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*

A Thesis Submitted to
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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.
I would like to thank, first and foremost, my co-supervisor Richard Harris, with whom a chance encounter and impromptu conversation about his Old English class one early September afternoon started me on this path; and whose thoughtful consideration of a flippant remark sometime later led me to this work.

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I would also like to acknowledge and express my gratitude for the financial support provided by the University of Saskatchewan, and by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their love, support, and, above all, their patience.
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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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.S.</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon; Old English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASPR</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records</td>
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<td>Bosworth and Toller</td>
<td><em>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</em></td>
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<td>Cimbric</td>
<td>Old Icelandic/Old Norse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleasby/Vigfusson</td>
<td><em>An Icelandic-English Dictionary</em></td>
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<td>Francic</td>
<td>Franco-Theotiscan; a dialect of OHG</td>
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<td>Lewis and Short</td>
<td><em>A Latin Dictionary</em></td>
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<td>m.g.</td>
<td>masculine gender</td>
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<td>OED</td>
<td><em>Oxford English Dictionary</em></td>
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<td>OHG</td>
<td>Old High German</td>
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<td>OLD</td>
<td><em>Oxford Latin Dictionary</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>O.N.</td>
<td>Old Norse</td>
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<td>O.S.</td>
<td>Old Saxon</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMLA</td>
<td>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sax.</td>
<td>Saxon; in the manner of the Saxons (i.e., Anglo-Saxon)</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td><em>and, ond (and)</em></td>
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<td>þ</td>
<td><em>þæt (that)</em></td>
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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.

¹ Hickes uses Franco-Theotiscan (“Francic”) to refer to an Old High German dialect. A fuller discussion is given below.
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, praeertim 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 shall in 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 antiquarins 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,

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, “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), 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 philosophiae libri V: Anglo-Saxone reddit 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). 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, Customs, 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. 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 deanship, 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\(^1\) 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\(^2\)—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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\(^1\) Or third, depending upon how the book was bound.
\(^2\) 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,” 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. 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

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,* “þátr Styrbjarnar Sýríkappa” 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. 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. 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 tīr (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 týr as (O.N.) leader, victory; (A.S.) glory, lord, command, Lord, leader; and (O.S.) dominion. In each of these quotations, týr is correctly translated as glory. Hickes also mistakes the Old Saxon adverb tīrlico, honorably, as a reference to Augustus. 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 nipgeteone / 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

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...).\textsuperscript{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),\textsuperscript{20} is given below.

\begin{verbatim}
ic monnes feorh
    to slagan se þe
  (and to broðor banan) ðæs ðe blod-gyte,
  wæll-fyll weres wæpnum gespedeþ,
  morþ mid mundum.
\end{verbatim}

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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{19}See endnote xxxvi for a full discussion of this quotation.
\textsuperscript{20}Hickes also omits 1525b; however, this is an adverbial phrase, and does not affect the translation of the quotation.
\textsuperscript{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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ða com ofer foldan } & \text{ fus siþian} \\
\text{mære morgen ðridda. } & \text{nærón metode ða gyta} \\
\text{wið lande ne wegas nyte } & \text{ ac stod bewrigen fæste} \\
\text{folde mið flode.} \quad (154-157a)
\end{align*}
\]

In his translation of line 155b, *nærón 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{besloh syn sceapán } & \text{ sigore } 7 \text{ gewealde} \\
\text{dome and dugeðe } & \text{ 7 dream benam} \\
\text{his feond friþo } & \text{ 7 gefeán ealle} \\
\text{torht tire.} \quad (55-58a)
\end{align*}
\]

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

\(^{22}\) See endnote xlv for a full discussion of this quotation.
**dreame, friōo, 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 confirm* (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

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.
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 “p,” 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 THESSES 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, 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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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.

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 Kalender (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 ‘ȝ’ (representing the word “þæt,” that) and Tironian nota “γ” (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 “ȝ,” and the Anglo-Saxon “ȝ”) and “r” (the Anglo-Saxon “ƿ” and Middle
English r rotunda (“r”) have been replaced by “s” and “r” respectively; the Anglo-Saxon wynn (’ƿ”) and yogh (“ƿ”) have been replaced by the modern “w” and “g;” and the Old Norse vowel “þ” 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.
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. 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. For in the poetic works of the Anglo-Saxons, there are words that are foreign to common prose —Cimbric, Franco-Theotiscan, 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 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 inmetrical codices and fragments; nouns and phrases which are common with those Eddic poems and with that ancient metrically written codex quadruruses of the gospels, whether Saxon or Francic, which the Cotton library holds. 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, 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 εὔπρομήν and 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 skald and fraedemadur, 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 ³Baldor by the Anglo-Saxon poets, after ⁴Baldur, 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 fragmentvii 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 gup bordes sweng. leodmagum feor, lare gebeard,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-baldurs fodurillan, may the instigators of slaughter, vigorous leaders, kill the evil father.

