Othman he addam on earth-rice
Qodes hund gescast gealorne sünde
Wolce geworht and his wite somed

Until he Adam upon earth's realm,
God's handywork ready round
Wisely y-wrought and his wite with him

Gewitan him tha gangan geometr mode
Under beam-steal blade bereafod

Can they then depart, sad at heart,
Under tree-shadow joy her aft

And him by twegen beâmas stolun
Tha wäson utan ðeates gebliudene
Gëned mid wasmne

And then beside two trees there stood,
They were without with fool's y liden
Covered with frut

Her was his mage second
Friends gefyllad on folk-stode
Bederen it sace and his sum forlet
On wæl-stow wundum forgrunden
Geong at geathe

Here was loss of kin-
Of friends hewn down on crowded field
Slaun in the fight! and his son he left
On the carrage place, with wounds in low,
Though young in war

Wæth wolde wæl man
On thys islande æft reosa
dFolcs afyllad

Was no greater carnage,
Ever yet within this island,
Of men hewn down

Adjectives also, when they partake of the character of participles, are sometimes used without declension

Nallas wolcan tha get
Ofar runne grund règnas hæron
Wann mid winde

1 Mr Thorpe has rightly translated this passage, but doubts the correctness of his translation, for, 'to justify it, we ought to have wanne in the original'
Nor clouds as yet
O'er the wide earth bore rains
Wan-coloured with wind.  

That his warden lath Gode
That they might be loathed of God.  
Cad. fol. 23. Gen. 452.

Heo wæron leafe Gode
They were beloved of God.  
Cad. fol. 13. Gen. 244.

Æt thisses olætes : thonne wærstæth thin cegan swa leoht.
Eat of this fruit—then will be thine eyes so brightened.
"  Cad. fol. 27. Gen. 564.

It would be easy to multiply examples; but our limits are narrow, and will oblige us to pass over some peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon grammar, which I would fain have noticed. We will proceed at once to the main subject of our injury.

Godman, of whom we have heard so much, was one of those gifted men, who have stamped deeply and lastingly upon the literature of their country, the impress of their own mind and feelings. He was the first Englishman—it may be, the first individual of Gothic race—who exchanged the gorgeous images of the old mythology for the chaster beauties of Christian poetry. From the sixth to the twelfth century, he appears to have been the great model, whom all imitated, and few could equal. For upwards of five centuries, he was the father of English poetry; and when his body was discovered in the reign of our first Henry, it seems to have excited no less reverence than those of the kings and saints by which it was surrounded.

Nothing shows more clearly the influence which this extraordinary man exerted upon our national modes of thought and expression, than a comparison between the Anglo-Saxon and early Icelandic literatures. So striking is the contrast, both as to style and subject, that Rask has even ventured to maintain they were radically distinct. A better knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon would have shown him his mistake. But though it might easily be proved, that our fathers had poems on almost all the subjects which were once thought peculiar to the Eddas, yet the remains of them are so scanty,
or the allusions to them so ambiguous, as rather to baffle criticism, than to enlighten it. The revolution effected by Caedmon appears to have been complete.

The manuscript, which is supposed to contain the poems of Caedmon, was a gift from Archbishop Usher to the celebrated Junius, and by him was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. From the style of the writing, it must have been written about the end of the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh century; and as about that time there was an Abbott Aelfwine at Winchester, at whose expense certain manuscripts (which are still extant) were written and illuminated, much in the same way as the Caedmon manuscript, and as a head occurs among the illuminations with the name of Aelfwine written over it, it has been surmised, that he was the patron to whom we owe the preservation of the poems.

Junius, who published this manuscript at Amsterdam in 1665, and who was an Anglo-Saxon scholar of the first class, put the name of Caedmon upon his title-page without hesitation. The style of the poems, so strongly resembling that of the fragment preserved by Bede—the absolute identity of the subjects with those on which we know that Caedmon wrote—and the marks of antiquity so abundantly scattered throughout, were to his mind proofs, amply sufficient to warrant him in so doing. Hickes did not agree in this opinion; but the notions which he held upon the subject of Anglo-Saxon dialect, and upon which he chiefly grounded his dissent, have been long since exploded.

Versions of Caedmon have been twice attempted; first by Lye, and afterwards by Mr. Thorpe. Lye's translation has never been published; but if we may judge from such extracts as appear in his Dictionary, I would say he has often shown great sagacity, and a singularly familiar acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon idiom. His MS. is now the property of the Society of Antiquaries, having been presented to that body by Mr. Thorpe, the well-known bookseller. The editor of Caedmon has denied any knowledge of this manuscript version; but of the many and copious extracts to be found in the dictionary he has diligently availed himself. In several
instances he has corrected Lye's mistakes; but a version of 
Cædmon is a work of immense difficulty, and it reflects 
no discredit on either of these scholars to say, that many 
and very large portions of the poem have not yet been trans-
lated.

As the point separates the sections in the M.S., the reader 
may assume that it always coincides with the middle and 
final pauses, unless a note inform him to the contrary. When 
the point is found in the middle of a section, it will be 
inserted.

Common type will be used instead of Anglo-Saxon; and, 
as in modern orthography th represents both a vocal and a 
whisper sound, it will stand both for ə and ʒ.

It is thus our earlier Milton introduces his subject to the 
reader;—

U's | is ript | mie'vel | that | we rool | era weard |
Wer | edna wul | dor-cin | ing | word | um her | igen |¹
Mod | um luf | ieu | he | is megg | na sped |²
Heof | od cael | ra | heah | gesecaf | ta |³
Frec | æl midig | nes | him frum | a alf | re
Or | geword| den | ne | um en | de eynth |
Eo| ean drich | nes | ac | ho bith a | ric | e
Of | er heof | en-stol | as | heag | um thrym | mum
Soth | -fest | and swith | feorm |⁴


Mickle right it is, that we heaven's guard
(Glory-king of hosts !) with words should hery,
With hearts should love. He is of pow'rs the efficacy,
Head of all high creations,
Lord Almighty! In him beginning never
Or origin hath been, nor end cometh now
To the eternal Lord; but he is aye supreme
Over heaven-thrones, with high majesty.
Righteous and mighty.

¹ Herian A.S. to praise, to hery.

And hery Fan with orisons and alms. Drayton.

² Ille est virtutum exemplar. Lye. He is of power the essence. Thorpe.
I have never met with sped in either of these senses.

³ The head of all exalted creatures.— Thorpe. The context clearly requires 
the more general and abstract term. In the MS. there is no metrical point 
after enne.

⁴ Mr. Thorpe closes his period with the section, Ofer hefen-stolæ; but 
the present division seems better suited to the usual flow of Cædmon's rhythm.
As fitness of numbers is one of the chief merits of this passage, I will endeavour briefly to point out, in what I conceive this fitness to consist. In other cases it will be left to the reader, to apply these or similar principles himself.

In the first line, the pause before micel gives that word a certain emphasis; and we have a sameness of rhythm, to mark the repetition of our Saviour's titles,

\[
\text{Rod\text{;}ers weard |} \\
\text{Wer\text{;}eda wul\text{;}dor-cining}
\]

and also to fix in the mind the double duty, which we owe to him,

\[
\text{Word\text{;}um her\text{;}igen} \\
\text{Mod\text{;}um lu\text{;}ien}
\]

The accent thrown upon he, in the third line, opens the section, and is therefore, as it ought to be, strong and forcible. The repetition of the diphthong ea in the fourth line calls up the idea of multitude; and the pause before ælmıhtı́g, after the flowing rhythm that preceded it, makes that word strikingly emphatic. The parallelism, which follows, is enforced by a similarity of rhythm;

\[
\text{Or | geword\text{;}en,} \\
\text{Ec\text{;}en can driht\text{;}ne-s}—
\]

while the flowing rhythm, in the two following sections, exhibits a contrast, which suits well the change from a negative to an affirmative proposition. The firm rhythm of the next section binds the whole together; and the last section affords us a specimen of that elastic rhythm, which is so often found at the close of Cædmon's periods.
Swegl!-bosmas heold
Tha war; ongesetle: wid; e and sid; e
Thurh | geweald | god| es: wal| dres bearin' um
Gas| ta weard| un: hæf| on dgeam | and dream | And heor; a ord| framen: eng| la threat| as
Borh| te bliss| e | was heor| a blæd | mic| el
Theyg| nas thrym| -feste: theod| en her| edon
Sieg| don hes| tum lof| heor| a lif| fréan
Dun| don dríht| nes: "dug| ethum| 7
War| on swith| e gesce| lige

Synna ne cuthon
Fir| ena frem| man; "ac | hie on frith| e lif| don
Be| mid heor| a aldor| el| les ne | ongum| non
Rær| an on red| erum| nym| the riht | and soth |一杯
Ær| thon eng| la weard| for o| ferhyg| de
Dæl | 9 on gedwil| de

Not| dan droeg| an leng |
Hear| a self| ra red| : ac | hie of sib| -lufan
  | God| es ahwurt| on: hæf| don gielp | mic| el
That hie | with dríht| ne: dæl| an meah| ton
Wal| dor-fest| an wig| wer| odes thrymme
Sid | and sweat| -torht| 8

1 The emphatic stop.
3 Cadmon seldom uses even a running section, without an object. The repetition of the diphthong ou, and the double rime in the preceding section, call up the ideas of extent and multitude. See pp. 166, 167.
4 Had lustre and joy
Of their original the hosts of angels,
Bright bliss, their reward was great: Thorpe.
Mr. Thorpe considers the and redundant. I cannot see any reason for rejecting it.
5 Mr. Thorpe makes berehtu the accusative feminine, agreeing with blissæ, and perhaps rightly. There will be a perfect syntax with either construction.
6 No metrical point after dríhtæs.
7 Gástas the spirits, weréd the host, and dugath the nobility, seem to have meant the great body of angels; while engla-weardæ, or gasta-weardæ, the angel-guards, or spirit-guards, were the "throned pow'rs."
8 Mr. Thorpe renders the line thus:
They judged by the Lord's power.
7 Here Mr. Thorpe alters his text. According to Hask, duge| thum war| on—
thus violating what I will venture to assert is a canon of Anglo-Saxon prosody—the rule namely, which forbids us to place a stop in the midst of a section.
CÆDMON'S RHYTHMS.

Heaven's depths he sway'd; They were y-set, wide and far,
Through God's pow'r, for the sons of glory—
For the spirit-guards. Light had they and joy,
And their Creator! Angel-throgs,
Bliss refugent, mickle was their meed!

Thanes, most glorious their leader heried!
Told joyfully the praise of their Life-king!
Ruled the Lord's high chivalry!
And were right happy!

Sins knew they not,
Or crimes to frame— but they in peace lived,
For aye with their prince. Nought else gan they
Uphold in heaven, save the right and true;
Ere that the angel-guard, by reason of pride
Was lost in error.

They would no longer work
Their own good; but they from God's
Father-love turn'd them. They had mickle beast,
That they with the Lord would share
The resplendent mansion, with the host's glory
Wide-filled and heaven-bright.

"Synna and fyrena seem to be the genitive cases after the verb rathom,—
They knew not of sins or crimes— to frame.

Lapsum est in errorem. Lye. Sank into error. Thorpe.

Deol is probably the past tense of some verb, but I know not where Lye found
the meaning he has given to it. Such a construction, too, requires the accusative
gedwilk. I have construed deol as if it were the past tense of a neuter
verb duola, bearing the same relation to dol error (Cædmon 18) as duela or
gedwelan to duola or gedwola. It is the best I could make of a very difficult
passage.

Halcham jactationem magnam quod illi cum domino participare possent
gloriosam mansiorem, exercitus celestis turmanm. Lye.

Mr. Thorpe renders the passage thus;

They had the great presumption
That they against the Lord could divide
The glory-fast abode, that multitude of host.

Lye considered thrymne as the accusative of thrym (it is in fact the da-
native); and as Mr. Thorpe follows Lye so closely, I presume he has fallen
into the same mistake. It is possible that he may have found a neuter duplic-
ate in e; but there is no such word as thrymne in his index. The passage is
certainly one of difficulty. Torht appears to be one of those participial ad-
jectives, which sometimes escape inflection; and sid is certainly one of these
adjectives which occasionally have the force of an adverb. The phrase might
perhaps be written, in German fashion, sid- and swegl-torht, widely and
heavenly bright.
Him | thær sar | gelamp |
Æ⚔ | and | of | erhyg | and | thæs eng | les mod |
The thon | e ð | ræd | ðgan | eor | est frem | man |
Wef | an and wec | cean |

Tha | he word | e cwaeth |
Nith | cæ ofthyrs | ted | that he on north | deac |
Ham | and heah | essel | heof | ena ric | es |
Ag | an wol | de |

Tha | wearth yr | re god |
And | tham wer | ode wrath | that he | æor wur | thorode |
Wlit | e and wul | dre | sceop | tham wer | logan |
Wræc | lice ham | weorc | e | to lean | e |
Hel | le heaf | as | heard | e nith | as |
Hicht | that wit | e-hus | wræc | na bid | an |
Deep | dream | a Leas | driht | ten u | re |
Gas | tu weard | as |

Tha | he hit gear | e wiste |
Syn | nihtc | beseald | sus | le gein | mod |
Acend-fol | en fyr | e | and før | cyle |
Rëc | e and read | e leg | e | heht | tha geond | that ræd | lease hof |
Weax | an wit | e-hrog | an |

There then follow about sixty couplets, some of which contain such difficulties of construction, as would require

1 Here again Mr. Thorpe has deviated from the text; he reads
The thon wæred ðogan : ærest fremmum

2 Then spake he the words. Thorpe.
Some neuters, I believe, occasionally take e in the plural, but I think it far better to construe words as the dative.

To haste . . .
Homeward, with flying march, where we possess
The quarters of the North. Par. Lost, 5. 686.

A foe
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious North.
Par. Lost, 5. 724.

And ye choice spirits that admonish me--
You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the North?
Appeal!

1 H. VII. 5. 3. 3.

4 No metrical point.
There on them fell pain,
Envy and pride, and that angel’s mood—
His, who this folly gan first to frame,
To weave and wake.

Then in words quoth he,
With hate athirst, that he, on the North side,
House and high seat of heaven’s realm
Would have.

Then was God ireful,
And wrath with the host, whom erewhile he honour’d
With brightness and glory. He shap’d out for that false one
An exile-home—anguish for his meed!
Hell-groans! torments dread!
He bade that torture-house of the exiles abide
Deep and joyless (be our Lord)
The spirit-guards.

When he knew it well,
Foul with lasting night, sulphur-heap’d,
Wide fill’d with fire, and fierce chill,
Reek and red low—then bade he, through that house of folly,
Wax high the torture-terrors!

more discussion, than we have now time to enter upon. We then come to the Creation [1. 103].

\[5\] This is one of those puzzling duplicates, which are so apt to mislead—worce and worce both signify anguish.

\[6\] There may be some doubt, if the Anglo-Saxons did not pronounce these words as a compound. If so, the section would probably be accented thus—

Deep | dream | a-lose.

Here Cædmon converts the stop, indicating a sequence, into a sectional pause.

Bade the torture-house await the exiles,
Deep, void of joys, our Lord,
The guardians of spirits.  

Thorp.

If I understand this rightly, Mr. Thorpe puts the exiles in apposition to the guardians of the spirits—that is, the genitive wrecena in apposition to the accusative weardas. This must be faulty; but I have doubts as to the correctness of my own version, for bidan to await, to abide, generally governs a genitive. It is however the only method of construction which presents itself.

Mr. Thorpe construes geare as if it were an adjective;

When he knew it ready,

—but it is doubtless the well-known adverb.
Ne | was her | tha giet |: nym | the heol | ster-sead | o
Wlht | geword | en : Æc | thes wid | a grund |
Stod | deolp | and dim |: driht | ne frem | de
Id | el² and un | nyt

On thon | e ealg | um wlat |
Stith | -frith cin | ing : and | tha stow | e beheold |
Dream | a leas | e : geseh | deorc | gesweorc |
Semian¹ | sin | nihte : sweart | under rod | crum |
Wom² | and wes | te : oth | that theos wor | ild-gescaeft |
Thuhr | word | gewearth |: wul | dor-cyn | inges

Her ær | est gesceop |: éc | e driht | ten
Helm | eall | -wihta | heof | on and eorth | an
Rod | or arar | de : and | this rum | e land |
Gestath | elod | e : strang | um miht | um
Frea | æhlmihtig

Fol | de was | tha gyte |
Græs | -aengren | e³ | gár | secg theah | te
Sweart | syn | nihte : sid | e and wid | e
Woun | ne wæg | as

Tha | was | wul | dor-torht |
Heof | on-weard | es gast : of | er hólm | boren
Mic |ulum sped | um

Met | od eng | la heht |
Lif | es bryt | ta | leoth | forth | euman
Of | er rum | ne grúnd |: rath | e was | Gefyl | led
Heah | -cining | es heæs³ |: him | was hal | ig leoth |
Of | er west | enne : swa | se wyrh | ta bebead |

Tha | gesénd | drode : sig | ora wald | dend
Of | er lag | o-tod | e : leoth | with theos | trum
Sead | e with seim | an : scéop | tha bam nam | an
Lif | es bryt | ta | leoth | was ær | est
Thuhr | driht | nes wórd |: dag | genem | ned
Wlit | e beorht | e gesceaf |

¹ Fræne has a double ending in the nominative—one vowel, the other consonantal.
² Ælde A.S. barren, idle. Desertis idle.—Othello. Idle pebbles.—Lear.
³ Semian is the active verb; semian I believe is always neuter. In Cædmon 4 [1. 72], Mr. Thorpe makes it active; but to support his construction he is guilty of one or two grammatical errors, and (a far graver charge) has corrupted his text. Junius points the passage correctly.
Ne had there here as yet, save the vault-shadow,  
Aught existed; but this wide abyss  
Stood deep and dim—strange to its Lord,  
Idle and useless.

On it with eyes glanc'd  
The stalwart king, and the place beheld  
All joyless. He saw dark cloud  
Lour with lasting night, swart under heaven,  
Wan and waste: till this world's creation  
Rose through the word of the glory-King.

Here first shap'd the eternal Lord  
(Head of all things!) heaven and earth;  
Sky he rear'd, and this wide land  
He establish'd—by his strong might,  
Lord Almighty!

Earth was not as yet  
Green with grass; ocean cover'd,  
Swart with lasting night, wide and far,  
Wan pathways.

