermedonia is later described as a walled town, with gates, towers, and a multitude of city buildings (lines 829-42), giving the impression that it would have been associated by an English audience with Roman settlements in Britain. Settlement within these intramural places was on a very limited scale between the end of Roman occupation and the tenth century. See further discussion in the Introduction (pp. $\$-$\$).

42 *hlōð* ‘gang’. OE f. *hlōð*, meaning both ‘booty, prize’ and ‘gang in search of a prize’, is also found on lines 992, 1389 and 1543, in all cases describing Mermedonians. OE *hlōð*, which is not found in *Beowulf*, is a highly negative term. In Anglo-Saxon law it connotes a grave breach of public order. In *Ine’s Laws* (13, 1), originally from the period 688-95, *hlōð* denotes a group of robbers more than seven and no more than 35; six or fewer robbers are *dēofas* ‘thieves’ while 36 or more constitute a *here* ‘raiding band’ (Liebermann 1, 1906: 94). In Alfred’s Laws (31, 1), from his code of c. 892, a *hlōð* is a band of feuding men who are all liable either to swear one oath denying involvement in a man’s death or to pay a common fine to the king (‘Schaar, die ei Privatfehde verübt’; *ibid.*: 64). According to an appendix to the code agreed between Alfred and Guthrum (2, 3), in the *Quadrupartitus*, which remained in use until the Norman Conquest, *qui de hlōð fuerit accusatus, abnegat per cxx hidas vel sic emendet* ‘whoever might be accused of *hlōð* will offer a surety of 120 hides and clear himself thus’ (*ibid.*: 394). In poetry, this word varies *weorud* ‘host’ for the ‘band’ of God’s elect in the Harrowing of Hell in *Christ* III 1162, although, since Christ gains forced entry into hell in order to free them, ‘booty’ may be the meaning in line with the primary sense. In its commoner meaning, plural *hlōde* describes the ‘gangs’ of fiends which torment the saint hoping to steal his soul, in the fens in *Guthlac* (B) 896 and 915; later St Guthlac says that he does not fear *herehlōde helle þegna* ‘the plundering gangs of hell’s thanes’ in line 1069. In *Cynewulf’s Juliana* there is a maritime aspect: on line 676, *secga hlōfe* ‘gangs of men’ refers to warriors of the pagan judge Eliseus who die at sea. In prose, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) tells us that a *hlōp wīçenga* for ‘a gang of Vikings’ gathered tribute in 879 (Bately 1986: 51); similarly, in the WS *Orosius* (III.vii), which some would associate with the reign of Alfred (871-99), King Philip of Macedon musters *hlōde* in order to sack Greek towns (Bately 1980: 64). The lack of this word in *Beowulf*, a long
poem with many war-bands, is worth noting, although whether this is due to its negativity, or to the likelihood that Beowulf predates the Viking raids, is unclear. If Andreas itself was composed in the period of these references in the Chronicle and the WS Orosius, its use of OE hlōð characterises the Mermedonians as Vikings in search of captives.

43 dryas ‘wizards’. OE dry, which appears to represent an early loan from OI drui ‘druid, sorcerer’ (Holder 1896: 1322 (sv. drūïd); see also Ó Dónaill and de Bhal draithe, 1977, sv. draoi ‘druid, wizard, trickster’), glosses magus ‘magician’ in MS Cotton Julius A.ii (s. xi; WW, 313.4); and through (gen. pl.) magorum, the same in the glosses to the early eleventh century Brussels manuscript of Aldhelm’s De laudibus virginitatis (Goossens 1974: 403.3907). In Juliana, Satan confesses that he made Simon Magus accuse the disciples of witchcraft: hospe gerahte / þurh dēope gedwolan, sægde hȳ dryas wǣron ‘with blasphemy he addressed them in deep heresy, said they were wizards’ (lines 300-01). The metre of this instance is evidence that the stem-vowel of dryas is short (Hogg and Fulk 2011: § 6.153).

43-44 þegn<as> / geāscodon ‘thane<s> found out’. Scribal error, as in MS wis for wīsa on line 843 and leoð for leoðu on line 1404. It seems unnecessary to correct this, as Schaar does (1949: 56), by emending the verb to geāscode.

57 carcerne ‘prison’. This building is the hub of town activity in Andreas; it is also the only place in Mermedonia which is described in any detail. The readiest datable vernacular instance of this Latin word is extant in Alfred’s Laws (1, 2) from c. 890: on carcerne on cyninges tūne ‘in prison in the king’s vill’ (Liebermann, I, 1906: 48). It is also used of Judas’s prison in Elene 715, Juliana’s in Juliana 233, 236, and Hell in Christ 735 and Christ and Satan 488. See OE burgloca in n. 940.

51 ābrēoton mid billes ecge; hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt ‘with sword’s blade destroyed; yet still in his breast’. Apparently the poet’s first hypermetric line (Brooks 1961: xlii), with the use of ābrēoton to supplement the A-type billes ecge and with the additional syllables created by hwæðre hē in the b-line. If we match the metre with the meaning, the hypermetric extension emphasizes a contrast between destruction and resistance which is consistent with a celebration of Matthew’s spirit.

63-87 Matthew’s speech, the first in the poem, is at first a cri de cœur, as in the analogues, but then becomes calmer. This change in mood is made clear through the formality of the syntax of lines 68 onwards, in which ten epithets for the Deity in almost as many lines break the flow of two relatively complex subordinating sentences.

71 wǣrlogan ‘breakers of faith’. This word, a term for treaty-breakers or apostates, describes not only the Mermedonians both here and on line 108, but also the devils in Jerusalem on line 613 and apparently Satan himself on line 1297 (in Middle English warlowe means ‘monster’). In Genesis 36, the devils gain this name by apostatizing from heaven; both the people before the Flood and the men of Sodom are similarly wǣrlogan in Genesis 1266 and 2411 respectively. In Andreas it seems that the Mermedonian heathens have become monsters by associating with devils who have helped them break faith with their earlier laws. On ‘apostate’ as the meaning of OE frǣte, see n. 571a.
78 burh ‘town’. OE burg has a very wide range of possible meanings, all including a sense of ‘defensible place’. It is applicable to a variety of fortifications, enclosures, fortresses, homesteads, towns, cities (DOE, sv.). The Meredonian burh should be understood specifically as a walled settlement of Roman construction, with towers and gates, of the kind described in The Ruin. This is how the city is described later in the poem (lines 829-42; see ceastre in n. 41). See further Introduction (pp. $$-$-$).

81 Ic tō ānum þē ‘I on You alone’. The juxtaposition of pronouns in one half-line with postponed verb conveys the intimacy of a relationship. The Lord replies in the same way, with ‘Ic þē, Māthēus’ ‘I to you, Matthew’ on line 97. There is a similar effect in ‘Ic dē, frymða god’ ‘I to Thee, God of Creation’ in the opening of Judith’s prayer in Judith 83; and in Beowulf’s words ‘Ic þē nū ðā’ ‘I now to you then’ to Hrothgar in Beowulf 426.

86 wrōhtsmiðum ‘artesans of crime’. This word is attested elsewhere only in Guthlac (B) 905, for the devils who wōp āhōfun ‘raised up a wail’ in order to torment St Guthlac in Crowland.

88 Æfter pyssum wordum cōm l wuldres tācen ‘after these words came a sign of glory’. The caesura is here placed after cōm in keeping with Brooks’ prosody on this line, in contrast to that of Krapp, whose caesura precedes it (1932: 5). In any case, as Orton notes (1999: 294, n. 21), Krapp later places the caesura after cōm with the same formula on line 1219 (n.). This punctuation cannot repair the opening formula’s breach of Kuhn’s Law of Clause Openings, but it leaves the prosody of the b-line in a regular state. See Introduction, p. $$.

90 þār geċỳded wearð ‘where it was revealed’. Krapp takes this half-line to begin a new sentence (1932: 5); Brooks, a new clause after a punctus versus (1961: 3). However, Donoghue shows that the above supine-auxiliary word-order in line 90b gives us a clause which depends on the earlier clause with cōm wuldres tācn: ‘The holy symbol, after all, is the means by which God signals his help’ (1987: 66). The same word-order determines Donoghue’s punctuation, which we follow, of lines 183 (n.) and 369b-70a (n.).

91 helpe gefremede ‘had extended help’. Brooks translates the verb as a preterite subjunctive, ‘would provide’, suggesting that the poet, like the author of the Casanatensis, forgets to tell us that Matthew’s sight is restored (1961: 66). That becomes clear when a bright light is gecỳded ‘revealed’ to Matthew on line 90. The Casanatensis (towards the end of ch. 3) no more than implies that Matthew’s eyes are back in their sockets when the saint shuts them in front of his jailers, ne quis ex ipsis agnosceret eum apertos oculos habere ‘lest any of them would know that he had his eyes open’ (Blatt, 1930: 37). The poet of Andreas neglects to include Matthew’s manoeuvre in the corresponding place (lines 143-46). However, he tells us that the Lord offers Matthew hālo ‘health’ later, in lines 96-97, and he may have signalled the cure already with the noun help. On line 426, Andrew, without knowing his interlocutor is God, says that God may easily helpe gefremman ‘provide help’ for ship’s passengers who are seasick. This phrase appears in similar choppy waters in The Wanderer 16, anticipating the construction þā bōte cunnan gefremman ‘know how to advance the cure’ in line 113-14 of that poem. In Bede’s Historia ecclesiastica
(c. 734), it is said that a terminally ill Mercian thane, owning up to his sins but despairing of them, told his king Cenred (ruled 704-16) not to urge him to repent: Non mihi aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre ‘You cannot confer any benefit or health on me beyond this time’ (V.13; Colgrave and Mynors, 1991: 500-01); in the Mercian-WS version, this is ne meahh dū mē nū ofer ðisne dæg ānige helpe ne gēoce gefremman ‘you cannot extend any help or aid to me now after this day’ (V. 14; Miller 1890: 438.16-17). Although OE gēoc can mean ‘physical safety’ (DOE, sv. 1), the use of just OE help on line 91 of Andreas may imply that Matthew’s sight is restored.

95 under hearmllocan ‘in locker of harm’. Andrew later prays to the Lord for help on arrival in þām hearmllocan ‘in the locker of harm’ on line 1029. As the preposition under makes clear, this prison is a chamber partly underground. In Cynwulf’s Elene 695, the Jewish elder Judas finds himself languishing under hearmllocan until seeing the error of his ways on the seventh day. Judas’ cell is described as drygne sead ‘a dry pit’ in which the forces of good confine him until he helps Empress Helena find the True Cross in Jerusalem.

98 Ne bēo dū on sefan tō forht ‘be not in heart too fearful’. Mitchell argues that tō does not indicate excess here, but means ‘at all’ (1985: §§ 1142-43), but the Lord still wants His people to have some fear.

99 ic þē mid wunige ‘I will remain with you’. As in the Casanatensis (ch. 3), where He says Ego enim tecum sum ‘for I am with you’ (Blatt 1930: 35), the poet alludes to the Lord’s words in Matt 28: 20 (see Boenig 1991a: 28-39). In the matching place in the Praxeis this allusion is not present, probably because earlier version of this story gave the jailed saint as Matthias, not Matthew (see Introduction, p. $§$).

107 Geþola þēoda þrēa ‘Suffer this people’s oppression’. The people here, as Brooks points out, are probably Matthew’s fellow captives, not the Mermedonian jailers (1961: 66). On the imperious effect of the (Type B) metre of this line, see n. 1441.

113 tælmet hwīle ‘measure of time’. This word has a near relative in the unique tælmearc ‘measured time’, by which the poet of Guthlac (B) 877 places some saints’ lives in recent memory. In Stiles’ view, the poet’s creation of the unique compound tælmet ‘alerts the audience to the practical matter of how many days Matthew must endure his imprisonment’ (2002: 39).

124 lēorde ‘departed’. Also on line 1042. In WS dialect one would expect the preterite gewāt. The verb lēoran, regarded as specific to Anglian dialects (Fulk 1992: § 367; Campbell, §§ 293, 764), is commoner in prose than in verse, occurring also in Guthlac (A) 726 (oferlēordun ‘passed over’), the Menologium 208 (gelēorde ‘passed on’, as the fourth stressed and so non-alliterating word in the line), and The Seasons for Fasting 101 (lēordun ‘spent’), Resignation 31 (lēorendum dagum ‘in passing days’) and 45 (mec lēoran lǣt ‘let me pass on’). The last instance is two lines on from unfyr<n> faca ‘without delay’, which appears to be a Mercian phrase (see n. 1371). Sisam points out the rarity, implying that this verb might better have been found in Beowulf too (1953: 128-29), but its use nonetheless helps to locate the poet of Andreas in Mercia (Mertens-Fonck 1969: 196-98 L9; Fulk 1992, § 367).
125 dægredwōma ‘tumult of dawn’. Not attested elsewhere, although dægwōma is found in Exodus 344, Guthlac (B) 1218; and dægrǣd ‘dawn’ in Ælfric’s Colloquy (Garmonsway 1978: 20.23). The wōma-suffix, cognate with Olcē Ómi (‘howling’, a name for Óðinn), is also in hildewōma ‘tumult in battle’ in Andreas 218. With his finer dawn-compound, the poet makes the air quicken as the Mermedo Nians pile into the jail.

131 wīc ‘abode’. Also on line 1310. OE wīc, an early loan from Latin vīcus, had a very wide range of meanings in Anglo-Saxon England, where it was applied to a number of sites including villages, hamlets, farms, dairy farms, salt manufacturing sites (e.g. Droitwich), as well as to larger towns and ports such as Lundēnwīc (west of the City) and Hamwīc (Southampton). In less specific terms, it is also often used in Old English poetry to indicate a dwelling place, as it does here as well as in Genesis, where it appears more than twenty times to describe heaven (line 27), earth (line 928), the city of Enoch (line 1051), and Abraham’s homestead (line 1721). This is broadly the case throughout the poetic corpus, with a few exceptions.

134 on rūne ‘in runes’. OE rūn ‘secret, secret conclave, secret letter, rune’ has a range of meaning broader than might first appear. The tablet which the Praxeis puts in each victim’s hand (see n. 157) is transformed into a sign of occult practises, although the victims have to understand the symbols which mark their remaining number of days. The poet could have used the Latin (or Greek) bōcstafas ‘book-letters’ here to fit the Roman numeral system. The message on Constantine’s visionary cross is bōcstafum āwritten ‘written down in book-letters’ appropriately enough for a Roman emperor in Elene 91. With runes, however, the poet of Andreas chooses to make his Mermedonians into Germanic heathens such as the Danes, whose king can probably read the rūnstafas on the hilt of Grendel’s Mother’s sword in Beowulf 1695.

139 rāesboran rihtes ne gīmdon ‘counsellors heeded not law’. The Lord is called rāesbora ‘Counsellor’ also in Andreas 385, as Abraham is in Genesis (A) 1811. The poet of Andreas is keen to point up a dereliction of duty in Mermedonian judges. The Casanatensis, but not the Praxeis, puts judges among them here, in judicibus suis preparabat carnēs eorum ad manducandum, et sanguis eorum ut potum at bibendum ‘with their judges they prepared the meat for their eating, and the blood of these people as a draught for their drinking’ (Blatt 1935: 37). Boenig’s phrase ‘to their judgement’ (1991a: 29) for judicibus suis removes the officials, bringing the Casanatensis into line with the Praxeis. However, the use of iudices ‘judges’ in this part of the Casanatensis adapts οἱ δήμιοι ‘the judges’ from later on in its Greek source (ch. 23; Bonnet 1959: 99).

142 unlǣdra eauződum ‘the violence of unhappy men’. See n. 30.

149 welwulfas ‘wolves of slaughter’. The analogues give no such term for Mermedonians here, although the Casanatensis calls them carnifices ‘butchers’ (ch. 3), which the poet may render with welgrǣdige ‘the carnivorous’ on line 135. Later in the Praxeis, however, when Matthew rebukes Andrew for wondering how he allowed himself to be captured, he asks him if he did not hear the Lord say Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρὸβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων ‘Behold, I send you forth as flocks of sheep in the midst of wolves’ (ch. 19; from Matt 10: 16, Luke 10: 3). In the Casanatensis, this is more succinctly ecce vos sicut oves in medio luporum (ch. 19;
Blatt 1930: 69). The only other recorded instance of OE wælwulf is in Maldon 96: wōdon þā wælwulfas, for wetere ne murnon ‘wolves of slaughter then waded, did not care about the water’. See Introduction, p. $$.

150 bānhringas ‘bone-rings’. Also in Beowulf 1567, as well as with brecan ‘to break’, for the vertebrae of Grendel’s Mother. Its use here in the description of the sharing out of flesh serves as a grim parody of the distribution of rings and other treasures at a feast.

154 feorh ne bemurndan ‘they cared not for his life’ etc. That is, the Mermedonians deny their victims, by eating them, that bodily resurrection of the dead which precedes their possibility of entering heaven.

157 ping gehēdon ‘they set a date’. On the idiom, see n. 930. Though he cites runic symbols for the marking of time (n. 134), the poet removes mention of the tablets which the victims hold in their hands; as does the Anglo-Saxon homilist, who leaves out symbols altogether. The full process may be seen in the main analogues. In the Praxeis: Ἐπειδή τάσα ἄνθρωπον, ὅν κατείχον, ἐσημειοῦν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην, ἐν ἕκατερον αὐτόν, καὶ προσέδευσαν τὴ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιῷ τάβλαιν, ἵνα γνῶσα τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ‘for every man they caught, they would indicate the very day on which they had caught him, and would bind a tablet to his right hand so that they would know the completion of thirty days’ (ch. 3; Bonnet 1959: 68). In the Casanatensis, there is more detail: et tenentes unusquisque tabula in manu sua, quas iniquissimi et crudeles carnifices in eorum manibus dederant cum eos retrudebant, erat namque per singula tabula scriptum numerum dierum triginta, et cotidie introiebant carnifices illi ad eos in eadem carcere, et tabulas illas scripturas contemplabantur ‘and each one was holding on to a tablet in his right hand, tablets which the most wicked and cruel butchers had given into their hands when they arrested them, for also there was written on each tablet the number of thirty days, and each day those butchers would come in for them in the same prison and would study the tablets’ (ch. 3; Blatt 1930: 37).

166–67 This is the first of the poet’s comparisons in work and hardships between Jesus and the apostles, formerly his disciples.

171 cinebaldatm ‘to the man bold by kin’. MS cirebaldatm ‘to the man bold in his choice’ is an alternative, but compounds with cyre ‘choice’ are limited to two, both terms of law: cyreāþ (variant scyreaþ) ‘selected oath sworn by the accused’ (Dunsæteland 6, 2 (? c. 935); Liebermann, ed., I, 1906: 378; II.1: 1913: 45); and cyrelīf ‘dependence on a chosen lord’ (Old English version of Chrodegang of Metz, Canonical Rule) or ‘man dependent on a chosen lord’ (King Alfred’s Will). As many as 35 compounds with cyne-survive, additional to the unique *cynbeald, which is accepted by Brooks (1961:69). The stem’s variant spelling is paralleled in cining for cyning on line 912. As regards a plausible meaning of ‘bold by kin’, it is made clear in two of the gospels that Peter, the rock on whom the Roman church was founded, is Andrew’s brother (Matt 4:181-9 and Mark 1: 16-17). Peter and Andrew are Jesus’ first two disciples and among his most active apostles.

172 mōdhord onlēac ‘unlocked His mind-hoard’. See n. 316.
174 frið lǣdan ‘lead a mission’. Brooks rules out m. or n. frið ‘peace, safety’ here (1961: 69), taking frið to be ferhð ‘mind, life’ by metathesis, and chiefly on the basis of the use of feorh lǣdan on lines 282 and 430. He also argues that since ‘peace’ is nowhere else in this speech, frið with that meaning cannot be used here. ‘Mission’, however, is conceptually related and does not seem out of line with the Lord’s purpose as He reveals this in lines 973-76; and especially with His promise ic þē friðe healde ‘I will keep you safe’ initially on line 915.

175 sylfētan ‘cannibals’, literally ‘self-eaters’. Attested only here, this term is more loaded than the Greek ἀνθρωποφάγοι ‘eaters of men’.

183a ðǣr ic seomian wāt ‘where I know to be languishing’. For the syntax, see n. 90b. Krapp (1932: 8) and Brooks (1961: 6) both begin a new sentence here, thus taking Đǣr as ‘There’, but Donoghue shows that the order of infinitive followed by quasi-auxiliary determines the dependence of this clause on the one before (1987: 66).

183b sigebrōðor ‘brother in victory’. Attested only here, but comparable with other unique compounds: sigebeorn ‘victory-warrior’ of Hnaef’s defiant men in Finnsburh 39; sigecempa ‘victory champion’, of young David in PPs 50 10. On one level sigebrōðor in Andreas is a statement of heroic endeavour (‘spiritual victory in the dungeon though his faith’, in Stiles 2002: 49) or of future fact (Mermedonia will be turned). Yet this compound also contrasts with Matthew’s prison bonds in such a way as to draw ironic attention to him and Andrew as under-achievers. With similar potential mockery, Beowulf mocks the Grendel-ridden Danes as defeated by calling them Sige-Scyldingas ‘victory-Scyldings’ in his answer to Unferth’s attack in Beowulf 597; and may do so again when he calls them this in the opening to his report to king Hygelac in line 2004.

188 ellorfūsne, būtan ðū ǣr cyme ‘eager for elsewhere, but that you get there first’. Though it is potentially Matthew’s soul which is eager to leave, the poet’s juxtaposition of ellorfūs with Andrew’s desired arrival draws ironic attention to his reluctance to travel.

200 herestrǣtas ‘raiding highways’, i.e. ‘sea-routes’. Also on line 831. The truth of Andrew’s claim not to know the sea-routes is complicated by his words to the captain, on lines 489-92, that he has already made sixteen journeys on the sea (n. 490-92), but perhaps that was just the Sea of Galilee. This contradiction is probably inherited from the source, in that it is also in the Casanatensis and Praxeis (chs. 4), but in Andreas the poet adds to the issue of the saint’s not knowing the route with the word herestrǣt, which primarily means ‘(army) highways’ (see also n. 831 for the line in which this meaning is invoked). OXE herestrǣt is not found in Beowulf, but if the reference is literary, ‘raiding routes’ might allude to the assaults of Heathobards or other seaborne tribes. If the poet’s reference to seaborne armies is topical, Andrew seems to imagine the sea as filled with warships en route to battles or undefended coasts.

216 Ðū scealt þā fōre gefēran ond þīn feorh beran ‘You are to undertake this voyage, bearing your life’. This is the poem’s second hypermetric line, as noted by Brooks (1961:xlili) and there is also near end-rhyme. These elements mark the line out from
the others, drawing attention to a change of mood or direction in the Lord’s voice, from sorrow or exasperation to a decisive command.

222 on cald wæter ‘in cold water’. This emphatically repeats Andrew’s parting ofer cald wæter on line 202.

223 brecan ofer baðweg ‘plough through the bath-way’. Also found in Elene, of the empress’ journey to Jerusalem, on line 244. Where ‘ploughing’ is concerned, a creature, apparently of a bull-calf, dāna brīcēð ‘breaks the downs’ in Riddle 38 6. Olsen supports this meaning on different grounds (1998: 388-89).

228-29 The manner in which this fitt ends, with its pointed reference to mortality as a precursor to heavenly reward, suggests a wide gap in understanding between the Lord and His apostle.

238 gārsecg hlynede ‘spear-man roared’. Compare gārsecg hlymmeð ‘the spear-man roars’ on line 392. OE gārsecg glosses oceanus ‘ocean’ (a Greek-derived word which is based on the mythological figure Oceanus) in MS Cotton Cleopatra A. III (WW 154.39; 304.17; and 462.15). On OE gārsecg (also on lines 371 and 530, but not used for the flood at the end of this poem) as a common solely poetic term for ‘sea’. The folk-etymology which would recommend a straightforward ‘spear-man’ sense, for this doubtless ancient compound has a fifth-century account of sacrifices in early Saxon piracy to underpin it (North 1997: 217-21).

243-44 heofoncandel blāc / ofer lagoflōdas ‘heaven’s candle flashing over ocean floods’. The ship with Lord and angels lies offshore. As Clemoes says, ‘we are being prepared for the imminent revelation, to us but not to Andrew, about the crew’ (1995: 254).

250 on gescirplan ‘in costumes’. With -an for -um as a dative plural. This word is found only once elsewhere, in an ubi sunt sequence in Blickling Homily X (Rogation Wednesday) where it helps to express the luxury which a dead rich man no longer needs: Hwǣr bēoþ þonne his īdlan gescyrplan? Hwǣr bēoþ ðonne þā glengeas ond þā mycclan gegyrelan þe hē þon līchoman ǣr mid frætwode? ‘Where will be his proud garments? Where will be the ornaments and expensive attire with which he previously decked his body?’ (Kelly 2003: 78).

255 ðægn ‘glad’. MS frægn ‘asked’. One may deduce that the scribe, seeing the imminent question in Hwanon, fails to note the intervening reordade in his haste to get on with the speech.

259 wordhord onlēac ‘unlocked wordhoard’. See n. 316.

262 mannæ meðelhegendra ‘man among spokesmen’. Brooks suggests that this phrase is ‘best omitted in translation’ (1961: 71). Yet the participial term meðelhegend, which also sums up bishops, clerks and ealdormen on line 609 and seems to connote officials, gives the Lord the necessary aspect of disguise. See n. 607-09.

263 wið pingode ‘agreed terms’. Brooks (1961:71), who is the first to treat the words as separate, translates as ‘spoke with’ or ‘addressed’, but the meaning is contextually
larger. Root has ‘was conversing’ (1899: 9), Boenig, ‘dealt with him’ (1991a: 79). In all aspects the verb pingian covers the negotiation of terms, but with various shades of meaning. As plentiful as it is for ‘to intercede’ (on one’s own or another’s behalf), the meaning shifts with wiþ or ongēan towards ‘to settle’ or ‘agree terms’. In Juliana, a devil first wið pingade ‘stated terms’ with the saint on line 260, passing on Satan’s instruction to submit, then on line 429, when she has him pinned down, ‘pleaded’ with her with a confession of crimes in order to be released; and in Elene 76-77, the voice from heaven, telling Constantine to look upwards for the vision of the Cross that will help him win his battle, him ... wið pingode ‘stated terms to him’. With wið pingode elsewhere in Andreas, the disguised Lord first ‘did negotiate’ with Andrew on line 306, just after the apostle refuses to pay any money; and then ‘pleaded’ with him on line 632, when Andrew delays answering a question on his memory of Jesus’ works.

264 Marmedonia. The city and surrounding country are namd as Mermedonia at lines 42, 180, and as Marmedonia at lines 264, 844, 1676 (as in the Old English homily (Morris 1967: 229). An Anglo-Saxon audience may have associated the town’s stone construction with the *marmanstān ‘marble pillar’ 1498, which is the source of the flood.

269 *wære bewrecene, swā ðs wind fordrāf ‘pushed through the briny as wind drove us on’. OE n. wær ‘briny’, with its short vowel and cognate with Olce n. ver ‘fishing ground’, is also found in *wære bestemdan (for bestemdum) ‘brine-drenched’ on line 487. There are no other instances. In the earlier case, wær may be used by the Lord in a way which emulates His disguise, if we allow for a pun on OE f. wǣr ‘covenant’, a word which appears on lines 213, 535, 824 and 988. That is, the Lord means also that His covenant with man has brought them there. The pun is not only untranslatable, but may also be read as a potentially mocking reference to Andrew’s inability to guess who the ship’s captain is.

275 meord ‘reward’. This word, which occurs as meord with the same meaning in Guthlac (B) 1041 and 1086, may be miscopied, given the not uncommon confusion between d and ð in the rest of the Vercelli Book: adropen on line 1425, bedeoleð on line 309, waðu on line 1457 and wyrdəd on line 219 (Introduction, p. §§). The Vercelli prose has likewise offerswidəd in homily III, getacnoð in homily V and hlystneð in homily XIV (Scragg 1992: lx (1.D.14.ii)). However, since meord is found once in the WS translation of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History (IV.31), it seems best to leave its spelling unchanged. Hogg treats this as a variant (broken from *merd) of the commoner mēd ‘meed’, in which the r between vowel and consonant is lost (< *merd; 2011: § 3.20, 4.16; see also Campbell, §§ 123, n.2 and 146).

299 ofstlīce ‘hastily’. In context, this common adverb is more than usually expressive: Andrew has politely made clear to the ship’s captain in line 271-76 that he cannot pay him, has again asked for his miltse ‘generosity’ on line 289, and now reacts vehemently to the captain’s albeit insolently expressed demand for payment in lines 295-98.

303 landes ne locenra bēaga ‘no land, nor linked rings’. Mitchell records a problem with the mixed accusative-genitive object complement after nebbe (1985: § 3963), but defers to Schrabram, who provides parallels (1965b: 207-13). This phrase
resembles *landes ond locenra bēaga* ‘of land and linked rings’ in *Beowulf* 2995, so closely, also in respect of their place in a rare hypermetric line, that it is reasonable to classify them as a literary allusion. The larger context in *Beowulf* 2991-98, is the speech in which the Geatish Messenger’s tells of the young King Hygelac’s unparalleled generosity to his champions Wulf and Eofor. The larger context in *Andreas* 301-4, is loaded with heroic terms for treasure. This style, coming after Andrew’s earlier protestation of being unable to pay, sounds as if Andrew quotes from *Beowulf* in order to show the pitfalls of gold. See Introduction, p. $$.

306 *wið þingode* ‘did negotiate’. See n. 263.

307 *wine lēofesta* ‘my dearest friend’. The *Praxeis* has nothing of this kind, though in the Casanatensis the ship’s captain calls Andrew *frater* ‘brother’ (ch. 6; Blatt 1930: 43), whereas Andrew calls the sailors *fratres* ‘brothers’ when he opens negotiations in the Codex Vaticanus (*ibid.*, 98). As regards the captain’s English endearment, which avoids the fraternal, it is worth noting that Beowulf’s expression *wine mīn Unferð* ‘Unferth my friend’ in *Beowulf* 530, similarly tries to steady a situation which is unsettled by a provocation. This idiom shows a temper in Andrew, one which has got the better of him.

308 *sābeorgas* ‘sea-headlands’. After Hall (1989), Frank reads this compound as a Skaldic kenning for ‘sea’ such as *Haka klauf* ‘king Haki’s cliff’ (2002: 4-5), although the sea-referents are of a different type.

316 *wordhord onlēac* ‘his word-hoard unlocked’. This construction is copied with the Lord about to speak to Andrew on line 601, while *mōdhord onlēac* ‘unlocked mindhoard’ appears with the same roles on line 172. The closest parallel is where Beowulf *wordhord onlēac* ‘unlocked wordhoard’ to the Coastguard in *Beowulf* 259. Similarly, but with the revelation of choicer language implied, *wordlocan onspēon* ‘unclasped word-locker’ is how Andrew begins to praise the ship’s captain in *Andreas* 470; and the Jewish high-priest *hordlocan onspēon* ‘unclasped his hoard-locker’ preparatory to abusing Jesus on line 671. Parallels for this more particular construction are not in *Beowulf* (although here Wiglaf ‘unclasped’ Beowulf’s ‘helmet’ with *helm onspēon* on line 2723), but rather in two of Cynewulf’s poems: in *Elene*, where Constantine *hreðerlocan onspēon* ‘unclasped his mind-locker’ to the visionary angel on line 86; and in *Juliana* 79, where the virgin’s father *ferðlocan onspēon* ‘unclasped his spirit-locker’ as he prepares to vouch for her repentance to a rejected suitor.

320 *sārcwide* ‘sarcasm’. Andrew’s anger has already been noted (299, 307), but now he tries to regain the moral highground by lecturing the captain on politeness. This is fuel for regret later, when he reproaches himself bitterly for his misunderstanding in lines 900-03 and 920-24.

339 The *a*-line is hypermetric. Brooks (1961:74), though he allows that it may be so classed, with three *a*-line stresses on *ēowerne*, *āgenne* and *dōm*, decides to treat this line as Type B, with the syncopation of the first two of these words to *ēow(e)rne* and *āg(e)ne*. He suggest that a scribe has corrected *eower* (gen. of *gē*) to MS *eowerne*. The hypermetric stresses, however, emphasize Andrew’s point to the ship’s captain about the Lord’s money reaching each man according to his needs.
hygeþancol ‘you keen-witted man’. Root gives ‘with thoughtful mind’ (1899: 12), Boenig ‘with a thoughtful mind’ (1991a: 81), but this translation flattens out the irony. In its other two recorded instances OE hygeþancol connotes alertness: with the three young wise men (Hananiah, Azarias and Mishael) hearde and higeþancle ‘confident and keen-witted’ who are fetched to Babylon from Israel by Nebuchadnezzar, in Daniel 94; and in higeðoncelre, with Judith’s lady in waiting who is ‘meticulous’ enough to bring a bag for Holofernes’ head in Judith 131. Andrew, however, has spent too long explaining his vocation for poverty to use this epithet in a complimentary way. This usage contrasts with Andrew’s genuine compliment to the captain on his mental powers later in the voyage.

æfre ic ne hȳrde ‘never did I hear’ etc. The poet’s statement about the treasures on board this ship has been accused of ‘absurdity’ for the apparent clumsiness of his use of similar lines on the funeral ship of Scyld Scefing in Beowulf 38-42 (Brooks 1961: xxiv and 74). In Cherniss’ view the statement is stylistically justified because ‘heroes necessarily possess treasure’ (1972: 191). It is the word hēahgestrēonum ‘high treasures’ of Andreas 362, seems not to match the þēodgestrēonum ‘royal treasure’ of Beowulf 42, while there are no royal treasures aboard the ship in Andreas, but the poet’s metaphor becomes clear when he identifies these with the ship’s complement in the following sentence. The crew and apostles are treasures better than any golden wealth (Irving 1983: 222-23; Clemoes 1995: 255; Stiles 2002: 80-81).

þā gedrēfed wearð, / onhrǣred, hwælmere ‘when disturbed it became, / when whale-deep was stirred’, i.e. whenever the sea was rough. For the syntax, see n. 90b. Krapp (1932: 13) and Brooks (1961:12) both begin a new sentence here, taking þā to mean ‘Then’ and Brooks with the addition of a blank line between clauses. Donoghue, however, makes these clauses related, the second dependent on the first due to its auxiliary’s position after the supine: ‘Food gives them not only comfort but the strength needed for the journey ahead’ (1987: 67). In this instance the weather does not worsen until line 372b.

Hornfisc plegode ‘An orca played’. Beowulf brags of hronfixas ‘whales’ in his swimming race with Breca, in Beowulf 540. Brooks (1961:75) draws attention to a Corpus gloss horn for ballena [‘whale’], as a metathesized form of OE hron ‘whale’ (Pheifer 1974: 10.146(7) horn C; see also MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III, in WW 261 27: Ballena, vel pilina: hron). However, the playful mobility of this creature here is at odds with its size. The transparent ‘horn’ sense of the prefix to this compound in Andreas speaks for a curved shape on breaching which is consistent with a smaller cetacean such as a dolphin or porpoise. Since OE mereswīn ‘mer-swine’ denotes a dolphin, as in Ælfric’s Glossary of the 990s (delfinus: mereswyn; Lendinara 1992: 219-21, esp. 240), it appears that the poet is serious about a larger type of whale. The fisc-suffix suggests a speed greater than that of a balleen, so here ‘orca’ or killer-whale is suggested. With one word, possibly adapted from Beowulf, the poet makes his ocean menacing.

waterēgga stōd / hrēata hrīðum ‘terror of the waters stood up with the might of battalions’. There are other such personifications of natural powers in lines 443-45 (the Sea of Galilee) and 1257-58 (frost in winter). Andreas is not unique in this
license, for in Exodus 490-97 the Red Sea is personified as a swordsman, the Lord’s avenging angel, as it rears up against the Egyptians. In Exodus 491-92, egesan stōdon, / wēollon wælbenna ‘terrors arose, the wounds of slaughter welled’. In Genesis (A) Noah’s Flood is called ēgorhere ‘ocean-expedition’: both where it threatens Noah in line 1402 and where the Lord promises, as if He were a sea-king in lines 1536-38, þæt ic on middangeard / nǣfre ēgorhere eft gelǣde, / wæter ofer wīdland ‘that I will never again lead an ocean-expedition into the middle world, water over the wide lands’.

377 ēnig ne wēnde ‘not a man who did not expect’ etc. This topos is also used of the young Geatish warriors in Heorot in Beowulf 691-93, where nāenig heora þōhte ‘not one of them thought’ that he would return home from Grendel alive.

390 firigendstrēam ‘mountainous seas’. Also for the Mermedonian flood on line 1573. The faux-participial final-d spelling might suggest ‘ferrying seas’. For other compounds in firgen- ‘mountain’, see North (1997: 247-50). Firgenstrēam as ‘mountain stream’ occurs also in Beowulf 2128 and 1359 (fyr for fir), where it describes Grendel’s partially landlocked mere; as the waters in which a bird is born in Riddle 10 2; as the streams which must flow from mountains in Maxims II, 47; and as the stream in which the Phoenix bathes in Phoenix 100. Unique to fir(i)gend in Andreas is the final-d spelling and the meaning, for in both instances here it is clear that the ‘mountain’ is not the source but the qualitative aspect of the ‘stream’. The unique term fīfelwǣg ‘giant-wave’ is comparable in Elene 237. On the other hand, in a break with the tradition in the other examples, this poet or a redactor may classify or even deliberately blend firgen with feri(g)ende, the present participle of feri(ge)an ‘to convey, transport’.

392 gārsecg hlymmeð ‘the spear-man roars’. See n. 238.

405-414 Hwider hweorfað wē hlāfordlēase ‘Where will we turn without a lord’ etc. A rare glimpse into the mind of Andrew’s disciples. Unlike their counterparts in the analogues, they fear social as well as spiritual dishonour. At the end of ch. 7 in the Mediterranean analogues, Andrew’s disciples give as their principal motive for staying the fear of losing what they have learned. In the Praxeis: ‘Εὰν ἄποστομεν ἄπο σοι, ξένοι γενώμεθα τῶν ἁγιῶν ἃν παρέσχεν ἡμῖν κύριος. νῦν οὖν μετὰ σοι έσμεν ὅποι ὅπων πορεύμεθα ‘if we separate from you, we may become strangers to the good things which the Lord gave us. So now we are with you wherever you go’ (Bonnet, 1959: 74). In the Praxeis the ship’s captain casts off only now. In the Casanatensis, where the ship is standing off: si necesserimus a te ut exteri efficiamur de omnia, quad nos docuist, nichil nobiscum permanent, sed ubique tu nobis eris sive (in) vitam sive (in) mortem, non te deserimus ‘if we are forced to leave you so that we become strangers to everything you have taught us, nothing will remain to us, but as for us, wherever you are in life or death, we shall not desert you’ (Blatt 1930: 47). In Blickling Homily XVIII: ‘Gif wē gewītaþ fram þē, þonne bēo wē fremde from eallum þām gōdum þe þū ūs gegeanwodest; ac wē bēop mid þē swā hwyrde swā þū færest’ ‘If we go from you, then we will be strangers to all the good things which you prepared for us. So we will be with you wherever you go’ (Morris 1967: 233; also Kelly, 2003: 160). The poet of Andreas extends the sense of exterī (based on ζένοι and copied by the homilist in fremde ‘strangers’) in order to indulge in a rhapsody on exile. These words seem to underlie lāðe ‘hated’, the disciples’ term for themselves on line 408, and the lines on alienation and on the public comparison of warlike
prowess take us more into the territory of *The Wanderer* 22-29. In Cherniss’ view, the concepts of heroic loyalty in battle and exile ‘seem incongruous here since Andrew’s followers are not really warriors’ (1972: 188). However, the war against the devil is the basis for a standing battlefield conceit for holy endeavour, and Andrew’s men are no exception.