From here also Tyrus or Tiirus,x¹ 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 apppellative 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. da wæs hyra tires æt ende eades 7 ellen dæda,\textsuperscript{xv} then the end was at hand for their lord, their people, their prosperity, and their glorious deeds. Eow ys wuldor-blaed torhtlic toeward. 7 tir gefepe þæra læðda. ðe ge lange drugon,\textsuperscript{xvi} the most extraordinary reward of glory is about to come to you; and command over your enemies, whom you have long endured, will be given to you. fynd sindon eowere gedemed to deaþe. 7 ge dom agon tir æt torhtan.
sua eow getacnod hafaþ mihtig Drihten. ðurh mine hand,\textsuperscript{xvii} your enemies are condemned to death, and through my hand you now carry back a victory from a most illustrious leader, 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 wearp. besloð syn scealpan. sigore 7 gewalde. dome and duugeþe 7 dream benam. his feond friþo. 7 gefean ealle. torht tire. 7 his torn gewræc,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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 geiceþ eow is eþel-stol holmes hlæst. 7 hefon fugla. 7 wildu doer on geweald geseald. eorþe all-grene. 7 eacen feoh,\textsuperscript{xx} increase now and propagate, fill the earth, prosper to the highest degree, and rejoice in the command (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,\textsuperscript{xxi} there is no command of the blessed here. Thus, page 51.21, God is also called tir metod,\textsuperscript{xxii} Lord Creator, and tir fæst metod,\textsuperscript{xxiii} page 25.11. hine waldend on tir-fæst metod tacen sett,\textsuperscript{xxiv} the Greatest Lord 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 níþa nergend
genumen hæfdest to Abraham. 7 to Isaac. 7 to Iacobe,\textsuperscript{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 most outstanding patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, O Savior of their descendants. Thus of the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter II, quad that hie im tyreas so filo an Godes rikea forgeban uuoldi,\textsuperscript{xxvi} he said that he would give
him so many dominions 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, Christ the mightiest of kings, God’s own son, went into Galilee land, travelling to his kinsmen, among whom Augustus had been born and educated. Thus chapter XXXI, thie tha egan uuili aldar langan tir hohheban riki endi huldi Godes, those who wished to have eternal life, the glory of the exalted heavenly kingdom, and the favor of God. Furthermore, tir, when joined to adjectives signifies that they have a more developed significance, and carries them forth into the superlative degree, according to that exemplar of Snorri, 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, And ðæs embe fif niht ðætte fulwiht tiid eces drihtnes to us cymeþ. ðæne twelfta dæga tireadig hæleþ heaþu rofe hataþ on Britene, and five days henceforth, [epiphany] the time at which the Eternal Lord was baptized will come to visit us. The mightiest 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 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 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. Thus in the fragment of the history of Judith, the Judean leaders are called eorlas æsc-rofe, men, or most celebrated noblemen. Thus God is called Æsca-tir in the writings of the Genesis paraphraser. ðæs eagum þe ðe Æsca-tir æt guðe forgeaf, may you be celebrated in the annals, among brave men, on account of your military discernment, which the Leader of Men has given to you, page 46.11. From this, ÆEsc-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 we ra Abraham sealde.xxxvi Abraham, the leader or commander 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
Auffigir og Æftgier Aser, ad huse
Fundu a lande lýte meigande
Ast og Emblo, órløg lausa,
11 Aund þau nie atta, od þau ne hofdu,
La, nie læte, nie litu goda.

12 Aund gaff Odinn, od gaff Hæner,
La gaff Lodur, og litu goda.

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 we rod væpna onfón. 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 peonden holdra, xii then the holy man

[Abraham] commanded his personal army to take up arms, out of which he drew up three hundred eighteen shield-bearing soldiers, who were faithful to the lord.

III. Snorri Sturluson, in the second part of his Edda, informs us that the appellations for earthxliii 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 eorpan. rodir arærde. 7 ðís rumêland gestapelode strangu mihldum frea almiihtig. 14 folde was þa gyta græs ungreme. garsecg ðeahute. sweart symnihte 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 land 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 was adæled under heah rodore, xlv the earth was divided under the high firmament. Then there follows ða com ofer foldan fus sipian mære morgen ðridda. næron metode ða gyta wið lande ne wegas nyte. ac stod bewrigen faeste folde mið folde, xlv then the third day, after it had been sent forth in its turn, shone forth gloriously over the earth.

For dry land had not yet been discovered [distinguished, marked out] and the sea water was not yet useful; but the earth was covered with water. Thus in the Kalendar, on foldan her, xlvii on this earth; ofer foldan wang, xlvii over the surface of the earth; hærfæst cumâp. 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 earth were revealed. Thus in the Judith fragment; he gefeoll to foldan, xlix he fell to the ground. Thus also in exorcism to restore fertile fields1 in the Cotton Library, Caligula A.7.2, hel wes ðu folde fira moder, li hail, earth, mother of men. As follows in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter LI, uuirthit thiu tid cuman that

13 For peoden. (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 skal sten obar odrorn ac it fellit te foldu, \textsuperscript{liii} 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, \textsuperscript{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, \textsuperscript{livi} foremost of all, who without any doubt had busied himself with the Anglo-Saxon poets. Thus in his first Satire, entitled \textit{Passus primus}:

\begin{quote}
And when \textsuperscript{15} it had of this fold flesh and blood taken,

The most mischiefe on mould is mounting well fast.

The money of this moulde, that men so fast holdeth.\textsuperscript{lv}
\end{quote}

Likewise in the second Satire, which is entitled \textit{Passus secundus}, these verses that follow occur:

\begin{quote}
And men on this mould, that mainteneth truth.

Of many maner men, that on this mould lybbeth.

