
Pettit, Edward Thomas
COMMENTARY

ENTRY I

OE Variant Version:

Wid heafodwærc genim hamwyrt nipeweardæ; gecnuwa; lege on ceald
wæter, gnd swide Opheu eall geleþred sie; bepe mid þæt heafod.
[BLch (18 19-21)]

1 hamorwyrt The -or- is added above the line; BLch has hamwyrt.

1 efenlastan Bierb2 identifies this plant name as dog’s mercury (cf. Bierb1
eflaste), but gives no explanation. See OED “evenlesten” for some support. The
similar plant annual mercury may presumably also be entertained.

C and GS translate as “everlasting”, but OED points out that this is a false
etymology.

ENTRY II

OE Variant Version

Wit heafodwærc genim heahheolopan 7 grundeswelgean 7 fencersan 7
getrifan wel on wætere òet reocan on þa eogan þonne hit hat sie, 7 ymb þa
eogan gnd mid þerm wyrtum swa hatum. [BLch (18/22-5)]

4 hindhaleða As Bierb2 (hindheleþe a 2) suggests, this may be for wk. acc. sg.
fem (or nom pl) hindhatelðan (cf. BLch’s heahheolopan), in which case the form
might be a scribal error or (less likely) an isolated North. spelling.

BLch’s heahheolopan is identified by Bierb1 as Inula Helenium L., elecampane.
Scribal error or auditory confusion may explain the differing first elements hind- and
heah
ENTRY III

OE Variant Version:

Wid heafodwærc: betan wyrttruman; gecnuwa wid hunig; awring; do þæt seaw on neb, 7 ongean sunnan upweard licege, 7 þæt heafod ho of dune þæt se seaw mæge þæt heafod geond yrnan; hæbbe him ær on mupe eæ ofhpe buteran, 7 þonne uplang asittæ; hægigæ forðæ; læte flowan of þam nebbe þa gillistran, do swa gelome oppæt hit clæne seæ. [BLch (18/12-18)]

Lat Sources and Analogues

This remedy may be derived from the Physica Plinii, though none of the following texts agrees with the OE remedy in all its details:

1 Item ad purgandum caput: radices betæ rubæ, de granulis eius succus coclear unum, olei rosacæ miscæb coelear dimidium, et sustinens implebit os suum oleo aut lacte, dein resupinabitur in scamno contra solem ita ut caput ei dependeat atque ad se spiritum retrahat, donec injecta res in nares cerebrum contingat, qui post paululum relevatus inclinato capite sedeat, ut illi humor decurrere valeat [PhysPLivP1 1.23]

2 Ad Purgationem Capitis.

Item radicæ betæ rubæ de grano sucoe coclearium unum et olei rosei admiscæ coclearium dimidium sustinens implevit os suum oleum aut lacte, resupinabitur in scamno contra solem ita ut caput ei dependeat adque ad se spiritum retrahat, donec injectæ res naribus cerebrum contingat; qui post paululum relevatus inclinato capite sedeat. [PhysPlinB 1.23]

Less close, except for the use of honey, is the following remedy:

3 Ad Purgationem Capitis.
Item bete nigre radicis sucus minus quam dimidium coclear et mells mixtum in nareis infundes ita ut palatum transeat; pituita omnis defluit, et cum uis cessare, oleum in os accipiet. [PhysPlinB 1.3; similarly PhysPlinFP 1.3]

Analogues

4 Ad Purgationem Capitis.

Item bete ruhee radix contusa inteo tenero exprimitur et sucum inanibus trahitur et mirifice purgit. [PhysPlinB 1.19; similarly PhysPlinFP 1.15]

5 An Anglo-Saxon remedy in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C iii (ed. C vol. I, p. 382) possibly derived from the Physica Plinii (see no. 3 above):

Bete nigre succus et radicis minus dimidio melle admixto si narebus infundatur ita ut palatum transeat; pituitas omnes defluunt et narebus et dentibus dolentibus prodest

6 Ad Capitis Reumata et Purgationem et ad Pituitae et Fleugmatis Deductionem et Restrictionem Catarri

Betae radicibus tune recte sucus eius narebus ductur ad umorem capitis extrahendum [DML 5 14 (p 94)]

The ultimate basis for such remedies may be:

7 Sucus eius [i.e. of beta] cum melle narebus initius caput purgit.

[VH 20 71]

7 cnuca nud hune . Cf. no. 3 above, et mells mixtum; note also no. 7 cum melle.

7-8 on pet neb : "In the nose", not "over the nose" (so GS), or (so C, translating BLch's do pet seaw on neb) "apply the juice to the face". Cf. no. 1 above, in nareis and no 2, narebus
8 seo ex: As Schlutter [1907a: 129-31; 1909a] (see also BTS exe) argues, ex here means "brain", not "(vertical) axis" as C translates. AEW ex(e) gives no cognate words ("unbck. Herk."). Cf. nos 1 and 2 cerebrum.

8-9 gelcge upweard ... oôOt seo ex sy gesoh: Cf. the Physica Plinii (no. 1 above, so similarly no. 2), dein resupinabitur in scanno contra solem ita ut caput ei dependeat atque ad se spiritum retrahat, donec iniecta res in nares cerebrum contigat.

8-9 oôOt seo ex sy gesoh: "Until the brain is reached" (so Schlitter [1909a]'). BLch has ðæt se seeaw maeg ðæt heafod geond yrnan, which means "so that the juice can run throughout the head" and not (as C translates) "that the juice may run all over the head". Cf. no 1 donec iniecta res in nares cerebrum contigat and no. 2 donec iniecta res nanbus cerebrum contingat.

GS (p 97 n 2) explain the situation and the theory:

The patient is to lie on his back with head hanging down, neck in extreme extension, opening of nostrils upward. The false idea that the mendicament [sæc] would then flow into the brain is a memory of Greek physiology. Galen (A.D 130-200) supposed a direct communication between the upper part of the nasal cavity and the brain. Phlegm (pituita) was regarded as secreted by the brain. A reminder of this is the current anatomical term, pituitary body, a structure at the base of the brain.

Cf. similarly the practice of Lacn. Entry CXII: wring neohewearde cushyppan 7 holleac in da nasiphylo; læt hycgan upweard gode hwile; cf. also BLch (20 19-20).

9 buteran oode ele: The Physica Plini (in nos. 1 & 2 above) uses oil or milk.

1 Schlutter's [1909a 258] suggestion that gesoht might alternatively be derived from an otherwise unattested "soci(e)an socian "soak", and that oôOt seo ex sy gesoh might then translate Lat. "donec cerebellum humors liquors perfundatur" can now be discounted.
ENTRY IV

Lat. Analogues or Possible Sources:

1 Ad Dolorem Capitis.

Item aloe trita cum aceto frontem linabis.
[PhysPlinB 3.13 (PhysPlinFP I 2.13 has cum oleo for cum aceto)]

2 [Of aloe]. dolorem capitis sedat temporibus et fronti inposita ex aceto et rosaceo dilutorque infusa oculorum vita omnia sanari ea convenit, privatum pruriginem et scabiem generum. [\(b\)H 27.17-18]

ENTRY V

13 win Wine need not always have been imported - the climate of late Anglo-Saxon England was considerably warmer and drier than today, and Voigts [1979b 262] observes that

The Domesday Book recorded in 1085 thirty-eight vineyards in England in addition to those of the king. English wine was considered equal to that of France in terms of quality as well as quantity; there were more than half a dozen vineyards of over five acres, and at least some of them, as in Gloucestershire and at Thorney, were unprotected. A vineyard was maintained at Ely for several centuries.

See also Hagen [1995. 217-30 (with medicinal uses of wine on pp. 226-7)].

For the use of wine, pepper and a horn in another eye-salve see BLch (34 26 - 36/5)
ENTRY VI

OE Variant Version:

*Inus mon sceal eagsealfe wyrcean: genim streawberian wisan niopowearde* 7 pipor; gecnuwa wel; do on clæh; behind fæste; lege on geswet win; læt gedreopan on þa eogan ænne dropan. [BLch (34/23-6)]

14 *streawberian nyfeweardan* : BLch specifies the lower part of the runners - *streawberian wisan niopowearde*.

14 *do in clæh*  BLch precedes this instruction with *gecnuwa wel*, but Lacn. has no parallel to this. Perhaps it has inadvertently dropped out.

ENTRY VII

Cf a salve for the eyes in LchBl.3 (308 6-8):

*Eft [ie Gif mæst sce fore eagum]. hrefnes geallan 7 leaxes 7 eles 7 feldbeon hung meng tosomne; smure mid þære sealfæ innan þa eogan.*

For the use of animal gall in preparations for the eyes cf. Pliny (NH 28.146):

*Inter omnia autem communia animalium vel praestantisamum effectum fel est. vis eius exscafacere, mordere, scindere, extrahere, discutere. minorum animalium subtilius intellegitur et ideo ad oculorum medicamenta utilius existimatur.*

Ogden [1969 88] draws attention to this passage from NH and also remarks that "[a]nimal galls seem to have been much used for the eyes. It will be remembered that fish gall restored the sight of Tobit (Bk. Tobit VI, 8-9, XI, 13)*.  

16 *hrefnes geallan* : GS (p. 99 n. 2), suggesting that *hrefn* "raven" may be a variant of *hefern* "crab" (see CH *hrefn*), remark that: "Neither has a gall-bladder, but

1 GS (p. 99 n. 2) state that *Lacen* is here "modified from Pliny xxxviii. 40". This must be a misprinted reference to this passage from Pliny.
A.S. leeches were not comparative anatomists ... gealla, like Latin fel, is used for any bitter substance".

16 hwitma'ringc : Or perhaps read hwit maringc. The meaning of the otherwise unattested word hwitma'ringc is unknown, though the element hwit is clearly the adj. hwit, and may well mean "white". It is probably, but not certainly, a plant name (see Bierb2). Following L's probably incorrect word division hwit maringcwudu, CH has maringcwudu "mastic of sweet basil?" (this unconvincing definition being based on C's guess (p 337)), AEW maring-cwudu "eine Art Harz?", and TOE maringcwudu (04 01 02 01 07 05 01 Gum).

16 wudulehtrc : The juice of this plant is used wið eagena dymnysse in OEHerb chap xxxi

17 leaxes geallan : Cf. Pliny's reference to the use of the gall of the coracinus (a species of fish) et coracim fel excitat visum. [VH 32.70]

17 linha'wenne clad : In Entry XII a linhawen cloth is put to the same use. Entry XIII uses a linen cloth (linenne clad) for the same purpose in a remedy wið eagena dymnesse Cf also the instruction wring burh ha'wenne clad on pat eare found in LchBk3 (344 4-5)

**ENTRY VIII**

Analogue

Wið eagena dymnysse genim foxes geallan gemencged mid doran hunige 7
on eag'an gedon, hwit hæleþ.

[Ad caliginem oculorum fel vulps cum melle attico commuxtum, oculi inuncti
mire sanantur ]

[OEMLQ (246/23-4)]
19 foxes smero: Whereas OEMdQ uses foxes geallan, a salve for the eyes in LchBk3 (306/31-308/2) similarly employs foxes gelyndes dael.

19 rædheores mearh: Cf. l. 28 heortes mearge. The marrow of deer is valued most highly by Pliny:

Communis et medullarum est. omnes mollunt, explent, siccunt, excalfaciunt. laudatissima e cervis, mox vitulina, dein hircina et caprina. [NH 28.145]

ENTRY IX

OE Variant Version:

Gif poc sy on eagan: nim ar, sapan 7 hinde meoluc; mæng tosonne 7 swyng;
laet standan od hit sy hlutter; nim ponne hæt hlutre; do on da eagan; mid
Godes fultume heo sceal aweg. [Lacn. Entry XXXII]

21 mær, sapan: "(?)Marrow. soap". The reading and interpretation are problematic. C interprets as "marrow, soap", but (p. 4 n. 1) thinks that the MS "writes mærcsapan as one word, marrosoap"; GS interpret as one otherwise unattested word, mærcsapan "marrow-soap". The variant version has ar, sapan which C interprets as an otherwise unattested noun arsapan "verdigris", and which GS emend to mearhvsapan "marrow soap" (sic). It is not clear which of these readings - if indeed any - is to be preferred. The m in mær might be a scribal dittography after nim (and it may be noted that there is an unusually large space between m- and -erc in MS); alternatively the variant version's ar might result from scribal haplography after nim. In favour of the reading mær, sapan might be the fact that both these ingredients are often used in OE remedies (indeed marrow has just been used in l. 19 rædheores mearh), but if mær does mean "marrow" it is an exceptional spelling for Lacn.

In favour of the variant version's ar, sapan (which ostensibly means "bronze, soap" or, if interpreted as one word, "bronze-soap") may be the fact that, although bronze (excluding bronze vessels) is only used once elsewhere in OE medicine (BLch
(80/23-5)), in that single instance it is also used in conjunction with soap (and sometimes - cf. Lacn.'s meolc? - the dairy product flyte as an alternative to oil) as an ingredient in an ointment for a corn/fleshy excrescence (cf. Lacn.'s poc "pustule","stye"):

* Wid angnægle: argesweorf 7 ealde sapan 7 ele gif þu hæbbe; gif þu næbbe 
do flytan to; meng tosomne; lege on.

"For a corn: bronze filings (i.e. verdigris) and old soap and oil if you have it; if you do not have it add cream; mix together, apply."

If Lacn's word *ar marc* (a corruption of *argesweorj*) or the doubtful *arsapan* may be understood to refer to verdigris formed upon bronze (or at least, in the case of "bronze-soap", a substance containing verdigris), then corresponding medicinal uses of verdigris on account of its caustic properties can be noted:

* vis eius collyris oculorum aptissima* [Pliny NH 34.113]

* A liniment or ointment is also used in medicine as a cure for warts.  
  [Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th ed., article on "Verdigris"]

Verdigris (*vert(e)gresse*) is used to kill the cankyr on the face and to do oute dede flesshe out of a wound in a fifteenth-century English remedy book (ed. Dawson [1934 85 (no 219), 224 (no. 706)]).

Note also the use of copper sulphate for the present complaint in the medieval Welsh traditional remedies of the Physicians of Myddfai (trans. Pughe [repr. 1989: §589 p 94 (similar is §69 p. 22)]):

"For a Stye in the Eye, or an Inflammation.

Get the yolk of an egg, wheaten meal, and a little sulphate of copper, let it be applied to the eye when going to sleep, it will produce perspiration during the night. Do this three days and it will cure you."

It is interesting to note that at least one ointment (for "festered fingers") employing copper salts has been used in the traditional remedies of East Anglia in the twentieth century - see Hatfield [1994: 7-8].
22-3 mid Godes fultume he sceal aweg: This assertion (also that of the variant version) is not found elsewhere in OE medicine, but it is paralleled several times in the medieval Welsh remedies of the Physicians of Myddvai (trans. Pughe [repr. 1989: e.g. §§156, 157, 161, 162]).

ENTRY X

OE Variant Version:

Dis is seo seleste eahsalf wið ehwærce 7 wið miste 7 wið wenne3 7 wið wyrmum 7 wið gihowum 7 wið teoreendum eagum 7 alcum cuðum swile: genim feferfugean blostman 7 dires blostman 7 dunorclafran blostman 7 hamorwyte blostman 7 twegra cynna wermod 7 pollegian 7 neodewarde liulan 7 hawene die 7 lufestice 7 dolhrunan 7 gepuna da wyte tosomne, 7 wel tosomne in heortes menge odda on his smeorawe, 7 meng ele to; do ponne teala mvcel in da eagan 7 smyrnute weardre 7 wyrm to fyre; 7 deos salf help[ð] wið aeghwycum geswelle to piccanne 7 to smyrనanne in swa hwylcum lime swa hit on bið

[BL MS Cotton Vitellius C iii, folios 82v-83r (ed. C vol. I, p. 374): the remedy is added in a later hand following a text of OEMdQ. Ker dates it s. xi med.]

24 wenne: C misreads the variant version's wenne as penne, which he translates as "pin". This ghost-word penn is found in BT (not corrected by BTS or BTC) defined as "a disease of the eye, pin, a kind of cataract", and AEW takes it to be a word of unknown origin meaning "Hornhautfleck".

24-5 wið weormum: For the condition of "worms" in the eyes cf. Marcellus DmjL 8 127 (p. 146-8):

---

1 C misreads penne - see below
2 C might have been thinking of the eye disease once known as "pin and web" (see OED "pin" (s.n. I) first instance 1533), or perhaps that a "pin" might be a swelling (see OED "pin" 10).
... Quod si scabri oculi fuerint aut vermes, qui palpebras exarent, et inde sit umor infectus, cilia superiores et inferiores, id est palpebras ipsas, ubi causa ualitudo nis est, inunges.

Cf. also the reference in DML 8.157 (p. 154) to vermiculos qui noxii sunt oculis.

Cf. also in OE medical writings BLch (38/1-5), LchBk3 (308/13), and in the fifteenth century a ME remedy (cf. DML above) for wormes that ete the liddes of eygen (Dawson [1934: 167 (no. 507)]).

25 uncudum: "Strange" and therefore worrying and conceivably dangerous (similarly the heading Wd uncudum swyle in C vol. I, p. 394). The variant version's cudum "known" gives weaker sense and may result from scribal haplography after the -um (abbreviated in the Cotton MS text, but possibly not so in an exemplar) of aicum.

26 blosman: These are the only explicit references to the use of flowers in Laen.

27 twegra cvnna wyrmol: Bierb2 (p. 128 n.) remarks "die beiden Wermut-Arten sind wahrscheinlich A. Absinthium und A. Abrotanum".

27 haerwe nehydelan: This plant, which is equated in OEHerb and in glosses with britannic, is unidentified by Bierb2 (though see his notes), but de Vriend (OEHerb (p 295)) adopts one of C's identifications with English scurvy-grass (Cochleana anglica L.), and also suggests the water-dock (Rumex hydrolapathum Hudson), for which see also OED "britannic" (sb.) and LS "Britannicus" (the description of this plant by Pliny in NH 25.20-1 refers to its "dark, rather long leaves, and a dark root").

In the later medieval English evidence collected by Hunt [1989: 56], however, the herb britannica is equated (in addition to haerweheyle) with primerole: Hunt queries identification of britannica with the cowslip (Primula veris L.).
The OE variant version has *hæwene dile* "blue/purple/green dill" in place of *Lacn.*'s *hæwene hnydelan* (a point not noted by Bierbaumer), an equation (if such it be) that is not made elsewhere in OE. Nor is *dile* thus described elsewhere in OE - C (vol. I, p. 375 n. c; vol. II, p. 379) queries identification as *Achillea tomentosa* L., a type of yarrow or milfoil, but that is probably unlikely as this plant has bright yellow flowers and is an introduction to gardens (see Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989: 473]). It is conceivable that *dile* is a scribal error derived from the letters *-dela-* in *hnydelan.

28 *geporta*: The verb *geportlan* is otherwise unattested in OE (but *portian* is found). The variant version uses the commoner verb *gepunian* "to pound".

29 *menge*: The variant version has *meng ele to*.

**ENTRY XI**

OE Variant Version:

This remedy is very similar to *Lacn*. Entry CVII, though there the ingredients are to be boiled

*Wid lungenadle 7 breostwæce: genim merces sæd 7 diles sæd; gnid; wyl; 7 gemeng wið hunges teare; do sumne dæl pipores, 7 do him preo snæda on mhtnyhstig*

*Cf* Marcellus *DVIL* 16.102 (p. 292), though there is no parallel to *merces sæd*:

*Conposito ad tussem: Mellis despumati p I, anethi seminis – III, piperis – I. Haec diligentissame inta miscentur melli, ut, cum usus exegerit, bis in die terna cocleara qui tuss laborabit accipiat.*

Medicinal Efficacy:

Though the inclusion of the irritant pepper (to add flavour?) is surprising, this remedy may not have been worthless for certain types of cough: honey, as well as
being pleasantly sweet, has mild antibiotic properties, and would form a temporary lining of the throat; celery seed has anti-inflammatory properties (Wren); dill seed does not seem to be used in herbal medicine today, but was thought by Culpeper (p. 117) to be of more use than the leaves.

32 huniges tear: This is honey that is allowed to run freely from the comb after the wax cappings have been cut off. Cf. BLch (28/4) huniges teares tu cuclemel. See C (vol. II p. 396) and Hagen [1995: 151]. A compound noun hunigtear is found in another OE remedy (ed. Napier [1890: 325(d)]).

33 dicce: This word is probably to be taken as the adverb dicce (“thickly”) rather than as the subj (or imp) or the verb dicgan “to consume”, since the direction to consume the remedy (nim dry stacan fulle on mihstig) is given at the end after the remaining instructions for its preparation. The -cg- spelling might result from confusion with this verb, since dicgan is commonly used in OE herbal remedies.

ENTRY XII

Medicinal Efficacy

Wild teasel (wulfes camb) root's cleansing properties are vouched for by Culpeper He (p. 364) recommends "the water found in the hollow of the leaves as a collyrium to cool inflammation of the eyes". The honey absorbed into the root would have mild antiseptic properties.

35-6 wring bonne durh linhaewenne clad on bet eage: Cf. l. 17 (and n. thereto) dryp on bet eage burh linhaewenne clad.
ENTRY XIII

Analogues:

OE:

1. Gif eagan tyren: nim drige rudan 7 huniges tear; meng tosomne; lét standan III niht; awring burh þicne clæd linenne 7 do on þa eagan síþan.

[LchBk3 (308/19-22)]

2. Wip þon de eagan tyren: rudan seaw 7 gate geallan 7 doran hunig ealra emfela [BLeh (32/1-34/1)]

Lat:

3 Ad oculos lacrmosos: Ruta sicca cum melle attico equis ponderibus mixta uel contrita per lintheum cola et oculos unge, certum est.

[Eleventh- or early twelfth-century English Cambridge Antidotary (ed. Sigerst 1923. 161)]

4 Ad oculos lacrimos. rutam siccum cum melle & aceto equoer mixtum per linthea colatum oculos inungis certum est lacrima stringi.

[RSC (ed. Singer 1917: 145 (fol. 177r)), s. xii in; according to Singer (p. 118) it is not part of the original compilation, but is in the same handwriting]

5 Ad Lacrimas de Oculo Restringendum.

Item ad lacrimosos oculos: ruta siccum et mel atticum equis ponderibus mixtum oculos inungis; certum est lacrimas stringere.

[PhysPlinB 15 5; similarly PhysPlinFP 1 16.5; cf. the use of rue ad caliginem et suffusiones in PhysPlinB 17.27]

The use of rue to aid the eyes was once common practice. Grieve (p. 695) notes that:
Pliny ... reported Rue to be of such effect for the preservation of sight that the painters of his time used to devour a great quantity of it ... It was supposed to make the sight both sharp and clear, especially when the vision had become dim through over-exertion of the eyes. It was with "Euphrasy and Rue" that Adam's sight was purged by Milton's Angel.

In Pliny's words:

\[
\text{idem oculis noxiam putavit [i.e. Pythagoras], falsum, quoniam scalptores et picatores hoc cibo utuntur oculorum causa cum pane vel nasturtio, caprae quoque silvestres propter visum, ut autum. multi suco eius cum melle Attico inuncti discuserunt caligines, vel cum lacte multeris puerum enixae, vel puro suco angulis oculorum tactis. epiphoras cum polenta inposita lenit.}
\]

[\H 20 134-5]

Also

\[
\text{radix rutae sanguinem oculis suffusum et toto corpore cicatrices aut maculas inlita emendat [\H 20.142]}
\]

The equation of Attic honey with doran huneg is usual in OE medical texts - see Cameron [1993 121] and OEHerb (p. 332).

37 green rude : None of the analogues parallels this use of specifically green/fresh rue - indeed most of them stipulate the dried herb.

38 dunhumge : This word could conceivably mean "dun-coloured honey" (Pliny distinguishes different colours of honey in NH 10.38-41), but more probably - as is usually thought - means "down-honey" (i.e. honey from the downs). For a discussion of Anglo-Saxon honey see Hagen [1995: 150-9].
ENTRY XIV

39 *bipon*: "Is afflicted by", "suffers from", "has"; for the construction *beon on* "to have/suffer from (an illness)" cf. e.g. *LchBk3* (350/22) *Gif mon bipon* on *waterelfadul* "If one has the "water-elf-disease"; also a remedy in BL MS Cotton Vitellius E xviii (ed. C vol. I, 388/2) [Gif hry]peru *beon on lungencodon*. This use of *beon* is not explicitly mentioned by *DOE Beon* (but cf. sense B. i.e. "the complement is a prepositional phrase indicating a state or condition (mental state, being in the power of somebody, etc.").

39 *healsoman*: "Erysipelas of the neck". According to *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed., article on "Erysipelas"), erysipelas is generally restricted to the face and head, but "[a]dvancing over the scalp, the disease may invade the neck and pass on to the trunk"

39 *healsoman nime healsyrt*: The association is transparent - for "neck-erysipelas" one takes "neck-plant". Note similarly perhaps l. 40 *eogforprotan* "boar-throat", but clearly not *cneowholen* "knee-holly".

39 *healsyrt*: The possible identification of this plant as (among other things) ash is suggested by C (vol. I, p. 241 n. a, and so adopted by *OEHerb* - see p. 317), but is not included in *Bierb2*. See for other possibilities the ME evidence collected by Hunt [1989 references under *Halswort* in Index].

40 *isenheardan butan a'lcan isene genumen*: The prohibition of the use of an iron tool for harvesting certain plants is ancient and widespread. For identification and discussion of instances in *NH* and elsewhere (including modern examples) see Delatte [1961: 168-70], GS (p. 37), and Opie & Tatem [1989: 212 "IRON taboo on sacred occasions"]). Other instances in OE medicine (GS (p. 101 n. 3); Bonser [1963: 229]) are *Lacn*. 1. 532 (*ne delfe hy nan man þa moran mid isene*), *OEHerb* ((30/6-7)
On the other hand it was also believed that certain plants (e.g. mandrake) *must* be picked with the aid of iron: see *OEHerb* (p. 170); see further Delatte [1961: 167-8]).

The tentative equation of *isenhearde* with a species of knapweed (see Bierb2) finds possible limited support in the later English evidence collected by Hunt [1989: see under *Acera*] (identification with vervain - see Hunt under *hierobotane* and *vervena* - is doubtful for *Lacn.* because both *isenhearde* and *berbene* "vervain" are mentioned in Entry LXIII (ll. 236, 240)).

41 *ædf erf erwpunwyrt*: On the identification of this plant as greater stitchwort or common chickweed see, in addition to Bierb1, Bierb2 and Bierb3, Stracke [1974: 75-6], Kitson [1988J and Cameron [1993: 112-3]. In l. 238 this plant name is glossed *Auis lingua* in a later medieval hand (this latter being a plant name which was equated with stitchwort in ME - see Hunt [1989: under *Lingua auis*]).

41 *brad bisceopwyr*: Since syntactically an acc. form is expected here (after l. 39 *nime*) I take this to be an otherwise unattested compound noun. However, scribal error, or an aberrant use of a nom. form cannot be ruled out; neither, given the lateness of the text, can early syncretism of nom. and acc. adj. inflections.

Although this compound noun is only found here, the plant - presumably a broad-leaved variety of *bisceopwyr* - is also apparently referred to in *Lacn.* ll. 697-8 as *pa bradan bisceopwyr*, and in a remedy *Wid heortace* in London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 46, fol. 144 (ed. Napier [1890: 325(a)]; Ker no. 98, s. x/vi), *genim brade bisceopwyr* 7 *feldbisceopwyr*. Two (unnamed) varieties of "bishopwort" (*twegra cymna bisceopwyr*) are also required for a remedy in BL MS Cotton Faustina A x fol. 115v (ed. C vol. III, p. 292).
41 brunwyrt: On the difficulty of identifying this name with any one plant see Cameron [1993: 113-6] (also DOE brunewyrt). Cameron suggests that brun- might refer to "a brown colour or to a disease of the fauces and throat, in Old English bruneja (probably "diphtheria").

A plant name brownwort is attested in ME - see Hunt [1989].

43 wylisc ealu: "British/Welsh ale" was presumably a type first encountered by the Anglo-Saxons among the native British (i.e. Celtic) inhabitants or brewed by the Welsh, but, according to charter evidence, by the tenth century it was being brewed in the Winchester area (see Fell [1975: n. 23]). Wylisc ealu is used less frequently than ordinary ealu in OE remedies. It is thought to have been sweet and highly regarded. See also Hagen [1995: 216-7].

43 o: OE o for on is otherwise attested in OE (though not elsewhere in Lacn.), so, although simple scribal error cannot be ruled out, there is no evident necessity to emend on with GS.

42-3 sumor on tan ga ... sumor on tun gad: See BT (tun IV) and Förster [1929: 273 n. 4] (also n. to l. 1049 of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (ed. Tolkien & Gordon [1967: 104])) for OE, ME, and Olcel parallels to this expression of a season or time coming "to town/human habitation" to denote its arrival or start date. There are many parallels in the OE poem The Menologum (ASPR vol. 6).

45 ponne doeg 7 n iht scade: "Morning twilight", lit. "when day and night divide". For other instances of this expression in the OE medical texts see BT sceadan II (1)
ENTRY XV

48 *organa*: This word is classified as the nom. sg. of a weak fem. noun (beside *organe*) by Bierb2, but cf. *OEHerb* (p. 373) which tentatively gives masc. *organa*.

49 *quinquefolium*: This is the Lat. name for *Potentilla reptans* L., creeping cinquefoil. Elsewhere in *Lacn.* the OE loan-formation *fiflœafe* is used. *BLch* (see Bierb1) has two instances of OE *quinquefolia* (-e).

49 *ualernane*: This is the only instance of this OE word, since *PD's* (see Bierb2 p. 122) *ualernanum* shows no sign of having been adapted from Lat. into English noun morphology. Most OE plant names are wk. fem., and *ualernane* might be too.

49 *clate*. Since l. 50 *hegeclue* "hedge cleavers" is a likely name for *Galium aparine* L., *clate* is here - and for the same reason in l. 125 - probably the greater burdock

49 *solsequium*: This Lat. word denotes either *Atropa bella-donna* L., deadly nightshade, *Solanum nigrum* L., black nightshade, or *Calendula officinalis* L., pot marigold. See Bierb2 under *solosece*, and also for the latter Hunt [1989: *Solsequium*]. An anglicized form *solosece* is found twice in *OEHerb*, but is not used in *Lacn.* or *BLch*

51 *hnutbeames leaf*: The evidence of glosses (see Bierb3 under *hnutu*) suggests that the *hnutbeam* is the walnut tree. There is archaeological evidence for walnuts in Anglo-Saxon England in tenth-century Anglo-Danish York, and it is possible that walnut wood was used in a ninth-century well at North Elmham - see Hagen [1995: 54].
ENTRY XVI

Medicinal Efficacy:

It is unclear what affliction this remedy is for (see below), but it may be noted that, according to Grieve (p. 88), the leaves of sweet gale (gagel) "are infused like tea, especially in China, as a stomachic and cordial".

ENTRY XVII

Medicinal Efficacy.

Grieve (p 696) comments that fresh leaves of rue (rude) applied to the forehead are said to relieve headache (and see NH 20.135, 138); pennyroyal (dweorgedwosle) may have been of some use for a headache (see Grieve p. 626); the pleasant smell of sweet woodruff (wuduroue - if that is the right identification) may have helped to relax the patient.
57 do ele to, gif du hægutan mæge: Cf. BLch (80/24-5): ele gif þu hæbbe, gif þu hæbbe do flytan to... . Evidently oil was not always available - see further on oil in Anglo-Saxon England Hagen [1995: 180-1], who declares it to be "a typical import".

ENTRY XVIII

OE Variant Version:

Eft [i.e. Wip springe], wyrc sealfe; nim handfulle springwyrtæ 7 handfulle wegbreædan 7 handfulle magþæan 7 handfulle niðeweardæ doccan þære þe swimman wille on butran; ahlystræ þæt sealæ of 7 þæt fan; do hwon huniges to Eñglescæs; do ofer fyrdæ; awylæ þonne hit wealle sing III "Pater noster" ofer; do eft of: sing þonne VIII stæum "Pater noster" on þa ðriwa awylæ 7 swa gelome of ado, 7 lacna mid stæpan. [LchBk3 (358/7-14)]

Medicinal Efficacy:

If Bierb2's identification of eadocce as a water lily is correct, then it may be an appropriate ingredient for this remedy: Grieve says of the American white pond lily (for which the European yellow pond lily can apparently be used as a substitute) that a "poultice of leaves and roots relieves boils, tumours, ulcers, and inflamed skin".

Alternatively, Culpeper recommends the water dock (Rumex hydrolapathum Hudson) for some skin afflictions.

Greater plantain (wegbraede) has anti-inflammatory and antimicrobial properties (Wren). Presumably the roots of christmas rose (hamorwyrt) were not used - they are according to Greve (p. 389) "violently irriant". Perhaps the leaves do not have this effect - otherwise a good remedy would appear to be spoiled. Possibly LchBk3's springwyrt (7)horsemint) would be useful for this affliction - Culpeper (p. 236) says that the "juice laid on warm, helps the king's evil, or kernels in the throat".

58 fleogendum attræ: Cf. Lacn. II. 580-91 (in the Nine Herbs Charm) and Lacn.

Entry CXXVI.
59 eadoccan moran, sece da ðe wille: C (p. 7) wrongly translates sece da ðe wille as pl., "seek those which will float".

60 clenes huniges: Presumably, as Stuart [1974: 320-2] suggests, this is honey with the impurities removed after straining.


61 singe man ane massan ofer dam wyrturn: Other OE instances of the singing of masses over medicinal plants include Lacn. ll. 111-2, 509, 709, 817, Blch (138 2-3, 10, 20-21, 29; 140/14-15; 142/10, 156/27 (the latter remedy is also in Lacn)), and BL MS Cotton Galba A vit fol. 118r (ed. Muir [1988: 150 (no. 70)]). It is conceivable that this practice superseded the recitation of pagan incantations (cf. essentially the Nine Herbs Charm - Entry LXXVI) over plants.

ENTRY XIX

63 done bledende fic: GS (p. 102 n. 8) remark "Haemorrhoid is the right rendering of A.S fic". This is very likely the meaning for fic here (also for l. 604 se bledenda fic). Cf. John Arderne's fourteenth-century Treatises of Fistula in Ano (ed. Power [1910 41]).

A man had upon his buttok a blody fyk puttyng out blode and somtyme quitour, and it was like to a Mulbery.

And (p. 56):

som bene of blode, pof it be bot seldom, which ar called fics.

See also OED "fig" (sb1, 3).

However, OE fic did not always mean this: note the equation of fic with seondum omum "oozing erysipelas" in Blch (102/11-12) (see also on this Cameron [1993: 96]):
note also BLch (38/5-7) Wip þeoralde on eagum þe mon "gefigo" hæt, on læden hatte "cimosis".

It is unclear what is meant by þone flowendan fíc in an OE remedy edited by Napier [1890: 325-6(d)], but it too might conceivably refer to bleeding haemorrhoids.

63 ceorof : I tentatively take the second -o-, which is inserted above the line in MS, to be a parasite vowel between r + cons. Alternatively, perhaps - as GS emend - ceorf of "cut off" was the intended reading.

63 penegas : Presumably this means either "penny-weights" (so Magoun [1954: 567], and cf. BT pening (3) citing this instance), or (less likely) penny-shaped pieces. Either way GS's translation "slices" is inadequate.

ENTRY XX

Cf. the ninth-century St. Gall Antidotary (ed. Sigerist [1923: 96]):

Oleo roseo

uirtutem habet stipticam, reprimit et refricdat et potatus solvet stomachum et causos stringet. Est autem ulcerum nutrator et cectica vulnera tegat et capitis dolorem tollit, et ad dentum dolorem in os missus facit et ad palpebras duras, ut mollis fiat, intestinarum dolores et matricis sanat in inchoatione. Conficitur autem sic: rosa rubea exungulata et in umbra exsaccata die et nocte miths - III, oleo umfacium italicum ese. II, mittis in ampulla utrea et ligas diligenter hnteo et desuper pellem cooperis propter pluuam aut solem et ponis ad solem diebus XL et postea tollis et ponis sub tectum in locum temperatum.

68-9 ad dolorem capitis quod Grece æncausius vocant : GS (p. 105 n. 2) observe that "Enkaustos is Greek for "heat-stroke"".
69 hoc est emigrane[us]m capitis : GS (p. 105 n. 3) remark: 
"Hemicraneum = migraine = half-head (ache) is the well-known type affecting one side only and is unrelated to heat-stroke".

ENTRY XXI

Possible Lat. Sources:

As GS (p. 105 n. 4) observe, a source for this remedy may be Bk 3 §20 of MedPlin:

**CARDIACIS**

.... *ruta* ex *aceto et melle cum farina hordeacea pectori imponitur. ruteae fasciculus cum rosaceo ex aceto decoquitur adlecta aloes uncia una: id oleum perunctione[m] sudorem sisst ... unum merum in spongia mammae sinistrae imponitur .... sucus mororum quae in rubo nascuntur potu datur* [MedPlin (pp. 81-2, from nos. 1-4)]

However, the passage could equally be derived from the Physica Plinii:

**AD CARDIACOS**

*Ruta ex aceto et melle cum farina ordeacia mixta et pectori imposita emendat ... Itemque rute fasciculus in rosaco decoquitur et adecta aloes uncia una in olei perunctione sudorem sisit. ... Sucus quoque mororum rubi potu datur.* [PhysPlinFP3 (chap. xi; pp. 29-30)]

GS also note that the MedPlin remedy is itself derived from NH 20.139 (which in turn claims to have derived it from Diocles, an Athenian physician of the fourth-century B.C.):

*Diocles et cardiacis inponit ex aceto et melle cum farina hordeacia*

However, none of these Lat. texts has any parallel to Lacn.'s utyrnende drænceas.

70 Cardiacus hatte seo adl de man swide sweeted on : This is presumably descriptive of a heart attack rather than angina or heart-burn. In OEHerb (128 9) the heading Ad cardiacos is rendered Wið heortece.
70 seo adl de man swide swæted : GS end this clause with on. Consequently they are forced to supply a preposition (on) to govern the following acc. pronoun hy. However, the text can probably stand unemended since de may function as a relative in the dat. (cf. Mitchell [1994: §162(1)]). The single MS on can then head a new clause: on hy man sceal wyrcean... ("for/in respect of (or "against"?) it one must make...").

72 gesyf : This word can be interpreted either as imp. sg. (so C p. 9) (in which a case a following semi-colon is required in the text) or as a WS syncopated form of the uninflected pa ptc. (so GS and my edition).

73-4 [d]rince seoca of bræmelberian gewrungene oft : This is a problematic passage. C (p 8 n 2) would emend drince se seoca drenc of bræmelberian gewrungene [or -enel] oft. Indeed, the fact that here any substantival use of wk. nom. sg masc adj seoc ("sick (person)") is not preceded by the dem. article is suspicious, though perhaps not impermissible (see OES §134). It is likely that the article se is missing as a result of haplographic scribal error.

C's addition of drenc is conceivable (haplography after [d]rince), but may not be essential if "drink" or "juice" was understood - as "fruit" is in the OE translation of the Heptateuch (ed. Crawford [1922: 86, 87]): Of alcum treowe ðises orcerdes ðu most etan ... Sodlice of dam treowe ingehyrdes godes 7 yfeles ne et ðu. Nevertheless, bearing in mind ll 70-1 utyrnende dræncas, perhaps we might adapt C's proposal and emend [d]rince [se] seoca [dræncas] of bræmelberian gewrungene oft "let the sick man often drink strained drinks (or "drinks pressed") from blackberries".

However, the reading [d]rince [se] seoca of bræmelberian gewrungene oft might be interpretable in two other ways. GS (p. 104 n. 7) take of as "a separable verbal particle", apparently (though this is not made clear) with gewrungene, and translate

---

1 For -ene for -ane of Lacn. i. 996 wyllene (for wyllene).
2 But it is hard to see how blackberry juice can have had any special purgative effect - particularly given the fact that the leaves and root are recommended to stop diarrhoea (cf. Grieve pp. 109, 110).
(rather puzzlingly - "take a long pull at") "let the sick man often take a long pull at
the juice of pressed bramble-berries"; cf. wring ... of in BLch (240/8-10) nim pa
mician sinfullan; wring fat seow of, feower lytle bollan fulle, on wines anum bollan
fullum; however, in Lacn. the particle of may seem awkwardly placed. The other
possibility might be to propose that of is here a verbal particle with drincan, and that
we have an otherwise unattested OE phrasal verb drincan of ("to drink off", "drain"),
whence the sense "let the sick man frequently drain pressed blackberries" (i.e. we
must understand "(juice of) frequently pressed blackberries"), but this might seem
forced, and does rather imply some (unmentioned) receptacle; furthermore, OED
("drink" (verb1 2a)) does not attest this idiom before 1592.

This is the only instance of the consumption of fruit juice in OE medicine (Hagen [1995 204])

74 gewrungene : It is not clear whether this refers to the straining of the
blackberry juice (presumably to remove any seeds), or to the pressing of the berries to
obtain the juice - OE wringan can describe either process (cf. Lacn. l. 38 wring purh
linenne cled against l. 830 wringe pollegan in ceald water, see also BT wringan).
See also previous n

74 oft : It is not clear whether this refers to the pressing of the blackberries or to
the patient's drinking of the juice, but the latter is probably the likelier possibility.

ENTRY XXII

Lat and OE Variant Version:

The words to be spoken in this charm (i.e. ll. 76, 78-9) are also found in partly
corrupt form in an unpublished and previously unregarded charm, which is likewise
for toothache, in BL MS Royal 12 E xx, fol. 162v (ll. 7-10). This MS, according to the

1G and S invent the OE title Wid toolec "For toothache" for this entry.
British Museum's catalogue (Warner & Gilson [1921]), was written in England and is of twelfth-century date:

\[ \text{Ad dentu(m) dolore(m). In no(min)e d(omi)ni n(o)o(s(tr)i ih(es)u (cristi) } \]

\[ \text{patris 7 fili(7) sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i. cheilei(7) cecce(8) becce}. \]

\[ \text{upseruicce} \cdot \text{slamone} \cdot \text{wuerm}^a \]

\[ \text{naco} \cdot \text{dicapron.s;}^b \cdot \text{noli} \cdot 7 \text{ col(i) panne hyt}^{11} \text{ an} \]

\[ \text{yerpe hates byrnet.fi} \]

\[ n(ostr)i \text{ famulu(m) d(e)j. N. Pat(er) n(o)ste)r. ix} . \]

The correspondences between the two versions are more readily apparent with the texts placed one above the other (Lacn. on top):

\[ \text{Cato lao quaque uoaque ofer sa'loclia sleah manna wyrm} \]

\[ \text{cheilei}. \text{ cecce}. \text{ becce}. \text{ upseruicce}. \text{ slamone}. \text{ wuerm} \]

\[ \text{Lilumenne acec bcc ofer eall ponne alid} \]

\[ \text{naco}. \text{ dicapron.s}; \cdot \text{noli} \cdot 7 \]

\[ \text{coliad ponne hut on eordan hatost byrned, fin[i]t. Amen.} \]

\[ \text{col}. \text{ panne hyt an yerpe hates byrnet. finu} \]

Notes on the relationship between the two texts:

i) the variant version's becce may approach the sound of Lacn.'s uoaque if the b-denotes a spirant.

ii) the variant version's upseruicce comes closer to Lacn.'s ofer saeloficia if we suppose that up "up" is roughly synonymous with Lacn.'s ofer "over, on high". The -u- of the variant version's -seruicce and the -f of Lacn.'s saeloficia are easily

---

*a The second c is added above the line on a caret mark.
*b The w printed here is a wynn in MS. The wynn is clearly distinguished from b.
*The x (and only this) x is of the angular type with the first stroke descending below the line and the second resting upon the line. It is incorrectly joined to the m.
*The y printed here is a wynn in MS.
*Thus y (dotted like the y in yer/me, but not the one in byrnet) is not so straight-lined as the others.
explicable variant spellings; in the variant version's -uicce we doubtless see incantatory rhyming with preceding cecce. bece.

iii) the variant version's slamone (corresponding to Lacn.'s sleah manna) can be acceptable early ME sla mone (gen. pl. mone is attested in MED).

iv) the variant version's wuerm (with initial wynn) clearly equates with Lacn.'s wyrn; the -e- may be Kentish (Campbell §288; Jordan [1974: §39]); the spelling wynn + u for usual wynn might be a corruption, but this spelling is found occasionally in late North. (Hogg §2.77 n. 3) and also occurs once in an OE inscription found in Worcestershire (s. x or xi, ed. Okasha [1971: no. 100]).

v) the variant version's meaningless naco presumably comes from a sequence of letters corresponding to Lacn.'s ne ace- in ne aced.

vi) the variant version's dicapron.s; is harder to get at, but is perhaps explicable: d- might come from the d- in a putative d spelling of pec (i.e. *δεκ) or from the final -d in aced. -e- might derive from -εκ in pec (or, less likely, from the -et in pet if it is the correct Lacn. reading - the -t being misread as c); -apron might perhaps be derived (with difficulty since one must pass over Lacn.'s intervening eall which finds no correspondence) from the sequence of letters of r pon (with either -f- or - less probably - b- becoming p). However, the Lacn. text does not account for the variant version's s.

vii) behind the variant version's noli (which is ostensibly the Lat. imp. "do not") probably lies either the OE letter sequence -n ali- (assuming that an overline bar of abbreviation in pon(ne) was overlooked) or -ne ali- (assuming ponne was spelled in full) in ponne alid.

viii) the variant version's Tironian sign 7 after noli is not accounted for by Lacn., though that is where the OE clause boundary seems to fall. Whether it is an addition to the variant version (understood as Lat. et?) or an omission from Lacn. (= OE ond and?) cannot be determined.

iv) the variant version's meaningless coli (which is to be equated with Lacn.'s OE cohad) appears to have been changed to make it rhyme with noli and to masquerade
as a Lat. imp. (which it is not). The -i- in Lacn.'s colitōd (which is written above the line) might (but need not necessarily) be supported by the -i in the variant version's col.

x) there is a close correspondence between the variant version's panne hyt an yerpe hates byrnet and Lacn.'s bonne hit on eordan hatost byrned. The variant version's hates is presumably a clipped (or corrupt) form of hatest, while byrnet need not be a corruption (of byrneth or byrned) since instances of OE 3 sg. pres. indic. verb forms with inflexional -t are attested (Campbell §735(b); and see particularly Sisani & Sisam [1959: §§71-2]).

xi) the variant version's ye- spelling of yerpe (= Lacn.'s eordan) is an unusual form for OE, but the y might be a Kentish spelling for e (or perhaps a LWS spelling of a form iordan (cf. Campbell §§294, 297)), and the second element of an eo diphthong is occasionally reduced to a sound written e in the Mercian dialect of the Vespasian Psalter (Campbell §281). However, the spelling is attested in ME, and is more easily accounted for with regard to early ME Kentish phonology (Jordan [1974: §85]).

xii) the variant version's fi presumably corresponds to the first two letters of Lacn.'s fin[ ] It is also very likely that the variant version's subsequent ni (with overline abbreviation bar) corresponds to the next two letters of finit.

xiii) the variant version displays a more obvious sound sequence of double e letters in cec e . bece . upserucce.

xiv) the use of punctuation points in the variant version's passage cheilei ... coli indicates that no consecutive sense was perceived - the "words" function merely as incantatory and mystificatory sounds.

xv) the lack of such punctuation in the variant version's passage panne ... byrnet may confirm that conventional syntactical and lexical sense was still perceived here.
According to Miles [1969: 1311] (see also [1962: 881]) a conspicuous feature of much Anglo-Saxon dentition is "the great amount of wear of the teeth". Given this it is not surprising that there was a market for toothache charms.

For a study of Anglo-Saxon dental caries see Moore & Corbett [1971].

C offers no explanation of the words Caio laio; neither do GS, who simply remark (p. 105 n. 5) that "there are no effective suggestions of the source and meaning of this gibberish". There are, however, two plausible explanations of Caio laio:

i. Payne [1904: 120] suggests that it is a corruption of Lat. Gaio Seio and remarks that these words were:

used in Latin charms for "a certain person" ... as we should say A or B. Gaius is the fictitious name often used in Roman law books, as John Roe and others used to be used in old English law. The feminine "Gaia seia" occurs in a charm in Marcellus Empiricus (cap. xxi. 3). Probably it had become a mere jingle.

It is nevertheless possible that in a putative earlier version of this charm the reciter might have known to substitute the name of the actual sufferer at this point (cf. the frequently attested abbreviation N. (for Lat. nomen) elsewhere in Lacn., where a name - usually that of the patient - has to be supplied).

Payne (p. 126) also quotes an example of the use of the forms Gaio seio in a talisman for ague found in MedPhln (15.7 (p. 78); see also Heim [1892: no. 56]):

RECEDE AB ILLO GAIO SEIO, TERTIANA, SOLOMON TE SEQVTUR.\(^2\)

Caio (as opposed to Gaio) can be interpreted as a standard spelling variant (Gaus = Caus), or as scribal confusion of the letter G for C. If a putative exemplar's *saio had a tall s this might have been misread as l, thus giving laio. The corrupt

---

\(^2\)Two further instances of its use in medieval Lat. charms are to be found in the St. Gall version of the *Physica Plini* (ed. Ömerfors [1985: 238 (no. 14), 239 (no. 17)]). See also Heim [1892: 493 and 558].
form laio with an a for an e might have resulted either from scribal dittography or from recourse to rhythmic incantatory echoing.

ii. Stuart [1974: 833] questions whether such a naming formula would be used here since directions for naming the patient and his father follow in the next line (1. 77 Nemne her þone man 7 his feð[er]). She takes Caio to be the Lat. verb meaning "I beat”, "I cudgel" (see LS caio) and laio to be a scribal dittography obscuring the intended reading laedo, this being Lat. for "I wound" (see LS laedo). The resulting sense "I beat, I wound" may, she points out, find parallel in the OIr words gono ("I wound"), orgo ("I hit"), marbu ("I kill"), cuillo ("I destroy") of Lacn. Entry XXVI (and see further notes thereto), and in the instruction at the end of this line, sleah manna wyrm ("strike the worm of men" - my translation).

Stuart (pp. 831-6) reconstructs the whole of this line (in my view mainly unintelligibly and untenably) as:

Caio, laedo. Quaeco caio aqua[m] (ofer seala) ic sleah manna wyrm.

"I strike, I wound; whereever I shake the water (over the sea-leavings) I strike the worm from men."

She envisages the exorcist striking the patient, and sprinkling water over him.

The words quaque uoaque may well as Payne suggests be "corrupt forms of Latin and Greek, which in the original were not without meaning". But perhaps only uoaque need be considered a serious corruption (invented or transformed to rhyme with quaque), for quaque is attested (but only once by LS) as a Lat. adverb meaning

\[\text{15} \text{Stuart's proposed reading } *ic\text{ sleaoh} \text{ is syntactically meaningless - it cannot, or at least ought not to, mean "I strike" (which should be } *ic\text{ slea), sleaoh is the imp. sg. of the verb.}

Her translation "from men" for manna is also untenable. Although she admits that such a construction is "seldom, if at all employed with nominal constructions in OE", Stuart sees manna as a "genitive of separation" after sleah, which (we are given to understand) has had "the construction appropriate to a verb of separation" bestowed upon it by analogy with a verb like "geamætigan "to free (something) from". However, I can find no support for this in OE; and, even if the use of the gen. here were comparable to that used with verbs such as geamætigan ("free oneself (acc.) of something (gen. F)") or besleæn ("deprive s.o. (acc.) of s.t. (gen. dat.)"), the resulting sense would be quite the opposite of the one supposed by Stuart, for it would be the thing that is to be struck and thereby killed/removed that would take the gen. case - hence the illogical "strike men from the worm"!

Note also S's (p. 297) mistaken translation of sleah manna wyrm "the man slow the worm" - manna can be nom. sg., but the pret. sg. of sleah is sleg sloh not sleah.
"wheresoever, whithersoever" (and so Stuart interprets it). Alternatively, perhaps Lat. *quoque* ("also") or *quoquo* ("to whatever place") are what was intended by *quaque*.

*ofer* must be OE, and, judging also from the variant version's corresponding OE *up* "up", means "over", "above".

*saelofícia* has not been satisfactorily explained¹⁴, and I have not found the parallel's *-serucece* any help. Since it is between two OE words it might be corrupt OE. Stuart regards her emendation *ofer sialofia* as "some sort of mistaken gloss, unless it refers to salt". In desperation might we turn to the attested OE adj. *oferselic* "on the other side of the sea" (or to *ofersælig* "excessively happy"), perhaps dismissing the -oft and last -i- in *saelofica* as scribal dittographies and giving the final -a to the following word *sleah*, whence *ofersælic asleah manna wyrm " (?) strike the (?)foreign worm of men"?

*Sleah manna wyrm* is OE, meaning "strike the worm of men!". This - the only part of this line to make any clear conventional lexical and syntactical sense - probably refers to the ancient and widespread belief that holes in teeth resulting from tooth decay (and so also the accompanying pain) were caused by the gnawing action of tooth-worms ³. The striking (slean) of a *wyrm* is perhaps paralleled in OE by Woden in the *Nine Herbs Charm* (Lacn. II. 565-7)¹⁵. Such expressions of striking in

¹⁴Magoun [1937 24] resorts to ingenious but unconvenional emendation in an attempt to explain *ofer saelofícia*

Das Unwort *saeloficia* müßte irgendwie emendiert werden und wahrscheinlich mit *ofer* zu verbinden; ist das Ganze durch Haplographie und mit Verwechslung vom insularum *and* aus *oferel sic* *orcia* entstanden? So emendiert könnte man den Satz mit "ausländische Lorika töte den Wurm der Menschen" übersetzen.

¹⁵For other OE references (in herbal remedies rather than incantations) to tooth-worms causing toothache see *B.Lech* (507-15).

G (p 219) observes interestingly:

In Madagascar the sufferer from toothache is said to be *marary oitra* ("poorly through the worm")

In Manx, toothache is *Beelshyn*, the plural of *Besht* ("a beast") ... and in Gaelic, *cnuumh* ("a worm") forms half the name of toothache, which is *cnuumh fhuacall*.

Similarly, according to Mackenzie [1895 58], in Orkney "the worm" was itself a name for toothache.

Derivatives of a very popular charm for toothache (which is attested in *Lacn.* as Entry CLVIII) were called "Wormes Lanes" CT OED *"worm"* 12 the worm; see also on the tooth-worm Townsend [1944], Davidson [1986], and esp Al Hamdani & Wenzel [1966] and Thompson [1904 vol. II: 160-3 "Legend of the Worm"] (this latter ancient Babylonian incantation includes the words "So must thou say thus: 'O Worm! May Ea smite thee with the might of his fist' ").

The following work (not seen) may also be noted: Hellmuth Kobusdh Der Zahnwurmglaube in der deutschen Volksmedizin der letzen zwei Jahrhunderte (Frankfurt thesis, 1955 (referred to in Hanmp [1961: 278]).

More generally on the early Germanic fixation with the motif and concept of the "worm" see Glosecki [1986]. In view of the association of worms with disease, death, and the grave, it is perhaps surprising to read that the motif of the *wyrm* on Anglo-Saxon cremation urns "owed its popularity in the first place to its ritual significance as a protective device. It was used on pottery to ensure the safety of the urn's contents" (Owen [1981 90] (quoting J N. L. Myers)).

I infer striking of snakes with rods is mentioned in a passage in *Byrhfæð's Manual* (ed. Crawford [1929: 140]): *? ware stafas sun on urum handum to sleamne ða wyrmes, 7 sce ða nedran, gif heg wyd wa wyldô".*
charms are very old - they are found, for instance, in the Sanskrit Atharva-Veda (trans. Bloomfield [1897: esp. pp. 22-5]), and in OIr charms, e.g. Lacn. II. 94-5 "I wound the beast, I hit the beast, I kill the beast", St. Gall Cod. 1395 (ed. Stokes & Strachan [1901, 1903: 248]) benim agalar "I strike its disease", and in the Stowe Missal, where we find benith galar "it (i.e. the sun's brightness) smites the disease" (ed. Stokes & Strachan [1901, 1903: 250]; also ed. Warner [1906 vol. II: 39, 42]).

76 Cavo lao. quaio uoaoe : These two pairs of rhyming echo words may well not have had conventional lexical meaning for the reciter of the incantation, but functioned simply as echoic sounds for incantatory effect.

Quaque uoaque has a Latinate look (see previous n.). Lat. words - and words corrupted from Lat. - are common in charms. They may have been favoured in exorcisms because Lat. was the language of the Vulgate Bible and of the Church (and so of learning in general), and thus conferred a spurious air of authority onto the reciter.

Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in Lacn. - Entries XXV, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.

77 feoder : The emendation is C's. The scribal error may have been caused by the omission of an overline bar of abbreviation; GS (p. 104 n. 8) hesitate before following C's emendation, suggesting sed "progeny" as "a less probable emendation", but Payne [1904: 119], who postulates a Lat. basis for the charm, had already provided support for the emendation feoder by observing that "in many of the Latin charms the essential thing was to name the sick man and his father, as in a tradition preserved by Pliny [NH 22.38] that the root of nettle was a cure for ague; but the names of the sick man and his parents must be pronounced when it was pulled up".

Winnan odda us deman.
78 lilumen ne: The word (or words?) lilumen is very problematic and has not been satisfactorily explained. Previously lilumen ne has always been read as one word lilumenne, but since ne is separate in MS it is probably better to view it as a negative qualifying aced - thus ne aced "it does not ache". A number of different explanations of lilumenne have been put forward:

i) G (p. 219) thinks it is probably "the name of some spirit here appealed to, perhaps simply a mystic word".

ii) Skemp [1911b: 295] similarly thinks that Lilumenne is invoked to stop the toothache.

iii) Magoun [1937a: 241 remarks: "Ganz oberflächlich betrachtet sieht Lilumenne skandinavisch aus (vgl. lilla, definitiv zu listen) und kann vielleicht schlechtthin "(die) kleine(n) Männer" bedeuten, also euphemistisch für die Zahnschmerzgeister oder -wurmer sein".

iv) Stuart [1974. 831] replaces hilumenne by ἔλομενη, the Greek perfect middle participle of ἔλω ("I loose"), and translates "She has been freed". According to Stuart, the "feminine ending apparently refers to the worm (fem. by analogy with nādre) which has been "freed" from the patient by the incantation previously uttered".

None of these explanations seem to me at all plausible and it may well be important to note that the variant version of this charm provides no support for them since it lacks any parallel to hilumen.

In lieu of an unproblematic explanation of hilumen (a corruption of the name Solomon with tall s mistaken for l? a corruption of the OE male personal name Līl or Līla introduced by historical accident after l. 77 Nemne her bone man 7 his fæder?)?, I tentatively suggest that some or all of the letters -umen (possibly also the subsequent ne) may be a dittographic scribal error caused by repetition of the similar looking succession of letters mnemne (in ll. 76-7 wyrm nemne). The letters mnemne comprise five minim strokes plus e plus three minim strokes plus ne, and correspond closely to the five minim strokes plus e plus two minim strokes plus ne of -umen ne. If
this were the case then the original reading might have been *ll* plus, either nothing else before (*ne*) *aceo*, or a now indeterminable number of minim strokes. It is just conceivable that there is support for some such form as *ll* in the magic letter sequence *lllll* found in a fourteenth-century English charm (also for toothache) (ed. Hunt [1990: 87 (no. 22)]):


However, it might be argued that the case for *ll* being the OE personal name - introduced by historical accident into the *Laen* text - is supported by the complete absence of any parallel to *llumen* in the variant version.

78 *llumen ne aceo pec ponne aliō* : These words are hard to make sense of, and this difficulty, added to the scribe's error over *fæd(ér)* (MS *fæd*), his correction of *aliō* (see Textual Apparatus), and the addition of *-e-* above the line in *coliaO*, does not inspire great confidence in the text as received. The problem of *llumen* (or *llumenne* as previous editors have it) has already been addressed and until the interpretation of this form is settled any discussion of the meaning of this clause must be speculative.

A second difficulty with this clause is the OE word *pec*. The reading itself is not quite certain - it could perhaps be a casually written *pet*, but *pec* may also receive some external support from the letters *dic-* in the variant version's meaningless *dicaprons*. Of the previous editors only Stuart [1974] reads *pec* (and emends *pet*); all other editors read *pet*.

Sense can be made of *pec* if it is taken as the rarely attested spelling variant of *pec*, the acc. sg. (and in northern texts sometimes dat. sg.) of the second person pronoun *pu* "you" (CH admits *apec* as either acc. or dat. of *du*). If this is the case then *aceo pec* may be an impersonal construction meaning "it aches for you", i.e. "you
ache", or "it hurts you". The verb *acan* seems to be attested in impersonal constructions only with the dat. or ambiguous acc./dat. *þe*, but the possibility that it could (like some other verbs in impersonal constructions - *OES* §1027) govern the acc. - or that *þiec* might here be for dat. - cannot be ruled out.

There is a parallel to this construction in the OE metrical charm *For the Water-Elf Disease* (ASPR 6 no. 7, l. 13):

> ne ace þe þon ma, ...  

Lit. "may it not ache for you more than, ..."

If *þæt* is the correct reading sense is harder to find. *þæt* is unlikely to be a demonstrative or relative pronoun since it is not in normal grammatical gender agreement with any of the preceding possible noun subjects (i.e. *todice* (or *tod*), *sunne, wyrm, man, and fœder*); it is also difficult to take it as a conjunction ("that", "so that"). Unless we assume that there is some corruption here or that the standard rules of grammatical gender agreement do not apply, the only remaining explanation might be that *þæt* functions here (as is unambiguously the case with *hit* in the next clause) as an "empty" pronominal subject marker ("it") with reference to subjective sensation rather than, as is usually the case, natural phenomena\(^7\). Cf. e.g. the sentence.

> Gif on sæternesdæg gedunrad, þæt tacnæd demena and gerefena cwealm.  

"If it thunders on a Saturday, it/that portends the death of judges and sheriffs".

[Quoted from Traugott [1992: 4.4.2] (my underlining and translation)]

If this were the case then *æce þæt* might perhaps mean (as previous commentators such as Skemp [1911b: 295-6] think) "it aches", "there is an aching", this being a reference to the toothache. However, the placement of the putative *þæt* after the verb is also an awkward obstacle to this interpretation.

Another problem concerns *ofer eall*. If (as I think is the case) *ne æce þæc* ("it does not hurt you") is the acceptable MS reading then *ofer eall* may mean "anywhere"  

\(^7\)*OES* §1485 includes *þæt* as one of the neut. sg. pronominal forms that can be used in the nom. "as subjects of finite verbs".
(see CH ofereall for this meaning) - *ne aced pæc ofer eall* "it does not ache (?!?) for you anywhere". However, if *ne* were a mistaken scribal repetition (see above) of *eall* would presumably mean "everywhere", "all over" (?!?) or "above all", "immeasurably"18) - *aced pæc ofer eall* "it hurts you all over".

The last problem with this clause is the interpretation of the verb *alid* (3 sg. pres. ind. of *ahcgan*, a verb which can mean "lie down", "diminish", "subside", "cease", "fail"). C (so too GS) translates "it lieth low", while G (so too Skemp [1911b: 295]), and Stuart [1974: 832]) renders as "he lies down". S has a different interpretation - "it mitigates" - "it aches most of all when it mitigates, it cools when it burns hottest on earth". He (pp. 298-9) thinks that l. 78 is "obscure" and explains:

I take [it] to suggest that the pain is mitigating at the moment it hurts most, that it is cooling when it burns hottest. Under the influence of the charm the pain is realized most, but at the same time the suggestion of alleviation is beginning to work and the pain is already diminishing.

It is difficult to accept this interpretation. Since (in my view) there can be little doubt that the subsequent words *ponne hit on eordan hatost byrned* refer to the burning of the sun rather than to that of the pain (*on eordan* "on the ground" being the telling words here), the same - I tentatively suggest - may also be the case with the syntactically parallel *ponne alid*; that is *alid* may refer to the "diminishing" of the sun's strength after sunset (l. 75 *syðan sunne beo on setle*), or to its "lying down" at sunset. Perhaps this latter interpretation of *alid* is essentially what C and GS have in mind by "it lieth low".

The most recent, but unconvincing, attempt to explain the line is that of DOE (*ahcgan*). Starting at l. 77 *cwed ponne* it suggests firstly the translation:

"say then, hlumenne, it aches most of all when it subsides, it cools when it burns hottest on earth"

and secondly for the first clause (with different punctuation):

---

18 C and G translate "beyond everything", "beyond telling", Stuart has "above all". None of these translations find corroboration in BT.
19 Skemp [1911b: 295] has a strange idea: "The tooth, which aches most "*ponne alid," burns against the earth when the sufferer lies down".
"when lilumenne aches, say that very loudly, then it will subside".

The first of these might be tenable if þæt and lilumenne were the correct readings (which is very doubtful); the second is subject to the same doubts, makes no obvious sense, and must assume a very awkward syntax - either:

cwed "þonne lilumenne acced" - þæt ofer eall; þonne alid.

or perhaps:

cwed "þonne lilumenne acced" - þæt ofer eall - "þonne alid".

My very tentative interpretation of this line (see further notes on coliad and hit below), based on an emended text and taking the verbal forms in a future sense, is:

"Lil (i.e. a personal name or a magic word), it (i.e. the toothache) will not hurt you when it (i.e. the sun) ceases/sets; it (i.e. the toothache) will cool (i.e. ease) when it (i.e. the sun) burns hottest on earth (i.e. at noon)."

Or, if ne ought to be omitted, the result is two riddling and antithetically balanced clauses:

"Lil, it will hurt you everywhere (or immeasurably) when it ceases; it will cool when it burns hottest on the earth."

Or, less likely, but recalling the words ne ace þe in the charm For the Water-Elf Disease, perhaps one might propose the emendation:

Lilumen, ne ace þæc þonne alid; coliad þonne hit on eordan hatost byrneð.

"Lilumen, may it not hurt you when it diminishes; it cools (or "will cool") when it burns hottest on earth."

78 coliad þonne hit on eordan hatost byrneð : The healing power of the sun referred to here may be compared with that evidenced in Lacn. 1. 8 gelicge upweard wæd hatre sunnan, also in an OIr charm against a thorn in the Stowe Missal (lí grene frisben att benith galar "the sun's brightness heals the swelling, it smites the disease" (ed. Warner [1906 vol. II: 39, 42])); cf. also possibly an outlawed Anglo-Saxon remedy in which a mother places her feverish daughter in an oven or on the roof of
the house (perhaps - by analogy with the heat of the oven - to be nearer the source of
the sun's fierce heat):20:

Wif gif heo set hire dohtor ofer hus odOe on ofen forþam de heo wylle hig
feferadle gehælæn: fæste heo VII winter.

[G (p. 142 no. 21); see also McNeill & Gamer [1938: 198, 318], and McNeill
[1933: 453]]

Another parallel - this time involving worms - appears to be found in part of a
"Charm against worms in cattle" in the Sanskrit Atharva-Veda (trans. Bloomfield
[1897: 23]):

"The rising sun shall slay the worms, the setting sun with his rays shall slay
the worms that are within the cattle!"

78 coliad : This verb form might be either pres. ind. pl. ("(they) cool"), or imp.
pl. ("cool!"), or - as I favour - an Anglian 3 sg. pres. ind. ("it cools"). That the -i- is
added above the line can only increase one's uncertainty as to how to interpret the
word (but the -i- may be supported by the variant version's coli). I tentatively interpret
it as sg., since the subject might be the same as that of the (syntactically parallel?)
verb æced, but it would make little difference to the sense to take it as pl. with the
subject being the teeth (which ache) rather than the ache itself.21

I (so also Skemp and Stuart) take coliad to denote a lessening of pain rather than
of literal temperature (cf. OFD "cool" verb 3b; MED colen 2(b) "to mitigate or relieve
(suffering)""). This use of colian in proximity to byrnan seems to be a riddling
semantic play resolving what would otherwise be a contradictory statement (cf.
possibly the pairing of æced and alid above).

Another (but in my view less plausible) possibility is that colian here may convey
a sense of fatality, namely that when the sun is at its hottest the wyrm's body "grows
cold" in death (for examples of this use of colian see notes to l. 653).

20 For possible interpretations of these Anglo-Saxon remedies see Meaney [1992b: 106].
21 Skemp [1911b: 295] would reject coliad as "a rare and exclusively northern form in the singular" and
because "a wish rather than a statement is here needed". He would emend colie de donne "let it cool".
78 hit on eordan hatost byrneð : This must refer to the effect of the sun's rays on the earth at noon or thereabouts: I cannot agree with Stuart's unnecessarily complicated, highly speculative, and grammatically problematic explanation that hit refers to the wyrm which "being removed from the patient, should be deposited on the ground, where it will wither away".

Magoun [1937a: 24] (though he offers no alternative explanation) believes hit can hardly refer to sunne "denn das Abnehmen des Schmerzens soll erst nach dem Sonnenuntergang entstehen und nicht zur Zeit, wo es auf der Erde am heißesten brennt". But I would argue that the reciter of the incantation is at present merely aiming to give the sufferer a mental prop to help him endure the night when the pain is at its worst (hence perhaps the instruction sing dis ... swide oft) - he is to understand that the pain will ease during the day when the sun is burning hottest (was the patient suffering from teeth sensitive to cold rather than heat?).

Hit functions here - as usual with expressions referring to natural phenomena - as an "empty" third person sg. subject marker (see Traugott [1992: 4.4.2]; OES §1485).

79 fin[t]t. Amen : Stuart [1974: 836] objects to this emendation of MS fintamen on the grounds that fint then makes no contextual sense. She emends Fiat. Amen (cf. Lacn. l. 659 Amen. Fioð). However, fin[t]t. Amen is undoubtedly the correct reading - it merely assumes that the scribe has omitted one minim stroke, and it is the likely source of the sequence of letters fini in the variant version; moreover, it makes good contextual sense to declare "it is finished" at the end of the charm and at the accomplishment of the cure.²²

ENTRY XXIII

80 done dropan : This affliction is difficult to identify in context. It literally means "the drop". Elsewhere in OE dropa translates Lat. flegmata (OEHerb (102/16, 19, 164/4)), which de Vriend renders as "gout", and colera (Liber Scintillarum (ed. ²²Cf e.g. the concluding Fint. Amen to the Irish MS text of LL. (ed. Stokes [1860: 143] or see textual apparatus (p 88) in Herren).
Rhodes [1889: 56/4, 170/2]), where it appears to denote in one instance a disorder in
the bodily humours due to overeating. Here the word conceivably denotes an affliction
resulting from the unwanted accumulation (accompanied by swelling) of a "humour"
in the body (cf. the following remedies Wid geswel and against da blacan blegene).
However, C understands it to mean "the wrist drop" (presumably a paralysis) and BT
queries "paralysis" (Pollington [1993: 129] also has "palsy"). See further GS (p. 105
n. 6), BTS dropa, OED "drop" (sb. 11), Bonser [1963: 407-8], and particularly Ayoub
[1995: 342-3].

80 iue : The tentative identification of this plant as ground-pine follows Bierb2
and Bierb3, but note also a later medieval instance in Hunt [1989: 194] in which iue,
oper herbe yve oper hertishorne is equated with Lat. ostriagum - possibly this is
Plantago coronopus L., the buck's-horn plantain; see also OED "herb Iye".

80 : GS (p. 105 n 6) remark that "the names of the remedies are alliterative".
This is a puzzling statement, and it is not clear what they mean by "the remedies".
Any sound correspondences within this and nearby entries ((?l. 70 seo ... swiðe
swaeted, (?l. 75 Sing ... syðdan sunne ... setle ... swiðe, (?l. 80-1 wyrc ... wyrt ... sfc learfa ... smale, (?l. 83-4 scearfa swiðe smale ... swiðe) are surely coincidental23.
However, it is noteworthy that the first elements of the plant names naedderwyrt 7
hlædderwyrt rhyme: the use of rhyme in lists of plant names - presumably as a
mnemonic aid - is also found in ll. 242-3 lihge ... alehsandre, petreslige,
grundeswylge.

80 hlædderwyrt : Bierb2 does not identify this plant, but highlights C's suggestion
of Jacob's ladder (Polemonium caeruleum L.), and common Solomon's seal
(Polygonatum multiflorum (L.) All.). According to Grigson [1958] the name "Jacobs
ladder" has also been applied locally in Britain to greater celandine (Chelidonium

---
23 Alliteration is undoubtedly present in the lists of plant names in ll. 124-8 and 236-43.
majus L.), orpine (Sedum telephium L.), and deadly nightshade (Atropa belladonna L.); Grigson also records other modern English local plant names containing the element "ladder", namely "ladder love" (for cornflower Centaurea cyanus L.), and "ladder to heaven" (for Jacob's ladder, and lily of the valley Convallaria majalis L.).

81-2 *nytta hy þonne de ðearf sy; wylle hy on ealað*: An alternative treatment of these words is that of C (p. 9), who translates "... and use them; when thou hast need of them boil them in ale."

