GEORGE HICKES

AND THE DANO-SAXON POETIC DIALECT:

A translation edition of a section of Caput XXI,

from the Anglo-Saxon Grammar

of *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus*

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ABSTRACT

In 1705 George Hickes published his book *Linguarum vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (*A Treasury of Ancient Northern Tongues*) which contained, among other things, an Anglo-Saxon Grammar. In the final six chapters of this grammar, Hickes includes a history of the Anglo-Saxon language. It is the first recorded history of the English language; however, it is written in Latin, and so unavailable to many English speakers. Therefore, I have produced a sample translation of the third of the six chapters for this thesis (chapter 21, or "Caput XXI"), entitled "De dialecto poetica, praesertim de dialecto poetica Dano-Saxonica" ("On the poetic dialect, especially the Dano-Saxon poetic dialect"), marking the first stage in making these chapters available to English speakers today.

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This thesis is dedicated to my husband,
Rod Costain,
who, during his own academic career,
knew the disappointment of being unable to pursue an opportunity
(or three)
that had been offered to him,
and therefore went out of his way
to make it possible for me to pursue mine.

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LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.	Anglo-Saxon; Old English
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
Bosworth and Toller	*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*
Cimbric	Old Icelandic/Old Norse
Cleasby/Vigfusson	*An Icelandic-English Dictionary*
Francic	Franco-Theotiscan; a dialect of OHG
Lewis and Short	*A Latin Dictionary*
m.g.	masculine gender
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OHG	Old High German
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
O.N.	Old Norse
O.S.	Old Saxon
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
Sax.	Saxon; in the manner of the Saxons (i.e., Anglo-Saxon)
7	**and, ond** (*and*)
ꝥ	**þæt** (*that*)

INTRODUCTION

In a letter written late November 1694 to Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, George Hickes, at the time deeply immersed in writing the second edition of his Anglo-Saxon grammar *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (*A Treasury of Old Northern Tongues*), requested that Charlett find him a "young ingenious Welshman to study … the old Northern languages" (*Chorus* 151). Already busy with the task at hand, and feeling age creeping up on him, Hickes wished to have an "amanuensis" with a good understanding of European languages assist him, in order that he might, with Hickes' guidance, "illustrat many things in antiquity, which yet ly in darknesse" (151). Referring broadly to the Anglo-Saxon language spoken in England before the Norman conquest of A.D. 1066 along with the extant texts written in that language (which were yet largely unknown), and specifically to the similarity between Anglo-Saxon and the other northern Germanic languages, Hickes' words call to mind several layers of meaning. There is the "darkness" with which the Early Medieval period is often associated (for example, with the phrase "The Dark Ages"); the process of bringing the Anglo-Saxon language and writings out of this dark age (which had become hidden during the intervening years) and revealing them, making them widely accessible once more; and, to consider it another way, the process of shedding light on a subject—of leading away from ignorance, or, for some, toward a better understanding. The same sentiment, this bringing forth from darkness, pervades Hickes' whole undertaking of the expanded edition of his grammar, as his intent was to make available knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language, writings, and culture. In 1705 Hickes published his book *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, a monumental accomplishment in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Along with other cultural information concerning the northern Germanic peoples in general, and the pre-Norman-conquest Anglo-Saxons in particular, Hickes' *Thesaurus* comprises the grammars of three northern Germanic languages: Anglo-Saxon, Franco-Theotiscan,[1] and Old Icelandic. Although they are all similar in content and presentation, the Anglo-Saxon grammar is unique in that Hickes includes, in the last six chapters (19-24) of this section, a history of the English language as he and his contemporaries understood it in that era. However, since it is written in Latin, this history remains largely inaccessible to English speakers

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[1] Hickes uses Franco-Theotiscan ("Francic") to refer to an Old High German dialect. A fuller discussion is given below.

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today. Therefore, it is my intention to translate these six chapters of Hickes' *Thesaurus*, thereby "bringing to light," or making widely available in English, the first published history of the English language. To that end, I have prepared a translation edition of a section of Caput XXI (chapter 21), titled "De Dialecto Poetica, praesertim de Dialecto Poetica Dano-Saxonica" ("On the Poetic Dialect, especially the Dano-Saxon Poetic Dialect"), to make this information accessible today.

The sentiment of "bringing forth from darkness" surrounding Hickes' *Thesaurus* exemplifies the way in which not just Hickes, but scholars in general, approached "septentrional" (or northern) Germanic language studies in seventeenth-century England. Lauding their accomplishments, Douglas describes how scholars during this period, both political and ecclesiastical, were driven "by their abundant vitality…into the hidden places of obscure learning" (*Scholars* 13)—that is, into the past—for, as he later states, "To these scholars, the sense of the past was the foundation of wisdom" (21). Four years after his letter to Charlett about revealing what lay in "darkness," Hickes received a letter with a similar message from Edward Thwaites of Queen's College. As collaborator and overseer of production of Hickes' book at Oxford, Thwaites at one point remarks, "we shal inn our age I hope almost raise all the most usefull Anglo-Saxon pieces out of darkness" (*Chorus* 201). Even the title Hickes chose for his book, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, shows evidence of this preoccupation with the notion of digging things, hidden, out of the "darkened" past. Lerer explains how Hickes, influenced by the poetry of Abraham Cowley, got the idea of the word "thesaurus," to refer to the ancient northern literature and languages, from Cowley's "To Mr. Hob," a poem about "finding the past ensconced in, and recoverable from, books" (36). Quoting from the poem—"To walk in *Ruines*, like vain *Ghosts*, we love, / And with fond *Divining Wands* / We search among the *Dead* / For Treasures *Buried*, / Whilst still the *Liberal Earth* does hold / So many *Virgin Mines* of *undiscover'd Gold*"—Lerer says that the phrase "Treasures Buried" becomes "the etymon of the *Thesaurus*" (35-6). It seems natural then that this word would be included in the title.

However, the idea of bringing forth ancient knowledge and texts from "darkness" did not begin in the seventeenth century, but was a sentiment inherited from scholars and antiquarians of an earlier era. C. F. Tucker Brooke describes how, generations before Hickes, Matthew Parker "found about him a darkness of ignorance regarding the early history of the English church and

nation" (136), after he had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559. Similarly, Joan Ferrante and Robert Hanning quote William Camden's assertion that the antiquarian's aim was "to bring to light … the remains of early English civilization 'almost lost by disuse and buried in oblivion'" (xix).[2] It is during this earlier period that Anglo-Saxon scholarship has its beginnings.

The role of the Anglo-Saxons in the history of England, that is, their settlement and occupation of England in the fifth century A.D., had been forgotten for centuries by the time it was "rediscovered" during the English Reformation. As G. L. Craik explains in *A Compendious History of English Literature*, at the time the Anglo-Saxon language was "revived" it had been, for nearly four hundred years, not only a dead language, but "a buried and an utterly forgotten one" (35). England's break with the Roman Catholic Church itself generated the first wave of significant interest in pre-Conquest England (Douglas, *Scholars* 52); when King Henry VIII's political dispute with Rome resulted in his declaring himself Supreme Head of the English church, both religious and political leaders sought theological evidence to justify his stance. In doing so, they looked into their country's past to find solutions for the present. Directing their search to the period before the Norman Conquest of 1066, these early researchers were looking for proof of a medieval prototype of the reformed Church of England (52)—a "comparatively unromanized condition of the early English church" (Craik 36). Their objective was to show that the faith and doctrines of the English Saxon church were the same as for the post-Reformation church (Douglas, *Scholars* 19); and that the church was simply returning to the purer practices of the Saxon period (Horsman 10). Complicating this process, however, was King Henry's Suppression of the Monasteries from 1536 to 1540, during which a great portion of the ancient books were destroyed and which, in turn, resulted in an increased awareness and participation in antiquarian activity.

Interest in the language and writings of the Anglo-Saxon period also occurred in less strictly political or theological circles. Members of the gentry or nobility, individuals who were not politically motivated and who did not view the knowledge of this period as a potential "theological weapon" (Craik 35), began to take interest in not only the ancient texts of the Anglo-Saxons, but their artifacts and monuments, as well—the product of what Ferrante and Hanning call "a redirected humanism" (xix). A movement with roots in Continental Europe,

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[2] Camden was a member of the Society of Antiquarians and author of *Britannia*, a topographical and historical survey of Britain and Ireland.

humanism took on a slightly different form in England. As Ferrante and Hanning explain, it is an "English national or insular adaption" of humanist concerns (xix): rather than focusing upon the texts of ancient Rome and Greece, humanists in England directed their attention to the ancient texts of their own country. Antiquarian endeavors, therefore, were conducted on several fronts in England. Not long after the first spark of interest began to "illuminate" the Anglo-Saxon past, efforts were made by enthusiasts, and political and religious leaders alike, to restore the "ancient learning of the kingdom" (Brooke 136); and to these pioneering scholars fell the task, first, of finding, transcribing, and translating these ancient texts.

Several of these pioneers made notable contributions during the early years of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker (1504-1575), perhaps the first of very few at this early stage able to read Anglo-Saxon, collected a great number of Anglo-Saxon books and manuscripts and established the scholarly study of the language itself. As Brooke states, it is doubtful "whether any previous scholar had since the twelfth century possessed an adequate reading knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, and it is certain that nothing had been done before the time of Parker to facilitate the systematic study of the language" (139). Contemporary and fellow antiquarian Laurence Nowell (1515-1571) was also familiar with the Anglo-Saxon language, and, like Parker, contributed to its scholarship. Described by Ferrante and Hanning as a "voracious seeker of knowledge" (xx), Nowell collected and transcribed many Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the most famous of which is the only known extant copy of *Beowulf*, bound in what is often referred to as the "Nowell Codex." Approximately seventy years after the death of Nowell, Sir Henry Spelman (1564-1641), interested in antiquarian studies pertaining to ecclesiastical and legal research, established a lectureship in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge,[3] "the first chair ever established to promote the teaching of any branch of Germanic philology" (Brooke 148). Two decades later William Somner (ca 1598-1669) published the first Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Francis Junius (1589-1677), collector and publisher of ancient manuscripts, whom Brooke calls "the most eminent continuator of Parker's work" (144), closes off this early period. Junius broadened the scope of Anglo-Saxon scholarship in England by adding "a sufficient knowledge" of other northern Germanic languages (Gothic, Francic, Cimbric and Frisic),[4] initiating comparative studies of these languages, and later, introducing his theory of

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[3] The lectureship was established in 1638, with Abraham Wheloc as its first Lecturer.
[4] Francic, Cimbric, and Frisic refer to Old High German, Old Norse, and Old Frisian, respectively.

language relationships (a theory that saw Gothic as the "source of all Germanic languages") (Brooke 145). Junius' influence, and contribution to Germanic philology in general, is the point from which post-Restoration scholars launched their studies in the second significant wave of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

Despite the efforts of early antiquarians, the study of the Anglo-Saxon language and culture did not begin in earnest until roughly one hundred years later, after the Restoration (ca. 1660-1730). Described as "a great epoch in the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship" (Douglas, *Scholars* 52), this period saw a succession of scholars make remarkable progress in the scholarship of England's history, thereby establishing "the foundations of our present knowledge of medieval England" (13). As with their antiquarian predecessors, post-Restoration scholars were motivated by theological and political concerns; however, the scholarly pursuits of this period are marked by an added sense of urgency. A number of political crises occurred during this period—including the ascendancy of the Catholic king, James II, to the throne, the Revolution of 1688 (which saw the deposition of King James), and the "Non-juring schism" after William of Orange became king (21)—which resulted in a populace divided in beliefs, but united in their quest for solutions in the past (14). Also motivating these scholars was the development of a sense of pride in their country. The discovery of a past heretofore quite unknown seems to have inspired feelings of solidarity in England, which, after the Restoration, evolved into what Douglas calls an "exuberant nationalism" (*Scholars* 20). Further, coupled with this sense of nationalism was a shift in interest, for these scholars, regarding the study of the Anglo-Saxon past. As the post-Restoration period progressed, they became increasingly motivated by the "historical theme" itself (26). More and more, it was a fascination with the evidence that might give their history substance (26) which governed Anglo-Saxon scholarship, rather than theological or political agendas. Tradition and continued political strife might have determined the form Anglo-Saxon scholarship would take at the beginning of the post-Restoration period, but it was no longer the driving force by the end.

Instrumental in this shift, doubtless, is George Hickes' grammar of the Anglo-Saxon language, *Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae* (*The Principles of Grammar for Anglo-Saxon and Moeso-Gothic*), which helped make Anglo-Saxon accessible to a broader audience. Published in 1689, the *Institutiones* provided a timely and much needed solution to a deficiency that had been apparent from the early stages of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

Although much work had been done by post-Reformation antiquarians (as well as the earlier scholars of the post-Restoration period), there was no grammar to help beginners learn the language; therefore, only a small number (approximately twenty, according to Hickes) had mastered Anglo-Saxon by the time the *Institutiones* was published (Brooke 150). In the Preface to his 1623 second edition of Ælfric's *A Testamonie of Antiquities*, William L'Isle (ca. 1569-1637), one of the few to have learned Anglo-Saxon after the Reformation, describes a particularly poignant example of the difficulty involved in learning the language in this early period. L'Isle prepared himself for Anglo-Saxon, first, by learning both high and low German.[5] When he still was unable to read the older Anglo-Saxon texts, he sought Gavin Douglas' "Scotished" (c4v) version of Virgil's *Aeneid*,[6] entitled *Eneados*. After comparing this edition with the Latin version, reading it over several times, L'Isle was finally able to understand Anglo-Saxon (c4v-d1r). This round-about method for learning Anglo-Saxon was very likely not the exception at the time, but the norm. As more and more people became interested in the language, the need arose for an instructional grammar in the Anglo-Saxon language. Hickes' *Institutiones* answered that need.

By the time Hickes began working on the *Institutiones* in 1686, there had been talk at Oxford for at least a decade about finding someone to publish an Anglo-Saxon grammar. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford from 1675 to 1686, who, Hickes says in the Preface to his *Institutions*, had strongly expressed his regret over this deficiency (b1r), seems to have been the most determined in this search. Fell initially encouraged first Thomas Marshal, Rector of Lincoln College (1672-1685), then William Nicolson, lecturer of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford (1679-1682), to produce a grammar, before apparently requesting the same of Hickes (*Chorus* 4) when other commitments prevented both Marshal and Nicolson. He also encouraged Nicolson and, it is believed, Hickes after him to publish Francis Junius' *Dictionarium Saxonicum*, a lexicon containing not only Anglo-Saxon words, but Francic (Old High German) and Cimbric (Old Norse) words, as well (7). Hickes initially appears to have been interested in this work, but nothing came of it as he became interested in the idea of producing an Anglo-Saxon grammar. It was not until a year after Fell's death that Hickes began his study of Anglo-Saxon; his grammar

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[5] L'Isle actually refers to high and low "Dutch" in the Preface, which is an obsolete way of referring to high and low German.

[6] Gavin Douglas published *Eneados* in Scots in 1513. Scots, a dialect of English, is spoken in southern Scotland. Sometimes referred to as Lowland Scots, this dialect is distinct from Scots Gaelic.

was published three years later. Along with the Anglo-Saxon grammar, the *Institutiones* contains a verbatim copy of Runólfur Jónsson's 1651 *Grammaticae Islandicae rudimenta* (*Rudiments of Icelandic grammar*), Hickes' *Catalogus veterum librorum septentrionamium* (*Catalogue of ancient northern books*), a listing of manuscripts in various libraries across Great Britain; and Edward Bernard's *Etymologicon Britannicum* (*British Etymology*).

Hickes' publication of the *Institutiones* seems to have inspired a flurry of activity in the field of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Several years after he published his Anglo-Saxon grammar, other scholars began publishing Anglo-Saxon texts. These include Edmund Gibson's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Chronicon saxonicum, seu, Annales rerum in Anglia praecipue gestarum*; Christopher Rawlinson's edition of the Meters of Boethius, *An. Manl. Sever. Boethi consolationis philospohiae libri V: Anglo-Saxonice redditi ab Alfredo, inclyto Anglo-Saxonum rege*; and Edward Thwaites' edition of *Judith*, found in *Heptateuchus, liber Job, et evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice. Historiae Judith fragmentum, Dano-Saxonice* (Lerer 61). These editions, along with Francis Junius' earlier publication of the biblical paraphrase,[7] *Caedmonis monachi Paraphrasis Genesios ac praecipuarum Sacrae pagina Historiarum*, represent a portion of the sources Hickes used for his Anglo-Saxon quotations when he began working on the second edition of his grammar, the *Thesaurus*; and comprise the major Anglo-Saxon poems he used in the sample translation of Caput XXI.[8]

Hickes' motivations for engaging in Anglo-Saxon scholarship are varied. Undoubtedly, there was the underlying desire to search the past to solve theological and political problems of the present, which had been the driving force of Anglo-Saxon scholarship from its inception. In his description of the *Institutiones*, Richard Harris, in the Introduction to *A Chorus of Grammars*, describes Hickes' inclusion of King Æðelred's A.D. 978 coronation oath and admonition in the Preface as presenting "persuasive material for support of those doctrines of kingship most suitable to the nonjuring cause" (26). As with his fellow countrymen Hickes felt strongly about the issues that were quite literally dividing the people, and therefore sought answers from the past to support his views. Moreover, although his motivations for pursuing Anglo-Saxon scholarship had shifted from being purely theological or political in nature by the time he began working on the *Thesaurus*, Hickes' views are apparent in this work, all the same. In the middle

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[7] I.e., the poems of MS Junius 11, now known as *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*.
[8] Hickes also quotes from three minor poems: *For Unfruitful Land*, *The Menologium*, and *Rune Poem*. See Hickes' List of Works following the translation (pages 51-3) for a complete list.

of his discussion on Anglo-Saxon and other Germanic language wordlists in Caput XXI, Hickes includes a digression in which he reproaches the Catholic clergy for their sinful actions, and then warns the Christian reader against doing the same. The topic is introduced when Hickes provides textual examples for Anglo-Saxon words that appear in the Middle English poem, *Piers Plowman*. Quoting specific passages, Hickes explains how Langland had predicted "what was destined to come in later days as a result of their sins" (107)—that is, the Reformation—two hundred years before it happened. Alluding to Psalms 2:9-13, which compares the destruction of sinners to smashed earthenware, Hickes then tells the reader that all sinners, regardless of their station, will be punished. Finished with his digression, Hickes returns to his discussion of Anglo-Saxon words.

When Hickes initially began his study of Anglo-Saxon in 1686, several years after becoming dean of Worcester, it was as a distraction from his problems with King James (39).[9] It may also be assumed that, aside from his own personal interest in the endeavor (which was a considerable factor), Hickes wanted to fulfill Fell's wish for a grammar of the Anglo-Saxon language. We know that Hickes had Fell on his mind as he worked on the *Institutiones*, for he mentions in the Preface, several times, how Fell had expressed his regret that an Anglo-Saxon grammar had not yet been written. As Hickes states, Fell "Gothicae & Anglo-Saxonicae fatum deplorabat," *kept lamenting the fate of Gothic and Anglo-Saxon*; and was "dolens illum Grammaticam Anglo-Saxonicam Gothicam non reliquisse," *grieving that he* [Thomas Marshall] *had not left behind an Anglo-Saxon and Gothic grammar* (b1r). Obviously, both Fell and Hickes understood the benefits of opening up the language to a broader audience, apart from any theological or political advantages it might offer, for most apparent in Fell's words is the regret over the loss of this piece of their country's history.

Fell's interest in recovering England's linguistic and cultural past continued to be an influence on Hickes as he prepared to work on the *Thesaurus*. As he tells attorney Thomas Parker in a letter years later, "I undertook the work at first purely out of a zeale to make known the Language, Customes, Lawes, and manners of our ancestres, and to set out English antiquities in a good light" (*Chorus* 402). Hickes' words also convey a sense of the "exuberant nationalism" that had become apparent in England at this time. Lerer, quoting Hickes in "The Anglo-Saxon

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[9] For several years Hickes had preached and written on the "ecclesiastical controversies" of the day, but it was not until Hickes opposed King James' "Roman Catholic encroachments" (Harris, *Chorus* 15), that James gave him an ultimatum. Hickes left London for Worcester shortly thereafter.

Pindar," points out that Hickes "himself considered the importance of his work to reside not merely in furthering the study of 'antiquities,'" but also, "in maintaining 'the honour of our English republick of letters'" (29). Hickes' patriotism is evident in these words.

As with the *Institutiones*, Hickes was motivated to write the *Thesaurus* indirectly by the political issues of the day. More precisely, Hickes found motivation in the consequences of his participation with those political issues. On 26 May 1691 a warrant was issued for Hickes' arrest after he refused to give up the deanery at Worcester Cathedral.[10] Although this turn of events initially cast a shadow over his ideas of a second, expanded edition of the Anglo-Saxon grammar, the delay did not last long; if writing the *Institutiones* had been a welcome distraction from his troubles with King James, his preoccupation with the ever-evolving *Thesaurus* during his outlawry must have seemed most fortuitous. Much of the next eight years was spent on the accumulation of information for, and compilation of, the *Thesaurus*.

George Hickes and the *Thesaurus*

Despite a positive response to the *Institutiones*, there was nevertheless a general desire to know more about the Anglo-Saxon language and culture. Within a few years of completion of the *Institutiones*, Hickes, by this time an outlaw, began preparing for a second, fuller edition. Motivated not as much by ecclesiastical and political reasons, as by "a simple interest in pursuing further knowledge of Old English and related languages" (*Chorus* 39), Hickes spent well over the next decade working on the *Thesaurus*, for the most part as a hunted fugitive. Completed in 1705, the *Thesaurus*, as the culmination of over a hundred years of Anglo-Saxon and northern Germanic scholarship, represented the contributions of many antiquarians and scholars in this new field of study, from its very beginnings after the Reformation.

The *Thesaurus* not only represents but contains the work of other scholars; Hickes was not the sole author. The *Thesaurus* contains contributions by, and represents collaborations with, many of Hickes' fellow scholars of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse. All the same, Hickes himself was the driving and unifying force behind its production (Bennett 31). Throughout his years as a fugitive, Hickes maintained a fairly regular correspondence with many antiquarians and scholars

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[10] Hickes had been suspended 1 August 1689 for refusing the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. However, he was not displaced until a year and a half later. Deprived of his deanery, Hickes was charged with sedition and high misdemeanor when he refused to relinquish that title; and outlawed in August, 1691 when he did not appear at his trial. This outlawry ended in 1699, when John Somers, Lord Chancellor of England (1697-1700), obtained a *nolle prosequi* on Hickes' behalf (Harris, *Chorus* 34-36, 46).

in England, gathering information on the Anglo-Saxon language and culture, and compiling an extraordinary amount of information for the *Thesaurus*. Aside from the introductory writings, some of Hickes' contributions to the *Thesaurus* include a grammar of the Francic language (a new addition and complement to the Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic grammars of the *Institutiones*); and the *Dissertatio Epistolaris* (an account of the Anglo-Saxon culture). Works contributed by others include a treatise on Anglo-Saxon coins by Sir Andrew Fountaine, and a catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts by Humfrey Wanley, the latter of which, incidentally, not only replaced Hickes' listing of manuscripts from the *Institutions*, but also comprised the entire second[11] volume of the book. Hickes also kept in regular contact with Edward Thwaites, fellow of Queen's college and lecturer in Anglo-Saxon, who oversaw the "eight years of preparation and printing" (31) of the *Thesaurus* at Oxford.