Shall never man on this mould mainprise the leaste.\textsuperscript{lvi}
\end{quote}

IV. Snorri also observes that \textit{men} among the poets of the northern races, especially of the Cimbri,

\begin{quote}
are called: I. \textsuperscript{16} \textit{Rekar}, i.e., \textit{vigorous soldiers}, and through poetic synecdoche, \textit{men, human beings.} \textsuperscript{lvii} In the Saxon language, \textit{rincas}. For as the Cimbri \textsuperscript{17} \textit{beckur} and \textit{dryckur} are \textit{benc} and \textit{drync} in the Saxon language; so \textit{reckur} is \textit{rinc};\textsuperscript{lviii} II. \textit{Verar}, i.e., \textit{garrison soldiers, defenders,} in the Saxon language \textit{weras}, is from the Cimbric word \textit{veria}. Sax. \textit{weran, to protect, to protect, to protect}.\textsuperscript{lix}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{15} The author in this passage understands the Prince of peace, whom in the same place he calls \textit{the Plans of peace}. (Hickes’ footnote 9)

\textsuperscript{16} In singular number it is \textit{rekur}. The word appears in the poetic dialogue of \textit{Hervarar Saga}, chapter VII, stanza 6, \textit{Hirdum ey faelast þott elldar brenni: latum ey ockur lijtid saka recka slijka radum fleira}, \textit{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 *)

\textsuperscript{17} See chapter XX, rule XI. (Hickes’ footnote 1)
III. Gumar or gunnar, governors, commanders. Sax. \textit{gumas}, \textit{guman}, or in composite declension, \textit{gumenas}; IV. Segger, soldiers from low status who had ascended to the rank of noblemen, and through poetic synecdoche \textit{men}. Sax. \textit{secgas} or \textit{seggas}; V. Lidar, travel companions. Sax. \textit{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 general way, and sometimes in a quite grandiose way, men of every status and condition; just as \textit{eorle}, \textit{æþeling} and \textit{wiga} in poetic words; \textit{lord} in the writings of the Satirist; \textit{bar} or \textit{baro} in the Francic metrically written quadrurus book of the gospels, 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. 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: \textit{ða ðæs rinces se rica ongan. cyning costigan. cunnode georne. huile þæs æþelinges. ellen wære}, then the mighty king began to test this man, earnestly examining what sort the man’s courage was, the Paraphraser of \textit{Genesis} page 61.8. \textit{Ne ðuhte ða gerysne. rodora wearde.} Þ Adam leng ana wäre. 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, the overseer of the heavens did not think it appropriate that Adam should remain long alone as
the guardian and tender of paradise, which had recently been created. On which account the almighty Lord, most exalted king, raised up a wife for him and bound him to the helper, whom life’s Author of light at once had handed over to the beloved man, page IV.20. It also occurs in a compound: ða mago-rincas metode geþungen Abraham 7 Loth, the cousins Abraham and Lot worshipped God reverently, page 38.17. Thus page 46.9, væs se mæra Melchisedec leoda biscop se mid lacum com fyrd-rinca fruman fægre gretan Abraham arlice 7 him onsette godes bleþunsæ 7 swa gyddode. væs ðu gewurþpod, this was the great Melchisedec, bishop of the people, who came with gifts honorably to greet the venerable Abraham, leader of the army, and blessed him, singing thus: may you be honored, etc. Likewise on page 35.10, hatene wæron suna Noes Sem and Ham and læfel ðridda. from ðam gum-rincum folc geludon and gefylled wearp eall ðæs middangearde monna brewnum, but the sons of Noah are called Shem, Ham, and the third Japheth. From these patriarchs came the people, and this whole world was filled with men. Thus in the Kalendar: ðæene heriaþ wel in geþungen wise-rincas rægolfæste, whom wise men bound by religious rules, i.e. monks, greatly praise in their writings. Thus in the Judith fragment: her ge magon sweþotæ sige-rofe hæleþ leoda ræspan on ðæs læþestan hæþenes heapo-rinces heafod starian Holofernes unlyfigendes. ðe us monna mæst morþra gefremed, here, O celebrated in victory and excellent leaders of the people, you can see, clearly visible, the head of the most hated pagan leader Holofernes, now dead, who most of all inflicted devastation upon our people. Sylfre brohton eorlas æsc-rofe Holofernes sweord swatigne helm swilce eac side byrnan gerenode readum golde. 7 eal þ se rinca baldor swip-mod sincæs ahte, 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 men 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, then the cruel king Herod commanded the people throughout his whole kingdom, and ordered his men to go. Thus in chapter XVI, quat that oc saliga uuairin thia rinkos, thia redto, he said that the men also would be blessed, who revered justice. Likewise

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 therro barun, that young man, that son on the bier lifted himself up.

IV. Although among the Cimbri the word wer is 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 gegoþe. Iared haten, this little son, as I discovered, was called Jared among his people when he was a young man, the Paraphraser of Genesis page 27.24. De 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, just as he had ordered, the unyielding guardian of the city of Babylon raised up a statue and a god out of gold for the men, against the will of God, because he was not a wise guardian of the kingdom, i.e., wise king, page 71.22. Awehte ðone wel-nif wera aldor frea Babilones brego on his burhstede Nabochodonosor ðurh Niþhete he secan ongan sefan gehygdm hu he Israelum eaȝmost meahte þurh gromra gang guman op-pringan, 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] men. Thus in the Kalendar, Ne hyrde ic guman awyrn ænigne ær æfre bringan ofer saltne mere selran lare, I have not heard before that any man had brought instruction over the sea that was more beneficial. Likewise in the Cotton Harmony of the gospels, chapter IV, Thuo bigan im the uuísó man suitho god gumo Ioseph an is muode thenkean, then that wise and most virtuous man 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 hupe feredon secgas 7 gesiþas, then rejoicing, the

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 gesipas, baeron ðufas, 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, 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. stopon cyne-rofe secgas gesipas, baeron ðufas, when he became angry, the unyielding guardian of Babylon gave orders to his companions or attendants. Line 14, leoda cyninges, the companions or attendants of the king. Thus page 85.17, cuþ is þ me Daniel. dyglan suefnes. stop gesede. ær stop on cyne-rofe secgas gesiþas, bæron ðufas, then when he became angry, the unyielding guardian of Babylon gave orders to his companions or attendants.

Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter VI, fundum san folco drohtin liudo herron, they at once found the lord of the people, the king of men; chapter VII, im habda for liuan liudo herro, the lord of men had granted them; chapter XII, Johannes an Iordana strome allan langan dag liudi managa doph, John baptized many people [a great multitude] all day long. Thus Chapter XLVII, then He spoke to that crowd, to all those people. Endi sia at erist erl mid is handon sten auuerpe, and let that man cast a stone with his hands first. Thus chapter XXVI, helithos quamun thia liudi te lande, 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, 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 æpelinge must be mentioned. wurdon ðam æpelinge. eaforan acende. in Babilone. bearn afeded. freolicu tu. 7 ða frumgaran. hælep
hige-rofe. hatene wæron. Abraham 7 Aaron. ðam eorlum wæs. frea engla ban freod
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 noble men, 38.18 of the
Paraphrase. Thus page 46.7, ge wat him frea leoda. earlum bedroren. Abraham secan.
freondo fesceaf, xcix the king, deprived of noblemen [or men], and devoid of friends, went out to
search for Abraham. Thus in the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter VI, An them ahtoden
lage erlos managa suitho, c very many men on the eighth day; chapter IX, nu thie cunning ni
lebit erl obarmuodi, ci now the king, that arrogant man, 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, cv 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.\textsuperscript{cvii}

Segge.
I have seen segges, quoth he, in the city of London
Beare byghes full bryght about thei
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{cix}

Here I should note the etymology of the Anglian \textbf{ladde}, which signifies \textit{man, male, young man, a boy becoming a man}. Nor should the reader be surprised that \textbf{leode} and \textbf{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 \textbf{absoyle} and \textbf{assoyle}; \textbf{grammercy} and \textbf{grammercy}; \textbf{gomes} and \textbf{gommes}; \textbf{pelure}, \textbf{plore}, and \textbf{pelyre} [now \textbf{pearle} or \textbf{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. ex [wise wyes, i.e. apostles]

You may add to these reuke, exi 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 fraegur, famous, or frekur, harsh, vigorous: exii 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. exiii

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 altogethe; 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 wilnest. 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.

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
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. 34brynia, Sax. byrn or byrna, coat of mail, iron breastplate. II. sefe
or seffle, 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. 35logur, laugur, metonymically, 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. niðas or niðdas, 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, just as their lord, general of mailed heroes, had ordered them.
Likewise, and læddon to ðære beorhtan byrig Bethuliam. helmas and huwseax. hare
bynarn. gubscearp gumena. golde gefrætewod, and to the bright city Bethulia they carried
helmets and swords, and the commander’s coats of mail which were adorned with gold.

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

34 Written thus in that metrical dialog between Odd and Hialmar, chapter V of Hervarar Saga, as for example,
Hialmar 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 wyrdæ gesceaft. wisdom bude. gif ðu his ærest ne meaht. or areccan,\textsuperscript{cxxxix} then the prophets of the\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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. storran on heofonum,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{cxxii} the women were very unhappy in their spirits. Thus chapter LXXI of the same harmony, quat hie ist inc iame r hugi sebo sora gonofull,\textsuperscript{cxxiii} he said, surely your spirit is not unhappy, full of grief. iro muod sebo,\textsuperscript{cxxiv} 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;\textsuperscript{cxxv} then writes as follows in the notes, mund, hand, once widespread, from which is mundlog, washbasin; mundhangur, a balance.\textsuperscript{cxxvi} 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 walend. 7 segnade. earce innan. agenum spedum. nergend usser,\textsuperscript{cxxvii} 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 feorþ. to slagan seþe. ðæs de blod-gyte, wæl-fyll weres. wæpnum gespedeþ. morþ mid mundum,\textsuperscript{cxxviii} 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 beneotap. hine onymep, æfter ðære sinne. seofon feald wracu. wite æfter weorce,\textsuperscript{cxxxix} if anyone

\textsuperscript{36} Soothsayers, magicians, Chaldaens, etc. (Hickes’ footnote 2)
deprives a man of life with his hands [i.e. he commits murder] after that sin, vengeance sevenfold and punishment will pursue him after the deed.

The fourth, brag, occurs often in the Paraphraser: as on page 5.1, where God is called brag engla,\(^{cxi}\) king of the angels. Thus page 80.20, Nebuchadnezzar is called Babilone brag,\(^{cxii}\) king of Babylon: and in the Judith fragment Holofernes is called beorma brag: as for example mynto ealle ðe beorma brag. and seo beorhto mæp in ðam witegan træfe wær on ætsomne,\(^{cxlii}\) everyone remembers that the lord and beautiful virgin were together in the splendid tent.