82 *ealað*: OE *ealu ealu* "ale, beer" was a malt-based alcoholic drink distinct from *beor*. See Fell [1975] and Hagen [1995: 207-9].

**ENTRY XXIV**

Medicinal Efficacy:

Cameron [1988b: 195-6] and [1993: 122-3] (in response to a magical interpretation by S (p. 29)) shows the likely therapeutic value of this remedy. Thus, according to Grieve (p. 483), the "fresh bulb [of the lily], bruised and applied to hard tumours, softens and ripens them sooner than any other applications" and (p. 277) the "leaves [of dwarf elder], bruised and laid on boils and scalds, have a healing effect". If *porleac* is a relative of garlic it may also have been useful since (p. 344) it "is sometimes externally applied to disperse hard swellings". Cameron concludes, "[t]here can be little doubt, therefore, that the three ingredients of this remedy were used for their known therapeutic value, not because of their magic shapes".

---

S remarks, "The three ingredients of which the paste consists show some thickening or swelling, and just as these swellings disappear by cutting them up and pounding them, so the swelling of the patient will disappear".
ENTRY XXV

Variant Versions:

*Lacn.* Entry LXXXIII appears to be a variant version of this text, with a possibly abbreviated (if not fragmentary) incantation, and additional prose directions:

*Pís gebed man scealsingan on ða blacan blegene IX síðum:*

"*Tigad*"...

7 *wyrc ðonne godne clídan: genim ænes æges gewyrde greates sealtes 7 bærn on anan claðe þæt hit si þurhburnen; gegníd hit ðonne to duste 7 nim ðonne þreora ægræ geolcan 7 gemængc to þam duste, þæt hit sy swa stið þæt hit wille wel clyfian; 7 geopenige mon ðonne þone dott 7 binde þone clídan to þan swyłe [swa] de þearf sy.

*Wyrc him ðonne sealfe, þæt hit halige: genim æðelferðingswyrt 7 elehtiran 7 reade fillan 7 merce; gecnuca ealle tosomne 7 wyll on ferscre buteran.*

Another version of the incantation (also to be sung nine times) is found in *BLch* (112/28-33) where it is put to similar use against, in addition to flying poison, "every poisonous swelling" (cf. *ða blacan blegene* in *Lacn.*): *Wiþ fleogendum aþre 7 ælcum æternum swile, furthermore it deah to ælcum 7 huru to deopum dolgum.*

The incantation is extant in variant forms in six redactions, making it - surprisingly since it is at least partly in Irish - the most frequently encountered charm in surviving Anglo-Saxon records, but it is not (so far as I know) recorded in Ireland (or Irish MSS) itself. Three of these occurrences are in *Lacn.* (Entries XXV, LXIII, and LXXXIII). Its survival in such a large number of texts (and its possible abbreviation in *Lacn.* to the single word *Tigad*) may be testimony to a popularity resulting from perceived effectiveness; indeed it was known to the Anglo-Saxons as a *Scyttisc gecost gealdor "choice Irish incantation"* (*BLch* (10/23)). The six texts, which have not all been gathered together before, read as follows:\(^\text{3}^\text{3}\):

\(^{\text{3}}\) G and S invent the OE title *Wið ða blacan blegene* "For black blains" for this entry.

\(^{\text{3}}\) See Meroney (1945-6 175 (no. II)) for an earlier parallel edition of four of these incantations (excluding nos. 4 and 6, of which he was unaware). S was aware of all six versions, and edits five of them, but does not gather them all together; furthermore, his transcriptions are sometimes inaccurate.
1. BLch (112/24-114/1):

   Wip fleogendum atre 7 ælcum æternum swile: on Frigedæge apwer buteran
   þe sie gemolcen of anes bleos nytnæ oððe hinde, 7 ne sie wip wætre
   gemenged; asing ofer nigon síþum letania, 7 nigon síþum "Pater noster" 7
   nigon síþum þis gealdor:

   "Acre. cercre. cer nem. nadre. àercuna hel. ær nem. ni þærn. ær. axan.
   bui þune. adcrice. ær nem. meodre. ær nem. æpern. ær nem. alli. honor
   . ucus. idar. ad cert. cunolari. raticamo. helæ. icas cristi" ta. hæle. to
   bært. tera. fueli. cui. robater. plana. uili."

   þæt deah to ælcum 7 huru to deopum dolgum.

2. Lacn. Entry LXIII (ll. 254-7):

   ... þis gealdor singe ofer:

   "Acre eacre ærnem nona ærnem beodor ærnem. niðren. arcum cunad æle
   harassan fídine."

   Sing ðís nýgon sísan...

3. Lacn. Entry XXV (ll. 86-91):

   Sing ðís gehed on da blacan blegene VIIIIsyðian; ærest "Pater noster":

   "Tigad tigad tigad calicet. acli cluel sedes adclcloes. acre eacre ærnem.
   nonabuð ær ærnem miðren arcum cunad arcum arctua ðigara usfen bincfi
   cuteni. nicuparam raf afð egal usfen aria. aria. arta trauncula. trauncula.
   Querite et inuenietis.

   Adhuro te per Patrem et Filium et Spíritum Sanctum, non amplius crescas sed
   arescas.

   Super aspidem et basilisscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem.

   Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Iohannes."
4. *Lacn.* Entry LXXXIII (omitting final OE prose directions):

_Pis gebed man sceal singan on ða blacan blegene IX sidum:*

"Tigad."

5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 163 fol. 227r (s. xi or xii; here edited from my own transcription since the text is otherwise available only in variously inaccurate editions by C (pp. 10-11 n. 1), L (p. 125 n. 7), Meroney [1945-6: 175] (misleadingly entitled "Lacnunga A"), S (p. 302, no. 71), and GS (p. 106 n. 5); abbreviations are expanded within round brackets):

_Tigad . Tigad . Tigad . calic& acloclue! sedes adc!ocles arcre . enxrcre ererne(m) Nonabaioth arcu(m) cunat arcu(m) arcua figara soh wijni necutes cuteri rafaf þegal ufien bincni . arta . arta . arta . inxuncula . inxuncula . inxuncula. Quente & inuenemtis . pulsate & aperetur uob(is).


_Adhuro te pestiferu(m) virus p(er) Patre(m) & Filu(m) & Sp(iritu)m S(an)c(tu)m, ut ampli (us) non noceas neq(ue) crescas sed arescas. AMEN._

6. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 379 599, fol. 49r (the MS is dated s. xii by James [1907: 430]); the charm is edited by S (p. 302, no. 72), but somewhat inaccurately; I edit it here from my own transcription with abbreviations expanded within round brackets; substantive differences to S are recorded in footnotes):

_Cont(ra) felon29: sup(er) infirmu(m) dicc mane et uesp(er)ie (ter)30 t(tr b(us) ucb(u)s):


---

29 Note that James fails to distinguish this charm from a following one in the same hand which begins *Aluud. Sup(er) infirmum dicco uicu(m) crete(n)one(m)* This latter charm is inaccurately edited by S (pp 294-5, no 62)
30 I.e "For an abscess"
31 MS has a cross-like sign, presumably here the abbreviation for Lat. ter "thrice"; S gives tres, and James tel
32 S reads *Thigat. Thigat. Thigat.* James reads *Tugat Tugat* (but the copy of this book in the library of Gonville and Caius College has been corrected by hand to read *Thigat Thigat* In MS the letters T and H are

Querite 7 i(n)uenietis. pulsante 7 ap(er)ient(ur)38.

+ crux Math(eus) + crux Marc(us) + crux Lucas + crux Ioh(anne)s.

Adiuro te pestifer(um) uir(us) p(er) P(at)rem 7 Fi(l)i(m) 7 Sp(iritu)mu

s(an)c(tu)m. ut ampli(us) ho(min)i huic no(n) nosceAs neq(ue) crescas s(ed)
arescas.

+ I(n) no(mi(n)e P(atris) 7 Fi(lii) 7 S(piritus) s(ancti). A(men). P(ate)r

n(oste)er."

The relationship between the incantations is more easily examined with the texts placed one above the other:

1.  
2.  
3. Tigad tigad t gad calicet. aclu clue! sedes ac/doelc.  
4. Tigad  
5. Tigad. Tigad. Tigad. calicet ac/doelc sedes ac/doelc  

1. Acre. a'rec. aer nem. na'rem. arcuna hel. aer nem. ni parem. are. 
2. Acre arcre arnem nana aer nem beodor aer nem. nidren. arcum cu'nod ele 
3. acre earcre arnem. nona绝望 aer aer nem nidren arcum cu'nod  
4.  
5. arcre. exrcr erernem Nonabaoth arcum cu'nat  
6. Arde. 7 hercleno(n). Abaioth. Arcocugm.A.

fused.

36 So also S, James reads duel, but the copy of this book in the library of Gonville and Caius College has been corrected by hand to read clue. 
37 So also James, S reads Sedes. 
38 I e my expansion of MS herceleno with an abbreviation bar above the -o. S reads herceleno. 
39 S reads sophiunt 
40 It is unclear how this abbreviation is to be expanded. 
41 I e my conjectural emendation of MS cu with an abbreviation bar above the -u. 
42 S apocrutur.
1. asan. bui ùine . adcrice . ar nem . meodre . ar nem . øpern . ar nem . allù.

2. harassanjldine.

3.

4.

5.

6.

1. honor. ucus . idar . ad cert. cunolari . ratacam. helæ . icas cristi ta . hæle.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

1. to bæt . tera . fuelt . cui . robater . plana . ulti.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

1.

2.

3. arcum arctua figara ußen binchii cuteri. nicuparam ras aśd egal ußen

4.

5. arcum arcua figara soh wiṇi necutes cuteri ru afegal ußen binchni.


Thefalnegal. Yflem.
1. 

2. 

3. *arta. arta. arta* *trauncula. trauncula.* 

4. 

5. *arta. arta. arta* *tnxuncula. tnxuncula. tnxuncula.* 

6. *Archa. cu(n) hunelaja.*

1. 

2. 

3. *Querite et inuenietis.* 

4. 

5. *Querite & inuenietis. pulsate & aperetur uobis.* 

6. *Querite et inuenietis. pulsante et aperentur.*

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 


1. 

2. 

3. *Adiuro te per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,* 

4. 

5. *Adiuro te pestiferum uirus per Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum,* 

6. *Adiuro te pestiferum uirus per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.*
1.

2.

3. *non amplius crescas sed arescas.*

4.

5. *ut amplius non noceas neque crescas sed arescas. AMEN.*

6. *ut amplius homini hunc non nosceas neque crescas sed arescas.*

1.

2.

3. *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem.*

4.

5.

6.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.


1.

2.


4.

5.

6.
It is apparent that, with the exception of 2 (which is probably against poison and/or wyrm) and 5 (which has no directions though S provides a plausible heading "Against Black Blains"), the incantations are all put to similar use in combatting swellings; furthermore, they all share some variation upon the passage Acre arecre arnem nona arem beodaer arem. nidren. arcun cunad, and (with the exception of 5 which lacks any such instruction) they are all to be said nine times. However, two main sub-divisions can also be readily discerned:

i) nos. 3, (4), 5, and 6 share a starting section (Tigaô ... adclocales) and a termination (figara ... Querite et inuenietis) not found in the other versions. These versions also share the Lat. words Crux Matheus ... crux Iohannes (the latter placed at the end in 3), and an adjuration to the swelling.

However, nos. 5 and 6 alone give the fuller Biblical quotation (on which see below) Querite et inuenietis, pulsate, et aperietur vobis, and alone share the words pestiferum virus in the adjuration; only 3 has the words Super aspidem ... draconem; only 6 has a concluding In nomine Patris...

ii) nos. 1 and 2 lack the words Tigaô ... adclocales, starting instead at Acre, and share some readings (er. asan. bu/pane. harassan fidine) not found in the others. Furthermore, there might be correspondences in the surrounding OE directions of nos. 1 and 2. However, 1 is distinguished from all the other versions by its substantial ending (adcrice ... wili).

Although many of the words in these texts remain unexplained, a substantial number are identified by Zimmer [1895] (who comments on the BLch text 1 only), and especially by Meroney [1945-6: 174-7], as being Irish. The following remarks on the Lacn. texts (I do not include remarks on words found only in BLch) are founded upon their work. I provide references to DIL.

---

It is possible that the accompanying directions for nos. 1 and 2 also betray a special association. In BLch the charm is to be sung, together with litanies (one litany repeated nine times) and Pater noster, over butter which has come of anes beowre wyth kunde and which one has been directed to chant (ofwer bureram), similarly in Lacn. one must churn butter (buteran adware) derived from the milk of a cow of one colour (anes heowfr[7]), and then recite the charm with litanies and Pater noster and some other prayers over the butter. See also Zimmer [1895: 146 n. 2] for a possible association between an aspect of BLch's prose directions (ne six wip were gemenged) and Irish tradition.
Tigaô ...

a) "The Lacnunga recipes are extremely difficult, and little is recognizably Irish in the section Tigaô ... adcocles". However, tigaô is probably (as he thinks (p. 177 n. 4)) a part of the verb téit "goes" - I suggest either 3 pl. imp. tiagat "(let them) go!", or (less persuasively perhaps in a charm that includes an adjuration) 3 pl. pres. ind. tiagat "they go". Meroney also suggests that nonabiôd (or perhaps -biúeer alongside beoôor) and beoôor may be connected with the verb benaid "strikes" (see similar forms in DIL benaid, e.g. beótar, robéotar), that figara "probably goes back to the Old Irish verbal root mleg- "milk", that ufien "may have something to do with OIr lën "affliction"; that bunci might be for hinchin (OIr inchinn "brain"), or perhaps is to be connected with Irish binech "spectre, phantom", and that arta is OIr arta, meaning "it's over, it's finished".

b) acre: OIr acre "suing, laying claim", "nom. actionis zu der verbalform atgairth" (Zimmer [1895: 145-6])], see DIL acra(e).

c) earcre arcre: OIr ar "against", + crô "gore" (Zimmer [1895: 146]); see DIL cru (also cro), which, in addition to the meaning "gore, blood", records the meaning "(serious) wound". This latter sense might be entertained for the BLch instance since it is partly directed against "deep wounds" (deopum dolgium).

Comparison can be made with the forms arcro and cr to in two versions of another Irish charm (with OE directions for blood-staunching) extant in two Anglo-Saxon MSS (BLch (54 13-17) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional F. 3. 6., fol. 2v), for which see Meroney [1945-6: 178-9] who thinks these forms also mean "against gore" (ar being the OIr prep. "against", and cro being perhaps the acc. pl. of cru (DIL cru queries nom. pl. cru)). Reference may also be made - asDickins

---

It may, however, be noted that Stokes [1910: 75] (not commented upon by Meroney [1945-6: 174-7]) thanks BLch's turo fueli is for teora sullie. There are also a few remarks on the BLch text in Schmitt [1908: 28].

The text has instead arcro ar cro cru "against gore/wound" (cf. text 6 Arde ?), and it could be argued that this is the correct reading. But the evidence of nos. 1, 2 and 3 acre might tell against this. It is easy to see how acre and arcro might become confused.

Possibly if arcro was mistakenly believed to be one word, its initial ea- (instead of a-) could be explained as an Anglo-Saxon scribes' reformation to the OE sound-change whereby a (fronded to as by isolative change) was "broken" to e before r + cons.

Zimmer (1895: 142) observes: 'Dr ist in den althrischen zaubersprüchen die gebändliche prposition um "gegen" auszudrücken" (various instances are cited).

Less likely, according to Meroney [1945-6: 176], is identification with OIr arcro "Zerfall".
[1935] notes in part - to the form *erkriu* at the start of runic inscriptions on the Anglo-Saxon golden Bramham Moor (North Yorkshire) and Greymoor Hill (Cumbria) rings, and of runic *ery.ri.u* on an agate ring of unknown provenance (for reproductions, transcriptions and discussions of these inscriptions see Wilson [1959], Page [1970: 40-1], [1973: 114 (also plates 7 and 8)], Meaney [1981: 23-4] and Flowers [1986: 262-3]; Page [1987: 303-4] observes that the sequence *ery.ri.u* on the agate ring is the result of the rune-cutter's unfamiliarity with the rune for k - it too should read *erkriu*.

d) *Lacn.*'s *arnem* (also *arnem*): OIr *ar* "against" + *ne(i)m* "poison". Zimmer [1895: 142] equates this with the direction *wep* (*fleogendum* *atre*) in the BLch instructions. He also compares the *Lorica of St. Patrick* (ed. Greene & O'Conn [1967: 29]), *Crist dom imdegal in-du ar neim*, "Christ be my guard today against poisoning".

From these observations we reach (following Zimmer in part) the following word-division and sense:

*Acre ear* [i.e. *ar*] cre, ar nem

"An objection against gore (or wound), against poison."

Meroney [1945-6: 176] makes some additional suggestions:

e) *niOreninidren* : Meroney thinks BLch's *nadre* "too much resembles the OE. *nadre* "snake" mentioned in the directions for us to demand an answer of Old Irish" and would relate *niOreninidren* and BLch *niOern* to the same OE word. But, the *-i-* renders the association with either OE *nædre* or OIr *næthir* somewhat doubtful. Stuart [1974: 788] thinks *arnem niOren* is a corruption of OIr *ar nem nathrach* "for snake's poison".

f) *arcun/arcum* : OIr *orcun* (Mfr with *ar-* for *or-*) "slaying", verbal noun of *orgaid*. Meroney suggests that *arcum* has been "reshaped to make it look like Latin", 

---

41 If *erkriu* does mean "against gore", "against wounds" then the inscribed rings may have functioned (or at least these words may have been originally intended to function) as amulets against wounding (or against bleeding subsequent to wounding).

Meaney [1981: 24] does not doubt that "these rings were worn primarily for their magic powers", but mistakenly remarks that "*Arcro* seems to mean "bleeding"."
but it might well merely be a corruption resulting from the misreading of the three final minims of an original orcuin (see under DIL orgun) or *arciuin as the letter m.

g) cunda: OIr cu nath (i.e. OIr co *"with" + MIr nath "piece of verse"), whence the attractive sense arcun cu nath *"saying with verse"**.

h) ele (no. 2 only, but cf. no. 1 hel): either éle "magic formula", "incantation" (on which word see Zimmer [1895]) or (less attractively perhaps) MIr ele "(an)other".

i) There might, according to Meroney, be a corrupted reference to cow's milk (cf. the prose OE directions in Lacn. ll. 245-6 et anes heowe[s] cy ... mon da buteran adwere; BLch has apwer buteran pe se gemolcen of anes bleos nyme oðde hinde) in BLch's asan bu- (Lacn.'s -assanfi-): OIr ass "milk" and bú "cow".

j) trauncula: brings to mind Lat. triangulum "triangle", but this might be a corrupted loan into OIr. Cf. the threefold repetition of arta, and then, in text no. 5, of this word itself. C (p. 11) has the unsubstantiated idea that "equilateral triangles as emblems of the Trinity" are to be drawn.

The most recent attempt to explain the words of the incantation is by Stuart [1974: 787-93], who reconstructs (with much guesswork) these Irish lines as follows:


Which she translates as:

"Let them come [forth], let them come [forth], let them come [forth], so that they may leave him alone. I see his advantage and I see his feat. [I have composed] an adjuration against blood-clotting, against poison, nor was it a burden to me. Against snake's poison, a destruction with verse, a destruction of its species, the black liquid of the spirit, with fire. It will not be a number

---

**Note perhaps distant echoes from a "Charm against worms" in the Sanskrit Atharva-Veda (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 22]):

"... All ... the worms we grind to pieces with our charm ... I destroy with my song, so that not one of the worms be felt ... we crush with (this) charm."
which helps the disease as a support. It is finished, it is finished, it is finished. Triangle, triangle, triangle."

86-8 Tigað .... trauncula: Alliteration, rhyme, and echo combine to produce an effective sound-pattern in which conventional lexical meaning may have been less important than the incantatory effect produced by the organisation of the very sounds. 

Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in Lacn. - Entries XXII, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.

88 trauncula: Possibly a third instance of this word has dropped out since it is found in parallel no. 5, and there does seem to be a tendency in this charm towards groups of three: tigað tigað tigað ... arta arta arta trauncula trauncula (?)trauncula. Three is, of course, a common number in charms.

88 querite et inuenietis: Matthew 7: 7 - Petite, et dabitur vobis; quaerite et invenietis, pulsate, et aperietur vobis.

88-9 adluro te... non amplius crescas: The word ut (found in the variant texts 5 and 6) may well have dropped out before non.

The same adjuration (with ut and slightly different word order) is also found at the end of an eleventh-century German charm (Grimm [1882-8, vol. IV: 1851 no. VII]; see also Heim [1892. 551]):

Contra malum malannum.

Cum minimo digito circumdare locum debes ubi apparebit, his verbis: ich

bimunun dih suam pi Gode jouh pi Christe. Tunc fac crucem per medium
et dic: daz tu mewedar ni gituo noh tole noh tot houpit. item adluro te per
Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum ut amplius non crescas sed arecas.
89-90 *Super aspidem ... draconem*: Vulgate *Psalm* 90: 13. Magoun [1937a: 26] remarks that this "Psalmenvers ... selbst eine Art Segen gegen Vergiftung ist". It is also employed in an incantation "fur den wurm am finger und pferden" in a sixteenth-century MS in Heidelberg (Universitätsbibliothek, MS 135, fol. 127v; see Pinto [1973: 15]). On Anglo-Saxon and other early medieval interpretations and pictorial illustrations of this verse see Openshaw [1993 (note the reference to this instance in ii. 65)]. Cf. also its use in a fifth- or sixth-century Greek amulet from Egypt against demons and diseases to be found in Meyer & Smith [1994: 46, no. 21]. See also n. to 1. 592 *Crist stod ofer alde engancundes*.

90-1 *crux ... crux*: The word *crux* probably indicates that the sign of the Cross is to be made, perhaps on the *blegene*.

**ENTRY XXVI**

92 *Wed don be mon odde nyten wyrn gedrinc*: Here OE *wyrn* may denote an insect (or other similar creeping creature) rather than a snake. There are two reasons why the swallowing of such a creature might require medical attention: firstly, if the creature was a bee, wasp, hornet or horse-fly there would be pain from the sting, and, in the event of an allergic reaction, possibly a potentially dangerous, even fatal, swelling of the throat as a result of the sting (= 1. 94 *biran* "little spear"? - see n. on this word); secondly, it is possible that there was concern that the *wyrn* would live on within the carrier's inwards, this belief being widespread among primitive peoples. The result of the creature continuing to live within the carrier might, one supposes by analogy with other common folkloric notions, be thought to range from intestinal worms, through toothache, to gnawing pains, external swelling, or abhorrent or weirdly hybrid pregnancy.

---

*G and S invent the OE title *wed wyrne* "For a worm" for this entry.

*For a striking instance of ancient Irish belief in human pregnancy and birth resulting from the swallowing of a fly along with a drink (although the fly is itself of human origin) see the story Fothmarc Eitaine ("The Wooing of Eithne" trans. Gantz [1981: 47]).

Henslow [1889: 18] edits ME remedies headed *Of an addres o operatives over any ooper euel wormes be y-cropyne in-to a manys body, odeps to bryde per-in*. A fifteenth-century English drink to remedy *eddur* or *snake* (n) a *manys body* can be found in Dawson [1034: 102 (no. 277)]. For further instances of the swallowing of snakes
There is another - and, judging from the contents of the chapter, possibly Irish-influenced - remedy for this misfortune in *BLch* (114/7-8), in which it seems that hot sheep's blood taken quickly is sufficiently potent to kill the intruder:

\[ \text{Gif hwa drince wyrn on wattere of smode sceap rad; drince hat hat sceapes blod} \]

92-3 *gyf hit sy warpedcynnes*  *gif hit sy wscynnes*. To what does *gyf hit* refer - the *mon oode nyten* or the swallowed *wyrm*? I strongly favour the former, for we may wonder how the magician would be able to determine the *wyrm's* gender after it had been drunk! However, Bonser [1963 281] thinks "the worms are spoken of as being male and female" He compares a charm in the Sanskrit *Atharva-Veda* (Bloomfield [1897 25])

"Of all the male worms, and of all the female worms do I split the heads with the stone. I burn their faces with fire"

92  *g di leod* This is the only time in the OE magico-medical corpus that an incantation is described as a *leod* (here synonymous with L 97 *galdor*) However, the equation *carmen bus galdorleðum* is found in a gloss (WW 509, 17), and in OE the cognate word *od* as well as *gald* is used of magical incantations (see *K|m* vol V "Galdor" 159-61 see also on *galdor* Smente [1921 §179]

92-3 *werm dcyvyn s swanre eare wscynnes wynstre eare* GS (p 107, n. 4) remark that

and other creatures as folklore see Loomes 948 64 and Næsle 975 88-90. It may be noted in addition that, according to *Oldlore, the and Legends of Britain* (Reader's Digest Association, rev ed 1974 p 599), there exists a sixteenth-century Scots Gaelic remnant for a girl "who swallowed a creature called a low-chrous when drinking, after which she lost weight at an alarming speed" - the remedy enticed the creature out of her mouth.

With regard to cattle - may note that there was once a "widespread superstition" in which it was believed that a cow which swallowed an earring or a nest while drinking might then be possessed by that creature from within - see Skreap 9 b 294

For studies of beliefs concerning the intrusion of animals into the body see Hand [1980a] and Cattermole-Talb [1995] (the latter discusses the relation of such beliefs to actual infestation with tapeworms and other parasites)

*Page 964 21 overlooks this instance of OE *leod* ("incantation", "charm") in his discussion of the word *leodranum* (*BLch* 38 24, 27 . "incantation" he remarks that it is "tempting to relate *leodranum* to OE *leod* "sag" whose Old Norse cognate *laod* occasionally has the meaning "charm"")
Maleness is associated with the right side and femaleness with the left in Hippocratic literature, in Aristotle's *De generatione animalium* (765 a35), and in a work on generation translated into Latin in the sixth century under the name Moschion.

However, it is not necessarily the case that this folk-charm derives either directly or indirectly from such learned medical treatises. Rather it may reflect the ancient ingrained prejudice against the left "sinister" side, which might then be applied to the "weaker" female sex (both in physical terms and to the Middle Ages - as daughters of Eve - in moral terms), and the predilection for the right (swiðran "stronger"; see also n. to l. 220) side (which is usually the stronger in physical terms, and whose moral goodness is endorsed by the Bible in which e.g. Christ will sit on the right hand of the Father). Note also that the non-Scriptural idea that Eve (the first woman) was made from a rib from the left side of Adam (the first man) was known to the Anglo-Saxons (see *Adrian and Ritheus* st. 3 (ed. Cross & Hill [1982: 35, 129-30]) and Vercelli Homily xix, fol. 107r (ed. Scragg [1992: 316, 327 n. to l. 29])).

92-6: All the main editors print the OE directions as prose. However, Pilch and Tristram [1979: 34] present them (without comment) as six lines of OE verse thus:

\[
\text{Wlô ôon /ie mon oôt3e nvf en wyrm gedrince}
\]
\[
gyf hyt sy wapnedcynnnes \quad \text{sing dis leod}
\]
\[
in \text{æt swiðre eare} \quad \text{be her after awrten is}
\]
\[
gif hit sy wifcynnnes \quad \text{sing in ðæt wynstre eare:}
\]
\[
\text{Gono mul orgo mul marbu mul marbsai ramum tof3d tengo do-cuillo biran}
\]
\[
cuider cæf-mil scuht cuillo scuiht cuib-duill marbsiramum.
\]
\[
\text{Sing nygon sidan \quad in ðæt eare bis galdor}
\]
\[
7 \text{pater noster aene.}
\]

Since only one of these OE lines (the fourth) may alliterate according to the rules of conventional OE poetry this arrangement seems unjustified.
It is perhaps noteworthy that the incantation is to be sung into the ear rather than into the mouth, as might have been expected for a wyrm that had been swallowed (contrast perhaps Lacn. Entry LXIV's instruction *sinc him on pone muf innan* - a remedy which might be for the same - or a very similar - problem). Cf. Lacn. Entry LXXXVI II. 646–7: *Ienne eft þæt galdor þæt hereafter cwed man sceal singan, ærest on þæt wynstre eare, þanne on þæt swiðre eare*; also Lacn. Entry LXXVI (the *Nine Herbs Charm*) II. 601–3, *Sing þæt galdor ... in þa earan buta.*

94–5: This incantation is not interpreted by C (p. 11) who merely remarks that "[I]though the word *Tofeô* occurs in this charm, it is not in Hebrew words*; G contributes nothing to the interpretation of the words, but instead hinders matters by supposing that it resembles a "jingle charm" and by rearranging the word-order. The opening words of the incantation were first interpreted by Thurneysen [1919–21: 106] as OIr 50:

a) "Der verständliche Anfang lautet: *gono mil orgo mil marbu mil* "ich verwunde das Tier, ich schlage das Tier, ich töte das Tier." *Orgo* ist absolute 1. Sg. wie *tagu, tongu. Marbu* ist der erste Beleg dieser Art bei einem a-Verb .... *Gono* kann man auch hierher zählen, da *gonaid* sein Präsens im allgemein schwach bildet*.41

---

41 Though Payne [1904 123] had earlier reported, "Dr Bradley informs me that the words are corrupt Irish but are not consecutively intelligible". He gives no indication of the words' perceived meaning. Bonser [1925: 286] also records the opinion of Henry Bradley (in an unpublished letter to Whitley Stokes) that "some of the ... charms contain sequences of Irish words of quite obvious meaning. For example the charm at III p 10, ... "in case a man or beast drunk an insect," begins with the obviously appropriate words *Gonumil orgumil marbumil* and at II. 54 there is a charm intended "to stop blood," which contains the unmistakable words *struth fola* [this latter charm being Meroney [1945–6: no. IV]].

41 For the unique instance of 1 sg. pres. ind. absolute *gono* see also DIL under *gonaid* (citing this passage under "early forms"), also Thurneysen [1946, §§556]. DIL defines the meaning as "Pierces, wounds passing into sense kills (the precise meaning is not always easily ascertained)". *Gono* is the OIr noun meaning "an animal, used in wide sense of all the lower creatures" and could also denote "a louse" (DIL). Stuart [1974: 806] raises the possibility of taking *mil* (short vowel - but note the double *u* presumably to indicate a long vowel in *caefmil*) in the sense of "probe", "pin", here "referring to the boring tongue of the worm" This is an unnecessary and dubious interpretation, especially as DIL does not give *mil* in this sense.

Logan [1981: chap. X] discusses beliefs in the worm as a cause of disease in Ireland with reference to the present charm and highlights the Irish word *mi-cheartan* "flesh-worm" in the expression *Ta micheardo a mbonna mo chos* "there are flesh worms in the soles of my feet" (cf. Lacn.'s incantation's use *wi smeogan wyrmre* in the next entry).

Dr. Andrew Breeze alerts me to the presence of *mil* as a loan-word in l. 20 (*misals marghep huere makes*) of the ME lyric poem *Lenten ys come wyf louse to toune* (ed. Brook [1968: no. 11]). Brook (p. 80 n.) thanks this instance as a Welsh loan-word (Welsh *mil* "animal").

*Orgo* (unique 1 sg. pres. ind. absolute of *orgaid, orgyd*) does not appear to be recorded in DIL, though Thurneysen [1946: §§101, 558, 564] has it. DIL defines *orgyd* as "kills, slays", and notes one instance of the verb with regard to "killing or injuring animals".
These findings are given briefly by GS (though not taken into account in their translation), but without any consideration of Meroney's work [1945-6: 177-8 (no. III)] which had added more Irish interpretations (I add references to DIL):

b) cuillo: 1 sg. pres. ind. absolute of Mir coillim "I violate, destroy, ruin"; DIL coiliad "damages, violates, destroys".

c) biran: OIr berán, birán "pointed stake, pin, bodkin, dart, little spear", the diminutive of OIr bir "spit, spear, goad"; DIL biran does not give this likely instance.

Thus cuillo biran seems to mean "I destroy the little spear". Presumably the spear is a metaphor for a sharp pain. Meroney compares the refrain of the OE charm Wið færstice (Lacn. II. 765, 771, 774, 776), Ut, lytel spere, gæf herinne se!

d) cafmul: "dear-beast" - an otherwise unattested compound noun comprising "lovely, beautiful, dear" (if caf = OIr cóem, cáem, cám) + "beast" (the double i in mul shows the vowel length of OIr mil "beast", here presumably to be equated with OE wyrm). If this is correct it might be a flattering or euphemistic reference to the wyrm.

e) cubduill: also perhaps to be interpreted as a compound (if duill = OIr duil "creatura") with similar meaning. Alternatively, I suggest, perhaps cub might be a simplex noun meaning "word", "victory", or "hound, wolf" (cf. the repeated designation of a worm as a "hound" in the Irish charm "For a Great Worm" (quoted below)) - see DIL cub

f) tego: OIr tenga, tenge "tongue" (DIL tengae).

g) tofed either related to OIr tó "silent", or, to be connected with OIr dofaeth, dofoeth, 3rd. sg. fut. of the verb do-tut (see DIL do-tut), meaning "will fall", "will perish", Meroney favours the latter, and I agree.

Thus, taking the do of docuillo with the preceding words, Meroney reads tofed tengo do as "the tongue will fall out to it", i.e. "the animal's tongue will fall out" or "the beast's tongue will be destroyed".

For marbu see Thurneysen [1946 §556]
h) *scuicht*: to be equated with some form of OIr *scuich-"*fortgehen, zu Ende
gehen*. Cf. *DIL scucht*, verbal noun of *scuchaid"*comes to an end".

No convincing explanation has been given of the form *marbsai ramum*,
*marbsiramum* (which were presumably intended, originally at least, to be the same
word or words). However, *marb* might well be (as Stuart [1974: 802-4] thinks - see
below) the imp. sg. of *marbaid"*kills*"* (the verb just encountered in *marbu"*I kill"*), or
perhaps 2 sg. -s- pret. *marbsai"*you killed"* or 3 sg. *marbsi"*he/it killed"; *marb* can
also mean "dead", or "dead person" (*DIL marb*). If *marb* is imp. then perhaps *sair sir*
is, as Stuart also thinks, the OIr adj. *sir"long, lasting, constant"*. This leaves the
problematic sequence *amum*. Stuart [1974: 802-4] thinks this is OIr *amus* (*DIL*
"hireling, servant, attendant, mercenary"), and reconstructs as *marb sir n-amus"*kill
the long-lived hireling", but "hireling" is an odd way to describe a *wyrm*. Perhaps we
should read - with a different emendation (resulting from scribal confusion over
minim strokes) and more obvious sense - *marb sir a[ni]m* or *marb sir a[nim]m*, "kill
the long (?-lived) creature" (for acc. sg. *anim(m)* see Thurneysen [1946: §333 (4)]; for
an instance of the use of *anim(m) anam"*soul, life" in the sense of "living creature,
animal" see *DIL anim(m)*).

Another puzzling form is *cuin bribery*. Stuart [1974: 803] emends *cuindo* to *co [n]-ith"*with fat"; or might we, I tentatively suggest, compare *Lacn*. 1. 87 *cunad (= cu nađ =
*co nath)* "with verse", whence perhaps an emended reading (assuming scribal
confusion of minim strokes) *cuillo biran cu [na]đ "I destroy the little spear with
verse"*, which would parallel *Lacn*. 1. 87 (similarly 1. 255) *arcum cunad"*destruction
with verse".

-ar might well be (as Stuart thinks) the OIr prep. *ar"for, against"* (cf. *BLch's* *ær
nem* equivalent to *Lacn.'s* *arnem"*against poison*"* quoted in Commentary to *Lacn.*
Entry XXV). Perhaps then *ær caefniil* means "against the dear-beast".

Stuart's [1974: 802-9] reconstruction of the full incantation reads thus:

"I wound the animal, I slay the animal, I kill the animal. Kill the long-lived hireling. Its tongue will fall out. I destroy the little spear with fat (?): for each animal an end with a sorcerer. Kill the long-lived hireling."

However, the removal of duill "creature" is probably objectionable, and it cannot be said that her suggested emendations produce readily intelligible sense ("Kill the long-lived hireling ... with fat (?): for each animal an end with a sorcerer. Kill the long-lived hireling"). It could be argued that here in the search for conventional lexical and syntactical sense damage is done to the sound-patterns of the incantation.

Following these findings the word-division is better represented thus:

Gono mi! orgo mi! marbu mi! marb sair amum tofeO tengo do cuillo biran cuuOa'r cuuhi cu:i!o scuhi cuub-.duill, marb sir amum.

This may be tentatively translated:

"I wound (?)or "kill") the animal, I hit (?)or "kill") the animal, I kill the animal marbsa? ranum its tongue will fall out, I destroy the little spear cuu? dear-beast scu? I destroy scu? (?)ar?beast mar?ranum."

A bolder interpretation might read:

"I wound the animal, I hit the animal, I kill the animal. Kill the long(?-lasting) creature! The beast's tongue will fall out. I destroy the little spear with verse. Against the (?)dear-beast. (?)An ending. I destroy. (?)An ending. (?)dear-beast. Kill the long(?-lasting) creature!"

One important point at least is evident: the opening words of the incantation ("I wound the beast...") show a meaningful correlation with the OE instructions ("In case man or beast swallows a wyrm"), a fact which perhaps strengthens the case for this incantation being the wyrmgealdor referred to in l. 254 (an identification assumed by, among others, Meroney (p. 177)).

^ Or "hound"?
94 gonomil orgomil marbumil: Cf. similar first person sg. pronouncements in other OIr charms: *benim agalar, arfiuch fuili* "I strike its disease, I vanquish blood" (cd. Stokes & Strachan [1901, 1903: 249]), *frisbru[u] uathu* "I shatter the evil spirits" (ed. Pokorny [1936]); also note *benith galar* "it (i.e. the sun's brightness) smites the disease" (ed. Stokes & Strachan [1901, 1903: 250]; also ed. Warner [1906 vol. II: 39, 42]). A number of Irish charms for worms and poison collected by Lady Wilde are of great interest:

**FOR THE GREAT WORM.**

"I kill a hound. I kill a small hound. I kill a deceitful hound. I kill a worm, wherein there is terror; I kill all his wicked brood. Seven angels from Paradise will help me, that I may do valiantly, and give no more time to the worm to live than while I recite this prayer. AMEN." [Wilde [1888: 191]]

**A VERY ANCIENT CHARM AGAINST WOUNDS OR POISONS.**

"The poison of a serpent, the venom of the dog, the sharpness of the spear, doth not well in man. The blood of one dog, the blood of many dogs, the blood of the hound of Fliethas - these I invoke. It is not a wart to which my spittle is applied. I strike disease; I strike wounds. I strike the disease of the dog that bites, of the thorn that wounds, of the iron that strikes. I invoke the three daughters of Fliethas against the serpent. Benediction on this body to be healed, benediction on the spittle; benediction on him who casts out the disease. In the name of God. AMEN." [Wilde [1888: 193]]

**FOR PAINS.**

"I kill the evil; I kill the worm in the flesh, the worm in the grass. I put a venomous charm in the murderous pain. The charm that was set by Peter and Paul, the charm that kills the worm in the flesh, in the tooth, in the body."

This oration to be said three times, while the patient is rubbed with butter on the place of the pain. [Wilde [1888: 194-5]]
See also previous remarks on Lacn. 1. 76 Caio laio ... sleah manna wyrm.

The present OIr verbs in Lacn. are wrongly interpreted as imp. by Logan [1981: 62] in his modernisation Goin an miol, airg an miol, marbhaigh an miol "Wound the worm, harass the worm, kill the worm".

94-5 Gonomil ... marbirsramum : Alliteration and echo together produce an effective sound-pattern. Though G sees a five-line metrical structure (...marbumil ...tengo ... cudær ...cuillo scuiht ...marbirsramum ), it is difficult to perceive any definite metrical form or pattern which might organize the sounds into associated semi-autonomous units such as half-lines or verses.

Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in Lacn. - Entries XXII, XXV, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.

ENTRY XXVII

97 smeogan wyrm: : Apparently "a penetrating worm/insect/maggot" or similar small creature or "a creeping worm" (i.e. one that creeps into or out of the body (through a hole)); cf. the sense smeah "creeping", "insidious" (TOE 11.09.01) and the verb smugan "to creep": For other remedies dealing with this affliction (none of which uses incantations) see esp. LchBk3 chap. cxxviii (p. 332) and BLch Bk I chap. liii (p. 126). Cf. also perhaps the anawrym ("intestinal worm") of BLch Bk I chap. xlvi (114/15) which ut purh ete 7 pyrel gewyrce. ME remedies for "flesh-worms" include those edited by Henslow [1889: 18, 93, 141].

It is amusing to note the use J. R. R. Tolkien makes of the OE smeoh (WS smeah, in oblique cases smeag-) wyrm in his novels The Hobbit and The Lord of the Rings with regard to the naming and characterisation of two of his most important characters: Shippey [1992: 82] points to the present remedy with regard to the name of the dragon ("worm") Smaug in The Hobbit, which Tolkien in 1938 ([1981: 31])

39 Despite its title ("... sing a chant against a curly worm ..."), Deegan's article [1986] is not specifically concerned with elucidating either the present Lacn. remedy or other OE remedies for the "penetrating worm".
40 Cf. Foster [1978: entries on "Draconis" and "Great Worms"] and Tolkien's map to The Hobbit, "Far to the North are the Grey Mountains & the Withered Heath whence came the Great Worms".

320
explained is "the past tense of the primitive Germanic verb Smugan, to squeeze through a hole: a low philological jest". Shippey points out that Smaug "has a mental sense as well as a physical one, since O.E. sméagan also means "to inquire into" and in adjectival form "subtle, crafty"". Further and more striking evidence to suggest that Tolkien made imaginative use of Lacn.'s sméoh wyrm may, I think, be found in The Lord of the Rings, where we learn that the original name of the hobbit Gollum was anglicised Sméagol, he being an unpleasant, crafty character who, like Smaug, is sméah not just in the present physical sense of Lacn.'s wyrm creeping and penetrating ("wormed his way like a maggot into ..."), but also in the mental sense (he is not only cunning but "most inquisitive and curious minded") - though again Tolkien only acknowledges the former meaning of the name in his notes on The Lord of the Rings ("burrowing, worming in" (Tolkien [1969: 1170-1])). Thus we read:

The most inquisitive and curious-minded of that family was called Sméagol.
He was interested in roots and beginnings; he dived into deep pools; he burrowed under trees and growing plants; he tunnelled into green mounds; and he ceased to look up at the hill-tops, or the leaves on trees, or the flowers opening in the air. his head and his eyes were downward ....

.... he wormed his way like a maggot into the heart of the hills", and vanished out of all knowledge ....

It climbed trees to find nests; it crept into holes to find the young; it slipped through windows to find cradles.

[The Lord of the Rings (Tolkien [1969: 66-7, 71]) (my italics)]

Furthermore, Gollum, though a humanoid, undoubtedly has wyrm-like, maggot-like, insect-like characteristics: in The Hobbit he is "a small slimy creature"

---

56 Note that not only Gollum, but also dragons like Smaug are adept at riddles ("No dragon can resist the fascination of riddling talk" (Tolkien [1978: 191])) Given these connections between Smaug and Gollum, perhaps another one may be noted - they both guard great treasure in mountains (Gollum guards the One Ring in the Misty Mountains, Smaug his hoard in Erebor) and are robbed of it by Bilbo Baggins.

57 Also Tolkien [1975 200] "Smials. A word peculiar to hobbits ... meaning "burrow" ... It is a form that the Old English word smygel "burrow" might have had, if it had survived. The same element appears in Gollum's real name, Sméagol."

58 Here Tolkien may well also have been thinking of the Norse god Odin's "worming" his way in the form of a snake into a mountain to gain the mead of poetry as described in Snorri Sturluson's Prose Edda (trans. Faulkes [1987 63])).

59 Note also p. 750: "Sméagol who had pried into all dark holes ...."
(Tolkien [1978: 67]) and he hisses (like a snake?); in *The Lord of the Rings* we also read how "Quick as a snake Gollum slithered aside", how he formed a pact with the monstrous spider Shelob, and how he is described as "Sneak ... little thin black fellow; like a spider himself, or perhaps more like a starved frog" (Tolkien [1969: 753, 766]).

98 *mid dinas spatle smyre* : Belief in the medicinal usefulness of saliva is very ancient: see e.g. Opie & Tatem [1989: 373-4], Bonser [1963: 221-2], Chowdharay-Best [1975], Nicolson [1897] and Selare [1939]. Its use here in a remedy for *wyrm* may be derived from the belief recorded by Pliny that:

*Omnium vero in primis ieiunam salvam contra serpentes praesidio esse documus.* [*NH* 28.35]

Chowdharay-Best [1975: 197] also notes instances of the use of saliva against venomous creatures in the works of Galen, Paulus Aegineta, and Oribasius, "the last testifying to having seen a scorpion killed from the effects of saliva alone".

Cf. also the proximity of the use of spittle to the recitation of a *wyrmgealdor* in *Lacn*. Entry LXIII (II. 254-7).

97-8 *da dolh ... pet dolh* : The apparent discrepancy of number here (pl. ... sg.) (or perhaps of gender - fem. ... neut. ?) is noteworthy. Since the crossed thorn abbreviation elsewhere in *Lacn.* always denotes *pet* it is more likely that the text is here simply somewhat inconsistent with regard to number than that the abbreviation denotes *pa*. This seems to be confirmed by passages from two remedies in *LchBk3* chap. xxxviii (C vol. II p. 332) for the same affliction:

... *smire pa dolh mid; blaw mid hreode on pet seaw on pet [= crossed thorn]*

*dolh.*

---

*This description is apparently one of Tolkien's revisions to the text of *The Hobbit*, which were made (according to Christensen [1975: 12]) in order to align "the introductory description of Gollum with his development in *The Lord of the Rings*".*

*Cf. Chowdharay-Best [1975: 198] includes the present *Lacn.* instance among "miscellaneous" uses of saliva, not in his section dealing with venomous animals.*
... smire mid siphan þæt [= crossed thorn] dolh ... seo sealf wile areset þa dolh ryman ... 7 þa dolh gelacnað.

99 cumicgan : Alternatively this may be treated as two words - cu micgan (cf. l. 942 cu (gen. sg.)).

The use of urine in medicine might seem surprising today (though some people still drink their own), but it is common in folk remedies. On the nature (and limited efficacy) of Anglo-Saxon and other medieval medicinal uses of urine see Baird [1979: esp. 2-3], and note with regard to the present remedy that urine's "chief use seems to have been against worm-infestation and snake-bite".

ENTRY XXVIII

Analogues:

Cf. Pliny NH (20 241) on the virtues of marrubium:

1 *huius folia semenque contrita prosunt contra serpentes*

Also (20 243) on the juice of the plant:

2 *item contra venena inter pauc a potens.*

This last remedy seems to be reflected in OEHerb (92/10-11) which, with the particular exception of the utilisation of the juice rather than the seed, comes reasonably close to Lacn (though the Lat. text's *Ad venenum si quis bibert* is closer than the OE's *Hid attres digne* to Lacn.'s *Hid don de mon attor gedrince*):

3. *Hid attres digne genum þysse yican wyrte* [i.e. Lat. *marabium* OE *harehune*] wos, syle [on ealdum wæne] drincan, sons þæt attor toferð.

[Lat. *Ad venenum si quis bibert. Herbae marrubii sucum dabis ex vino veteris, discutit venenum *]

Cf. also the later use of this herb by Culpeper and Gerard. The former recommends it for "persons who have taken poison". The latter recommends it for "those that have drunk poison or have been bitten of serpents".
ENTRY XXIX

Sources and Analogues:

It appears from the Lat. words ll. 103-6 usque ... et plura ... usque ... usque in finem ... usque in finem ... usque in finem that at least the first section of this remedy may be derived from a Lat. source.

Cf. an OE remedy - particularly the first part - for fever (on the possible identification of this fever with aelfsiden see below) in BLch (136/3-12):

Ps mon sceal wizan on huslisce, 7 on pone drenc mid haligwætere ðwean, 7 sågan on:

+ + + + + + +
  + A ++ ω +
  + + + + + + +

In principio erat verbum et verbum erat aput Deum et Deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio aput Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt.

Þweah þonne þæt gewrit mid haligwætre of þam disce on þone drenc. Sing þonne "Creda" 7 "Pater noster" 7 þus leop "Beati inmaculati" þone sealm, mid ad dominum þam XII gebeselalmum.

Adiuro vos frigores et febres per Deum Patrem omnipotentem et per eius Filium Iesum Christum per ascensum et descendens salvatorum nostri ut recedatis de hoc famulo Dei et de corpusculo eius quem Dominus noster illuminare institut. Uincit vos leo de tribu Juda radix David. Uincit vos qui uincit non potest. + Cristus natus + Cristus passus + Cristus venturus + auis + auis + auis + sanctus + sanctus + sanctus. Inde salutiferis incedens

---

S invents the OE title Se halga drænc "The holy drink" for this remedy, but gives no indication that it is supplied editorially.
gressibus urbes, oppida rura uicos castra castella peragrans Omnia depulsis sanabat corpora morbis.

7 priwa þonne onsupe þaes weteres swelces gehwæper þara manna.\textsuperscript{a2}

For another OE drink \textit{wip eallum feondes costungum} see \textit{LchBk3} (334/12).

102 \textit{ælfsideon} : The precise meaning of this word is uncertain, though the first element is clearly \textit{elf} "elf". It is also found in \textit{BLch} (14/9, 138/24) \textit{Wip ælcre yfelre leodrunan 7 wó ælfsideon} and \textit{LchBk3} (334/15) \textit{Þeos sealf is god wip ælcre feondes costunga 7 ælfsideon}. The word is considered by Jente [1921: §§112, 164] who defines it (like BT in part) as "Nachtmahre"; C thinks it means "a person full of elvish tricks"; Page [1964: 21] renders as "elfish magic". However, with the possible exception of Payne [1904: 124] who translates "fever disease", until the publication of \textit{DOE} it was not observed that in the \textit{BLch} contents \textit{ælfsiden} is remedied by a "charm for a kind of fever":

\textit{Læcedomas wip ælcre leodrunan 7 ælfsidenne: þæt is sefercynnes gealdor...}

The word is also associated with a form of tertian malaria (\textit{lencetenadl}) in \textit{LchBk3} (334/19-21): \textit{Þeos sealf is god wip ælcre feondes costunga 7 ælfsidenne 7 lencetenadl}. Moreover, the chapter in \textit{BLch} following the one containing its charm for \textit{ælfsidenne} is also directed against fever - specifically \textit{lencetenadl} - \textit{Læcedomas eft wó lencetenadl} ("Remedies again for tertian malaria"). Thus, judging from this evidence, and the fact that the \textit{BLch} parallel to our remedy cited above is used for fever, there is reason to suppose that OE \textit{ælfsiden} was a word descriptive of an affliction attended by fever, or of a type of fever (perhaps specifically tertian malaria).

The element -\textit{siden}- never occurs as a simplex in OE; it might be related to the unique \textit{sidsa}, a word of uncertain significance found in \textit{BLch} in association with \textit{elf} (296/9-10): \textit{Wíð ælfe 7 wip uncupum sidsan}. BTS, \textit{AEW} and Jente (see also Strömäck

\textsuperscript{a2} The figure here is an approximation to that of the MS. Note that C reads (without comment) the letters as \textit{A} and CD: the latter form is badly drawn in MS, but the original intention was obviously a Greek alpha and omega pairing, one often used in charms.

\textsuperscript{a3} The definition is that of Cameron [1993: 10].
[1935: 120 n. 2]) suggest cognates for -siden in Olcel seídr ("a charm", "magic spell") and sióa ("to charm"), both words of distinctly malign connotation in extant Olcel literature. Perhaps if this etymology is at all valid the definition "(?affliction caused by) the magic of elves" may not be far off the base meaning.

In addition to the association with fever there is evidence that the Anglo-Saxons believed that elves were responsible for severe pains in the body (see e.g. Entry CXXVII b), and, perhaps, for some form of ecstatic madness (Fanaticus, i. minster templi, futura praecinens, vel ylfig (WW 236, 5)) or mad babbling (ylfige glosses comitales) (see DOE ælfig).

102 eallum feondes costungum: The feond is the devil (confirmed by LchBk3 (342/17-20): Wip feondes costunge ... ne mag be deofol sceppan inne ne ute).

It may be that the devil was believed to be responsible particularly (though not solely) for mental illnesses. Note in this connection the inclusion of a remedy for a gewitseocne man along with remedies for feondes costungum in LchBk3 chap. xii.

102 costungum: OE costung is usually translated "temptation", but Meaney [1992a: 17, and n. 38 and 39] suggests "affliction, tribulation, torment", which might seem better suited to a medical context, though one of the ways in which the devil might tempt people to sin was through physical affliction (witness the Book of Job, or the effect of Grendel's depredations on the Danes in Beowulf (ll. 175-6 Hwilum hie geheton et hærgtrofum wgwewearpunga...)). However, he might also do so through sexual temptation - note LchBk3 (344/9-10) wip ... ham mannum be deofol mid hamð (trans. "against ... the people with whom the devil has sexual intercourse" - i.e. not only women, as C and many others understand it), and, see remarks on the sexual nature of the incubus (i.e. the nhtgenga mentioned alongside costung in some OE remedies?) revealed in Anglo-Saxon glosses by Kiesling [1968] and [1977: chap. 3]. For references to OE nhtgenga see Geldner [1908: 10 nhtgenga].
"In principio erat Verbum" usque "non comprehenderunt": The opening of St. John's Gospel (1: 1-5):

In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.

Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est; in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominem, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt.

This was a popular passage for use in charms and remedies throughout the Middle Ages and later: cf. e.g. Lacn. 1. 254, and part of an early twelfth-century English charm in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C iii, fol. 83v (here edited from MS, abbreviations expanded within round brackets; for a published edition see D'Aronco [1995]):

Carm(en) contra sanguinis fluxu(m) suae de naribus suae de plaga u(e)l de omnibus locis: In principio erat Verbum IX vicibus....

GS note that the passage is also used towards the end of the Ordinary of the Mass. It is also found in the Royal Prayerbook (see Sims-Williams [1990: 292]), and, following a charm, at the end of Ælfwine's Prayerbook (ed. Günzel [1993]). Reginald Scot in his Discoverie of Witchcraft [1584: 154] remarks upon the text's supposed amuletic efficacy against the actions of devils:

The first chapter of S. Johns gospel in small letters consecrated at a masse, and hanged about ones necke, is an incomparable amulet or tablet, which delivereith from all witchcrafts and devilish practises .... But if the hanging of S. Johns gospel about the necke be so beneficial; how if one should eate up the same?

See also Thomas [1971: 34, 60, 221, 296-7, 328-9].

"Et circumbat Ihesus totam Galileam docens" usque "et secuti sunt eum turbe multe": This is Matthew 4:23-5:

Et circumbat Iesus totam Galileam, docens in synagogis eorum et praedicans evangelium regni et sanans omnem languorem et omnem
infirmitatem in populo. Et abit opinio eius in totam Syriam; et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes, variis languoribus et tormentis comprehendos, et qui daemonia habebant, et lunaticos et paralyticos, et curavit eos. Et secutae sunt eum turbae multae de Galilaea et Decapoli et Hierosolymis et Iudaea et de trans Iordanem.

GS (p. 109 n. 4) note that "this passage was a favourite one and is often associated with disease in early missals". Cf. Lacn. Il. 290-2.

105 "Deus in nomine tuo" : The first words of Vulgate Psalm 53. It is an appropriate choice to repulse the attacks of elf and of devil (it continues ... alieni insurrexerunt adversum me et fortes quaesierunt animam meam ... ecce enim Deus adivat me, Dominus susceptor ammae meae avertet malae inimices mei, in veritate tua disperde illos), and GS (p. 109 n. 5) observe that it opens the ritual De exorcizandis obsessis a daemonio.

105 "Deus misereatur nobis" usque in finem : GS (p. 108 n. 6) note: "Opening of Litanies of the Saints week before Ascension Day".

106 "Domine Deus in adiutorium" usque in finem : Cf. Vulgate Psalm 69 Deus in adiutorium... . GS (p. 108 n. 7) wrongly refer to the opening of Vulgate Psalm 59, and they add that these words are found in the litanies of the saints.

107 crystallan : Since this noun occurs at the start of a list of plants which are to be ingested it presumably also denotes a plant or drug of some sort, not a crystal (CH only gives crystalla "crystal"); note also l. 109 lege da wyhta ealle, C (and so GS and DOE) equate it with the crystallion of Pliny (NH 25.140): Psyllion alii cynoides, alii crystallion, alii sicelicon, alii cynomyiam appellant. This psyllion is identified as Plantago psyllium, fleawort, fleabane in the Loeb edition of Pliny, but Plantago
psyllium is identified as Plantago arenaria Waldst. & Kit., the branched plantain in Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989] (similarly Clapham, Tutin and Moore [1989]).

A possible later medieval use of the plant *cristal cristallanus* in a drink with wine in a ME remedy reads (ed. Ogden [1969: 44, and see n. p. 100]):

*An oþer [i.e. For hym pat may noghte pys]*:

*Tak cristallanus & stamp it & temper it with wyn & drynk it & it sail gare ðe pys wele.*

In the present "holy" (l. 102 *halga*) remedy against demonic forces, the OE word *cristallan’s* incorporation of the letters *crist-* (cf. OE *crist* = "Christ") at the very start of the list might well be significant.

107 *sidewaran*: This is the exotic Eastern plant *zedoaiy*, the leaves of which are edible. An aromatic oil can be extracted from the rhizome and used in pharmacy for flavouring (see Simonetti [1991: no. 52]). Hagen [1995: 184] points out that zedoary "was included in a list of herbs and spices that the monks of Cambrai planned to buy for their monastery in the ninth century".

See also on this and the introduction of other Eastern drugs in the early Middle Ages Riddle [1965].

107 *gehalgodes wines*: This could be wine that has been consecrated as the Blood of Christ in the Eucharistic rite (as S p. 235 thinks), or merely wine that has been blessed. Cf. l. 140 *garleaces gehalgodes*, and common references to the use of holy-water. Cf. also LchBk3 (334/24) where in a remedy, possibly also associated with *eallum feondes costungum*, it is stipulated that in addition to other vituals *gehalgodne hlaf* is to be eaten.

108 *unmælne mon*: Virginity, cleanliness, or absence from perceived deformity is a common requirement in folk remedies. Cf. ll. 245-6 *æt anes heowe[s] cy, þæt heo sy eall reod oððe hwit 7 unmælne*. A virgin (*mædenman*) is required for *Lacn*. Entry
LXXXVI, and Entry CLXXXVI ll. 1009-10 in particular may be noted in connection with the present instance - *gange maedenman to wylle he rihte east yrne*. See further S (pp. 92-4). See also Hand [1980b: 12].

108 *swigende*: A requirement for silence is very common in the undertaking of folk medical acts. For other OE instances see S (pp. 94-5). See also Hand [1980b] (references under "Silence" in Index).

108-9 *yrnendes wæteres*: The curative and cleansing properties of running water - commonly employed in folk remedies - have been recognised since ancient times (cf. e.g. the Sanskrit *Atharva-Veda* (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 12-13]) in which running waters are "the most skilled of physicians", and (p. 15) "healers ... scatterers of disease" which "cure all disease"). The most noteworthy Anglo-Saxon reference to the curative properties of running water is found in the *Nine Herbs Charm* *(Lacn. Il.* 593-4) where water apparently has power over the nine snakes:

\[ Ic \text{ ana } wat \text{ ea } rinnende, \]

\[ 7 \text{ ha nygon } \text{ naedran behealda} \]

Other instances in *Lacn.* are ll. 943, 962 and 1009-10. See S (pp. 74-6) for further OE instances and discussion.

109-10 *7 pweah pet gewnt of dan husliscce þaerin swide clæne*: Not all Anglo-Saxon words were to be read. Here words are inherently powerful without any need for human understanding: they are simply and literally washed into the drink, which then becomes imbued with their holiness, before being drunk by the patient (l. 116 *bruc syþpan*). Cf. the seventeenth-century Irish practice of dipping the seventh-century Gospel Book known as the *Book of Durrow* into water which was to be given to drink as a remedy for sick cattle *(O'Neill [1984: 4]). Bede (Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. Colgrave & Mynors [1969: Bk I chap. i])) records that scrapings from Irish manuscripts were put into water for sufferers from snakebite to drink.
111 *pon* : "Then". This might be a simple scribal error (omission of abbreviation bar) for *ponne* (cf. l. 110 *pon(ne)*), but the form *pon* is otherwise attested - see n. to l. 545.

111-2 "Omnibus" ... "Contra tribulatione" ... "Sancta Marian" : GS (p. 108 n. 12), following C (p. 12 n. a), remark: "[t]hese three collects are in the usual office *Ne despicas, Suscipe Domne, and Tribulationem nostram*".

113-4 Sing das gebedsealmas : *Miserere mei Deus* is Vulgate Psalm 50; *Deus in nomine tuo* is Vulgate Psalm 53; *Deus misereatur nobis* appears to be Vulgate Psalm 66 (*Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis*); *Domine Deus* is Psalm 87; *Inclina Domine* is Vulgate Psalm 85.

The recitation of psalms was believed to purge sin, ensure the expulsion of (and protection from) demons, and to bring peace to body and mind - a common prefatory text in Anglo-Saxon psalters known as the *Dicti Sancti Augustini* declares:

*Canticum psalmorum animas decorat, invitat angelos in adutorium, effugat daemones, expellit tenebras, efficit sanctitatem homini peccatori. Refectio mentis est, delet peccata . . . Domum ostendit, diabolum offendit, voluntatem inicitatam extinguit . . . Canticum psalmorum carmen electum est apud Deum, omne peccatum expellit . . . Omne malum occidit, perfectionem instruit, excelsa demonstrat, desiderium regni caelestis dat, pacem inter corpus et animam facit, ignem spiritalem in corde succedit, ab omnibus vitis solicitude est, certamen bonum cotidie est, radices malorum omnium expellit, scut lorica indut, scut galea defendit, spes salutis est,consolato doloris, refecto laboris . . .*

[Quoted from Openshaw [1993: n. 104]]

This belief was long-lived - Reginald Scot in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* [1584: 154], for example, reports that the devil when in conversation with a saint said:
he could shew him seven verses in the psalter, which being dailie repeated, would of themselves bring anie man to heaven, and preserve him from hell.

But when S. Barnard desired the divell to tell him which they were, he refused, saiyng, he might then thinke him a foole so to prejudice himselfe.

Well (quoth S. Barnard) I will doo well enough for that, for I will dailie saie over the whole psalter. The divell hearing him saie so, told him which were the verses, least in reading over the whole psalter dailie, he should merit too much for others.

114 Credo : This is the Athenasian Creed. On its and the Pater noster's use as a protection against unclean spirits and poisons thrown by the devil note (with Sims-Williams [1990: 295]) Bede's words in a letter to Egbert, archbishop of York (734):

"...endeavour to impress deeply on the memory of all under your rule the catholic faith which is contained in the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer which the text of the holy gospel teaches us ... thus is it brought to pass that every band of the faithful may learn how to be faithful, by what steadfastness they ought to fortify and arm themselves against the assaults of unclean spirits .... On this account I have myself often given to many ignorant priests both of these, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, translated into the English language. For the holy Bishop Ambrose, when speaking of faith, advises each of the faithful to repeat the words of the Creed in the morning, and by it, as if by a spiritual antidote, to fortify themselves against the poisons of the devil [diaboli venena] which he can cast [obicere] at them by day or night with malignant craft".

[trans. Whitelock [1955: 737-8]; for the Lat. text see Plummer [1886 vol. I: 408-9]]

Note also e.g. Ælfric's recommendation of the use of Creed and Our Father as substitutes for superstitious practices before embarking on a journey:
Ac sede hwider faran wille, singe his paternoster.

and credan. gisf he cuonne. and clypige to his drihten.

and bleatsige hine sylfte. and sode orsorh

þurh godes gescylðynsse. butan ðæra sceoccena wiglunga.


The Credo and Pater noster are twice paired in Lacn. II. 1010-12.

For a discussion of the Pater noster's use in magic and medicine to combat the devil see Menner [1941: 37-45].

114-5 Gloria in excelsis Deo: "Glory to God in the highest": a hymn from the Mass which usually follows the Kyrie eleison.

ENTRY XXX

OE Variant Versions:

The first part of this remedy is paralleled in practice (though not all the herbs are found and there is no reference to any exotic ingredients except for pepper) by another found in BL MS Cotton Domitian i, fol. 55v (Ker no. 146, s. x̄; ed. C vol. I, p. 382):

1. Pas wyrtæ sceolon to wensealfe: elene, garlec, ceruille, raedic, næp, hremnes fot, hunig 7 pipur; cnuc;ge ealle da wyrtæ 7 wringe þurh clad, 7 wylle þonne on þam hunge.

As Napier [1890: 326 n. 4] observes, there is another version of this remedy (also lacking all the more exotic ingredients except for garlic and pepper) in London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 46, fol. 144 (Ker no. 98, s. x/x̄; ed. Napier [1890: 325-6(c)]):

2. Hat wyrgan þæ sylf; wensealfe. man sceal niman clyne hunig, swylec man to blacan brwæ delp, 7 wyllan hit neah brwæs picnesse 7 niman raedic 7 elenan fillan44 7 hresnesfol44; cnocian, swa man betst mæge, 7 wringan þonne

---

44Napier (p 326 n. 4) observes "Mit elenan schliesst die Zeile in der Hs. Es ist wohl dahinter 7 cyr zu ergänzen, das am Zeilenschluss leicht ausfallen konnte" and compares Lacn's ("die Urhandschrift") elenan 7 cyrfillan. However, while 7 might have dropped out, it may not be necessary to emend fillan to cyrfillan - cf. the gloss ceruillum: fillæ (see Hierb3, under fillæ, also see Hunt [1989: 78] under Cerfollæum).
Ja wyrtæ 7 geotan þæt wæs þæt 7, þonne hit beo forneah gewylled, cnucian
godne del garleaces 7 don þæt 7 pipian, swaswa þe þince.

117 Ængliscne nap : The Cotton Domitian (and - see preceding footnote - the
Wellcome) variant version has simply nap which is identified as Brassica napus L.,
rape. Specifically English nap is not referred to again in OE.

Bierb2 proposes a more specific identification of Ængliscne nap with Brassica
rapa L. subsp. sylvestris (L.) Janchen, distinguished from the cultivated turnip (i.e.
Brassica rapa L. subsp. rapa). Hagen [1995: 37] assumes that Ængliscne nap is here a
turnip.

119 gemered hunig : "Purified honey" - cf. the Wellcome variant version's clane
hunig. C mistranslates "spoilt honey".

119 þonne hit swæde gesoden sy : The Wellcome variant version differs as to the
extent of the boiling - þonne hit beo forneah ("almost") gewylled.

120 pyretran : This is the only demonstrably OE instance of this word, for PD's
(see Bierb2 p. 96) peretrum is a Lat. form.

121 rinde : That rind here denotes not merely bark, but specifically cinnamon
bark is C's (p. 13) plausible idea (see also GS (p. 111 n. 2)). There appears to have
been no distinct OE word for cinnamon, which is elsewhere equated with cymen or
called suðerne rind "southern bark" (see von Lindheim [1941: 42, n. 114], Stracke
[1974: 84, n. 295], and Bierb3 under suðerne rind).

Cinnamon was among the spices bequeathed by Bede to his brethren (see Hagen
[1995: 182-3]).

Napier (p. 326 n. 5) observes interestingly that "Hinter hreftnesfot steht von anderer Hand über der Zeile
nap".
121 gemänged: GS (p. 110 n. 5) observe that the scribe may have omitted sy before or after this word.

ENTRY XXXI

This entry is speculatively discussed as a magical remedy by Storms [1947] (also by S (pp. 41-7)).

124-8 Rude, radix ... belenan 7 bradeleac: Most, but not all, of the plants in this list are grouped in alliterating pairs, presumably as an aid to memory. Note that the presence of unetymological h in heferðan perhaps obscures the alliteration with its partner eahtræn (though the h need not have been pronounced). Alliteration of h with a vowel is not usually permitted in native words in OE alliterative poetry. As Bierb2 (p. 36) suggests, the h may simply be a scribal anticipation of hegeclife 7 hymelan.

Cf. the alliterating plant list in Lacn. Entry LXIII ll. 236-43.

125 ribbe: Bierb2 defines this plant as either ribwort plantain or hound's tongue. The former identification finds support in the ME plant names edited by Hunt [1989: see under Lanceolata and Quinquenervia]; note that "rib" was also a local East Anglian name for watercress (Grigson [1958: 62]).

125 reade hofe: As Bierb1 (p. 86) observes, ground ivy occasionally has pink flowers (see also Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989: 340]).

125 clate: Given hegeclife "cleavers" in l. 127, clate is here likely to be the greater burdock - cf. n. to l. 49.

125 cluflung: Bierb2 identifies this plant as the celery-leaved crowfoot (Ranunculus sceleratus L.). DOE thinks it is a species of buttercup (also Ranunculus L.), probably celery-leaved buttercup. Although I can find no reference to a

126 cwice : This plant has no alliterating partner, unless, as Storms [1947: 35] thinks, it has been misplaced and should be paired with l. 124 cilbenige.

126 wudurofe 7 wrettes cid : The same alliterative pairing occurs in the "Holy Salve" - Lacn. 1. 239

According to Grieve (p. 504), it is the root of madder that is used in medicine, but cid is defined as "shoot", "sprout", "germ", and BT cipfaest "rooted" may mean literally "shoot-fast". In OEHerb (138/19) cyf translates Lat. codas ... recentes and de Vrend defines the OE as "sprout, root".

126 springwyrt : Bierb2 identifies this plant name with caper spurge. In ME springwort is sometimes equated (among other things) with various species of mint, particularly those found in damp habitats (such as horse mint and water mint).

126 sperewyrt : As Bierb2 notes, the reference to elene (l. 125) in the same list rules out the identification of sperewyrt as elecampane (Inula helenium L.) here. Bierb2 identifies sperewyrt here as yellow iris (Iris pseudacorus L.) (see also for ME support Hunt [1989. under Flammula]); ME evidence strongly suggests that sperewyrt may also have been identified with one or more of the spearworts (several species of Ranunculus L.) - see Hunt [1989: references under Spearwort in Index] and OED "spearwort".

129 surre apold[re] rinde : Since surre is gen. sg. fem. and must qualify apold[re], GS's reading surre apold[re]rinde "crabapple bark" cannot be accepted.
129-30 ǣscirnde .. seales rinde: For a similar list of barks employed in a salve see BLch (98/7-9).

130-1 pas ealle sculan beon genumene ... on easteweardan þan treowan: Belief in the remedial efficacy of the east facing side of plants was perhaps due (originally at least) to that side's absorption of the first rays of the morning sun (so Storms [1947: 35]). Cf. perhaps Lacn. ll. 541-2, 598 Wegbrade ... eastan op[e]ne ... wegbrade þe eastan open sy, also note possibly the Olcel Eddaic poem Sigrdrifomál (st. 11) (ed. Kuhn [1983: 192]), though there the idea might be (according to Bellows [1936: 392 n. 10]) to transfer an affliction to the bark:

Limrinar scaltu kunna, ef þu vilt læcmir vera
oc kunna sar at sið;
þã berka scal þær rista oc þã baðmi viðar,
þæm er luta austr limar.

A number of other references to the east in Anglo-Saxon remedies suggest that this direction was believed to be especially propitious: in addition to the reference to the plantain eastan opene, Lacn. provides a reference in ll. 1009-10 to a healing wylle þe rihete east yrne, and at least on occasion the Anglo-Saxons prayed specifically eastward - so l. 856 Gebide þe þonne priwa east (the east being the first direction of the four to be mentioned) and the metrical charm For Unfruitful Land (ASPR 6, no. 1. 24-6):

wende þe þonne eastweard, and onlút mgon sidon eadmodlice, and cweð þonne pas word:

Eastweard ic stande, arena ic me bidde...

So too BLch (116/8-10):

... to mûldes mergenes stande eastweard 7 bebeode hine Gode geornlice 7 hine gesenige; cyrrre hine sungonges ymb...

Finally note the Prognostics from the Moon’s Age (ed. C vol. III, p. 156, ll. 11-12): wend þin heafod east, bide þe are.
On praying to the east among Christians see *ERE* (article on "Points of the Compass", especially pp. 80-1).

133 *eald morod*: According to Hagen [1995: 228] "*[m]orajj was apparently made by boiling down and sweetening wine with mulberries, although the term may also have been used for mead with added elderberry juice".

134 *geote to trindan*: Similarly 1. 136 *wyrc to trindan*. The word *trinda* (?-e) is not found elsewhere and its meaning is uncertain. Comparison with OE *trendan* (BT "to turn, roll") and *trendel* (BT "a circle, ring") suggests that it refers to something circular or spherical. Perhaps it refers to a circular pan or a circular mass. Storms [1947: 37-8] believes that:

the fat and the mulberry wine is poured out in a circle round about the mortar in which the herbs and the pieces of bark are pounded. The circle of fat served a double purpose: it intensified the power of the herbs by the addition of its own power, and at the same time it prevented evil forces from influencing the contents of the mortar, as they were unable to cross the magic circle of fat.

