Notes

A Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry

1. *HOEM*; Neidorf, 'Lexical Evidence'.
2. Fulk, *HOEM*, 330, 368–81, 390–1; Neidorf, 'Introduction', 11–12.
3. Neidorf, 'Lexical Evidence', 38, after Fulk, *HOEM*.
4. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 9, 200. For a different view, see Griffith, 'Poetic Language and the Paris Psalter'.
5. Many studies in these areas can readily be found. On the Junius Manuscript, see notably Karkov, *Text and Picture*, and Ericksen, *Reading Old English Biblical Poetry*. On the Exeter Book, see Niles, *God's Exiles*. On the Vercelli Book, see Zacher and Orchard, eds., *New Readings*, and Leneghan, 'Teaching the Teachers'. On the Nowell Codex, see Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, and Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*. On dating, see Ker, nos. 116, 216, 334, 394, and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 257, 399, 640, and 941, as well as Lockett, 'Integrated Re-examination', 173; Muir, ed., *Exeter Anthology*, vol. 1, 1; Treharne, 'Form and Function of the Vercelli Book', 254.
6. On the poems of Cotton MS Tiberius B.i, see Karasawa, '*Menologium* and *Maxims II*'; Tyler, 'Writing Universal History', and Leneghan, 'End of Empire?'. On CCCC MS 201, see notably Zacher, 'Rewards of Poetry', and Anlezark, 'Reading "The Story of Joseph"'.
7. Tyler, *Old English Poetics*, 1–2.
8. See, among many others, Magennis, *Images of Community*; Wehlau, *Riddle of Creation*; Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*; and Harbus, *Life of the Mind* and *Cognitive Approaches*. Yet more recently, see Cavell, *Weaving Words*, and Louviot, *Direct Speech*.
9. See Orchard, *Critical Companion to Beowulf*, 163–8; 'Alcuin and Cynewulf'; 'Both Style and Substance'; 'Intoxication, Fornication, and Multiplication'; and 'Originality of *Andreas*'. See also recently North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, 58–81.

10. Orchard, 'Computing Cynewulf'; 'Intoxication, Fornication, and Multiplication'; 'Beyond Books'.
11. See, for instance, O'Camb's suggestion that whoever was responsible for composing certain 'proverbious verses' of the first section of *Maxims I* drew on *The Seafarer* and *The Fortunes of Men*, copied earlier in the same quire: 'Inscribed Form of *Exeter Maxims*'. In disagreement, see Neidorf, 'On the Dating and Authorship of *Maxims I*'.
12. For a recent argument against an early date for *Beowulf*, see Weiskott, *English Alliterative Verse*, 23–52.
13. See further Fulk, 'Cynewulf'.
14. The *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* here are North and Bintley's in their recent edition of *Andreas*, 97–115. The editors posit also a more specific estimate of circa 890. Fulk sees *Andreas* as probably dating before circa 850 (see *HOEM*, 351).
15. Dobbie, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, lxvii. Suggesting that the first six half-lines of *Maxims II* may have been composed to speak to the thematic concerns of Tiberius B.i (in which the poem was copied *c*.1045), see Tyler, 'Writing Universal History'.

Introduction: The Poetics of the Life Course

1. On the ages of man in early medieval England, see recently Porck, *Old Age*, 16–51, stressing the primacy of the three stages named here (esp. 45), after Cochelin, 'Introduction' (esp. 11). See further note 99. On Alcuin's use of the ages in a range of texts, see Barber, 'Alcuin and the Student Life Cycle', and on Byrhtferth's use of the four ages in his *Vita s. Oswaldi* (997–1002) and *Vita s. Ecgwini* (1016–20), see Porck, *Old Age*, 36–7.
2. Skinner, 'Pitfalls of Linear Time', 13, after Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* See also McAvoy, 'Introduction', especially on heteronormative models of ageing which privilege reproduction, 2–3, after Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 5. Reproductive ability is particularly key to the six-age Augustinian scheme: see Chapter 2, 44.
3. Applying the framework of the ages of man to Old English poetry, see notably Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', and in a more selective manner, Burrow, *Ages of Man*, 95–134; Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions'; and Porck, *Old Age*. Burrow's work formed part of a wave of studies of the ages in medieval culture in the late 1980s, along with Sears' *Ages of Man*, and Goodich's *From Birth to Old Age*, but his is notable for emphasising the ability of any one individual to either conform to or transcend a 'programme' of the ages (see esp. 4). In this study, I use 'ageing' to mean 'living through a life course', but see recently Gullette, 'Against 'Aging'.
4. On the sequentiality of Old English poetry, see recently Callander, *Dissonant Neighbours*.

5. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf*, lvii, punctuation modified.

6. See *TOE*, 02.01.04, and 02.01.02.02.02.

7. See Clements, 'Sudden Death'. On *The Fortunes of Men*, see Chapter 1, 27–34.

8. Irving Jr, *Reading of Beowulf*, 31–42. See further Lapidge, '*Beowulf* and Perception', 63–6, and, discussing the role of *oþþæt* in Old English grammar and syntax, Mitchell, 'Old English *Oððæt* Adverb', and *Old English Syntax*, vol. 2, secs. 2751–4. With reference to the age narratives of the *Riddles*, see Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 87.

9. See Gould, *Punctuated Equilibrium*. We might include within this category of narrative 'punctuated equilibrium' the sudden moments of perception that have long been recognised as common in Old English poetry: see Harbus, 'Traditional Subjectivities', E68.

10. See *The Fortunes of Men*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, as *The Fortunes of Mortals*, 56–63. All further quotations are from this source, with the punctuation modified at times. All translations of Old English and Latin texts are my own unless stated otherwise. Compounds in all Old English texts have been hyphenated.

11. All quotations from *Beowulf* are from Klaeber Four. On dating, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry.

12. Velleman, 'Well-Being and Time', 50. For a different perspective, see *Instructions for Christians*, in Jones, ed. and trans., *Religious and Didactic*, 138–47, lines 235–40, arguing for moral and spiritual consistency across the life course. For discussion of this passage, see Porck, *Old Age*, 67.

13. Strawson, 'Against Narrativity', 441. See further the discussion of Strawson in Small, *Long Life*, 94–8.

14. See Skinner, 'Pitfalls of Linear Time', reflecting on Skinner and van Houts, eds., *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*.

15. Rorty, 'Improvisatory Accident-Prone Dramas', 261. See further Small, *Long Life*, 103.

16. Malabou, *Ontology of the Accident*, 1, 3.

17. Recent studies of individual life phases include Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions'; Porck, *Old Age*; and Irvine and Rudolf, eds., *Childhood and Adolescence*. Ranging across the ages, see Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', and most recently, Porck and Soper, eds., *Early Medieval English Life Courses*. Ranging across Old and Middle English prose and verse, see Burrow, *Ages of Man*.

18. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', especially 205. Occasionally, distinctions in age-related experiences are also suggested between those of different ethnic groups or social ranks – for example, the ox of *Riddle 70* describes growing up and entering bondage and servitude in a way which may parallel the entry into slavery of its

Welsh herdsman. On Welshness in this text, see Brady, '"Dark Welsh"', and on the text as a life narrative, see Chapter 1, 49–50, 55–56; Chapter 2, 65–66.

19. Stressing the necessary 'support of other human beings' in early childhood with reference to pre-Conquest England, see Irvine and Rudolf, 'Introduction'.

20. See note 17 above.

21. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, especially 1–2; Crawford, 'Overview', especially 627–8.

22. See Gullette, 'Against 'Aging'', 263.

23. On this implication of fluidity, see the introduction to Porck and Soper, eds., *Early Medieval English Life Courses*, 3–4. See also Old English *ryne* meaning 'a course, run, running', or 'a course of life' (Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *ryne*), found rendering Latin *cursus*.

24. See Hockey and Draper, 'Beyond the Womb and the Tomb'.

25. Hockey and Draper, 'Beyond the Womb and the Tomb', after Bryman et al., eds., *Rethinking the Life Cycle* (see esp. 'Introduction', 3). See also Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, 5.

26. See for example Bryman et al., 'Introduction', 2: 'What is it that is returning to its original position?'

27. Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?*, 3. See also Small, *Long Life*, 2, on the 'larger, but usually tacit, assumptions about what a life is' relied upon when old age is considered.

28. On old age particularly as a kind of disability, see notes 107–10.

29. For an overview, see Grusin, 'Introduction', and Bennett, 'Systems and Things', 223.

30. Mitchell, *Becoming Human*, xii, xix. Questioning the distinction between human and nonhuman bodies with reference to medieval life courses, see further Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, 6, 190–200, 218–27, and Crawford, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England*, 77–84. See also Karl Steel on children and death states in *How Not to Make a Human*, 41–73, 75–133.

31. See Paz, *Nonhuman Voices*, and see also notably Fay, 'Becoming an Onion'. For ecocritical studies, see Estes, *Literary Landscapes*; Dale, *Natural World*.

32. See primarily Skinner, 'Pitfalls of Linear Time', as well as McAvoy, 'Introduction'. See further note 2.

33. On the Sixth Age of the world in Old English poetry, see notably Smithers, 'The Meaning of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*', especially 145–9.

34. Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?*, 15, quoting Gross, 'Time and Nature', here discussing Augustinian thought.

35. On the four- and five-age schemes, see Porck, *Old Age*, 31–8.

36. See previously Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions', especially 288–9, 294, 300, 303; Larrington, *Store of Common Sense*, 169–70; Luo, 'Tender

Beginnings', 91. On the human and nonhuman in Old English poetry, see notably Estes, *Literary Landscapes*; Dale, *Natural World*; Paz, *Nonhuman Voices*.

37. *Latin-English Proverbs*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 184–5, italics omitted.
38. See Chapter 1, 49–50, 55–56; Chapter 4, 140.
39. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', 205.
40. Tolkien, '*Beowulf*', 27.
41. Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, 199.
42. See note 47.
43. Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, 206.
44. On dating, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry and further Fulk, *HOEM*, 404–10. On the *Riddles*' arrangement into two groups, see Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, 284–437.
45. On the small and great as an organising principle of Aldhelm's *aenigmata*, see Salvador-Bello, 'Patterns of Compilation', 345–6.
46. See, for example, Williamson, *Feast of Creatures*, 8, and more recently Dale, *Natural World*, especially 23–5. Frederick Tupper perceives the 'traits and passions of men' in his 1910 edition, *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, xc. See also Neville, 'Unexpected Treasure'; Dale, *Natural World*, especially 7.
47. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings'; Soper, 'Reading the *Exeter Book* Riddles'.
48. 'Isomorphism' is Jane Bennett's term, from *Vibrant Matter*, 99. On the ambiguities of anthropomorphism, see Dale, *Natural World*, 23–5.
49. Steel, *How Not to Make a Human*, 135–64, and especially 138. See also Pettman, *Creaturely Love*, 1–8.
50. All Old English riddle texts from Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 298–419, with punctuation occasionally modified. I follow Orchard's numbering.
51. See Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, xxii–iv, on titles and solutions. On *Riddle 74*'s solution, see 780, as well as Orchard, *Commentary*, 462, and further Salvador-Bello, 'Oyster and the Crab', 402. For an ecocritical reading of the text, see Estes, *Literary Landscapes*, 122–3, 126, and for a posthumanist and materialist perspective, see Steel, *How Not to Make a Human*, 153–5.
52. *DOE*, s.v. *hȳd*, 2.
53. Aldhelm, *Aenigma 17*, ed. and trans. Orchard, *Riddle Tradition*, 14–15, translation Orchard's. Also comparing these texts, see Dale, *Natural World*, 130–1.
54. Lapidge and Rosier, trans. *Aldhelm*, 64. See further Chapter 1, 37.
55. Dale, *Natural World*, 131.
56. Williamson, *Feast of Creatures*, 8.
57. Culler, *Theory of the Lyric*, 1 and 32. Culler is sceptical of both these definitions and offers his own characterisation of the genre (see esp. 34–7).