The fifth, mag, 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.\(^{cxiii}\) Greater and lesser, the sons 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 gefremde. freo-mæg ofslöh. broþor sine,\(^{cxlv}\) he committed a crime with his hands, he killed his kinsman, his brother. Thus page 25.7, ne ðearfsta ðu ðe ondrædan. deapæs brogan. feor-h-cwælm nu giet. ðeah ðu from scyle. freo-magum feor. fah gewitan,\(^{cxlvi}\) you ought not be afraid of death, to fear being killed, even if you will have been obliged to depart, hating, far from your kinsmen. 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\(^{cxlvii}\) brothers of the same blood. mago-rincas,\(^{cxlviii}\) 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, systur mag,\(^{clii}\) related by
marriage, *mag-kona*, any woman related by marriage, as *frand-kona*, 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 næla. *To speak with you.*

In the Cotton harmony of the gospels, chapter XXV: than findis thu gisundan at hus magu jungan, *then you will find a young son at home, having been made healthy.* Thus chapter XXVI, *sprac the man uuid is magos, 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 dælep on laste ðe ðonne ðu of lice aldor asendest,* *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 eæpest miht ealdre benæman,* *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 ferailiu binamin ahtin iro aldras so uuas an iro euue gisciban,* *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,* *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 ricanþeodne feran folces raesan,* *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 wip lande,* *then the water was divided from the land.* Thus page 5.16, *rivers are called lago-yrnende,* *running water.* Likewise a flood is called *lago-flod, lago-stream,* and *lago-sip.*
the path, way of the sea: as for example, op ic ðære lafe lago-siþa eft ryman wille, 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, which destroyed men in the days of Noah with floods of waters.

Ninth: colla, helmet. See ferhp.

The tenth is goldes brytta, sinces brytta. It often occurs in the Judith fragment, where God is called torhtmod tires brytta, 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 rape oþre worde to Sarran sinces brytta, 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, 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 in the Paraphraser: such as page 5.23, on ðære eþyl tyrf niððas findaþ. nean 7 feorran. gold 7 gym-cynn, on this land men or their descendants find gold and gems of every kind. Thus page 81.12, ða Azarias. in geþancum. hleoprade halig. ðurh hatne lig. ðæda georn. brihten he rede. wer wommaleas. 7 ða word acwæþ. Metod al wihta. hwæt ðu eart. mihtum swið niþas to negerne, then the holy, undefiled, and brave Azarias, speaking forth clearly in the blazing 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; and mortals are called niðða beorna in many places. Thus in the fragment of the history of Judith, Holofernes is called niþ heard, a harsh man, and modiga niþ, a spirited man.
The twelfth also occurs in the Paraphraser: as for example on page 41.24, ongunnon him ða bytlian þeora burh ræran 37 sele settan. salo niwian weras on wonge wibed setton. neah ðam þe Abraham ærde his waldende, then the men began to provide for themselves and to construct dwelling places, and to found new settlements and new homes, 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, they saw that the palaces were made of silver, and that the halls were glowing with red gold.

Thirteenth, ship, is found in the Paraphraser page 31.3. Ic ðæs mine. monna leofost. wære gesylye. þu weg nimest. 7 feora 39 ðæs sl. ðu ferian scealt. geond deop wæter. degrimes worn. on lides bosme. laed sua ic ðe hate, 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 ship [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 leoh fruma. on lides borme, then God, lord of 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 ship.

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

37 From setle, seat: as bole is from botle. (Hickes’ footnote *)
38 Lid is also skip, ship: Guðmundur Andrèsson on stanza 16 of Völuspá. (Hickes’ footnote †)
39 In the Cimbric language fæsla, 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 ōu folde. fira modor. beo ōu growende. on godes fæpme. fodrum gefylled firum to nytte*, *hail, earth, mother of men, may you flourish in god’s embrace, filled with food for the use of men*. See the notes of Olof Verelius on these words, *frækin med firdum*, in chapter VI of *Hervarar Saga*, page 87. *fyar* and *fyrdar*, *properly guardians, overseers; in poetry: men*, as the Islander Guðmundur Andrésson comments concerning this word. *fyar* occurs among the appellations of *men* in part two. *In the Cotton harmony of the gospels, nothing occurs more frequently than* *firiho barn, firiho barno, firiio barnun, allaro firio fruma; firio drihten; allaro firio fader*. 
“Corrigenda et Addenda” of Caput XXI: pages 101-110

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

m.c.1.cc 19. 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).

Anglo-Saxon

➢ “Boethian meters”

*Meters of Boethius*, from British Library MS Cotton Otho A.vi


➢ “calendar” (also “kalender”)

*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.


➢ “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

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”)

Cimbria:

➢ “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”
“þátr 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
Völuspá, 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
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).

Again, the poets of the Danelaw.

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).

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 quadratus” recalls a second informal title by which this text has been known: Liber Canuti, sive Codex Quadratus, The Book of Canute, or the Codex Quadratus—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.

The second part of Snorri’s Edda, the Skáldskaparmál (The Language of Poetry), lists the words—“appellations” (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.

Judith, of MS Cotton Vitellius A.v, 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.

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 Genesis ac praecipuarum Sacrae pagina Historianam, abhinc annos MLXX.

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 s weng is the object of the verb gebeard (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.