135 *7 cnocce man pa ban mid æxe yre*: As Storms [1947: 38] notes, the word *yr occurs only once elsewhere in OE, in an entry for the year 1012 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* detailing the martyrdom of Ælfheah. That instance provides corroborative testimony to the power of this method of bludgeoning bone:

7 sloh hine pa an heora mid anre æxe yre on ðet heafod. ðet he mid þam dynte noðr asah. 7 his halige blod on ða eordan feoll. 7 his haligan sawle to Godes rice asende. [ed. Plummer [1892 vol. I: 142]]

*However, it has been suggested by some scholars that the word might also be attested as the rune-name *yr* (see remarks in *The Fates of the Apostles* ed. Brooks [1961: n. to L 103 Jonne], and Page [1973: 84-5]). This view has not been generally accepted.*
Another instance of the back of an axe being used in an attempt to break bone is found in the Olcel *Egils saga* (ed. Nordal [1933: 299]):

"Pá vildi Skapti forvitnask um pykkleik haussins; tók hann þá handoxi vel mikla ok reiddi annarri hendi sem hardast ok laust hamrinum á hausinn ok vildi brjóta."

Cf. also (with Sweet’s *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (n. to this passage)) Olcel ðærhamār- "the back of an axe" and ðærhammarshōgg "a blow with the back of an axe" (CV ðær).

Storms [1947: 38] comes to the implausible conclusion that, since the back of an axe is employed to kill Ælfheah, its use here must indicate that this remedy is for "wounds incurred in fights with such arms".

C wrongly translates *mid æxse yre* as "with an iron axe".

136-7 7 wylle þa wyrra þa rinda, don eall tosomne: If *don* is not an error for imp. sg. or 3 sg. pres. subj. *do*, it is presumably the pa. ptc. ("... all having been put together"). GS (p. 112 n. 1) think it could be an explanatory use of the infinitive.

140 nygon clufa garleaces gehalgodes; cnuca on wine: That garlic should be consecrated is interesting since it has been considered a holy plant for thousands of years and used for to ward off evil spirits. S (p. 45) (and Storms [1947: 38]) object to the reading: "Hallowed garlic is probably a mistake, and the adjective should qualify wine". S does not give his reasons for this statement - perhaps he is thinking of the Eucharistic wine - and I see no reason to question the text as received.

141 fanthalig wex: C thinks the words *weter 7* have dropped out before *wex* (hence "font-holy water, and wax"; cf. *Lacn*. l. 248 *weter gehalga fonthalgunge*), but, the MS reading must stand since one cannot scrape/shred (the governing verb is 1. 140 *scaf*) water. Schlutter [1908: 137] also rejects C’s emendation and remarks, "fanthalig wex versteht sich natürlich von den kerzen, die ihre heiligung dadurch
erhalten, daß sie auf dem Taufsteine stehen und bei der heiligen Handlung angezündet werden".

I note that, according to Kittredge [1929: 470 n. 117], "Martin Plantsch (Opusculum de Sagis Maleficis, 1507, sig. b v, If. 2 v°) speaks of the magical employment of masses, the eucharist, baptismal water, and holy wax" (my italics).

141 br[un]ne stor : MS brimne does not appear to make sense (I doubt that an equation ought to be made with OE brymne/bremne "famous, noble"); C keeps the MS reading and translates "burning storax" (BTS simply queries an adjective brim); GS, comparing the compounds brynewylm and brynetear, emend to the otherwise unattested br[y]n[est]or, and translate "burning storax" (but do not acknowledge their obvious debt to C); I adopt Storms's emendation [1947: 40 (suggested to him by Prof. K. Jost)] which is palaeographically simpler than that of GS (simple scribal error over the ordering and number of minimis is all that need be supposed - note that the scribe makes the same mistake in l. 585, writing briman for brunan); brown stor might describe either low-grade frankincense (as opposed to the following more prized white kind, hwtnne recels) or storax. In PD (see Bierb2) there are three references to "white" stor, i.e. high-grade frankincense; "white" stor is also referred to in ME (see Hunt [1989: 190-1 under Olibanum]).

141 hwtnne rycels: Incense is similarly described twice in BLch (294/24, 296/10-11). On all three occasions it is found in association with myrrh, though this association is not restricted to specifically white frankincense. In the first example from BLch the preparation of a cure-all begins at Christmas, with the placing of the ingredients under an altar (cf. BL MS Cotton Galba A xiv fol. 118r, ed. Muir [1988: 150, no. 70]). The second probably relies on the strongly Christian associations of these substances to counteract demonic forces: wip ælfe 7 wip uncupum sidsan.
The description of incense as *hwit* could have been, but was not necessarily, an indication of fine quality - *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed., article on "Frankincense") remarks:

Frankincense, or olibanum, occurs in commerce in semi-opaque, round, ovate or oblong tears or irregular lumps, which are covered externally with a white dust, the result of their friction against one another...Frankincense burns with a bright white flame...Good frankincense, Pliny tells us, is recognized by its whiteness, size, brittleness and ready inflammability.

A medieval Welsh remedy requires a pound of white frankincense (Pughe [repr. 1989: §591 p. 94]).

143-4 *cwebeamenum stuccan*: Cf. the four-pronged stick used in *Lacn*. Entry LXIII to stir the butter.

145 *Benedictus Dominus Deus Meus*: Vulgate Psalm 143.


146 *Magnificat*: The "Magnificat" - Luke 1: 46. (Cf. notes to *Lacn*. 1. 936)

146-7 *pet gebed, "Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes"*: The precise prayer referred to - if indeed one is not merely supposed to recite these four names - is uncertain, though prayers beginning thus were still in use in the early twentieth century in the form of benedictions such as "Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, bless the bed that I lie on...". However, here the reference might be to the words (prayer?) beginning the incantation in *Lacn*. Entry CXXVI (ll. 755-6): + *Matheus me duca*ð; + *Marcus me conserva*ð; + *Lucas me liberat*; + *Iohannes me adiuuat semper*. Amen.
The four evangelists are commonly referred to in OE magico-medicine: cf. also e.g. Lacn. ll. 90-1, 250, and the OE Journey Charm (ASPR 6 no. 11, ll. 27-9).

ENTRY XXXII

OE Variant Version:

_Gif poc sy on eagan: nim marc, sapan 7 hinde meolc; mæng tosomne 7 swingc; læt standan oð hit sy hlutter; nim þonne þæt hluttre; do on ða eagan; mid Godes fullume he sceal aweg._ [Lacn. Entry IX]

149 ar. sapan: See notes to l. 21 marc, sapan.

149 poc ... heo: The dictionaries only record masc., not as here fem., gender for poc. The variant version has the expected he rather than heo.

ENTRY XXXIII

This remedy may well be acephalous, but perhaps lacks no more than an initial _Eft_, i.e. "Again (for the same complaint)"., since l. 153 _hy ut slean_ clearly points to some kind of skin protuberance (cf. the previous entry's l. 149 _Gif poc sy on eagan_).

Medicinal Efficacy:

For modern remedies involving the consumption of a decoction of burdock root in the treatment of skin disorders (including swellings) see Grieve (p. 144), Wren (p. 49), and Buchman [1993: 159].

152 _clatan moran_: The use of the root probably identifies _clate_ here as greater burdock rather than cleavers.

152 _beore_: OE _beor_ is not to be translated (as has usually been the case) by its modern phonological equivalent "beer", and it is distinct from OE _ealweala_ "ale" and
(usually) *medu* "mead" - see Fell [1975]. *Beor* is thought to have been a "sweet precious, highly alcoholic liquid" made from "honey and the juice of a fruit other than grapes" and not from any sort of grain. It is not certain whether hops were ever used in the making of *beor* (see Griffiths [1986]), but archaeological evidence for the trade and cultivation of hops in Anglo-Saxon England, possibly together with *Lacn.*'s word *hegehymele* (which suggests a distinction from a cultivated variety), makes it appear possible (Hagen [1995: 209-12]).

**ENTRY XXXIV**

154 *banwyrt*: This is a difficult word to identify with any one specific plant in *Lacn*. See, in addition to the Glossary, Hunt [1989: under Bonewort in Index] for the continuing later medieval use of this word to denote several different plants. According to *DOE* *banwyrt* might also denote wild (?or mountain) pansy.

It may be worth noting that *banwyrt* ("bone-wort") is not included among the long list of ingredients in the "good bone-salve" (Entry XXXI).

154-5 *banwyrt* ... *sauine*: Note the alliteration and sound association of two groups of four ingredients (each group comprising two pairs) - firstly alliteration on *b* (*banwyrt* 7 *brunwyrt*, *betonican* 7 *streawberian* wise), and secondly on *s* (*supernewuda* 7 *isopo*, *salue* 7 *sauine*). This mnemonic arrangement is probably evidence for the use and oral transmission of some OE remedies - cf. *Lacn.* Entries XXXI and LXIII and notes thereto.

**ENTRY XXXV**

Medicinal Efficacy:

The pleasant smell of all these mints and the very action of frequent washing might well have helped to relax the patient and so ease his pain. This is apparently an instance of early medieval aromatherapy.
Although no native mint has purely white flowers, this probably denotes catmint which has white flowers with purple spots (otherwise known in OE as nefte nepte). Other English mints that occasionally have white flowers are horse mint (Mentha longifolia (L.) Hudson) (horsminte), and apple mint (Mentha suaveolens Ehrh.).

ENTRY XXXVI

OE Variant Version:

*Læcedom wib hreoflum lice: adelfe ompran 7 gelodwyrt; gecnuwa; wyl bonne on buteran; do hwon sealtes to.* [BLch (78/1-3)]

Medicinal Efficacy:

If *ampre* is a water lily then its recommendation by Grieve for boils, tumours and inflamed skin makes its use here appropriate. If *gelodwyrt* is silverweed then we can compare the opinion of one eighteenth-century herbalist (recorded by Grieve (p. 741)) that it is good "to take away all discolorations of the skin and to cleanse it from any kind of depredation".

"Apparently the words hreofl, hreofla (hreof) in our texts are used in connection with different skin diseases, and consequently can only be interpreted in general terms like "scabbiness", "itching", "rash"; see also especially Hille [1969]."

Previous editors keep MS *teon;* C translates "draw" and GS "pulling". I take the MS -n to be a simple scribal error for -h, *teo[h]* being imp. sg.

Either an adj. "long", or perhaps an adv. (?){"slowly"}. GS translate "in its length". It may be noted that silverweed (*gelodwyrt*) has "long, creeping and rooting, runners" (Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989: 184]).
160-1 *pweah pone man mid hate*: A reference to surrounding the patient with vapour in the so-called "stone-bath" treatment. For a fuller description of this practice see Entry LXXIII and notes there. The variant version has no parallel to this.

**ENTRY XXXVII**

OE Variant Version (not noted by Meaney [1984a]):

*Wip cneowwærce: wuduweax 7 hegerife; gecnuwa þa togædere 7 do on ealu; let licgean neahterne; sele him þæt ponne drincan; be þe mid 7 lege on.*

*[BLch (66/12-14)]*

162 *weodew[eax]an*: That MS *weode wisan* ("stalks of a weed", but *weod* is otherwise neut.) is a corruption of *weodeweaxan* or *weoduweaxan* (for the -eo- spelling cf. l. 520 *weoduweaxan* and l. 526 *weoduweaxe*) is apparent from the *BLch* variant version.

163 *do me/a; laet standan nyhternum on þæm wyrtum*: GS (p. 114 n. 5) think that *mela* "meal" is "an obvious error" and emend to *meda* "mead". But the resulting translation makes poor sense: "Pound well together and add mead. Let stand for a night on the plants". From the *BLch* parallel it is apparent that *mela* is likely to be an error for *on/in ealuleala*, but, since the inferior reading *mela* is required to explain the following instruction *laet standan nyhternum on þæm wyrtum*, I do not emend.

**ENTRY XXXVIII**

165 *cubuteran*: Alternatively this may be treated as two words - *cu buteran* (cf. l. 942 *cu* (gen. sg.)).

165 *gnid da buteran ... mid copore ... clæm donne on arfæt; laet standan nygon níht; myltæ sibpan on þæm arfæte*: There is another OE prescription for an eye-salve (*se betsta læcedom*) (*BLch* (34/2-8)) that directs one to put ingredients into an *arfæt*
"bronze vessel") for nine days. Cameron [1988b: 201-3] observes that the acid of the wine and of the plant juices in that remedy would react with the copper in the vessel to form copper salts, which have been effectively used as an antibiotic in eye-paints since at least the time of the ancient Egyptians. If in the present remedy - which lacks wine - the rubbing with copper (which might well leave verdigris - a substance useful for combating styes (see Commentary to l. 21) - behind in the butter), the nine days' stay in the bronze vessel being stirred each day, and the subsequent melting of the mixture, enabled copper salts to form, it would seem that it too may be a good remedy or prophylactic for an eye infection.

Two other herbal eye-salves which use bronze or copper vessels are found in BL MS Cotton Faustina A x, fol. 115v-116r (Ker no. 154, s. xii'; cci. C vol. III p. 292).

ENTRY XXXIX

Several remedies using eggs (sometimes in vinegar) for diarrhoea and other bowel problems are found in Marcellus DML chap. 27, e.g. 27.77 (p. 474):

Oua decoquuntur ex aceto, donec indurescant, et uitelli eorum tostati cum pipere esu cyltaco dantur; cito medentur.

As Hagen [1995: 130] observes, Lacin.'s remedy here approximates to an omelette.

172 hwon : I interpret this (with C) as meaning "for a (short) time" (cf. BTS hwon III, 2), in preference to GS's substantival "a little".

ENTRY XL

173 bōn [n] : MS bonne is a mistake - cf. e.g. l. 227 Eft wið bon. The word bon is also the source of difficulties in the next two remedies (see notes to ll. 175 and 177).
ENTRY XLI

175 miclan eordnafolan: This is presumably a scribal error for *dóne miclan eordnafolan caused by scribal haplography after the preceding don. The plant name se micla eordnafola is otherwise unattested in OE and Bierb2 does not distinguish its botanical identification from that of eordnafala.

ENTRY XLII

This remedy presents difficulties. C perceives continuity of sense with the preceding words *drinc gelome:* "drink frequently, shave up some ivy with it; then boil in milk and partake wary, and seethe all the worts in milk". However, it is unlikely that bol can be an imp. verb form (C's "boil" - see below), and the extension of the final -e in MS in gelome and analogy with surrounding entries seem to indicate that the previous remedy has finished at *drinc gelome* (cf. l. 172 *syle etan*, l. 173-4 *syle etan gelome*, l. 178 7 *dige hy*).

177 Scaef efic wīd pon[e] bol in meolc: MS scaef efic wīd ponne bol in meolc is accepted by C, but probably requires emendation. An imperative bol (??"boil") is very doubtful - there is no otherwise attested form of such a verb in OE or any other early Germanic language (the OE medical texts invariably use the verbs seoðan, weallan, and wyllan); Schlutter [1907a: 247-8] observes that any such verb would presumably be a loan-word from Lat. bullire.

Furthermore, MS ponne is suspect - it might be a mistake for the pon (ll. 173, 175) of the preceding two remedies for the same affliction, in the first of which (l. 173) the scribe's ponne is undoubtedly erroneous. If this were the case we should read *Scaef efic wīd po[n]: bol in meolc...*, though bol would remain a problem (a corruption of bulla "bowl"?).

The emendation very tentatively adopted here (pon[e] for MS ponne6) follows BTS's (so too GS, and accepted by DOE) hesitant explanation of bol as a noun

---

6 Cf. the (?)"scribal errors" in l. 196 (ponne for *pone*) and l. 44 (*pone* for *ponne*) (possibly also l. 948 has *ponne* for *pone*). However, we might note confused instances of *ponne* for *pone* (and vice versa) in the very late
meaning "bole, trunk, stem (of a plant/tree)" (cognates in Olcel boir, buir, "bole of a tree" (masc.), and as first element in compounds, also bola, "to cut down trees"; OED gives MHG bole (fem.), Modern German bohle). The word is queried by CH and considered a hapax legomenon (borrowed early from Norse) by Fazakerley [1945: 51]. However, a related OE *hola "tree-trunk" has been postulated on the basis of place-name evidence - Mills [1993: 42]:

_Bolam, "(place at) the tree-trunks", OE *hola or OScand. boir in a dative plural form bolum: Bolam Durham. Bolom 1317. Bolam Northum. Bolum 1155._

If the present reading is correct then the _Lacn._ instance is the earliest use of the word "bole" in English (OED "bole"! cites no examples of the word before c. 1314, though there is also a compound bulaxe from _Ormulum_ c.1200 (which may well be a borrowing from Norse (cf. CV boløx)).

177 _efic_: This form is problematic. Bierb2 (p. 73) identifies it as a plant name meaning "ivy" (normally OE _ifig_), but this is phonologically doubtful.

177 _ealle ða_: It is not clear what the referent of _ealle ða_ is. Perhaps, as Schlutter [1907a: 248] suggests, a clause containing the names of the ingredients to be boiled has dropped out. Or are we to again understand the _efic_ shavings, or (so C) all the plants (with the shavings?) found in the previous remedy?

**ENTRY XLIII**

179 _genum _fif _7 hundeahtatig lybcorna_: As Meaney [1981: 63] observes, ingestion of this many caper spurge seeds might well prove fatal; indeed only "four to eight of these seeds will produce vomiting and diarrhoea, accompanied by severe stomach-ache". Unfortunately a scribal error cannot be assumed, for enthusiastic use of these seeds is by no means limited to the present remedy (_Lacn._ 1. 196 uses eighty,
and l. 197 uses forty; BLch and LchBk3 together have prescriptions using fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, thirty, fifty, and even one hundred(!) such seeds).

Grieve (p. 765) reports that the "seeds to the number of twelve or fifteen are used by country people in France as a purgative".

179 _lybcorna_: The identification of these seeds as those of the caper spurge follows Bierb1 and Bierb2. GS (p. 117 n. 1) (also now Hagen [1995: 184]) think they are the seeds of Ricinus communis L., the castor oil plant, but, although we do not know how much of the drink was to be drunk at one sitting, this seems most unlikely, for Grieve (pp. 170, 172) states that:

> The seeds contain a toxic substance which make (sic) them actively poisonous, so much so that _three_ large seeds have been known to kill an adult ... The seeds are never employed in this country on account of their violent action.

180 _fifteen sundcorn wel berended_: Elsewhere in OE medical texts _sundcorn_ denotes the plant Saxifraga granulata itself, not specifically its seed as is the case here

180 _wyrmele_: It is not clear whether this word denotes the plant marjoram (Origanum vulgare L.) or "worm-meal" (i.e. powdered worms or other crawling animals). The plant name (thought by Bierb2 to be wk. fem. though an oblique case in -n is not attested) is otherwise spelled _wurmille wurmillae wurmilla/wurmele wurmelle/wurmilla/wyrmella_ (see Bierb3), but does not seem to be used in the extant OE medical records. A word spelled _wyrmmelo/wyrmelau_ and (dat.) _wyrmmelewae_ is found in BLch (78/15, 150/12 (paired as here with salt), and 238/31), and is interpreted by C as meaning "worm meal" (a common substance in folk medicine).

GS (p. 116 n. 7; and so Bierb2) think that _wurmele_ is here the plant (and so emend to acc. sg. _wyrmellan_), GS proposing that in OE medicine the plant was used
internally and the powdered worms externally. This is not a safe assumption - as GS themselves note *wyrrmelo* is to be taken internally in a remedy in *BLch* (238/30-240/1). Furthermore, small creatures are often taken internally in folk medicine - cf. e.g. Pliny (*NH* 30.66) and the Irish instances given by Logan [1981: 47]. We might also speculate that, whereas marjoram does not have purgative properties, the very prospect of ingesting insects might have produced the intended effect of nausea.

Furthermore, it may be thought that *Lacn.*'s form *wyrrmelo* is closer to *wyrrmelo* "worm-meal" than to *wurmille uurmillae uurmille/wurmelle/wurmelle/wurmella/wyrmla*, the form with single *m* being explicable either as a simple scribal omission of an overline bar of abbreviation for the second -*m*-, as a phonological simplification (cf. Campbell §458), or, as GS think, as the result of scribal confusion between the two words. Consequently I interpret *wyrrmelo* as meaning "powdered worms", but the matter cannot be decided with certainty.

181 *scencbollan*: This word is not in BT, BTS, BTC or CH. C treats it as two words "skink bowl"; GS hyphenate *sca'nc-bollan* "drinking bowl". Cf. *scencecuppan* l. 991, BT *scencingcuppe* "a cup in which drink is served" and the Germanic parallels cited there - Old Low German *skenki-vaz* cyathus, OHG *scenche-bechar* calix, and *scenche-uaz* poculum.

183 *swode wel*: I (so too GS) think this refers to the stirring, but Magoun [1954: 567] thinks it means "copiously", referring to the extent of the drinking.

184 *gemengce*: It is not quite clear whether this is a subj. referring to the patient (so GS) or a LWS imp. (as C favours) referring, as before, to the preparer of the drink. Since the patient plays no other part in the preparation of the drink the latter is perhaps the likelier possibility.

*Nor is it found in Griffith's [1986] survey of OE words for vessels.*
185 Gif he to unswið : This eventuality is hard to imagine! Wild celery's (merce) carminative and diuretic properties would presumably make the drink more potent.

ENTRY XLIV

187 glædenon : This plant is either the yellow iris (Iris pseudacorus L.) or the stinking iris (Iris foetidissima L.), both of which can induce vomiting and/or diarrhoea when ingested, and were formerly used as medicinal purges (see Phillips & Foy [1990: 109]). Grigson [1958: 418] notes that purging (as here) by means of "Gladdon rhizome and ale" is an old practice, and cites Gerard's Herbal:

"Heercof the countrey people of Sommersethshire have good experience, who use to drinke the decoction of this roote. Others do take the infusion thereof in ale and such like, where they purge themselves, and that unto very good purpose and effect".

187 fædme : This word must here mean "cubit". Cf. OEHerb (p. lxxxiv).

188 swylc [l]u : "Twice as much". MS swyle ðu makes no sense unless one supposes that a preceding imp. sg. verb has dropped out. This emendation (adopted by GS) accommodates the apparently gen. case of the following word hamwyrte (though wyrte is also acc. in Lacn. 1. 802). But cf. possibly Language l.xxii. Cf. for this construction in an OE remedy BLch (214 14-15): pry lytle bollan fullan gemengde wip swylc tu watteres.

ENTRY XLVI

As with the preceding three purgative drinks, no indication is given of when and why such emetics were employed. In BLch (136/26-29) at least one spwedrenc is employed to aid a person possessed by a devil (also in LchBk3 (336/1-7, and chap. lxvii)); in OEHerb (226/17-23) vomiting is induced to purge the body of "evil fluid"
Further evidence of the use of emetics to induce vomiting for the removal of poison (attor, unlibba) from the body can be found in a passage (for which no specific source is known) of extended analogy between the actions of the bodily and the spiritual doctor in a "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor" (ed. Fowler [1965: 27-8]), which is also of more general interest with regard to Anglo-Saxon medicine:

Se læca þe sceal sare wunda wel gehælan, he mot habban gode sealfæ to. Ne syndon nane swa yfelæ wunda swa sindon synwunda, forðam þurh þa forwyrð se man ecan deade buton he þurh andetnesse and þurh geswicenesse and þurh deæbote gehæled wurde: þonne mot se læca beon wis and war þe ða wunda hælan sceal. Þurh gode laere man sceal ærest hi lacnian, and mid þam gedon þat man aspiwe þat attor þat him oninman bid: þat is þat he geclænsige hine sylfne ærost þurh andetnesse. Eal man sceal aspiwan sinna þurh gode laere mid andetnesse ealswa man unlibban deð þurh gode drenc.

Ne mæg æni læce wel lacnian ær ðæt attor ute sy, ne æni man eac deædbote wel tæcan þam ðe andetan nele; ne æni man ne mæg synna buton andetnesse næ gebetan þe ma þe se mæg wel hal wurdan þe unlibban gedru[n]cen hæfð buton he þæt attor swide aspiwe. Æfter andetnesse man mæg mid deædbote Godes mildheortnesse raðe geearnian, gif he mid innneweadre heortan heofe þæt bereowsad þæt he þurh deofles scofe ær gefremode to unrihte. On wisum scrifæ bid eac swide forðgelang wistlic deædbot, ealswa on godum læce bid þearflic broces bot.

196 hundeahtatig: "Eighty". C (p. 21) mistranslates "a hundred".
ENTRY XLVIII

If, as Bierb2 identifies it, *finul* is *Foeniculum vulgare*, then its use here *alone* in a preparation apparently to induce vomiting is odd. For fennel is carminative, not purgative, being used according to Grieve (p. 296) "with purgatives to allay their tendency to griping" (my italics). Indeed, according to Grieve, Culpeper states that fennel "taketh away nausea or inclination to sickness".

Unless the patient is deemed to be particularly susceptible to the effects of (or overly indulgent in) the *beor* or *win*, we must assume either that some purgative substance has dropped out of the remedy (perhaps the *libcorna* which are found in four of the five preceding entries and also in the *spiwdrencas* of BLch), or (less likely?) that *finul* here denotes some other plant with purgative properties (such as hog's fennel (*Peucedanum officinale* L.)). Or is it possible, despite the preceding series of purgative drinks (including a *spiwdreanc*), the purgative properties of the *spiwdrencas* in BLch, and the use of alcohol here, that this particular *spiwdreanc* is actually a "drink to *inhibit* spewing"?

ENTRY XLIX

201 *beore* : The identification of the afflictions known as *beor* and *beoradl* was a source of difficulty to C and GS. The issue remains problematic, but Cameron [1988a] has recently re-examined the question. He concludes that:

*beor* and *beoradl* were terms used to describe a dry roughness externally of epithelial tissues, particularly of the skin, such as might result from a vitamin deficiency or a reaction to an allergen and, by extension, a similar dryness and roughness of internal tissues, e.g., a *beor* of the lungs (as when one refers today to a "dry cough").

Earlier *AEW* (*beor*) and Magoun [1945: 567] (not discussed by Cameron) compared Norwegian landsmål *tjor-gang* "belly-ache, -gripe", and Magoun thinks that *beor* means "*inflammation* in general".
Cameron's article does not mention the hapax legomenon peorgerid (Lacn. 1. 977) found amid a long list of afflictions. This difficult word appears to mean literally "peor-riding". Perhaps this indicates that peor was perceived to spread, and hence that it was externally visible on the skin. Or perhaps peor caused a "riding up" - of the skin? Another possibility is that the element -gerid might mean "fever" (see Grimm [1882-8: 1154] and Commentary to Entry LXXXVI), and perhaps peorgerid would then denote a fever associated with peor, or (conceivably) an inflamed skin condition. Although the list of ailments is fairly disparate it is possible that the definition of peor as a dry skin complaint was responsible for the positioning of peorgerid after a reference to "itching blotch" (giccendum blece).

A remedy for peorradl was once in BLch Bk II chap. lxiii (see 172/30), but this part of the text is now lost.

201 garleac 7 cropleac: These two plants are often found together in OE medicine.

202 7 celledeman 7 reade netelan: These ingredients seem curiously isolated from the preceding list of plants in l. 201. Perhaps they have been displaced from an original position after l. 201 holleac, or they might be casually integrated afterthoughts.

ENTRY L

204-5 o[m]pran da de swymman: The plant name is apparently pl. and the verb subj. Cf. the same construction, but in the sg., in BLch (52/20-21) ompran neopowearde pa be swimme. It is, however, conceivable that the reading should be o[m]pran da de swymman [wille] - cf. BLch (88/13) genim doccan pa be swimman wille, BLch (122/23-4) genim doccan odde clatan pa be swimman wolde, LchBk3 (292/9-11) genim ... ompran pa be swimman wille, LchBk3 (322/18-9) genim ...
ompran þa þe swimman wile, and LchBk3 (358/9-10) doccan þære þe swimman wille. Cf. also Lacn. (l. 59) eadoccan moran, sece Ḟa þe fleotan wille.

205 hlæðe : Cf. the simplex hlôhopan found in a remedy in BLch (274/23-5):

Leoh drenc: genim wermod 7 betonican 7 hlôhopan / læst 7 hindhlôhopan;
don eala.

Bierb1 defines BLch's hlôhe as Inula Helenium L., elecampane, but this identification raises difficulties here for Lacn. since in the same remedy eolanan (l. 204) is thought to be that plant. Perhaps then hlæðe is, as GS (accepted by Bierb2) believe, an error for hindhlæðe (or it might be a legitimate shortened form of hindhlæðe).

205 hune : Bierb2 (p. 70) thinks that in Lacn. a distinction is probably made between hune "Schwarzer Andorn" und harehune "Weiβer Andorn". Note that in a remedy in C (vol. I, p. 374) white horehound is described with an additional adj. for "white" - hwite hare hunan (see also C, vol. II, p. 334 col. 1).

In the present remedy white horehound is marufian.

ENTRY LI

OE Variant Version:

Though the present remedy does not use hyssop, it appears to be a more detailed and slightly superior version of Lacn. Entry LX (see further Commentary thereto):

Wyrc brw: wyll ysopon in buteran 7 radic 7 eolanan 7 beren melam [m]est;
wel longe; syle wearm etan.

ENTRY LII

210 attorlaban : This plant is difficult to identify. In glosses (see Bierb3) it is equated with betony (beconicalbetonica), sowbread (cyclaminos), and a nightshade (morella, also solatrum). It is equated with gallicrus in OEHerb (chap. xlv) and
identified as cockspur grass; Cameron [1992; 1993: 112] thinks that this text is mistaken - he suggests that *attorlade* is rather a type of fumitory. Stracke [1974: 76-9], however, accepts that the word might apply to the different plants to which it was equated in *OEHerb* and the glosses. In view of the following *betonican*, here *attorlade* cannot be betony (nor can it be in l. 241 because of l. 236 *betonican*).

**ENTRY LIV**

Analogue or Possible Source:

*Wið lungenadle genim þas ylcan wyrte* [i.e. *harehune marabium*], *seod on hunge, syle þiggean, he bið wundorlice gehaled.*

[Ad pulmonum extensionem. *Herbam marrubium ex melle coctam sumat, mire curat*]

*[OFHerb (92/15-16, no. 7)]*

Earlier Pliny *NH* (20 244) also referred to the usefulness of horehound with honey (and iris) in clearing the lungs:

*ipsa herba stomachum et excreationes pectoris purgat cum iride et melle*...

See further notes to Entry LV.

215 *beton* : There is no parallel to this ingredient in the *OEHerb* and *NH* remedies cited above

216-7 *Wyrc ær dreunc ... he drince ær he done brīw ete* : Cf. the combination of a drink and a *brīw* to treat *lungenadl* in *LchBk3* (316/15-27); the former could conceivably be related to *Lacn*. Entry LIX, while the latter may well be related to Entry LXI (see Commentary thereto).
ENTRY LV

OE Variant Version:

_Eft_ [i.e. _wip lungenadel_]: _wyl on hunige marubian; do hwon beren mela to_ 
ete on neahnestog: _7 hòne þu him selle drenc oððe briw sele him hatne 7_
læt gerestan þone man æfter tide dages on þa swiðran sidan 7 hafa þone_
earn opened. [LchBk3 (316/28 - 318/3)]

Lat. Analogue:

Marcellus *DML* 17.10 (p 296) (_Ad suspìrosos..._):

_Marrubium aridum tritum cum mellis cocleario sumptum uel sucus eius_
_potus aequo suspìrosis remedio erit._

Medicinal Efficacy:

In addition to Pliny (see previous remedy), Culpeper and Gerard recommend the internal use of a syrup made from horehound as a relief for various lung and breathing problems. According to Grieve (p. 416) it is still commonly used (see also Hatfield [1994 29, 127] for similar traditional twentieth-century East Anglian remedies - including one where the horehound is to be taken in wine - "being given with benefit for chronic cough, asthma, and some cases of consumption").

The honey in this remedy would, of course, form a syrup with the herb and the drink.

219-20 _lice on ða swiðran sidan .... 7 þenne þone swiðran earm swa he swiþpast
mege _ : Cf. possibly the modern "recovery position" to aid breathing.

220 _þenne þone swiðran earm swa he swiþpast mege _ : S (p. 92) would see a
"punning significance in swïð, strong, and swiðra, right".
ENTRY LVI

222 gedrincan [ðœære buteran. Although gedrincan with gen. does not appear to be found elsewhere in OE, cf. OES §1092 ("drink s.t. (acc., gen.)") and BTC drincan; GS, who emend gedrincan [hwæðhweage] ðœære buteran, are wrong to deny (p. 120 n. 4) that drincan with gen. exists in OE. The present reading assumes that ge in MS mæge gedrincan hwilum ge ðœære buteran is a simple dittography. C mistranslates "to drink at whiles also the better", but ge in the sense "and, also" is only found as a conjunction not as an adverb in BT, BTS, BTC, and CH, and buteran, of course, means "butter" not "better".

ENTRY LVII

Medicinal Efficacy

On horehound's effectiveness for lung problems see notes to entry LV.

223 wermod 7 boðen: Cf. 1. 515 wermod 7 boðen, and 1. 748 wyrmód oðde boðen

223 boðen. On the equation of this name with either rosemary or corn marigold see also for later medieval England Hunt [1989: under Monica] (the ME name bothon is also equated with ox-eye daisy); it may also be noted that Grigson [1956] records the local English names "bothen" and "botham" (for corn marigold), and "bothem" (for feverfew).

ENTRY LIX

OE Analogue:

Cf. the use of (among other ingredients) white horehound, agrimony, and sweet gale in a drink for lungenadl in LchBk3 (316/15-19):
Wiþ lungenadle: genim betonican 7 marubian, agrimonian, wermod, felterre, rude, acernd, gogallan; wyl on wtre; bewyl þæs wæteres þriddan dat; do of þa wyrte; drince on morgenne wearmes scenc sulne.

Medicinal Efficacy:

On horehound's effectiveness for lung problems see notes to entry LV.

ENTRY LX

OE Variant Version:

This entry appears to be a version (with fewer instructions) of Lacn. Entry LI:

Wyrc brw wiþ lungenadle: wyll in buteran þas wyrte 7 scearfa smale: cropleac ærest, wyl hwile; ado donne hrædc in 7 eolonan 7 beren mela 7 hwites sealtes fela; wyl longe, 7 hatne etc.

229 Wyrc brw: Probably also wiþ lungenadle.

229 wyll ... beren mela [m]est; wel longe: GS keep the MS reading wyll ... beren mela nest wel longe and translate "boil ... a ration of barleymeal for quite a long time". They object to C's emendation of MS nest to mest "a large quantity", but nest "ration", "food" does not make good sense in context. Perhaps (though it is not necessary to suppose this for the emendation to be justified) [m]est here is equivalent to the variant version's fela. That C is correct to translate wel longe as "boil long" (i.e. "boil for a long time") is apparent from the variant version's unambiguous imp. equivalent wyl longe. For non-WS wel cf. Lacn. l. 503 wel in waetere, and l. 673 wel on buteran.

Bierb2 (bere) points out that gen. sg. berenes mel(u)wes might be expected with mest (cf. l. 1003 eorforfearnes mest) rather than acc. sg. beren mela, but note the parallel construction (in a probably associated remedy) in l. 213 wyrm mod læst (ll.
ENTRY LXI

OE Parallel:

Wyrc briw wip lungenadle: num betonican 7 marubian, wermod, hindheolopan, wenwyrt moipoweard, elethe, elene, raedic, eosforbrote, feldmore; gecnuæ ealle snipe wel 7 wyl on buteran 7 awring purh clad; scead on þæt wos beren mela; hrer on blede butan fyre oppæt hit sie swa þicce swa briw; ete III sneda mid þy drence wearmes. [LchBk3 (316/21-7)]

231 Briw : Probably wip lungenadle.

231 beton : This, the only herbal ingredient in the Lacn. remedy, is not found in the LchBk3 parallel. However, if the two remedies are closely related, it may be that a scribe has confused beton and betoncan.

ENTRY LXII

Medicinal Efficacy:

This is an effective drink to induce sleep. It could however be highly dangerous if the dosage was miscalculated - presumably some medical knowledge was assumed on the part of the preparer of this remedy since no measurements or dosages are given.

Hemlock (hymlic), a very poisonous Umbellifer, is prescribed by Grieve (p. 393) as a sedative and antispasmodic. Internal overdosing, however, produces paralysis and even death.
Wormwood (wermod) is recommended by Grieve (p. 860) as a nervine tonic. It has "medicinal virtues as a nervine and mental restorative ... it soothes spinal irritability and gives tone to persons of a highly nervous temperament".

Henbane (belone), another poisonous and dangerous plant, was used by Dioscorides, Celsus, and Gerard both internally and externally to induce sleep. Grieve (p. 402) remarks that "[i]n small repeated doses, Henbane has been found to have a tranquilizing effect upon persons affected by severe nervous irritability, producing a tendency to sleep..." and recommends its use to allay nervous irritation. It could also function as a narcotic painkiller.

The wine would help to mask the bitter taste of the herbs, and its alcoholic content might itself induce drowsiness.

The radish appears to have no known sleep-inducing qualities.

ENTRY LXIII

This remarkable entry - one of the longest and most complex in Anglo-Saxon medicine (but cf. the extended list of ingredients in the salves in Entries XV and XXXI) - presents problems for the editor, the most fundamental of which is determining where this entry finishes and the following one begins. No previous editor appears to have been aware of such a problem - certainly they have not commented on such - but each of their treatments of the text differs significantly in this regard.

The single most significant failing of C's edition of Lacn. is the omission of the text preceding LL. on fol. 151r and constituting Entry LXIV in the present edition. This omission was corrected by L, but since neither he nor C does anything more than reproduce such divisions between groups of entries and sub-sections of entries as are evident in the MS, they do not address the present issue.

S was the first editor to attempt to present a continuous text of the entry without numbering the prayer sub-sections. For him the "Holy Salve" (no. 19 pp. 236-45)
concludes at the prayer "Deus meus..." (l. 293) and the subsequent lines (295-314) constitute a quite separate entry "Against poison" (no. 31 pp. 267-9).

GS print the text continuously, but supply numbered subsections and conspicuous sub-titles which, while they serve a limited use in delineating sections, rather obscure the integrity of this entry, and make their own intentions potentially unclear in this respect. Since no definite signal is given to the contrary it may be assumed that they considered the entry to continue without break until LL.

It seems to me that the editorial decisions of S and GS are unsatisfactory. While I agree with S in dividing the text into two separate entries, I reject his division after "Deus meus..." in favour of a division at the beginning of the folio (i.e. immediately before l 290 "& circumbat Ihesus .."). This decision receives strong support from knowledge of the palaeography and codicology of the MS, in that the considerable space left blank at the bottom of the preceding fol. 150v and the significantly smaller and more heavily abbreviated script (perhaps resulting from a different exemplar) of fol 151r suggest some degree of autonomy. Furthermore fol. 151, which contains only my Entry LXIV, is an additional leaf in a quire that would otherwise be a standard quire of eight leaves.

There other reasons for distinguishing Entry LXIV as it stands in my edition from the present entry: i. the present division allows ll. 290-4 to be viewed as the referents of the instructions Pas gebedu hriwa man sceal singan in l. 295, a possibility not permitted by S's division; ii. whereas l. 295 refers to a drink (pysne drænc) to be drunk (that it is to be drunk rather than applied externally is clear from ll. 297-8 Gif se mon sy innan forswollen þæt he ne læge þone wætan þicgean, sinc on þone mūþ innan and from the subsequent recitation of the Lat. passage in which St. John survives the ordeal of drinking a poisoned drink), the preceding entry is for a salve (ll. 235, 245 sealfe), and, while there are a few instances in OE medical texts of the consumption of salves and of the association of salves and dræncas (e.g. BLch (80/15-16); PD (ed. C vol. III, nos. 36, 40)), generally sealf and drænc are
distinguished. I do not know of an instance in which a medicine is described as both a sea/fe and a draeke.

The present division must assume that Entry LXIV has lost both its heading and a prior reference to the draeke (an assumption necessitated by l. 295 hyse). It might also be thought - particularly in view of its expansive nature - that the present "Holy Salve" is itself incomplete since it lacks concluding instructions on how the salve is to be finished (presumably detailing how the butter and the plants are to be combined) and how the salve is to be applied. However, since Lacn. Entry XV (and some other short remedies) lack any such directions for preparation and application, it may be that such knowledge was assumed.

The most recent commentator on this entry also addresses its integrity. Hohler [1980 278] is "pretty sure" that "the whole Latin section [i.e. ll. 260-89] ... is misplaced, and that the actual English termination of the instructions for preparing "Holy Salve" was missing in the book being copied". While it is possible - but as I have said far from certain - that an English termination to this entry has been lost, I cannot agree that all the Lat. prayers are likely to be misplaced. They follow on unobjectionably from a direction for "these prayers" to be sung (l. 259 Singe das orationons ofer), and the recitation of the first of them over a medicinal substance (rather than the patient as might perhaps be expected at first from its anatomical list) is paralleled in LchBk3 (quoted below in n. to ll. 260-7). Whether the two blessings that constitute ll. 285-9 are really part of this entry is certainly in doubt, but possibly the composer (or subsequent reviser) of this remedy felt that, as blessings of plant material, they could also be used as blessings for the large number of herbs employed in ll. 236-44.

235 To haligre sea/fe: According to the list of contents, the final remedy in LchBk3 (chap. lxxvi) was also a "holy salve", but the remedy itself is lost: Be pam: hu man scy/e haligre sea/fe wyrcean. [LchBk3 (304/23-4)]
236-43 : This list shows a sustained use of alliterative groups of two and three words unparalleled in the OE medical texts except (to a lesser extent) for Lacn. Entry XXXI ll. 124-8 (also note ll. 154-5 banwyrt 7 brunwyrt, betonican 7 streawberian wise, supernewuda 7 isopo, saluie 7 sauine; ll. 175-6 gyõhrofan 7 gearwan 7 eferpon 7 eoforforarn 7 moldcorn 7 medewyrt). There also seems to be use of rhyme in ll. 242-3: lihtge ... alehandrie, petreslige, grundeswylie (cf. the rhyming naedderwyrt 7 hlædderwyrt in l. 80 (possibly the preceding pair there should be cited too: iue 7 fisleafe). It seems likely that these mnemonic features are evidence for the oral transmission and memorization of certain complicated OE herbal lists.

GS (p 122 n. 2) consider these lines to be "rough alliterative verse" (I prefer to consider them patterned prose, but the distinction is somewhat arbitrary), and present them with a great deal of emendation as follows:

Sceal betonican 7 benedicte,
7 hindhalede 7 hanep, 7 hind brer [7] isenheard, Saluffge 7 safine, bisceopwyrt 7 boden, finul 7 fisleafe, healswyrt 7 hune,

mucwyrt, medewyr, 7 mergelle,
agroni[n]a, 7 ædelferðingwyrt, readec 7 ribbe 7 seo reade gearuwe, dle, oportanie [7] dracanse, cassoc 7 cawlic [7] cyledenie,

wyrrnd, [wudu]weax[e], wudorofe 7 wrettes cið.
Saturege 7 sigelhweorfa, brunewyr 7 rude, 7 berbene, streawberian wise 7 blæces smegles dust, ealhre, fanan, merce, pollegian, attorlade, haran spicel,
wudusille, wermod, eoforbrote, [7] ænglisc cost,
haewen hnydele. [hofe, cymen.]


20  hige, leuasica, ale[h]sandre.
petres'hige, grundeswylge

Perhaps the following conjectural arrangement is better (and some of the pairings which lack the syllabic weight to approximate to a classical alliterative long-line might perhaps be considered single half-lines):

Sceal betonican 7 benedecte,

hindælede 7 hænep 7 hindebrer,

isenhearde*, salfige 7 safine,
biscopwyr 7 boden fimul 7 fylsefe, healswyrt 7 hune,

macwyr, medewyr, 7 mergelle,

agnomona[a], 7 ædelsferingwyrt,

raecic 7 ribbe 7 seo reade gearuwe,

dale oportame [7] dracanse,
cassoc 7 cawlic, [7] cyedene,

wyrnd, weax, wudorofe 7 wrettes cid.

Saturege 7 sigelhweorfa,

brunewyr 7 rude, 7 herbene,

strawheran wise 7 blæces snegles dast,

ealhre, fanan, merce, pollegian,

attorlade, haranspigel,

wudufille, wermod,

eoforprote, [7] æncglisc cost,

haewene hnydele.

uca p(er)uca, [7] feuerfuge,

hofe.

*Storms (pp 241-2) states confidently that "isenhearde got its present place in the list because the s of the second syllable alliterates with the following salfige and safine, and the h of the third syllable with the preceding hænep and hindebrer".
Some of these alliterative pairings are found elsewhere in *Lacn.: salfige 7 safine* (cf. ll. 155, 834), and *wudorofe 7 wrêttes cīð* (cf. l. 126).

**Parallels and Variant Versions:**

Parallels between parts of this prescription and a remedy in *BLch* (112/24–114/1) are noteworthy:

*Wip fleogendum atre 7 alcum aternum smile: on Frigedæge apwer buteran he se gemolcen of anes bleos nyne oðde hinde, 7 ne sie wip wærte gemenged; asing ofer nigon sipum letania, 7 nigon sipum *"Pater noster*, 7 nigon sipum his gealdor:"

"Acre. arcre. ær nem. nadre. ær cuna hel. ær nem. ni þærn. ær. asan. bui þine. adcrice. ær nem. meodre. ær nem. æþern. ær nem. allū. honor. ucus. iðar. ad cert. cunolari. raticamo. helæ. icas cristi ta. hæle. to bært. tera. fueh. cui. robater. plana. ulti."

*Pet deah to alcum 7 huru to deopum dolgum.*

Although no plant material is used in the *BLch* text both remedies:

i. prescribe the churning of butter from the milk of an animal of one colour.

ii. stipulate that prayers are to be sung over the butter (a litany (pl. in *Lacn.*) is recited in both).

iii. stipulate that the incantation *Acre arcre...* is to be sung over it nine times.

Furthermore:

iv. though, it is not stated what kind of remedy the butter in *BLch* makes, it seems likely that it too is a salve.

v. there is reason to believe that both remedies are at least in part directed against poison, snakes, or worm-like creatures (or their effects).
Variant versions of the *Acre acre*... incantation are collectively presented and discussed in the Commentary to *Lacn*. Entry XXV.

Parallels to the Lat. prayers in ll. 260-89 are dealt with below.

236 *benedicite*: Cf. for C's (so too Bierb2) tentative identification of this plant name as denoting herb bennet the equation of Lat. *benedicta* with (among other names) ME *benet, herb benet* (see Hunt [1989]).

237 *bisceopwyrt*: OEHerb (1/2) (see also the evidence in Bierb3 under *bisceopwyrt*, and from later times Hunt [1989: under *Andra, Betonica, Obstrutio, Persponon, Serone, Tiarisa, Vetomcal]*) equates *bisceopwort* with betony, but de Vriend thinks this is a mistake (if so it was a long-lived and popular one), and Bierb2 (p 14) observes that in the present case (as elsewhere) the two words are found together (l 236 *betonican*), doubtless denoting different plants. Bierb2 and de Vriend are agreed that *bisceopwyrt* is usually marsh mallow. In the botanical glossaries collected by Hunt [1989] ME *bishopswort* denotes a number of different plants including possibly marsh mallow (see under *Ibercus*), but especially betony; the modern local plant names "bishop's wort" and "bishopwort" denote respectively betony and water mint according to Grigson [1958: 323].

238 *mergelle*: This might be the plant *meargealla* of *BLch* (see Bierb1); cf. also *merscmergylle* in *Lacn*.

239 *oprtame*: Cf. Bierb2 *aprotane*.

239 *caulic*: On this plant name see von Lindheim [1941: 31 (no. 53)].

239 *dracanse*: Bierb2 identifies this plant as *dracunculus vulgaris* Schott, adderwort (though the modern English name is now usually dragon arum); this plant
does not grow wild in Britain. Another identification might be the native bistort
(Polygonum bistorta L.) - Bierb3 (dracentise) entertains this as a possible
identification for a gloss, and it appears that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries
ME drosage may have been equated with this plant (see Hunt [1989]) DOE
dracentise defines the plant as "dragonwort or dragons".

239 weax : "Wax" GS's emendation to the plant name [wux]wex[e] is
probably unjustified since not all of the ingredients in this list are plants - note ll.
240-1 blices snegles dust Furthermore, in the "green salve" (Lacn. Entry XV, I. 51)
and in the "good bonesalve" (Lacn. Entry XXXI, I. 141) wax is also used.

240-1 blices snegles dust : A black/dark snegl (presumably usually the common
- and often dirty - garden snail) also has to be reduced to dust, which is used (partly)
in a salve together with plants, in BLch (144/2-4):

\[\text{Hip huntan bite } \text{blace sneglas on hattre pannan gehyrste [for gehyrstede] 7}
\to duste geggindene, 7 piper 7 betomcan; ete feet dust 7 drince 7 on lece.\]

There is also a reference to "the black snegl" (might this instance in fact not be a
snail at all, but rather the distinctive large black slug?) in BLch:

\[\text{Gif naddre slea man: hone blacan snegl awasc on halig wetre; sele}
\text{drincan, oppe hwethwega pes pe fram scotum come. [BLch (110/14-17)]}\]

A snegl (not specifically black) is also employed in Lacn. Entry CLXVII.

In a remedy from South Northamptonshire recorded in Ni&Q for 1850 (no. 33, p.
36) the "large black snails, which are to be found during summer in every hedgerow"
are employed against warts.

\[\text{OED} \text{ "snail" (sb') records the former (and still dialectal and Scottish) use of the word "snail" to denote}
\text{both snails and slugs. I suppose Lacn 'black snegl' must be a snail rather than a slug - for can a slug be reduced to a powder?}\]
242 *uca peruc*a: This Lat. plant-name denotes the greater periwinkle (Vinca major L.). See *OEHerb* for the identification and the spelling (chap. clxxix, pp. 224-7, 327).

245-6 *anes heowe[s] cy ... mon da buteran adwere*: Cf. Lacin. 1. 942 (anes bleos cu meoluc), with Napier [1890: 327, n. 15] the words *wylle on anes hiwes cu meolce* (which should doubtless be read *wylle on anes hiwes cu meolce*) in a remedy in London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 46 (Ker no. 98 (also in the supplement), s. xi/xi), and especially *Blch* (112/25-6 *apwer buteran pe sie gemolcen of anes bleos nytre obbe hinde*). Note also a remedy of the medieval Welsh Physicians of Myddai (trans. Pughe [repr. 1989: §305 p. 54]), "Take the milk of a one coloured cow".

See further Bonser [1925: 194-5] and [1963: 216-7].

248 7 *wa'ter gehaiga fonthalgunge*: Since a priest is later called upon (l. 258) I take this to mean not "consecrate water in the ceremony of the consecration of a font", but rather "have get water consecrated (sc. by a priest) in the ceremony of the consecration of a font".

Baptismal water was formerly much prized. It is also employed in *LchBk3* (344 23-6):

110 ælfaðe ... beind ealle þa wyryta on claþe; bedyrp on fontweþe gehalgodum...

Archbishop Wulfstan in his *Sermo de Baptismate* (ed. Betherum [1957: 179]) gives indication of the exorcismal nature of the ceremony of font consecration and of the font-water which, judging from the exorcisms later in this remedy (ll. 260-74), is probably relevant here:

*And þurh þa fonthalgunge þær gewyrð sona Godes æmlhtiges midwist. And þurh þa orðunge þe se sacerd on þæt water orðad þonne he font halgad*
wyrd deofol þanon afyr sad. And þonne se sacerd gehalgodne tapor in þæt
water deð, þonne wyrd þæt water mid þam halgan gaste þurhgoten.

Payne [1904 119 n. 2] refers to Hunt [1916: 413] who, writing of beliefs in
nineteenth-century Cornwall, records a request for font-water to undo a spell, and how
fonts were formerly locked to prevent the water from being stolen. A remedy for warts
in the medieval Welsh remedy collection of the Physicians of Myddwai also uses water
from a font (see Pugh [repr. 1989 §813]).

See further Kittredge [1929: 150-1]

248 innan. Presumably from within the font.

249-50 gewvrc hine fedorbyrste, writ onforan das halgan naman. Matheus,
Marcus, Lucas Johannes. By the principle of sympathetic magic the power of the
names of the saints is thoroughly intermingled with the butter.

The words gewvrc hine fedorbyrste seem to mean that four cracks or prongs are
to be made in the wood, on each of which one of the names is to be written. OE
fedorbyrste (-bvrste is related to berstan "to break" rather than byrst "bristle" or
gebvrst "furnished with bristles😉) is discussed by Schlutter [1907a: 129].

Cf. the use of "four-edged sticks" in a damaged OE remedy in BL MS Cotton
Vitellius E xviii. fol 15v (Ker no. 224, s. vi med.; ed. C (vol. I, p. 386), also ed. S (p.
50, no. 50), see also on this text Schlutter [1907a, 240]):

[gemm twegen]. . lante sticcan federecgode. 7 writ on ægernes sticcan
[be] hwelcere ecge an Pater noster œd ende...

Cf. also in the metrical charm For Unfruitful Land (ASPR 6, no. 1) the making of
four crosses inscribed with these same four holy names on each corner, crosses which
are then buried beneath sods to imbue the earth with their sanctifying power.

251 sing ofer das sealmas. "Beati i[m]maculati"... ælce ðriwa ofer : This is
Vulgate Psalm 118. Although the instruction du sing ofer das sealmas .... ælce ðriwa
ofer indicates that more than one psalm is to be sung, only this one is given. It therefore appears that the title of at least one other psalm has dropped out (so C also thinks). GS suppose in their translation (p. 125) that ealne refers to "each section" of this lengthy psalm, but I am not convinced that this explains the plurality of sealmas.

252-3 "Gloria in excelsis deo" . . . "Credo in Deum Patrem" . . . "Deus meus et Pater" . "In principio" . GS (p. 125 n. 3) observe that the "passages are all from the Canon of the Mass Gloria in excelsis Deo (St Luke ii. 14) is the opening passage of the Mass with the Credo following soon after The Deus meus et Pater opens the second paragraph and the In Principio (St John i. I) opens the last paragraph".

Cf Lacn 1 103 for the In principio.

254 pet wyrmgealdor C, G, S and GS all assume that this refers to the Olr incantation against a worm in Lacn Entry XXVI (Gonomil orgonomil...). Olsan [1992: 135-6] is the only commentator to propose an alternative:

Although Gratian and Singer suggest that the worm charm mentioned in the list of "psalms" is "presumably that beginning Gonomil" . . . the worm charm probably meant here is the Latin Christian one "Job habuit vermes" . . . since it more readily fits in with the overtly Christian formulas linked together in this ritual In either case, sealmas and the wyrmgealdor are mentioned in the same breath

While this identification is possible (or at least it cannot be proven wrong), Olsan's stated reason for favouring the Job charm (for an example of which see analogue no. 4 in the Commentary to Entry CLIII), which whether by chance or not, is not found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, above the Gonomil charm is unsound. For, although the reference to the wyrmgealdor clearly does follow Lat. prayers, it in turn

19 A penciled n. by Dr Furnivall in the margin of his copy of C ("i. e. the portions of Ps. CXXV") shows that he had the same idea as GS
is immediately followed by the instruction to sing a secular gealdor in similarly partly corrupt Or (Acre acre...).

However, another conceivable identification for þæt wyrmgealdor is the popular Lat. passage concerning St. John found in Lacn. Entry LXIV II. 299-314 that recounts his victory over poison and states the power of God's name to conquer various poisonous creatures (which were doubtless collectively termed wyrmas by the Anglo-Saxons). In BLch the relevant passage is preceded by the words:

\[ \text{Wip nædram selege do of pinum earan þæt teoro 7 smire mid ymb 7 sing briwa þæs halgan Sancte Iohannes gebed 7 gealdor. [BLch (11/2-5)]} \]

Since (unless there has been some omission) no separate gealdor is given in BLch, it is possible (though undeniably rather odd) that the "prayer and incantation of St John" are one and the same. If so it would be apparent that there was more than one gealdor for use against wyrmas in Anglo-Saxon England. Whether this or the Gonomil charm - if not indeed some other lost text - is Lacn.'s wyrmgealdor cannot be determined.

254-7 þæt wyrmgealdor ... 7 do din spatlon: It is quite likely that the spittle as well as the incantation was intended to combat wyrm - see notes to Entry XXVII in which spittle is applied to a "wound" as a remedy wið smeogan wyrme.

255-6 *Acre .. fidine*: For discussion of this Irish incantation see Commentary to Lacn Entry XXV. Since the other versions of it are, except possibly in one case where no directions are given, used to remedy a blain or poisonous swelling, we might speculate that here too the incantation (and so too the entire "holy salve"?) is put to such a use.

Cf. the use of incantatory sound patterning in other passages in Lacn. - Entries XXII, XXV, XXVI, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.

\[ The contents reference (BLch (1/2-3)) reads similarly: "þæs halgan Cristes þegnes Iohannes gebed 7 gealdor. \]
257 7 do ðin spatl on, 7 blaw on, 7 lege ða wyrta be ðæm ceace : C and GS assume that one puts one's spittle on, and blows upon the plants, but it seems more likely (though not certain) that these actions refer to the butter, which is easily understood since the maker of the salve has just finished singing various psalms and prayers over it.

257 ceace : It is not clear what use this vessel is put to. Perhaps it is the receptacle for the finished salve when the butter and plants have (one supposes) been combined.

258 7 gehalg[e] hv svôdan. "And let a priest hallow them". There is a significant point to be observed here, though no editor comments. The MS has the imp gehalga which grammar dictates cannot stand with massepreost without emendation (there is a clear point in MS after massepreost and a capital S for Singe in l 259 to indicate that it is meant to), and in consequence I have emended (following GS) to the expected subj form. The scribe may have inadvertently repeated gehalga from l 248. Alternatively, perhaps the MS punctuation is at fault - perhaps the text should read gehalga hv svôdan; massepreost singe ðas orationis ofer "consecrate them then, let a priest sing these prayers over them".

Or might the word massepreost be a clumsily introduced interpolation resulting from a desire to adapt a prescription originally intended for a clerical audience to a lay one? (cf. imp. water gehalga fonthalgonge in l. 248 - an address to a priest?).

259 Singe ðas orationis ofer : The fact that the following prayers consist of four exorcisms and prayers ostensibly for human beings (II. 260-84) and two blessings for plants (II 285-9) presents us with a difficulty - over what are they to be sung - the plants (and/or butter salve), the patient, or both? Recitation over the patient alone might seem unlikely given the focus on plant-material in the final two. Perhaps they are all to be sung only over the plants, the references to human anatomy not being
anachronistic if it were believed that once the salve was applied their power (as manifest in the plants) would come into contact with the patient (cf. the drinking of prayers in Lacn. Entry XXIX "the holy drink"). But this is of course highly uncertain.

Furthermore, who is to sing these prayers? Are they included as part of the priest's consecration of the plants (l. 258 gehalg[ie] hy syödän mæssepreost), or are they separate and understood to be recited by the preparer of the salve (if that is a different person) - singe then functioning as an imp.? If the former would not the priest possess his own prayers? Hence the latter? If the MS punctuation were at fault here or if l. 258 mæssepreost were an interpolation (see above), then the preparer of the prescription would presumably be a priest, in which there would be no doubt that he was to say them. Again there can be no firm conclusions.

259 orationes For orationes

260-7 This "widespread exorcism, existing in slightly variant forms" (Hohler [1980 278]) is also found in two other Anglo-Saxon MSS, both in medico-magical contexts, though in forms sufficiently different to suggest complexity in their relationship to one another. The first and closest verbal parallel occurs in the margin of CCCC MS 41 (p 272) (s ∂)

Hid ealra leonda grímnissum

Dextera dom ni fecit ı permitted god(m); dextera dom(mi)ni exaltavit me; non morar, sed ut tua m) & narrabo dom(mi)m

Dextera glorificata est in uirtute, dextera man(us) tua confregit inimicos & p(er) multitudine m) magestatis tuae contresust adversarius meas, misisti ıra(m) tua(m) & co(m)medit eos.

Sc p(er) ıbera ıeritatas amendato, ıc ens immundissime sp(iritus), ıetus ıculor(um) tibi gehanna ignis.

Cedite a capite, a capitibus, a labiis, a lingua, a collo, a pectorib(us), ab ıniversas conjurib(us) membror(um) eus, ut non habeant potestate(m)
diabulus ab homine isto. N. de capite, de capillis, nec nocendi, nec tangendi, nec dormiendi, nec tangendi, nec insurgendi, nec in meridiano, nec in uisu, nec in nisu, nec in fulgendo, il effute.

Sed in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui cum patre & spiritu sancto uzuis & re:js in unitate spiritu sancti per omnia secula seculorum

[Text after Grant [1979: 15-16], but layout and expansion of abbreviations (within round brackets) are mine; also edited by C (vol. I p. 386) and by S (p. 285 no 48)]

The second instance, in LchBk3, though not such a close verbal parallel to Lacn., shows such a text being used in a similar situation - it is to be sung over a herbal drence (used to anoint the patient's limbs and not certainly for drinking) in an extended Christian ritual against a sickness caused by an elf:

Sing his ofer: ham drence and ham gewrite:

Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per impositionem huus scriptura expelle a famulo tuo N. omnem impetuum castalidum de capite, de capillis de cerebro, de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de fauciibus, de denuibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo, de brachius, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedibus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris. Amen.

[LchBk3 (348/26-350 5)]

Hohler, however, notes a closer redaction as part of an Oratio super daemoniacum in a Pontifical of Passau (Vienna 1817) (Gerbert dates s. xii or xiii):

Item alta

Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterna Deus per impositionem manuum nostrarum refugiat inimicus diabulus a capite, a capillis, ab oculis, a naribus, ab auribus, a labus, a lingua, a sublingua, a collo, a pectore, a ventre, ab intestinis, a cruribus, a pedibus, a calcaneis, ab universis compaginibus membrorum. Non habeat potestatem nocendi, nec tangendo,
nec dormiendo, nec vigilando, nec in die, nec in nocte, nec in ingressu, nec
in sedendo, nec in iacendo, nec in visu, nec in risu, nec in ludendo, in
nomine D(om)ni n(osl)r, Ih(es)u (Crisis) qui nos suo sanguine redemit, qui
regnat in saecula saeculorum. Nam te adiuro per Deum altissimum maledicte
satanas, ne famulum hunc Dei aribus tuis temptare nitaris, neque in eum
violentius iirras. Contnemisce Deum immaculissime spiritus, principium
scelens, malorum omnium radix, transgressor viae veritatis, praevaricator
rectae viae, iustitiae persecutor, fornicatons suasor, parricidii magister
dissipator pacis, semen pessimum, dux tenebrarum, mortis inventor, ianua
tartari, gentium vorago, omnium denique crimini causa, separa te a
famulo Dei, scut separavit Deus Pater omnipotens caelum a terra, vitam a
morte, septentrionem a meridi, lucem a tenebris, veritatem a mendacio,
rustitiam ab iniquitate, amorem ab odio, castitatem ab impudicitia. Da
honorem Deo, laudem advenienti Spiritui sancto in saecula saeculorum.
[ed. Gerbert [1779 136] (abbreviations expanded within round brackets)]

Cf some directions in a remedy for devil-possession in BLch (138/7-8): ...7 se
masspreost him singe after pam drence his ofer: "Domine sancte, Pater
omnipotens"

Such exorcisms and prayers enumerating parts of the body may have their roots
in Irish tradition - cf e.g. LL., and the Antiphonary of Bangor (c. 680-91) fol. 30v:

\[
D(om)ine s(an)c(t)e paler omn(i)p(oten)s aeterne D(eu)s expelle diabulum et
gentilitatem ab homine isto, de capite, de capitlis, de cerebro, de vertice, de
fronte, de oculis, de auribus, de naribus, de labis, de ore, de lingua, de
sublingua, de faucib(u)s, de gulletore, de collo, de corde, de corpore toto, de
omnibus membrorum copagib(u)s...
\]

For a facsimile of this passage see de Hamel [1986: 21 pl. 15]); for discussion see
Hughes [1970: 54-7 (and note n. 1 p. 57)] and Sims-Williams [1978: 89-93 (and note
n. 90)]

Cf also Lacn. II. 909-12:
(Aduro te ...) ut non possit diabolus nocere ei, nec in dentes, nec in aures, nec in pal[a]to, famulo Dei, illi non ossa fra[n]gere, nec carnem manducare, ut non habeatis potestatem nocere illi, non dormiendo, nec uigilando ..

265 sed . GS understandably emend sic, but cf. the erroneous sed (for sic) in the closing formula of the analogous prayer from CCCC MS 41 quoted above. Accordingly I choose not to emend.

268 rogo A mistake for rogo The scribe has at best a tenuous hold on the Lat. language

268 Fili For Fili

269 delas For deleas

270 adminiculum For adminiculum

271 homines Properly hominis

272 confiteantur For confiteatur.

272 abet 1 e habet

272 uenit : This must be corrupt, but no obviously correct emendation has suggested itself Perhaps uideat "he may see" was intended.

273 unde ergo, maledefte, recognoscse sentam tuam : Cf. Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft [1584: 256] which reports that exorcism must always end with Ergo
male dicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam, &c. Cf. also the words "Therefore thou cursed spirit, remembre thy sentence..." found in an English baptismal rite (1548-9; see Wordsworth [1903: 384]).

273 sentiam : For sententiam.

274 oc : I e hoc, cf abet for habet in l. 272.

275 tu fecisti . eorum : Cf Vulgate Genesis 2:1 igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum

276 sancti : For sanctos

277 omni : For omnia

277 tu fecisti Adam de limo terre : Cf. Vulgate Genesis 2:7 formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae

278 suam : For suam

278 it : For id

278, 279 super nomen . super nomen : This use of super rather than per ("by", "through") is unusual

284 tui : For tuo

285-7 Benedicteo ... summanus, p(er)... : This passage is badly corrupt. GS (n. 1 p 129) offer a "drastic emendation"", but Hohler [1980: 278] notes that the
maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam, &c. Cf. also the words "Therfore thou cursed spirite, remembre thy sentence..." found in an English baptismal rite (1548-9; see Wordsworth [1903: 384]).

273 sentiam : For sententiam.


275 tu fecisti .. eorum : Cf Vulgate Genesis 2.1 igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum

276 sancti For sanctos

277 omni For omnia

277 tu fecisti Adam de limo terre : Cf Vulgate Genesis 2:7 formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae

278 suam For suam

278 it For id

278, 279 super nomen .. super nomen : This use of super rather than per ("by", "through") is unusual

284 tua : For tuo

285-7 Benedelho .. summanus, p(er)... : This passage is badly corrupt. GS (n. 1 p 129) offer a "drastic emendation"4, but Hohler [1980: 278] notes that the
benediction is "a laughable text of a common blessing, beginning *Te deprecamus* [sic] ... , but with the first half missing". Hohler assumes that this prayer must have been complete in the exemplar of *Lacn.*, and that it must then have begun on the previous page. This is not a safe assumption since *Lacn.* might itself be derived here from an already incomplete and corrupted exemplar. The complete text reads thus in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (ed. Wilson [1894: no. LXXXIX]; I underline the words corresponding to *Lacn*):

**BENEDICTIO POMORUM**

*Te deprecamus* omnipotens Deus, ut benedicases hunc fructum novorum pomorum ut qui esu interdictae arboris letalis pomi in proptoparente iusta funeris sententia multat sumus, per illustrationem unci Filii tuui Redemptoris, Dei ac Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et Spiritus sancti benedictio, sanctificata omnia atque benedicta, depulsa atque abscondita vetusti hostis atque primi facinoris incentoris insidias, salubriter ex huus dei anniversaria solemnitate diversis terrae edendis germibus sumamus.

*Qui vivis et regnas in unitate.*

In the Anglo-Saxon *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren [1883: 224]) the text reads:

**Benedictio pomorum**

*Te deprecamus* omnipotens deus, ut benedicases hunc fructum novum pomorum, ut qui esu interdictae arboris letalis pomi in proptoparente iuste funeris sententia multat sumus, per illustrationem unci filii tuui redemptoruis, dei ac domini nostri ivesu christi, et spiritus sancti benedictionem, sanctificata omnia atque benedicta, depulsa atque abscondita vetusti hostis atque primi facinoris incentoris insidias, salubriter ex huus dei anniversaria solemnitate diversis terrae edendis germibus fruamur. Per dominum nostrum

---

*Benedictio et sanctifica omnia atque temptationes depulsa abscondie vetusti hostis praelia atque facinora sicut ejum omis insidiae salubriter et universaliter versurus solemnitate diversis terrae edendis summarum per Patrem et Filiunm et Spiritum Sanctum Amen.*
For other instances of this prayer in medieval sacramentaries see CCSL (vols. CLIX, CLIXA, vol. 2, p. 446 no. 2834, *Benedictio Pumorum*⁷, followed immediately by a prayer corresponding to *Lacn.* II. 288-9), and Richter & Schönfelder [1912: 366, no. 2776] (*Benedictio Pumorum*, immediately preceded by a prayer corresponding to *Lacn.* II. 288-9). A text close to *Lacn.* (though, as far as we can tell in view of the incompleteness and corruption, not quite so close as the Gelasian Sacramentary) is found in a sacramentary from Autun (CCSL vol. CLIXB p. 231, no. 1859), where it is again immediately followed by a prayer (p. 232, no. 1860) corresponding to *Lacn.* II 288-9

*Benedictio Pumorum*

*Te depraecamur omnipotens aeternae deus ut benedicas hunc fructum novum pumorum ut qui esu interdixtis arbores laetatis poma in proptependi iustus funera sententia multatis sumus per illustrationem unci filii tui redemptoris dei ac domini nostri Iesu Christi et spiritus sancti benedictionem sanctifica ta omnia atque benedicta depulsa atque abiecta uestis hostis atque primum facinoris incenitoris insidias, salubriter ex huius diei anniversaria sollemnitate de universas terre edendis germibus sumamus qui uitis et regnat in secula amen*

*Benedic domine hunc fructum novarum arborum, ut hi qui utuntur ex eo sint sanctificati* per

*We entreat you omnipotent eternal God that you bless this fruit of new apples, so that we, who have been justly punished by the sentence of death passed upon our first parent in the eating of the deadly apple of the forbidden tree, through the illumination of your only Son, of the redeeming God and of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessing of the Holy Spirit, may take all things holy and blessed from the all the edible fruits of the earth safely from the annual festival of this day, the wiles of the ancient enemy and of the inciter*

---

⁷Where *Lacn.* has *summamus*, this version similarly has *summamus*, both being for *sumamus*. 
of the first crime having been driven off and cast down; who lives and reigns forever. Amen.

Bless, O Lord, this fruit of the new trees, so that those who use it may be sanctified: through

Hohler [1980 278] sees some significance in "abominable texts" such as Lacn.'s:

The explanation ... is that we are down at the level of priests' Manuals, books which get rained on at funerals, and dropped in the mud by choirboys, and unless the diocesan authorities take an active interest, get recopied from illegible and damaged models, while unsuitable things creep in ... It is very difficult, if a priest who does not in fact know Latin has to recite Latin prayers to an audience whose native language is German or Welsh, to ensure that what he says will be in a form God is likely to understand or approve. But the intention will probably be good.

287 per This is a common abbreviation for a concluding formula: understand
Per Dominum nostrum (see above), or Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, or Per eum qui vivit (see e.g. Elfinne's Prayerbook (ed. Gunzel [1993: 194-5]) or another such similar formula

288-9 Another version of this blessing is found in the Anglo-Saxon Durham Ritual

B' POMORUM

Benedic domine hunc fructum novum pomorum ut hi qui utuntur ex eo sint

g halgado

sanctificati per
A version of it very probably also constitutes the fragmentary *Lacn*. Entry CLXXXVIII (see notes thereto).

There is another recorded in Franz [1909 vol.1: 379]:

*Benedic, domine, hunc fructum nouum arborum, ut hi, qui in tuo nomine utuntur ex eo, sint sanctificati*.

See further notes above for instances of this text associated with the previous prayer (*Lacn* II 285-7), but I have not seen an exact parallel to *Lacn*’s words *hunc fructum arborum*.

288 *fructum* Note that *nouum* or *novarum* does not follow this word in the *Lacn*. text. Scribal omission may account for this.

288 /hi/ This word has evidently dropped out *perhaps as a result of scribal confusion over the minum stroke* in *L 288 utuntur* below.

288 *utuntur* MS (*)unim(ur) is a corruption of *utuntur* arising from confusion over the formation and grouping of the minum strokes.

289 *sanctificare* For *sanctificati*.

**ENTRY LXIV**

This entry is probably acephalous. It has no heading and, judging from l. 295 (*bisne drænc*), details concerning a drink have been lost. In the parallel from the *Book of Nunnamonster* (see below) the text is headed *Contra uenenum* (and that is how *ASMFL* (p. 31) describes this entry). For the reasoning behind my decision to

---

Note that *nouum* or *novarum* does not follow this word in the *Lacn*. text. Scribal omission may account for this.