58. *DOE*, s.v. *fēdan*, 1, 1.a.iv.a.
59. Crawford discusses swaddling in *Childhood*, especially at 68–9. Noting the imagery of coverings in the *Riddles*, including the 'swaddled' cuckoo of *Riddle 9*, see Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 76. Luo further observes the depiction of a 'time of dependence and need for shelter and care' in *Riddle 74* and the Exeter Book *Riddles* more widely (77). The term *feþeleas* is used to describe a disabled man in the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, B-Text, 5 September, sec. 178
60. See Mitchell, *Becoming Human*, 22, 25, and note 30 above.
61. John D. Niles makes this point in *Enigmatic Poems*, 54, drawing on Lévi-Strauss, *Raw and the Cooked*. See also Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 33–4. On riddle-creatures embarking on 'something like a career', see Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 86–8, and also Soper, 'Reading the *Exeter Book* Riddles', 855–60.
62. See notably Dale, *Natural World*, and Neville, 'Unexpected Treasure'.
63. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 91.
64. *DOE*, s.v. *fretan*.
65. See Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *for-swelgan*, *ge-swelgan*.
66. *DOE*, s.v. *hȳd*, 2.a (*hyde forlætan/forwyrcan*).
67. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 19. Steven Shaviro agrees with Bennett, but stresses that such anthropomorphism should be 'cautious', *Universe of Things*, 61.
68. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 99. See further Skiveren, 'Fictionality'.
69. Žižek, *Absolute Recoil*, 12. On Žižek's critique, see further Skiveren, 'Fictionality'.
70. Steel, *How Not to Make a Human*, 152.
71. See Borysławski, *Old English Riddles*, suggesting that the *Riddles* can be classified according to the poetic modes of elegiac, heroic, religious, and wisdom literature.
72. On the metrical and dialectical uniformity of the *Riddles*, see *HOEM*, 404–10, and on their style see also notably Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, xxix–xxx, and *Commentary*, 324–5. On the challenging formulas, see Orchard, 'Enigma Variations', 286–7, and on riddles (both Latin and vernacular) as 'generically distinct', see 285. Other Old English poems (especially *The Dream of the Rood*) are often said to be riddle-like; see recently Mize, 'Enigmatic Knowing', and previously Niles, *Enigmatic Poems*; Leneghan, 'Teaching the Teachers'.
73. See Borysławski, *Old English Riddles*, especially 52, and Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf', especially 314, and 'After Aldhelm', especially 103–8. On *aenigmata* as a way of practising the art of poetry, see particularly Aldhelm's metrical preface to his collection in Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 25–31.

74. On psalmic contexts for the 'elegies', see notably Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow' and *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, in the latter noting in particular the pronounced role of enemies in both genres (344), after Mangina, 'Selfhood and the Psalms'. Suggesting relationships between 'elegies' and psalms, see further Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind', and Zacher, 'Looking beyond the Lyrical "I"'. Comparing *Riddle 5* with the 'elegies', see Borysławski, *Old English Riddles*, 105–6, Stanley, 'Heroic Aspects', 205–6, and Murphy, *Unriddling*, 68–70.

75. See Murphy, *Unriddling*, 69–70; Dale, *Natural World*, 51; Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 88–92.

76. Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 33, 45. On *Riddle 54*'s solution, see Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 769–70. On *Riddle 13*, see Riedinger, 'Formulaic Style', 37–40; Murphy, *Unriddling*, 9–13. See also Nelson, 'Old English Riddle No. 15'; Stanley, 'Heroic Aspects'; Teele, 'Heroic Tradition'; Borysławski, *Old English Riddles*, 106–9.

77. On the overlap with wisdom catalogues, see Borysławski, *Old English Riddles*, 112–19. On Riddle 11, see Murphy, *Unriddling*, 53–60; see also Teele, 'Heroic Tradition', 76, on the tree riddles.

78. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 121.

79. *Widsith*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 44–55. On the 'light of the world' motif present in *Widsith*, see Magennis, 'Imagery of Light in Old English Poetry'. For other examples, see *The Rhyming Poem* (70–87), *The Advent Lyrics* (434–9) and *Christ in Judgement*, which is concerned with death throughout. See further next note.

80. Fulk and Cain, *History of Old English Literature*, 250.

81. On martyrdom imagery in the gospel book riddles, see Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 170–90. On unsurvivable violence in the *Riddles*, see Chapter 1, 52–3. For descriptions of riddle-creatures rising into the sky, see *Riddles 1* ('storm'), 100–3; *5* ('swan'), 3–9; *8* ('barnacle goose'), 6–11; and *27* ('moon and sun'), 12–13.

82. See Wehlau, 'Rumination and Re-creation'; *Riddle of Creation*, 35–41. *DOE*, s.v. *here-spell*.

83. On the *Beowulf*-poet's interest in the early stages of the life cycle of dynasties at this stage of the poem, see Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama of Beowulf*, especially 32–46. *Beowulf* of course looks back to *gear-dagas* ('days long ago') in its opening line.

84. *Precepts*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 20–7. On *The Fortunes of Men*, see Chapter 1, 27–34. Nicholas Howe has argued that the order of *Precepts*' catalogue entries 'corresponds roughly to the order of human life; both follow the common, threefold division of youth, maturity and old age', *Old English Catalogue Poems*, 145. Other short poems begin with more oblique

references to beginnings, as when *The Gifts of Men*, also in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, as *The Gifts of Mortals,* 12–19, describes many 'new gifts' ('geongra geofona', 2a) to be visible in people across the earth.

85. *The Wife's Lament* and *The Husband's Message*, in Klinck, ed., *Old English Elegies*, 93–4, 225–7. To the opening of *The Wife's Lament*, we might also compare the opening of the cross' oration in *The Dream of the Rood*: 'That was years ago, I remember it yet' ('Þæt wæs geara iu, ic þæt gyta geman', 28, ed. Swanton, punctuation modified). On *The Husband's Message*, see Chapter 1, 45–6.

86. *Advent Lyrics*, in Clayton, ed. and trans., *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*, 2–31, punctuation modified.

87. *Guthlac B*, in Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, 108–24. Renumbered in this instance to show position in the text. Punctuation modified at times, ampersands expanded.

88. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 1.

89. See, for example, Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 1.

90. On the term 'Anglo-Saxon' and its connections with white supremacy, see, among other recent interventions, Rambaran-Olm, 'Old English Has a Serious Image Problem' and 'Misnaming the Medieval'; Karkov, *Imagining Anglo-Saxon England*, especially 1–26.

91. See, for instance, from 1970, Page, *Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, 9: '[T]his poetry, often quite sophisticated, reflects, too, the physical conditions of Anglo-Saxon life, so often nasty, brutish and short'. For a recent interdisciplinary foray into the early medieval life course, see Porck and Soper, eds., *Early Medieval English Life Courses*.

92. Stearns, 'Introduction', 5. Porck has recently surveyed and expanded on scholarship in this area in *Old Age*, especially 2–4, and see previously Metzler, *Social History of Disability*, 96–7.

93. Shuhar, 'Middle Ages and Renaissance', 79.

94. Cave and Oxenham, 'Identification of the Archaeological "Invisible Elderly"', especially 170.

95. Stoodley, 'From the Cradle to the Grave', 461–7. See also his 'Childhood to Old Age'. On the problems associated with surmising sex and gender from grave goods, see Lucy, 'Housewives, Warriors and Slaves?' and 'Gender and Gender Roles'.

96. Crawford, *Childhood*, 52–3, 175–7. On age thresholds in documentary sources, see also Zottl, 'Von Ælfrics *unsprecende cild* zu Wulfstans *cradolcild*', especially 137–40.

97. Porck, *Old Age*. See also Stoodley, 'From the Cradle to the Grave' and 'Childhood to Old Age', especially 663; Crawford, '*Gomol is snoterost*'; Gowland, 'Ageing the Past'.

98. Crawford, 'Overview', 628. See also Lee, 'Forever Young', 19–20.

99. See Cochelin, 'Introduction', especially 11; Porck, *Old Age*, particularly 45. On the ages of man in medieval England, see previously Burrow, *Ages of Man*, and Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', especially 206–7.

100. Ælfric, *Dominica in Septuagesima*, *CH* II, Homily 5, ll. 90–101, adapting Gregory the Great, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, *PL* 76, I, Homily 19, col. 1155. See further Burrow, *Ages of Man*, 62; Porck, *Old Age*, 37–8. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', seems to understand Latin *iuuentus* as mapping naturally onto 'youth' (and OE *geogoð*), thus perceiving tension with Ælfric's *fulfremeda wæstm*, but the association of *iuuentus* with the peak of strength and the prime of life is well attested from late antiquity through the Middle Ages; see further Dove, *The Perfect Age*, 58–9. Dove does note that across patristic writings and the medieval period, the distinction between *iuuentus* and *adolescentia* becomes more unfixed (15). On Alcuin's understanding of *iuuentus* as 'a perfect age' (*perfecta aetas*), 'a distinct middle age', and the 'prime of life', see Barber, 'The Heirs of Alcuin', 119–20. On Latin terminology for youth, see further James, 'Childhood and Youth'.
101. See Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', 64–5, 69–75, and previously Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', 207–8, 220.
102. London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C.i, fol. 160v, quoted in Porck, 'Ages of Man', 17.
103. Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', 64–5, 69–71.
104. Ælfric, *Sermo ad populum*, in Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric*, vol. 1, Homily 11, ll. 310–11.
105. Baker and Lapidge, eds. and trans., *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, bk 1, ch. 1, ll. 117–33. See further Burrow, *Ages of Man*, 15–18; Porck, *Old Age*, 33–5. See also *DOE*, s.v. *cniht-geoguþ*.
106. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *ge-þungen*. *DOE*, s.v., *a-tēorian*, A.1, A.1.b, A.3, A.4. On *geþeōn* and *geþingen*, see Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', 74. On decline as an age ideology, see Gullette, *Aged by Culture*.
107. On old age as a kind of disability see Metzler, *Social History of Disability*, 92–153; Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 425–75; and Porck, *Old Age*, 76–109.
108. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 26. Making this point with reference to *Beowulf*, see Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 217–18, and Porck, *Old Age*, 168–70.
109. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex'. *DOE*, s.v. *hwæt,* adj.; *blēaþ*.
110. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex', 380. Porck builds on Clover when discussing Hrothgar; see *Old Age*, 168–70.
111. See, among other challenges to Clover's model, Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, *Women in Old Norse Literature*, especially 7–8, and 'Gender'; Evans, *Men and Masculinities*, 11–26; Batten, '*Strengði hon elfi*'. Critiquing Laqueur, see Park, 'Cadden, Laqueur, and the "One-Sex Body"'.
112. Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', 65, 68–7; Fay, 'Treating Age', 134–5. See also a parallel observation made by Fay when discussing sexual difference in

the *Riddles*, questioning the applicability of Laqueur's model and arguing that the male sexual organ 'comes into being only in a form distributed across the human and non-human spectrum' ('Becoming an Onion', 76).

1 Taking Shape: Early Life in the Exeter Book *Riddles*

1. Pettman, *Creaturely Love*, 3, summarising the arguments of Berlant in *Desire/Love*.
2. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Baldick, 38, 128. On Baldick's translation of Ariès' French here, see Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', 1197.
3. Ryan, *Master-Servant Childhood*, 8–9. See also Schultz's book review, 'Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children*'.
4. Crawford, *Childhood*, 174.
5. Rudolf, 'Anglo-Saxon Preaching on Children', 50, stressing the 'potential distortions that the modern Western concept of the child-centred family can impose on our perception of the emotional spectrum in Anglo-Saxon sources' at 70.
6. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 72, 73, 79. On the necessity of 'the support of other human beings' for early development in the context of early medieval England, see Irvine and Rudolf, 'Introduction', 6.
7. See Luo's previous arguments that riddle-creatures eventually become 'mature members of society', embarking on a phase of life marked by 'utility' ('Tender Beginnings', 75). See also Soper, 'Reading the *Exeter Book* Riddles'.
8. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 75, and noting a focus on 'gestation, birth and growth' at 74, n. 13.
9. On the *Bern Riddles*, see Orchard, *Commentary*, 573–5.
10. On the lexical field of childhood as suggesting a 'dynamic' and transitional process, see Irvine and Rudolf, 'Introduction', 4–5.
11. Tripp, 'Language, Archaic Symbolism, and the Poetic Structure of *Beowulf*', 9. See further Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 195.
12. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings'; Soper, 'Reading the Exeter Book *Riddles*'.
13. Crawford, *Daily Life*, 67. See also Crawford, *Childhood*, 168–9, as well as Howe, *Old English Catalogue Poems*, 116; Lee, 'Forever Young', 22; Zottl, 'Von Ælfrics *unsprecende cild* zu Wulfstans *cradolcild*'; Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 80. On the poem more generally, see recently Neidorf, 'Structure and Theme'.
14. Klein, 'Parenting and Childhood', 98. See further Neidorf, 'Structure and Theme'.
15. O'Camb, 'Bishop Æthelwold', 260. See also Drout, *How Tradition Works*, 281–4. On Benedictine contexts for the Exeter Book, see notably Niles, *God's Exiles*.