Then glory-bright,  
Was the spirit of Heaven's-Guard o'er the water borne,  
With mighty speed.

Bade the Angel-maker,  
(The Life-dispenser) light to come forth  
O'er the wide abyss. Quick was fulfill'd  
The high King's host—round him was holy light,  
Over the waste, as the Maker bade.

Then parted the Victor-Lord  
O'er the water-flood, light from darkness—  
Shade from sheen: Gave then names to both  
The Life-dispenser. Light was erst,  
By the Lord's word, named day—  
That beauty-bright creation!

---

4 *Wan,* in the sense of dismal, was long known to our poetry;  
Min is the drenching in the sea so wan.  

5 As to the nature of this compound, see p. 316.

6 See note 4.

7 Throned in celestial *shern.*— *Milton, Hymn on the Nativity,* 245.

8 Such seems to be the force of the definite adjective in this place.
Wel | lic|ode
Fré|an | æt fryst| the : forth |baero tid|
Dæg | ær|esta

Gescæh | deorc | sceado
Sweart | swith | rian : geond sïd | ne grund|
Tha | sec tid | gewat : of | er tib | er sceac an
Mid | dan-geard | es ²

Met | od æf | ter sceaf|
Seir | um scïn | an : scïp | pend ur | e
Æf| en ær | est : hin Arn | on last|
Thræg | thys | tre genip | tham | the sã theod | en self|
Secop niht | e num | an : nec | gend ur | e

Hic | gesun | drode ³ : sith | than æf | re
Drug | on and dyd | on : driht |nes wil | lan
E(ec) of | er eorh | an

Tha | com oth | er dæg |
Leocht | æfter theos | trum : heht | tha lif | es weard|
On mer | e-flod | e ⁴ : mid | dum weorth | an
Hylht | lic heof | on-tim | ber : hol | mas dãel | de
Wald | end ur | e ; and | geworht | te tha |

¹ Words, ending in æ and eo, resolve the dipthongs into the component vowels, when they take the inflexion n. Thus friæ in the nominative is a monosyllable, but the dative friæn is a disyllable. So beon, the present infinitive of beo, has two syllables. This rule appears to be an important one.

Mr. Thorpe thus renders the passage,

Well pleased
The Lord at the beginning, the procreative time.
The first day saw the dark shade, &c.

To support this construction, he removes gescæh to the first section; though, not only does themetrical point follow æræla, and the rules of prosody forbid such change, but a regular stop has been added to themetrical point in the MS. The reader, as usual, has no notice of these changes.

Sweart appears to be one of those adjectives which are sometimes used adverbially.

² Then the time passed, over the fruitful region,
Of mid earth.—Thorpe.

Here Mr. Thorpe makes tiber sceacan, a compound, and supposes sceacan a mistake for scecatan. The text is certainly correct. Scecatan is to fly or haste away, and an infinitive of some verb of motion very commonly follows the verbs cuman, gewitan, and others of the same kind. We have the very phrase in Judith [I. 292],

Hi tha hrowig-mode
Wurpon hyrn wepen ofdune : gewitan him werig-farth the
On fleam scecan.
Well pleas'd the Lord
At the beginning, Creation's hour—
Day the first!

He saw dark shadow
Swart prevail, o'er the wide abyss—
Then gan the day to close o'er the offering
Of this mid earth.

Drove afterwards the Maker
From the clear sheen (he our Creator!)  
The Even first. On its footsteps ran
And throng'd dark cloud, to which the Lord himself
Gave the name of Night—he our Redeemer!

These, being parted, sithen ever
Dree'd and did the Lord's will,
For aye, o'er earth.

Then came the second day—
Light after darkness. Bade then life's Guardian,
On the sea-flood (in the midst) to stand
A joyous heaven-structure. The waters he parted
(He our Ruler!) and then he wrought

They then sorrowing
Cast their weapons down; gan they, heavy at heart,
To flight betake them.

In his Glossary, Mr. Thorpe makes broung, cruel; verrig-serth, weary of life; and renders secunon, by the verb to shake. These are errors into which any one might have fallen. I merely point them out, as showing, that no one (in the present state of Anglo-Saxon Literature) has a right to draw so largely on the good opinion of his reader, as to publish a Glossary, without giving his authorities.

* Mr. Thorpe makes genundrode a verb.

Our preserver
Them separated; always since
They have suffered, &c.

* Dreogan A. S. to endure, to dree.

The sorrow
Which that I drie I may not long endure.

Chau. Tro. and Cress. 5. 296.

The word is still common in the North. See Brockett's Glossary, and Carr's Craven Dialect.

* No metrical point.
Rod | eras fæs| ten : that | se ríc | a áhóf |
Un | from eorth | an : thrúl | his ag | en word |
Frea | æl | nihtig |

Fold | waes ádæ| led |
Un| der heah | -rodor | e : hal | yun niht | un |
Wæt| er of waet | rum : than | | the wun | iath gyt |
Un| der fæs | tenne | folc | a hróf| es |

Tha | com of| er fold | an | fus | ² sith | ian |
Mæ| e merg | en thrud | da | nær | on met | odc | ³ tha gy't |
Wæl| -lond. | ne weg | as nyt | te | ac stod | bewrig | en fæs | te |
Fol, de mid flod | e |

Frea | engla heht |
Thurb | his word | wes | an : wæ| ter gemær | e |
Tha nu | under rod | erum | heor | a ry'n | c heal | dath |
Stow | e gestefn | de | ⁴ | tha stod | hrath | e |
Holm | under heof | onum | ska | se hal | ga bebead |
Síd | æt-som | ne |

Tha | gesun | drod waes |
Lag | o with lan | de | gesceah | tha lif | es weard |
Dreg | e stow | es | dug | otha hyrd | e |
Wid | e ateowd | e | tha | se wul | dor-cyn | ing |
Eorth | an nem | de |

Here is the first gap in the manuscript, no less than three leaves having been torn out. We will therefore pass, at once, to the speech of Satan [l. 356]. Here Caedmon lengthens his rhythms, and assumes greater pomp of lan-

I's | thes eng | a styd | e | um | gelic swith | e : than oth | rum | the | we w'r | cuthon |
He| án on heof | on-ríc | e : the me | mfn hear | ra onlag |

1 Mr. Thorpe construes thus,

Water from waters, for those, who yet dwell
Under the fastness of the roof of nations.

I do not clearly see his meaning. Surely he cannot mean for mankind.

² Fús is one of those adjectives which are sometimes used as adverbs.

³ Lyce considered metad as the participle of metan, which, however, has gemeten for its participle. Mr. Thorpe, in this instance, follows Lyce.

We were not meted yet
Wide land nor useful ways. &c.

⁴ Mr. Thorpe makes these words the accusative plural;
The skies—a firmament. This the mighty one rais’d
Up from earth, by his own word,
Lord Almighty!

Earth was parted,
Under high heav’n, by holy might;
The water from the waters—those that yet won [dwell]
Under the firmament of this world’s roof.

Then gan, o’er earth, quickly advance
The third great Morn; nor had the Maker as yet
Wide hand, nor pathways useful—but fast beset
With flood earth stood. *

The Lord of angels bade
By his word the waters to be collected,
Which now, under heaven hold their course,
In place appointed. Then quickly stood
The sea, under heaven, (as the Holy one bade)
Far and wide united.

Then was parted
Water from land; then saw our life’s Guard
(The nobles’ pastor) the dry regions
Wide display’d; then the Glory-king
Named earth.

guage. It has been supposed this speech was not unknown
to Milton, when he wrote the first book of his Paradise Lost. 6

This narrow stead 9 is much unlike to that other, 7 which erst we
came,
High in heaven’s realm, which on me my Lord bestow’d;

That now, under heaven, hold their course,
And their places fixed.

9 It would not be difficult to show, that Milton knew nothing of Anglo- 
Saxon. Cadmon therefore must have been to him a sealed book, unless he
procured a translation from Junius, or some other scholar of that period.

* Stead—place, stead.

Fly, therefore, fly this tearfull stead anon. F. Q. 2. 4. 42.
It is still used in the North. See Carr and Brockett.

7 “Is this the region, this the soul, the clime,”
Said then the last Archangel, “this the seat,
That we must change for heaven,” &c. P. L. 1. 242.
Thea | wæ hine for | tham al | waldan | ag | an ne mos | ton
Rōm | igan ur | es | ric | es | næst | he theah riht | godán
Thæt | he Ia hæfth | hefel | led | fy're to bot | me
Hé ðe æt hæ | ra | hét | an | heof | on | ric | e benüm | en
Háf | ath bit | gemcær | cod | mid mon | -cynne
To | geset | tanæ

Thæt | mé is sorg | a mést
Thæt am seeal | the wæs | of eorht | an geworht |
Mīn | ne strong | lican | stol | beheal | dan.
Wē's | an him | on wy'n | ne | and wē | this wīt | e thol | ien
Hearm | on this | se hæl | le

Wál | a hæt | e ic . 3 min | ra hánd | a geweald
And mos | te án | e tīt | út | e weorth | an
Wēs | an an | e win | tor-stand | e | thun | ne ic mid | thys wer | ode
Ae | lic | gath me ym | he | ír | en-bend | a 4
Rid | eth ræc | entan sal | ic | eom ric | es leas |
Hæl | bath me | swa heard | e | hel | le clam | mas
Fæs | te befæng | en | hér | is fy'r | mic | el
Uf | an and neoth | one | ic á | ne gesæah
Lath | ran land | scipe | lig | ne aswan | ath 5
Hát | ofer hel | le | me hab | bath hring | a gespong
Slith | -heard | sal | sith | es amy | red
Afyr | red me | mīn fæt | e | ðot | synt gebun | dēne
Hán | da gehæf | te | synt this | sa hél | -dora
Weg | as forwōrhte | swa | ic mid wīth | e ne mæ | g
Of this | sum liðth | o-bend | um

Liec | ath me ymb | utan
Hearld | es ir | enes | hét | e gesæng | ene
Grind | has | great | e | mid thy | ne god | hafath
Gehæf | ted be | than heals | e

Swa | ic wat | he min | ne hig | e cuthe
And | that wis | te eac | wer | oda drīth | ten

1 Mr. Thorpe construes the section, "must cede our realm," but the active verb is ryman; rumigan and rumian are, I believe, always used as neuters.
2 Or scan it thus:
   the | wæs of eorht | an geworht |

3 The metrical point here divides the compound section.

4 Benda has been changed to bendas, in the MS. Probably bend was both a masculine and a feminine noun. When the text has been altered, Mr. Thorpe sometimes copies the original, and sometimes the amended reading. I have, in all cases, given the former.

5 I have given to this word the same meaning as Lyke, though I never met with it elsewhere. [It does not occur elsewhere.—W. W. S.]
Though, for the All-wielder, it we may not have—
Must quit us of our realm! Yet hath he not right y-done,
In that he us hath fell’d, to the fiery bottom
Of this hot hell; hath heaven’s realm bereft us,
And it hath destin’d by mankind
To be peopled!

That of my sorrows is the greatest,
That Adam shall (he that of earth was wrought)
My strong-establish’d seat possess,
And be his joy—and see this torture suffer,
Pain within this hell!

Of that I had sway of hand,
And might one season out fare!
Bide one winter’s space! Then I with this host——
But around me lie iron bonds!
Preseth the fetter’s link! I am realmless!
Me so strongly hold hell-chains
Fast bound. Here is huge fire
Above and beneath! aye saw I not
A loathlier landskip; the flame ne’er fadeth
Hot over hell. Me hath the rings’ clasp,
The hard-polish’d link from onward course disabled
From progress barr’d: my feet are bound!
Hands y-chained! Of these hell-doors
The ways are lost, as with aught I cannot
From these jointed bonds!

Lie around me
Huge grindles’ of hard iron,
Fixed hot; with them God
Hath me fetter’d by the neck!

So wot I well, he my heart knew,
And wist eke this, the Lord of hosts,

*Lye renders this phrase mordax vinculum, and perhaps rightly.

* Mr. Thorpe follows Lye in his construction of this passage,

* Of these hell-doors are
The ways obstructed, so that with aught I cannot
From these limb-bonds escape.

That the ways are open, though lost to the fettered angel, is clear from what follows. I think too that sun is not rightly rendered.

* As far as we can judge from the drawing which accompanies the description, the grindel was a kind of heavy iron grating, which rather encumbered the prisoner by its weight, than fixed him in its grasp.

* Mr. Thorpe renders hate genogem, forg’d with heat.
That necol de unc ad āme: yf ele | gewurth an.
Ymb | that heof on-ric, c: ther | fc ah | te min | ra han | da geweald 2

A'c thrath wē | mī theah | on hel-le: that syn don thys tro and
heath | o
Grīm | mec ērand-lease: haf'ath us god | sylfa
Forswap | en on | thus sweart-an mis-tas: swa | he us | ne mæg æn ige
syn; ne gestaulan
That we | him on | tham lan | de lath | gefren | edon

He hæðh | us theah | thæs leohēs besceyr ede
Beworpan | en on cel ra wit a mæs-te: ne mæg on we | thæs wræc e
gefreman
Gelean | an him | mid lath | es wilhte: that | he us haf'ath thæs
leohēs besceyr ede

He hæðh | nu gemear | cod, an | ne mid| dan-geard: ther | he hæðh
mōn | geworht | ne
Æft | ter his plien | se: mid tham | he wil eft | geset tan
Heofon ric | e, mid blutt | rum sau | lurn

Wē | thæs secul | on hyeg | an georn e
That | we on ad āme gif | we æfre mæg | en: and on | his eaf | rum
swa sōm | e | Æf | an gebet | an
Onwendan | an | him | ther wil, lan sin, es: gif | we hit mæg | en wilhte
athene | an
Ne | gelafic | e | me nu .. thæs leohētes fur, thor: thæs, the him
thne | eth linge | e mōt | an
Thæs eād | es mid | his eng | la cræf | te: ne mæg | on we that | on ad dre
gewining an.
That | we mihte, tiges God | es mod | onwaec | en: ut | on othwen | dan
hit | mi: mon | na bearn ung

1 This passage, like many others which have to do with the dual number, is very obscure. I have construed, as if unc Adam were an idiom, similar to
wil Adam two, we two, Adam and I. — Ced. fol. 222 (Satan, 411).
Mr. Thorpe considers unc to refer to the Deity and himself (Satan);
That should us, through Adam, evil befall, &c.

2 Mr. Thorpe here marks a hiatus of several lines. The MS. shows no
erasure (though a drawing intervenes) and the sense appears continuous. The
mention of Heaven brings before the fallen angel his present misery; then
follow—hate against God, justified by a wretched sophistry—despair of
success as against him—and the outpourings of envy and malice against his
creature.

In comparing the Satans of Milton and Cedmon, we see at once the difference
of their genius; the dramatic power, or (in German phrase) the objectiveness
of the one, and the intense subjectiveness of the other. Milton's devil is an ab-
straction—a God; Cedmon's a real existence. Milton's is the nobler picture;
That, through me and Adam, evils must ensue,
About that heaven's realm, where I had sway of hand!

But endure we now throes in hell! darkness that is, and heat
Grim and bottomless! -- Us hath God self
Swept into these swart mists, so of sin he may not us convict,
That we gainst him, in that land, evil frame.

He hath us though of light bereft! --
Hurl'd us to greatest tortures! Nor may we for this vengeance frame,
Or quit him aught of evil, for that of light he us bereft!

He hath now design'd a mid-earth, where he hath man y-wrought,
After his likeness; with whom he wills again to people
Heaven's realm with shining souls.

This should we endeavour strongly,
That we on Adam (if e'er we may) and on his offspring too our hate
may wreak --
There pervert him in his will -- if we may in ough devise it.
Nor hope I now light further (so pleaseth him) long while t' enjoy,
Or happiness with his angels' power. Nor may we this e'er gain,
That we of mighty God the rage should weaken. Let us snatch it then
from the sons of men,

Cædmon's the more natural, and if (as we are taught) man be but little lower
than the angels—a truer portrait.

* Verbs which take the prefix on appear to be variously accented. They
should be carefully watched.

* This passage seems a mere burst of despair. Mr. Thorpe, however,
supposes it to relate generally to Adam, and that in the phrase, "his angels,"
the pronoun refers to him, "who was created like the angels."

Now I have no confidence further, in this bright state, that which he seems long
destined to enjoy.
That happiness with his angel's power.

Throughout this poem, Cædmon alludes to the "portion in light" which
was once granted to the fallen angel.

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning."

That heofon wé | hit hab | ban ne mot | on : gedon | that hie | his hyl | do forlet | en
That hie | that onewend | on | that he | mid | this word | e bebad |: thon | ne weorth | he him wrath | on mod | e
A'hwett | hie from | his hyldo | thon | ne seul | on hie | thus hel | le sec | an
And | thus grim | man grund | us | thon | ne mot | on we | hie us | to giong | run hab | ban
Fir | a bearne | on this | sum fies | tum clam | me

Oogin | nath nu ymb | tha fyrd | e thene | can
Gif | ic an | egum thé | ne | theo | den-nad | mas
Geær | a forgeaf | e | then | den wé | on | than ged | an riec | e
Geæ | iæ saet | e | and hæf | don ure | e set | la gewédæd |
Thon | ne he | me na | on leóf | ran tid |: lean | un ne meah | te
Min | gife | gyl | dan | gif | his | gien | wolde
Min | ra þeog | na hvile | : gethæf | a wurth | an
That | he up | heoon | ut | e miht | e
Cun | an thumb | : thus clus | tro | and hæf | de craft | mid him
That | he mid feth | ce-him | an | theog | an meah | te
Wind | an on wole | ne | theær | geworth | stond | ath
At | an am | e | e | on eorð | -rice |
Mid wel | an bewun | den | and we | synd aworp | ene hid | er
On | thus deop | an dal | o

Nu | hie driht | ne synct
Wurth | ran mic | le | and mot | on him thon | e wel | an ag | an
The wé | on heof | on-riec | e | hab | ban secol | don
Riec | e mid rihhte | i | is | se ræd | gesêyr | ed
Mon | na cyne | ne | that | me is | on mod | e min | um | swa sar |
On min | um hygé | hrow | eth | : that hie | heof | on-riec | e
Ag | an to al | dre

Gif | hit ceow | er an | iæ mag | e
Gewend | an mid wih | t | : that | hie word | God | es
Lar | e forlet | en | son | a hie him | the lath | ran booth
Gif | hie bere | ath his | gebód | scipe | thon | ne he him | abolgen | wurth | eth

1 Hwettan and ahwettan mean to sharpen, to whet, to excite, to inflame. The meaning given to it in the text agrees well enough with the context, but has no authority to support it.