The Anglo-Saxon Grammar section of the *Institutiones* also underwent expansion for the *Thesaurus*. Along with the original eighteen grammar chapters, Hickes includes six more on the history of the Anglo-Saxon language at the end of this section, which, as Bennett says, "radically changed the character, as well as the size, of the *Thesaurus* as first planned" (30). Beginning at Caput XIX (chapter 19) Hickes introduces the topic for the remaining chapters—centering primarily on the poetic and common prose dialects[12]—then outlines the different Anglo-Saxon dialects that existed across time and space in early medieval England. Britanno-Saxon was a "simple and pure" dialect (*Chorus* 73) that had been spoken from the time the Saxons arrived in England in the fifth century until the invasion of the Danes. Due to its proximity to the Danish language, the Britanno-Saxon dialect began to change in northern and eastern England, the region which later became known as the Danelaw. No longer simple and pure, the dialect in these areas, in use from the time the Danes first entered Britain (at the end of the eighth century) during the first wave of Viking expansion until the Norman invasion of A.D. 1066, became what Hickes calls Dano-Saxon (*Thesaurus* 88). The Britanno-Saxon dialect in the south and west of England did not experience the Danish-influenced language change to the same degree as its northern counterparts; however, it did experience change as the result of the passage of time. Over the course of several hundred years a "gradual erosion of forms" (*Chorus* 76) occurred in the dialect of this region. After the Norman Conquest (1066) the language degenerates into what

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[11] Or third, depending upon how the book was bound.
[12] In chapter 22 Hickes discusses the Anglo-Norman dialect, the result of the Norman influence upon the Anglo-Saxon language in England after the Norman conquest of 1066.

Hickes calls Semi-Saxon, but which he typically refers to as Normanno-Saxon (Frankis 5). In the remaining five chapters Hickes discusses the Dano-Saxon dialect in common prose (Caput XX); the Dano-Saxon poetic dialect (Caput XXI); the Normanno-Saxon dialect (Caput XXII); Anglo-Saxon poetry (Caput XXIII); and Semi-Saxon poetry (XXIV).

In Caput XXI, entitled "De dialecto poetica, praesertim de dialecto poetica Dano-Saxonica,"[13] Hickes continues his discussion on the Anglo-Saxon language by giving an account of the Cimbric, Franco-Theotiscan, and other "foreign" words, that are found in the poetic writings of the northern Anglo-Saxons, with the objective of proving that the Anglo-Saxon poetic dialect is in fact the Dano-Saxon dialect. Cimbric is an archaic term commonly used in the seventeenth century to refer to the Old Norse language spoken by the North Germanic people from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries. Franco-Theotiscan ("Francic"), a vernacular dialect of Old High German, refers to the language spoken by the ancient Franconian Germanic peoples from approximately the same era.[14] Contrary to the model of the Germanic language family tree accepted by linguists today, with its West, North, and East Germanic language branches, Hickes believes that Cimbric, Franco-Theotiscan, and Anglo-Saxon were the three main branches of the Germanic language family, and that the parent language, from which these sister languages descend, is Gothic (*Institutiones* b3v). For the purposes of this edition I will retain Hickes' use of "Cimbric" and "Francic" to refer to Old Norse and Old High German, respectively.

Illustrating by means of word-lists and textual examples, Hickes compares words or "appellations" from Anglo-Saxon texts with cognate words drawn from the more ancient poetic Germanic writings: Cimbric Eddic and non-Eddic writings, and Francic poetic writings. "Appellations" is the term Hickes uses for synonyms—that is, words that are used in poetry in place of specific names for the gods, or in place of more general terms, like "men," "women," "sea," "earth," "sun," etc. The Anglo-Saxon texts Hickes uses in the portion of Caput XXI included with this edition are the four biblical poems of MS Junius 11 (*Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*), *Judith*, the poetic *Kalendar* (the *Menologium*), the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the charm *For Unfruitful Land*, *Meters of Boethius*, and *Rune Poem*. The Cimbric

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[13] "Concerning the Poetic Dialect, especially the Dano-Saxon Poetic Dialect."

[14] It will be recalled that the Franconian language is typically associated with Old Low Franconian, which has developed today into a dialect of Dutch; however, it is not the only language connected with the Franks. As Robinson explains, there are "a number of dialects in Old High German that bear the name 'Franconian'" (203). The Central German Franconian dialects underwent the same (second) consonant shift (the High German Consonant Shift) that affected the Germanic speakers of Upper German (and which distinguished them from Old Low German and Old Low Franconian).

texts include *The Elder Edda*, *The Younger Edda*, *Grettis Saga*, *Hervarar Saga*, *Lexicon Islandicum*, "þáttr Styrbjarnar Svíakappa" in *Olafs Saga hins helga*, and *Völuspá*. Only one Francic text, Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* (written in the south Rhine Franconian dialect of OHG) is mentioned in these pages. Other texts include Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* (written in Scots), the Middle English poem *Piers Plowman*, and the Old Saxon *Heliand* (which Hickes believes to be written in either Anglo-Saxon or Francic).

Given the evidence of words in extant Anglo-Saxon poetic writings that are Cimbric and Francic in origin, Hickes ends Caput XXI by concluding that the Anglo-Saxon poetic dialect is Dano-Saxon. Three reasons Hickes offers for this conclusion are as follows: the poetic dialect deviates from, and changes the orthography from, the purer manner of writing (the earlier Britanno-Saxon dialect) to what he calls "barbography" (the later Dano-Saxon dialect); the poetic dialect copies the Cimbri practice of combining nouns with articles; and finally, the poetic dialect uses Dano-Saxon verb-forms, for example, using a present or preterit tense verb in place of a present participle. According to Hickes, these characteristics show that the "harmony" between the Anglo-Saxon poetic dialect and the Dano-Saxon dialect is so great that they must be considered the same dialect.

Of the Anglo-Saxon texts, Hickes quotes most extensively from the poems of MS Junius 11, to which he refers collectively as the "Genesis paraphrase," or simply "paraphrase." That is, Hickes names *Genesis* as the source for quotations from all four poems of MS Junius 11. Therefore, I have indicated in endnotes where quotations are from *Exodus*, *Daniel*, or *Christ and Satan*. Line numbers following modern convention have been provided in endnotes for all poems included in this edition, where Hickes has given page and line numbers, chapters, or no source information other than the author and text.

Throughout much of the chapter Hickes refers to the author of MS Junius 11 by the anonymous phrase "the paraphraser." In several places, however, Hickes attributes the authorship to Caedmon ("in Cædm."), and at one point even refers to him as "the esteemed Cædmon, author of the Paraphrase" (127). This conflict of authorship is also revealed in a single paragraph. On page 128 Hickes refers to the author of quotation XXVII.14 as "the Paraphraser" in one sentence, and "Cædmon" in the next. This inconsistency is most unusual, particularly in light of his argument at the end of the chapter stating why the authorship of the paraphrase "must

be taken away from Caedmon" (133), and seems to suggest a second author for this chapter.[15] Indeed, the appearance of Caedmon in the text is typically accompanied by a reduction in quality of Hickes' Latin translation of the Anglo-Saxon quotations. In total, Hickes has linked Caedmon's name to thirteen quotations or phrases in this chapter. What is more, not all of the quotations are from *Genesis*, but have been taken from *Christ and Satan*, *Menologium* or *Maxims II*.[16] Correct sources (or line numbers) are listed in endnotes for each of the quotations or phrases.

Hickes' difficulty with translating the Anglo-Saxon (or other northern Germanic) language is evident in the quotation segments throughout the chapter. In fact, many of his translations in this edition contain errors. In some cases it is either because he has translated a word (or words) incorrectly, or because he becomes confused by line or sentence boundaries. In his discussion of the Anglo-Saxon word **tir**[17] (meaning *glory*), for example, Hickes offers a range of definitions in Latin for this word, claiming it signifies "not only each and every great commander, leader, and master, but also command, rule, dominion, victory, power and glory" (102). Providing quotations from Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Saxon texts to illustrate, Hickes translates the noun **tyr** as (O.N.) *leader*, *victory*; (A.S.) *glory*, *lord*, *command*, *Lord*, *leader*; and (O.S.) *dominion*. In each of these quotations, **tyr** is correctly translated as *glory*. Hickes also mistakes the Old Saxon adverb **tirlico**, *honorably*, as a reference to Augustus.[18] Elsewhere Hickes' translation errors result from ambiguity in the Anglo-Saxon text itself. Sentence boundaries are not always obvious, since there is no punctuation (aside from metrical points) in the original text (Doane 15). For example, in his translation of a *Genesis* passage quoted at the top of page 103, Hickes assumes the lines 2068b-2069, **sigor eft ahwearf / of Norþmonna niþgeteone / Æsc-tir wera Abraham sealde**, comprise one entire sentence. Perhaps unaccustomed to the Germanic practice of personification (in this case, **sigor**, *victory*), particularly in the nominative position, Hickes believes **Abraham** is the subject of the verb **ahwearf** ("…reversus est…Abrahamus," *Abraham returned*). In fact, this quotation comprises one complete sentence (lines 2068b-2069a, *Victory, the spear-glory of men, turned away again*

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[15] There is also an inconsistency in the way the MS Junius 11 quotations are cited. Page and line designations are sometimes listed using Arabic numbers (4.7), and other times using a combination of Roman numerals and Arabic numbers (IV.7).

[16] The "*Menologium*" (to which Hickes refers elsewhere as the *Kalendar*) and "*Maxims II*" are from MS Cotton Tiberius B.i.

[17] See Hickes' page 102.

[18] See endnote xxvii.

from the injurious malice of the northmen), and one partial sentence (line 2069b, *Abraham gave…*).[19]

Many of the errors pertaining to Hickes' translation of quotations involve inaccurate transcription. Aside from containing words that are spelled differently, added, or replaced, Hickes' quotations are also at times incomplete. For example, in the paragraph discussing the Anglo-Saxon word **mund** on page 108, Hickes omits a half-line from his *Genesis* quotation "page 34.23," which results in a translation quite different from actual meaning of the Anglo-Saxon words. The quotation, comprising the lines 1524b-1525a; 1526b-1528a (with the omitted line 1526a in parentheses),[20] is given below.

> **ic monnes feorh**
> **to slagan seþe** **…………**
> **(and to broðor banan)** **ðæs ðe blod-gyte,**
> **wæll-fyll weres** **wæpnum gespedeþ,**
> **morþ mid mundum.**

Hickes translates this quotation as follows, "ego vitam hominis occisori (carnifici) trado, qui sanguinis effusionem, & caedem hominis armis perpetrat, aut manibus sius homicidium," *I hand over the life of a man to his slayer (executioner), who commits a bloodshedding, and the slaughter of a man with weapons, or murder with his hands*. If we include the omitted half-line with Hickes' translation (*I hand over the life of a man to his slayer, and to his brother's killer...*), the sentence makes very little sense, which may explain why Hickes omitted it.[21] Lerer, in "The Anglo-Saxon Pindar," suggests that the inaccurate transcriptions are a result of Hickes "quoting from memory" (64). Word variations and omissions between Hickes' text and the original source, Lerer explains, represent "the kinds of mistakes made by someone remembering texts" (64). Yet, while a faulty memory may explain some transcription errors, I would argue that it does not explain every transcription error. The quotation above does not contain the "odd" omission that Lerer describes, but an omission of entire half-lines. It is more probable that Hickes, having difficulty with the quotation, omitted the segments that did not fit with the rest of his translation.

It is apparent that Hickes himself is aware his translations are not always correct. On more than one occasion, Hickes appears to be dissatisfied with his rendering of a particular word

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[19] See endnote xxxvi for a full discussion of this quotation.
[20] Hickes also omits 1525b; however, this is an adverbial phrase, and does not affect the translation of the quotation.
[21] See endnote cxxxviii for a full discussion of this quotation.

or passage, and is compelled to add comments (in square brackets, parentheses, or footnotes) clarifying his translation. For example, Hickes reveals his unease with his translation of **metode** in the following *Genesis* quotation from page 103:

> **ða com ofer foldan   fus siþian**
> **mære morgen ðridda.   næron metode ða gyta**
> **wið lande ne wegas nytte   ac stod bewrigen fæste**
> **folde mið flode**. (154-157a)

In his translation of line 155b, **næron metode ða gyta**, Hickes considers the dative noun **metode** (*Creator, God*) to be a verb ("nondum…inventa erat," *had not yet been discovered*). Evidently feeling that this translation is imprecise, Hickes clarifies his word choice by adding "depicta, mensurata" (*distinguished, marked out*) in square brackets.[22] Clearly Hickes is not comfortable with his translation of this quotation. Contrary to Lerer's assertion, above, I would argue that errors like the ones just described are not indicative of Hickes' skill as a transcriber. Granted, transcription errors do exist in Hickes' quotations, but not all are attributable to a faulty memory. Instead, they represent an imperfect understanding of the Anglo-Saxon language, which is likely more indicative of the stage to which Anglo-Saxon scholarship had progressed, in general, by the seventeenth century. Scholarship of the Anglo-Saxon language, as well as other northern Germanic languages, had come a long way in the hundred years since its beginnings with Matthew Parker, but as the number of errors in Hickes' translations demonstrates, it still had a long way to go.

Anglo-Saxon scholarship was still in relative infancy at the end of the seventeenth century, but to be fair, many of the Anglo-Saxon quotations present problems even for contemporary scholars. For example, the verbs **besloh** (*bereft*) and **benam** (*deprived of*) and the nouns they govern, from the *Genesis* quotation (Hickes' "page 2.11") on page 102, present a problem for Hickes and later scholars alike:

> **besloh syn sceaþan   sigore 7 gewealde**
> **dome and dugeþe   7 dream benam**
> **his feond friþo   7 gefean ealle**
> **torht tire**. (55-58a)

In Hickes' translation **besloh** governs all the nouns that follow. In fact, only the genitive nouns **sigore**, **gewealde**, **dome**, and **dugeðe** are governed by **besloh**, while **benam** governs the nouns

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[22] See endnote xlv for a full discussion of this quotation.

dreame, **friðo, gefean** and **tire**, which are instrumental: although the dative and instrumental cases are nearly identical in Anglo-Saxon, and the former term is typically used to refer to both cases by the time this text was written, the instrumental case does appear in Anglo-Saxon texts, even if only rarely. Doane, in his glossary for *Genesis A*, accurately refers to the nouns governed by **besloh** as genitive; however, he seems to be confused about the nouns governed by **benam**— he refers to some as dative and others as instrumental. Indeed, he calls the noun **gefean** a dative, but calls its adjective **ealle** an instrumental.[23]

Similarly, the word **seþe** on line 1525a of the *Genesis* quotation ("page 34.23") mentioned above presents a problem not just for Hickes, but for nearly every other scholar who has edited this poem. The first two half-lines appear as follows, **ic monnes feorh / to slagan seþe**, *I shall confirm the soul of a man as a slayer*. Hickes translates **seþe**, *confirm*, as "tradit," *hand over*, which, as stated above, makes little sense with the omitted half-line 1526a. Krapp again describes the approaches different scholars have taken, but is unable to provide one that works satisfactorily with the omitted half-line 1526a. Context provides the key to understanding this quotation.[24] The lines immediately preceding Hickes' quoted lines read as follows, **ælc hine selfa ærest begrindeð / gastes dugeðum þæra þe mid gares orde / oðrum aldor oðþringeð** (1521-1523a), *each himself first deprives himself of the benefits of the soul, those who, with the point of a spear, deprive another of life*. The first two half lines are the most important, as they provide the first half of a cause-and-effect dynamic that is completed in the passage Hickes quotes: *each himself first deprives himself* (1521) what God later *shall con*firm (1524b-1525a). Translating **seþe** as *confirm* in this sentence gives it a very different meaning than Hickes' translation (or the suggested translations of later scholars), but it does make sense given the context of the passage. Furthermore, Hickes' omitted line 1526a (in parentheses) makes sense with this rendering, as well.[25]

Clearly, as Hickes' difficulty with these quotations indicates, not all errors are the result of inaccurate transcriptions, but of an incomplete understanding of the Anglo-Saxon language that is still apparent in Anglo-Saxon scholarship today. Far from being a fault in his work, Hickes' contributions to the scholarship of a language that had fallen out of use and memory before being rediscovered a mere century before are remarkable. Even if his translations do

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[23] See endnote xviii for a full discussion of this quotation.
[24] This passage is based upon Genesis 9:5.
[25] See endnote cxxxviii for a full discussion of this quotation.

contain errors, his efforts in this field made the Anglo-Saxon language available to a broader audience, and laid the groundwork toward a better understanding, toward which scholars are still striving.

After its publication in 1705, the *Thesaurus* was well received by British as well as continental scholars.[26] The culmination of scholarly efforts spanning well over a century, Hickes' *Thesaurus* offered early eighteenth-century scholars not only an Anglo-Saxon grammar, but a comparative philology of northern Germanic languages, and a treatise on the Anglo-Saxon culture, as well. The wide range of information in the *Thesaurus* threw "a flood of new light" upon the scholarship of pre-Conquest England, and quite effectively "opened the door to a fresh understanding of the Old English past" (Douglas, *Scholars* 91). Although the grammar itself holds little of worth for scholars today, there is much about the *Thesaurus* that is still useful to scholars, students, and interested individuals alike. As Lerer states, along with Humphrey Wanley's catalog of manuscripts, "[i]ts reports of coins, jewels, and the *disiecta membra* of pre-Conquest diplomatics are still valuable" (29). More precisely, the *Thesaurus* provides a kind of "snapshot" view of a pivotal moment in Anglo-Saxon scholarship; it captures the progress of Anglo-Saxon scholarship from its inception to the seventeenth century, and at the same time anticipates the direction Anglo-Saxon (and Germanic language) scholarship would take in the future. The Anglo-Saxon history chapters offer a glimpse at early the English language and poetry in England. Caput XXI contains comparative lists of Anglo-Saxon and other Germanic language words pre-dating Rasmus Rask, Jacob Grimm, and the comparative method developed in the nineteenth century. The *Thesaurus* also provides an insight into Hickes' view of some of the religious and political issues of the Restoration period, a view apparent even in the excerpt included in this edition. Translated, the Anglo-Saxon history chapters will be a valuable resource for students entering this (or some related) field, or any individual interested in a better understanding of the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

The body of this thesis comprises an English translation of the first nine pages (101-110) of Caput XXI in Hickes' Anglo-Saxon Grammar, from its original Latin. Although attention has been given to reproducing the physical appearance of the text, the intent of this thesis has been

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[26] See Appendix 3.B of *A Chorus of Grammars* (ed. Richard Harris) for Hickes biographer Hilkiah Bedford's account of the critical reactions to the *Thesaurus*.

less strictly bibliographical in nature. Focusing primarily on conveying the content of text, I present the information contained within these excerpted pages in the order Hickes has arranged it. Hickes introduces the chapter by stating that Anglo-Saxon poetic writings contain words not found in prose, but which are found in the poetic writings of two other languages: Cimbric and Francic. To illustrate, he lists three names from Norse mythology that are used as appellations (synonyms) in Anglo-Saxon poetic writings to describe great men (or similar), providing textual examples of each. In the remainder of the chapter Hickes lists six more sets of words (cognates), of varying lengths, and textual examples—the first three of which are included in this edition. The first two word lists contain appellations for single words (with cognates from Cimbric, and Cimbric and Francic poetic writings, respectively), while the third, more resembling the word lists in the remainder of the chapter, contains fourteen poetic appellations (with cognates from Cimbric poetic writings). Along with the Anglo-Saxon and Cimbric textual examples, Hickes adds a short list of later medieval poetic writings in which many of these words appear.[27] Most notably, Hickes quotes passages from William Langland's *Piers Plowman* between the second and third set of appellations, after which he digresses briefly on a topic of a more theological nature. The remainder of the chapter will be included in a future edition.

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[27] These include William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* in Scots, the passage *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, and the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES

The primary source for the translated excerpt that follows is BL shelfmark G.71, an original Sheldonian Theater edition printed in 1705; I used a reproduction of this edition, ESTC T108393, reel 4791, no. 1, available on *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Where legibility proved to be a problem in the electronic reproduction, I consulted a Scolar Press 1970 facsimile reprint of the original in the Bodleian Library (shelfmark Douce H subt. 40 and 41); and in some instances, a second Sheldonian Theatre 1705 imprint, the personal copy of Richard Harris, Professor of English at the University of Saskatchewan. The facsimile reprint was necessary at times for determining the characters, or distinguishing between similar characters (the "p" and wynn "ρ," for example), that are poorly inked; and for determining words close to the spine, which often appear blurred on the electronic reproduction. Use of Harris' copy was limited to determining the characters of Greek words in the text, the small font of which is smudged nearly to illegibility in both the electronic reproduction and the facsimile reprint.

This thesis comprises a translation edition of the first thirty-three pages of Caput XXI. However, it is unusual in that it combines different aspects of textual editing. The primary intent of this edition is to make available the meaningful information from the selected pages of this chapter—that is, to provide an annotated English translation of Hickes' Latin text, both his commentary and his translations of Anglo-Saxon (and other Germanic) quotations. Following Hickes' general format for discussion and textual examples, I have translated his Latin commentary and translations of the Anglo-Saxon (and other Germanic) words and quotations into English; and transcribed the words and quotations themselves, as Hickes has done, in their original languages. Given the scope of requirements for theses at this level, annotation is necessarily restricted to verifying Hickes' transcriptions and translations (correcting them where necessary), and providing bibliographical information for his sources.

At the same time, attention has also been given to reproducing (or attempting to reproduce) specific physical features of the text—in part to preserve the appearance of the text and in part for purposes of clarity and convenience. These features include both textual elements (accidentals and substantives) and extratextual elements (typography, page breaks, and pagination). To be sure, not all features may be preserved in this thesis equally; limiting factors inherent in textual transmission, for example medium, page size, and type fonts, govern the

degree to which specific features may be reproduced, and determine which may only be represented. Nevertheless, the inclusion of physical features from the selected pages of Caput XXI in this edition results in a translation edition that physically resembles the appearance of Hickes' text.

This approach is unusual in English literary studies, and represents a departure from traditional textual scholarship. However, as William Proctor Williams and Craig Abbot point out in *An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies*, "bibliography takes on added importance if…the concept of text is expanded beyond wording to include nonlinguistic features of documents" (70). Discussing Jerome McGann's social construct views of textual criticism,[28] Williams and Proctor describe how McGann expands the idea of a text to consist of both "linguistic codes" (the words of a text) and "bibliographical codes" (the physical features of a text), because, as McGann explains, bibliographical features have signifying functions (70). Meaning is contained not just in the text of a document, but in its physical appearance, as well. D.C. Greetham, in *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*, states that while this "concentration on the 'meaning' of textual bibliography has not been prominent in the practice or assumptions of traditional bibliographers," it nevertheless does form "a valid link between the world of 'strict and pure' bibliography and that of textual criticism" (291). The implications for editing are apparent: if meaning is contained in the bibliographical codes of a document, these codes may be included in subsequent editions, in order for the entire meaning of that document to be conveyed. As Williams and Proctor conclude, "accepting an expanded concept of textual authority, critical editors may decide to construct a text that adopts nonauthorial elements" (81). Pushing McGann's argument one step further, I have included bibliographical codes with this translation edition.

A translation of a text is, by definition, a nonfacsimile edition but may, in light of McGann's argument, include bibliographical codes. Translated words obviously cannot be transcribed as they appear in the text; however, the Latin text alone does not make up the text of the document. Large portions of the text are in printed Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, Francic, Old Saxon, Gothic, and even Runic. Furthermore, although Hickes was by necessity physically separated from the production of the *Thesaurus*, he was nevertheless involved with the printing.

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[28] Williams and Abbott cite McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago 1983) and *The Textual Condition* (Princeton 1991).

As Hickes' correspondence attests, he was in regular contact with Edward Thwaites, collaborator and overseer of production of the *Thesaurus* at Oxford.[29] Test pages were sent to Hickes on a regular basis for approval, and as some letters indicate, authorial recommendations were not restricted to linguistic codes (that is, the text) alone, but included bibliographic codes, as well. Referring to a handwritten sample passage of "the Greek-Genesis in Saxon letters" that he had transcribed in a letter to Thwaites, Hickes writes, "Here is enough to shew you how I desire you to write the Greek in the Saxon hand vizt in the common Saxon letters distinguishing the words, which the MS. dos not" (371). It is evident from these words that Hickes had at least some measure of input into the physical appearance of the *Thesaurus*. As McGann's argument suggests, the concept of "text" is not confined here merely to Hickes' verbal text, but is expanded to include the physical features, as well.