16. Drout, '*Fortunes of Men* 4a', 184.

17. Klein, 'Parenting and Childhood', 115, comparing this scene with crafts such as goldsmithing described later in the poem; in this vein, see further Neidorf, 'Structure and Theme', 103.

18. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. Rackham, bk 8, ch. 17, sec. 45. Translation Rackham's.

19. Ibid., bk 10, ch. 83, secs. 176–7, punctuation modified. Translation Rackham's. On animals licking their young into shape in connection with understandings of childhood in later medieval texts, see Mitchell, *Becoming Human*, 22.

20. Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum ... libri XX*, bk 12, ch. 2, sec. 22, quoting Petronius. Translation Barney et al., *Etymologies*, 252–3.

21. Suggesting a hyena, see Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 104–6, after Yapp, 'Font at Melbury Bubb'.

22. Yapp, 'Font at Melbury Bubb', 128–9. This creature has also been interpreted as the sweet-breathed panther, a figure of Christ; see Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 105, who connects the font with bestiary traditions and with the Physiologus of the Exeter Book. See also Karkov, *Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, 85.

23. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 104–6; Yapp, 'Font at Melbury Bubb', 128–9.

24. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 105, 224–8, punctuation and orthography of quotation modified.

25. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. Rackham, bk 8, ch. 49, sec. 112, punctuation modified. Translation Rackham's.

26. Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum ... libri XX*, bk 12, ch. 1, sec. 21. Translation Barney et al., *Etymologies*, 248. Isidore describes deer using dittany in sec. 18.

27. Aberdeen University Library MS 24, text (re-punctuated) and translation from *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*, fol. 13v.

28. On the likely Northumbrian provenance of the casket, see Webster, *Franks Casket*, 'Stylistic Aspects of the Franks Casket', and 'Iconographic Programme'.

29. See Neuman de Vegvar, 'Travelling Twins', and Cross, 'Mediterranean Scenes', 11–14.

30. Karkov, 'The Franks Casket Speaks Back', 50. Neuman de Vegvar, 'Travelling Twins', 256, describes the second wolf as the 'most anomalous' feature of the depiction. On this scene see also Paz, *Nonhuman Voices*, 114–15.

31. Fairclough, ed. and trans., *Virgil*, rev. by Goold, punctuation modified. Translation Fairclough's. Henderson, *Vision and Image*, 105. Cross, 'Mediterranean Scenes', 11, suggests a connection between the casket

designer and Wearmouth-Jarrow, as Bede made use of Virgil extensively. See also Webster, 'Iconographic Programme', 239–41.

32. *DOE*, s.v. *a-fēdan*, 1, 2.

33. See notably Webster, 'Iconographic Programme', 232–3. On the Magi, see Porck, *Ages of Man*, 26–7.

34. Mitchell, *Becoming Human*, 25.

35. See further O'Camb, 'Inscribed Form', 145–6, noting particularly the recurrence of the word *leomu* (limbs). See also Larrington, *Store of Common Sense*, 140 and 169–70, on human growth compared with that of trees, as suggested by the juxtaposition of *Maxims I*, lines 24–6.

36. Nelson, 'Plus Animate', 47. On the fosterage element, see Neville, 'Fostering the Cuckoo', at one stage comparing this narrative with *The Fortunes of Men* in its depiction of a 'progression from protected helplessness to independence', 435. On this riddle as a depiction of childhood, see further Crawford, *Childhood*, 124–5; Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 75–6.

37. Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, bk 12, ch. 7, sec. 79.

38. See Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, especially 301–16. On birds in the *Riddles*, see recently Warren, *Birds in Medieval English Poetry*, 65–102, and also notably Meaney, 'Birds on the Stream of Consciousness'; Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 35–56.

39. On *Riddle 11*, see further Erhardt-Siebold, 'Old English Riddle 13'; Niles, *Enigmatic Poems*, 142; Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 115–21; Murphy, *Unriddling*, 53–60. Pseudo-Bede, *Aenigma 2*, 'I saw a son eating with his mother, whose skin hung on the wall' ('Vidi filium cum matre manducantem, cuius pellis pendebat in pariete'), translation after Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 102–3.

40. Eusebius, *Aenigma 38* (*De pullo*), in Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 164–5.

41. See, for instance, the title of Michael Goodich's *Birth to Old Age.* Questioning birth as the beginning of the life course, see Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, 1, and Irvine and Rudolf, 'Introduction', 4–5. On daily life in the *Riddles*, see, for example, Tupper, ed., *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, xci, and, more recently (for a more qualified view), Neville, 'Precarious Insights.'

42. Lapidge and Rosier, trans., *Aldhelm*, 64. On possible influence from Byzantine riddles and the *Bern Riddles* on matters of 'birth, generation, parents [and] offspring', see Milovanović-Barham, 'Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and Byzantine Riddles', 55–6.

43. *DOE*, s.v. *cennan*, A, A.I, and *a-cennan*, A, A.I. The *DOE* also gives *cennan* as 'to conceive or beget' (A.2). The verb *wæcnan* is also used once in *Riddle 18*

('Sword', 21), seemingly transitively in the sense 'to waken', with *eaforan* as the object. See Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wæcnan*.

44. The table excludes the reference to 'all creatures that were born according to nature' ('ealra wihta / þara þe æfter gecyndum cenned wære', 14b–15) in *Riddle 37*.

45. *DMLBS*, s.v. *gignere*, 1.a, 1.b; s.v. *generare*, 1.a, 2.a.

46. *DOE*, s.v. *cennan*, A, A.1, A.2, A.1.b, and *a-cennan*, A.4, A.6, B.

47. Plank, 'Coming into Being', 106. Plank particularly notes the absence of a verb meaning 'beget', suggesting that 'the coming into being of a human child through the particular efforts of its father [was not considered] sufficiently similar to the coming into existence of an artifact through the efforts of its creator to warrant parallel semantic and morphosyntactic treatment' (109). See also Díaz Vera, 'Being Born in the History of English'. For the wider lexical field, see *TOE*, 02.03.01.04, 02.03.02.02.

48. This line is found also in the *Leiden Riddle*, in Dobbie, ed., *Minor Poems*, 109. On the *Leiden Riddle* and *Riddle 35* see Williamson, ed., *Old English Riddles*, 243–8.

49. Orton, 'Exeter Book *Riddles*', noting at 148 a similarity between *Riddle 80* and *Riddle 39*, also solved as 'water', in their description of the substance as a mother of many creatures (*80*, 4; *39*, 2). Building on Orton's claim, see further Orchard, 'Lewdness and Learning'. Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, especially 422–33, observes a large degree of overlap in solutions between 'Group 1' (*Riddles 1–38*, in Orchard's numbering) and 'Group 3' (*Riddles 59–91*).

50. Orchard, 'Lewdness and Learning'. Text and translation from this source.

51. Deegan, 'Pregnancy and Childbirth', 17. See also Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, 174.

52. Deegan, 'Pregnancy and Childbirth', 17–18; Weston, 'Women's Medicine'; Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 94.

53. Weston, 'Women's Medicine', 288–9, and see further Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 95–6. On the *Lacnunga*, see Kesling, *Medical Texts*, 95–129.

54. *Metrical Charm 6*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 210–13.

55. Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 94.

56. Ibid., 94–6. *Worcester Fragments*, in Jones, ed. and trans., *Religious and Didactic*, 205–29.

57. See Elsakkers, 'Early Medieval Latin', 380–6, 404–5, and, for a more theoretically inflected perspective, see Mitchell, *Becoming Human*, 12–16. Concise references to foetal animation before birth (often at forty days) surface also in the vernacular penitentials in connection with abortion. See,

for example, the *Canons of Theodore*, 66.05.02, and the *Scriftboc*, 14.09.01, both in Frantzen, ed. and trans., *Penitentials*.

58. Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, 226. Stevenson, ed. and trans., *'Laterculus Malalianus'*, 54–5, 136–9, and 196–200. This passage draws specifically on Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus*, in Mutzenbecher, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini*, CCSL 44A, ch. 56.

59. Theodore, *Laterculus Malalianus*, ch. 13, text and translation from Stevenson, *'Laterculus Malalianus'*, 138–9.

60. Ibid.

61. *The Formation of the Foetus*, in Chardonnens, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, 223–9, secs. 7, 9. See also Chardonnens, 'New Edition'; Elsakkers, 'Early Medieval Latin', 402–5. Deegan, 'Pregnancy and Childbirth', 24, believes the ensoulment of the foetus in the Old English text implicitly occurs in the fourth month.

62. Doane, ed. *Genesis A*, punctuation modified at times.

63. Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 20, and discussing ensoulment in Old English poetry across 19–24; see further Flowers, 'Journey of Young Souls', 116. *DOE*, s.v. *gearwe*, noun, 1, 1.a, 2.

64. *Instructions for Christians*, in Jones, ed. and trans., *Religious and Didactic*, 138–55. Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 20, note 15.

65. *Soul and Body II*, in Moffat, ed., as *The Damned Soul (E)*, in *The Old English Soul and Body*. See Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 20–1; Flowers, 'Journey of Young Souls', 80.

66. Blake, ed., *Phoenix*, punctuation modified at times. See Heffernan, *Phoenix at the Fountain*, especially 86–92.

67. Some of these solutions are contentious. In addition to Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 747–8, 768, 772, 778, 780, 784–5, see Neville, 'Precarious Insights', 130–8, on *Riddle 51*.

68. Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, PL 34, bk 1, ch. 23, sec. 35, col. 190. Teske, *On Genesis*, 83–4, US spellings modified.

69. Bede, *In Genesim*, in Jones, ed., *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 118A, bk 1, ch. 2, sec. 3, ll. 1101–13. Kendall, trans., *On Genesis*, 101. On this section of *In Genesim* as a suspension of the 'orderly sequence of commentary', see O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Three English Writers', 73; Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 68.

70. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, in Jones, ed., *Opera didascalia*, CCSL 123B, ch. 66, sec. 2, ll. 12–14. Wallis, trans., *Reckoning of Time*, 157.

71. Bede, *In Genesim*, in Jones, ed., *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 118A, bk 1, ch. 2, sec. 3, ll. 1114–19. Kendall, trans., *On Genesis*, 101–2.

72. Ælfric, *Dominica II post Epiphania Domini*, *CH* 11, Homily 4, ll. 118–19, punctuation modified. See further Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 69, 146–7.

73. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, in Jones, ed., *Opera didascalia*, CCSL 123B, ch. 66, sec. 3, ll. 20–1. Wallis, trans., *Reckoning of Time*, 157. On the speechlessness of infants in hagiographic, exegetical, and penitential contexts, see Abraham, 'Out of the Mouths of Babes.'

74. Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, PL 34, bk 1, ch. 23, sec. 37, col. 191. Teske, *On Genesis*, 84.

75. Bede, *In Genesim*, in Jones, ed., *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 118A, bk 1, ch. 2, sec. 3, ll. 1124–37. Kendall, *On Genesis*, 102.

76. On knowledge of Augustine, see Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 181. On the ages of man and the world, see Porck, *Ages of Man*, 38–43. Treatment of this theme can be found in a wide range of texts, from Ælfric's metrical prose treatise on the subject to *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*. See further Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 146–7, 246, 275–6, and the texts and discussion in Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*.