This is “þätt Styrbjarnar Svakappa” (“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 “pátt Styrbjarnar Svákapppa.” 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ægut uiga unge} \\
\text{uil baldrs fodur illan} \\
\text{Odinn hordr sem aller} \\
\text{oljosan valkiosa.}
\end{align*}
\]

It is apparent from this version that what Hickes understands to be one word (vil-baldurs, 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; Odín, the hard father of Baldur, wishes to choose the evil, dark slain.

\[\text{xii}\] According to Snorri’s Edda, Tyr was “the bravest and most valiant” of the Aesir, who had “great power over victory in battles” (24).

\[\text{xiii}\] 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{er þeir ......} \\
\text{gengu af öskum} \\
\text{.................} \\
\text{tirarlausir,} \\
\text{váru töff saman. (5v)}
\end{align*}
\]

When they departed from the warships without glory, 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).

\[\text{xiii}\] 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 giarnar (eager for victory) in place of tirarlausir (without glory) at the end.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fara halir hraustir} \\
\text{af herskipum,} \\
\text{töff menn saman} \\
\text{tirarlausir. (6v)}
\end{align*}
\]

Bold men go forth from the warships, twelve men together without glory.

\[\text{xv}\] 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.

\[\text{xvi}\] 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 was...at ende are an impersonal construction (137). This passage should be translated as follows, it was at the end of their glory, prosperity, and glorious deeds.
xiv Lines 156b-158. Hickes’ Latin translation “praestantissimus gloriae fructus,” most extraordinary reward of glory, of the Anglo-Saxon phrase wuldorblæd torhtoric 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 glory given for the injuries that you have long endured.

xv Lines 159b-198. Hickes’ translation, “vos jam victoriam reportatis a principe illustriiomo,” you now carry back a victory from a most illustrious leader, of the Anglo-Saxon 7 ge dom agon tir et 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 (“illustriiomo,” 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, glory in battle, just as, through my hand, the Almighty Lord has foretold you.

xvii Lines 54b-8. Contrary to Hickes’ claim, torht tire, illustrious glory, is not a reference to God. Hickes translates this phrase as “illustri 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, torht 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, gewealdre, dome, and dugeđe are governed by besloh, while the verb benam, deprived of, governs dreame, gefeane 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 gefeane, joy—both masculine singular nouns—as datives; however, Doane lists ealle, all, the adjective with gefeane, as instrumental singular masculine. Since ealle can only be instrumental singular, and dreame and gefeane can be either dative or instrumental, both nouns, as parallel nouns, must be instrumental. torht tire, adjactive 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, illustrious glory, and avenged his anger...

xxi 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, especially 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 gefeane 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 glory, 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.

xxii 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 glory of the blessed.

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

Line 1044. See this phrase in the quotation that follows.

Lines 1043a-1044. Hickes translates tir method (glorious God) as “Lord Creator.”

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 fæstum, which Bosworth and Toller translate as gloriously fast, an appositional phrase to nīða nergend, Savior of men (not “nepotum eorum servator,” Savior of their descendants, as Hickes indicates). Further, Hickes translates treowum, covenant, as “praesidium,” defense. 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.

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.

Lines 2619-20. 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.

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).

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.

Very happy and very good, respectively. Hickes’ etymology of “três” is incorrect. This French word “is not from tir, but from the Latin preposition “trans,” beyond.

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.

The Anglo-Saxon phrase, corlas æsc-roe, literally reads spear-brave noblemen...

Lines 2107-2109a. Æesc-tir is not a reference to God in this passage, as Hickes believes, but a phrase meaning glory (tir) of spears (æsc). 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 at 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.

Lines 2068b-2069. Again, Æesc-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 Æesc-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 maleice of the northmen. Abraham gave…”
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.

Völspá (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 Saemundr 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 Völspá from the Elder Edda.

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 Mjöðgarð (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 orlog 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 laeæ, nie liti 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.

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.

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 fænd, found, as “disposuit,” drew up. Further, he translates asc-berendra as “scutigeros,” shield-bearing; however, as with the examples above, asc here refers to the spear; the asc-berendra are spear-bearing warriors. The latter half of the quotation is better translated as follows: He found three hundred and eighteen spear-bearing warriors there, who were loyal-hearted.

Or land or ground, depending upon context.

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 nas (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 land 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 Cimbirc 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 auras,” 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.

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 flowing water was divided under the high firmament.

Lines 154-157a. Rather than the simple ða com...maere 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 sibian, 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 earth, hastening to go, the splendid third morning. Not yet were the broad lands nor paths useful to God, but the earth remained covered firmly with water.*

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1. Line 15. This line actually reads *here on earth.*
2. Line 114.
3. 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 and 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 (*seodon niht, seven nights*) mentioned in the previous stanza, describes when harvest occurs: *ymbe oder swycle butan and 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.*

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1. 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.
2. Line 69. Hickes has mistakenly written *hel* (*hell*) in this passage for *hal* (*hail*). Literally, this line reads, *be healed, Earth, mother of men.*
3. 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.*
4. 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 *thegn 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 earth.*
5. 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.

Hírdum ey fælast
vid fnösn slika
þott um alla ey
elldar brenni:
latum okkr eigi
litit hraeda
recka slika
radum fleira vid! (13v).

In his Latin translation Hickes assumes that *elldar,* *fires,* is the subject of *Hírdum ey fælast,* *let us not be afraid,* inserts “armetarias,” *herdsman* 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.*

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1. Reckar (singular *rekkr*) means *men, warriors.*
2. Verar (singular *verr*) means simply *men.*
3. 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.
4. 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 pausa vestigia e tant 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 rodora wearde, to the Lord of the heavens. Further, he inserts a relative clause, “qui recens factus erat,” which had recently been created, for niwere 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 man. Finally, in Hickes’ Anglo-Saxon passage he transcribes an adverb ræpe, at once, in place of the accusative noun wræpe (from wræpu, 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 man.)

According to Bosworth and Toller, the noun magorincas does not mean “patruelles,” cousins, as Hickes believes, but young men or warriors. Also, Hickes translates the verb gepungen, 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 unforcuplice, 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 warriors Abraham and Lot, thrived before God.