Meaning, or McGann's "signifying function," in a document is encoded not just in the text, but in the physical appearance of that text, as well, and can be lost when bibliographical codes are removed. English literature is filled with examples. The meaning behind Emily Dickinson's arrangements of poems in fascicles has only recently begun to be discovered, after being reassembled to their original states (in 1981) for the first time since her death in 1886.[30] Greetham reports that McGann, himself, found that "bibliographical context —authorized private printing, unauthorized newspaper printing, or book publication" determined whether he interpreted Byron's 'Fare Thee Well' as "a poem of 'hate and revenge' or 'love and broken-heartedness,'" even though the linguistic codes remained the same (338). In this example, the meaning of the poem is not just "lost" for McGann, but changes entirely when bibliographical codes are altered. Playwright Ben Jonson deliberately chose specific bibliographical codes in order to determine the meaning of his *Works*. In 1616 he published his plays (a genre that was considered "ephemeral, almost vulgar") in folio to promote acceptance of these plays as "literature" (Greetham 123). The physical appearance of a text may, therefore, be manipulated in order to alter the meaning of that text.

Bibliographical codes, therefore, constitute an essential part of the text that is often ignored. Randall McLeod, in "UN-Editing Shak-Speare" describes how, from the earliest stages of printing to the modern day, textual transmission has involved a linear and sequential

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[29] See, for example, letters 62 (page 223), 63 (228), 65 (page 230), 225 (page 371), 230 (page 374), and 318 (pages 432-3) in *A Chorus of Grammars*, ed. Richard Harris.
[30] See *The Manuscript Books of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Ralph W. Franklin.

processing of the text (37). That is, despite the fact that the text exists as "a simultaneous whole, a thing in itself," the very nature of printing has dictated our "unravelling" it (37). This unraveling involves a "bottleneck" in reproduction, McLeod explains, "in which the text is exposed letter by letter, face by face, to modernization, graphic restyling, random error, and common-sense tinkering, much of it generated by attempts to make sense of the copy" (37). In other words, textual transmission in the age of printing has involved incorporating changes into the text, some of which are deliberate, some accidental, and some that are a product of the technology used. This in turn involves producing a new representation of a given text, because the result is a copy that does not physically resemble the original.

Incorporating bibliographic codes into this translation was an important part of producing this thesis, as they were initially included primarily for purposes of clarity and convenience. Very early in the process of translating I found that using a single regular font style throughout resulted in a text in which there was no visual distinction between commentary, quotation, and translation. This posed a problem, as it potentially could result in ambiguous readings of the text: at times it was difficult to know where Hickes' translation of a quotation ended and his commentary began. Further, some Anglo-Saxon words are identical to their modern English counterparts. Therefore, I employed bibliographical codes (albeit in a limited way) in order to prevent confusion. A few of these include maintaining Hickes' distinction between commentary and translation in the Latin-to-English text by copying his use of different font styles: a regular font style for his commentary and an italic font style for his translations. On the other hand, while I have employed a few dedicated fonts, most of the Anglo-Saxon (et al.) fonts are represented by a single bold font style. By including these bibliographical codes (even limited, as it is) the different aspects of Hickes' text (commentary, quotation, and translation) are clearly distinguished. In addition to clarity, convenience also was a factor in employing bibliographical codes. Since the process of translating required that I repeatedly refer back to specific pages, paragraphs or sentences of the chapter, it was necessary from the beginning to employ mechanisms for quick and easy access to any portion of the text, whether the main body or the footnotes. Therefore, both page breaks and page numbers are indicated in this edition.

The inclusion of bibliographical codes for clarity and convenience throughout the translation process resulted in an edition that preserved, to a certain degree, the appearance of Hickes' text. Moreover, the value in maintaining certain codes quickly became apparent as I

considered removing some after the translation was completed. Changing the font styles, for example, to a single regular font style would have resulted again in ambiguous readings of the text. Questions arose then about how many bibliographical codes to incorporate, and more precisely, how many codes could successfully be reproduced or represented in this edition. For example, the size of Hickes' folio page cannot fully be appreciated in this edition, as it requires approximately two and a half of the modern standard pages. Nevertheless, I have chosen to employ a number of bibliographical codes in an effort to reproduce or represent the physical appearance of Hickes' text. Details are given in the following paragraphs.

Beginning with accidentals, punctuation has been maintained where it occurs within Hickes' Anglo-Saxon (et al.) quotations; and in his commentary and translation only where it does not conflict with the conventions of modern English. Special care has been given to reproducing capitalization, which, for some words, differs from modern convention, and, for others, appears irregularly throughout the text (for example, Hickes alternates between "paraphraser" and "Paraphraser" when referring to the author of MS Junius 11). It should be noted that Hickes often also alternates in the spelling of the poetic *Kalendar* (the minor poem *Menologium*), in some places spelling it with a "K," and in others with a "C."

Efforts have also been made, wherever possible, to reproduce substantives in this edition. Quoted words and passages from Anglo-Saxon (et al.) texts have been transcribed as they appear in the *Thesaurus*, although double hyphens in the middle of some words have been removed, and the odd error in word order has been silently emended. Corrections listed in Hickes' "Corrigenda et Addenda" for this chapter have not been incorporated into the text of this edition, but may be viewed on page 50, following the translation. Other errors that may exist (including discrepancies between Hickes' quotations and modern versions of the same works) have not been corrected. Further, I have made no additions to the text; all comments in parentheses or square brackets are Hickes'. In places where reproducing substantives has not been possible, since they have been translated (that is, words of the Latin text), their meaning has nevertheless been conveyed. This is particularly true for Hickes' Latin translations of the Anglo-Saxon (et al.) quotations: where the translation of individual Latin words may have included a range, in English, in terms of both meaning and register, I determined the English wording of Hickes' Latin translations based upon the meanings of the Anglo-Saxon (et al.) words, themselves. Abbreviations whose forms are firmly established and easily recognizable in medieval

scholarship have been preserved. The Anglo-Saxon barred thorn "ꝥ" (representing the word "ꝥæt," *that*) and Tironian *nota* "⁊" (representing "**and**" or "**ond**," *and*) have been reproduced, as has the Latin abbreviation "i.e." (representing "id est," *that is*) from the Latin commentary. I have also elected to maintain Hickes' use of the abbreviation "Sax." where it occurs, since its expanded form, *in the manner of the Saxons* (an entire phrase in English), would only detract from the text. Abbreviations in Hickes' commentary that appear to be the product of editorial necessity, including the "p." (representing "page") and the ampersand "&" (representing "and"), have been expanded. Finally, the titles of works that Hickes cites, which he has no uniform method of indicating, are written as they appear in the text (whether in regular, bold, or a larger point regular font).

Physical features that have been preserved include typography, pagination and page breaks. Hickes uses a regular font for his commentary; dedicated Anglo-Saxon, Cimbric, Francic, Old Saxon, and even Gothic, Runic, and Greek fonts for each respective language (thus making each distinct from the other, and from his regular font); an italic font for his Latin translations of quoted words and passages, and for all proper nouns not pertaining to translations; and a larger point font for Middle English and Middle Scots texts. In this edition I have used different font styles to represent Hickes' use of multiple fonts to distinguish between the different languages, and to mark the difference between commentary and translation within the text. A regular font style is used for Hickes' commentary; an italic font style for his Latin translations (proper nouns not connected to translations are written in regular font, even those attached to titles of works that are otherwise not italicized); and a fourteen-point regular font style to distinguish the Middle English and Middle Scots excerpts. Dedicated fonts are used for the Runic and Greek words, since they cannot be represented by English characters; and a single bold font style for Anglo-Saxon, Cimbric, Francic, and Old Saxon (all of which are typically bolder fonts), since they can be represented by English characters.

Other typographical features have been preserved, as well. Individual characters of the Anglo-Saxon, Cimbric, Francic, and Old Saxon fonts are easily reproduced by the Latin Extended character set, including the ash ("æ"), thorn ("þ"), and eth ("ð"). Less familiar characters have been regularized and modernized: all characters representing the letters "s" (the long s "ſ," the esh "ʃ," and the Anglo-Saxon "ſ") and "r" (the Anglo-Saxon "ꞃ" and Middle

English r rotunda "ꝛ") have been replaced by "s" and "r" respectively; the Anglo-Saxon wynn

("ƿ") and yogh ("ȝ") have been replaced by the modern "w" and "g;" and the Old Norse vowel

"ŋ" has been replaced by "ý."

Other extratextual details of Caput XXI that have been reproduced in this edition include

pagination and page breaks. Each of Hickes' pages, published in folio format, equals a little over

two regular typed pages; therefore, I have inserted horizontal lines to correspond with the ends of

each of his pages. Page numbers at the beginning of each successive page, corresponding to the

pages of Caput XXI, are given immediately below the horizontal line. Unless otherwise

specified, any mention of page numbers in textual or marginal comments refers to the page

numbers of the *Thesaurus*. Other physical features of the text (lineation of prose or verse, and

spacing) have not been reproduced; and signatures and catchwords have been removed.

Hickes' original footnotes have been preserved, and are indicated in the text by Arabic

numerals placed (as Hickes typically does) before the noted word. However, since they do not

always appear, in English, in the order Hickes has given them, I have indicated his original

numeric (1, 2, 3...) or symbolic (*, †) footnote designators in parentheses at the end of each

footnote. To prevent confusion, editorial notes, included in the form of endnotes, are indicated by

Roman numerals after the noted word. Editorial annotation includes clarifying Hickes' general

comments, correcting them where necessary, providing bibliographical information for

quotations where this information is inconsistent or lacking in the text, and noting discrepancies

between Hickes' quotations and translations. Bibliographical information includes line, page, or

chapter numbers for the quotations;[31] titles of works; author and year written (where available);

and the manuscript or book in which the work is found. Discrepancies are noted in Hickes'

translations of the Anglo-Saxon (et al.) quotations, where they are not in accordance with the

meaning of the Anglo-Saxon (et al.) words. This is particularly true where Hickes' omission of a

word or line in a quotation has prevented an accurate translation of that quotation. Correct

translations are provided for quotations where Hickes' translations are inaccurate; and for words

and phrases that Hickes has not translated. Finally, it will be noticed throughout the text that

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[31] Although Hickes provides citation information for most of his quotations (i.e., he identifies the source), it is often
not detailed information (i.e., with line or page numbers). Further, those with detailed information do not correspond
to modern versions of the texts (for example, Hickes uses a "page.line number" citation for the *Genesis* paraphrase,
whereas modern texts use continuous line numbers).

certain words are underlined which are not underlined in the corresponding pages of Hickes' chapter. In places where Hickes uses quotations (phrases or passages) to illustrate a specific Anglo-Saxon (et al.) word in context, I have underlined the corresponding English word in the English translations of those quotations, both in Hickes' commentary and in my endnotes, in order to aid the reader.

Caput XXI

Chapter Twenty-One

'Concerning the poetic dialect, especially the Dano-Saxon poetic dialect'

I. Thus far I have dealt with the Dano-Saxon dialect, and with those words which distinguish it from the purer Saxon dialect.[i] It now remains for me to deal with the poetic dialect, particularly the Dano-Saxon poetic dialect, which is found in the poems of the northern Saxons.[ii] For in the poetic works of the Anglo-Saxons, there are words that are foreign to common prose —Cimbric, Franco-Theotiscan,[iii] and other foreign words which, because their origin is not yet known to me, I call doubtful and uncertain. These words are found especially in those poetic works composed by the northern and perhaps eastern poets, who clearly have borrowed many words from the more ancient poets, as it is reasonable to believe—to be sure, from the Cimbri [1]Skalds, and from the poets of the Theotiscan race. From this source so many nouns and phrases, which never occur in common prose, are found in [2]metrical codices and fragments; nouns and phrases which are common with those Eddic poems and with that ancient metrically written codex quadrunus of the gospels, whether Saxon or Francic, which the Cotton library holds.[iv] Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon poets not only employ the nouns and phrases that are common with those Cimbri Skalds, but they even allude to the same fables and appellations,[v] which, as Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* demonstrates, have been drawn from the oldest poetry of the northern peoples, as if from some common store. So it is that each leader or lord of noteworthy appearance, and highly regarded by his own men on account of his bravery, and considered as an $\dot{\nu}$ [vi] and as a man

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[1] Cimbri mythology says that a certain man, made from the spittle of the Gods, whose name was **Kuasar** (like **kuadser** or **kuædser**, i.e., **kuæds-mer**, *creator of the song* or *poetry*), was the first inventor of poetry, and that honeyed wine was made from his blood mixed with honey: he who drinks from this becomes a **skalld** and **frædemadur**, that is, *a poet* and *a learned man*. Snorri Sturluson's Edda, mythology LX. (Hickes' footnote 1)

[2] The poetic paraphrase of Genesis, published in Amsterdam with the fonts and expenditures of Francis Junius, 1655, the exemplar of which is extant in the Bodleian library among the works of Junius. The fragment of the history of *Judith*, the exemplar of which is extant in the Cotton library, Vitellius A.15.6; the apograph, written in the hand of Francis Junius, stored away in the Bodleian library among the works of Junius. The poetic Kalendar, which is the beginning of the Abingdon Chronicle, in the Cotton library, Tiberius B. Francis Junius also wrote out this kalendar, and his apograph is extant among the Junian books, set apart for eternity in the Bodleian library. (Hickes' footnote 2)

distinguished in wisdom, is metonymically called [3]**Baldor** by the Anglo-Saxon poets, after
[4]Baldur, that much praised and exemplary Cimbri hero, son of Odin, wisest and kindest of all the
Æsir, who was outstanding in the outward appearance of his body and the splendor of his face,
whom indeed all the Æsir mourned after he had been killed by the treachery of Loki. Thus in the
Judith fragment[vii] the commander Holofernes is called **gumena baldor, wigena baldor, rinca
baldor**, i.e., _commander_ and _leader_ *of outstanding men, warriors, and heroes*. Thus in the
Genesis paraphrase,[viii] page LVIII.6, the poet

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introduces Abraham saying as follows to Abimelech: **ac ic me gumena baldor guþ bordes
sweng. leodmagum feor, lare gebearh**,[ix] *but, O* _lord_ *of men and scourge of shields,* [having set
out] *far from my people, I protected myself by means of my cunning*. From this use, **vil-balldr**
appears in the song of a certain huge monster emerging out of the Jomsborg moat, which is
included in the history of Styr-Biorn:[x] as for example, **æigur wiga weige vil-balldurs
fodurillan**, *may the instigators of slaughter,* _vigorous leaders,_ *kill the evil father.*

From here also *Tyrus* or *Tiirus*,[xi] the name of a leading member of the Æsir among the
Cimbri, is metonymically transferred to signify not only each and every great commander,
leader, and master, but also command, rule, dominion, victory, power and glory. Thus in the
metrical dialog between Odd and Hialmar, chapter V of **Hervarar Saga**, Odd says: **er þeir
geingu utan ad oskum tyrar lauser, ero tolf saman**,[xii] *there are twelve men together who set
out toward the ships without a* _leader_. To whom Hialmar replies: **ganga haler hrauster af
herskipum tolf saman tyrar giarner**,[xiii] *twelve brave men eager for* _victory_ *are disembarking
from the pirate ship*. It must be noted here that from the proper noun **Tyr**, **Tyrs** or **Tys** in the
genitive, comes the appellative **tyr, tyrar**. Thus in the *Judith* fragment: **Gewrec me nu mihtig
drihten torht-mod tires brytta**,[xiv] *Almighty Lord, Most Illustrious Spirit, Lord of* _glory_, *avenge*

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[3] Thus the name **Jofur**, who was one of the sons of Halfdan, a man famed for his deeds, is used among the Skalds as
the name of any outstanding king: as for example in that stanza of **Hervarar Saga**, chapter VI, **dreckur med Jofri
Jarla meingi**, *a great number of nobles drink together with the king*. The rationale for the names **Budlungur** and
Iofdunga vinur, stanzas 22 and 24 in chapter VII of the same book, is plainly the same. Although these are proper
nouns, they are nevertheless used as appellatives and common nouns in poetry, as *Olaus Verelius* observes in the
annotations to **Hervarar Saga**, page 21. (Hickes' footnote 4)
[4] Snorri Sturluson's Edda, chapters XX and XLIII. (Hickes' footnote 3)

me now. **a wæs hyra tires æt ende eades 7 ellen dæda,**[xv] *then the end was at hand for their lord, their people, their prosperity, and their glorious deeds.* **Eow ys wuldor-blæd torhtlic toweard. 7 tir gefeþe þæra læðða. ðe ge lange drugon,**[xvi] *the most extraordinary reward of glory is about to come to you; and* <u>command</u> *over your enemies, whom you have long endured, will be given to you.* **fynd sindon eowere g**edemed to dea**þe. 7 ge dom agon tir æt torhtan. sua eow getacnod hafaþ mihtig Drihten. ðurh mine hand,**[xvii] *your enemies are condemned to death, and through my hand you now carry back a victory from a most illustrious* <u>leader</u>, *just as Almighty God foretold you.* Thus in the writings of the Genesis paraphraser, *God* is called **torht tire**: as for example, **ða he gebolgen wearþ. besloh syn sceaþan. sigore 7 gewealde. dome and dugeþe 7 dream benam. his feond friþo. 7 gefean ealle. torht tire. 7 his torn gewræc,**[xviii] *then when he became angry, God* [*illustrious leader*] *struck his wicked enemy, and since he had now become an enemy, stripped him of his rule, command, power, and virtue,*[xix] *and gladness, peace, and all joy, and poured forth his wrath against him*, page 2.11. Thus page 34.15, **tymaþ nu 7 tiedraþ. tires brucaþ mid gefean fryþo fyllaþ eorþan. eall geiceaþ eow is eþel-stol holmes hlæst. 7 heofon fugla. 7 wildu doer on geweald geseald. eorþe all-grene. 7 eacen feoh,**[xx] *increase now and propagate, fill the earth, prosper to the highest degree, and rejoice in the* <u>command</u> *(which I have given to you): for into your power I have subjected the fish, the produce or goods of the sea, winged creatures of the sky, wild beasts and breeding animals, and I have given you the most prosperous land as your homeland.* Thus, page 93.15, **nis her eadiges tir,**[xxi] *there is no* <u>command</u> *of the blessed here.* Thus, page 51.21, *God* is also called **tir metod,**[xxii] <u>*Lord Creator*</u>, and **tir fæst metod,**[xxiii] page 25.11. **hine waldend on tir-fæst metod tacen sett,**[xxiv] *the Greatest* <u>Lord</u> *Creator placed a sign on him.* **tir-fæst** is also attributed to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: as for example, page 82.1, **ne forlæt ðu usic ana ece drihten. for ðam miltsum. ðe ðec men hligaþ. 7 for ðam treowum. ðe ðu tirum-fæst niþa nergend genumen hæfdest to Abraham. 7 to Isaac. 7 to Iacobe,**[xxv] *Only Eternal Lord, do not forsake us on account of your mercy, for the sake of which men place their defense in you; and on account of steadfastness, which you maintained for the* <u>most outstanding</u> *patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, O Savior of their descendants.* Thus of the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter II, **qua that hie im tyreas so filo an Godes rikea forgeban uuoldi,**[xxvi] *he said that he would give*

him so many <u>dominions</u> in the kingdom of God; and chapter XIV, **cuningo craftigost Crist, imforth giuuet an Galileo land, Godes egan barn, fuor im te them friundun thar hie afuodid uuas tirlico atogan,**[xxvii] *Christ the mightiest of kings, God's own son, went into Galilee land, travelling to his kinsmen, among whom <u>Augustus</u> had been born and educated.* Thus chapter XXXI, **thie tha egan uuili aldar langan tir hohheban riki endi huldi Godes,**[xxviii] *those who wished to have eternal life, the <u>glory</u> of the exalted heavenly kingdom, and the favor of God.* Furthermore, **tir**, when joined to adjectives signifies that they have a [5]more developed significance, and carries them forth into the superlative degree, according to that exemplar of Snorri,[xxix] Mythology XXIII about Tyr. From here that expression **Tyrbrauster** derived (i.e., *bold like Tyr*) *one who is courageous before all others*, and *one who fears nothing*. Indeed **tyrspakur** (i.e., *wise like Tyr*), *one who is exceedingly wise*, is said in common speech. In the same way one finds **tireadig**, *mightiest, excellent, renowned* among the Saxon poets: as for example, in the Cotton calendar,[xxx] **And ðæs embe fif niht ðætte fulwiht tiid eces drihtnes to us cymeþ. ðæne twelfta dæga tir-eadige hæleþ heaþu rofe hataþ on Britene,**[xxxi] *and five days henceforth,* [epiphany] *the time at which the Eternal Lord was baptized will come to visit us. The <u>mightiest</u> heroes, and celebrated leaders of Britain call this the twelfth day.* Indeed **tir**, whose genitive is **tirs**, is compounded with adjectives among the Franco-Theotiscans; from which, perhaps through a metathesis of letters, *tresheureux*, and *tresbon*[xxxii] are constructed among the Franco-Gauls, and innumerable adjectives of that sort, which that *tres* raises to the superlative degree.

II. Furthermore, the name of a certain [6]man, whom the Gods first constructed from an ash tree (in the Cimbrian language, **askur**; Sax. **æsc**), is likewise used metonymically to signify the male sex and the human race.[xxxiii] Thus in the fragment of the history of *Judith*, the *Judean leaders* are called **eorlas æsc-rofe**, *men*, or *most celebrated noblemen*.[xxxiv] Thus *God* is called **Æsca-tir** in the writings of the Genesis paraphraser. **wæs ðu gewurþod on wera rime for þæs eagum þe ðe Æsca-tir æt guðe forgeaf,**[xxxv] *may you be celebrated in the annals, among brave men, on account of your military discernment, which the <u>Leader of Men</u> has given to you*, page 46.11. From this, **Æsc-tir**

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[5] See chapter IV rule 7. (Hickes' footnote *)
[6] Refer to Snorri's Edda concerning this matter, in the seventh mythology. (Hickes' footnote †)

in a general sense signifies *a great leader*, to whom many men are made subject: as for example in the Genesis Paraphrase, page 45.17, **sigor eft ahwearf of Norþmonna niþ geteone Æsc-tir wera Abraham sealde**,[xxxvi] *Abraham, <u>the leader</u> or <u>commander</u> of brave men, returned from the Northmen victorious, and paid back the grave injustices.* From this term *Ask*, or *Æsc*, the first man to be created, comes the proper name **Æsc** among the Anglo-Saxons: as for example the sons of Hengist in Gibson's Saxon chronicle, pages 13 and 14.[xxxvii] **Æsc-wine,** i.e., *friend of men, a kind man*, is also a proper name among the Anglo-Saxons, Gibson's Saxon chronicle, pages 16, 41, 44. Thus **Æsc-wige**, i.e., *commander of men* or *heroic man*, is the name of a bishop, page 127. Moreover, *Woluspa* in Saemund's Edda[xxxviii] sings as follows about the creation of the first father, stanzas 17, 18.[xxxix]

[7]**Vnst þriar komu ór þui lide**	*Until three came from that host Æsir*
Auffigir og [8]**Aftgier Aser, ad huse**	*Very powerful and amiable gods, to a certain house*
Fundu a lande lýte meigande	*They found on the shore the* [9]*wretched ones*
Ast og Emblo, ørløg lausa,	*<u>Ask</u> and Embla, devoid of* [10]*all inclination,*
[11]**Aund þau nie atta, od þau ne hofdu,**	*Breath they had not, wit they had not,*
La, nie læte, nie litu goda.	*Nor strength, nor language, nor a pleasing appearance.*
[12]**Aund gaff Odinn, od gaff Hæner,**	*Odin gave them breath, Hæner imparted wit,*
La gaff Lodur, og litu goda.	*Lodur bestowed strength, & a pleasing appearance.*

Æsc is also employed, by a process of metonymy of material, for a round shield, an oblong shield, and the boss of a shield:[xl] **ða se halga heht his heorþ werod wæpna onfon. he ðær**

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[7] **Vns**. (Hickes' footnote 1)
[8] **Audga**. (Hickes' footnote 2)
[9] *Powerless ones*. (Hickes' footnote 5)
[10] *Without futures*. (Hickes' footnote 6)
[11] **Ond**. (Hickes' footnote 3)
[12] **Ond**. (Hickes' footnote 4)

wigena fand æsc-berendra XVIII 7 CCC. eac [13]**þeonden holdra,**[xli] *then the holy man* [*Abraham*] *commanded his personal army to take up arms, out of which he drew up three hundred eighteen* <u>shield-bearing</u> *soldiers, who were faithful to the lord.*

      III. Snorri Sturluson, in the second part of his Edda, informs us that the appellations for *earth*[xlii] in the Eddic writings of the Cimbri are **folld**, **grund**, **molld**, **vangur**, which all also occur in Anglo-Saxon poems: thus in the writings of the Genesis Paraphraser, page 3.15, **her ærest gesceop ece drihten. helme eall wihta. heofon 7 eorþan. rodor arærde. 7 ðis rumeland gestaþelode strangum mihtum frea almihtig.** [14]**folde wæs þa gyta græs ungrene. garsecg ðeahte. sweart synnihte side 7 wide,**[xliii] *then first the Eternal Lord, Crown of all creation, created heaven and earth and raised up a firmament, and the Almighty Lord established this spacious earth by means of his strong power. For the* <u>land</u> *was not made yet, the green grass was not yet made, nor was the ocean made; but far and wide was the blackness of perpetual night.* Likewise on page 4.10, **fold wæs adæled under heah rodore,**[xliv] *the* <u>earth</u> *was divided under the high firmament*. Then there follows **ða com ofer foldan fus siþian mære morgen ðridda. næron metode ða gyta wið lande ne wegas nytte. ac stod bewrigen fæste folde mið flode,**[xlv] *then the third day, after it had been sent forth in its turn, shone forth gloriously over the* <u>earth</u>. *For dry land had not yet been discovered [distinguished, marked out] and the sea water was not yet useful; but the* <u>earth</u> *was covered with water*. Thus in the Kalendar, **on foldan her,**[xlvi] *on this* <u>earth</u>; **ofer foldan wang,**[xlvii] *over the surface of the* <u>earth</u>; **hærfæst cumaþ. butan anre wanan wlitig wæstmum hladen. wela byþ geywed fægere on foldan,**[xlviii] *harvest came, beautiful, free from all want, laden with fruit; and the riches of the* <u>earth</u> *were revealed*. Thus in the *Judith* fragment; **he gefeoll to foldan,**[xlix] *he fell to the* <u>ground</u>. Thus also in *exorcism to restore fertile fields*[1] in the Cotton Library, Caligula A.7.2, **hel wes ðu folde fira moder,**[li] *hail,* <u>earth</u>, *mother of men*. As follows in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter LI, **uuirthit thiu tid cuman that**

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[13] For **þeoden**. (Hickes' footnote 7)

[14] *Woluspa*, stanza 3.