77. On *Riddle 60* as a rune staff, see Elliott, 'Runes', and recently Birkett, *Reading the Runes*, 68.

78. Birkett, *Reading the Runes*, 68.

79. Niles, 'Trick of the Runes', 200. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *tūdor*. A connection between the texts is encouraged by scholars including Blackburn, '*Husband's Message*', and Elliott, 'Runes'. Klinck attributes the juxtaposition to the compiler; see Klinck, ed., *Old English Elegies*, 57.

80. See Williamson, ed., *Old English Riddles*, 161–3; Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 37–8. For visual depictions in later bestiaries, see British Library, Harley MS 4751 (thirteenth century), fol. 36r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 764 (*c*.1225–1250), fol. 58v.

81. See Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 87, and Introduction, 2–3. Also comparing these riddles, see Luo, ibid., 76; Dale, 'Wounding', and *Natural World*, 103–22.

82. On *frod* used in combination with temporal units, see Zwikstra, '"Wintrum Frod"', especially 136–9.

83. All edited in Orchard, *Riddle Tradition*, 70–1, 104–5, 164–5, 274–5, and see further Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 160.

84. This is a difficult passage, particularly lines 2b and 4b. Trans. after Williamson, ed., *Old English Riddles*, 256, and Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 349.

85. *DOE*, s.v. *ferhþ-friþende*. Orchard, 'Lewdness and Learning', contends that the first elements of the compounds 'geoguð-myrþe' and 'ferð-friþende' are clues to the Latin form of the solution (*uitulus*) by way of *iuuentus* and *uita*. Cavell, 'Commentary for Riddle 38', posits a connection between this riddle and Eusebius' 'cow' riddle, *Aenigma 13* or *De uacca*, the final line of which reads, 'many live from me: streams flow from me' ('ex me multi vivunt: ex me et flumina currunt'), 4. Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 148–9,

translation Orchard's. The speaking bullock of Lorsch *Aenigma 11* notably traces a progression along age lines: 'when I was young . . . after I grew old . . . when dead' ('Quando fui iuvenis . . . postquam consenui . . . mortuus'), ed. and trans. Orchard, *Riddle Tradition*, 274–5, translation Orchard's.

86. Following Orchard, ed. and trans. *Riddle Tradition*, 391, and *Commentary*, 456, taking *þæh* as past tense of *þicgan*.

87. On the words for 'suckling', see Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', 51–2; Bäck, *Synonyms*, 81–3. On the 'bread-eater', see Crawford, *Childhood*, 175, and *DOE*, s.v. *hlāf-ǣta*.

88. Lee, 'Forever Young', 35–6.

89. Meaney, *Gazetteer*, 20; Didsbury, 'The Pottery', 313–14. See also notably Crawford, *Childhood*, 170.

90. Crawford, *Childhood*, 71. Crawford nonetheless argues that it is unlikely children were weaned suddenly onto solid food at this age, and if they were, it is more likely that they used their hands to eat (72).

91. Soper, 'Reading the *Exeter Book* Riddles', 853–60 (esp. 859).

92. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 86–91, quoting Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 34, on *Riddle 88*. Luo also mentions how the birds of the *Riddles* 'fulfil their natures' by flying into the sky. See also Dale, *Natural World*, 116–21, discussing 'humanity's own need to be 'shaped' by a loving carpenter' (117).

93. See Cavell, 'Looming Danger'.

94. Lapidge and Rosier, trans., *Aldhelm*, 64. Mogford, 'A Brutal World.'

95. Aldhelm, *Aenigma 87*, in Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 72–3. Translation Orchard's.

96. See Stanley, 'Heroic Aspects', 205–6; Paz, *Nonhuman Voices*, 20.

97. Psalm 87, in Weber, ed., *Psautier Romain*. Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow'. Zacher has also recently explored the influence of the Psalms on Old English poetry (particularly *The Wife's Lament*) in 'Looking beyond the Lyrical "I"'.

98. Cottrill, *Language, Power and Identity*, 39.

99. See Cavell, 'Looming Danger'; Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 769–70.

100. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', 214. Hill, 'Wise Words', 172, stresses the value of travel to a foreign court. In this vein, see also Momma, 'Education of Beowulf'.

101. Arngart, 'Durham Proverbs', 295.

102. See especially *Solomon and Saturn I*, 1–4, and *Solomon and Saturn II*, 7b–23, in Anlezark, ed. and trans., *Dialogues*.

103. Snee, 'Doing Something "Worthwhile"', 845.

104. Mize, *Traditional Subjectivities*, 12. On the ox as an exile figure comparable to those of the 'elegies', see Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 88.

105. Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 87. See notably Dale, *Natural World*, 109–10, as well as Swanton, ed., *Dream of the Rood*, 67.

106. See Irving Jr., 'Heroic Experience'.
107. Orchard, *Commentary*, 454.
108. Portnoy, '*Laf*-Craft', 556, discussing *Riddle 71* at 556–61.
109. Halsall, ed., *Old English Rune Poem*, sec. 15, ll. 1–2a. See Orchard, *Commentary*, 454, and Kilker, '*Rune Poem*'.
110. Ælfric, *De tribus ordinibus saeculi*, 824–6, in Clayton and Mullins, eds. and trans., *Old English Lives of Saints*, 334, line breaks omitted. Powell, 'Society in Anglo-Saxon England'.
111. Irvine and Rudolf, 'Introduction', 4, and see also Klein, 'Parenting and Childhood', 105. Discussing both, see Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', 57.

2 Becoming Useful: Young and Mature Adulthood in Three Verse Saints' Lives and *Judith*

1. On 'mute group' theory, see Crawford, 'Body and Life Course', 628.
2. See Youngs, 'Adulthood', as well as Dove, *Perfect Age*.
3. Describing masculinity, Evans, *Men and Masculinities*, 8–9. In the latter two quotations, Evans is quoting Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?', 180, and Flax, *Postmodernism and Gender Relations*, 629, who here refers specifically to 'gender relations' rather than 'social relations'.
4. Wheeler and Cohen, eds., *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, and see especially Wheeler and Cohen, 'Becoming and Unbecoming', and Frantzen, 'Where the Boys Are'. See also Hill, 'Childhood in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Saints'. Contesting that the field of adulthood has been well trodden by studies concerned with gender, see Rudolf and Irvine, 'Introduction', 1.
5. Woolf, ed., *Cynewulf's Juliana*, punctuation occasionally modified, tironian marks expanded.
6. See, on this, Ryan, *Master-Servant Childhood*.
7. *OED*, s.v. *adult*.
8. Dove, *Perfect Age*, 5. See notably Cochelin, 'Introduction', 9 and 15, and, with reference to the later period, Youngs, 'Adulthood', 241. Arguing for an active concept of midlife in the early medieval period, see Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', and Porck, *Old Age*, 20–31, 50, as well as Barber, 'Heirs of Alcuin', 119–20.
9. Baker and Lapidge, eds. and trans., *Enchiridion*, bk 1, ch. 1, l. 120. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *ge-þungen*, 1. See Introduction, 20.
10. Ælfric, *Dominica in Septuagesima, CH* 11, Homily 5, ll. 94–7.
11. *DOE*, s.v. *geoguþ*, A, A.1, B.1, B.2. See Dove, *Perfect Age*, 15.
12. *DOE*, s.v. *geoguþ-hād*. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, in Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, bk 11, ch. 2, secs. 1–5.

13. See Dove, *Perfect Age*, and Introduction, 1–2.
14. *OED*, s.v. *adult*.
15. On dating, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry. On the dating of *Guthlac A*, see further Chapter 2, 74.
16. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 86, 92. On *Juliana* as an 'apt counterpart' to *Guthlac*, see 90.
17. See Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry.
18. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters'.
19. Hill, 'Childhood', 156. On hagiographic narratives of childhood and adolescence, see also Zottl, 'Von Ælfrics *unsprecende cild* zu Wulfstans *cradolcild*', especially 118–31.
20. For studies of *Juliana* centrally concerned with gender, see, among many others, Chance, *Woman as Hero*, 53–64; Horner, *Discourse of Enclosure*, 101–30, and, more recently, Williams, 'Movement, Space and Power'.
21. Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, 314, drawing on the poetry of Alcuin. On the Exeter Book compiler's choice to include three ox riddles, see 331.
22. See Brady, '"Dark Welsh"', and Dale, *Natural World*, 70. Dale, at 74, notes shared territory with Eusebius' *Aenigma 12* (*De boue*), in Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 148–9. Eusebius's ox describes itself as 'consumor in omnibus annis' ('worn-out' or 'devoured through the years', 1), unable to enjoy the fruits of its labour.
23. Dumitrescu, *Experience of Education*, 60–128. On fear and 'moral transformation' in the *Riddles*, see Borysławski, 'Memory and Transformative Fear'. On adulthood in *Riddle 70*, see previously Soper, 'Reading the *Exeter Book* Riddles', 854–8, and Luo, 'Tender Beginnings', 88.
24. Ælfric, *Natale Sancti Pauli Apostoli*, *CH* I, Homily 27, ll. 76–80. Punctuation modified.
25. On 'choosing obedience' in tenth- and eleventh-century monastic contexts, see O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*, and on this passage specifically, 142–4.
26. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, bk 11, ch. 2, sec. 16. Translation by Barney et al., *Etymologies*, 242.
27. See further Dove, *Perfect Age*, 54–5. Jerome, *Tractatus in Marci evangelium*, in Morin, ed., *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, ch. 10, ll. 149–57.
28. Augustine, *De Genesi*, *PL* 34, bk 1, ch. 23, sec. 37, col. 191. Translation by Teske, *On Genesis*, 84.
29. Ibid., bk 1, ch. 23, sec. 38, col. 191. Translation by Teske, *On Genesis*, 85.
30. Bede, *In Genesim*, in Jones, ed., *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 118A, bk 1, ch. 2, ll. 1129–30. Translation by Kendall, *On Genesis*, 102.

31. Bede, *De temporibus*, in Jones, ed., *Opera didascalia*, CCSL 123C, ch. 16. Translation by Kendall and Wallis, *On the Nature of Things*, 118.

32. Alcuin, *Epistolae* 168, lines 26–7, in Dümmler et al., eds., *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. 2, 276. See Barber, 'Student Life Cycle', 110. Translation Barber's.

33. Gregory, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, PL 76, Homily 19, col. 1155. Translation modified from Hurst, trans., *Forty Gospel Homilies*, Homily 11, 79. On this passage, see further Porck, *Old Age*, 37–8.

34. Ælfric, *Dominica in Septuagesima*, CH 11, Homily 5, ll. 90–101, punctuation modified. On this passage in relation to age and disability, see previously Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 456–7. On *strengðu* used as a label for the middle phase of life, see Introduction, 19.

35. Discenza, 'Power, Skill and Virtue', especially 89–90; *DOE*, s.v. *cræft*, 1, 2, 2.a, 3. See also Girsch, 'A Semantic Analysis.'

36. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, in Bieler, ed., *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolatio*, CCSL 94, bk 4, ch. iv, sec. 31.

37. Godden and Irvine, eds. and trans., *Boethius*, B-Text, ch. 38, ll. 195–204. Translation modified from Godden and Irvine. See also C-Text, prose ch. 27, ll. 143–53. See Discenza, 'Power, Skill and Virtue', especially 82.

38. See O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*, 94–150.

39. *Maxims I*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 64–81, punctuation modified at times. Translation after Bjork. On dating, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry. On *styran* understood transitively, see O'Camb, 'Shaping', 263, discussing also how this half-line appears in an almost identical form in *The Seafarer* (109a).

40. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', 208–9; Drout, *How Tradition Works*, 283. Sánchez-Martí here follows Larrington, *Store of Common Sense*, 124. See also Clarke, 'Re-placing Masculinity', 178–9, connecting this passage with Hrothgar's 'sermon' and ageing in *Beowulf* more widely.