406 **gőde orfeorme** ‘drained of benefit’. OE *orfeorme*, literally ‘cut off from supply’ or ‘not to be maintained’ refers to *cyninges feorm*, the institution of supply and provender for visiting or residing kings and retinues (as in Alfred’s Law, 2: Liebermann, I, 1906: 48 ‘Königsbeköstigung’). The image of destitution in the *or-* prefix eventually gave this compound the meaning of ‘squalor’, as in *squalores: orfeormnisse*, in MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 48.7). The poet of *Andreas* later describes the Mermedonians who might go to hell unless Andrew save them, as potentially **gőde orfeorme** ‘without supply of advantage’ on line 1617. The men of dead Holofernes are so described when they see their perdition coming on in *Judith* 271. Less straightforwardly, the type of the damned sinner in *Vainglory* 49-50, is said to have a *grundfīsne gāst gode orfeormne, / wuldorcyninge* ‘abyss-bound spirit without sustenance from God, the King of glory’; although here, too, **gőde orfeormme** ‘without supply of advantage from the King of glory’ is a possible reading. Andrew’s disciples here use a term in keeping with their self-image as bodyguards.

413 **on beaduwange** ‘on the plain of battle’. Compare **on meotudwange** ‘on the plain of doom’ on line 11.

428 **wuldorspēdige weras** ‘men rich in glory’. The *Praxeis* has no such term in this part of the story (ch. 8). In the *Casanatensis* (chs. 7-8), it is Andrew who is *beatus* ‘blessed’, not his men (Blatt 1930: 47); Blickling Homily XVIII likewise calls Andrew *se hālga* ‘the saint’ at this point, without epithet for his men (Morris 1967: 233; Kelly 2003: 158). By calling Andrew’s disciples, not Andrew, glorious at this moment even while they suffer discomfort from the sea, the poet may be seen to admire them more than their master, perhaps for their innocence, perhaps because Andrew besmirched his record by hesitating to go on the mission.

432 **aelmyrcna** ‘strange border-dwellers’. Only here. See n. 19. The *ael-* prefix seems consistent with that of *elfylce* ‘foreign divisions’, potential invaders of Geatland in *Beowulf* 2371. An adjective *elmanyc* ‘all-black’ has been imagined for this compound (‘all’ as in *elfēre* ‘whole host’, in *Exodus* 66), in that Matthew, in Cynewulf’s *Fates* 63-69, is martyred by the *Sīgelware* ‘sun-dwellers’ who live in in Ethiopia; the Mermedonians might be seen to live there. However, Mermedonia is not where Matthew is martyred and is given as both a cold country and *mearclond* ‘a borderland’ on line 19. As Brooks points out, the name *Myrca rīce* ‘kingdom of Mercians’ shows that *myrce* or *mierce* ‘borderers’ was not a strange name in itself (1961: 76-77).

442a **bordstæðu** ‘ship’s walls’. Brooks notes that *strēamstæð* ‘sea-shore’ and *strēamweall* ‘sea-wall’, of Noah’s desired coast after the Flood, are fairly synonymous in *Genesis* (A) 1434 and 1494 (1961:77). As both he and Olsen (1998: 390-93) point out, OE n. *stæð* means ‘shore’: thus ‘bord-shores’ would denote the ship’s sides. Olsen regards this kenning as part of the poet’s diction, which in her view is close to Skaldic.
216 442b brun ‘dark’. MS trim ‘sea’, which is there apparently in error, cannot work with nom. yða ‘wave’ in the following line. The words brun yða ‘dark waves’ on line 519 allow for this emendation.

443-45 Compare this personification of egesa ‘terror’ with that in n. 375-76. The effect is more prolonged in this case.

447 beorht bāsnode ‘bright did abide’. Jesus waits until the right moment to show his miraculous powers. The story is from the gospels (Mk 4: 35-40; Mt 8: 23-27; Lk 8: 22-25). OE bāsnián ‘to await’, ‘to wait expectantly’, is similarly used of Andrew as he waits for more torture in his cell in line 1065, where it shows the success of his later transformation in the poet’s eyes.

450 gif his ellen dēah ‘if his courage avails’. Beowulf, in Beowulf 572-73, speaking to Unferth and the Danes for his prowess on the ocean, says Wyrd oft nereó / unfǣgene eorl ponne his ellen dēah ‘Fate will often save an undoomed gentleman when his courage avails’. In Andrew’s case the message about courage is the same, but the reference to divine power differs. Andrew can see a personal relationship with God which Beowulf cannot.

461 hālig cempa ‘the holy champion’. This epithet seems to initiate a moral recovery in Andrew, ahead of his transformation into a saint. OE cempa is found elsewhere in on lines 230, 538, 991, 1055 and 1446, but is combined with hālig only here.

470 wordlocan onspēonn ‘unclasped wordlocker’. See n. 316.

471-509 Andrew’s 39-line speech here is significantly longer than in the analogues, which make his request for teaching direct. In Andreas, in politer contrast, Andrew makes his speech winding and indirect. His words consist of reinforced alliteration in groups of four (473-76), three (479-81), one (490), and then four (495-98), four (502-05) and two (508-09) lines. The longer bursts correlate not only with seafaring imagery, but also with his enthusiasm for the captain’s steering.

475 eorl unforcūð ‘gentleman unblemished’. Later Andrew bears this epithet when he holds out against torture in nightly solitude on line 1263. Byrhtnoth declares to the Vikings that he stands as an unforcūð eorl ‘honourable gentleman’ in Maldon 51. The speaker of Riddle 63.2, who is heard and strong ‘hard and strong’, is also frēan unforcūð ‘unblemished to the lord’. Contextually in this way the adjective implies a record of untarnished courage, not of untested honour. The negative base, OE forcūð ‘depraved, vile’, is far more common, although it is found only in prose, where, for example, its superlative describes the men of Sodom in the Old English prose Genesis 13:13: Þā Sōdomītiscan men wǣron <þā> forcūðostan 7 swȳðe synfulle ætforan gode ‘the men of Sodom were <the> most depraved and very sinful before God’ (Crawford 1969: 118). Andrew’s use of this term in litotes, following on from his assessment of the captain as experienced, reveals a dangerous assumption that a sailor’s honour can be compromised.

476-77 þēah ic þē bēaga lȳt, / sincweordūnga, syllan mihte ‘though few are the rings,
precious honours I might give you’. Here OE *frēondscipe* ‘friendship’ connotes a financial arrangement. No analogue contains this polite nod to the expectation that strangers are paid for their services.

490-92 *syxtȳne sīðum ... (is ðys āne mā) ‘sixteen journeys ... (this is one more)’.* Andrew and Peter have been fishermen on the shores of Galilee (Matt 4: 18, Mark 1: 16). The *Praxeis* has ἕξκαιδεκάτον γάρ ἐπέλυσα τὴν θάλασσαν, καί ἱδοὺ τούτο ἐπτακαιδέκατον ‘sixteen times I sailed the sea and look, this is the seventeenth’ (ch. 9; Bonnet, 1959: 75); the Casanatensis, only multas vices ‘many times’ (ch. 9; Blatt, 1930: 51). Stevens (1981: 18-19) notes that *syxtȳne sīðum* at line 490a (Bliss’ Type 31A) is a verse of a type not found in *Beowulf*, and so metrically exceptional. The rarity of the type might be taken to show the poet’s difficulty in introducing the number from his source into a medium in which longer non-decimal numbers were relatively uncommon.

491 *mere hrērendum mundum frēorig ‘frozen in hands as they stirred the deep’. As in The Wanderer 4, where the speaker has had to hrēran mid hondum hrīmcealde sǣ ‘stir with arms the frost-cold sea’, Andrew’s hands had once been moving an oar or rudder which itself stirs the water.*

493 *swā ic āfre ne geseah āenigne mann ‘and yet I have never seen any man’. This syntax, in which ne is detached from āfre for the sake of the latter’s alliteration, is unique to Andreas. Stevens notes that both this line and its variant on line 499 consequently have one syllable too many between the two stressed elements, āfre and -seah, and would emend geseah to seah in both cases (1981: 23-24). Keeping these lines as written, however, seems truer to the poet’s relaxed prosody relative to *Beowulf.*

494 *þrȳðbearn, hæleð ‘mighty youth, any hero’. On metrical grounds relative to the rest of Andreas, Brooks rejects the emendation þrȳðbearn hæleð<a> ‘mighty son of heroes’ (1961: 79). As he affirms from Grein’s *Sprachschatz* (1912: 726), the first word is probably a vocative which renders a term such as νεανίσκε in the *Praxeis* (ch. 9; Bonnet, 1959: 75) or iuvenis in the Casanatensis (ch. 9; Blatt, 1930: 51), both meaning ‘young man’. There is a similar vocative earlier, one moreover closer to where the analogues have theirs, with cynerōf hæleð ‘highborn hero’ on line 484.

495 *stēoran ofer stæfnan ‘steering at the stern’. Brooks gives ‘steering upon the prow’ in line with stefna’s specific sense ‘stem’ (1961: 79), but the Oseberg (c. 820) and Gokstad (c. 900) ships show us that a ship’s steering oar or rudder is at the stern (Bill 2008: 173-74).*

497 *færeð fāmigheals fugole gelīcost ‘with foamy neck sails most like a bird’. This line of praise from Andrew closely resembles the poet’s description of Beowulf’s ship in *Beowulf* 218: flota fāmigheals fugle gelīcost ‘a vessel foam-necked most like a bird’. Not only the words but also the situations have much in common, a hero setting out to rescue a foreign land from cannibals. It is reasonable to suppose that the poet of Andreas borrows from *Beowulf* at this, the least expected moment, in order to invite a comparison between Andrew and Beowulf.*
499 ofer ðōlāde ‘on a wave-road’. MS ðōlafe. The latter compound, meaning ‘wave-
remnant’, hence ‘shore’, though it describes the east bank of the Red Sea in Exodus
586, is wrong for what Andrew is saying.

501 on lan<ds>ceare ‘out in the country’. The noun is also found in line 1229, for the
terrain over which the Mermedonians drag Andrew. OE landscearu ‘portion of land,
country’ connotes a cleared tract of marginal farming land in two WS charters. One
instance is in S 342 (BCS 526): Æthelred I, to Ealdorman Ælfstan, of five hides at
Cheselbourne, Dorset, possibly of 869 or 870. The other is in S 229 (BCS 27:
Cenwalh, to Winchester Cathedral in ‘672’), which is a tenth-century forgery (based
on S 275). Another tenth-century instance occurs in The Metrical Epilogue to the
West Saxon Pastoral Care:

Ac se wæl wunað on weres brēostum
ðūrh dryhtnes giefe dīop and stille.
Sume hine lǣtað ofer landsceare
rīðum tōrinnan.

But the well [of wisdom] remains in the man’s breast,
by the grace of the Lord, deep and still.
Some let it over tracts of land
run away in rills. (Sweet 1871: II, 469)

506 wīgendra hlēo ‘shield of warriors’. See n. 1450.

508-9 Ēghwylces canst / worda for worulde wīlíc andgit ‘Of each man’s words in
this world you know the true meaning’. If the opening word ēghwylces is a neuter
(rather than masculine) singular with worda, then the meaning is ‘Of each word in
this world you know the true meaning’. More important than this choice, however, is
the meaning of Andrew’s parting compliment within the context of what he has just
said. The edge of such gnomic statements is easily dulled. Brooks renders ‘You know
the true significance of every man’s words in the eyes of the world’; Bradley, ‘of
every word with regard to this world you know the wise meaning’ (1982: 124). Both
translations seem to imply that Andrew praises the captain for being worldly or
practical because he is not. On the other hand, Andrew was a fisherman and is himself
experienced at sea, and yet he has asked to know the secret of the captain’s steering
skill. He then praises him apparently for having seen what Andrew meant despite the
inadequacy of Andrew’s words. This notion of acuity appears also in the opening to
the Coastguard’s reply to Beowulf’s defence of who he is, in Beowulf 287-89:

‘Ēghwæþres sceal
scearp scyldwiga gescād witan,
worda ond worca, sē þe wēl þenceð.’

‘Between word and deed
is a difference which a shieldsman who is sharp,
who thinks properly, must see in every case.’

The thought appears to be the same, but in Andreas the situation is transposed from
speaker to addressee. Whereas the Coastguard declares that by believing Beowulf he
is taking a risk, Andrew says that there was a risk for him that the ship’s captain would not believe his words. As his courtesy of his speech makes clear, he has become afraid of the captain’s powers.

512-36 The captain’s 25-line speech is marked by 17 lines of reinforced alliteration in groups of five (512-16), four (518-21), three (523-25) and then two lines (527-28), which are then followed by the same in three isolated lines 530, 533 and 535) alternating with three lines of conventional alliteration. Thus the speech is sonorously emphatic, with gradual diminuendo, in the description of stormy weather at sea. After Forþan is gesȳne ‘And so it can be seen’ on line 526, it loses its emphasis, in correlation with the calm after the storm, in order to allow a focus on the captain’s deduction that Andrew is truly the Lord’s man. This effect differs from the patterns in Andrew’s earlier speech. See n. 471-509.

512 scēor ‘storm’. For OE scūr. MS sceor is a rare spelling, possibly due to the scribe of the Vercelli Book. OE sceōfan for scūfan is found in some late WS forms, in which it is rare to find an e inserted to indicate a palatal before ā (Hogg 2011: § 5.67; Campbell 1959: § 180).

513 brecað ofer bæðweg ‘plough the bath-way’. See n. 223. With his brimhengestum ‘brim-stallions’, where horses were used for ploughing in land with lighter soil, the captain turns his mixed metaphor into a conceit.

516 frēcne gefēran ‘pass through the danger’. So Brooks (1961:80). Coming after sīð nesan ‘survive the journey’, this meaning is more plausible than ‘fare perilously’, which might be assumed if the phrase were compared with the hilt-illustrated story of primeval giants in Beowulf, who frēcne gefērdon in line 1691. Although Mitchell and Robinson (1998: 103) translate this as ‘they fared terribly’, it is possible that the giants in Beowulf, since their descendants live to afflict Heorot, have ‘passed through the danger’ of being drowned.

524 beorhne boldwelan ‘the building’s bright wealth’. The part of the building in question appears to be the roof, here re-imagined as the vault of heaven.

528 þegen gehungen ‘a virtuous thane’. The devil who appears to St Juliana, pretending to be an angel, calls itself þegn gehungen in Juliana 262. Andrew is seen to have potentially the same power, by the Lord and later by the sea.

529 þē sōna sæholm oncēow ‘the ocean straightaway knew that you’ etc. The sea knows that Andrew has the gift of the Holy Ghost. Here, as in both the Praxeis, where ἐπέγνω σε ἡ θάλασσα ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ ‘the sea knew that you were righteous’ (ch. 9; Bonnet 1959: 76), and Casanatensis, where ideo cognovit mare te iustus, et discipulus summe potestatis ‘the sea thus knew you to be a just man and a disciple of the highest power’ (ch. 9; Blatt 1930: 51), the sea is granted the power of one animate entity. This is the case in gārseges begang ‘spear-man’s compass’ (see also n. 238) In Andreas, however, this license is extended into more than a figure of speech. Here it becomes the hærn ‘wash’, ārȳða geblond ‘mingling of ocean-billows’, egesa ‘terror’, wǣg ‘wave’, and then collectively the wædu ‘waters’, who have the necessary understanding of divine power. A similar consciousness, albeit with destructive agency, is imputed to hrōnn ‘wave’ (cognate with OE hærn), sær ‘sea’, marr ‘ocean’
as well as to Rǫn ‘robbery’ (a sea-goddess), ǫlsmiðr ‘ale-smith (Ægir, the sea-god), Ægir himself and <h>roða vágs breðr ‘wave-pusher’s brothers’ in stanzas 6-8 of the pre-Christian Sonatorrek ‘hard loss of sons’ (c. 960), of Egill Skalla-Grimsson (North 1997: 220-21). The poet of Andreas turns his sea into a crowd of animate beings, as if translating a captain’s knowledge of the deep into the Lord’s control over His creation.


538 cyning wyrdude ‘worshipped the King’. In the Praxeis, at the end of a chapter, Andrew cries out ἐυλογή<σω> σε κύριε μου Ησαοδ Χριστέ, ὅτι συνήντησα ἀνδρὶ δοξάζοντι τὸ ὄνομα σου ‘I bless you, my Lord Jesus Christ, that I have met a man who glorifies your name’ (ch. 9; Bonnet 1958: 76). This is the style in Andreas, where Andrew apostrophizes the Lord, blessing Him before saying that this is because he has met a devout Christian. In the Casanatensis, however, Andrew blesses the captain as well: quo audito sanctus andreas, exclamavit voce magna et benedixit eum dicens, benedicat te dominus, et bendictus deus quia tua uincxit me viro bono ‘having heard this, St Andrew cried out in a great voice and blessed him, saying “May the Lord bless you, and blessed be the Lord for having joined me with a good man”’ (end of ch. 9; Blatt 1930: 51-52). In Andreas, which is thus closer to the Praxeis, the poet takes a liberty with his hero’s blessing by extending it to ten lines (540-49). Initially, the length of Andrew’s rhapsody might persuade us that he addresses the captain as the Lord, having at last understood Who he is, but the following line reveals otherwise.

549 Hūru is gesŷne ‘Indeed it can be seen’ etc. See previous note. The exclamation makes it clearer that to Andrew the captain’s identity is far from gesŷne.

553-54 Ic æt efenealdum ‘In a man of his age’ etc. In Beowulf 1842-43, King Hrothgar, having heard Beowulf’s parting offer to foster his elder son, and having stated that God must have put such wise thoughts in his mind, adds ‘ne hȳrde ic snotorlīcor / on swā geongum fēore guman þingian’ ‘nor have I heard a man / at such young stage of life intercede more cleverly’. Although Andrew’s words to the captain do not bear a close resemblance, their sentiment (that of an old man patronizing a young one for a wisdom which is greater than the old man understands) is the same; comically so in Andreas.

556 fruma ond ende ‘Beginning and End’. The Lord of the Book of Revelation, as the Alpha and Omega. The epithet, not in the analogues, appears chosen by the poet in order to heighten the disparity between Andrew and the figure whom he takes to be a young man.

557 pances glēaw þegn ‘perspicacious thane’. This compliment directs Andrew to tell his story about Jesus’ works. However, it also looks back to the anticlimax of Andrew’s declaration in the previous lines: the Lord appears to tease him for his lack of perspicacity.

559 dā ãrleasan ‘the people impious’. As an adjective, OE ãrleas is ‘wicked, impious’ (DOE, sv. 1.b). Reinforced by the words hæleð unsēlige ‘heroes ill-fortuned’ on line 561, ãrleas here may connote damnation as well as wickedness. The Jews who spit at Christ before his crucifixion are called ãrlease in Christ III 1435;
likewise the third and lowest category of sinners in hell, in Cynewulf’s epilogue to Elene, on line 1301. This word describes the devil and his human followers in Ælfric’s Memory of Saints: se ārlēas dēofol, þe is āfere embe yfel, āstyrode þā ēhtnysse ðurh ārlēase cwelleras ‘The wicked devil who is ever [employed] about evil, stirred up persecution by impious murderers’ (Skeat I, 1966: 350-51. 197-98). As an adjective used as a noun, OE ārlēas indicates the damned in the WS translation of Gregory’s Dialogues (IV, 46; Hecht 1965: 334 8): þā ārlēasan gāð in þæt ēce wīte 7 þā rihtwīsan in þæt ēce līf ‘the impious [OE also: ‘without grace’] go into the eternal punishment and into the righteous into the eternal life’ (cf. DOE sv. 1.b.i.a).

566 þæt cynebearn ‘the royal son’. Used also of Christ in The Menologium 159, in wuldres cynebearn ‘glory’s royal son’; and in The Lord’s Prayer II 117, in cynebearn gecyéd ‘a royal son proclaimed’. The captain makes clear that Christ as rex Iudaeorum ‘king of the Jews’ has a political besides spiritual claim to power. Elsewhere the term is generic for king’s sons, as in the 30 cynebearna ‘princes’ slain with King Penda by the river Winwæd in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E), s.a. 654 (Irvine 2004: 26; see also 19, s.a. 519); or in the Old English Martyrology: done rested sænte Kenelm cynebearn on Wincelescumbe ‘now Saint Kenelm king’s son rests in Winchcombe’ (II, 44; Liebermann 1889: 19).

568-69 Æþelinge wēox / word ond wīsdōm ‘In the Prince grew / words and wisdom’. There is a similar construction in the case of the converted Mermedonians in lines 1677-78.

571a frǣtre þēode ‘to the apostate people’. The adjective frǣte recurs in line 1506, pis frǣte folc. The meaning is not properly understood. The stem is likely to be long, and to differ from that of the short-voweled frætwe ‘adornment’. Simplex OE frǣte occurs mostly in poetry, where a meaning ‘wanton’ is contextually supported. The words þæt frǣte folc in Christ III 1373, describe sinners who are soon to be damned on the Last Day; the fiend’s son real or figurative, is said to have frǣte līf ‘a wanton life’ in Vainglory 48 (as well as a grundfūsne gǣst gode ōrfeormne, / wuldorcyninge ‘abyss-bound spirit without supply from God, the King of glory’ in lines 49-50; see n. 406); and in Seasons 161, Christ’s enemy Satan is eald ond frǣte ‘old and wanton’. The wantonness would be one of spiritual rebellion, but this meaning seems just as derivative as ‘foul’ or ‘deceitful’. OE frǣtig seems to mean ‘foul’, ‘wanton’, of a devil in Juliana 284 (DOE, sv. frǣtig). There is also the argument that in four glosses for apotast(s)ia, apparently for ‘recreant’ or ‘apostate’, frǣtenga with derivatives seems to mean ‘wanton worshipper’ (WW 6.19 (Corpus Glossary, MS CCC 144); W 350 4 (MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III); cf. DOE sv. *frǣt-genga, *frǣt-genge). In confirmation of a meaning ‘recreant here, the word fretum is written as a gloss for fugitivus ‘fugitive’ in WW 408 29 (DOE sv. frǣte, 1.a). A sense of ‘apostasy’ may be even more closely supported if we connect OE frǣte to fretan ‘to devour’. The idea of apostasy is strongly conveyed in Exodus 147 (Lucas 1994: 99), where it is said that the Egyptians wēre frǣton ‘devoured the covenant’ which the first Pharaoh had made with Jacob. On analogy with lēne ‘on loan, transient’, which is an adjective derived from a dative noun, the adjective frǣte, as ‘in devotion, having devoured, repudiating’, may derive from an unattested noun OE m. *frǣt from fretan ‘to devour’ (on analogy with m. āt ‘eating’ from etan ‘to eat’ (DOE, sv. āt, 2)). The meaning ‘apostate’ for frǣte correlates also with the poet’s view of the devil as a wrād wårloga ‘faith-breaker in fury’ on line 1297.
571b beforan cȳðde ‘would reveal ... openly’ (subjunctive preterite). Schaar suggests that the captain pretends not to believe in Jesus’ miracles himself, and that Andreas, unlike the likely source, puts the Jewish people and elders in the same category (1949: 55). However, the line works better with the captain first believing that Jesus’ miracles were performed to a minority of Jews behind closed doors, and that he now wishes to remove his last doubt that this was so. Andrew, whose role in the miracles of Jesus is recorded in John 6: 5-15, makes clear that the Jewish people were witness to Jesus’ miracles.

581 after burhstedum ‘through fortified towns’. The meaning of burhstede, a poetic compound, is variable: ‘settlement’ in Guthlac (B) 1317, where it denotes the saint’s fenland refuge; the ‘township’ where horses can race, in the Last Survivor’s lament in Beowulf 2265; Nebuchadnezzar’s ‘city’ in Daniel 47; the Roman ‘cities’ which have shattered in England in Ruin 2, and which will shatter in Doomsday, in Cynewulf’s Christ II 811; and the ‘city’ of heaven itself in Christ S 362.

583 This line, which Brooks treats as hypermetric by Brooks (1961: xliii) on account of missenlīce, may be normalized with syncopation of man(i)ge here.

586 for heremægene ‘before the war-troop’. A term for the wedding party at Canaan. As Brooks says, this compound is ‘an excellent example of the poet’s use of the old epic military terminology to describe what in fact is not an armed host’ (1961: 82). However, it is not correct, as Brooks goes on to say, that heremægen ‘simply means “multitude”’. In the above line the poet’s indicates that wine-drinkers are aristocracy, whose members are also trained for war. This line is reproduced almost entire on line 1650, where Andrew consecrates the new bishop Plato ‘before the war-troop’ of Mermedonian converts whom he has restored to upper-class glory. Elsewhere the half-line for heremægene describes the hostile Jews in the Temple on line 728, and the Mermedonians mistreating Andrew in his cell on line 1298; it also survives positively in Elene 170, of Emperor Constantine’s recently victorious retinues, who declare for heremægene that the cross is symbolic of the true faith. A possibly related compound appears once in hāðne heremægas ‘heathen men of war’, a term for the men of Sodom in Genesis (A) 2485. In all cases some secular stylisation is clear in heremægen, a word which is not found in Beowulf.

595 Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hyse lēofesta. See n. 811.

598 frēo ‘with all liberties’. There is no parallel for this choice of adjective for those who gain heaven. Where people (rather than goods and property) are concerned, the adjective frēo connotes free birth and status and freedom from obligation, tax or slavery: nobility in the economic sense. The religious implication is that life on earth amounts to a form of slavery or imprisonment.

601 wēges weard ‘wave-guardian’. Spelt as wæges weard on line 632, this epithet probably has as its first element wǣg ‘wave’ rather than weg ‘way’. It recalls wuldres weard ‘Guardian of glory’ just before in line 596, but unlike this term it is ambiguous: a guardian on the wave can be a ship’s captain, as Brooks points out (1961: 83), as well as the Lord protecting His apostles. The Lord is also a beorn ofer bolcan ‘man
over gangway’ on line 602 (on which He sits on line 305); and it is as a ship’s captain that the Lord pleads with Andrew later on line 632.

606 beforen cŷðde ‘openly revealed’ (indicative preterite). Now the captain wants to know if Jesus performed his miracles to the Jewish elders as well as to the common people. See n. 571b.

607-09 þǣr bisceopas ond bōceras ‘in the place where bishops and book-keepers’ etc. Appropriately enough for the Jewish priesthood, who are never called hǣðenan ‘heathens’ in Andreas, this image describes an ecclesiastical council of the type which is recorded in Anglo-Saxon charters. The term mædelhēgende ‘holding assembly’ on line 609 describes all types of official, as it does for the ship’s captain on line 262 (n.); and for the Mermedonian ruling class who arrive at the þingstede ‘place of business’ to solve the town’s food-crisis on lines 1096-98. This compound’s only other surviving example is in Elene 279, where Empress Helena summons those Jewish mædelhēgende ‘councilors’ who have special biblical knowledge.

614 forleolc ond forlǣrde ‘played false and perverted’. A devil later accuses Andrew that dū lēoda feala / forleolce ond forlǣrdest ‘a quantity of people / you played false and perverted’ on lines 1363-64. These are the only examples of a doublet which is homiletic in style. Another such doublet, forlǣdan and forlǣran ‘to mislead and pervert’, appears in in Genesis (B) 452, for the purpose of Satan’s demon volunteer to corrupt Adam and Eve. In a tenth-century homily For the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, it is said that God ælmihtig ës lādēp tō heofona rice and dēofol ës wile forlǣran and forlǣdan tō helle wīte ‘Almighty God leads us to heaven’s kingdom and the devil will pervert and mislead us into hell’s punishment (Assmann 1964: 167.102-03). The homilist Archbishop Wulfstan, in his Gifts of the Holy Spirit of the early eleventh century, says of the devil that mid swylcan unlatan hē forlǣreð 7 forlǣdeð ealles tō manege ‘with such wiles he perverts and misleads all too many’ (Bethurum 1957: 190.132-33).

616 on banan fæðme ‘in the slayer’s embrace’. Simplex OE bana ‘slayer’ for the devil is well attested: in Beowulf 1743 (and gāstbona ‘soul-slayer’ in line 177), Guthlac (A) 87 and 429, Christ I, 264, and III, 1393, Descent 88 and SolSat 131. This, however, is the only combination with bana of the phrase on fæðme, which, among other hellish cases, combines with fyr ‘fire’ in Beowulf 185 and draca the ‘dragon’ in Elene 765; and looking the other way, with fæder ‘the Father’ in Maxims II, 61 and God ‘God’ in Metrical Charm I, 70.

621 This line is treated as hypermetric by Brooks (1961: xliii) on account of dēogollīce.

621-22 The statement about Jesus’ additional miracles, those performed in secret, is an element in the Praxeis (ch. 11), but not in the Casanatensis, whose author seems to include them in the category of miracles which are generally known. In both main analogues, however, the captain asks whether it is because Jesus appeared only before the people and not before the priesthood that his works were not registered as miracles among the Jews.
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621 dēogollīce ‘secretly’. In opposition to beforan ‘in public’ on lines 571b (n.) and 606 (n.). The adjective dēogol, which can mean both ‘hidden’ (as with dīgol, in line 698) and ‘private’, reflects the meaning of Apocrypha as ‘things hidden away’ and renders part of the antithesis which is highlighted in the Praxeis as ἐν φανερῷ ‘in public’ versus ἐν κρυπτῷ ‘in private’ (ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77). Andrew says here that ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐρμηρεύον, οὐ μόνον ἐν φανερῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστέψασαν αὐτῷ ‘he did them also before the high priests, not only publicly but also privately, and they did not believe in him’. The antithesis in the Praxeis between ‘open’ and ‘secret’ leads indirectly to one in Andreas between ‘known’ and ‘unknown’. Andrew seems to believe that the story of the talking statue and resurrected patriarchs is hidden from public knowledge, both because the Jewish priests rejected the miracle and because the incident, gaining no further publicity, stayed outside the gospels. The poet’s use of dēogol and on dīgle is faithful in this way to the apocryphal tradition. The captain responds to dēogollīce with on dīgle ‘in secret’ on line 626.

622 folcrǣd fremede ‘advanced the people’s good’. This half-line connoting royal responsibility is found also in Beowulf 3006, in which the Geatish Messenger sums up the achievements of dead King Beowulf. The noun’s meaning may include ‘law’ or ‘precepts’, for in the eleventh-century glossary in MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III, the word Lex ‘law’ is glossed by folcrǣdenne, sive, ealles folces gesetnes ‘popular counsel, or a code for the whole people’ (WW 439.16). In the Praxeis, which comes close to the Andreas-poet’s source, Andrew refers only to Jesus’ miracles, while there is no mention of Jesus’ being King of the Jews. The poet of Andreas uses the formula folcrǣd fremman to express a royal purpose in Jesus’ working the miracles with the statue and patriarchs, for these miracles, with folce gecȳðan on line 784 and þám folce gecȳðan on line 796, will ‘reveal to the nation’ the fact of Jesus’ godhead and so protect the nation from hell. The statue orders them to do this cyninges worde ‘in the King’s name’ on line 778, and the patriarchs wish to gecȳðan ‘make known’ Jesus’ divine lineage to the people on line 803. When they finally confirm this by worshipping him, the nation fails to benefit: þæt folc gewearð / egesan geāclod ‘the people were stricken with terror’ (lines 804-05). Jesus’ political dimension appears to be anticipated in folcrǣd, which the poet may borrow from Beowulf. This royal term says that Jesus is the only king in Andreas.

625 mægen þā hē cȳðde ‘the powers he revealed’. In the Praxeis, αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν, this is ‘the miracles he did’, literally ‘the powers he made’ (ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77); in the Casanatensis, ipsas virtutes qua coram eis fecit ‘the miracles he performed among them’, literally ‘the virtues he made among them’ (ch. 11; Blatt 1930: 53). The word mægen, literally ‘(cap)ability’, which is closer to δυνάμεις, appears also in the Blickling Homily XVIII, earlier in the story when the captain advises Andrew to talk to his followers: sprecc to þinum discipulum be þem mægenum þe þin lārðow dyde ‘speak to your disciples of the powers which your teacher made’ (Morris 1967: 233). The phrase mægen dōn comes closer to those of the analogues. In Andreas 701, OE mægen further describes Jesus’ abilities as enhanced by his time in the wilderness.

627 rūne besǣton ‘you sat in private conclave’. Root (1889: 21), Brooks (1961:83), Bradley (1982: 127) and Boenig (1991a: 89) all assume the omission of gē ‘you’ on the previous line. The Blickling Homily XVIII omits the whole story. In the Praxeis,
as above, the captain asks Ποιαί είσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ὡς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ; ‘what kind of miracles are they, the ones he did privately?’ (ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77). In the Casanatensis, the captain refers instead to the Jewish priesthood when commands declare mihi ipsas virtutes qua coram eis fecit ‘Tell me about the miracles he performed among them’ (ch. 11; Blatt 1930: 53). In Andreas it seems more plausible that the subject of besēton in Andreas is gē, the disciples, rather than the ῥεσων ‘leaders’ whom Andrew has just mentioned (line 619). The captain now wants the most secret knowledge of all.

630a wrǣtlīcum ‘wondrous’. OE wrǣtlīc can mean either ‘finely made, fascinating’, hence ‘wondrously made’, or ‘beautiful, noble’. A sense of artifice is included, as in the way this word is deployed in the story of the statues on line 712. In Ruin 1, Wrǣtlīc is þes wealstān ‘Wondrously made is this wall-foundation’. On Christ’s ascension, in Cynewulf’s Christ (II) 509, the angels address the Disciples wordum wrǣtlīcum ‘wondrously composed words’ to tell them where Jesus has been taken. Later in Andreas, however, the movement of the statues seems wrǣtlīc ‘extraordinary’ to the people in the Temple, on line 740; and the devil claims to the Mermedonian crowd on line 1200 that Andrew insults him wordum wrǣtlīcum, for which ‘with extraordinary words’ seems best. On line 630, however, where Andrew is attracted to the ship’s captain’s intelligence, the word’s positive more meaning seems advisable.

630b ond þē wyrda gehwǣre ‘if of each thing you’ etc. As Brooks’ text shows, this half-line has been emended to ond þē<h> wyrda gehwaes, with ond þēh rendered as ‘and yet’, and with the neut. gehwaes preferred to fem. gehwære. In the first case, a pleonastic dative pronoun þē ‘for you’ is acceptable after a verb of knowing or possessing: this is also found in wite þē be þissum ‘know about this’ in Vainglory 46. In the second case, however, the fem. noun wyrd might better be understood in OE gehwære without the need to emend. This very (too?) early instance of ond as a conditional conjunction (Mitchell 1985, §§ 3668-70; or as a concessive conjunction: § 3516), has a parallel in Juliana 378-79, ond þē lárum wile / purh módes myne mínun hýran ‘if he will obey my teachings in the love of his heart’. There is a related usage in lines 630-31, ond ... sóð oncnāwest ‘when ... you know the truth’; also in the Blickling Homily XIII ‘On the Assumption of Mary the Virgin’: Tō hwan ondrǣdeþ þēos hālige Mārīa hire dēaþ, and mid hire syndan godes apostolas and ōþre þā þe hīe berāþ tō hire æriste? ‘To what end is this holy Mary dreading her death, when God’s Apostles are with her, and others who carry her to her resurrection?’ (Kelly 2003: 100.75-76). See also n. 1187.

632 wið þingode ‘pleaded’. See n. 263 and 601.

644-49a This reply introduces the poet’s set-piece of Andrew’s reminiscence of the scene in the Temple. However, it is ambiguous. Firstly, one must decide whether to keep the nū clauses on lines 644-47 and 648-49a as separate sentences; thus Brooks (1961: 21) and Boenig (1991a: 89). An alternative is to join them as correlative causal clauses (‘Now that..., now...’); thus Krapp (1932: 21) and Mitchell (1985: § 3104). If we keep them separate, lines 646b-47 (n.) constitute the main clause in the first sentence: Andrew declares that the captain, now that Andrew has recognised his wisdom and ability, will be filled with joy as a result of snytrum ‘the new intelligence’ (i.e. information). Thereupon a new sentence starts in which he says he
will tell all. If, on the other hand, we join these sentences as Mitchell’s evidence recommends, with the principal clause first, the subordinate second, lines 646b-47 are better marked off as a parenthesis. The second arrangement is preferable: Andrew is willing to tell more of the story, now that he sees that the young captain is wise enough to hear it.

646a sigespēd, geseald ‘the great triumph, given’. The comma is necessary in order to avoid emending to sigespēd gesealde as an accusative phrase after oncnāwe ‘I recognize’ on line 644: geseald agrees with n. gewit on line 645. The above half-line varies a formula which elsewhere occurs as sigorspēd geseald ‘great triumph given’ on lines 909 (to any man who seeks Christ) and 1435 (to God Himself). In its first use in line 646a the formula is fractured in order to include the quality of wīsdōmes gewit ‘wise understanding’ as well.

646b-47 snyttrum blōweð / beorchre blisse brēost innanweard! ‘with intelligence / blooms the breast with bright bliss within!’. This is a parenthesis in which the breast is the captain’s. In the Præxis, Andrew declares ὦ τέκνον, ὁ κύριος πληρώσει σου τὴν ψυχὴν πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ‘O child, the Lord will fill your soul with all grace and all goodness’ (end of ch. 11; Bonnet 1959: 77). In the Casanatensis, this is o inquid fili adimpleat dominus cor tuum omni letitia ‘O son, he said, may the Lord fill your heart with all joy’ (ch.11; Blatt 1930: 55).

649b-51 These lines may follow on from the previous sentence, with swā meaning ‘just as’: Brooks does this, as well as Bradley (who reads swā as ‘since’; 1982: 127). The alternative, to read swā as ‘just so’ and to keep lines 649b-51 as a self-contained sentence, is less convincing. Whichever is the arrangement, however, Andrew compares the time in which Jesus confided in him with the coming moment in which he will reveal more to the captain. By this comparison Andrew puts himself in the role of Christ and the ship’s captain (who is Christ) in the role of disciple: he is grooming the captain for apostlehood, thinking that he has landed a prize pupil. This is rather as Hrothgar grooms Beowulf for kingship in Beowulf 1700-09. The advanced years of Andrew are the cause of his generous condescension. As the analogues give Andrew no such characterisation, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the work of the poet of Andreas.

652-60 These lines on the popularity and house-to-house visits of Jesus in his earlier works find no match in the extant analogues.

652 sīde herigeas ‘wide armies’. Also for the Mermedonians on line 1067. With this formula for people spanning the horizon Andrew refers to the common people of Israel in opposition to their leaders (see selerǣdend on line 659). The vast numbers which Pharaoh brings with him from Egypt in pursuit of the Israelites are called sīde hergas by Moses in Exodus 260 (Lucas 1994: 112). The general public who are credited with knowledge of the calendar are called sīde herigeas, / folc unmǣte ‘wide armies, / people unmeasured’, on lines 5-6 of The Menologium.