Ar var allda þa er ymer bygde.
Vara sandur ne sær nie sualur um.
Iord fanst æfa nie uphimen.
Gap var ginnunga, enn gras huerge.

It was the beginning of ages when Ymer began to build;
There was neither land, nor sea, nor the winds blowing around.
The land had not yet been invented, nor the deep sea,
There was an immeasurable expanse of space, and no vegetation at all. (Hickes' footnote 8)

is afstandan ni scal sten obar o ron ac it fellit te foldu,[lii] *the time is going to come in which, in it, stone will not remain on top of stone, but will fall to the earth.* Likewise in chapter LXVIII, **Endi an graf leggian foldu bifelahan,**[liii] *and to place it in a tomb, buried in the earth.* Concerning the rest, there is no need to linger over them, seeing that they are appellations which have been transferred from their proper signification in order to signify the *earth*; nevertheless, I would like to warn the reader that these words are found among our old poets: especially in the writings of the Satirist,[liv] foremost of all, who without any doubt had busied himself with the Anglo-Saxon poets. Thus in his first Satire, entitled *Passus primus*:

> And when [15]it had of this <u>fold</u> flesh and blood taken,
>
> The most mischiefe on <u>mould</u> is mounting well fast.
>
> The money of this <u>moulde</u>, that men so fast holdeth.[lv]

Likewise in the second Satire, which is entitled *Passus secundus*, these verses that follow occur:

> And men on this <u>mould</u>, that mainteneth truth.
>
> Of many maner men, that on this <u>mould</u> lybbeth.
>
> Shall never man on this <u>mould</u> mainprise the leaste.[lvi]

    IV. Snorri also observes that *men* among the poets of the northern races, especially of the Cimbri,

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are called: **I.** [16]**Reckar**, i.e., *vigorous soldiers*, and through poetic synecdoche, *men*, *human beings*.[lvii] In the Saxon language, **rincas**. For as the Cimbri [17]**beckur** and **dryckur** are **benc** and **drync** in the Saxon language; so **reckur** is **rinc**;[lviii] **II. Verar**, i.e., *garrison soldiers*, *defenders*, in the Saxon language **weras**, is from the Cimbric word **veria**, Sax. **weran**, *to protect*, *to*

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[15] The author in this passage understands the Prince of peace, whom in the same place he calls **the Plans of peace**. (Hickes' footnote 9)

[16] In singular number it is **rekur**. The word appears in the poetic dialogue of **Hervarar Saga**, chapter VII, stanza 6, **Hirdum ey fælast þott elldar brenni: latum ey ockur lijtid saka recka slijka radum fleira**, *let the flame of fire not make the spirit of the herdsmen terrified, let us not permit two such great men, on account of something small, to be condemned by the common talk of a great number of people.* See below in the margin at footnote 6. (Hickes' footnote *)

[17] See chapter XX, rule XI. (Hickes' footnote 1)

defend;[lix] **III**. **Gumar** or **gumnar**, *governors, commanders*. Sax. [18]**gumas**, **guman**,[lx] or in [19]composite declension, **gumenas**;[lxi] **IV**. [20]**Segger**, *soldiers from low status who had ascended to the rank of noblemen*, and through poetic synecdoche *men*. Sax. **secgas** or **seggas**;[lxii] **V. Lidar**, *travel companions*.[lxiii] Sax. [21]**leodas**. All of these words are also read in the writings of the Anglo-Saxon poets, among whom, through synecdoche of type for class, they often even signify, in a [22]general way, and sometimes in a quite grandiose way, men of every [23]status and condition; just as **eorle, æþeling** and **wiga** in poetic words; lord in the writings of the Satirist; **bar** or **baro** in the Francic metrically written quadrunus book of the gospels;[lxiv] and all must be translated in accordance with either a general or a specific signification, according as the sense and goal of the poet, and the trope, require.[lxv] Occasionally these noble names are used neither in a particular sense, nor general one precisely, but in a certain middle sense, where they denote outstanding, renowned, and exceptional men of whatever status and condition, which ought to be particularly observed by the studious reader of poets. Moreover, here are some examples: **ða ðæs rinces se rica ongan. cyning costigan. cunnode georne. huilc þæs æþelinges. ellen wære,**[lxvi] *then the mighty* [24]*king began to test this* [25]*man, earnestly examining what sort the* <u>*man's*</u> [26]*courage was*, the Paraphraser of *Genesis* page 61.8. **Ne ðuhte ða gerysne. rodora wearde. þ Adam leng ana wære. neorxena-wanges. niwre gesceafte. hynd 7 healdend. forþon him heah cyning. frea almihtig. fultum tiode. wif aweahte. and ða raþe sealde. lifes leoht fruma. leofum rince,**[lxvii] *the overseer of the heavens did not think it appropriate that Adam should remain long alone as*

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[18] **ᚱᚢMEINS** masculine. (Hickes' footnote 2)

[19] See chapter XX, rule III. (Hickes' footnote 3)

[20] In the singular it is **seggur**: as in the first stanza, chapter XVII, of **Hervarar Saga**. **Ingack þu seggur i sal hafan**, *go inside* <u>*man*</u>, *into the lofty palace*! Similarly in **Gretla**; as for example, **þotta eg hæfur ad hrotta Hreggindi fyrer seggium**, *I Hreggindi in the past used to be considered by* <u>*men*</u> *as a man fit for battles*. So also in a stanza of chapter XIX of **Hervarar Saga**; as for example, **Mikid er þeirra meinge. ser ein eru seggia filki**, *great is their multitude, for there are six companies of* <u>*men*</u> [soldiers]. (Hickes' footnote 4)

[21] In singular number it is **leode**, *race, nation, people*. (Hickes' footnote 5)

[22] This is observed in the second part of Snorri's Edda concerning the word **reckur**: as for example, **Reckar voru kallader þeir menn, er fylgdu Alfi kongi, og aff þeirra nafni eru kallader hermenn, og er rett ad kalla svo alla menn,** *the comrades in arms under King Alf are called reckar, and soldiers in general are designated by their name* [reckar]; *but all men are also able to be properly called thus.* For the reader's sake, I stress again and again this figure of speech employed by the Skalds, through which they appropriate the names of individuals for type, and of type for class. (Hickes' footnote 6)

[23] See chapter XXIII, rule 26. (Hickes' footnote 7)

[24] *God*. (Hickes' footnote 9)

[25] *Abraham.* (Hickes' footnote 8)

[26] Or *innate qualities*. (Hickes' footnote 10)

the guardian and tender of paradise, which had recently been created. On which account the almighty Lord, most exalted king, raised up a [27]*wife for him and bound him to the helper, whom life's Author of light at once had handed over to the beloved* <u>*man*</u>, page IV.20. It also occurs in a compound: **ða mago-rincas metode geþungen Abraham 7 Loth,** [lxviii] *the* <u>*cousins*</u> *Abraham and Lot worshipped God reverently*, page 38.17. Thus page 46.9, **þ wæs se mæra Melchisedec leoda biscop se mid lacum com fyrd-rinca fruman fægre gretan Abraham arlice7 him onsette godes bletsunge 7 swa gyddode. wæs ðu gewurþod,** [lxix] *this was the great Melchisedec, bishop of the people, who came with gifts honorably to greet the venerable Abraham, leader of the* [28]<u>*army*</u>*, and blessed him, singing thus: may you be honored*, etc. Likewise on page 35.10, **hatene wæron suna Noes Sem and Ham and Iafeþ ðridda. from ðam gum-rincum folc geludon and gefylled wearþ eall ðæs middangeard monna bearnum,** [lxx] *but the sons of Noah are called Shem, Ham, and the third Japheth. From these* [29]<u>*patriarchs*</u> *came the people, and this whole world was filled with men*. Thus in the Kalendar: **ðæne heriaþ wel in gewritum wise-rincas rægolfæste,** [lxxi] *whom wise* <u>*men*</u> *bound by religious rules, i.e. monks, greatly praise in their writings*. Thus in the *Judith* fragment: **her ge magon sweotole sige-rofe hæleþ leoda ræspan on ðæs laþestan hæþenes heaþo-rinces heafod starian Holofernes unlyfigendes. ðe us monna mæst morþra gefremed,** [lxxii] *here, O celebrated in victory and excellent leaders of the people, you can see, clearly visible, the head of the most hated pagan* <u>*leader*</u> *Holofernes, now dead, who most of all inflicted devastation upon our people*. **Sylfre brohton eorlas æsc-rofe Holofernes sweord 7 swatigne helm swilce eac side byrnan gerenode readum golde. 7 eal þ se rinca baldor swiþ-mod sinces ahte,** [lxxiii] *the most celebrated men were bringing the very sword of Holofernes, and his sweaty helmet, and likewise the long coat of mail, adorned with red gold, and whatever the noble leader of* <u>*men*</u> *possessed of treasure*. Thus in the Cotton Harmony of the gospels, **thuo hie so hardo gibod Erodes obar is riki het thuo is rinkos faran cuning thero liudo,** [lxxiv] *then the cruel king Herod commanded the people throughout his whole kingdom, and ordered his* <u>*men*</u> *to go*. Thus in chapter XVI, **quat that oc saliga uuarin thia rinkos, thia redto,** [lxxv] *he said that the* <u>*men*</u> *also would be blessed, who revered justice*. Likewise

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[27] Or *bringing a helper, he raised up a wife for him.* (Hickes' footnote 11)
[28] *Of soldiers.* (Hickes' footnote 12)
[29] *From these leaders, founders,* or perhaps *men.* (Hickes' footnote 13)

in chapter XXVI, **thie rinc upp asat that barn an thero barun,**[lxxvi] *that <u>young man</u>, that son on the bier lifted himself up.*

IV.[lxxvii] Although among the Cimbri the word **wer** is [30]particular to the poets, nevertheless there is no need for me to quote examples to illustrate it,

as a word which is common to prosaic and metrical speech among the Anglo-Saxons.

Therefore I pass over to the third word, **Gum** or **guma**, of which I offer one or two examples. **se maga wæs, on his mægþe. mine gefrege. guma on geogoþe. Iared haten,**[lxxviii] *this little son, as I discovered, was called Jared among his people when he was a young <u>man</u>*, the Paraphraser of Genesis page 27.24. **Ðe sua hatte. bresna Babilonige. ðære burge weard. anne manlican. ofer metodes est. gyld of gold. gumum arærde. for þam he gleaw ne wæs. gumrices weard,**[lxxix] *just as he had ordered, the unyielding* [31]*guardian of the city of Babylon raised up a statue and a god out of gold for the* [32]*men, against the will of God, because he was not a wise guardian of the <u>kingdom</u>*, i.e., *wise king*, page 71.22. **Awehte ðone wæl-niþ wera aldor frea Babilones brego on his burhstede Nabochodonosor ðurh Niþhete þ he secan ongan sefan gehygdum hu he Israelum eaþmost meahte þurh gromra gang guman oþ-þringan,**[lxxx] *Nebuchadnezzar, leader and master of men and king of Babylon, exercised tyranny in his city to such a degree, that on account of his hatred he began to turn over in his thoughts, how he might easily, by means of cruelty, be able to oppress the* [*Israelite*] *<u>men</u>.* Thus in the Kalendar, **Ne hyrde ic guman awyrn ænigne ær æfre bringan ofer saltne mere selran lare,**[lxxxi] *I have not heard before that any <u>man</u> had brought instruction over the sea that was more beneficial.* Likewise in the Cotton Harmony of the gospels, chapter IV, **Thuo bigan im the uuiso man suitho god gumo Ioseph an is muode thenkean,**[lxxxii] *then that wise and most virtuous <u>man</u> Joseph began to reflect with his soul.*

Fourth, the noun **Secge** requires that I illustrate it with examples. And indeed, the first is from the paraphraser, **Ðær hlihende huþe feredon secgas 7 gesiþas,**[lxxxiii] *then rejoicing, the*

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[30] **Ver**, m.g., *man, married man*. It is poetical. Guðmundur Andrésson, in the Lexicon Islandicum. (Hickes' footnote 14)

[31] It is understood as Nebuchadnezzar. (Hickes' footnote *)

[32] That is *for the Governors, the commanders, the leaders, the prefects of the provinces*, etc. (Hickes' footnote †)

noblemen *and their companions carried back the spoils* [to Abraham], *page 45.17. Thus in the Judith* fragment, **stopon cyne-rofe secgas 7 gesiþas, bæron ðufas,**[lxxxiv] *the royal* governors *and the companions carrying the standards departed. Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels,* chapter XXV, **ina enig seggio ni meg handon gihelian,**[lxxxv] *no one was able heal him with his hands.*

Next let us direct our attention to the noun **Leode**, of which not a few examples occur in a reading of the paraphraser. Thus page 84.23, **Gebead ða se bræsna Babylone weard. swiþ-mod sinum leodum,**[lxxxvi] *then when he became angry, the unyielding guardian of Babylon gave orders to his* companions *or* attendants. Line 14, **leoda cyninges,**[lxxxvii] *the companions or attendants of the king.* Thus page 85.17, **cuþ is þ me Daniel. dyglan suefnes. soþ gesede. þ ær swiþ oþstod. manegum on mode. minra leoda,**[lxxxviii] *it is known, that Daniel explained to me the truth of my secret dream, which had remained strongly fixed in the mind of many of my* wise men. Thus on the same page, line 10, **ða se ðeoden ongan geðinges wyrcan. het ða to somne sine leode,**[lxxxix] *then the king began to assemble a council, ordering his* companions *to convene.* Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter VI, **fundum san folco drohtin liudo herron,**[xc] *they at once found the lord of the people, the king of* men; chapter VII, **im habda for liuuan liudo herro,**[xci] *the lord of* men *had granted them;* chapter XII, **Iohannes an Iordana strome allan langan dag liudi managa doph,**[xcii] *John baptized many people* [a great multitude] *all day long.* Thus Chapter XLVII,[xciii] **thuo hie te them uuerode sprac te allon them erlon,**[xciv] *then He spoke to that crowd, to all those* people. **Endi sia at erist erl mid is handon sten auuerpe,**[xcv] *and let that* man *cast a stone with his hands first.* Thus chapter XXVI, **helithos quamun thia liudi te lande,**[xcvi] *the* men *put in at land.*

Add to these **ðeod, ðeoda**; Frank. **theod, thiud**, *race, nation, people,* and through poetic synecdoche *human beings, men, the human race.* In the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter VI, **nu ist thie helago Crist, uualdand selbo an thesan uuih cuman to alosannea thia liude thia hier nu lango bidun an thesaro middilgard managa huila thurstig theoda,**[xcvii] *now Christ himself, holy lord, set out for the temple to redeem the* populace, *and people in need* (of a Saviour), *who for a long time now, and many times had awaited him in this world.*

Here also, as I said above, **eorle, wiga,** and **æþeling** must be mentioned. **wurdon ðam æþelinge. eaforan acende. in Babilone. bearn afeded. freolicu tu. 7 ða frumgaran. hæleþ**

hige-rofe. hatene wæron. Abraham 7 Aaron. ðam eorlum wæs. frea engla ban freod 7 aldor,[xcviii] *to this noble man in Babylon descendants were born, and two freeborn sons were brought forth, and they were called Abraham and Aaron, these patriarchs and brave-minded heroes. The lord of the angels was savior and father to both these* <u>noble men</u>, 38.18 of the Paraphrase. Thus page 46.7, **gewat him frea leoda. earlum bedroren. Abraham secan. freondo fesceaft**,[xcix] *the king, deprived of* <u>noblemen</u> [*or men*]*, and devoid of friends, went out to search for Abraham.* Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter VI, **An them ahto en dage erlos managa suitho**,[c] *very many* <u>men</u> *on the eighth day*; chapter IX, **nu thie cuning ni lebit erl obarmuodi**,[ci] *now the king, that arrogant* <u>man</u>*, is not alive*.

In the *Judith* fragment, Holofernes is called **byrn-wigena brego**, *commander of mailed soldiers*. **Hi hraþe fremedon ambyht scealcas swa him heora ealdor bebead byrn wigena brego**,[cii] *the messengers immediately did just as their lord, the leader*, i.e. *the commander* or *general, of mailed men had commanded them*.

Not a small portion of these words are also found in our old poets, particularly in the Satirist, and in the Scottish authors; as for example in the Douglas[ciii] translation of Virgil's Aeneid; in the canto that is entitled Christ's Kirk on the green,[civ] in the book for which the title is the life of William Wallace;[cv] and in the writings of our Chaucer.

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Rink appears in a short poem of the most notable James, as it is believed, king of the Scots, the title for which is Christ's Kirk on the green; but I have drawn the remaining examples, immediately following, from our Satirist.

Rink.

Then Stephen came stepping in with stends,
Noe rink might him arrest.[cvi]

Gome or Gomme.

Therefore God of his goodness the first gome Adam

Set him in solace, and in sovereign mirth.

I gluton, quod the gome, giltye me yelde.

Nay so God me help seyd that gome than.

And if the gommes grutch then, bid hem go swynke.

And I will go with this gomme, if God will give me grace.[cvii]

Segge.

I have seen segges, quoth he, in the city of London

Beare byghes full bryght about their neckes.

That every segge shall say I am sister of your house.

In ensample tho segges, ye should done thy better.

I must sit sayd the segge, or els I most needs nap.

I am a surgeon sayde tho segge, and salves can make.[cviii]

Leode or Ladde.

Among these lettred leodes this Latin is to meane

That fyre shal fal, and brenne all to blo ashes.

Therefore have I no liking with tho leodes to wonne.

Till late was and longe, ere they a leode mette.

To tel Latin thou learnedst leode in thy youth.

Was never wight as I went, that me with could

Wher this ladde lenged, less or more.[cix]

Here I should note the etymology of the Anglian **ladde**, which signifies *man, male, young man, a boy becoming a man*. Nor should the reader be surprised that **leode** and **ladde** are written in various ways by our author, for whom nothing is more common than to write words that are not different in different ways: as for example **absoyle** and **assoyle**; **graundmercy** and **grammercy**; **gomes** and **gommes**; **pelure**, **pelore**, and **pelyre** [now **pearle** or **perle**], and below

girle, **gyrle**. However, **laddesse**, *young woman*—in use for a long time now among our writers—is derived from **ladde**, for which through contraction **lasse** is used today.

Wye from Wiga

He light down of liard, ladde him in his hand,

And to the wye he went, his woundes to beholde.

For went never wye in thys world through the wilderness.

And as these wise wyes weren togythers,

In an souse al beshette, and the doors barred,

Christ came in, etc.[cx] [wise wyes, i.e. apostles]

You may add to these **reuke**,[cxi] **freke**, and **girle** or **gyrle**, which are all appellatives of men in our old authors, especially in the Satirist, who, in my judgment, must be placed before all others. I think that the etymology of the first must be drawn from the Cimbric word **reckur**. I believe that the second must be derived from **frægur**, *famous*, or **frekur**, *harsh, vigorous*:[cxii] for Snorri, in the second part of his Edda, informs us that matters derive their appellations from those things that belong to them and are attributed to them. The third, however, plainly comes from the Saxon **ceorl**, *man, male*. Here indeed, are some examples:

Reuke

Therefore I red you reukes, that rich be on this earth.

For may no reuke there rest have, for rattons by night.

And riche reukes right so gaderen and sparen.[cxiii]

Freke.

And if thou find any freke, that fortune hath apaired.

The freke, that fedeth himself with his faithfull labour,

He is blessed by the boke, in body and in soule.

It is not four dayes, that this freke, before the Dean of Poules,

Preached of penaunce. ------------------[cxiv]

           Girle, or Gyrle.

Aristotle and other moe to argue I taught,

Grammer for gyrles I garde first to write.

Through wine and women ther was Loth accombred,

And ther gat in gluttony, girles that were cherells.[cxv]

For, Moab and Ammon, sons of Lot, are so designated by the poet. By just what *catachresis*[cxvi] it happened long ago that *young women*[cxvii] came to be so designated among us, I confess that it escapes me altogether; unless **girle**, *young woman*, is derived by chance from **carlinna** or **karlinna**, which signifies *female* among the Cimbri. These examples are mentioned in passing from our Satirist, to whom the Anglo-Saxon poets were so familiar, that he not only wrote verses using their words, but imitated that initial alliteration found in their writings, and sometimes even composed verses that were all but in the Saxon dialect, as for example,

And I hote the, quod hunger, as thou the hele wilneste.[cxviii]

And ic ðe hate, cueþ hungor, sua ðine hæle ðu wilnest.

Finally, this poet of ours, the most learned man of his generation and the most severe defender of morals, in not only one passage, in the verses that follow,[33] predicted for the Clergy, whom he reviles in all of his satires, with the Pope himself not remaining unscathed—for the Clergy of both orders, I say, he predicted, some two hundred years earlier than it occurred, what was destined to come in later days as a result of their sins, hypocrisy, avarice, luxuriousness, love of earthly things, want of charity, abuse of benefices of tithes, sloth, and the disgraceful neglect of the flock.

Litle had Lords to done, to give lands from her heirs

To religious, that have no ruth, if it rain on her alteres

In many places ther they persons be, by himself at ease,

Of the pore have they no pity, and that is her charitie,

And they letten hem as Lords, her lands lye so brod.

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[33] See the section **The Suppression of Abbeyes**, in the satire which is entitled *Passus decimus*. (Hickes' footnote*).

And there shal come a King, and confess you religious,

And beate you as the Bible telleth for breking of your rule;

And amende moniales, monkes, and chanons,

And put hem to her penaunce, ad pristinum statum ire.