288 /hi/ This word has evidently dropped out *perhaps as a result of scribal confusion over the minum stroke* in *L 288 utuntur* below.

288 *utuntur* MS (*)unim(ur) is a corruption of *utuntur* arising from confusion over the formation and grouping of the minum strokes.

289 *sanctificare* For *sanctificati*.

**ENTRY LXIV**

This entry is probably acephalous. It has no heading and, judging from l. 295 (*bisne drænc*), details concerning a drink have been lost. In the parallel from the *Book of Nunnamonster* (see below) the text is headed *Contra uenenum* (and that is how *ASMFL* (p. 31) describes this entry). For the reasoning behind my decision to
make this a separate entry rather than a continuation of the previous one see
Commentary to Entry LXIII.

290-2 & circumbat Iheus ... in populo: Matthew 4:23. The beginning of this
passage is also employed in Entry XXIX se halga drenæ (ll. 104-5). Cf. also the use
of these words in early Christian (Egyptian) healing amulets in Meyer & Smith [1994:
33, no 7, 35, no 9]

292-3 sanat te Deus Pater . ab omni periculo: A variant version of this prayer
occurs first in the Royal Prayerbook (BL MS Royal 2 A xx, fol. 13r-v (s.viii)) as the
last part of a three-part prayer

Oratio -

Deus omnipotens et dominus noster ih(esu)s (crystus) et spiritus sanctus sanctus
et custodiat me deus ac noctibus corpus et animam hic et ubique in
sempiterna salu Benedicat me d(omui)nus et custodiat me ostenda qu(e)u
dominius faciam mihi et misereatur mei convertat d(omui)nus suum ad me
et det mihi pacem et sanitatem. amen Sanat te d(eu)s pater
omnipotens qui te creaut . Sanat te ih esu)s (crystus) qui pro te passus est .
Sanat te spiritus sian c tu s qui in te effusus est . Sanat te fides tua qui te
lberaut ab omni periculo et ab iniquitate
[ed. Kuypers [1902 206] (though I have expanded abbreviations within
round brackets), for a slightly improved reading and a translation see
Sims-Williams [1990 296])

Sims-Williams [1990 296] remarks that the second and third parts "seem to be
taken from rites for the visitation for the sick" and suggests that since the first and

---

9 Cf. also part of a charm quoted by Harpp [1961 185]
+ Sanet te pater
+ Sanet te filius
+ Sanet te spiritus sanctus amen.
Also note part of a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century charm for fevers in an Anglo-Irish medical collection
(ed. Hunt [1990 214-5 (no. 11)]
Christus te sanet + sanet te Pater per potentiam suam + sanet te Filius per passionem suam +
sanet te Spiritus Sanctus per bonitatem suam + sanet te Trinitas Sancta per gloriosam
omnipotentiam suam
second parts were glossed in OE these may have been said by the sick person, while the unglossed third part (Sanat te Deus...) was to be said by the visiting priest. He proposes an Irish origin for the second and possibly the third part which recurs in a mid-ninth-century Benedictio super infirmum from Nonatola, again (shortly after the second part) in the Romano-German Pontifical §CXXXIX.27 next to a prayer entitled Deprécatio. This latter prayer and the present prayer are also found together with an exorcism Super demoniacum, "an exorcism of the devil from every conceivable part of the body, which is extant in Irish manuscripts of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and is closely related to the seventh-century Lorica of Laidcenn" in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat 1888 (Mainz, s. x").

Sims-Williams (1990 298) observes that Matthew 4. 23 (Lacn. II. 290-2) also appears among the lections in the Royal Prayer Book (fol. 7r).

292 sanat te  Sims-Williams (1990 297-298) remarks that the Royal Prayer Book's use of the indicative sanat te "(God) heals thee"... where all the continental texts have the subjunctive sanet te "may (God) heal thee", betrays the quasi-magical aspect of this section of the prayer book. It should probably not be dismissed as an example of a common Hiberno-Latin confusion in the first conjugation, for the same sanat te recurs in ... the Old English magical and medical collection Lacnuna

Earlier S (p 245) too had supported the MS reading of the indicative mood on the grounds that "nearly all the Christian prayers in this charm have some magical significance"

293 adhu  For adhwa

293-4 Deus meus et Pater Sancti: A prayer also used earlier in the holy salve (l. 253).
293 Fil/i/i: A mistake for Filius.

294 Sancti: An error for Sanctus.

295 Pas gebedu priwa man sceal singan: ælc priwa...: GS (p. 129) translate the first priwa as "three", but this is incorrect - priwa means " thrice", and so the text does not stipulate how many prayers are to be sung. S (p. 267) omits to translate one instance of priwa.

Perhaps the first priwa is a scribe's mistaken expansion of III in an exemplar, the correct reading being preo ("three") However, the two instances of priwa are not necessarily erroneous (though certainly rather stylistically inept) - it may be that the import of the second is to indicate more precisely the manner of recitation required, namely that each prayer is to be said thrice independently from the others, followed similarly by the next two, rather than that all the prayers should be said once in succession with the series then repeated twice.

295-6 7 þees monnes orud eallínga on þone wætan: The preceding verb sceal still seems to be operative - "and the person's breath must be ...". Alternatively the verb sy ("and let the person's breath be ") might be understood.

297 ðif se mon sv innan forswollon. þæt he ne mæge þone wætan þiecgan, snc...:

It is possible - particularly in view of the story about the drinking from a cup filled with wyrmas told in the subsequent Lat. passage (II. 299-314) - that such distension (presumably of the stomach or bowels), was thought to be caused by the poison of internal wyrm infestation. This "common international belief" is clearly evident in some medieval Welsh saints' lives (Henken [1991 54]), e.g.: "And a maid whose stomach was distended with evil poisonous poison, through the grace of the saint, when she put in her mouth water from his
fountain, innumerable creatures, without heat, [?] from her body did she spit."

Cf. also notes to Entry XXVI on an ingested wyrm.

299-314 "Tunc beatus Iohannes .... per eundem" : As Barb [1953: 10] observes the bulk of this passage is paralleled in six other medieval versions, the first four are Anglo-Saxon and the fifth is Irish; the provenance of the sixth is unknown to me:

i. The Book of Nunnaminstert[20] (ed. Birch [1889: 90]), headed Contra Uenenum; [Deus] meus ... inluminante mereantur peruenire Amen. (This instance is of particular interest with regard to Lacn. because it too immediately precedes a text of LL.)

ii. The Book of Cerne (ed. Kuypers [1902: 157]), headed Item alia oratio (i.e. Sancti Iohannis evangelistae), Tunc beatus Iohannis ... tuam intellegant, per ...  

iii. The Durham Ritual (ed. Lindelöf & Thompson [1927: 125]); Deus meus ... tuam intellegant This text has an OE gloss.

iv. BLch (112/6-23) - part of a remedy for snake bite.

v. The Irish Liber Hymnorum (ed. Bernard & Atkinson [1898 vol. I: 91 (see also p 90 Proefato In Oratwnem S Iohannis Euangelistae), vol. II, 172-3 (also p. 29)); Deus meus ... tuam intellegant Amen

vi. Vatican MS Regina Christina 852 fol. 6v (s. x?) (ed. Schmitz [1898] (a revision of the text and findings presented in Schmitz [1890: 603-4])); Deus meus ... moereantur Adiendentes autem.

The BLch text reads in full.

Hid nödran slege do of þinum earan þæt teoro 7 smere mid ymb, 7 sang priwa þæs halgan Sancte Iohannes gebed 7 gealdor:

"Deus meus et Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, cui omnia subiecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deservit et omnis potestas subiecta est et metuit et expauescit et draco fugit et salit uipera et rubeta, illa que dicitur rana quieta

*In this MS the passage is found, as in Lacn, immediately before a text of LL.
torpescit et scorpius extinguitur et regulus uincitur et spelaius nihil noxium
operatur et omnia uenenata et adhuc ferocior repente et animalia noxia
tenebantur et omnes adverse salutis humane radices arescunt. Tu Domine
extingue hoc uenenatum virus extingue operationes eius mortiferas et uires
quas in se habet euacua et da in conspectu tuo omnibus quos tu creasti,
oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant, cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant.

"Et cum hoc dixisset totum semetipsum signo crucis armavit et bibit
totum quod erat in calice: per signum sancte crucis et per te Criste Ihesu et
Deo summo patre uius, salvator mundi, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia
saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Below is the edited text of Lacn. together with the variant readings of the other
versions (excluding the OE heading to BLch) in footnotes.

Footnote Abbreviations:

BLch Bald's Leechbook      Cn : Book of Cerne
DR Durham Ritual           LH : Liber Hymnorum
N . Book of Unnaminster    V : Vatican Regina Christina MS 852 fol. 6v

Tunc beatus Iohannes, racentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberunt,
intrepidus et constans accipiens [calicem] et sanguinaculum crucis faciens in eo
dixit."

"Deus meus et Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, cujus omnis creature deseruit
e et omnis potestas subiacta sunt, cujus omnis creature deseruit et omnis potestas subiacta"
(est) et est metuit [et]106 expauescit cum(m)101 nos te ad auxiliu(m) inuocamus;
cuius auditu nomine serpens conquiescit et draco102 fugavit103, siluit104 uipera,
et rubita105 illa quae106 dicit(ur) rana quieta107 extorpescit108, scorpius109
extinguetur110 et111 regulas112 uncit(ur)113, et spalagias115 nihil116 noxium
operatur, et117 om(n)i a uenenata et adhuc feroziara118 repentina19 [et]120
animala noxa tenebrantur121 et om(ne)s aduerse122 salutes123 humane124
radices arescent125. Tu, D(om)ne126, extingue127 hoc uenenatum128 virus,
extingue129 operations130 et(us) mortueros131 et uires quas if(n)132 se habent133
et uacua134; et da in conspectu tuo omnibus quos135 tu creasti oculos ut
uideant, aures ut audiant136, cord137 [u]138 magnitudinem tua(m)
intellegant139."
"Et quoque totum semetipsum armauit crucis signo et bibit totum quod erat in calice; et postea quam bibit dixit:

"Peto, ut propter quos bibi fluunt et ad te, Domine, et ad salutem que apud te est, te inluminante meriantur; per eundem." 

Although GS declare this passage in Lacn. to be a fragment of "lost apocrypha"131, its source was approximately identified (for the BLch version) in the 1860s by C (vol. II p. 112) (also by Jost [1950: 104] (with reconstruction of part of the text of Lacn.) and notably by Barb [1952: 9-12]). The source appears to be part of chap. 8 of the apocryphal Virtutes Johannis, which is now available in a modern critical edition by Junod & Kaestli [1983: 825, ll. 43-62]; it reads as follows (I substitute readings from Junod & Kaestli's variant readings in square brackets whenever these are closer to Lacn):

_Tunc beatus Johannes, racentibus mortuis his qui venenum biberant, intrepidus et constans accept calicem et signaculum crucis faciens in eo dixit: "Deus meus, [pater et filius et spiritus sanctus], cui omnia subjecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deservit et omnis potestas subjecta est et metuit et expavescit cum nos te ad auxilium invocamus, curis audito nomine serpens conquescit, draco fugit, silet vipera et rubeta illa quae dictur rana [quieta] torpescit, scorpus extinguitur, regulus vincitur et sphalangius nihil noxium operatur et omnia venenata et adhuc ferocior radices adventici arescunt, tu extingue hoc venenosum virus, extingue operationes eius mortiferas et vires quas in se habet evacua, et da in conspectu tuo omnibus his quos tu

---

131 Per eundem om. DR LH, also om. Cn which instead has per te Christe Iesu qui uius et regnas in secula seculorum. Amen
132 hoc V haec.
133 totum V om. susum et totum.
134 armauit crucis signo BLch signo crucis armauit, V armauit signo crucis.
135 et postea per eundem om. BLch which instead has per signum crucis et per te Christe Iesu et Deo summo patre uius, salvator mundi, in unitaee Spiritus Sancti, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.
136 et om. N
137 que N V quae.
138 te V tamquam.
139 inluminante V om. ilumina (7).
140 meriantur N mereantur; V mereantur
141 per eundem N peruenire Amen, V Aedententes autem.
142 Words unfortunately reproduced by Hollis & Wright [1992: 252].
143 hunc venenumem in, however, found among Junod & Kaestli's variants.

This hypothetical text is almost identical to that of Lacn. However, one reading (Lacn. accipiens as against accept in the Virtutes Iohannis) is also found in a closely parallel passage in the apocryphal Passio Iohannis of pseudo-Mellitus (which also has a parallel to Domine in Lacn. I. 307). No modern critical edition of this work has been published, and the text as printed in PG (vol. 5 (1894) col. 1239-50 (Mileti Episcopi Liber de Actibus Iohannis Apostoli a Leucio conscriptis) at col. 1248) is not so close to Lacn as is that of the Virtutes Iohannis, but it is possible that future study of this text could reveal more variant readings closer to Lacn., and that as a consequence it might be a source candidate.

The immediate context for the passage is that a pagan high priest called Aristodemus has challenged St. John to demonstrate the power of God by drinking a cup of poison without dying. Having seen two men die from drinking the poison, John then took the cup himself.

The story is also referred to in the OE Martyrology (ed. Herzfeld [1900: 8]):

"ond rice hædene men hine smidon þat he dranc attor, on þam wæs ælces cynnes wyrm ðode ban ðode blod, ond ne ablacode he."

A version of the encounter between John and Aristodemus is also found in one of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (Assumptio Sancti Iohannis) (ed. and trans. Thorpe [1843: 58-77, at 72-5]):

"Pa sceorede da gyt se yldesta hædengylwa mid mycelre þwyrnysse, and cwæð þat he nolde gelyfan buton Iohannes attor drunce, and þurh Godes muhte done cwelmbæræn drenc oferswæðe. Da cwæð se apostol, "Þæah þu me attor sylle, þurh Godes naman hit ne me derað." Da cwæð se hædengylwa Aristodemus, "Þu scealt ærest ðeðerne geseon drancan, and ðerrhite cwelan,
...heorte swa forhtige for ðam deadbærum drence." Iohannes him andwyerde, "Gif du on God gelyfan wylt, ic unforhtmod dæs drences onso." Pa getengde se Aristodemus to ðam heahgeregfan, and genam on his cwearterne twegen ðeofas, and sealde him ðone unlybban ætforan eallum ðam folce, on Iohannes gesiðde; and hi dærrhihte æfter ðam drence gewiton. Syðdan se hæðengylda eac sealde ðone attorberæn drenc ðam apostole, and he mid rodætacne his ðuð, and ealne his lichaman gewærnpode, and ðone unlybban on Godes naman halsode, and sóðan mid gebildum mode hine ealne gedranc. Aristodemus da and ðæt folc beheoldon ðone apostol ðreo tida deges, and gesawon hine habban glædne andwætan, buton blacnuunge und forhunge; and hi ealle clypodon, "An sod God is, sêde Iohannes wurðad." Pa cwæð se hæðengylda to ðam apostole, "Gyt me twoonad; ac gif du ðæs deadan sceadan, on ðines Godes naman æræst, þonne bið miht hearte geclænsod frōm ælcer ætwynunge." Da cwæð Iohannes, "Aristode, nim mine tunecan, and lege bufon ðæra deadra manna lic, and cwæð, "Þæs Hælendes Cristes apostol me asende to eow, þæt ge on his naman of deade arison, and ælc man oncnawe þæt dead and lif ðeowiað minum Hælende."" He ða be ðæs apostoles hæse bær his tunecan, and alede upon ðam twam deadum, and hi dærrhihte ansunde arison. Þæda se hæðengylda þæt gesænæ, ða astrehte he hine to Iohannes fotum, and syðdan ferde to ðam heahgeregfan, and him ða wundra mid hludðre stemne cyðde. Hi ða begen ðone apostol gesohton, his midsumge biddende. Pa bead se apostol him seoðon nihta fæsten, and hi sóðan gefullode; and hi æfter ðam fulluhte towurpon eall heora deofolgyld, and mid heora maga fulsume, and mid eallum créstef ærædæ Godæ mære cyrcan on ðæs apostoles wurðmynte.

299 racentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberunt: Two men, who, having been condemned to death, were commanded to drink poison by Aristodemus and died
immediately afterwards. Later in the chapter they are raised to life at the instigation of John.

299 biberunt : For biberant.

300 calicem : This word - found in both the Virtutes Iohannis and the Passio Iohannis - appears to have dropped out of the Lacn. text.

300 in eo : Though the MS reading is clear, in can easily be mistaken for m - hence L, S and GS's erroneous reading meo.

301, 302 subiecta : For subiecta.

303 cum nos .. con quescit : These words, while found in the Virtutes Iohannis and Passio Iohannis, are absent from all the other texts of this charm known to me.

303 audito For audito

303 draco This clearly does not refer to the harmless pet snake (see LS draco; S p. 269, and note H (29 67) Draco non habet venena), but denotes a harmful serpent. In the Bible (e.g. Vulgate Psalm 90. 13 - quoted in Lacn. II. 89-90) the draco is clearly a noxious creature. In ecclesiastical Lat. draco could also denote the Devil in the form of a snake, but we seem to be dealing with specific species of poisonous animal in this passage.

304 silet : For silet
304 rubita illa quae dicitur rana: LS rubeta - a kind of venomous toad living among bramble bushes. According to Pliny it was believed to contain a cocktail of poisons:

Ranae quoque rubetae, quarum et in terra et in unore vita, plurimis referriae medicamentibus deponere ea cotidie ac resumere pastu dicuntur, venena tantum semper sibi reservantes. [NH 8.110]

sunt quae in vepribus tantum vivunt, ob id rubetarum nomine, ut diximus, ...
grandissimae cunctarum, geminis veluti cornibus cornibus, plenae veneficiorum. [VIH 32.50]

To drink water or wine in which this creature had died, or from which one had drunk, was fatal:

et aqua vinumque interim salamandra ibi immortua, vel si omnino unde biberit potetur: item rana quam rubetam vocant: tantum insilium est vitae! [VIH 11 280]

According to GS (p 131 n. 1) "[t]he species cannot be identified, but Bombinator pachypus and Pelobates fuscus are suggested. Both are poisonous".

305 extinguetur · For extinguitur.

305 regulas · For regulus. The regulus is a noxious biblical serpent (see LS regulus; GS (p 131 n 2))

305 spalaguus · This word is variously equated by classical and medieval authorities with a type of venomous spider (so OEHerb (see below and OEHerb (311 n)); see LS phalangum), venomous fly (Napier [1900: 50/1856] spalangii, musci venenos), or venomous serpent (WW 122.17 Spalangius: slawyrn; also (reference as above) spalangii, musci venenos: þære scortan neådran, slawormes. There are three illustrations of this creature in an illustrated copy of OEHerb (BL Cotton Vitellius C
iii, folios 23v, 50r, and 59; one of which is printed in GS, fig. 35 p. 75 (though GS call it a bee). They depict five *splanangii* in all, each creature having eight legs and two wings. There are a number of references to the *spalangius* in OEHerb ((46/13) *Wip attorcoppan bite* [Lat. *Ad morsum araneorum quos Graeci spalangiones vocant*]; also 132/8, 146/9, 176/10, 180/13, 190/12). One other source from which the Anglo-Saxons may have learned something of this creature is Pliny:

> *phalangia ex iis appellantur quorum noxii morsus, corpus exiguum, varium, acuminatum, adsultum ingredientium.* [NH 11.79; see also 11.85, 29.84-8]

306 *repenta*: "Reptiles". GS are wrong to emend *repentinentia sunt* "turn from their fierceness". The reading is confirmed by the source, and Latham [1965: see under *repent*] also records the noun *repens* in the ninth century.

307 *salutes* For *saluts*.

308 *mortuerus* For *mortferas*.

308 *et uacua*: *et* is probably a mistake here, perhaps being misplaced (*et* is supplied editorially in l 306) or corrupted from *euacua*.

310 *intellegant* For *intelhant*.

314 *merciantur* For *merecantur*.

**ENTRY LXV**

(The *Lorica of Landcenn* (LL); formerly often known as the *Lorica of Gildas*)

For philological discussion of the etymology and meaning of the many difficult and obscure words in the Lat. text the reader is referred to the edition of Herren (page references to which are given in the following notes).
316-8 *Suffragare trinitas unitas, unitatis miserere trinitas* : Cf. the beginning (and ending) of the famous OIr lorica often erroneously ascribed to St. Patrick:

\[\text{Atom-riug in-diù} \]
\[\text{niùrt triùn} \]
\[\text{tògairm Trindòite} \]
\[\text{cètim treodatad} \]
\[\text{foistìn oendatad} \]
\[\text{i nDùilemon dáil}.\]

"Today I gird myself with a great strength, the invocation of the Trinity, belief in the threeness, confession of the oneness, on my way to meet the Creator "

[ed. and trans. Greene & O'Connor [1967: no. 4]; for a facsimile of these lines in MS see O'Neill [1984: 25 and 69]]

316 *trinitas*  A mistake for *trinitats*.

321-2 *saes micel maris sonum magni* : (MS marissonum magni only here in Harley 585) The OE gloss is at variance with the Lat. Furthermore, though *saes* is gen sg, *micel* is nom. sg. GS emend *saes mic[les]*, and Cambr. MS has the expected *saes micles* Lat *sonum* is erroneous here.

324, 326 *mortalitas uius ani* : Cf. Lacn. l. 1060 *de periculis huius ani*.

326 *u[a]nitas* : MS *unitas* is an obvious error for *uanitas* caused by *unitas* in l. 316.

327 *uuis* : For *huius*.

330 *mihtige* : For *militae*.
339 onbernes : Cambr. MS. onbærnnes. This word also occurs (with different meaning) in the gloss incens: þære onbærnes to Luke 1:10 in BL Additional MS 40,000 (see Meritt [1961: 442]), and in the Stowe Psalter similarly glossing Lat. incenso ("incense") in Psalm 65: 15. In his edition of this psalter Kimmens [1979: xxvi] wrongly includes that instance of the word (onbærnyss) in his list of hapax legomena.

339-40 mid camppum cum milibus : Both OE glosses have cæm(p)pum - evidently miliibus was understood by the glossator. A corrector later inserted -ti- above milibus to accord with the OE gloss. The extant Lat. MSS of LL. all agree on "thousands".

339-40 wisdomes gefvines cheruphin : GS find this (and the subsequent equations (see below)) in the section De Angelis of Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae Bk 7 5 22 (ed. Lindsay [1911]) which reads.

Cherubin autem et ipsa sublimes caelorum potestates et angelica ministeria perhibentur; quæ ex Hebraeo in linguam nostram interpretantur scientiae multitudo. Sunt enim sublimiora agmina angelorum, quæ pro eo, quod vicinus posti divina scientia cetens amplius pleni sunt, Cherubin, id est plenitudo scientiae, appellantur

GS state that thus and the other equations were derived by Isidore from Jerome.

339-40 godes lufu onbernes seraphin : Isidore in Etymologiae (Bk 7.5.24) explains.

Seraphin quoque similiter multitudo est angelorum, quæ ex Hebraeo in Latinum ardentes vel incendentes interpretantur. Quæ icedireo ardentes vocantur, quæ inter eos et Deum nuli angeli consistunt; et ideo quanto vicinus coram eo consistunt, tanto magis lumi nus claritate divini inflammantur
According to Lewis [1964: 71] pseudo-Dionysius (see following n.) associated the Seraphim with ideas of heat or burning.

340-6 cheruphin ... angelos : The list of angelic beings is hierarchical. The hierarchy derives ultimately from the angelology of the Celestial Hierarchy attributed (falsely) in the Middle Ages to Dionysius the Areopagite (now known as pseudo-Dionysius), which was written some time before 533. This text defines three Hierarchies each with three species:

i. Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones.

ii. Dominations, Powers, and Virtues.

iii. Principalities, Archangels, and Angels.

This ordering is reflected (though not exactly) in LL: Cherubim, Seraphim (the Archangels Michael and Gabriel are then given), and (in a new stanza) Thrones, are followed immediately by Virtues (virtutes, Lacn.'s l. 344 uuentes is an inferior reading), who are followed by Archangels, Principalities, Powers (which belong to the second group in the original pseudo-Dionysian concept), and finally by Angels. There is no reference to Dominations.

Another lengthy invocatory listing of angelic beings is found in the Leiden Lorica (see Herren (p 15)), but it does not reflect this hierarchical structure.

For a brief discussion of the angelology of pseudo-Dionysius in relation to medieval and renaissance literature see Lewis [1964: 70-5].

341-2 swa swa god Michael : So Isidore's Etymologiae (Bk 7.5.12):

Michael interpretatur, Quia scut Deus. Quando enim aliquid in mundo mirae virtus fit, hic archangelus mutitur. Et ex ipso opere nomen est eius, quia nemo valet facere quod facere potest Deus.

341-2 godes strenu Gabriel : So Isidore's Etymologiae (Bk 7.5.10):
Gabriel Hebraice in linguam nostram vertitur fortitudo Dei. Vbi enim potentia divina vel fortitudem manifestatur, Gabriel mittitur.

342 Gabriel: Herren misreads Gabrihel, and in consequence is wrong to state (p. 114 n. to l. 14) that all the MSS of LL. with the exception of the very late text in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 11857 spell this word Gabrihel.

344 uuentes: An inferior reading (see Herren (p. 115)) - it should be uirtutes "Virtues".

352 agonithetas: "Champions", "spiritual athletes". See Herren (p. 115).

356 ΙΙ. This numeral is not glossed.

358 et: This word is not glossed.

358 After this line GS supply two lines found only in one MS of LL.; Herren (p. 117, contrary to GS p. 135 n) thinks they are "certainly an interpolation":

\textit{atque aduro et urrgines omnes.}

\textit{uduas fideles et confessores}

"And I adjure also all virgins.

faithful widows and confessors"

359 \textit{pære ecæn hælo ymbsyile}: The OE gloss to Lat. \textit{salus eterna sepiat} "eternal well-being may surround me" uses the wrong case in \textit{pære ecæn} (which should be nom.).

364 \textit{Crístus mecum pactum firmum fereat}: Hughes [1970: 52] remarks on these words that
In Irish law a solemn contract (*cairde*) between two kings was warrented by sureties, and Laidcenn may have been thinking of the angels, patriarchs, prophets, and saints as his sureties in his treaty with God.

372 *gibre*: The word means "mortal (being)", "human". See Herren (p. 117) and Lathan [1965: 211].

372 *pernas*: This word seems to mean "limbs" here, though the OE gloss has *lewera* "hams" - see Herren (p. 117).

375 *in munre sidan*: GS emend to the pl. *in mine sidan*, but Cambr. MS also has the sg *munre*.

377 *lelgen*: BTS queries an otherwise unattested meaning of the verb *laelian* to explain this instance - "to hurl (a dart)". *AEW* (also defining as "schleudern") believes the verb in question may rather be **"*leilihan < *laehlan zu air. do-leicim "schleudere"** (see *DIL* do-leici II "throws, casts, hurls"). The verb *laelian* occurs once elsewhere in OE in the gloss (WW 431/30) *libescant, æfestian, leihan*. BTS and CH define this instance as "to become black and blue" (*æfestian* means "to envy"), and Eduard Sievers suggested (see L p. 21; GS p. 136 n. 176) that the glossator of *LL.* may here have confused the stem of *librar* with that of *luor, luere, liuescere.* Cambr. MS has *cueccen* "shake", "brandish" (cf. *Beowulf* ll. 235-6 for use of this verb with regard to a spear).

378 *liberantur*. A mistake for *librent* which is the reading of all the other texts of *LL.*, except for one which reads *uibrent*. Herren (p. 118) accepts *uibrent* "hurl" as the correct reading.
380 gigran : For gigram, meaning "skull" see Herren (pp. 81, 118). Latham [1968: 211] defines as "head".

380 taris : "Hair" - see Herren (pp. 118-9) and Latham [1965: 232].

380 conas : "Eyes" - see Herren (pp. 119-20) and Latham [1965: 102].

382 patham : Herren suggests the meaning "mouth" (see Herren p. 120); Latham [1968. 336] queries "forehead".

382 higanam : "Tongue" - see Herren (pp. 120-1) and Latham [1965: 277].

382 sennas "Teeth" - see Herren (p. 121) and Latham [1965: 432].

382 atque This word is not glossed. Cambr. MS has the gloss 7.

382 michinas : Herren suggests the meaning "nostrils" (see Herren p. 121 and Latham [1965 298])

383 hrvncg Both this word and the lemma crassum (for carsum "breast" which Cambr MS glosses accordingly breast) raise difficulties here - see Herren (pp. 122-3). Hrvncg may be a mistake for hrycg "back", and Herren [1992: 374] thinks a Lat. gloss Crasum dorsum in BL MS Harley 3376 may reflect this OE gloss.

The same difficulty with the OE gloss is found in ll. 427, 428 (bone hringc : spinam) and II. 429, 430 (hrngc : dorsum).

383-4 lendenu talias : According to Herren (p. 124) talias is probably "merely the ordinary variant spelling of taleas, "shoots", used metaphorically for limbs of humans", and the glosses lendenu ("loins") (and in another MS OIr nahinneda ("the
bowels") point to "independent glossing and therefore to the absence of a Latin gloss in the archetype".

384 cladium: "Neck" - see Herren (pp. 121-2) and Latham [1965: 89].

384 madianum: "Side" - see Herren (p. 123) and Latham [1965: 293, under mediada].

384 talas: "Limbs" - see Herren (p. 124), but Latham [1965: 475] queries "loins" (this being the meaning of the OE gloss lendenu).

385 micgernu: Cambr. MS has midirnan. GS emend micgernan (and were to have given their reasons for doing so in a Glossary).

386 bathma: Herren translates "joints" (see Herren (p. 124)); Latham [1965: 46] queries "foot" or "thigh" (the latter being the meaning of the OE gloss dyoh).

386 exugiam: "Fat" - see Herren (p. 125) and Latham [1965: 182].

386 idumas: "Hands" - see Herren (pp. 66-7, 125) and Latham [1965: 233].

387-8 hneccan uertce: GS (p. 138 n.) observe "a glossator seems here to have confused uertex with cerux".

388 scapulis: A mistake for capillis "hairs".

391 heafolan: fronte: "Head: forehead". GS emend heafolan to h[n]e[o]folan "forehead" and observe that the former is "a scribe's substitution of a common word
for a rare one; the scribe of the Cambridge MS. wrote *heofulan* first, but then himself inserted the omitted *n*.

397 *heagospinnm* : *AEW haguspind* remarks "unbek. Herk."

398 *narbus* : No OE gloss is given here. Cambr. MS glosses with *nosu*.

400 *rots* : "Irices" - see Herren (p. 126) and Latham [1965: 411].

400 *tautonibus* : Herren (p. 126) thinks *tauton* may be ghost-word meaning "the same thing" "and misunderstood as a Greek word meaning *palpebra*". He translates *tautonibus* as "(and) the like". Latham [1965: 477] gives *tauto* "eyelash" or "eyebrow".

402 *[g]l[ŋ]g[ŋ]s* : "Gums" - see Herren (pp. 126-7) and Latham [1965: 212].

402 *anile* : "Breath" - see Herren (p. 127) and Latham [1965: 21, under *anheiltus*]

404 *ubae* : "Uvula" - see Herren (pp. 127-8).

405-6 *undertungedrum / sublingue* : The Lat. lemma *sublingue* denotes the epiglottis according to Herren (p. 83) (cf. LS *sublinguum*), but Latham [1965] queries *sublingua* "sinew under the tongue"; BT and CH define the OE gloss as "a ligament of the tongue", "tongue-ligament"; Cambr. MS has *tungedrum*. For the OE element *drum see AEW *drum, OED *thrum* (sb.?)", and *ODEE *thrum*".

407-8 *by heafodlocan bragene capitali ceotro* : Both the Lat. and the OE gloss are problematic - see Herren (p. 128) for discussion. Lat. *capitali ceotro* may be a
corruption of *capitali centro* "(?!)to the chief (*capitali*) centre of the brain (*centro*)"; Herren (p. 83) translates "to the core of my head". OE *brægene* would then accord with *centro* (whereas Cambr. MS has the puzzling gloss *swiran* "neck"). Herren (p. 128) thinks that "*heafodlocan* = *heafodlicum* ("chief," "capital")" corresponding to *capitali*. Note that although this must assume corruption, it need only be very slight - *by heafodlican* "to the chief" corrupted to *by heafodlocan* "to the head-enclosure" (i.e. "skull"). Although the sense "skull" is supported by Cambr. MS's *heafudponnan*, it is conceivable that, if the unique word *heafodlocan* was present in the common glossed archetype, *heafudponnon* is a lexical substitution. The original reading then was perhaps *by heafodlican brægene capitali centro*.

However, another possibility (Herren p. 128) might be that *ceotro* is a corruption not of *centro* directly, but of *ceutro*, which - if it is not itself a simple corruption of *centro* - may have a different meaning: Herren remarks that "it cannot be totally excluded that *ceutro* is a corruption of *ceutho*", a Greek word meaning "innermost chamber". He makes no comment upon Latham's [1965: 82] avowedly spurious *ceutrum* (?!)throat

415-6 *du ascufe retundas*: As Herren (pp. 128-9) points out, the OE gloss appears to correspond to a Lat. lemma *retrudas* "drive back", which is found here in other texts of *LL* (including Cambr. MS which also glosses *pu ascufe*), rather than to the actual extant lemma *retundas* "blunt", "check". Herren suggests the possibility of a double reading *retrudas retundas* in the archetype.

417-8 *(sl)ega l sudum*: The emended OE gloss means "of the stakes"; MS *brega* is unintelligible here, and so, following GS, I emend on the basis of the Cambr. MS's gloss *slegeas*, with gen. pl. being required by the lemma *sudum*. The sense "stake" for OE *slege* is unusual (see BT, BTS *slege* VIII); cf. *ODEE* "slay², sley", and *OED* "slay, sley".
417-8 ladwendnesse / odibile: The OE gloss ladwendnes "hostility" is recorded only here. GS remark that an abstract noun is out of place in this context, and, on the model of the Cambr. MS gloss (ha hatiendan "the hating ones"), emend to da ladwendan "the abhorred ones". But ladwendnesse is singular enough to stand unemended.

417-8 festnidad fingunt: The OE gloss equates with Lat. figunt (so Cambr. MS altered from fingunt with the same OE gloss) rather than fingunt. For a discussion proposing a double reading fingunt figunt in the Lat. archetype see Herren (p. 129).

423-4 elnbogan cubis: Herren translates the lemma as "cups of the hands". For the relationship of the OE gloss to this see Herren (pp. 129-30) who argues for "an archetypal reading . . . cubis . . . interpreted as though cubitus or cubitum". Latham [1965 124] queres "palm" or "elbow".

427 bone hringc: "The ring". This is probably a corrupt gloss for Lat. spinam, the correct reading being that of the Cambr. MS done hrycg. See n. to l. 383 hryncg.

429-30 bec hringc terga dorsum: GS do not translate terga. They translate the gloss to dorsum as "backbone". Herren translates terga dorsum "back, ridge".

OE hringc is probably a mistake for hrygc (so Cambr. MS hrycg). See n. to l. 383.

434 catacrnas: This is thought by Herren (p. 131) to be a corruption of cata crunes - cata being a preposition "next to", "adjacent to" and crunes being equated with clunes "buttocks", "although it cannot be entirely excluded that some kind of hybrid compound was intended". He translates "region of the buttocks".
435-6 ọa peohgeweald / femoralia: Cambr. MS glosses similarly with Lat. genitalia "genitals". Herren (p. 132) thinks these glosses are misinterpretations of femoralia:

Whereas femoralia femora might be used metaphorically to refer to the genitals, such is not the case here, as is clear from cum genucles ["with knee joints"] which follows immediately.

436 cambos: "Hams" - see Herren (pp. 131-2) and Latham [1965: 207, under gamba].


438 polites. I.e poplites.

442 mentagris: For mentagra "toe" (perhaps "toe-tip" here) see Herren (pp. 132-3) and Latham [1965 296].

443 sporum. Cf BT sporu. Cambr. MS has helum.

445 stepum: Anatomical use of this word is not acknowledged by BT, BTS, BTC or CH, but note OED "step" (11), "The sole of the foot" (first attested instance 1382), rendering Lat. vestigo (pedis) (i.e. "that part of the foot which makes a footprint", "(base of ) the sole")

445 gongum: The meaning "(base of ) the sole" might be otherwise unattested in OE. The meaning is attested in BTS (gang la) only by a queried reference to OEMdQ, an instance which that text's editor (de Vriend [1972]) defines as (p. 112) "going, power of walking" (likewise in his glossary to OEHerb), but for which a
definite anatomical sense is provided in his translation - "feet" (cf. *pedes* in the Lat.).

The remedy reads:

\[ \text{Wid fotswylum 7 sceþþum haran lungen usfan on 7 neópan to gewriþen, wundorhlice þa gongas beó gehalede.} \]

[Ad perniones vel si pedes laesi fuerint, leporis pulmo impositus supra pedes mire sanat, si sub accessionem ei suspendas.]

However, *TOE* (02.04.03.04.02.05.02 Sole) does not flag *gong* as a single instance.

447-8 *dearmwund iugulum*: The OE gloss (similarly Cambr. MS *dearmgewind*) "intestine-winding", "that which enfolds the intestine" (CH suggests = "winddearm "windpipe") does not accord with Lat. *iugulum* "collar-bone". Herren (p. 133) suggests the OE glossator "may have inadvertently employed a glossword intended for *retuna* at this place, or somehow confused the two Lat. words".

449 *oddo*: This is the only time this word is spelled out rather than abbreviated in *LL*. and I have expanded the other abbreviated instances of it in *LL*. on this model. Elsewhere in *Lacn* the word is spelled *odde oppe*. The unusual spelling *oddo* is also found in the OE translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and it is the only spelling of the word (four instances) in the *Omont Fragment* - see Schauman & Cameron [1977: 307] (see also CH *oddo*).

451-2 *þa accennendlican lyomu / genetaha*: Cambr. MS has the gloss *þa gescyndica lima* "the shameful members".

455 *rysele*: For evidence that this word can denote a fatty *part of the body* see BTS *rysel* which gives a glossorial equation of *hrysel* with Lat. *abdomen*. Also cf. *LchBl3* (318/19), *Wip wambe wærce 7 ryselwærce* "For stomach pain and pain in the abdomen".
This word is not glossed. Cambr. MS has the gloss 7.

sweotan 7 burse  marsem: Here OE burse (literally "bag") (cf. Latham [1965: 60] burse a "scrotum" (med.)) probably means "scrotum" (so DOE defines it; cf. MED burse for later instances of this sense), but Schlutter [1907a: 133-4; note also 260] proposes the meaning "bauchnetz, gekröse". The otherwise unattested marsem is possibly to be connected with marsupium "pouch", a meaning which might accord with an OE gloss "bag" (scrotum), but Herren (pp. 133-4 (noting the Irish gloss selg "spleen")) thinks it may denote the spleen.

Cambr. MS has a weak noun form bursan in the OE gloss.

AEH includes the definition "Netzhaut" (i.e. retina) for burse, but this does not seem likely.

The meaning of the unique OE sweotan is unknown (GS neither translate nor comment upon it), but if burse means "scrotum", perhaps "testicles" or "penis" may be conjectured, AEH's definition "Hodensack" is, as we have seen, probably better applied to burse, see also Schlutter [1907a: 134]. For the possibility of the existence of sweotan in Cambr MS see L (p. 189 n. 11).

fithrem: "Intestine", here the large intestine - see Herren (p. 134); also note Latham [1965 193] "fithns, (?part of intestines".

obliga: "Fold (in the intestinal wall)", "omentum" - see Herren (pp. 134-5). Latham [1965: 318] defines as "intestinal organ, (?navel"

readan  toharn: As Herren (p. 135) observes, the OE gloss and the Lat. lemma appear not to accord with each other. Lat. toliam means "tonsils", whereas, although BTS defines this instance of OE reada as "a tonsil" (AEH also gives a sense "Mandcl", one apparently accepted by GS (p. 145)), it ought rather to denote the stomach of an animal (see OED "read" sb.1, and ODEE "read1"). An Irish gloss to one
MS of *LL* corresponds to the OE in sense - *ingaile* "the stomach". Herren remarks "It is clear that if there was an archetypal gloss, it has not been preserved".

\[462\] *fjfras*: Herren translates "entrails" (see Herren (p. 135)).

\[461-2\] *hyorthoman bucliamen*: Herren (pp. 135-6) remarks that *bucliamen* appears to be a ghost-word. He suggests that it is a corruption of *bulliamen* meaning "eruption".

The OE gloss to this word - *hyorthoman* "pericardium"- does not make good sense in context.

\[466\] *tatuosis*: For *tortuosis*.

\[467\] *gelvnde*: (So also Cambr. MS) BT, BTS, BTC do not record this acc. sg. form beside usual *gelvnde*.

\[468\] *pantas*: "All" - see Herren (p. 137).

\[477-8\] *mid ten durum smicre geworhtum cum Xforibus fabrefactis*: The ancient concept of multiple holes (or "doors" or "gates") in man is the subject of an article by Kozumplik [1941]. According to him (p. 4) this is the earliest occurrence in Christian materials. Usually the number of orifices is said to be nine (which is possibly the earlier conception) or seven. Very occasionally the number is greater than nine, and Kozumplik (pp 12-13) gives one other instance of ten "doors" found in a riddle propounded by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon in the Yemenite Midrash Hachephez:

"[Queen of Sheba]:

There is an enclosure with ten doors, when one is open, nine are shut; when nine are open, one is shut.

[Solomon]:
That enclosure is the womb: the ten doors are the ten orifices of man - his
eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, the apertures for the discharge of the excreta and
the urine, and the navel; when the child is in the embryonic state, the navel is
open and the other orifices are closed, but when it issues (from the womb) the
navel is closed, and the others are opened."

This enumeration of the ten orifices conflicts with the statement of GS (p. 145 n.)
(which is unsupported by documentation and without parallel in Kozumplik's article)
that:

The ten portals (of the senses) is a medieval commonplace. The number is
made up from the eyes, ears, nostrils, the hands (as organs of touch) with the
mouth (oesophagus and windpipe) counting as two.

It may be questioned whether LL. does here refer its ten doors specifically to the
senses as GS think.

For two other medieval Irish instances of the concept of holes in man (one
specifically referring to "doors of the soul") see Meroney [1947], though the numbers
enumerated are nine and twelve, not ten. Herren (p. 84) cites a reference to seven
orifices in the late seventh- or early eighth-century Irish poem the Rubisca (ll. 39-40).

479 haelum : plantis : The gloss haelum "heels" is not the best possible gloss for
plantis "soles of the feet". Cambr. MS has ilum "soles of the feet", a reading from
which, GS suggest, haelum may be corrupted. In l. 445 stepum glosses plantarum.

480 ad utertce : Cambr. MS. has the correct ad utertcem. The Lacn. scribe may
simply have overlooked or omitted the sign of abbreviation for the final m.

485 ece : This word (which is not found in the Cambr. MS) has no parallel in the
Lat.; it could be the noun ece ("pain"), or possibly (as GS think) the adjective ece
("perpetual", "continuous") qualifying adl.

13 I owe the references in this n to Sims-Williams [1977-8, 105 n. 8].
486 *pestis ... dolor corpore*: Lat. *febris* "fever" has dropped out before *languor*. Russell [1976: 72] thinks, on the basis of a belief that Gildas wrote *LL*. in the plague year 543-4, that this line defines "the order of symptoms of the plague: a very high fever, languor, and terrible pain as the buboes develop. Other diseases have the same symptoms, but these, at least, fall in line".

488 *seneam*: "I grow old", "I become aged" - see Herren (p. 137).

495, 497 *to baem readorlicum ... coelnesse*: The OE gloss displays lack of concord - *baem readorlicum* (dat. pl.), but *coelnesse* (acc. sg. or pl. fem.).

496, 498 *ad ethera ... regni refrigeria*: Lat. *ethera* is properly not the late pl. of the noun (a *ether*, but for the adj. *etherna* ("etherial", "heavenly"), agreeing with *refrigeria*. Translate "I may be borne joyful to the heavenly consolation of (his) kingdom".

**ENTRY LXVI**

499 *faerlicre adle*: DOE (adl) thinks this means "seizure", but it might conceivably refer to the sudden onset of any disease.

**ENTRY LXVII**

501 *lændenwyrc*: This word occurs once elsewhere (WW 113, 12) in a gloss to Lat. *Nefres* (≠ *nefris nephritis*?). Here though, judging from the similarity with *Lacn.*. Entry CIX (which also puts betony in hot sweetened alcohol as a drink to cure *lændenece* (probably translating Lat. *lumbrorum dolorem*)), *lændenwyrc* probably means "loin-pain" rather than "kidney-pain".

502 *stonde gode hwile*: Cf. an instruction in a remedy for *peor* in *BLch* (116/10-11) - *æfter baem drence gange sjppan 7 standesume hwile ær he hine reste*. 
ENTRY LXVIII

Meaney [1984a: 256 n. 70] thinks this remedy may have a distant relationship ("probably cousins very far removed") with the following remedy in BLch:

*Lacedomas wid þeoraldium: æscrind, æspan rind, elmrind, cwicrind, siomicle worþg netle niopowerd, wermod, hindhiolobe; besoreada þa rinda ealle utan 7 gecnuwa swiþe; wyl tosomme; do ealra emfela; ogseot mid hluttre ealop; læt standan þone drenc nihterne on fatæ aer mon hine drincan wille; drince on morgenne scenç fulne pisæ drences; tomædes merodæs standæ eastweard 7 bebeode hine Gode geornlice 7 hine gesenige; cyrre hine sungenges ymb æfor þam drence; gange siphan 7 standæ sumæ hwile æer he hine reste; geote swa mucel on swa he þæ eof do; drince þísne drenc nigon n iht 7 þucge swilcne mete swa he wille. [BLch (116/2-13)]

There are many clear differences, but both remedies are drinks for þeor which use cwicrind and æscrind, mix them with ale, and leave them for a night before consumption in the morning nine times.

ENTRY LXIX

OE Variant Version:

*Drenc gis þeor se on men: nun þas wyrt niopowerde, finol, bisceopwyrt, æscprotan, ealra emfela; þissa twegæ maêæ, ufseauaræ ruden 7 beniticæ; ogseot mid hluttrum ealop, 7 gesæge III maesæ afer, 7 drince ymb II n iht þæs þe he ofgonen se æer his mete 7 æfer. [LchBk3 (354 17-22)]

509 madrum . The meaning of this otherwise unattested noun is uncertain, but it appears to denote a measurement or container of some sort. The variant text has hluttrum "pure/clear", which, though it also ends in -rum, is no help in explaining madrum. Although mæder is doubtfully included in BT (and again queried in BTS) with the meaning "a measure", the word is not to be found in AEW, CH or TOE. Cf. the medieval Irish word metar (also medar, meadar, derived from Lat. metrum
"measure") meaning (so DIL metar 2) "a measure; a wooden vessel, mether". Cf. also OED "madder" (sb.2, also "meadar", "mether" (Anglo-Irish)) adopted from Irish meadar - "A square wooden drinking vessel".

ENTRY LXX

511 ceasteræsc : On this plant name see - in addition to Bierb1 and Bierb2 - von Erhardt-Siebold [1936-7]. The first element of the word (ceaster- "fort") is a popular etymology: usually ceaster is from Lat. castrum, but here it is "related to the Greek plant name cestrum".

ENTRY LXXI

Lacn Entries LXXI-LXXIII also constitute LchBk3 chap. xxx.

OE Variant Version:

H vrc godne ðeordrenc: wermod, bogen, garcsfan, polleian, wenwyrt, ða smalan felterre, eagwyrt, þeorwyrt, ceasteræses II snæda, elenan III, commuces III, wuduweaxan godne dæl, curmeallan; gescearfa þas wyrtan on god hluttor eala oppe wylisc ealu; læt standan III niht bewrigen; sele drncan scenc fulne tide ær oprum mete.

[LchBk3 (324/22-8); for wuduweaxan see C's "Additions and Corrections" p. xxx]

515 acrimonian : This plant name is absent from the variant version.

515-6 ða smalan wenwyrt, felterre : LchBk3's wenwyrt, ða smalan felterre might be an inferior reading The "small" wenwyrt may conceivably contrast with the "cloved" wenwyrt found elsewhere in Lacn. (ll. 212, 499).
516 aegwyrt: The variant version has aegwyrt. Neither form is attested elsewhere in OE. The two forms can be reconciled if - as is occasionally the case with other words in Lacn. - Lacn.'s ae results from the late OE monophthongization of ea (equally it might result from Anglian smoothing of ea). This explanation is not entertained by C, GS (p. 149 "eggwort"), Bierb1 (aegwyrt) or Bierb2 (aegwyrt), who (less plausibly in my view) treat the two as separate names for different plants. C (vol. II p. 368, vol. III p. 311) identifies aegwyrt "like Germ. Eyeblume, from the round form of the pappus" as dandelion (and is followed by BT, and very tentatively by Bierb2), but this seems very tenuous. C's identification (vol. II p. 380; so too Bierb1) of aegwyrt as common eyebright (Euphrasia rostkoviana Hayne) may seem a reasonable guess; however, in a fifteenth-century list of plant synonyms a ME noun eyeworte, equated with Lat. ippia maior, is to be identified as either scarlet pimpernel (Anagallis arvensis L.) or burnet saxifrage (Pimpinella saxifraga L.) (see Hunt [1989: 149]). In favour of the former it may be noted that Grigson [1958: 268, 270] records many local English names for scarlet pimpernel which contain the element "eye" (adder's eyes, bird's eye, red bird's eye, eyebright, old man's glass eye, owl's eye, and pheasant's eye), remarks that in Ireland the plant was thought to confer the gift of second sight, and tellingly quotes from a ME poem of about 1400:

\[\text{Al day ageyn undern and non} \]
\[\text{He wvl hym spredyn and on-don,} \]
\[\text{And ageyne the ewene-tyde} \]
\[\text{He lokvth hym-self be every syde;} \]
\[\text{He growyth be the erthe lowe,} \]
\[\text{Nyh every man wyl hym knowe.} \]

Clearly then the association between the scarlet pimpernel and an eye is founded on the observation of the opening of the flowers in the morning (at about 8 a.m.) and their closing later in the day (at about 3 p.m.)\(^{134}\). Scarlet pimpernel has also apparently

\(^{134}\) Cf the OE plant name disges sage "day's eye" (cf. Lat. oculus dux [Hunt [1989, 189]], and of still the modern regional names "day's eye", "eye of day", and "open eye" [Grigson [1958: 374]], this being the name for the daisy (Bellis perennis L.), a plant which resembles the "eye of day" (i.e. presumably the sun) not only in that its flower consists of a central bright yellow disc surrounded by a circle of white rays (cf. eyelashes too?),
been used in England - at least in the late twentieth century - as a folk remedy for sore eyes (see Vickery [1995: 336]).

516 ceasteraxsan: As GS (p. 148 n. 5) observe, the element -axsan is erroneous - wk. fem. axse "burnt ash" has been confused with str. masc. axæc "ash-tree". The expected form is ceasteræces.

516 eofolan: The variant version has elenan.

516-7 ceasteraxsan twa snada, eofolan þrear snada, cammuces III: The ordering of these three ingredients into a numerically ascending sequence (2, 3, 4) is noteworthy.

517 III: The variant version has III.

518 (oðde): This is the only instance of the use of the crossed l abbreviation for OE oðde in Lactn outside LL.

**ENTRY LXXII**

OE Variant Version.

_Wip þeore 7 wip sceotendum wenne: nim bogen 7 gearwan 7 wudaweax 7 hrefnes fot, do on god ealu; sele drncan on dæge III scencas fulle._

[LchBl3 (324/28-326/2)]

520 sceotendum wenne: A "tumour that causes pain". The verb sceotan in this sense is not attested in CH, but BT (and so TOE 02.08.03) gives (sceotan VIII) "to shoot (of sharp pain)"; note also MED scheten (6(d)) "to afflict, cause pain".

---

but also in that, like the sun and the human eye, it "disappears" at night or in very dark weather (i.e. the rays conceal the yellow centre).
ENTRY LXXIII

OE Variant Version:

Gif þeor gewunige on anre stowe: wyrc bêhinge; nim þæt ifig þe on stane weaxe, 7 gearwan 7 wadubindes leaf 7 cuslyppan; gecnua ealle wel; lege on hatne stan on troge; geot hwon wceteres on; læt reocan on þæt lic þær þær him þearf sie; þonne se col sie, do oerne hatne on; beþe swa gelome; him bɪþ sona sel. [LchBk3 (326/2-8)]

522-3 ifig þe on stane wyxo: Perhaps there is a sympathetic magical connection between the plant's habitat and its use - the ivy that grows on a stone is put on a stone (l. 524 lege on hatne stan).

523 oxsanslyppan: This plant is absent from the LchBk3 remedy.

524 lege on hatne stan in troge: The treatment prescribed in this entry is the form of vapour bath known as the "stone-bath" (l. 1017 stanbæð) in which water was poured onto hot stones. According to GS (p. 149 n. 1) and Bonser [1963: 300] the use of the stone-bath was very widespread and is still employed in Finland (see Magoun [1954: 567-8]). Other instances of its use in Lacn. are Entries XXXVI (probably), LXXVIII, and CLXXVIII. See also BLch (60/10-11, 106 18-19) and the Omont Fragment (ed. Schauman & Cameron [1977: 292-3]).

ENTRY LXXIV

This remedy has no directions for the preparation and use of the ingredients. If the intended use was not once simply understood, the remedy may be incomplete.

527 wermod se hara: Or perhaps se hara goes with reedc. Neither plant is thus described elsewhere in OE. If the grey wormwood is to be distinguished from ordinary wormwood it is perhaps (as Bierb2 suggests) sea wormwood. Another plant -
Artemesia stellerana Besser, hoary mugwort - is most unlikely because it has been introduced from north-east Asia.

ENTRY LXXV

Medicinal Efficacy:

Grieve, Wren, and Odie recommend the application of burdock root as an external poultice for ulcers and skin sores. Cameron [1988b: 209] observes that:

The roots also contain tannins which, together with the heat of the cake made from them, could have had a drying and comforting effect on painful, itching haemorrhoids.

The stipulation that the cloth be very thin is also good - it would present least resistance to the action of the plant material on the skin.

528-9 clatan moran. pa greatan: According to Grieve (p. 144) burdock roots are generally "12 inches or more in length and about 1 inch thick; sometimes, however, they extend 2 to 3 feet".

529 7 ateoh ponne da ane of dan heorde: The word da is a little odd here. C translates "draw the one from the hearth"; GS simply ignore it with "pull out one from the hearth". Presumably C is correct and we are to understand "the one (you are going to use first)", but such specificity is unusual.

530 swa da hatost forheran mege: The second person pronoun is noteworthy since the remedy's heading is in the third person - Gif se uuc weorde on mannes setle e gesyen. Contrast the consistency of address in e.g. Lacn. Entry LXIX Gif deor sy in men ... syle drincan är his mete 7 æfter.

532 hit is afandad læecræft: Cf. OEHerb (230/2) þæs læecræft ys afandud. The present approbation may be an interpolation.
suggests that this injunction against iron may not be an instance of magical taboo, but a rational response to the observation that iron reacts with many plant constituents, and that burdock root when cut with an iron knife blackens in an unsightly manner (hence perhaps the remark that hit is afandad læcecæft). Cameron cannot, however, provide a rational explanation for the subsequent avoidance of water (mid wætere ne pwea).

læcecæft : "Medical practice". On the meanings of læcecæft (and læcedom) in OE see Stuart [1975].
ENTRY LXXVI

(The so-called *Nine Herbs Charm* (German *Neunkräutersegeln*))

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

C, Wücker [1882] (verse only), Wü ("Neunkräutersegeln"; verse only), Hoops [1889], L (prose only), G, Sedgefield [1928], Holthausen [1934] (verse only), Anderson & Williams [1935], ASPR 6, S, GS and Rodrigues [1993].

The text is also edited in the following PhD theses: Pender [1969], Stuart [1974], Sandmann [1975] and Abernethy [1983].

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP (EXCLUDING EDITIONS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Editor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Joret</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Ohrt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Brooke</td>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>Ohrt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gummere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phillipson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Bradley</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Klaeber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Payne</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Chadwick &amp; Chadwick (vol. I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Hälsig</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Dickins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richter</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Magoun (a &amp;b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911b</td>
<td>Skemp</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shetelig &amp; Falk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Binz</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Shook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sturtevant</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Heusler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Kennedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Klaeber</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Meroney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Bonser</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Magoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-7</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Elliott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Grattan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Branston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Ohrt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1960: Stürzl
   Chaney
1962-3: Ryan
1963: Bonser
1964: Stanley
   Page
1966: Meaney
1970: de Vries (vol. II)
   Page
1972: Barley
1973: Page
1974 Rubin
   Turville-Petre
   Gerstein
   Huson
1978 Skelton
1979: Pilch & Tristram
1980: Brackman
   Speake
1981 Owen
1983 Vaughan-Sterling
1985 Weston
1988: Kitson
1989: Glosecki
   Kitson
   Nelson
   Elliott (2nd. ed.)
1991: Bremmer
1992: Meaney (a)
   Wilson
1993: Cameron
   Simek
1994: Linsell
   Stanley
1991: Bremmer
TRANSLATIONS

In addition to the parallel English translations in the editions of C, G (under the invented OE title *Nigon wyrta galdor* "Nine Herbs Charm"), S (also entitled *Nigon wyrta galdor*), GS, Rodrigues, and the PhD theses see e.g. Cook & Tinker [1935: 169-70], Gordon [1954: 92-4], Huson [1974: 266-8], and Flowers [1989: 105-8]. There is a German translation parallel to the OE text in Hoops [1889: 57-61].

SURVEY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The history of scholarship on this charm is complicated in detail rather than in approach.

In the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century many commentators and editors worked towards a critical appreciation of the text, offering many textual emendations and brief commentaries on individual points of interest in their editions and articles. Some were impressed by perceived elements of Anglo-Saxon paganism, but - our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon paganism still being paltry at best - could have little real insight and said little of lasting significance. Concentration on the identification of the various plants, and in particular the relationship of the plant names in the poem to those of the prose, has been a topic for continual debate, and has still not been resolved with complete certainty. Singer (e.g. in GS (pp. 52-6)) is impressed by the charm’s religious syncretism and how it illustrates (as he sees it) the four characteristically Northern views of disease causation: (1) the flying venoms; (2) the evil nines; (3) the worm as cause of disease; and (4) the power of elves and especially of the elf-shot (see further on this the Survey of Previous Scholarship in the Introduction). More recent writers have continued to address these issues, and (notably Vaughan-Sterling [1983], Nelson [1989] and Weston [1985]) also appreciate the poetic techniques of the charm, remarking favourably on its use of sound patterning and of repetition for incantatory effect. Braekman [1980], building on the work of Ohrt, proposes a possible, but in my view highly uncertain, insight into the Lat. Christian basis of parts of the charm. Glosecki [1989: chap. iv] attempts to explain certain aspects of the charm in

In view of the charm's poor state of transmission (note in particular the hiatus at l. 575, the corruption at l. 577, the questionable positioning of l. 564, the problematic list of ll. 580-8, the possible lack of the direction south in l. 590, the questionable integration of l. 592), the obscurity of almost all its allusions (notably l. 536 the *Regenmeld*, l. 540 the "loathsome one" travelling through the land, ll. 555-6 the "greater" and "lesser" *Attorlade* and (?)-poisons, l. 562 the seal sending a herb over the sea, ll. 566-7 Woden taking nine glorious twigs and smashing a *nædære* into nine pieces, l. 568 the action of Apple and Poison, l. 592 the action of Christ, the meaning of the final lines 593-7), the uniqueness and/or difficulty of much of its vocabulary (l. 536 *Regenmelde*, l. 537 *Una*, ll. 539, 546, 553 *onflýge*, l. 543 *curran*, l. 544 *bryodedon*, l. 548 *Stune*, ll. 549, 575 *stond*, ll. 549, 575 *stunað*, l. 550 *Stðe*, l. 559 *geʃloge*, l. 561 *Wergulu*, l. 564 *ongan*, l. 566 *waldortanas*, l. 577 *freabr[þ]egde*, l. 578 *maʃcrunge*, l. 579 *waldorgeʃlogenum*, l. 580 *onʃlognum*, l. 581 *runlan*, the meaning of the element -*geblæd* in ll. 586-8, l. 592 *alde*, l. 592 *ængancundes*), and the absence of any really comparable animistic Anglo-Saxon botanical incantation, it is not surprising that, in spite of all that has been written about it, the *Nine Herbs Charm* still poses great interpretative difficulties.

Of the various published editions the best are those of Hoops [1889] and ASPR 6 (though even these are not without significant failings); S's commentary is speculative and not always (in my view) reliable, and the reader needs to be aware of some major transpositions in his text, GS, unfortunately, are at their worst in their treatment of this charm, making some serious errors of fact, interpretation, and (I would say) basic editorial judgement.

In the following sections and in the explanatory notes to individual lines of the charm I aim to address and synthesize this weight of scholarship, and in so doing to correct some previous errors.
SOURCES AND ANALOGUES

No source text has been found for this charm, though the incantation itself gives us reason to think that it is influenced by aspects of both native Germanic folklore and myth (especially in the reference to the god Woden in l. 566) and Lat. Christian and botanical thought (thus e.g. the Lat. derived name Una in l. 537, and the reference to Crist in l. 592), though this is not to say that in the present context these two spheres of influence can, or ought, to be strictly delimited.

The incantation is the only extended vernacular poetic treatment of plants extant from the old Germanic world, and consequently noteworthy analogues, whether from Anglo-Saxon England, mainland Europe or Scandinavia, are few in number, although there is a very long history of incantations and addresses over plants throughout the world (Lat. examples can be found in Heim [1892] (e.g. nos. 124-6, but note esp. no. 129 Precatio omnium herbarum); see also Joret [1888]). However, although Lat. invocations of plants are apparently largely omitted from extant MSS of OEHerb (Cameron [1993: 64]), a number of noteworthy translated addresses to be recited when gathering certain herbs are still to be found in OEHerb 36:

1 ga to dære ylcan wyhte proserspinacam [i.e. knotgrass] 7 bewrit hy abutan mid anum gyldenan hringe 7 cwed þet þu hy e to egena lacedome niman wylle ... [Lat.: vadeis ad herbam ... et circumscribis eam cum anulo aureo et dicis tollere te eam ad remedium oculorum ...]

[OEHerb (64 15-17); Heim [1892: no. 31]]

36 Cf. an incantation from the Sanskrit Rig Veda (trans. OfPhalbert [1981: 285-7, no. 10 97]) in which a doctor praises his healing herbs in terms which sometimes prefigure the New Herbs Charm. He addresses them as "mothers" "born in the ancient times" (cf. Una jidost wyhte ... Wegebode. wyhte modor), says that "Your mother's name is Reviver, and so you are the Restorers (cf. perhaps such descriptive names as Stane and Stote), declares that "He through whom you plants creep limb by limb, joint by joint, you banish disease from him like a huge man coming between fighters" (cf. the OE charm's martial concerns), exhorts the disease to fly away (cf. the Anglo-Saxon healer's blowing away of the poison), and conceives of his plants as fully sentient beings - "You growing plants who hear this ... The plants speak together" (cf. gemonu hu ameldodes ... reonoder)!

38 Note also OLMQ (od. de Vriend [1972: 9] (or see OLMQ (238/13-15))):
Ærkon þu bysne appele num, cwed þonne þas word Aps aps aps sparae rose prosparas emorragiam pantosami opum æmesstanes
2. Wið eagen sare genime man ær sunnan upgange ðas wyrtæ þe man camemelon 7 oðrum naman mægeþe nemned, 7 þonne hy man nime cweþe þæt he hy wille wið flean 7 wið eagen sare niman; nyme syddan þæt wos 7 smyrige ða eagan ðærmid.  
[Lat.: Ad oculorum vitia vel dolorem. Herba camemelon, si quis ante solis ortum eam herbam carpuerit, dicit albuginem vel dolorem oculorum se carpere, eamque alligatam secum gestet] 

[OEHerb (70/14-17); Heim [1892: no. 32]; note that Mægðe is one of the plants addressed in the present charm (ll. 557-60)]

3. ... þas wyrtæ [i.e. Lat. ricinus "castor-oil plant"] þu scealt niman þus cweþende: Herba ricinum, precor uti adsis meis incantationibus et auertas grandines, fulgura, et omnes tempestatibus, per nomen omnipotentiæ Deï qui te iussit nasci; þæt is þonne on ære geþeode: wyrt ricinum, ic bidde þæt þu ætsey minum sanguin 7 þæt ðu awende hagolas 7 ligrasceæs 7 ealle hreohnyssa, þurh naman ælmightiges Godes se þe þet heon acenned  

[OEHerb (220 18-25); de Vriend remarks (p. 326): "Not found in any of the Latin texts consulted"; the reference to the Christian God is noteworthy in the context of OEHerb]

The following address is interesting since it changes the Lat.'s first person declaration of the reciter's power (canto...) into a double imp. command to the plant itself to perform (Besing 7 ofercum - cf. perhaps use of the imp. in the present charm's ll. 535, 557 Gemyn "Remember!", 1 555 Fleoh "Rout!"):  

4 Wið naddran slite genim þas ylcan wyrtæ þe we ebulum [i.e. dwarf elder] nemduon, 7 ær þu hy forceorfe heald hy on þinne handa 7 cweð þriwa nigon sipan: Omnes malas bestas canto, þæt ys þonne on ære geþeode: Besing 7 ofercum ealle yfelæ wildeor; forceorf hy donne mid swiþe scearpon sexe on þryælas; 7 þa hwile þe þu ðís do þenc be þam men þe þu ðærmid þencst to gelacnienne, 7 þonne þu þanon wende ne besoþ þu þe ða; þim donne þa wyrtæ 7 cnuca hy, lege to þam slite, sona he bid hal.
The following address is also of particular interest because it, like apparently the Nine Herbs Charm, attributes a large number of powers (virtutibus/magenum) and uses (utilitatisbus/nytlicynssum) to a plant (cf. l. 538 du mihi wid III 7 wid XXX and l. 576 seo meag wid III 7 wid XXX). Several of the specific uses of periwinkle also seem rather similar to those of the plants in the present charm: ongean deofolseocnyssa (cf. possibly ll. 577-8 wid feondes hond 7 [w]ið fæħ[r]egde, wid malscrunge minra wihta, and maybe l. 540 (similarly ll. 547, 554) wið nædran (cf. l. 552 bís is seo wyrt seo wið wyrm gefeaht, and ll. 566-9 genem Woden VIIIIL wuldortanas, sloh da þa nædran þat heo on VIIIIL tosfleah þer geæande þæppel 7 Attor þat heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan), and wið attru (cf l. 539 wiþ attru, and numerous other such references).

5 Deos wyrt þe man prapscsi [i.e. greater periwinkle] 7 oðrum naman uicaperuica nemned to manegum þingon wel framæō, þæt ys þonne arrest ongean deofolseocnyssa 7 wið nædran 7 wið wildeor 7 wið attru 7 wið gehwylc behatu 7 wið andan 7 wið ogan 7 þæt du gife hæbbe; 7 gif du þas wyrtne mid þe hafast du bist geselig 7 symle gecweme; ðas wyrte þu scealt niman þus cweþende:

Te precor uicaperuca multis utilitatus habenda ut vœnas ad me hilaris florens cum tus uirtutibus, ut ea mihi prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a uenenis et ab iracundia inlesus. Þæt ys þonne on ure geþeode, ic bidde þe, uica peruica, manegum nythlicynssum to hæbbenæ, þæt du glad to me cume mid þam meagnum blowende, þæt du me gegeæerwe þæt ic sy gescyld 7 symle geselig 7 ungedered fram attrurom 7 fram yrseunge; þonne du þas wyrt niman wyte du scealt beon clæne wið æghwylc uncleyynssse, 7 du hy scealt niman þonne se mona bid þam mon ihta [eald 7 endlyfon ihta] 7 dreotynæ nhta 7 ormtig nhta 7 þonne he þyð anre nihte eald.

[Lat.: Herba vica peruvica]
Ad multas res facit et adversus daemonia et serpentes sive ad bestias et adversus venena sive ad compromissos, ad actos, ad negotia, ad rationes et ambitu a vi gratia aut adversus invidiam, adversus terrores; hanc herbam tecum si habueris felix et gratiosus eris semper; legis eam sic dicens: te precor, vica perva, multis utilitatus, ut ea mihi praestes, ut tatus felix sim semper et a venenis et ab iracundia; leges eam mundus ab omnibus, nona, undecima, tricesima, tertia decima trceszmaque et prima luna.]

[OEHerb (224/11-27)]

In BLch we find a remedy that includes a Lat. address to mugwort (the first plant referred to in the present charm):

6. Wip miclum gonge ofer land by læs he teorige: mugwyrt nime him on hand ofhe do on his sco by læs he melpige; 7 þonne he niman wille ær sunnan upgange cwepe þas word ærest:

"Tellam [read Tollam] te artemesia ne lassus sum [read sim] in uia."

Gesena hie þonne þu up teo. [BLch (154 11-15)]

Apart from these texts we are left, in Anglo-Saxon documents, only with unambiguously Christian blessings, prayers, exorcisms and addresses which contrast markedly with the apparent syncretism and botanical animism of the Nine Herbs Charm. Examples in Lacn. include Entry LXIII (ll. 259-89 are all apparently to be sung over the plants), Entry LXXVII (immediately following the present charm), in which nine Pater noster are to be sung over a plant before uprooting it, Entry CLXXXIV (a Benedicto Herbarum addressed to God rather than to the herbs), Lacn. Entry CLXXXV (another such Lat. blessing), and probably the fragmentary Entry CLXXXVIII; also worth highlighting is a remedy in LchBk3 (344 23-348/11).

Anglo-Saxon law provides a likely reason for this situation (in addition to the vagaries of documentary survival from this period, or to the simple fact that such folklore was rarely written down), for there are extant general laws against incantations (for which see G. pp. 140-3), and their recitation over herbs was specifically forbidden - they were to be replaced
Although it contains no incantation, another OE remedy might also be worth noting with regard to the use of specifically nine herbs (l. 579 VIII wyrta): nine herbs are stipulated for use in a salve for the head in BLch. This number - if it is not simply utilitarian in BLch - might conceivably be of some magical significance, as it probably is in the Nine Herbs Charm, since it is unusual for the number of plants employed in an OE remedy to be stated explicitly:

7. Wip þon ican: sweft 7 swegles æppel, murre 7 æghwilces cynnes, nigon wyrta englsce: pollese, brembel, æppel, elehre, bisceopwyrt, finul, ruwe wegbraede, haran sprecel, sto hare wyr, hþwyrt, ealtra emfela; oleum [infirmorum], halig wæter, halig sealt oper eþ; smere μυρ λυσ ufan þonne hi gnide. [BLch (296/21-8)]

(It will be noticed that this remedy in fact lists ten plants. It may very well be that, as Bierb (p. 11, under æppel) suggests, the desired nine can be obtained by taking brembel, æppel as one word - brembeæppel.)

Parallels to Christ's creation of the plants at the Crucifixion (ll. 570-2 Fille 7 Finule, felamhngu twa þa wyrte gesceop wþtg Drihten, halig on heofonum, þa he hongode) are identified and examined by Ohrt [1929: esp. 10-20] in an article on the divine origin of healing and magical plants. No compelling analogue is adduced, but the following seventeenth-century Danish and English instances of belief in plants springing from Christ's blood and being found first on Calvary might perhaps preserve traces of earlier folk traditions of general relevance (pp. 16-17):

8 . . . Hill fan wenis vrı̂tt (der Baldrian) . . . du est kommen aff Jesu blodt . . .

Hill dig, fan wernis roedt (Wurzel des Baldrians), | du est oprunden, fordi du est good, | aff woris herris Jesu rode rosens blodt . . .

---

"For the popular use of groups of specifically nine plants see the article "neunerlei Kräuter (Blumen)" in HWDA."
Haile be thou, holie hearbe, growing on the ground; | all in the mount Caluarie first wert thou found. | Thou art good for manie a sore, and healest manie a wound; | in the name of sweet Jesus, I take thee from the ground.

Hallowed be thou, Vervain, as thou growest on the ground, | for in the Mount of Calvary, there thou wast first found. | Thou healedest our Saviour Jesus Christ, and staunchest his bleeding wound; | in the name of (Father, Son, Holy Ghost), I take thee from the ground.

See also notes to these lines below.

Willy Brackman [1980: 461-5] (endorsed by Cameron [1993: 148-9]) attempts to cast new light on the Lat. Christian background of the charm, and in particular of ll. 1-4 which refer to Mucgwyr/Una’s action at the Regenmeld and the plant’s powers against thirty three evil spirits. He refers to a proposed parallel in a Saxon charm (c. 900) first cited in this regard by Ohrt [1928. 7]:

9 Ad uermes occidendos.

Feruita, dei gracia plena, tu habes triginta quinque indices et triginta quinque medicinas. Quando dominus ad coelos ascendit, memorare quod dixit ...

"To kill worms

O periwinkle, filled with the grace of God, you have thirty-five (?) signs and thirty-five medicines. When the Lord ascended into heaven, remember what he said...