659 snottre selerǣdend ‘wise hall-stewards’. At first this compound seems to mean more formally ‘hall-adviser’ or ‘hall-counsellor’. In Beowulf, where the poet says no man knows who received the body of Scyld Scfing in the deep, he typifies humanity as men ‘men, people’, selerǣdende ‘hall-advisers’ and hæled under heofenum ‘heroes
under heaven’ (lines 51-51). In the third instance, also in Beowulf, when King Hrothgar reveals to Beowulf that he knows where Grendel and his Mother live, he says that he þæt londbûend, lēode mīne, / selerǣdende, seccan hȳrde ‘heard country folk, people of my nation / hall-advisers, say this’ (lines 1345-46). Although there are no other examples of selerǣdend, Beowulf shows that the word connotes freemen below the aristocratic class. Hrothgar’s words show that the same people who know the local woods offer informal advice to their king in his court within the great hall. Since that is not their official role, the word rǣdend may not denote formal advisers or counsellors here. The meanings of rǣdan ‘to advise, decide, debate, determine, interpret, read’ seem at first sufficiently various to lock this participle into the generality of heroic diction. However, the meaning may be narrowed down. The most likely reason for the peasants’ habitually entering Heorot, with a familiarity which typifies them as humanity in Beowulf 51-52, is to give farming tribute, to deliver the king’s feorm. Thus the meaning of rǣdend comes closer to ‘provider’, with the corollary that such freemen help to ‘govern’ or ‘decide’ the daily running of the sele ‘hall’. OE rǣdende glosses consulens, i. consistium tenens, providens ‘consultant, he who keeps advice ready, he who provides’ (WW 209.28, in MS Harley 3376, s. x). The penitential attributed to Bishop Egbert of York, in which he says peto a te, ut tu mihi condones id quod peto, ut voluntas tua fiat et animae meae in æternum consule ‘I beseech you to grant me what I seek, that your will be done and that you may help my soul into eternity’ (IV § 67), is rendered, in Formulas and Directions for the Use of Confessors of the late tenth century, as ic þē þonne (…) bidde. þæs þū mē forgýfe þæt ic þær þinne þēt þē tūr feorm sig 7 mínre sǣl on écynysse (Thorpe 1840: 338), ‘I in this case ask you to grant me that I ask where it be your will that you provide for my soul in eternity’. With this less formal meaning possible in rǣdend, the snottre selerǣdend ‘wise hall-stewards’ turning out to see Jesus in Andreas are likely to be freemen who represent the people, the loyal subjects of him as their new burhweard ‘town-keeper’ (see n. 660). This translation captures a political aspect in Jesus’ attempted relief of the towns of Judaea. On King Alfred’s ideology of the reclamation of burhs, see Introduction, p. $$.

660 burhweardes cyme ‘in town-keeper’s coming’. This description is similar to the description of Constantine in Elene as the noblest king of burgagendra ‘rulers of towns’ 1174; or of Holofernes in Judith as burga ealdor ‘lord of towns’ 58. OE burhgerefā ‘town reeve’ glosses terms for a wide range of sub-Roman officials in Ælfric’s Vocabulary of the 990s: Praetor, uel Prefectus, uel praepositus, uel questor (WW 110.8-9); and and curiales, uel decuriales (WW 111.7). Although OE burhweard is not found in glossaries nor in any legal texts, it occurs near the slaying of the Egyptian firstborn in Exodus 38-39, where the Angel of Death had frēcne gefylled frumbearna fela, / ābrocene burhweardas ‘perilously cut down many firstborn sons, / shattered the town-guardians’. Because ābrecan ‘to shatter’ is otherwise recorded as intransitive, Lucas suggests that Egyptian ‘idols’ may be intended here as additional to their firstborn (1994: 80). Yet burhweardas here is close enough to the latter to be used as another term for them, as if the eldest sons are expected to become defenders. Something similar is intended with burhweard in this part of Andreas, in which the people look to Jesus to protect them like a king’s firstborn. The poet has already called him þæt cynebearn on line 566 (n.). That the elders betray their people by rejecting Jesus, is presented as a result of their fear of losing political power.
666 *tō þām cynestōle* ‘to the seat of royalty’. OE *cynestōl* is also found for Jerusalem in the Advent Lyrics of *Christ I*, in which *sancta Hierusalem* ‘sainted Jerusalem’ is eulogized as *cynestōla cyst*, *Crīstes burglond*; *engla ēþelstōl* ‘most choice seat of royalty’. Christ’s town-land, / hereditary seat of angels’ on lines 50-52. Cynewulf employs the term for the sinners at Judgement, *ponne Crīst sitēd on his cynestōle, / on hēahsetle* ‘when Christ sits on his royal seat, / on the high throne’, in *Christ II* 1216-17. Theodric is said to govern Rome as a duke *þenden cynestōle Crēacas wīoldon* ‘while the Greeks ruled the imperial throne’ in the *Meters of Boethius*, I.48. In all this OE *cynestōl* connotes a palace and empire, as well as a throne; in *Andreas*, this is without regard to history. Here, as in the analogues, the rule of Jerusalem by a Roman governor is omitted. In *Andreas* it is only Jesus who receives the crown.

668 *hēah ond horngēap* ‘high and horn-gabled’. The image is of pride before a fall. These words describe Heorot in *Beowulf* 82, as Brooks points out (1961: 85). This is when Heorot is declared ready on lines 81-83 for the day when Ingeld and the Heathobards burn it down in a raid: *Sele hlīfade / hēah ond horngēap, headowylme bād / lāðan līges* ‘the hall towered / high and horn-gabled, awaited the hateful flame / of a battle’s surge’. The use of this half-line in *Andreas* seems equally pointed, if we take the poet and his audience to have known that a similar fate, at the hands of the Romans, awaited the Temple of Jerusalem (70 AD).

670 *ealdorsācerd* ‘high priest’. This term amplifies *sācerdas* ‘priests’ on line 742 and also reflects *ἀρχιερεῖς* ‘high priests’ in the *Praxeis* (ch. 13; Bonnet 1959: 79). OE *ealdorsācerd* is fairly common as a gloss of *princeps sacerdotum* ‘chief of the priests’ in the gospels, and is also found as a variant of *sācerd* ‘priest’ in an early homily on the passion which is based on John 18-19: *þā cwæð se ealdorman þāra ealdorsācerda eft tō him* ‘then the elder of the high-priests spoke again to him’ (Vercelli Homily I, ed. Scragg, 1992: 22.66; see also 22.63). Scragg, before associating this and other versions of the homily with Canterbury, takes its original to be ‘of early composition’, with several features which were regarded as ‘archaic by no later than the end of the tenth century’ (1992: 5).

671 *hordlocan onspēon* ‘unclasped his hoard-locker’. This metaphor announces some heroic rhetoric. See n. 316.

674-75 *lārcwide* ‘teachings’, *wiðerhȳdig* ‘malign’, *onblonden* ‘mixed up’. Three *hapax legomena* in just two lines is a combination which emphasizes evil in the high-priest’s reponse (Stiles 2002: 29-30).

679 *būtan lēodriht* ‘without title in this country’. Jesus was from Galilee, not from Judaea. The basis for this denunciation is the high priests’, scribes’ and elders’ question to Jesus in Mark 11:28 on what is his authority. The Jewish elder in *Andreas* initially understands this challenge to be secular. As Brooks shows, the meaning of OE *lēodriht* ‘is strictly “legal rights in the people’s common land”, and by extension “law of the common people”’ (1961: 85). This term appears in the phrase for chartered rights of use, as in *mid rihtum landrihte 7 lēodriht* ‘with legal title and rights to land in this country’ (in King Eadwig to the nuns of Wilton (*c.* 955), Birch 1964, no. 917; Sawyer 1968).
drohtigen dæghwæmlīce! Poet is duguðum cūð ‘whom you dwell with day to day! To veterans it is known’ etc. In keeping with the rhetoric, this line is third in a group of three with reinforced alliteration. It also appears to be hypermetric: the fourth such line in this edition, although Brooks, who includes lines 583 (n.) and 621 (n.) on tighter metrical grounds, makes it his sixth (1961: xliii). If we match the metre with the content, the extension of this line appears to emphasize the Elder’s view of a contrast between the Disciples’ naivety and the informed awareness of his troops in the Temple.

hē wæs āfēded on þysse folcsceare ‘in this common land was he nurtured’. With this folc-prefix in Andreas, the priest draws attention to the peasant origins of Jesus’ human incarnation. Cynewulf uses a similar line in Elene 967, when the news about the Invention of the True Cross spreads to the other cities first through the lowest rank of society: Dā wæs gefrēge in þære folcsceare ‘then it was widely heard within the common land’. The word folcscearu is not found in legal texts, although folcland, which seems to refer to common land outside king’s gift, is represented in on böclande ond on folclande ‘in chartered land and in common land’ (I Edward (901-24), 2.2. 1; Liebermann I, 1906: 140). OE folcscearu also describes the Danish ‘common land’ in Beowulf 73, which King Hrothgar is not permitted to distribute to his best retainers. With Jesus in Andreas, conversely, it is as if a commoner challenges the governing authority. The poet admires Andrew’s fisher-folk kindred in a similar way earlier: see n. 171.

brōðorsybbum ‘in a full-brother kinship’. In line with his earlier remarks about common origins, the high priest insinuates that Jesus is illegitimate. On OE f. sībb ‘kindred’ and the way the poet idealizes this as a monastic band of brothers, see n. 1013-14.

dugoð dōmgeorne ‘cadres keen for renown’. Also on line 878, of the angels in heaven; Andrew is told by the Lord to be dōmes georn ‘eager for renown’ before his entry into the city, on line 959; and is dēor ond dōmgeorn ‘daring and keen for glory’ as he is led back to his cell on line 1308. Brooks considers the half-line dugoð dōmgeorne abused, a sign of the poet’s ineptitude, where it stands for the hostile Jewish priesthood on line 693. On the other hand, Cynewulf calls the noblest of three tiers of damned souls dugoð dōmgeorne, here possibly ‘retinue keen for glory’, in the Epilogue to Elene, on line 1291. The category dōmgeorne ‘eager for glory’ in The Wanderer 17 might show that the semantic range of OE dōm permits both religious and secular meanings, glory in heaven or on earth. Dunning and Bliss argue that The Wanderer’s use of the term means “those who are too much concerned with what others think of them”, since good Christians have a confidence, rather than a need to be eager for, judgement (1969: 45). In the same way, the poet of Andreas poet appears to use the half-line dugoð dōmgeorne on line 693 to expose what he takes to be essentially temporal aims. The Jewish priests are represented as more interested in winning their followers’ acclaim than that of God.

Mān eft gehwearf ‘Mad crime returned’. The poet’s characteristically colourful use of personification makes a striking end to the fitt. ‘Mad’ is supplied here to partly distinguish the more socially conceived meaning of OE mān from that of f. synn ‘sin’.
700 *cyning on riht* ‘King by right’. The poet, unlike the author of any extant analogue, is keen that Jesus reveal his claim to royal as well as divine authority over the world. See n. 622.

701 *mægene geswīđed* ‘strengthened in force’. See n. 625.

707 *in temple* ‘in the Temple’. This OE word denotes temples in the Judaico-Christian tradition, as in *Elene* 1009, 1021, *Daniel* 60 and *Guthlac* (B) 1002, 1113, 1149. In the Casanatensis, Andrew says that the party went *in templo gentium* ‘into the temple of the gentiles’ (ch. 13; Blatt 1930: 57), in order to test the authenticity of its representation of heaven. In the *Praxeis*, with the same aim: Καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῶν ἑθνῶν, ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν τύπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα γνώμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴ ἔστιν ἢ οὖ ‘and with the high priests accompanying us and entering the shrine of the gentiles, Jesus showed us the form of heaven that we might know whether it was real or not’ (ch. 13; Bonnet 1959: 79). Boenig, treating the Greek grammar and meaning as obscure (1991a: 9, n. 28), translates τὸ ἱερόν ‘the shrine’ as ‘desert’ (1991a: 8), apparently because Jesus and the Jewish elders were there earlier, and because of τοῦ τύπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ‘the form of heaven’ which Jesus shows them next. Although the manuscripts of the *Praxeis* vary in the use of pronouns at this point (Bonnet 1959: 79), its text is to be explained as a reflection of religious pluralism (probably where it originated, in fourth-century Egypt). The *Praxeis* has Jewish elders following Jesus for a second time into a gentile pagan shrine, in which the sphinx, in order to justify the future conversion of synagogues into churches, alleges that the Jewish elders are less clean than Greek pagan priests (chs. 13-14). The Casanatensis loses this Greek favoritism of gentile pagans by treating each category of non-Christian as bad as the other (ch. 14). The poet of *Andreas* drops the gentile pagans altogether.

713-14 *wrǣtlīce wundor āgræfene, / anlicnesse engla sīnra* ‘wondrously carved marvels, / graven images of his own angels’. Later, as if in keeping with the stem of *wrǣtlīce*, we learn that these are *āwriten on wealle* ‘carved on the wall’ on line 726. These images thus appear to be relief carvings on a panel, whereas in the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, they are free-standing statues whether in alcoves or on the ground. In both of analogues the scene takes place in a pagan temple of the gentiles (see n. 707). The poet of *Andreas*, whose Jewish elders know the truth they deny, rationalizes the shrine location as the Great Temple of Jerusalem. He appears to have no interest in misrepresenting Jews as heathen idolaters, because for him they are heretics, worse than heathen. Cynewulf’s Helena may refer to Roman legionaries when she says that Jesus was hanged *hēðenum folmum* ‘by heathen hand’ (*Elene* 1075), but it is not certain that he does not mean Jews by this term; and so his definition of Judaism may have been cruder.

724 *meotudes mundbyrd* ‘Measurer’s protection’. Also used more happily of the converts in line 1632, this term recalls Abraham whom the *metod* ‘Measurer’ *mundbyrde hēold* ‘held in His protection’ in *Genesis* (A) 1947. OE *mundbyrd*, a political term for safe subjection which is commonly used of man’s relationship to God, occurs most famously in *Dream* 130, in which the Dreamer announces that his *mundbyrd* is *geriht tō þære rōde* ‘directed to the cross’. 
728 fore þam heremægene ‘before the war-troop’. The Jewish elders, hostile to Jesus and his Disciples, merit a description more aggressive than ‘multitude’. In their eyes, Jesus is a pretender to the rule of Judaea. See further n. 586.

733 secge sōdcwidum, þē <sēl> gelȳfen ‘make a true declaration, the <better> that they believe’. MS secge sodewidum by sceolon gelyfan. Jesus appears to emphasize that the spreading of the gospel will bring conversion, but OE sēl has been supplied by earlier editors in order to avoid an elsewhere unparalleled alliteration between s- and sc-. As this insertion makes this line hypermetric, Stevens rejects it (1981: 20), favouring Grein’s view (1894: II, 33), as summarized in Brooks (1961: xliii and 87), that two verses (a b-line and an a-line) have dropped out. Lucas, followed here, reads þē sēl gelȳfen with similar meaning, accepting the insertion of sēl but excluding sceolon as another scribal error (1981: 5-6). Donoghue, rightly taking this remedy to assume ‘an unlikely sequence of scribal errors’, nonetheless strains the line another way by reading þē sceolon sēl lȳfan (the scribe misreading *sellyfan for gelyfan) with the same meaning but without the verbal prefix, on the grounds that OE lȳfan, normally ‘allow’, means also (though rarely) ‘believe’ (1987: 8, 188).

735-41 The voice of the stone comes through its surface here, suggesting that its speech is not delivered through the mouth of a human image. Another stone speaking to the assembled company is the Ruthwell Cross, whose runic inscriptions ‘speak’ quotations from a poem ancestral to The Dream of the Rood (Swanton 1970: 9-42, esp. 39).

741 stīðhycgendum ‘to this stubborn people’. See n. 1429.

744 unlǣde ‘misguided’. This word is used of untended cattle, as ‘on the loose’, ‘out of control’, in the early WS Fonthill Letter (Gretsch 1994: 88-89, 99). The evaluative meaning of OE unlǣd is ‘wicked’ or ‘unhappy’, as with the Mermedonians on lines 30 and 142, the devil in Juliana 616, and Holofernes in Judith 102. The heretical cast of the Jewish elders here and below in Andreas 772 (n.) strengthens the case for a more literal meaning here.

762 swigodon ealle ‘all had fallen quiet’. This occurs in Beowulf too, on line 1699, just before the beginning of King Hrothgar’s ‘sermon’, where it has been seen to render the phrase conticuere omnes of the same meaning by which Vergil refers to Queen Dido’s Phoenicians in Aeneid, Book II 1 (North 2006: 7-15, esp. 8, n. 31). Although the idea is commonplace and is expressed in Old English prose, there are no other poetic examples. In Andreas, it seems likely that the poet has borrowed the phrase from Beowulf.

764 sōd ne oncenōwan ‘the truth they did not acknowledge’. With this phrase the Jews fail in the same way before Empress Helena in Elene 395. Acknowledging God’s truth with sōd oncenōwan is the first duty of a Christian, as may be seen of true believers in Ælfric’s Homilies (Godden, ed. 1979: 206.9; 280.22). In this light, the poet of Andreas regards Jews as religious heretics, never as heathens.

767-69 Mān wrīdode / geond beorna brēost ... weorm blǣdum fāg ‘Mad crime flourished through each man’s breast ... serpent stained with blasts’. See n. 694. Society is shown to be corrupted by the perversity of its priesthood. Although the fire-
stained serpent recalls the dragon of *Beowulf* 2669-71, it seems likely that the poet has
drawn his metaphor, shifting it from Mermedonians to Jews, from a Latin source
analogous either to an older version of the *Praxeis*, or to the ninth-century *Laudatio
Andreae* of Nicetas of Paphlegonia (Migne 1862: 80; translated in MacDonald 1990:
23):

Χαϊρέ, ὅτι τής αὐτοπροσώπου θέας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ καταξιωθεὶς τήν τε νοητήν
θάλασσαν καὶ τήν αἰαθητήν ὡς καταβρώθης ποταμον κυβερνήτη διαπλεῖς καὶ τοις ὦμοφάγοις
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑπόμενοι, οὗ κατεβρώθης ὡς ἀντανάκλασις ἀλλ᾽ ἐξωγρήσας τῷ
Χριστῷ οὗ κατηναλώθης, τόν ἐμφαλεύοντα δὲ τούτου ὄμοφάγοις ἀγείλες:

Hail, for you were considered worthy to see Jesus’ own face, you sailed the
known and seen sea with him as the pilot, and when you visited those who ate
people raw, you were not devoured by them, but having been captured alive
by Christ, you were all consumed, and you destroyed the dragon lurking
among them.

With wrīdode, however, his image also resembles the growth of gold-inspired pride in
the breast of the bad man in Hrothgar’s ‘sermon’ (see also n. 762). Thus it is as if the
poet has also taken Hrothgar’s theme of corruption in *Beowulf*, in which King
Beowulf later ingests the poison of a dragon, and applied this to everyman in the
Temple.

772 *macga misgehygd* ‘perversion of young men’. A heavy moment. Andrew blames
the Jewish teachers; behind him, the poet perhaps blames lax Christian ones. His term
mordre bewunden ‘enclosed with mortal sin’ has already been applied to
the Mermedonians, on line 19 (n.).

784 *folce gecŷdan* ‘reveal to the nation’. See n. 622.

786 *ofeř mearcpaðu* ‘on paths through the march’. For the more literal meaning, ‘path
which marks a boundary’, see further n. 1062. This meaning is here altered by force
of the preposition *ofeř* ‘over, through’, and by attraction to *mearcland* ‘borderlands’
on line 802a (n.), to refer to a highway. The phrase is also found in *Elene* 233, in
stundum wrēčon / *ofeř mearcpaðu maegen efeř durum* ‘at times one company drove
after another on paths through the march’ for the route which is taken by Empress
Helena’s army on its way to the coast, to take ship for the Holy Land.

795-96 Brooks allows for line 796a, *faran tō frēan dōme*, to be hypermetric, if the
second stressed element is read as a contraction of *frēgean* (so Bliss 1958: 159), but
he rejects this scansion in his own text, ‘as other verses are found composed of
a mixture of both types’ (1961: xliii). The present edition takes up his suggestion,
however. This is the first pairing of hypermetric lines in *Andreas*, to be reinforced
with line 799 and with a group of three in lines 801-03. The repetition of this metrical
effect marks the climax not only of Andrew’s story, but also of the episode of the
voyage to Mermedonia.

798 *eordan ... ond upheofon* ‘earth ... and heaven up above’. The ‘earth-upheaven’
collocation is probably older than the arrival of Christianity in lands in which
Germanic languages were spoken, for we have *iord ok upphiminn* in stanza 3 of

801-03 Hypermetric lines. See n. 758.

802a *meardland* ‘borderslands’. The sense here may be closer to that of the poet’s introduction to Mermedonia as *meardland* on line 19 (n.), if we remember that a *meare* ‘march’ is set off in more than a topographical way from the civilized country which it borders: like the land of the *Mierce* ‘Mercians’ (literally ‘borderers’) so named by Northumbrians or Saxons to either side of them, OE *meardland* may refer also to a land of social and legal unknowns.

802b-03 *moldern...eordscæfu* ‘mound-house...earth-grave’. A neolithic burial chamber seems visualized as part of an acclimatization to the English landscape. The bodies of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob have been interred in a burial mound in keeping with their pre-Christian practice. See also the barrow in n. 1587.

809 *mid sybbe* ‘with family’. The line enacts a valedictory such as MnE ‘go in peace’. However, the patriarchs are in a three-generation sequence from Abraham downwards, and Jesus, as their descendant through King David (Matt 1: 6), claims a kinship. Socially still at the time of *Andreas*, the notion of ‘kindred’ in OE *sibb* appears to be synonymous with ‘peace’.

811 *Nū δū miht gehȳran, hyse lēofesta* ‘Now you can understand, dearest boy’. Also on line 595 (n.). This exegetical rejoinder has no match in the analogues, but there is a parallel in *The Dream of the Rood*, also in the Vercelli Book, on line 78: *Nū δū miht gehȳran, hæleð mīn se lēoфа* ‘Now you can understand, my dear sir’; also in this codex, the same line appears in variant spelling in Cynewulf’s address to the reader in *Elene* 511. The distinguishing feature of *Andreas* is in *hyse*, Andrew’s acknowledgement of what he perceives to be a difference in age. His use of homiletic language is also clear from a comparison with the same style, *Hēr gē magon gehȳran* ‘here you can understand’, in Ælfric’s *Homilies* (Clemoes 1997: 539 139); in *Tertia Ebdomada Quadrigesimae* (V.218; Pope 1967: 298); and in *Dominica Post Pascha* (VIII.215; 1976: 367).

816 *āræfnan* ‘cope with’. This common word contains the only example of the unstressed verbal *ā*-prefix in which the earlier *ar*-form (a variant of the stressed nominal *or*-prefix) is retained (Hogg 2011: §§ 2.82, 2.88, n.4; Campbell 1959: § 73.2). The retained *r* provides an alliterative consonant in verse, and so in *Andreas*. The derivative Anglian verb *raefnan* ‘perform’, alliteratively stressed in *raefnand* in *Guthlac* (A) 792 and *raenfand* in *Judith* 11, appears to have taken this emphasis further with loss of the initial vowel. The word *āræfnan* occurs three times in the Mercian glosses of Vespasian Psalter: for example, *arefnađ sawol min in worde δίνων ‘my soul sustains itself in Thy word’, for *sustinuit anima mea in verbo tuo* in Ps. 129:4 (Mertens-Fonck (1969), 27 (A 1)).

816-17 With the opening half-line *rodera rōdend* ‘Ruler of the Skies’ suddenly sounding like an invocation to God the Father, rather than the tail-end of the sentence before, Andrew condescends to the captain and inadvertently implies that the Father is
a lesser being. His parting compliments hygeþances glēaw echoes the captain’s more ironic þances glēaw on line 557 (n.).

826 oððæt slǣp wērige sǣ oferēode MS oððæt sæ werige slæp ofer eode. Brooks’ solution (1961: 90). The Vercelli Book scribe, or a predecessor, seems to have lost the page of his copy text and found his place with this phrase nearly one side further on. If this is the Vercelli Book scribe, he appears to have confused the text by jumping ahead of himself (from folio 40 recto, at the end of the line which is six page-lines up from the foot) to us sawerige slæp ofereode (words which start the line eight lines up from the foot of folio 40 verso). Closer to his page line on folio 40 recto is the phrase oððæt hine semninga slæp (line 820) directly four page lines above him, with the words ofer eode starting the following page line.

828-29 The scribe, or a predecessor, has dropped the equivalent of one or more verse lines (between present lines 828 and 829) out of his text, as well as words for which guesses are supplied. From the analogues it seems clear that this lost material can be treated as equal to one verse line.

831 be herestreâte ‘by army highway’. See also n. 200. The road beside which Andrew is left sleeping, leading to the gates of Mermedonia. This word, whose literal meaning is ‘army-street’, denotes roads of the kind that landowners were expected to maintain in Anglo-Saxon charters so that troops might more easily cross the landscape in response to military threats. The term survived without gloss into the period of Angevin rule: omnes herestrete omnino regis sunt et omnia qualstowa, id est occidentorum loca, totaliter regis sunt in soca sua ‘all herestrete [‘highways’] are entirely the king’s and all qualstowa, i.e. places of killings, are fully the king’s within his soke’ (Henry II (1114-18), 10, 2; Liebermann I, 1906: 551).

837 wonn under wolcnum ‘pale beneath clouds’. See n. 1169.

838 hofu ‘buildings’. In the supplement to Ælfric’s Vocabulary, Ædes ‘building’ is glossed by hof (WW 184.17); in British Library, MS Harley 3376 of the tenth century, Edes, i. templum ‘building, or temple’ is glossed by hofa (ibid., 226 4).

839-40 Onwōc þā wīges heard, wang scēawode / fore burggeatum ‘Awoke then the war-hardened, saw lie of the land before the town’s gates’. The militarization of the scene is peculiar to Andreas. There is a parallel, however, in Felix’ portrait of St Guthlac’s early life as a real soldier in his Vita Guthlaci ‘life of Guthlac’ of the 730s: veluti ex sopore evigilatus, mutate mente, aggregatis satellitum turmis, sese in arma convertit ‘as soon as he awoke from sleep, his mind changed, and with battalions of his retainers mustered, he turned to arms’ (ch. 2; Gonser 1909: 108). In the tenth-century Old English translation, this runs: Hē þā, swā hē of slǣpe onwōce, wearð his mōd oncyrred, and hē gesomnode miccle scole and wered his geþoftena and hys efenhǣfdlingas, and him sylf tō wǣpnum fēng ‘he then, as he awoke from sleep, became agitated in mind and mustered in a great battalion a host of his associates and comrades, and himself took up weapons’ (ibid., 108). The style of lines 839-50 of Andreas similarly allows St Andrew to scout before an attack (wang scēawode 839; sīðe gesōhte 845) while his disciples are portrayed as soldiers (beornas beadurōfe 848; wīgend 850) who are ready to follow him on a mission. The relation of Andreas to the Guthlac material, if there is a connection, is probably one of emulator to source
If there is an allusion to Guthlac’s case here, however, the heroic life is undercut. As the *Life of St Guthlac* goes on to say (in Old English): Þā wræc hē his æfþancas on his fēondum, and heora burh bærnde, and heora tūnas oferhergode; and hē wīde geond corþan menigfeald wæl felde, and slōh, and of mannum heora āhta nam ‘Then he avenged the offences against him on his enemies, and burned their towns, and overran their enclosures, and widely across the earth did he make multiple slaughter, and slew, and from the men took their possessions’.

842 *tigelfāgan trafu* ‘shacks adorned with tiles’. This term and the surrounding description in lines 839-43 capture Mermedonia as the shell of a Roman city with gate, towers, and walls, now in decline. Mermedonia has been built in stone, but also makes use of a rocky (or mountainous) environment in its defences, creating an instability between its natural and man-made elements. The tiles here, in contrast with the thatching or wooden shingling utilized in the Anglo-Saxon building tradition, are a mark of *Romanititas* which further separate Mermedonia from the wooden architectural vocabulary of almost all secular buildings. Moreover, the choice of *trafu*, as a term for buildings which is primarily used to describe tents rather than permanent structures (as in Judith 43, 255, 268), gives the impression that these ones look more like houses in a favela or shanty-town than impressive villas. The Mermedonians are thus portrayed like squatters, more than master builders; see n. 1306. The Ruin of the Exeter Book is similar, on lines 29-31: Forþon þās hofu drēorgiað, / ond þæs tēaforgēapa tigelum scēadeð / hrostbēages hrōf ‘And so those buildings grow dismal, / and thus the roof’s rust-red arch sheds its tiles / from the curving rafters’.

855 *Ic his word oncnēow* ‘I knew His words’. Unless this simple preterite of *oncnāwan* ‘to recognize, perceive, know’ has an unambiguously perfective meaning, as in ‘I have recognized his words’, Andrew appears to be telling his followers a barefaced lie. The poem makes it clear that he knew the ship’s captain’s divine identity no more than they did. If he is lying, the poet differs from the analogues, which give Andrew no more than the benefit of hindsight. In the *Praxeis*, Andrew says simply Μάθετε, ὁ κύριος ἦν μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ὦκ ἐγνομεν αὐτὸν ‘Understand that the Lord was with us in the boat and we knew him not’ (ch. 17; Bonnet 1959: 85). The Bonnet Fragment, which was found in an eleventh-century palimpsest and corresponds with lines 843-954 of *Andreas*, appears to stress the mercy of God in allowing Andrew and friends to survive their error: Surgete filii mei et uidete et cognoscite misericordiam dei que facta est nobis et scitote quia dominus Iesus Christus nobiscum erat in nauem et non cognouimus eum ‘Arise my sons, see and understand the mercy of God which has been shown us, and know that Lord Jesus Christ was in the ship and we knew him not’ (ch. 17; Bonnet 1959: 85; Brooks 1961: 177). In the Casanatenensis, Andrew goes further, rationalizing the deception and implicating his disciples in the failure to know the Lord, in such a way that Andrew might appear to be excusing himself: unde certissime scitote, quia in illa nave in qua veniebamus, ipse nauclerius cum quo loquebamus dominus erat iesus christus, ipse enim tenebat oculos nostros ne eum agnosceret, properterea non agnovimus eum ‘so know this most surely, that the sailor with whom we were speaking in the ship in which we came here was the Lord Jesus Christ, for he controlled our eyes lest we should know him, and so we knew him not’ (ch. 17; Blatt 1930: 65). The version in Blicking Homily XVIII is closer to the Bonnet Fragment, in that Andrew says ‘Ārīsað gē, mīne bearn, 7 ongytað Godes mildheortnesse, sō is nū mid ūs geworden. Witon wē ṣet ūre Drïhten mid ūs was on þēm scipe, 7 wē hine ne ongēaton; hē hine geēaðmēdde swā stēorrēora, 7 hē
hine ætēowde swā swā man ūs tō costiænne’ ‘Arise, my children, and understand God’s mercy which has befallen us. Let us know that our Lord was with us on the ship, and we did not perceive Him; He humbled Himself as a steersman, and he appeared as a man in order to test us’ (Morris 1967: 235; also Kelly 2003: 160-62). It seems that the poet of Andreas departs from this in order to characterize his saint as a man who wishes to save face. In this he resembles Beowulf, when he hides the truth to the Coastguard about his renegade father, or to Heorot, about the outcome of his swimming race with Breca.

858 geonge gēncwidum ‘young in replies’. Had these trainee apostles been older, they would have answered more tactfully. The youth of Andrew’s disciples is emphasized so that they may give Andrew (and us) the full truth of a time-travelling spiritual initiation to which our hero soon discovers he was not invited. For all their joy in the following lines they do not talk to him with the condescension with which Andrew addressed the Lord a little earlier.

859-91 The jubilation in the disciples’ chorus is marked by three arias of reinforced alliteration and a half-line rhyme scheme which resemble the best of Cynewulf, as when his persona talks to us in the Epilogue to Elene 1236-50. The relevant passages in Andreas are in lines 866-74, 877-83 and 887-91 (if we supply gefēana on line 890), with some more reinforced alliteration isolated in lines 861, 864 (if we supply faran), and 885. These emphatic arias, as in the Lord’s speech in lines 512-36 (n.), have a diminuendo in that their length dwindles from nine to seven to the five lines with which the speech ends. The Cynewulfian echoes are concentrated in the first and third reinforced bursts: in lines 866-70, which correlate with the angelic hymns to be heard in all quarters of heaven, tailing away with an isolated dryhten-hyhte (‘lord-hope’) combination in line 874; before returning with a reinforced rhyme in lines 887-88, not long before the finale.

862 Ūs sǣwērige slǣp oferēode. See n. 826.

878 dugod dōngeorne ‘cadre keen for glory’. The dōm in this case is heavenly renown. See otherwise n. 693.

884-85 ēow þegnodon ... hēahenglas ‘serving you as thanes ... archangels’. Andrew’s spirits begin to lift; see line 892.

889 wræcsīð witud ‘exile ordained’. Also in lines 1358 and 1431, respectively as the devil’s and the Lord’s assessment of Andrew’s position. In Descent 29, wræcsīð refers to hell also, but it may be used to render St Augustine’s view of the world in general. In Ælfric’s case: Nis þēos woruld nā ūre ēþel: ac is ūre wræcsīð ‘this world is not ever our home but is our time of exile’ (Dominica in Quinquagesima: Clemoes 1997: 261 161-62). The word also denotes the classic situation of exiled warriors or nobles in Beowulf 338 and 2292 and Wife 5 and 38.

893-94 syðþan hlēoðorcwide / gingran gehȳrdon ‘since in resounding utterance the disciples had heard’. The Praxeis and Casanatensis (chs. 18) give Andrew a selfless elation that his disciples have been considered worthy to see these marvels. The Blickling Homily XVIII omits the dream altogether. Brooks, in keeping with the analogues, takes the above lines from the poem to refer to the hymn which the
disciples hear on line 877: ‘The fact that his disciples had heard it was to Andrew a proof that God wished to honour them’ (1961: 93). However, the object pronoun hīe ‘them’ on line 894b may also or even exclusively be intended to include Andrew and the other apostles, who have been highlighted as angels serve them on lines 883-85. In this case, the saint’s joy is not as selfless as it was probably was in the poet’s source.

896 wīgendra hlēo ‘shield of warriors’. On this formula elsewhere, see n. 1450. Possibly an ironic use here, in view of the relief with which Andrew has welcomed what appears to be his own future pre-eminence in heaven in lines 893-94 (n.).

909 sigorspēd geseald ‘great triumph given’. On the formula, see n. 646a. Andrew, as the Loird makes clear a little later, will feel the suffering which must precede the gift of victory in the Mermedonian case.

912 purh cnihes hād ‘in form of a boy’. Literally ‘in the boy-category’ is what is meant with this emphatic form of OE cnihthād ‘boyhood’. The Anglo-Saxon view of age seems social rather than visual, but ‘in form of a boy’ works better after oðȳwed ‘revealed’ on the previous line. Cynewulf’s baby Jesus, who is proclaimed in the words ēow ācenned bið cnhti on dégle ‘for you will a boy be secretly begotten’ (Elene 339), may be the audience’s first point of reference, but in the Præxis: Παρεγένετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν, γενόμενος ἄμως μικρὸ παιδίο ὀραιοτάτῳ εὐείδει ‘Jesus came before him, appearing like a little child of the most beautiful countenance’ (ch. 18; Bonnet 1959: 87). In the Casanatensis, this is much the same: statim apparuit ei dominus in similitudinem pulcerrimi iuvenis pueri ‘at once the Lord appeared to him in the likeness of a most beautiful young boy (ch. 18; Blatt 1930: 67). In the Blickling Homily XVIII, after Andrew prays to Christ to appear before him, Drihten him ætēowde his onsȳne on fægeres cildes hēowe ‘the Lord appeared to him with His face in the form of a beautiful child’s’ (Morris 1967: 235; also Kelly 2003: 162). Correspondingly, as regards the word cnih in Andreas, ‘youth’ (Clemoes 1995: 258) is probably wrong. The meaning of OE cnihhtād can range from birth to young manhood, as stated in the penitential attributed to Egbert: cnih hō þæt hē sȳ XV winter eald, sȳ hē on his fæder gewealdum, syððan hē hine mōt munecyan, gyf hē wile ‘boy until he is 15 winters old, if he be in his father’s care, since this man may remind him if he wants’ (Confessionale pseudo-Egberti in Oxford, MS Bodley, Junius 121: XV, 18.b; Spindler 1934: 183). The tender years of OE cnihthād are clear in a line about the first St Boniface in the Mercian Alfredian translation of Gregory’s Dialogues, who performed great works on þā tīd þe hē mid þis mēder on cnihthāde eardode ‘during the time he dwelt in boyhood with his mother’; the Latin is eo tempore quo cum matre sua fuerit habitabat with similar meaning (Hecht 1965: 67). In the Old English, Gregory goes on to say that St Boniface performed these works þā hē þā ðet in his ȝeoȝoðhāde lȳtel wes ‘when he was still little in his youth’ (ibid., 68). In Andreas, for these reasons, it is probable that Jesus appears to Andrew as a little boy; a word for ‘beautiful’ is not included.

914 ‘Wes ðū Andrēas hāl mid þās willgedryht ‘Greetings to you Andrew, and your happy band’. Listed as a problem by Mitchell, for Andreas does not alliterate and wes, which does, takes an unmetrical stress (1985: § 3963). Stevens takes the metre of this line to be ‘totally corrupt’, with the imperative wes ‘be’ alliterating at the expense of the noun (1981: 14). See n. 1316. It seems likely that a vocative lay in the poet’s
source: in the Praxeis (ch. 18), Jesus says Χαίρε Ἀνδρέα ήμέτερε ‘Greetings our Andrew’ (Bonnet 1959: 87); in the Casanatensis (ch. 18), gaudeas andreas noster ‘Rejoice, our Andrew’ (Blatt 1930: 67), in which the injunction answers to the poet’s (wes) ferðgefēonde in line 915a (see following note). Jesus’ greeting in the Bonnet Fragment has the same injunction, but without the name: Gaudeas cum tuis discipulis ‘Rejoice with your disciples’ (Bonnet 1959: 87). The second part of this greeting, which answers to mid þās willgedryht, might tell us that the source of Andreas combined these elements in *gaudeas Andreas cum tuis discipulis. This appears to be the source of the words in Blickling Homily 18, where Jesus says Andrēas, gefēoh mid þīnum discipulum ‘Andrew, rejoice with your disciples’ (Morris 1880: 235). For a suggestion that Andrēas in this line of the poem alliterates by being sounded /wandrēas/ through the influence of ðū, see Introduction, p. $$. In the context, where Jesus appears as a child, the poet’s alliteration may allow him at least initially to speak as a child.

915a ferðgefēonde ‘(be) rejoicing in your heart’, i.e. ‘rejoice in your heart’. Orchard (‘The Originality of Andreas’, forthcoming) points out that this elsewhere unattested verbal compound seems to be a new word developed by the poet of Andreas from a collocation ferhð gefēonde ‘a spirit rejoicing’ which is found in Cynewulf’s Elene 174 and 990.

915b Ic þē friðe healde ‘I will keep you safe’ etc. This declaration, not in any analogue, responds to Andrew’s request for mercy on lines 902-03. As Clemoes points out, ‘God’s answer, as the poet conceived it, supplied a genuine response to the combination of personal devotion and general maxim’ with which Andrew for the first time acknowledges His help (1995: 277-78). However, the frið ‘safety’ in question safeguards no more than Andrew’s survival. With these words the Lord hints at tortures to come.

920-24 Andrew’s outburst extends to five lines without a break: an effusive rather than considered apology.

925 ealwalda god ‘Omnipotent God’. Nonetheless, the following words are still spoken by a boy: the poet seems keen to play the situation for its extremes.

930 þing gehēgan ‘make your appointment’. Also on line 157-58, where the Mermedonians symble ymb prūig þing gehēdon / nihtgerīmes ‘ever thus made appointment for after thirty nights in number’. Although Stanley (1979) puts the meaning of this idiom and the similar seonōp gehēgan beyond semantic salvage, some recovery may be made. OE þing covers ‘tryst’, ‘appointment’, ‘business’; hence, in this context, ‘date’ in the style of ‘fixed appointment’. The meaning of gehēgan, possibly literally ‘to hedge about’ (of the stem of OE haga ‘hedge’, but with different ablaut grade), is less clear; but the two words go together, in Old Norse þing heyja also, perhaps as ‘to mark off, i.e. to organize, an appointment’. The meaning of this cognate Norse phrase has been situated in courtship in the first instance (Foote 2004: 64); Óðinn, in an apparently pre-Christian verse, says of his seduction of a young woman:

léc ec við ina línhvít oœ launþing háðac,  
gladdac ina gullbiǫrþo, gamni mær unði.
I played with the linen-white woman and made a hidden tryst, gladdened the gold-bright one, the girl gave me some fun.