And barons with erles, beat hem through, beatus vir.[cxix]

And then shall the Abbot of Abington, and all his issue for ever

Have a knocke of Kynge, and incurable the wound:

That this worth soth seke ye, that oft overse the bible.[cxx]

-------- That rode they honoure,

That in grotes is graven, and in nobles:

For covetous of that Crosse, men of holy kyrke

Shal turn as Templars did, the time approcheth nere,

Wyt ye not ye wyse men, hom tho men honored

More treasure them trouth, I dare not tell the soth,

Reason and rightfull dome, the religious demed

Ryght so you Clarkes, for your covetise ere long

Shal they deme Dos ecclesse, and your pride depose.[cxxi]

From these, Christian Reader, consider carefully with me that a time is fixed, beyond which God, just by nature, does not delay to punish; when rising to exact retribution, he will not spare his flock, whether commoners or clergy, nor his anointed ones, whether kings or priests, instead handing over the impious to be punished by the impious, and destroying sinners by means of other sinners—just as a potter, in his anger, smashes a pitcher against a pitcher; and at length, transforming a vessel of honor into a vessel of wrath, smashes it against a vessel of shame and abuse. Therefore wise up o priests; and wise up you

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kings, be instructed you who judge the land; kiss the Son as suppliants lest he grow angry and you perish; for when his fury has blazed up, he will crush you like an iron rod, and just as earthenware vessels he will destroy you with yourselves; and then all who believe in him will be blessed.

But to return as Grammarian, from where I have digressed as Theologian, Snorri, speaking in the second part of his Edda, enumerates among the poetic appellations which the Cimbri Skalds used: **I**. [34]**brynia**, Sax. **byrn** or **byrna**, *coat of mail, iron breastplate.*[cxxii] **II**. **sefe** or **seffe**, Sax. **sefa**, *mind, spirit.* **III**. **mund**, Sax. **mund**, *hand.* **IV**. **brage**, Sax. **brego**, *king, leader, master, general.* **V**. **mogur** or **mægur**, Sax. **mago**, *son, little son.* **VI**. **alldur**, Sax. **aldor**, **ealdor**, *life.* **VII**. **raund**, Sax. **rand**, *shield.* **VIII**. [35]**logur**, **laugur**,[cxxiii] metynomically, *water, sea, flood.* **IX**. **kollur**, **kollner**, *helmet.* **colla** Sax.. **X**. **gullbriotur**, *distributing gold*, figuratively, *king, leader*; Sax. **goldes brytta, sinces brytta**. **XI**. **nidur**, *son, grandson*; from which through poetic synecdoche comes Sax. **niþas** or **niððas**, *people, mortals, future generations who are descended from earlier generations.* **XII**. **salur**, *house*; Sax. **sal**, *house, hall.* **XIII**. **leid**, *ship*; Sax. **lid**. **XIV**. **firar**, and **firdar**, strictly speaking *protectors, men placed in command*, but through poetic synecdoche *men*; Sax. **firas**. All of the above must be supported with examples.

Now the *Judith* fragment supplies examples of the first. Certainly, **swa him heora ealdor bebead byrnwigena brego**,[cxxiv] *just as their lord, general of <u>mailed heroes</u>, had ordered them.* Likewise, **and læddon to ðære beorhtan byrig Bethuliam. helmas and huwseax. hare byrnan. guþscearp gumena. golde gefrætewod**,[cxxv] *and to the bright city Bethulia they carried helmets and swords, and the commander's <u>coats of mail</u> which were adorned with gold.*

Consider examples of the second,[cxxvi] which follow. **Ne sealdest ðu me sunu. forþon mec sorg dreceþ. on sefan suiþe**,[cxxvii] *you did not give me a son, for which reason the sorrow of my <u>spirit</u> greatly torments me*, the Paraphraser, 47.24. **Ac heo gearum frod ðone hleaþor-cwyþe husce belegde on sefan suiþe**,[cxxviii] *but she, having become old, in her <u>spirit</u> very disgracefully accused the prophecy of lying*, page 52.25. Thus page 77.23, **ða him unbliþe answaredon. deofol witgan. næs him dom gearu. to asecganne. swefen cyninge. hu magon**

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[34] Written thus in that metrical dialog between Odd and Hialmar, chapter V of **Hervarar Saga**, as for example, **Hialmur er þin hoggvin en a hlid brynia**, *your helmet is hewn, and the coat of mail on your side*. **Sar hef eg sertan, oc slitna bryniu**, *I have sixteen wounds and a ruptured coat of mail*. (Hickes' footnote *)

[35] **Logur** is for us what *liquor* is for Latin speakers: undoubtedly this word signifies *water*, and is quite often employed in a metaphorical sense in place of *sea* by Guðmundur Andrésson in these words, **vm log lyder**, stanza 51 of *Völuspá*. From here also comes that line, **laugur er landa bellte**, *the sea is the girdle of the earth*. (Hickes' footnote 1)

we sua digle. drihten ahicgan. on sefan ðinne. hu ðe swefnede. oððe wyrda gesceaft. wisdom bude. gif ðu his ærest ne meaht. or areccan,^{cxxix} *then the prophets of the* [36]*Devil answered them, that it was not within their capabilities to tell the mystery of the dream to the king, saying, how might we be able, o lord, to search out the secret matter, or to say how wisdom introduced the dream to your* mind, *or revealed the decrees of the fates, if you are not able to explain to us its beginning.* Thus page 78.6, **ge sueltaþ deaþe. nimþe ic dom wite. soþan suefnes. ðæs min sefa myndgaþ,**^{cxxx} *you will die unless I know the secret of the true dream, of which my* mind *reminds me.* Thus page 72.5, **nymþe hwilc. ðæs snottor. in sefan weorþe. þ he ana mage. ealle geriman. stanes on eorþan. steorran on heofonum,**^{cxxxi} *except someone will become so wise of* spirit *that he alone may be able to count up all the stones of earth and stars of heaven.* Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels chapter LXVIII, **thiu uuib soragodon an iro sebon suuitho,**^{cxxxii} *the women were very unhappy in their* spirits. Thus chapter LXXI of the same harmony, **quat hie ist inc iamer hugi sebo sora gonofull,**^{cxxxiii} *he said, surely your* spirit *is not unhappy, full of grief.* **iro muod sebo,**^{cxxxiv} *her* spirit, chapter V.

The third, **mund**, is found in *Völuspá*, or Saemund's Edda, stanza 55. **lætur hann moge huedrungs mund ofstanda**, which Guðmundur Andrésson translates in this way, *that man sees to it that his* hand *presses down upon the one born of the Cyclopes*;^{cxxxv} then writes as follows in the notes, **mund**, *hand*, once widespread, from which is **mundlog**, *washbasin*; **mundhangur**, *a balance*.^{cxxxvi} He notes the same for the word in his Icelandic Lexicon. Thus in the writings of the Paraphraser, page 31.19, **him on hoh beleac. heofon rices weard, mere-huses muþ. mundum sinum sigora waldend. 7 segnade. earce innan. agenum spedum. nergend usser,**^{cxxxvii} *the guardian of the heavenly kingdom with his own* hands *bolted the door on the upper part of the marine house for him, and our savior marked those inside the ark with his own good words.* Thus page 34.23, **ic monnes feorh. to slagan seþe. ðæs ðe blod-gyte, wæll-fyll weres. wæpnum gespedeþ. morþ mid mundum,**^{cxxxviii} *I hand over the life of a man to his slayer (executioner), who commits a bloodshedding, and the slaughter of a man with weapons, or murder with his* hands. Thus page 25.9, **gif manna huelc. mundum sinum. aldre beneotaþ. hine oncymeþ, æfter ðære sinne. seofon feald wracu. wite æfter weorce,**^{cxxxix} *if anyone*

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[36] Soothsayers, magicians, Chaldaens, etc. (Hickes' footnote 2)

deprives a man of life with his <u>hands</u> [i.e. he commits murder] *after that sin, vengeance seven-fold and punishment will pursue him after the deed.*

The fourth, **brego**, occurs often in the Paraphraser: as on page 5.1, where *God* is called **brego engla**,[cxl] *king of the angels*. Thus page 80.20, *Nebuchadnezzar* is called **Babilone brego**,[cxli] *king of Babylon*: and in the *Judith* fragment *Holofernes* is called **beorna brego**: as for example **mynton eall**e **þ se beorna brego. and seo beorhte mæþ in ðam wlitegan træfe wæron ætsomne**,[cxlii] *everyone remembers that the* <u>lord</u> *and beautiful virgin were together in the splendid tent.*

The fifth, **maga**, is found in stanza 1 of *Völuspá*. However, it signifies *son, kinsman, relative*.

> **Hliode bid eg allar helgar kinder** *Silence I command of all the sacred people,*
> **Meire og minne mogu Heimdallar**.[cxliii] *Greater and lesser, the* <u>sons</u> *of Heimdall.*

Guðmundur Andrésson comments as follows about this word **mogur** in the notes for stanza 51 of *Völuspá*: **mogur** to the ancients is *son*.[cxliv] The first by this name was *Maius*, who was called *son* by Maia, the mother either of Mercury or some other distinguished figure; afterwards, through synecdoche of type, or of part for the whole, it was any son.[cxlv] Then, from the meaning *son* once again, through synecdoche of class, it signifies *kinsman, relative*: thus page 24 of Caedmon, **he ða unræden folmum gefremede. freo-mæg ofsloh. broþor sine**,[cxlvi] *he committed a crime with his hands, he killed his* <u>kinsman</u>, *his brother*. Thus page 25.7, **ne ðearfst ðu ðe ondrædan. deaþes brogan. feorh-cwælm nu giet. ðeah ðu from scyle. freo-magum feor. fah gewitan**,[cxlvii] *you ought not be afraid of death, to fear being killed, even if you will have been obliged to depart, hating, far from your* <u>kinsmen</u>. *Thus in the compounds found so frequently in the writings of the poets, it denotes kinship and bond of blood: as in **cneo-magas** or **cneow-magas**, *kinsmen, family members*; **hleo-magas**[cxlviii] *brothers of the same blood*. **mago-rincas**,[cxlix] *sprung from the same family or stock*. To which **fædern-magas**, *a male paternal relative*, can be added. Thus in **Hervarar Saga** chapter XI, there is **mág fadr konu mans**,[cl] *father-in-law*; and in the notes of Olof Verelius on this passage, **dottr mag**,[cli] *son-in-law*, **syster mag**,[clii] *related by*

marriage, **mag-kona**,^{cliii} *a woman related by marriage*, as **frand-kona**,^{cliv} *any female blood relation*; and in chapter XVII below,

Hier er Hlaudr komin,	*Hlaudurus has come here*,
Heidreks arsi,	*Heidrek's heir*,
Broder þinn,	*Your brother*,
Hin baudskar.	*That bloodthirsty one.*
Mikill er sa mogur	*That kinsman seems huge*
A mars baki,	*On the horse's back*,
Vill sa þundur	*And the man wants*
Vid þig mæla.^{clv}	*To speak with you.*

In the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter XXV: **than findis thu gisundan at hus magu jungan**,^{clvi} *then you will find a young son at home, having been made healthy*. Thus chapter XXVI, **sprac the man uuid is magos**,^{clvii} *that man spoke to his kinsmen*.

Sixth is **aldor**, **ealdor**, *life*; as in the Paraphraser, Sarah said to Abraham: **gif ic wealdan mot næfre Ismael wiþ min agen bearn yrfe dæleþ on laste ðe ðonne þu of lice aldor asendest**,^{clviii} *if I were able to prevail, Ishmael will never share the inheritance with my son Isaac*. Thus in the *Judith* fragment, **ða wæs nergendes ðeowen ðrymfull ðearle gemyndig hu heo þone ætolan eaþest miht ealdre benæman**,^{clix} *then the magnificent servant of God began to ponder intensely in her mind, how she might most easily snatch away the life from the hateful man*. Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter XLVII, **thiu idis uuas bifangan an farlegarnisse uuas iro lifes scolo that sia firio barn feraliu binamin ahtin iro aldras so uuas an iro euue giscriban**,^{clx} *having been caught engaging in fornication, she was liable to the punishment of death, to the degree that people could snatch away her life-breath, destroy her life; just as it is written in their law*. Thus chapter L, **that man aldra bilosie**,^{clxi} *that a man destroy life or that life be destroyed.*

The seventh, **rand**, *shield*, is often read in compounds: such as **rond wiggende**, *soldiers armed with shields*. In the *Judith* fragment: **rond wiggend comon to ðam rican-þeodne feran folces ræswan**,^{clxii} *the soldiers approached the general, the commander of the army.*

The eighth is **lago**: as for example page 4.17 in the Paraphraser, **ða gesundrod wæs lago wiþ lande**,^{clxiii} *then the water was divided from the land*. Thus page 5.16, rivers are called **lago-yrnende**,^{clxiv} *running water*. Likewise a flood is called **lago-flod**, **lago-stream**, and **lago-siþ**,^{clxv}

the *path, way of the sea*: as for example, **oþ ic ðære lafe lago-siþa eft ryman wille**,[clxvi] *until* (said God to Noah) *I will have opened a way from the* path of the sea *for the survivors*, page 31.9. Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter LII, **thiu thar mid lago-stromon liudi farterida bi Noes tideon**,[clxvii] *which destroyed men in the days of Noah with* floods of waters.

Ninth: **colla**, *helmet*. See **ferhþ**.[clxviii]

The tenth is **goldes brytta**, **sinces brytta**.[clxix] It often occurs in the *Judith* fragment, where *God* is called **torhtmod tires brytta**,[clxx] *king of illustrious majesty or power*. Holofernes also is called **sinces-brytta**, *dispenser of gold, lord*, i.e. *leader, commander*; and **morþres-brytta**, *author, prince of slaughter*. Thus in the Paraphraser, 58.24, **cwæþ ða eft raþe oþre worde to Sarran sinces brytta**,[clxxi] *then the* king *[that is, Abimelech]* *immediately spoke other words to Sarah*. From this is **bryttan, bryttian,** and **bryttigan**, *to possess as master, to use freely, to enjoy, to have rule of something*: as for example pages 28.25; 38.2; 70.24 of the Paraphrase. From that is **brytta**, *lord, creator*: as for example III.20 of the Paraphrase, **Metod engla heht. lifes brytta. leoht forþcuman**,[clxxii] *the creator of angels,* lord *of life, ordered light to come forth*. See line 24 of the same page.

You have examples of the eleventh[clxxiii] in the Paraphraser: such as page 5.23, **on ðære eþyl tyrf niððas findaþ. nean 7 feorran. gold 7 gym-cynn**,[clxxiv] *on this land* men *or their descendants find gold and gems of every kind*. Thus page 81.12, **ða Azarias. in geþancum. hleoþrade halig. ðurh hatne lig. dæda georn. brihten herede. wer wommaleas. 7 ða word acwæþ. Metod al wihta. hwæt ðu eart. mihtum swið niþas to nergenne**,[clxxv] *then the holy, undefiled, and brave Azarias, speaking forth clearly in the blazing*

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fire began to praise the lord, saying these words: Creator of all things, behold how all-powerful he is in preserving mortals. Thus *God* is also called **niþa nergend**, page 82.1;[clxxvi] *and* mortals are called **niðða beorna**[clxxvii] in many places. Thus in the fragment of the history of *Judith*, Holofernes is called **niþ heard**, *a harsh man*, and **modiga niþ**,[clxxviii] *a spirited man*.

The twelfth[clxxix] also occurs in the Paraphraser: as for example on page 41.24, **ongunnon him ða bytlian 7 heora burh ræran 7** [37]**sele settan. salo niwian weras on wonge wibed setton. neah ðam þe Abraham arærde his waldende,**[clxxx] *then the men began to provide for themselves and to construct dwelling places, and to found new settlements and new* <u>homes</u>, *and to erect an altar on a plain near that one which Abraham had built for his lord.* Thus page 52.10, **gesawon ofer since salo hlifian. reced ofer readan golde,**[clxxxi] *they saw that the palaces were made of silver, and that the* <u>halls</u> *were glowing with red gold.*

Thirteenth, [38]**lið,** *ship*, is found in the Paraphraser page 31.3. **Ic ðe ðæs mine. monna leofost. wære gesylle. þ ðu weg nimest. 7 feora** [39]**fæsl. ðe ðu ferian scealt. geond deop wæter. degrimes worn. on lides bosme. læd sua ic ðe hate,**[clxxxii] *for which reason, most beloved of men, I would like to warn you, that you go forth and, as I command, see to conveying fodder for the animals, which you must have during the flood, onto the* <u>ship</u> [ark] *after a number of days.* Thus page 32.15, **ða gemunde God. mere liþende. sigora waldend. sunu Lameches. 7 ealle ða wocre. ðe he wiþ wætre beleac. lifes leoht fruma. on lides borme,**[clxxxiii] *then God, lord of* [40]*rulers, remembered the son of Lamech sailing over the sea, and all the animals, which he, glorious prince of life, had shut in from the water in the* <u>ship</u>.

The fourteenth[clxxxiv] is often read in the Cotton translations of the Boethian meters:[clxxxv] as for example on page 156, **Ne mæg eac. fira nan. wisdom timbraim. ðær ðær woruld gitsung. beorg ofer-brædaþ,**[clxxxvi] <u>no one</u> *can build upon wisdom, where greed spreads over the foundation.* Thus page 158, **Ne furþum fir nan ymb gefeoht sprecan,**[clxxxvii] *but neither does* <u>anyone</u> *speak about war.* From here so often among poets is that [clxxxviii] **fira bearn,**[clxxxix] for *people* or *the human race*: as for example in Caedmon, page 20.20, **þonne moton we hie us to geongrum habban fira bearn,**[cxc] *then we will be able to have our* <u>people</u> *as pupils.* Thus in the poetic explication of Runes,[cxci] below, in chapter XXII, **feoh byþ frofur fira gehwilcum,**[cxcii] *wealth is a consolation to all* <u>men</u>. Thus also in the Cotton translation of Boethian meters, page 154, **firum uncuþ, hwi sio wyrd. swa wo wendan sceolde,**[cxciii] and on page 156, **ne mæg eac fira nan.**[cxciv] Finally, page 140, **ne furþum fira nan.**[cxcv] It is also in a

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[37] From **setle**, *seat*: as **bole** is from **botle**. (Hickes' footnote *)

[38] **Lid** is also **skip**, *ship*: Guðmundur Andrésson on stanza 16 of *Völuspá*. (Hickes' footnote †)

[39] In the Cimbric language **fædsla**, *food*; as well as **fæda** and **fæde**, from **at fæda**, *to feed*. From this derives our food. (Hickes' footnote 1)

[40] *Of the triumphant.* (Hickes' footnote 2)

certain *exorcism to restore fertile fields*, in the Cotton Library, Caligula, A.7.2, **hal wes ðu folde. fira modor. beo ðu growende. on godes fæþme. fodrum gefylled firum to nytte**,[cxcvi] *hail, earth, mother of men, may you flourish in god's embrace, filled with food for the use of <u>men</u>*. See the notes of Olof Verelius on these words, **frækin med firdum**, in chapter VI of **Hervarar Saga**, page 87. **fyrar** and **fyrdar**,[cxcvii] properly *guardians, overseers*; in poetry: *men*, as the Icelander Guðmundur Andrésson comments concerning this word. **fyrar** occurs among the appellations of men in part two.[cxcviii] In the Cotton harmony of the gospels, nothing occurs more frequently than **firiho barn, firiho barno, firio barnun, allaro firio fruma**; **firio drihten**; **allaro firio fader**.[cxcix]

To be corrected and added in the Anglo-Saxon Grammar.

m.c.1.[cc] l.9. Amstelodami. **p.102.** l.41. im forth. **p.103.** l.25. næs. **p.104.** l.18. hyrd. l.34. ræswan. **p.105.** l.9. niþete. l.36, 37.[cci] **dele,** Sic cap. XLVII, thuo hie te them uuerode sprac te allon them erlon; tum locutus est ad turbam illam, ad omnes illos homines. Endi sia at erist erl mid is handon sten auuerpe; & vir ille cum manibus suis primum lapiden jaciat. l.54.[ccii] **add,** Sic cap. XLVII, thuo hie te them uuerode sprac te allon them erlon; tum locutus est ad turbam illam, ad omnes illos homines. Endi sia at erist erl mid is handon sten auuerpe; & vir ille cum manibus suis primum lapiden jaciat. **p.108.** l.8. maga. l.9. **adde,** lago. l.36. soragono full. l.41. trutina.

Hickes' List of Works

The following is a list of works Hickes cites in the translated excerpt of Caput XXI. The names by which Hickes refers to these works are given in quotation marks, followed by modern titles by which they are known, the manuscripts in which they are found (where applicable), and the edition Hickes used (where it is known).

<u>Anglo-Saxon</u>

➢ **"Boethian meters"**
Meters of Boethius, from British Library MS Cotton Otho A.vi
Hickes's source: *An. Manl. Sever. Boethi consolationis philosophiæ libri V*, eds. Christopher Rawlinson and Edward Thwaites

➢ **"calendar"** (also **"kalendar"**)
 Menologium, from British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.i

➢ **"exorcism to restore fertile fields"**
For Unfruitful Land, from British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.viii

➢ **"explication of Runes"**
Rune Poem, from British Library MS Cotton Otho B.x

➢ **"Judith"** or **"fragment of the history of Judith"**
Judith, from British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv.
Hickes' source: *Heptateuchus, liber Job, et evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice. Historiæ Judith fragmentum, Dano-Saxonice*, ed. Edward Thwaites

➢ **"Genesis paraphrase"** or **"paraphrase"**
Genesis, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Christ and Satan*, from Bodleian Library MS Junius 11
Hickes' source: *Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios*, ed. Francis Junius

- **"Gibson's Saxon chronicle"**

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*Chronicon saxonicum…*), ed. Edmund Gibson

<u>Cimbric</u>

- **"Gretla"**

Grettis Saga

- **"Hervarar Saga"**

Hervarar Saga (U-version), University Library in Uppsala R:715

Hickes' source: *Hervarar saga på Gammal Gotska*, ed. Olof Verelius

- **"history of Styr-Biorn"**

"þáttr Styrbjarnar Svíakappa" ("The Tale of Styrbjörn the Swedish Champion"), in *Olafs Saga hins Helga*, from Árni Magnússon Institute GKS 1005 fol (*Flateyjarbók*)

- **"Icelandic Lexicon"**

Lexicon Islandicum

Hickes' source: *Lexicon Islandicum; Sive, Gothicae Runae Vel Linguae Septentrionalis Dictionarium* by Guðmundur Andrésson

- **"Saemund's Edda"**

Elder Edda, from Árni Magnússon Institute GKS 2365 4to (Codex Regius)

- **"Snorri's Edda"**

Younger Edda, from Árni Magnússon Institute GKS 2367 4to (Snorra-Edda)

Hickes' source: *Edda Islandorum: Völuspá-Havamal*, ed. Peder Hansen Resen

- **"Völuspá"** (also **"Wöluspá"**)

Völuspá, from from Árni Magnússon Institute GKS 2365 4to (Codex Regius)

Hickes' source: *Edda Islandorum: Völuspá-Havamal*, ed. Peder Hansen Resen

Francic

➢ **"Francic … book of the gospels"**

Evangelienbuch by Otfrid of Weissenburg

Old Saxon

➢ **"Cotton harmony of the gospels"**

Heliand, from British Library Cotton MS Caligula A.7

Scots

➢ **"Douglas translation of Virgil's Aeneid"**

Eneados by Gavin Douglas

Middle English

➢ **"Christ's Kirk on the Green"**

Christ's Kirk on the Green by James I, King of Scotland

➢ **"Satire"** or **"writings of the Satirist"**

Piers Plowman (B-text) by William Langland

Hickes' source: *The vision of pierce Plowman*, ed. Roberte Crowley

ENDNOTES

[i] As Hickes explains in Caput XIX (chapter 19), Dano-Saxon refers to the Anglo-Saxon dialect that was spoken in the north and east of England (the region which later became known as the "Danelaw")—as opposed to Semi-Saxon, which was spoken in the south and west of England (and which was not as influenced by the Danish language). Hickes says that Dano-Saxon was in use in this region from the time the Danes first entered Britain (at the end of the eighth century), during the first wave of Viking expansion, until the Norman invasion (A.D. 1066) (88). Moreover, it is the language of all extant Anglo-Saxon poems. Hickes believes that both dialects came from an earlier "simple and pure" dialect, Britanno-Saxon, which had been spoken from the time the Saxons arrived in England (in the fifth century) until the invasion of the Danes (88).

[ii] Again, the poets of the Danelaw.