2 his appears to be the genitive case after gethæfa. Mr. Thorpe seems to look upon gien as a preposition governing it,

If in return for it he would
(Any of my followers) be my supporter, &c.
C. II. CAEDMON'S LONGER RHYTHMS. 341

That heaven's realm, now see it may not have—cause that they his favour lose;
That they pervert, what he by his word hath bidden. Then gainst them wrath at heart he'll be,
Will drive them from his favour—then must they seek this hell,
And these grim gulfs; then mote we them for subjects have—
The sons of men—in this fast bondage.

Begin ye now about this said to think,
If I to any thine lordly treasures
Gave of yore, (while we in that good realm
Sat happy, and o'er our seats had sway,)
Then be, in happier hour, might not with meed
My gift repay, —if indeed of this
Any one of my thames would be th' abettor
That upward hence he would outfare,
Through these barriers, and should have strength within him,
That he with feathery mantle might flee,
And wind him through the welkin, where stand y-fashion'd
Adam and Eve, upon earth's realm,
With weal wound round! and we are hither hurl'd
Into these deep gulfs!

Now they to Lord
Are dearer far, and mote that weal possess,
Which we in heaven's realm should have;
That realm with right is the lot assigned
To mankind! This lies on my mind so sore!
Rue the in my heart, that they heaven's realm
Possess for ever!

If any of you may
This change with aught, that they God's word
And lure desert, soon they to him the more loath'd will be.
If they break his command,—then he gainst them enrag'd becomes,

This passage is rather involved; the meaning seems to be, "if any one owe me a favour, now is the time to repay it; if indeed any will pass these barriers, and should be strong enough to reach the earth." The contrast, so abruptly introduced, at the end of the passage, appears to me extremely beautiful.

3 Mr. Thorpe joins this section with the last sentence,

Our realm by right; this council is decreed
For mankind.

4 Mr. Thorpe transposes these words—that me is on minum mode swa sar.
[The MS. has marks for such transposition.—W. W. S.]
Hith than bith him se wel a owen wed and wyrth him wite e
gegear wod
Sum heard harm socaru

Hwe gath his eal le
Hu ge hi browen snath than te me fete me mag
Res tan on thys sum mot entum hit him that re le los ath
Se the thet ge hes thet him bith leen geo
Ef te to al dre thes we her me me mag on
On thys sum tyr e forth freemena gewum mun
But tan hact on him e with me sylf me

Here the manuscript has lost a leaf. It appears the offer has been accepted, and the end is preparing for its journey. The following extract deserves notice, as it contains rather a striking example of that peculiar character-

Angan hit e thegy wan god es und sace
Ias on frum wum hat de laume hwy e
Hael eth helm on heat od set te and thon e full heard e gebond
Spann und spring unm wist e hun spac e vel a
Wor a word a

Wand hit mun up than on
Hweart hit mun thuth tha hell dow hit de hwy e straung ne
Lekk on lyt te lath wunde nod

Swang that tyt on two tound es craft te
Wol de daen muna dhuht ne geong rum
Mud mun eaeum mun beswe an
Forda am an and terke e an that hit wyt dow lath god e

He tha gebard e thuth tound es craft
Oth thert he id am on eorth -smec
god e hand gescaft geir on hand e
Wist hit gewoht and hit wyt semead

The Temptation is much too long for insertion, we will,

Driht er send e
Regin from red grum and eca rum e hit

---

1 This is a very curious contraction for "lede" if indeed the omission of the vowel be not a mere clerical blunder. [Not so, le: is "flew, pt of banan; acc stem Lyn. 3 explansion has been exploded — W. W. S.]
Cædmon’s Rhythms

Sithen will be their weal all chang’d, and for them punishment prepar’d; Şome dread torture-portion.

Think all of this—
How them ye may beguile; sithen I fast may rest me
In these fetters—if to them that realm be lost.
He who this performs—for him a meed’s prepared
For ever after, (as far as we herein,
—Henceforth in this fire—of good may win)
Him will I let sit, by myself!

istic of Anglo-Saxon verse, to which Conybeare has given the name of parallelism. The boldness and the wickedness of the attempt is dwelt upon in no less than four successive passages.

Gan him then prepare God’s adversary,
Quick with his attire—mind of fraud had he.
Hero’s helm on head he set, and it full hard y-bound,
And lace’d with clasps—wist he of speeches fele,
Of wary words.

Sprang he up thence,
And shot him through hell-doors; heart strong had he,
Lion-like aloft—a mind of hate.

Smote he that fire in two, with fiendish strength—
Covetly would he, with ill-practise,
The Lord’s lieges, men beguile,
Mislead and lure astray, that they might be loathed of God.

He then journeyed with fiendish strength,
Until he Adam, upon earth’s realm,
(God’s handywork!) ready found,
With wisdom fashioned, and his wife with him, &c.

therefore, finish our notice of Cædmon with his description of the Deluge [1. 1371].

The Lord sent
Rain from the sky; and eke, far and wide.

*2 Mod is here clearly neuter. Sometimes it is masculine. See Cædmon, fol. 18.
HISTORY OF ENGLISH RHYTHMS.

William le-burn an: on woruld thring an
Of ðe ðra gehwæl e

ég or-stram as
Swæt e swíg an: sæs úp stigon
Of er staðw æwællas

Strang wæs and ræth ec
Se the wæt rum wæl d wæl ðæ thæÆ te
Mán fiæthna bearn: mid dan-gerd es

Wæn pan wægæ ec: wæl aðæth el-lænd
Hóf her gode: hygæ teon an wræc
Met. od on mun num mer ec wæt e grap:
On fiæg e folc

Für wæggæ dag a
Níht a oðer swile: níth wæs ræth ec
Wæl græm wæl dæm: wæl dor-cyn inges
Yðæ wægæ on: ár leæerna feorh
Of þæsæ hæmann:

Flod ealle wægh
Hroægh under heof onnum: hea beorgas
Geond siæn grund; and on sun d áhol
Eaxe e from ærth an: and thæ æth vel mid
Thæ seg: mæd: sela ðæ dæl ten
Scypp: pend us. ser. thæ he that scip beælæc
Sith than wiæl ec ræd: wælc num un der
Of er hol mes hringæ hæf sel este

Der mid fearæn ec: sier ec ne mæn ton
Weæ æl ðæ ælænum: wæt res breg an

1. *Burna* A. S. a stream, a bourn.

My little boat can safely pass the perilous bourn.

*Spencer, F. Q. 3. 6. 10.*

And every bosky bourn.

*Comm. 313.*

2. *Streng-an* A. S. to murmur, to give a hollow sound, to sough.

A noise like that of a great soughing wind.

*Hist. Reg. Sec. see Tod.*

*Sough,* as a substantive, is still common in the north of England. It is found in Chaucer, Gower, and Ben Jonson.

3. It would seem, there are two forms of this substantive. *fænth* and *fæthu*.

4. See *p. 351, n. 4.*

5. Lyce construes thus "animi molestiam (propter offensas) ultus est."

6. See *p. 359, n. 8.*

7. We still use the phrase to be avenged of, and in the North to be broken of.
Let the welling bourns on the world pour,
From every vein.

Ocean's streams,
Black they soughe'd; seas uprose
Over the strand-walls.

Strong was he and fierce,
That wielded the waters; he cover'd and o'erwhelm'd
The hate-brooding children of this mid-earth.

With the wan wave man's mother-land
And mansion he harried; the heart's sins wreak'd
The Maker on men; ocean laid strong gripe
On the fey folk.

Forty days,
Nights other forty too—his rage was fierce.
Slaughter-grim against men. The King of glory's
Billows wreak'd the life of the wicked
On the mantle of flesh.

Flood cover'd all
(Dread under heaven) the high hills
Through the wide world; and afloat upheav'd,
The ark from earth, and the nobles therewith,
Whom salved the Lord himself,
Our Maker! when he that ship lock'd fast.
Sithen wide it rode, under the welkin,
O'er the ocean's round—that house most blessed!

It went with its freight! To the ark must not come
—Wave o'erriding—the water's terrors!

I have translated accordingly, though the common idiom in A. S. is wrecean on.
Mr. Thorpe turns the passage differently;
the King of Glory's
Waves drove the lives of the impious
From their carcasses.

I do not however recollect ever meeting with the verb in the sense here given to it.

"Lye renders segnium by significare, obsignare. It is the Flemish segenens and
Dutch zegenen, and in its primary sense meant to mark or consecrate by a sign
(as the cross), and secondarily to bless. It is still retained in the Northern phrase, "God sake you." Scott has often used it.

Saise ye and save ye, and blithe mot ye be,
For seldom they land, that go swimming with me.

Monastery, ch. 5.
The extracts we have given are not perhaps those which would most strike the reader. The passages, in which Cædmon puts on all his sublimity, are unfortunately among the most difficult. These extracts, however, may serve, in some measure, to show the masterly manner in which he manages his numbers. His accent always falls in the right place, and the emphatic syllable is ever supported by a strong one. His rhythm changes with the thought,—now marching slowly with a stately theme, and now running off with all the joyousness of triumph, when his subject teems with gladness and exultation. There is reason to believe, that to these beauties our forefathers

---

1 Mr. Thorpe translates

gushing streams might not

The wave-faring, horrors of the waters.

Furiously touch.

But I doubt if hœnœn governs a dative.

2 The proper mode of scanning this section is by no means clear. It would seem that a double rime was intended: if so, we must contract the verbs,
nerde and ferde

but if this were allowable how could the hearer distinguish between ferde and ferde? Was there a doubly accented rime?
Fer|ede | and ner|ede|

or did the section slide the final vowel of ferde?
Fered' and nerede.

3 Mr. Thorpe compounds sce-drence: but, by so doing, he destroys the alliteration.

Dee|op o|fer dunum : sce-drence flod|
The sea-rush they touch'd; but them holy God
Led and rescued!

Fifteen it stood
Of man's ells, high o'er the downs,
The sea—one drenching flood!

'Tis a mighty weird!
From them at last, was none separate—
Save them, was none on the high lift uprais'd! 4
Then the sea-host earth's offspring
All o'erwhelmed: but that ark-hull
Heaven's Lord upheld.

were deeply sensitive; and that Cædmon owed to them no small portion of his popularity. In these respects, he has no superior, in the whole range of our literature, and perhaps but one equal.

From the middle of the seventh century, when Cædmon wrote, we have no poem, whose date is ascertained, for more than two hundred years. In the latter half of the ninth century Alfred translated, or rather paraphrased the Metres of Boethius. The MS. which contained these translations has perished; but a copy had been taken by Junius, and is now in the Bodleian Library. This copy is of course the best authority we can now refer to, and it

4 _Ela_ A. S. an _ell_, or length of a man's fore-arm from the _el-bow_ to the _wrist_.
3 _Wyrd_ A. S. a fate, a destiny, a _weird_.
6 I can only construe this passage on the hypothesis that _man_ is understood after _was_. Mr. Thorpe renders it differently:

That was an awful fate,
From what at last was naught exempt
Unless _were_ raised in the high air;

but as _wyrd_ is feminine, this construction would require _there_ instead of _them_.

It may be observed that Mr. Thorpe has _twice corrected_ his MS. in this short passage—once that he may begin the section with an alliterative syllable, and in a second place, that he may have the two alliterative syllables in the same section.

Tham at niæsæn _wæs_ : _wæ_ _to_ _ge_dælæ
_Nym_ _th_ _he_ _wæs_ _ahaf_ : _on_ _th_ _he_ _w_ _n_ _lyf_.
is much to be regretted that, in a late edition, it has been estimated so lightly. Mr. Fox considers Junius as already "convicted of faulty punctuation" in his transcript of Cædmon, and he has therefore remodelled the versification, according to his own notions. The reader, who may question the correctness of his text, is "referred to Rawlinson's edition," and (as the transcript of Junius was not at hand) to that edition I have had recourse.

That the reader may judge in what manner Alfred has paraphrased his author, we will first give the Metre, as Boethius wrote it:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vela Neritii ducis} & \quad \text{Solis edita semine,} \\
\text{Et vagas pelago rates} & \quad \text{Misceb hospitibus novis} \\
\text{Eurus appulit insula,} & \quad \text{Tacta carmine poca;} \\
\text{Pulchra qua residens dea,} & \quad \text{Quos ut in varios modos}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hit} & \quad \text{geselde gio; ou sume tid; e} \\
\text{that Au} & \quad \text{ilxes; un dier hief; de} \\
\text{thann Ca} & \quad \text{scere; cynric twa} \\
\text{He} & \quad \text{was Thracia in; thiod a al dor} \\
\text{and Re} & \quad \text{tic; riciries hird; e} \\
\text{Was} & \quad \text{his frea -Drihtnes; folc -euth nam a} \\
\text{Ag} & \quad \text{amen non; se cal les weold} \\
\text{Crec} & \quad \text{a riciries}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cuth} & \quad \text{was wid; e} \\
\text{Thait on} & \quad \text{tha tid; e 'Troyian a gewin} \\
\text{Wearth} & \quad \text{under wole num} \\
\text{For wig; es heard} & \quad \text{a driht en: campsted see an} \\
\text{An} & \quad \text{ilxes mid: an i hand scip; a} \\
\text{Laed} & \quad \text{de ofer lag: u-stream} \\
\text{Sut long; e ther} & \quad \text{Tyn winter: full: the sio tid gelomp}
\end{align*}
\]

\[1\] A note directs us to the preface of Mr. Thorpe's Cædmon, page xiv.

\[2\] Aulixes, that is Ulixes, or Ulysses. There are reasons for believing that, in some of the Anglo-Saxon dialects, \(x\) was pronounced merely as a sibilant aspirate. Archbishop Cælin in his riming hexameters makes \(is\) rime to \(ix\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vivendo felix, Christo laurate triumphis} \\
\text{Vita tuis seco specimen charissime crelo,} \\
\text{Justitiae cultor, verus pietatis amator, &c.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[3\] No metrical point.

\[4\] No metrical point—Ithaca was called Neritius from the mountain Neritus,
Vertit herbipotens manus,  
Hunc api facies tegit;  
Ille Marmaricus leo  
Dente crescit et unguibus;  
Hic, lupus super additus,  
Flere dum parat, ululat;  
Ole, tigris ut Indica,  
Tecta mitis obambulat.  
Sed licet variis malis  
Numen Arcadis altis  
Obsitum miserans ducem,  
Peste solverit hospitis.  
Jam tamen mala refuges  
Ore pocula traxerant;  
Jam sues Cerealia  
Glande pabula vertervant;  

Et nihil manet integrum,  
Voce corpore perditis;  
Sola mens stabilis: super  
Monstra, quae patitur, gemit.  
O lelem nimium manum,  
Nec potentia graminis,  
Membra que valent licet  
Corda verte non valent.  
Intus est hominum vigor,  
Arce conditus abditæ;  
Haec venenum potius  
Detrahunt hominem sibi,  
Dura que penitus moenit.  
Nec nocentia corpori  
Mentis ulcere saevient.

[Here follows Alfred’s translation, Met. xxvi. 1. 4.]

It happ’d of yore, upon a time,
That Aulixes  had under
The Kaiser kingdoms two;
He was elder of the Thrakia-clans,
And of Retia’s realm the leader.

His sovereign Lord’s far-known name
Was Agamemnon; he wielded all
The Greeks’ [i.e. Greeks’] realm.

Known was it widely,
That, on that tide, the Trojan war
Happ’d under welkin.

Forth went the war-leader
The Greeks’ Lord—battle-stead to seek:
Aulixes with him a hundred ships
Led o’er the sea-stream.

He sat long there—
Ten winters full. When the time fell,

and thence doubtless Alfred got his Retia. Why he makes Ulysses king of
Thracia it would be difficult to say.

5 Perhaps these two lines would be better scanned as one line:—

He | was Thra(cia thiod)|a al| dor: and Re(tie-ri)ces bird|le.

6 This is one of those substantives which have a duplicate in e. [No; heard
is an adjective. The sense is “strong in war.”—W. W. S.]

7 In Anglo-Saxon, nouns of number were accentuated more strongly than the
substantive. Hence the accentuation of our modern compounds, twelve | month
seen | sight, &c.
HISTORY OF ENGLISH RHYTHMS. B. III.

Thæt hi | thet ric|e : geraeh|t | hef|don
Deor|e gecep|te : Drih|ten Crec|a
Tro|in-burh| : til|um gesith|um

Thæ | thá Aulix|es : lea|f|e haef|de
Thre|in-cyn|ing : thet | he thon|an mos|te
He | let him | behind|an : hyrn|e ciol|as
Nig|on and | ²| hund-nig|ontig : Næn|igne thon|an
Mer|e-heng|esta : ma | thonne sen|ne
Fer|ede on fi|el-stream : sau|ig | bord|on
Thre|rethur ceol| : thet | bith thæt mæst|e
Crec|iscra scip|a

Tha | wærth ceald| - weder
Steare | storm|a gelæl : stum|ede | sio brun|e
Yth | with oth|re : ut | floor adraef
On wend|else : wig|endra ⁴|seol|a
Up on | thet ig|land : thær Ap|ollin|es
Doh|tor wun|ode : daeg|gen-rimes worn

Was| se Ap|ollin|us : ath|elec cyn|nes
Job|es eaf|ora : se | was gio| 1⁰| cyn|ing
Se lie|ette : lit|um and mic|um
Gum|ena | gehwylc|um : thet | he God ¹¹ | waere
Hebst | and halg|ost : swa | se hlaef|ord tha
Thæt dys|ige folc| : on | gedwol, an lea|de
Oth|thæt hym|geyf|de : leod|a mun|rim
For|tham he was | : mid riht|e : ric|es hyrd|e
Heor|a cyn|e-cyn|nes

Cuth | is wîd|e
Thæt on | tha|tid|e : theod|a seghwile
Hef|don heor|a hlaef|ord | for thon|e hehse|tan God
And wærth|odon| : swa | swa wu|l|dryn|ing
Gif| he to | thane ric|e : wæs | on riht|e bor|en

¹ Thù in Rawlinson’s edition. [And thù in Junius—W. W. S.]

² It would seem that the prefix hund did not take the accent; hund-seaf,
optig, hund-rah|tatif, &c.