That this þing ‘tryst’ is laun- ‘hidden’ means not that þing heyja is otherwise alien to love-encounters, but that the case here contravenes a familial or marital code (as in the tale of Billings maer ‘Billingr’s wife’, Óðinn’s near-conquest in Hávamál, stanzas 96-102; North 1991: $$). Where matters of wisdom and religion are concerned, however, ‘private appointment’ appears to be the sense of þing in þing gehēgan. In Maxims I 18-18, we learn that þing sceal gehēgan / frōd wiþ frōdne ‘one wise man shall keep appointment with another’ or ‘hold his day with another’. Andreas itself contains a variant of this expression when Andrew and Matthew on line 1049 mid him mæðel gehēdan ‘between them did hold conference’, before dividing forces; later, Andrew mæðel gehēde ‘held conference’ with the marble pillar on line 1496, in order to make it yield a flood. In contrast with this privacy, there is a homiletic passage (for which no source is known) in The Phoenix 493, where the Lord will seonop gehēgan ‘set up synod’ for the Day of Judgement. A similar turn of phrase appears in JDay I 5, in which (Bede says that) hafað him geþinged hider þēoden ūser ‘our Chief has appointed Himself here’ precisely for Judgement, adding in line 8 that nis þet lýtu sprēc ‘that is no little speech to organize’. Beowulf promises perhaps more playfully to Hrothgar in Beowulf 425-26 that he alone (with the help of his men) shall āna gehēgan / ðing wið þyrse ‘alone make / appointment with the ogre’. As Foote suggests, ‘if any irony were detected’ in Beowulf’s line (by an imaginary audience of Norsemen in England), ‘it might be because keeping such an appointment also implied a softer passage of arms than Beowulf and Grendel had in prospect’ (1977: 72). The Lord’s use of þing gehēgan in His reminiscence to Andreas may be coined with reference to this line in Beowulf, so as to align Andrew with the Geatish hero who saves people from cannibals. If this is true, the humour is all the Lord’s, at Andrew’s expense.

936 The scribe writes hrædlīce where the poet, in ārīs nū hrædlīce, rǣd ādre ongit, seems to pronounce this without h-. See further n. 1334.

940 under burglocan ‘into the stronghold’. Also in lines 1038 and 1065. It is also once in Genesis (A) 2538, for the protection of city walls, as well as being Beowulf’s term for the quarters in which Hygelac’s young queen Hygd lives (with burh- in Beowulf 1928).

947b-49 This fitt of Andreas, as do several others, ends on the note of the hope of going to heaven. However, it is also worth noting that the aftermath of Matthew’s rescue, Andrew’s near-martyrdom before the miracle which turns his cannibal hosts back into humans, is left for the next fitt.

951-56 Jesus’ promise of much violence but no death to Andrew in the coming trials is marked by reinforced alliterition in six lines, an emphasis which he does not accord with the story of his own sufferings on lines 960-70. However, the earlier part of his speech, in the foregoing fitt, does give this alliterative emphasis to Matthew’s sufferings more briefly on lines 942-44 and 947-48.
959 *dōmes georn* ‘eager for renown’. See n. 693.

963 *weras wansǣlige* ‘men ill-fortuned’. According to a story told to Judas (later Cyriacus) by his father in *Elene*, the historical Jewish elders who plotted Christ’s execution were *weras wansǣlige*, on line 478, for thinking that they could kill him; the poet calls their descendants the same, perhaps meaning just ‘unhappy men’, when they hear the news of the Invention of the True Cross on line 977. Grendel when we first hear of him is *wonsǣlī wer* ‘a man ill-fortuned’ in *Beowulf* 105. However, the prospect of damnation which applies in these cases does not affect the Mermedonians. All bar fourteen of them are said to be saved from this fate at the end of *Andreas*.

967 *rōd wæs ārǣred* ‘a rood was raised’. The same formula appears in first-person narrative in *Dream 44*: *Rōd wæs ic ārǣred*; also, without verbal copula, on line 886 of *Elene*. Oddly enough, these are the collocation’s only instances, and all in the Vercelli Book.

973 *Manige syndon* ‘Many are those’ etc. From here the Blickling Homily XVIII, which runs out where Christ tells Andrew that he suffered in order to set him an example, must be completed with the text in *CCCC*, MS 198, starting with ‘Gehīere mē Andrēas, and āræfna þās tintrego, forþon manige synt on þisse ceastre þā sculon geleofan on minne naman’ ‘Hear me, Andrew, and endure these torments, because many are those in this city who shall believe in my name’ (Morris 1967: 237).

981 *mōdgeþyldig* ‘man of mental patience’. This word is attested only here, although the simplex *geþyldig* ‘patient’ survives in more than 500 examples. There are no compounds with *geþyldig* which start with *hyge* or *ferhð* or any other term for mind. Against this uniqueness of *mōdgeþyldig*, it is worth noting that King Hrothgar, not long after the start of his ‘sermon’ in the centre of *Beowulf* and within the poem’s first of three extended hypermetric passages, compliments Beowulf with *Eal þū hit geþyldum healdest, / mægen mid mōdes snyttrum* ‘all this power you are keeping with patience, with wisdom of mind’ (lines 1705-6). It is reasonable to suppose that the poet of *Andreas* crystallizes Hrothgar’s phrase in a compound for Andrew at this moment, in order to align him with Beowulf, although Andrew’s great feats have yet to be realized. See also the following note.

982 *beorn beaduwe heard* ‘warrior hard in battle’. OE *beadu* ‘battle’ occurs as a simplex without *heard* relatively rarely, in nine places (*Andreas* 1186; *Beowulf* 709; *Riddle* 88 28; *Maxims* I, 61, II, 15; *Juliana* 385, *Elene* 45; *Judith* 212; *Maldon* 185). The only other collocation with *heard* is in *Beowulf* 1539a, in which Beowulf is *beadwe heard* ‘hard in battle’ as he closes with Grendel’s Mother, with nothing but his hands. This epithet seems peculiar to Beowulf himself: formally it provides the closest parallel to *Bǫðvarr* ‘battle-ready’, the name for Beowulf’s counterpart in the oldest Norse analogues. In *Beowulf*, the epithet is preceded by a verb, *braegd* ‘moved’, in the same half-line; this differs from the line in *Andreas*, in which the verb on the line, *êode* ‘entered’, belongs to the following clause and is metrically unstressed. On metrical grounds, Stevens (1981: 12) concludes of the latter line that ‘the emphasis of the passage is on a static impression of the hero, not movement’. On this evidence, as well as on that of line 981 (n.), Andrew’s approach to the jail is initiated by a pregnant pause, in which the poet redefines him as a hero on the scale of Beowulf.
991 carcerne nēh ‘near the prison’. See n. 90.

992 hǣdenra hlōð ‘a heathen prize-gang’. Strictly these men are guards, but the poet gives them the ignominious aspect of slavers guarding Christian captives. In the context of English history from the later ninth to early eleventh centuries, such people were Vikings. See n. 42.

995 druron dōmlēase ‘they fell without renown’. This alliterative formula is attested only here. OE dōmlēas occurs but twice elsewhere: in ChristS 230, where hell’s fallen angels confess that they are dōmlēase ‘without renown’ (‘without choice’ in Bradley 1982: 93) for having to fight a losing war with God for all eternity; and in Beowulf, where Wiglaf on line 2890 makes clear to his dead king’s bodyguard that the enemies of Geatland will rush in once they hear of their dōmlēasan dǣd ‘deed of no renown’, their abandonment of the king and flight from battle. Similarly in Elene 994, the converted Judas promises an offending demon an eternity of torment as dōmes lēasne ‘one without renown’ (‘disreputable’ in Bradley 1982: 188). In each case, including that of the seven guards in Andreas, the loss of renown connotes an ignominious defeat.

998 heofoncyninges gōd ‘Heaven-King’s goodness’. OE gōd here (on line 8 of folio 42 verso) is accented, as if the scribe, or that of his exemplar, has mistaken the word for ‘God’ (in a binominal genitive construction such as eordān mōdor ‘earth the mother’). On the 10 instances of gōd ‘God’ in the final two thirds of Andreas, see the Introduction, p. $$.

999-1000 Duru sōna onarn ‘At once the door rushed open’ etc. There is a unique parallel with Beowulf 721-22, in which the touch of Grendel’s hand opens Heorot’s doors with the same violence: Duru sōna onarn, / fȳrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum æthrān ‘At once the door rushed open, / made firm with fired bonds, when his hands touched it’. The effect is first to prepare for a cannibal’s entry, then to reveal Andrew. See Introduction, p. $$.

1000 hāliges gastes ‘of the holy guest’. This reading flies in the face of the topos hāliges gāstes ‘of the Holy Ghost’, on line 531, and the form gāst for ‘spirit’ is also applicable on line 468. Brooks leaves the vowel long, pointing out that MS gast is the only attested form in Andreas for words which may mean either ‘guest’ or ‘ghost’. MS gastes on line 1000 (and similarly on line 1088, 1621 and 1694, if not in other cases) ay be a standardized form. In the analogues, where Andrew kills the seven guards and opens the prison door by making the blessing with his right hand, there is no word of the Holy Spirit, although the latter’s agency might be assumed. There is another instance of MS hālig gast in poetry with the same ambiguity: the poet of Daniel calls three Israelites of the Babylonian captivity hālige gastas ‘holy guests’ as if they are foreign missionaries on line 26 and 480. With MS hāliges gastes also on Andreas 1621, the ambivalence is similar: here, again, ‘guest’ is to be preferred. Jesus himself is heofonhālig gast ‘heaven-holy Guest’ in the Temple on line 728. As ‘Holy Ghost’, the collocation se hālga gāst is fairly common, to be found elsewhere, for example, in Ælfric’s De initio creaturae (Clemoes 1997: 179.19), Nativitas Domini (ibid.: 195-96.171-72) or Assumptio s. Iohannis Apostoli (ibid.: 212.191).
Hǣðene swǣfon / drēore druncne, dēadwang rudon ‘Heathens were sleeping blood-drunk, had reddened the plain of death’. The poet appears to make a parody of the noble heathen in heroic verse, if not principally in Beowulf. His mock-heroic language is directed to Mermedonians as if they were the Danish guests in Heorot, whom Grendel sees rinca manige / swefan sibbegedriht samod ætgædere ‘many warriors, a kindred retinue sleeping mustered together’, in Beowulf 728-29.

in þām gnornhofe ‘in that court of lamentation’. See n. 838.

Gode þancade / þæs ðe hīe onsunde ǣfre mōston / gesēon under sunnan ‘gave thanks to God/ that they had ever been permitted to see one another / safe beneath the sun’ etc. These lines change what was probably in the poet’s source, for in the Praxeis and Casanatensis Matthew barely waits before reproaching Andrew for coming, for not heeding what they were taught, and apparently for not working a miracle. Andrew answers with the news that he is on a mission from God. The emotional welcome in the above lines of Andreas seems to be based on a ‘thank God’ formula which is also in Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies, I, 9, where Simeon, carrying the child Jesus into the Temple, þancode georne gode þæt hē hine gesēon mōste ‘eagerly thanked God that he had been permitted to see him’ (Clemoes 1997: 250-33-34). More closely, the above lines in Andreas resemble two instances in Beowulf. In one, the Geats, on seeing their friend surface from Grendel’s Mere, gode þancodon (...) þæs þe hīe gesundne gesēon mōston ‘gave thanks to God (...) that they were permitted to see him safe and sound’ (lines 1626-28). In the other, more emotionally on his sister’s son’s return from Denmark, Hygelac says: Gode ic þanc secge / þæs ðe ic ðē gesundne gesēon mōste ‘To God I say thanks that I have been permitted to see you safe and sound’ (lines 1997-98). Less close expressions are in Hrothgar’s thought on line 1875, about parting with Beowulf, þæt h<ī>e seooda<n nō> gesēon mōston ‘that they would never thereafter see each other more’; and in Guthlac’s telling his servant (Beccel) to tell his sister (Pege) in Guthlac (B) 1186-67, that his desire has been þæt wit unc eft in þām ēcan gefēan / on sweglwuldre gesēon mōstun ‘that she and I might be permitted to see each other again in that everlasting rejoicing in the glory of the firmament’. Andreas and Beowulf come closest in the formula, on which they both build with gesund or onsund, words for ‘safe’. If the poet of Andreas alludes to Beowulf, he appears to align Matthew and Andrew for a moment with Hygelac and Beowulf.

syb was gemāene / bām þām gebrōðrun ‘Goodwill was shared between both brethren’. The older meaning of OE f. sibb ‘kindred’ is more enveloping, but Matthew and Andrew were not related, nor are given so here. With just two men, the collective noun gebrōðor is figurative and means ‘brethren’. It seems that the poet modifies the meaning of the word sibb in order to elevate the fellowship of the holy spirit over blood kinship.

sēde him gūðgeđingu ‘told him the outcome of battle’ etc. A hypermetric half-line and full line (Brooks 1961: xliii and 96). On the noun, see n. 1042b-43. This pairing of hypermetric lines appears to emphasize the warlike confidence with which St Andrew is now possessed (see n. 1023-24).

Nū is þīn folc on luste, / hæleð hyder on [ ‘Now are your people in high spirits, heroes here in [’]. The sentence is cut short by the loss of a folio (see n. 1024-
25). Krapp (1932: 31), followed by Boenig (1991a: 100), emends MS þin to þis ‘this’, but Brooks is probably right to keep it (1961: 33, 94). With an emended þis folc ‘this people’, Andrew would mean that the Mermedonians are filled with joy or excitement at his arrival and the deaths of seven guards: If, on the other hand, the emended þis refers to Andrew and his men, the form þin, which also includes this referent, should stay. In the first instance þin folc would have to refer to Matthew’s fellow prisoners. In both the Praxeis and the Casanatensis (ch. 19), Andrew’s first utterance is a question to Matthew, asking him why he is still there and how he could not use a miracle to escape, given that he expected to be eaten in under three days. In neither analogue does Andrew’s question include the other inmates, but as he looks for them at the start of the next chapter in both analogues (ch. 20), the English poet may have brought them forward here. Brooks thinks so, taking them to be the folc which Andrew cites above. These people, given that Matthew ðǣr āna sæt ‘sat there alone’ on line 1007, ‘do not appear to be in the same cell with him’ (1961: 96). So Andrew’s sentence with þīn folc could be reinterpreted as the opening of a question in which he asks Matthew about the other prisoners whom he cannot yet see: are your people now filled with spirit at our arrival? However, the verb sǣde on line 1022 does not introduce a question. Neither does the DOE database give other examples of Old English questions which begin with Nū is. The latter introduces a statement in more than 200 examples. There is a parallel for Andrew’s syntax in the young Pharoah’s words in the Old English prose Exodus: Nū is Ðīrahēla folc micel 7 strenge þonne wē ‘Now is the nation of Israel big and stronger than we are’ (I, 9; Crawford 1969: 212). With a statement, in this case, Andrew would be commending Matthew’s fellow prisoners for their spirit and noting that they are approaching the two apostles even as he speaks.

However, the other inmates are in a woeful state. The upbeat mood suits Andrew’s men better than Matthew’s, whose people are only a weor on wilsīð ‘band on a happy journey’ (line 1046) after they are released with their sight restored. They are the subject of ch. 20 in both the Praxeis and the Casanatensis, when Andrew laments about their misery before they are healed. The leading analogues may be taken as some sort of guide. In both of them, Andrew’s men accompany him to the prison (ch. 19). Although the poet, especially in lines 981-1003, makes clear that Andrew goes there without them, Andrew’s words to Matthew on þin folc may compensate for his solitary advance by announcing that Matthew’s ‘people’, Andrew’s ‘high-spirited heroes’, ‘now’ on their way. The phrase on luste, rather as in Andreas 1023, describes Constantine’s and then Helena’s armies both victorious and on the move in Elene, respectively lines 59 and 261; the flood in Andreas is similarly buoyant on line 1573: flōd wæs on luste ‘flood was in spate’. This aggressive meaning fits with the poet’s summary of Andrew’s message as the gūðgeðing ‘outcome of battle’ on line 1023. Andrew is filled with warlike confidence. The question now is what next happened in Andreas.

1024-25 A folio has been neatly cut out of the quire between present folios 42 and 43. To get an idea of how much of Andreas is missing here, we may take the quantity on folio 42 recto as an example. This folio has 24 lines of text, from line 950 to end of line 986 of Andreas, 37 verse lines in all. If we double that, a notional number of missing verse lines may be taken as around 74. Chs. 19-20 of the leading analogues tell us what could have been in the poet’s main source for these lines. In the Praxeis, Andrew appears to jest with Matthew, asking him why he is still there with the prospect of being eaten, when he might have used miracles to escape. Matthew
responds by reminding him that the Lord said that they would once be ‘sheep in the midst of wolves’ (Matt. 10:16 and Luke 10:3; see n. 1669). He adds the Lord’s later promise that he would be rescued after 27 days. ‘What should we do now?’ Matthew asks Andrew. Ch. 20 begins with Andrew peering into the middle of the prison for a sight of the other prisoners. When he sees them naked and eating grass, he beats his breast, exclaiming at what the Mermedonians have done. There follows a long rebuke of Satan in which Andrew (rhetorically, at this stage) asks the devil what he intended by punishing the Christians in this way, and how long he will wage war against mankind. Andrew reminds Satan of his crimes, starting with the expulsion of Adam from paradise and the figurative transformation of Adam’s bread into stones; καὶ πάλιν σὺ ἐπισήλθες ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἄγγελων καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς ἐν γυναιξίν μιανθήναι, καὶ ἐποίησας ἀδιαθέτους τοὺς ἱοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς γίγαντας, ὡστε κατεσθίνειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ‘and later you entered into the minds of the angels and made them defile themselves with women, and you made their unruly sons giants, so that they ate up the people of the earth’ (ch. 20, from Gen. 6: 1-4; Bonnet 1959: 92).

But the Lord, says Andrew, wiped out the giants with a flood in order to destroy all He had made on earth but for the righteous Noah. Here Andrew accuses Satan of making the Mermedonians consume human flesh and blood so that the Lord will destroy them in the same way. However, he reminds the devil of the Lord’s promise (in Gen. 9:11) never again to flood the earth. Andrew ends by promising punishment to Satan instead. This aggressive speech dignifies the tale of cannibals by grounding it in the Old Testament; and the allusion to Noah’s Flood looks forward to the lesser surge which Andrew will inflict on the city near the end (Anlezark 2006: 216). The Casanatensis delivers on the same theme without significant change. The poet of Andreas probably related similar details. Doubtless he would have dropped the angelic fornication, to judge from his tactful omission of the statues’ accusation about high-priests’ sexual mores in ch. 14, but it is reasonable to suppose that the poet let him digress on Genesis and Noah. In all, the analogues show that the missing text answers effectively to ch. 20, a chapter which is important to the whole story in that it gives these Acts of SS Matthew and Andrew their authority and rationale. It is interesting to find particularly this part of Andreas, which would have contained a statement of Andrew’s mission in miniature, so neatly removed from the codex.

1025 <eald/>gewyrht, eardes nēosan ‘<ancient>’ deeds, to seek an abode’. Line 1026 shows that these words conclude a speech. OE eald as a lost prefix is a guess on alliterative grounds, since one of the only two instances of ealdgewyrht, concerning Adam’s ‘ancient deeds’ (see n. 1024-25), is found in the Vercelli Book, in Dream 100 (the other is in Beowulf 2657). OE eardes nēosan occurs once elsewhere, for heaven, also in the same codex: in Fates, just after Andreas, on lines 109-110, Cynewulf’s persona declares that Ic sceall feor heonan, / ān elles forð, eardes nēosan ‘I must move far from here, one man elsewhere, to seek an abode’. In the analogues Andrew’s speech ends with the Lord’s promise to Noah, as well as with Andrew’s threat to the devil. It is worth speculating that the latter, as an instruction to return to hell, is contained in what remains of Andrew’s speech.

1028-31 sendon hira bēne (...) hālend helpe ‘first sent their boon (...) the Healer for help’. The first prayer is presumably for victory against the devil in Mermedonia, as it seems to be in both the analogues (ch. 21). With swylice ‘likewise’ on line 1029, we have a new prayer from Andrew alone. If this is his personal prayer for survival in the coming trials, the word swylice probably relates not to help against the devil, but to the
healing of Andrew’s future wounds. This is the healing implicit in gēoce and hēlend on lines 1030 and 1031 (see n. 91). The earlier ‘help’ implied in these words is the healing of Matthew’s fellow prisoners. Although Brooks assumed that this miracle was contained in the missing folio (1961: 96), the analogues show that it is probably meant to happen between the lines 1028-31 above.

1035-36 tū hundēontig ... swylce fēowertig <ond fēower tweowa> ‘two hundred ... as well as forty <and twice four more>’. 248, then. A 7-abbreviation (the ‘Tirrhonian note’) in the manuscript is here removed before hundēontig. As Brooks explains, there is a general problem with the number of prisoners in the Mermedonian jail (1961: 97). According to Codex Vaticanus: Erant nam omnes intra ergastulo promiscui sexus et mulieribus fere cum viris, quippe ducentis nonaginta et septem cum sancto apostolo ‘for all inside the prison were mixed together in gender with women often with the men, even up to two hundred and ninety-seven with the holy apostle [Matthew]’ (Blatt 1930: 108). The Casanatensis gives the same, with specifications: Erat autem qui retrusi fuerunt, numerus quasi ducenti quadraginta octo, absque mulieribus que fuerunt quadraginta novem ‘so the number of the arrested was up to two hundred and forty-eight, apart from the women who numbered forty-nine’ (ch. 21; ibid., 73). The Old English homily (according to CCCM, MS 198) gives twā hund and eahta and fēowertig wera, and nigon and fēowertig wīfa, dā se hālga Andrēas þanon onsende ‘two hundred and forty-nine men and forty-nine women whom the holy Andrew sent away from there’ (Morris 1967: 239). The Praxeis gives various numbers according to manuscript: 270; or a ‘249’ which Blatt emends to 297: Ἡσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες διακόσιοι ἔβδομιντα καὶ γυναῖκες διασεράκοντα ἑννέα οὕς ἀπέλυσαν Ἀνδρέας ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ‘they were in all two hundred and seventy men and forty-nine women whom Andrew released from the jail’ (ch. 21; Bonnet 94); emended by Blatt to ἄνδρες διακόσιοι σαράκοντα (ὀκτώ καὶ γυναῖκες σαράκοντα) ἑννέα ‘two hundred and forty men (and eight and forty women) and nine men’ (1930: 72). Blatt’s text thus has 249 men and 48 women: the total is still 297.

In the lines of Andreas above, where MS tu 7 hundteontig plus feowertig would make a total of 142 men (102 + 40), the removal of 7 partly solves the problem by making 240 (2 x 100, + 40), as Kock shows, who treats MS tu 7 as a miscopying of twa ‘two’ or tuwa ‘twice’ (1921: 105). Brooks leaves the matter there, saying that 240 is ‘nearer the number required’. More may be done, however. The manuscript has no lacuna after swylce fēowertig on line 1036, but it is clear that a half-line is missing despite the intact text. The present editors supply ond fēower on the assumption that the scribe’s eye skipped a second fēower by haplography after fēowertig. That gives us 244 (240 + 4). Then we supply the word tweowa, partly on the same grounds: if the eow-sequence was already visible in fēowertig, a word tweowa may likewise have disappeared. A parallel to this method of counting may be found in the Alfredian Orosius, in which the city of Babylon gestōd tuwa seofon hund wintra on hierie onwealde ēr hīo gefēolle ‘stood in dominion for twice seven hundred winters before it fell’ (i.e. 1400 years, in VI.i; Bately 1980: 132-33). Thus we may suppose that the poet of Andreas reaches the total of 248 men by counting 2 by 100, plus 40, plus 8 (as 2 by 4).

1038 under burglocan ‘in the stronghold’. See n. 940.
ānes wa na þe fīftig <forþgerīmed> ‘one short of fifty <numbered forth>’. For his female prisoners the poet counts with a different method. The scribe seems to have struggled. Brooks believes that grammatically ānes wa na þe fīftig should be read (1961: 97). He ingeniously suggests that a word forþgerimed in the copy-text disappeared by haplography through its resemblance to forhte immediately after. Although he leaves this word out of his text, it is supplied here.

lēordan ‘departed’. For this as the Anglian equivalent to WS gewiton, see n. 124.

nales leng bidon ... gūðgeþingo ‘would not at all longer await the outcome of battle’. There is a misleading resemblance to Olc gunnar þing ‘war assembly’ (a kenning for ‘battle’), but the OE compound, which only occurs here and later on line 1043, is closer in meaning to gūðgemōt ‘battle encounter’ in Genesis (A) 2256 and Riddle 15 27. The above collocation of gūðgeþingo with bidon resembles one in Beowulf, where the hero, expecting Grendel at the end of Fitt X on line 709, bād bolgenmōd headwa gehinges ‘awaited swollen with rage the battle’s outcome’.

wolcnum beþehte ‘with clouds He covered’. Andrew’s escape plan, in which he tells Matthew and the others to find a fig tree in the lower city and wait there, eating the fruit till he comes, is happily left out of Andreas. Possibly this is because Andrew amends the plan with some transport. According to the Praxeis: ἐπέταξεν Ἀνδρέας νεφέλην, καὶ ἀπέθετο αὐτῶς ἡ νεφέλη ἐν τῷ ὅρει ὅποι ἦν ὁ Πέτρος διόδακσοι, καὶ ἐμείναν πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘Andrew summoned up a cloud, and the cloud lifted them on to a mountain where Peter was teaching, and they stayed with him’ (ch. 21; Bonnet 1959: 94). The Casanatensis follows suit, saying that Andrew per virtutem domini nostri iesu Christi recipiens nubibus celi, et elevantes discipuli eius una cum beato matheo apostolo. Et deposuerunt illos in quodam montem ubi erat beatus petrus apostolus, et manusrerunt ibi cum eo ‘brought up clouds from heaven through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his disciples were raised up along with the blessed apostle Matthew, and the clouds placed them down on a certain mountain where they stayed with him’ (ch. 21; Blatt 1930: 75). In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), there is no cloud, but still ðone ēadigan Māthēum hē gedyde gangan tō þǣm east-dǣle mid his discipulum and se hāliga Andrēas āsette on þǣre dūne þǣr se ēadiga Petrus se apostol was ‘he made the blessed Matthew go to the eastern part with his disciples and the holy Andrew set <them> down on the hill where blessed Peter the Apostle was’ (Morris 1967: 339). The poet of Andreas, probably having decided to lose the escape to Peter’s mountain top (Boenig takes this to be Rome), turns the cloud into a cloak to protect Matthew and the others from Mermedonian arrows, should any be shot at them (none are). The phrase wolcnum beþehte is ambiguous enough to mean Matthew or Andrew, but here the poet appears to give God, whose gehyld ‘safe hold’ he has cited on line 1045, as the author of this cloud.

mid earhfare ealdgenīðlan ‘ancient enemies, with a flight of arrows’. In Judith 228, the Assyrians are ealdgenīðlan ‘ancient enemies’ of the Bethulian heroes of this poem. SolSat 129, includes an atole earhfare ‘terrible flight of arrows’ in the devil’s panoply. The Father is said to protect man against devils’ ēglum earhfarum ‘terrifying arrow-attacks’ in Cynewulf’s Christ II 762. Though it is clearly Mermedonian bowmen who are feared in Andreas, the other uses of earhfare may show that the poet
blends them with devils, their mentors. These creatures are more deserving of an *eald-*
prefix to their epithet as enemies of Christians. The Mermedonians may already have
been identified as descendants of devil-begotten giants in the folio which was excised
(n. 1024-25).

1049 *Þǣr þā mōdigan mid him mid him mæðel gehēdan* ‘Between them where the
brave men held conference’. Taken to be a subordinate clause preceding the main one
(Mitchell 1985: § 2448). On the verbal idiom, see nn. 262, 607-09 and 930.

1059 *glædmōd* ‘relieved in mind’. This adjective may mean ‘cheerful’ (1), or ‘joyous’
(1.a) because of a particular circumstance, or ‘calmer, easier in mind’ (1.b.ii),
according to DOE, which gives it the 1.a designation here in *Andreas*. According to
these definitions Beowulf is also *glædmōd* ‘joyous’, in his own case because Hrothgar
informs him that treasures will be given in the morning, in *Beowulf* 1786. In Ælfric’s
*Life of St Martin* (990s), the pagans of Gaul are said to be *glædmōde* ‘joyous’ as they
begin to chop down a holy pine-tree which, they hope, will crush the saint to death
(ch. 10; Skeat II, 1966: 244 406-07). In *Andreas*, however, the notion that Andrew’s
men’s have escaped suffering is strong enough for him to have a weight off his mind
when he heads back into the city. In the ninth-century Lindisfarne Gospel
glosses, the blind man healed by Jesus is told to rise up, with *glædmōd wæs ðū ārīs*
: as this glosses *anima equior esto surge* ‘be easier in mind, arise’ in Mark 10:49, it seems that
OE *glædmōd* can mean ‘relieved in mind’ (Skeat I, 1871: 85).

1061 *be mearcpaðe* ‘along a path between houses’. The pillar of brass stands near to
the street that passes between houses, and may mark the *pingstede* (line 1098) on
which the Mermedonians converge after finding that their prisoners have been set
free. Andrew has not moved from this spot by line 1135, when he has a clear view of
the child who is to be killed for food. Gathering at landmarks on or near boundaries in
order to conduct judicial processes and executions was something with which every
Anglo-Saxon who heard these lines would have been familiar, although this is clearly
an inversion of the proper course of events, as is much else in Mermedonia. See
discussion of meeting places and boundaries in the introduction (pp. §§-§§). The phrase
*be mearcpaðe* here may just vary *strǣte nēah*, but literally OE *mearcpað* is ‘a
path which marks the boundary’. In *Riddle 72* 11-13, what appears to be an ox *sīpade
wīddor, /mearcpaþas Wālas træd, mōras peðde, / bunden under bēame* on ‘journeyed
further, trod a Welshman’s boundary paths, made paths on the moors, bound under
beam’. Here the *mearc* ‘boundary’ seems to divide fields which are ploughed by
slaves. Earlier in *Andreas*, on line 786 (n.), this word is found in the plural *ofer
mearcpaðu* ‘on paths through the march’, to refer to the lonely highway on which the
statue from the Temple in Jerusalem treads towards Mambre. This usage is similar to
the remaining instance in which, with Empress Helena’s army in *Elene* 232-33,
*stundum wrǣcon / ofer mearcpaðu mægen aefir ōðrum* ‘at times one company drove
after another on paths through the march’.

1063 *strǣte nēah stapul ārenne* ‘near the street a pillar of brass’. Here the lost source
of *Andreas* matches with the *Praxeis* more closely than with the Casanatensis. In the
*Praxeis*, Andrew walks back into town, and stops by a certain street, *θεσαύρειμας
στόλον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνδριάνα ἐπάνω ἑσπερία καὶ ἔλθεν ἑκαστάθη ὁπίς τοῦ
στόλου ἐκείνου ἐως ὅτε τι ἐστι τὸ γεγομένον* ‘having seen a copper pillar and a
statue standing on top of it and going there, he sat down by that pillar in order to see
what would happen’ (ch. 22; Bonnet 1959: 94). According to the Casanatensis, *vidit statuam erectam stantem super columnem marmorem, expectantem autem quid occideret de eo* ‘he saw a statue standing upright on top of a marble column, and then waited to see what would happen with it / him’ (ch. 22; Blatt 1930: 73). In the homily, according to CCCC, MS 198: *hē ongan gangan ūt þurh midde þā ceastre, and hē cōm tō sumre stōwe, and hē þēr geseah swēr standan, and ofer þone swē ērne onlīnesse* ‘and he did go out through the middle town, and he came to a place, and saw a pillar standing there, and on the pillar a brass image’ (Morris 1967: 239). In all sources Andrew’s aim in going to the pillar is to help the Mermedonians find him. The *Praxeis* makes this especially clear with a play on the saint’s name Ἄνδρέας and ἀνδριάς (as in ‘an Andrew on the pillar’) which is the word for statue not only here but also in the scene in the jail before the flood (see n. [1492-94]). In the scene where Andrew later sees the prison statue, the Greek text juxtaposes the words as if to make the statue Andrew’s proxy, in *καὶ ἀνελθὼν ὁ Ἀνδρέας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἡπλοσεν τας χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπτάκις* ‘and going up on the statue Andrew clapped his hands seven times’ (ch. 29; Bonnet 1959: 109). The pun on his name lets one suppose that in the *Praxeis* Andrew chooses the statue on the copper pillar in order to draw attention to himself as the organiser of the great escape.

1067 *sīde herigeas* ‘wide armies’. See n. 652.

1071 *under hlinscūwan* ‘under latticed shadow’. An urban architecture is implied, but the jail’s association is also with hell. Cynewulf may be the source: in *Juliana* 543-45, Satan is described as *bone snotrestan / under hlinscūan helwarena cyning / in fēonda byrig* ‘under latticed shadow the cleverest king of hell’s denizens in the town of fiends’.


1074 *him sēo wēn gel<ē>ah* ‘that hope deceived them’. This idiom for a reversal in expectations is familiar from *Genesis* (A) 49 and 1446; as well as in *Beowulf* 2323, where the Dragon’s faith in the security of his barrow, after his torching of the Geatish villages and countryside, is given as misplaced.

1075 *mid corðre* ‘with its guard of honour’. OE *cordor*, also on lines 138, 1121, 1204 and 1716, is a common word for an elite retinue placed physically near its king, as when Edgar of England, in 973, is *cordre miclum to cyninge gehālgod* ‘hallowed as king in a great retinue’ in *The Coronation of Edgar* 2. Among older examples, the Pharaoh brings *cyningas on corðre* ‘kings in retinue’ with him after the Israelites, in *Exodus* 191 and 466; Nebuchanezzar is a *cyning corðres georn* ‘king eager for a retinue’ in *Daniel* 95; the *cāser* ‘emperor’ Constantine on *corðre swaf* ‘slept among his retinue’ before his vision in *Elene* 70. Finn of the Frisians is also slain *cyning on corþre* ‘a king in his retinue’ in *Beowulf* 1153; and Wiglaf *ǣ cigde of corðre cyninges þegnas* ‘called out from the retinue king’s thanes’ seven in number to accompany him into the Dragon’s mound, in *Beowulf* 3121. The frequency of this term is high in *Andreas*.
1081 ellreordigra ‘out of these barbarians’. The word ‘these’ is here supplied because the adjective ellreordigra stands for a noun, just as feorrcundra ‘of strangers from abroad’ on the line before. OE el(l)reordig, literally ‘speaking a foreign language’, is standard for Latin barbarus ‘barbarian’, a Greek-derived word for ‘foreigner’ which was created by onomatopoeia (βάρ βάρ) for unintelligible sounds. With the exception of Andreas, the Old English word occurs only in prose. In the Mercian and WS rendering of Bede’s Historia ecclesiastica, the sub-Roman Britons complain to Aetius that repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros ‘the barbarians drive us back to the sea, the sea to the barbarians (I, 13; Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 46): this is translated as ūs drīfaþ ðā ellreordan tō sǣ; wiðscūfeð ūs sēo sǣ ūs tō þām ellreordīum ‘the barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea shoves us back to the barbarians’ (Miller 1890: 48.6-7). In his description of Kings Penda and Caedwalla (in 633), Bede says that Penda, as a heathen was bad, but that alter quia barbarus erat pagano saeuior ‘the other one’, Caedwalla, ‘for being barbarian was more savage than a heathen’ (HE II, 20; Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 202). The translator amplifies this: ōðer wes þām hǣðnum rēðra 7 grimra, forðon þe hē ellreordig was ‘the other was fiercer and more savage than the heathens because he was a barbarian’ (Miller 1890: 148. 13-14). Bede says why: erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri uel innocuae paruulorum parceret aetati ‘he was a barbarian in mind and customs, in that he did not spare even women for their sex, or little children for their innocent age’. In the vernacular, Caedwalla wes in his mōde ond on his þēawum tō þon elreordig, þæt hē ne furþum wiiflīce hāde oðþe þǣre unsceðþendan eldo ārēde ‘was in mind and customs a barbarian, to the extent that he would not make allowance even for woman’s sex nor for children’s innocent age’ (Miller 1890: 148.17-19). Neither the Praxeis nor the Casanatensis puts a term for the escaped prisoners into the mouths of the Mermedonians at the corresponding place in the story, let alone one so strong as ‘barbarian’. That the poet of Andreas does so is perhaps because he enjoys the irony of cannibals in a state of outrage.

1088 blātes bēodgastes ‘a pale guest at table’. An allegorical personification of hunger in the previous line. OE blāces with the same meaning has been read for MS blates, but as Brooks indicates, no change is necessary. For OE gast as the poet’s or scribe’s standardization of WS giest ‘guest’, see n. 1000.

1090a 1090b gefeormedon. [...] Duruþegnum wearð. The line continues in the manuscript without a break, but a mid-line textual lacuna is clear from the lack of alliteration. As the analogues do not have much material between these points, it is reasonable to suppose that little more than a line has dropped out.

1092b hild<e>bedd styred ‘war-bed disturbed’. MS hildbedd is so emended because of the weight of the second element, as in OE hilderinc, in contrast to hildfruma or hildfreca where a succession of two short syllables caused loss of the medial vowel (Stevens 1981: 25). There are no other instances of hild(e)bedd, which corresponds with a detail in the Praxeis and Casanatensis in which the Mermedonians haul the dead guards respectively to a ληνός ‘trough’ and lacus ‘tank’ in the town square, with runnels for the blood and next to an oven (ch. 22; Bonnet 1959: 96; Blatt 1930: 75). However, the larger phrase resembles one in Beowulf 2436, where for Herebeald, oldest son of King Hrethel, wes (...) morþorbed strēd ‘a bed of death was dispensed’ when he dies from an arrow mistakenly shot by his brother Haethcyn. Hrethel’s death from grief is that of the noblest heathen of them all; the poet Andreas may mock this
by recasting Hrethel as the bad father, a self-centred infanticide. Stevens, treating *morporbed strēd* as the source, calls *hild<e>* *bedd styred* ‘an unintelligent alteration of the formula as it occurs in *Beowulf*’, since it fails to scan (1981: 25). The word *styred* has thus been emended to *strēd* ‘dispensed’ to bring the line closer to *Beowulf*. However, since this emendation does little for the line but clear the Mermedonians of eating the dead guards, it is better to leave *styred* as it is. The pagans want, but fail, to eat their corpses in both *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, although, according to the latter, the Mermedonians have made a habit of eating their dead: *Interea nullus hominum qui ab hoc seculo exiebat sepeliebatur, sed omnes commedebant* ‘Meanwhile no man was buried who departed this world, but they would eat all of them’ (end of ch. 24; Blatt 1930: 79). An aside of this kind may have been in the now-lost source of *Andreas*, to be used by the poet as his license for a cannibal feast.

1099 *taan wīsian* ‘show a lot-twig’. For the late WS spelling *taan* for OE *tān* ‘branch, twig’, see also *oor* for *ōr* ‘beginning’ on line 649 and *faa* for *fā* ‘wicked’ on lines 1593 and 1599. Drawing lots in the analogues has here become the use of a twig to point out victims at random.