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 (arlíc, honorably) as the adjective “venerabilem,” venerable (see my translation, below, for comparison), incorrectly applying it to the accusative Abraham. Finally, Hickes translates bleutsunge, blessing (from the phrase sette / godes bleutsunge 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 warriors, honorably, and placed on him God’s blessing, and spoke thus, “be thou honored” etc.
my knowledge of the previous page, seems to have been placed here by mis
who willed lawfully
his quotation of this passage, and instead inserts another verb in
translating it as the object of "mandavit," meaning
ordered
ruler of
bloody helmet of Holofernes, as well as the broad coat of mail, adorned with red gold, an
passage should be translated as follows, …
(see Bosworth and Toller), in this context, referring to the
passive participle of "promitto," meaning
ordered
translation indicates ("sudabundam"), in this context (referring to Holofernes’ helmet), it is understood to mean
the very sword
a dative singular feminine pronoun, with
word or phrase is syntactically shared between two clauses.

Hickes mistakenly translates the reflexive sylfre (generally meaning self, own, very), which is
dative singular feminine pronoun, with the accusative singular neuter noun sword (sword): “ipsis...gladium,”
the very sword. Instead, the pronoun refers to Judith, the one to whom the eorlas esc-roe spear-brave noblemen
brought a share of Holofernes’ treasure: for herself. Further, although swatigne does mean sweaty, as Hicks’ Latin
translation indicates (“sudabundam”), in this context (referring to Holofernes’ helmet), it is understood to mean
bloody (see Bosworth and Toller). Finally, Hicks 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 warriors had of treasure.

In this passage Hicks translates the adverb harða, sternly (which modifies the verb gïbdô, ordered), as “saevus,” cruel, an adjective describing Herod. He then mistakes thera liudo, a genitive phrase
meaning of the people (which goes with the nominative cuining, 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 men to go.

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 (“coherent,”
revered). The passage is translated as follows with the correct verb, he said that blessed also would be the warriors
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).

Hickes translates the verb asat, sat, as “tollebat,” lifted up. Also, Hicks changes the word
order of the sentence, which should be translated as follows, the young man sat up, the child on the bier.

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.

Hickes translates maga, son, as “filiolus,” little son. Also, mine gefrege means according to
my knowledge, which Hicks’ “ut ego rescivi,” as I discovered, does not quite capture.

Daniel 172b-176. As Hicks’ own translation indicates, gurlices is not a reference to men, which is what he has
been discussing, but to a kingdom. 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 *pure* *peode*, in the country) *pe sua hatte*, / *bresna* Babilonige, that was so called powerful Babylon (and not, as Hickes has translated, “prosрус ut justserat,” just as he had ordered). Further, Hickes inserts “durus,” unyielding, to describe the “urbs 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 *gurnices 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 the will of God, because he was not wise, the lord of the *kingdom*.

Daniel 45-51. Hickes translates *Awehte ðone wald-nil*, 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, *purh 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 *opbringan*, 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 men away from Israel.

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* man *ever bring better love 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.)*

Lines 312b–314a. Hickes’ translation is mostly correct. However, a more accurate translation goes as follows, *Then the wise man, the very good* man, *Joseph in his mind began to think to himself.*

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.

Lines 2000–201. 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 men and their companions marched, they carried banners.*

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 men is able to heal him with his hands.*

Daniel 448-449a. In this quotation Hickes translates *bresna*, bold, as “durus,” unyielding; and *swip-mod*, haughty, as the perfect participle “ira tus,” 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 people.*

Daniel 435a. This phrase does not refer to the king’s companions or attendants, as Hickes suggests. Rather, this half-line *(lāþsearo leoda cyninges)* is describing the bonds (the *lāþsearo*, hateful device) that bound the men *(leoda, of the men)*, which the king had ordered *(cyninges, of the king).*

Daniel 481-483. Hickes’ translation of this passage is very close to the Anglo-Saxon, with the following exceptions: he translates *leoda, people* as “magonum,” wise men; and neglects to translate *ær*, formerly (as in, which had formerly remained…).

Daniel 467-468. Hickes translates *leode, people*, here as “comites,” companions; and *het*, summoned, as the present participle “jubens,” ordering. Also, he neglects to translate *tosonne*, together.

Lines 430-431a. The Anglo-Saxon word *im* refers to a singular him, and not “illis,” *them*, as Hickes translates.

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*.

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 *æpeling*, below. See Appendix 1 for a list of Hickes’ corrections for Caput XXI.

Lines 3867b–3868a. Hickes neglects to translate *sia at, at her.*
The latter is a nominative plural noun, in apposition to the former. This quotation should be translated as follows, *the heroes came, the people, to land.*

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 people, who have waited here a long time now, many a while on this earth, thirsty people.*

In this passage Hickes translates the adjective *freolicu,* comely, as “ingenui,” freeborn; and the phrase *freod 7 aldur,* peace and life, from the final half-line, as “servator...atque pater,” savior and father.

As per Hickes’ “Corrigenda & Addenda,” in stanzas 5 and 6, respectively) on pages 7v and 8v.

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.

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 belle* does not occur in the poem *Völuspá.* The only reference, in *Völuspá,* to something girdling the earth is, *Og vm Moladhynur / máttan Dœma,* and they talk about the mighty earth-thong (serpent), from stanza 54 of Snorri’s *Edda Islandonum.*
very little sense, which perhaps explains why Hickes left it out.

line 1526a, which Hickes neglects to include in his quotation: "and I will guarantee the life of a man against the slayer..." (275). Another problem is the prepositional phrase "avenge"), but reveals his suggestion, when, taking Grein's interpretation of this" (275). Doane, in his commentary, echoes Krapp ("Grein takes..."

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.