³ Mr. Forb in this place, changes nanesge into nanesge; but with an
honesty, not common among Anglo-Saxon editors, gives his reader fair warn-
ing. Næs has mistaken fered, the past tense of ferian, for ferde, the past tense
of feran. Rawlinson points the passage thus—Nanesge thsan mere hengestas,
ma. thonne ennæ fered. [So in Junius’ transcript.—W. W. S.]

⁴ There have been several attempts to explain this phrase; but none, I think,
satisfactory. [See p. 378, n. 3.]

⁵ It would seem, from this line, that ecol is neuter.

⁶ Alfred’s interest in every thing that related to his marine is well known.
That they that realm had taken,
Dearly won the Creeks' Lord
Troya-burgh, with his good comrades.

Then, when Aulixes had leave,
(Thrakia's king) that he might thence—
He left behind him horned keels,
Nine and ninety. From thence no more
Of the sea-stallions, than one, he led
On Fife-stream—with foamy sides,
A three-bank'd keel—that is the greatest
Of Creekish ships.

Then was cold weather—
Storms a huge plenty; dash'd the brown wave
One against other, and out far drave,
On Wendel-sea, the warrior-bands,
Upon that island, where Apollin's
Daughter woe'n'd, days a number.

This Apollins was of noble kin—
Yob's son. He was king of yore,
He pretended to small and great,
(To every man) that he was God
Highest and holiest. So this lord then
That silly folk into error led,
Till him believed, a host of people,
For that he was, of right, the kingdom's leader —
Of their kingly kin.

Known is it widely,
That, on that tide, the nations each one
Had their Lord for the highest God,
And worship'd him, like as the Glory-king,
If he to the realm of right was born;

He greatly improved upon the Danish and Friesish ships, before his time the
best in Europe.

7 That is, the Mediterranean.
8 There are three genitives plural, in this metre, which end in —wigensta,athegara, and wildra; wildra also is found in Caedmon. [See p. 352, n. 9.]
9 The Anglo-Saxons had no v. [It is for Jöve.]
10 Gijo is certainly the alliterative syllable of this section. In Anglo-Saxon
we often find the adverb taking one of the strongest accents in the sentence.
We have still some traces of this usage in our language, as in our mode of
accenting the modern compound welcome.
11 Good in the MS. [Yes; Junius writes good.—W. W. S.]
Wæs | thes lōh | es fēol | er : God ¹ | cæc swa he!
Sæt | urmus thon | e : sund | buend | e het | on
Hēl | fætha bærn | hæf | don thæ marg | thœ
Æl| ne uft | ter ol | run : for oc | ne God |
Secol | de cac | wesan : Aπ | ollin | es doh | tor
Dīor | boren | : dys | i ges fole | es
Gum | rerīca gyd | en : cuth | e gald | ra fel | a
Drīf | an dry | cræflas | hio | gedwol | an fylg | de
Mann | swith os | mun | er ga theol | a
Cyn | inges doh | tor | sio Cir | ce wæs |
Hat | en for her | igum | : hio | rie | sode
On | tham ig | londe : the An | lixes |
Cyn | ing Thra | cia | com | ane to |
Ceol | e līth | an |

Cuth | wæs son | a
Fæl | lēc thær | e men | i ge : the hir | e mid | wun | ode
Æth | eling | es sith | : hio | mid un | gemet | e
Lis | sum luf | ode : lith | monna frea | ¹
And | he cac | swa sam | e : eal | le mag | ne
Ef | ne swa swith | e : hi | os | set an luf | ode
That | he to | bis eard | e : an | i ge nys | te
Mod | es myn | lan | of | er magth | ¹ giunge
Ac | he mid | tham wif | e : wum | ode sith than
Oth | that him | ne mun | te : mon | na an | ig
Thægn | ra | sin | ra : thær | mid | wesan
Ac | hi for | tham yrnm | thum | eard | es lys | te ¹¹
Myn | ton for-læt | lan : leof | ne hlat | ord

Tha | ongun | non wer | can : wer | theoda spell |
Sæd | on that | hio secol | de : mid hir | e scin | lace

¹ Here we have for the alliterative syllable[s] lōh and God, and a few couplets above lōh and gō. May we not infer that among the West-Syce, g sometimes took the sound of y? God is still pronounced ðoll in Hanover. We may note Geowcortha for Jugurtha, in Ælfred, tr. of Orosius, b. v. c. 7.
² That is, the sailors (the great astronomers of those days) called his star Saturnus.
³ Mr. Fox construes thus:
   Him Saturn the sea-dwellers
   Call, even the children of men; they esteemed their kinsmen
   One after another as the eternal God.
But as magth is feminine, this construction would require aelc instead of alne.
⁴ To drive a bargain, a trade, a craft, are still well-known idioms.
⁵ Here is no metrical point.
⁶ Mr. Fox construes thus:
   The king's daughter was Circe
   Called for her oppressions.
(This Yk's father was God eke as he; Saturnus him sea-dwellers call'd—
The sons of men ²) : the nations had
Each one after other, for the eternal God! ³

Must also be Apollin's daughter
(As nobly born) the sylly folks—
The people's Goddess. She coueth of many arts,
Charm-crafts to drive: 'twere sorrel she followed
Of all people most, through many nations—
The king's daughter! She was Circe hight
Fore her shrines. She reigned
In that island which Aulixes
(Thrakia's king) happ'd with one
Ship to sail to.

Known was soon
To all the menic, that with her-wound,
The Etheling's journey. She, without limit,
Passionately lov'd the seamen's lord;
And he eke the same, with all his main
E'en as strongly, her lov'd in soul;
That he tow'rd his land wist not any
Heart's affection, beyond that young maiden;
But he with that woman sithen wound'd,
Till there might not any of the men—
Thanes of his—there with him bide.
But they, for the yearnings of their country's love,
Minded to leave him their lief Lord.

Then gan to work the people spells;
Said they, that she would, with her magic,

I doubt if this meaning can be given to the word hreigum. Besides, how is the name Circe descriptive of an oppressor?

² I suspect this is a mistake for Thracia cyning.

⁸ I have construed this line, on the supposition that freo is a mistake for freon, the accusative.

⁹ [So in MS.; but read thegna.—W. W. S.]

¹⁰ When a preposition follows the word it governs, it takes a stronger accent; and when it immediately precedes the verb at the close of the sentence, its accent is generally the predominant one in the sentence. The former part of this rule may explain the accentuation of our modern compounds; thereby, thereby, hereby, hereon, &c.

¹¹ Lyte renders the passage in the same way. The construction requires that lyet should be feminine, which is rather doubtful. Perhaps it would be safer to construe thus:

But they, for their wretchedness—for their country's love
Minded to leave, &c.
**HISTORY OF ENGLISH RHYTHMS.**

**B. III.**

Bearn | as forbred | an : and | mid bat | o-craef | tum
Wrath | um werp | an : on wild | ra lic
Cyn | ingres thegn | as : cys | pan sith | than
And | mid rad | entan eac | rep | an men | igne
Sum | e hi | to wulf | um wurd | on : ne meah | ton thon | ne word | forth bring | an
Ae | bio thrag | -madum : thiot | on ongun | non
Sum | e war | on eft | oras | a | grym | eted | on
Thon | ne hi sar | es hwæt | siof | ian sciol | don
Tha | the le | on wær | on : ogun | non lath | lice
Yr | ranga ryn | a : than | ne hi scel | don

Clip | ian | for corth | re : Cniht | as wurd | on
Eal | de gecium | e : eall | e forhwerf | de
To sum | um dier | e | swelec | um he aer | or
On | his lif | -dagum | : gelice | ost was
But | an thun cyn | inge | the | sio ewen | luf | ode
Nod | de thar | a oth | ra | sennig onbit | an
Men | nesse met | es | ac | hi ma | luf | eton
Dear | a droht | ath | swa | hit gede | e non was
Nor | don hi mar | e | mon | num gelic | es
Eorth | -buend | um | than | ne in | gethone
Hæf | don an | ra gehwile | his aeg | en Mod |
Thæt | was theah swith | e | sorg | um gebund | en
For | tham earf | othum | the | him on | sæton

Hwæt | tha dys | egan men | the thyse | um dry | cœstum
Long | lyf | don | leas | um spel | lum
Wis | son hwæth | re | thæt | that gewit | ne mæg |
Mod | onwend | an | mon | na sennig
Mid dry | cœstum | theah | bio geton | meahte
Thæt | tha lich | oman | lan | e thrag | e
Onwend | wurd | on

Is | that wun | derlic
Mæg | en-cœst mic | el : mod | a gehwile | es
Ofe | er lich | oman | lan | ne and | senn | ne

Swyle | um and swyle | um : Thu | meaht sweot | ole | ongit | an
That | thæs lich | oman | list | as and cœst | tas
Of | thæm Mod | e cum | ath | mon | na gehwyl | cum
Æn | lepra ael | : thu | meaht cath | e ongit | an
That | te ma | dereth | mon | na gehwyl | um
Mod | es un | theaw | thon | ne met | trymnes
Laen | es lich | oman.

---

1 Here is no alliteration.

2 Here is no alliteration, unless we accent the prefix *æ*.

[Ettmüller supplies a., i.e. ever, after *him.—W. W. S.]
The men lay low, and with ill-crafts
Cruelly throw into beasts' shapes
The king's thanes—sithen fetter,
And eke with chains, bind many a one.
They, some like wolves became; ne might they then one
word forth bring;
But they at times to howl began.
Some were boars; aye they grunted,
When aught of sorrow they would bemoan.
They, that were lions, horribly gan
Angrily to roar, when they would
Call for the crew. The men became,
Old and young, all changed
To some beast, such as he erst
In his life-days likest was—
All but the king whom the queen lov'd.
Of the others, would not any eat
Of man's meat; but they more lov'd
The company of beasts—as was ill fitting.
Ne had they more of likeness to men,
That people earth, than the power of thought.
Each of them had his own mind,
But that was greatly sorrow-bound,
For the troubles, which them beset.

But then the foolish men, that in these charm-crafts
Long believed—in idle tales—
Knew, however, that no man may
The wit, or the mind change,
With charm-crafts; though she might cause
That their bodies, for a long throw,
Changed should be.

'Tis wonderful—
The mickle power of might of each man's mind
Over the body weak and sluggish!

By such and such things, thou may'st plainly see
That the body's faculties and pow'rs
From the mind come, to every man—
Ilk one of them. Thou may'st readily see,
That more hurteth every man
The mind's ill habit, than the sickness
Of the frail body.

2 Long is, probably, a mistake for longe.
Alfred’s versification shows poorly indeed beside that of Ceolmon. He seems to have had little more command over his rhythm, than some of our modern poets. The sectional pause (always a dangerous thing to meddle with) is often used by him, and seldom happily; and the management of his accents is such, as very rarely to assist his meaning.

But Alfred was something greater than a poet. Who can read these lines without emotion, when he remembers that the writer—while discharging his kingly duties as no other man discharged them—was daily sinking under a painful disease, that ended only with his life?

We must now pass to the days of Alfred’s grandson. In the year 937, was fought the battle of Brunanburgh—a battle, that involved more important interests, than any that has ever yet been fought within the Island. It was indeed a battle between races: and had England failed, her name might have been lost for ever. The forces on either side wore worthy of the stakes they

937 Her
Æth | elstan cing | : cor | la drie | ten.
Bear | na beag | -gifa | and | his bro | thor cæc

[1 Here a section appears to be wanting. No metrical point.
2 These two lines had better be read as one:—
That Mod | mon | na aen | iges | eal | lunga to | him | a fre meg | onwend ana.
3 The Dunstan MS. Tib. A. vi; the Abingdon, Tib. B. i; and the Worcester, Tib. B. iv. I have taken copies from all these MSS., and also from the Psegmund MS. in Benet’s Library. The Dunstan MS. appears to be by far the most correct transcript of the four.
4 He has not, however, confined himself to his three authorities. Some of]
THE BRUNANBURGH WAR-SONG.

Nor needs any one
Look for this hap—that the wretched flesh
The mind of any man
Altogether to it e'er may turn;
But the ill habits of ilk mind,
And the thought of each man,
The body leads thither it will.

played for. Round the banner of Athelstan were ranged one hundred thousand Englishmen, and before them was the whole power of Scotland, of Wales, of Cumberland, and of Galloway, led on by sixty thousand Northmen. The song, which celebrated the victory, is worthy of the effort that gained it.

This song is found in all the copies of the Chronicle, but with considerable variations. Price collated three of them, and formed a text, so as best to suit the convenience of translation. The result might have been foreseen, and is such as little encourages imitation. I shall rather give the text, as it is found in one of these copies—the Dunstan MS. Not a word need be altered, to form either good sense or good poetry.

As the metrical point in this MS. divides the couplets, I am of course answerable for the position of the middle pause. When it marks the final pause, it will be inserted, so as to render unnecessary a constant reference to the notes.

937 Now
Æthelstan king, of earls the Lord,
Of barons the beigh giver, and his brother eke,

his readings are not to be found in any of the MSS. which I have seen; nor can I tell whence he got them.

* A metrical point.
* This is the common form, which introduces the events of each year in our venerable Chronicle.
* The first begotten, and the lawful heir
Of Edward king, the third of that descent. 1 II. VI. 2. 5. 65.

* The beigh was a kind of armlet. "Broche and beighes" is a common alliteration in our old romances; and the plural beighs is still used in Norfolk. to signify any costly ornaments, as jewels, &c. See Forby's Vocabulary.
Eadmund ætheling: eal dor lang ne tir.
Gælog an ac sak e: sweord a ecg gum.
Ead be brun an-burh

Hord -weall elph an.
Heow an heath o lin a: ham ora læf um.
Eal ora ead wærdes: swa him geæth ele was.
Fram ence -magun: that hie æt cam pe oft.
With lath ra gehwan e: land eal godon.
Hord sam ðam

Het tend ecgum gon
Sect ta leod e: and scip -flotan.
Fæg e ful lan: feld den nade.
Sec ga swat e: sith than sun ne upp.
On mor gen-tód: mea e tun gol.
Glad ofer grum das: god es can del boorht.
Ec ek driht nes: that sec æth ele geseaft.
Sah to set le

1 Ethling meant a prince in its general sense, and in its particular, an heir to royalty—apparent or presumptive.
2 Tâ A.S. a train, a tire;

Such one was wrath, the last of this ungodly tire. F. Q. 1. 4. 35.
The construction of this passage has been already discussed, see p. 318, n. 3. [But A.S. tæ means glory, and has not at all the sense of tire.——W. W. S.]

3 Sweorða ecgum, with the edges of the swords; and in another part of the poem sweordæ ecgum, with the edges of the sword. The A.S. sword was long, pointed, and two-edged. Hence the propriety of the phrase.

4 Lina is clearly a mistake for linda, which is found in the other MSS. Lina, the linden tree, was (as Price has shown) the poetical name for the shield; as esc, the ash, for the spear. The latter was long preserved in our literature:

Let me twine
Mine arms about that body, where against
My grained ash an hundred times bath broke. Cor. 4. 5. 112.

6 We meet very commonly, in A.S. poetry, with the phrases eald læf, yrfe læf, hræo læf, hamerna læf, &c., as expressions for the sword. Price always gives to læf its common meaning, and is followed, in so doing, by Mr. Thorpe and Mr. Kemble—the old relic, the relic of inheritance, the battle relic, the relic of the hammers, &c. But læf, in these cases, is clearly the Icelandic laufi, a sword, a glaive. We thus get phrases that have a meaning; the old glaive, the hereditary glaive, the battle-glaive, the glaive of the hammers—that is, as I take it, the well-tempered glaive. [But see p. 363, note 10.—W. W. S.]

By my fader kin,
Your herto hongeth on a joly pin.

Chou. Merchanteys Tale; C. T. 9389.
Edmund the etheling,\(^7\) elders a long tire,\(^8\)
Slew in battle, with sword-edges,\(^9\)
Round Brunanburgh.

Shield-wall they clave,
They hew'd battle-lindens,\(^4\) with hammer-glaives,\(^4\)
The sons of Edward! As in them 'twas of birthright,
From their father-kin,\(^6\) that they in war oft,
Against each foe, their land should save,
Their wealth and homes.

The spoiler quail'd:
The Scottish people, and the ship crews
Feymen\(^7\) fell. The field stream'd
With soldier-sweat,\(^{10}\) sithen the sun on high.
At morning-tide (the mighty star!\(^{11}\))
Glide o'er earth, God's candle\(^{12}\) bright,
(The eternal Lord's!)--till this noble handywork
Sank to its seat.

\(^7\) This is a collective noun and therefore takes a plural verb, see p. 320. An ignorance of this principle has led Price into some very serious errors.

\(^8\) Fege A.S. death-doomed, fey.

And through they dash'd, and hew'd, and smash'd,

\(^9\) The true meaning of this verb Price discovered in the Icelandic. His note is a happy piece of criticism.

\(^{10}\) That is—with blood. Price however is mistaken, when he says the Anglo-Saxon poets never used sweat in its ordinary sense; see Cardmon, fol. 24. It is not without reference to its old poetical meaning, that Shakespeare uses the word:

The honourable captain there
Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs.

\(^{11}\) So the moon is called by Shakespeare,

The moist star,
Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands.

\(^{12}\) So Cardmon calls the sun, folca frith candle—man's candle of life. The word was not rejected from our poetry till after the 16th century.

Night's candles are burnt out.

\(^{13}\) A metrical point.

\(^{14}\) The other MSS. have oth, until. I have seen the phrase sun lange—that, such time—until; but never before siththan—that. Price reads oth—that, but without authority.

\(^{15}\) A metrical point.
There | læg seæg | man | ig. 
Gar | um forgræm | den | gum | an north | ene. 
Of | er scyld | sceot | en | swyl | ce scyt | tisc eac. 
Wer | ig wig | ges sed | 2

West | -sexe forth. 
And | langne deg | eor | ed-cys | tum. 
On last | ieg | don | lath | um theod | um. 
Heow | an her | e-flym | an | hind | an theare | e. 
Mec | um myl | en-searp | um | myrc | e ne wyrn | don. 
Heard | es land | plegnan | hul | etha nan | um. 
Thar | a the | mid an | lafe | of | er ear | gebland. 
On lid | es hos | me | land | gesoh | 2 | tan. 
Pieg | e to | gefeoh | te. 

Fif | e lag | on. 
On | them camp | -stede | cin | ingas geong | e. 
Sword | um aswef | ede | swilc | e scof | one eac. 
Earl | as an | lufes | un | rim herg | es. 
Flot | tan and scot | ta. 