1105 *ūðweota eorla dugode* ‘philosopher to the troop of nobles’. In the *Praxeis*, this man is called *γυμνοσ*, in the Casanatensis *senior*, both meaning simply ‘old man’ (Bonnet 1959: 96; Blatt 1930: 75). Meanings of OE *ūðwīta* vary, as do the spellings. In the Rushworth glosses to Mark 2: 6, of the scribes who sit by while Jesus forgives the paralysed man, the verse *erant autem illic quidam de scribis sedentes et cogitantes in cordibus suis* is glossed *wēron wutudlice þār sume of ūþwitum sittende 7 dencende in heortum* ‘indeed there some of the scribes were sitting there and plotting in their hearts’ (Skeat 1871: 17). Cynewulf uses *ūðweotan* in *Elene* for the priests who *æht bisǣton, / on sefan sōhton hū hīe sunu meotudes / āhengon* ‘sat in council, sought answers in their minds to how they might hang up the Measurer’s Son’ (lines 473–5). Additionally, *ūðuuta* glosses *Philosophus* ‘lover of wisdom’ in the Corpus Glossary of MS CCC 144 (WW 39.20); *hā úþwitlican* glosses *gymnica* ‘things to do with high-school’ in the eleventh-century MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 414.17; also in ibid., 521 16); *ūþwīta* glosses *sophista* ‘sophist, sage’ and *gymnisophista* ‘school sophist’ in the early eleventh century Brussels manuscript of Aldhelm’s *De laudibus virginitatis* (Goossens 1974: 265.1813; 150.56, and 343.996); and *ðēre ūþwiottelican*, the Graeco-Latin *Achademice* ‘of the academic [art]’ also in the Cleopatra Glossary (WW 354.11). The poet of The Battle of Brunanburh tells us that tribal history is learnt from *bēc, / ealde ūþwitan* (-witan ABCD) ‘books, old teachers’ (line 68-69), presumably such books as Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* (c. 734). Ælfric, in *The Life of St Basil*, says that the saint *wunode mid pām ūþwyan on läre ealles fītīne gēr, and eallne þone wýsdōm wundorlīce āsmēade, þe grēcisce lārēwas him láran cūðan* (Skeat I, 1966: 52.22-25), ‘lived in study with the philosophers for all of fifteen years, and wonderfully ingested all the wisdom which the Greek teachers could teach him’. In this way both ‘elder’ and ‘(foreign) intellectual’ are signified in this word.

Kathryn Powell suggests that the -*weota* spelling marks the meaning ‘elder’ in the gospel context, and that consequently the *ūðweota* of *Andreas* 1105 means no more than ‘elder’, as in the analogues: ‘The idea of this captain among cannibals being understood as any sort of philosopher scholar, even metaphorically, is quite absurd, especially in light of the poem’s general use of heroic language to frame Andrew’s encounter with the Mermedonians’ (2006: 321). However, we have seen that
absurdity is probably the aim with pagans in Andreas. It is also worth noting that the poet, unlike Cynewulf in Elene, does not use any form of āðweota for the priests or elders in Jerusalem, when he so often could, on lines 670-75, 710, 741-43, 761-72. This usage brings the meaning of āðweota closer to ‘pagan intellectual’, as here. See further n. 1220.

1108 collenferhd ‘the audacious’. DOE presents the meaning of OE collenferhd, as ‘brave, bold-spirited, proud, audacious’, is positive in all instances, including here in Andreas (sv. collen-ferhd). Andrew himself is cēne collenferd ‘the brave audacious man’ when he gives up the Mermedonian jail on line 1578. His disciples are collenfyhrde ‘men of brave cheer’ when they board ship on line 349. Beowulf is the cuma collenferhd ‘audacious visitor’ as he prepares to leave Heorot, in Beowulf 180; Wiglaf inside the mound is known simply as collenferd ‘brave’ in line 2785, as curiosity moves him to find out whether Beowulf is still alive outside the dragon’s barrow. Judith and her maidservant in Judith 134, are collenferhde ‘audacious’ or ‘stout-hearted’ for walking coolly through enemy lines. The man who makes or who is tempted to make a vow in The Wanderer, and whom the poet enjoins to know himself first, is called collenferd ‘brave’, ‘bold’ or ‘audacious’ on line 70. With the bad father in Andreas, who matches up morally with none of these people, the usage is probably ironic.

1112 þēod wæs oflysted ‘nation was in craving’. See on luste in n. 1023-24. The of-prefix intensifies the adjective, showing an extreme of desire.

1113-14 næs him tō māðme wynn, / hyht tō hordgestrēonum ‘had no pleasure in precious things, no hope in wealth hoarded’. See n. 1159b-60a.

1114 hyht tō hordgestrēonum; hungre wǣron ‘no hope in wealth hoarded; with hunger they were’ etc. Although there are still at least 608 lines to go, a third of the poem, this line appears to be the last of its hypermetric kind in Andreas (Brooks 1961: xlv). Its emphasis on treasure as a token of civic values looks forward to the restoration of civic identity under Christianity, implicitly through tithes, in line 1655 (n.).

1115 se ðēodsceaða ‘that despoiler of the nation’. Hunger (Clemoes 1995: 278). Usually the þēod-prefix denotes ‘arch-’, a token of magnitude, but a reanimation of this word’s meaning is required by context in order to show the ruin of the Mermedonian polity. See also n. 1257-58. The poet of Beowulf uses this term for the Dragon on lines 2278 and 2688.

1116 rēow rīcsode’cruel did reign’. The first word is emended from MS hreow ‘cruel’ to make a better alliterating line. The scribe seems to have hyper-corrected the form, for which a parallel occurs in his behlidenan for OE belidenan on line 1089 (see n. 1334).

1118 tō þām beadulāce ‘to the play of battle’. The one other extant instance of this collocation is in Beowulf 1561, of the giants’ sword which is too big to be carried tō þām beadulāce. ‘This passage,’ notes Brooks (1961: 101), ‘in which the Mermedonians come out in full battle array to kill a single child, is another example
of absurd exaggeration by the poet’. This is indeed the means by which our poet subjects the pagans to ridicule.

1122 eogode ‘young companies’. As with eador for OE geador ‘together’ on line 1627, the loss of initial g- is a perhaps testimony to the scribe’s dialect rather than the poet’s (Brooks 1961: 101). See Introduction, p. $$.

1124 hêðene herigweardas here samnodan ‘heathen temple-keepers mustered a war-party’. The image of unruly warriors in a pingstede differs from the composure of Mermedonians in the city-square as the analogues present this, with bureaucrats running a soup kitchen with some albeit human food. The poet also appears to play on herig- ‘(public) heathen shrine’, for OE hearg) and here ‘raiding band’ (disputed in Brooks 1961: 101), in order to identify sacrificing with predatory warfare. The same is more succinctly achieved in the boy’s being gehæfted for herige ‘bound before the band’ on line 1127; and in the devil’s claim that it is Andrew sé ðyssum herige mǣst hearma gefremede ‘who to this war-band has done the greatest harm’ on line 1198. In both cases herige might also mean ‘temple’. The secondary meaning of beadulâc (also ‘battle offering’) implies also, on line 1118 (n.), that the boy’s death is a sacrifice (to Satan, god of Mermedonia).

1131 æglæcan ‘monstrous adversaries’. See n. 1359.

1139 <þrīst ond> þrohtheard ‘<bold and> long-tried’. The textual lacuna is filled by Brooks on the basis of comparison with line 1264a.

1150-54 The poet’s exclamation of thanks to the Lord nicely rounds off the fitt as other pieties do with other fitts in Andreas.

1155 Þā wæs wōp hæfen ‘Then was raised a weeping’. As in Beowulf 128, Þā wæs æfter wiste wōp up āhafen ‘then after feasting was weeping raised’. The poet of Exodus says more demonstratively that wæs in wīcum wōp up āhafen ‘a weeping was raised in the camps’ when the Egyptian army is spied advancing on the Israelites in Exodus 200. If the poet of Andreas alludes to Beowulf with this weeping formula, he does so with a mock-heroic inversion: the Mermedonians are not noble pagans shrinking from the evidence of cannibalism so soon after their own feasting, but real ones who regret not feasting in that way themselves.

1158-59a Hornsalu wunedon / wēste, wînraeced ‘Horn-gabled halls remained, wine-palaces, deserted’. Mermedonia’s empty buildings parallel those described in The Wanderer and The Ruin, but here it seems that the Mermedonians’ sin renders them unable to feast and exchange wealth in their communal places. Mermedonian temples do not feature, but perhaps the poet implies that these heathens worship at home (as Scandinavians did in history). Later on in the Praxeis, when the seven devils attack Andrew in his cell, one of them claims that ἐποίησας τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμων γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεργοῦσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡστε καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθόμεν ‘you have turned our temples into empty houses, so that no sacrifices are performed in a way in which we too might rejoice’ (ch. 26; MS Paris 1539 has ἐποίησας τὰς ἱερὰς ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμως γενέσθαι ‘you have turned our holy houses into empty ones’; Bonnet 1959: 104-05). The empty halls in Andreas may render a Latin version of a similar
line (as well as mocking the emptiness of King Hrethel’s halls when his son Herebeald is killed).

1159b-60a welan ne benohton / beornas tō brūcanne ‘of wealth the troops / enjoyed no profit’. The preterite-present verb (from *benugan) beneah (like dugan, deah), means ‘have possession of’ as well as ‘to enjoy’ (DOE, sv. be-neah, 1, 2). This reiterates the earlier loss of interest in gold, nēs him tō māðme wynn, / hyht tō hordgestrēonum ‘he had no pleasure in precious things, no hope in wealth hoarded’ on lines 1113-14. In the Praxeis: Kαὶ τούτων γενόμενον θεασάμενοι οἱ δήμοι τὸ γεγονός ἐφοβήθησαν αὐθόρα ‘and when this happened, the judges, seeing what had happened, were struck with extreme terror’ (ch. 23; Bonnet 1959: 99). In the Casanatensis: Hoc cum vidissent carnifices, timuerunt valde ‘when the butchers saw this, they were greatly terrified’ (ch. 23; Blatt 1930: 79). Our poet’s elaboration of his source’s doubtless simpler picture of Mermedonian despair bespeaks an ideology of Christian capitalism: see n. 360, also Introduction, pp. $§-$§.

1160b on þā bitran tīd ‘in that bitter time’. How long does the famine last? The Mermedonian food-shortage is omitted in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198; Morris 1967: 239), but the Praxeis and Casanatensis make clear that Andrew is arrested after a sequence of events which cannot take place over more than a few hours. The poet of Andreas suspends the temporal unities, making time so elastic as to be measurable by the emotions of depressed Mermedonian cannibals (a parody of one of the most elegiac passages in Beowulf, that of King Hrethel’s passage into God’s light, may be his aim).

1161-62 Gesǣton searuþancle sundor tō rune / ermdū eahtigan ‘The ingenious sat apart in secret counsel pondering their misery’. Towards the end of The Wanderer, on line 111, a philosopher’s initially desperate nineteen-line speech on resigning oneself to the transience of earthly things is framed with the (hypermetric) line: Svā cwæð snottor on mōde, gesæt him sundor æt rūne ‘Thus spoke a man clever in mind, sat apart with himself in secret counsel’. Whether or not this is meant to be Boethius (North 1995), the poet of Andreas makes it clear that his thinkers are not intellectuals. Secondly, the Mermedonians resemble the Scyldings after Grendel’s initial attacks, where many a man often gesæt / ric tō rune, rǣd eahtedon ‘sat powerful in secret counsel, they pondered their options’ (Beowulf 171-72).

1164-65 Ne hele sē de hæbbe ‘Let him not hide it who has’ etc. Coming from a cannibal, these words may be a parody of Maxims, or of its spirit:

Frige mec frōdum wordum! Ne lāt þinne ferō onhēlne, dēgol þæt þū dēopost cunne! Nelle ic þē mīn dyrne gesecgan, gif þū mē þinne hygecraeft hylest ond þīne heortan geþōhtas. Glēawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan.

Question me with learned words! Don’t keep your mind closed, or keep hidden what you most deeply know. I won’t tell you of my secrets, if you hide your skill of mind from me and the thoughts of your heart.

Prudent men must exchange their poems.

(Maxims I 1-4)
Unlike the older analogues, the Old English Homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) cuts out all mention of Mermedonians’ attempts to eat the guards and then each other. The Praxeis gives its Mermedonians a question: θεασάμενοι οἱ ἱστορίας τὸ γεγονός ἐκλαθαν κλαθμὸν μέγαν λέγοντες: Ὑδαὶ ἡμῖν, τί μέλλομεν ποιεῖν; ‘the rulers, seeing what had happened, exclaimed with a great cry, saying “Woe is us, what are we going to do?”’ (ch. 24; Bonnet 1959: 99). More macabrely Roman, the Casanatensis stupifies the pagans with despair: Principes autem iterum cum hoc vidissent, et gladii liquefacti, moti in magnis fletibus dixerunt, iam mortui sumus ’once more indeed did the leaders, when they saw this, and the swords that had melted, were moved to great floods of tears and said: “Now we are dead”’ (ch. 24; Blatt 1930: 79). Neither analogue offers any detail to match such recourse to wisdom as we find in the Mermedonians of Andreas.

1168 déoful ætȳwde ‘the devil appeared’. In Andreas he does so apparently in response to the private comments above. This is the first appearance of a devil in the poem.

1169 wann ond wlitelēas ‘pale and unradiant’. As the second epithet shows, the devil’s colour is livid. Barley, who finds that the Old English system of colour classification ‘falls firstly, not upon hue, but upon brightness’, puts wan with fealo (‘basically yellow but variously tinted with shades of red, brown or grey, often pale but always unsatured’: DOE, sv. fealu) and other terms for horses, asserting that wan is supplied for things negatively specified for hue, ‘dark things which are glossy to the point of having highlights rippling over their surface’ (1974: 15, 24). However, Barley’s discussion includes neither this case in Andreas nor wan(n)’s qualification of a flame in Beowulf 3115 (see below). In the eighth century, OE tha uuannan aertrinan glosses liuida toxica ‘pale poison’ in the Épinal Glossary; likewise tha uuannan etrinani in the Erfurt Glossary 576 (Pheifer 1974: 31). The ninth-century Kentish OE wanniht glosses lividas ‘pale [nights]’ in WW 50.32. Some eleventh-century Kentish additions to Aldhelm’s De laudibus virginitatis give, for cerelea ‘blue’, the words sweart, nigra, tetra, wan, tunsa ‘black, burned black, dark, ?beaten down’ (Goossens 1974: 446 4638). It seems from this evidence that OE wan(n) or won(n), like MnE wan, is unsaturated, denoting not a black pigment but a lack of light in all the objects which it describes. Thus the colour of se wonna hrefn, the ‘raven’ which is imagined as a harbinger of doom by the Geatish Messenger towards the end of Beowulf, on line 3024, must be matched with the wonna lēg ‘pale flame’ on line 3115 of that poem (in apposition to glēd ‘ember’ on line 3114). In Beowulf 651 niht ‘night’ is said to slide over everything while being wan under wolcnum ‘pale beneath the clouds’. With similar meaning, the shadows of night retreat before the sun, being wonn under wolcnum ‘pale beneath clouds’ in Andreas 837 (n.). In both cases, the clouds of the formula indicate a lack of light. The unique compound brūnwann ‘dusky’ describes the falling night in Andreas 1306 (n.).

1170 morþres brytta ‘dispenser of deadly sin’. In Elene 957, a devil is called synna brytta ‘dispenser of sins’, as a pun on the commonplace heroic sinces brytta ‘dispenser of treasure’ which is more obvious than in morþres brytta above. The one extant parallel for the latter formula is in Judith 90, where the heroine herself uses morðres brytta, here probably ‘dispenser of murder’, for the Assyrian king Holofernes.
1178 þonne gemet wǣre ‘than were meet’. The archaic ‘meet’ for ‘moderate’ is here chosen in order to replicate what seems to be a play in the devil’s words on the third-stressed word in the line, the most important, between gemet ‘moderate, meet’ and mete ‘food, meat’.

1180 <wǣpnes> spor ‘the weapon’s track’. Brooks (1961:104) fills the clear textual lacuna with the same half-line from Juliana 623.

1181 ealdorgeard ‘life-fort’ (MS eadorgeard). Only here. This emended expression draws attention to the relationship between human bodies and places of habitation, as does bānhūs at 1240. What Satan promises to Andrew’s body anticipates the violence which will be done to Mermedonia. See also n. 1240.

1187 ond þū here fȳsest ‘though you inflame the war-band’. The word ond here appears to be a concessive conjunction, corresponding to ond þēah ‘although’ (Mitchell 1985: 3516). Brooks renders ‘if’, comparing with an ond-construction in Juliana 378-79 (1961: 104). The objection to this reading is that the devil in question is already damned, as Andrew reminds him in lines 1189-90. Mitchell is loth to accredit this sense to ond, one which he takes to be too early (1985, §§ 3668-70). See also n. 630a.

1188 fāg wið god ‘oulawed from God’. This formula is used by Satan, of himself in ChristS 96; and it describes the dying Grendel in Beowulf 811. It has a royal variant in II Æthelstan (924-39): Gif hwā hine wrecan wille oððe hine fǣlǣce, þonne bōo hē fāh wið ðone cyng wið ealle his frēond ‘if a man wishe to avenge himself or puts himself in a feud [with an agent of the law], then he is an outlaw with the king and with all the latter’s friends’ (20, 7; Liebermann I, 1906: 160).

1189 Hwæt, ðū dēofles strǣl ‘See, you devil’s arrow’. In the Old English homily, Andrew says āna þū heardeste strǣl tō āghwilcre unrihtnesse (Morris (1880), 241), ‘O you arrow, hardened to all wickedness!’. Although the Praxeis has no such term for the devil here, Andrew says ὅ Beliā ἐξθρῆται ‘O most hated Belial’ earlier in the story to the devil urging people to arrest him (ch. 24; Bonnet 1959: 65). Zupitza suggests that a Latin translator mistook this name for βέλος ‘dart, arrow’, translating it as telum or sagitta (1886: 184-85). Although neither Casanatensis nor any other analogue has detail of the exchange, this suggestion seems plausible, although the mistake could have been made from Greek into English as well as into Latin. Powell suggests that this phrase reached the poet of Andreas through ðēofles strǣlas in Cynewulf’s Christ II, 779-82 (2002: 202).

1198 ðyssum herige ‘to this war-band’. If there is a pun on OE hearg, an additional meaning ‘to this temple’ may also be understood. See further n. 1124.

1199 sē mē on flīteð ‘who cuts me in a flyting’. OE flītan glosses discceptare ‘to argue’ in the glossary in BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (WW 387.4); flītas glosses Disceptant, lacerant, contendunt and disputant ‘they argue, cut to pieces, contend, dispute’ in BL, MS Harley 3376 (WW 222.38).

1200 wordum wrǣtlīcum ‘with extraordinary words’. See n. 630a.
ellen fremman ‘do a deed of courage’. This idiom is best known from Beowulf 3 and 637. It has been argued that King Alfred borrowed Beowulf’s use of the noun for his translation of Boethius’ De consolatione Philosophiae in the late ninth century (Clemoes 1995: 68-72). In Andreas, however, the quality of ellen is expected to be mental, for the Lord goes on to say that Andrew must fortify his mind. In lines 1241-42, where hæfde him on innan / ellen untwēo ‘he held on within him to undoubting courage’, ellen denotes the courage of endurance.

Aftær þām wordum cōm ‖ werod unmǣte ‘after those words came a host without measure’. The verb is placed in keeping with Brooks’ prosody (n. 88 and Introduction p. §§). Krapp places the caesura after cōm on this line, though not on line 88a (1932: 37). Orton considers that Krapp’s and Brooks’ arrangement on their line 1219a ‘gives a more satisfactory metrical pattern to the b-verse than does his arrangement of 88, though in neither line may the breach of the law of clause openings be avoided by editorial verse- or clause-division’ (1999: 294, n. 21).

lyswe lārsmeoðas mid lindgecrode ‘lying professors with an armoured platoon’. This striking line appears to be created by the poet of Andreas, although the subject noun may come from Cynewulf, whose Elene 202 provides the only other instance. Cynewulf says here that the True Cross is found in Jerusalem purh lārsmiðas ‘by pharisees’ (i.e. biblical scholars) who know all the locations desoite having forged their study of biblical texts. In Andreas ‘professor’ seems a better choice of term than ‘pharisee’ in view of the non-Hebraic character of Mermedonians. OE n. lyswe ‘falsehood’ is almost as rare, used of Lot in Maxims I 187. Unique to Andreas is also the word lindgecrod, literally ‘shield-troop’. Though lind ‘shield’ is found in Andreas 46, and lindgestealla ‘comrade in arms’ on line 1344, the formulation with the similarly unique gecrod ‘troop’ (MnE crowd) is unparalleled. This poet seems keener than the analogues to attribute Mermedonian error to the ruling class.

bāeron ūt hræde ‘bore him out quickly’. Brooks (1961:105) suggests that the object of bāron is ‘weapons’, as in ‘they rushed out in force’. Stevens (1981: 24) emends to the infinitival beran ūt hræde on grounds of bāron’s metrical irregularity, removing Brooks’ semi-colon before and taking with cōm on line 1219 (i.e. ‘came bearing out’). This emendation, even if possible through the scribe’s West-Saxonizing and Anglian bēron, is rejected by Brooks because it involves two deviations of spelling.

Hēton þā lēdan ‘Bid him then be led’, for the first time. On the temporal unities, see n. 1458-60.

do fræcescere ‘over countryside’. On the noun, see n. 501. In the analogues Andrew is dragged around the streets of the city. Here and with innan burgum ‘within the town’ on line 1235 of Andreas, we appear to have an acclimatized picture of the oldest English town, which is semi-rural. Yet the poet, as seems likely with ymb stānhleoðo ‘around the stone cliffs’ on line 1233, is still keen to represent a sub-Roman city with masonry and pavements in streets. In order to show Mermedonia’s increasing loss of civilized values, he blends his buildings and paving stones into the cliffs and rocks of the landscape.
\textbf{1230a} \textit{drāgmǣlum tēon}. Brooks (1961:106) inverts to \textit{tēon drāgmǣlum} on metrical grounds, having classified the MS form as a rare metrical type (E), whose other instances have come under editorial suspicion. The scribe may have inverted the true arrangement, as he suggests, but then the metrical grammar of \textit{Andreas} may permit the phrase as it is written.

\textbf{1230b} \textit{tornгеніðlan} ‘grievous enemy’. As Brooks observes (1961: 106), this adjective can be read as accusative singular for Andrew himself. Normally one might expect it to be a nominative plural, for the Mermedonians, but the situation is not normal and the poet deceives our expectation by presenting the saint as his enemies see him. He does the same inversion with the words \textit{lāðne gewinnan} ‘the loathed dversary’ on line 1249 and \textit{ēglēca} ‘monster’, which refers to Andrew on line \textbf{1359} (n.) and apparently to Jesus on line \textbf{1362} (n.). Correspondingly, in the above scene of outdoor torture, he presents Andrew’s demonically possessed persecutors as heroes, with the epithets on lines \textbf{1232-33} (n.).

\textbf{1232-33} \textit{dēormōde} (…) \textit{stærcedferþþe} ‘valiant men (…) men of hardened hearts’. See n. \textbf{1230b}.

\textbf{1233} \textit{ymb stānhleoðo} ‘around the stone cliffs’. Cliffs or buildings? The poet appears to merge the city with the landscape, as though the city is devolving to a primordial state. See n. \textbf{1229b} and Fig. 6.

\textbf{1235} \textit{enta ērgeweorc} ‘once the works of giants’. OE \textit{enta ērgeweorc} occurs elsewhere only in \textit{Beowulf} 1679, for the golden hilt from Grendel’s Mother’s cave which is given over to King Hrothgar before his central ‘sermon’. The \textit{ēr}-prefix in the compound emphasizes antiquity in what is otherwise a common formula. Elsewhere in \textit{Andreas}, the supporting columns on which Andrew looks in the jail basement are described as \textit{eald enta geweorc} ‘old works of giants’ on line 1495 (see n. \textbf{1494-95}). The Lord through time is said to lay waste to great cities, \textit{eald enta geweorc}, as a matter of course in \textit{The Wanderer} 87. The Dragon’s mound in \textit{Beowulf} is called the same in line 2774. It is also just \textit{enta geweorc} on line 2717, albeit this chamber has been built 1000 years before the narrative present by a people now disappeared: as with \textit{ōrðanc enta geweorc} ‘skilled works of giants’, in the English landscape in \textit{Maxims II} 2; or with the Roman city in \textit{The Ruin} 1-2: \textit{wyrd gebrēcon, / burgstede burston, brōsnad enta geweorc} ‘events broke it up, shattered the town dwellings, the works of giants crumble’. Mermedonia differs, however. The poet’s use of \textit{enta ērgeweorc} indicates that all this torture in some way takes place in and around Mermedonia, suggesting that the present Mermedonians were not its builders (see also n. \textbf{1495} and Introduction, pp. $$-$$. As with the description on lines 839-43, the poet blurs elements of the natural rocky landscape with those of human construction (see Fig. 6).

\textbf{1240} \textit{bānhūs ābrocen} ‘bone-house broken’. As with the reference to Andrew’s body as an \textit{ealdorgeard} ‘life-fort’ (see n. \textbf{1181}), the noun emphasizes the relationship between human bodies and body and places of human community. It is also found on line 1405; and with \textit{ābrocen}, in \textit{Guthlac} (B) 1367. A body hangs on the gallows until \textit{sāwlhord, / bāncofa blōdig, ābrocen weorþeð} ‘the soul-hoard, bone-coffer bloodied, becomes broken up’ in \textit{Fortunes} 13-14. A warrior says that his \textit{byrne ābrocen wēre} ‘mail-coat was shattered’ in \textit{Finn} 44. As a participle, OE \textit{ābrocen} also occurs with
burhweardas ‘town guardians’ in Exodus 39 (see also n. 660) and with bodscipe ‘commandment’ in Genesis (A) 783. In Beowulf, however, the commoner usage is with gebrecan: Dæghrefn dies from the hero’s death-hug, when his bānhūs gebræc ‘bone-house broke’ in line 2508; and at Beowulf’s funeral pyre, on line 3147, we see that the fire bānhūs gebrocen hæfde ‘had broken his bone-house’. Beowulf’s different use of bānhūs sets it apart from Andreas and the other poems.

1249a Lǣddan þā ‘Then they led’, for the second time. See n. 1458-60.

1249b lāðne gewinnan ‘the loathed adversary’. This is Andrew. On the poet’s shift of perspective, see n. 1130b.

1251-52 him wæs lēoht sefa / hālig heortan nēh, hige untŷddre ‘in Andrew the saintly senses near the heart were light, his mind unfragile’. OE hyge denotes mental resolution, or courage which stems from that (North 1991: 88-91); ųdre, cognate with tender, is ‘frail, weak, infirm’.

1257-58 hrīm ond forst, / hāre hildstapan ‘rime and frost, hoar-grey marching soldiers’. With the nonceword hildstapan here, as Stiles observes, ‘a military metaphor operates within the symbolic landscape of a traditional elegiac setting to depict Andrew’s psychological state’ (2002: 138). The analogues refrain from figures of this kind, but this sudden blast of winter resembles the storm from the north in The Wanderer 99-115, the frost in the plaster in The Ruin 4, and the equally binding winter of The Seafarer. Brooks points out (1961: 107, n. 1255 ff.) that these lines in Andreas on winter make an Ethiopian location and identity for Mermedonia implausible. As Peter Clemoes once observed (Orchard 1995: 278), the figure of marching winter is also in the Icelandic fjúk ok frost gekk alla nótína ‘rime and frost walked all night long’, in Fóstbræðra saga ‘fosterbrothers’ saga’, a work of ecclesiastical style possibly from the late twelfth century (ch. 4; Bjarni and Guðni 1943: 136). This device is not unique to the poet of Andreas, for the poet of Exodus personifies yldo ond ērdēað ‘old age and early death’ as regnþēofas ‘arch-thieves’ on line 539, but hunger appears with similar descriptive license as a blāt bēodgas ‘pale guest at table’ in Andreas 1088, and se dēodsceada ‘that despoiler of nations’ on line 1115.

1263 eorl unforcūð ‘gentleman unblemished’. See n. 475.

1270 ding ‘dungeon’. Dative singular of *dung ‘underground bower’ (MHG tunc (which glosses hypogaeum), Olce dyngja). The word is found only here (Grein, Holthausen and Köhler 1912: 133; Alexander 1956: 514). Its resemblance to MnE dung is coincidental, for dungon derives from Latin dominio ‘lordship’ through AF dongoun, OF dongon, donjon: Occitan domphon; Late Lat. dominionem ‘a tower that dominates’ (Ducange), dominionem ‘lordship’, from Lat. dominium. The Germanic word, as its resemblance to MnE dung may show, gives us a jail which is at once basement and drain.

1274 eft swā ār ‘again as before’. This is the beginning of Andrew’s second day of torture in captivity (and of his first full day in jail).
259
blōd lifrum swealg ‘blood (...) poured in thick gouts’. Brooks (1961: 108) writes a thorough note on lifrum ‘livers’ (and more rarely ‘thick water’; Gelling 1984: 28) and swealg ‘flowed’ (as in the ninth-century Kentish affluit: swelhð ‘flows’, in WW 56.25), by which we reach the present meaning for this half-line.

1278-79 þā cwōm wōpes hring / þurh þæs beornes brēost blāt ūt faran ‘Then came a ring of weeping, moving out pale through the man’s breast’. This figure is elaborated from a traditional perhaps proverbial expression. OE wōpes hring, a crux which literally means ‘ring of weeping’, survives in three other poems, describing: Empress Helena in tears as she beholds the nails of Christ’s cross in Elene 1131; Jesus’ eleven remaining disciples mourning His Ascension in Christ II 537; and St Guthlac’s young disciple (Beccel) weeping in Guthlac (B) 1339, as he prepares to tell his master’s sister (Pege) of her brother’s death. Brooks (1961: 108-9) suggests that this phrase depicts a weeper’s eyes as ‘cauldrons’ from which tears overflow like boiling water (endorsed by Cronan 2003: 407, n. 48). OE hring has also been taken to refer to sacramental vessels in Riddles 48 and 59 (discussed and opposed in Okasha 1993). The circular shape predominates in all uses, as in MnE ring: the ocean’s in holmes hring ‘compass of the sea’, in Genesis (A) 1393; that of the sun’s daily motion in sunnan hring ‘sun’s orbit’, in Phoenix 305; even in abstract, that of twelve months in gēares hring ‘year’s round’ in PPs 64 38. For the reminding of another person to weep tears of sympathy or loss, Old Norse mythology tells us that after Baldr is lost to the underworld, to join people with lit dauðra manna ‘the colour of dead men’, his ring Draupnir is brought up to the surface til minja ‘as a reminder’ of a deal to release him, that everything living and lifeless must weep tears for Baldr if they wish to have him back (North 2012). For Andreas, in which the ring leaves Andrew’s breast with the blāt ‘pale’ colour of an object, the Baldr-myth provides the one ring-motif which works. Thus for the poet of Andreas, as for Cynewulf probably before him, the expression wōpes hring may have been a proverb for compunction.

1297 wrāð wǣrloga ‘faith-breaker in fury’. See nn. 71 and 571a.

1298 for heremægene ‘before the war-troop’. The figure here is of a background of permanent spiritual war between Christ and the devil, in which the latter has enlisted Mermedonians. See further n. 586.

1306 brūnwann ‘dusky’. An epithet for the night. Only attested here, this means ‘dark, dusky’ (DOE sv. brūn-wann). The poet attempts to show darkness deepening as the night heldame ‘covered over’ (or ‘crowned’) the hills around or behind Mermedonia. The second element wann appears to connote a lack of light, in a meaning which is reinforced by the prefix brūn ‘dark’. See further n. 1169.

1308 dēor ond dōmgeorn ‘daring and keen for glory’. See n. 693.

1311 seofona sum ‘of seven ... one’. Brooks (1961:109) translates ‘with seven others’, as in the Praxeis, where there enters παραλαβὸν ὁ διάβολος μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπτά δαίμονας πονηροῖς ‘the devil bringing with him seven exiled demons’ (ch. 26; Bonnet 1959: 104). These would appear to be the demons which possessed the guards who dropped dead outside the jail. The Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) follows suit: Deet dēofol þā genam mid him ðēpre seofon dēoflo ‘the devil then took with him seven other devils’ (Morris 1967: 243). The Casanatensis, running chapters
25-26 together into one short sentence, does not have this scene. Andreas may limit the devil’s sons to six.

1312 *atol ēglēca* ‘terrible adversary’. See n. 1359.

1314 *dugudum berēafod* ‘robbed of his hosts’. As with Boenig (1991a: 109), who gives ‘robbed of his host’. Although the story shows that devil’s host can be as numerous as he wants it to be, the deluded perspective here (see also n. 1130b) is that of the devil himself, who thinks himself master of all angels in heaven.

1316 *Hwǣt hogodest ðū, Andrēas, hidercyme þīnne* ‘What did you, Andrew, mean by coming here’. Stevens notes that the verb alliterates at the expense of the noun, in a metrical type which is anomalous: ‘clearly something is wrong’ (1981: 27; on the metre, see n. 914). This effect, however, may bear witness to a roughening of the devil’s speech in line with the attribution of *hospword* ‘mocking words’ to the devil on line 1315.

1319 *goda ūssa gild* ‘the rites of our gods’. ‘Us gods’ might be expected in the devil’s words, but with ‘our gods’ it seems that he walks in the shape of one of their worshippers. In lines 1328-30 and 1343-44 the devil proceeds like a Mermedonian lord with his followers. Stiles notes that the nonceword *dēadrēow*, which describes the devil above on line 1314, is reminiscent of Grendel and Heremod, ‘evoking two types of Germanic outcast: a monster and a cruel lord’ (2002: 144). Furthermore, MS *gilp* ‘boasting’ might be kept, especially as the devil claims to refer to Andrew’s *oferhigdum* ‘thought of pride’ on line 1318, and as the devil in the prose homily of St Andrew asks *Hwǣr is þīn gilp and þīn hiht?* ‘Where is your boasting and your hope?’ (Morris 1967: 243). The devil further orders his force *gylp forbēgan* ‘to crush (this) boasting’ of Andrew on line 1333. However, *gilp* or *gild*, the object in the above half-line, belongs to the devil’s claimed *goda* ‘gods’, not to himself. Moreover, the analogues tally with *gilp* ‘rites’. After their questions about pride, according to the *Praxeis*, the seven junior demons, together with the devil, accuse Andrew of ἐπαίρων σεαυτῶν ἣμας καὶ ἀπαίρων ἣμας καὶ δημοφόρεων τὰ ἐργά ἡμῶν τοὺς κατὰ τόπον καὶ χώρα, καὶ ἐποίησα τα ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμως γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεχθῶσιν θοσία ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ημεῖς τερφθῶμεν ‘raising yourself up against us and dishonouring us and discoursing on our deeds to the people of every place and land, and you have turned our temples into empty houses, so that no sacrifices are performed in a way in which we too might rejoice’ (ch. 26; Bonnet 1959: 104-05; see also n. 1158-59a). There is a parallel to the above line in Andreas in Cynewulf’s *Juliana*, in which the saint’s father orders her to undo what she said to the pagan authorities, ἥδις ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐσίαν γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεχθῶσιν τοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθῶμεν ‘raising yourself up against us and dishonouring us and discoursing on our deeds to the people of every place and land,

1322 *Cyneprym āhōf* ‘raised royal majesty’. The devil represents Jesus’ power as a political threat. See n. 566 and n. 666.

1324 *Déne Hērōdēs ealdre besnyðed* ‘That man did Herod bereave of his life’. The Geatish Messenger, in Beowulf 2924-25, says ἤτις Ο ingresar ealdre besnyðede / *Hædcen Hrēþling wið Hrefnawudu* ‘that Ongentheow of his life bereaved Haethcyn son of Hrethel in Ravens’ Wood’. The devil present Christ to the smaller devils likewise, as a young pretender put out of his misery. As in the *Praxeis* (the scene is
omitted in the Casanatensis), the slayer of Christ is given as Herod, rather than as Pilate or Caiaphas.

1334 réowe ‘cruel’. Probably for OE hrēow, rather than for (h)rēo for (h)reoh ‘rough’, which in Andreas is used with hr- and of water (lines 467, 748, 1542). Elsewhere in Andreas (Brooks 1961: xl, B.5), the scribe writes hreow probably for /rēow/ in MS hreow ricsode þa was rinc manig on lines 1116 (n.); and correctly hredlice in MS aris nu hredlice ræd adre ongite, on line 936 (n.). The functional alliteration of réowe with ræsdon on line 1334 above is unequivocally the poet’s choice. A parallel may be found in Aldred’s tenth-century Northumbrian gloss of the Durham Ritual, in Durham Chapter Library, MS. A. iv. 19, which has lafadscipes for hlafardscipes (Campbell 1959: § 61). On the loss of of initial h- in these clusters, see Scragg (2012).

1338 on his mēgwlite ‘on his countenance’. Andrew uses this noun of the Lord’s appearance on line 856. The more common term is found in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), where hie gesāw Crīstes rōdetācen on his onsīene ‘they saw the sign of Christ’s cross on his countenance’ (Morris 1967: 243). The story in the Casanatensis resumes here.

1346 fyrnsceapa ‘ancient despoiler’. Only here. However, several other words attest to the same idea, that a Christian’s war with the devil is older than he knows. A devil calls this war fyrngeflit ‘ancient enmity’ in Elene 902, whilst more allegorically in The Panther 34, the serpent is held to be the panther’s fyrngeflīta ‘ancient contender’. By association, fyrngeflit ‘ancient contention’ in Judith 264, is also one of a group of terms describing the Bethulian relationship with the Assyrians. Moreover, the Lord’s war with the giants is a fyrngewinn ‘ancient struggle’ in Beowulf 1689.

1348 Gā þē sylfā tō ‘Go to it yourself’. The irreverent humour of this scene is noted by Wilcox (2003: 207-10).

1351 tō þām ānhagan ‘with that lone survivor’. A misunderstanding on the devil’s part. OE ānhaga or ānhoga occurs only here in Andreas, but is found in seven other poems, as well as as a gloss. In the first instance, it glosses solitarius ‘solitary’ in ic wacode 7 geworden ic eom svāswā spearwa ānhoga l. ānwuniende on efese l. on þecene ‘I waked and have become as a lone or lone-dwelling sparrow in the eaves or in the roof’, for Vigilari et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto (Psalm 101, verse 8, Lindelöf 1909: 159). In poems close to Andreas, a demon is enge ānhaga ‘a mean loner’ for assailing St Guthlac in Guthlac 997; on the other hand, the Phoenix is called se ānhaga ‘the lone dweller’ probably for being unique in The Phoenix 87 and 346; and Judas (later Cyriac), handed over to Empress Helena by his own people, is ānhaga when she begins to interrogate him in Elene 604. With warlike connotation, most notoriously, the initial speaking persona in The Wanderer, is ānhaga on line 1 and earm ānhaga on line 40: a roaming mercenary, lordless and looking for a new employer (North 1995: 76-78). The same type, a winelēas wræc ‘friendless exile’, is called ānhaga in Resignation 89; and Beowulf is an earm ānhaga when he returns to Geatland without Hygelac, as the lone survivor from his uncle’s raid on Frisia, in Beowulf 2356. In a similar way, a wolf is called earm ānhaga in Maxims II 19; and a battle-scarred object, either a shield or possibly a chopping block, is called ānhaga in
Riddle 5 1. In Andreas, it appears that the young demon mistakes Andrew for a wanderer without a lord.

1352 Wē ðē magon ēaðe ‘We can without difficulty’ etc. Here in the manuscript, on folio 47 verso, the initial wynn is filled in with feathers as if showing the wing of a bird or angel just where the young demons’ advice to their father continues at the head of the unnumbered fitt [XIII] on line 1352.