The words in question are thought to be those of Mark 16: 15-8, especially verse 18 (serpentes tollent ..), though their application to plants is surprising:

Et dixit eis: "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate evangelium omni creaturae.

Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit; qui vero non crediderit, condennabitur. Signa autem eos, quu crediderint, haec sequetur: in nomine meo daemonia excirent, lingus loquentur novis, serpentes tollent, et, si mortiferum quid biberunt, non eos nocebit, super aegrotos manus imponent et bene habeunt".

Brackman suggests that:
i. The words (l. 535) gemyne ḏu, Mucgwyrt echo memorare quod dixit.

ii. Anmeldodest "may well be a translation and is certainly connected with the Latin indicasti to which indices is, of course, also related".

iii. Mugwort’s power (l. 538) wiō 7 wiō XXX is related to the thirty-five indices and medicines of the periwinkle (the different number being an insignificant variation, perhaps necessitated by the need for alliteration on the OE poem).

iv. OE Regenmelm is "the equivalent of the "Great Proclamation" or "mighty denunciation" of the virtues of herbs by Our Lord".

Unfortunately, Braekman does not address two obvious - and in my view insuperable - difficulties with his proposals - firstly, that the Nine Herbs Charm does not exhort the plants to recall what Christ said at the "Great Proclamation", but what they themselves said and brought about; secondly, that the scene of events (or at least the proclamation of Mægde) is not the Holy Land but a place in England (l. 558 Alorforda “Alderford”). This is surely a fundamental difference of perspective and scene:

Gemynge ḏu, Mucgwyrt, hwæt ḏu anmeldodest,
hwæt ḏu renadest at Regenmelde ...
Gemynge ḏu, Mægde, hwæt ḏu anmeldodest,
hwæt ḏu gerendodest at Alorforda

Finally, I would suggest some possible, but - it must be admitted - doubtful and chronologically distant, analogues to the episode of Woden and the wyrm/nædde (ll. 565-7) (see also Commentary to these lines).

10 Although Singer [1919-20: 355; also 1928: 150] declares that "Woden smiting the serpent is a well known Teutonic myth", this is untrue - it is only the Norse god Óðinn who is otherwise attested striking a serpent18. The documentary record of Germanic myth appears to contain only one other account of a conflict between Olcel Óðinn (cognate with OE Woden) and a serpent, namely the episode in which the god throws the huge Midgard Serpent into the sea which surrounds all lands19. Since no details of this struggle survive -

---

18 Óðinn’s striking of the Midgard serpent on a fishing expedition is retold in the Olcel Eddaic poem Hymiskvida (st. 22-3 where he is the orms einharn), and in Snorri Sturluoff’s Prose Edda (ed. Faulkes [1982: 44-5]). It was also Óðinn who fought against the same serpent at Ragnarok - see Hliðskveld (st. 551-56), a meeting G (p. 228) quotes as parallel to the present Woden episode.

19 See also THE RAGNAROK OF BRIDON THE OLD - Turville-Petre [1976 5-6].
indeed it is not stated that there was a struggle - there is no means of knowing for certain if there was ever any relationship between this episode and the charm's. However, in view of the fact that the Midgard Serpent emerges intact at Ragnarok to fight against the gods, whereas our wyrn is smashed to pieces, it seems most unlikely that the two conflicts are to be identified.

Archaeology might conceivably provide another tantalizing glimpse of a scene in which Odin - or at least a warrior in Odinic garb - confronts a serpent, though there is nothing at all corresponding to Lacn.'s wuldotanas or to the shattering of the snake. If it does, then the present episode might be thought to have at least some basis in prior Germanic tradition.

In her discussion of the significance of the figure of a man pictured on a buckle found in a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemetary in Finglesham, Kent in 1964, Hilda Ellis Davidson elucidates the iconography by reference to similar representations on a number of early ceremonial shields and helmet-plates found at Vendel and Torslunda in Sweden, as well as on the Sutton Hoo helmet. She demonstrates the probable Odinic nature of these pictures and remarks how on the helmet-plates "men are seen taking part in what seem to be mythological or symbolic rather than realistic combats" (Hawkes, Davidson & Hawkes [1965: 26]).

On one of these helmet-plates is depicted a mounted figure (perhaps Odin), flanked by two birds (his ravens, Huginn and Muninn*), carrying a large spear (Gungnir?). Immediately in front of and facing his horse is a small snake, reared up in an aggressive fashion with its mouth open. The man is pictured with his spear-head on top of the snake (Hawkes, Davidson & Hawkes p1 3). However, whether this is a confrontational posture - as Davidson takes it to be - indicative of a conflict (or at least an antagonism), or, rather, a less dramatic depiction of the god with his animals seems to me uncertain. If the former is the case, then it would be conceivable that it and the Nine Herbs Charm together preserve evidence of Germanic myth concerning hostility between the god and the snake.


i. Although Woden may have intended to help mankind by shattering the wyrn into nine pieces, Singer [1919-20: 355] thinks that these nine were not rendered lifeless and impotent.

but were understood as being in some way connected with, or identified as, the nygon wuldorgeflogenum (l. 579) "(?)nine ones that fled (or flew) from glory" (the glory (wuldor) being that manifest in the wuldortanas with which they were struck?).

This assumption (it seems to me) gains credibility by the recognition - previously unremarked upon - of the quite extensive complex of words and passages concerned with specifically flying disease/poison in the charm (i.e. ll. 539, 546, 553 onflyge, l. 555 Fleoh, l. 559 gefloge, l. 579 wuldorgeflogenum, l. 580 onflognum, l. 589 gif æmig attor cume eastan fleogan, and probably the blowing away of poison l. 597 ic pis attor of ðe geblawe). Given this repeated stress on flight, the use of the verb tofleah (lit. "it flew apart"), as opposed to say toba'rst ("it burst apart")100, to describe the shattering of the wyrm in l. 567 might also be thought likely to contribute to this complex, and the only way it can do so is presumably by providing an aetiological myth - the single snake was destroyed, but the nine pieces of its body flew apart to become nine airborne poisons/diseases (cf. also the nigon nwdran of l. 594?). That the nine (or groups of nine) airborne diseases/poisons originated from - or at least are to be associated with - the nine bits of shattered snake might also be supported by the fact that they are only stated to be specifically nine in number after the episode of the shattering of the snake has been told. Furthermore, the proximity of these nines to each other is somewhat increased if ll. 575-8 - which must be incorrectly placed in their present MS position (see below) - are transposed to follow either l. 560 or l. 563.

G (p 228) remarks that reptiles were frequently credited with producing poisons, and compares the (presumed) origin of disease from the nine bits of wyrm here with an obscure passage in the Second Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn (ll. 34-44):

Se mæra was haten merelidende
weallende wulf, (wer)deodum cuð
Filstina, freond Nebrondes.
He on dam felsa ofslog ʃif and twentg
dracena on derged, and hine da dead offeoll.
Forban da foldan ne meag ʃira æmig.

100 Judging from BT and BTS, toba'rst seems to be the commoner verb.
That famous sea-voyager was called "the raging wolf", a friend of Nimrod, known to the tribes of the Philistines. At daybreak on that field he killed twenty-five dragons, and then death destroyed him. As a result no man can search out that land, that desert place, nor any bird fly to it, no more than any beast of the earth can go on it. From there the races of poison-creatures (atercynn) (or "kinds of poison") were first awoken, and spread widely, all those which now force their way in swarms, through their poisonous breath."

[ed. and trans. Shippey (1976: 86-91; for a discussion see Menner [1938])]

Menner [1941. 125 n. to 211a] suggests taking the parallel further, remarking that the weallende wulf "might have become identified with Woden"; note that Olcel Öðinn could assume wolf-shape, and owned two wolves; the name Woden/Öðinn means the "raging/furious one".

We may also refer to the OE Physiologus where the dragon (draca) of hell, the "old enemy", is described as the "source of poison" attres ordfruman (The Panther I. 58a (ed. Squires [1988 39, and see n. thereto])). It thus appears that at least some Anglo-Saxons thought that certain serpents (including dead ones) could produce poisons/poisonous creatures.

Another possible - albeit remotely distant - parallel to the generation of airborne disease from pieces of snake can be found in the large collection of Scottish Gaelic folklore collected by Alexander Carmichael in the nineteenth century ([1941: 205]). Since scholars have discerned other parallels to the Nine Herbs Charm in this collection and elsewhere.

---

161 Cameron [1993 149-50] notes that there is a remedy With floegendum atre "elicium aternum solvi "against flying poison and every poisonous swelling" in Bligh (11224), including an incantation in Irish - ojer scyrse gecet gaisdar (10/23) (I have quoted the charm in the Commentary to Lamen Entry XXV). He sees a "striking" similarity between the Scottish Gaelic belief in the transference of diseases such as swellings by the ggrg ("mammale", "mite", "microbe") and the belief implied by floegenda atre and the onylge of the Nine Herbs Charm [sic]. He further suggests that the Anglo-Saxons may have borrowed the idea from the Irish.

162 A chronologically distant "parallel" - indeed the only one found thus far to the division of the serpent into precisely
it is a little surprising that this possible analogue has lain unregarded for so long in such an important collection of native British charms. It reads (no Gaelic text is given by Carmichael):

A boy was stung in the foot by a serpent. He ran to a stream and bathed his wounded foot. Then, running back to see whether the serpent had succeeded in reaching the water, he met it hastening to the stream. He cut it in five pieces, which he buried in the earth, closing this firmly with a sod. If this is not done the maggots produced by the rotting serpent fly about in the air, and should one of them strike a person in the face cancer will result. So said John Beaton, grandson of the famous "Fearchar Léigh", Farquhar the Physician, Dunvegan.

Clearly this anecdote is by no means an exact parallel to the *Nine Herbs Charm*. However, what might well be suggestive of the *Nine Herbs Charm* - if Singer's theory is correct - is the eventuality of not decapitating the snake and burying the pieces, namely that the resulting maggots will become airborne (as flies?) and cause cancer if they strike one in the face.

Some such concept of flying "worm" causing diseases seems to have been current, at least in the later Middle Ages, in Germany - Höfler [1899: 824] records fifteenth-century belief in "fleegender Wurm" and compares OE *fleogendum attre* (see also p. 327 therein on

---

*nine parts* - as noted by Kasten [1989 66 n. 9] "in a pagan sacrificial context in the fourth-century Greek lapidary poem, *Orphe* Lith ca, ed. F. Abel, *Orphe Lithcia accedit Domageron de Lapidibus* (Berlin, 1881), lines 708-12). In the translation of Kasten [1865 394-395] the relevant lines (693-716) read

"First to the bloodless altar shouldst thou haste  
Wherein no living victim e'er was placed,  
With pure flames on radiant Phoebus call,  
And Earth, great mother giving succ to all  
Next melt this stone amid the rising flames,  
Whose odorous fumes the long drawn dragon tames  
They as they mark the vapour mount on high,  
Forth issuing from their holes towards it fly,  
And hastening onwards in a long array  
The altar seek, nor shun the unlooked day  
There let three youths robed in white vestments stand,  
Each with a sword two-edged in his hand,  
And seize that snake which nearest to the blaze  
Snuffing the fumes he spouted oozes displaies,  
Thon cut his body as he slaughtered lies  
In portions nine, each one of equal size,  
Three of all-seeing Sol the portions call,  
And three of Earth, the mother of us all,  
And three the portions of the goddess dread,  
The omniscient prophetess, the unsullied Maid;  
These pile together in a blood-red bowl,  
And pour the gilt of Pallas o'er the whole,  
The ruddy liquor of the jolly god,  
With sparkling salt, the attendant on our food."
"fliegender Krebs" and p. 373 on "Lint"; see also on this issue in the present charm Stürzl (1960: 84-6). With regard to the association between snakes/poisons and airborne disease we might also note that in the OE translation of the Lat. Letter of Alexander to Aristotle Alexander and his men encounter wyrmas with deadly poisonous pestilential breath (ed. Orchard [1995: 236 §18]), Waes þara wyrmor ond 7 epung swidge deadherende 7 aeterne 7 for hiora þæm wolbeorendan orode monige men swulton [Lat. serpentes ... quorum alitus quoque erat pestifer]. Furthermore, Snorri Sturluson's thirteenth-century Ætla description in his Prose Edda of the giant mythical Midgard serpent bespattering land and sea and killing the god Þórr with the poison it blows out at Ragnarok may also be mentioned - Gylfaginning (ed. Faulkes [1982: 50/11-12]), Miðgarðsormr bæiss svá eitrinu at hann dreifir lopt gll ok kgg.

STRUCTURE AND INTEGRITY

The structure and integrity of this charm has been a source of considerable controversy and confusion - not all of it justified. Some fundamental errors of opinion will be corrected here, and other genuinely difficult and uncertain issues discussed.

C and Wu present ll. 579-97 as prose. However, it is evident from the metrical Scansion (below) that, as later commentators observe, these lines are verse.

C (p 37) also errs in separating the concluding prose directions from the preceding verse charm - they are given different divisional numbers. There can be no doubt from the correspondence of plant names and the otherwise unexplainable reference to þæt galdor (I. 601) that the verse and the prose belong together, the latter giving directions for the former's use.

The erroneous practice of divorcing the verse (ll. 535-97) and prose (ll. 598-603) sections from each other is repeated by:

i. The complementary editions of L (who, in keeping with his editorial practice of omitting OE verse, has only the prose directions ll. 598-603) and Wü (who prints the poetry without the prose).

144 Though C does remark in n b (p 37) "The alliterative measure continues, with some error at North".
ii. Holthausen [1934], who only prints the poem.

iii. GS who, though they clearly indicate that the prose directions refer back to the poem, give the prose a new entry number, and so confuse matters by according it the same status as other entirely separate and unrelated remedies.

GS are the only editors to question the integrity of the poem. They violate prior convention by dividing it into three sections, each of which is given its own entry number. Their reasons for doing so are not explained, rather the reader is simply (and inconspicuously) informed (p. 150, n. to l. 1) that "[w]e now recognize that we have not one charm but three". GS also present an uneasy and confusing editorial compromise by numbering the lines straight through all "three" charms "for convenience of reference". This treatment falls down at first examination since it is obvious that each of GS's "charms" is inextricably linked with another: their first charm comprising ll. 1-29 ("Pagan Lay of the Nine Herbs") demands (not wholly implausibly) that two of the herbs (Fille 7 Finule) be transposed to directly follow ll. 563 ondan attres opres to bote; but these nine are clearly picked up by the first line (564) of their following charm ("Lay of the Nine Twigs of Woden"). das 17111 ongan md nigon atrrum; their third charm ("Pagan Lay of the Magic Blasts") begins by imposing an implausible major division upon an apparently successive list, Hid wvrmgebld. . . Even their invented titles for the "three charms" are misleading in their simplicity for example, the third - "Pagan Lay of the Magic Blasts" - mentions only one named person - Christ (l. 592)!

The most vexed and fundamental issue in the history of scholarship on this charm is the question of how the plant names listed in the poem and the prose directions relate to each other. There is not, I think, a demonstrably correct solution to this issue, but I do propose two that seem to me reasonable.

At first sight there does not appear to be a serious problem, as will be apparent from the following table:

---

Cf., however, Moroney [1944 160, n. 6] "I suppose only that the scribe has infully proceed together several different charms"
There are seven obvious correspondences (mucgwyrt, wegbrade, attorlaöe, maögôe, appel, fille, 7 finule), while Una can easily be considered a by-name for Mucgwyrt. Stôde can similarly (if less obviously) be taken to refer to the plant Stune and be equated with lombes cyrse, and it is reasonable to identify Wergulu with netelan (see notes on these lines below). Thus there would appear to be a satisfactory correspondence between VIIII wyria (l. 579) in the poem and the nine plants in the prose list.

However, Meroney [1944] observes that the prose directions apparently complicate matters by distinguishing the apple from the herbs (wyria) ("the scribe [sic] himself, in spite of an implicit confusion in his arithmetic, seems to understand what every botanist would insist on, that apples are not herbs") - ll. 601-2 Sing þat galdor on eicre þara wyria ..., 7 on þone appel ealswa. In other words the prose directions appear to understand eight wyria plus an apple, not nine wyria as are referred to in the poem (l. 579 VIIII wyria). The explanation might be thought to lie in the obscure ll. 555-6:

_Fleoh þu nu Attorlaöe  seo læsse da maran._
seo mare þa læssan, oddæt him beigra bot sy.

"Put to flight now Attorlāde the lesser the greater,

the greater the lesser, until there is a remedy for him of both."

Perhaps these two different types of attorlāde - the lesser and the greater varieties (l. 555 Attorlāde seo læsse, and l. 556 (Attorlāde) seo mare) are included separately in the arithmetic of the poem. The poem's nine wyrta would then be i. Mucgwyr/Una, ii. Wegbrade, iii. Stune/Sīdē, iv. Attorlāde seo læsse, v. (Attorlāde) seo mare, vi. Mægðe, vii. Wergulu, viii. Fīlle, and ix. Finule. The prose directions, perhaps by mistake, make no mention of the two varieties of attorlāde, but possibly the sudden switch from nom. sg. forms (l. 598 Mucgwyr, wegbrade þe eastan open sy, lombes cyrse) to oblique case forms starting at attorlādan (attorlādan, magedan, netelan) was caused by a scribe's mistaking a nom. pl. attorlādan (incorporating both varieties) as acc. sg. However, a problem with this theory might be that l. 568 Æppel cannot be included in the poem's climactic statement of the plants' efficacy - l. 579 Nu magon þas VIII wyrta wid nigon wuldorgeflogenum.

A possible answer to this problem may be to suppose that the apple is included among the poem's VIII wyrta (with Attorlāde counting only once). It may well have been convenient, particularly for a poet writing within metrical constraints, to use a single term for all of his ingredients; since all but one of these was unambiguously a wyr ṭ "herb, medicinal plant", the obvious choice of word would have been wyrτ, the fact that the Æppel is perhaps not strictly speaking a wyrτ being of no importance. We may compare the designation of brembelēppel "blackberry" (i.e. the fruit of the Bramble) as a wyrτ in a remedy in BLch

Wip þon iclecan: sweft 7 swegles æppel, murre 7 æghwilces cynnes, nigon wyrτ engliscē. polleie, brembelēppel, elehtre, biscepwyrt, finul, rūwe wegbrade, haran sprecel, so hare wyrτ, hpywyrτ, ealra emfela; oleum [infirmorum], halig weter, halg sealt oþer ele; smure mid þys usan þonne hi gnide.

[BLch (296/21-8) (see also on this remedy Sources and Analogues above)]

Perhaps we might also compare the convenient inclusion of hazel "hazel" among wyrτes in Lac. Entry XXXIV: 

bas wyrτ sculon to lunentæselfe: barmwyrt 7 brunwyrt, betonicum 7 strawberrian wise, supernewuda 7 isopo, saluis 7 sauine 7 rude, garchfe 7 hazel, cwice, medewyrt, dothrun. 

156
The reason for the apparent distinction between wyrra and appel in the prose directions might be that, since the apple is apparently to be prepared separately from all the other ingredients (i.e. not reduced to a powder), it was inevitable that it should be singled out as "the apple" (l. 600 ûes appkes), while the other ingredients, for the preparation of which a collective instruction is applicable (l. 599 gewyr e ... to duste), should be collectively referred to as da wyrra. The prose writer, having thus of necessity excluded the appel from this particular use of the word wyrra, naturally maintained the distinction when he subsequently came to give details of how the charm was to be recited - hence he writes Il. 601-2 Sing ûet
galdor on ælcre þara wyrra ... 7 on þone appel ealswa’67. The apparent distinction between wyrra and appel then might simply be born of practical necessity in the prose, and is not necessarily indicative of a terminological distinction stemming from an observation that (as Meroney would have it) "apples are not herbs"; consequently it need not mean that in the poem appel is not to be counted among the VIII wyrta.

Another problem concerns l. 564 Das VIII ongan wið nygon attrum. It has long been thought that this line is misplaced, since it is not preceded by nine plants. Meroney [1944] makes much of this point, insisting that nine herbs ought to precede this line, and proceeding to identify those nine: Mucgwyrr, Una (i.e. Fille), Wegbrade, Stune (i.e. Finule), Stide (i.e. netele), Attorlaðe seo lesse, Attorlaðe seo marre, Margdre, and Wergulu (i.e. lombes cyrse). To account for the presence of l. 570 Fille 7 Finule he proposes that, on the basis of "parallels" between the following lines, "[t]he Christian elements suggest that this passage may be a tentative revision of antecedent verses, since the plants are spoken of in a way that connects them with una and stune":

Fille 7 Finule ... 

Stond heo wið warece, stunad heo wið attre,

seo marre wið III and wið xxx ..., [Il. 570, 575-6]

Una þu hottest, yldost wyrra;

67 The possibility might be entertained that 7 on þone appel ealswa - tacked on as it is at the end of the sentence - is an explanatory afterthought, the writer, thinking instinctively of the appel as a wyrra, might have momentarily forgotten that he had just had to use the term wyrra without reference to appel, and so added these words to clarify matters.
I do not agree with this argument. Since even ll. 535-63 are characterized by repeated forms, sounds, and syntactic structures, to argue that subsequent repetition signals revision is implausible. It also violates the grammar - ll. 575-6 cannot qualify the dual subject Fille 7 Finule since their number is sg. (Stond heo ... stunaô heo ... seo mag). Further, it violates the conventions of the poem's "stanzaic" form (on which see below) to identify Una and Stôde as plants distinct from Mugwyrt and Stune. Finally and most obviously, it assumes that the order of the plants in the prose directions - written by someone who, judging from his provision of commoner names for StuneiSnde and Wergulu, was more knowledgable than we are - does not correspond to those in the poem, when, as we have seen, they almost certainly do.

In view of the above it might be thought easier and more satisfactory to suppose that l. 564 - a single and complete syntactic unit - has itself been misplaced. It would make for (apparently) easier sense if it followed the subsequent reference to the final two herbs Fille 7 Finule However, since ll. 575-8 Stond heo wiô warce ... minra wihta make no grammatical sense in their present position, it is tempting to suppose that these lines actually belong to Wergulu (or Mægde), and ought perhaps to follow l. 563, forming a "stanza" of closely equivalent substance and length to those describing Mugwyrt, Wegbrade, and Stune. We might then suppose - with less justification - that the Fille 7 Finule passage should be transposed to follow the lines now reascribed to Wergulu (see Hypothetical Textual Improvement below).

However, it is possible that, with the exception of the plausible repositioning of ll. 575-8, such thinking might be based on an inappropriate approach to the charm. For although the modern reader of this charm probably does not have nine herbs in front of him, the Anglo-Saxon user of this charm obviously did. So it might not be very surprising that he/she should refer to nine herbs when the modern reader of the text has so far only been introduced
to six: he might perhaps simply be being at once proleptic (awaking the spirits of *Fille 7 Finule*) and retrospective (maintaining the attention of the plants previously addressed), and anticipating the communal action of l. 579 *Nu magon þæs VIII wyrtta* ("Now" is a significant word here).

Three other rearrangements, proposed by earlier editors, must also be considered:

i. S (anticipating in part some of the transpositions discussed above) moves ll. 575-8 (*Stond heo wið wéorce ... minra wëhta*) to follow l. 563 (*... opres to bote*), but also (more problematically) moves ll. 564-7 (*Das VIII ongan ... on VIII toflæah*) to follow ll. 570-4 (*Fille 7 Finule ... eallum to bote*). The problem with this last change is that, whereas in its MS position the pronoun *heo* (l. 569) has a clear referent in *naeddran* (l. 567), it is now left isolated without one. This problem is reflected in the awkwardness of S's translation "that she (the loathsome serpent) would never dwell in the house". If we must transpose the Woden passage then we surely have to take ll. 568-9 along with it.

ii. GS's perception of the relationship of the poem's plant names to those of the prose list is very misleading. They consider that the lines dealing with *Fille 7 Finule* have been displaced from their supposed original position after l. 563 (a plausible idea - see above), but (p. 151 n. 4) misrepresent the order of the plants in the prose list (for *magedan* comes before, not after, *netelan*) and on this basis, taking *Stiðe* as representing a separate plant from *Stune* (which it surely is not), try to rectify the resulting (false!) correspondences of *Stiðe* (poem) to *attorlædan* (prose), and of *Attorlæðe* (poem) to *netelan* (prose) by asserting that since the two sets of plant names do not exactly accord ... [they] may be most simply brought into concord by supposing that [the section on *Attorlæðe* in the poem] has been displaced. *Stiðe* = hard (strong growing) - presumably nettle - is yet stronger than *Attorlotho* and conquers and displays it.

I stress that this is all mistaken.

iii. Sandmann [1975] proposes to transpose ll. 575-8 (*Stond heo wið wéorce ... minra wëhta*) to follow l. 563 (*ondan attres opres to bote*), l. 568 (*Peer gevendade Æppel 7 attor*) to follow these lines (with the unfortunately necessary assumption of a following lacuna), and
II. 570-4 *(File 7 Finule ... eallum to bote)* to follow this line. L. 569 *(pæt heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan)* is then left to follow II. 567 (i.e. *sloh da þa næddran pæt heo on VIII tofleah, pæt heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan*).

As several critics have observed, *The Nine Herbs Charm* seems to display signs of a very rare (if not indeed quite unparalleled) phenomenon in OE poetry - stanzaic structure. This is preserved in II. 535-54, which can be divided into three groups of six, seven, and seven lines respectively (II. 1-6; II. 7-13; II. 14-20). Each group appears to deal with a single plant - *Mucgwyrt/Una, Wegbrade, and Stune Stiðe*. Each stanza begins by introducing the name of the plant, then gives details of some aspect of its past achievements and present powers of resistance, and concludes with two closely corresponding lines describing a trinity of enemies:

\[
\text{þu miht wip attre 7 wið onflyge,} \\
\text{þu miht wip þa lapan de geond lond feord. [II. 539-40]} \\
\]

\[
\text{Swa du wiðstonde attre 7 onflyge} \\
7 þæm ladan þe geond lond ferð. [II. 546-7] \\
\]

\[
\text{þeos mæg wið attre, heo mæg wið onflyge,} \\
\text{heo mæg wið da ladan de geond lond ferð. [II. 553-4]} \\
\]

If II. 575-8, which make no contextual sense as they stand in MS, were to be transposed to follow II. 563, then we would have another seven line stanza, again detailing first the plant's name (*H ergulu*), then its past achievement and present virtues, and concluding with a list of enemies (though not one corresponding to those of the other stanzas):

\[
\text{þis is seo wyrt de Wergulu hatte;} \\
\text{ðas onsaende seolh ofer sæs hryge,} \\
\text{ondan attres opres to bote;} \\
\text{[stond heo wið werce, stunad heo wið attre,} \\
\text{seo mæg wið III 7 wið XXV}. \\
\]

---

168 For doubtful instances of stanzaic structure elsewhere in OE poetry see *Deor* (but note the remarks of Malone [1977 17]). See also n to II. 539-40 and Bliss [1971].
wió feondes hond, 7 [w]ið frea[fr]egde,
wið malscrunge minna wihta].

The remaining lines of the poem cannot be arranged into such a stanzaic form.

Also to be noted is the poem’s threefold compositional structure:

i. II. 535-56 (= 22 lines) concerning four plants and beginning:
+ Gemyné ðu, Mucgwyr, hwæt ðu amelodest,
hwæt ðu renadest æt Regenmelde.

ii. II. 557-78 (= 22 lines) concerning the remaining five plants and beginning with an echo of the start of the poem:
 Gemyné ðu, Magð, hwæt ðu amelodest,
 hwæt ðu geændadest æt Alorfoða.

It is also interesting to note the fact that just as section i begins its first two sections with lines alliterating on the first letter (m- and w-) of the plant names Mucgwyr and Wegbrade, so does section ii, with m- in Magð and w- in Wergulu (furthermore both Wergulu and Wegbrade alliterate with the same word, wyrt(a).

iii. II. 579-97 (= 19 lines): with all the plants having been addressed, a shift is made to the enumerative listing of the poisons and swellings against which they are efficacious; the poem concludes (Il. 593-7) with a final first-person address by the reciter of the incantation.

The adverb nu signals the start of the new section:
+ Nu magon pas III wyrtæ  wið nygon wuldorgeflogenæm.

It is perhaps not inconceivable that this third section was also once longer (22 lines long?) - the enumeration of six gebled in Il. 586-8 might originally have been a list of nine.

With regard to sectional divisions in the poem the positioning of the crosses - the authorial status of which is entirely uncertain - may be worth highlighting. The first cross (somewhat conjecturally - see Textual Apparatus) precedes the introduction of Mucgwyr (I. 535), the second that of Wegbrade (I. 541), the third might mark a sub-division in the lines dealing with Stune Stöð (I. 552) or be intended to mark the introduction of Attorloðe (in which case it would probably be mistaken), the fourth precedes the section describing

\[169\] Or 23 lines if a different layout is adopted (see n to Il. 555-6).
Woden's battle with the wyrm, the fifth precedes the introduction of Fille 7 Finule, and the sixth that of the action of the VIII wyra wið nygon wuldorgeflogenum (the seventh is particularly spurious). However, any function some or all of these crosses might have had in delimiting sections may have been secondary - their primary function might have been as indications that the reciter is to cross himself (or the herb(s)) at those points (particularly applicable perhaps to the third and fourth crosses adjacent to the mention of wyrm). See further notes to II. 552 and 565.

**HYPOTHETICAL TEXTUAL IMPROVEMENT**

\[ * \]

"Gemynne du, Mucgwyrt, hwæt pu ameldodest,

hwæt pu renadest æt Regenmelde.

Una pu hattest, yldost wyra;

\[ 5 \] pu miht wið III 7 wið XXX,

bu miht wiþ ættre 7 wið onflyge,

bu miht wiþ ðam laþan de geond lond fered.

\[ + \]

Ond pu, Wegbrade, wyra modor,
eastan opene, innan mihingu,
ofer ðy crate curran, ofer ðy cwene reodan,

\[ 10 \] ofer ðy bryde bryodedon, ofer ðy færrans færeldon;
eallum ðu pon wiðstode 7 wiðstunedest.

Swa ðu wiðstonde ættre 7 onflyge

7 ðeom ladan he geond lond fered.

Stune hætte þeos wyrt, heo on stane geweox;

\[ 15 \] stond heo wið ættre, stunad heo wærcce.

Stude heo hatte, wiðstunad heo ættre,

wreced heo wraþan, weorped ut attor."
Pis is seo wyrt seow wip wyrm geœaht;
heos meg wido attre, heo meg wido onflyge,

heo meg wido ðam laðan ðe geond lond ferep.

Fleoh þu nu Attorlade, seo læsse da maran,
seo mare þa læssan, oddæt him beigra bot sy.

Gemyn þu, Mægde, hwæt þu amaldolest,
hwæt ðu geœandolest æt Alorforða,

þæt næfre for geflæge feorh ne gesealde
syfðan him mon Mægdan to mete gegyrede.

Pis is seo wyrt ðe Wergulu hætte;
þæs onsænde seleth ofer sæs hrygc,
andon attres opres to bote.

Stond heo wido ðærce, stunaþ heo wido attre,
seo meg wodo III 7 wido XXX,
vido feondes hondo 7 wido freabregde,
vido malscrunge minra whta.

+Fille 7 Finule felamuhtigwa twa:
þa wyrt gesceop wætæ Drîhien,
halig on heofonum þa he hongode;
sætæ 7 sænde on VII worulde
earmum 7 eadigum eallum to bote.

Das VIII ongan wido nygon attrum.

+Wyrn com snican toslat he nan.

+ or Assembly now.
Da genam Woden VIII wuldortanas,
sloth da ha naedran heo on VIII tofleah.
Dæor geændæ de æppel 7 Attor
heo naære ne wolde on hus bugan.

+ Nu magon þas VIII wyrta wido nygon wuldorgeflogenum,
wido VIII atrrum 7 wido nygon onflognum:
wido dæy reædan attre, wido da runlan attre,
wido dæy hwitan attre, wido dy wedenan attre,
wido dæy geolwan attre, wido dy grenan attre,
wido ðy wonnan attre, wido dy wedenan attre,
wido ðy brunan attre, wido dy basewan attre,
wido wyrmgeblæd, wido watergeblæd,
wido þorngeblæd, wido þystelgeblæd,
wido vsegeblæd, wido attorgeblæd.

gif ængæg attor cume eastan fleogan,
oðde ængæg nordan cume, oðde ængæg sudan,
oðde ængæg westan ofer weræode.

+ Crist stod ofer alde ængancundes.

Ic ana wæt ea rinnende,

7 þa nygon naedran behealdæd;

motan ealle weoda nu wyrturn aspringan,

sæs toslapan, eal sealæt wæter,

donne ic þis attor of de geblæve."

Yungwyr, wegbræd þe eastan open sy, lombes cyrse, attorlaðan, magedan, netelan,
flæ 7 finul, wuduæreæppel, ealde sapan; gewyræ da wyrtæ to dustæ; mængæ wip þa sapan 7
wip þæs æpples gor. Wyrc slypan of wateræ 7 of axsæn; genum finol, wyl on þære shyppan, 7
beþæ mid dan gemongce þonne he þa sealsæ on de, ge ær ge æfter. Sing þæt galdor on ælcre
para wyrtæ, III ær he hy wyrcæ, 7 on þone æppel ealswa; ond singæ þon men in þone mud 7 in þa earan buþa 7 on ða wunde þæt ilce gealdor ær he þa sealfæ on de.

STYLE AND METRE

[Vocabulary:

The following words in the charm are flagged by CH as occurring only or mainly in poetic texts: *felamühtig* (36), *witig* (37), and *werdeode* (57).


Metre 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCANSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>It bases the system of Bliss [1938] For &quot;irregular&quot; understand &quot;does not adhere to the metrical rules of classical OE verse</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1a | a1a(2A2a)i | 1b | d1c² |
| 2a | d1b³ | 2b | d2a⁴ |
| 3a | 1A*1a(i)⁵ | 3b | 2A1a(i) |
| 4a | e1c⁶ | 4b | d1b⁷ |
| 5a | a1c | 5b | d3b⁸ |
| 6a | a1d | 6b | 2C1b⁹ |
| 7a | d2b | 7b | 2A1a(i) |

70 Previous treatments of the metre of the OE metrical charms - all in PhD theses - may be found in Ponder [1969] (includes a full, but rather inaccurate, scansion of all the metrical charms according to the system of Bliss), Sandmann [1975], and (briefly) Abernethy [1983]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2A1a(i)$^{10}$</th>
<th></th>
<th>2A1a(i)$^{11}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>2A1a(i)$^{10}$</td>
<td>8b</td>
<td>2A1a(i)$^{11}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>2Clc</td>
<td>9b</td>
<td>3B1c(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)$^{12}$</td>
<td>10b</td>
<td>alc(2A1a)$^{13}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>a1c$^{14}$</td>
<td>11b</td>
<td>alb$^{15}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>a1c$^{16}$</td>
<td>12b</td>
<td>d3a$^{17}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td>alb</td>
<td>13b</td>
<td>2Clb$^{18}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a</td>
<td>Unclassified$^{19}$</td>
<td>14b</td>
<td>3B1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
<td>15b</td>
<td>2A1a(i)$^{20}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)$^{21}$</td>
<td>16b</td>
<td>a1a(2A1a)$^{22}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>2A1a(i)$^{23}$</td>
<td>17b</td>
<td>(?)3E1$^{24}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>e1c</td>
<td>18b</td>
<td>2B1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>alc</td>
<td>19b</td>
<td>d3c$^{25}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>ald</td>
<td>20b</td>
<td>2Clb$^{26}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>(?)1A*1a(2A1)$^{27}$</td>
<td>21b</td>
<td>+1A*1a(i)$^{28}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>+1A*1a(i)$^{29}$</td>
<td>22b</td>
<td>2Clc$^{30}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>a1a(2A1a)$^{31}$</td>
<td>23b</td>
<td>d1c$^{32}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>d1c$^{33}$</td>
<td>24b</td>
<td>d2a$^{34}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a</td>
<td>a1e</td>
<td>25b</td>
<td>1A1b(i)$^{35}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26a</td>
<td>ald$^{36}$</td>
<td>26b</td>
<td>+1A1a(i)$^{37}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27a</td>
<td>e1c</td>
<td>27b</td>
<td>a1a(2A1a)$^{38}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28a</td>
<td>3B1b</td>
<td>28b</td>
<td>3B1b$^{39}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29a</td>
<td>2A1a(i)</td>
<td>29b</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>2Cla$^{40}$</td>
<td>30b</td>
<td>2Cla$^{41}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>1A1a(i)$^{42}$</td>
<td>31b</td>
<td>3B1a(i)$^{43}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32a</td>
<td>(?)2Clb&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>32b</td>
<td>1D2&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33a</td>
<td>alc</td>
<td>33b</td>
<td>2B1c&lt;sup&gt;46&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34a</td>
<td>d1b&lt;sup&gt;47&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>34b</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)&lt;sup&gt;48&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35a</td>
<td>a1e&lt;sup&gt;49&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>35b</td>
<td>2Cl&lt;sub&gt;a&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
<td>36b</td>
<td>3E2&lt;sup&gt;50&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37a</td>
<td>3B*1a</td>
<td>37b</td>
<td>2A&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;a(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)&lt;sup&gt;51&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>38b</td>
<td>d1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
<td>39b</td>
<td>2Cl&lt;sub&gt;a&lt;/sub&gt;&lt;sup&gt;52&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)&lt;sup&gt;53&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>40b</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41a</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>1A*1a(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42a</td>
<td>e1c&lt;sup&gt;54&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>42b</td>
<td>d1b&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43a</td>
<td>3B1a(i)</td>
<td>43b</td>
<td>d2b&lt;sup&gt;56&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44a</td>
<td>d2a</td>
<td>44b</td>
<td>2A&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;a(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45a</td>
<td>2Cl&lt;sub&gt;d&lt;/sub&gt;&lt;sup&gt;57&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>45b</td>
<td>2C1a(1A1a)&lt;sup&gt;58&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46a</td>
<td>2Cl&lt;sub&gt;a&lt;/sub&gt;&lt;sup&gt;59&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>46b</td>
<td>alb(1D3)&lt;sup&gt;60&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47a</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
<td>47b</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48a</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
<td>48b</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)&lt;sup&gt;61&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49a</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
<td>49b</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50a</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
<td>50b</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)&lt;sup&gt;62&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51a</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
<td>51b</td>
<td>alb(2A1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>2B1a</td>
<td>52b</td>
<td>2B1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53a</td>
<td>2B1a</td>
<td>53b</td>
<td>2B1a&lt;sup&gt;63&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54a</td>
<td>2B1a</td>
<td>54b</td>
<td>2B1a&lt;sup&gt;64&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55a</td>
<td>3B1c(i)&lt;sup&gt;65&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>55b</td>
<td>2A1a(i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This type is not found in *Beowulf* (but cf. 3B1a(2A1a)). The verse thus scanned might be thought to offend against Kuhn's Law of Sentence Particles, but taking 3Bld as enclitic to the prev (cf. Bliss p. 17 n. 3) overcomes the problem of having the unstressed metrical particle 3Bld follow the stressed finite verb with unstressed prefix (*gemynne*). The alternative — not to stress the alliterating imp. verb — seems to me unlikely but cannot be ruled out. Cf. 23a *Gemynne ke Magebe.*

Personal pronouns in the nom. case may also be taken to be enclitic upon the prev in 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b (otherwise violates Kuhn's Law), 17a, 21a, 23a (otherwise might violate Kuhn's Law as here), 31b (otherwise violates Kuhn's Law), 41a, and 41b (personal pronoun is not permitted by Bliss's svtem).


Ponder's 1A1b(ii) stresses *hweor*  

Ponder's 1A1a(i) again stresses *hweor*  

Ponder's 2A1 is not permitted by Bliss's system.

If *Una* is to be derived from or identified as Lat. *una* (nom. fem. "one") then the root vowel is probably long.

If * unparalleled* dat. here, but could be acc. (monosyllabic or - in non-WS - disyllabic)

It is reasonable to assume the numeral's dat. reflexion, since an unaffected form would produce a light a-type - only d-types are found in the h-verse in *Beowulf.*

Ponder's d2b requires *flyge* to have a long vowel, but if *flyge* like *flyge* ("flight") belongs to the strong i-declension then the -*e*- (*i*) ought only to be present after a short stem.

* Analogy with the almost identical verses 13b and 20b (which have *fered* strongly, suggests that here the original verb form (whether *fered* or *fered*) was also disyllabic. Note that, although a metrical pattern ending in two consecutive stresses is not found in *Beowulf*, it may well be found in 61a and certainly does occur in ("relatively late verse" (Fulk [1992 §§291, 304 and Appendix A (p. 411)]) such as the *Metres of Boethius, Durham, and (frequently) the Metrical Psalms of the Paris Psalter. See also n. to 28b.

Ponder emends *ferred* and scans as 2C2b.

Ponder's 2A1a(i) is incorrect.

With the second *i* in *mungu* accented, this type matches the a-verse.

Ponder scans as +++1D*1(i).

Possibly 10a and b could be considered single half-lines (on which see Bliss [1971]), though the end rhyme on *don* might well be thought to link them.

Ponder's *-2A1(i)* is not permitted by Bliss's system.

It is possible that *wh* should be credited with some alliterative stress, but L. 16 might be thought to indicate otherwise. Presumably *eallum* is not stressed here. Ponder scans as 1A*1ec.

Ponder scans as d1b.

The traditional arrangement of this line *rwa* *wihstanode* *atere* *onflyge* leaves both half-lines anomalous with regard to alliteration. Ponder's 2C1c apparently gives stress to the verb and elides its final -e.

Ponder scans as 2C2a.

Ponder scans as 2C2b.
were to be stressed then the resulting heavy verse produces either a pattern x x x x
presumably either x x or x x x, but, according to Fulk [1992: §402 n. 64],
an upon the preceding veil. Alternatively, perhaps this verse once read (with 4lb)
Ia and theretho Ponder assigns as I A l a (ii). Giug stress to the adverb.

OE poem similarly has first a-verse (1. 852) in the
determination being that here we have a third unstressed syllable before the second stress. However, cf. the
first a-verse (L. 852) in the Loean metrical charm for loss of cattle: *Bachelm hotte se burh* (a variant
version similarly has *Bethelm hotte sea buruh*; note also the a-verse *Gifer hatte se wyn* (L. 116) in the
OE poem *Soul and Body*. As the editor of that poem observes, with reference to Lacn. l. 852, this might
be "a special type of verse for naming" (Moffat [1990: 22]).
Ponder's classification as 3El, i.e. / x x / is short of a syllable and may be thought to break Bliss's
ruling on the placement of breath-group divisions.

Ponder scans incorrectly as 1A*1a(i).)

Ponder's 2A1a(i) is incorrect.

This half-line might be thought to violate Kuhn's Law in having an unstressed metrical particle
(*heo*) follow an alliterating stress-word with unstressed prefix (*wodstan*), but perhaps *heo* is allitative
upon the preceding verb. Alternatively, perhaps this verse once read (with 41b) *stunod heo wod attre*.
Ponder's anacrusis *+2A1a(i)*, although formally the same pattern as *a2a(2A1a)*, is not normally
permitted by Bliss.

Ponder mutes an unstressed syllable of *heo* scans as 3A1a(i).

This half-line is metrically problematic. The pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables is
presumably either x x x x x x x x or x x x x x x, neither of which is found in
*Bieôlrem hattis seo buruh*, *Gifer hatte se wyn*, or *Crutain*.

Ponder's +1 Ala(i) is incorrect.

I do not stress *begna* in the b-verse. I stress *my* which I tentatively take to be disyllabic. If *begna*
were to be stressed then the resulting heavy verse produces either a pattern x x x x x x x x
other than which is found in *Beowulf*.

Ponder mutes an unstressed syllable of *heo* and scans as +2A2(i).

This verse might be thought to violate Kuhn's Law unless *pu* is allitative upon the verb *Gemyme* - cf.
1a and thereto Ponder scans as 2A1a(i) - an anacrusis type not allowed by Bliss.

Ponder stresses *hoawt*, scanning as 1A1b(u)

Ponder stresses *hoawt*, scanning as 1A1b(u)

Ponder scans as +2A1, a classification which is not allowed by Bliss.

Ponder's 1A*1a(i) is incorrect.

Ponder scans incorrectly as 2C2c.

Ponder scans as 1A*1a(i)

With *w* syncopeated. Ponder scans as +3A1(i), but there is no such type in Bliss's classificatory
system.

This scanword (which matches the a-verse) assumes an uncontracted disyllabic form *sawes* (cf. Wright
& Wright [1925 §130] "gen sawes from *sawes older *sawes*"), according to Fulk [1992: §355(2)] mas-
set as characteristic of Angloan feature. Otherwise, if *sawes* is monosyllabic, we have a type ending in two consecutive stresses such as is found in certain late
poems (see n to 6b) and quite possibly in 61a

Ponder scans as 2b2

Ponder has the emendation *mogan* for *organ* and scans as +2A1a(i).

Ponder scans as 2A1a(i), a classification which is not allowed by Bliss.

Ponder's 2A1a(i) is incorrect.

My placement of the breath group division might be objected to, but unless he is allitative upon the
verb *tolsot* the half-line violates Kuhn's Law; otherwise scan as 2Bl a.

I am inclined to give alliterative stress to *genawm* here. Otherwise we have type a1c.

With the *aw* in *wudor* syncopeated. Ponder scans as 1D*2.

Ponder scans as 3B*1c.

Ponder classifies as 1A1a(i), giving stress to the adverb.

Or, if *ator* is monosyllabic here, we have type 2El a.

In order to avoid the double alliteration here we might postulate 7 *ator* (type a1a) alone as the
b-verse (cf. possibly the metrical charm *For Unfruitful Land* (ASPR 6, no. 1). L. 58a and sawes). However,
this type is not attested in *Beowulf*; furthermore, *Beowulf* only permits light d-types in the b-verse.
**According to the standard of classical OE verse alliterative stress should not be placed on *heo*, but, since there can be no other alliteration, it must be entertained here.**

**Double negatives (here *nafa ne*) are uncommon in *Beowulf* - see [Fulk 1992: §331](#) and Scansion to Entry LXXXVI (l. 7: *nafa ... derian ne mostie*).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>ii substituting on din&amp;ess man. p1 nail on</th>
<th>without diffic, as 3Blb (OE 767). Fela- bears alliterative stress as this word as elsewhere in OE verse (see Farrell [1974: 97] (ns. to <em>Azaraz</em> 1408b). Pender scans as 2A1(3E1).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The second -o- in <em>heofonum</em> is syncopated.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here I understand syncopation of <em>-u- in wulfcor</em>, cf. Bliss §75, p. 68. Pender scans as +2A1a(i).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The -e of *eadgum is syncopated. Cf the Rune Poem (l. 76a) <em>eadgum and earmum.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pender's a1c is incorrect.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cf n to 4b above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pender omits</em> 7 and scans as d2a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pender scans as a1k(2A1a).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here I syncopate the -o- in <em>wulder-</em> (cf 32b) and the last -e-. This type is not found in <em>Beowulf</em>. Alternatively scan as 2I1a(1A<em>1a), a metrical type that is attested in <em>Beowulf</em>. Pender scans as 2A1(1A</em>1a) a type not permitted by Bliss.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pender scans as a1a(2A1a).</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This type is not found in <em>Beowulf</em>. Alternatively, this pattern might perhaps be classified as ++1D2. Pender's ++1A1a(i) does not admit alliterative stress on <em>on-</em>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the second -e in <em>weodenan</em> syncopated.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the second -e in <em>weodenan</em> syncopated as in 48b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So too Pender who keeps MS <em>by gehiel</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here I take <em>attor</em> to be monosyllabic, cf <em>Beowulf</em> 2839a <em>bet he wold attorscereaban</em> which Bliss scans as d3c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatively, taking <em>attor</em> as monosyllabic, scan as 2C2c. If <em>emng</em> is to be granted alliterative stress we may scan either as 3Bl1a(2A1b) (a type not found in <em>Beowulf</em>); or, if <em>attor</em> is monosyllabic, as 3Bl1a(2C2c) (also unattested in <em>Beowulf</em>). Pender scans incorrectly as 2C1c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*I am not inclined to stress <em>emng</em> - whence type 3Bl1b(2A1b) (not found in <em>Beowulf</em>). Pender scans as a1d, putting some in the b-verse after a losuna.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumably <em>emg</em> is not to be stressed (which would give type a1b(2A1a)).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pender's 1A</em>1b puts <em>strof</em> into the first breath group.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pender reads <em>argan cundes</em> and scans as 2A1a(i).</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or possibly 3E2? Pender's e1c is probably wrong since it admits no alliterative stress.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Pender reads <em>ha mongen neodrum, and scans as a1b(2A1a)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pender reads <em>behealid</em> and declares the verse &quot;defective&quot;.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If my interpretation of *woode* as "woods/trees" is correct (see n. to l. 595), then, since, at least according to the rules of classical OE verse, a stress cannot be placed on the short syllable *woode* because of the preceding short syllable, this verse ends in two consecutive stresses - a pattern which is not accommodated by Bliss's classificatory system. However, verses ending in consecutive stresses are found in late OE verse (see n. to 6b). It might be thought that scribal corruption is responsible for the irregular pattern - if, substituting endless nom. pl neut. *susil* for *susil*, the line were to read *sotan susil* (woode *woode* we might perhaps scan (not stressing *ealle*, but new stressing short *woode*) as 3Bl1c); or, if it were to read *susil motan ealle* (cf possibly l. 579 *Nu magon hast VIII wyres*), we could also scan as 3Bl1d. However, classical OE metre does not allow suspension of resolution on the first stressed syllable of type B.

If, as most commentators think, *woode* means "woods" we may scan (again not stressing *ealle*) without difficulty as 3Bl1d (OE word "woode" is of unknown origin, but apparently possesses a long root vowel (so HT, AEH, OED, and ODCE)). Such an interpretation is, however, problematic - see n. to l. 595.

Pender scans incorrectly as A1A1a(i).

Or, if *sus* is for uncontracted gen sg. *sus* (cf 29b), we may scan as A1A1a(i).

Pender misreads *don* for *downe*, and scans as e1c. Or might alliterative stress be placed on both ic and *attor* (giving either type 2Bl1b or a1b(1A1a) (or + 1A1a(i))? |

Only light d-types are found in the b-verse in *Beowulf*. Might alliterative stress be placed irregularly on of (giving type 1A*1a)?

---
Alliteration: where not absent or highly irregular (as in 10, 21 and 22, 35, and probably 63), alliterating sounds are in regular accord with "classical" OE metrical practice except for:

i. Hw- + w- in hwitan and wedenan (48).

ii. Alliteration failing to fall on the first stressed syllable in 31a (Wyrm com snican) and 58a (Crist stod ofer alde).

iii. Double alliteration in the b-verse in 34 Æppel 7 attor.

iv. Several apparent instances of alliteration on more than one sound (the same ab/ab pattern being found each time): 30 (n- o- n- a-); 32 (n- w- n- w-), similarly 45; 46 (n- a- n- o-) - it may be that, although it occupies the first stress position, in these instances the initial n- alliteration on nigon may be of lesser importance. Note, however, that in 33 nigon bears the only alliterative stress in the b-verse. Also 47-51 (resulting from the repetition of attre).

It may also be noted that in Beowulf double alliteration in the a-verse is "almost if not quite compulsory" in types 1A, 1A*, 1D and 1D* (Bliss [1993: §21]). The Nine Herbs Charm shows instances of single alliteration only in 31a (type 1A1a(i); but there are 11 such verses in Beowulf), 58a (type 1A1c), 3a (unless hottest partakes of the vocalic alliteration), 15a, 16a, and 41a (type 1A*1a(i); but there 25 such verses in Beowulf) and 22a (type +1A*1a(i))

The following metrical types are found (types not found in Beowulf are prefixed #, square brackets enclose frequency numbers):

"Light" or one-stress types:

alb [2] : 11b, 13a

alc [4] : 5a, 19a, 33a, 63b.

ald [5] : 6a, 20a, 26a, 57a, 63a.


d1b [5] : 2a, 4b, 34a, 38b, 42b.

171 Note that, as in classical OE verse, it alliterates only with st- in 14-16 and 41, palatal and velar g alliterate in 49.

172 Cf possibly the early Leiden Riddle 1. 11 Hile mec mon hwæfre se þeoh wide ofer eorðgan (ed. Smith [1978: 47])
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dlc 3</td>
<td>1b, 23b, 24a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d2a 3</td>
<td>2b, 24b, 44a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d2b 3</td>
<td>7a, 43b, 57b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3a 1</td>
<td>12b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3b 1</td>
<td>5b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3c 1</td>
<td>19b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e1b 1</td>
<td>60a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e1c 4</td>
<td>4a, 18a, 27a, 42a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Standard" or two-stress types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A1a 2</td>
<td>31a, 62a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1A1a 1</td>
<td>26b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A1b 1</td>
<td>25b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A1c 1</td>
<td>58a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1A*1a 14</td>
<td>3a, 15a, 16a, 29b, 34b, 36a, 38a, 39a, 40a, 40b, 41a, 41b, 60b, 61b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1A*1a 2</td>
<td>21b, 22a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A1 1</td>
<td>58b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A1a 10</td>
<td>3b, 7b, 8a, 8b, 15b, 17a, 29a, 37b, 44b, 55b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D1 1</td>
<td>59b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D2 1</td>
<td>32b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B1a 6</td>
<td>52a, 52b, 53a, 53b, 54a, 54b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B1b 1</td>
<td>18b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B1c 1</td>
<td>33b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C1a 5</td>
<td>30a, 30b, 35b, 39b, 46a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C1b 4</td>
<td>6b, 13b, 20b, (?)32a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C1c 1</td>
<td>9a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C1d 1</td>
<td>45a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C1e 1</td>
<td>22b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C2a 1</td>
<td>62b.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypermetric types:

- #a1a(2A2a) [1] : 1a.
- alb(2A1a) [11] : 10a, 47a, 48a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 50a, 50b, 51a, 51b.
- #alb(1D3) [1] : 46b
- a1c(2A1a) [1] : 10b
- #2cl1a(1a1a) [1] : 45b


Overall Frequency of "light" and hypermetric verses:

There is a large number (37 (29.6%)) of one-stress ("light") verses of all three types a (15x (once in b-verse possibly)), d (17x (12x in b-verse)), and e (5x, none in b-verse). It may be noteworthy that a1-types constitute 20.6% of the poem's a-verses.174

174 Concerning the light a-type Bliss (§67 p 61) remarks that "[i]t must be considered doubtful whether this type has any genuine existence," similarly Bliss [1993 §17] remarks that in Beowulf such verses are "excessively rare ... The number of instances of Type e is so small that all the lines concerned may be corrigent".

175 Sleeth [1982 31-4 (and Table 1 therein)] examines the frequency of the equivalent Sievers' A3 type (which Sleeth calls Type A Weak) in the a-verses of numerous other OE poems (but not the metrical charms). Of the poems Sleeth analyses, this figure of 20.6% is only topped by the Battle of Maldon (20.82%) and Christ and Satan (III) (22.95%); the lowest figures are those of Guthlac B (25.8%) and the Battle of Brunanburh (sic) (54.8%); the figure for Beowulf is 9.77%. Sleeth (p 33) offers the somewhat complicated hypothesis that:

...up to and including the age of Cynwulf, sparing and judicious use was probably made of the Type A Weak half-line, roughly in the proportion of one to every ten lines ... Later, however, let us say from some time in the ninth century, there probably came to be at least two different traditions in the composition of Old English poetry, a conservative one which continued to keep the proportion of Type A Weak half-lines low, and a more
There is also quite a large number (19 (15.2%)) of hypermetric verses\textsuperscript{175}, sometimes paired.

**Overall Frequency of "standard" two-stress types:**

There are 67 "standard" two-stress verses:

32 A-type verses; 18 B-type verses; 13 C-type verses; 2 D-type verses; 2 E-type verses.

That is (highest to lowest): A(25.6%)→B(14.4%)→C(10.4%)→D(1.6%) and E(1.6%)\textsuperscript{176}

In addition it may be noted:

21b: +1A* 1a(i) is not found in the b-verse in *Beowulf*.

16b a1a(2A1a) is not found in the b-verse in *Beowulf* (where it is found only once).

45b 2Clb(1A1a) is not found in the b-verse in *Beowulf* (where it is found only once).

\footnote{Gemme: Also I. 557. I take this verb form to be imp. sg. See Language 5.x.g.}

\footnote{Mugwort For other instances of widespread and ancient beliefs in the properties of mugwort in folklore, including instances of the popular belief in its efficacy against evil spirits and airborne poisons, which are likely be relevant here in view of its power wid III 7 wip attre 7 wip onflye and wip pa[m] lapan ge seond lond seorð, see Armstrong [1944] In *OFHerb* mugwort numbers among its uses the expulsion of "devil-sicknesses" (*OFHerb* (56 3)) - *heo afligd deosol- seo(n)ysa* [Lat. *Fugat et daemonia*]. Note, however, that there is not a single instance of mugwort being put to such a use in *BLch* or *LchBk3*.}

\footnote{It may be very tentatively suggested that the marked predominance of types A and B over types D and E could suggest a late compositional date for the *Nine Herbs Charm* See Cable [1991: chap. 2] and Fulk [1992: chap. 10].}
535-6 hwæt pu ameldodest, hwæt pu renadest at Regenmelde: Unlike the parallel
treatment of the herb Mægde in ll. 557-60, no details of Mucgwyrts declaration or action are
given. Have they dropped out?

It is interesting to note (with Bradley [1904: 144]) with regard to sound patterning in the
charm (cf. the sound association of Stune and Stôte with stane, stond, and stunað below), that
the stressed elements -meld- and ren- in both these verbs seem to be echoed etymologically in
the following word Regenmelde (renian (re(g)nian) and reg(e)n are related to Goth. ragon
"rule", ragan "counsel"). It may be suggested that Regenmelde thereby encapsulates - in a
fundamental way names - the events that occurred there.

536 Regenmelde: See also previous n. The constituent elements of this word seem clear,
but it is hard to be certain of the intended sense. Regen- (regn-) occurs in OE as an
intensifier implying greatness and might (see BT regn-), and is also found in personal
names, meld means a "formal announcement", a "proclamation" (cf. ll. 535, 557 ameldodest
"proclaimed") Thus BT (regnmeld) defines the compound as "a mighty, solemn
announcement". This may well be the right sense (and it is the one I adopt), but, given this
charm's references to the aristocratic pagan Germanic god Woden (ll. 566), to Christ (ll. 571,
592), its animistic, personificatory view of plants, and the possibility that it may have
preserved archaic word meanings, it is worth noting the possible regal and/or pagan
connotations of regen-.

For regen- (as BT notes) is cognate with Goth. ragonon "to rule", rogineis "a ruler", and
with Olcel rgin, "the gods (of the northern pantheon)". In Olcel it is also found in personal
names177, and in compounds as an intensifier, sometimes with overtones of sacredness and
divinity, sometimes simply as an indicator of greatness: regindjup "deep sea", regindójmr
"mighty doom", reginnagh "sacred nail", and regning "great council". However, any divine
connotation in OE would appear to be exceptional, for Sturtevant [1916: 255] (though he
cites Regenmelde only in a footnote quoting directly from BT regn-) in his study of Olcel

---

177 That regen may have had pagan associations with divinity in early OE is suggested not only by the correspondence
to Olcel practice, but also perhaps by the large number of OE personal names similarly formed upon another name for a
pagan god, Ós (also perhaps ælf- "elf-"), suggesting an ancestral onomastic tradition (by late Anglo-Saxon times
presumably long conventional and devoid of pagan implications) in which children were named after the divine powers.
regin and its Germanic cognates remarks that "[i]n OE there seems to be no trace whatsoever of it [i.e. a mythological connotation] in the intensive regn- and there is no reason to believe that it still survived in OS [i.e. OSax]"\textsuperscript{178}.

Previous translations of Regenmelde include C (p. 31) "the prime telling", Jente [1921: §54] "feierliche Verkündigung", S (p. 187) "the Great Proclamation", and GS (p. 151) "the mighty denunciation". These interpretations of the word are probably preferable to that of Bradley [1904: 144] who remarks:

A comparison of lines 1-2 ... with lines 23-4 ... seems to show clearly that the word regenmeld, which is rendered in the dictionaries "Solemn announcement", is really, like alorford, the name of a place. The geography is presumably mythological, though Alorford certainly looks prosaic enough. Although Regenmeld as a place-name is abnormal in formation, the correctness of the reading is attested by the fact that the verbs amelhand and remian in the context were evidently suggested by the two elements of the compound. It is to be noted that Rægnumeld occurs as a Northumbrian female personal name\textsuperscript{179}. This spelling (pointing to an umlaut e) suggests that -meld could be a metathetic derivative (of course feminine) of mædel. If so, the compound would be synonymous with the Old Norse regning, which is found (apparently as a mythic place-name, though this is perhaps doubtful) in the Helgakvöða\textsuperscript{80}.

S (p 194) also entertains the possibility that it is a place name, but is (characteristically) keen to see a reference to paganism:

Regenmeld may have developed into a place name, as its parallelism to Alorford makes us believe, but its original meaning must have been what its component parts

---

\textsuperscript{178} Lucas [1977 144 n] comments on Exodus 1.539 regnehosas, that regn- "originally probably denoted something like "supernatural power."

Note that Wrenn's [1962] interpretation of the OE rune incision raðan carved on an astragalus found in a funerary urn in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk) as cognate with Old English regan "gods" is now rejected by scholars in favour of Page's opinion that it is "a form or a cognate of OE raða "roe-deer", the beast that supplied the astragalus" (Page [1964 (repr 1995) 123], see also [1968: 141-2]).

\textsuperscript{179} Liber Vitae (ed. Sweet [1885. 154]), Rægnumeld is the first word in section 13.

\textsuperscript{180} "Hemma raunum bitlað til regnfinga, enn Sporvins til Sporvins, Melmir oc Mýsun til Mýsundur, "

[Helgakvöða Hundingsbana in fyrir s. 51 v. 1-6 in Neckel & Kuhn [1983: 138] (see textual apparatus to this poem for possible treatment - not very likely it seems to me since the word is pl. - as a proper name (doubtfully a place name (La Farge & Tucker [1992. regn-fung]]))}
express: the great proclamation of the great, that is, divine or semi-divine, personages.

It is very difficult to see how Lachs's Regenmelde can possibly be a personal name since the context demands either an event or a place-name. Furthermore, it is neither necessary nor especially desirable to suppose that it is a place name (an interpretation also adopted by G (p. 227), and by Magoun [1937a: 28-9] who implausibly suggests that -melde might be a corruption of we(alsde "wood"), while the interpretation of -melde as "proclamation" is ideally suited to the pronouncements that were made there (l. 535 amelodest). It seems feasible that it was at the place Alorford (l. 558 "Alderford") that the Regenmeld ("Mighty Proclamation") took place; this interpretation accommodates the expected meaning of -meld ("proclamation") and admits the close association of II. 535-6 (Gemyme ðu, Mugwyrt, hwæt þu amelodest, hwæt þu renadest æt Regenmelde) with the parallel II. 557-8 (Gemyme þu, Meæge, hwæt þu amelodest, hwæt þu geændadest æt Alorforda) without the complication of supposing two separate locations, or two different names for (presumably) the same place.

Least helpful of all on this point are GS (p. 150 n. 5) who merely remark that "no meaning can be attached to the "denunciation."" Sandmann [1975: 199] thinks the word means "Gottverkundigung" or "Verkündigung vor Gott".

The most recent attempt to interpret this word - highly questionable in my view - is that of Brackman [1980. 461-4] who thinks that, while it may have had "a pagan as well as a Christian connotation", Regenmeld "probably refers to Christ in the first place", being "the equivalent of the "Great Proclamation" or "mighty denunciation" of the virtues of herbs by Our Lord" - see further Sources and Analogues above.

537 Una : This is probably not in origin an OE (or Germanic) word\textsuperscript{181}, but rather the Lat. nom. sg. fem. inflection of the cardinal numeral unus, meaning "One", "Number One" (agreeing with fem. Mugwyrt, and perhaps also, as Brackman [1980: 464] suggests, an

\textsuperscript{181} Una (p. 320, n.) takes it as Lat. (so too OOrt [1928. 7 n. 3] and Holhausen [1934: 182]), but he would otherwise take it as "the Huna, Hune, as where sinden damad ecne nese pflanze anffirstet". However, the prose list (II. 596-9) does not mention any plant between Mugwyrt and Hegbrauc. If Una did not make good sense in context, one might also have resorted to the (rather doubtful) plant name uma (or uma) found once in BLch - see Bersbi under uma.

Merton [1944. 159-60] thinks uma is a rare OE word denoting fille (l. 570).

Ronan's [1967] study of the use of "one" in OE seems not to refer to Una here.
underlying Lat. *Artemisia*). As such it is probably not a distinct plant name, but a by-name of *Mucgwyrt*. This name is not, I think, a matter of utilitarian arithmetic (but it *is* thus appropriate for the *first* plant in the incantation) - rather it might derive from the conception of the plant as *mater herbarum* (see following n.). It is the first indication of a Lat. botanical basis for aspects of this poem.

GS are surely wrong to state (p. 150 n. 5) that "no meaning can be attached ... to the name *Una*". Sandmann [1975: 204] implausibly suggests the text should read *Ure*, which (p. 232) he translates as "Zum Urwesengott Gehörige".

537 *yldost*: *Una* is both oldest (because it is number one, the first) and also quite possibly "chief", "greatest" (cf. e.g. *Beowulf* l. 258 where Beowulf is *se yldesta*). Hence it is placed first in the charm - might it have officiated at the *Regenmek!*? Commentators (e.g. Sedgefield [1928: 420]) who try to distinguish between the two senses perhaps impoverish the word's full potential of meaning.

The conception of mugwort as the progenitor (and therefore *yldost*) of plants is also instanced several times in glossorial evidence: *mater herbarum*: mugwort (see Bierb3 p. 174). In the present context, however, the equivalent vernacular epithet *wyrtap modor* is applied - probably erroneously - to *Wegbrade* (l. 541). It would be interesting with regard to the sources of this charm to discover any other medieval descriptions of plantain (rather than mugwort) as the "mother of herbs".

538 *du mht wið III 7 wið XXX*: So also l. 576. The numerals three and thirty have usually (not always - see Sandmann [1975: 205]) been taken together here to give thirty-three, but the second *wið* is somewhat awkward in this regard. G thinks the meaning is probably "you have power against thirty-three (lit. "against three and against thirty") evil spirits/diseases". The second *wið* is perhaps little more than a metrical filler.

Thirty-three (if such it be) is a striking number, one not otherwise found in Anglo-Saxon magico-medicine. G (p. 227) (and see *ERE* article on "Numbers") notes examples of its use

---

Note that their text does not capitalize the word.
in the Sanskrit *Rig-Veda* in which thirty-three is often given as the number of the gods. Cf. perhaps also in the Sanskrit *Atharva-Veda* (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 19]) references to "five and fifty (sores)"; "seven and seventy (sores)"; "nine and ninty (sores)".

538 *miht* : For some thoughts on the nature of the potency (mana) expressed by this verb (also by l. 576 *mæg* and l. 579 *magon*) see Magoun [1947: 36-7].

539 *miht wip* : Note that ll. 546-7 and 548-54 dealing with the herbs *Wegbrade* and *Stune/Stode* use different verbs and constructions with *wip* to express the same sense of power and opposition - in sequence we find *wipstonde*, *stond wip*, *stunad*, *wipstunad*, *wreced*, *weorped*, and *mæg wip*. Ll. 575-6, however, are partly repetitious in this respect, using *stond wip* and *mæg wip* again (though *stunad wip* is a fresh variation).

539-40 *hu miht wip attre ... onflyge ... laþan de geond lond feord* : For an article proposing that these words (and others in OE charms, including *Lacn.* ll. 779-80 and 927-9 (see also notes thereto)) may constitute stanzaic remains of an earlier common Germanic metrical "incantation form" see Magoun [1937b: 5].

539-40 *wip attre 7 wip onflyge ... wip ha laþan de geond lond feord* : Wû (p. 320) aptly compares a remedy from BL MS Cotton Caligula A xv, fol. 136r (ed. C vol. III, p. 288) which *mæg .. wip ægahlicum unculpum yfele ægoræ ge fleogendes ge farendes*. Cf. also for the association of flying things with poison *BLch* (146/10-12):

Blodlaes is to forgane fizlyne nhtum ær hlasmasse 7 æfter fys 7 pritig nhtum, for
pon þonne ealle æterno þing fleogap 7 mannum swede deriað.

Cf also a remedy in *BLch* (296/1-2) which:

*mæg wip eallum fær untrynnessum, ge wip fesre ge wip lenctenadle ge wip attre ge wip yfelre lyfte.*

Note that flying poison is also referred to in *Lacn.* Entry CXXVI l. 753 *Wip fleogendan attre.*
539 onflyge: (Also in ll. 546 and 553). Perhaps we may understand "bacterial infection" or "epidemic viruses" - see Meaney [1992a: 16], though the Anglo-Saxons, of course, had no such terminology. See also previous n., and GS (pp. 55-6).

Onflyge is a unique word, found only in this charm. The element on- either denotes "on, "upon" or (if an unstressed form of and-) "against", whence presumably the base meaning "on-flight" or "against-flight", i.e. "a flight/flier on or against (mankind)". Cf. probably l. 559 gefloge, l. 579 wuldorgeflogen, l. 580 onflognum, and Olcel flog (see CV). Flowers [1989: 106] translates "flying shots", which though the number is probably wrong (the case being dat rather than acc., and so sg.,) might be a viable sense. Glosecki [1989: 121], who translates "flying venom", similarly thinks that onflyge "is cognate with the gandfluga and galdrafluga "magic shot" of Norwegian and Icelandic traditions" (cf. CV, esp. under fluga) and that it is analogous to the flying spears of the mighty women (mihtigan wif) in Lacn.

Entry CXXVII

The concept of flying illness is ancient - cf. e.g., the Sanskrit Atharva-Veda (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 18]):

"The gâânya [= a tumour], winged, flies; he settles down upon man."

540 pu muht wip bajm laban de geond laond færð : Cf. the OE metrical Journey Charm (ASPR 6, no 11, 1 5):

\textit{and wido eal het lað \ be in to land fare.}

Depending on how specific \textit{bam laban} is, we might also perhaps compare the hostile beings riding over the land in Lacn. ll. 762-3:

\textit{Hlude wæran hy, la hlude, \ da hy ofer hlæw ridan,}

\textit{wæran anmode \ da hy ofer land ridan.}

Perhaps we might also cite the demonic wild hunt described in the entry for the year 1127 in the Peterborough Chronicle:

\textit{...Ne hince man na sellice het we sod seggen; for hit wæs ful cuð ofer eall land ... sargvon 7 herdon felia men feole huntes hunten. Da huntes weron swarte 7 micle 7 ladlice, 7 here hundes ealle swarte 7 bradegeđe 7 ladlice, 7 hi ridone on swarte}
hors 7 on swarte bucces. Pis was segon on þe selue derfald in þa tune on Burch 7 on ealle þa wudes ða waron fram þa selua tune to Stanforde; 7 þa muneces herdon ða horn blawen þet hi blewen on nihtes. Sodfeste men heom kepton on nihtes; sæidon, þes þe heom þuhte, þet þær mihte wel ben abuton twenti oðer þrtti hornblaweres.

[ed. Clark [1970: 50]; for translation and comment see Garmonsway [1972: 258-9]]

The number of the laðan in Lacn. is a matter of some difficulty due to the variation in the repetitions of this line in the MS readings:

1. 540: þu miht wip þa laðan þe geond lond særd
1. 547: 7 þæm laðan þe geond lond særed
1. 554: heo meaþ wido ða laðan þe geond lond fereþ

It is inherently likely that these occurrences ought to be identical in meaning, given that in each case the line immediately follows parallel groups of two hostile forces:

1. 539: þu miht wip attre 7 wido onflyge
1. 546 Swa þu wðstonde attre 7 onflyge
1. 553 þeos meaþ wido attre, heo meaþ wido onflyge

Since all three verbs (særd, særed, fereþ) are sg., since the dat. case is expected for each of the three hostile forces, and since 1. 547 þæm can only be masc. or neut. dat. in the sg., it is apparent that (as Hoops [1889: 56 n. 2] realises (followed by G (p. 227 n.) and ASPR)) the ostensibly acc. sg. fem. þa of ll. 540, 554 must be a simple scribal error for dat. sg. masc. or neut. þæm, an overline bar of abbreviation probably having been overlooked both times. ASPR 6 (p. 219 n.) thinks the same scribal error occurs in l. 39 of the OE Journey Charm which reads beilocun wido þa[m] [MS þa] laðan, se me lyfes eht.

C is clearly mistaken in taking all three instances as pl. Wû (p. 320) is uncertain whether to understand sg. or pl. S translates all instances as sg., and (p. 190) notes the MS spelling discrepancies in his list of "inconsistencies of spelling". Much worse, (especially so in view of the prior scholarship of Hoops, G, and ASPR) is GS's treatment; they (see p. 152 n.) correctly take þa as sg., but think that the first instance refers to one

---

185 G (p. 227) had earlier also cited this instance in support of Hoops's emendation.
female creature ("that evil She"), the second to one male creature ("that evil thing"), and the last (emending *ferep* to *ferap* without any justification) to several creatures ("those evil things").