[iii] **Cimbric** refers to the ancient Old Norse language spoken by the North Germanic people from approximately the eighth to the fourteenth centuries; and **Franco-Theotiscan** ("Francic") to the Franconian dialect of OHG, from approximately the same era. As Dekker explains in *The origins of Old Germanic studies in the Low Countries*, although "Theotisc" originally referred to the "vernacular Germanic language" in general, by the early seventeenth century it pertained primarily to Old High German (245-6). Hickes believes that these two languages, together with Anglo-Saxon, make up the three main branches of the Germanic language family (*Institutiones* b3v).

[iv] The Cotton harmony of the gospels, or the *Heliand* (as it is known today), is the text of Cotton MS Caligula A.7. Hickes' use of the phrase "codex quadrunus" recalls a second informal title by which this text has been known: Liber Canuti, sive Codex Quadrunus, The Book of Canute, or the Codex Quadrunus—so called because it once belonged to King Canute (Philip 246). The *Heliand* is written in Old Saxon, but as Richard Harris notes in *A Chorus of Grammars*, at the time Hickes was writing this chapter he was uncertain of the "linguistic origins" of this text (74). The orthography of this text differs enough from the orthographies of the other texts from which he quotes (those written in either Anglo-Saxon or Francic), that Hickes apparently is unsure with which of the two to place it. This, along with the fact that Hickes uses the word "Sax." ("Saxonice," *in the manner of the Saxons*) in his text to refer to Anglo-Saxon words, suggests both that, for Hickes, "Saxon" is reserved only for languages/dialects in Britain; and that he does not consider the continental Saxons as a possible source for the Cotton harmony of the gospels.

[v] The second part of Snorri's *Edda*, the *Skáldskaparmál* (*The Language of Poetry*), lists the words— "appellationes" (*synonyms*) and "nomina" (*nouns*)—that can be used in poetry in place of the specific names for gods or giants; or in place of more general terms, like "men," "women," "body parts," "battle" (as well as battle-related equipment), "sea," "earth," "sun," "wisdom," and more. These poetical words are divided into what Anthony Faulkes, in his introduction to *Edda*, refers to as the two major aspects of poetical language: substitution and kennings (xvi). Approximately the first half of the *Skáldskaparmál* is dedicated to kennings (periphrastic constructions), and the second half to substitutions (non-periphrastic constructions, single words which Faulkes calls *heiti*). Wherever Hickes mentions "appellations," particularly with respect to the *Edda*, he is referring to the latter type of poetic words—the *heiti* (or synonyms, in English)—many of which can be found in that section of the *Skáldskaparmál*.

[vi] ύ   : a *benefactor*.

[vii] *Judith*, of MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv, is an Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the deuterocanonical *Book of Judith*, written circa the ninth or tenth century. The phrases that follow are found on lines 9b, 49b, and 38b, respectively.

[viii] *Genesis*, the first of four poems preserved in MS Junius 11, is an Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the first twenty-two chapters of the biblical book *Genesis*. In 1665 Francis Junius published the first printed collection of these poems in Amsterdam, entitled *Caedmonis monachi Paraphrasis Genesios ac praecipuarum Sacrae pagina Historiarum, abhinc annos MLXX*.

[ix] Lines 2694-5. Hickes translates **guðbordes sweng** as "clypeorum flagrum" (*scourge of shields*), as a vocative, going with the vocative phrase **gumena baldor** ("hominum domine," *lord of men*). As Krapp explains, the noun phrase **guðbordes sweng** is the object of the verb **gebearh** (*guarded against*) (194). Further, the Anglo-Saxon **guðbordes** (*of the shield*) is genitive singular, whereas Hickes' "clypeorum" is genitive plural. This sentence should therefore be translated as: *But, O* lord *of men*, [having set out] *far from my people, I guarded myself against a blow on the shield*.

[x] This is "þáttr Styrbjarnar Svíakappa" ("The Tale of Styrbjörn the Swedish Champion"), preserved in *Olafs Saga hins helga* of *Flateyjarbók* (*Flatey Book*). The quotation which follows comprises two lines of a longer verse—one

of two Skaldic verses spoken by the **finngalkn** (*great monster*), in "þáttr Styrbjarnar Svíakappa." Hickes translates only the first two lines of the second verse; however, since these lines contain words from two different (incomplete) sentences, this quotation cannot be translated without the remaining two lines. As is often the case with Skaldic poetry, the syntax of this verse is complex; sentences are often intermingled, and as Kirsten Wolf explains in *Daily Life of the Vikings*, "it is often difficult to know which words go with which" (57). The verse is written as follows on page 71 of Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Carl Rikard Unger's 1862 edition of *Flateyjarbók*:

> **æigut uiga ueige**
> **uil baldrs fodur illan**
> **Odinn horðr sem aller**
> **oljosan valkiosa**.

It is apparent from this version that what Hickes understands to be one word (**vil-balldurs**, meaning "principes strenui," *vigorous leaders*), is in fact two words: **uil**, meaning *wants*, and **baldrs**, *of Baldur*. Further, they do not occur in the same sentence. I wish to express my gratitude to Matthew Townend of the University of York, whose explanation of this verse helped me to disentangle the prose order of the words into two meaningful sentences (any errors that may exist are my own). This verse may therefore be translated as follows: *You have to fight with a sword, like everyone; Oðin, the hard father of <u>Baldur</u>, wishes to choose the evil, dark slain.*

[xi] According to Snorri's *Edda*, **Tyr** was "the bravest and most valiant" of the Aesir, who had "great power over victory in battles" (24).

[xii] Hickes uses Olof Verelius' 1762 edition of *Hervarar Saga* (page 68) as his source for this verse. This edition is based on the U-version of *Hervarar Saga*, which Christopher Tolkien describes as "extremely corrupt" (xxix) in the introduction of his edition of this text, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, published in 1960. An accurate translation of this verse is problematic because the tenses of the two verbs are not in agreement: **geingu** from the first clause is a preterite form of the verb **ganga** (*to go*), while **ero** from the second is a present form of **vera** (*to be*). Also, when Hickes translates this verse into Latin he mistakes the conjunction **ða** (*when*) for a relative pronoun "qui" (*who*); and translates **tyrar** (gen. sg. of **tyr**, meaning *glory*) as "ducis" (from "dux," *leader*). An accurate translation of this quotation is as follows, *when they went out to the warships without glory, there are twelve together.*

The wording of this verse, as it appears in Verelius' edition, differs from the wording found in Tolkien's edition, which is based on the R-version of *Hervarar Saga*. In chapter three of this latter edition, the verse is written as follows:

> **er þeir** ....
> **gengu af öskum**
> ....
> ....
> **tírarlausir,**
> **váru tólf saman.** (5v)

When they departed from the warships without <u>glory</u>, there were twelve together. This version differs from Verelius' in that it omits the adverb **utan** (*out, outside*); uses the preposition **af** (meaning *from*, thus changing the direction in which the twelve men are going); and exhibits verb agreement between the clauses (**váru** is the preterite form of **vera**).

[xiii] This verse is also from Olof Verelius' edition of *Hervarar Saga* (page 68). Comparing again with Tolkien's edition (given below), one can see that Verelius uses **ganga** (with **af** meaning *to depart from*) in place of **fara** (*to go forth*) at the beginning of the quotation; and **tyrar giarner** (*eager for victory*) in place of **tírarlausir** (*without glory*) at the end.

> **Fara halir hraustir**
> **af herskipum,**
> **tólf menn saman**
> **tírarlausir.** (6v)

Bold men go forth from the warships, twelve men together without <u>glory</u>.

[xiv] Lines 93b-94a. In his translation of this quotation, Hickes has inserted "spiritus," *spirit*, to go with his Latin translation, "clarissime," of the Anglo-Saxon **torht-mod**, *illustrious.*

[xv] Lines 272b-273a. Hickes translate the genitive **tires**, *glory*, as "domini," *lord*; and inserts the genitive "nationis," *people*. Further, as Griffith points out, the words **wæs...æt ende** are an impersonal construction (137). This passage should be translated as follows, *it was at the end of their <u>glory</u>, prosperity, and glorious deeds.*

xvi Lines 156b-158. Hickes' Latin translation "praestantissimus gloriae fructus," *most extraordinary reward of glory*, of the Anglo-Saxon phrase **wuldorblæd torhtlic** does not quite capture the meaning of that phrase. It is more accurately translated as *a splendid glorious success*. Further, Hickes has mistakenly translated **tir ... þara læðða** as "in invisos imperium" (*command over your enemies*). The genitive plural phrase **þara læðða** (*the injuries*) is a genitive of cause governed by **tir** (*glory*). (See the entry for **læðð** in Bosworth and Toller; and Griffith 127). This quotation should be translated as follows: *a splendid glorious success is about to come to you, and <u>glory</u> given for the injuries that you have long endured.*

xvii Lines 195b-198. Hickes' translation, "vos jam victoriam reportatis a principe illustrissimo," *you now carry back a victory from a most illustrious leader*, of the Anglo-Saxon **7 ge dom agon tir æt torhtan** is inaccurate. The Anglo-Saxon lines make no mention of the defeated leader; Hickes has incorrectly translated **tir** (*glory*) as *leader*, and has inserted **torhtan** ("illustrissimo," *most illustrious*) in place of **tohtan**, *battle* (Dobbie 104; Griffith 104). This quotation should read as follows, *your enemies are condemned to death, and you have honour, <u>glory</u> in battle, just as, through my hand, the Almighty Lord has foretold you.*

xviii Lines 54b-8. Contrary to Hickes' claim, **torhte tire**, *illustrious glory*, is not a reference to *God*. Hickes translates this phrase as "illustris princeps," *illustrious leader*, and moves it to the beginning of the sentence (putting it in square brackets) after "Deus" (*God*), which he has inserted into his translation. In fact, **torhte tire** is not nominative but dative singular, and goes with the verb **benam**, *deprived of*. Hickes also unnecessarily inserts "tum," *then*, at the beginning of his translation; the Anglo-Saxon word **þa** at the beginning of the quotation means *when* in this context (which is conveyed by Hickes' Latin phrase "iratus factus," *when he became angry*). Next, Hickes applies the verb **besloh**, *bereft* (which he translates as "percussit," *struck*) to all the genitive and dative nouns that follow. Only the genitive nouns **sigore**, **gewealde**, **dome**, and **dugeðe** are governed by **besloh**, while the verb **benam**, *deprived of*, governs **dreame**, **gefean** and **tire**, and the indeclinable **friðo**. In this sentence **benam** takes both accusative and dative. It will be recalled that although the dative and instrumental cases are nearly identical in Anglo-Saxon, and the former term is typically used to represent both cases by the time this text was written, the instrumental case does appear in Anglo-Saxon texts, even if only rarely. In the glossary of *Genesis A*, Doane refers to **dreame**, *gladness*, and **gefean**, *joy*—both masculine singular nouns—as datives; however, Doane lists **ealle**, *all*, the adjective with **gefean**, as instrumental singular masculine. Since **ealle** can only be instrumental singular, and **dreame** and **gefean** can be either dative or instrumental, both nouns, as parallel nouns, must be instrumental. **torhte tire**, adjective and noun, respectively, of the final phrase governed by **benam**, are both listed in Doane's Glossary as instrumental. Other scholars, for example Krapp (*The Junius Manuscript*), do not comment upon these nouns. Alternatively, **ealle** could be masculine accusative plural, going with the masculine plural **feond**, *enemies*; however, these words occur on separate half-lines, so this is unlikely. Moreover, although **besloh** can be translated as "struck," as Hickes has done, it is perhaps better translated in this context as *bereft of*, *deprived of*. Finally, Hickes inserts "in eum," *against him*, to go with the final verb of this quotation, **gewræc**, *avenged*; this verb goes instead with the following sentence, which Hickes does not include in his quotation. This passage should be translated as follows, *when he became angry, he bereft the malefactors of victory and power, dominion and glory, and deprived all his enemies of gladness, peace and joy, <u>illustrious glory</u>, and avenged his anger...*

xix **virtus**: this noun covers a wide range of meanings in Latin that is not conveyed by the English *virtue*. Lewis and Short's *A Latin Dictionary* (1962) states that "virtus" is "the sum of all the corporeal or mental excellences of a man;" and as such, can refer to firmness and quality of character, military talent, courage, and morality, as well as mental and physical ability (and so on). I have translated this word as *virtue* wherever possible throughout the text, either because it fits or because no other single definition is obvious from context, and have indicated those instances where the translation required another definition.

xx Lines 1512-7. Hickes translates **tires** here as "imperio," *command*, which in fact simply means *glory*; and translates the phrase **mid gefean fryþo**, *of peace with joy*, as "maxime augescite," *prosper to the highest degree*. A more accurate translation of the quotation is as follows: *Bring forth now and propagate, have enjoyment of <u>glory</u>, of peace with joy; fill the earth, increase all. To you is given a homeland, into your power the burden of the sea, and the birds of the air, and wild animals, the all-green earth and teeming livestock.*

xxi This passage is from *Christ and Satan* (line 92), the fourth Anglo-Saxon poem of MS Junius 11. Hickes has translated **tir,** *glory*, as "imperium," *command*. This quotation should be translated as follows: *there is no <u>glory</u> of the blessed.*

xxii *Genesis* 2377. Hickes considers these two words a single phrase; however, they perform different functions within the sentence: **a his tir metod, / domfæst cyning, dugeðum iecte / on woruldrice** (2377b-2379a). In this sentence **metod**, *God*, is in the nominative case, the subject of the verb **iecte**, *increased*; and **his tir**, *his glory*, is

accusative, the object of the verb. The sentence is translated as follows: *God, Righteous King, ever increased his glory in the world*.

[xxiii] Line 1044. See this phrase in the quotation that follows.

[xxiv] Lines 1043a-1044. Hickes translates **tir metod** (*glorious God*) as "Lord Creator."

[xxv] This passage is from *Daniel* (309-314a), a paraphrase of the first five chapters of the biblical book of *Daniel*, and the third Anglo-Saxon poem of MS Junius 11. The adjective **tir-fæst** (typically translated as *glorious*), does not occur in this passage, as Hickes assumes: he translates it as "praestantissimos," referring to those *most outstanding* patriarchs who are then indicated by name. Rather, they are two separate words, **tirum fæst**, which Bosworth and Toller translate as *gloriously fast*, an appositional phrase to **niða nergend**, *Savior of men* (not "nepotum eorum servator," *Savior of their descendants*, as Hickes indicates). Further, Hickes translates **treowum**, *covenant*, as "praesidium," *defence*. This passage should be translated as follows: *Do not forsake us, only eternal Lord, on account of those mercies which men attribute to you, and on account of the covenant which, Savior of men, gloriously fast, you had entered into for Abraham and for Isaac and for Jacob*.

[xxvi] Lines 131b-132. As with the Anglo-Saxon **tyr**, Hickes has incorrectly translated the Old Saxon **tyreas** as "dominationes," *dominions*. This word should be translated as *honours* or *glories*.

[xxvii] Lines 1134-1137a. The phrase **cuningo craftigost**, *mightiest of kings*, belongs with the preceding sentence in the poem, and so should not be translated with this passage. Also, although the Anglo-Saxon **freond** means *friend*, the Old Saxon **friund** can refer either to a *friend* or a *relation* – a *kinsman*. Finally, Hickes apparently mistakes **tirlico**, an adverb meaning *honorably*, as a reference to a powerful man: Augustus. Rather, this sentence is referring to *where he [Christ] was raised and educated honorably*.

[xxviii] Lines 2619-20.

[xxix] Hickes' text here reads "secundum istud Snorronis" (*according to that of Snorri*), but provides no immediate referent as to what work of Snorri's he is citing. However, given Hickes' distinction on page 101, footnote 2, between an "exemplar" and an "apographum" (where the former is an *original* or perhaps a *source* for the latter *transcript* or *copy*) it is likely he had one of these terms in mind when he wrote this sentence. Moreover, since Hickes makes no mention, as per his usual practice, of a publisher (for example Peder Johannes Resen, who published *Edda Islandorum* in 1665), which would indicate an "apographum," I assume he is referring to Snorri's "exemplar" of the *Edda*, in Mythology XXIII. In modern editions of Snorri's *Edda*, the section "On Tyr" is found in "Mythology" XXV.

[xxx] The *Menologium* of MS Cotton Tiberius B.i, which Hickes refers to as the calendar (or kalendar), is "an account of the seasons and festal days of the Christian year" (Dobbie, *Minor Poems* lx-lxi).

[xxxi] Lines 11-14. Hickes' use of the gerundive "ad … visendos" (*to visit*) in his Latin translation of this quotation (which describes the festival day that occurs in the first month of the Christian calendar) seems odd. Referring to the month of January, this passage should be translated as follows: *And it is from that (month), after five nights, that the baptismal time of the Eternal Lord comes to us, which the glorious renowned men in Britain call the twelfth day*.

[xxxii] *Very happy* and *very good*, respectively. Hickes' etymology of "très" is incorrect. This French word " is not from **tir**, but from the Latin preposition "trans," *beyond*.

[xxxiii] In Hickes' footnote (†) indicated at the beginning of this sentence, Hickes refers the reader to Snorri's "seventh mythology" which discusses where men come from who inhabit the world. In modern editions this is found in section (or mythology) 9.

[xxxiv] The Anglo-Saxon phrase, **eorlas æsc-rofe**, literally reads *spear-brave noblemen*..

[xxxv] Lines 2107-2109a. **Æsca-tir** is not a reference to God in this passage, as Hickes believes, but a phrase meaning *glory* (**tir**) *of spears* (**æsca**). Further, Hickes ignores **rime** (*number*) in the phrase **wera rime** (*number of men*), and instead inserts "fortes," *brave*; then translates **for þæs eagum**, *before the eyes of the One*, as "in fastis," *in the annals*; and **æt guðe**, *in battle*, as "ob militarem perspicacitatem" *on account of your military discernment*. This passage should read, *Honored be you among the number of men before the eyes of the One who gave you glory of spears in battle*.

[xxxvi] Lines 2068b-2069. Again, **Æsc-tir** in this passage is not a reference to a leading figure of men, as Hickes believes, but a phrase that, in this context, means *spear-glory*. Further, while Hickes is correct in assuming that the term **Æsc-tir** is in apposition to the subject of the sentence, the subject of this sentence is not **Abraham**, but **sigor**, *victory*. **Abraham** is the subject of the next sentence in the poem. Although Hickes' Latin translation, "reversus est" (*returned*), of the verb **ahwearf**, *turned away*, is correct, since the Latin verb can be defined both ways, its meaning when translated into English must change to reflect the correct subject: *Victory, the spear-glory of men, turned away again from the injurious malice of the northmen. Abraham gave…*"

xxxvii The *Chronicon saxonicum, seu, Annales rerum in Anglia praecipue gestarum* published in 1692 by Edmund Gibson. Gibson incorporated five manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* into a single narrative for this edition, and included with it a Latin translation of the chronicle.

xxxviii *Völuspá* (or *The Seeress's Prophecy*) is an Old Norse poem about the creation, end, and ultimate rebirth of the world. It is found in the *Elder Edda* (also called the *Poetic Edda*, the poems of which were written between A.D. 800 and 1000), which is preserved in the Icelandic manuscript Codex Regius (GKS 2365). Believed at one time to have been written by Sæmundr the Learned (hence Hickes' reference to it as "Saemund's Edda"), an early twelfth-century Icelandic priest, the *Poetic Edda* is separate from Snorri's Edda, the *Younger Edda* (or *Prose Edda*), which was written ca. A.D. 1220. The edition of Snorri's *Edda* published in 1665 by Peder Hansen Resen (*Edda Islandorum*—Hickes' source for this poem) includes the poem *Völuspá* from the *Elder Edda*.

xxxix Hickes translates **ad huse** on the second line of stanza 17 as "ad domum quandam," *to a certain house*. It should be recalled that in stanzas four to six of this poem the Seeress describes the creation of **Miðgarð** (from **mið**, *middle*, and **garðr**, *yard, house*)—that is, *Middle Earth*—the world of men in Norse Mythology. Therefore when the three gods come **ad huse**, *to the house*, in stanza 17, they are coming to the earth. Also, Ask and Embla, the first human couple were **lyte meigande**, *of little strength*, and **ørløg lausa**, *without fate*, not "miseros," *wretched*, and "omni conatu destitutos," *devoid of all inclination* (it should be noted here, however, that Hickes, perhaps feeling as though his Latin definitions did not quite capture the meaning behind the Old Norse words, clarifies his translation of these two phrases in his footnotes). Further, **La, nie læte, nie litu goda** in stanza 18 is more accurately translated as *skill, nor manner, nor a good complexion*, rather than "sanguinem... sermonem ... faciem venustam," *strength ... language ... pleasing appearance*.

xl In Latin these are the "clypeus" (a small shield made of metal), "scutum" (a larger shield, made of a wooden frame with animal hides stretched across it), and "umbo," (the boss of a shield) respectively.

xli *Genesis* paraphrase, lines 2039-2042. Hickes' translation contains a few errors in the latter half of the passage. He translates **ðær**, *there*, as "e quibus," *out of which*; and **fand**, *found*, as "disposuit," *drew up*. Further, he translates **æsc-berendra** as "scutigeros," *shield-bearing*; however, as with the examples above, **æsc** here refers to the *spear*; the **æsc-berendra** are *spear-bearing* warriors. The latter half of the quotation is better translated as follows: *He found three hundred and eighteen <u>spear-bearing</u> warriors there, who were loyal-hearted.*

xlii Or *land* or *ground*, depending upon context.

xliii Lines 112-118. Hickes translates **her**, *here*, at the beginning of this passage as "tum," *then*; and **helme eall wihta**, *Helm* (or perhaps *Protector*) *of all creatures*, as "creaturarum omnium corona," *crown of all creatures*. Further, as per his "Corrigenda & Addenda," Hickes emends **wæs** (*was*), from line 116 of the quotation, to **næs** (*was not*), a change that is not necessary for a meaningful translation of the line, since negation is expressed in the word **ungrene** (literally, *ungreen*). Finally, although Hickes' translation of the individual words in the latter portion of the passage (beginning from **folde**) is accurate, the sentences as a whole are not. It should read as follows, *The <u>land</u> was still not grass green; black perpetual darkness covered the ocean far and wide.*

There are several things to note concerning Hickes' translation of the passage in his footnote (footnote 8, at the word **folde**) for this quotation. The Old Norse word **um** on the second line should read **unn(ir)**; and his use of the verb "conderet" (*began to build*) in the first line is problematic. The Cimbric verb **bygde** means *settled* or *dwelled*, which the Latin "conderet" (*put away, built, restored*, or *founded, established, formed*) does not convey— particularly since a direct object is not provided. Also, Hickes translates the word **allda**, *past*, as "principium," *the beginning*; the phrase **sualur unn**, *cool waves*, as "circumspirantes aurae," *winds blowing around*; and the word **uphimen**, *the heavens*, as "altum mare," *deep sea*. This passage should be translated as follows,

> *Past is the age when Ymer dwelt*
> *There was neither sand nor sea nor cool waves*
> *The earth did not exist, nor the heavens*
> *There was chaos, and grass nowhere.*

xliv Lines 150b-151a. The manuscript reads **fold**; however, editors have emended this to **flod** (*flowing water*), based upon the biblical verse *Genesis* 1.7 ("And God made a firmament, and divided the waters that were under the firmament, from those that were above the firmament, and it was so"). Therefore, *the <u>flowing water</u> was divided under the high firmament.*

xlv Lines 154-157a. Rather than the simple **ða com**…**mære morgen ðridda**, *then came...the splendid third morning*, of the Anglo-Saxon passage, Hickes embellishes his Latin translation by stating that the "tertius dies…illuxit celebris," the *third day shone forth brightly*. Also, the third morning had not been *sent forth in its turn*, as Hickes indicates, but was **fus siþian**, *hastening* or *eager to go* over the earth. Finally, Hickes confuses the dative noun **metode** (*Creator, God*), for a verb, "inventa erat" (*had been discovered*"). It seems that Hickes himself is

uncomfortable with this translation, since he inserts "depicta, mensurata" in square brackets between the two parts of this verb, as if to clarify its meaning. This passage should be translated as follows, *then came over the <u>earth</u>, hastening to go, the splendid third morning. Not yet were the broad lands nor paths useful to God, but the <u>earth</u> remained covered firmly with water.*

^{xlvi} Line 15. This line actually reads *here on earth*.