41. See, for example, Bonjour, 'Young Beowulf's Inglorious Period'; Eliason, 'Beowulf's Inglorious Youth'; Tripp Jr, 'Did Beowulf Have an "Inglorious Youth"?'; Momma, 'Education of Beowulf', 168–70; North, 'Hrothulf's Childhood and Beowulf's'.

42. On this word in *Beowulf* in conjunction with ageing, see Clarke, 'Re-placing Masculinity', 179.

43. On Felix's text, see recently Orchard, 'Originality of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*', 25. On the *Guthlac A*-poet's relationship with the Latin text, see recently Hawtree, 'Meditation and Divine Love', 230–1.

44. Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ch. 12. Translation Colgrave's. On this scene, see Abraham, 'Out of the Mouths of Babes', 52–3, 64, and Hill, 'Childhood', 142–3.

45. *Guthlac A*, in Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems*, 83–107. Punctuation modified, ampersands expanded.

46. Sánchez-Martí, 'Age Matters', 215–16. Thomas D. Hill suggests that obedience is presented as a cure for 'youthful sinfulness' here and elsewhere in the poem in 'Age of Man', 17.
47. Hill, 'Age of Man', 13. See also Cross, 'Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm'.
48. *DOE*, *blǣd*, 1, 1.b, 1.b.ii, 3, 3.b.i.
49. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *blǣd*; Klaeber Four, 356.
50. *DOE*, s.v. *blēd, blǣd*, 1. See Burrow, *Ages of Man*, 163–4; Hill, 'Age of Man', 17.
51. On *Guthlac A* and Evagrius' *Vita Antonii*, see Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems*, 9, 27–9.
52. Norris, 'Augustinian Theory', 166. On this scene as reflecting Benedictine ideals, see Conner, 'Sources Studies', 405–7; O'Camb, 'Shaping', 261, n. 36. See also Burrow, *Ages of Man*, 163.
53. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *þeāw*, I, II, IV.
54. Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems*, 83. See Groos, '"Elder" Angel', 13–15.
55. See Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems*, 26.
56. Clarke, *Writing Power*, 23. Line 34 of *Guthlac A* can also be found later in the Exeter Book, opening *The Panther*.
57. *DOE*, s.v. *bylda, bytla*. *The Gifts of Men*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, as *The Gifts of Mortals*, 12–19. See Short, '*Leopocræftas*'.
58. See Brady, 'Colonial Desire or Political Disengagement?', 75–8.
59. Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, 66, 84. See also Shapland, 'Meanings of Timber and Stone', 21–44.
60. Metaphrastes, Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος ʼΙουλιανῆς τῆς ἐν Νικομηδίᾳ, col. 1451, on which see Woolf, ed., *Juliana*, 13; Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 149.
61. Hill, 'Childhood', 156.
62. Phillips, 'Maidenhood', 1, 5. See also Dove, *Perfect Age*, 25. Critiquing these views, see Youngs, 'Adulthood', 249. On later medieval women's life cycles, see Skinner, 'Pitfalls of Linear Time'.
63. See, for example, Schlegel, 'Social Criteria of Adulthood'.
64. Harbus, *Life of the Mind*, 91, 94.
65. *Passio S. Iulianae*, edited as an appendix to Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 156–65, 157, ch. 2.
66. Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 157, ch. 2, discussed at 154.
67. *The Whale*, in Jones, ed. and trans., *Religious and Didactic*, 9–15.
68. Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 159, ch. 6.
69. Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf's Elene*. All further quotations from this source, tironian marks expanded, punctuation sometimes modified.
70. Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 157, ch. 2. Translation by Allen and Calder, *Sources and Analogues*, 123: although the translators are working from the

Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, the translations are accurate for the most part for Lapidge's text.

71. Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 157, ch. 2.
72. *DOE*, s.v. *gēap*.
73. Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 158, ch. 3.
74. Woolf, ed., *Juliana*, note to 550, 82.
75. On the spatial dynamics of the poem, see Kelly, 'Movement, Space, and Power'.
76. Lapidge, '*Passio S. Iulianae*', 164–5 ch. 20. Translation by Allen and Calder, *Sources and Analogues*, 132.
77. Riedinger, '"Home" in Old English Poetry', 53–4.
78. See, for example, Stoodley, 'From the Cradle to the Grave', 466; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 66–7; Fell, 'A *friwif locbore* Revisited', 161.
79. Rogers, 'Replication, Rebirth and Remembering', 175.
80. The *Praxeis*, dated to the fourth or fifth century, is edited in Blatt, *Bearbeitungen*, 32–94, and translated by Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*. On the sources of *Andreas*, see further Brooks, ed. *Andreas*, xv–xviii; North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, 4–6.
81. The Casanatensis and Vaticanus accounts are edited by Blatt in *Bearbeitungen*, 32–95. The Bonnet Fragment is edited as 'Appendix 1' in Brooks, ed., *Andreas*, 177–8. The Fragment and Casanatensis are translated by Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, 25–55.
82. The text of the CCCC MS 198 text can be found in Cassidy and Ringler, eds., *Bright's Old English Grammar*, 203–19, and has also been translated by Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, 57–69. The Blickling homily is edited and translated by Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, 229–49.
83. *Praxeis*, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 42, ch. 6, l. 15, and 54, ch. 11, l. 6.
84. Ibid.; see, for example, 46, ch. 7, ll. 7, 19, and, for the address of Andrew, 64, ch. 17, l. 8.
85. Bonnet Fragment, in Brooks, ed., *Andreas*, 177, l. 2. Casanatensis, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, with 'infantulos' used (for example) at 47, ch. 7, l. 13, and 'filioli mei' at l. 19.
86. Bonnet Fragment, in Brooks, ed., *Andreas*, 177, l. 15. Casanatensis, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 65, ch. 17, ll. 9–10.
87. CCCC MS 198, *City of the Cannibals*, in Cassidy and Ringler, eds., *Bright's Old English Grammar*, ch. 17, l. 104; *Blickling Homily 19*, in Morris, ed. and trans., *Blickling Homilies*, 235.
88. *Praxeis*, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 66, ch. 18, l. 5. Translation by Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, 12.
89. Casanatensis, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 67, ch. 18, l. 5. Translation by Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, 41. Bonnet Fragment, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 177, l. 22. Translation by Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, 26.

90. CCCC MS 198, *City of the Cannibals*, in Cassidy and Ringler, eds., *Bright's Old English Grammar*, ch. 18, l. 112, *Blickling Homily 19*, in Morris, ed. and trans., *Blickling Homilies*, 233.
91. *DOE*, s.v. *cniht*, 1. All quotations from North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, punctuation occasionally modified.
92. North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, 258.
93. Casanatensis, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 91, ll. 26–7, ch. 32. Translation after Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, 53.
94. North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, 301.
95. *DOE*, s.v. *geong*, I.A, I.D.
96. Dombart and Kalb, eds., *De civitate Dei*, CCSL 48, vol. 2, bk 22, ch. 15. Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*, in Hillgarth, ed., *Sancti Iuliani Toletanae*, bk 3, ch. 20, ll. 14–18. See also Ælfric's formulation in 'Excerpts from Julian of Toledo', in Gatch, ed., *Preaching and Theology*, 141. On the absence of old age in the afterlife, see Porck, *Old Age*, 104–8.
97. Norris, 'Augustinian Theory', 170. See also Hill, 'Age of Man', 21.
98. Reading, 'Baptism, Conversion, and Selfhood', 1; Dumitrescu, *Experience of Education*, 90–128.
99. Harbus, 'Mind for Hagiography', 130–1.
100. Dumitrescu, *Experience of Education*, 100.
101. See North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, 239, arguing that in both cases, 'a senior patroniz[es] a junior for a wisdom actually greater than the senior understands', in a comic manner in *Andreas*.
102. *DOE*, s.v. *cræft*, 1, 2, 2.a, 3, 3.b. See Girsch, 'Semantic Analysis'; Clemoes, 'King Alfred's Debt'; Hitch, 'Alfred's *Cræft*'.
103. Girsch, 'Semantic Analysis', 603, 662. On *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry, xiii.
104. See North and Bintley, eds. and trans., *Andreas*, 103–15. On *Andreas'* relationship with Boethian philosophy, see Dumitrescu, *Experience of Education*, 90–128.
105. Casanatensis, in Blatt, ed., *Bearbeitungen*, 51, ch. 9, ll. 14–16.
106. Girsch, 'Semantic Analysis', 675. The *DOE*, s.v. *cræftiga*, notes a connection between this word and descriptions of St Paul and God, as well as a connection with architecture specifically.
107. Griffith, ed., *Judith*. All quotations from this source, punctuation occasionally modified.
108. Ælfric's homily is edited by Assmann in *Angelsächsische Homilien*, 102–16; Judith's widowhood is referred to in 192b, 200a, 228b, and 399b. On the missing portions of the poem, see Griffith, ed., *Judith*, 1–4. On Judith's chastity, see Magennis, 'Contrasting Narrative Emphases', 62, as well as Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament*, 129–30.

109. See Frantzen, *Keywords*, 117.
110. Quotations from the Book of Judith are from the Vulgate. On evidence of possible influence from parts of the Old Latin Bible, see Griffith, ed., *Judith*, 47–50; Hill's review of Griffith, ed., *Judith*, 932; Chickering, 'Poetic Exuberance', 28.
111. Doubleday, 'Principle of Contrast in *Judith*'. See notably also Godden, 'Biblical Literature', 220–2; Magennis, 'Contrasting Narrative Emphases', 62.
112. Damico, 'Valkyrie Reflex', 185.
113. The Vulgate does not mention the hands of Judith's servant, though it does show an interest in Judith's hands at 9:15, 12:4, 13:7, 13:18, 13:19, 13:27, and 16:7.
114. Godfrey, '*Beowulf* and *Judith*', 16.
115. *Homily on Judith*, in Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien*, 362a: 'him þæs ne speow' ('from that they did not profit', 362a).

3 Outliving Others: Old Age in *Beowulf* and Cynewulfian Epilogues

1. Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, bk 11, ch. 2, sec. 30. Translation by Barney et al., *Etymologies*, 243. In-text citations of Virgil's *Georgics* omitted. Tracing 'extremes of optimism and pessimism' stretching back to antiquity, see Small, *Long Life*, 2, and with specific reference to early medieval England, see Porck, *Old Age*, especially 52.
2. Porck, *Old Age*, 7. See also Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions'; Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 425–75.
3. *DOE*, s.v. *eald*, I.A.5.a. Amos, 'Old English Words for Old', 95 and 98–100, and further Porck, 'Growing Old', 244–9.
4. Porck, 'Growing Old', 270–1.
5. *DOE*, *frōd*, 1, 2, 2.a.
6. Zwikstra, '*Frod* and the Aging Mind', 146; Porck, 'Growing Old', 265, and on grief, see further 70 (with wisdom), 124, 234, 274–83. Porck's visualization of the semantic field of 'human old age', including the dimension of 'grief', is reproduced by Izdebska, 'Stages of Life', at 78. See also Porck, *Old Age*, 82–3 on grief in *The Seafarer* and *Beowulf*, and 89–91 on Cynewulf's epilogue to *Elene*.
7. See previously Tuttle Hansen, *Solomon Complex*, especially 143; 149; 201, n. 29.
8. Small, *Long Life*, 57.
9. In a literary context, see Pederson, 'Trauma and Narrative'; LaLonde, 'Post-traumatic Growth'. On wisdom and trauma, see Linley, 'Positive Adaption'. For a rare foray into early medieval English literatures of trauma, see Lee, 'Healing Words', 271. More recent work in this area includes Garcia, 'Dreamer's Trajectory'; White, 'Mental Wounds'. Toswell sees the speakers

of *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* as 'caught in the narratives of their trauma', 'Structures of Sorrow', 38.