Shook [1940: 140] sees a Biblical parallel in I Peter v, 8 (*adversaruis vester diabolus tamquam leo rugensis circuit, quarens quem devoret*), but the conception of a disease demon (or demons) roaming the land is very common in charms and related folklore and so need not have a learned origin. Cf. e.g. an ancient Welsh riddling description of the formless, invisible creature responsible for the sixth-century "yellow plague of Rhôs" as "a strong creature ... It comes from four quarters ... it glances over the land" (trans. Wellcome [n.d. repr. 1988: 33-5]).

It is difficult - and possibly unwarranted - to be precise about the meaning of *la]/an* (lit. "the loathsome one", or "the hostile being"). It might be a reference to the devil (cf BLch (298 5) *bone lapan feond*, the Journey Charm (l. 39) *belocen wið *lam lapan, se me lyfes eht*, note also the substantival use of the adj. *lad* to mean "foe" in *Beowulf* (see Klaeber's Glossary)), or to a snake, or be indicative of disease ((?"loathsomeness") (cf. l. 1068 *da lapan poccas*) or harm in general.

540 *ferep* This is presumably a scribal substitution for the metrically desirable *ferep* (or *ferep*) found in the parallel ll. 547 and 554.

541-4 *Ond pu, Wegbrade ... 7 wiðstunedest*: Perhaps these lines do not merely illustrate the resilience of the plantain (though that is their primary function), but also constitute an aetiological folk-myth to account for the plantain's (probably Plantago major L.) broad leaves and peripherally flat appearance. This characteristic is also presumably the reason for the name: *wegbrade* means "road-broad". According to Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989: 420] the plant is often found in places such as "farmyards, roadsides and cultivated ground" (my italics), so the description of its having been trampled by chariots, people, and bulls is easily explicable. Perhaps the plant is said to have central power (*innan mihtigu*) because of the

---

184 *Plantago* itself, as Gumm notes, takes its name from the tread (Lat. *planta*) of pedestrians.
contrast between its long upright stems proceeding from a central point and its surrounding flattened leaves.

Grimm [1882-8: 1215] (see also Dyer [1889: 300-1]) gives indication of other folk myths about the plantain (e.g. "the herb was once a maiden that on the wayside awaited her lover"), but none of them is directly relevant here.

Cf. perhaps the conceptual basis of the OE plant name *unfortrædde* "(plant which is) not destroyed by treading" - Polygonum aviculare L., "knotgrass" according to Bierb2185.

541 *wyrtæ modor*: This is likely to be, in origin at least, a mistaken attribution to *Wegbrade*: the "mother of herbs" is otherwise mugwort (see above). Sandmann [1975: 207-8] has the implausible idea that the epithet is applied here to the earth, and thence to the plant.

542 *eastæ*: Only Sedgefield [1928: 420] objects to this reading. Presumably thinking of the plant's flattened leaves and splayed appearance, he remarks that it "may be an error for *æftan*, if so we transl. "with tail outspread". This is unconvincing and unnecessary given the propitiousness of the east in OE magico-medicine (see following n. and n. to 1. 131), but the description of plantain as "open from the east" is undeniably puzzling on a rational level.

542 *eastan op[e]ne*: Possibly the east is referred to in connection with the first (and therefore especially efficacious) rays of the sun each day, but unless it was thought that the plantain inclined its leaves or flowers to the morning sun, this reference is hard to understand. In charms in the Sanskrit *Atharva-veda* (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 23, 24]) the rising eastern sun can destroy worms:

"The rising sun shall slay the worms, the setting sun with his rays shall slay the worms .."

"In the east rises the sun, seen by all, slaying that which is not seen; slaying the seen and the unseen (worms), and grinding to pieces all the worms."

---

185 According to Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989 301] it too is very common and found on roadsides and waste places.
Alternatively, perhaps there might be some obscure connection with supernatural power, since in both Germanic pagan and Christian traditions the "door" to the otherworld was believed to be situated in the east (see references in Tripp [1983: 63, and n. 40]).

Bonser [1963: 337] thinks the "phrase "from eastward open", or "facing the morning sun", as it is expressed in the prose version\(^{18}\), presumably signifies "to secure the plant being free from dew"; he also remarks (p. 320) that the "custom of securing the part of a plant which faced the east is widespread among Germanic and Indo-European peoples".

There are several references to the east in OE remedies - see n. to l. 131.

542 op[e]ne : On this form see Language 3.x and 5.vi.a. Cf. l. 598 open.

543-4 creset curran ... cwene reodon ... bryde bryodedon ... fearras fnærdon : It is questionable whether we should take these statements as distinct occurrences. It is possible that we are to envisage one single movement of wagons pulled by the bulls, accompanied by loud women - and curiously only women it would seem (cf. the roving mihtigan wif of Lacn. Entry CXXVII") Glosecki [1989: 132] would see here "the trampling of the Totenheer (or its Anglo-Saxon analogue riding loudly through the land)".

Sandmann [1975. 208-10] proposes two completely unnecessary, metrically undesirable, and implausible emendations (ewede and reotan) to these lines:

\begin{align*}
\text{ofer de ewede curran,} & \quad \text{ofer de cwene reotan,} \\
\text{ofer de bryde bryodedon,} & \quad \text{ofer pe fearras fnærdon.}
\end{align*}

"uber dir blänten Schafe, über dir weinten Frauen, über dir schrieen Bräute, über dir schnaubten Farren."

According to Sandmann these lines emphasize the plant's healing properties for man and beast, but this is unlikely. Rather they demonstrate the plant's resilience to adversity, an interpretation confirmed by l. 546 Swa du wåstonde "So may you withstand".

\(^{18}\) This is not, in fact, the case - l. 598 merely has wegbrade pe eastan open sy.
543 curran: "Creaked", "rumbled". This is the only recorded part of the OE class 3 strong verb *ceorran (see SB §388 Anm. 1; AEW (which notes numerous cognates in Germanic languages (including OED "char" v. dial. from OE ceorian)); CH; BTS compares the class 3 strong verb georran "to creak", "grate").

543 cwene: OE cwén can mean "woman", "wife", or "queen", but we do not know which is the intended meaning here, or what (if any) relationship they may have to the following bryde.

544 bryodedon: This is a difficult word, the meaning of which is highly uncertain (see DOE breodian). BTS is uncertain whether to derive the form from the verb breoðwian, adding the additional meaning "to trample", or from a verb breodian, which BT had said meant "to cry out" (cf. earlier Wu p. 321, n. to ll. 9-10 for the same uncertainty); CH includes this instance under breoðwian, querying the meaning "trample"; ASPR 6 derives from breodian "to cry out", but BTC remarks that the verb breodian's meaning "is unknown"; Sedgefield [1928 162] (entertained by DOE) thinks bryodedon is here a Kentish form "of bregdian, bredian, "practise tricks or cunning," from bred, "trick," "artifice"", but back mutation of a long vowel is not expected in OE, and anyway such a meaning would seem unlikely in context.

The only other recorded instance of an OE verb breodian is found in the poem Vænglory where, on speculative contextual grounds, it is often thought to denote some form of verbal outburst

breodad he ond baicēd, bod his sylfes
sworp mucele bonne se sella mon

"He bawls and shouts, boasts about himself far more than does the better man"


DOE, however, suggests the definition "to broaden, swell", but it is difficult to see how this meaning can apply here to this charm (and indeed DOE does not allow it here)148.

147 Shippey [1976 128 n. 4] says this word is not found elsewhere, and does not refer to the present charm.
148 But is it conceivable that the bryde were swelling during pregnancy?
Perhaps, though this is highly speculative, the conjectural meaning "bawls, cries out" might also be applicable to the charm - is it conceivable that, just as the *crtte* and *cwene* similarly rumble/ride over the plant, so, just as the *fearras* snort over it (perhaps as they work), the *bryde* cry out over it (perhaps with the pain and effort of childbirth)? Equally doubtful, but worth mentioning, is the possibility that, if (as is not clear) the unique form *bælcea* in *Vainglory* were, as B. F. Huppe has suggested, connected with the verb *bealcan*, *bealcettan* ("to belch"), such a meaning in the charm might also be thought to roughly parallel the snorting of the *fearras* in the b-verse.

However, it may well be thought, given the preceding references to *crtte* and *cwene* moving over the plant, that *bryodedon* is simply a scribal error for *bryodwedon* (*broadwian* "to strike down, trample" (see Roberts [1979: 139, n. to l. 287 of *Guthlac A*] on this word)), possibly caused by scribal dittography or mistaken sound association with the preceding word *bryde*.

C's translation "brdalled" is mistaken.

544 *fnirodon* : "Snorted", "breathed heavily". Cf. for the meaning BT *fnirettan* "to snort, neigh, make a loud sound with the breath". The breath of bulls or oxen was doubtless thought particularly fearsome. Perhaps the bulls/oxen, like the preceding *crtte*, *cwene*, and (perhaps) *bryde*, have also trampled the ground (and in doing so the plant) whether as an act of aggression or in the course of haulage work (do they pull the *crtte*?).

545 *pon* : "Then". It is possible that this is a simple scribal error (omission of an abbreviation bar) for *ponne*, but there is no need to assume this since *pon*, though "comparatively rare" (Klaeber's *Beowulf* n. to l. 44), is otherwise attested. For another possible instance of this word in *Lacn.* (in prose) see l. 111.

545 *wéstunedest* : "And crashed against". C translates "And with stound stayedest", remarking (p. 33 n. e) that "stound, (a stunning noise; gestun,) is used by Drayton", but the etymological connection of OE *gestun* with "stound" is false (see *OED* "stound" sb.)
545-7 eallum pu pon wiðstode ... Swa du wiðstonde: The use of the verb wiðstandan is noteworthy. It is used first apparently in a literal sense ("you stood up against") to indicate the plant's physical resilience beneath chariots, cwene, brides and bulls, and is then used to describe the plant's remedial efficacy against the less tangible enemies of poison and contagion.

548-51 Stune ... wiðstunad heo attre: The mustering of st and tt consonant groups in these lines (see also l. 575) is striking and, so far as I know, unparalleled in extant early Germanic poetry. Nelson [1989: 62-3] discusses this feature and describes the use of the aggressive st sound (but does not comment on the tt groups) here as "a phoneme of resistance". The sound pattern may well also serve to reinforce the essential relationship between the plant's names (Stune, Stode), its habitat (stane), and its action (stond, stunad).

Stune (probably not stume as C prefers) and Stode are noteworthy descriptive names for a plant. They appear to encapsulate its spiritual nature and perhaps endow it with heroic virtue. Stune "Crashing/Resounding (one)", Stode "Stiff/Sturdy/Severe/Resolute (one)". It was suggested to Magoun [1947: 37 n. 13] that they could be "tabu names". Cf. rather similarly in l. 561 the name Wergulu ("Reviled/Cursed one"). Sandmann [1975: 212] compares a passage from the Sanskrit Atharva-veda:

"Charm with the plant sīlāki: . . . "Victorious", "firmly founded", "saving", verily, is thy name".

The relation of Stune (apparently) to the verb stunian may be compared with the naming practice found in a Serbian charm in which the proper names of agents allied to the healer are derived from exorcizing verbs in close proximity to them. Foley [1980: 82-3] and [1985: 119-20, 124] translates and comments on the passage (but does not make the present comparison):

Otud ide Ugrimr,
Ugrin boljku, ugm1
Orud ide Stanimir,
Stam boljku, stam1
"Out of there comes Ugimir,
Kill [ugnunti] the disease, kill it!

Out of there comes Stanimir,
Halt [staniti] the disease, halt it!

Out of there comes Persa,
Stop [prestani] the disease, stop it!"

548-50 Stune ... heo on stane geweox ... Stahe heo hatte: Cameron [1993: 147] observes that the identification of these two names with "lamb's cress" (lombes cyrse which he identifies as Cardamine Hirsuta L, though this is only one doubtful identification among three given by Bierb2) is probably good: "lamb's cress is a sturdy little plant up to 20 cm tall, growing on "bare ground, rocks, scree, walls, etc".

549 stond: This verbal form is irregular, but the repetition at l. 575 speaks against simple scribal error. The form is presumably 3 sg. pres. ind. "stands" (cf. ll. 549-51 stuntad ... wdstunad .. wreced .. wéorped). See Language 1.xii and 5.ix.a.

549 stuntad: Elsewhere in OE the verb stuntian means (see BT stuntian and wipstunian) "to crash", "make a loud sound", "crash", "dash", "strike with a loud sound". Perhaps (as BT thinks) the latter is applicable here. According to OED "stun" (verb) OE stuntian did not survive into ME.

549 warce: "Pain". C's translation "head work" (i.e. headache) is mistakenly specific.

551 wreced heo wradan: BT gives this instance (wreced) of the verb wrecan a sub-classification of its own, but does not comment on the verbal rection - BT Ia "to drive out, expel". For wrecan governing the dat. case cf. BT wrecan III(b) "to punish a person".
The precise meaning of the verb here is uncertain (possibly "punish" is applicable), but North [1991: 52-53] plausibly states that "wreced wraðan and weorped ut attor are probably synonymous terms, and wrecan here therefore would simply [mean] "drive (out)" or "purge""; he translates "purges the fierce thing (?wrapum)".

I take wraðan to be a substantival adj. meaning "angry one", "foe" (cf. BT wrapa II (esp. I a "of evil spirits") for parallels, and note C's translation "the wrath one") perhaps referring to the devil; it may well parallel pa lapan "the hateful one" referred to in ll. 540, 547, and 554.

552 + Pis is seo wyrt seo wið wyrm geafeht : If the cross were a correctly placed sectional marker then Pis would presumably qualify the following plant Attorlāde ("(Plant) loathsome to poison"), which might plausibly be thought to have fought against the wyrm, the representative source of attor. We might also perhaps expect that this line would refer to a new plant given the parallel phrasing of the first half-line introducing Wergulu in l. 561 Pis is seo wyrt de Wergulu hatte.

However, no plant name is given in the present line, and analogy with the treatment of Mucgwyrt (ll. 535-40) and of Heginrade (ll. 541-7) makes it seem more likely that the referent of Pis is the previously mentioned plant Stune/Stiē - both these "stanzas" end with the threefold reference to attre, onflyge, and duan ladan de geond lond ferep, words which follow the present line. I suspect this cross is not an indication of a new section (or if it is that is mistaken), but simply an impromptu protection against the mention of the wyrm, whether or not the wyrm was deemed to represent Satan (cf. following n.; also see l. 565 + Wyrm com snican, and notes thereto). On the cross as "the Christian's ready weapon for every time of need" in Anglo-Saxon England see Stevens [1904: 28-32].

552 wyrm : Stuart [1974: 676] states that this "is probably a reference to the serpent of Eden". But it may be better to refrain from such unsubstantiated extra-textual analogies and inferences where the charm itself may give an explanation: here the wyrm is perhaps to be

---

184 E.g. Mid ðy hi wrecan fæncwæþ wraðum cynnum.
related to the one (l. 565 Wyrm com snican...) against which Woden fought using nine wuldortanas "glorious twigs" (ll. 565-7), or, given that the Nine Herbs Charm is placed between two remedies for haemorrhoids in MS (the second of which begins Gif se wyrm sy nypergewend odd[e] se bledenda fic), perhaps it refers to a haemorrhoid or anal fistula. Alternatively, the reference could be to the parasitic worms that infest the body. None of this, however, precludes the possibility that, rightly or wrongly, a Christian reader of this charm might think of Satan at the mention of wyrm.

555-6 Fleoh þu nu Attorlæðe ... bot sy: These lines are metrically problematic, there being no alliteration in this traditional arrangement. An alternative, perhaps in some respects superior, arrangement as three lines (adopted by Sandmann [1975: 232]) reads:

Fleoh þu nu, Attorlæðe,
seo læsse ða maran, seo mare þa lessan,
oddæt him beigræ bot sy.

This provides alliteration in the second and third lines, but still not in the first. Perhaps we should take Fleoh þu nu Attorlæðe as a single unpaired half-line thus:

Fleoh þu nu Attorlæðe,
seo læsse ða maran, seo mare þa lessan,
oddæt him beigræ bot sy

These are are also difficult lines to understand, and they are clearly to some extent deliberately riddling, but Skemp's explanation [1911b: 300] is probably good: fleoh is transitve "put to flight!" (cf. BT fleon II "to put to flight", "rout", "conquer") (C's "Flee now, attorlothe" is surely incorrect); seo læsse and seo mare probably refer to two varieties of the plant attorlæðe, while ða maran and þa lessan may - less explicity - refer to two types (beigræ) of poison (acc. pl. attru understood). The use of the verb fleon "put to flight", "make flee" to describe expulsion may possibly be compared with Lacn. I. 786 Fled þer on fyrgenhefde (?)^1"It is fleeing there onto the mountain-top" (see n. thereto). Cf. also the use of the verb afligan ("to expel", "put to flight") in OEHerb especially with regard to poison, snakes, demonic possession, and fever (see under afligan in the Glossary thereto).
Stuart [1974: 677] (cf. C vol. II, p. 370) suggests that "the couplet represents a pun, almost a riddle, based on the Lat. word for *attorlae*, *venenifuga*, that is "router of venom"". However, Sauer [1992: n. 28, and p. 405] is unsure whether OE *attorlae* translates Lat. *venenifuga* or vice versa. If Stuart is correct we may compare the Lat. basis of the name *Una* in l. 537.

Identification of these two presumed types of *attorlae* (the "lesser" and the "greater") is difficult. The greater variety is not named elsewhere in OE, but the lesser is mentioned again in *BLch* (110/9) in a remedy for poison (*Wid attre: betonican 7 pa smalan attorlapan*), and also in a remedy possibly against sexual constraint by magical means in *BLch* ((114/11) *pa smalan attorlapan*). From the first of these parallels it is at least clear that the lesser *attorlae* is not betony. Recently, Cameron [1992] has suggested that the size distinction may refer to different types of fumitory.

C (p 35 n. a) thinks the greater variety is the "blind nettle", but does not explain.

557 *Mægpe* : This word survives as a plant name element in "mayweed" (see ODEE "mayweed"), a common name for Anthemis cotula L., though this is not the only possible identification here - it may also be a species of chamomile (see Glossary, Bierb2 magepe, and Cameron [1993. 147]). For ME evidence see Hunt [1989: index under Maythe].

558 *geandadest* : Cf. l. 568 *geandade*. The verb might not be *ændian* but *er(e)ndian* - see Klaeber [1921] and n. to *Lacen*. l. 655 (where this interpretation seems very likely). However, we might think that the verb would be similar in sense to the parallel l. 536 *renadest*, so a meaning such as "brought to an end" (i.e. accomplished) may very well be appropriate here

558 *Alorforde* : GS's translation with a modern etymological descendant "Allerford" does not satisfy in the botanical context of this charm, especially as no indication is given of the meaning of *Alor-*/*Aller-* in their notes. For OE *alor* means "alder". C alone brings

190 For the equation of the two words see Bierb3 (p 6) *attorlae*, also Strakke [1974: 76].
appropriate life to this reference to the place where it seems the Regenmeld took place - he translates "Alderford", i.e we understand "ford characterized by the alder tree". At least two modern place names are possible candidates for Aldorford - Allerford in Somerset near Minehead (Alresford 1086), and Alderford in Norfolk (Alraforda 1163) (see Mills [1991]), but, since the alder is (nowadays at least) the commonest waterside tree in the British Isles, other Alderfords may well have been lost.

Sandmann [1975: 201] speculates wildly, and quite unnecessarily, that the original reading was Aldorfhara "Lebensfuhrer, Lebensfahrt".

559 gefloge: This word is presumably similar in sense to onflyge (ll. 539, 546, 553) and l. 580 onfolge, denoting some form of airborne disease, or affliction believed to result from the air; cf Olcel flog (see CV) "a flying, flight"; note also Olcel verkvarflög, flögverkr "shooting pain", and flögkvessa "rheumatism"; perhaps OE geflog(e) might also, judging from another Olcel word, mean "pain": Olcel flog is also attested as a simplex meaning "shooting pain" in a medical miscellany (see Larsen [1931: 80, 262]).

560 him: Presumably this refers to an archetypal (or at least unnamed) patient.

560 to mete: Note that neither Mægde nor the other plants listed in this charm are used as food in the prose directions (ll. 598-603). Rather they are used in a salve for external application

561 Wergulu: This difficult hapax legomenon is evidently the name of a plant; according to the prose list it seems to be equated with a kind of nettle (l. 598 netelan), which otherwise would have no referent in the poem. The fact that the word Wergulu is absent from the prose list and is a hapax legomenon might suggest that it, like perhaps l. 548 Stune and l. 550 Stõe, is either a sacred, taboo name, or an archaic or otherwise unfamiliar one.

Analysis of the word has yielded different opinions as to its meaning. I am inclined to agree with BT (and so Sedgefield [1928: 420]) which cites Wergulu as the only instance of
the adj. weargol "evil" (with -e- < -ae- < -ea- by Anglian smoothing), which is apparently
used substantively here. Alternatively it may simply be a noun. Cf. wargolness "curse" (OE
Ic syngede swide þurh adsware and þurh wargolnesse = Lat. ego peccavi nimis per
juramentum et maledictiones), and e.g. words such as wearg "evil, accursed", weargwedol
"given to cursing", wergol "to curse", and wearglic "vile". As Sedgefield thinks, it can be
plausibly suggested that Wergulu here means "Reviled/Cursed (one)" (?)or "Reviler"), a
name that is easily explicable if the nettle were the commonly cursed stinging nettle. Hoops
[1889: 59 n. 2, 63] was the first to equate Wergulu with netele (rather than crab-apple).
Another reason to support the identification of Wergulu as a stinging nettle may be that,
although it is a common ingredient in traditional herbal remedies, its leaves inject poison.
This might make sense of ophres "another" in the following l. 563 ondan attres ophres to bote
"as a remedy for the harm of another poison". Sandmann [1975: 216] highlights two German
names for stinging nettle that may be relevant, Eiternessel and Eiternessel.

On this basis the equation of Wergulu with crab-apple (l. 599 wudusurappel) made first
by C (who gives no convincing support for his view195) and subsequently adopted by e.g. BT,
CH, GS and (tentatively) Bierb2 (who does not propose an etymology) is probably wrong.
However, Wood [1926-7. 220] favours identification with the crab-apple on etymological
grounds

OE wergulu, "crab apple," is probably for *wyrgelu, in any case related to MHG
würgel, MLG worgel, "Würger," worgelinge, "das Zusammenziehen des Schlundes,
Herbigkeit [von Speisen]." worgelik, worgelhaft.ich, "zusammenziehend, herbe [von
Geschmack]." worgen, "würge, mühevoll schlucken; erwürgen, erdrossen," MHG
würgen, OE wyrgan, "strangle," etc. The crab apple is here named from the puckery
effect produced by eating it, just as crab apple means properly "astringent or sour
apple".

195 Pavne [1904 140] also records Dr Bradley's opinion
Wergulu seems to be the feminine of "wergol" - accursed (preserved only in "wargolphys" - maledecto).
There is no reason to render it crab-apple, or apple at all.
196 C (vol III, p 348) "Wergulu, the crab, fruit of the Pirus malus sibvestris ... Now called Varrjas, in Halliwell
Whare"
Wergulu's root vowel -e- - unless it is a Kentish spelling with -e- for -y- (a feature otherwise absent from Lacn.) - would be problematic here though, since (according to ODEE and OED "worry" (verb)) the derivation of OE wyrgan (and postulated LWS *wurgan) is from Gmc *wurjan; (AEW wergulu "Nessel" gives no cognate forms). However, the issue is complicated by the presumed existence of an Indo-European form *wergh- (manifest in MHG erwergen "throttle") which would yield werg- in Anglian.

The most recent commentator on this word, Gerstein [1974: 151], analyses the word as OE *warg-galle on the basis of a supposed association in MLG of warg (cf. OE wearghraede, denoting skin afflictions (wearg = "pus") and galle (OE gallalgealla, "a galled place on the skin") 9). She thinks that this association "may provide a clue to the identity of the mysterious herb wergulu" and asserts that Wergulu would then:

compare with the attested OE wrgung-galere "sorcerer." The sorcerer would cause the disease, the warg, by incantation, OE galdor. It is a doctrine of Gmc. medicine that witches or sorcerers cause disease in plants, animals, and men by incantation or by shooting disease projectiles (elf-shot).

This cannot be corrected. Wergulu is surely composed of werg- + -ul- -ol- + inflexional -u, not we(a)rg + galle, and I do not see how the sorcerer (-galere) in wrgunggalere comes in.

562 das onsende seolah ofer saes hrycg : Cf. Beowulf I. 471 sende ic Wyfingum ofer wa'teres hrycg

Weston [1985: 183] speaks of "the advent of Wergulu's remedy on the back of a seal", but - odd though it sounds - since the verb onsendan means "send" (and not "bring") this seems to be a misinterpretation; the sense is that a "seal sent this [i.e. the plant Wergulu] over the surface (lit. "back, ridge") of the sea".

562 das onsende seolah : This puzzling line has not been commented upon in any detail. If the allusion ever held wide currency it is lost to us now, since almost nothing is known about seal superstitions in Anglo-Saxon England. We might speculate that we have here a

9In fact Gerstein does not adduce one certain example of a direct association between warg and galle.
curious piece of Anglo-Saxon folk paganism perhaps involving a shape-shifted god in the form of a seal.

Puhvel [1963] briefly surveys the folklore of the seal in northern Europe and shows that seals were formerly often associated with humans and thought to be intelligent. They were widely considered to be the souls of drowned men, in particular those of Pharoah's soldiers drowned in the Red Sea. Others viewed them as mermen. Puhvel cites one tradition in which seals were a threat to pregnant women and concludes (p. 333) that "in the main ... the seal is a sinister apparition to the coast dwellers of northern Europe."

However, he also notes a more positive view of the seal in Irish and Scottish folklore in which families claimed descent from the seal and attributed supernatural powers to it.

I am aware of only two examples (both Irish) of a seal giving a gift to men: i. in the Life of Saint Mochua of Balla (ed. Stokes [1890: 287; see also n. p. 287]; also noted by Puhvel) a seal, functioning in Mochua's words as a "servant of God", casts four salmon on the shore for him and his companions; ii. in one story a seal brings back St. Cuthbert's book which had fallen into the water (see Donatus [1934:157-8]).

Puhvel cites no evidence from England, but at least the tradition of Cuthbert's friendship with benevolent seals was not restricted to Ireland, since it appears in the OE translation of Bede's story in which two seals (interestingly they are said to be lutrae "otters" in the Lat.) warm the saint's wet feet with their breath and dry him with their fur.

Stuart [1974:678] thinks seolh is probably a scribal error, but suggests no emendation.

Two more plants are "sent" (saende) to men in l. 573 - apparently by Christ in that instance.

563 ondan attres opres to bote : I understand this to mean (so also essentially G): "as a remedy for the injury for another poison". The sense is probably that Wergulu - if a poisonous stinging nettle - forms a sympathetic ("like affects like") cure for the effects of another poison. Or might opres ((?="second") connect specifically with the second of the two (beigra)

---

[196] As Sandmann [1973: 217] points out, in Norse myth both Heimdall and Loki are said to have taken the form of seals in their struggle for the Bising necklace.
poisons (maran "greater" and læsson "lesser") combatted by the Attorlode plants in ll. 555-6?

Stuart objects to the present rendering since "the syntax is tortured and the allusion unclear". But the syntax is straightforward, and if this allusion is unclear it is not alone in that. She would read *ond an attres opres to bote "and one [type of] venom to remedy another"*, tentatively adducing *attres* to be a generic genitive - "rare in OE". Although the conjunction *ond* is spelled out twice in this charm (in ll. 541 and 602), and although there is a slight gap between *ond* and *an* in MS, Stuart's reading (it seems to me) makes poor sense in context:

"This is the herb which is called Wergulu;

a seal sent this over the surface of the sea,

(?)and one (?)type of venom to remedy another."

S translates "a vexation to poison, a help for others". However, since *opres* is clearly sg, this is incorrect. Furthermore, by analogy with ll. 574 eallum to bote, I. 784 (similarly I. 785) *Ps de to bote esa gescotes*, and I. 927 (similarly II. 927-9) *Ps me to bote þære ladan læthyrde ...* (with. dat. of person to be aided and gen. of affliction to be cured), gen. *opres* ought to denote an affliction - here apparently a poison.

564 Das I.III ongan: Ongan is a problematic word. It has often been emended to magon (cf I. 579 Nu magon þas I.III wyrtæ wæd nygon wuldorgeflogenum), and such an error might conceivably be explained as resulting from the scribal repetition of the letters on- from *ondan* in the previous line.

However, there are three possible explanations of MS *ongan* without recourse to emendation.

i. It might be the otherwise attested noun (see BT onga, BTS anga) meaning "sting", "goad", "prick", or (so GS, but seemingly most unlikely in context) "dart". The former possibilities could conceivably connect with the action of the immediately preceding nettle...
Wergulu - if, as is likely, it is a stinging nettle. It might also be thought a not entirely inappropriate description of at least some of the other plants in the charm that are explicitly said to engage in aggressive actions: Stune Stôê (ll. 549-52) is said to "crash against" and to "throw out" poison and pain, to "(?)-punish" or to "(?)-drive out" the foe, and to have "fought" against the wyrm; the two types of Attorlade (ll. 555-6) are said to "put (?)poisons to flight"; Æppel (ll. 568-9) appears to destroy the nœldre.

ii. It might be a noun onga perhaps meaning "shoot" or "sprout". Cf. (following Bradley [1904: 145]) Olcel (CV) angi "a spine", "a prickle" or (now) "a sprout, fibre in fruits or plants" (my italics). This possibility might seem to bring the sense close to that of the much-discussed VII! wuldortanas "nine glorious twigs" in l. 566. The possibility is worth highlighting in context:

"These nine (?)shoots *against nine poisons.

A snake came crawling, it wounded no-one.

Then (i.e. "At that time"?) Woden took nine glorious twigs,

struck then the snake so that it flew apart into nine bits."

In fact, if this were demonstrably the correct sense of ongan here, we might be tempted to place a colon after "poisons" (l. 564 attrum).

ASPR 6 (p 210) objects that taking ongan as a noun "leaves the line with no verb", but if it is a bald statement of opposition (as GS interpret it) no verb may be necessary - perhaps the MS dot after ongan supports this interpretation by signalling a stress on the following word wð, though it might simply mark the division between half-lines. Or perhaps a verb denoting an act of opposition is simply to be understood: cf. the Olcel Eddaic poem Vafþruðmismal st. 1, ll 4-6 (ed. Machan [1988: 59, and n. p. 73]):

\[forvitni micala\]
\[avep ec mêr a fornun stofom\]
\[vid ëann inn alsvumna ëgton.\]

This interpretation is adopted by Gordon [1954: 93]: "These nine sprouts against nine poisons".

---

*Payne [1904 140] "These nine plants
"Gernt nine poisons"
iii. It might be pres. subj. pl. of a verb ongan. C thinks it is a verb (though his translation "These nine can march on" also hints at magon); G translates "fought", but the pret. pl. of ongan would be oneodon; Anderson & Williams [1935] define a verb ongan as "to go on" (and presumably Wülcker [1882] also sees a verb in his reading on gan). CH attests the verb ongan in the sense "approach", "enter into" in hæt by oneodon on ceaster eardunga [Lat. ut imrrent in civitatem habitationis] - Vulgate Psalm 106: 7 (see Schlutter [1907b: 20]), and also in the sense "attack" in the OE translation of Felix's Life of Guthlac, se awyrgeta gast him on eode [Lat. in illum nequam spiritus grassari coepit], hæt he of his gewtte weard (ed. Gonser [1909: 143/4-146/5], and see Schlutter [1909b: 325] (reading ongan)), but Swanton [1985: 52] translates "the accursed spirit entered into him". Perhaps since, as we have just seen, plants in this charm apparently engage in resistance and combat (note especially l. 552 gefeahht), a sense such as "may (these nine) advance (against)", or "may (these nine) oppose"/"fight (against)" is conceivable (cf. use of pres. subj. pl. in verse in l. 940 ge hit bebicgan "may you sell it").

Unfortunately, it is difficult to choose between these three possibilities.

Sedgefield [1928: 421] unjustifiably and (it may be thought) recklessly shifts the present line to directly follow wuldortanas, but this is not necessary to facilitate an association between ongan and wuldortanas (should there indeed be one):

\[\text{da genam Woden nigon wuldortanas,}\]
\[\text{das nigon ongan wid nigon attrum}\]

564 wid nygon attrum : "Against nine poisons". C mistranslates "Gainst nine ugly poisons".

564 17111 : Although it is not the only number mentioned (l. 573 17111 and ll. 538, 576 111 ... XXX (note also l. 602 111 in the prose)), there is a definite stress on the number nine in the rest of this poem, more so in fact than anywhere else in OE literature: l. 564 17111 ongan, l. 566 17111 wuldortanas, l. 567 heo on 17111 tofleah, l. 579 17111 wyrta, l. 579 nygon wuldorgeflogenum, l. 580 nygon attrum, l. 581 nigon onflognum, and l. 594 nygon nédran.
If additional Scandinavian evidence is any guide, then it may very well be the case that the number nine was in some way sacred or an object of superstition to the early Germanic peoples: see for further discussion and many examples of the number's use in early Germanic literature S (pp. 98-100), Weinhold [1937], the article "Neunzahl" by E. Mogk in Hoops [1915-16; vol. III, 312-4], and Boberg [1966: motif Z71.6. Formulistic number nine]. For a possible association between Woden and the number nine in Anglo-Saxon genealogies see Hill [1982].

For nine as a common folkloric number of disease spirits cf. l. 878 Neogone weran Nodbæs sweosar (and see Commentary to Entry CLIII); see also Brooke [1892: 473 n. 2], Barb [1950: 19], and ERE (article on "Numbers"); the latter points out with regard to Teutonic numbers that "9 is a frequent number of spirits of various kinds - ghosts, elves, and so forth" and also remarks that "Diseases are numbered variously as 3, 9, 70, 72, 77, and 99. Plants used against them are often counted as 9, while a single plant is stated to have a 9-fold strength".

565-7 + Wyrm com smican ... pet heo on VIIII tofleah : This is an obscure allusion despite the many stories about and depictions of snakes in the early Germanic world. It constitutes the only clear extant documentary reference to a pagan Anglo-Saxon myth, and it is sobering to note - providing it is not an ad hoc fabrication - that upon this paltry scrap of information rests to a large extent our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon belief in the god Woden (see subsequent n).

The fragmentation of the snake is puzzling. It might be explicable as a result of a sympathetic magical transformation resulting from the ancient (and still pervasive) perception of an association between snakes and twigs/rods\textsuperscript{197} - perhaps, since in this primitive thought-world like affects and consorts with like, striking a snake with nine twigs was thought to cause it to break into nine corresponding pieces. That the Anglo-Saxons did associate snakes and twigs is probably indicated by the kenning atertan "poison-twig"

\textsuperscript{197} The association between snakes and sticks is, of course, well known from the episode in Exodus chap. 7 involving Moses, Aaron and Pharaoh's magicians in which rods (Lat. virgo) thrown on the ground become serpents, and (in the case of Moses and Aaron) change back into rods again.
"the blade [i.e. of a sword] was iron, decorated with poison-twigs"), meaning "snake" and referring to the wavy lines on the surface of a pattern-welded sword-blade. This pattern is elsewhere described as wyrmfah "worm/snake-decorated" (Beowulf 11. 1697-8 irena cyst aerest ware, wreopenhilf ond wyrmfah), see further Brady [1979: 101-2].

Such a use of like against like might compare with a preceding line (563) in which the (??) poisonous stinging) nettle Wergulu is apparently used ondan attres opres to bote ("as a remedy for the harm of another poison").

The origin of the present passage is discussed by Ohrt [1927: 5-7]. He thinks it questionable whether a snake would have been thought so dangerous by the early Germanic peoples that their chief god should have concerned himself with overcoming one, and further asserts that the present snake is not a huge treasure-guarding serpent like the one killed by the Norse hero Sigurðr. He thinks the origin of the episode is to be found elsewhere:

In einem ägyptischen ums Jahr 300 n. Chr. geschriebenen Papyrusbuche ist uns eine judisch-synkretistische Schrift, die "Monas" oder "Achtes Buch Mosis" überliefert. Hier redet an einer Stelle (der) Gott den Moses also ein:

"Wenn du eine Schlange töten willst, sprich: "Steh, denn du bist Aysfis". Und nimm einen frischen Palmzweig (oder Palmbaum, das ägyptische Wort ßÌÀ ist gebraucht) und ... spalte sie in zwei (Stücke), indem du den (heiligen) Namen siebenmal aussprichst, und sogleich wird sie zerspalten oder zerbrochen werden." 200

According to Ohrt, the author of the Nine Herbs Charm has assigned the role of Moses to Woden, whose wuldortanas ("glorious-twigs") take the place of Moses's palm-twig.

However, Ohrt's argument is very difficult to agree with. First, there is every reason to suppose that Germanic peoples were deeply wary of and impressed by serpents - their art and literature are full of them201 - and that consequently their chief god, skilled in magic and
warfare, might very well have fought with one. Indeed, (as I have indicated above) Woden (or at least his Scandinavian cognate Óðinn) is said to have been in opposition to a serpent, and there is possibly another depiction of such an antagonism on a Scandinavian helmet-plate. Secondly, the nature of the charm's wyrm is entirely uncertain. Since wyrm and naedre are generic terms for serpents it could conceivably be either a humble adder, an insect, a parasitic worm, or even a monstrous leviathan of mytho-heroic legend203 (or perhaps the wyrm is here an archetypal representative of all wyrmcynn, and the progenitor of all disease). Thirdly, although Ohrt's parallel does provide a useful analogue to the likely sympathetic relationship between twigs and snakes in this charm, it differs in the basic respect that Woden uses nine twigs (not one), and, more importantly, that he actually strikes the snake with them. These objections, combined with the large cultural and chronological gap, mean that Ohrt's supposed source can reasonably be disregarded.

A recent commentator on this passage has another view of the episode - according to Glosecki [1989: 121]:

a literal snake is probably not the primary referent here ... Rather the adder is a sympathetic image, another symbol for a magic shot. Quite logically - granted convergent size, shape, motion, and effect - the adder is identified with an arrow in the kenning hildenaedre "war-adder." In a sense, the naedre of this charm reverses the imagery of the familiar kenning, for it could function as an "attack-arrow" sent through the air by witchcraft.

However, I think it is only after the wyrm has been destroyed, has "flown apart" (l. 567 tofleah) into nine pieces, that an association with flying disease (or magic shot) is likely to be apparent. At this stage the wyrm could primarily be a literal snake. Glosecki [1989: 122] also thinks, as may well be the case, that the shattering of the serpent is shamanistic, but the Amerindian parallel he refers to is not very close.

Although I am inclined to favour a magical interpretation of this passage, the episode is obscure enough for it to be worth noting that stories about the smashing of snakes to pieces

---

203 At least in Olol myth Óðinn on one occasion turns himself into a snake in order to obtain the mead of poetry.
204 E.g. the dragon in Beowulf is a poisonous, fire-breathing wyrm; there is a naedre seo was ungemetlice nicel in the OE Chrofnus (ed. Bately [1980 93-20-21]).
with sticks need not be wholly irrational in basis. Amusing - and possibly illuminating - folk stories based on the observation of one particular anatomical feature of certain members of the carnivorous group of lizards of the scientific classification *Anguidae*, members of which group are found throughout Europe and America, and include the so-called glass lizards, and (the only British representative) the common slow-worm *Anguis fragilis* (i.e. "fragile snake"), may seem curiously similar to this *Lacn.* passage. Modern American folklore contains many stories illustrating the superstitions that once surrounded the very similar and closely related, but considerably larger, legless American glass lizard (commonly known as a "joint snake") *Ophisaurus ventralis* - some examples:

A snake known as the "joint snake" can be broken into many pieces, which will then reunite into a living snake. [Bergen [1899: 87]]

There is a curious account of a "joint-snake" about twenty inches long, which, at a slight blow, broke up into three or four inch joints, each joint having at its front end five fleshy processes like the neck of a strawberry, and holes on the other end into which the processes fitted. The snake had gone when the observer returned. He saw this twice. [Bergen [1889: 157]]

"I was comin' 'long the edge of the perayre one mornin', down in Indyanner, when, fust I know, I come across one of these 'ere j'int snakes, as they call'em, a great nice feller, stretched out in the sun as pootty as ever you see. I didn't scare him, but just stepped back a little ways and cut a saplin' about four feet and a half long, and trimmed it out slick with my jackknife. Thinks I, old feller, I'll find out pootty quick how many j'ints you got in yer. So I steeped up kinder softly and hit him a right smart lick across his back, and by thunder ... he flew into more'n forty pieces, and I'll be doggoned if every one of 'em didn't take right after me."

[Loomis [1947: 31-2] (my italics)]

---

24 Such tales are classified in Baughman [1966] as types B765 7 and X1321 3.2*. All cited instances are American.
Tales about the European slow-worm are rather less dramatic and exaggerated, but it too arouses awe and fear from its propensity to break into pieces (albeit usually only two) when struck. In two German speaking regions of Europe (Tirol and Mecklenburg) *anguis fragilis* was known as the "Bruchschlange" ("breaking snake") (see Erich & Beitl [1974: 95]); note also the following accounts:

Sie [die Blindschleiche] ist nach der Volksansicht blind, doch giftig und so gebrechlich, dass sie schon beim Strecken in Zornesfällen in Stücke bricht.

[Dalla Torre [1894: 78]]

Die Blindschleiche nennt das Volk Hartworm, wegen ihres Vermögens, sich steif zu machen. Wird eine Blindschleiche in diesem Zustande geschlagen, so gerbricht sie in zwei Theile, welche sich fortwährend hin und herkrümmen. Diese Bewegung der beiden Theile währt nach Ausfage der Leute bis Sonnenuntergang.

[Bartsch [1879 (vol. II): 484]]

In England the slow-worm is also feared:

... the Blindworm, or Slowworm.... is popularly supposed to be venomous, eyeless, slow, and slimy, and what is even worse, by country people it is believed to be one of those very creatures which stopped their ears and would not listen to the voice of the charmers....[it] can easily be snapped into pieces - hence its name *Anguis fragilis*.

[Gibson [1904: 109-10]]

The Anglo-Saxons also seem to have wrongly believed the slow-worm to be venomous - it is equated (amongst other things) with the poisonous *spalangius* spider, and the deadly *regulus* serpent. *ealswa slawyrn attu hit tosend ohhe ongytt* [Lat. *sicut regulus venena diffundet*] (Defensor's *Liber Scantilarum*, ed. Rhodes [1889: 105])\(^{305}\). Is it conceivable that Woden's smashing of a *wyrm neddre* into pieces and the (possible) subsequent life of those pieces as airborne poisons can be related to beliefs about the fragility of the slow-worm when struck, its poisonous nature, and its continued existence even after being broken in pieces?

---

\(^{305}\) In addition it is possible that the slow-worm was feared because it might creep into a man’s body: among the ME remedy books edited by Henslow [1889] there are several remedies for worms and adders entering the body, and one specifically (p 136) *For a slowyrm that ys cropyn in a man.*
565 Wyrm: Surely to be identified with l. 567 pa næddran.

565 + Wyrm com snican: The verb snican is used in a specifically physiological sense in OE to denote the movement of limbless, wingless creatures over the ground. There is no evidence to suggest that the Anglo-Saxons imputed any overtones of moral impropriety to the word, hard though it may be in this instance at least to dispel from our minds the image of the evil snake in the grass. *OED* remarks that modern English "sneak" does not agree with OE snican, rather snican develops into the now obsolete "snike". Thus Glosecki's [1989: 122] recent translation "A snake came sneaking" (cf. C's "A worm sneaking came") is unduly pejorative.

Stevens [1904: 35] thinks that the cross next to the word wyrm might indicate "that the writer would have crossed himself at the name of the devil" (wyrm or Woden?). Alternatively, the cross may serve to introduce a new section. Cf. l. 552 + lūs is seo wyrt seo wip wyrm gefeaht, and see n. thereto.

565 toslat: Cf. a quotation from Ælfric cited by BT (toslitan): Wurmas toslitah heora lichaman mid fyrenum todum.

565 toslat he nan: C's translation "To slay and to slaughter" is too loose.

565-7 toslat he nan. Da genam Woden ..., sloh da pa næddran: I take it that the reason the wyrm but no-one was because Woden at that time (Da ... pa) took nine glorious twigs and destroyed it. But emendation of nan "no-one" to man "man" has often been favoured - presumably Woden then acts as defender of mankind after the event.

566 Woden: Despite the stress placed on the heathen character of the OE charms by early commentators, this is the only clear reference to a named pagan Germanic god in all OE magico-medical literature (but note the collective esa (gen. pl. "of gods") in *Lacen.* ll.
Much has been written, but almost nothing is certainly known, about the nature of Woden-worship in Anglo-Saxon England. See especially on Woden in England Ryan [1962-3] and Meaney [1966 and 1970]; on the possible association (as here) of Woden with a snake or snakes see Speake [1980: esp. 88-92].

It is likely that, as Chadwick [1899: 29] and Turville-Petre [1964: 70] (among others) think, the present instance provides a glimpse of a magical aspect of the Anglo-Saxon god's character, a side presumably comparable with that evident in *Uuodan* in the OHG *Second Merseburg Charm* and in his well-documented Scandinavian manifestation, Øðinn. Simek [1993: 374] speculates that this episode shows the Germanic conception of Woden/Øðinn as a healer, but since Woden is not said to heal anyone here, and since his action might be thought to have given rise to airborne poisons, we ought to be cautious about viewing this episode in an unequivocally positive light.

---

38 However, the god Tu's name is perhaps found in a variant form *Tu* as a runic inscription on a spear blade found in Kent (see Wilson [1992: 117]).

The so-called Canterbury rune formula - a charm text overlooked by previous writers on Anglo-Saxon magic - in the eleventh-century BL MS Cotton Caligula A XV 4 (the charm being a survival from the Danewalh in Anglo-Saxon England?) should also be cited for its avocation of the god *Tir* (i.e. *Đörr*) (ed. Jacobsen & Moltke [1941-47: no. 419]; also usefully ed. with commentary, including a very close Swedish parallel, by Moltke (n.d.: 360-1)).

39 "*Gyrl, the inflicter of wounds*, now flee, you have been found out; Thor kill you, the king of the Thurses (i.e. the demons). Gyrl, "the inflicter of wounds!* Against pus in the veins."


40 In the OHG *Second Merseburg Charm* the god UUIDan (cognate with OE Woden) is the last figure to charm the sprained leg of Balder's horse "as he well knew how to":

```
Phol ende woodon uouun zì holza
du uuart demo baldares woooden sin uuac brenkst
thu higul en sunhguet sunna era suuster
thu bigsaw en friat wolla era suuster
thu higul en uuodan so uuola conda
soso benrentk sose bauortrenk
soso lidrenkt
ben zì bena bluatz zì bluoda
bi zì geluden soso gleluma sin [ed. W. G. [1992: 64, no. 2 ]]
```

Odin's healing power as magical doctor to the lame horse is also indicated by depictions of this same scene on certain fifth- and sixth-century bracteates. See Simek [1993: articles on "bracteates" and "Second Merseburg Charm"].

41 Woden/Odinn as healer is certainly present in the Second Merseburg Charm (see previous footnote); see also the fourteenth-century Oldsl Olofi Hrofis soça (ed. Jenson [1950 vol. III: 161]) *Odinn eða adfrir fær, er af homum nómum golsfrirna eða kaksningar* See also Grimm [1882-8 149, 1148], and Davods [1988: 91] who points out that in the twelfth-century *Gesta Donorum* of Saxo Grammaticus Odin heals the hero Svar, but also remarks that although "Odin does not often appear as a healing god . . . there are some grounds for thinking that the Germanic Wodan possessed such characteristics". Also in the *Gesta Donorum* Odin disguises himself as a healer (Davods & Fisher [1979, 1980: vol 1 77, vol 2 57 n 44]).

42 Nor ought we to accept unquestioningly the view (most recently voiced by Linsell [1994: 139]) that Woden's help is here invoked.
Interestingly, in the only other direct reference to Woden in OE poetry, and where he is juxtaposed with the Christian God, the god's name again alliterates with *wuldor* in the second half-line:

\[
Woden worhte weos, \quad wuldor alwelda, \\
rumere roderas. \quad [\textit{Maxims I, C, II. 63-4 (ed. Shippey [1976: 70])}]^{211, 212}
\]

Woden is also closely - it might be thought remarkably - followed by Christ in the present charm (l. 571, also l. 592), but the nature of any relationship or juxtaposition between the two gods here is hard to fathom. One possibility is that the charm here displays religious syncretism, that its author maintained allegiance both to the chief pagan god Woden and to the Christian deity\textsuperscript{31}3. Alternatively, the references to Christ might be the unfinished work of a Christian reviser; or, as is sometimes the case with reciters of charms, the author may stand apart from any one religious allegiance and, arrogantly trusting in his own power, refer to spirits of more than one pantheon. This appears to be the case with some unpalatable later Icelandic spells and spell-books, e.g. (from a charm to uncover a thief):

"And then ask on account of the gloriously great might of the herb and the never-ending working of its power, that the gods will send as a help, Rafael, their mightiest servant, and he will show himself here in thy mightiest name, Thórr, Frigg, Beelzebub, Ódhinn.

Read three Our Fathers afterward."

[\textit{trans Flowers [1989: 79, no. 45] (who thinks it is really "a syncretic composition")}]

Perhaps though, since Woden appears as a descendant of Adam (and so ultimately of the Christian God) in a Christian addition to a West-Saxon dynastic genealogy (ed. Plummer [1892 vol. I: 66 (year 855)])\textsuperscript{214}, he might be viewed euhemeristically here, i.e. as a man of

\textsuperscript{211}Larrington [1993 127, and n. 19] states wrongly that this is the "only explicit reference to Woden in Old English poetry"

\textsuperscript{212}We might speculate that, if *wuldor* was a word traditionally applicable to Woden (though this is not known for certain), perhaps the appropriation of the word by Christ here in \textit{Maxims} is a striking means of signifying Woden's very lack of glory in the eyes of Christians, stressing (in the teeth of the emphatic alliteration which would otherwise naturally link *Woden* and *wuldor*) that the old order has been overturned.

\textsuperscript{213}\textsuperscript{ Cf the famous example of King Raedwald of East Anglia (died between 616 and 627) who, according to Bede (\textit{Historia Ecclesiastica} Bk II, chap 15 (ed. Colgrave & Mynors [1969])):

\textit{ita ut in morem antiquorum Samantantorum et Christo servire uideretur et dixit, quibus antea serviebat, atque in eodem fane et aliare herabet ad sacrificium Christi et arxiam ad uictimas daemonorum.}

\textsuperscript{214}The relevant parts of the genealogy read:

\textit{Woden Frithuwalding ... Heremod Isermoning, Isermon Hrahraung, se was geboren in hære earce; Noe,}
great power who was formerly mistaken for a god by pagans ignorant of Christ. If so there
would be no tension in the association of Woden and Christ in the charm.

566 nigon wuldortanas: Lit. "nine glory-twigs/branches/rods" or "nine glorious-twigs". 
Wuldortanas is a hapax legomenon about which a great deal has been written to little effect.

Given both the traditional practice of beating snakes with sticks and the botanical context,
-tanas here probably means simply "twigs" or "(small) branches" (other views are discussed
below). It is possible that, as Payne [1904: 140] and Skemp [1911b: 301] think, they are the
thorny twigs of the crab-apple tree, this being the only plant stated as having taken part in
the combat - though the following lines apparently refer to its fruit (attached to the twigs?)
rather than to the twigs themselves:

Par ge'endade Apepel 7 attor

pet heo nafre ne wolde on hus bugan.

Translation is difficult, but one possibility is:

"There Apple (i.e. a crab) and (its) bitterness put an end to it
so that it never wanted to turn into a house."

In favour of this interpretation might also be the observation that, of the various plants
mentioned in this charm, it is perhaps only from the crabapple tree that one can reasonably
be said to get real twigs rather than mere shoots. But, since twigs and shoots are similar
things, we probably ought not to rule out a possible association with the nine herbs (and/or
the nine ongan (if ongan is indeed a noun) of 1. 564), Sedgefield [1928: 421] thinks the
waldortanas are "nettle-stalks". It is possible, in view of the rather fantastic fragmentation of
the snake (a sympathetic magical response to being struck by twigs?) and their use by a god
who, at least in Scandinavia and Germany, was a master of magic, that the wuldortanas are
in some way magical (see further remarks on gambanteinn below).
G (also Anderson & Williams [1935]) thinks the *wuldortanas* are "thunderbolts", presumably because of the twig-like appearance of forked lightning, though the northern god of thunder and lightning is normally *Þórr* (OE *Dunor*).

One view, first ventured by Singer [1919-20: 355] (and so by GS p. 54; see also e.g. Philipsson [1929: 216-7]), is that the *wuldortanas* are rods used in casting lots to determine fate. Singer refers to the famous account of Tacitus (*Germania* chap. 10) regarding the lot-casting practices of the first-century continental Germanic tribes, and then moves instantly to Anglo-Saxon England to inform us that:

> From the twig for casting lots, *tan* came to mean the lot itself. The nine twigs that Woden takes up must be these twigs of fate which are to bring a better lot to the sick man on recitation of the magic song.

But while OE *tan* could denote a lot, by no means did it always do so, and I do not see the contextual sense of such an interpretation here.

The issue became even more complicated with the perception of rune magic, such magic being a notorious scholarly bone of contention, and one that refuses to loosen its grip as received wisdom on the minds of readers of this charm (e.g. Sandmann [1975: 219] who goes so far as to supposedly identify the individual runes used(!), and recently Linsell [1994: 139]). According to S (p. 195):

> [Woden] takes nine glory-twigs, by which are meant nine runes, that is nine twigs with the initial letters in runes of the plants representing the power inherent in them, and using them as weapons he smites the serpent with them. Thanks to their magical power they pierce its skin and cut it into nine pieces.

This is guesswork, having no sure basis in the text or even in our (admittedly scanty) knowledge of Anglo-Saxon magic; the theory must rely solely upon conjecturally relevant Scandinavian practices (e.g. the Olcel Eddaic poem *Sigdrifumal* st. 11; see Robertson [1976: 319-20] for some instances of destructive Scandinavian rune magic). The same idea is taken up by e.g. Turville-Petre [1964: 71]: "The nine *wuldortanas* could well imply rune-staves, or staves with runes cut on them".
The assertions of Branston [1957: 97] add even more unfounded and fanciful speculation to this concept of rune-inscribed wuldortanas. He notes an etymological association between the first element wuldor- and the name of an obscure Scandinavian god called Ulir - for whom there is no evidence from Anglo-Saxon England - who some have equated with the Sky Father\(^{16}\). He then jumps to his conclusion:

So the wuldortanas may be reasonably taken to represent the "twigs of Wuldor" or of the Sky Father. At any rate, we know that in actual fact the wuldortanas were twigs on which runic signs had been cut. This takes us back to Tacitus....

Shetelig & Falk [1937: 416-7] (also de Vries [1970: §370, p. 40]) indulge in risky, but possibly worthwhile, comparative mythology by comparing the Olcic word gambanteinn ("great/magical-rod/branch")\(^{17}\), itself a rare word, occurring only in the mythological Eddaic poems For Skirmis (also known as Skirnismál) st. 32 and Hárbarðsljóð st. 20 (see on this word Simek [1993: article on "gambanteinn"]). In the former poem a single gambanteinn is fetched from a wood by Freyr's man Skirnir, who uses it as a threatening weapon and possibly inscribes it with aggressive runes; in the latter Öðinn (etymologically cognate with OE Woden), disguised as one Hárrbarðr, himself declares his possession of one, which he apparently also used as a weapon, though we are given little help in defining its nature:

"hárdan rotun ec húgða Hlebard vera,
gaf hann mer gambanteinn,
enn ec vélta hann ór viti". [ed. Neckel-Kuhn [1983: 81]]

Shetelig & Falk also note a lexical association between Öðinn and magical rods in Scandinavian mythology:

he is named Gándhr from this wand (gándull or gandr, "rod of enchantment");
where he is a war-god the rod has become the spear Gungnir, which a skald terms his megnass, "rod of power [?]".

Glosecki [1989: 121], referring to the retaliatory arrow of Lacn. II. 769-70, thinks that "Woden's nine wuldortanas - "wonder twigs" or "marvelous darts" (... cf. runstafas) -

\(^{16}\) See e.g. Turville-Petre [1964 184]

\(^{17}\) Earlier Brooke [1892 492] had remarked that "[t]he wuldor-tanas, the "magic-twigs," sound far more Norse than English", but this could simply be a reflection of our almost complete ignorance about such aspects of Anglo-Saxon folklore
correspond with the projectile hurled back at the valkyrie-like women. This is hard to agree with. First, *wuldor-* means "glory/glorious" not "wonder/marvelous" (which would be *wundor-*). Secondly, since *runstafas* means "rune-staves" (i.e. runic letters, runes), not "staffs with runes inscribed upon them", the analogy of *runstafas* is invalid. Thirdly, the comparison of the *wuldortanas* with the retaliatory arrow of ll. 769-70 is not very convincing or illuminating - both certainly act to repel enemies, but it is not clear that the *wuldortanas* are used defensively, and they do not appear to be projectiles (l. 567 *sloh* might rather suggest close-combat with hand-held weaponry); it is unlikely that the *creeping* (l. 565 *snican*) *wyrm* itself is equivalent to a speeding, flying magic "shot" (see above).

The most recent attempt to explain the *wuldortanas* is that of Bremmer [1991: 412-5], who quotes from the OE poem *Genesis A* (ll. 988-95):

```
Of dam twinge sudan
ludon ladwende  leng swa swidor
rede wætime.  Rahton wade
geond werpeoda  wrohtes telgan,
hronon hearmtanas  hearde and sare
dritha bearnum.  (dod gieta swa),
of pam brad blado  bealwa gehwilces
sprytan ongunnon.
```

From this he deduces that "it becomes clear that *tanas* could be used to designate instruments for inflicting pain". He notes the association of *atertanum* with a sword in *Beowulf* ll. 1459-60a, and then lists the Olcel word *eggteinn* denoting a part of a sword and the Olcel kennings *särteinn, undateinn, lavateinn*, and *Mistilleinn*, all of which are kennings for a sword218. On this basis he concludes that:

With respect to *wuldortan* it will have become clear that the second element should rather make us think of an actual weapon. Whether this weapon is a rod, or, by extension, a sword, must remain undecided. The explanation of *wuldortanas* as

---

218 One could add (see Eglisson [1931: under *teinn*]) Olcel *benteinn, bysteinn brynu* ("swinging-twig of the mail-coat"), *hóteinn, moroteinn, and welleinn* - all of which mean "sword".
magical twigs, whether engraved with runes or not, and however attractive to speculative minds, is unwarranted.

All this is, however, a shaky basis for a conclusion, one part of which required no extra-textual support in the first place: it is obvious that the \textit{wuldortanas} are used as weapons - they hit the \textit{næddre} so that it flies apart into nine bits; whether their traditionally perceived magic must be dispelled I am very doubtful\textsuperscript{119} - Bremmer makes no attempt to explain the abstract noun \textit{wuldor}, which must imply at least some property of greatness or wonder, and which contrasts markedly with the concrete first elements of two of the Olcel kennings for sword, \textit{sárn-}, \textit{unda-} ("wound"). If (as I suggest above) \textit{Beowulf}'s \textit{ætertan} ("poison-twig") is simply a kenning for "snake", referring to the wavy patterns on the sword, then Bremmer cites no evidence that \textit{tan} ever denotes a conventional weapon (the \textit{hearmtanas} being metaphorical) in OE.

\textit{567 sloh do pa næddran} : Despite this clear statement Linsell [1994: 139-140] remarks:

Presumably, it was not necessary to actually strike a snake with the twigs (staves) as it was the reciting of the words and the marking of the twigs with runes that constituted the magical act.

Woden, of course, is not said to have recited any words, nor is there any particular reason to think that he marked the twigs with runes.

\textit{567 heo on VIII tofleah} : As I suggest above (in Sources and Analogues), the verb \textit{tofleah} may have been deliberately chosen - it is possible that the \textit{wyrm} did not simply burst apart, but "flew apart, was dispersed in flight", the nine pieces being associated with the other flying diseases and poisons in the charm (and possibly with the \textit{nigon næddran} of 1. 594).

\textsuperscript{119}I do not accept Bremmer's dismissive question. "If these twigs have magical powers, why should Woden strike (or even kill by force, for that is a common meaning of \textit{slæan}) the snake?". If one has a magic wand it is natural to strike with it (as e.g. Skirmund threatens to do in \textit{Skírnismál}, and as Moses does in \textit{Exodus} 7: 20; 8: 17). The touch of a magic wand also often induces transformation (cf. e.g. Celtic examples in Spence [repr. 1992: 27]). We do better to ask why, if the \textit{wuldortanas} are conventional weapons and not magical, it was necessary for Woden to use \textit{nine} of them, and how he held them all.
568 *Pær* : This word appears to locate the incident involving *Æppel 7 Attor* at the unspecified place where Woden shattered the snake.

568-9 *Pær geændade Æppel 7 attor, þæt heo...* : This is another difficult passage to which we have a number of possible explanations and no definite solutions. It is natural, at least at first, to suppose that the poison (*attor*) is here a hostile force, as is clearly the case often elsewhere in this charm (see II. 539, 546, 549, 550, 551, 553, (?),555-6, 564, 575, 580-5, 589-91, 597), and it might also appear reasonable to associate this particular instance with the *wyrm/næddre* of the episode described in II. 566-7 of which the present II. 568-9 are in fact a part. Furthermore, since *Æppel* is doubtless to be equated with the *wudusuræppel* listed among the healing plants in the prose directions it might be thought that its pairing with *attor* must be in some way antagonistic. This reasoning has, however, in my view led to a number of strained interpretations and emendations.

Skemp [1911b: 301] (also later S, and similarly Gordon [1954: 93]), referring to BT and (II), takes 7 as a prep. ("There Apple accomplished (this) against poison ..."), but OES (§§1178, 1739) does not admit *ond* as a prep. (unless 7 (i.e. *ond*) is a mistake for *on*). G emends *þær geændade Æppel nædran attor* ("There apple destroyed the serpent's poison"); other translations are variously unintelligible or unhelpful, e.g. GS (p. 155) "There did apple and venom bring it about that she..." and Rodrigues [1993: 137] "There ended Apple and poison that she...".

It is, however, very difficult to make the grammar yield any such antagonistic sense. Perhaps, if we could take *attor* as the (?)personified combative agent of the snake, we might understand "There Apple and Poison brought things to such an end that (i.e. the outcome of the confrontation between them was such that, Apple being the victor) it (i.e. the *næddre*) ...", but this is rather forced and we would expect a pl. verb with the pl. subject.

There appear to me to be only two possibly viable interpretations of this passage - neither of which has been proposed before. First, if the subject of the sg. verb is Woden then the sense could be "There he (i.e. Woden) destroyed Apple and poison, so that it (i.e. the *næddre*) ...". However, while it is possible that the *Æppel* was destroyed in the act of striking...
the *naeddre*, it might be objected that, since there is some reason to suppose that the destruction of the snake gave rise to new airborne poisons, poison itself was not really destroyed in the act.

The second possible interpretation is based on the possibility that *attor* does not literally mean "poison" here, but is rather used figuratively in the sense "bitterness" (cf. *OED* "atter" sb.), referring to the repulsive sourness of the raw crabapple\(^\text{22}\), and, furthermore, that it puns to serious effect on its usual sense "poison". This would overcome the otherwise awkward pairing of apple and poison, and, I suggest, be an instance of sympathetic (i.e. like against like) remedial practice directly comparable to that already encountered with *Wergulu* (probably the venomous stinging nettle) which is similarly used "as a remedy for the harm of another poison" (l. 563 *ondan attres opres to bote*). Perhaps translate then:

"There Apple and (its) bitterness destroyed it, so that it (i.e. the *naeddre*)..."

It is possible that C took basically the same view, but his translation is clumsy and ambiguous - he may well have thought that the "venom" belonged to the snake:

"There ended it the crab apple
And its venom, that never it
Should more in house come".

The use of *Æppel* and *attor* together as sg. subjects of a pl. verb is not exceptional in OE, if, as would be the case here with this interpretation, the two ("Apple and (its) bitterness") are thought of as a unit.

Ohrt [1928. 6] sees a reference to the Fall here:

Aber nun das Einschiebel über Apfel und Eiter? Die einzige befriedigende sachliche Erklärung scheint diese: Der Bearbeiter (oder ein Interpolator?) hat in diesem Woden einen Decknamen für den wahren Gott und in der Schlinge das böse Wesen von Genesis, Kap. 3 erkannt, und er will sagen: Als Gott die Schlinge überwand, hatte die Wirkung des Unglückapfels und des teuflischen Eiters ein Ende; durch einen Apfel war nämlich das Gift der Sünde und alles Elends in die Welt gekommen.

\(^{22}\) The crab is, of course, too sour to be eaten raw. Grieve (p. 44) describes its juice as "very astringent and acid".
However, this passage is clearly connected (by l. 568 *peor* and l. 569 *heo*) to the myth of Woden and the snake which - there being no reason to suppose that Woden and his *wuldortanas* are substitutions - can hardly have anything to do with the Judaeo-Christian Fall.

567 *heo*: The referent here is presumably - as it is certainly in l. 567 - the *næddre*. This observation probably refutes Wü’s opinion (p. 322) that a line has been lost before this one.

569 *heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan*: This has often been taken to mean that the snake would not enter its own house. Presumably the reason for this is that it is dead - an instance of heavy litotes. Alternatively, perhaps *næfre* might here (as e.g. in l. 656 *dæt næfre pis dæm adlegan dernan ne moste*) be thought to be indicative of continuing circumstance; perhaps it was thought that, after this (archetypal?) *næddre* met its end, other snakes were consequently wary of dealings with men and their gods, and so (as is the case with the native English adder) were reluctant to enter their dwellings.

570 *Fille*: This instance of *fille* (and so also l. 599 *fille*) is often identified as a variety of chervil (see Bierb2, see also ME equations of *fille/ville/villis* with chervil in Hunt [1989]). Cameron [1993: 147] suggests it is Chaerophyllum aureum L., golden chervil (an introduced species and rather uncommon in England); presumably commoner native species such as Anthriscus caucalis Bieb., bur chervil and Chaerophyllum temulum L., rough chervil, are also possibilities. Bierb2 defines as Anthriscus cerefolium (L.) Hoffm., garden chervil (as does Hunt [1989. *Cerfolium*] for instances of ME *chervel*), but this plant apparently does not grow wild in Britain (no reference in Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989]).

Alternatively *fille* might be a species of thyme. Bierb2’s first equation of *fille* is with Thymus serpyllum L., for which he gives a modern English name "wild thyme". However, Thymus serpyllum L. is (according to Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989: 342] and Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989: 407]) the current name of the very rare breckland thyme which, in the British Isles, is found only in the Breckland of East Anglia and Cambridgeshire. The
common native wild thyme (formerly Thymus serpyllum auct. brit.) is now designated either
Thymus praecox Opiz (so Clapham, Tutin & Moore) or (so Blamey & Grey-Wilson) Thymus
praecox subsp. britanicus (Ronnger) Holub.

Cameron [1993: 147] also says of fille that "there is a very slight possibility that it may
have been sweet cicely (Myrrhis odorata), which has a chervil-like odour and taste".

570 *Fille 7 Finule*: Finule is otherwise unattested (Bierb2 finol queries wk. fem.), but cf.
(with Bierb2) two instances of wk. acc. sg. fem. finuglan in BLch. Perhaps it is a scribal error
for the usual form finul caused by the preceding -le of Fille and/or by the existence of the wk.
form of the word - cf. the corresponding pairing in l. 599 fille 7 finul. Here Finule is
undesirable as fem. following fem. Fille because -u in following felamihtigu, which qualifies
both these plant-names, is a neut. inflexion. This might support the emended masc. reading
Finol.

GS (p. 54) remark that, of the plant names mentioned in this charm, only these two, fille
(Lat. cerefolium) and finule (Lat. fen:culum), are of Lat. origin, and think that they therefore
constitute a distinctively foreign element. But this is unlikely - cf. remarks on Una (l. 537),
and (possibly) Attorlade (l. 555) for other instances of Lat. influence. Furthermore, finule
would probably not have been considered foreign since, according to Sauer [1992: 386-7],
the word finul "was probably taken over in the 3rd century, i.e. while the ancestors of the
Anglo-Saxons were still living on the continent".

The alliterative pairing of these two plant names here may be compared with l. 18 of the
ME lyric poem *Lenten ys come with loue to toune* (ed. Brook [1968: no. 11]): pe fenyl ant pe
fille.

570 *felamihtigu*: Elsewhere in OE verse this word describes God (Maxims l/B) l. 5;
Azarans lI. 140, 156); here it describes two of his creations.

Cf. l. 4 du miht wod III 7 wod XXX and l. 576 seo mæg wod III 7 wod XXX.
570 felamhtigu twa: "Two very mighty ones". C's translation "Two fair and mighty ones" is incorrect.

570-2 Fille 7 Finule ... ā pa wyre gesceop witig drihten ... ā pa he hongode: Some commentators wonder whether the original subject of these lines was not Christ but Woden (the latter being the only suitable subject previously mentioned in the text at l. 566), or if there has been some syncretic fusion of two distinct but similar beliefs. Woden's Scandinavian cognate Óðinn was the lord of wisdom and magic who, according to the Eddaic poem Hávamál, hanged himself on the world-tree for nine nights, wounded by a spear, to gain knowledge of runes:

Veit ek, at ek hekk
vindga meði á
nætr allar niu,
geiri undaðr
ok gefinn Óðinn,
sjalfr sjalsum mér,
a þeim meði
er manngi veit

hvers hann af ròtum renn. [Hávamál st. 138 (ed. Evans [1986])]

See e.g. GS (p. 54), Branston [1957: 97-8], Chaney [1960: 202-3], and Sandmann [1975: 221-2]

However, an obvious - and probably insuperable - objection to this theory is simply that runes are not plants. Furthermore, benevolence to all mankind is a characteristic of Christ rather than (so far as we know) Woden/Óðinn. Additionally, possible parallels to the divine origin of plants at or around the time of Christ's crucifixion have been collected and discussed by Ohrt [1929] - see Sources and Analogues above. In view of the these, Vaughan-Sterling's [1983: 189] opinion that "a Christian "history" has been concocted for two herbs, perhaps during the very act of chanting" may not be justified.
For other beliefs associating plants with Christ's life and the Crucifixion (including, of course, the passion-flower) see Dyer [1889: chap. XIX] and Vickery [1995: 59-60 "Calvary clover"]). For an Irish belief that Good Friday is an excellent day for planting see Vickery [1995: 153 "Good Friday"].

Perhaps, though this is probably unlikely, an analogy might also be made with the medieval belief that the potent plant mandrake sprang from the urine or semen of a thief hanged on the gallows. On this belief and a speculative connection with the Norse myth of Óðinn's acquisition of runes during his self-immolation see Talley [1974].

571 wing drhten: The same half-line occurs in Beowulf ll. 1554, 1841 wigig Drihten, and in Deor l. 32 (ed. Malone [1977]) wigig Dryhten.

572 pa he hongode: i.e. "when he hung on the Cross". C (supported by Anderson & Williams [1935: 356]) translates "them he suspended", referring to the plants Fille 7 Finule, but this seems implausible.

573 sette: OE settan may mean "to plant" here (cf. BT settan III). If so we appear to have a sequence of actions: Christ first created (l. 571 gesceop), then planted (l. 573 sette), and finally distributed (l. 573 sande) the herbs Fille and Finule.

573 on 171 worulde: GS (p. 155, n. 2) explain that "[t]he "seven worlds" are the seven heavens or spheres associated with the seven planets of ancient classical cosmology" and declare it "an intrusive idea in a Northern Pagan setting". They do not explain how the placing of healing herbs in the heavenly spheres - itself a seemingly unlikely notion - could possibly benefit mankind. Perhaps we might look for explanation to the apocryphal medieval belief that the soul progressed through a trial in each of the seven spheres on its way to heaven (see Clancy & Márkus [1995: 136 st. 1, and n. on p. 249]), but this still stretches credibility. If on were a mistake for of ("from", i.e. "he created and sent them from the

For a (?)fourth-century Christian Egyptian charm in which Jesus gives his disciples powerful names, seals, and a pebble amulet to enable their souls to pass the hostile archons of the multiple heavens during their ascent see Meyer &
seven worlds ...") the sense would be more obvious, but this is not a firm enough basis for emendation.