Hickes includes "Chaldæi," Chaldeans, which refer to seers, soothsayers, and astrologers (OED).

Daniel 127-133. In his Latin translation, Hickes omits unblîpe, 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 mind, 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 wtiga, Devil's prophets, Hickes includes “Chaldæi,” Chaldeans, which refer to seers, soothsayers, and astrologers (OED).

Daniel. 143-144.

This passage is perhaps more straightforward than those of many later scholars.

Hickes translates his passage as follows, He said, “you have sad hearts, sorrowful spirits.”

Hickes quotes Guðmundur’s words as follows, facit is nato Cyclopton manum insistere. Guðmundur’s translation pertains to two lines from stanza 50 of Þulspá (letur hann mege huedrungis / mund ofstanda) (in Snorri’s Edda Islandorum); however, Hickes neglects to include the line that immediately follows them in his translation (hjör till 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 hands, make (the sword) stick (to the heart) in Hvedrung’s son.

Hickes quotes Guðmundur’s notes as follows, mund, manus, olim frequens, unde mundlog, malluvium; mundhangur, tartina.

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 hands, and our savior blessed those inside the Ark with his own strength.

Hickes translates his passage as follows, 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 sêla ærest begrindeô / gastes dugeôum þæra þe mid gares orde / ðeðum ældor ðeþringeô, 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 first deprives himself of the soul's benefits, God continues, Ne ðearf he by edelane gefon / modgeðance, he will have no occasion in his heart to rejoice from recom pense (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 hands.** 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 se ðe 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 *benefataþ, 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 hands, on him shall come vengeance seven-fold, according to his sin; torment, according to his deed.*


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


cxliii Daniel 47a (also 256a).


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


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


cxiv 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.


cxv Hickes' mythological syncretism here is extremely fanciful.


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


cxvii Genesis 1037-1039. Hickes misunderstands *fah, outlawed,* as meaning "exsus," *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 kinsmen.*


cxviii 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.


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


c lx 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.


cxli 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:
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 those implements are made: baudskar, great in battle. Hlöd is then referred to as sa pundur, 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 Angantyr. 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 pundur: 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.

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 “miltites,” soldiers, for his quotation.

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

Hickes’ translations here are incorrect: lago-flod means sea; lago-stream means water; and a lago-sip is a sea journey.

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-sipra refers to a sea-journey, not “viae…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; Òere 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 sea-journey, will multiply food again under the heavens.
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.*)

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

Lines 2727-2728.

Lines 121b-122.

I.e., *ni pas, niððas, people.*

Lines 224b-226a. Hickes omits the second half-line of line 226 (*gumpeoda barna, 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 men from near and far find gold and gems.*

Daniel 279-284a. Hickes seems to have difficulty translating the appositive phrases describing Azarias (halig, *holy one…daeda georn, zealous in deeds…wer womma leas, man without sin*). After ignoring the second phrase (*daeda 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 people.”


Princes (?) of men. Contrary to Hickes’ claim, this phrase is not found in many places. Hickes probably means *niððas barna,* *of the sons of men,* which is common.

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 *nip, man,* in the Judith fragment.

I.e., *sal, house.*

Lines 1880-1884a. Hickes omits the adverb *æror, before,* on line 1883b, and uses a slightly different verb—arærd (from *aræran*) rather than *rærd* (from *ræran*); 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 home and renew their halls; the men built an altar on the plain near the one which Abraham had raised for his Lord before.*

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 *hilfian, to tower,* which is necessary for the accusative and infinitive construction. This quotation should be translated as follows, *they saw that halls towered above treasure, houses above red gold.*

Lines 1328-1332. Although Hickes translates this quotation as one entire sentence, it actually comprises two sentences. The last half-line, *laed sua ic de 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 hear (“admonitum velim”) Noah; *He makes a promise to Noah (were gesyelle, I give my promise).* Finally, Hickes translates *7 feora faesl, de ou 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 *faesl* is essentially correct (with the clarification that the English word for food comes from the Anglo-Saxon verb *fedan, to feed,* *faesl,* 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…*
Lines 1407-1410. Hickes translates *sigora*, of victories, as “dominantium,” of rulers, then supplements this with “triiumphantium,” of the triumphant, in a footnote); and *wocre*, offspring, as “animalium,” animals. Further, Hickes translates *lifes leoth 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 ship*.

cxvi I.e., *fyrrar*, men, people.

cxvii 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*.

cxviii Meter 8, line 32. Here again Hickes uses a less specific term (“quiquam,” anyone) for the Anglo-Saxon word *fyr*, man. Also, he uses the conjunction “sed,” but, for the adverb *furþum*, even. This quotation should be translated as follows, *nor did any man even speak of war*.

cxix That is, very celebrated.

cxx The phrase *fira bearn* actually means children of men.

cxxi Genesis, lines 407b-408a. Hickes translates *fira bearn*, sons of men, as “homines,” people; and *geongrum*, vassals, as “discipulos,” students.

cxiii 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.

cxiv Line 1.

cxv Meter 4, lines 39b-40. *It is strange to men, why Fate should proceed so perversely*.

cxvi Meter 7, line 11b. *Nor also may any man…*

cxvii Meter 8, line 32a. *Nor did any man even…*

cxviii For Unfruitful Land, lines 69-71.

cxix 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 *fyrr* simply means men, and *fyrdar*, armies.

cxx I.e., of the *Edda*.

cxxi 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.

cxxii *m.c.1.:* margin (footnote), column 1.

cxxiii Line numbers should read l.35-37.

cxxiv Line number should read 53.
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