1353 æt þām secgplegan ‘in that sword-play’. Perhaps with a play on secg ‘man’; fem. secg ‘sword’, found once in Beowulf with sege ofersitān ‘to forego swords’ (Beowulf’s imagined offer to Grendel on line 684) is the rarer term.

1355 weald hū ðē sǣl e ‘however it may befall you’. In prose, OE weald þēah is occasional as ‘perhaps, maybe’, weald hwæt and rarely weald ‘in case anything’ (Mitchell 1985: §§ 2937-38). Mitchell translates weald hū as ‘however’, pointing out that Andreas gives the only example of weald in verse (1985: § 2939). This finding might allow us to treat the young demons’ expression as a colloquialism.

1358 ödūtan him his wræcsīð ‘taunt him with his exile’. With this noun for ‘exile’ (see also n. 889) the young demon believes that Christ is dead (see lines 1322-27) and that Andrew is a refugee (n. 1351), a dispersed survivor who fights on in the knowledge that he failed to protect his master.

1359 wið þām āglǣcan ‘against this monster’. OE āeglēc(e)a (variant āglēc(e)a) describes also the ravenous Mermedonians on line 1131 and the devil-in-chief in Andrew’s jail-cell on line 1312. There are some 30 instances (DOE) of this word, which appears to derive from OIr m. óghlach ‘servant, young warrior’ (Ó Dónaill and de Bhaldraithe 1977: 921). The primary meaning, ‘adversary in war’, seems to emerge in Elene 1187-88, where it is said that the emperor’s bridle rings, fashioned from two of the crucifixion nails, will be beorna gehwām / wið ǣglǣce unoferswidēd / wǣpen æt wīgge ‘for each trooper against the adversary an unassailable weapon in war’. However, in Whale 52, where þone āglǣcan ātes lystēp ‘the monster is taken with a desire to eat’, this word reveals a secondary meaning to do with monstrosity. The same conception is found the Mere in Beowulf 1152, where ēhton āglǣcan ‘the monsters’ around Beowulf under water ‘pursued’ him. Beowulf contains a further 16 instances of āeglēc(e)a or āglēc(e)a. Nine of these are reserved for Grendel, one for Sigemund’s dragon on line 893, one for Grendel’s Mother (also āglǣcwīf ‘monstrous woman’ on line 1259), and five for Beowulf’s Dragon towards the end of the poem (lines 2520, 2534, 2557, 2592, 2905). Most of the other referents for the simplex word are devils, both adversaries and monsters just as the creatures in Beowulf. Over time the meaning seems to have mellowed. Byrhtferth calls Bede se āglēca lārēow ‘the wondrous (i.e. “monster”) teacher’ in his Enchiridion of the early eleventh century (Baker and Lapidge 1995: 174). Worth noting above all with the use of this word in Andreas 1359, is that it is almost unique in describing the hero of a poem; the only other example is concealed in Beowulf’s dragon-fight in Beowulf 2591-92: Næs dā long tō don / peat dā āglǣcean hȳ eft gemētton ‘it was not long until those monsters faced each other once more’. In the scene within Andreas, with the demon trying to lead an attack on Andrew who is ensconced in his cell, we may have an allusion to the dragon which Beowulf draws out of his mound, with the roles reversed.
The spelling with -ac- rather than -ag- is paralleled in āclēawe ‘bible-learned (for OE ā-glēawe)’ and āclēeca ‘monster’ respectively on lines 321 and 901 of Elene. The ‘monster’ is Jesus, from the devil’s point of view. As for the suffix, Stiles points out that all other hapax legomena with -cræft in Andreas (dwolcræft 34, mordorcræft 177, beaducræft 219, hellcræft 1102) are associated with devils, and that the form of āclǣccræft ‘alerts an audience to the irony of its being applied to Andrew instead of the devil’ (2002: 121).

The density and alliteration of these lines sets them apart from the surrounding bluster in the devil’s speech. Line 1363 is unusual for alliterating in both half-lines on l- and f- while line 1364 retains the l and reinforces the alliteration. The following two lines go similarly together, this time with reinforced alliteration on the w-. Two more reinforced lines, albeit alliterating on different consonants (h- and s-), complete this block of six, which are also so packed with extra words as to be nearly hypermetric. The density and emphasis may be correlated with the meaning in this part of his speech, in which the devil, like a judge, sums up both verdict and sentence on the accused.

forleolce ond forlǣrdest ‘you played false and perverted’. See n. 614. To add to the secular implications of line 1319 (n.), this homilist’s turn of phrase gives the devil the language of clergy. His threats thus reflect the language with which Andrew defeats him.

unfyrn faca ‘without any delay’. Stevens points out that scansion and alliteration both determine that un-fyrn be stressed on the stem vowel (1981: 26). The whole phrase means literally ‘not late on any occasions’ (genom. pl. of m. faeċ time’), therefore ‘before long’ or ‘soon’. However, its use favours the morbid. In Resignation a man who about to die begs for the Lord’s comfort nū ic wāt þæt ic sceal, / ful unfyr<n> faca ‘now I know that I must [die], / with no delay at all’, on lines 42-43. For unfyrn alone there are five other instances, all in prose: one occurs in Blickling Homily XII, on Pentecost (nū unfyrn, for tēn nihtum ‘now recently, ten nights ago’; Morris 1967: 131; also Kelly 2003: 92); the remaining four instances are all in Bishop Wærferth’s translation of Gregory’s Dialogues: according to one, in the Preface, þū wāst, fæder, þæt ic sylfa unfyrn sceal bēon sweltende ‘you know, O Father, that I shall have to be dying without delay’; in another, witað gē hwæþre, þæt hē dead bŷd unfyrn ‘know, however, that he will be dead before long’, in the past tense, hē wæs nū unfyrn on þissere ylcan byrig forðfêred ‘he had now only recently departed in this same town’ (Hecht 1965: 226.3-4; 62.24; 71.17-18). The remaining example is more life-affirming: sōðlīce hit gelamp nū unfyrn þæt sum wer (...) hæfde ðēme sumu ‘truly it came to pass not lately now that a man (…) had a son’ (ibid., 289.2). On this evidence it may be ventured that unfyrn is a word of Mercian ecclesiastical poetry and prose, with a penitential sense in combination with faca, often to be used in cases of imminent death. In the present context in Andreas, it seems that the latter meaning is intended. On the use of lēoran on line 31, see n. 124 and Introduction, p. §§.

manna cynnes ‘what man among humans’. The devil in chief, who knows about the Lord’s power, seems to hope that Andrew is fighting on is own, without this.
1376 *Hwaet* ‘of course’. The sentence is elliptical, requiring the verb *ālȳse* ‘may release’ from line 1373 above to complete it. This ellipse makes a colloquial answer, in which the initial word may be translated as a particle rather than as an interjection which breaks with the sense before.

1377a *nið<ð>a* neregend ‘Saviour of Humanity’. Brooks (1961: 111) makes a metrical case for reading MS *niða* as if it were *niðða* ‘of men’, with a simplified spelling which also occurs in *Elene* 465, 503, *Beowulf* 2215 (on the evidence of Thorkelin’s transcripts), and *Riddle* 27.27.

1377b *nīeddum* ‘in chains’. MS *medū* does not alliterate and must be emended (Brooks 1961: 111).

1377-85 The devil and his minions are at once in the Mermedonian prison and in hell itself. These conflicting chronotopes are in both leading analogues and are therefore inherited from the poet’s source.

1389 *hǣðenra hlōð* ‘heathen prize-gang’. See n. 42.

1390-91 *hēton lēdan ūt* (…) *priddan sīde* ‘bid lead out (…) for the third time’. In the Old English homily (according to CCC, MS 198), *On mergen þā geworden wæs eft hīc tugon þone hālgan Andrēas* ‘When morning came, once more they dragged the holy Andrew’ (Morris 1967: 243). This appears to be only the second morning of Andrew’s incarceration, but there is a possibility that the poet (in an earlier draft) included and then (in this version) dropped a detail (in the Casanatensis, ch. 25) that the Mermedonians put Andrew in jail as soon as they arrest him: thus Andrew can have been led out twice, not once, on the first day. See n. 1458-60.

1392-93 *woldon ... mōd gemyltan* ‘would … make courage melt away’. At first this language seems akin to that of the Psalms. The Psalmist cites the moments *ponge mē maegen and mōd mylte on hreðre* ‘when my force and mind melt in the breast’ in *The Paris Psalter* 70:10; and says *mē wearð gemolten mōd on hreðre* ‘my mind became molten in the breast’ to think of his crimes in 118:53. The same idiom is recorded in the prose *Psalm* 21:12: *Mīn heorte and mīn mōd is gemolten, swā þæt weax, on innan mē* ‘my heart and my mind are melted like wax within me’ (Bright and Ramsay 1907: 44). Yet the situation in *Andreas* is more critical in that the subject’s courage is tested in battle. In *Beowulf*, the poet tells us *ne gemealt him se mōdsefa*, that Wiglaf’s ‘mind did not melt’ when he joins in Beowulf’s attack on the Dragon, on line 2628.

1397 *dolgbennum þurhdrifen* ‘pierced with gashes’. The words echo the description of Christ’s wounds in *Dream* 46: *þurhdrifan hī mē mid deorcan næglum. On mē syndon þā dolg gesīene* ‘they drove me through with dark nails. On me those wounds are visible’. This language helps to align Andrew with Jesus so that he may become an empowered miracle-working saint. Andrew, however, is not aware of his growth in power until the Lord replies to his ensuing miserable speech.

1404 *tōlocen .. gebrocen* ‘dislocated … broken’. The rhyme in Andrew’s words is anticipated by the poet’s near rhyme, or assonance, with *geswungen ... gebunden* ‘scourged … bound’ on line 1396; and succeeded, near the end of his speech by
tōslopen ... ādropen ‘softened ... dripped out’ on line 1425. The dissyllabic rhymes in this speech differ from the mostly monosyllabic Cynewulfian variety in that of Andrew’s disciples when their spirits return from the fantastic view of heaven (n. 859-91).

1405 bānhūs blōdfāg ‘bone-house blood-stained’. For the noun, see n. 1240. The adjective occurs elsewhere only in Beowulf 2060, where Beowulf himself applies it to one of Princess Frawaru’s Danish guardsmen, saying that svefecd blōdfāg ‘blood-stained he will sleep’ when an aggrieved Heathobard takes revenge on him for his father’s death.

1407 on dæges tīde ‘in the space of one day’. No more precise duration is given for Jesus’ suffering. As Brooks points out (1961: 111), the contrast in torment which the Praxeis and the Casanatensis deliver between Andrew’s three days and Jesus’ three hours (for a ratio of 24:1) is lost both here and with the twice-given phrase III dagas syndon ‘it is three days’ in the Old English homily (according to CCC, MS 198; Morris 1967: 243-44). The English authors leave the numerical symmetry behind for a more practical ratio of 3:1.

1411 cwēde ðus ‘(you) spoke thus’. Andrew rehearses Christ’s words in extremis from the cross in Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34.

1418-24 Dū ðæt gehēte ‘You promised this’ etc. In the following words about safety from harm, Andrew embroiders the source’s version of Jesus’ declaration to the Disciples in Luke 21:18, before the Passion, that capillus de capite vestro non peribit ‘no hair from your heads will perish’; and perhaps also the words of St Paul, sailing towards Malta, who tells his companions in Acts 27:34 that nullius vestrum capillus de capite peribit ‘not a hair of any of you will perish from your head’ (Colunga and Turrado 1985: 1036, 1093).

1418-28 In these eleven lines of Andrew’s speech, which bring his despair to a peak, the alliteration is concentrated on the letters h-, l- and s- but particularly on l-. The letter h- (lines 1418, 1420) introduces the passage; and the letter s- (1422, 1425) alternates with l- (1421, 1423-24, 1426 and 1428); until the f- of fex and feorhgedāl on line 1427 recaptures that of fæder engla frignan wille of the beginning of the whole speech on line 1412. Five out of eight lines in lines 1421-28 alliterate with l-, all proceeding from the word līces ‘of (my) body’ and ending with līfcearo ‘care to (my) life). This unique compound repeats the alternation of leoð <u> and lic on line 1404 (leoð <u> tōlocen līc sāre gebrocen) with the word lif (in līfes lēohfruma) on line 1413. Stevens (1981: 15) treats the verse ne loc of hēafde on line 1423a, which is an example of anacrusis (extrametrical syllables), as ‘carelessly placed’ because it lacks double alliteration, but this presumed lapse is of small moment in the passage as a whole, in which the poet’s concentration on liquids renders ululation.

1425 tōslopen ... ādropen ‘torn ... dripped out’. On the rhyme, see n. 1404.

1427 feorhgedāl ‘life’s parting’. Also on line 181, as the Lord’s term for what happens to stray guests in Mermedonia, before He tells Andrew that Matthew needs rescue; and in Guthlac (B) 1200, where the saint’s servant (Beccel) becomes aware of his fēran feorhgedāl ‘lord’s parting from life’. There are no other instances, although
Beowulf’s *worulde gedāl* ‘parting from the world’, in the poet’s retrospective on him in *Beowulf* 3068, comes close.

1428 *līfcearo* ‘care of living this way’, literally ‘this life-care’. Attested also in *Genesis (A)* 878, as the Lord’s word for the misery which Adam claims to endure without clothes. In *Andreas* it makes a contrast with *feorhgedāl* on line 1427. In form but not in meaning, the nearest compound is in *Beowulf*, on line 906, in which the bad king Heremod is said to have become *eallum æþellingum tō aldorceare* ‘for all princes a care to life’. If there is a relationship with *Beowulf* in the hapax here, it is that the Mermedonians are as mad as King Heremod, and synonymous with the torture they inflict.

1429 *stīðhyegendum* ‘to the stubborn man’. Also on line 741, of the ‘stubborn’ Jews whom the speaking statue fails to impress. In *Elene*, similarly, when Empress Helena meets resistance in her quest for the Cross, *hire Iūdas oncwæð stīðhyegende* ‘Judas answered her stubbornly’ (line 684). On the other hand, Helena’s troops in *Elene* 716 *stūpon tō ðǣre stōwe stīðhyegende* ‘marched resolutely to the place’ where they expect to find the True Cross: in their case the stubbornness amounts to a noble persistence. In *Andreas*, the meaning is of subtler hue. Andrew cannot be ‘resolute’ for he has just cried out his wish to retire. Nor is he ‘stubborn’ like the Jews or Judas in *Elene*, for he is not resisting God’s will like those whom the poet’s society treats as unbelievers or pagans. What his speech rather shows is that he holds out against the Lord’s command to embrace torture. Although obedience to this course is standard in the life of a Christian martyr or saint, the poet of *Andreas* wants a less passive protagonist.

1431-33 *wræcsīð (...) friðe (...) mundbyrde* ‘exile (...) safe (...) protection’. OE *mundbyrd* (acceptance of) protection’ is also designated as the Lord’s on lines 724 and 1632. Moreover, with *ic þe friðe healde* ‘I will keep you safe’ on line 1432, the Lord repeats the promise He made on line 915. The political language, which overlaps with the heroic idiom in which the poet moves, makes the Lord into a king, one who is unique in being able to safeguard from an obscure long distance the interests of an isolated member of his household. The Dreamer of *The Dream of the Rood*, similarly, declares that his *mundbyrd* is *geriht tō þære rōde*, more literally that his ‘acceptance of protection is directed to the Cross’ on line 130. Judith, when about to be tested, finds her *mundbyrd* with God in *Judith* 3. St Juliana is conversely invited to accept the *mundbyrd* of heathen gods in *Juliana* 170.

1434b The manuscript has no break, but a half-line is required in the text. Grein (1857-58) suggests *geond middangeard* ‘across the middle world’.

1435a *sigorspēd geseald* ‘great triumph given’. See n. 646a.

1435b Sōð *þæt geċyddō* ‘True it will be proclaimed’ etc. The Lord, having given His word to protect Andrew on lines 915-17, makes the power of this sardonically clear. In both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis (chs. 28) the Lord says more simply that heaven and earth will pass away but His word never. His words there, which are spoken in Hebrew, according to both main analogues, are drawn from Jesus’ speech about the apocalypse coming within his Disciples’ lifetimes, in Matt 24: 34-35, Mark 13: 30-31 and Luke 21: 32-33. In the Matthew: *Amen dico vobis, quia non praeteribit*
generatio haec, donec omnia haec fiant. / Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non praeteribunt ‘Truly I tell you that this generation will not pass away before all these things have happened. / Heaven and earth will pass, but my words will never pass away’ (Colunga and Turrado 1985: 986). In the Lindisfarne glosses, Matt 24: 34 opens with Sōðlīce ic cueðe īuh ‘truly I proclaim to you’ (Skeat I, 1871: 198). In the Rushworth glosses, Matt 24: 35 is heofon 7 eorþe gelēoraþ word þonne mīn nǣfre ne lēoraþ ‘heaven and earth will pass when my words will never pass away’ (ibid., 199; on lēoran for WS gewīta, see n. 124).

In Andreas, however, the Lord puts this declaration into the mouths of people on the Day of Judgement, moreover after the prophesied collision of heaven and earth has taken place. Thus he changes the older statement ‘X will pass, but not Y’ into the construction ‘X will pass before Y’ (where ‘X’ is the apocalypse and ‘Y’ is the Lord’s word not failing). This change in syntax presents a verification of the gospel’s statement in the words of people who have seen the first part, the apocalypse, happen and who treat it as proof that the second part, failure of God’s word, will not. That was in any case the underlying implication of the gospel’s relatively simple words. The poet of Andreas works this implication into a dramatic scene, with the added irony that people about to be judged by the Almighty are no longer curious about the idea that His words might fail.

1441 Geseoh nū seolfes swæde ‘See now the path you have taken’. Brooks (1961: 111) draws attention to the exclusion of this imperative word from the reinforced s-alliteration in a Type B line. There is another example in line 107, Geþola þēoda þrēa ‘Suffer people’s oppression’. Beowulf contains a non-alliterating parallel for the metrically excluded imperative, in line 452 where Beowulf speaks at his most confident: Onsend Higelāce ‘send [my armour if I die] to Hygelac’. As each of the two cases in Andreas occurs in the Lord’s words to an apostle, it seems likely that the extra alliteration is not accidental, and that the poet has reinforced the line without regard for traditional prosody.

1446-49 The flourishing of plant-life prefigures the growth of good works in Mermedonia following conversion. Similarly described is the place in which Cedd chose to build the monastery at Lastingham, according to Bede (HE III.23, quoting from Isaiah 35:7; Colgrave and Mynors 1991: 288-89). According to Isaiah’s prophecy, in the Mercian-WS translation, Bede says in þēm cleofum, þe ædr dracan eardodon, wǣre upyrnende grōwnes hrēodes 7 rīxa ‘in the clefts, where formerly dragons dwelt, there sprang up a growth of reeds and rushes’ (Miller 1890: 230.20-21). On a dragon in Andreas, see n. 767-69. The renewal of plant-life further parallels the change in the fenland hermitage following the expulsion of the demons in Guthlac (A) 742-48, as well as its transformation from locus horribilis into locus amoenus. The blossoms adorning these trees evoke the martyrs’ band blōstmum behangen ‘adorned with blossoms’, as it is led through the Holy City by Mary in Judgement Day II 291, as well as the righteous in this poem who stand betweoh rosen<α> rēade hēapes ‘amidst heaps of red roses’ which betoken their bloodshed (line 289).

1450 wīgendra hlēo ‘shield of warriors’. Andrew’s responsibility over his own disciples is emphasized as he turns to his own master. The three other uses of this formula indicate a man with responsibility for armed followers: the ship’s captain, in Andrew’s words in line 506; Andrew himself, in the poet’s words, after his disciples inform him about their dream of heaven and about his mistake, on line 896; and
Andrew in the words of the Lord who tells him to stay on in Mermedonia, on line 1672b. In Beowulf this formula also occurs four times: of King Hrothgar on line 429, where Beowulf asks for leave to fight Grendel; of the legendary Sigemund on line 899, after he had become a successful king; of Beowulf himself, on line 1972, when his safe return is reported to King Hygelac; and of Beowulf again as he orders the forging of an iron shield against the dragon on line 2337. The remaining instance, from the Advent Lyrics of Christ I 409, is a term of apostrophe for the Almighty who created heaven and earth.

1454 *ellþēodigne* ‘a stranger to this country’. This word reveals an uncommon perspective, given that Andrew’s torments are still in progress. With this word Andrew presents himself from an outsider’s point of view, recognising himself, not the Mermedonians, as the foreigner here. Other instances are applied not to the self but to the Other: in The Seafarer 38, the persona of a Christian missionary desires to seek out *ellþēodigra eard* ‘a country of foreigners’; and Wulfgar calls Beowulf and his men *ellþēodige* ‘foreigners’ when he reports on their arrival to King Hrothgar in Beowulf 336. In the case of Andreas, as Andrew’s praise *hālgan stefne* ‘with holy voice’ on line 1456 confirms, it seems that the hero is at last ready to take on the powers of a saint.

1458-60 *fēorðan sīde* ... lǣddon / tō þām carcerne ‘for the fourth time ... did lead / to the prison’. See *hriddan sīde* ‘for the third time’, n. 1390-91. Neither the Praxeis nor Casanatensis nor any other analogue gives notice of the ‘fourth’ or any other number of days here: for instance, in the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *On āðenne þā geworden hīe hone betȳndon on þām carcerne* ‘When evening came, they shut him up in the prison’ (Morris 1967: 245). In Andreas, the Mermedonians lead Andrew to his cell each evening of the three days of his torture, and this evening is the third. Brooks (1961: 111-12) suggests that the poet has lost track, confusing the times of Andrew’s torture with the times of his removal to the jail. However, the Casanatensis has the devils *comprehendentes autem illum statim mittentes eum in carcerem* ‘seizing him and sending him immediately to prison’, before they mock Andrew in jail (ch. 27; Blatt 1930: 83). In this version, which does not trouble to relate all Andrew’s three days of prison, Andrew is led to jail not once but twice on the first day. The text of Andreas appears to understand this procedure without citing the saint’s first incarceration. However, since the half-line *bǣron ūt hraðe* ‘they bore him out quickly’ (for Andrew’s arrest and extraction in line 1201) presupposes that he is confined after arrest, it is possible that the poet put this detail into an earlier version of Andreas, and that the version we have now is a revision.

1460-61 *woldon crafeta gehygð (...) mōd oncyrran* ‘would pervert his able purpose, (...) his mind’. This detail is peculiar to Andreas. In both the Praxeis and the Casanatensis, the Mermedonians lead Andrew back into his cell, telling each other that he is failing and will not last the night; the latter text also makes this the cause of their leading him back. In the Praxeis, καὶ ἔλεγον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ ἀνδρεῖς τῆς πολιώς· Τάχα τελευτᾶ ἐν τῇ νυκτί ταύτῃ, καὶ οὗτοι ἑφίσκομεν ἀυτὸν ἵνα ἑν τῇ ἐξής ἡμέρα ἐπόνησαν γάρ, καὶ αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ ἐδαπανήθησαν ‘And the men of the city spoke among themselves, “He will probably be finished this night and we will not find him alive at sunrise, for he is weak and his flesh is wearied”’ (ch. 28; Bonnet 1959: 108). In the Casanatensis, *Vespere autem facto, tunc presides cum vidissent iam nimis defectus retrudi eum in carcere dicentes, quia iam caro eius et capilli destructi sunt,*
forsitan in hac nocte morietur ‘When evening came and the guards saw that he was now much beaten up, they brought him back to prison, saying “Since his flesh and hair is destroyed, perhaps he will die in the night”’ (ch. 28; Blatt 1930: 87). More simply, in the OE homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), On ēfenne pā geworden hē hone betŷndon on þām carcerne, and hē cwǣdon him betwŷnum, ‘Forþon þe þisse niht ē swelt’ ‘When evening came, they shut him up in the prison, and said to each other “For on this night he will die”’ (Morris 1967: 245). What follows in these analogues are the Lord’s visit, Andrew’s command to the pillar, and the beginning of the flood: all in the night-time and free of trouble from Mermedonian jailers. Since he attributes their gift of temporary respite to a wish on their part to undermine him, it follows that this poet attributes Andrew’s miracle-working powers to the torture itself.

1466-67 Heht his līchoman / hāles brūcan ‘He bid him of his body / enjoy good health’; with hine ‘him’ understood (Brooks 1961: 112). As in the Casanatensis, this comes in indirect speech; the Praxeis puts the command into the Lord’s words; in both analogues a new chapter starts here, with the Lord’s visit (chs. 29). For his part, the poet of Andreas chooses to embellish the Lord’s command with nine lines on all the details of Andrew’s restored state (lines 1469-77). Two other poems show what models he may have had. There is a similar passage in Juliana 589-92:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dā gēn sīo hālga stōd} \\
\text{ungewemde wlite; nās hyre wloh ne hrægl, } \\
\text{ne feax ne fel fȳre gemǣled, } \\
\text{ne līc ne leōpu.}
\end{align*}
\]

Still then did the sainted woman stand with unblemished countenance; neither hem nor garment nor hair nor skin on her was damaged, neither body nor limbs.

The fire-proof beauty of the boys in Daniel 436-37, is less close: Nās hyra wlite gewemmed, ne nānig wroht on hrægle, / ne feax fyre beswǣled ‘Their countenance was not blemished nor was there any stain on their garments, / nor was their hair scorched with the fire’. In Alison Powell’s view, the poet of Andreas probably borrows from Cynewulf, who may have borrowed from Daniel (2002: 189-92). As if responding to a well-worn devotional topos, the poet of Andreas celebrates Andrew’s restoration to health in order to round off a fitt, not (as in the analogues) to begin a new chapter. In the poem, though not in the analogues, the mood is upbeat, the scene set for an epic climax.

1478 H<\text{w}>æt. The zoomorphic stem of the initial h of manuscript ĥæt (an error repeated in the opening h<\text{w}>æt of The Dream of the Rood) is ten page lines in height, starting in the margin on the third line up (see Fig. 3). The stem looks like an upright bird, at least up to the neck. Higher up is a leonine head facing the viewer and having apparently swallowed the bird’s head. Leaves sprout out of the leonine head. Lower down, the round limb of the initial h-curves into the stem in the image of a lizard-like beast, whose neck twists around the stem, the bird’s neck, with the head biting into this. The opening of the poem now known as The Fates of the Apostles, on folio 52 verso, was planned with a smaller outsize initial h- for its enlarged hwæt, one to be placed in the main text, but this letter was not drawn (see Fig. 2). No other left-
margin fitt-initiating capital in Andreas has ornamentation to match that of the _hæt_ at line 1478, not even the enlarged _hwæt_ which opens the poem on the top left of folio 29 verso. There are other enlarged initial capitals at the beginning of fitts, such as the initial squared-topped G on folio 43 recto, the _thorn_ on folio 44 verso and _wynn_ on folio 47 verso (see n. 1352), but none so elaborate as this zoomorphic initial. The beginning of the unnumbered fitt XIV thus receives an inordinate attention. Celia Sisam (1976: 19) suggests that the scribe misplaced this initial, having intended it for the beginning of _The Fates of the Apostles_. Puskar (2011: 10-13) believes that the scribe did not make an error in the first case but in the second, at the start of _Fates_, and was preparing two initials both in honour of Cynewulf (the author of the self-interruption on line 1478).

1478-89 _H<w>aet, ic hwīle nū_ ‘Listen, I for a while now’ etc. Nothing is found in the analogues to match this self-interruption. The poet’s literary persona breaks the flow in order to claim an ignorance about St Andrew which is clearly not his. To Brooks (1961:112), ‘he seems to be making a rhetorical disclaimer, that he does not know the whole story of St. Andrew, in order to condense his poem’. A comparison between the poem and the two leading analogues does show places where the poet seems to bypass distractions. However, this abbreviation may be due to a later revision (see n. 1458-60), and the poet’s reference to Joshua and Tobias on line 1516 keeps an element which has been cut out of the extant analogues. Even if the text we have is a revision, the story does not seem particularly shortened in _Andreas_.

1480-81 _wyrd undyrne / ofer mīn gemet_ ‘a history which is, when revealed, / beyond my capacity’. Brooks, unwilling to make sense of these words as one unit, considers the run-on ‘pointless’ (1961: 112). More awkwardly, he begins a new sentence with _Ofer mīn gemet_ on line 1481 (1961: xlv), although this arrangement violates ‘Kuhn’s Law’ (see Introduction, p. $$). On the decorative initial, see n. 1478.

1481-83 _Mycel is tō secganne, ... þæt hē in līfe ādrēag, / eall æfter orde_ ‘A big task it is, ... to say all he suffered / in life from the start’. The formula is traditional: there is a briefer example in Guthlac (A) 531-32: _Micel is tō secgan, / eall æfter orde, þæt hē on elne ādrēag_ ‘A big task it is to say from the start all he suffered in his zeal’. The latter opening with _Micel_ weakens Brooks’ case for including _ofrer mīn gemet_ in the same sentence.

1489 _fyrnsægen_ ‘epic of ancient times’. This likeness of this unique compound with _fornaldar saga_ ‘epic of ancient times’, the Modern Icelandic critical term for the genre of legendary stories, is coincidental. Similar compounds about ancient narrative feature in Cynewulf’s _Elene_, where the story is of the crucifixion: in line 542, Judas is hailed as _fyrngydda frōd_ ‘learned in ancient songs’; on line 155 the word _fyrngewritu_ ‘ancient writings’ denotes Roman and Greek pagan books; and on lines 373, 431 and 560, it denotes the bible’s books; a meaning which it also has in _Precepts_ 67 and _SolSat_ 9. However, the oral character of the _fyrnsægen_ in _Andreas_ corresponds less with these biblical examples, and more with the likewise unique _ealdgesegen_ ‘old epic’. This unique compound occurs in _ealfela ealdgesegenā / worn_ ‘a whole multitude of old epics in great number’ in _Beowulf_ 869-70, where an unnamed Danish thane recalls models for extemporizing on Beowulf’s glory with Grendel. See Introduction, p. $$.
He be wealle geseah (...) stapulas standan ‘By the wall he saw (...) pillars standing’. There is a match between Andrew’s pillar and the inside hallway of the Dragon’s mound; perhaps a pointed rather than neutral borrowing has occurred (Anlezark 2006: 351). The above sentence resembles Beowulf’s initial survey of the Dragon’s mound, in Beowulf 2542-45: Geseah dā be wealle (...) stōn bogan ‘he saw then by the wall (...) stone arches standing’; the poet reiterates the architecture more vaguely with Wiglaf in lines 2715-19. There is a less close version of the formula in the Coastguard’s first sight of the Geats disembarking: Þā of wealle geseah ‘then from the sea-wall he saw’, in Beowulf 229. Neither of Andreas’ main analogues gives a wall in the jail, albeit in the Praxeis we do look into the middle of this place: θεασάμενος Ἀνδρέας εἰς μέσον τῆς φυλακῆς ἔδει στῦλον ἑστῶτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον ἀνδρίας ἐπικείμενος ἀλαβαστρινός ‘Andrew, looking into the middle of the prison, saw a pillar standing there, and on the pillar was resting a statue of alabaster’ (ch. 29; Bonnet 1959: 109). In the Casanatensis, Et statim vidit columnam marmoream erectam, et super ipsam columna stantem statuam marmoream ‘And at once he saw a raised marble column, and standing on this column a marble statue’ (ch. 29; Blatt 87). The Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198) is close to the Praxeis, with hē geseah on middum þēm carcerne swēr standan, and ofer þone swēr stēnenne ānlicenesse ‘he saw in the middle of the prison a pillar standing, and on the pillar, a stone image’ (Morris 1967: 245). Moreover, though it is from the statue’s mouth that the flood comes in all analogues, there is no statue here in Andreas, only a stapol on a stapol ‘pedestal’ (line 1503). Since we know that the poet can describe carvings, from lines 712-41, it is reasonable to suppose that there was a statue in his source which he has left out. Perhaps this is because he resists idolatry; perhaps because there is no statue in the mound in Beowulf; and because of the (hot) stream which issues from the Dragon’s mound in lines 2545-46. If Andrew’s dungeon is aligned with the Dragon’s mound, in particular, the poet of Andreas might begin to shadow Beowulf’s final battle with his saint’s first survey of the pillars. That Beowulf’s fight ends in death, Andrew’s conversely in triumph, might then point to a potential mockery in our poet’s opening use of the climax of Beowulf.

storme bedrifenne, / eald enta geweorc ‘scoured by weather, old works of giants’. In this apparently bizarre conception of a jail the poet parts company with all other analogues of Andreas. Once again, we find ourselves in the Dragon’s mound in Beowulf, whose own construction is said to be enta geweorc ‘works of giants’ as Wiglaf holds it on line 2717. If any material sense is to be made of the pillars, which are made of marble (line 1498), being lashed by storms inside the jail in Andreas, these must be Roman spolia, rather than the sort of prehistoric stonework that supports the dragon’s barrow. The re-use of Roman stone was limited primarily to ecclesiastical buildings, and it is appropriate that the jail becomes the site of a church (see n. 1587). The scene recalls something akin to the crypt at Repton, which is supported by (Anglo-Saxon) stone columns, and sits on top of a spring which has been used to support the idea that it was originally a baptistery (see Introduction, p. $$).

þis frǣte folc ‘this apostate people’. See n. 571.

on dē sylf cyning / wrāt ‘on you the King / Himself ... did inscribe’. In common with the Praxeis (ch. 29), the poet of Andreas gives Andrew words of praise for stone
as better than metals in that the Lord wrote the Ten Commandments on stone tablets. The author of the Casanatensis appears to cut out this eulogy.

1516 Íœsua ond Tòbias ‘Joshua and Tobias’. MS ëosa ond tobias. Neither the Praxeis nor the Casanatensis nor any other extant analogue gives either of these names. Joshua is the name of Moses’ spy for Israel (Exodus 17: 8-16) and successor (Joshua 1: 1-16), the first leader to build a home of the Israelites. Tobias, if the source relies on the apocryphal Book of Tobit, may be the Tobias who helps his father Tobit to maintain God’s laws in the Temple during the Babylonian Captivity. The names thus bookend Jewish royal history. Having them here perhaps appropriates that history for the Church, or even for the patron of Andreas.

1520 þurh his hâlige hæs ‘by His sacred order’. Brooks keeps this half-line for the previous sentence (though others have joined it to the following) on the grounds of Kuhn’s Laws (1961: 113-14). This syntax connects the Lord’s command to the stone’s original status, without interfering with what is essentially Andrew’s order to the stone to release the flood-waters on line 1505. With this punctuation, Andrew enacts the command to flood by challenging the stone to show knowledge of God’s decree, that stone is a more precious substance than either gold or silver. The stone must thus act in order to repay this heavenly honour. The poet’s syntax develops a quid pro quo which is implicit in the analogues.

1522 tògān ‘wide it yawned’. Suggestive of a mouth, as in the statue of the analogues. Although a statue is not given here, the folio (49 verso) has an animal, probably a lion, not far below this text, whose mouth gapes as if to a command such as the nexus question (Mitchell 1985: § 3565) in ‘þū scealt hræðe cȳðan gif ðū his ondgitan ānige hæbbe!’ (lines 1519-20). See Fig. 1.

1526 Meoduscerwen weard ‘It was a serving of mead’. Compare OE f. scearu ‘share’ and the derived sciwerwan ‘to share out’, from which it is clear that the unique OE meoduscerwen refers figuratively to the flood which begins to trap the Mermedonians. The poet treats their paganism as a party getting out of hand. The above line is to be compared with the likewise unique expression weard (...) ealuscerwen in Beowulf 765-67. The latter passage was interpreted in a variety of ways before a consensus restored the meaning ‘dispensation of ale’ for ealuscerwen, mostly because of meoduscerwen in Andreas (as in Anlezark 2006: 348; see also Klegraf 1971, Hanning 1973, Rowland 1990, North 1994). The present editors agree with Wrenn and read the first element of ealuscerwen as ealu ‘good fortune’, an archaic homophone of the word for ‘ale’. What the poet of Beowulf means with ealuscerwen has nothing to do with drink, as if it ever could. He means that the Danes, as soon as they hear the beginning of the end of Grendel, know that ‘good fortune’ has been ‘dispensed’ or ‘prescribed’ to them by fate. The poet of Andreas appears to mock this climactic moment by misreading ealuscerwen as ‘a dispensation of ale’. See Introduction, p. $$.

1532a þurh sealtes swe<1>g ‘of salt swallow’. MS scealta sweg, in which the first form is not a word and the second refers to ‘music’. It seems best to emend, as Brooks, to swelg ‘abyss’ on the evidence of glosses (1961: 114).

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sorgbyrþen, / biter bēorþegu ‘brewing of sorrow, a bitter beer-tasting’. The first compound, as it stands ‘burden’, seems to have metathesis for -bryþen ‘brewing’. From the sweetness of mead, this drink turns bitter; the image has thus been read as pocus mortis ‘the drink of death’, a patristic metaphor for the wages of sin (Brown 1940; Smithers 1951-52: 67-75).

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tures of his observation (made earlier, when in prospect of drowning in the race against Breca) that wyrd oft nereð / unfægne eorl þonne his ellen dēah ‘fate often saves an doomed gentleman when his courage avails’ (lines 572-73).
Wherever it [the people’s repentance] was now quite clear, ... there had ... a <vigour> been humbled’. The poet may thus attribute the Mermedonian surrender to their humiliation at Andrew’s hands, but these lines present a syntactical difficulty. Brooks appears to suppress this when he notes only that þǣr on line 1571 is correlative to þǣr on line 1569, (1961: 115, note to line 1571). According to Donoghue’s arguments, on the basis of verb-auxiliary positions in principal and dependent clauses, it is more likely that the first clause depends on the second, although his resulting translation is ‘somewhat forced’: ‘Where [wherever?] the behavior of the people became clear to Andreas in his heart, there the strength of the brave ones, the power of the warriors, was subdued’ (1987: 82-83). At this point the Praxeis goes with ‘Andrew knew that their souls were submissive to him’ (ch. 30); even more simply in the Casanatensis, the flood and fire stop afflicting Mermedonians ‘when Saint Andrew realized that they all believed in the Lord Jesus’ (ch. 30). The poet’s subordination, as Donoghue construes it, is similar to that in the Praxeis. In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), Mid þī se ēadiga Andrēas ongeat þāt hīe tō Drihtene wǣron gehwerfede ‘When the blessed Andrew perceived that they were turned to the Lord’ (Morris 1880: 247), he calls off their punishment. This version appears to keep a subordination consistent with that of the Praxeis, one which may have lain in a precursor to the Casanatensis. The analogues in this way appear to vindicate Donoghue’s construction.

An m-word must be supplied to make the line scan. Donoghue presents þær <mægenspēd> wæs mōdigra forbēged and þǣr <manig> wæs mōdigra forbēged as alternative readings (1987: 82-83). However, since the first supplement is a longer form of mægen and the second takes no account of the need to find an subject complement apposable to þrym ‘majesty’ on the following line, Thorpe’s <mægen> is still the most straightforward option (op. cit., 1869).

A mountainous stream flowed’. See n. 390.

gave up the jail’. In Andreas, just as in the Praxeis and the Casanatensis (chs. 30), it is implied, but not stated, that the reformed Mermedonians run into the jail to free Andrew from his bonds, just as they promise in the poem on line 1564.

For him a ready street through the driving current <was> at once cleared’. As in the analogues, this typology identifies Andrew with Moses at the parting of the Red Sea (Irving 1983: 236; Clemoes 1995: 265).