Branston [1957: 174-5] approaches the concept from the opposite pole, trying to establish a Germanic mythological explanation. On the basis that OE exhibits no references to the Vanir or to the sons of Muspell we are to accept (despite there being no evidence whatsoever to support this proposition) that the Anglo-Saxons believed in the other seven supposed worlds, namely those "of the Æsir, Vanir, light elves, dark elves, men, giants, the dead" - a list of worlds that is not even entirely certain for Norse mythology. At least on this basis, we can hardly concur that "[t]here is just as good a case for the pagan derivat as the class-ical one".

It might be mentioned that, according to Eliade [1987: article on "Numbers"], the number seven often replaces the number nine under Christian influence, but unless (as appears to be the case with versions of the OHG Second Merseburg Charm throughout Europe) Christ is here a substitute for Woden or another Germanic god (in which case we may ask why this is not also the case with l. 566), an underlying reference to the nine worlds of Germanic mythology seems unlikely.

Sedgefield [1928: 421] remarks with regard to the seven worlds that it "is a common expression in primitive folklore, cf. our expression "in the seventh heaven"."

574 earmum 7 eadgum eallum to bote : This line is probably formulaic - cf. the Rune Poem 1 76 (ed. Shippey [1976: 82]) eadgum and earmum, eallum brice.

575-8 Stond heo wroc wærce ... minra whita : There must be some textual corruption here since, as has often been observed, the sg. subject of these lines does not agree with the preceding pl. Fille 7 Finule of ll. 570-74. Perhaps these lines ought to follow l. 560 (and so refer to Mægde) - cf. ll. 535-40 pertaining to Mægwyrt - or l. 563 (and so refer to Wergulu).

Smith [1994 66-8, no 39]

[22] Nine worlds are referred to in the Old Eddic poem Fíljúspá st. 2 (ed. Neckel & Kuhn [1983: 1]), ṃo man ær hæma
I am not persuaded by the interpretation of Meaney [1992a: 23], who tentatively translates "It [the remedy] stands against pain..."

575 Stond heo ... wið attre: Cf. l. 549 (but with the objects having been interchanged)

*stond heo wið attre, stunað heo wærce.*

577 wið ēfondes hond 7 [wið ēferebregdeg]e: "Against the devil's hand and against (?)severe seizure". The MS reading wið ēfondes hond 7 wið þæs hond wið frea begde is evidently corrupt. C (p. 36 n. 1) suggests the omission of MS 7 wið þæs hond; the additional emendation of wið frea begde (C "to the Lord low it louted") to [wið ēferebregdeg]e (this latter word being otherwise unattested) is adopted by Gr (p. 3)/GS in the sense "against mighty devices". For the association of *bregd* with the devil cf. Juliana (ed. Woolf [1977]) in which the devil declares l. 302 *Nepde ic nearobregdum*. Alternatively I suggest, the element -bregd might denote a quick movement, a spasm or seizure such as was thought to result from demonic possession. If so ferebregd might mean "mighty (i.e. severe) seizure". BTC is doubtful of ferebregd since "bregd is elsewhere m[asc].", but the case and gender here may be dat sg masc. (cf. dat. in ll. 539-40, 546-7, 553-4, 575), *hond* being the problem (see below).

Bradley [1904 145] suggests færerregde "sudden stratagem" and says that "synonymous compounds of fær (eg. fær-searo) do exist". Three other compounds formed on fær- are found in Lacn.: I 58 færsprynge, I. 760 færsteíc, and ll. 809, 816 færsteorfæn.

Wǔ reads and emends:

\[ wið ēfondes hond ond wið þæs fagan hond, \]

\[ ...... wið frea begde \]

Stuart [1974] reads:

\[ wið ēfondes hond ond wið þæs [f] * * * hond, \]

\[ wið frea * * * [ond wið f] * * * begde. \]
These editors appear to suppose four sources of affliction as opposed to the usual groups of three in ll. 539-40, 546-7, and 553-4.

It will be apparent that all these emendations are no more than best guesses and could be far from the original sense.

577 *wīd feondes hond*: Although *feond* can mean "enemy" in general, the context and proximity of *minra wihta* suggest that it here denotes an evil spirit/"fiend" or the Enemy Satan himself (but cf. Vulgate Psalm 30: 16 *eripe me de manu inimicorum meorum?*). Cf l. 102 *feondes costunum* and l. 978 *feondes costunge*. Other instances of the word *feond* used of devil(s) in OE poetry include Solomon and Saturn l II. 69b, 87a (in 86b the *feond* is *done ladan gast* - cf. Lacn. lll. 540, 547, 554 *pa[m] lapan*), 91b, 100a, Guthlac A 136a etc. The hand(s) of the devil snatching at a man are prominently depicted in the Harley Psalter (see Openshaw [1993: fig. 17]), in BL Cotton Tiberius B V fol. 87v (*The Marvels of the East* - see Jordan [1986: pl. 21]), and famously in the figure of Grendel in *Beowulf*.

Alternatively, it might be suggested that *hond* here denotes agency ("against the (?)-power of the devil")

577 *hond*: If the emendation *freah[r]egde* is correct it is probably dat., so we might expect dat sg *honda* (or pl. *hondum*) here, but *hond* may be a permissible endingless form (see Language 5 i c). However, given the difficulty of *freah[r]egde*, we evidently cannot exclude the possibility that the governing case is acc. throughout this list. Otherwise we must suppose that the list moves from the acc. to the dat (cf. ll. 552-3). *Wīd* "against" governs both acc. (ll. 552, 586-8) and dat. (e.g. ll. 546-7) in this charm.

578 *malscrunge*: This may mean "the evil eye(s)/bewitchment(s)/spell-binding(s)". Elsewhere in OE *malscrung* (also possibly *mascrunc*) and the related word *malscra* gloss (see BT) Lat. *fascinatus, i. laudatis stult*; *fescinato; fascinatio, laus stulta*. *Malscra* is the only other instance to occur in an OE magico-medical text, its context being redolent of evil:

---

24 BT (also Meancy's article) cites this as OHG, but BTC says it is "probably OE".
hi beop gode wiþ heafodece 7 wiþ eagwærce 7 wiþ feondes costunga 7 nihtgengan,
7 lenctenadle 7 maran 7 wyrtforbore, 7 malscra, 7 yflum gealdorcraeftum

[LchBk3 (306/10-13)]

See further on this word Jente [1921: §176] and Meaney [1992a: 23]. The evil eye may have been thought to cause actual physical afflictions - cf. Hand [1976].

OEHerb (56/4-5) may provide another reference to the evil eye:

heo [i.e. the plant mugcwyrt] awendeó yfela manna eagan [Lat. everit oculos malorum hominum].

The concept of the evil eye is ancient and very widespread - see Budge [1930: chap. xx].

578 minra wihta : "Of evil/vile creatures". The word minra has caused some difficulty in the past, e.g. C (p. 37) takes it to be the pronoun "my" and translates, rather bizarrely, "of farm stock of mine"; some editors emend manra "wicked". But OE minne (or perhaps - see BTS/BTC - min) "wicked" is now an accepted word - see AEW, OED "min", CH (Supplement), Merritt [1954: 205-6], Roberts's n. to Guthlac A l. 650 [1979: 152 (some other instances of scholarly confusion with "my")], and especially Merritt [1944: 442]. Cf. the description of the devils in Guthlac A l. 650 as mine myrdran, and in Guthlac B l. 909 as minne mansceapan.

579 wiþ ngyon wuldorgeflogenum : Wuldorgeflogenum is a hopax legomenon. Its constituent elements are clear enough - noun wuldor "glory" plus pa. ptc. of either fleon "to flee" or fleogan "to fly", plus dat. pl. substantival -um inflexion (BT and CH take it as a wk. masc noun wuldorgefligena). Its meaning, however, is less clear. Context (cf. the poisons and the onflyge) indicates that it denotes some form of noxious agent, probably thought to be animate. Context and the cognate words in this charm onflyge, gefloge, tofleah and fleogan also suggest that it might well fly. We might understand the word in a number of ways: "glory-fled ones" (hence "ones who fled from glory"), or "ones from whom glory has fled", or "glorious ones who fled/flew". Perhaps, as Payne [1904: 140 n.] suggests, we are to think of
"fallen angels". It may also be noted that evil spirits have long been believed to populate the air (see Lewis [1964: 2, 117-8]).

However, perhaps we might identify these nine "(?!)glorious ones who fled/flew" with the nine pieces into which the snake tosfleah ("flew apart") when it was struck by the nine glorious-twigs (wuldortanas) of Woden (ll. 565-7); cf. Singer [1919-20: 355]. If so, that episode is seen to be meaning integrated into the text as an aetiological myth about the origin of airborne affliction. See further on this Sources and Analogues above. This need not, of course, rule out the possibility of the syncretic use of wuldorgeflogenum as an ambivalent word, one with meaning for both folk-pagan and orthodox Christian world-views.

580 wif VIII attrum 7 wif nygon onflognum: I suppose that this line introduces the following list(s), giving the expected number of types of the respective afflictions. However, the composer's arithmetic at first appears somewhat doubtful: there seem to be ten poisons enumerated, i.e. readan, runlan, hwntan, wedenan, geolwan, grenan, wonnan, wedenan, brunlan, and basewan. Clearly though, since wedenan is repeated twice, there are only nine distinct types of poison given. Since the list's procedure of dealing with one of the (presumed) nine poisons in each half-line would have led to one unpaired initial half-line we might postulate that this "additional" (because redundant) half-line is the work of a reviser who was aware of the usual existence of a b-verse in OE poetry, but who was also alert to the list's arithmetical requirement.

The emendation of wedenan in l. 582 to hwñenan "purple" (so notably GS pp. 154-5) for the sake of more orthodox alliteration with hwntan and the avoidance of repetition of course produces ten different poisons. GS's attempt to reduce this number to nine by identifying the readan attre with the runlan attre on the basis that "runlan is the only one of the ten epithets of attre which does not denote a definite colour" is unconvincing.

The nygon onflognum might correspond to the list wif wyrmgæléd ... attorgeblæd, but this is doubtful. If they do, the list is three short. Gr (p. 4) would add the subsequent three (four in my conjecturally emended text) directions from which poison comes to make nine, but see n. to l. 590 for objections to this view.
There is apparently no distinct list corresponding to l. 579 nygon wuldorgeflogenum.

580 onflognum: Lit. perhaps "ones which have flown against" (i.e. presumably "attacking flying disease spirits"), and probably virtually synonymous with onflyge. We might have expected the dat. pl. form of onflyge (ll. 539, 546, 553), onflygum. The reading onflognum is presented here for the first time and is somewhat conjectural. Previous editors, who all read onflygnum, have not noticed that the scribe has written onflygnum with a small o above and to the right of the -y-. Unless a problematic form onflyognum is intended by this, I think onflognum is likely to be the correct reading: cf. OEHerb (42/14) Gif men his leoðu acen oðde ongeflogen and especially wuldorgeflogenum in the previous line in Lācn.

It is not difficult to suppose that the scribe may first have written onflygnum (an otherwise unattested word) by mistaken association with the noun onj7yge in the very similar lines 539, 546, 553 (all of which also alliterate with attre in the a-verse), then noticed that his exemplar differed, but was indecisive in, or uncertain of, his correction.

581-5 wu) Ov readan attre ... wu) basewan attre: It is hard to know what to make of this remarkable list of coloured "poisons", though the governing aspiration is clearly the attainment of protection through exhaustiveness, a fundamental precept of folk-medicine and common enough (in shorter form) in charms. Perhaps the colours were notionally associated with the characteristic symptoms of various diseases (C (vol. I p. xxviii) suggests that "red venom" was scarlet fever, possibly "yellow poison" was jaundice); or perhaps we are to associate these poisons with snakes of different colours such as those adorning the pages of OEHerb in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C iii, or those of the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle. Sandmann [1975: 228-9] finds a close parallel to this list (and possibly to the CH ongeflogen compare onflygen

128 CH ongeflogen compares onflygen
129 Lat. Ad atum articulorum sine in puncta fuerint
The colours in colour lists are often black, white, and red (cf. an ancient instance in the Sanskrit Atharva-Veda mentioning white, black, and red sarcolous sores (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 17]); also in Dutch charms - Van Haver [1964 nos. 494-504], e.g. from N&Q for Aug. 30, 1879, p. 178:
"I am afraid some ill thing you have got. I will bless you for the black ill thing, the white ill thing, and the red ill thing, bone ill thing."
Or cf. a fifteenth-century German adjuration (trans. Kischke [1989: 31]):
"Thus I adjure you, O speak, by the living and the holy God, to disappear from the eyes of the servant of God N., whether you are black, red, or white...."
Do a after jou cuwmon jau hornade nwadon Carasst jau medercyn. Pa waron ealle missenlices howes, for
blowing away of poison in l. 597) in a Swedish charm *För etter* "Gegen Vergiftung" (no date given):

Jag N.N. bläser på dig för rödt etter, för blått etter, för brunt etter, för grönt etter, för svart etter, för flygande etter, för stannande etter, för etter i vatten, för alla slags etter, under jorden och över jorden, ...

"Ich N.N. blase dich an gegen rotes Gift, gegen blaues Gift, gegen braunes Gift, gegen grünes Gift, gegen schwarzes Gift, gegen fliegendes Gift, gegen stehendes Gift, gegen Gift in Wasser, gegen alle Arten Gift, unter der Erde und über der Erde ...

Or perhaps attor could also denote "pus" in OE - cf. OED "atter" (sb. 3; first instance 1398), and note the subsequent list of swellings in *Lacn.* ll. 586-8 wyrmeblæd ...

attorgeblæd.

The present *Lacn.* list is considered briefly by Bonser [1925: 195] and [1963: 217-8].

581 wod da runlan attre: *Da* is usually emended to *dy* in order to improve the grammar and correspond to the otherwise identical inflexion and syntax of the parallel half-lines surrounding it.

---

Note also the following multicoloured worms in the Sanskrit *Atharva-Veda* (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 24]):

The two of like colour, the two of different colour, the two black ones, and the two red ones, the brown one, and the brown-end one. The worms with white shoulders, the black ones with white arms, and all those that are variegated, the speckled, and the white...

Cf. too the following curious German charm recorded by Vockenstedt [1889, 36]:

*Der Worm*

Es ist ein Baum,  
Der erste ist schwarz,  
Der andere ist weiss,  
Der dritte ist gelb,  
Der vierte ist braun,  
Der fünfte ist blau,  
Der sechste ist grun,  
Der siebente ist grau,  
Der achte ist rot.

Und die sind alle tot  
In Namen u. s. w.

Note also part of a seventeenth-century charm (see Köhler [1900: 550]):

*Der Worme sind negen,*  
*de sote Worm*  
*de grese Worm,*  
*de grawe Worm,*  
*de brune Worm,*  
*de white Worm,*  
*alle de ick nicht benömen kan,*  
*de schal de Here Christ benömen.*

See also e.g. Grimm [1882-8 vol. IV. 1856 no. xv]. Bang [1901-2. no. 1201], and Mannikka [1929: nos. 41, 47, and p. 75 n 2].
Runlan (BT runol for hrunol) is a hapax legomenon. Given the context we might have expected a colour word. My definition "foul, dirty" relies on BT which tentatively links the word with Icelandic hrunull "foul-smelling". Flowers [1989: 107] renders runlan as "wretched" without explanation. Sedgefield [1928: 421] proposes emendation to an unattested adj. rudol "allied to rudu "red colour," and rudig "ruddy"; cf. the dialect word "ruddle," red paint or wash", but the colour red is already covered by the accompanying a-verse wô by readan attre.

586-8 wô wyrmgebld .... wô atorgeblæd : The second element -gebld in this series of six hapax legomena is itself unattested elsewhere with the ge- prefix. However, unprefixd blæd is attested with the meaning "blast", "breath" both as a simplex (see BT) and in the poetic compound ferblæd ("sudden blast (of wind)", Juliana 1. 649). BT plausibly takes gebld in a derived sense as "A blowing out in the skin, blister". However, although at least two members of the list (porngblæd and hys[tel]gebld) presumably could not result from the airborne and/or demonic sources of disease so prominent in this charm (are they therefore interpolations?), it may be mentioned, with regard to some of the others, that in Ireland one of the meanings of "blast" was "a large round tumour, which is thought to rise suddenly on the part affected, from the baneful breath cast upon it by one of the "good people" in a moment of vindictive or capricious malice" (Rieti [1991: 291]). For a possible basis for the association of poisons with swellings here see n. to l. 589.

The shift from wô + dat. in the preceding list of coloured poisons to wô + acc. here is striking. This may be evidence of inconsistent scribal alteration or of interpolation. Cf. ll. 552-3 wô wyrm ... wô attre ... wô onflyge.

586 wyrmgebld : i.e. a blister resulting from the bite of a snake or of an insect. It is probably no coincidence that wyrmgebld is the first member of this group - cf. ll. 552 and 565 wyrm.

[29] Only one citation in CV hrunull, adj (7), k. befr. a bad smell, Sturlunga Saga i. 27 (in a verse). OE hrunol is not mentioned.

CH defines foul? running? The latter explanation, which does not seem as likely as the former in context, is perhaps arrived at by a perceived connection with rynel (BT "a runner"), rynel (BTS "a stream").
586 watergebled : I.e. presumably, as Bonser [1963: 377] points out, a blister produced by a scald.

588 attorgebld : Since the preceding parallel words porrgebld, lys[tel]gebld, and ysgebld must mean "blister caused by thorn/thistle/ice" it is presumably best to suppose that attorgebld similarly means "blister caused by poison" and not (as DOE has it) "poison blister" (by which we might understand "blister that has gone septic"). BTC compares German etterbeule "boil".

589 gif : It is difficult to know whether a new sense unit begins here (i.e. (?)"if any poison should come flying from the east ... ['the cure is that] Christ, being of a unique nature, stood over disease"), or whether the sense that began at l. 579 continues (i.e. "Now these nine herbs have power against nine (?)glorious ones who fled, against nine poisons and against nine flying diseases ... in the event that any poison should come flying from the east . or any from the west over the race of men."). I opt for the latter without conviction.

589 attor cume ... fleogan : "Flying poison" is presumably the Anglo-Saxon conceptual realisation of infectious disease. Cf. n. to l. 539 onflyge. It may be that, as Sturzl [1960: 84-5] argues, "flying poison" was associated in particular with strange or malignant swellings - cf. l. 58 with fleogendum attre 7 ferspringum and BLch (112/24) Wip fleogendum attre 7 alcum eternum smile. Sturzl also highlights in connection with this the association of the German conceptions of fliegenden Wurm and fliegenden Krebs with various dangerous swellings.

Another remedy for "flying poison" in Lacn. is Entry CXXVI.

589 cume : C (p. 36, n. 5) thinks this word, which is added above the line in MS. apparently by the same hand, is "better, for the rhythm, omitted"; Gr (p. 3) thinks it is "clearly scribes' [src] editing".
590 odðe ænig norðan cume. [odðe ænig sudan] : The words odðe ænig norðan cume might be taken as a legitimate unpaired single half-line, or we might think that words constituting the second half-line have been lost (so C (p. 36, n. 6)), or that some such alliterating word as genegan (so Gr) has dropped out before cume to form the second half-line; if a half-line has been lost then S's odðe ænig sudan is a possibility - it might easily have dropped out due to its similarity to the surrounding half-lines, and, it might be thought, completes the list of cardinal points without which the patient's defence may have been fatally impaired; however, a drawback is that this emendation does not appear to provide functional alliteration with the a-verse - contrast l. 589 attor + eastan, and l. 591 westan + werdeode.

Two objections have been raised to the supplying of a half-line referring to the south: Wü (p. 323 n.) queries whether since "im süden des himmels Gottes thron stehe und annahm, dass darum kein verderben daher kommen könne?"; Gr is sure that a reference to the south cannot have been intended for the additional reason that, judging from l. 580, a count of nine (nigón) is required: "an extra poison would have spoilt the scheme: six blisters plus three venoms give the correct number nine". This seems unlikely, since, as S (p. 192) observes, "the six blisters plus three poisons are difficult to see as complementary elements".

The general concept of this passage is paralleled in a charm from the Sanskrit Atharva-veda (trans Bloomfield [1897: 26]) in which - again rather oddly - only three cardinal points are mentioned:

"Powerless is the poison from the east, powerless that from the north. Moreover the poison from the south transforms itself into a porridge."

G reads the MS text straight through, and - not very convincingly - as one long line: gif ænig attor cume eastan fleogan odðe ænig norðan cume.

The issue is not likely to be solved to everyone's satisfaction. I conjecturally supply the putative lost half-line (following S).
592 + Crist stod ofer alde angancundes: The disputed meaning of alde, and of angancundes in particular, makes this a difficult line, one that has not been definitively explained. Alde might be explained as any one of the following:

i. The absolute use of the adj. eald/ald meaning (acc. pl.) "(the) old (ones)", i.e. perhaps devils or snakes. Gr (p. 4) and GS take it as acc. pl.: "the ancient ones" ... who are, of course, the Powers of Evil.231.

ii. A rare, but attested, form of the noun adl ("disease/sickness") with l-metathesis.232 Emendation to adl was suggested first by C.

iii. A corrupt form of the poetic pl. noun elde elde ylde "men" (so C translates).

Aengancundes is a crux, and a difficult hapax legomenon. It has been rendered in the past as both genitival adv. and as wk. adj. with gen. noun:

i. "Opposingly" (so C).

ii. "In a way that is unique" (so BTS and CH).

iii. "Of a solitary unique nature" (referring to Crist); see DOE en(i)gan cyndes.

iv. "Of every kind" (so G as two words, S as a compound).

v. Emending to (otherwise unattested) adj. acc. pl. aengancund[e], "the malignant (ones)" (so Gr; GS tentatively connect the first element with enge "narrow, cruel" but also admit enig "solitary").

Further difficulty is raised by stod ofer. For is standan here to be taken literally "Christ stood over above..."? This might then be a reference to the iconography of Christ standing/standing upon serpents well known in Anglo-Saxon England - see illustrations in Openshaw [1993] and Wilson [1984: pl. 165]; see also on the Ruthwell Cross Carragáin [1986], Farrell [1986], and Meyvaert [1992: 125-9]; indeed note that Vulgate Psalm 90: 13 is itself quoted in Lacn. II. 89-90 Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconum Or does stod simply express a state of being or circumstance - "Christ was above..."?

---

231 The devil's antiquity was a commonplace. Cf. e.g. The Panther I1. 57b-58b se ealda feond and Christ and Satan I. 34a se alda

232 In the Cambre MS of LL is found ald for ald, Harley 585 has ald; ed. L (p. 192 (86)).
I cannot answer these questions (nor can DOE), but I tentatively offer some possible translations based on the preceding notes and an unemended text: "Christ being of a unique nature (or "in a way that was unique") stood upon disease"; "Christ stood upon the ancient ones in a way that was unique"; "Christ, being of a unique nature (or "in a way that was unique"), stood above men "; "Christ had dominion over disease of painful kind".

Singer [1919-20: 354, n. 6] omits this line on the grounds that it is "a later Christian addition", and others (e.g. Linsell [1994: 140]) have taken the same view or even wanted to substitute Woden for Christ. This is all guesswork, but with regard to the possibility of interpolation, it should be noted that this line does not appear to be syntactically integrated with the surrounding text.

The marginal cross in the form of four small circles joined to a central one by four radiating lines of equal length is crudely drawn, and only very conjecturally contemporaneous. In fact I very much doubt that it is integral to the original plan of the written poem. Stuart [1974: 685] remarks that "[t]he four circles at the extremities of the cross represent the cardinal points. The central circle represents Christ, who controls the world".

Sandmann's [1975: 234] approach to this line is implausible and unnecessary: he reconstructs as Þre stod ofer alde ængan cundes.

593 Ic ana wat : An unChristian (pagan?) statement. Contrast The Phoenix (ll. 355b-60)
on knowledge of the phoenix's gender and birth:

\[\text{God ana wat,} \]
\[\text{Cyning ælmhing \quad hu his gecynde brô,} \]
\[\text{w#SBATCHe be weres; \quad þæt ne waæ Æng} \]
\[\text{monna cynnes \quad butan meotod ana} \]
\[\text{hu pa wisan sind \quad wundorlice,} \]
\[\text{þærger fyrnesceap \quad ymb þæs fugles gebyrd. [ed. Blake [1990: 58]]} \]
593 *ea rinnende*: Running water is a healing, purificatory agent in folk medicine. Cf. *Lacn.* ll. 108-9, 943, 962, 1009-10, and see S (pp. 74-6) for further OE instances and discussion.

594 *7 ha nygon nædran behealdad*: There is no need to emend this line on grounds of sense or metre. The placement of the mid-line caesura after *nygon* follows Hoops [1889: 60].

Sedgefield [1928: 421] thinks the word *wyrte* has dropped out after *nygon* and would translate "and serpents pay regard to the nine plants" - a novel approach, but there is no reason think this line is corrupt. It appears that there are nine *nædran* who *behealdad* the *ea rinnende* (*behealdan* is usually but not always transitive), this object being understood from the previous line. The force of *behealdad* is not quite clear, but, given the traditional antipathy between poison (and so perhaps of *nædran*) and running water, which is used as a removing and purifying agent in several OE remedies (see previous n.), the meanings "behold", "beware" seem more appropriate than "possess", "guard", or "preserve".

Perhaps (as Sandmann [1975: 228] also suggests) the *nygon nædran* are to be associated with (or even identified as) the nine pieces into which Woden shattered the *wyrm* in l. 567.

We might (superficially at least) compare the nine little worms in two OHG charms, one of which reads

*Contra vermes.*

_Gang uit, nesso, mid nignon nescklinon,

uit fana themo marge an that ben, fan themo bene an that fiesg.

uit fan themo flesgke an thia hud, uit fan thera hud an thesa strala._

_Drohtin, uuerthe so._

[ed. Braune & Ebbinghaus [1979: 90, no. 4.a]; see also no. 4. *Pro nessa*; also ed. Wipf [1992: 74, no. 3.1]]

Cf. also parallel no. 4 in the Commentary to *Lacn.* Entry CLIII: *Sevnt Jop had ix. worms, had .viii. worm...* Also note Beowulf's fight with nine water monsters (*Beowulf* l. _______"

---

*Sedgefield himself observes that his improved sense was contextually awkward - "The sense here seems so disconcerted that a line or two may have fallen out." I cannot support his conjecture.*

*It seems most unlikely that the *ea rinnende* should be the subject of *behealdad*.***
575 niceras nigene) which may have been serpentine in nature (cf. *Beowulf* ll. 1425-30). Finally, for other instances of specifically nine worms see *HWDA* (article on "Wurmsegen", col. 862, 864). Nine is, however, a common number for diseases and disease spirits in charms.

595 motan ... aspringan: This is a problematic line. I tentatively take weoda to mean "woods" or "trees" (the usual spelling of this word in attested OE records being wudu (from wudu)). That this may be a viable reading is supported by:

i. The back-mutated -eo- spelling of wudu in the spellings weoduweaxe (l. 526), weoduweaxan (l. 520), (also note l. 162 weodew[eax]an), beside l. 517 wuduweaxan.

ii. Several instances of the alliterative pairing of wudu and wyrta in both OE prose and poetry (though not as here across the mid-line cæsura):

a. 7 hu æne on dæge   æton symle
   on æfentd  eordan weastmas,

   wudes 7 wyrta [Metres of Boethius (ed. Griffiths [1991: 68])]

b. he hi stóðan asidow   sæda monegum
   wuda and wyrta  weorulde sceatum

c. wudu wyrtum frest  water oferhelmað. [Beowulf l. 1364]

d. Hu ne meaht þu geston þ(æt) ælc wyrt 7 ælc wudu wile weaxan on þæm lande selest þe him betst gerist .... Sumra wyrta ode sumes wuda eard bid on danu(m) ....

Nam donne [swa wuda] swa wyr, swa hwæder [swa þu wille, of þære stowe þe] his eard [7 æþelo bid] on to wexanne, 7 sete on ungécynde stowe him; bonne ne g[egr]ywd hit þer nauht, ac forseard: fo[r]ðæm ælces landes ge[cy]nd is þ(æt) hit [him g]elca wyrta 7 gelicne wudu tydr[e] ... 

[OE translation of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (ed. Sedgefield [1899: 91]) (abbreviations here expanded within round brackets)]
A problem with this interpretation is that the a-verse does not then scan according to the rules of classical OE verse, but it may be that such standards do not apply here. See further Scansion above.

All editors (other than essentially G who translates "pastures") differ from this interpretation in thinking that weoda is the noun weod ("weed"); earlier renderings of this line include C's "All weeds now may give way to worts", BTS's (aspringan) "May there be no weeds for the plants", S's "May all the weeds spring up from their roots", GS's "All weeds must give way to herbs", and Rodrigues's [1993: 139] "May all weeds now spring up herbs"; DOE (aspringan), like BTS, thinks the line refers to the disappearance of weeds from among other plants. Although the interpretation of weoda as "weeds" might facilitate a scansion acceptable to classical OE verse (see Scansion above), a problem with this is that OE weod appears to be otherwise a long-stemmed neut. noun with no inflexional ending in nom./acc. pl. unless we may suppose that, as occasionally elsewhere in OE, the -a (for earlier -u) is a late OE addition by analogy with short-stemmed neut. nouns, this interpretation seems unlikely.

The meaning of the verb aspringan is also problematic here; either "spring up (with)" (i.e. "flourish (with)"), or "spring up (from)" seem viable translations; this latter sense - proposed earlier by S - is not attested by DOE, but cf. CH springan "to jump, leap, spring, burst forth". We might therefore propose either "All woods must now spring up with herbs" (cf. G's "All pastures may now spring up with herbs" (similarly Gordon [1954: 94])), or - more dramatically and possibly more in keeping with the puzzling parallel reference to the dissolution or opening of the seas in the next line (sæs toslupan, eal sealt wa'ter) - "All woods/trees must now spring up from their roots". It is difficult to be sure which is the correct alternative, but, given the earlier (l. 579) use of the word wyrt in the sense "plant, herb" (also later in ll. 599, 602) rather than "root", perhaps the former is to be favoured. We may also note that (according to Bierb1, and Bierb2 wyrt) wyrt is never found elsewhere in the main OE medical texts with the meaning "root", but given the extraordinary nature of this charm this is not necessarily relevant.

Note that BT's entry "wood, e, f?" is invalid - the form in question is a corruption of woodeweaxan (Lacen. l. 162 weodewyért(an)
It is amusing to learn from Page [1969: 179] that this line now constitutes a modern runic folly set in the floor of a new conservatory built on to the lodge of Slingsby Hall, York: *motan ealle weoda nu wyrtum aspringan*.

595-6 *motan ealle weoda* ... *sealt weater*: These lines are not fully understood. It is hard to see why, or in what way, the waters are commanded to *toslupan* (the verb can mean "slip away", "dissipate", "slip apart", "be loosed/released", "be rendered powerless"). Are the seas commanded to open up in order to swallow the poison when it is blown from the sufferer in the next line? Or does the dispersal of the sea(s) result from the act of blowing in l. 597 - and should we then translate l. 595 as "All woods must now spring up from their roots"? Alternatively, is it possible that *toslupan* is here used - quite exceptionally - transitively, the object (*attor*) being understood, and the sense being "the seas must dissipate (the poison)"?

There is no consensus as to the appropriate translation of *toslupan* - renderings include "dissolve" (C, Rodrigues [1993: 139]), "vanish" (G), "slip apart" (S), "disperse" (GS), and "be destroyed" (Gordon [1954: 94]).

596 *seal sealt weater*: This means either "Seas (must) (?)dissipate, all salt water(s)", or "Of the sea (must) (?)dissipate, all the salt water" (i.e. "All the salt water of the sea (must) (?)dissipate"). See also previous n. on the difficulty of translating *toslupan*.

597 *geblawe*: The airborne poison is blown away back through the air whence it came. The postponement of this verb until the last moment is presumably climactic. According to Glosecki [1989 122]:

The last metrical line of the charm ... mirrors shamanic therapy, where one of the most common kinds of cure involves sucking at the area supposedly penetrated by a magic shot. Rather than pneumatic pressure, though, the Ango-Saxon doctor uses exhalation to blow the flying venom out of his patient, back into the element it travels through, and probably back to the restless foe of line [540] ... Returning the
shot to its sender is standard practice in disease-shooting, so the retributive gesture makes perfect sense in the context of elfshot.\textsuperscript{236}

Comparison can perhaps be made with \textit{Lacn}. Entry LXIII ll. 254-7 where the combatting (or destruction) of \textit{wyrm} and \textit{attor} from a medicinal substance (butter) to be used in a salve is assisted by the recitation of a charm against poison and by blowing:

\textit{(sing ...) paet wyrmgealdor; 7 pís gealdor singe ofer:}

"\textit{Acre acre arnem nona ærnem beodor ærnem. nidren. arcun cunað ele harassan fidine.}"

\textit{Sing ðís nygon sóan, 7 do ðín spat on, 7 blaw on...}

Blowing and poison also seem to be connected in ll. 295-6 (\textit{7 ðæs mannes oruð eallinga on ðone wætan}). On the use of breath in Anglo-Saxon magic see S (pp. 62-3).

Cf. also an episode in the apocryphal \textit{Gospel of Thomas} 17: 1-2 (trans. James [1953: 54], essentially the same story is also told in the \textit{Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew}):

"And as James was gathering of faggots, a viper bit the hand of James. And as he was sore afflicted and ready to perish, Jesus came near and breathed upon the bite, and straightaway the pain ceased, and the serpent burst, and forthwith James continued whole."

598 \textit{wegbrade} : For the external application in folk medicine of greater plantain for ulcers, skin sores, as a vulnerary, and occasionally for poisonous bites, see Grieve (pp. 640-1) and Vickery [1995: 161].

598 \textit{open} : Cf. l. 542 \textit{op(e)ne}. See Language 5.vi.a.

598 \textit{lombes cyrse} : This plant name corresponds to l. 548 \textit{Stune} and l. 550 \textit{Stiðe} in the poem. If the plant is shepherd's purse we may note that it has been used by herbalists in ointments and poultices for wounds and inflammations (see Grieve (p. 739)).

\textsuperscript{236} Glooedku compares Webster's \textit{Dutchess of Malfy}: Act IV, Scene i, "where the afflicted heroine says "Puffe: let me blow these vipers from me"."
598 attorlādan : For the possibility that this word is nom. pl. (referring to the two varieties of the plant which appear to be referred to in ll. 555-6) see Structure and Integrity above.

598 netelan : This plant name corresponds to l. 561 Wergulu in the poem. Presumably the reduction of the stinging nettle to a powder (l. 599 gewyrc ... to duste) will have removed some, if not all, of its stinging properties. The use of nettles - sometimes actively stinging ones - in salves appears to be quite common in modern British folk medicine (cf. instances cited by Vickery [1995: 255]).

599 wudusuræppel : Though appel can mean fruit of any kind (as Sedgefield [1928: 421] notes with reference to this instance), according to Bierb1 and Bierb2 it usually denotes the fruit of an apple tree. This seems especially likely when, as in the poem (l. 568), it is used as an unqualified simplex. This hapax legomenon (lit. "wood/wild-sour-fruit") is probably to be identified as the invariably sour fruit of the crab-apple tree often found in woods (or might wudu- here denote the hard, woody texture of the crab?). Cf. surre apold[re] rinde (Lacn. 1. 129) (also Bierb1 under apuldor), and Bierb1 appel (1) (equating an instance of wudu æpla with the crab), see Bierb1 appel too for other references to sour apples (though not necessarily crabs) in BLch.

600 þæs apples gor : All other instances of the word gor in OE seem to mean "dirt", often specifically denoting excrement. It is not clear what this instance of the word ("dirt of the (crab-)apple") - the only one referring to a fruit or plant of any sort - means. C (pp. 37-9) translates "verjuice of the apple", crab-apple juice being very sour; G defends "juice" upon contextual grounds alone; BTS queries "pulp"; S (p. 191) also translates "juice"; GS (p. 156 n. 2) object to these translations, remarking that gor "is not known to mean anything but "dirt", "dung", and resort to the unconvincing emendation [w]ol[s] "juice"; TOE (03.01.17) includes gor (there being apparently more than one instance in this sense) under "Sticky slimy substance, paste, pulp". Possibly the "gore" of an apple might be flesh (pulp?) from its
core, that being the inner part which is usually discarded. Or might it be the peel - cf. the use of sour apple bark (surre apold[r]e rinde) in a salve in Lacn. Entry XXXI (l. 129)? With regard to a traditional East Anglian remedy which recommends rubbing rotten apple onto any sore place (Hatfield [1994: 115]; Grieve (p. 46) also mentions the use of rotten apples as a poultice) I would note EDD "gor(e)" l. sb. "Dirt, mire, slime; a caked mass of dirt or mud; anything rotten or decayed" (my italics).

600 Wyrc slypan ... wyl on þære slyppan : BT differentiates between slypa (also slipa) which is wk. masc. in þone slypan (BLch (18/28)) and slyppan (wk. fem), but perhaps the consonant difference here constitutes an orthographical variant or scribal slip rather than a true distinction of words.

600-1 Wyrc slypan ... ge æfter : Sandmann [1975: 230] thinks these directions are an interpolation.

601 [ð]a[n] gemo[n]gc[e] : MS aagemoge is corrupt. Most editors (including S and ASPR 6), following C's interpretation, read as (or emend to) a word meaning "egg-mixture" which is otherwise attested only in OE glosses - æggemang. However, this raises a difficulty since there is then no instruction as to what to do with the paste (l. 600 sly(p)pan) of water and ash in which fennel is boiled. An attractive solution is GS's emendation (adapted in my text) - ðan gemonge - referring to the boiled mixture of slyppe and finol. The precise spelling of the presumed definite article cannot be ascertained, but if it began with ð rather than þ (and there are numerous initial ðs in this and preceding entries), the ð might have been omitted as a result of scribal haplography following the similar letter -d in the previous word, mid. The lack of final nasal cons. (be it -n or -m), and of medial -n- in gemo[n]gc[e], might result from simple scribal omission of abbreviation bars (cf. it appears ll. 540, 554 MS þa, ða for þam, þam). Note, however, that the present emendation requires additional emendation of acc. neut. gemo[n]gc to dat. gemo[n]gc[e] (or with GS gemonge).

In Olden gor can mean "thyme", "ced"
601 ponne he pa sealf on de : "Before he puts the salve on". Despite the pronoun he "he", S (p. 191) translates "when you apply the salve". Cf. notes to ll. 602 and 603 below.

601, 603 on de : "Puts on". This reading is probably preferable to most editors' onde or (emended) ondo since the verb ondon normally means "undo" or "open"; cf. l. 675 on bind meaning "bind on", not onbind "unbind". On the unusual verb form de see Language 5.xi.c.

601-2 Sing pet galdor on ælcre para wyrtia ... ond singe pon men : It is not clear if the whole incantation is to be sung over each herb, or - it might be thought - only those words directly applicable to the plant in question and those of a collective nature (i.e. ll. 564-9, (?) and ll. 579-97). Is the whole charm to be sung to the patient, or only ll. (?)579-97 (cf. Weston [1985: 181])?

If the healer were a woman she might have been called a wyrtgælstre ("herb-charmer"), though the term is pejorative in its one extant instance: according to certain OE prognostics a girl born on the fifth moon wyrst swelt, for þi yfildaeda 7 wyrgælstre (C vol. III, p. 186). The word is briefly considered by Jente [1921: §179].

602 ær he hy wyrce : This seems rather awkward - we might have expected þu rather than he, referring back to l. 599 gewyrca wyrtia to dute. Unless he is a scribal error, the verb wyrm(e)an must mean "use" here, referring to the use/application of the salve by the patient - but, given that the incantation is to be sung on ælcre para wyrtia, the time reference must presumably still be to a stage before the healer had mixed all the ingredients together to form the salve. The meaning "use" is attested only once in BTC - wyrcan ("use (a tool)"). Possibly translate then: "before he uses them (or it)". Previous translations include C's (p. 39) "before "he" works them up" (but the ingredients have apparently already been prepared by the healer who is addressed in the imp. in l. 599 gewyrca ... mænge and l. 600 Wyrc ... genin ... wyf), G's (p 195) "before he brews them", Gordon's [1954: 94] "before he works them together" (but again this has already been done by the healer), GS's (p. 157) "before working
up", and Rodrigues's [1993: 139] "before he prepare [sic] them". S (p. 191) renders confusingly as "before you (he) prepare them" (cf. notes to ll. 601 and 603).

602 singe pon men in pon múd 7 in pa earan buta: For similar recitation of texts into the mouth and the ears in other remedies in Lacn. see ll. 92-3 sing dis leod in þæt swiðre eare .... sing in þæt wynstre eare, ll. 297-8 sinc him on þone múp innan, and ll. 646-6 þæt galdor þæt hereæfter cwed man sceal singan, ærest on þæt wynstre eare, þænne on þæt swiðre eare.

603 da wunde: Given the references to swellings in the incantation (ll. 586-8 wyrmgeblæd ... attorgeblæd) and the possible association of "flying poison" with swellings (see n. to 589 above), wund here may well mean "sore, ulcer" (see Thompson [1992: 2] for this sense), rather than "wound". In view of the apparent similarity with the German and Scottish analogues to the cause and effects of flying poison/snakes adduced in Sources and Analogues above it is possible that the ulcer in question was typically malignant.

Some (e.g. S (p. 193)) think that wund refers to the bite of an adder here, but it seems highly unlikely that the incantation would refer so often to flying afflictions if that were the case.

603 ær he þæ sealf on de: "Before he puts the salve on". S (p. 191) renders confusingly as "before you (he) apply the salve".
ENTRY LXXVII

Medicinal Efficacy:

If (see below) l. 605 cilebenigan here denotes lesser celandine (commonly known as "pilewort") we may have (as Newman [1948b: 154-5] observes) a viable - if perhaps overly strong - remedy for piles. According to Grieve (p. 181) "[i]nternally, the infusion of 1 oz. in a pint of boiling water is taken in wineglassful doses, and will in most cases be sufficient to effect a cure". See also Phillips & Foy [1990: 103] and Wren (p. 215).

604 Gif se wyrm sy nyrgewend: This is a reference to "anal fistula, a common accompaniment of haemorrhoids" (GS p. 157 n. 4); Meaney [1992a: 28] notes that "[f]istulas look like worms, spreading along channels under the skin" and that (as Professor Cameron notes) they "were still called Wurm in Germany until recently".

An association (or identification?) between fic and wyrmas (ficwyrmas = "haemorrhoid-worms" = haemorrhoids?) is found in LchBk3 chap. xlviii: a "stone bath" fomentation is prepared, over which the patient is to sit so that bonne feallad pa ficwyrmas on pa bejngge.

604 se bledenda fic: A bleeding haemorrhoid. See n. to l. 63 done bledende fic.

604-5 anne wrid cilefrenigan moran: Though it is not entirely clear whether wrid refers here to shoots growing from a root (see OED "wride") or (so GS) directly to a "clump" of celandine root, it may be noted that Chelidonium majus "has a thick, fleshy tap-root that branches out in all directions" (Phillips & Foy [1990: 99]). However, the plant might here be rather Ranunculus ficaria L. (see following n.).

605 cilebenigan: Bierb2 identifies all the instances of this plant name in Lacn. as Chelidonium majus L., greater celandine (as do Bierb1 and Bierb3 with regard to BLch and a

\*\*\* Cf possibly the Lat. haemorrhous (LS "a kind of poisonous serpent") that might have been known to the Anglo-Saxons from Plant's Nf, or from the seventh- or eighth-century Liber monstrorum (ed. Orchard [1995: 316]): Sunt quinque plurim auliac serpentini genera argues, ut diptaides, rutilis, haemorrhoides, spelagi, matricex...
gloss). However, it is conceivable that the plant name here denotes the unrelated lesser celandine, which has been a basic resource of herbalists in the treatment of haemorrhoids for centuries. It may be noted that Pliny (NH 25.89) distinguishes two varieties of *chelidonia*, the smaller of which is plausibly identified in the Index of Plants in the Loeb edition as *Ranunculus ficaria*. Moreover, although the juice of greater celandine is used in the treatment of warts and corns, it does not appear to be used for piles.

605-6: This instruction is closely paralleled in *BLch*:

*Drenc wiþ peoradle: sund ompran ymb de/l; sing priwa "Pater noster"; bred up
ponne ju cwepe "Set libera nos a malo"... [BLch (116/14-16)]

It is also found in a thirteenth-century German ritual cure *Ad uernem qui in caballo est* (Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Nouv acq lat 356, fol. 69r.) in which vervain is pulled up:

*... pater noster canatur totum ... et se persequatur pater noster. totum. cumque
ultimo canetur. et eius finis sed libera nos dicatur tun. utrisque manibus a terra
abstrahit ur... [ed. Wipf [1992: 68, no. 2.4]]

Cf also the *Glasgow Antidotary* (ninth/tenth century, ed. Sigerist [1923: 150]):

*... herba bulbonica fodhs eam in circuitum et dicis "zabulon" quando uenis
eradicare eam accipe eam in manum et dicis "sed libera nos a malo" et una hora
dicis*

Cf also Heim [1892: 562].

606-7 *nm of pam ciðe 7 of oprium*: It is not quite clear what *ciðe* and *oprum* refer to here. *Cið* usually means "shoot", "sprout", but perhaps it could also mean "root" (see n. to l. 126). Since only one plant (l. 605 *ciðepemgan*) is named in this remedy, *oprum* might be thought to refer to "other (parts)" (whether roots or shoots) of the same. Cf. perhaps Culpeper (quoted by Griev e (p. 181)), "It is certain by good experience that the decoction of the leaves and roots doth wonderfully help piles and haemorrhoids".

C and GS translate *oprum* simply as "others", presumably referring to other (unnamed) plants.
gloss). However, it is conceivable that the plant name here denotes the unrelated lesser celandine, which has been a basic resource of herbalists in the treatment of haemorrhoids for centuries. It may be noted that Pliny (*NH* 25.89) distinguishes two varieties of *chelidonia*, the smaller of which is plausibly identified in the Index of Plants in the Loeb edition as *Ranunculus ficaria*. Moreover, although the juice of greater celandine is used in the treatment of warts and corns, it does not appear to be used for piles.

605-6: This instruction is closely paralleled in *BLch*:

*Drenc wip þeoradle: sund ompran ymb de/e fl/ sing þriwa "Pater noster"; bred up
bonne þu cwete "Set libera nos a malo"... [BLch (116/14-16)]

It is also found in a thirteenth-century German ritual cure *Ad uerremem qui in caballo est* (Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Nouv acq lat 356, fol. 69r.) in which vervain is pulled up:

... *pater noster canatur totum ... et se persequatur pater noster. totum. cumque
ultimum canetur. et eus finis sed libera nos dictur tunc utrisque manibus a terra abstrahitur...* [ed. Wipf [1992: 68, no. 2.4]]

Cf also the *Glasgow Antidotary* (ninth/tenth century, ed. Sigerist [1923: 150]):

... *herba bulbonica fodis eam in circutum et dicis "zabulon" quando uenis eradicare eam accipe eam in manum et dicis "sed libera nos a malo" et una hora dice.*

Cf also Heim [1892: 562].

606-7 *7 nun of pam civde 7 of oprum*: It is not quite clear what *civde* and *oprum* refer to here. *Civde* usually means "shoot", "sprout", but perhaps it could also mean "root" (see n. to l. 126). Since only one plant (l. 605 *cylepemgan*) is named in this remedy, *oprum* might be thought to refer to "other (parts)" (whether roots or shoots) of the same. Cf. perhaps Culpeper (quoted by Grieve (p. 181)), "It is certain by good experience that the decoction of the leaves and roots doth wonderfully help piles and haemorrhoids".

C and GS translate *oprum* simply as "others", presumably referring to other (unnamed) plants.
607 *an lytel cuppeful*: The word *cuppeful* is treated as two words by both C and GS (fem. noun *cuppe* + adj. *ful*) which (unless one emends) is incorrect since *lytel* is nom. sg. masc. or neut (nom. sg. fem. ought to be *lytelu*). The word *cuppeful* is not recorded in BT, BTS, BTC, or CH and seems to be otherwise unattested; the earliest reference to "cupful" in *OED* is in the late ME poem, the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*.

607 *drinc[e]*: The emendation of MS imp. sg. *drinc* to this subj. sg. form is suggested by GS who, however, opt to emend *dr[e]nc* "drench", "saturate". However, unless l. 607 *bedige* means "foment" (see below), the reading *drenc* would leave the remedy without any instructions for its use.

607-8 *bedige hine mon to wearman fyre*: C translates *bedige* as "beate" (i.e. "foment"), GS as "foment". It cannot be determined whether this is correct (cf. *BLch* (276/2-3) *gebeat tosomne 7 smire mid 7 befe mid to fyre*) or whether "warn" (cf. *Lacn*. l1. 843-4 *beha he bonne ... to hatum fyre*) is the intended sense.

**ENTRY LXXVIII**

On the "stone-bath" treatment prescribed in this remedy see Entry LXXXIII and notes there.

**ENTRY LXXIX**

OE Variant Version:

*Gif foet oðdo sconcan oðdo cno suellen: genim neodowarde beolonan oðdo eolectran: geecnua suide; wð smaeng wð maelum hwete meolwe [emend mæng wð smaelum hwete meolwe]; geceheard to dage; clæn on dæt asuoln limm. Wrið on nætherne; on mærne bido se suile geðuinen. Sio dunæng dæg ðæh de hio on neate se. [Omont Fragment ll. 7-11 (ed. Schauman & Cameron [1977: 291])]
613 betonican: The Omont Fragment has beolonan - we may suspect scribal (or other) substitution.

614 wip smale hwatenan meoluwe: Cf. l. 706-7 mid smale hwatenan melowe. GS emend smale to dat. sg. smal[an] both times. Dat. smaelum can (despite the corruption) be perceived in the earlier Omont Fragment: wið smæng wið [erasure of s]maelum hwatemeolwe (Schauman & Cameron [1977: 291 n. 7]). There is, however, no need to emend the instr. smale.

The Omont Fragment alone continues with the instruction gecneed to doge.

614 clæme on þæt geswel: The Omont Fragment continues Wrið ... on neate sie.

ENTRY LXXX

GS (p. 158 n. 5, 208) think this remedy is unfinished, though the extent of any such loss is now unknowable. However, it is possible that it was simply assumed that one would know to add the salt and sulphur to the mixture and then to apply it.

615 wið micclum lice: Lit. "for a great (i.e. swollen/enlarged) body." This term (also in l. 977) probably denotes the effects of elephantiasis or leprosy. The later medieval gloss to these words reads Contra Lepram. Cf. the remedies for this condition in BLch Bk I chap. xxxi (pp 78-80) and LchBk3 chap. xxvi. See for discussion Hille [1969].

615 bringcadle: C translates this hapax legomenon as "epilepsy" (queried in CH) without explanation. Although GS (p. 158 n. 4) reject this equation as not "quite satisfactory", Olcel bringa ("the chest"), bringspelir ("brisket") could explain the form - hence I suggest OE bringcadle means "breast/chest-disease".

Alternatively, a palaeographically simple emendation of b to h gives hringcadle. Emendation to this otherwise unattested word, that could perhaps mean ringworm, shingles, or (very doubtfully) back-disease (cf. the probably mistaken equation of hringchrynecg with
Lat. spinam, dorsum and crassum in LL.), is suggested by Toller (and so CH queries the word). In view of the similar shapes of the letters b and h and the likelihood that this affliction - like the preceding micclum lice - had visible symptoms on the skin, this emendation is preferable to GS's [c]ringeadle "falling disease" (presumably this idea came from C's "epilepsy"), which is also otherwise unattested.

ENTRY LXXXI a and b

It appears that essentially the same remedy is duplicated. Whether the second version is a correction of the first, or whether its expanded symbolic inscription genuinely confers autonomy on them both cannot be determined. Hence my cautious separation of them into a and b. S (p 282) suggests another possible reason for the repetition, namely that "a different version had to be written on the right and the left arm"; this, however, seems unlikely guesswork.

619 dweorh : On the interpretation of this word ("fever", "dwarf") see notes to Entry LXXXVI. Though the matter is uncertain, S's statement (p. 283) that "the nature of the disease is unknown" is too definite.

620 On the interpretation of the symbols see n. to 1. 622.

620 Sanctus Macutus, Sancte Victoris : It is unclear what is to be done with these names. Perhaps the patient is to speak them. Or perhaps they are to be written on the arms. Might they function as a partial key to the symbols M and u in the inscription (see following n)?

Sanctus Macutus (Malo) was, according to Farmer [1987: 279-80], a bishop (6th-7th century), possibly of Welsh origin, whose feast was widely celebrated in England. There is an OE translation of a Lat. Life of Machutus (ed. Yerkes [1984], and see p. xxvi on the saint and his name)). His name is also included in several tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon

---

129 G omits the OE title Hwol dweorh for this Entry. S follows, and also gives no indication that it is supplied editorially.
litanies (see Lapidge [1991]). Like many saints, Machutus was credited with power over 
devils. This may or may not be relevant to the interpretation of the word l. 619 *dweorh*
"fever", "(?dwarf(demon)".

*Sanctus Victorius* was a fourth-century martyr who suffered at Amiens in France under
Diocletian (c. 303). St. Victorius is included in a ninth-century litany from Rheims which, it
is suggested, may have been brought to England by the monk Grimbald of Flanders when he
was invited over by King Alfred to assist in improving the state of the ecclesiastical order
(Lapidge [1991: 64, and V.59])\(^{240}\).

622: With regard to the interpretation of the symbols, the following points can be made:
\(t\) may stand for *trinitas* ("trinity"), \(p\) for *pater* ("father") or *per* ("though") , \(N\) for *Nomen*
(presumably as usual the "name" of the patient), \(UI\) for *Victorici* (this is S's plausible
suggestion) and \(M\) for *Machutus* (again S's suggestion). \(\omega\) and \(A\) (omega and alpha, the last
and first letters of the Greek alphabet) must stand for the all-encompassing God (*Revelations*
1 8 *Ego sum Alpha et Omega (principium et finis)*) and are common in charms (cf. e.g. ll.
875-6 *Alpha et o, inimum et finis*, and l. 968 *Alfa et O, initium* (with *et finis* accidentally
omitted or understood)).

ENTRY LXXXII

624 *Wed wenas et mannes heortan*: Cf. l. 1019 *Gif wenas eglian men et pare*

*heortan* I do not know what this affliction is - *wen* would not appear to mean "wart, tumour"
here, other than Payne's [1904: 118] "?spasms", no alternative explanation has been given. If
there were a connection with the "shooting wen" of l. 520 might one think of the pain of
angina? However, perhaps it is relevant to note that in Scotland, at least in the nineteenth
century, sudden death might be explained by the statement that "hives" (i.e. small swellings
on the skin) have "gotten roond the heart" (see Rorie [1902-4: 34] and [1926-8: 110-1]).

\(^{240}\)GS (p. 159 n 6, cf. C (p. 398)) suggest that Victorius is "possibly Victorius, fifth-century bishop of Rouen,
associated with St. Martin of Tours. He may be St. Victor of Capua (died 554), mentioned by Bede as writing on the
Easter question"
624 tunnaep: This word is not in BT, BTS, BTC, or CH, and is not found elsewhere in OE. The element tun- presumably indicates a cultivated type of nep. Bierb2 identifies the plant as rape; alternatively I suggest it might be the cultivated turnip.

ENTRY LXXXIII

OE Variant Version:

See Lacn. Entry XXV. See also notes to ll. 629-31 below.

627 da blacan blegene: The later Lat. gloss to this complaint Ad carbunculum (and likewise a marginal Carbunculum is equated with l. 85 blegene) is paralleled by a gloss in WW (vol. 1, 152/36): Carbunculus, seo blace begne (i.e. bleg(e)ne). DOE cites a possible source for this gloss in Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae (4.6.16):

   carbunculus dicitus, quod in orto suo rubens sit, ut ignis, postea niger, ut carbo extinctus

Bonser [1963: 377] does not identify "the black blain", but one possibility might conceivably be that "the black blain/blister swelling" describes a symptom of bubonic plague (infamous later in the Middle Ages as the Black Death). O'Neill [1993: 275] cites an eyewitness account of this disease:

   There appeared ... certain swellings, either on the groin or under the armpits ... of the bigness of a common apple ... [or] an egg. From these ... after awhile ... the contagion began to change into black or livid blotches ... in some large and sparse and in others small and thick-sown.

O'Neill continues:

   Other sources describe small black blisters spread widely over the body, swollen glands and boils surrounded by black streaks.

   The direction to lance the head of the boil (geopenige mon bonne bone dott) might make sense in relation to the fact that (according to Encyclopedia Britannica 11th ed., article "Plague"), if left, the buboes "usually suppurate and open outwards by sloughing of the skin".
The Anglo-Saxon St. Cuthbert may well have suffered from bubonic plague - see Bonser [1963: 82], Russell [1976: 73-4] and O'Neill [1993: 276]. O'Neill states that plague is thought to have visited England in 544 and returned in 664 and 682. See further on early medieval British plague Russell [1976], who remarks (p. 76) that "cemetery evidence ... would indicate that the bubonic plague had been endemic in the British Isles most of the period 544-700 and perhaps later".

However, Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed., article on "Anthrax") thinks that the "black blain" - and, for that matter, the concept of elfshot - refers to anthrax.

629-31 genim anes æges gewyrde ... geolcan : This procedure to make a poultice is paralleled in different wording in the following Entry LXXXIV (ll. 635-7) for the same affliction:

\[ nime man great sealt; bærne on línenum cláde swa micel swa an æg; grinde þonne þæt sealt swiþe smæl; nime þonne þeora ægra geolcan ... \]

632 swyle [swa] de þearf sy : Although OE þe can (rarely) function as a conjunction meaning "when" (see Mitchell & Robinson [1994: §168]), I suspect MS swyle þe de þearf sy ("(to the) swelling (?) when there is need for you") is corrupt. Cf. in support of this emendation ll 524-5 læt reocan on þæt lic swa him þearf sy, the scribal omission of swa in MS may have been caused by the proximity of the sw- in swyle, and the doubling of þe de might be a scribal dittography.

633-4 reade fillan : As Bierb2 notes (in part), all the native British thymes have pinkish-purple (i.e. read) flowers, while Thymus vulgaris L. has pink-white flowers.

ENTRY LXXXIV

635-7 nime man great sealt ... þeora ægra geolcan : This procedure is paralleled in different wording in the previous Entry LXXXIII (ll. 629-31) for the same affliction:
genim anes æges gewyrðe greates sealtes 7 bærn on anan clæde þæt hit si
burhburnen; gegnid hit þonne to duste 7 nim þonne þæreora ægra geolcan...

639 *spic* : GS translate "fat bacon". This is possible, but it more probably means lard
here, like the other instances of the word *spic* in *Lacn* Entry CLXXXI.
ENTRY LXXXVI

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

C, Wu, Schlutter [1907a] (verse only), G, Sedgefield [1928] (text seriously flawed), ASPR 6, S, GS and Rodrigues [1993].

This entry is also edited in the following PhD theses: Pender [1969], Stuart [1974], Sandmann [1975] and Abernethy [1983].

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP (EXCLUDING EDITIONS)

1892: Brooke 1951: Holthausen
1903: Wordsworth 1953: Magoun
1906: Bre 1963: Bonser
1910: Halsig 1976: Stuart
Richter 1977: Stuart
1911b Skemp 1980: Foley
1916: Binz 1981: Lecouteux
Bradley 1981: Meaney
1920a & b Holthausen 1982: Nelson
1921 Klaeber 1988: Gay
1925 Holthausen Lecouteux
1926a Bonser 1992: Locherbie-Cameron
1927. Grattan Meaney (a)
1929 Philippson
1931 Klaeber
1932: Chadwick & Chadwick
1933: Dickins
1937a Magoun
1945: Bonser
1950: Jost
Barb
TRANSLATIONS: A SELECTION

In addition to those translations parallel to the OE text in the editions of C, G, S, GS, Rodrigues and in the theses, see e.g. Gordon [1954: 86-7], Meaney [1981: 15-16], Nelson [1982] and Gay [1988]. Note that Cameron's recent translation [1993: 152] is based on a reproduction of GS's text to which corrections have been made silently. For an early German translation see Brie [1906: 22-3]. The unwary reader is warned of the probable errors, and the silently confident idiosyncrasies and infelicities in the parallel translations of those major editions, and are referred to Cameron for a more circumspect rendering.

The verse part of one early translation (Wordsworth [1903: 412]), which does not appear to have been noticed before, while not warranting serious scholarly attention, perhaps has enough playful spirit to warrant quotation:

"Here there stands
A spider-man,
Holding his hands
Upon his ham.
Says, "Here's my hack:
Get on his back!
Lay thee quick
Against his neck"
From earth, like a boat,
Away they float!
Then so soon as they
Had floated away,
Ever anew
More cool they grew.
But, soon and gay,
The wild thing's sister
To speak has addressed her,
And said her say.
She promised and swore
That never more
This thing shall harm
Him who gets this charm,
Or him that can say it.
Amen. So be it!"

SURVEY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

In addition to the suggestion and adoption of numerous emendations on grounds of perceived difficulties with sense and metre by various commentators (on which see the discussion and notes below), isolated comments on points of interest (particularly noting supposedly pagan aspects of the metrical section of the charm), and a consideration of the
stylistic aspects of the OE metrical charms as poetry (Vaughan-Sterling [1983]), there have been several attempts to read the action and to characterise the nature of the whole charm, with differences of opinion concerning certain fundamental difficulties - namely the nature of the affliction (*dweorh*) to be remedied, the referent of *hit* (l. 648), the nature of the *inspidenwiht* (l. 650), the referent of *pu* (l. 651) and of *(hy)* *ongannan* (ll. 652-3), and the nature and motivation of the *deores sweostar* (l. 654). I summarize some of these below (for more detailed consideration of some specific points see notes to individual lines), and then give my own interpretation:

1. C, Wû, and Heusler believe the charm is for a warty eruption/tumour, but this interpretation is invalid, being based on a misreading of l. 644 *dweorh* as *weorh*.

2. Wordsworth [1903: 412, n. 1] (and see in relation Skemp [1911b: 294]) thinks the affliction is a headache caused by a spider creeping through the victim's ear.

3. O classifies the charm (his no. A2, together with, among others, *Lacn. CXXVII* b (his A1)) as one of his Group A, i.e. "Exorcisms of diseases or disease-spirits", and furthermore includes it in the first of four subdivisions of this group. For him the principal features of such charms are (p. 124):

   (a) they are literary compositions in poetic style; (b) they have a definite form, charms A1 and A2 even possessing an elaborate structure; (c) they contain numerous allusions to Heathen beliefs, customs, and practices; (d) the formula is in the vernacular.

   According to G this particular *galdor* is "a characteristically Heathen spell with an epic passage", *hit* refers to the *inspidenwiht* which is used as an amulet (so earlier Brooke [1882: 341, n 1]): *pu* refers to the dwarf causing the attack; the *inspidenwiht* rides the dwarf off; the patient's "wounds" (not mentioned in the text!) then cool; the *deores sweostar* is some woman famed for her charm-lore who first recited the spell: *Amen fiad* is "tacked on at the end to save appearances".

4. Skemp [1911b: 293-5] objects to G's reading, and thinks that the *galdor* itself is to be hung on the patient's neck, and that it is the *patient* who is ridden by the *inspidenwiht* (interpreted as "dwarf-spider"). He believes the charm is for feverish convulsions or spasms
(this convincing postulation of some form of fever has been reiterated by several critics - e.g. Magoun [1937a: 20]).

5. Gr (similarly GS, and Bonser [1926a: 361-2; 1963: 165-6]) thinks this is a charm for "nightmare" or "night goblin" (Gr entitles the charm "The Nightmare Charm", GS "The Lay of the Night Goblin"). The nightmare is the *inspidenwiht* (a word subject to emendation by Gr and the others) whose actions are halted by the dawn (*deores sweostar* being emended to *[ea]res sweostar* and interpreted as "sister of the Goddess of Dawn").

6. S (following Magoun) thinks the remedy is for fever; again the supposed "spider-creature" is benevolent; it uses its web (thus he interprets *teage*) to harness the disease-causing dwarf; they ride off and the fever cools; the *deores sweostar* is another benevolent spider who concludes matters; both spiders are hung in a pouch about the neck of the patient; the *oftutan* of the prose section are probably to be eaten.

7. Meaney [1981: 15-18] provides tentative support for the view that the *inspidenwiht* is a spider-creature which is here used as a protective amulet. She speculates that as in later English amulets for fever which certainly involved spiders (p. 17):

> We may have here a reflection of Mediterranean tarantism: the exaggerated belief in the dangers of a bite from the "huntsman spider", supposedly producing high fever and only to be cured by rituals involving dancing. Perhaps homoeopathic magic was responsible for the spider amulet's curing power, if malaria either was believed to be produced by a spider's bite, or else resembled the supposed effects of such a bite closely enough for a similar remedy to be appropriate.

8. Nelson [1982: 17-18] boldly claims "We seem to have "solved" the charm. It is for nightmare". For her there are three characters: the *inspidenwiht* (possibly a shape-shifted *dweorh*) who rides the patient, the sister of the dwarf (*dweores sweostar*), and the patient (*hu*).

9. Gay [1988] (see earlier Kittredge [1929: 218]) also considers that "the dwarf and spider are the same creature in different forms". He thinks this creature has mounted a human victim and proceeded to ride him in the manner of the folklorical witch (or dwarf or elf) rather than of the typical nightmare. Although he dismisses Nelson's explanation of the
words _pa ongunnan him ða lipu colian_ in l. 653 as possibly signifying "a return to consciousness after fevered sleep" on the basis that this places "a part of the cure before the cure is actually effected in the second half of the charm", he offers no explanation of his own. Gay argues that the _deores sweostar_ enters to protect her sibling rather than the human victim as had previously been thought, though his assertion that this results from the disease demon having been "threatened" is unsubstantiated.

10. Most recently Niles [1991: 136] asserts that "[t]he concept of nightmare - originally, night-riding by a demon - is clearly operative here in a general sense".

None of these interpretations seems to me entirely satisfactory: the popular spider-amulet theory is (as Gay [1988] also points out) without foundation in the text, since the precise nature of the probably corrupt word _inspidenwht_ (popularly interpreted as as some sort of "spider-creature") may very well never be known, and, given the analogy of no. 5 in the Sources and Analogues (below), it seems clear that, however one interprets _inspidenwht_, the only amulet involved is the necklace or collar of ecclesiastical wafers (oflæten, which otherwise have no stated application). It is more difficult, however, to decide firmly in favour either of the _inspidenwht_ being some form of nightmare demon which once rode a man (the commonest view today), or for its being a creature whose riding of the disease demon helped the human sufferer (the older view).

In favour of the former may be the fact that the incantation is sung in the sufferer's ears ("It said that _you_ were its horse"), the evidence of _PD_ (see Sources and Analogues) that associates _dweorh_ with bodily writhing (which could have been imagined to result from one's being ridden by a nightmare), and possibly the association of OHG _riton_ with fever (see Sources and Analogues).

Yet the interpretation that the incoming _inspidenwht_ is itself the disease demon (whatever its precise nature) and that its "horse" is a human victim faces a number of difficulties:

i. The proposed shift from the second person address to the patient (_cwaed þet þu his hancgest were_ ) to the third (_ongunnan him of þeom lande lipan ... hy of þeom lande coman_)
Nelson's explanation of this seems somewhat farfetched, particularly as we do not know that dream-psychology is at all relevant here (according to OE MadQ fever (dweorg) can occur both by day and by night):

Perhaps the shift to "they" can be rendered more acceptable if we think of the experience of dreaming, in which the dreamer sees himself as a separate person (or, to put it in grammatical terms, as third person singular) incapable of directing his own movements.

ii. We have to explain why the action of the disease demon in riding its victim from the land should lead to the latter's recovery from sickness (l. 653 pa ongunnan him da lipu cohan).

iii. The disease demon not having been put under duress, there is no obvious motivation for the entrance in l. 654 of the deores sweostar "beast's sister" (clearly another disease demon) and her granting of concessions to mankind.

Perhaps the second objection might be explained if the fever were recurrent or intermittent rather than continuous - cf. the description of dweorg in OE MadQ (see also Sources and Analogues): his togan bid dearle strang; 7 after pam he lytlað 7 onweg gewiteþ.

A fully convincing reading of a text that, in at least one important place (inspidenwiht) is corrupt and in others obscure, is probably not to be expected, but an alternative reading, one which restates the case for the actions of the inspidenwiht as an aid to humanity, and which also avoids the objections to the nightmare theory just indicated, might be as follows (see also notes below for explication of some details):

1. The charm is to cure a fever (possibly a convulsive fever) caused by a possessing disease demon. this is indicated by the otherwise attested meaning "fever" for dweorh, by the analogous use of the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in other medieval charms for fever (see Sources and Analogues), and (more doubtfully) by the reference to the cooling of limbs (l. 653 pa ongunnan him da lipu cohan). That the fever is caused by a disease demon (a deor "beast" - possibly to be identified as a dweorh "dwarf") is indicated by the reference
in l. 654 to the *deores sweostar* ("beast's sister"). That the *deor* is a *internalised possessing disease demon* is an assumption, but one that does find numerous parallels in the literature of Anglo-Saxon England and in the Bible\(^\text{34}\); this assumption may well be necessary to make sense of the incantation.

2. The remedy has two main elements and requires two participants to perform them:
   i. A necklace/collar is to be made of Eucharistic wafers. It (l. 648 *hit*) is to be hung around the patient's neck by a virgin either at the time of (l. 648 *Ænne*) or shortly after ...
   ii. The doctor's recitation of the incantation (l. 646 *galdor*) into the patient's ears and above the crown of his head.

3. The incantation itself recounts a past-tense narrative of how such a beast (*deor*) was thwarted in its attack, probably of a sick man (l. 656 *æam adlegen*), and of how its sister pledged future immunity from attack by the beast for that man and for the possessor of the incantation, possibly in an attempt to protect her sibling or to prevent any such deadly assault on its kin in the future:
   i. A creature (*-wht in inspidenwht*) of some sort - sentient (*cwaO*) and limbed (*handa*) - walked in "here" (Her).
   ii. It held a bridle/harness (*haman*) in its hand, and declared that "you" (*bu*) would be his "horse" (*haeçgeow*). The address is here directly to the disease demon which possesses the sufferer's body - the incantation is being sung into the human sufferer's body through his ears.
   iii. It laid (emendation of MS *lege* to *leg[e]* is necessary to get the past tense) its reins (*teage*) on "your* neck (*sweoran*). Again this is addressed to the internal possessing demon.

---

\(^{34}\)See e.g. *LecG II* 261-3 *refugiat inimicus diabolus a capillus, a capite ... ab universa con[p]laginis membrorum BLc h (136 25-6) Wip *feondseocum mon þonne deofol þone monnan fede òðde hine innan geweald mid aðle, the references in BT and BTS to the adj *deofolseoc* (Lat. *demonium habens*) (similarly references in the OE *Life of Machufl* (ed. Yerkes [1984]), the noun *deofolseocnes*, and the *Penitential of Archbishop Theodore X*). "one who is possessed of a demon [demonium susnent] may have stones and herbs, without [the use of] incantation" (trans. McNeill & Gainer [1938] 207).

Stuart [1976: 315] thinks that "dwarfish "possession", though invisible, was apparently external, while the demonic variety was internal" and (p 11) (on the basis of her translation of *PDs hæle he ribal roylice he on dweorge ȝy as "at times he quakes, as if in the grip of a dwarf") that, by analogy, external possession by a dwarf is likelier here. However, the fact of the matter is that we do not know how the Anglo-Saxon dwarf (if indeed there was such a creature) operated - we can only choose between some (apparently) obvious possibilities, and be aware that some, all (or indeed none) of these may be pertinent at one time or another.

For Biblical and early Greek and Roman beliefs in demonic possession and exorcisms see Kee [1986].
iv. They (presumably the inspidenwiht and its steed the disease deor) then proceeded to journey from the land. As soon as they did so "the limbs began to cool". These narrative lines are addressed to the sufferer himself (though the possessing disease demon is still perforce listening), hence the shift to the third person. The limbs are most likely to be those of the analogous human sufferer in the narrative (indicative of his recovery from fever), but it is not entirely inconceivable that they may be those of the deor in the narrative (indicative of its actual or imminent death).

v. That the disease demon was at the very least troubled by its being ridden off the land may be suggested by the arrival on the scene "then" (Pa) of its sister (deores sweostar), who - perhaps to protect her sibling - walked in, interceded (geaendade heo) and swore oaths that "this" (his, i.e. this deor) would in future never harm that particular sick man (presumably referring to the analogous sufferer in the narrative), nor anyone else who could "get" (begytan) this incantation or who knew how to recite it (these latter concessions of course being clearly applicable to the sufferer to whom it is being recited).