^{xlvii} Line 114.

^{xlviii} Lines 140b, 141b-143a. In his quotation, Hickes does not include the first half of line 141 (141a); therefore his translation of the second half (141b)—**butan anre wanan** ("ab omni indigentia libera," *free from all want*, presumably a comment upon the quality of the harvest)—seems awkward, since a meaningful translation of 141b (correctly translated as *except one less*) is dependent upon 141a. Rather, the entire line, referring back to a specific timeframe (**seofon niht**, *seven nights*) mentioned in the previous stanza, describes when harvest occurs: **ymbe oðer swylc   butan anre wanan**. The passage should therefore be translated as follows, (*after as many (nights)*), *except one less, harvest comes, beautiful, laden with fruit. Prosperity is revealed pleasantly on the land.*

^{xlix} Lines 180b-181a. Hickes omits several words from this quotation: **He** þa lungre **gefeoll** / freorig **to foldan**, *he* then soon *fell to the* cold *ground* (the omitted words are unbolded and unitalicized in the quotation and translation, respectively).

^l Or *For Unfruitful Land*. This charm, which immediately follows the Old Saxon *Heliand* in Cotton Caligula A.viii, is one of twelve metrical charms written in Anglo-Saxon.

^{li} Line 69. Hickes has mistakenly written **hel** (*hell*) in this passage for **hal** (*hail*). Literally, this line reads, *be healed, Earth, mother of men.*

^{lii} Lines 4280b-4282a. Hickes translates **is** (a genitive singular neuter pronoun, meaning *its*) as an ablative ("in eo," *in it*). The antecedent in this sentence is a temple (**godes hus**, *house of God*, line 4275); Jesus, the speaker, is responding to his disciples who had just claimed that the temple in question was the finest ever made by man. The Anglo-Saxon version is translated as follows, *the time will come when none of its stones shall remain standing upon the other, but will fall to the earth.*

^{liii} Lines 5726b-5727a. The referent in this passage, which is understood from the context, is the body of Christ. Joseph, one of Christ's followers, is urging the **thegan kesures** (from line 5723), the *servant of the emperor*, to release Jesus' body from the cross, *to lay it in a grave, committed to the <u>earth</u>.*

^{liv} William Langland. The passages which follow are taken from his poem *Piers Plowman* (B text).

^{lv} Lines 1.154; P.067; and 1.044, respectively.

^{lvi} Lines 2.038; 2.199; and 2.209, respectively.

^{lvii} The quotation in Hickes' footnote for this word is from Olof Verelius' edition of *Hervarar Saga*. As with Hickes' previous quotations from *Hervarar Saga*, the wording of the verse in this edition, based upon the "corrupt" U-version, differs from the wording of Tolkien's edition, which is based upon the R-version. (It should be noted, however, that Hickes' transcription of Olof's verse is fairly accurate, with the exception of the word **hraeda** from the fourth line of this verse, which Hickes omits: **lijtid saka hraeda**). Comparing again with Tolkien's edition, given below (with omitted words in "unbolded" font), one can see that Verelius omits several words.

> **Hirdum ey fælast**
> vid fnösn slíka
> **þott** um alla ey
> **elldar brenni:**
> **latum okkr eigi**
> **litit hraeda**
> **recka slijka**
> **radum fleira** vid! (13v).

In his Latin translation Hickes assumes that **elldar**, *fires*, is the subject of **Hirdum ey fælast**, *let us not be afraid*, inserts "armentariis," *herdsmen* and "animum," *spirit*. The remainder of the passage should be translated as follows, *let us not be afraid of such snorting, even though the fires are burning over the whole island; let us not be even a little afraid of such men: let us talk further.*

^{lviii} **Reckar** (singular **rekkr**) means *men, warriors*.

^{lix} **Verar** (singular **verr**) means simply *men*.

^{lx} In his footnote (2) for the word **gumas**, the Anglo-Saxon cognate of the Old Norse word **gumar**, Hickes also provides and defines the Gothic cognate.

^{lxi} Hickes uses the term "declinatio composita" (*composite declension*) to refer to a noun that has a definite article enclitically attached to the end of it, a word combination which was common in Old Norse. For example, the Old

Norse nominative singular definite article **inn** (*the*) enclitically attaches to the nominative singular noun **heimr** (*world*) to form **heimrinn** (*the world*). Furthermore, as Hickes points out in rule III of chapter XX, "istiusmodi nominum & declinationum compositorum haud pauca vestigia extant apud *Dano-Saxonicos* scriptores" (*not a few vestiges of composite nouns and declensions of that sort appear among the Dano-Saxon writers*). However, **gumenas** should not be considered a composite declension. Rather, it is the genitive plural weak form of the noun **guma**. Finally, **gumar** (singular **gumi**) also means simply *men*.

lxii **Segger** (singular **seggr**), simply means *men*.

Hickes cites three quotations in his footnote (4) for this word. The first quotation is from chapter 10 (page 47v) in Tolkien's edition of *Hervarar Saga*. For the second, from chapter 8 of *Grettir's Saga*, Hickes mistakes the present participle **Hreggindi**, *storming*, for a proper name. In fact, it is one half of the kenning **hrotta Hreggindi**, *storming of swords* (battle). The third quotation is found in chapter 10 (page 57v) of Tolkien's edition of *Hervarar Saga*.

lxiii The Old Norse **lidar** (singular **lidi**) refers to *followers*, or *men*. The Anglo-Saxon **leode** is not a singular form, as Hickes' next footnote indicates, but the plural form of **leod**. It means *man* in singular, and *men* or *people* (*of a country*) in plural. **Leodas** is the nominative plural form for a different word, **leod**, which refers to *a fine for slaying a man*.

lxiv The *Evangelienbuch* (ca. A.D. 863-870) by Otfrid of Weissenburg, a harmony of the Gospels written, as Hickes indicates, in Francic. Unlike the Cotton *Harmony of the Gospels*, however, which is an alliterative poem, the *Evangelienbuch* is written in rhyming couplets.

lxv In Hickes' footnote (6) for this page, he quotes from the second part of Snorri's *Edda*, page Hh2r. In his Latin translation, Hickes translates **þeir menn, er fylgdu**, *the men who followed*, as "commilitones," *fellow soldiers*; and the impersonal verb **rett**, *it is right*, as the adverb "recte," *properly*. Also, he inserts "sed," *but*, into the final clause. This quotation should be translated as follows, *those men who followed King Alfi were called* **reckar**; *and warriors of their name, and all men whom it is right to call thus, are called reckar.*

lxvi Lines 2845-2848. Hickes uses the present participle "explorans," *examining*, for the Anglo-Saxon **cunnode**, *examined*. Further, I have translated Hickes' "virtus" as *courage*, to correspond with the Anglo-Saxon **ellen** (*courage, fortitude*).

lxvii Lines 169-175. In his Latin translation Hickes uses a nominative form "coelorum praepositus," *Overseer of the heavens*, for the dative **rodora wearde**, *to the Lord of the heavens*. Further, he inserts a relative clause, "qui recens factus erat," *which had recently been created*, for **niwre gesceafte**, *the new creation*, an appositive phrase to the genitive **neorxena-wanges**, *of paradise*; and then inserts the verb "vinxit," *bound* (the equivalent of which does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon quotation). This passage should be translated as follows, *It did not seem appropriate then to the Lord of the heavens that Adam be alone any longer as guardian and ruler of paradise, the new creation. Therefore, the High King, Lord Almighty, created a helper for him; He raised up a woman, and then life's Author of Light at once gave her to the beloved* <u>man</u>. Finally, in Hickes' Anglo-Saxon passage he transcribes an adverb **raþe**, *at once*, in place of the accusative noun **wraþe** (from **wraþu**, *support, assistance*) that is used by scholars in modern transcriptions of the text. (If we were to follow modern editions, the translation of the final sentence would change as follows, *Therefore, the High King, Lord Almighty, created a helper for him; he raised up a woman and then life's Author of Light gave her as a support to the beloved* <u>man</u>).

lxviii Lines 1714-1715a. According to Bosworth and Toller, the noun **magorincas** does not mean "patrueles," *cousins*, as Hickes believes, but *young men* or *warriors*. Also, Hickes translates the verb **geþungen**, *thrived, prospered*, as "colebant," *worshipped* (and therefore translates the dative **metode**, *Creator, God*, as an accusative, "Deum," in Latin). Finally, although Hickes does not include the adverb **unforcuðlice**, *excellently*, from line 1715b of the *Genesis* paraphrase in his quotation, he does include an adverb ("religiose," *reverently*) in his Latin translation. Contrary to Hickes' rendering, this passage describes how *the* <u>warriors,</u> *Abraham and Lot, thrived before God.*

lxix Lines 2102-2107a. Although Hickes initially translates **fyrd-rinca** (*warriors* or *soldiers*), as "exercitus," *army*, he clarifies this translation in a footnote ("militum," *soldiers*). Further, of the two adverbs in the Anglo-Saxon quotation, Hickes translates the second (**arlice**, *honorably*) as the adjective "venerabilem," *venerable* (see my translation, below, for comparison), incorrectly applying it to the accusative **Abraham**. Finally, Hickes translates **bletsunge**, *blessing* (from the phrase **sette / godes bletsunge** *placed God's blessing*) as a verb ("benedixit," *blessed*); and uses the present participle "canens," *singing*, for the preterit **gyddode**, *spoke*. This passage should be translated as follows, *that was the great Melchisedek, bishop of the people, who came with gifts pleasantly to greet Abraham, the chief of* <u>warriors,</u> *honorably, and placed on him God's blessing, and spoke thus, "be thou honored"* etc.

^{lxx} Lines 1550b-1554. The noun **gum-rincum** should not be translated as "patriarchis," *patriarchs*, as Hickes believes, but simply as <u>men</u>. Also, Hickes translates **monna bearnum** at the end of the quotation simply as "hominibus," *men*, whereas the Anglo-Saxon phrase actually refers to *the children of men*.

^{lxxi} Lines 42b-43a; 44a. Hickes' transcription of **wise-rincas** in his quotation of this passage makes it appear as though this is a single word. In fact, the words are separated by the phrase **wealdendes þeow** (*the Lord's Servant*) which Hickes does not include in his quotation. **rincas**, of the phrase **rincas rægolfæste** (<u>men</u> *bound by religious rules*), stands in apposition to the nominative plural **wise** (*wise*). The omitted phrase **wealdendes þeow** stands in opposition to the masculine accusative singular demonstrative pronoun **ðæne**, which is used here as a relative pronoun referring to **nergend**, *the Saviour*, immediately preceding Hickes quoted words. This quotation should be translated as follows, *whom the wise,* <u>men</u> *bound by religious rule, praise well in their writings.*

^{lxxii} Lines 177-181. For this passage, Hickes has translated **heaþo-rinces**, *warrior*, as "ducis," *leader*. Further, he embellishes **sige-rofe hæleþ**, *triumphant men*, to "victoria clari," *celebrated in victory*; and adds "excellentes," *excellent*, to the phrase **leoda ræspan**, *leaders of the people*. Finally, the last line of this passage, **ðe us monna mæst morþra gefremed**, seems to present a challenge for nearly every translator of this passage. In this clause the superlative adjective **mæst** (*most*), acting here as a neuter noun, is the direct object of the verb **gefremed** (*committed*). As a noun, **mæst** takes a genitive, but since there are two genitives in this sentence (**monna**, *of men*, and **morþra**, *of violent crimes*) it is difficult to know which genitive should go with **mæst**. Hickes translates **mæst** with the former—"omnium maxime," *most of all* (*men*)— and translates the latter as the object of the verb **gefremed** (since there is no other possible direct object); in his translation he uses the verb "affecit," *inflicted*, with the accusative "nostros," *our men*, and ablative "clade" *destruction*. Griffith, in his commentary for *Judith*, suggests taking **mæst morþra** as the object of the verb: *who of [all] men committed the greatest of crimes against us.* Continuing on this matter, Griffith says, "It is possible, however, that the construction is *apo koinou*: 'who, most (**mæst**) of [all] men, perpetrated the greatest (**mæst**) of crimes…'" (129). An *apo koinou* construction occurs when a word or phrase is syntactically shared between two clauses.

^{lxxiii} Lines 335b-339a. Hickes mistakenly translates the reflexive **sylfre** (generally meaning *self, own, very*), which is a dative singular feminine pronoun, with the accusative singular neuter noun **sweord** (*sword*): "ipsum…gladium," *the very sword*. Instead, the pronoun refers to Judith, the one to whom the **eorlas æsc-rofe** *spear-brave noblemen* brought a share of Holofernes' treasure: *for herself*. Further, although **swatigne** does mean *sweaty*, as Hickes' Latin translation indicates ("sudabundam"), in this context (referring to Holofernes' helmet), it is understood to mean *bloody* (see Bosworth and Toller). Finally, Hickes translates the adjective **side** as "promissam," which is a perfect passive participle of "promitto," meaning *long*, or *hanging down*. While **side** may be translated as *long* (see Bosworth and Toller), in this context, referring to the **byrnan**, *coat of mail*, it is understood to mean *broad*. This passage should be translated as follows, *…for herself, they brought, the spear-brave noblemen, the sword and bloody helmet of Holofernes, as well as the broad coat of mail, adorned with red gold, and all that the arrogant ruler of <u>warriors</u> had of treasure.*

^{lxxiv} Lines 727b-729a. In this passage Hickes translates the adverb **hardo**, *sternly* (which modifies the verb **gibod**, *ordered*), as "saevus," *cruel*, an adjective describing Herod. He then mistakes **thero liudo**, a genitive phrase meaning *of the people* (which goes with the nominative **cuning**, *king*) for an accusative ("gentes," *people*), translating it as the object of "mandavit," *commanded*. This passage should be translated as follows, *then Herod sternly ordered thus over his kingdom, the king of the people commanded his <u>men</u> to go.*

^{lxxv} Lines 1320b-1321a. Hickes fails to include the final word of this clause (the verb **uueldin**, *willed*, line 1321a) in his quotation of this passage, and instead inserts another verb in its place in his Latin translation ("colerent," *revered*). The passage is translated as follows with the correct verb, *he said that blessed also would be the <u>warriors</u> who willed lawfully.* In this context, *willed* is defined as follows, "to set the mind with conscious intention to the performance or occurrence of something; to choose or decide to do something" (OED v.² 3a).

^{lxxvi} Lines 2202b-2203a. Hickes translates the verb **asat**, *sat*, as "tollebat," *lifted up*. Also, Hickes changes the word order of the sentence, which should be translated as follows, *the <u>young man</u> sat up, the child on the bier.*

^{lxxvii} This Roman numeral, the placement of which on this page resembles the beginning of section IV on the last line of the previous page, seems to have been placed here by mistake. This paragraph is not the beginning of section four, nor has "IV" been erroneously inserted for a section "V." Rather, this paragraph discusses further the second appellation of *men*, as listed at the beginning of page 104.

^{lxxviii} Lines 1172b-1174. Hickes translates **maga**, *son*, as "filiolus," *little son*. Also, **mine gefrege** means *according to my knowledge*, which Hickes' "ut ego rescivi," *as I discovered*, does not quite capture.

^{lxxix} *Daniel* 172b-176. As Hickes' own translation indicates, **gunrices** is not a reference to *men*, which is what he has been discussing, but to a <u>kingdom</u>. Bosworth and Toller translate this word literally as *Power, rule over men* before

adding that it refers to a *kingdom* or to *the earth*. Also, the first two half lines of this quotation (172b-173a) are from the previous sentence. The beginning of this passage refers to how Nebuchadnezzar built an altar on a field called Dura, which was (**on þære þeode**, *in the country*) **þe sua hatte, / bresna Babilonige**, *that was so called powerful Babylon* (and not, as Hickes has translated, "prorsus ut jusserat," *just as he had ordered*). Further, Hickes inserts "durus," *unyielding*, to describe the "urbis custos," *guardian of the city*; and then translates **gyld**, *gilded*, as "numen," *god*, a second idol. Finally, Hickes translates the final line (176) as "quia non erat sapiens regni custos," *because he was not a wise guardian of the kingdom*, whereas the phrase **gumrices weard**, *lord of the kingdom* (of line 176b), is actually in apposition to **he** (of 176a). This passage should be translated as follows, (*which was in the country*) *that was so called powerful Babylon. The lord of that city raised an image, gilded of gold, for the people against the will of God, because he was not wise, the lord of the <u>kingdom</u>.*

[lxxx] *Daniel* 45-51. Hickes translates **Awehte ðone wæl-niþ**, *stirred up a deadly hatred*, as "tyrannidem…exercuit," *exercised tyranny*; then inserts "adeo," *to such a degree*, the equivalent of which does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon phrase. Hickes also has problems with the last line of this passage. He translates the first-half line, **þurh gromra gang**, *by means of a fierce attack*, as an ablative of instrument or manner, "crudelitate," *by means of cruelty*; and in the second half-line translates the verb **oþþringan**, *force away*, as "opprimere," *oppress*. This passage should be translated as follows, *Nebuchadnezzar, the chief lord of men, king of Babylon, stirred up a deadly hatred in his city on account of his enmity, so that he began to seek in his mind's thoughts how he might most easily, by means of a fierce attack, force the <u>men</u> away from Israel.*

[lxxxi] Lines 101b-103. Hickes' translation is essentially correct, but with a little embellishment. A more accurate translation is as follows, *I have not heard, before, any other <u>man</u> ever bring better lore over the salty sea.* (It should be noted that although Bosworth and Toller are unsure of the meaning of the word **awyrn**, they provide the word *other* as a possible definition.)

[lxxxii] Lines 312b-314a. Hickes' translation is mostly correct. However, a more accurate translation goes as follows, *Then the wise man, the very good <u>man</u>, Joseph in his mind began to think to himself.*

[lxxxiii] Lines 2066-2067a. Hickes translates **hlihende**, *laughing*, as "gaudentes," *rejoicing*. Also, as indicated earlier in the endnotes, **secgas** means *men*, and not Hickes' "magnates," *noblemen*.

[lxxxiv] Lines 200b-201. Hickes translates **secgas**, *men*, here as "satrapae," *governors*; and the adjective modifying this noun, **cyne-rofe**, *brave*, as "regii," *royal*. Also, he translates **bæron**, *carried*, as the present participle "portantes," *carrying*, which suggests the action is ongoing rather than completed (as the past tense **bæron** indicates). This quotation should be translated as follows, *The brave <u>men</u> and their companions marched, they carried banners.*

[lxxxv] Lines 2097b-2098a. In this sentence, Hickes does not actually translate the Old Saxon word **seggio** (*men*, a genitive plural) into Latin. Also, he translates the Old Saxon **meg**, *is able*, as the perfect "potuit," *was able*. Therefore, *not any of the <u>men</u> is able to heal him with his hands.*

[lxxxvi] *Daniel* 448-449a. In this quotation Hickes translates **bræsna**, *bold*, as "durus," *unyielding*; and **swiþ-mod**, *haughty*, as the perfect participle "iratus," *when he became angry*. Also, the lord of Babylon proclaimed to **leodum**, *his people*, and not, as Hickes indicates, to "comitibus vel satellitibus suis," *his companions or attendants*. Therefore, this passage should be translated as follows, *Then the bold lord of Babylon, the haughty one, proclaimed to his <u>people</u>.*

[lxxxvii] *Daniel* 435a. This phrase does not refer to the king's companions or attendants, as Hickes suggests. Rather, this half-line (**láþsearo leoda cyninges**) is describing the bonds (the **láþsearo**, *hateful device*) that bound the men (**leoda**, *of the <u>men</u>*), which the king had ordered (**cyninges**, *of the king*).

[lxxxviii] *Daniel* 481-483. Hickes' translation of this passage is very close to the Anglo-Saxon, with the following exceptions: he translates **leoda**, <u>*people*</u> as "magorum," *wise men*; and neglects to translate **ær**, *formerly* (as in, *which had formerly remained…*).

[lxxxix] *Daniel* 467-468. Hickes translates **leode**, <u>*people*</u>, here as "comites," *companions*; and **het**, *summoned*, as the present participle "jubens," *ordering*. Also, he neglects to translate **tosomne**, *together*.

[xc] Lines 430-431a.

[xci] Line 573. The Anglo-Saxon word **im** refers to a singular *him*, and not "illis," *them*, as Hickes translates.

[xcii] Lines 965-967a. In this quotation Hickes neglects to translate **an Iordana strome**, *in the Jordan stream*. Also, he spells the final word incorrectly; it should read **dopta**, not **doph**.

[xciii] As per Hickes' "Corrigenda & Addenda," the following two quotations have been erroneously included in this paragraph. They belong at the end of the paragraph that discusses **eorle, wiga,** and **æþeling**, below. See Appendix 1 for a list of Hickes' corrections for Caput XXI

[xciv] Lines 3867b-3868a.