Pleasant the plain of victory’. This description appears to match the town square of Mermedonia in the analogues. In the Praxeis, Andrew says that he will show this site to the executioners as τὸν τόπον τῆς φονείσκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς εἰρήνης ‘the place of their murdering and the place of peace’ (ch. 31; Bonnet 1959: 113). As to the adjective elsewhere in Andreas, the seas when they settle are smylte ‘smooth’ on line 453. The half-line is also found in Phoenix 33, where smylte wæs se sigewong describes Paradise; and smolt wæs se sigewong occurs also in Guthlac (B) 742, when St Guthlac, feeding the birds, lives the good
heremitical life in Crowland. Much later in the Praxeis and Casanatensis (towards the end of chs. 31), the water drains into the old execution ground and this place, the city square, opens momentarily into an abyss for the true sinners. See n. 1587-88.

1585 Geofon swaðrode ‘Ocean subsided’. MS heofon. The scribe appears to have been influenced by the ensuing phrase þurh hāliges hǣs ‘at the saint’s command’ which finishes the page line (nine lines up on folio 50 verso). One deduction is that the scribe was thinking of OE hēofan ‘to lament’ as something subsiding, now that the Mermedonians are blīþe on mōde, ferhðgefēonde ‘cheerful, with spirits gladdened’ a little before on lines 1583-84.

1586 hlyst ÿst forgeaf ‘tempest was lost to hearing’, literally ‘tempest gave up making sound’.

1586-87 The assonance hǣs-forgeaf, and the rhymes hlyst-ÿst and gebād-tōhlād on these lines give a Cynewulfian flourish to the calming of the waters, and to their draining into the hole opened up by the heathens’ assembly mound as this falls in upon itself.

1587-88 Þā se beorg tōhlād, / eorðscræf egeslīc ‘The barrow then split open, frightful earth-cave’. That the site of sacrifice or execution is called a mound or barrow, seems rather English, but is also true of the Casanatensis, whose liberated Andrew walks through the city usque dum venire ubi erat toro, ubi et homines interficiebant, et ubi sanguis decurrebat ‘until he came to where there was a mound, where they would kill men, as well as where the blood would run off’ (ch. 31; Blatt 1930: 91). In ch. 22, we have already learned that the Mermedonians keep a lacus ‘trough’ or ‘tank’ for this blood (ibid., 75), so perhaps, if there was a consistency in the story, the blood is imagined to run downhill into the tank from the executions on the top of the mound (see n. 1092). Through Andreas’ now-lost source, as in the Casanatensis, Latin toro may be the word on which the word beorg is based in Andreas. Neither the Praxeis nor the Old English homily gives a mound for the earth which opens up to receive the flood.

1592 ach ‘but’. See n. 569.

1593 folcsceaðan feówertýne ‘despoilers of people, fourteen’. The leading analogues specify fourteen executioners, in addition to the bad father whom Andreas tastefully forgets. This is the only example of folcsceāda, although the devil is a fyrnscēaph ‘ancient despoiler’ (also unique) on line 1346. The baseword is highly productive: to name a few other compounds, we have synsceafan ‘sinful despoilers’ in Genesis (A) 55; gielpsceafan ‘boasting despoilers’ there on line 96; hellesceafan ‘hell’s despoiler’ for a devil in Elene 956; womsceafan ‘blemished despoilers’ and þeodscēaphan ‘arch-despoilers’ for the damned in Christ III, respectively lines 1569 and 1595, as well as ðeoodsceādan ‘despoiler of nations’ or the Dragon in Beowulf lines 2278 and 2688, and apparently for hunger in Andreas 1115; mānsceafan ‘criminal despoilers’ for demons in Guthlac 650 and 909; and lyftsceafan ‘sky-despoiler’ for a raven in Fortunes 39. Similar to folscceaða is lēodsceāda ‘despoiler of the people’, which is both God’s term for Adam at the end of paradise in Genesis (B) 917, and Beowulf’s for Grendel when he reports to Hygelac in Beowulf 2093. One element that most referents of sc(e)aða have in common is to be damned in hell (see n. 1594).
1594 *gewiton* (...) *in forwyrd sceacan* ‘moving in haste to perdition’. OE *sceacan* ‘to shake, move’ denotes rapid movement. As Andrew reiterates to their colleagues, with *swyð* ‘death’ and *wītus* ‘penalties’ in lines 1610-11, hell is where the fourteen worst Mermedonians are going. This is partly true also in the leading analogues. The fourteen executioners plus bad father are only temporarily damned in the *Praxeis*, where the Lord commands Andrew to revive them after his second return to the city a long time hence (ch. 33). In the Casanatesis, where matters are simpler, the Lord likewise orders the bad fifteen to be resurrected at the end of Andrew’s seven-day extended stay (ch. 33). The poet of *Andreas* overlooks the reprieve.

1597-98 *wēndan* (...) *pearlra geþinga ḍrāge hnāgran* ‘expected (...) an outcome severe, a time all the meaner’ (literally ‘outcomes’, pl.). At first, in both the *Praxeis* and the Casanatensis, the Mermedonians expect to be sucked into the flood which drags the executioners and bad father down to hell (chs. 31). Brooks, treating the less specific *pearlra geþinga* as a descriptive genitive with the b-line as object of *wēndan*, compares this construction to one in Unferth’s summung up against Beowulf, *Donne wēne ic tō þē wyrsta geþingea* ‘From you in this case I expect an outcome all the worse’, in *Beowulf* 525 (1961: 116). This phrasal parallel, if it represents a borrowing from the least dignified Dane in *Beowulf*, lays bare the poet’s view of the Mermedonians. They are men of little faith, willing to adopt Christianity to get out of trouble with Andrew, but unable as yet to see that their souls will be saved. In the Casanatensis, even when facing death, the Mermedonians hedge their bets: *Set voluntes nolentes credamus ei* ‘but whether we want to or not, let us believe in him’ (ch. 30; Blatt 1930: 89).

1600 *gūðgelācan* ‘allies in war’. Also for Constantine’s coalition when his armies move against pagan invaders in *Elene* 42: *heht ongēan gramum gūðgelǣcan* (...) *bannan tō beadwe* ‘bid allies in war be summoned to battle against the foe’. The form in *Elene*, though reminiscent of the more obscure word *āglǣc(e)a* (see n. 1359), is probably derived from OE *gelǣc* ‘to latch on, attach’, with the implication of an image of the fourteen sinners falling bound together into the gulf.

1604 *sē ðisne ār hider <ǣr> onsende* ‘who <has> sent this man here as herald’. Brooks supplies *ǣr*, which he translates as the modifier for a simple perfect tense, on the grounds of haplography through -er in *hider* just before (1961: 116). Otherwise the poet would tellingly have alliterated *hider* as an open syllable with *ār*.

1606 *gumcystum georne hȳran* ‘eagerly obey the man of virtue’. Brooks translates *gumcystum* as ‘the virtuous one’, assuming an ‘abstract for concrete’ sense (1961: 116; followed by DOE, sv. *gum-cyst*, 1.a). This is plausible, for the meaning is abstract in six of the other seven instances. There is *gumcystum gōd* ‘good in noble virtues’ once in *Genesis* (A), of Abraham on line 1769; and twice in *Beowulf* (of Hygelac, in Beowulf’s words in line 1486, and of Beowulf, in the poet’s on line 2543). The phrase *gumcystum til* ‘excellent in noble virtues’ is used again of Abraham, where he stands ready to sacrifice his son, in *Genesis* (A) 1810; and a devil, also with OE *gōd*, is said to roam *gōdra gumcysta gēasne* ‘devoid of good noble virtues’ in *Juliana* 381. And when Hrothgar tells Beowulf to listen to his sermon, with the command *gumcyste ongít* ‘take note of manly virtues’ in *Beowulf* 1723, he is talking about himself. So it appears that the expression *gumcystum hȳran* means ‘obey
the man of virtues’ in the above line in *Andreas*. This rare usage tallies with the Casanatensis, in which the Mermedonians discuss turning themselves over to Andrew: *Set volentes nolentes credamus ei et verbis eius, que nobis preceperit et in cuncta doctrina eius, etiam in deum suum quem cotidie ipse invocat, forsitan deus recogitat de nobis, et conferat a nobus hoc malum ne pereamus.* ‘But whether we want to or not, let us believe in him and in his words, which he has preached to us and in all his teaching, even unto his god on whom he calls each day, perhaps the god will think again about us and will take this evil away from us lest we perish’ (ch. 30; Blatt 1930: 89). In contrast, the Mermedonians of the *Praxeis* cry out directly to God, whom they call ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ζένοι ἀνθρώποι ‘the god of the foreign man’ for help (ch. 30; Bonnet 1959: 111). In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), some of the Mermedonian survivors, after offering to release Andrew from the prison, say *uton wē ealle cīgean and cweþan, forþon þe wē geleofað on Drihten þyses ælþēodigan* mannes; þonne ãþrysep hē þās earfoðnesse fram ës ‘let us all cry out and declare that we believe in the Lord of this foreign man; then He will remove these afflictions from us’ (Morris 1967: 247). Here, as with *Andreas*, the Latin source of the Old English homily appears to be closer to the Casanatensis.

1615 *gumena geogoðe* ‘the youth division’. Whereas the leading analogues specify that the innocent drowned are men, women, children and beasts of burden, too many to be brought to Andrew’s feet (ch. 32), the poet of Andreas defines them all as young men, as if thinking of a monastery.


1619 *gefēred <ne> wurdan* ‘should <not> be carried’. As Brooks says, the adverb ne ‘is necessary for the sense’ (1961: 116). Potentially comic in a way doubtless unintended, the loss of this negative would be paralleled by that of a presumed ār on line 1604 (see n.); in this case because the scribe was too inured to exemplars in which sinners are carried to hell to pay close attention to the line.

1621 *hāliges gastes* ‘of the holy guest’. See n. 1000.

1627 *eador* ‘united’. See n. 1122.

1634-35 *gerwan godes tempel, þēr siþ geogoð ūrās (...) ond se flōd onsprang* ‘God’s temple built where the youngsters arose (…) and the flood sprang forth’. The poet of Andreas here works back from the church-building, to the resurrection of the drowned, to the first up-welling of water. In the *Praxeis* the church is built over the jail where the pillar had stood, and so it appears in the poem. Firstly the bulk of the Mermedonian public is revived after Andrew asks for their bodies to be carried to him. In the *Praxeis*, καὶ μετα τοῦτα ἐγκαθίστας τόσον ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐποίησαν οἶκον ὁμοιόμορθηνα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ‘and after this he drew up plans for a church site and had the church built’ exactly where the pillar is and where prison had stood (ch. 32; Bonnet 1959: 112). In the Casanatensis, less clearly, perhaps because of confusion between pillars: *Post hoc expletum, beatus andreas in eodem loco fecit similitudinem ecclesie* ‘after this had been fulfilled, blessed Andrew made the plan for a church in the same place’. In the Old English homily (according to CCCC, MS 198), *aefter þissum se hālga Andrēas hēt ciricean getimbrian on þære stōwe þēr se swēr stōd* ‘after this the holy Andrew ordered a church to be built in the place where the pillar
stood’ (Morris 1967: 247). In *Andreas* the idea rather is that the church should be built on the site of the resurrection of redeemable Mermedonians, but the place is the same: in the poem, as in the analogues, it lies over the jail where they imprisoned Andrew. This type of building construction again parallels the crypt at Repton minster, which was built over what may have been a baptistery. See n. 1494 and Introduction, p. $$.

1637 *pā wīnburg* ‘the wine-town’. The Lord also refers to Mermedonia as *wīnbyrig* ‘wine-town’ on line 1672. This noun might be read in both cases as a late WS spelling of *wynburg* ‘joy-town’, but the immediate context, in which the Mermedonians begin to take Christian communion, supports ‘wine-town’ as a figure for the eucharist.

1638 *eorlas ānmōde* ‘gents with one purpose’. As Brooks makes clear (1961: 116), an alliterating form *ānmōde* is preferable to *ānmōde* ‘resolute’ with the stress on the second syllable.

1642 *ealde ealhstedas* ‘ancient sanctuary places’. Brooks (1961:116) takes the spelling of MS *eolhstedas* to reveal the present or a former scribe’s lack of familiarity with the word *ealh* ‘sanctuary’ (OE *ealgian* ‘to protect’).

1647 *se ār godes* ‘God’s herald’. MS *sio ar* ‘the grace’ might tell us, as Brooks suggests, that the scribe treated *ār godes* as a phrase for ‘God’s grace’ without paying attention to the story. See also n. 1619.

1650 *for heremægene* ‘before the war-troop’. In light of the nearly identical formula in line 586, it seems that this term, which shows the restoration of aristocracy, also connotes some of the wine-drinking which we see in lines 1637 (n.) and 1672. See further n. 586.

1651 *Plātan nemned* ‘Plato was his name’. A good choice. Although neither the *Praxeis* nor Casanatensis nor the Old English homily gives the name (in the *Praxeis* not even a bishop), this Plato is known from the story in the Codex Vaticanus, as well as in the *Life of St Matthew*. In the former, within in a long speech to him: *episcope, inquid, Platone scilicet. Tibi nunc aio frater episcope Plato probate, atque egregie, tibi hunc gregem namque commissum est* ‘Bishop, he said, Plato indeed. To you now, O distinguished as well as eminent brother bishop Plato, I say this flock and indeed this charge are for you’ (folio 157 verso; Blatt 1930: 145).

1654 *feorhrǣd fremedon* ‘frame life’s reward’ (or ‘they should frame’ if the final *on* is for subjunctive -en). The spiritual formula varies the political one earlier by which Jesus *fölcrǣd fremede* ‘advanced the people’s good’. For the royalty inherent in his works (see n. 622). The context with the unique *feorhrǣd* supports the reciprocity of Mermedonian obedience to Plato, Andrew’s appointee, in exchange for salvation (Stiles 2002: 123).

1655 *þā goldburg ofgifan wolde* ‘would give up the gold-town’. In the *Praxeis* and Casanatensis (chs. 32), Andrew’s motive for leaving so abruptly is to rejoin his disciples. The *Praxeis*, however, when Andrew turns back to deal with his converts, has a little more: *λέγων· Εὐλόγησο σε, κυριέ μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστε, σῶσαι θέλον πάσαν ψυχήν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσασας με ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης συν τῷ θυμῷ μου* ‘he said, “I
will praise you, my Lord Jesus Christ, for wishing to save all my soul in such a way that you did not allow me to leave this city with that anger in me’’ (ch. 33; Bonnet 1959: 116). Boenig mistranslates the last phrase as ‘with my soul’ (1991a: 22). The Casanatensis is safely more didactic in saying that Andrew returns *benedicens dominum, et ait, gratias ago tibi domine meus iesu Christe, qui vis omnes animas salvas fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire* ‘blessing the Lord, while he said “I thank you, my Lord Jesus Christ, who wish all souls to be saved and to come to acknowledge the truth”’ (ch. 33; Blatt 1930: 94). Yet the Old English homily, according to CCCC, MS 198, shows Andrew going back into town saying ‘*Ic þē bletsige mīn Drihten Hǣlend Crīst, þū þe gehwyrfest ealle sāula, for þon þū mē ne forlēte ūt-gangan mid mīnre hāt-heortan of þisse ceastre* ’ ‘I bless you, my Lord Christ the Healer, you who turn all souls to yourself, for not letting me leave with my heart full of anger from this city’’ (Morris 1967: 249). With its temperamental hero, *Andreas* comes closer to the *Praxeis* and to the source of the Old English homily.

1663 The manuscript has no lacuna, but the syntax shows that some text is missing. A comparison with the matter in the *Praxeis*, Casanatensis and Old English prose version shows that this probably amounts to at least three lines. Brooks makes up his own (in a note and without translation; p. 117):

<Hwæt forlǣpest þū, Andrēas, lēode þīne, weorces þīnes wæstmum bedǣled, nū þū ēstum hafast eall ālȳsed> folc of firenum?

<Why, Andrew, are you leaving your people, your work, so deprived of harvest, now that you with kindness have released all> the people from wickedness?

As the poet makes clear in lines 1687-94, there is still some work to do in rooting out the devil in Mermedonia. In keeping with these lines, which have no match in the analogues, is the poet’s use of *firene* at the conclusion of the last question. Although the beginning of this question is lost in the textual lacuna, the analogues have nothing here to correspond with the idea of ‘wickedness’ or ‘crimes’. It seems that the half-line *folc of firenum* looks not back to the end of the flood, but rather forward to the missionary cleansing which takes place in lines 1687-94.

1665 *gēomriende* ‘grieving’. Brooks (1961: 117) and Stevens (1981: 26) regard a form *gēomrende* as truer to the Type-D metre on this line. This form is possible in the Mercian dialect of the Vespasian Psalter: *frōēfrendo* from *frōēfrian* (118.52), *hyngrende* from *hyngrian* (H10.8) *timbrende* (117.22) from *timbrian* (Mertens-Fonck 1960: 129 (F 28), 184 (H 46), 316 (T 6)). The form *gēomrende* appears in *Christ I* 90, *Guthlac* (B) 1048 and *SolSat* 250. See also nn. 124, 1124 and 1371.

1667-68 The manuscript text shows no lacuna, but more textual loss seems clear here which may amount to two half-lines only. On the basis of comparison with the analogues, these half-lines allow for the Lord to represent the complaint of the Mermedonians.
1669 þæt ēowde ‘that flock of lambs’. Brooks suggests that no analogue mentions the Mermedonians as lambs in this place (1961: 117). However, the Codex Vaticanus dwells on lambs and flocks a little earlier, when the Mermedonians reproach Andrew for going: Gregem fecisti de sanctis ovibus, sevis abstractis luporum morsibus, nunc vero relinquis in campis heremis ut mutes, mactet et leo devoret ut pereat grex quod aggregatus est, et dissipetur lupinis morsibus ‘you have made a flock out of holy sheep, the snatched savage morsels of wolves, but now you leave us, that you may move to a hermit’s pastures and that the lion may slay and devour, so that the flock which is gathered may perish and be scattered in wolfish morsels’ (folio 155 verso; Blatt 1930: 142). This imagery, doubtless derived from Matthew 10:16 or Luke 10:3, seems to have played a role much earlier in the Praxeis and Casanatensis, when Matthew calls himself and the apostles lambs (ch. 19), in order to ask Andrew if he did not hear the Lord say Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων ‘Behold, I send you forth as flocks of sheep in the midst of wolves’; in the Casanatensis, this is ecce vos sicut oves in medio luporum ‘Behold, you are like sheep in the midst of wolves’ (ch. 19; Blatt 1930: 69). See further n. 149.

1672a wīnbyrig ‘wine-town’. See n. 1637.

1672b wīgendra hlēo ‘shield of warriors’. See n. 1450.

1675-94 These twenty lines on the finishing touches to Mermedonian conversion contain reinforced alliteration in all but six lines, which, after the first, also stand out in that each of them has a name or word to do with the principals of the scene: Crīstenra on line 1677, fæder ond sunu ond frōfre gāst on line 1684, primnesse þrymme on line 1685, se hālga on line 1687 and Sātane on line 1689. The fourteen lines with reinforced alliteration are hooped by these definitive terms so as to become particularly emphatic. It sees that the passage is contrived to sound like the triumph it represents.

1685 þrymme wealdeð ‘wield power’. The plural subject counts as one unit, so there is no need to emend to wealdað (Mitchell 1985: § 30).

1687-96 Swylce se hālga herigeas þrēade ‘Just so the saint subdued the altars’ etc. These lines, the second half of the alliteratively emphatic passage on the Christianization of Mermedonia, find no match in the analogues. Lines 1680-86, in contrast, on the teaching of the Creed, have an obvious basis in words close to the Praxeis, in which Andrew ἐποίησεν ὑμῖν ἡμῶν ἐπτά διδάσκων και ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρίστον ‘spent seven days teaching and confirming them in the Lord Jesus Christ’ (ch. 33); similarly in the Casanatensis (ch. 33). After this in Andreas, however, comes an apparently new panegyric on the razing of heathen infrastructure which complements the earlier affirmative measures. As Brooks seems to believe 1687-96 may represent the poet’s addition to his source (1961: 118). However, the analogues introduce us to Satan in person, when he and the younger devils attack Andrew in his cell. The poet also seems to prepare us for a reminder of this war in (what is left of) the Lord’s earlier questions to Andrew (see n. 1663). In style, moreover, lines 1687-94 are one with the first half of this triumphal twenty-line passage (n. 1675-94). It seems more plausible therefore to treat their content as part of the poet’s now-lost source: proof of the uniqueness of this against
the Praxeis and Casanatensis. The poet acclimatizes the sub-Roman story to northern Europe, for Andrew mops up local cults with the zeal of a Martin or Boniface.

1689-93 ṭæt wæs Sātane sār tō gepolienne ‘that for Satan was grievous to endure’ etc. These lines, which emphasize the thwarting of Satan in line with Andrew’s naming of the devil-in-chief as he sends him packing on line 1193, may be the poet’s final allusion to Beowulf. The above passage in Andreas completes the leitmotif of a war against the devil with the announcement of victory. The likelihood is also strong that the content of these lines lay in the poet’s now-lost source (n. 1687-96). Yet there is a further layer to this passage which may constitute the poet’s own contribution to the legend, with an allusion to a passage in which the Danes worship the devil in Beowulf. Expressions which resemble sār tō gepolienne are relatively common. The phrase tō gepolienne (with the intensifying ge-prefix) is more common in poetry, tō polienne in glosses and prose. Similar to this expression is the line ṭæt pām weligan wæs weorc tō polianne, ‘that for the wealthy man was a blow to endure’, in Juliana 569, when the pagan governor sees the saint survive her initial bonfire. Again in Andreas, a little before Andrew’s triumph, when he tells the catachumens of his wish to leave them, ṭæt wæs pām weorde weorc tō gepolienne ‘For that host it was a heavy blow to endure’, on line 1659; and earlier, the imminent sacrifice of the bad father’s son Andrea earmlīc þāhte, / þēodbealo bearlīc tō gedolianne ‘did look all miserable to Andrew, a grievous arch-evil for him to endure’, on lines 1135-36. In a similarly sound way, Denum eallum wæs, / winum Scyldinga, weorce on mōde / tō gepolianne ‘for all the Danes, friends of the Scyldings, it was a blow to their hearts to endure’, in Beowulf 1417-19, when Æschere’s head appears on a cliff on the way to Grendel’s Mere.

The formula sār tō gepolienne is not used in the passage on Danish devil-worship in Beowulf 170-83. However, the poet of Beowulf captures the meaning of this phrase when he says, of Grendel and King Hrothgar, ṭæt wæs wræc micel wine Scyldinga, / mōdes brecða ‘that was a great affliction, a heart-break, to the friend of the Scyldings’ in lines 170-71. After three and a half lines in which the Danish advisers plot a solution, the poet says, in lines 175-76, that Hwīlum hīe gehēton æt heargtrafum / wigweorþunga ‘at times they promised honours to idols in temple buildings’, praying for deliverance to the gāstbona ‘soul-slayer’ on line 178. The poet of Andreas gives the same machinery of paganism with the words herigeas ‘temples’, dēofulgild ‘idols’ and (the unique) helltrafum ‘hell-buildings’ in lines 1687-88 and 1691. Following immediately upon the devil-worship in Beowulf are the lines swylc wæs þēaw hyra, / hǣþenra hyht ‘such was their custom, hope of heathen men’ in lines 178-79. From these lines the poet of Andreas takes material apparently for his first specific allusion to Beowulf (see n. 25) near the beginning of his work. So if the poet alludes again, now before the end of Andreas, to Beowulf’s opening image of Danish paganism, his effect is to identify King Hrothgar with Satan. In this way the poet of Andreas, taking Satan for Hrothgar’s master, would pour ultimate scorn on Beowulf’s pity for a Danish king and his subjects.

1693-94 þār nǣfre fēondes ne bið, / gastes gramhȳdiges, gang on lande ‘where never foe / nor fierce stranger makes passage on land’. The poet thus describes the gefēa ‘joy’ of Christianity which the Mermedonians have just accepted. It seems likely that both the Christian state of mind and heaven as the Christian objective are the referent of this gefēa. The poet’s apparent use of gāst for ‘spirit’ poses a problem of ambiguity, for the word might also be gāst for WS giest ‘guest’. There is a similar
blur or ambiguity in lines 1000, 1088 and 1621 (see n. 1000). If *fêond* is read simply as ‘devil’ on line 1693, this word will be *gâstes* for an infernal ‘spirit’ not allowed into heaven. However, the phrase *on lande* suggests that *fêond* may be read as ‘enemy’, and MS *gastes* as ‘stranger’. The vowel in *gâstes* is in any case also long by position. It seems best to assume that both meanings are intended. OE m. *gang* denotes a religious ‘procession’ as well as ‘walking’ as opposed to riding, but with fiends or enemies the meaning is clearly different. Grendel’s Mother’s *gang ofer grundas* ‘trail across country’ can be seen by her pursuers in *Beowulf* 1404. In *Daniel* 51, Nebuchadnezzar considers how to invade Israel *þurh gromra gang* ‘with columns of foes’. In this connection, it is interesting to note that when Beowulf and his men leave Heorot they march back to their ship *on gange* ‘making passage’, in *Beowulf* 1884. This may be topical: see Introduction, p. $$.

1695 *æfter frēan dōme* ‘by Ruler’s judgement’. Another version of the formula is *tō frēan dōme* ‘at the Ruler’s judgement’ on line 653, which, just as this line, belongs to a passage which finds no match in the analogues (n. 652-60).

1699 *on brimþīsan* ‘in a brim-burster’, i.e. a fast-sailing ship. The poet’s elaboration on Andrew’s leave-taking is in keeping with his departure from the content of *Praxeis* and Casanatensis, which give no such focus. The later Codex Vaticanus, however, which does give attention to this scene, is a likely witness to the shape of the now-lost source of *Andreas*.

1700 *Āchāie* [<eard>] ‘<the land> of Achaea’. The word *Achaie* in the MS may end with a Latin fem. gen. sg for -(a)e, or be written an error for *Achaia* ‘due to anticipation of the ending -e’ of ðōre sīðe (Brooks 1961: 118). Although the non-English name *Ēssāias* forms a half-line by itself in *Elene* 350, it seems better to supply *eard* while taking *Āchāie* for a genitive.

1703 *ne wearð / hleahtre behworfen* ‘was not treated with laughter’. Brooks (1961:118) translates as ‘turned to laughter’, comparing this with a litotes for Cain’s punishment, *ne gefēah hē þǣre fǣhðe* ‘he rejoiced not in that feud’, in *Beowulf* 109. However, the expression in *Andreas* is differently contrived. The poet uses a term derived from maintaining vessels in church: in Wulfstan’s *Canons of Edgar*, it is said that *riht is þæt ealle þā ðing þe wēofode nēah bēon and tō cyrcan gebyrian bēon swȳðe clǣnlīce and wurðlīce behworfone* ‘it is right that all the things which are near the altar and belong to the church are treated with great cleanness and honour’ (§ 42; Fowler 1972: 47-48; DOE *behweorfan*, 2.a).

1703-04 *in helle ceafl / sīð āsette* ‘into hell’s jaws his course he set’. There is a similar idea in a drawing of hell in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11; also in the carving of a mouth which swallows human forms (putatively the assassins of King Æthelbald of Mercia) on the ‘Repton Rider’. For an illustration and discussion, see Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle (1985), 242 (plate VI).

1704b *syð<ðan>*. MS *syð* ends at a hole which, since it does not affect the text in *The Fates of the Apostles* on the other side, seems to have predated the scribe, whose omission of *ðan* seems to be inspired, not caused, by the hole; so Brooks (1961: 118).
1714 ofer seolhpaðu ‘over the seal-paths’. Attested only here, though an object’s journey ofer seolhbaþo ‘over seal-baths’ in Riddle 10 11, is similar. The production of yet another unique term for the sea, given the length of the sea-crossing in the first half of Andreas, speaks for the depth of the poet’s resources. By juxtaposing a seal with the object of the Mermedonians’ longing, the poet gives us their image of Andrew as he sinks over the horizon.

1722 þæt is æðele cyning! ‘That is a noble King!’. See also nn. 566, 622 and 1431-33. The formula þæt wæs gōd cyning ‘that was a good king’ is deployed three times in Beowulf, for Scyld Scefing (line 11), Hrothgar (line 863) and Onela (line 2390). Conversely, the poet of Deor says þæt wæs grim cyning ‘that was a savage king’ of Eormanric the Goth on line 23. Though there is no other example, perhaps because so little of the genre survives, it seems that this was a formula for kings in heroic poetry. That the poet of Andreas applies it to the King of Heaven, turning the past tense into a present while doing so, gives the Mermedonians as a tribe transformed. Not long ago they were heathens, eating the flesh of men; now they are partakers in the body of Christ.
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Glossary

References to common forms and uses are abbreviated by ‘etc’. Where a form has more than four instances, no more than three are given. Instances are otherwise given to a maximum of four. Minor spelling variations are properly covered in the Introduction (pp. $-$). All words beginning with the prefix ge- will be found under the initial letter of the stem. The vowels æ is listed as a separate letter after a. The initial letters þ and ð, which are phonetically interchangeable, are listed as þ after t. Glosses are more literal than in the translation, to which they are best treated as a guide. A dagger (†) indicates hapax legomenon; reference to a note (n.) is given where appropriate.

Abbreviations in the glossary

1 sg. 1st-person singular
2 sg. 2nd-person singular (etc)
a. accusative
absol. absolute
adj. adjective
adv. adverb
anom. anomalous
cf. for comparison
comp. comparative
cond. conditional
conj. conjunction
d. dative
def. definite
dem. demonstrative
emend. emended
f. feminine
g. genitive
imp. imperative
ind. indicative
indec. indeclinable
indef. indefinite
inf. infinitive
infl. inflected
inst. instrumental
int. interrogative
interj. interjection
intr. intransitive
irreg. irregular

m. masculine
MS in manuscript
n. neuter
-n. see note
neg. negative
nom. nominative
num. numeral
ord. ordinal
part. participle
pl. plural
pp. past participle
prep. preposition
pres. present
pret. preterite
pron. pronoun, pronominal
prp. present preterite
reflex. reflexive
sg. singular
subj. subjunctive
sup. superlative
sv. strong verb (with number for class)
tr. transitive
untr. untranslated
v. verb
w. with
wv. weak verb (with number for conjugation)

ä, adv. always, ever 64, 203, 541 etc; for ever 1379.
ä-bëdan, sv. 2, announce, proffer; pret. sg. ābêad 96; pp. āboden 231.
ä-beran, sv. 4, endure 956.
ä-blendan, wv. 1, blind 78.
ä-brecan, sv. 4, break, shatter 150; pp. ābrocen 1240.
ä-bregdan, sv. 3, draw out; pret. pl. ābrugdon 865.

ä-brëotan, sv. 7, destroy; pret. pl. ābrëoton 51.
äc, conj. but 38, 634, 637 etc; ah 23n, 232, 281, etc; ach 1592.
ä-cennan, wv. 1, beget, raise; pp. ācenned, begotten 566; raised 685.
ach, see ac.
†āclaecraft. m. arts of a monster 1362n.
ge-āclian, wv. 2, terrify 805.
ācol, adj. afraid, dismayed 1266, 1339.
ācol-mōd, adj. afraid, panicked 1595.
and-swarian, -swaru, see ond-
and-ward, adj. in physical presence 783; in person 1224.
än-for-lätan, sv. 7, forsake, abandon 1287, 1642, 1669.
än-haga, m. lone survivor 1351n.
äninga, see äninga
an-licnes (on-), f. likeness, image, graven image 713, 717, 731.
än-möd, adj. of one mind, of one purpose 1565, 1601, 1638.
än-ræd, adj. single-minded 983; determined (w. g.), 232.
apostol-håd, m. apostle’s authority 1651.
ăr1, m. herald, legate, messenger 298, 400, 829 etc.
ăr2, f. grace, favour 76, 979, 1129.
ä-ræflan, wv. 1, cope with 816n.
ä-ræräan, wv. 1, exalt, raise 967, 1318, 1645.
är-reccan, wv. 1, describe 546.
är-geblond, n. mingling waters 383.
äräsän, sv. 1, arise, get up 936, 1623; pret. sg. äräs 450, 695, 1011 etc.
är-lēas, adj. impious 559n.
†är-wela, m. wealth of ocean 853.
†är-yō, f. oar-billows 532.
ge-äscian, wv. 2, find out (by asking) 44.
ä-settan, wv. 1, settle down 208; set 1704.
†ä-spēdan, wv. 1, speed (away), escape; pp. ä-spēdde sped, released 1631.
ä-ständan, sv. 6, stand (up) 792; pret. sg. ästöd 443, pl. ästödón 1625.
ä-stigán, sv. 1, climb; pret. sg. ästāg 708, ästāh 1125.
ä-sundrian, wv. 2, sunder 1243.
ä-swöbban, wv. 1, slay 72.
ä-timbran, wv. 1, timber (build) 667.
atol (atul), adj. terrible 53, 1296, 1312.
ator (attor), n. poison 53, 770, 1331.
ä-wēgän, wv. 1, make void 1439.
ä-wēllan, sv. 7, well up; pret. sg. äwēoll 1523.
ä-weccan, wv. 1, awaken; pret. sg. äwehte raised 584.
ä-wegwan, wv. 1, shake 503.
ä-wellan, wv. 1, well up 1019.
ä-wergan, wv. 1, curse; pp. äverged accursed 1299.
ä-wrītan, sv. 1, carve, write; pp. äwritten carved 726; written (down) 135, 149.
ä. f. law, testament 1511, 1644; dryhtnes ä Gospel 1194, 1403.
äece, see èce.
bearn, n. child, son, bairn 409, 560, 576 etc.
bearu, m. grove 1448.
bēatan, sv. 7, beat, pound, thunder 496, 1543; pret. pl. bēoton 239, 442.
be-bēodan, sv. 2, command, tell, bid 729, 1328; pret. sg. bebēad 322, 773, 789 etc.
be-bod, n. command 735.
be-būgan, sv. 2, surround 333.
be-cuman, sv. 4, come, arrive 929; pret. sg. becōm 788, 1666, becwōm 827, pl. becōmōn 666.
be-cwēđan, sv. 5, say 193, 210; reproach 304; claim 418.
ge-bed, n. prayer 1027.
be-dāelan, vv. 1, deprive; pp. be-dāled 309.
be-drīfan, sv. 1, scour; pp. be-drifene 1494.
be-fōlan, sv. 3, apply; pret. sg. befealg 1326.
be-fōn, sv. 7, enfold; pres. sg. befēhō 327; pp. befangen 1057.
be-foran¹, adv. openly 606; publicly 619.
be-foran², prep. w. d. before, openly to 571.
be-gang, m. road 195; circuit, compass 530.
bēgen, pron. and adj. both 1016, 1027; d. bām 1014.
be-gitan, sv. 5, get, obtain 480; pret. subj. sg. begēte 378.
be-habban, vv. 3, contain 817.
be-helian, vv. 1, conceal 791.
be-hweorfan, sv. 3, convert, treat, attend to; pp. behworfen 1703n.
be-leegān, vv. 1, belay, encompass 1211; overwhelm 1295; pret. sg. beleged 1192, pl. belegdon 1560.
be-lēośan, sv. 2, deprive; pp. be-lorene 1326.
be-lōd, sv. 2, depart; pp. be-lofene 1079.
be-lūcan, sv. 2, lock; pp. belocen 164.
be-miōan, sv. 1, hide; pp. hemiōen 856.
be-murnan, vv. 1, care for 154.
bēn, f. favour 476; boon 1028, 1613.
bēna, m. petitioner; swā ġē bēnan sint as you request 348.
bend, f. bend 184, 1038, 1357; irreg. d. pl. bennum 962.
be-neah, anom. v., pres. sg. enjoy, have purpose; pret. sg. benohte 1705, pl. benohtan 1159.
benn, f. wound 1405.
bennum, 962, 1038, see bend.
bēodan, sv. command, tell 779; pret. sg. bēad 346; pp. boden made 1201.
ge-bēodan, sv. 2, offer; pp. geboden 219.
bēōn, anom. v. be, exist; pres. 1 sg. eōm 636, bēo 72; 2 sg. eart 505, 527, 1188 etc; 3 sg. is 102, 113, 120 etc, biō 185, 275, 320 etc; pres. pl. sindon 201, 1369, sint 348, 1404, 1425, synd 323, 744, 1365, syndon 264, 344, 676 etc, synt 198, 391, bīō 408; pret. 1 sg. wēs 64, 489, 949; 2 sg. 898; 3 sg. wēs 11, 19, 25 etc; pret. pl. wērōn 7, 46, 250 etc; pres. subj. sg. sīe 70, 417, 1439, 1451, pl. sīen 734; pret. subj. sg. wēre 563, 765, 799, 1178; imp. sg. bēo 98, 214, wes 540, 914, 959, pl. bēō 1609. Negative forms: nis is not 107, 205, 1210, 1432; nes was not 21, 380, 662, 888 etc.
beorg, m. barrow, mountain 840, 1306, 1587.
beorgan, sv. 3, save 1538.
beorht, adj. bright, clear 84, 96, 103 etc.
beorhte, adv. brightly 789.
beorn, m. man, warrior, trooper 219, 239, 305 etc; boy 690; beornum tō blisse to the general joy 588.
bēr-þegu, f. beer-tasting 1533.
be-rēđan, vv. 1, deprive, dispossess, 133, 1326.
beran, sv. 4 bear 216, 1079, 1295; pret. sg. baer 265, pl. bārōn 1221.
ge-beran, sv. 4, bear (child); pp. geborene born 690.
be-rēafian, vv. 2, rob 1314.
be-rēōfan, sv. 2 rob; pp. berofene 1084.
be-scūfan, sv. 2, shove; pret. sg. bescēaf 1191.
be-scryian, vv. 1, cut off 1618.
be-sēon, sv. 5, look; pret. sg. besēah 1446.
be-settan, vv. 1, set, catch, enclose 943, 1255, 1433.
be-sīťan, sv. 5, sit round, attend 410; pret. pl. besētōn 608, 627n.
be-snyōđan, vv. 1, bereave 1324.
be-stēman, sv. 1, steam, drench 1239, 1475; pp. d. sg. m. bestēmōn 487.
be-swīćan, sv. 1, deceive; pret. sg. beswāc 613; pp. beswīcēne 745.
be-teldan, sv. 3, protect; pp. betolden 988.
betera, see gŏd².
be-twēonum, prep. w. d. among, between 1099; betōnum 1103.

betwinum, see betwēonum.

be-þeccan, wv. 1, cover; pret. sg. beþehhte 1046; earde beþehhte embraced 1015.

be-wǣlan, wv. 1, beset 1361.

be-windan, sv. 3, wrap, bind; pp. bewunden bound 19, immersed, 267, wrapped 535, enclosed, 58, 772.

be-wrecan, sv. 5, push through; pp. bewrecene 269.

bidan, sv. 1, await, wait for (w. g.) 145; pret. sg. bād 261; pl. bidon 1042 (w. a.); absol. 833.

gē-bidan, sv. 1, wait 399; pret. sg. gebād 1587, 1702.

biddan, sv. 5 ask (for), pray (for), beg (for) 84, 271, 353 etc; pret. sg. gebād 1030, 1614.

gē-biddan, sv. 5, pray to; pret. sg. gebād 996.

bīl, n. sword, blade 51, 413. 
†bīl-hete, adv. alongside 848.

biscop, m. bishop 607, 1649.

bi-sencan, wv. 1, cause to sink 1591.

biter, adj. bitter 1160, 1533; biting 616.

bitere, adj. mordantly 33.

blāc, adj. flashing 243; gleaming 1541.

gē-blāndan, sv. 7, mix; pret. pl. geblāndon 33; pp. geblānden, in turmoil 424.

blāt, adj. pale 1088, 1279.

blāc, adj. pale 1262.

blād1, m. blast 769; happiness, bliss 17, 535; brilliance, triumph 103, 356, 1719.

blād2, f. blossom 1449.

blād-gīfa, m. giver of happiness, endower of bliss 84, 656.

blāst, m. blast 837, 1552.

blēad, adj. soft 231.