There | geflym | ed wearth. 
North | manna breg | o | ned | e gehæd | ed. 
To lid | es stef | ne | lyt | le weor | oed. 
Cread | enear | on flot | cing | ut | gewât. 
On feal | one flod | feorh | gener | ede. 
Swyl | ce thær eac | se frêd | a | mid fleum | e côm. 
On | his cyth | the north | constantin | us. 
Hár | hit | derinc

1 A metrical point.
2 Price thus construes the passage,

There lay many a warrior
Strew'd by darts, northern man
Shot over the shield. So Scottish eke
Weary of war--

leaving the passage without further explanation. To support this construction, we must suppose gumæ a nominative singular. Now the nouns of this declension do sometimes take an a in the nominative, see Sarran, Ced. fol. 109. and Dement, Ced. fol. 229. These instances are very rare; but Price has his version countenanced, in some measure, by Dr. Ingram's reading gumæ northerna. If this be admitted, we might construe,

There lay many a soldier
By darts brought low; the man of the North
Over shield shot; so Scotchman eke—
Weary, war-tired!
There lay many a soldier,
By the darts brought low—Northern men,
Over shield shot: so eke the Scotchman
Weary, war-tired!

The West-Sexe then
—The livelong day—in banded throngs,
At foot laid on the loathed people;
They hew'd down the fliers fast from behind
With swords mill-sharpen'd. Nor did the Myrce grudge
Any one of the heroes the hard hand play—
Of those, that with Anlaf o'er the tumbling sea,
In the ship's bosom, sought the land
Fey men for the fight.

† Five lay
On that war-stead—youthful kings,
Sword-silenced. So also seven
Earls of Anlaf; and a host of the robber-band,
Ship-men and Scots.

There was chased
The Northman leader, force-driven
To the ship's bow, with slender train;
Drove keel afloat—the king out-fled—
On hollow flood, life he saved!
So there eke the sage one in flight came
Northward to his kith—Constantinus—
Henry warrior!

Price has more than once changed swylyce for swyle. I cannot see either reason
or motive for so doing.

This pause is marked with a metrical point in the MS

Follow him at foot, tempt him with speed abroad. Hamlet, 4. 3. 56.

A metrical point. Mylen-scarp is a very remarkable compound—if it be
rightly construed, and I do not see how otherwise it can be rendered.

A metrical point.

A metrical point.

Literally "Of the fleet and of the Scots."

Price first settled the meaning of this word.

I have followed Price, who considers craed as the past tense of a verb
crud-an, to press forward, to crowd. It should be observed, however, that in
all the Old English examples which he quotes, this verb to crowd occurs as an
active verb, never as a neuter one.
Hrem|an ne thórfe|te
Mec|ea geman|an : her | waes his mag|a sceard|1.
Frend|a gefyl|led : on folc| -stede|.
Forsleg|en æt sac|e : and | his sun|n forlet|.
On wel|stowe|2 : wund|um forgrund|en.
Geong|ne æt guth|e

Gylp|an ne thorfe|te.
Beorn | blæd|en-fexb : bill| -geslyht|es.
Eald | in|witta : ne an|lat| the|ma|.
Mid heor|a her| æ-laf|um : hlih|han ne thorfe|tan.
That | hie bead|o-woere|a : bet|eran wur|d an.
On camp| -stede| : cum|bol-géhnas|tes|.
Gár| -míttung|e : gum|ena | geméct|es.
Wap|æn-gewrix|les : thæs |7 hie on wel|-felda.
With end|weardes|4 : eaf|oran pleg|odon.

Gewit|an him | tha north|men : nægl|ed| æncær |rum
Dceor|ig dar| otha láf| : on dyng|es| mer|e.
Ofr|er deop|-water : dyf|len sec|can.
Eft | ir|a land | æw|æsc-æd|c.
Swile | e tha | gelroth|or : beg|en æt som|ne.
Cing | and æthaeling : cyth|the soh|tan.
West|æsexna land| : wig|ges hræm|ige.

Let|an him | behind an : hrau | bryt|tigean.
Sál|owig-pád|an 12 thou|e sweart|an hræth|.

1 Price's attempt to render this passage is an obvious failure. Sceard is clearly the Icelandic skard, a cutting off, a loss. In that dialect they have a compound frænd-skard, a loss of friends, which is almost the expression in the text, freoða sceard.
2 A metrical point.
3 A metrical point.
4 How could Price make the singular noun Anleof agree with the plural verb thornfan?
5 That was used in the sense of, for that, because, till the middle of the 17th century. The Paradise Lost may afford us examples, as well as our beautiful Liturgy.
6 Price thus renders the passage,

At the conflict of banners,
The meeting of spears, the assembly of men,
The interchange of weapons.

I suspect however that the poet intended to mark out the progress of the fight from the distant skirmish to the melee. I have doubts if cumbol-géhnas be rightly translated by either of us. One of Dr. Ingram's MSS. reads géhnadas—but this helps us little, for it does not occur elsewhere. Garmittung is clearly the flight of darts or javelins—for gar meant a missile, not a spear. Wapengewrixes seems to be the interchange of weapons, or the fight hand to hand.
C. II.

THE BRUNANBURGH WAR-SONG.

363

Needed not to boast
Of the sword-greeting! Here was loss of kin—
Of friends hewn down, on the crowded field
Slain at the fight. And his son he left
On the slaughter-place, with wounds laid low,
Though young in war.

Needed not to vaunt
Of the hills slaughter, the grey-hair'd Baron,
(The treachour old,) nor Anlaf more,
With their army-wrecks, needed not to laugh,
That they were the better in works of war
On battle-stead—in the banner-stri fle—
The javelin-mingle— the soldiers' close—
The weapon-barter— since they play'd
On slaughter-field, with Edward's sons!

Gan then the Northmen, in their nailed barks,
(The darts' sad leavings, on the noisy sea ;)
Over deep water Dyflen to seek——
The land of the Ire once more— shame-hearted!
So the brothers, both at once
(King and etheling, ) sought their kith,—
The land of the West-Sexe—in the fight exulting!

Left they behind them (the carcass to share)
Him of the sallow coat— the swart raven

7 Price reads, and construes thus,

"Of that which they on the slaughter-field," &c.

but these, and these the, are both of them mere conjunctions.

8 A metrical point.

9 Price gives us nascedon, without authority from either of his three MSS.; unless the reading of the inaccurate Worcester MS. be considered such—dysled omanum. Dr. Ingram however has found nascedon in some of his MSS.

10 The Worcester MS. has dynyges, but I never met with either dynyg or dynig elsewhere. With durothla laf, compare ythlaf, Exod. 5:85.

11 That is Ire-land. Dyflen is Dublin, where Anlaf was then reigning.

12 From a passage in Beowulf, Mr. Kemble was led to offer a very ingenious, and I think the true explanation of this phrase. One of the reasons, however, which his friend Mr. Thorpe gives for adopting it—viz, that padun would hardly be used twice together with the same meaning—is more questionable. I have little doubt that hase-padan is a compound of precisely the same kind as slowdown.

The Anglo-Saxons seem to have used sallow in the sense of dusky. The raven is called sallow both by Caedmon and the author of Judith.

Ac him sthch on laste
Earn ætes gorn : urig sathera
Anglo-Saxon rhythm may, in some measure, be considered as a genus, containing only one species. These specimens have therefore been ranged according to their date. But the reader must not conclude that it had no varieties. We have already seen how Caedmon lengthens his rhythm, when he thinks the dignity of his subject requires greater pomp of language. The fervour and energy of lyrical poetry demanded a quicker and more marked recurrence of the accent; and in poems of this class, the abrupt sections greatly outnumbered those which began with an unaccented syllable—sometimes in the proportion of ten or fifteen to one. The

Salowig pada : sang hilde leoth
Hyrned nebbæ. 

But on their footsteps flew
The ern greedy for its prey, with hoary feathers;
He of the sallow coat sang the battle-song—
The bird with horned nib!

That is, the eagle followed, and the raven croaked. Price applied the phrase salowig pada in the last extract, to the eagle; and, if we may judge from his mode of pointing the passage, so does Mr. Thorpe.

1 Huæa seems to have been a mixture of white with some darker colour. Caedmon used it in describing the culver or wood-pigeon.

2 The sea-eagle. It would seem, from this line, that cear was sometimes used as a neuter noun.

3 A metrical point.

4 A metrical point.

5 The Abingdon MS. agrees here with the text. The Worcester MS. reads " on thiam! iglande." In Caedmon we sometimes find this pronoun without inflexion, as in the text. See Caedmon, fol. 19.

6 Price thus renders the passage,
THE BRUNANBURGH WAR-SONG.

With horned nib; and him of the grizzled coat—
The ern white-plumaged behind, his prey to gorge;
The greedy war-hawk; and the grey beast,
The wolf of the weald.

Was no greater carnage
Ever yet, within the island,
(Before this) of men fell'd
By the sword-edges, (as the books tell us—
The writers old) since from the east hither,
Up came Engle and Sexe,7
And, o'er the broad seas, sought Britain;
And mighty war-smiths the Waels o'ercame;
And earls, after honour keen, got the land.

sections 1 and 2 of two accounts, were those most frequently used—indeed, so frequently as sometimes to form two-thirds of the whole. They were mostly lengthened, and sometimes doubly lengthened.

I have elsewhere10 hazarded an opinion, that these short, abrupt, and forcible rhythms were the earliest that were known to our language. They are such as would naturally be prompted by excited feeling, and are well fitted for those lyrical outpourings, which form the earliest poetry of all languages.11

In the longer rhythms, alliteration appears something in-

Of that, that say to us in books

Old historians.

Now in the first place, bec is the nominative plural; and secondly, the section the us segeyth bec, is very commonly found by itself, in Anglo-Saxon poems. There can be little doubt, that wītna is a nominative, in opposition with bec.

Thes the too is a mere conjunction.

7 Sexen and Sexe are the real names of that energetic race, to whom England owes one-third of its population. Why must we go to France for a name, when we have two English ones to choose between?

8 Compounds of this formation, were common till of late years; as fig-smith, a liar; shape-smith, a posture-master, &c. &c. The pause is here marked with a metrical point.

9 Price considers the ar in arhweat merely an augmentative prefix. I am not however convinced by his reasoning.

10 See p. 169.

11 The same rhythm is also found in such parts of Caedmon's poem, as partake of the lyrical character.
trusive and artificial, but it must have been naturally suggested by these earlier rhythms; for the main qualities, which fitted them for the lyrical song, are such as alliteration would greatly strengthen. It is highly probable, that to these rhythms the alliterative system owed its origin.

We have already had one specimen of lyrical song, I will now give another of later date. In both, there is the same kind of rhythm; but the one was a song of triumph over

1068 HERl
Eadward kine : engla blaford
Send e soth -fre[ste] 3 : sawle e to crist e.
On god es war a 4 : gast | hat | igne.

He on wor | olda her | wunode thrage e.
On kyhu e-thrym | me : craef | tig red a.
Feo | war and twen | tig 7 : free | lice weal | dend.
Win | tra gerims e 8 : wecolm 9 bryt | node.

And healf tid 10 : hat | etha weal | dend.
Wald | wel | guthung | en 11 : wallum and scotium.
And bryttum and esc : byr e ath | elred | es
Englum and sexum : or | et-mage | um.

Swa | ymb-clyp | path : ceald | -brimmum 12.
That call | cal | warde : aeth | eum | king e.

1 See p. 357.
2 See p. 357, note 6.
3 The Worcester MS. has soth fanta; in the Abingdon MS. the three last letters are torn off.
4 Certain nouns regularly formed their dative in a. In the present poem we have wora and woralda.
5 Such appears to be the force of the preposition on. In the Menelogia [l. 216] we have,

Æthelc Andreas : up on roderum
His gaset ageaf : on Godes worc
Fus on forthweg.

The noble Andreas, aloft in the heavens,
His spirit render'd—in God's promise trusting!
Prompt for departure!

6 See p. 382, n. 4.
7 In the MSS. we have the letters xxiii.
8 No metrical point.
9 This is doubtless a mistake for waelan. See welan brytnoden, p. 368, l. 8.
10 The Worcester MS. gives the section thus, and he | hat | o-tid. I have con-
the public enemy, and the other commemorates the death of
an English king.

The Confessor's Death-Song is found both in the Abing-
don and Worcester copies of the Chronicle. My text is
taken from the former. The metrical point divides the
sections; and I have marked it (for the reason already given) whenever it was found indicating the final pause.

1066 Now

Now closed the passage with this reading, as I can make nothing satisfactory of "halfe
tid." The reader, however, may be more successful.

No metrical point.

The Worcester MS. has celde (celde) brimmes; but celde brimmes is pos-
sibly correct, for this adjective celde is frequently compounded.

Witness you ever-burning lights above,
You elements, that clip us round about. Othello, 3. 3. 463.

Where is he living, clipp'd in with the sea,
That chides the banks of England, Scotland, Wales—
Which calls me pupil, &c.? 1 H. IV. 3. 1. 44.

There is some difficulty as to the proper accentuation of verbs which take ymb
for a prefix. Here the prefix is clearly not accented.

We have an idiom very similar to this in Fletcher's lines,

All that comes near him,
He thinks are come on purpose to betray him. Nob. Gent. 1. 2.

Compare: "and of sloth call that ther best was on tham lande," and slew all
the noblest of the country. A. S. Chron. an. 1054.
The following poem is found in a volume of hōmilies, supposed to have been written in the twelfth century, and now in the Bodleian Library. It affords us one of the latest specimens of Anglo-Saxon versification. As I have not had

1 Ḥægstealde and Ḥecastealde are found with the meanings—unmarried, a bachelor, a virgin. Ḥægestealde and Ḥægastealde-man are used by Cædmon, in the sense of prince or noble. There can be little doubt that the latter part of the compound is the same as gestealde, a station. The first syllable Ḥæg or Ḥeak may be the adjective Ḥeak, high; but this does not well agree with the first meaning of the compound. Can it be Ḥæg, an inclosure, a partition? If so, Ḥægstealde might mean, one with a seat apart—whether prince or bachelor. Ḥægstealde, in the text, seems to be equivalent to Ḥæg- gestealde.
Faithfully serv'd—the men of princely seat.
Aye blithe-hearted was the harmless king;
Though he long erst, of land bereft,
In exile-wand'ring dwelt—widely o'er earth;
Sithen Knut o'er came the kin of Ethelred,
And Danes ruled the dear realm
Of Engle-land.

Eight-and-twenty
Winters in number, wealth they part'd.
Sithen forth came, sumptuous in attire,
For kingly bounties famous, pure and mild,
Edward the noble. His country he shielded,
His land and people; till on a sudden came
The bitter death, and took (to our cost!)
The noble man from earth.

Angels bare
His righteous soul into heaven's light;
But the wise prince entrusted the realm
To a high-minded man, to Harold self.
The noble earl; he, at every season,
Faithfully serv'd his Lord
In word and deed; nor fail'd in aught,
Of that was needful for the people's king.

an opportunity of consulting the M.S., my text has been
taken from the copy in Mr. Thorpe's Analecta. It is cer-
tainly more correct than Conybeare's. [It occurs on fol.
170 of M.S. Bodley 343.]

For thee was a dwelling fixt, ere thou wert born;
For thee was earth appointed, ere thou of thy mother camest.

But it is not dight, ne the depth y-mesur'd,
Ne is it yet look'd to, how long it should be for thee.

\(^2\) Dene, in the purer dialects Dene.
\(^3\) In the MSS, xxviii.
\(^4\) The Worcester MS. has freolic, and I think more correctly.
\(^5\) Deere seems to be used in this line, in the same sense, in which we now use
dearly—"dearly did he rue it," &c.
\(^6\) The context seems to require that agaide should be here construed as a
neuter verb.
\(^7\) The substantive has two forms, mold and molde.
HISTORY OF ENGLISH RHYTHMS.

Nu | me 1 the bring; æth : ther | thu be | on scealt
Nu | me sceal | the met | en : and | tha mold | sooth; tha

Ne bith | no thin hus | hea lice | itin bred
Hit bith | unheh 2 | and lah | thon | ne thu list | ther-in | ne
The hel | e-wag | es beoth lag | e : sid | wages | unheg | e 2
The rof | bith ibyl | thi | re bros | tc ful nes

Swa | thu scealt | on mold | wun | ien | ful cald 3
Dim | me and deorc | re | thet den | ful | æt on hond

Dur | eleas is | that hus | and dearc | hit is | with-in | nen
Thær | thu bist | fes | te bi-dytt | and deoth | heoth tha | cæg | e
Lad | lic | that corth | hus | and grié | in | ne to wun | ien
Thær | thu scealt wun | ien | and wurn | es the | to-del | eth

Thos | thu bist | ilegal | and lad | rest thin | e frond | en
Nesft | thu nen | ne freond | the | the wyl | le far | en to |
That | re wul | e lok | ien | hu | the that hus | the lik | ie
That | re unwon | 2 | the wul | e tha dur | e
And the | after lih | ten | for son | e thu | bist lu | lic
And lad | to i-secon | ne 4

Other lines follow, but many of the letters are illegible.

In this poem, the alliteration is very feebly marked; and in one verse it appears to have been entirely superseded by the middle rime. The section 7. p occurs twice, and the negative prefix un never takes the accent—clear proofs that the change which gradually produced our modern rhythm and accentuation, had already begun to operate. The peculiarities of the language also well deserve our notice; such as the old English plural in fronden, and the use of the preposition to before the Present Infinitive, in to wunien. This is the earliest example I have met with of an idiom, now so common.

There is one poem with pretensions to an antiquity so remote, as may probably justify us in referring it to a

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1 This word is very commonly met with in Robert of Gloucester. I do not remember to have seen it in the purer Saxon.

2 False accentuation.

3 In this verse is no alliteration. [Cald is a partial rime to mold.—W.W.S.]

4 The language of this poem seems to differ from Layamon's (see ch. 3) only in being more correctly written.
Now man thee bringeth, where thou shalt bide;
Now man shall measure thee, and sitten the ground.

Nor will thy house be highly timber'd—
'Twill be unhight and low; when thou ly'st therein,
The heel-walls will be low, the cover-walls unhight,
The roof will be fixt thy breast full nigh.

So thou shalt in earth won full cold,
Dimly and darkly—that den is foul toth' touch.

Doorless is that house, and dark it is within;
There shalt thou be fast shut in, and death have the key.
Loathly is that earth-house, and grim to won in,
There shalt thou won, and worms share thee.