[xcv] Lines 3870-3871a. Hickes neglects to translate **sia at**, *at her*.

xcvi Lines 2266b-2267a. Lines 2266b-2267a. Hickes uses the word "homines," *men* in his Latin translation, but it is uncertain if he is using it for **helithos**, *heroes*, or **liudi**, *people*; he has translated the one word and ignored the other. The latter is a nominative plural noun, in apposition to the former. This quotation should be translated as follows, *the heroes came, the <u>people</u>, to land.*

xcvii Lines 521b-525a. Hickes translates **ist…cumin**, *is come*, as "profectus est," *set out*. Further, Bosworth and Toller point out that the adjective **thurstig** (in the phrase **thurstig theoda**) means *thirsty* in both a literal and a figurative sense (thirsty for water, and thirsty for salvation); Hickes translates this phrase into Latin as "indigentes homines," *people in need*. The passage should be translated as follows, *Now the holy Christ, the Lord himself, is come to this temple to deliver the <u>people</u>, who have waited here a long time now, many a while on this earth, thirsty people.*

xcviii Lines 1706-1711. In this passage Hickes translates the adjective **freolicu**, *comely*, as "ingenui," *freeborn*; and the phrase **freod 7 aldor**, *peace and life*, from the final half-line, as "servator…atque pater," *savior and father*.

xcix Lines 2098b-2100a. Hickes translates **frea leoda**, *lord of the people*, simply as "rex," *king*.

c Line 441-442a. The word **suitho** (*very*), the only word in Hickes' quotation from line 442, should not be translated with the clause on line 441, but with the clause on line 442.

ci Lines 774b-775a.

cii Lines 37b-39a.

ciii Scottish poet Gavin Douglas (1474-1522), who in the early sixteenth century translated the *Aeneid* into Scots.

civ This poem is attributed to James I of Scotland.

cv Hickes is perhaps referring to *The Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace, Knight of Elderslie* by Blind Harry (or Harry the Minstrel, ca. 1440-1492). Sir William Wallace (c.1272-6 – 1305) led the resistance during the Wars of Scottish Independence.

cvi *Christ's Kirk on the Green* 46-7.

cvii *Piers Plowman* 18.223-4; 5.380; 5.620; 6.221; 13.184.

cviii Ibid. P.160-1; 3.64; 5.17; 5.399; 20.336.

cix Ibid. 3.99-100; 5.178; 5.601; 1.140; 8.6-7.

cx *Piers Plowman* 17.66-7; 17.99; 19.165-6.

cxi **Reuke** is a mistake for **renke**, (meaning *man, warrior*).

cxii The second Latin word that Hickes offers ("strenuus," *vigorous*) as a Latin translation for the Cimbric word **frekur** does not accurately capture the meaning of that word. Rather, along with *harsh*, **frekur** means *greedy, eager, voracious*, and *rough*.

cxiii *Piers Plowman* 7.200; P.192; 12.57.

cxiv Ibid. 6.223; 6.258-9; 13.71-2.

cxv Ibid. 10.176-7; 1.32-3.

cxvi *Catachresis* is the "application of a term to a thing which it does not properly denote" (OED).

cxvii That is, "adulescentulas."

cxviii *Piers Plowman* Line 6.267.

cxix Ibid. 10.319-28. (Line 327: "ad pristinum statum ire:" *to go to a pristine state*; line 328: "Beatus vir:" *blessed man*.)

cxx Ibid. 10.334-6.

cxxi Ibid. 15:594-602.

cxxii The quotations Hickes cites in his footnote (*) for this word are found in chapter 3 of Tolkien's edition of *Hervarar Saga* (in stanzas 5 and 6, respectively) on pages 7v and 8v.

cxxiii As per Hickes' "Corrigenda & Addenda," **lago** should be added here.
　　　Contrary to Hickes' belief, as stated in his footnote (1) for this word, the line **laugur er landa bellte** does not occur in the poem *Völuspá*. The only reference, in *Völuspá*, to something girdling the earth is, **Og vm Molldthýnur / máttkan Dœma**, *and they talk about the mighty earth-thong* (serpent), from stanza 54 of Snorri's *Edda Islandorum*.

cxxiv Lines 37b-39a.

cxxv Lines 325b-328. Hickes neglects to translate **hare**, *grey*, the color of the coats of mail; and **guþscearp**, *armor*. Also, these were items **gumena**, *of the men*, not "ducis," *of the commander*, as Hickes translates. Finally, although Hickes' translation of the verb **læddon** ("vexerunt," *carried*) is correct, it is better to translate it as *brought*, since the verb immediately preceding **and læddon** in the text is **wagon**, *carried* (therefore, *they carried and brought…*). This passage should be translated as follows, *and brought to the bright city, Bethulia, helmets and hip-swords, grey <u>coats of mail</u>, men's armor adorned with gold.*

cxxvi I.e., **sefa**.

cxxvii Lines 2180-2181a.

cxxviii Lines 2383b-2385a. For this quotation, the latter portion of Hickes' translation is not completely accurate. It is not that Sarah (from the Biblical story of Abraham and Sarah, in the book of *Genesis*) "oraculum...valde mendacii insimulavit" (*very disgracefully accused the prophecy of lying*). Rather, *she, advanced in years, covered the revelation with scorn greatly in her <u>spirit</u>*.

cxxix *Daniel* 127-133. In his Latin translation, Hickes omits **unbliþe**, *sorrowful*; and confuses the singular **him** for the plural. Regarding the rest of the quotation, the differences between Hickes' interpretation and mine are so numerous, it is simpler to present my own rather than to describe the differences in detail: *then, sorrowful, the devil's prophets answered him, that they were not ready with an interpretation to explain the king's dream: "how are we able determine such a secret, lord, in your <u>mind</u>, what you had dreamed, or Fate's decree—knowledge you had ordered—if you are not able first recount its beginning?"* Finally, in his footnote clarifying **deofol witgan**, *Devil's prophets*, Hickes includes "Chaldaei," *Chaldeans*, which refer to seers, soothsayers, and astrologers (OED).

cxxx *Daniel*, 143-144.

cxxxi This quotation is from *Exodus* (439-441a), the story of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt written as a heroic epic, and the second Anglo-Saxon poem of MS Junius 11.

cxxxii Lines 5789b-5790a.

cxxxiii Lines 5965-5966a. Hickes begins the spoken words with "num," *surely...not*, which does not accurately reflect the Old Saxon quotation. It is more accurate to translate this passage as follows, *He said, "you have sad hearts, sorrowful <u>spirits</u>."*

cxxxiv Line 386.

cxxxv Hickes quotes Guðmundur's words as follows, *facit is nato Cyclopum manum insistere*. Guðmundur's translation pertains to two lines from stanza 50 of *Völuspá* (**lætur hann moge huedrungs / mund ofstanda**) (in Snorri's *Edda Islandorum*); however, Hickes neglects to include the line that immediately follows them in his translation (**hjör til hjarta**), making the quotation incomplete, and a meaningful translation impossible. The passage, including the third line (with the words in brackets), should be translated as follows, *He will, with his <u>hands</u>, make (the sword) stick (to the heart) in Hveðrung's son*.

cxxxvi Hickes quotes Guðmundur's notes as follows, **mund**, *manus*, olim frequens, unde **mundlog**, *malluvium*; **mundhangur**, *turtina*.

cxxxvii Lines 1363-1367a. Hickes inserts "in superna parte," *on the upper part*, into his Latin translation; and translates **segnade**, *blessed* as "signavit," *marked*; and **spedum**, *strength*, as "bona," which presumably refers to *good words*. This passage should be translated as follows, *the Lord of the kingdom of heaven closed the door of the sea-house behind them with his <u>hands</u>, and our savior blessed those inside the Ark with his own strength*.

cxxxviii Lines 1524b-1525a; 1526b-1528a. This passage (lines 1524-1528) seems to pose quite a challenge for Hickes and later scholars alike. The verb **seðe**, *confirm*, presents the greatest problem; scholars are undecided whether to emend this word; and if not, then how to translate it. As Krapp's commentary for **seðe** shows, there are many opinions, but no real solutions: "Thorpe, Grein retain the MS. reading **seðe**, which Grein takes as a verb, 'avenge,' citing Beow...Wülker, Holthausen read *sette* for *seðe*. Bouterwek suggested *asece*...Dietrich, *sece*, and Sievers...Kock...also *sece*" (179). Doane, in his commentary, echoes Krapp ("Grein takes [**seðe**] to mean 'avenge'"), but reveals his skepticism about this interpretation as he continues, "but it is not clear how he achieves this" (275). Another problem is the prepositional phrase **to slagan**, *as a slayer*. As Doane's commentary on this matter shows, there are as many suggestions for translating the preposition **to** (see the underlined portions) as for the verb **seðe**: "Wells translates: 'for the life of a man I charge <u>to the slayer</u>'...Dietrich...after Bouterwek, cuts through the MS reading by suggesting *sece*, 'I will seek the life of a man <u>from the slayer.</u>'" Doane himself offers his own suggestion, when, taking Grein's interpretation of **seðe** one step further, he translates the first three half-lines as follows, "and I will guarantee the life of a man <u>against the slayer</u>" (275).

Hickes' translation of this passage is perhaps more straightforward than those of many later scholars. However, while he retains the verb **seðe** for his quotation, he translates it as "trado," *I hand over*. This rendering might work (along with his translation of **to slagan** as *to his slayer*), except for the fact that it does not account for line 1526a, which Hickes neglects to include in his quotation: **and to broðor banan**, *and as his brother's killer*. (Hickes also omits 1525b, an adverbial phrase; however this phrase does not affect the ultimate meaning of the quotation.) This omitted line 1525b, which is parallel to **to slagan** a few lines above, would go as follows when included with Hickes' translation, *I hand over the life of a man to his slayer, and to his brother's killer...* This makes very little sense, which perhaps explains why Hickes left it out.

The key to understanding this quotation is found in a very literal translation of the lines immediately preceding Hickes' quoted lines. Lines 1521-1523a read as follows, **ælc hine selfa   ærest begrindeð / gastes dugeðum   þæra þe mid gares orde / oðrum aldor oðþringeð**, *each himself first deprives himself of the benefits of the soul, those who, with the point of a spear, deprive another of life*. The first half line is the most important: the speaker, God, is telling Noah how each man *himself* is the *first* to deprive himself of eternal life. The focus here is upon the subject, a man, and the certain consequences for his soul if he were to commit murder. Moreover, after a man <u>first</u> deprives himself of the soul's benefits, God continues, **Ne ðearf he þy edleane gefeon / modgeþance**, *he will have no occasion in his heart to rejoice from recompense* (1523b-1524a); there will be no opportunity for requital. Instead, *I shall confirm the soul of a man as a slayer (…and as his brother's killer), because he accomplishes bloodshed, the slaughter of a man, by means of weapons; death by means of his <u>hands</u>*. This translation continues the thread of discussion begun at line 1521, since the focus is still upon man and his soul. It allows the verb **seðe** to be retained, because, as the text states, God will *confirm* what each man *first* begins. It should be recalled that God is speaking to Noah here, after the flood waters have receded, promising Noah that He will not flood the world again, and destroy all of humanity in a single act. Therefore, the onus is placed on each man for the preservation of his soul: each will be admitted to heaven (or not) based upon his or her own merits. Finally, Hickes' omitted line (1526a, included in the parentheses, above) makes sense with this rendering, as well.

cxxxix Lines 1040-1043a. Hickes seems to understand this passage as a general statement. In fact, God is speaking specifically to Cain (who is about to be exiled for killing his brother), assuring Cain that he does not yet need to fear death. Although a personal pronoun meaning *you* is not stated in the Anglo-Saxon quotation (as the object of the verb **beneotaþ**, *deprives*), it is understood from context. Hickes inserts "hominem," *man*, as the object of this verb. The passage should be translated as follows, *if any man deprives you of life with his <u>hands</u>, on him shall come vengeance seven-fold, according to his sin; torment, according to his deed*.

cxl Line 181b (also 976b; 1008b; 2585b; 2765b). This phrase means *ruler of angels*.

cxli *Daniel* 47a (also 256a).

cxlii Lines 253b-255. Hickes does not actually translate the phrase **beorna brego**, <u>leader</u> *of men*, but simply refers to Holofernes as "dominus," *lord*. Also, Hickes translates **mynton**, *thought*, as "meminerunt," *remembers*.

cxliii Lines 1-2. Hickes translates the Old Norse verb **bid**, *ask*, as "iubeo," *command*.

cxliv Hickes quotes Guðmundur's words as follows, **mogur** antiquis est *filius*. While this comment may exist in another version of Guðmundur's notes for *Völuspá*, it is not found in the version included with the edition of Snorri's *Edda* published in 1665 (*Edda Islandorum*), which Hickes often cites from in this chapter.

cxlv Hickes' mythological syncretism here is extremely fanciful.

cxlvi *Genesis* 982b-984a. Hickes neglects to translate **ða**, *then*.

cxlvii *Genesis* 1037-1039. Hickes misunderstands **fáh**, *outlawed*, as meaning "exosus," *hated*. This quotation should be translated as follows, *you need not fear pain of death, the mortal pang as yet, though you shall go, outlawed, far from your <u>kinsmen.</u>*

cxlviii According to Bosworth and Toller, **hleo-mæg** refers to "A near relation, one who is bound to offer shelter or help," which includes, but is perhaps not limited to brothers of the same blood.

cxlix According to Bosworth and Toller, **magu-rinc** refers to *a child, young man, man,* or *warrior*.

cl Contrary to the way Hickes has presented them here, these words, which mean *father-in-law, father of the man's wife*, do not occur together in a single phrase in the *Fornaldarsögur* edition of *Hervarar Saga*. All the same, the father-in-law to whom Hickes is likely referring is the unnamed king of the Saxons, Heithrek's father-in-law, who is mentioned briefly in chapter 8.

cli According to Cleasby/Vigfusson, *son-in-law* is spelled **dottur-maðr** in Old Icelandic, not **-mág**.

clii This term is not found in Cleasby/Vigfusson.

cliii That is, a *daughter-, mother-,* or *sister-in-law*.

cliv Or *kinswoman*.

clv Hickes translates **baudskar**, *great in battle*, as "cruentus," *bloodthirsty*, but does not translate **sá þundur**, *that thunder*, inserting instead "autem," *but*. (In fact, Hlöd is described earlier in this chapter as "the most valiant of all men" (Tolkien 46r)). The key to understanding what **baudskar** and **sá þundur** mean in this passage lies several paragraphs before this verse in *Hervarar Saga*, where Hlöd's birth is described. The following excerpt is from Tolkien's English translation of *Hervarar Saga, The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*:

> There was an old saying at that time, that a man was born with weapons or horses; and the explanation of this is that it was said of those weapons which were being made at the time when the man was born, and so likewise with beasts, sheep, oxen, or horses, which were born at the same time: all this was gathered together in honour of men of noble birth, as is told here concerning Hlöd, the son of Heidrek:

(76)   In the Hun-kingdom
        was Hlöd's birthplace,
        with sword and cutlass
        and corslet hanging,
        ring-adorned helmet
        and harsh edged sword,
        horse well-broken
        in the holy forest. (Tolkien 46r-47r)

According to Hunnish custom, Hlöd is associated with the battle implements that were being made at the time of his birth, as well as a "well-broken" horse (presumably, one not likely to shy away from battle). It follows, then, that he would be described with respect to the activity for which those implements are made: **baudskar**, *great in battle*. Hlöd is then referred to as **sá þundur**, *that thunder*, toward the end of the passage, which editors often translate as a vocative—*my lord* (Tunstall chapter 12) or *king* (Tolkien 48r))—directed at Hlöd's brother Angantýr. However, while the form could be read as a vocative, Tolkien himself, in a footnote for the R manuscript alternative **þjóðann**, states that "It is possible to take *þjóðann* as the subject of *vill*, i.e. Hlöd" (48v). The same also may be said for **þundur**: it is possible that the author is metaphorically referring to Hlöd (associated with battle implements) as *thunder*, since Thunder is an appellation for Odin, the god of battle in Norse mythology.

[clvi] Lines 2150b-2151a. Hickes' "factus," *having been made*, is unnecessary for the translation.

[clvii] Lines 2204b-2205a.

[clviii] Lines 2787b-2788a; 2789-2791a. Hickes omits a half line in the middle of this passage (line 2788b, **wið Isace**, *with Isaac*), but includes it in his Latin translation ("cum Isaaco"). Hickes also neglects to translate **agen**, *own*, as well as the final three half lines of his quotation (from **on laste** to the end), the last of which includes the word he is attempting to illustrate (**aldor**). This passage should be translated as follows, *if I may rule, never will Ishmael divide the inheritance with my own son after you, when you send forth the <u>life</u> from your body.*

It is interesting to note that Hickes translates this quotation as one sentence, whereas some modern editors (for example, Krapp) translate it as one partial and one complete sentence. The first half-line of the quotation, **gif ic wealdan mot**, *if I may rule*, is considered to be the final clause of the sentence in the lines immediately preceding it, in which case the beginning of this quotation would be translated as follows, *...if I may rule. Never will Ishmael....*

[clix] Lines 73b-76a. In this passage, Hickes inserts "magnifica," *magnificent*, and "valde," *intensely*, into his Latin translation; and then translates **nergendes**, *of the Savior*, as "Dei," *of God*. This quotation should be translated as follows, *then the servant of the Savior was very mindful of how she might most easily deprive the terrible man of <u>life</u>.*

[clx] Lines 3842b-2845. Although essentially correct, Hickes' version is closer to a Latin paraphrase than a translation of the passage. It is more accurate to translate it as follows, *the woman was caught in fornication, she was a debtor of life* (that is, her life was forfeit)*, so that the sons of men were to take away her life-spirit, condemn her <u>life</u>: thus it was written in their law.*

[clxi] Line 4154. In his quotation for this line, Hickes neglects to include all the words of the first half-line, which results in an incorrect translation. In this part of the poem, the speaker is talking to his fellow Jews about Jesus, saying it is better **that man hier enna man aldru bilosie**, *that a man deprive one man of <u>life</u>*, rather than that they all be lost.

[clxii] Lines 11-12a. Hickes is careful to translate **rond wiggende**, *shield-warriors*, initially as "clypeati milites," *soldiers armed with shields*, but then translates this word simply as "milites," *soldiers*, for his quotation.

[clxiii] Lines 162b-163a.

[clxiv] Line 211.

[clxv] Hickes' translations here are incorrect: **lago-flod** means *sea*; **lago-stream** means *water*; and a **lago-siþ** is a *sea journey*.

[clxvi] Lines 1343; 1344b. Hickes' interpretation of this passage is perhaps a good explanation for why he omits a half-line (1344a) from the middle of this quotation; **reorde under roderum**, *food under the heavens*, would not make sense with Hickes' rendering of the rest of the quotation. As noted above, **lago-siþa** refers to a *sea-journey*, not "viam...maris," *a path of the sea*. Further, although Hickes' translation of **ryman** ("aperuero," *will have opened up*) is correct, apart from the tense, in this context it means *will multiply* (as in, **reorde...ryman**, *will multiply food*). Finally, this quotation does not speak of "superstitibus," *survivors*; **ðære lafe** refers to *the remainder* (*of the sea-journey*). This passage, in its entirety, should be translated as follows, *until I, after the remainder of the <u>sea-journey</u>, will multiply food again under the heavens.*

clxvii Lines 4363-4364a.

clxviii See Hickes' page 128.

clxix That is, *dispenser of gold, dispenser of treasure*. (The word Hickes is illustrating in this paragraph is **brytta**, which means *dispenser, bestower, giver, king, lord, prince*.)

clxx It is more accurate to translate this as *lord of illustrious glory*.

clxxi Lines 2727-2728.

clxxii Lines 121b-122.

clxxiii I.e., **niþas**, **niððas**, *people*.

clxxiv Lines 224b-226a. Hickes omits the second half-line of line 226 (**gumþeoda bearn**, *sons of the people*) in his quotation, but does include it in his Latin translation: "posteri," *descendants*. Also, he seems to misunderstand **nean 7 feorran**, *from near and far* (which refers to **niððas**, *men*), translating it instead with **gym-cyn**, *gems*: "& omne genus gemmas," *gems of every kind*. This passage should be translated as follows, *in the country <u>men</u> from near and far find gold and gems.*

clxxv *Daniel* 279-284a. Hickes seems to have difficulty translating the appositive phrases describing Azarias (**halig**, *holy one*…**dæda georn**, *zealous in deeds*…**wer womma leas**, *man without sin*). After ignoring the second phrase (**dæda georn**), and replacing it with "fortis," *brave*, Hickes lumps all the phrases together into an extended adjectival phrase in his Latin translation ("sanctus, immaculatus & fortis," *holy, undefiled, and brave*), rather than treat them as appositive phrases. Further, in the Anglo-Saxon phrase, Azarias is speaking to the Lord directly, not speaking of him in the third person, as Hickes' translation suggests. The passage is more accurately translated as follows, *then Azarias, the holy one, spoke out his thoughts through the hot fire; zealous in deeds, the man without sin praised the Lord, and then spoke these words: "Lord of all creatures, behold! you are strong of might to save <u>people</u>."*

clxxvi Line 312. *Savior of men*.

clxxvii *Princes* (?) *of men*. Contrary to Hickes' claim, this phrase is not found in many places. Hickes probably means **niðða bearna**, *of the sons of men*, which is common.

clxxviii When used to describe Holofernes, it is more accurate to translate **modiga** as *arrogant*. Further, it should be noted that while Holofernes is indeed referred to as **modig** (26a) and **modiga** (52b), this word does not occur with **niþ**, *man*, in the *Judith* fragment.

clxxix I.e., **sal**, *house*.

clxxx Lines 1880-1884a. Hickes omits the adverb **æror**, *before*, on line 1883b, and uses a slightly different verb—**arærde** (from **arǽran**) rather than **rærde** (from **rǽran**); although, they both have similar meanings. Further, Hickes' Latin translation is again more of a paraphrase here; it is more accurate to translate the Anglo-Saxon quotation as follows, *then they began to build, and to raise a city, and to establish a <u>home</u> and renew their halls; the men built an altar on the plain near the one which Abraham had raised for his Lord before.*

clxxxi There are two words in the Anglo-Saxon quotation that refer to dwellings: **salo** and **reced**. In his list on page 108 Hickes defines **sal** as "domus," *house*, and "aula," *hall*. However, while the Anglo-Saxon quotation has **salo** (the topic of this paragraph) in the first clause, Hickes puts his Latin "aulas" in the second (and uses "palatia," *palaces*, instead, in the first clause). Further, Hickes does not translate the infinitive **hlifian**, *to tower*, which is necessary for the accusative and infinitive construction. This quotation should be translated as follows, *they saw that <u>halls</u> towered above treasure, houses above red gold.*

clxxxii Lines 1328-1332. Although Hickes translates this quotation as one entire sentence, it actually comprises two sentences. The last half-line, **læd sua ic ðe hate** (*Take, as I command you*) begins the second sentence, the remainder of which is not included in Hickes' quotation. Further, Hickes translates **ðæs** at the beginning of the quotation as "quamobrem," *for which reason*. Since God is beginning his speech to Noah here, and there is no antecedent in the original text to inform Hickes' reference (the topic in the previous two paragraphs is Noah's construction of the Ark), this translation cannot be correct. This word may still be translated as an explanatory conjunction, however (in the form of *as*), but applied to **monna leofost**, *most beloved of men*. Also, God does not wish to warn ("admonitum velim") Noah; He makes a promise to Noah (**wære gesylle**, *I give my promise*). Finally, Hickes translates **7 feora fæsl. ðe ðu ferian scealt** (the second, and more parenthetical, object of the verb **nimest**, *take*), meaning *and the offspring of living things, which you must take*, as "animalium pabulum…vehendum cura," *see to conveying fodder for the animals*. While Hickes' footnote at the word **fæsl** is essentially correct (with the clarification that the English word for *food* comes from the Anglo-Saxon verb **fedan**, *to feed*), **fæsl,** itself, does not mean *food*, but *offspring*. This passage should be translated as follows, *I give to you, as most beloved of men, my promise that you, and the offspring of living things, which you must bring, through the deep water a great number of days, will take a path in the bosom of the ship. Take, as I command you…*

[clxxxiii] Lines 1407-1410. Hickes translates **sigora**, *of victories*, as "dominantium," *of rulers*, then supplements this with "triumphantium," *of the triumphant*, in a footnote); and **wocre**, *offspring*, as "animalium," *animals*. Further, Hickes translates **lifes leoht fruma**, *life's Author of Light*, as "vitae gloriosus princeps," *glorious prince of life* (which he had translated as "vitae lucis Auctor," *life's Author of light* on page 104). This quotation should be translated as follows, *then God, Lord of victories, remembered the sea-faring one, Lamech's son, and all his offspring, whom He, life's Author of Light, had shut in from the water in the bosom of the <u>ship</u>*.

[clxxxiv] I.e., **fyrar**, *men, people*.

[clxxxv] I.e., the *Meters of Boethius*, dated sometime between the late ninth and mid-tenth centuries, and preserved in MS Cotton Otho A.vi. Generally attributed to King Alfred, the *Meters of Boethius* is an Anglo-Saxon version of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*On the Consolation of Philosophy*), written, in prose and verse, by Boethius in the sixth century.

[clxxxvi] Meter 7, lines 11b-12a. Hickes does not use the Latin word "viri," *men*, for this quotation, which he offers as a translation for **firas** in his list of words on page 108. Instead he uses the less specific term "nemo," *no one*. Also, Hickes neglects to translate **woruld**, *of worldly things*; and then translates **beorg**, *hill*, as "fundamentum," *foundation*. This quotation should be translated as follows, *nor may any man build upon wisdom where greed of worldly things spreads over the hill*.

[clxxxvii] Meter 8, line 32. Here again Hickes uses a less specific term ("quiquam," *anyone*) for the Anglo-Saxon word **fir**, *man*. Also, he uses the conjunction "sed," *but*, for the adverb **furþum**, *even*. This quotation should be translated as follows, *nor did any <u>man</u> even speak of war*.

[clxxxviii] That is, *very celebrated*.

[clxxxix] The phrase **fira bearn** actually means *children of men*.

[cxc] *Genesis*, lines 407b-408a. Hickes translates **fira bearn**, *sons of men*, as "homines," *people*; and **geongrum**, *vassals*, as "discipulos," *students*.

[cxci] This is the Anglo-Saxon *Rune Poem* of MS Cotton Otho B.x, which Hickes includes in the Anglo-Saxon grammar (Chapter 22) of his *Thesaurus*. The *Rune Poem* is a mnemonic poem; it is made up of twenty-nine stanzas of alliterative verse, one for each letter of the Runic alphabet.

[cxcii] Line 1.

[cxciii] Meter 4, lines 39b-40. *It is strange to <u>men</u>, why Fate should proceed so perversely*.

[cxciv] Meter 7, line 11b. *Nor also may any <u>man</u>…*

[cxcv] Meter 8, line 32a. *Nor did any <u>man</u> even…*

[cxcvi] *For Unfruitful Land*, lines 69-71.

[cxcvii] In his *Lexicon Islandicum*. These words do not have a separate "proper" and "poetic" meaning in Anglo-Saxon, as Guðmundur suggests for Old Icelandic. The Anglo-Saxon **fyrar** simply means *men*, and **fyrdar**, *armies*.

[cxcviii] I.e., of the *Edda*.

[cxcix] These are *sons of men*; *of the sons of men*; *to the sons of men*; *good for all men*; *Lord of men*; and *Father of all men*, respectively.

[cc] **m.c.1.**: margin (footnote), column 1.

[cci] Line numbers should read l.35-37.

[ccii] Line number should read 53.

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