(ge-)bledsian, wv. 2, bless; pp. gebledsod 524, 540, 937, 1719.

blesung, f. blessing 223.

blican, sv. 1, gleam, glance 789, 838.

blind, adj. blind 581.

blinnan, sv. 3, stop (w. g.); pret. sg. blōn 1265; pret. 2 sg. blūnne lost 1380.

blis(s), f. bliss, rejoicing, gladness, 647, 886, 1014 etc; beornum tō blisse to the general joy 588.

blissigan, wv. 2, bless 1607; absol. rejoice 578; be glad 634.

ge-blissian, wv. 2, gladden 351; relieve 468; comfort 892.

blīze, adj. content 833; joyful 867; cheerful 971, 1583; gracious 903.

blīþ-heort, adj. blithe in heart, radiant 660, 1262.

blōþ, n. blood 23, 954, 1240, 1276, 1449.

blōþ-fāg, adj. blood-stained 1405n.

blōðig, adj. bloody, bleeding, gory 159, 1442, 1473.

ge-blond, m. mingling 532.

blōwan, sv. 7, bloom 646.

ge-blōwian, sv. 7, bloom; pp. ge-blōwene in bloom 1448.

bōcere, m. book-keepers 607.

bodian, wv. 2, proclaim 1120; preach 335.

bolca, m. gangway 305, 602.

bold, n. building 656.

bold-wela, m. wealth of a building 103, 524n.

bolgen-mōd, adj. swollen with anger 128, 1221.

bona, see bana.

bord, n. (shield-)board, shield 1205.

bord-hrēoða, m. shield-board cover 128.

†bord-stēð, n. ship’s wall; a. pl. bordstēðu 442n.

bōsm, m. bosom 444.

bōt, f. help 947.

†brand-hāt, adj. brand-hot 768.

brant, adj. steep-prowed 273.

brecan, sv. 4, break 504; plough (the sea) 223, 513.

ge-brecan, sv. 4, break; pp. 1404, 1473.

brego, m. master, chief 61, 540; brego 305.

brehtm, m. revelry 1202; jubilation 867, 1271.

brēmē, adj. famous, renowned, illustrious 209, 718, 1719.

breogo, see brego.

breogo-stōl, m. princely throne, principality 209.

breomo, see brim.

brēöst, f. or n. breast, chest, 51, 647, 768, 1118 etc.

brēöst-gehygd, f. thought of the breast 997.
brim, n. sea, seawater, sea-brim 444, 504, 519, 1710; a. pl. bremo 242, 1543, 1574.
brim-hengest, m. brim-stallion (ship) 513.
brim-rād, f. sea-road 1262, 1587.
†brim-stæð, n. breaker (wave); nom. pl. brimstæðō 496.
brim-strēam, m. ocean current, ocean brim 239, 348, 903.
brim-þīsa, m. brim-burster, ship 1657, 1699.
bringan, wv. 1, bring; pret. sg. brōhte 259.
ge-bringan, wv. 1, bring; pret. pl. gebrōhton 1710; pret. subj. sg. gebrōhte 273.
†brond-stæfn, adj. steep-prowed; a. sg. m. brondstæfne 504.
brōðor, m. brother 940.
ge-brōðor, m. pl. brothers 1014, 1027.
brōðor-syb(b), f. full-brother kinship 690n.
brūcan, sv. 2, enjoy, benefit from, profit from 17, 106, 229 etc; infl. inf. brūcanne 1160. brūconne 23.
brūn, adj. dark 442, 519.
†brūn-wann, adj. dusky 1306n.
brycgian, wv. 2, bridge 1261.
bryne, m. burning, fire 616.
brytta, m. dispenser, giver 822, 1170.
bryttian, wv. 2, deal out 754.
burg (burh), f. town 78n, 111, 231 etc; d. sg. byrig 40, 287, 973 etc.
burg-geat, n. town gate 840.
burg-loc(a) (burh-), m. stronghold, town lock-up 940n, 1038, 1065.
burg-waru, f. townsfolk, citizens, inhabitants; a. pl. burgwara 1094; burgware, m. pl. 184, 209, 718, 1583.
burh-sittend, m. townsmen 1201.
burh-stede, m. fortified town; pl. 581n.
burh-weall, m. town wall 833.
burh-warder, m. town-keeper, guardian of the towns 660n.
būtan1, conj. w. subj. but that, unless 188.
būtan2, prep. w. d. but for, excepting 148; without 679.
byrlē, m. cup-bearer 1533.
bŷsen, f. example 971.
(ge-)bysgian, wv. 2, oppress 395.
bysmrió(g)an, wv. 2, humiliate, abuse 962, 1293, 1357.

cald (ceald), adj. cold 201, 222, 253 etc.
†cald-heort, adj. cold-hearted, cold-blooded 138.
camp, m. conflict, combat 1325; tō Godes campe in combat for God 234.
†campræden(n), f. combat engagement 4n.
can(n), see cunnan.
carcern, n. prison, jail, dungeon 57n, 90, 130 etc.
ceaf, m. jaw(s) 159, 1703.
ceald, see cald.
cearig, adj. grieving; inst. sg. f. cearegan 1108.
ceaster, f. city 41, 207, 281 etc.
†ceaster-hof, m. city building 1237.
ceaster-ware (-waran), m. pl. citizens 1646; g. ceastrewarena 1125.
cempa, m. champion 230, 324, 461 etc.
cēne, adj. brave 1204, 1578.
cennan, wv. 1, beget 757.
cēol, m. keel, vessel 222, 253, 256 etc.
cēosan, sv. 2, choose; pret. subj. pl. curen 1609, curon 404.
ge-cēosan, sv. 2, choose; pp. gecoren 324.
cigant, wv. 1, call 746.
cild-geōng, adj. child-young, from infancy 685.
†cīre-bald, adj. bold by kin 171n.
cirice, f. church 1633, 1646.
cirim (cyrm), m. outcry, clamour 41, 1125, 1156, 1237.
cirman, wv. 1, cry out, whoop 138.
clamm, see clomm.
clēne, adj. clean 978.
cleofu, see clif.
cleopī(g)an, wv. 2, call, cry out 1108, 1398, 1410, 1716; infl. clypian 450.
clit, n. cliff; a. pl. cleofu 310.
clingan, sv. 3, shrink; pret. sg. clang 1260.
clomm (clamm), m. shackle, chain 130, 1192, 1212 etc.
†clūstor-cleofa, m. cloister-confine, prison-house 1021.
clypian, see cleopī(g)an.
clyppan, wv. 1, embrace 1016.
gecnaw(o)an, sv. 7, understand 1517, 1558.
cnēomāgum at the knee of his kin 685.
cnēoris(s), f. country 207.
cniht, m. boy, lad 912, 1121.
cōlian, wv. 2, cool 1256.
collen-fer(h)ō (-fyrhō), adj. stout-hearted, courageous of heart, audacious 349, 538, 1108n, 1578.
corðor, n. guard of honour 1075n; company 1121; regiment 1204; crowd 1716; mob 138.
†cost, adj. tried 1055.
craft, m. skill, power, purpose, force 49, 327, 484 etc.
craeftiga, m. craftsman 1633.
cringan, sv. 3, fall; pret. subj. sg. crunge 1031.
cuman, sv. 4, come 783; pres. sg. cymeð 512; pret. sg. cóm 88, 124, 241 etc., cwmóν 738, 1278, pl. cómon 256, 658, 863 etc; pres. subj. sg. cyme 188, 400; pret. subj. pl. cómón 247, 1047; pp. cumen 41, 880, 1165, 1584.
cumbol, n. standard, banner 4, 1204.
cunnan, prp. v. know, know how to, be able to, understand; inf. cunnan 341, canst 68, 508, const 1282, 3 sg. cann 980, 1154, con 195; pret. pl. cűðon 752, 1194; pret. subj. sg. cune 557, 1485; pret. subj. sg. cűðe 901, 928.
cunnian, wv. 2, learn 129; explore 314; try out 439.
cűð, pp. adj. known, familiar 198, 201, 380 etc.
cűðe, cűðon, see cunnan.
cűð-líc, adv. openly, recognisably 322.
cwánian, wv. 2, lament 1536.
cwealm, m. killing, execution 281, 1121, 1507, 1597; punishment 1186; ylda cwealm homicide 182.
cwellan, wv. 1, kill; pret. sg. 1624.
cweðan, sv. 5, say, speak, utter, cry; pret. 2 sg. cwëðe 1411, 3 sg. cwëðo 62, 173, 329 etc, pl. cwëðon 1601, 1639, 1716.
ge-cweðan, sv. 5, say, utter; pret. sg. ge-cweðæ 986, 1172, 1299 etc.
wic(u), adj. living, alive 912, 1082; wic ge-lice still living 129.
cwìde, m. utterance 1021.
cyle-gicel, m. icicle 1260.
cyme, m. coming 660.
cým-líc, adv. splendidly; comp. cýmlicor
comelier 361.
ge-cynd, f. kind 588.
cyne-bearne, n. royal son 566n.
cyne-rōf, adj. highborn 484; as noun brave prince 585.
cyne-stōl, m. seat of royalty 666n.
cyne-prym, m. royal majesty 1322.
cyning (cingin), m. king 120, 145, 171 etc.
cyn(n), n. tribe, race, kindred, kin, 545, 560, 567 etc; pl. family 1519.
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ge-cyðan, wv. 1, reveal, make known 90, 289, 358 etc; declare 390; show 711; prove 965; proclaim 1435.
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dæghwēm-líc, adv. day to day 682.
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†dēað-rēs, m. sudden death 995.
†dēað-rēw, adj. cruel in death 1314.
†dēað-wang, m. plain of death 1003.
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†dól-benn, m. open wound, gash 1397.

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dóm, m. judgement 541, 653, 1695; price 339; court 796; reknown 959; influence 1151.

†dóm-ágende, m. owner of power 570.

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dóm-léas, adj. without renown 995n.

dóm-líce, adv. gloriously, famously 1267.

dóm-weorðung (-ing), f. honour, honours of renown 355, 1006.

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gé-drósan, sv. 2 fall; pret. pl. druron 995.

†ge-drep, n. shunt 1444.

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†dung, f. dungeon; d. sg. ding 1270n.

dún-scræf, n. mountain cave, cave in the downs; d. p. dünscreæfum 1232, 1539.

duru, f. door 999, 1075.

†duru-pégn, m. door-thane 1090.

dwola, m. error, heresy 611, 1688.

†dwol-craft, m. witchcraft 34.

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dyrn, wv. 1, conceal, not reveal 693.

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čac, adv. also, likewise 584, 1592.

caca, m. addition 1039.

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čage, n. eye, eyesight 30, 759, 910, 1224, 1679.

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†čag-sýne, adj. clear to the eye 1550.

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eal(l)², adv. completely, entirely, wholly 19, 1097, 1146 etc.

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†će-láð, f. sea-road 441.

cē-land, n. land by the water 28n.

eald, adj. old, ancient 1025, 1495, 1537, 1642; ða yldestan the senior members 763.

eald-geniðla, m. ancient enemy, old enemy 1048, 1341.

eald-gesīð, m. old campaigner 1104.

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ealdor-man(n), m. ealdorman, earl 608.

ealdor-sæcérð, m. high priest 670n.

ealgian, wv. 2, keep safe 10.

ealh-stede, m. sanctuary place 1642n.

cē-lōend, m. seafræar, ocean voyager 251.

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ēcen, pp. increased 636, 882.
egcf, f. blade, edge 51, 71, 1132, 1148.
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el-lōrding, adj. speaking a strange language; as noun m. or f. barbarian 1081n.
el-þēod, f. foreign land 972.

farōð-strāt, f. tidal road, 311, 898.

fēc, n. interval, space of time; unfyrn faca without any delay 1371n.

fæder, m. father 83, 330, 687 etc.

fēge, adj. doomed, death-fated 154, 1085, 1182 etc.

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fēger, adj. fair, shining, d. sg. def. 598, d. sg. (def.) 1693, sup. 103.

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fēr-spell, n. fearful news 1086.

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fēste, adv. firmly 58, 1671.

fēsten(n), n. fastness 1034, 1177; fort, fortress 1068, 1544.

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ge-fēstnian, wv. 2, bind fast 522, 1378.

fētax, pp. and adj. gold plated 301.

†fētax-sinc, n. plated vessel 478.

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fēmian, wv. 2, wrap around 1572; sweep into 1589.

fēa, pl. adj. few; inst. fēam 605.

ge-fēa, m. joy, pleasure, gladness 347, 598, 866 etc.

feala, n. indec., w. g. many, much, a lot of, 564, 584, 699 etc.

feallan, sv. 7. fall; pret. sg. fēoll 918.

fealo (fealu) adj. fallow, fallow-brown; a. sg. m. fealuwe 421, fealone 1538, a. pl. m. fealewe 1589.

fēa-secaft, adj. destitute, without means 181, 367, 1128, 1556.

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feli, m. destruction 1609.

feoh-gestrōn, n. rich treasure, riches of treasure 301.

ge-feōht, n. fight 1188, 1196.

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ge-feōn, sv. 5. w. d. rejoice, be glad; pret. pl. gegōn 592, 659.

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feor(r)2, adv. far 542, 638.

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feorh-hord, m. blood-hoard 1182.

†feorh-rāed, m. life’s reward, salvation 1654n.

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fēorō, adj. fourth, 1458.

feor-weg, m. remote journey; pl. distant parts 928.

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ge-fēra, m. comrade, noble man 1009, 1020.

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ge-fēran, wv. 1. pass through 516, 677; undergo an experience 1401; achieve 194; undertake 216; pp. gefēred travelled 1173.

fer(h)ō (fyrhō), m. or n. mind 507; spirit 638, 1332; heart 1485.

fer(h)ō-gēfēonde, adj. rejoicing/glad in heart 915n, 1584.

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ferō-loca (fyrhō)-, m. spirit-locker 58, 1570; confine of the heart 1671.

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ge-ferian, wv. 1. carry, ferry, 397, 1619; pp. nom. pl. m. gefēred sailed 265.

†feor-wrās(e)n, f. tight bond 1107.

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firas, m. pl. men, humans, humanity 24, 160, 291 etc; fira gehwylcum for each man and all 980.

firen, f. wickedness 1664.

fir(i)gend-strēam, m. mountainous sea 390n; mountain stream 1573.

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fisc, m. fish 293; d. pl. fixum 589.

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fléon, sv. 2 flee 1538.
flitan, sv. 1, cut in a flying 1199n.
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flot, n. sea; tó flote gyrwæn make ready to sail 1698.
flota, m. vessel (ship) 397.
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for-cuman, sv. 4, overcombe; pret. sg. 1325.
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for-gifan, sv. 5, give 76, 355, pret. sg. forgæf lost 1586.
for-gildan, sv. 3, reward, make payment 387.
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for-hylman, wv. 1 neglect 735.
for-lácæn, sv. 7, play false; pret. 2 sg. forlæcelode 1364, 3 sg. forlæolde 614n.
for-læran, wv. 1 pervert, mislead 614, 2 sg. pret.1364
for-lætan, sv. 7, let, leave, forsake 459, 1413, 2 sg. pret. 1454; pret. sg. forlét 835, 1037 1588, made to flow 968; pret. subj. pl. forlētont 403.
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for-lor, m. loss 1423.
for-meltan, sv. 3 melt 1146.
for-niman, sv. 4, snatch, take; pret. sg. fornám 994, 1531.
forst, m. frost 1257.
for-standan, sv. 6 stand before; pret. sg. forstód defended 1143, 1335; prevented 1540.
for-swelgan, sv. 3, swallow; pret. sg. forswælg 1590.
forð, adv. forth 775, 1506, 1584; continued 54.
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for-wyrd, n. perdition, damnation 1594, 1618.
fót, m. foot, step 1582.
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framí, prep. w. d. from, out of 697, 738, 1034 etc.
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ge-frætwian, wv. 2, painted 715; adorned 1518.
fræa, m. lord, master, ruler, king, God 457, 629, 653 etc.
freca, m. bold man 1163.
fréca, adj. dangerous, wild, perilous 440, 516, 1350 etc, sup. frécnost 1231.
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ge-frége, adj. renowned, famous, heard of far and wide 668, 961, 1119.
ge-frège, n. what is heard, knowledge 1626.
fremde, adj. excluded from (w. g.) 890.
fremman, wv. 1, perform, advance, carry out 67, 619, 639 etc; frame 815, 1654; move 780; gegeninga guðe fremme rush headlong into battle 1354.
ge-fremman, wv. 1, perform, carry out, bring to pass 206, 605, 976 etc; extend 91, 1614; frame 1387; provide 426; commit 926; ensure 1288.

frō, adj. noble, free; pl. with all liberties 598n.

frōd, f. love, kindness 390, 1154.

frōlice, adv. with freedom 293.

frōond, m. friend 934, 1128; frōonda lēas unfriended 1705.

frōond-scipe, m. friendship 478.

frōorig, adj. close, narrow 429, 1259.

gel-fremman, wv. 2, set free 1041.

†frōo-lēas, adj. without giving safety, uncivilized 29.

frōol-wār, f. protective covenant 1630.

fricca, m. crier 1156.

ge-frīcan, sv. 5, find out, learn; pp. gefrunan 687, 1060.

frīnan (frīnæ), sv. 3, ask, inquire 1412; pres. 1 sg. frīne 633, 2 sg. frīnest 629; pret. sg. frēgn 556, 919, fregn 1163.

frīnan, sv. 3, hear of; pret. sg. gefrunan 1093, 1706, pl. gefrūnan 1.

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frīð, m. or n. peace, safety, protection 174n, 448, 622 etc; quarter, life 1128.

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frōfor, f. comfort, solace, ease, grace 95, 311, 606 etc.

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frum-lēce, adv. boldly 556; quickly 1182, 1332; piously 1640.

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frum-bearn, n. first child 1294.

frum-gār, m. captain 1068.

†frum-rāden(n), f. first arrangement, authorized time 147.

frum-sceaf, f. beginning of creation 797.

†frum-weorc, n. first work; pl. 804.

fugol, m. bird 497.

ful, adv. easy 496.

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fūdur, adv. further, still 1350, 1489; fūdur mycele w. d. far beyond 1518.

fūs, adj. keen, fired up 255, 1654, 1664. fūs-lēoð, n. euger litany 1549.

fyllan¹, wv. 1, overthrow 1688.

fyllan², wv. 1, fill 523.

ge-fyllan, wv. 1, fill 1695.

fyrd-hwæt, adj. keen for campaign; nom. pl. -hwate 8.

fyren, adj. firey; d. pl. fyrnum 1378.

†fyr-gnæst, m. fire-spark 1546.

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†fyrhō-lūfe, f. spiritual love 83.

†fyr-mǣl, n. fyrmǣlum fāg forge-patterned 1134.

fyrn-dagas, m. pl. ancient days 1, 752, 976.

fyrn-geweorc, n. ancient monument 737.

†fyrn-sægen, n. epic of ancient times 1489n.

†fyrn-sceāda, m. ancient despoiler 1346n.

fyrn-weorc, n. old labour; pl. 1410.

fyrn-weota, m. sage of old 784.

fyrst (first), m. (space of) time, duration 147, 834, 1309, 1673.

fyrst-gemæarc, m. space of time 931.

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ge-fyrōran, wv. 1, sustain 983.

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gad(o)rigean, wv. 2, gather 781, 1556.

gaful-rāden(n), f. payment of tribute 296.

galan, sv. 6, chant 1127, 1342; pp. galen 1549.

galdor-craeft, m. art of enchantment; pl. 166.

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†on-cyð-dāe, f. deeds of injury 1179.
on-dēac, conj. and 8, 9, 23 etc.; cond. conj. if 630n; concess. conj. though 1187n.
on-gite, f. understanding 1521.
on-lang, adj. livelong 818, 1274; ondlange niht all night long 1254.
on-saca, m. adversary 1148, 1459.
on-sac, n. opposition, refusal 927.
on-svarian (and-), wv. 2, answer 202, 260, 277 etc.
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†on-tāe, f. lodging 1540.
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on-gin(n), n. action 466, 741, 888.
on-ginnan, sv. 3, begin, start, proceed 1440; pret 2. sg. ongunne 1419, 3 sg. ongan(n) 12, 352, 427 etc; pl.
ongunnon 763.
on-gtan, sv. 5, perceive, take note 861, 901, 922 etc; pret. pl. ongtōn 534; pp. ongiten 785, 897.
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on-liċ, adj. w. d. like (to) 251.
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on-mōd, adj. resolute 54.
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on-riht, adj. rightful 120.
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on-sund, adj. safe, in good health 1012, 1623.
on-syn, f. face 721, 1499.
on-syne, adj. visible 910.
on-týnan, ww. 1, open, reveal 105, 1612.
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onwōcon 683.
on-wadan, sv. 6, invade; pret. sg. onwōd 140.
on-wendan, sv. 1, overturn 35.
on-windan, sv. 3, turn, fall back; pret. sg. onwand 531.
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open, adj. open 759, 803, 1076.
(ge-)openian, ww. 2, open, nom. sg. pp.
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ord. m. point, spear-point 32, 1205, 1330; start 1483, 1535.
ord-fruma, m. captain, commander 146, 683.
ōrett(t)a, m. soldier 463, 879, 983.
ōrett-maeg, m. soldiering hero 664.
or-feorm(e), adj. without supply, drained 406n, 1617.
or-gēte, adj. clear, obvious 526, 759, 851, 1569.
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 tô-dōdōdan, ww. 1, tear away 1421.
oð-witan, sv. 1, taunt 1357.
oð-þwan, ww. 1, reveal 911.
ōwiht, f. or n. anything; leng ōwihtę one moment longer 800.
plegian, ww. 2, play 370.

racian, ww. 2, rule 521.
reced, n. hall 1308.
ræd, m. idea, counsel, stratagem 469, 936, 1088, 1498; ordinance 1645.
rædend, m. ruler 627, 816.
†ræd-snottom, adj. wise in stratagems;
comp. a. sg. m. rædsnotterr 473.
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ræs-bora, m. counselor 139n, 385.
ræswa, m. prince, chief, leader 619, 692, 1086, 1622.
reccan, ww. 1, tell, narrate 1489; imp. sg. rece 419.
recen, adj. swift, coming swiftly; in one instant 1511.
rēodon, sv. 2, redden; pret. pl. rudon 1003.
rēonig-mōd, adj. weary-minded, tired at heart 592.
reord, f. voice, tone 60, 1108.
reord-berend, m. one who can speak (pl.) talking creatures 419.
reord(g)an, ww. 2, voice, talk 255, 364, 415 etc.
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reōtan, sv. 2, weep 1712.
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restan, ww. 1, rest, be still; abate 1576.
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rīce, n. kingdom 807, 1326, 1683.
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ricene, adv. quickly 807.
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rīht (ryht)2, adj. just, legal, (as) law 1511, 1645.
rim, n. number, quantity 546, 1035, 1696
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rin, m. warrior, noble 9, 967, 1116, 1343.
rōd, f. road 967, 1326, 1337.
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rūn, f. private conclave, secret counsel 627, 1161; runes 134n.
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(ge-)rūman, ww. 1, clear 1580.
**Ge-rýne, n.** secret, mystery 419, 1511.

sācerd, m. priest 742.
saga, see sægan.
salt, see sælt.
salu, see sæl.
sammian, wv. 2, gather, gather together, muster (tr. or intr.) 125, 1098, 1124.

ge-sammian, wv. 2, gather, gather together, muster (intr.) 652, 1067, 1636.
samod, adv. united 1666.
†sand-hlið, n. sand dune; a. pl. sandhleóu 236.
sang, m. song 869.
sār, n. (searing) pain 956, 1243, 1246 etc.

sār, adj. searing, painful 1368, 1245, 1246.

sār, adv. sorely, painfully 1396, 1404.
sār-benn, f. sore wound 1239.
sār-cwīde, m. searing words, sarcasm 320; word of reproach 965.

sārīg, adj. sorrowful 60.
sār-sleige, m. searing blow 1275.
sāwol, f. soul, spirit 151, 228, 433 etc.
sāwul-gedāl, n. soul’s parting 1701.
sē, m. or f. sea 236, 247, 453 etc; d. sg. sēwe 515.
sē-bāt, m. boat at sea 438, 490.
sē-berga, m. sea-headland 308n.
sēce(e), f. battle 1132.
sē-flota, m. vessel 381.
sē-hengest, m. sea-stallion 488.
†sē-holm, m. ocean 529.
sēl, n. hall; a. sg. sel 762; a. pl. salu 1673.
sēl, m. or f. time 1165; a. sg. sēl bliss 745.
sē-lād, f. path at sea 511.
sēlan, wv. 1, impers. befall 1355.
ge-sēlan, wv. 1, impers. befall, happen 438, 511, 515, 661.
sē-ēlida, m. seafarer 471; d. sg. sēlēdan 500.
†sēl-wāg, m. hall-wall, first floor storey 1493.

sē-mearh, m. sea-stallion 267.
sēne, adj. slow to start 204, 211.
sē-strēam, m. sea-current 196, 749.
†sēwērig, adj. weary at sea 862.

sc(e)can, sv. 6, move in haste 1594; pret. pl. sceocan swaggered 1139.
scead, n. shadow 836.

gesceaf, f. thing created 326, 703, 1499; creation 1437, 1717.
sceal, m. servant; pl. crew 512.
sceat, m. corner 332.
sceatt, m. coin 297.

sceaða, m. despoiler; g. pl. sceadan 1133, 1291.

scēawian, wv. 2, see 839.

gescēnan, wv. 1, maim 1142.

ge-scēon, wv. 1, harm 18.

scēor, m. or f. storm 512n.

scopican, sv. 4, shears 1181.

scerp, adj. sharp 1133.

sceðdan, sv. 6, harm 1147; _inf._ scyðdan 1047, pres. sg. sceðan 1561.

ge-sceðdan, sv. 6, w. d. harm, hurt 917;

pret. sg. gescēod 1176; pret. subj. sg. geseðode 1420.

scīn, sv. 1, shine 836, 1720.

†scīn-gelāc, n. conjuring of illusions 766.

scīp, n. ship 240, 512.

gesciwōrend, m. seafaring man 250.

sciweōrend, see scyppend.

gescri-woerd, m. guardian of a ship; skipper 297.

scīre, adv. brightly 836.

gescrāfa, m. costume 250n.

†scīrdeal, adj. smooth, fast 496.

gescrifan, sv. 1, appoint, prescribe; _pret._ sg. gescrāf 846; _pp._ gescrīfen 297, 787.

scrifan, sv. 1, slide 1457.

sculan, prp. v. must, ought to, have to, be bound to, be resolved to, be in the habit of: (1) involving obligation or command: _pres._ 1 sg. sceal 66, 2 sg. scealt 174, 216, 943 etc, scealtil = scealt þū 220, 3 sg. sceal 185, 435, 1309, pl. sceolon 614, 733 [MS, see n.]; _pret._ sg. sceoldo 924, 1137, 1244, 1403, 1414, _pl._ sceoldon 137, 796; (2) involving futurity or destiny: _pres._ 1 sg. sceal 341, 2 sg. scealt 1383, 1467, 3 sg. sceal 890, 947, sceol 952, sceall 1483, _pl._ sceolon 1487; _pret._ sg. sceolde 757, 1100, 1132, 1697; _pres._ subj. sg. scyle 77; (3) involving certainty: _pres._ sg. sceall will 181; sceall shall 520.

scūr-heard, adj. shower-hardened 1133.

ge-scyldan, wv. 1, shield 434.

ge-scyldend, m. shield 1291.

scyld-hata, m. unjust oppressor 1047, 1147; _d. pl._ scyldhetum 85.

scyldig, adj. guilty 1216.

scýne, adj. gleaming 766.

scyppend (scyppend), m. creator 119, 192, 278 etc.

(ge-)scyrdan, wv. 1, shroud; _pp._ gescyrden 1313.

ge-scyrgan, wv. 1, allot 85.
scyðē, scyðdan. see sceðdan.
se (sē), sēo (sēo), sæt (1) dem. pron. and def. art. this, that, the; (2), subst. pron. this (one), that (one), he, she, it; (3) rel. pron. who, what, which, that; þēas whose 1056, 1499; (4) with þē in sense (3), e.g. se þē, etc. nom. sg. m. se or sē in senses (1) and (4), sē in senses (2) and (3). Special uses: þēas, so 1365, 1372, þēas (þē), because 1012, 1151, 1453, as 472, 687, 1563, tô þēas (þē), to the place where 1059, 1070; inst. sg. n. þē, so, therefore, 733, þōn, with comp. or sup., by so much the...(often untr.), 361, 501, 1522, þē 368, 932 (see also lýtва).

seald, ge-seald(on), see syllan, ge-syllan.

sealt1, adj. salt(y); a. pl. m. sealte 196, salte 749.

sealt2, n. salt; g. sg. sealtes 1532.

searo-craeft, m. ingenious skill, ingenuity 109.

searo-hæbbend (searu-), m. armed man 1468, 1528.

searo-net, n. web of cunning, cunning net 64, 943.

searo-panc, m. ingenious thought, ingenuity 1255.

searu, f. or n. cunning, subtlety 1348; pl. snares 745; searrowum intricately 1396.

searu-pancol, adj. ingenious 1161.

sēcan, wv. 1, seek, visit, look for, 226, 308, 320, etc; supplicate 909; find out 943 etc; pret. sg. söhte, pl. söhton 641.

ge-sēc(e)an, wv. 1, seek out, look for, guide 175, inf. gesēcanne put in 295, 424, 1701; pret. sg. gesēhte 380, pl. gesēhton 268, pp. a. sg. f. gesēhte 845; seeking, picking; pret. subj. pl. gesēhton 1121, pp. a. sg. gesēhte 1132.

secg, m. man 1225, 1368, 1636, 1656.

sećgan, wv. 3, say, tell 345, 458, 618 etc; pret. sg. sæge; wordum sæge showed in words, promised 755, 1207, 1654, sæde 1022, pl. sægedon 1080; imp. sg. saga 557; sægde þanc gave thanks 1469; sećgan loc speaking praise 1006.

ge-sećgan, wv. 3, say, explain 384, 603, 624.

∗sećp-plega, m. sword-play 1353n.

sefa, m. heart 98; sense 1165; senses 1251.

segl, m. or n. sail 505.

sel, 762, see sæl.

sēl2, 745, see sæl.

sēf, adv. better 733.

sele, m. hall, chamber 714, 1311.

sele-drēam, m. hall-joy 1656.

sele-rædend, m. hall-steward 659n.

sēlost, sēlra, see gōdва.

semoninga, adv. presently 464, 820.

sendan, wv. 1, send 1028, 1613.

seofon, num. seven 114, 994, 1311, 1673.

seolf, see syllf.

seolfor, n. silver 338.

∗seolh-pæð, n. seal-path; a. pl. -paðu 1714n.

seomnian, wv. 2, languish 183.

sēon, sv. 5, see, look; pret. pl. sæwōn 1679, sægon 711.

ge-sēon, sv. 5, see 760, 987, 1714, inf. gesōn 1225; pres. pl. gesēðō 1500; pret. sg. gesēah 493, 499, 1492, 1690, gesēh 714, 847, 992 etc; pl. gesēgon 455, 881; imp. sg. gesēoh 1281, 1441; absol. gesēgon 581; reflex. gesōn 1013.

∗seono-dolg, n. sinew-gash 1406.

sēðdan, sv. 2, see, he, be, boil; pp. sōden sodden 1239.

seōþan, see syðdan.

sēowan, wv. 1, weave; pres. pl. sēowað 64.

sēpān, see syðdan.

sēwōn, wv. 1, weave; pres. pl. sēowōn 64.

sēpān, see syðdan.

sēwōn, wv. 1, induct 742.

∗sesiān, wv. 2, subside 453.

set, n. setting (of the sun) 1248, 1304.

ge-set, n. house 1259.

ge-settan, wv. 1, settle 156; ordain 1647.

sīd, adj. wide 652, 762, 1067.

sīd1, adv. wide; wide ond sīd far and wide 1637.

sīd2, f. side 968.

sīel, see bōn.

ge-sīel(hō) (ge-syhol), f. sight 30, 620, 705.

∗sige-brōðor, m. brother in victory 183n.

sige-dēma, m. judge of victory 661.

sige-dryhten, m. lord of victory 60, 877, 1453.

sigel, n. sun 50, 89, 1456.

∗sigel-torht, adj. sunbeam 1246.

sige-rōf, adj. brave victor 1225.

sige-spēd, f. wondrous power 646.

sige-wang, m. plain of victory 1581.

siger, m. victory, triumph 116, 714, 760 etc; divine might 329.

siger-spēd, f. great triumph 909, 1435.

sīn, pron. adj. his 427, 522, 663 etc; a. sg. m. sīnne 1464.
sinc-gestrēon, n. treasure hoard 1656.
	†sinc-gifu, f. gift of treasure 1509.
	†sinc-hroden, adj. treasure-decked 1673.
	sinc-woerðung, f. treasures and adornments 272; precious honours 477.
singāl, adj. perpetual 869.
singan, sv. 3, sing; pret. pl. sungon 877.
sinnan, sv. 3, w. g. cease from; pret. sg. sann 1277.

sionwe, see synu.
sittan, sv. 5, sit 247; pret. sg. set 305, 1007, pl. sæton 362, 591.

gesittan, sv. 5, sit; pret. sg. gesæt 359, 1063; pl. gesæton 1161.

sōð, m. journey, course, mission, adventure 44, 175, 340 etc; time, instr. sg. òøre
sīðe one more time 808.

sīðe-fæt, m. expedition 204, 211, 358, 420, 1662; d. sg. sōðate 663.
sīðe-from, adj. eager to travel, eager to sail 247, 641.

sīðe-gean, wv. 2, journey 829.
sīðe-dan, see syðdæn.
släp, m. sleep 464, 795, 820 etc.

släpan, sv. 7, sleep 865.

släp-wèrig, adj. sleep-weary; pl. as noun sleep-weary men 826.

sleán, sv. 6, hit, beat 1300; pret. pl. slōgon 964.

slege, m. blow 956.

†smeolt, adj. pleasant 1581 (variant of smolt).

smylte, adj. smooth 453.

snāw, m. snow 1255.
snel, adj. swift 505.

snel-lic, adj. swift 267.

snēome, adv. quickly 795.

snēowan, sv. 2, hasten 242, 1668.

snottor, adj. wise 469, 659.

snōwan, sv. 7, coast 504.

snytt(ro), f. cleverness, intellect, intelligence, sense 554, 631, 646 etc.
soden, see syðdæn.

sōna, adv. at once, straightaway, soon 72, 450, 529 etc.

sorg, f. sorrow 116, 1568, 1690.

†sorg-byrþen, f. brewing of sorrow 1532n.

sorgian, wv. 2, care 1227.

sōð1, adj. true 710, 1602; truly 1435.

sōð2, n. truth 114, 458, 526 etc; emne mid sōðe to tell the truth 114.

sōð-cwide, m. true declaration 733.

sōð-fæst, adj. righteous, just 228, 386, 673; truth unwavering 1514.

†sōð-fæst-lic, adj. unfeigned 877.

sōð-lice, adv. truly 681.

spanan, sv. 7, draw; pret. sg. spēon 597.

gespann, n. bracelet, fastening 302.

spell, n. tides, events 815.

spīldan, wv. 1, w. inst. lose 284.

spor, n. track 1180.

spōwan, sv. 7, w. inst. to succeed (in) 1544.

gespōwan, sv. 7, to succeed; ēow swā lȳt gespēow so little you succeeded 1344.

gesprec, n. speech 577.

sprecan, sv. 5, speak 732, 1315; pret. sg. spreæc 904, 1557; pp. spreccen 1622.

gesprecan, sv. 5, speak; pret. sg. gesprec 923.

stæfna, see stefna.

stæppan, sv. 6, move, march; pret. sg. stōp 985, 1577.

ge-stæppan, sv. 6, step, walk; pret. sg. gestōp 1582.

terced-fer(h)þ, adj. strong-hearted; nom. pl. m. stercedferþþe men of hardened hearts 1233.

stān, m. stone 738, 741, 766 etc; rock 841.

standan, sv. 6, stand, stand up, 502, 722, 882 etc; pret. sg. stōd 254, 375, 737, pl. stōdon 842, 871, 1157, 1712.

ge-standan, sv. 6, stand up; pret. sg. gestōd 707.

stān-fāg, adj. paved with stone 1236.

stān-hlīð, n. stone cliffs, a. pl. -hleóð 1233; -hleóðu stone gates 1577.

stapul, m. pillar 1062, 1494.

staðol, m. pedestal 1503.

staðol-fæst (staðul-), adj. steadfast 121, 1336.

staðol(g)an, wv. 2, fortify, found, establish 82, 799, 1210, 1213.

ge-staðolan (ge-staðelían), wv. 2, found, establish 162, 536.

stēap, adj. steep 840, 1306.

stede-wang, m. plain 334; city precinct 774.

stefn1, m. time, hour; niwan stefne 1303 anew; stefne 123 anew.

stefn2, m. stem, ship’s prow; bark 291.

stefn3, f. voice 56, 61, 92 etc.

stefna, m. prow, bow 403, 1707; a. sg. stæfnan stern 495n.

stēoran, wv. 1, steer 495.

stēorend, m. governor 1336; stŷrend 121.

sticce, n. piece; d. pl. sticum snatches 1488.

stīg, f. pathway, trail 985, 1442.
stīgan, sv. 1, climb; pret. pl. stígān 349; put out (to sea) 429.
ge-stīgan, sv. 1, embark, climb 222; pret. sg. gestāh 899.
stillan, wv. 1, (become) still w.d. 451; intr. 1576.
ge-stillan, wv. 1, subside 532.
stīle, adj. still 502.
stōf-ferō, adj. valiant, stout 722.
stōf-hyngende, adj. stubborn 741, 1429n.
storm, m. storm 502, 1236, 1576; weather 1494.
stōw, f. place 121.
strang, adj. strong, tough, hard 162, 313, 536 etc; comp. strengra more strenuous 1385.
strang-fīce, adv. strenuous 167.
strāl, m. arrow 1189.
strāet, f. street, highway 334, 774, 985 etc.
strēam, m. stream, current 374, 852, 1503 etc.
†strēam-faru, f. torrent; a. sg. -fare 1576.
strēam-racu, f. driving current; a. sg. -race 1580.
†strēam-velo, m. sea-surge 495.
streng, m. cable 374.
strengra, see strang.
strēonan, wv. 1, w.g. win 331.
stund, f. hour 1210.
stunde, adv. at once 416; briefly 1497.
styrend, see stōrend.
styrian, wv. 1, stir up 1092; intr. be disturbed 374.
sum, adj. and indef. pron. one, a certain one 11, 967, 1174, 1311.
sund, n. crossing, course, sea, ocean, strait 267, 381, 424 etc.
sundor, adv. apart 1161.
sunne, f. sun 1013, 1248, 1304.
sunu, m. son 681, 691, 879 etc; a. sg. sunu 1109.
sūsl, n. torment 1379.
swā, adv. and conj. (1) so, thus 157, 177, 327, 438, 622 etc; (2) so, very 710, 895, 1115 etc; (3) as, just as 5, 67, 149 etc; (4) also, likewise, just so 582; (5) as, inasmuch as 357, 937; (6) so that, that 261, 493, 524, 986; (7) as if 501; (8) provided that 1288; (9) where(ve)r 1231, 1441, 1582; (10) swā ... swā as as 192, 333, 926, 1234; (11) emne swā ... swā just as as 333; (12) swā þēah although 813, swā þēah still, however 1250; (13) swā þæt as 322.
swan-rād, f. swan’s path 196.
swēt, m. blood 968, 1239, 1275 etc.
swātīg, adj. gory 1406.
swēðrian, see sweðrian.
swēdu, f. path 673, 1422; a. sg. or pl. swēðe 1441.
swēs, adj. dear 1009.
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