Thus thou shalt be laid, and loathsome to thy friends;
Ne hast thou one friend, that thee will fare to,
That ever will look, how that house likes thee,
That ever for thee will undo the door,
And to thee go down: for soon thou shalt be loathly,
And loathsome to see.

distinct æra. It is found in the celebrated Exeter MS.⁵; and has been named by Conybeare "The Song of the Traveller." It appears without introduction or explanation,⁶ among other Anglo-Saxon poems, so that from internal evidence alone can we judge of its age, or of its origin.

The Song of the Traveller professes to record the wanderings of a certain "Gleeman," the contemporary of Eormanric and of Ætla.⁷ As the East-Got died in 375, and Ætla was not king (as described in the poem) till 433, these wanderings must have lasted nearly sixty years. We are told that he visited the court of Eormanric in his first journey, as the follower of Ealhild, and probably as the youthful page of that princess. If this were so, the

⁵ This MS. was given to the Cathedral by Bishop Leofric in the reign of the Confessor; and may have been written in the latter half of the 10th or early in the 11th century.
⁶ The poem opens with a sort of preface, like that prefixed to Alfred's metres; but it is in verse, and of almost equal antiquity with the poem.
⁷ The Eormanric and Ætla of Roman History
poem may have been written soon after the age of eighty—an advanced age, it is true, but one that agrees well with the general style and character of the poem.

About the year 370, began the great struggle between the Goth and the Hun. The former, though driven from the plains of Hungary, withstood the invader step by step, till, in the year 439, they bent before the genius and the power of Ætla. The hoof, beneath which the grass withered, was then turned upon the Empire.

Now it seems clear that the Goths, though defeated, were still, when this poem was written, an independent people; the enemies—not the allies of Ætla. It seems no less clear, from the slight mention made of him, that the king of the Huns had not yet run the course, which made him a hero of the Gothic myth, no less than of Roman History. If this reasoning be sound, the poem must have been written between the years 433 and 440.

If we would test its genuineness by its agreement with history, we must first pick out the Gothic annals from the Greek and Latin writers of the period, aided by such scanty notices as the monks have left us. With these helps, we may fix between the years 375 and 435, the Ostrogoth Hermanaric, the Visigoth Wallia, the Burgundians Gibica and Gundicarius—and these are respectively the Eormanric, the Wala, the Gifica, and the Guthhere of the Gleoman. Theodric the Amaling, and Leodwig the Frank, were a few years too late; and the conqueror of Italy, though he soon became the great centre of our early romance, is not once alluded to. The sober manner, in which Eormanric and his generals are spoken of, is also worthy of notice. We see none of the fable which soon afterwards enveloped their names; they are still the mere creatures of history.

The geography of the poem is full as remarkable as its historical allusions. The different Gothic races appear still to have held the lands on which Tacitus found them. The Swefe had not yet migrated to the Rhine; they were still on the Baltic, and neighbours to the English. The East-Goten also were “east from Ongle,” an expression
from which more than one important inference may be
drawn. I think it shows that the preface (in which it
occurs) was written by an Englishman, who had not yet
left the continent; and that the East-Goten, though "east
of Ongle" in the time of Eormanric, had already left their
native plains for the luxuries of Italy—or why should their
former seats be pointed out with such particularity? The
preface may have been written about the close of the fifth,
or the beginning of the sixth century.

Of the different theories which may be started as to the
origin of this singular poem, the one which seems to me
beset with fewest difficulties, is that which maintains its
genuineness. If we suppose it to be a forgery, where shall
we discover a motive for the fraud? where shall we find any
analogous case in the history of that early period? Above
all, where shall we find the learning and the knowledge
necessary to perpetrate such a fraud successfully?

Upon the changes, which the language of the poem
may have undergone in the five centuries which elapsed
before the M.S. was written, I shall not venture an opinion.
Our knowledge of that language seems to me much too
scanty to speculate upon such a subject safely. Nor is
it much easier to form a judgement, as to the matter
which may have been interpolated. It has been indeed
supposed, that a Gleeman of the 4th [5th] century could
hardly have heard of the Medes and the Persians, the Assy-
rians and the Idumeans, the Israelites and the Jews. But
Ulpilas had already translated the Scriptures, and all the
leading Gothic tribes were Christians—better Christians, if
we believe the Roman historian, than his own countrymen.
We must remember too, that the Wendle were lords of
Africa, the Swefe of Spain, the West-Goten of Gaul, and
that Rome had been already once visited by a Gothic con-
queror—what is there surprising in one of the same race
availing himself of the facilities, which then existed, for
travelling through the Empire? In some districts, he
would find his countrymen the rulers; in others, he would
be secured by the fears of a degenerate, or the courtesies of
a civilized people.
Conybeare has given a translation of this poem; but his transcript was an inaccurate one, and his version more faulty than it probably would have been, had he lived to publish it. My text is taken from the Museum copy of the MS., which

Wid|-sith math|oald|ec: word|-hord onleac|
Se|the maes|: meath|a of|er eorth|an
Fol|a geond-ferd|c: oft|he flitt|e getah
Myn|e-lic ne math|thum: hin|e from myrg|ingum
ÆEth|ele | onwoc|on: he | mid cael|hilde
Fe|re freoth|u-web|ban: form|an sith|e
Hre|th-cynig|es: ham|gesol|te
East|an of ong|le: eor|man-ric|es
Wrath|es war|-logan

Ongan|tha worn | sprec|an

Fel|a le mou|na gefraegn: meag|thum wend|an
Sceal theod|a | gehwyle | theaw: um lif|gan
Eor| after oth|rum: eth|e reed|an
Se|the his theod|en-stol: gethe|on wil|e.
Thar|a waes": wul|a hwil|e sel|ast.
And|al ex-and|reas: eal|ra ric|ost.

1 Mr. Kemble marks this section as "hopelessly in fault." I do not see his difficulty. [Grein inserts mozna before moes.--W. W. S.]
2 That is "who most visited the great," &c.
3 There is difficulty in the construction of this passage. Onwacan is commonly used as a neuter verb in one of the senses, to awake, to be descended from. Here it is clearly active, and I have given it the meaning which seems best to suit the context. I have also not met with myne-lic elsewhere, and have rendered it as if it were a mere variation from mynelic.

It has been said that the Traveller was "of high birth among the Myrlings." Perhaps we might translate onwacan "begat," in which case the gleeman may have been a noble.

4 Literally, love-weaver. This epithet is applied to women in other Anglo-Saxon poems.
5 The poet distinguishes between the people Engle, and their country Ongle. The last cruel act of Eormannric has been worked up into many a wondrous tale (myth, the Germans would call it) by the active invention of the north. Earlier writers give us the simple history. When the Huns first began to
has had the advantage of a careful revision by Sir Frederic Madden. It differs, in some few particulars, from the transcript which Mr. Kemble has given us in his edition of Beowulf.

Wide travel told—his word-store unlock'd,
He who most Greatness\(^2\) over earth
And Nations visited. Oft in hall he gat
Memorable largess. Him from among the Myrgings
Nobles rear'd. • He, with Ealh-hild,
(Least artificer of love!\(^4\)) in his first journey,
Sought the home of the fierce king,
East from Ongel — the home of Eormanric,
Wrathful treehour!\(^8\)

Gan he the number tell.

Many men I wot of, nations ruling!
Must each people live under laws;
Each earl, after other, for his land take counsel—
He that wills his throne to flourish,
Of these was Wala\(^6\) whilom most prosperous;
And Alex-andreas\(^10\) of all most powerful,

press upon the Goths, one of Eormanric's chiefs proved false. The tyrant ordered his wife Suaneth to be torn asunder by wild horses, and soon after, fell beneath the swords of her two brothers Scarus and Aemilius. The latter we shall hear more of presently; see p. 385, n. 7.

\(^7\) That is, of nations he had visited.

Here ends the introduction, which I think must have been written before the Englle left the continent, for the poet clearly refers to the old country under the title of Ongle, and we know this name was given to the new settlement, at a very early period of its history. From the attention paid to the geography, I suspect it was also written after the Ostrogoths had left the Visulua—probably between the years 480 and 547, the date of Ida's landing at Ham- brough.

\(^8\) A metrical point follows was, and thus preserves the alliteration. Mr. Kemble has sacrificed it by his division,

Thara was Wala: hwile selast

The metrical point is, as the reader will see, of very rare occurrence.

\(^6\) This is doubtless the Wallia of Roman history; he who brought Spain under the dominion of the Emperor, and settled the Visigoths in the district round Toulouse, A.D. 417.

\(^10\) Who Alex-andreas is may be doubted. If the poet mean the Macedonian, it is the only instance in which he has noticed any one, not a contemporary.
The poet here enumerates those princes, he visited during his sixty years of wandering, who seemed best to discharge their duties. Thus he makes Gifra king of the Burgundians, though he also visited their king Guthere; and Meaca king of the Myrgings, though he received a favour from his successor Eadgils. As Ælla reigned sixty years after Eormenric, these several princes were certainly not contemporaries of each other.

I have endeavoured to preserve the real names of these several tribes. The Gothen and the Geats were distinct races as early as the fourth century; were we to translate these words by our modern term Goths, this distinction would be lost.

1 A metrical point.
2 The Gibica of the Burgundian laws.
3 The Suevi of the Latinas.
4 Breccæ with his Brondings are mentioned in Beowulf, as the enemies of the Geats.
5 Probably the Varini of Tacitus. They lived in Pomerania.
6 Perhaps the men of Eo-land. Ubi of Cologne? Or Aviones, Tac. Germ. c. 40?
7 Attuarii, Volt. Pat. 2, 105; Chattuarii, Strabo, 6, 291; Chasuarii, Tac. Germ. c. 34. Entered the Frankish league as Attuarii.
Amogst mankind; and he most won
Of those, that o'er earth heard of I have.

Ælfa¹ ruled the Huns; Fornaric the Goten;²
Becca the Banings; Gifca³ the Burgends;
The Kaiser ruled the Camps [Greeks], and Celtic the Fins,
Hagenc the men of Holm-ric; and Hunden the Glommis;
Witta ruled the Sweete;⁴ Wada the Hælings;
Meaca the Myrgings; Meare-half the Hundings;
Theodric ruled the Fronks; Thyle the Rondings;
Brecce "the Brondings; Billing the Werne;⁵
Oswine ruled the Eows," and Gefwulf the Yts,⁶
Fin, Folkwuldias son,⁷ the Fresen kin;
Sige-here long while the Sea-dene ruled,
Hnef¹¹ the Hocings, Helm the Wulflings,
Wald the Woings,¹² Wod the Thyrlings,¹³
Saerth the Syges, Ongen-theow the Swen,¹⁴
Sceaf-theor the Ymbræ,¹⁵ Sceafa the Long-beard,¹⁶
Hum-het the Wers,¹⁷ and Holen the Wrosnen,
Hring-weald was high king of the army-comrades,
Offa ruled Ongle, Alewh the Dene.
He was of all these men the haughtiest——

No where did he," beyond Offa, earlship¹⁰ frame;
But Offa stablished (earliest of all men——

¹⁰ Fin and Folevalda are mentioned in Beowulf. The conquest of Fin's stronghold, Finnes-burgh, was the subject of a noble poem, of which only a fragment has survived to us.

Whether the Fresen, whom Fin ruled, were settled south of the Elbe, where lived the Roman Frisii, and the modern Frisian, or were the Strand-Friese of Holstein, may be doubted. As many Fresen came over with Ida, we have an interest in the question, but it is one of too much difficulty, to be discussed in the compass of a note.

¹¹ Hnef is mentioned in Beowulf, and Hœc as his ancestor. It is probable, that the Hocings and the Wulflings were two families, rather than two races.

¹² The Woings are mentioned in Beowulf.

¹³ The Thyrlings lived in the centre of Germany—in the modern Thuringia-wald.

¹⁴ The Suiones of Tacitus, ancestors of the Swedes.

¹⁵ Ambrones, dwelling near the river Sunmeren; Fürstenburg, Monumenta Paderbornsia, p. 181.

¹⁶ I give these people their real name. Long-beardan does not mean long-beards, but long-bearded ones.

¹⁷ Query, Burii; Tac. Germ. c. 43.

¹⁸ [Rather, 'Yet did he not.'—W. W. S.]

¹⁹ That is, the reputation and influence of a great earl or chieftain.
Cuíht[1] was| ende: cyn| e-ríć| a máest
Næn| ñg e| fen-cald him): cor| l-scip mar| an
Onoret| te: an| æ beard| e
Merc| e genmær| de: with[2] myr| girgum
Bi fí| -fel dor| e. heold| on forth| sith than
Eng| le and swæft| e: swa| hit of| fa| geslog

Hroth| wulf and hroth| gar: heold| on lengest
Sib| le æt som| ne: suh| tor-fled: ran[6]
Sith| than hy| for-wrae| on| wic| inga cynn
And ing| eldese| ord| for-big| dan
For-heow| an æt heor| ote: heath| o-beard| na[11] thrym

Swa| ic geond-ferd| e fel| a: fremd| ra land| a
Geand gín| ne grund| : goth| es and yf| les
Ther| ic cum| nade: cnos| le bidde| ed
Freo| -magum feor: fol| gade wid| e
For| than ic| meg sing| an: and see| an spell
Mann| an for| e meng| o[2]: in mccol| u- heal| le
Hwe| cyne cyn| e-god| e: cyse| tum doh| ten

1 Mr. Kemble makes a compound of these two words,


2 On this preposition hangs the question, whether the wandering poet was
by birth an Englishman or a Swæf. If we might construe, “over against the
Myrings,” he was English. But I fear, that when used in this sense, with
never governed a dative. Yet it is strange, that a Myringshing should thus speak of
one that had triumphed over his country—is it an interpolation? [See p. 384.]

3 Like Fifel-stream (see p. 350, n. 4), this word is without satisfactory explana-
nation.

4 It is clear from this, that the Angle and the Swæf were neighbouring
nations; and consequently that the latter had not yet left the coasts of the
Baltic. This is one of the many circumstances, that prove the great antiquity
of the poem.

Mr. Kemble supposes the Swæf to have “generally acknowledged the
power of Offa.” They appear to have been vanquished by him, but certainly
were never subject to him.

5 These cousins reigned together over Denmark.

6 Fædera commonly means a father’s brother; here it is clearly an uncle’s son.
So patruus in the Latin, and vetter in the German, mean both uncle and cousin.
I never saw sútor elsewhere, but sútriga means a cousin.

7 That is punished.

8 The pirates were called Wicings, or baymen, from the bays where they hid
themselves.
C. II.  

THE TRAVELLER'S SONG.  

While yet a youth! 1) kingdom the largest.
No one, of equal age with him, greater earlship
Foster'd.  With unaided sword,
The marches he widened, against the Myrgings,
By Fife 2) door.  Held thenceforth
Engle and Sweæte, as Offa fixt it. 4)

Hrothwulf 5) and Hrothgar 3) held long while
Peace together, (brothers' sons they !)
Sithen they wreak'd 7) the Wiking-race,
And Ingeld's 9) sword [or vanguard] brought low,
And fell'd, at Heorot, 10) the Heatho-bearden crowd.

So I fare through many stranger-lands,
Through the spacious earth; of good and evil
There I tasted: from family parted,
From kinsmen far, widely I served.
Therefore may I sing, and story tell--
Relate 'fore the meiny, in mead-hall,
How me the high-born with largess blest.

I was with the Huns, and with the Hrith-Gotan,
With the Swen, and with the Geats, 13) and with the south Dene,
With the Wenle 14) I was, and with the Wierne, and with the Wieings,
With the Gefts 15) I was, and with the Wineds, 16) and with the Geifege 16)

9) Ingeld was Hrothgar's uncle. There is mention made of his sword in Beowulf; but I cannot easily reconcile the two passages.
10) Heorot was Hrothgar's palace, the scene of Beowulf's struggle with the terrific Grendel.
11) As long-beardan were the long-bearded ones, so hætho-beardan were the war-bearded ones. A war-beard I suppose was a short one, such as we have reason to believe was worn by the northern pirates.
12) Meæga, A. S. the attendants, the court, the meiny.

They summon'd up their meiny—straight took horse.

K. Lear, 2. 2. 35.

[But this meiny is a word of French origin.—W. W. S.]
13) Thorkelin would fix the Geats in Pomerania, but there is little doubt they were of Jutland.
14) No doubt the Wendia-lead of Beowulf, and the Vandals of the Romans.
15) The Gefts are mentioned in Beowulf; were they not the Gepidæ of the Latin historians?
16) The Venedi of Tacitus. This Slavish race, under the name of Wenda, play a very important part in the history of Germany. They occupied the vacant seats of the East-Gotan. Even at the present day we may consider the Elbe as the boundary line between the two races—the Slaves and the Goths.
17) A metrical point.
18) Query, Helveconæ; Tac. Germ. c. 43.
Mid eng|um ic was , | and mid swæ|um : and | mid an|num .
Mid seax|um ic was | and syc|gum : and | mid sweor|werum .
Mid bron|um ic was | and mid dea|um : and | mid heath|o-
reamum
Mid thyr|ingum | ic was ; and | mid throw|endum
And | mid bur|gendum : thæ|rc beah | getah .
Me thær guth|here | forgea| : glæd|licne math | thum
Song|es to lean|e : nes | that sæn|e cyn|ing .
Mid fрон|um ic was | and mid frys|um : and | mid frumst|um .
Mid rug|um ic was | and mid glom|mum : and | mid rum|-walum .
Swile|ic ic was | on cat|ule : mid sælf|-wine .
Se hæf|de mon|-cynnes : min|e gefræg|e
Leoth|este hond | lot|es to wyw|ce ne
Heort|an un|hneawest |e : bRING|a geda|es .
Beorht|ra beag|a : bearn | ead|wites .

Mid ser|cingum | ic was | : and | mid ser|ingum .
Mid creace|um ic wæs | and mid finn|um 13 : and | mid cas|ere
Se the win|burga : geweald | ah |te .
Wiol|one and wi|na : and wal|a ric|es .
Mid scot|um ic wæs | and mid peoh|um 12 : and | mid scr|e-fin|num .
Mid lid|wicing|um ic wæs | and mid leon|um 12 : and | mid long|-beardum .
Mid heath|num . and | mid hu|ethum 12 : and | mid hund|ingum .
Mid is|rael|um ic wæs | 12 : and | mid ex|syring|um .