10. See previously Soper, '*Eald æfensceop*', on which this chapter draws.
11. See the Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry with which this study began.
12. On the poem's style, see Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf', 331.
13. Porck, *Old Age*, 212.
14. See Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 747.
15. Leslie, ed., *Wanderer*. All quotations are from this source, with punctuation occasionally modified.
16. Stanley, 'Old English Poetic Diction', 465–6.
17. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 111–13. See further, for example, Leslie, ed., *Wanderer*, 5–6 and 30; Whitbread, 'Pattern of Misfortune'.
18. Smithers, 'Meaning *of The Seafarer*', especially 145–9. See also Burrow, *Ages of Man*, especially 107–8; Porck, *Old Age*, 83–4, 86.
19. Clemoes, '*Mens absentia cogitans*'; Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind'.
20. See previously White, 'Mental Wounds', and Lee, 'Healing Words', 263.
21. Van der Kolk, *Body Keeps the Score*, 66.
22. See especially Linley, 'Positive Adaption'.
23. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 178, quoted in LaLonde, 'Post-traumatic Growth', 199. On words 'providing comfort' in *The Wanderer*, see Irvine, 'Speaking One's Mind', 121–2.
24. Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*, 4.
25. See Introduction, 18–19, and notably Thane, *Old Age in English History*, 1, critiquing the idea of a 'rarity value'. See also Porck, *Old Age*, 1–5.
26. Gordon, ed., *Seafarer*. See Porck, *Old Age*, 82.
27. Malabou, *Ontology of the Accident*, 2–3.
28. Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 139–40, suggests that MS *tid eg* should be taken as *tid-ege* ('end-fear'). Gullette contests decline as a narrative associated with old age in *Aged by Culture*.
29. Lucas, ed., *Exodus*.
30. Doane, ed., *Saxon Genesis*.
31. Dombart and Kalb, eds., *De civitate Dei*, CCSL 48, vol. 2, bk 14, ch. 26, ll. 8–9; Dyson, trans., *City of God against the Pagans*, 629. Some biblical traditions do present worldly old age as a reward, a blessing for righteousness and piety, figured in opposition to death rather than a kindred form of degraded experience: see Arnett, 'Only the Bad Died Young'. On whether old age is a pathology, see Metzler, *Social History of Disability*, especially 93, and on old age as absent from heaven, see Porck, *Old Age*, 104–8.

32. Anlezark, ed. and trans., *Dialogues*. On this passage, see Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions', 293–4; Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 452–4.
33. Analogues include Exeter Book's *Riddle 1*, Aldhelm's *Aenigma 2* ('Ventus'), and *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, no. 79. See Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 744, and 'Enigma Variations', 294–5; Hill, 'Saturn's Time Riddle', 273–6.
34. This passage is discussed in translation in Minois, *History of Old Age*, 135.
35. *DOE*, s.v. *blanden-feax*, 1.
36. Beauvoir, *Old Age*, 540, discussed in Small, *Long Life*, 13–14.
37. Surveying debates around Beowulf's old age, see recently Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama*, 14–17. Porck perceives the poet to advocate Beowulf's 'active, heroic model' of aged kingship over Hrothgar's 'passive, diplomatic model' (*Old Age*, 190). Burrow, *Ages of Man*, 130–3, posits Beowulf as a *senex fortis*, 130–4. Scholarship has largely found Hrothgar lacking in his elderliness. See especially Irving Jr, *Rereading Beowulf*, 52–3, judging him as feminised. Carruthers, 'Kingship and Heroism in *Beowulf*', 26, and Rothauser, 'Winter in Heorot', 117–18, tend to see Hrothgar as an effective ruler.
38. Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama*, 16–17; Gwara, *Heroic Identity*, 12–21.
39. On this passage, see notably Klaeber Four, 233–4; Brodeur, *Art of Beowulf*, 237–8; Anderson, *Understanding Beowulf*, 176; Howlett, *British Books*, 531–3. On *Beowulf*'s poetic performances, see Orchard, 'Art of Invention', 22–3, stressing how lines 2015–14 echo preceding passages.
40. See Klaeber Four, 233, and particularly Anderson, *Understanding Beowulf*, 176; Howlett, *British Books*, 531–3.
41. Whitelock, '*Beowulf* 2444–2471'. See further Klaeber Four, 245–8.
42. See van der Kolk, *Body Keeps the Score*, 88; LaLonde, 'Post-traumatic Growth', 206.
43. Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama*, 88–90. Whereas Scyld's heir was 'young in the courts' ('geong in geardum', 13a), the heir in this passage is 'young on the gallows' ('giong on galgan', 2446a). Beow was born as 'a comfort to people' ('folce to frofre', 14a), but the son in this passage is only 'a comfort to the raven' ('hrefne to hroðre', 2448a)
44. *DOE*, s.v. *gydd*, 1, 1.a, and 5.
45. See Klaeber Four, 247. See also the Geatish woman at Beowulf's funeral, seeming to lament 'æfter Biowulfe' (3151a), although the manuscript is very damaged at this point. Bennett describes her and Hildeburh as 'survivors of male conflicts' ('Female Mourner', 46).
46. Identifying a concern with old age, especially the age of dynasties, towards the end of Beowulf, see previously Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama*, 82–102.
47. Bammesberger, '*Fela Fricgende*'.

48. On the dating and influence of *Genesis A*, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry.
49. Williamson, trans., *Complete Old English Poems*, xl.
50. Beauvoir, *Old Age*, especially 320–6. See further Small, *Long Life*, 12–13, and, on the way Beauvoir 'works in and across the interstices between phenomenology and a Marxist-inflected and also a culturally oriented structuralist materialism', Kruks, 'Simone de Beauvoir', 260, discussing *Old Age* at 269–75.
51. *DOE*, s.v. *geō-mēowle*: 'woman of a former day, (old) woman of the past, alternatively interpreted as 'one who was long ago a maiden' – that is, 'an old woman/wife'.
52. Campbell, ed., *Battle of Brunanburh*. For a recent account of the poem, see Bredehoft, '*Battle of Brunanburh*'. On Constantine's age, see Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions', 296; Porck, *Old Age*, 168–9.
53. On 'The Lay of the Last Survivor', see Klaeber Four, 239; Bjork, 'Digressions and Episodes', 209–10; Irving Jr, *Reading of Beowulf*, 210–13.
54. See Klaeber Four, 238, n. 2, and especially Smithers, *Making of Beowulf*, 11.
55. Connecting the *frod* dragon of *Beowulf* with that of *Maxims II* (26–7), see Symons, '*Wreopenhilt ond wyrmfah*', 76.
56. On the dragon as a faux king, see Chance, 'Structural Unity of *Beowulf* ', 288; Engelhardt, '*Beowulf* ', 844–5; Irving Jr, *Reading of Beowulf*, 209.
57. Harris, 'Beowulf's Last Words', 7, 25–6. See also Louviot, *Direct Speech*, 50–1.
58. See Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama*, especially 100–2, and Biggs, 'Politics of Succession'.
59. Shaull, 'Beowulf's Father(s)'. On Beowulf's fosterage, see North, 'Hrothulf's Childhood and Beowulf's'.
60. See Leneghan, *Dynastic Drama*, 82–102.
61. See, for a recent example, Porck, *Old Age*, 194.
62. Pope, 'Beowulf's Old Age', 61.
63. See, for example, LaLonde, 'Post-traumatic Growth', 204, after Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 8–9.
64. See recently Birkett, 'Runes and *Revelatio*' and 'Stitched Up?', and Clements, 'Reading, Writing and Resurrection'. On wisdom in *Elene*, see Hill, 'Sapiential Structure'; Bailey, 'Memory, Sight and Love'.
65. See Porck, *Old Age*, 83–91, comparing use of the motif in Alcuin and Old English poetry, and Anderson, *Cynewulf*, 18–19 (on the 'aged author') and Birkett, 'Runes and *Revelatio*', 784. The first metre of Boethius' *Consolatio* participates in the 'aged author' tradition, but the Old English versions omit its references to old age (see the note to B-Text, ch. 2, in Godden and Irvine, eds., *Boethius*).
66. Thornbury, 'Rejection of the Muses', discussing *Elene* at 88–9.

67. Ibid., 89, after Sisam, 'Cynewulf and his Poetry', 2. On the rhymes, see further Conclusion , 180–1.

68. Anderson, *Cynewulf*, 18. Porck discusses this interpretation in *Old Age*, 89; see also Frese, 'Cynewulf's Runic Signatures'.

69. Thornbury, 'Rejection of the Muses', 89; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 160.

70. See Porck, *Old Age*, 83–91, positing Alcuin's influence on Cynewulf's verse and other Old English poems. See also Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf'.

71. Alcuin, *Carmen 40*, in Dümmler et al., eds., MGH, Poet. Lat. 1, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. 1, 253. Translation modified from Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 63, n. 84. On Flaccus as a nickname of Alcuin's, see Alberi, '"Old Entellus"', 106, 110.

72. Translation by Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, 63, n. 84.

73. Orchard, 'Wish You Were Here', 42, after Newlands, 'Alcuin's Poem of Exile', 19–30.

74. Alcuin, *Carmen 23*, in Godman, ed. and trans., *Carolingian Renaissance*, 124–7. Translation Godman's.

75. Translation by Godman, ed. and trans., *Carolingian Renaissance*, 125.

76. *Destruction of Lindisfarne*, in Godman, ed. and trans., *Carolingian Renaissance*, 126–39. Translation Godman's, punctuation modified.

77. Ó Carragáin, 'Cynewulf's Epilogue', 196; Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *lesan*.

78. Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf's Elene*, 71. See further Ó Carragáin, 'Cynewulf's Epilogue', 189.

79. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, in Bieler, ed., *Boethii Philosophiae consolation*, bk 1, mt. 1, l. 8. Translation by Walsh, *Consolation of Philosophy*, 3.

80. See Porck, *Old Age*, 90–1.

81. See especially Birkett, 'Runes and *Revelatio*' and 'Stitched Up?'.

82. Birkett, 'Stitched Up?', 118.

83. See notably Rice, 'Penitential Motif'; Cooper, 'Shedding of Tears', 185. For a prayer with a similar construction, see Introduction, 19.

84. Hill, 'Confession of Beowulf'.

85. Cocco, *Death Liturgy*, 65. See also notably Clements, 'Reading, Writing and Resurrection'; Birkett, 'Stitched Up?' and 'Runes and *Revelatio*'.

86. When searching for vernacular poetic contexts for *Bede's Death Song*, Chickering identifies passages from a number of Old English poems but does not mention the poetry of Cynewulf, 'Some Contexts for Bede's Death Song'. Cocco mentions *Bede's Death Song* in an aside on deathbed songs, *Death Liturgy*, 66–7, n. 192.

87. *Bede's Death Song*, in Colgrave and Mynors, eds. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 582–3. Translation after Colgrave and Mynors, and Orchard, 'The Word Made Flesh', 296. On manuscript contexts, see O'Donnell, *'Cædmon's Hymn'*, 78–97.

88. See previously Rice, 'Penitential Motif', 111.
89. Harris, 'Beowulf's Last Words', 14, 15, 16, 20. Italics omitted.
90. Ibid., 25.
91. Tuttle Hansen, *Solomon Complex*, 201, n. 29, and see also 143.
92. *The Fates of the Apostles*, in Brooks, ed., *Andreas*, 56–60.
93. *Christ II*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Old English Poems of Cynewulf*, as *The Ascension*, 2–31. For Cynewulf's source, see Gregory, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, *PL* 76, I, Homily 29, cols. 1218–19.
94. Gregory, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, *PL* 76, I, Homily 29, col. 1218. On this use of Job, see Bjork, 'Symbolic Use of Job', 318–21.
95. Gregory, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, *PL* 76, I, Homily 29, col. 1219.
96. See recently Orchard, 'Alcuin and Cynewulf'.
97. *Carmen de ave phoenice*, edited as an appendix to Blake, ed., *Phoenix*, 92–7. See Clark, *Between Medieval Men*, 153–73, especially 161, as well as Heffernan, *Phoenix at the Fountain*, and Rogers, 'Dismembering Gender and Age'.
98. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *samnian*.
99. As noted by Blake, ed., *Phoenix*, 88, n. 549.
100. As noted by Gaeber in 'Ueber die Autorschaft', 490, positing Cynewulfian authorship.
101. Orchard, 'Performing Writing', 83–6.
102. Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 746–7, and *Commentary*, 348–9; Young, 'Riddle 8'; Salvador-Bello, 'Evening Singer', and *Isidorean Perceptions*, 302–9; Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 46–56. The corpus may offer another image of an aged female singer – a distinctly sorrowful one – at the end of *Beowulf*, in the form of the Geatish mourner of lines 3150–5a. Her seemingly bound-up hair (3151b) has been taken as evidence of her married status (and implicitly her age), but there is 'no firm evidence' for this view (Klaeber Four, 270).
103. See Introduction, 7.
104. Clausen, ed., *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuuenalis saturae*, 3. Discussed by Thornbury in 'Rejection of the Muses', 79. Translation Thornbury's.
105. *De luscinia*, in Godman, ed. and trans., *Carolingian Renaissance*, 144–5. Translation Godman's, punctuation modified. Comparing Alcuin's text with *Riddle 6*, as well as Aldhelm's *Aenigma 22* (*Acalantis*), see Salvador-Bello, 'Evening Singer', 58.
106. Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 747. Klaeber, 'Das 9'; Swaen, 'Riddle 9'; Williamson, ed., *Riddles*, 157. Salvador-Bello, 'Evening Singer', 58, follows Williamson.
107. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. Rackham, bk 10, ch. 43, sec. 83. Translation Rackham's. On Pliny as a possible source, see Williamson,

ed., *Riddles*, 155, and Salvador-Bello, 'Evening Singer', 58–9, discussing also Alcuin's *De luscinia* and Aldhelm's *Aenigma 22*.

108. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 40–65.

109. Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, 308, has recently argued that these lines refer to a metaphorical nest.

110. Aldhelm, *Aenigma 22* (*Acalantis*), in Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 18–19. Translation Orchard's. See Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, 308.

111. See, for instance, Mize, 'Representation of the Mind'.

112. Linley, 'Positive Adaption', 605. Punctuation modified.

113. Bettelheim, *Uses of Enchantment*, 3, quoted in LaLonde, 'Post-traumatic Growth', 203, punctuation modified.

114. *Maxims II*, in Bjork, ed., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 174–9.

4 Getting Wasted: Deathly Conditions in Wisdom Catalogues and Doomsday Poetry

1. Hockey and Draper, 'Beyond the Womb and the Tomb', 41, 43.

2. Noting an interest in 'the state of the material body after death' in Old English poems, see Niles, *God's Exiles*, 101. On death in Old English, see also notably Thompson, *Dying and Death*; Wilcox, 'Moment of Death'; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 25–8; 'Death', in Frantzen, *Anglo-Saxon Keywords*, 67–70; Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 195–230; Roberts, 'Grim Hunter'.

3. Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 49, and see 7, 141–3. See also Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 459–62; Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 95.

4. *Vercelli Homily 9*, in Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies,* ll. 79–82, tironian marks expanded. Translation by Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 49.

5. Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 142. See also Sweany, 'Medical Imagination', 58–9.

6. Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 461, commenting here on *Fortunes*, lines 38–41.

7. See Cavell, *Weaving Words*, especially 220–1.

8. Rosier, 'Death and Transfiguration', 84. See also Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 208–10; Crabtree, 'Spatial Conceptualisation', 159–63; Roberts, 'Grim Hunter', 30–1.

9. Positing a continuum of animacy as a way of challenging a binary relationship between life and death, see Chen, *Animacies*, especially 4–7.

10. On the dating of *Maxims II*, see Note on the Chronology of Old English Poetry.

11. *DOE*, s.v. *dēaþ-dæg*. On personified Death, see recently Roberts, 'Grim Hunter', and previously Rosier, 'Death and Transfiguration', 86. On death as an invasive force, see also Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 25–7.

12. *DOE*, s.v. *cōlian*, 2.

13. See further Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 218; Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 425–75.

14. *Guthlac B*, in Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems*, 108–24. On this language of invasion, see Crabtree, 'Spatial Organisation', 200–5.

15. Ælfric, *Sermo ad populum*, in Pope, ed., *Supplementary Collection*, vol. 1, Homily 11, ll. 112–17. For Isidore's reflections, see Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, bk 11, ch. 2, sec. 32, and for Julian of Toledo's, see his *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*, in Hillgarth, ed., *Opera*, 9–126, bk 1, ch. 5. See further Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 9–11; DiNapoli, 'Close to the Edge', 128–9; Porck, *Old Age*, 22.

16. *DOE*, s.v. *biter*, 1; *DMLBS*, s.v. *acerbus*, 1.a.

17. *Daniel*, in Anlezark, ed. and trans., *Old Testament Narratives*, 247–99. *The Death of Edward*, in O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 118–19, tironian mark expanded.

18. Higley, *Between Languages*, 150; Cavill, *Maxims in Old English Poetry*, 78. Niles remarks 'one fears that it is meant literally' (*God's Exiles*, 104).

19. On this passage, see Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 25; Roberts, 'Grim Hunter', 49.

20. *Judgement Day I*, in Jones, ed. and trans., *Religious and Didactic*, 232–41.

21. See Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 89. On death, hell, and the devil, see recently Roberts, 'Grim Hunter', 33–5.

22. Frantzen, 'Body in *Soul and Body I*', 83. On worms in the grave, see Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 132–69.

23. *Christ and Satan*, in Clayton, ed. and trans., *Poems of Christ*, 301–51. See Cavell, *Weaving Words*, 146, tying this aspect of Satan's experience to humanity's lot.

24. See Faulkner, 'Treasure and the Life Course'.

25. Faulkner, 'Language of Wealth', especially 45, and 'Treasure and the Life Course'. See previously Rudolf, 'Gold in *Beowulf*'; Beekman Taylor, 'Traditional Language of Treasure'.

26. Faulkner, 'Treasure and the Life Course'.

27. See further *TOE*, 02.02.03.02 | 03.01 v.

28. Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 103. See Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *leger*, 111, and further *TOE*, 02.02.02 | 02.02.03 n.

29. Magennis, ed., *Anonymous Old English Legend*, 2. Ælfric, *Sanctorum Septem Dormientium*, *CH* 11, Homily 27, ll. 222–3, punctuation modified.

30. Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things,* eds. and trans. Rouse and Smith, bk 3, ll. 976–7. Translation by Rouse and Smith. See Rosenbaum, 'Symmetry Argument'. For an overview of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tradition, see Ogle, 'Sleep of Death'.

31. See Caciola, *Afterlives*, 29. For pejorative patristic treatments of deathly sleep, see Newman, 'Medieval Theories', 123–4.
32. Tertullian, *De anima*, in Waszink, ed., *Opera montanistica*, ch. 43, secs. 10–11. Translation by Holmes, 'Treatise on the Soul', 222–3.
33. Tertullian, *Liber de anima*, in Waszink, ed., *Opera montanistica*, ch. 43, sec. 2. Translation by Holmes, 'Treatise on the Soul', 221.
34. Thompson and Taylor, eds., *Hamlet*, Act 3, Scene 1, ll. 59–64.
35. Pawlita, *Staging Doubt*, 90–3, discusses Hamlet's monologue alongside Tertullian's *De anima*. Viswanathan, 'Sleep and Death', 63, n. 1, perceives continuity between the motif in Shakespeare's works and the Old English tradition, mentioning both *Solomon and Saturn II* (l. 313) and Alcuin's *Disputatio Pippini*, 8.
36. Thompson and Taylor, eds., *Hamlet*, Scene 7, ll. 118–19. See Pawlita, *Staging Doubt*, 97.
37. Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 68–9. Text of lyric ('Howe cometh al ye That ben y-brought') is from Brown, ed., *Religious Lyrics*, no. 164, ampersand expanded.
38. *Disputatio Pippini*, in Orchard, ed. and trans., 'Alcuin's Educational Dispute', sec. 8. Translation Orchard's, 180.
39. *DOE*, s.v. *fyll-wērig.*
40. Scragg, ed., *Battle of Maldon.*
41. See, on sleep conceived as a 'problem' in this passage, Hasenfratz, 'Curse of Sleep', 184–5, and further Harbus, 'Deceptive Dreams', especially 166–8; Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind', especially 124, 132.
42. See previous note, as well as, for instance Kavros, '*Swefan Æfter Symble*', especially 122–3.
43. Harbus, 'Deceptive Dreams', 167, n. 8. See further Newman, 'Medieval Theories', 119–27.
44. See Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind', 126, after Lake, 'Writings of John Cassian'.
45. Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, in Petschenig, ed., *Iohannis Cassiani*, bk 3, ch. 5. Translation by Bertram, *John Cassian*, 34. Hasenfratz mentions the influence of Cassian on views of sleep, 'Curse of Sleep', 186–7, 195.
46. Venarde, ed. and trans., *Rule of Saint Benedict*, ch. 22, secs. 5–6, 8. Translation Venarde's. On the Benedictine context of sleep's negative associations, see further Hasenfratz, 'Curse of Sleep', 188–92.
47. *Christ in Judgement*, in Clayton, ed. and trans., *Poems of Christ*, 33–87. See Hasenfratz, 'Curse of Sleep', 180–2.
48. Earl, 'Prophecy and Parable', 38.

49. Anlezark, 'Reading "The Story of Joseph"', 88. See further Caie, 'Text and Context'; 'Vernacular Poems in MS CCCC 201'; *Judgement Day*, 115–59.
50. *De die iudicii*, in Caie, ed. and trans., *Judgement Day II*, 129–33. Translation Caie's. On the attribution to Bede, see 33.
51. *Judgement Day II*, in Jones, ed. and trans., *Religious and Didactic*, 242–63.
52. *DOE*, s.v. *cræftig*, 1, 2, 3. See Chapter 2, 91–3.
53. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *slæc*, I.1, I.2, II.1, II.2.
54. Harbus, 'Deceptive Dreams', 167–8. See also Hasenfratz, 'Curse of Sleep', 177–8.
55. On this passage, see Reading, 'Baptism, Conversion, and Selfhood', 11–15.
56. Elsewhere in *Andreas*, sleep is depicted as forcefully overcoming Andreas and his followers through the verb *ofergan* (464b, 820b, 826b), which can mean 'to overrun . . . conquer' and 'come upon, attack' (Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *ofer-gān*, II, VI). On Death as an attacker, see Roberts, 'Grim Hunter'.
57. See Newman, 'Medieval Theories', 124.
58. Swanton, ed., *Dream of the Rood*.
59. Wilcox, 'Moment of Death', 39. See further Lee, 'Critique of *The Dream of the Rood*', 179.
60. *The Panther*, in Jones, ed., *Religious and Didactic*, 2–7. On protected space in this poem and *The Phoenix*, see Bintley, 'Remodelling the *Hortus Conclusus*', 9–10.
61. *DOE*, s.v. *ge·bysgod*.
62. *CH* 1, Homily 39, l. 39. See notably Magennis, *Images of Community*, 35–59.
63. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 157. My sense of a misleading metaphorical centre here owes much to Murphy, *Unriddling*.
64. *Esne* can mean 'man of low social status', but is here held in contradistinction to the *eald ceorl*. *DOE*, s.v. *esne*, 1, 2.
65. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 157.
66. Ibid. In light of the figure of the 'wrestler' Niles perceives, one might compare the metaphysical wrestler Elli ('old age') who defeats Thor in Snorri Sturluson's *Gylfaginning*, ed. Faulkes, chs. 46–7. On Elli in connection with Old English representations of old age, see Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions', 295.
67. Magennis, *Images of Community*, 52.
68. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 158. See also Drout, *How Tradition Works*, 259–60.
69. Proverbs 23:32. See Bede, *Super Parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, PL 91, bk 2, ch. 23, cols. 1007–8. On prose contexts, see Magennis, *Images of Community*, 53–4, stressing nonetheless 'incongruity and contradiction' between attitudes to drinking held in monastic textual communities (59).