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1 The men of Ænen ?
2 Query, Saudones ; Tac. Germ. c. 40.
3 Hrōns-ness is mentioned in Beowulf.
4 The Heatho-Reome, or War-Reome may have been the pirates of Rum near Sleswic.
5 Getheon is generally considered a neuter verb, but in this passage seems to be active. I would also say it was active in Cæd. fol. 161. Neither Lyte's construction of the passage nor that of Mr. Thorpe is satisfactory.
6 In the Codex of the Burgundian Laws we find the names of four kings, Gibica, Gislaharius, Gothomarius, and Gundaharius. The first and last were probably the Gicina and Guth-herc visited by the Traveller. Both these princes must have reigned during the sixty years of wandering; for all writers agree that Gundaharius was killed by the Huns, and though they differ as to the time of his death, yet no one places it lower than the reign of Ætla.
7 The intrusion of an n, before a d or t may be paralleled even in our own dialects; thus dilatary, solatary, vomint, for dilatory, solitary, and vomit.
8 See Forby's Vocabulary. [The n is original, not intrusive.—W. W. S.]
9 Rugii ; Tac. Germ. c. 44. Terra Rugorum = Russia; A.S. Laws, i. 450.
10 According to German antiquaries, the Glommi were a Sorabic tribe.
11 The Rumwaels were the Italians, and other Welsh (Celtic) races under the sway of Rome.
With the Enge I was, and with the Swæfe, and with the Ænene,  
With the Sexe I was, and with the Sycgs, and with the Swordmen,  
With the Hrons  I was, and with the Deane, and with the Heatho-  
Reame, .  
With the Thyrings I was, and with the Throwends,  
And with the Burgends—there I a beigh got,  
There Guthere  gave me a precious gift,  
For my songs need—no sluggish king was he!  

With the Fronks I was, and with the Frysen, and with the Frumtings,  
With the Ruge  I was, and with the Glomms,  and with the Rum-  
waels, .  
Likewise I was in Eatule  with Ælfwine  
He had, of all mankind (to my mind)  
Hand the lightest  in earning of praise— .  
Heart most free, in dealing out of rings,  
And bright beighs—Edwine's bairn!  

With the Sercings I was, and with the Serings,  
With the Creacs [Greeks] I was, and with the Fins, and with the Kaiser,  
He that o'er war-burghs held the sway,  
O'er  and o'er Wael-ric .  
With the Scots I was, and with the Peohts, and with the Scride-Fins,  
With the Lid-wicings I was,  and with the Leons: and with the Long-  
bearden .  
With the Heathen I was, and with the Heroes,  and with the Hundings  
With the Israele I was, and with the Ex-syrings .

10 Italy.  
11 Leighest, A.S. most active, lightest.  

Light of foot as a wild roe.  
2 Sam. 2. 18.

12 A metrical point.  
13 This may have been the great Theodosius.  
16 Mr. Kemble makes Wiolan and Wilna proper names. The section is a  
puzzling one on any hypothesis.  
15 See note 9.  
16 The Scride-fins are mentioned by Procopius. They appear to have been  
the most powerful tribe of the Fins.  
17 The Lid-wicings were the Bretons of France.  
18 The Lombards had not as yet left their seats on the Elbe.  
19 In the year 360 Ulphilas translated the Scriptures into Gothic, and in the  
course of 50 years all the great German tribes bordering upon the Empire—the  
East Goten, the Burgends, the Wenle, the Swæfs of Spain—and it would seem  
from this passage the Swæfs of Germany also—were Christians. The Sweon,  
the Dene, the Engle and Franks were still heathen.  
20 As to the pronunciation of the x, see p. 348, n. 2.
Mid ebr[eum. and | mid in|deum]: and | mid eg|yptum.
Mid moid|um ic wæs | and mid pers|um : and | mid myr|gingum . and
mof|dingum
And | ongend myrg|ingum: and | mid am|thing|um²
Mid east|thyring|um ic wæs | and mid e|olum¹: and | mid is|tum.
and id|uming|um.

And | ic wæs | mid cor|man-ric|e : eal|le thræg|e
Thær | me got|ena cyn|ing : god|e doht|e
Se|me beag | forgeaf|: burg|waren|a frum|a
On⁶| tham siex | hund wæs| : smæt|es⁶ gold|es
Gescyr|ed sceat|ta : scil|ling-rim|e
Thon|e ic ead|gilse : on æht | seal|de
Min|um hleo|-drïhtme : tha | ic to ham | bicwom
Leof|um to lean|e : thæs | the he | me loud | forgeaf|
Mi|nes fæder eth|el : frea | myr|ginga .

And me|tha ealh|hild : oth|erne | forgeaf|
Dryht|-cwen dug|uthæ | dōh | for end|wines

Hyr|e lof| leng|de : geond lond|a fel|a
Thonn | ic be song|e : sec|gan secel|de
Hwær | ic un|der swegl| : sel|ast wis|sc
Gold|-hroden|e cwen| : gief|e bry|tian .
Thonn | wit scil|ling : scir|an reor|de
For un|crum sig|e-drïht|ne : song | ahof|an

¹ A metrical point. [Read iudeum, i.e. Jews.—W. W. S.]
² These verses run very awkwardly. Mr. Kemble divides them differently, but I think not satisfactorily.
³ No doubt the Estii of Tacitus, the men of modern East-land (Estonia).
⁴ Thræg A. S. a period of time—a throw.

Upon the grassy ground to sleep a throw. F. Q. 3. 4. 53.

⁵ It appears that the preposition before a pronoun took the accent, so, at this day, we say on | it, on | him, &c.
⁶ The proper meaning of smæt is by no means clear.
⁷ This passage is obscure. The shilling (scilling) was a coin worth twenty shots (scæfas). Now scilling has been derived from the verb scyllan, to divide, and the German scheide-munze, small change, clearly comes from scheid-tn to divide. It is likely, that the custom (which I believe still prevails in America) of actually dividing the larger coins, was known at this period to the Goths. If so, we see the propriety of the phrase gescyræd, shorn off. It should, however, be noticed that gescyræd may be rendered by the word given.

The precise meaning of scilling-rim, shilling-tale, I do not know. Mr. Kemble, I observe, makes it two distinct words. The word shot, sceat, is still in daily use among our sailors; its primitive meaning was a part, a portion.
⁸ Liefe was a term of respect often addressed by inferiors to their Lord or Lady. When Melissa discovers Pastorel, and runs to informs her mistress,
With the Ebree, and with the Indee, and with the Egypte,
With the Moide I was, and with the Perse, and with the Myrgings, and
with the Moldings,
And again with the Myrgings, and with the Amothings,
And with the East-Thyrings I was, and with the Eols, and with the
Iste, and with the Idumings.

And I was with Eorman-ric a whole throw; 4
There me the Gotens' king with largess blest;
He me a beigh gave—chief of the burgh-men!
For it were shorn off, of beaten gold,
Six hundred shots, in shilling-tale; 7
That, for a possession, gave I to Eadgils,
My guardian-Lord (when home I came)
For my Liefes meed; for that land he gave me,
My father's native seat—Lord of the Myrgings!

And me then Ealh-hild another gave—
Lady-queen of the nobles! daughter of Eadwine!

Her praise I spread through many lands,
When I in song had to say,
Where best, under Heaven, I knew
Gold-clad queen gifts to bestow;
When we two, 10 (the shilling at feast to share)
Fore our conqu'ring lord the song uplifted,

---

My Liefes, said she, ye know that long ygo,
Whilst ye in durance dwelt, ye to me gave
A little maid—  


9 In this curious passage we see the lord taking his fine upon renewal of
the feud. We see also, even at this early period, a strong tendency towards
hereditary descent; for the gleeman succeeded not to his father's land, but to
his fathers ethel, or native soil. There must have been three generations in
possession at the least.

The passage shows that the Traveller was a landholder; but he still may
have been of low condition, for the folc-land or public demesne was held by
freemen of all ranks; the boe-land, or allodium was chiefly in the hands of the
great nobles.

10 This is another puzzling passage. We might get a better construction if
we divided the lines thus

Thonn wit scilling sciran
Reorde for uncrum sige drihtne; song ahofan—
---

but then we should miss one section, and have another containing four
accents, which is contrary to the usual rhythm of the poem. This passage
confirms what many circumstances would lead us to conjecture, that the gle-
men sung in pairs—one probably answering the other. [Wit Scilling means
'I and Scilling'; sciran reorde, 'with clear voice.'—W. W. S.]
Hlud e bi hears an : hleoth or swin sade.
Thon mon ige men : mod um wlon ce
Word um sprec an : tha the wel cuthan
Thæt hi nes re song : sel lan ne hyrd on.
Thon an ic eal ne geond-hwearf : eth el got ena
Soh te ic a sith a² : tha sel estan
Thæt \ was inn -weorud : eor man-rice es
Heth can soht e ic and beade can : and her eling as.
Em ercan soht e ic and fridl an : ond east -gotan.
Frod ne and god ne : faed er un winces.
Sec can soh te ic and bec can : seaf olan and theod ric.
Heath eric : and sif, ecan : hlith e and inc gentheow.
Ead wine soh te ic and el san : eg elmund and hung ar
And tha wilan can gedryht : with -myrging a.
Wulf -here soh te ic and wryn -here : ful oft thea wig ne alæg.
Thon ne bread a her e : heard um sweord um
Ymb wist la-wud u : werg an sceold on
Fald ne eth el-stol : set lan leod um
Ræd -here soh te ic and ron -here : rum stan and gisq -here
With ergeld . and freoth eric : wuld gan and ham an.
Ne wær on that ⁴ ge-sith a : tha sæm estan.
Theah the ic hy a nihst : nem nan sceold e
Ful oft of them heap e : hwin ende ⁴ fleæg
Giel lende gar : on grom theod e.
Wrec can thar woold an : wuld nan gold e
Wer um and wif um ¹¹ : wuld ga and ham a
Swa ic thæt sym le onfond ¹¹ : on thær e fer inge
Thæt se bith leof ast : lond -buend um

¹ A little flock, but well my pipe they couth. Sidney.
² The construction here is not an easy one.
³ Names of individuals I have given unaltered from the Saxon, but names of races I have endeavoured to reduce to the modern standard of our language—thus the Saxon Gota is represented by Got, for the final vowel disappeared during the progress of the 15th century. To this rule, however, I have made one exception. The final e has been retained, and I have written Engle, Swafe, &c., as did the Saxons. Were we to discard the e, we should find it very difficult to distinguish the singular from the plural.
⁴ Mr. Kemble writes this compound as two words. But in the first place, from such a reading I can extract no satisfactory meaning; and secondly, the prosody requires with to be an accented syllable. A sectional pause never occurs immediately between a preposition and its substantive. As we know not the position of the Myrgings, we cannot hope to fix that of the With-Myrtings. [See p. 378, l. 14, and the note.—W. W. S.]
⁵ Can these Hreada be the same as the Hereth-Goten above mentioned? Or the Harudes, allies of Ariovistus in his invasion of Gaul; Cass. 1. 51.
And loud to the harp the voice resounded;
When many men, proud of soul,
Said in words (they that coueth well)
That they never better song heard.

Thence I turn’d me through all the Gotens country
Sought I, at all times, the noblest—
Them that were the household of Eormanric.

Hethca sought I, and Beadeca, and the Herelings;
Emercza sought I, and Fridla; and the East-Got, 3
The wise and good father of Unwen;
Secca sought I, and Becca, Seafola, and Theodric,
Heathoric and Sifa, Hlithe and Inc-gentheow;
Eadwine sought I, and Elsa, Egelmund and Hungar,
And the proud Lord of the With-Myrgings, 4
Wulfhere sought I, and Wyrmhere—there oft war ceased not,
Then the Hreads’ army, with hard swords,
’Round Wistla’s wood, had to guard
Their old native soil from Ætla’s bands.

Ræd-her e sought I, and Rond-her e, Rum-stan and Gisl-her e,
Withergield and Frootheric, Wudga and Hama 7—
Nor were these of comrades the least worthy,
Though them I last must name.
Full oft from that troop whistling flew
The hissing dart, ’mongst the grim band; 10
Exiles, there they sway’d, by aid of the twisted gold
Both men and women—Wudga and Hama! 12

So this I ever found, in these wanderings,
That he is dearest to the people,

---

3 The wood of the Vistula.
7 This is doubtless the Ammius mentioned in note 6, p. 374. He long flourished in the Gothic “myths,” as the general of Eormanric.
8 As to this use of the neuter pronoun see the Confessor’s Death-Song, note 14, p. 367.
9 The A. S. hwina-æn appears to be the same verb as the Icelandic hvina, to make a noise like the wind or the sea.
10 That is, the Huns.
11 A metrical point.
12 This passage may perhaps admit of the following paraphrase. “Though driven from their native seats, in Pannonia or Hungary, by the Huns, still these chiefs kept their people together by their largesses, and made head against the invaders on the Vistula.” The East-Gotten did not yield to the Huns, till nearly 60 years afterwards. Their subjection lasted only during Ætla’s life.
We have now before us, specimens of almost all the Anglo-Saxon poems, whose dates are known. In giving these extracts, it has been my first wish to deal fairly with the reader; and in all cases to lay the text before him, such as it was found in the manuscript. He is thus enabled to form his own judgment, and (when necessary) to correct my errors. I am, however, fully alive to the advantages, that have been relinquished. A slight change of the dot, or the insertion of a few asterisks, would, in many cases, have been most convenient. If the text were not bettered, the reader might at least have been baffled, and the blunders of translation secured from criticism.

The merit of a faithful text is claimed with some degree of confidence; that of a faithful version, I dare only say, I have done my best to deserve. But no attempt has

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1 The reader will remember the cautions given him in p. 312, n. 3. In the Song of the Traveller, however, and in the Riming Poem, which will be given in the third chapter, I have not taken even the liberties there mentioned; but have followed the MS. even where it seemed inconsistent with itself. The slightest alteration required more confidence than I could pretend to in the midst of so much difficulty.

Almost every early MS. has some peculiarities in the mode of writing, which are, of course, familiar to those who have studied it, and easily distinguished from casual blunders. No editor will do his duty who neglects to notice them; but the same scrupulous exactness will hardly be expected from one, who consults the MS. for the sake of an extract.

2 A line of asterisks, or a dash, is frequently used to show a defect in the manuscript—real, or suspected. This is a common, but most indefensible practice.
Who gives them wealth—men's government
To hold, while here he liveth.

Thus wandering, at men's bidding
The Gleemen turn them o'er many lands;
Their need they tell—thanks they render;
Always, south or north, some one they meet with,
(Skill'd in songs—free in gifts)
That, 'fore the nobles, would rear his sway,
And earlship establish.

Till all flitteth,
(Light and life together) he that gets him praise,
Hath under heav'n exalted sway!

been made at concealment; the translation, whether right
or wrong, is never, I trust, so literal as to be unintelli-
gible, nor so loose as to leave in doubt the construction,
which has been put upon the original. The difficulties of
the subject have been, at least, honestly met; if sometimes
unsuccessfully—the failure will not, it is hoped, be visited
with any very great severity. Upon the reader's indulgence
I must throw myself.
CHAPTER III.

SECTIONAL METRE,

or that which results from making each section a distinct verse, most probably owed its origin to the middle rime. Like sounds, recurring at definite intervals, very quickly strike the ear; and when they regularly close the section, the division of the couplet becomes the more marked, and its sections are soon looked upon, for all practical purposes, as distinct verses.

Middle rime is found in Anglo-Saxon poems of the tenth, and, it may be, even of the ninth century. The riming couplet, for the most part, occurs singly; but sometimes the middle rime runs through a whole passage. There is, however, but one Anglo-Saxon poem, as yet discovered, into whose rhythm it enters as an essential characteristic.

I would willingly pass over this poem altogether, were not its rhythm so singular, as almost to force it upon our notice. The writer, who aims at scientific arrangement, must choose his subjects not as inclination leads him but as rule prescribes. In the stead of those which might generally interest, or whose scope and tendency he has fully mastered, he must sometimes take such as are imperfectly understood, or of very partial interest, or of trivial import. All these objections may be made to the introduction of the following poem; but it fills too large a place in the history of our rhythms to be left unnoticed, and its peculiarities are so intricate and varied, that a slight notice would be any thing but satisfactory.

Me lif | ea onlah |: se | this leocht | onwrah |
And | that torh | te geteoh |: til | lice | onwrah |

1 Whatever were the defects of this version, the remarks which preface it must disarm criticism.
"Conybeare's riming poem," as it has been called, is found in the Exeter MS. and presents such difficulties to the translator, that the scholar, whose name it bears, would not attempt an English version. His editor, however, has given a translation, which Rask commends as a "meritorious attempt." The last-named critic himself has risked the translation of a couplet, and would fain account for the difficulties of the poem on the score of dialect. Other reasons might have been given, and I think with greater censure. I see few marks of dialect, which may not be found in the works of Caedmon or of Alfred. Peculiarities of construction are rare; and even the words whose meanings are unknown, are generally formed according to well-known analogies. They are not, however, met with in the narrow round of Anglo-Saxon scholarship; and the abrupt and broken style of the poem, which is made up, as it were, of shreds and patches, seldom enables us to guess the meaning of a word from its connexion with the context.

As the reader might naturally wish to know for what kind of sentiments a rhythm so singular has been chosen, I have ventured to offer a translation, however imperfect. In many cases the meaning given to the text is mere conjecture; and where the reasons for the conjecture were not obvious, or such as could not be suggested in a few words, the sentence has been left a blank. As we perfect our vocabulary these difficulties will vanish; it would be waste of time to dwell upon uncertainties, when a single passage, luckily hit upon, might decide the question.

Who the minstrel-king may be, who thus contrasts the evils of exile with days of bygone happiness, will be left for the reader to determine.3

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In me life kindled he, who this light reveal'd,4
And that brightly he brought forth, bounteously he reveal'd.

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2 [Mr. Thorpe thinks that the poem is a paraphrase of Job, chapters xxxix. and xxx., which see.—W. W. S.]

3 The meaning of this passage seems to be—"He that made me, created light, and showered his bounty alike on both creations."
Glad | wæs ic gлиw | um : gleng | ed hiw | um
Blis | sa bleo | um : blöst | ma hiw | um.

Secg | as mec seg | on : sym | bcl ne | aleg | on
Færh | -giefe | gefeg | on : fæst | wed wæg | um

Wic | ofer wong | um : wen | næ | gong | um
Lis | se mid long | um : leom | a getong | um

Tha | wæs wæst | mum aweaht | : world | -onspreht \(^3\)
Un | der rod | erum | areaht | : ræd | -mægne of | er- theaht \(^4\)

Giest | as geng | don : ger | scipe \(^5\) | meng | don
Lis | se leng | don : lust | um gleng | don.

Scrif | en scrad | glad : thurh | gescad | inbrad |
Wæs | on lag | u-stream | e lad : thær | me leoth | u \(^6\) ne | biglad |

Håf | de ic hean | ne hád | : ne | wæs me | in heal | le gád |
Thæt | thær rof \(^1\) | -woerd rád | : oft | thær rinc | ge-bád |

Thæt | hc in sel | e sæg | e : sinc | ge-wæg | e |
Thegn | um gethyht | e : thend | en wæs | ic meæg | en |

Horse | e mec her | edon : hild | e gener | edon
Fæg | re fer | edon : feond | on biwer | edon |

Swa | mec hyht | -giefu heold | : hyg | e dryht | befoeld |
Stath | ol æht | um steald | : step | e-geng | um weold |

Swylc | e eorth | e ol | : aht | e ic gal | dor-stol |
Gald | or-word | um gol | : gom | el-sib | be ne | of-oll \(^7\)

Ac wæs gefest gear : gellende sner
Wun | iend | o wær | wil | -bec bescer |

Scealc | as wær | on scearp | e : scyl | wæs hearp | e \(^8\)
Hlud | e hlyn | ede : bleoth | or dyn | ede
Sweal | -rád swin | sade : swith | e ne mins | ade
Burg | -scle beof | ede : beorht | hlif | ade
El | len ec | nade : ead | beac | nade
Fre | aum frod | ade \(^9\) : from | um god | ade |
Mód | meæg | nade : min | e \(^10\) feæg | nade |
Treow | tel | gade \(^11\) : tér | welgade \(^12\)
Blæd | blis | sade : .................. \(^13\)

\(^1\) Alleon seems to be the plural of aleah—as gefegon of gefeoh, and segon of sak. [Pt. t. pl. of allegan; “feasts failed not.”—W. W. S.]
\(^2\) Wennan, the same as winnan?
\(^3\) Aansprek-en, Du. to converse with.
\(^4\) Overdenk-en, Du. to reflect.
\(^5\) Is not this word connected with the Icelandic gar, a joke, a quiz?
\(^6\) The same as latho?
Glad was I with glees, adorn'd with hues —
With the colours of bliss, with the hues of the blossoms.

Men look'd on me — the feast they fail'd not;
In life's gift they joy'd — in ornamented paths —

A mansion o'er the fields, to win in their journies,
With long pleasure — a light for the prostrate.

Then by abundance was awaked worldly converse —
Under heav'n uprais'd, by strength of counsel, reflection.

Guests came — jokes they mingled;
They lengthen'd out the pleasure — with joys adorn'd me.

[The rapid ship glided through a channel into the expanse?]
On the sea-stream was journeying — there injury came not past me.

Lofty state I held; no trouble was in my hall,
For that there a high-wierd sat; hero therc oft abode —

That in hall he might see a weight of silver,
And to the Thanes quaff — whilst potentate I was.

Nobly they heried me; in battle rescued me;
Fairly escorted me; from enemies guarded me.

So me hope's gift possest; heart the Lord enwrapt;
Seat with wealth he stablish'd; step-goings he directed.

Also earth brought forth; held I princely throne;
In magic words I sung; nor from old kindred fell.

[But there was boisterous mirth, and resounding harp-string;
Concord of the inmates precluded lamentation?]

My servants were sharp; a crowd was round the harp;
Loud it resounded; the strain re-echoed;
Heaven's course sung; nor ceas'd its loudness;
The burgh-hall trembled; bright it glitter'd;
Wax'd high confidence; happiness beacon'd;
Lords it befriended; brave men assisted;
The heart was strengthened; the thought exulted;
The tree branch'd forth; glory abounded;
Fruit bless'd us; ...... ........................12

7 Of-oll, the same as offal, or rather ofeat?
8 Scyll, the same as seet? ["The harp was shrill."—W. W. S.]
9 Frodade, another form for freothode?
10 Minnt, Icel. ; the thought, the memory.
11 A verb formed from telga?
12 A verb formed from weleg?
13 Here a section seems missing.
Gold | ger | wade \(^1\) : gim | hweart | ade.
Sinc | sear | wade \(^2\) : sib | near | wade

From | ic was | in freo | wum : freo | lic in geat | wum.
Waes | min dream | dryht | lic | droht | ath | hyht | lic
Fold | an ic freoth | ode : folc | um ic leoth | ode.

Lif | waes min long | e : leod | um in | ge-mong | e
Tir | um ge-tong | e : teal | a gehong | e.

Nu | min hrith | er is hrioh : heow | -sithum scexoh \(^3\)
Nyde | -byssnum neah | : gewit | eth | niht | es infasex | 4

Scear | in daeg | e waes dyr | o : sceth | cd nd | deof fyr.
Brond | -hord geblow | en : breost | um in | for-grow | en.
Flyht | um to-flow | en : flah \(^4\) | is geblow | en.

Mic | lum in | gemyn | de : mod | es gecyn | de
Gret | eth ungryn | de : grorn | efen pyn | de. [or wynde.]

Beal | o fus byrn | eth : bit | tre to-yrn | eth.

Wer | ig win | neth | wid | -sith ongin | neth.
Sar | ne sin | nith | sorg | um cin | nith
Blaed | his blin | nith | blis | se lin | nath
Lis | tum lin | neth | lus | tum ne tin | neth.

Dream | as swa her | gedreos | ath | dryht | -scype \(^6\) gedreos | ath
Lif | her men | forleos | ath | leah | tras oft | geceos | ath

Trew | thrag is | to trag \(^1\) seo | untrum | e genag
Steap | um eat | ole | mjuthah | ond | eal stund | genag

Swa | nu world | wend | eth : wyrd | e send | eth
And het | es hent | eth | helt | etho scynd | eth

Wen | cyn \(^7\) ge-wit | eth : weal-gar slig | eth
Flah | -mah fit | eth | flan | -mon hwit | eth
Burg | -sorg bit | eth : bald | -ald thwitt | eth
Wrec | -fæc writh | ath | wrath | -ath smit | eth
Sin | grynd sid | ath \(^8\) : seoc | ra \(^2\) fear | o gid | eth

Grom | torn græf | eth : græft | haf | ath.

\(^1\) A metrical point. [Grein has gearwade.]
\(^2\) The substantive scearo means a war-machine, a means of defence; may not this meaning have passed to the verb? A metrical point follows scearo.
\(^3\) Same as sceoc? [Rather, sceoh is shy, fearful.—W. W. S.]
\(^4\) See flyg, or flyh, Cæd. fol. 215; and also flug, Icel.
Gold deck'd me; gems flew round me;
Wealth made a bulwark; kinsmen clos'd around me.

Brave was I in ornaments, comely in attire.
My joy was lordly, sojourn joyous.
The land I befriended, to the people I sung.

Life was mine long-while, among men,
On glories reclining, nobly supported.

Now my mind is disturb'd, from colour'd paths 'tis fled—
With pressing cares beset, by night, into exile it wendeth.

Who erst in day was dear, shroudeth now deep fire!
The brand-heap is full blown, o'er his breast 'tis spread—
By wand'ring brought low, his vagabond lot is full blown.

Bale quickly burneth; bitterly it o'ertaketh him.

Enemy warreth; wide wand'ring beginneth.
Affliction showeth no favour, with sorrows it is pregnant.
His happiness endeth; his joys cease;

So here fall pleasures; lordships sink,
Life here men lose; and sins oft choose.

So now the world changeth; fate it sendeth;
And hate it followeth; upon man it rusheth.

Hope's off-pring flitteth; the death-dart pierceth,
The archer fighteth; the javelin-man .............. ?
The borough-grief biteth; bold eld .............. ?
The vengeance-hour flourisheth; the anger-oath smiteth
Sin's foundation departeth; the snare-path glideth away.

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* That is, the night of adversity.
* Here *dryht-scope* seems to be taken in a collective sense. See p. 319.
* In the MS. *wencyn* and *ge* are united, *wencynge*.
* Same as *sithath*?
* Conybeare suggests *searo* for *sacro*. By this substitution we preserve the sectional rime.
From this poem we learn, that the singular artificial rhythms, whose rules form so large a portion of Icelandic prosody, were known to our poets, at least in genere, as early as the close of the tenth century. There is every reason to believe them of native growth, and that we have here a very early specimen of their peculiarities.
C. III. EARLY ARTIFICIAL RHYTHMS.

Treachery, white soileth; summer heat cooleth; 
World's weal falleth; strife upwalleth; 
Earth's might ageth; courage cooleth.

This for me wove my wierd; and as my lot it gave me, 
That I should dig my grave; and the grim grave to fly, 
To flesh is not given, when the swift day is gone. 
Fate in her gripe seizeth, when nigh she cometh.

She from country took me, and here with hardship tried me. 
When the carcass lieth, limbs the worm eateth; 
But with him.......? warreth, and the feast partaketh, 
Till there be bone alone, and at last be none.

.............................., the ofter himself he afflicteth; 
He avoideth the bitter sin; after the better joy he yearneth,

He rememb'reth of crimes the pardon. Here are mercies in bliss, 
Aloft in heaven's realm! May we now, like the saints,

From sins all cleansed, approach it—redeemed! 
From every stain safe-guarded! with glory redeemed!

There mote mankind, 'fore their Maker exulting, 
The true God see, and aye in peace rejoice.

We do not indeed find the stanzas of eight verses, or the verses of three and four syllables, these are probably the invention of a later age; but the artificial flow of the rhythm, and the rime, both final and sectional, may be found alike in the Icelandic metres and in the poem before us. The different varieties of rhythm were not, however,

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* This couplet is probably corrupt, for the alliteration is disturbed. In the lines that follow I can trace neither rime nor alliteration; and they seem equally destitute of meaning. This gap throws some doubt on the construction of the next perfect line.

* That is, heaven.

* Of the same kind was probably the Aldecht of the Flemings; Mone, 27. 
  Voord zijt niet moe, 
  hoord zwijt s et toe.
as yet separated; nor were the pauses, as yet, subjected to the rime; we still find the stops falling in the midst of a couplet.

We may trace through our early literature a series of poems written with short, abrupt, and artificial rhythms of two or three accents, and for the most part devoted to whim, satire, or ridicule. I cannot help thinking that these rhythms, though certainly foreign in their origin, were strongly influenced by the peculiarities of the metre we are now considering. The sections 2 and 6 very fre-

The shup|pare|that | huem shup|te : to sham|e he huem shad|de
To fle:e ant to fle:y e : to tyk|e and to ta|d|de
So | seyth rum|auxz : whos|e ryht rud|de
Floh | com of flor|e : ant lous | com of lad|de, &c.

Nou | beth cap|el-claw|eres 1 : with shom|e to-shrud|e
Hue bus|keth huem | wyth bot|ouns : as|e hit wer|e a brud|e
With low|e lac|ede shon|e : of| an hayf|e re had|e
Hue pik|eth of her|e prov|endre : al huer|e prud|e, 2 &c. &c.

The "short measures" of Skelton, so popular with the lower classes at the beginning of the sixteenth century, may perhaps be looked upon the direct descendants of the Anglo-Saxon rhythms, though it must be confessed they

He frown|eth ev|er, No slope | can him catche|,
He laugh|eth nev|er, But ev|er doth watche|;
Ev|en, nor mor|owe ; He is | so bete|
But oth|er men|nes sor|owe Wyth mal|ice and bete|,
Caus|eth him | to grin|, Wyth ang|er and yre|.
And | rejoyce | therein|. His foule | desyre|

Skelton’s metre not unfrequently reminds one of the loose but quaint rhythm of the Minnelieder; and it is far from unlikely that both may belong to the same parent

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1 Capel-claweres, that is, horse-curriers, or grooms.
2 [Printed in Political Songs, ed. Wright. pp. 238, 239; also in Bödeker’s edition of MS. Harl. 2253, pp. 136, 137.—W. W. S.]
quently occur, and we often find a strong tendency towards the sectional rime. I will give a short extract from a satire, probably of the thirteenth century. It is found in the Harl. MS. 2253; and was directed against the insolent menials—the grooms, pages, and “boyes with boste,” who always, in that age of show and splendour, accompanied the great. The rime is only found at the end of the couplet, but through a large portion of the poem the sections are written in separate lines, as though they formed distinct verses.

The Maker that made them, to shame he consign’d them,
To fleas and to fly, to tike and to [toad] 3
So saith Romance, whose reads rightly—
Flea came from floor, and louse came from lad, &c.

Now be capâl-clawers y-clad to their shame;
They busk them with buttons, as though ’t were a bride,
With low-laced shoon of a [heifer’s] ’hide;
They pick from their provender all their pride! &c. &c.

much resemble, in their flow, the lais and virelais of the fifteenth century. His description of Envy is a favourable specimen. [It occurs in Phyllyp Sparowe, 922.]

Wyl suff’re no slope|
In his head | to crepe|.
His foule | semblanent | Wry th | yng and wring | yng,
Al dis | plesaunte | Byt | yng and styng | yng ;
Whan oth | er ar glad | And thus | this elf|
Than | is he sad|,
Fran | tyke and mad|;

stock. He thus winds up his abuse of the “vilitissimus Scotus,” Dundas.

Dundas|, that dronke asse|,

3 [Dr. Guest has dadde for tadde in the text, which destroys the alliteration; and he translates dadde by “blow.”—W. W. S.]
4 [Dr. Guest has hysore in the text, which he rightly leaves untranslated.—W. W. S.]
That rat is and rank is,
That prat is and prank is
On Hunt ley bank is,
Take this our thank is—
Dun de, Dunbar,
Walke Scot, walke, sot,
Rayle not to far.

[See Dyce’s edition, i. 194.]

Poor Jonson’s letter to “Master John Burgess” will probably recur to the reader’s memory—what Englishman can read it and not feel humbled?

Fa ther John Bur gess, He lov’d the Mus es,
Necess itic ur ges Though now he refus es
My wo full crie To take apprehen sion
To Sir Rob ert Pie; Of a year’s pen sion.
And that he will ven ter, And more is behind, &c. &c.
To send my de ben ter. [Underwoods, 75.]
Tell him, his Ben Knew the time when

Cowper also has trifled, very amusingly, with this jingle.

The sectional metres, which succeeded to the older Anglo-Saxon rhythms, differ in several respects from those we have been last considering. Layamon affords us an early, and, at the same time, a very curious specimen of their peculiarities. His history was probably written during the latter half of the twelfth century, though the MS., ¹ which contains it, is of later date, probably later than the reign of John. It is written continuously like Anglo-Saxon verse; but the frequency of the middle rime, and the subjection of the middle pause to the final, are peculiarities, which strongly characterise the early sectional metres of our Old English dialect.

Before we examine Layamon’s metre, it may be well to take some notice of his dialect; and as this presents many difficulties, we will clear the way by first making some general observations on the history of our language.

The Anglo-Saxons had three vowel-endings, a, e, and u,
to distinguish the cases of the noun, and the different con-
jugations of the verb. In the Old English all these vowel-
endings were represented by the final e; and the loss of the
final e is the characteristic mark of our modern dialect. It
is obvious that either of these changes must have brought
with it a new language. The confusion of the vowels, or
the loss of the final e, was a confounding of tense and person,
of case and number; in short, of those grammatical forms
to which language owes its precision and its clearness.
Other forms were to be sought for, before our tongue could
again serve the purposes of science or of literature.

The oldest of the Gothic tongues, the Anglo-Saxon and
the Meso-Gothic, must take their place with the nobler
and the purer languages, with the Greek, the Latin, and the
Sanskrit. The causes, which in the twelfth century gave
birth to the Old English, worked nearly at the same time a
like change in all the kindred dialects, save the most
northerly, which, safe from their influence amid the snows
of Iceland and of Sweden, long retained (and indeed still
retain) many of the earliest features of our language. The
Old English runs side by side with the later German dia-
lects, and the change it underwent in the fifteenth century
would doubtless have been theirs also, but for an event
which no one could have foreseen, and whose consequences
even the experience of four centuries has not enabled us to
calculate. As it is, our modern dialect stands alone.

A difference is always to be found between the written
and the spoken language of a people. The look, the tone,
the action, are means of expression which the speaker may
employ, and the writer cannot; to make himself understood,
the latter must use language more precise and definite than
the former. There is also another reason for this difference.
When a language has no written literature, it is ever subject
to change of pronunciation, and so determinate is the direc-
tion of these changes, that it may be marked out between
limits much narrower than any one has yet ventured to lay
down. But with a written literature a new element enters
into the calculation. A standard for composition now exists,
which the writer will naturally prefer to the varying dialect
of the people, and, as far as he safely may, will do his best to follow. In this way the written and the spoken languages will act and react upon each other; and it must depend upon the value of the literature and the reading habits of the people, which of them shall at last prevail.

As to Anglo-Saxon literature, scanty as are the relics which have been left us, enough remains to show its beauty and its worth; and vainly shall we search our annals for any thing its equal, till we come to the gifted men who immortalized the era of Elizabeth. Taught in the monastery, and fixed in the literature of the country, the forms of Anglo-Saxon grammar remained without a change for centuries. Local dialects there certainly were, and the dialect of the poet varied from that of the prose writer; but no changes have been yet pointed out, which can fairly be considered as owing to the mere lapse of time. Oversights are, however, sometimes met with in the carelessly written MSS. of the eleventh century, which show that, although the written language might be fixed, the popular dialect was still following out its natural tendencies. The language of our earlier literature fell at last a victim, not to the Norman Conquest, for it survived that event at least a century—not to the foreign jargon which the weak but well-meaning Edward first brought into the country, for French did not mix with our language till the days of Chaucer—it fell before the same deep and mighty influences, which swept every living language from the literature of Europe.

When the south regained its ascendancy, and Rome once more seized the wealth of vassal provinces, its favourite priests had neither the knowledge requisite to understand, nor tastes fitted to enjoy, the literature of the countries into which they were promoted. The road to their favour and their patronage lay elsewhere; and the monk, giving up his mother-tongue as worthless, began to pride himself only upon his Latinity. The legends of his patron saint he Latinized, the story of his monastery he Latinized; in Latin

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1 I do not forget Chaucer and Langland (of Langland be the name); but two men of genius do not make a literature.