70. Bede, *Super Parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, *PL* 91, bk 2, ch. 23, col. 1008.
71. Genesis 9:20–22, presented alongside the poem in Doane, ed., *Genesis A*, and further Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 77–8.
72. Scheil, 'Sacred History', 412–13.
73. Fischer, ed., *Vetus Latina*, Genesis 19.30. See note in Doane, ed., *Genesis A*, 385.
74. Monk, 'Behind the Curtains', 21.
75. Crabtree, 'Spatial Organisation', 147–8.
76. Olson, *Fair and Varied Forms*, 101.
77. See Niles, *God's Exiles*, 100, 101, as well as Clements, 'Sudden Death'. On the drunk man's lack of self-control, see Neidorf, 'Structure and Theme', 104.
78. Translation by Larrington, 'The Sayings of the High One', in *Poetic Edda*, 13–35. On old age, disability, and ideas of uselessness in early medieval contexts, see Metzler, *Social History of Disability*, 111–12.
79. Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, bk 11, ch. 2, sec. 36. Translation by Barney et al., *Etymologies*, 243.
80. Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 190–1.
81. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 188, 190–1, 200–2. See also Doubleday, 'Structure and Theme', 370–1. *The Ruin*, in Klinck, ed., *Old English Elegies*, 103–5, all quotations from this source, punctuation modified at times.
82. Niles, *God's Exiles*, 191, and see further 226–31. For a similar analysis of the imagery of ruined cities in *The Wanderer*, see Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind', 134–5. Sceptical of 'Christianizing interpretations' of *The Ruin*, see Orchard, 'Reconstructing *The Ruin*', 48.
83. See Irving Jr, 'Image and Meaning in the Elegies', 155–7, 162–3; Johnson, '*The Ruin*'; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 66–7.
84. On the interpretation of 'weal', see Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 67. Translation Lockett's.
85. *DOE*, s.v. *heolfor*. Sweany, 'Medical Imagination', 70.
86. See Doubleday, 'Structure and Theme', 381, arguing for an 'ironic overtone'.
87. *DOE*, s.v. *idel*, 2, 2.d.iv. Translating 'empty', see, for example, Bjork, ed., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 9, and sense 1.a. in the *DOE*.
88. Holsinger, *Premodern Condition*, especially 1–4, 26–56.
89. Bataille, *Accursed Share*, 21.
90. Ibid., 32, 34. Emphasis original.
91. Ibid., 28. On this passage from *Maxims*, see Klein, 'Parenting and Childhood', 102–3. Line 35 is closely paralleled in *The Seafarer*, 106.
92. Fell, 'Perceptions of Transience', 180. Challenging the idea of the Old English 'elegy' see notably Mora, 'Invention of the Old English Elegy'.

93. On the solution to *Riddle 1*, see Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 743–4; Orchard, *Commentary*, 327–35; Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, 291–3. Manuscript reading *rice* is maintained here in 61a, rather than the emendation *rince* selected in Orchard's text.

94. See Cesario, 'Romancing the Wind'.

95. This line renders 'Mando dapes mordax lurconum more Ciclopum' ('I gobble down food like the gluttonous Cyclops', 33), in Aldhelm's *Aenigma 100* (*Creatura*), in Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 86–93. Translation Orchard's. On *Riddle 38*'s adaptation of Aldhelm, see Sebo, *In Enigmate*, 92–116.

96. Morrison, *Literature of Waste*, 59–60.

97. Bataille, *Accursed Share*, 119.

98. Neville, *Representations of the Natural World*, 200.

99. Hill, *Cultural World of Beowulf*, 65.

100. Bataille, *Accursed Share*, 60. See also Caciola, *Afterlives*, 60, on 'the sudden interruption of the life force in full flow' in ancient and medieval cultures.

101. Bataille, *Accursed Share*, 60.

102. On the history of martyrdom and self-sacrifice, see Kitts, 'Introduction', 8–11.

103. Bataille, *Accursed Share*, 58.

104. See Bosworth-Toller, s.v., *meltan*, 1, 11, and *Beowulf*, 1120b, 3011a.

105. See Introduction, 9–13. On 'processing and consumption' in the 'instrumental' riddles, specifically *Riddle 24* ('gospel book'), *Riddle 25* ('mead'), and *Riddle 26* ('ale'), see Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, 325. See also notably *Riddle 15* ('bee-hive'), *Riddle 63* ('onion').

106. Pareles, 'What the Raven told the Eagle', 177.

107. Ibid., 166.

108. Jesch, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves', 254. On the interwoven experiences of 'the present joy' and 'the future hope' in Old English poetry, see Stanley, 'Hopes, Joys, and Sorrows', 11.

109. See Bruce, '*Unhælu*', 460.

110. See Fulk, 'Old English *werg-*, *wyrg-* "accursed"'.

111. Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 171–9.

112. On *Riddle 24*, see Orchard, ed. and trans., *Riddle Tradition*, 755–6, and *Commentary*, 381–3. Tatwine's *Aenigma 5* is the likely source, discussed by Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, at 173–4.

113. Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 151–69.

Conclusion: *The Rhyming Poem*

1. Rorty, 'Improvisatory Accident-Prone Dramas'; Malabou, *Ontology of the Accident*, 3.

2. See previously Semper, 'Stereotypes and Subversions'.

3. See Introduction, note 18.

4. See Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 1–4, and further Amory and Earl, 'Hisperic Style'.

5. Abram, 'Two Cultures', 1368–72; in response, see Orchard, 'Old English and Anglo-Latin', 274. On Latin influence, see also Earl, 'Hisperic Style', and, in response, see Amory's reflections in Amory and Earl, 'Hisperic Style'. On the development of rhyme in Old English verse, see Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 21–5; Stanley, 'Rhymes in English Medieval Verse'; Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 39–42; Dance, 'Note on Old English Spelling', 290–1; Bredehoft, 'Formulaic Rhyme'.

6. Irving Jr, '*Structural Principles*', 284. For other examples of this attitude, see Earl's summary in 'Hisperic Style', 189.

7. Abram, 'Two Cultures', 1369.

8. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 7. See also Wentersdorf, 'Ruler's Lament', 267.

9. Klinck, 'Design and Interpretation', 268, and ed., *Elegies*, 84–9, 145–58. See also Stanley, 'Hopes, Joys, and Sorrows', especially 41–3.

10. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans. *Riming Poem*, 38; Cross, 'Microcosm and Macrocosm', 12–13. See also Smithers, 'Meaning of *The Seafarer*', 8. See Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum . . . libri XX*, bk 11, ch. 1, sec. 4, and further bk 7, ch. 6, sec. 4, on *Adam* as derived from 'homo sive terrenus sive terra rubra' ('"human" or "earthling" or "red earth"') on the authority of Jerome. Barney et al., trans., *Etymologies*, 162.

11. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*. Punctuation modified, but italics marking emendations maintained. On emendations to this text, see further Thornbury, 'Light Verse'. In translating this text, I have consulted editions by Macrae-Gibson; Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 84–9, 145–57; Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 91–7; North, Allard, and Gillies, eds. and trans., *Longman Anthology*, 223–31, and Earl, 'Translation of *The Rhyming Poem*'.

12. Soper, 'Light in the Old English *Rhyming Poem*.'

13. *De Genesi*, PL 34, bk 1, ch. 23, sec. 35, col. 190. Translation by Teske, *On Genesis*, 83–4.

14. *In Genesim*, in Jones, ed., *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 118A, bk 1, ch. 2, sec. 3, ll. 1097–9; italics added for *paradisi uoluptatis*. Translation by Kendall, *On Genesis*, 101.

15. *De temporum ratione*, in Jones, ed., *Opera didascalia*, CCSL 123B, ch. 6, ll. 37–9. Translation by Wallis, *Reckoning of Time*, 25. See also the 'light of the world' motif Magennis describes in 'Imagery of Light', 194, discussing *The Rhyming Poem* at 196–7.

16. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 1.

17. Dobbie, ed., *Minor Poems*, cxi–ii. See also the note to this line in Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 53.
18. *Latin-English Proverbs*, in Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 185–6. See further Abram, 'Two Cultures', 1370; Orchard, 'Odd Couple', 287–9.
19. Orchard, 'Odd Couple', 288.
20. Orchard, 'Art of Invention', 29, observes that these self-rhyming compounds are not inherently surprising but that 'one might have imagined them to be threaded throughout the text, rather than simply stacked into a six-line sequence', further observing that this section from *The Rhyming Poem* 'underlines the air of treachery and transience that seems to hang over so many self-rhyming compounds' elsewhere in the corpus (30).
21. Thornbury, 'Light Verse', 89.
22. Bragg, *Lyric Speakers*, 103.
23. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 38.
24. Ibid. Shippey, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Learning*, 129, discusses *bleo* with reference to *Fortunes of Men*. See *DOE*, s.v. *blēo*, 2.
25. See Chapter 1, 41.
26. Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 38–9.
27. In this translation, I follow Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 146, in understanding *wennan* (6b) as a variant of *wynnum*, and in taking *getongum* (8b) as related to *getang* ('close to, in contact with') and *getenge* ('pressing upon, assailing'), although in light of the apparent link with the verb *(ge)tengan* ('to hasten after'), Klinck opts for 'pleasantly on the long ways, with hastening of their limbs'. Line 8 is here translated following Stanley, 'Notes on the Text of *Christ and Satan*', 451; and Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*. Translation of *onspreht* follows Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 40. On the difficulties of this passage, see further Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 39–40; Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 146; Bjork, ed. and trans., *Wisdom and Lyric*, 354; Muir, ed., *Exeter Anthology*, 545.
28. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *rǣd-mǣgen*; Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 146.
29. See Introduction, 3, 19; Chapter 2, 69; Chapter 3, 112.
30. See Chapter 2, 91–3.
31. Klinck, 'Design and Interpretation', 273.
32. On the difficulties of interpreting these lines, see Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 147.
33. The manuscript reads 'þenden wæs ic mægen', so *in* is supplied, following Macrae-Gibson, ed., *Riming Poem*, 42–3. See also Klinck, 'Design and Interpretation', 274; Wentersdorf, 'Ruler's Lament', 271–2.
34. On the status of the speaker of *The Rhyming Poem*, see Wentersdorf, 'Ruler's Lament'. On *had*, see Chapter 2, 76–7.
35. Translation of *galdor-wordum* as 'with powerful words' after Macrae-Gibson, ed., *Riming Poem*, 44. The *DOE* suggests 'words of incantation' or perhaps

'words having power', s.v. *galdor-word*. Klinck takes *ol* as the preterite of a very rare verb *alan*, 'to nourish, produce', or 'to appear', in an interpretation followed here.

36. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, in Jones, ed., *Opera didascalia*, CCSL 123B, ch. 66, sec. 5, ll. 33–5. Translation by Wallis, *Reckoning of Time*, 158.

37. Bede, *In Genesim*, in Jones, ed., *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 118A, bk 1, ch. 2, sec. 3, ll. 1149–52. Italics altered, given 'super sedem tuam' in the Vulgate. Translation by Kendall, *On Genesis*, 103.

38. Wentersdorf, 'Ruler's Lament', 284.

39. *DOE*, s.v. *galan*, A. 1.; *galdor-word**.

40. Cavell, 'Powerful Patens', especially 136–7.

41. Wentersdorf, 'Ruler's Lament', 284.

42. The compound *swegl-rad* could also mean 'the path of the music', given the polysemy of *swegel*. Here I follow Macrae-Gibson, ed. and trans., *Riming Poem*, 45, in interpreting the compound as signifying the path of the sun across the sky.

43. On this imagery in *The Rhyming Poem*, 43–50, see Lockett, *Psychologies*, 56 and 83–7.

44. I follow here the emendation from MS *heow siþum* to *heof-siþum* accepted by Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 86, which the *DOE* also accepts (s.v. **hēof-sīþ*). Klinck, ed., *Elegies*, 86 and 152–3, emends the hapax legomenon *efen-pynde* to *ungepynde*, 'unrestrained', but given the hydraulic context of the mind's confinement of seething thoughts, this does not seem necessary. Lockett, *Psychologies*, 86, advocates emendation to *ofer-pynde*, 'exceedingly penned in'. Meanings suggested by the *DOE* (s.v. *brand-hord*) for *brond-hord* (46a) include 'rusted treasure', 'a diseased thought', and 'a fire that burns in the heart'.

45. Hermann, '*The Riming Poem*', 9. Translation of *Beowulf* here is Hermann's.