**SOURCES AND ANALOGUES**

No source has been found for this text, but there exist a considerable number of Anglo-Saxon and later medieval remedies which are analogous - sometimes quite closely - to aspects of the prose directions. Note especially in the following examples the common corresponding use of the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and of the inscribed Eucharistic wafers (ofliatan) in multiples of three. These correspondences may suggest a widespread and loosely distinctive and possibly oral type of charms for fever (gedrīfleorh) in Anglo-Saxon England. The quotation of these parallels below allows (as far as is now possible) the charm to be considered for the first time in its likely proper context. The fourth example is particularly significant since it may provide confirmation of the presumed referent of l. 648 hit (see further below), a point not previously noticed:

1. Dis mæg wið gedrīf, genim .ix. ofliatan 7 gewrit on ælcere on hīs wisan: iæsus christus, 7 sang hærofer .ix. pater noster 7 syle ætan anne dag .iii. 7 oderne .iii. 7 drīddan .iii. 7 cowde æt ælcon sódan hīs ofer hōne mann. In nomine domini nostri,
iesu chri{t}, et in nomine sancte et individuae trinitatis et in nomine sanctorum vii.
dormientium, quorum nomina hec sunt: Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, 
Iohannes, Seraphion, Constantinus, Dionisius. ita sicut requieuit dominus super 
illos, sic requiescat super istum famulum dei N. coniuro uos, frigora et febres, per 
deum uiuum, per deum verum, per deum sanctum, per deum, qui uos in potestate 
habet, per angelos, archangelos, per thronos et dominationes, per principatus et 
potestates, per totum plecem dei et per sanctam mariam, per xii apostolos, per xii 
prophetas, per omnes martyres, per sanctos confessores et sanctas virgines et per 
usu euangelistas, Matheum, Marcum, Lucam, Iohannem, et per xx iii" seniores 
et per cxli" milia, qui pro christi nomine passi sunt, et per uirtutem sancte crucis 
adduro . . . . . . tor vos diabolicum . . . . . non habe . . . . s ullum . . . . . . . . . . . . . malum

[On a blank leaf at the end of Worcester Cathedral Library MS Quarto 5 (Ker no. 
399 s. vi med.; follows Bede's De Arte Metrica); ed. Napier [1890: 323-4]; see later 
also Liebermann (partially) [1900: 123]. It has gone unnoticed that a 
seventeenth-century transcript in BL MS Harley 464, fol. 177r (headed Ex Codice 
MS Bibliotheca Wigern 4N. Ad Calcem Bedae de Arte Metrica) is doubtless a copy 
of the Worcester charm. It is edited - somewhat inaccurately and without noting the 
full details of the superscription - by S (no. 36, pp. 276-7)242.

2 In Epheso ciuitate in monte Celen requiescunt sancti septem dormentes, quorum 
ista sunt nomina: 
Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Dionisius, Iohannes, Serapion, Constantinus. 
Per eorum merita et piam intercessionem dignetur dominus liberare famulum suum 
N. de omni malo. Amen.

---

242 Neither Napier nor S seems to have been aware of both MSS of this charm, it is doubtful if S was fully acquainted 
with Napier's article - his bibliographical reference to it (p. 332) is erroneous. The only relevant comment is that of Hollis 
& Wright [1992 248] who remark that the two charms are "virtually identical". From the transcript it appears that 
Napier's . . . tor should read obester, and that hab . . . s should read horbuts, but both MSS need to be checked and 
compared to confirm this and other details (I have not seen the Worcester MS).
3. Domine Jesu Christe, qui somno deditus in mare a discipulis tuis excitari voluisti, per intercessionem sanctorum septem dormientium, quorum corpora in monte Celion requiescunt, fac dormire hunc famulum tuum N., ut conualescant a somno quem amist tibi & sancte gematri cuae MARIAE sanctisque martyribus tuis & omnibus sanctis tuis grates referat. Qui uis et regnas.

4 Contra frigora omnibus horas scribis in carta & cun licio ligas ad collum ego et hora deficiente:

In nomine domini crucifixi sub Pontio Pilato, per signum crucis Christi fugite febres seu frigora cotidiana, seu tertiana, vel nocturna a seruo del N. Septuaginta XIXIII milia angelorum sequentur uos. + Eugenius, Stephanus, Protacus, Sambucus, Dionisius, Chesilius et Quiriacus. Ista nomine scribe et super se portat qui patitur.

5. Contra febres:

In nomine sancte et individue transmutatis. In Effeso ciuitate Chelde ibi requiescunt VII sancti dormientes: Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Iohannes, Seraphion, Dionisius et Constantinus. Deus requiescet in illis. Ipse dei filius st super me famulum (vel -am) tuum (vel -am) N. et liberet me de ista egritudine & de febre et de populo inimici. Amen.

537

---

**Notes:**

- So MS. S convalescent.
- S omits
(BL MS Cotton Faustina A x, fol. 116r (Ker no. 154 s. xii'); ed. S no. 39, p. 278 (who dates it s. xi) (here slightly revised); see also C vol. III, p. 294)

6. * * * * * * * * * * * *

7 thebal guttatim aurum(m) & thus de. + Abra Ih(esu)s. + Alabra Ih(esu)s. + Galabra Ih(esu)s. + Wid hone dwo rh. on. III. aflatan writ.

THEBAL GUTTATIM

[Oxford, Bodleian MS Auct. F. 3. 6. fol. 2r; Ker no. 296 art. b, s. xi. The charm is here edited from MS with abbreviations expanded within round brackets. Before 7 thebal a line of writing (possibly capitals) has been erased and is completely illegible under both normal and infra red light. THEBAL GUTTATIM is written at some distance below the charm in a different hand. There are two published editions by Napier [1890: 323] and S (no. 78, p. 305), but neither is entirely accurate245.246]

---

245S.meads Abra as Abra, Napier meads THEBAL GUTTATIM (in which TIM is very faint) as THEBALGUTTA, and S similarly meads as THEBAL GUTTA.

246It has gone unnoticed that the use of the words Abra - alabra - Galabra, possibly written on wafers (oflatan) to be hung round the neck (as in the present Lacn. charm), may derive ultimately from a fever amulet for the neck employing the magic word abracadabra as a letter triangle which is found in chap. 51 of the Liber Medicinalis of the Gnostic physician Quintus Serenus Sammonius (died (?):230). The form Abra occurs as one such method of presenting Abracadabra as a triangle (see Budge [1930: 221] (note also the fever charm on p. 222 thereon which has ABRA twice))

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACAD
ABRACAD
ABRAC
ABRAC
ABR
AB
A

Abracadabra is apparently derived from an Aramaic phrase "Arevq 'ad havra" ("Hurl thunderbolts to [[unto? at?]] darkness") (see Mircea Eliade (ed.) The Encyclopedia of Religion, article on "Spells"), but a different derivation is favoured by Budge [1930: 220-1] For the possibility of certain Aramaic words in Lacn. see Commentary to Entry CLX. The form Abra is also found repeated twice (Achnouw Achnoum Abra Abra Sabaoth) in a fourth-century Old Coptic invocation of Egyptian and Jewish powers - see Meyer & Smith [1994: 23 (see also an instance of Abra on p. 270)].

S (pp. 305-6) observes that aurum & thus "is a reminiscence" of Isaiah 60: 6: translatio camerorum operat te, dromedarii Medion et Egi, omnes de Saba vendunt aurum et tus deferentes, et laudem Domino admundantes. It may, of course, be added that the charm's de is doubtless the first two letters of deferentes.

The word thebal has yet to be explained (cf. possibly Thefal- in Thesalergal in variant version no. 6 to Lacn. Entry XXV, and perhaps note the forms Thaebol, thebboi and Thaebol in a Gnostic charm (Meyer & Smith [1994: 145]). Guttatim is Lat. "by drops, drop by drop". Brackman [1986: 125] edits a fifteenth-century English amuletic charm for standing blood which contains the words + thebal + gut guttany + contained therein; he also notes that a
7. **Ins man sceal wið pet gedrif writan on preom leachladan 7 his naman; þærmid Eugenius, Stephanus, Portarius, Dyonisius, Sambucius, Cecilius et Cyriacus.**

[Vatican City MS Regina Lat. 338, fol. 91 (so Ker; Stokes says 88v); ed. Stokes [1891: 144] (see also Holthausen [1897: 424]), and corrected by Ker (no. 390, s. xi', and see Supplement) - Ker notes Stokes’s omission of 7]

8. **Charme for þe sam [i.e. _For þe feueres_].**

\[In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. In monte Selyon i[n] cuytate Ephesos requiescunt septem dormientes: Malcus, Maximinus, Martinus, Dyomvaus, Johannes, Serapyon, Constantinus. Omnipotens Deus, qui eos a manibus tyranni seuzentis et ab ydolorum cultura liberare dignatus est, ipse te dignetur, famulum suum vel famulam suam N., liberare a febribus frigidus et calidos, cotidiam, biduanis, tercianis, quartanis, diurnis, seu nocturnys. +

[ed. Muller [1929: 80]; s. xv. See also Holthausen [1887: 79, no. 10a]]

9. **For another (early twelfth-century) English charm for fever referring to the Seven Sleepers in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C iii see Commentary to _Lacn._ Entry CLVIII.**

10. **Cont(ra) _febr(rem) [or febr(res)]_: accipe vii oblationes 7 in sing(u)lis scrib(is) sing(u)la no(min)a vii dormientu(m), 7 sup(er) illa no(min)a ista alta sup(er) sing(u)las 7 da infirmo comed(ere): Maximian(us), Malcus [above this name is written + clarus], Martinianus [above this: + prob(us)], Dionisius [above this: + clemens], Constantinus [above this: + gaudens], Serapion [above this: + sumens], Johannes [above this: + libens].

[BL MS Royal 12 E xx fol. 162v ll. 24-7 (unpublished); English, later medieval (for a translation see Bonser [1945: 255])]

---

*Fifteenth-century English charm for childbirth contains the words + Tahebal + + ghet(her) + + + guth(r)wn + + + (ed. Muller [1929 130-1]); an earlier edition of the latter by Holthausen [1887: 85, no. 26] reads + Tahebal + + ghet(her) + + + guth(r)im + + +,*
[11. Also to be noted is an eleventh-century Lat. and OHG charm for fever (Lat. \textit{febres}/OHG \textit{rioton}) employing inscribed Eucharistic wafers:

\textit{Scribe in .III. oblatis contra febres.}

† Hely. † † Heloy. †

† Heloe. † Heloen. †

† ye. † † ya. †

† Sabaoth. † † Adonai. †

\textit{et intermisce nomen infirmi duabus uel tribus oblatis.}

et si qua remanet . addatur .

† \textit{Ihesus.} † † \textit{Christus.} †

\textit{et contra rioton addatur.}

† \textit{Alfa.} † † \textit{omega.} †

† \textit{principium.} † † \textit{Fins.} [ed. Wipf [1992: 92, chap. 8, no. 6.8]]

12. For a collection of ME charms for fever (some of which also employ \textit{obleys}) see Sheldon [1978: nos. 82-90]; see also Heinrich [1896: 86-7].

Some of these charms - and other later medieval charms for fever and loss of sleep involving the use of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus - are collected and briefly considered by Bonser [1945]. Also for a ninth-century Lat. Christian benediction against fever invoking them see Franz [1909 vol. II: 480].

S (p 306) suggests that the use of wafers in no. 6 above may have been due to the influence of our metrical charm; Meaney [1981: 18] suggests that no. 6 is perhaps "merely a garbled and Christianised version of the metrical charm, with the Germanic pagan element eliminated". However, the possibility that \textit{dweorth} might simply be a word for fever, together with the corresponding use of \textit{ofletan} together with the names of the Seven Sleepers in some of the other remedies, renders the possibility of an especially close genetic connection between these two charms more doubtful.
Other OE remedies for *dweorh* (in addition to no. 6 above and *Lacn*. Entry LXXXI a and b) are:

13. *Dweorg onweg to donne, hwites hundes post gecnucadne to duste 7 gemengen wéd meolowe 7 cicle abacen syle etan þam untruman men ær þær tide hys tocymes, /swa/ on dege swa on nihte sweæer hyt sy, his togan bid ðearle strang; 7 æfter þam he lyllad 7 onweg gewiteþ.*

*Ad verucas tollendas stercus canis albi tunsun cum farinam, turtulam factam ante hora accessionis dato ægro, manducet et sanatur; si autem nocte ad eum accedunt, simil ratone dato ante accessionem, vehemens fit accessio, deinde minuitur et recedet.*

[OEMdQ (ed. de Vriend [1972: 50-1]). According to de Vriend [1972: 88] (also *OEHerb* p. 337) this Lat. title is clearly that of a different remedy, and on p. 50 he prints another version of the remedy which (as expected) is for fever:

*Ad fugandam febrem. Albi stercus canis pulvis factam et cum farina mixtum pastamque factum comedat febricitans ante accessum febris, sive in die sive in nocte, et ert accessus eius minus torquens, sed statim ab ulla hora minuetur et fugabitur.*

14. 51 *Ad strictum pectus, suae ad asmaticos.*

þyne læedom do þan manne, þa hym heod on hyra brosten nearwe, þat Greccas hæteð asmaticos, þet ys nearunyss; and uneape meg þane ðæst to do and utahringan. and hæfd hæte breost and byd innen mud nucle nearynsse; and hwilan he blod hreæþ and hwylum mid blode gemenged, and hwile he riþþ, swyle he on dueorge sv...

[42. *Ad asmaticos.*

*Ad asmaticos, quod Greci edios vocant, . . . qui cum labore anhelant, id est difficultas respirationis et calor pectoris circumdatur . . . . . . . . Set quod cesmate tacentes aliqui tussunt, et subtile expuunt et narium sanguinem interdum, et*
Clear Anglo-Saxon parallels to the verse section of the charm have not been found. However, there is a parallel to the popular interpretation of the charm (which I do not favour) that sees the human sufferer as having been ridden by a disease demon of some sort, possibly the creature known in OE as the mare "mare":

15. Gif mon mare ride, gemm elektran 7 garleac. 7 betonican. 7 recels bind on nesce habe him mon on 7 he gange in on þas wyrtre. [BLch (140/8-11)]

Cf. also the references to the "mare" in the OE Journey Charm (ASPR 6, no. 11) ne me mere ne gemyre, in LchBk3 (306/10-13) hi [i.e. stones from swallows' claws] beop gode wip heafod ece 7 wip eagwarce 7 wip feondes costunga 7 nihtegangan 7 lencten adle 7 maran 7 wyrforbore 7 malscra 7 yflum gealdor caerfum, and also equations with Lat. faec[e]je, incuba and pilosi in glossaries (see Kiessling [1968]).

Orcel records provide more dramatic instances of "ridings" by various creatures, but the only description of the actual process of attack by some such creature from the old Germanic world seems to be that found in Snorri Sturluson's Ynglinga saga (the first section of Heimschrungla) - a man is killed as a result of the assault of a mara "(night-)mare", which is here either sent by, or to be identified with, a witch:

16. Pá gerðusk honum svefnfugurt ok logðusk hann til svefnis. En er hann hafði litt softrat, kolladi hann ok sagði, at mara tráð hann. Menn hans förðu til ok vildu hálpa honum En er þeir tóku uppi til hofudins, þá tráð hon fótleggina, svá at nær brotnuðu. Þá tóku þeir til fótanna; þá kafði hon hofudit, svá at þar dö hann. [ed. Wessen [1976: 1727]]

---

20 The passage is cited by BT under mare; cf also Bonser [1926a: 362], [1963: 166] and Kiessling [1968] and [1977 chap 3] One other striking Orcel reference is to a witch called Gunnlaug having "ridden" (róð) a certain Gunnlaugr in Eyvyrbigga saga chap 16 (ed. Svennson & Borbarsz [1935. 29]):

Gunnlaugr kon asc: hinn um kveldit, ok var um rann, at hans skyldt lafrt foru, en æg varð af. Um nottna, er borgynre så at, fann hinn Gunnlaug, som anna, fyrir durum, la hann þar ok var st开启. Da var hann borsen inn, ok dregum af honum klíms, hann var allir blodisa um herðarnar, en hlaupit holdat af beinumum, la hann allan vettna i strum, ok var margrust um hans vanheitsu: fluti þat Ödger Kjölason, at Gunnlaug mun hafa róðt honum, segir, at þau hefði sklit i stuttilefum um kveldit, ok þat hugðu flestir menn, at svá varr

According to another tradition Gunnlaugr was mortally wounded. This story is not mentioned by Geó [1988] in his study of the "witch-ride" and its relation to this charm.

**STYLE AND STRUCTURE**

The charm readily falls into two main sections - the prose instructions in ll. 644-9 and the verse incantation (galdor) in ll. 650-8, followed by a concluding Amen, fiad. This division is supported by ll. 646 þæt galdor þæt hereafter cwed as well as by the distinct rhythmic-alliterative aspect of ll. 650-8.

The galdor itself falls easily into two roughly equal parts, the beginning of each of which is marked by the close syntactic correspondence of the non-alliterating lines 650 and 654, a correspondence which highlights their lexical differences. The two parts may also correspond to two contrasting actions: in the first the inspidenwiht enters and (according to my interpretation), having declared its intent, rides the disease demon; in the second the disease demon's sister enters, and also speaks, but in defence of the demon, drawing the incantation to an end without any active physical participation.

The two parts of the galdor are also distinguished by the careful use of balanced hypermetrical half-lines in ll. 651-3. The second part employs in ll. 656-8 syntactical correspondence, but varied with slight differences in the a-verses and a parallel use of three

---

346 Grimm (p. 464) remarks "of the morbid oppression felt in sleep and dreaming, it is said quite indifferently, either: "the devil has shaken thee, ridden thee," "the devil has ridden satanas (Satan shakes thee to-night), ... or else the elf, the nightmare "dich hat gerriten des mar," "ein alp zoumet dich (bridles thee)."

347 Kiessling thinks that in Beowulf the monster Grendel is described as a mare "mare" in ll. 103 and 762 (and so entertained in the Wrenn/Bolton edition of that poem [1988 259]); this is implausible for l. 103 where mare is surely an adj not a noun (for the neutral or unfavourable sense of mare (["well-known", "notorious"]) which Kiessling thinks is rare see TOE (07 09 03) and Loom 11 853-4 (so too the variant version of this charm - ASFR 6 no. 10. 111 4-5)).

348 This book on the incubus in English literature contains only a footnote reference (p. 91, n. 8) to the present charm.
different auxiliary verbs in the b-verses' second metrically stressed position (moste mihte culpe).

Note that some editions adopt different layouts for the poem: e.g. C prints all the lines as prose (but records in his translation the places at which (in his view) "the lines of this rough music end", seeing no caesura or division in ll. 653, 654, 655b-656b, 657, and 658); Sedgefield [1928: 358] presents Pa geandade ... derian ne moste as prose; Sandmann [1975: 52] unpersuasively presents every odd numbered line of the incantation (ll. 1, 3, 5 etc.) as two half-lines separated by a caesura, and every even numbered line (ll. 2, 4, 6 etc.) as a full line without a caesura.

There is no use of distinctively poetic vocabulary in this incantation.

**METRE**

[Line references here are to the separate verse numbers]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCANSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Utilises the system of Bliss [1958] For &quot;irregular&quot; understand does not adhere to the metrical rules of &quot;classical&quot; OE verse]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1a | d2b | 1b | Corrupt² |
| 2a | a1d(1A1a) | 2b | a1d(2A1a)³ |
| 3a | (?)1A*1b(1A*1a)⁴ | 3b | a1f(2A1a) |
| 4a | a1f(2A1a) | 4b | 2C1f⁵ |
| 5a | d2b⁶ | 5b | 2A1a(i)⁷ |
| 6a | (?)3B2b⁸ | 6b | 3B1a(i) |
| 7a | d1e | 7b | (?)1A*1a(i)⁹ |
| 8a | a1d¹ | 8b | 2C1a¹¹ |
| 9a | a1d | 9b | 2C1a¹² |

¹ Since the meaning of this first line is obscure scansion can only be tentative. It is not certain that the verse adheres to the metrical norms of classical OE poetry. The verbal prefix in- meaning "in-" is stressed in OE verse (see Fulk [1992 §353(13)]), and must bear the alliteration here (if there is to be any). Perhaps the adverb her might also be stressed. Pender scans incorreclty as a1c.
Alliteration:

i. Alliterative "irregularities" or uncertainties occur in: l. 1 possible vocalic alliteration on stressed prefix in-, though the b-verse is corrupt and the whole line might never have been conventional poetry (cf. l. 5); l. 3 leg[d]e - if in fact it does alliterate - is not displaced to a metrically stressed position; l. 3 possible double alliteration in the b-verse; l. 5 no alliteration (cf l. 1 possibly), l. 7 no alliteration (Gr suggests lexical substitution of eglian for derian to provide it)

ii. As in Lacn. Entry CXXVII b (l. 768), velar and palatal g do alliterate with each other (l. 8 galdor begytan). This might be indicative of a compositional date before the second half of the tenth century.

The following metrical types occur (types not found in Beowulf are prefixed #; square brackets enclose frequency numbers):

"Light" or one-stress verses:

\[\text{ald} [2] : 8a, 9a\]
\[\text{#d1e} [1] : 7a\]
\[\text{d2b} [2] : 1a, 5a\]
"Standard" or two-stress verses:
1A*la(i) [1] : (?)7b
2A1a(i) [1] : (?)5b
2C1a [2] : 8b, 9b.
#2C1f [1] : 4b
3B1a(i) [1] : 6b
3B2(b) [1] : (?)6a.

Hypermetric verses:
ald(1A1a) [1] : 2a
2al(2A1a) [1] : 2b
al(l2A1a) [1] : 3b
1A*lb(1A*la) [1] : 3a
al(l2A1a) [1] : 4a

Remainder

In total there are 5 "light" verses, 7 "standard" verses, 5 hypermetric verses, and 1 remainder corrupt verse. The absence of any standard verses of types D or E may be noted.

Remarks on distribution of metrical types:

i. "Light" one-stress types are only found in the a-verse.

ii. "Standard" two-stress types are only found in the b-verse.

iii. Hypermetric verses are paired in two instances.

644 dweorh: The precise meaning of this word in this context is uncertain. It is often thought to refer to a minor supernatural creature (the "dwarf"), attested in continental and Scandinavian folklore (though often with considerable literary adumbrations) as a creature which, like the elf, could cause illness (but there is no reference to such a creature in DOE).

---

21 For a collection of references to dweorh and discussion see Jente [1921: §114].
However, as we see from the instances of *dweorh* in the OE medical texts cited in Sources and Analogues above (see also Cameron [1993: 152-3]), it cannot be demonstrated that for the Anglo-Saxons who composed, compiled and utilised these texts the name of the (doubtfully supposed) dwarfish disease-agent may not have come to denote simply the affliction itself in all instances, as is likely to be the case with its equation with Lat. *februm* "fever" in OEMdQ (*Dweorg onweg to donne* probably translates Lat. *Ad fugandum febrem* in Analogue no. 13 above)\(^{254}\). The meaning "fever" (Sandmann [1975] thinks specifically here typhoid fever) would suit the present charm well - recovery perhaps being indicated by l. 653 *pa ongunnan him da lipu colian* - but, given the presence of at least two beasts in the charm (the *inspidenwht* and *deores sweostar*), the possibility of action by a dwarf-demon in the incantation cannot be dismissed.

Furthermore, the possibility that (judging from *MED* and *OED*) the meaning "fever" for *dweorh* did not outlast the Anglo-Saxon period, combined perhaps with the reference in *Lacn* Entry LXXX (also *Wid dweorh*) to St. Macutus (who according to his *Life* (ed. Yerkes [1984]) expels demons), the well-attested Anglo-Saxon belief in other disease demons (i.e. in the medical texts the "elf" and the "mare"), and the possibility that, as with other hostile creatures (*i.e. eoten, pyrs, ent, elf, scucca, nicer, draca* - see Owen [1981: 64-5]), place-names were formed upon *dweorh*\(^{255}\), makes it seem at least possible that *dweorh* might be manifest as a disease-demon in the incantation.

The supposed dwarf-creature has often been identified by commentators with the *inspidenwht* of l. 650 - see above and n. to that line.

As noted above, C and Wu's *weorh* "warty eruption" is a misreading, one which led astray some subsequent commentators.

---

\(^{253}\) *TOE* or *OED*.

\(^{254}\) The etymology of *dweorh* is unclear, but it may be connected to Old Indian *drwc* "weakness, sickness" (cf. possibly Norwegian *dvrgkot* "sickness in cattle with balls of hair (dwarf-bullets) in the entrails", or alternatively the dwarf's stunted growth), which would derive from an Indo-Germanic root *dhier- "damage"; other possibilities are that it is related to Old Indian *dhvaras* "demonic being" or Indo-Germanic *dwherg* "deceptive picture" (see Simek [1993: 67-9, article on "dwarfs"]). The word's etymology is also discussed by Sandmann [1975: 58] and Locouteaux [1981: 372-3, 1988 93-7].

\(^{255}\) The etymology of *dweorh* is generally found in glossaries, but several instances of it in prose texts have been noted above.

\(^{256}\) Note, however, the stringing remark and specification of BT (wv) upon a gloss *namus: werc* - "Elsewhere *namus* is rendered by *dweorh*, for which *werc* is perhaps wrongly written. Or (7) *werc* might be for *weorh*. OE *weorh*/*wearg* can mean "monster, malignant being, evil spirit".

\(^{257}\) According to Dickins [1993 156] "the word is found associated with *denu* in Dverriden, W.R. Yorks (1335 Dwyryden), of also Dverrhydouse in Edeston, Lancs." Dickins (also Owen [1981: 65]) assumes that here "dwarf-" refers to the creature. Philippsen [1929: 74] notes that "Dwarfs: Hammars and Dwarfie Stone, beide auf dem Orklär, bezebben sich wohl auf skandinsvische Zwerge".
644 VII lytle ofsetan swylyce man mid ofraid : Presumably these are the bread wafers used in the Eucharistic rite, though whether they are to be employed before or after consecration is uncertain. For a discussion of the use of the Eucharist in medieval magico-medical remedies see Browe [1930] (not seen). For some later medieval English charms requiring the use of such "wafers" see Sheldon [1978: nos. 81-3, 85, 88].

645 wr[st]an pas naman on ælcre ofsetan : This would seem a fiddly task given that the wafers are little (lytle).

645-6 Maximianus ... Seraphion : These are the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus who first appear in Western literature in the sixth century in Gregory of Tours' De gloria Martyrum (chap 95); Gregory was drawing upon an earlier Syrian tale. The legend was apparently introduced to England in the second half of the tenth century (Clemoes [1975: 109]), if so, this would appear to provide a terminus a quo for the dating of the composition of at least this element of the prose directions in this charm. The Seven Sleepers were believed to be seven Christian Ephesians who became walled up in a cave when escaping the persecution of the emperor Decius (A.D. 250). They fell asleep and awoke hundreds of years later to find the city Christian. They ascribed the miracle to God.

As the examples in Sources and Analogues (above) show, the Seven Sleepers were often invoked in medieval charms for fever and/or insomnia.

646-7 þet galdor þet herafter cwed man sceal singan, ærest on þet wynstre eare, þenne on þet swiðre eare : Cf. Lacn. Entries XXVI, where a galdor is sung into the sufferer's ear to combat a swallowed wyrn, and LXXVI (the Nine Herbs Charm) ll. 601-3, where another galdor is sung into a patient's ears.

---


Other references to the Seven Sleepers in Anglo-Saxon literature (in addition to those already given in the Sources and Analogues) include Ælfric's Lives of Saints (ed. Skeat [1966: 488-541; also 553]) (wrongly ascribed to Ælfric), Ælfric Catholic Homilies (ed. Godden [1979: 247-8]); BL Cotton MS Titus D xxvii (Ælfric's Prayerbook), f. 14r (ed. Günzel [1993: 109]) - Günzel (p 72) also notes that, according to William of Malmesbury, Edward the Confessor had a vision of the Seven Sleepers.
646 cweđ : "Is said, is related". Apparently a syncopated 3 sg. pres. ind. form of the verb cwedan showing restoration of radical -e- (see Language 5.ix.a). The form is attested elsewhere by BT cweb and cwedan.

Magoun [1937a: 21] at first suggested that here cweđ was an error for cymō or for cweden is (cf. Lacn. ll. 93-4 sing dis leod ... þe heræfter awritten is), but later [1953: 208] adduced analogues to the passive sense "is said" in OHG Hœr quhidit umbi dhasz "here is told (lit. "it tells") about the fact that", and in Olcel sem hér segir "as is said here" and kveôr svá "it is so said". See OES §371 for other instances of OE verbs (including cwedan) "used in the third person singular present indicative, in what appears to be an impersonal construction".

648 moldan : This is the only occurrence of this word as a simplex in OE, but the compound moldgewind "top of the head" is also attested once (see TOE 02.04.03.01.01). CH queries the word, but only the gender is uncertain, not the meaning which accords with later instances. Following the present instance OED's next occurrence is c. 1380 in the ME romance Sir Firumbras.

648 mædenman :Virgins are required to assist in several Anglo-Saxon remedies including Lacn. Entry CLXXV (and possibly Entry XXIX l. 108 unmuælne mon). See further S (pp. 92-4)

648 hit : Various referents of this pronoun have been suggested (or are to be inferred from various interpretations of the charm), e.g. a spider/spiders (e.g. Brooke [1892: 341, n. 1] and S), and the galdor itself (Skemp [1911b: 294]) - this latter being quite implausible as it is to be sung (l. 647 songan). Moreover, since no spider or spiders are clearly mentioned in the charm, the first interpretation is very doubtful. In my view (and here I expand upon the opinion of Stuart [1977: 37] and Gay [1988: 174-5]) the referent is the seven ofietan of l. 645 which have probably been made into a necklace or collar of some sort. Supporting evidence for this view can be found in no. 4 among the Sources and Analogues in which an
amulet, incorporating the names of the Seven Sleepers, is prepared for attachment to the
neck (scribis in carta et cum licio ligas ad collum egroti). Note that unless the wafers are put
to this purpose no other direction for their use can be found - they are not said, for example,
to be for consumption (as S thinks) as is the case in other some medieval charms involving
wafers.

The custom of wearing Christian amulets around the neck in Anglo-Saxon England is
clearly documented (and castigated) by Alcuin in a letter to an English archbishop (written
between 793 and 804). I quote from Meaney [1992b: 116]:

Ligaturas vero, quas plurimi homines illis in partibus habere solent et sancta
quaeque in collo portare, non in corde desiderant...

In another letter he gives more detail:

Multas videbam consuetudines quae fieri non debabant. Quas tua sollicitudo
prohibeat. Nam ligaturas portant, quas sanctorum quid estimantes. Sed melius est
in corde sanctorum imitare exempla, quam in sacculis portare ossa; evangelicas
habere scriptas ammonitones in mente magis, quam pittaciolis exaratus in collo
circumferre. Haec est pharisaica superstitio; quibus ipsa veritas improperavit
philactera sua

For a detailed study of Anglo-Saxon amulets see Meaney [1981], written amulets
(including the present one) being considered on pp. 15-24.

648 maidenman : Cf. l. 1009 gange maidenman to. See also n. to l. 108.

648 ho hit on his sweoran : Might there be some connection - now unfathomable - with
the invpidenwhht's laying of teage an sweoran in l. 652?

The pronoun hit is perhaps a little infelicitous here. As we have seen, it must refer not to
the immediately preceding l. 646 galdor (as Skemp thinks), but to the prior reference to the
wafers (ofælætan), which have presumably been made into some form of necklace or collar.
648 do man swa pry dagas: S (p. 173) questions quite what must be repeated - either the galdor is to be recited again as before on two subsequent days together with the application of fresh necklaces, or the former or latter procedure is to be repeated alone. The first possibility is perhaps the simpler and likelier.

650 her: Although previously it has always been translated simply as "here", her may also have a temporal meaning ("at this point", "now"), and, judging from the parallel use of pa "then" in l. 654, this might be the intended sense.

Holthausen's [1920a: 30; also 1920b: 118] suggested emendation he is based upon his unfounded interpretation of wht as "Gestalt", and can be rejected.

650 inspidenwht: This is a crux, made all the more unfortunate since it may well be vital to our understanding of the incantation. Upon its meaning hangs the nature of the beast(s) in the incantation and the issue of whether or not it (they) may be equated with l. 644 dweorh. The MS reading is probably corrupt, with only the word wht "creature" being clear (see following n). As yet there is no certain answer to the problem, but much speculation, all of which involves emendation of inspiden-. In view of this uncertainty the MS reading is retained in my text. There have been three main approaches to the problem:

   i The first and commonest - "a spider-creature":

   C (and so BT, tentatively, under spider) (mis)read in spider wiht "a spider wight", and are corrected by BTS, BTC ("entirely uncertain") and OED (under "spider"); Wu, and later G, repeats C's mistake; Schlutter [1907a: 257] emends in spider-wiht (and TOE gives inspiderwiht "spider" (02.06.09.02.10)); Bradley [1916: 214-5] also notes C's error, adding that "a spider wight" does not suit the context. The words are clearly corrupt, but no satisfactory emendation has occurred to me". ASPR 6 emends spiderwiht, but thinks that "we should perhaps expect Anglo-Saxon *spilbre, rather than spider. In any case the word is best taken as a compound".
The only other possible form of the word "spider" in OE is found - as Bradley [1916]237 (supported by OED, ODEE "spider" and TOE) observes - in BLch's swipra, which is probably to be emended to spipra - (142/21) Wib pon gif hunta gebite mannan pæt is spipra.

Perhaps, if we have an instance of OE "spider" here in Lactn., we need only suppose either an early form (Campbell §57(5)) or a simple scribal error of d for ð to reach the form *inspiden- (cf. L. 799 wordigum for *wordigum and L. 786 feld for (?)feld). If the -n- might then be emended to -r- (two letter forms of similar body shape) we would reach *inspider-, with *spider- here perhaps being, as Schlutter suggests, a compounded form of the simplex spipra.

The contextual suitability of a "spider-creature" may at first seem doubtful, but might become more plausible (though in view of the multiple emendation it can never be more than highly speculative) when it is realised that, although OED provides no English support, a curious linguistic connection between words for "spider" and "dwarf" seems to be evident in some Indo-European languages. Thus GS (p. 61 and n. 2238) observe that:

Swedish dverg means not only dwarf but also spider, and dvergs-nät means cobweb.

Dwarfs in Scandinavian legend are specially associated with spinning. The word dwarf goes back to an Indo-Germanic form which is near the Greek serfós, a stinging or biting insect ... In Breton, Welsh, and Cornish the word cor also means both dwarf and spider.239

Other commentators (e.g. Brooke [1892: 474 n. 1], S, and Meaney [1981: 16-17]) note that in later English folklore spiders were used as amulets to ward off fever240, and would justify the interpretation on these grounds; however, in view of the fact that it is the ofnætan that are to be hung round the neck it is very doubtful if we have a spider-amulet here.

237 More presented by Bonser [1963: 285 n. 8]
238 See earlier Grimm [1882-8 471]
239 Given this, it is odd that GS make no connecting reference to the inspidenwht in Lactn. and its common interpretation "spider-creature."
240 A surprising scientific endorsement of the use of spiders - though not as amulets - against fever may also be noted: A widely used folk-remedy for malaria or ague which, up to the last century, was common in the Eastern counties as well as in the other parts of Great Britain, was a pill made of spider web or of the spiders themselves. It might be imagined that this treatment was quite useless as a remedy and was merely a good example of the survival of folk beliefs with no reasonable basis. Another form of treatment was to carry a living spider in a shell until it died - an example of homeopathic magic. Yet in 1882 when Oliva isolated the principle arachnid from spider webs, it proved an excellent febrifuge, and similar pills had saved many lives in Madras in 1867. [Newton [1948a: 128]]
An emended reading *inspiderwiht* (or *inspiderwiht (TOE)* faces further objection, in that the initial *in-* is awkward and has not been effectively explained without further emendation, though, as Holthausen [1925: 219] observes, triple compounds are occasionally found in OE (e.g. *eofor-heafod-segn* and *wulf-heafod-treo*; see also Kastovsky [1992: 369]), and also proposes that "gemand ist offenbar die Haus-spinne". Perhaps the *in-* might be explained as a scribal dittography after the first syllable of *ingangan*, leaving *spiderwiht*. It might be objected that the resulting "half-line" would then lack alliteration and syllabic weight, but there is no certainty that this verse ought to adhere to the metrical norms of "classical" OE verse, especially as its parallel in l. 654 (*deores sweostar*) also lacks alliteration.

ii. Gr (pp. 4-5) (and so GS) is uncertain whether the MS reads *inspiden* or *inswiden*, and emends *in[wr]i[d]en wiht* "a creature all swathed", an emendation "based on the assumption that the incubus took the form of a corpse swathed in its grave-clothes". However, although medieval Scandinavian dwarfs may be associated with corpses (note the Olcel dwarf names *Ár oc Náinn* "Corpse and (?)the Dead-one" among the variants of the *Dvergatal* in *Völsespá*, and the paleness of Alvis's nose in *Alvismál* st. 2 (*hví eru svá fór um nasar, varu i nótt med nó?*)), I know of no persuasive support for this speculative and somewhat macabre assumption. Subsequent editors and commentators have mainly rejected this interpretation.

iii. The most recent argument for emendation is that of Stuart [1977] (see also earlier [1974]) who emends *unspedg wiht* "poor/wretched creature". Briefly, she rejects emendation of *-spiden-* to *-spider-* on the basis that OE *spider* does not occur elsewhere in OE (whereas other words for spider are found, i.e. (*attor*)coppe, (*a'tter*)lope, gangelwefre/gangewifre, *hunta*), and that if a cognate to modern English spider did occur it was the weak form *spihra*. She notes that there are no other attested OE compounds of the same type, only *sawhiht, helwiht, yfelwiht, and ?leaswifht*. She proposes a complicated development of corruption from *unspedg* to *inspedin* (double dittography, cf. preceding in *gangan*), and from *inspedin* to *inspiden* (unconscious scribal correction perhaps to a form resembling a past participle in *-en*, (or we might rather assume transposition of *-i* and *-e*). Finally, she seeks to demonstrate that *unspedg* is also contextually appropriate, since in the OE metrical charm

---

553

But why then a *-wiht* "spider-creature" - why not just a spider? Holthausen had earlier [1920b: 118] read in *spider wiht*. 
Against a Wen (ASPR 6 no. 12) an "identical" sentiment and derogatory characterisation of wretchedness is expressed by calling the wen *ermig*. All this is, however, too complicated and speculative to be convincing.\(^\text{205}\)

650 *-wht* (in *inspidenwiht*): "Creature". This word may denote a creature of any sort - good, bad, or indifferent (see for example the OE *Riddles*). Often, however, as may be the case here, it is applied to creatures that are in some way supernatural, strange, or monstrous (see *OED* "wight"; cf. CV *wætr 2*). Cf. e.g. - though these instances all refer to unambiguously evil creatures - *mynra whita* in the Nine Herbs Charm (Lacn. l. 578), *wiht unhælo* (Grendel in Beowulf l. 120), *syllicran whit* (the dragon in Beowulf l. 3038), *leða whita* ("loathsome creatures" in the OSax Heliand (see Murphy [1992: 55 n. 91]), and a tenth-century OHG charm:

\[
\text{AD SIGNANDUM DOMUM CONTRA DIABOLUM.}\]

\[
\text{Uuola uuht taz tu uuuest. taz tu uuht heizst. taz tu ne uuuest noch ne chanst cheden chnospinci.}
\]


Finally, in a popular ME charm for nightmare (ed. Robbins [1955: 61, no. 66] (also quoted below)) the creature is termed *afosle wæth*. For more observations on the meaning of *wht* and its cognates in the various Germanic languages see Grimm [1882-8: 439-42].

*Wht* could conceivably (but certainly need not) be a synonym for *dweorh* (i.e. the supposed creature the "dwarf"). This seems to be the case with some German instances - see Lecouteux [1981: 368-9].

Gay [1988: 174] translates his reading in *spiderwht* as "in spider form", but this interpretation of *wht* "(?)-form" lacks support. Earlier Holthausen [1920a: 30] had also interpreted *wht* as "Gestalt".

\(^{205}\) Meaney [1981 279 n. 57] is also unconvinced.

\(^{206}\) Serjeantson [1936: 46] thinks that the word acquired "a certain supernatural connotation through frequent use in such phrases as anyfæle wæth "uncanny creature," yfel wæth "evil creature," wæger wæth "accursed creature"." For a useful collection of references to OE *wht* as simplex and as element in compounds see Jente [1921: §107].
651 *Here him* is evidently a pleonastic reflexive dat. (see *OES* §§271-3) - "He (himself) had" - as is also the case with 1. 652 *ongunnan him*, and probably (but less certainly since it might also be a dat. of possession) 1. 653 *ongunnan him*.

651 *heman* : The meaning of this word is uncertain and several definitions have been proposed by scholars. The most attractive suggestion (Schlutter [1907a: 257], also G (p. 167); see also Sandmann [1975: 53 n. 1]) in view of the equestrian context is that it refers to the rider's "bridle" or "harness", though according to *OED* the presumed phonological descendant "hame" does not occur before 1300 and *ODEE* considers the word's origin to be unknown. *OED* ("hame") gives the definition "[e]ach of the two curved pieces of wood or metal placed over, fastened to, or forming, the collar of a draught horse" and its first example is from Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (l. 11495) 1303, which says that the devil can restrain his victims with a *hame* - *Gyt wyly neuer shryue here shame, So are hey bounde yn pe fendes hame*. This seems to be the likeliest interpretation of Lacn.'s *heman*.

It has also been suggested - perhaps with less contextual plausibility - that the word refers to an animal skin or covering of some sort (see *OED* "hame"), the word then being the otherwise attested OE wk. masc. noun *hama/homa*. This is the view taken by e.g. BTS *hama* and Niles [1991: 136], the latter suggesting that the animal pelt is thrown over the victim. If so, perhaps the purpose was to effect a magical transformation on the victim (see below). But, unless it is a horse-cloth or a makeshift saddle, this would not seem to accord very obviously with the equestrian context.

Other more imaginative suggestions have been made, but none of them is especially persuasive. If *heman* refers to an animal pelt than it might be indicative of shape-changing by its holder (cf. Skemp [1911b: 294-5]), a possibility already raised for some critics by the supposed identity of the (putative) dwarf with the (putative) spider-creature. In Olcel

---

246 According to GS (p. 162 n to 1 2), the "special meaning "hame" is first on record in Middle Low German".

247 However, *MED* *hame* thinks this instance may mean "the devil's cloak"; its first instance of *hame* as part of a horse's collar is in a text dated 1323.

248 According to Hunt [1916: 436], writing on Cornish traditions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a "hame" was "a straw collar with wooden collar-trees, to which are fastened the rope traces".
literature the cognate word *hamr* often refers to an animal skin in the form of a coat or other garment which, when donned, confers upon the wearer the abilities associated with that animal\(^{267}\). The most famous examples are those concerning feather-coats (*fjaðrhamr, *álptarhamr*) which confer the power of flight in the Eddaic poems *Prymskviða* and *Völundarkviða*, but the sagas also have many instances of persons and beings sufficiently *hamramnr* "shape-strong" that they can become wolves, bears and snakes (presumably - though this is not always clear - by association with an animal pelt). That some such concept was known to the Anglo-Saxons is suggested by the OE noun *fèder*-ªlper-*hamra*, and also perhaps by the Weland-scene on the Franks Casket where it appears that Weland gained his power of flight from (a garment made out of?) birds' feathers\(^{268}\). However, an obvious objection to Skemp's [1911b: 295] interpretation that here "the "spider wiht" is no mere spider, but a dwarf who "had his spider-garb in his hand," had assumed the form of a spider" is that the *inspidenwiht* cannot have been wearing its putative *hamra* - and so (presumably) have been transformed by it - if the creature were carrying it on *handa*.

OE *haman* has also been interpreted (rather infelicitously) as "dress" (Gordon [1954: 87] and Rodrigues [1993: 140]), but Grimm's [1882-8: 462-3] remarks on the attire of later German dwarfs may be noted:

> The invisibility of dwarfs is usually lodged in a particular part of their dress, a hat or a cloak, and when that is accidentally dropped or cast aside, they suddenly become visible ... we also have *tarnhut*, the protecting skin ...

Another suggestion is that of S - "web". This depends on the *inspidenwiht* being a spider, which is a problematic enough proposition without also having to suppose that this particular spider was clever enough to make a portable web!

C's rendering "hams" ("he had his hands upon his hams") must assume an otherwise unattested w.k. noun *‘hama-hame* with the meaning "the ham (part of the leg)" (beside the attested str. fem. *hamm*). As well as being linguistically difficult this rendering can hardly be thought to produce convincing sense in context.

\(^{267}\) Bartholz [1971 15] "Hamr was regarded as a kind of cloak or cover which one could put on and throw off"; see also Davidson [1978]

\(^{268}\) That Satan and his devils were shape-changers was a medieval commonplace.
651 **on handa**: Vleeskruyv [1953: 30] observes that this phrase "is common in poetry (Beowulf 495, 540, 3023, 3124)."

651 **handa**: The creature has definite anatomical form - perhaps it is humanoid.

651 **cweð**: That the creature can speak is noteworthy, since we are not told this of any other native Anglo-Saxon monster, though Grendel is said *gryreleod galan, sigeleasne sang, sar wangegan* (Beowulf II. 786-7). However, since Lacn.'s creature has hands and can ride a horse, it is perhaps not surprising in context.

651 **pēu**: Since the charm is being sung to the victim this pronoun might be thought to refer to the patient, but doubt is shed on this if, as I argue above, the patient is possessed from within by a demon.

651 **henecgeast**: "horse", "steed". Brooke [1892: 474 n. 1] wrongly states that this word "appears nowhere else" (see BT and BTS *hengest* for other instances). I do not understand G's horrific rendering "blood-horse" unless he is thinking of the Olcel witch-ride in which the flesh is torn from the surrogate horse's bones.

It is worth stressing that there is ample folkloric evidence for the belief that people afflicted by nightmares and related creatures sometimes *actually do turn into horses*, and that therefore the creature's address to its victim ("You are my horse"), combined with the application of the riding-gear, may well constitute a compulsion for the addressee to metamorphose into equine form.

652 **leg[d]/e pe**: Since MS *lege pe* ("lay [imp. sg.] (his teage on your neck)!") does not make good sense in context following on from the third person subject and past tense of the previous two lines, I adopt Skemp's [1911b: 294] popular emendation. It is reasonable to

---


In all of the legends that I know dealing with the transformation of a human to a horse at the moment the bridle is affixed to the head, there are no details. It is implied that the transformation takes place when this piece of harness is fitted on the victim - an action that accords well with magical transformations in folk tales.
suppose that before riding his "horse" the *Inspidenwæht* would apply its riding gear to the horse's head and neck. A viable alternative might be to assume a simple scribal haplography for intended *lege hæ*, the resulting sense ("He lays (his *teage* on your neck") perhaps being acceptable despite the tense shift.

Sandmann [1975: 53, 59] takes *lege* to mean "Ich lege", but for that to be the case the form should rather be *lege*.

652 *teage*: The meaning of this word (nom. sg. *teagiteah*) is uncertain. Attested meanings of OE *teah* (see BT and Meaney [1981: 16]) are a "tie", "band", "fetter", or a "case", "coffer", "basket", "box", "enclosure". It is variously rendered by commentators as "traces", "bonds", "cords", and Meaney [1981: 16] asks "Could it be used here as another Old English equivalent of *phylacterium* and *ligatura*, that is, "amulet"?". However, the word's meanings when constituting the second element of compound nouns have not been considered before: these show that we may well be justified in translating the present simplex as "reins", "traces" (cf. BT *ladteah* and TOE *latteah* "a leading rein" (= WW 120, 9 Ducale, *latteh*, following words for bridle)), or possibly "collar" (BT *swoorteah*, and note the gloss *Collarum, sweorclæd, uel teg, uel sal* (WW 210, 36) - it may be doubted whether BT's emendation of this to *[swoor]teg* is warranted (*OED* "tie, sb." does not emend this instance)).

652 *an*: This is the only instance of this *w<->sPE<-> with a* (if indeed it is not a badly formed *o*) before a nasal consonant in *Lacn.*, but, in view of *Lacn.*'s composite nature, G's (so too GS) emendation *o*/*n* is not therefore necessary.

651-2 *pu ... ongunnan*: This change from second person sg. to third person pl. is a source of difficulty when we try to identify the nature and number of the respective participants - for some possibilities (including my own interpretation) see Survey of Previous Scholarship above. It has never been explained to the satisfaction of all (or even most) commentators.
Skemp [1911b: 295] engages in extremely risky and complicated textual surgery which is fatal to the aesthetics of the charm's neatly balanced structure (not to mention its sense) and can therefore be safely disregarded - for reasons that are never given he declares that we "must infer either a lacuna or a displacement" between ll. 654 and 655 (i.e. between *deores sweostar* and *pa geændade heo*), and, noting the shift from sg. to pl. in the present line, he seeks to remedy both problems by transposing ll. 654 to immediately follow after the words *Legep he* [my *leg[d]e be*] *his teage an sweoran*, thus (I suppose) making the "spider-creature" and its *sweostar* the pl. subject of the subsequent pl. verbs. However, he then understands a lacuna after this transposed line, i.e. before *ongunnan*

Meaney [1981: 16] simply notes an "evident hiatus" after *sweoran*.

652 *Leg[d]e be his teage an sweoran* : Sandmann [1975: 53] interprets MS *lege be his teage an sweoran* as "Ich lege dir seine Bänder an den Hals", and thinks these words are spoken by the *maedenman* as the necklace of wafers is hung around the patient's neck. But MS *lege* ought then to be *lecge*, and the prose directions provide no support for this view.

652 *Ongunnan him of þæm lande līpan* : Holthausen's [1920b: 118] emendation *Ongunnan him [þa līpan] of þæm lande līpan* supplies a clearer, but probably unwanted subject; it also faces metrical objections.

In Sandmann's [1975: 57] view, the subject here is the drops of sweat that have formed on the sufferer's body as a result of the fever: it is they who "swim" from the patient's body (OE *land* he says is a *heiti* for "body"). For Sandmann "[d]ie vielen Schweißperlen symbolisieren für den Magier das Ausfahren der Krankheitsgeister". This is all extremely speculative and unconvincing.

652 *lande līpan* : Holthausen's [1951: 99] suggested emendation of *tune* for *lande* would "normalise" the b-verse alliteration and remove some of the alliterative stress from the otherwise awkwardly placed *leg[d]e* in the a-verse by facilitating alliteration with *teage*. But it is doubtful if such a metrical norm ought to be sought for here.
G envisages a sea-scene, rendering lande as "shore" and lipan "to sail" (see also for a related and fanciful idea Skemp [1911b: 295 n. 1]). However, although lipan is used of travel on water, it may also refer to travel on land (see TOE 05.12.01).

An echo of lipan in l. 653 lipu may be noted (though the former has an etymologically long root vowel and the latter a short one). Such OE incantatory echoing may also be present in Lacn. II. 782-5 esa ... hægtesan ... esa ... hægtesan; it is certainly present in the metrical charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6 no. 12, II. 1-4):

Wenne, wenne, wenchichenne.
her ne scealt pu tumbrien, ne nenne tun habben.
ac po scealt north eonene to þan mhgan berhge,
þer pu hauest, eyrmig. enne broper.

653 ongunnan him da lipu: Probably him is here (as with ll. 651 and the parallel ongunnan him in 1 652 - see above) a pleonastic reflexive dat., but it could alternatively be a dat of possession (like þe in l. 652). If the latter were the case then the sense would be "those limbs of its/his/their began".

653 da lipu colian: As the readings of the earlier editors in the Textual Apparatus show, this part of the charm has caused considerable difficulty and occasioned some untenable scholarly ingenuity (by Schlutter in particular). I am, however, reasonably confident in the text as presented, following a reading first adopted by Holthausen [1920b: 118]. An alternative reading - da lipu acohan - is given by Abernethy [1983], but, while this is undoubtedly possible27n - and the intended reading cannot therefore be decided with absolute certainty - I take the scribe's placing of the superscript -u directly above the a rather than to its left27n and at a much lower height than da lip- (though admittedly these letters could not be placed any lower) to indicate that it is to replace the a rather than precede it.

27n The OE verb acohan is otherwise attested.
27n Compare the careful positioning of the insertions -c- in hæmgeast (l. 651), -n in adlegan (l. 656), and ne (l. 657).
Careful marks are not used for all insertions on this folio
Note that Schlutter [1907a: 258] also reads acohan
Readers of Meaney [1981: 15-18] are alerted to her defective (because based on unreliable editions) translation of this line - "Then they began to cool".

The cooling of the limbs (or joints) probably refers to the victim's recovery from fever after the disease demon has been ridden away. Another possible - but perhaps less likely - interpretation might relate to the fact that OE poets sometimes indicated death by a reference to the cooling (colian) of the limbs or body in general, e.g.:

hit waes dead swa aer,

lic legere fast, leomu colodon [Elene ll. 881b-882b (ed. Gradon [1977: 59])]

and:

lic colode,

belifd under lyfte [Guthlac B ll. 1307-8 (ed. Roberts [1979: 122])]

also

fæsc onginnep,

hraw colian, hrusan ceosan

blac to gebeddan [The Rune Poem ll. 91b-93a (ASPR 6)]

Might it be the imminent death of the disease deor that brings in its sister (deores sweostar) at that very moment (pa I. ll. 654, 655) to halt proceedings? Or perhaps the expression here is deliberately ambiguous or polysemous, allowing both complementary interpretations - the disease demon's demise giving rise to and coinciding with the cooling of the patient's feverish limbs.

654 deores sweostar : This reading is sometimes held to be a problem, but if the creature's sibling is the disease spirit then we may readily compare the common folkloric personification of disease spirits as siblings, a concept very probably manifest in Lacn. Entry CLIII (l. 878) Neogone wieran Nopææ sweostar, and certainly so in the metrical charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6, no. 12, I. 4), pu havest, ermiç, enne broñer. The present instance is an arresting corrective to the possibility that such concepts which, as perhaps in l. 878, may have degenerated into little more than semantically fossilized expressions, were necessarily
always so innocuous. For more on disease siblings see notes to Lacn. Entry CLIII; on the
differentiation of disease spirits into male and female genders see also Sandmann [1975: 57].

The suggestion (adopted influentially by ASPR 6) that deores ought to be emended to
dweores, while being a possibility, is too uncertain to be adopted here, especially as it is not
necessary for the line to make sense.

Another - less persuasive - rendering might be "sister of the brave (or dear) (one)"
(taking deores as a substantival use of the adj. deore). J. H. G. Grattan seems originally to
have rendered, rather oddly but perhaps thinking along the same lines, "prince's [dwarf's]
sister"\(^{272}\), but he later rejected this. Deor was also a personal name, best known from the
poem Deor (l. 37 me was Deor noma), but, as Klinck [1992: 167] observes (see also Searle
[1897: under "Deor", and "Diar"]), it is also found several times elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon
documents

Note that the syntax and function of this line are closely paralleled by l. 650, and that I
tentatively put a full-stop at the end of this line on the basis of that parallel. See also notes to
l. 650 Her and inspdenwht. Alternatively, a comma could be used to facilitate a dependent
pa ... pa ("when ... then") construction.

655 gearndade : "Interceded". As Klaeber [1921\(^{74}\)] suggests\(^{74}\), the form may be taken as
gearndade (from (ge)ær(e)ndan - "to bear a message, intercede"), since r was sometimes
lost in late OE (and note endorsement of Klaeber in Campbell §475 "Loss after a stressed
vowel appears in endan, -endian for ærnðian")). The resulting meaning suits the context
well. Cameron [1993: 153] overlooks this possibility in suggesting that gearndode (sic)
might be an "error" for gearnedode (sic). Sandmann [1975] also favours translation with
"sprechen, entgegnen". Alternatively, the verb ændian might here mean "to bring to an end"
(see TOE 11 01.06), i.e. gearndade "she brought it to an end" (and so Gordon [1954: 87]
translates "she made an end").

\(^{272}\) Recorded by Denner [1926a: 361].
\(^{74}\) Also Klaeber [1931: 7]
\(^{117}\) Holthausen [1920b: 117] had reached the same conclusion a year before - "ist gearndade "sprach", nicht "ceased"."
655 āsgeðande heo, 7 ādas swor āet næfre ās his āem adlegan derian ne moste ... : Cf. Lacn. II. 568-9 in the Nine Herbs Charm: āsgeðande Āppel 7 Attor āet heo næfre ne wolde on his bugan.

Barb [1950: 20 n. 22] observes that the sister's action here is paralleled by "a motif familiar in Hebrew, Greek, Rumanian, a.o. charms, where the female demon is made to take an oath not to hurt anybody else who uses the charm". We may compare in particular a popular ME narrative charm (ed. Robbins [1955: 61, no. 66]) for the nygthe-mare in which St. George, having found āpat fowle wygth, beats and binds her:

\[
till trewyly āper here trowthe sche plyght
\]
\[
āpat sche sholde not come be nygthe,
\]
\[
With-Inne vij rode of londe space
\]
\[
āper as Seynt Jeorge i-namyd was.
\]

Cf similarly King Lear Act III Scene iv (ll. 117-21 in the Arden edition (ed. Muir [1972], and see notes thereto)):

\[
Swithold footed thrice the old;
\]
\[
He met the mght-mare, and her nine-fold;
\]
\[
Bid her alight,
\]
\[
And her troth plight,
\]
\[
And aroint thee, witch, aroint thee!
\]

Gay [1988 175] suggests that the "sister's declaration in this and the following lines may be for the benefit of the dwarf" rather than for the human sufferer, a suggestion I am inclined to agree with

655 7 ādas swor : Vaughan-Sterling [1983: 196] cites this half-line in her selection of oral formulas in the OE charms and compares he me ādas swor in Beowulf (l. 472).

656 ās : The referent must be neut. - āspudenwht and āder are possibilities, wht being either fem. or neut. in OE and shown to be neut. here by ās (ll. 651-2). I think the referent is the āder which has just been referred to (l. 654 āderes). Nelson [1982: 17] supplies and
translates "[this riding in the night]", which, since she identifies the supposed spider-wiht as the creature doing the riding, seems unnecessary. Alternatively, but less likely, some such noun as yfel ("evil, misery, wickedness") or broc ("affliction, disease, sickness") might perhaps be understood as resulting from the action of the deor.

656 adlegan derian: If the line is to have conventional alliteration in the b-verse then emendation is necessary. Holthausen [1920a: 30] suggests the emendation dreorgan for adlegan, though I know of no such OE noun or how otherwise to construe this unlikely emendation in context ("sorrowful one"); Holthausen [1920b: 118-9] also suggests emending derian to eghan, comparing the words him seo adl ne eglode in the prose Life of Guthlac; Gr (p. 6) also emends derian to eglian (as do GS (p. 162)), deeming derian to be a WS substitution.

However, perhaps the approximate sound correspondence of adl- and d- was sufficient for this poet

657-8 ne þæm þe ðís galdor begytan mihte, oþðe þe ðís ongalan cupe: Presumably the distinction is between those who "get" (begytan) the incantation by having it recited to them (like the sufferer in this instance), and those who themselves do the reciting.

It is also possible - though this could be to over-interpret - that the words ongalan cupe should be translated knew how to sing, indicating either that the words of the incantation themselves or the knowledge of the requisite manner of their recitation (singan) or ritualisation were not common currency (as was certainly the case with the jealousy guarded secrets of many village healers in later times). G (p. 216), for one, thinks that both these lines "point to specific ability demanded of exorcismal craftsmen". Cf. perhaps a passage in a sermon of Archbishop Wulstan sermon: Antecrist haelf mid him drymen and unly-bwytan and wigleras and ha þe cunnan galdor a-galan.

Note the perspective here in the charm - the beast's sister, as a character whose actions partly constitute the galdor, herself affirms its efficacy.

Fulk [1992 §363] observes that derian "which appears in no pure Anglian prose text" is the Southern equivalent of sceolon. Note that eglion is used elsewhere in Lacn., but derian is not.
Foley [1980: 80-1] finds a "remarkably similar" gloss on the origin of a charm's magic in a passage in a Serbo-Croatian charm against erysipelas - in translation it reads "Out of my speech (odgovor) may there come a cure". He observes that "[b]oth passages acknowledge that the power of the spell emerges in its speaking, in its oral performance".

658 odoe pe : That is presumably "or the one who", with āram understood from the parallel previous line (or perhaps inadvertently omitted by the scribe).

658 ongalan : The rarity of the verb galan (etymologically connected with g(e)aldor and found translating Lat. incantare and (like ongalan) incantantium) in the OE charm corpus is worthy of note276, especially as Serjeantson's discussion [1936: 60-4] of OE and ME words for incantations and enchanting277 informs us that (pp. 60, 63) "this noun [i.e. galdor] belongs to the verb galan "to sing", used specifically in connexion with incantations .... The usual word for pronouncing a spell is galan "to sing", also used in the ordinary sense". Indeed Stuart [1985] observes that the verbs usually used in the OE magico-medical corpus are sangan and cwedan, though it is not known what character this singing or recitation had278.


On this basis CH (and TOE) defines ongalan as "to recite (a charm)", cf. OHG bigalan (bigou 3a) in the Second Merseburg Charm, which Braune & Ebbinghaus [1979: 200] define as "Zauberlied über etwas singen, besprechen".

---

276 It is possible that the imp or subj of the related verb agalan is attested in the form agalo in a thirteenth-century amulet inscription at the University of Glasgow, Hunter MS U.3 2, fol. 210v (ed. Brown & Voigts [1980] with a photograph of the folio). A possible alternative explanation of this form (though one that must assume some corruption), which might explain its apparent use of a capital -G- and fit the magic-word context suggested by the use of crosses to separate the "words", might be that it is a debased form of the common magical "word" AGLA (which according to Kueckhefer [1989 159] is thought to stand for Ata Gibor Leolam Adona, Hebrew for "Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord")

277 On which see also S (pp. 113-4).

278 Charms and prayers in other cultures and times are commonly chanted or mumbled - vocalised in some way that distinguishes them from everyday speech, thus imparting an aura of sacred formality, mystery, or secrecy.
659 Amen. Fiað : Proponents of the galdor as a purely pagan spell (e.g. notably GS (p. 163 n. 2)) must perforce agree with G that these words are a face-saving appendage. Cf. similar speculation about Lacn. 1. 787 helpe ðin Drihten.
ENTRY LXXXVII

OE Variant Version:

*Her sint læcedomas wif ælces cynnes omum 7 onfeallum 7 bancopum eahta 7 twentig:-*

*Nim grenes merces leaf; gegnid ofhe getrifula wið ecedes derstan; smire mid by ha saran stowa. [BLch (98/22-5)]*

Cameron [1993: 46] notices that only thirteen, not the promised twenty-eight, remedies follow. He thinks this is characteristic of Lacn.'s "carelessness". In Lacn.'s defence I would note that (contrary to Cameron) if Lacn. falls well short of remedies, the corresponding passage in BLch (pp. 98-104) exceeds the number stipulated, having thirty-one.

660 onfeallum : C (so also BT, CH, Bonser [1963: 378], and TOE (02.08.05.01 A swelling)) understands this word to mean "fellow" (i.e. "swelling"), but this is doubtful. According to OED, "felon (sb.)" derives from Old French *felon* and Lat. *fell-, fel*; OE "onfall" is defined as "An attack or access of disease, plague, or calamity"; cf. OE onfeallende "rushing on, overwhelming". GS translate onfeallum as "seizures".

661 bancopum : It is uncertain whether the first element of this word (ban-) means "baneful" (related to bana "slayer") or "bone" (ban), but the former is more likely (and so DOE defines it as "pernicious disease"). CH (Supplement), however, favours "bone disease" to "baneful disease". The word also occurs in the poem Guthlac B I. 1025 bittor bancopa (ed. Roberts [1979]), which Roberts (see n. to I. 1025) also defines as "bone disease, illness". None of the illnesses under this heading in Lacn. is obviously associated with bones, nor is the word bancopa used again in Lacn. TOE includes the word under "skin disease, erysipelas" (02.08.06): among the remedies under the corresponding heading (*Her sint læcedomas...*) in BLch the word is used again only once, to describe (but not, I think, as a synonym) erysipelas (102/16), a skin disease which has no apparent connection with bone (though C thinks ban- might here refer to the leg, hence his bancopa "leg disease"): *Wif bancope, þet is oman...* Since erysipelas is occasionally fatal (see Encyclopedia Britannica
11th ed., article on "Erysipelas") the possibility that the word here means not merely "pernicious disease" but "mortal disease" cannot be ruled out.

662 æges þet hwite : There is no parallel to these words in BLch. Pliny [NH 29.41] recommends egg-white for erysipelas: *ad ignem sacrum candido ovorum trium cum amulo*.

**ENTRY LXXXVIII**

This remedy interrupts a series of remedies that otherwise correspond in order to BLch. There is a variant version of 11. 665-6 in part of a remedy for tertian malaria in BLch (136/18-20):

\[ + (\text{Christus}) natus + (\text{Cristus}) passus + (\text{Cristus}) uenturus + aius + aius + aius + (\text{Sanctus}) + (\text{Sanctus}) + (\text{Sanctus}) \]

Cf. also part of a charm for fevers in a fourteenth-century Anglo-Irish collection (ed. Hunt [1990 234 (no 11)]):

*Deinde dicatur + Christus natus est + Christus passus est + Christus tercia die resurrexit a mortuis +*

665 Cristus. Note the h-less spelling of Christ's name (i.e. not *Christus*). It could be argued that the form is influenced by OE spelling, but another instance is found in BLch (136/13-14)

... *et per eius Filium Iesum Cristum ...*

See also for the basis of my decision to spell the name of Christ without *h* throughout *LaeR. Chaplais* [1986].

665-6 : S (p 290) thinks these words are unintelligible, which is not the case: a succession of references to Christ's birth (*natus*), death (*passus*), and resurrection from the dead (*resurrexit a mortuis*) are apparent. These are punctuated by the trisagion/Sanctus *aius ... aius* (Greek *agios* "saint"), sanctus ... sanctus (Lat. "Saint") \(^{79}\), and *a* and *aa*

\(^{79}\) We may suspect that one instance of sanctus has dropped out after the second *aius*.
(according to S these "superfluous" as also stand for agios). Superhare potens is Lat., meaning (if the simple emendation is good) "powerful to conquer".

For the Biblical basis of the Sanctus see Isaiah 6: 3 and Apocalypse 4: 8.

ENTRY LXXXIX

OE Variant Version:

*W*îd ômûm ustâblegnedum: nim sur molcen; wyrc to cealre 7 ðep mid þy cealre.*

*BLch (98/25-7)*

ENTRY XC

OE Variant Version:

*U*îd ômûm eft: genim beordrsta 7 sapan 7 æges þæt hwite 7 ealde grut; lege on wyþ omena geswelle. *BLch (98/27 - 100/2)*

ENTRY XCI

OE Variant Version:

*W*îþ omena geberste: sitte on cealdum watere, offæt hit adeadod sie; teoh þonne up; sleah þonne feower scearpan ymb þa poccas utan 7 ðæt yrnan þæt sticce þæ hit wille

Wyrc þe sealfe þus: nun brunewyrht 7 merscmeargeallan 7 reode netlan; wyl on buteran, 7 smirre mid, 7 ðeþe mid þam ilcum wyrtum. *BLch (100/2-7)*

673 7 wyrc þa sealfe : BLch begins a new remedy with Wyrc þe sealfe which might be the better reading since no salve has been mentioned before. Possibly Lacn.'s þa is a simple scribal error for þæ. 
ENTRY XCII

OE Variant Version:

\textit{Wip hon ilcan: genom angoltwaeecan; gernid swipe; do eced to, 7 on bind 7 smire mid}. [BLch (100/8-9) (see also C's n. in vol. II p. 101)]

Possible Lat. Sources:

1. \textit{IGNI SACRO}

\textit{Uermes terreni ex aceto inlinuntur.}

[MedPlin (p. 86); Cameron [1983a: 161]]

2. \textit{Ad Ignem Sacrum.}

... \textit{Item terreni uermes ex aceto illinuntur.}

[PhysPlinFP3 (p. 139 no. 4); see Adams & Deegan [1992: 109]]

3 \textit{Igm sacro ... vermes terreni ex aceto inliti}. [NH 30.106]

675 on bind GS emend bind on, believing on bind to be "obviously a scribal error, since onbind (with insep vbl. par.) means "unbind". However, on may here be an adverb or separable verbal prefix, and the reading on bind is supported by BLch; cf. Lacn. II. 601, 603 on de "puts on" (not "undoes" which is the usual meaning of the verb ondon).

ENTRY XCIII

OE Variant Version:

\textit{Wip hon ilcan: genom safinan; gnd to duste 7 meng wip hunig, 7 smire mid.}

[BLch (100 9-10)]

Possible Sources:

1. \textit{Wip deadspringas: genom has wyrte sabinam mid hunige gecnucude; smyre honne hæt sar.}
[Ad carbunculum: herba savina, cum melle illinito.]

[OEHerb (126/18-19)]

2. Herba Sabina ... ininitur igni sacro et carbunculis cum melle. [NH 24.102]

3. **IGNISACRO**

... herba sabina tusa quae habet Jo/i a quasi cupressus cum melle ininitur.

[MedPlin (p. 86 no. 3); see Cameron [1983a: 161]]

4. *Ad Ignem Sacrum.*

... Itemque herba saulna, que habet folia quasi cypressus, ex melle illinitur.

[PhysPlinFP3 (p. 139 no. 6); see Adams & Deegan [1992: 109]]

**Medicinal Efficacy:**

Grieve (p 718) observes that savine "is useful as an ointment and as a dressing to blisters in order to promote discharge; also applied externally to syphilitic warts, and other skin trouble".

**ENTRY XCIV**

**OE Variant Version:**

*Uð hon ilcan: genim gebraedde ægru; meng wið ele; lege on, 7 bepe swide mid betan leafum* [BLch (100 11-12)]

**Possible Sources:**

1. **IGNISACRO**

... oua cocta trita cum oleo imponuntur et operiuntur foliis betae.

[MedPlin (p. 86); see Cameron [1983a: 161]]
2. *Ad Ignem Sacrum.*

... *Oua etiam cocta, trita cum oleo imponuntur et foliis bete operiuntur.*

*[PhysPlinFP3 (p. 139, no. 7) (see Adams & Deegan [1992: 109])]*


*[NH 29.40]*

677 *gebrædde ægru* : "Roasted eggs". Magoun [1954: 568] remarks that:

eggs can be ... literally roasted in warm ashes; the shell blackens and the egg itself turns out like one hard cooked in water. The roasted egg of the Jewish Passover table ... may be roasted by being placed in a table spoon and passed back and forth over a gas flame. In preparing the present Anglo-Saxon recipe I presume that only the hard cooked yoke was used; blended with oil this should produce a smooth and soothing unguent.

Alternatively perhaps *gebrædde* here means "fried" - cf. BT, CH *braedpanne, braedigpanne* (- Lat. *sartago* "frying-pan" (or "baking-pan")) (see also Hagen [1992: 57]).

677 *beswepe* As Meaney [1984a: 258] points out, *Lacn.*'s *beswepe* (translating Lat. *operiuntur*) is superior to the odd sense of *BLch*’s *bepe swipe* "bathe very much".

**ENTRY XCV**

OE Variant Version:

*Fft. genim cealfes scearn oppe ealdaes hryperes wearm, 7 lege on.*

*[BLch (100 12-13)]*

Possible Sources:

1. *Igni sacro ... inluntur ... vitulinum finum recens vel bubulum.* [NH 28.233]

2. *IGNI SACRO*
... *adicitur fimus uitulinus uel bubulus*. [MedPlin (p. 87, no. 7)]

3. *Ad Ignem Sacrum.*

... *Ac fimus uitulinus seu bubulus.*

[PhyPlinFP3 (p. 139 no. 10); see Adams & Deegan [1992: 109]]

Medicinal Efficacy:

According to Power [1910: 128], the "dung of swine ... softens, discusses, and cures hard tumours, Scrophulas, Corns, Warts, Bleeding at the nose, Itch, Small-Pox ...". If so, might the same be true of *cealfes scearn oðde ealdes hryheres wearm*?

679 *wearm*: C takes this as a verbal imp. - "warm", but it is better to take it (with GS) as an adj., which is how C renders the parallel in BLch. Cf. *recens* in *NH* above.

ENTRY XCVI

OE Variant Version:

*Efþ wip þon: genim heorotes sceafopan of felle, ascafen mid pumice, 7 wese mid ecede. 7 smire mid.* [BLch (100 14-15)]

Probable Source:

*IG\1 S4CRO*

... *ramenta pellis cerunae delecta pumice ex aceto trita imponuntur.*

[MedPlin (p. 87, no. 7)]

Analogue:

*Ad Ignem Sacrum.*

... *Ramenta item caprini pellis everta pumice et ex aceto trita illiniuntur.*

[PhysPlinFP3 (p. 140, no. 11); see Adams & Deegan [1992: 109]]
ENTRY XCVII

OE Variant Version:

Eft: genim efores geallan - gif þu næbbe nim òhores swines; gegnid, 7 smire mid þy þær hit sar sie. [BLch (100/15-17)]

Cf. Lacn. Entry CVIII which also applies animal gall to cure erysipelas.

Analogue or Possible Source:

strumas discutit fel aprunum vel bubulum tepidum inlitum. [NH 28.190]

ENTRY XCVIII

OE Variant Version:

Wìp þon ɪlcán: genim swealwan nest; brec mid ealle aweg, 7 gebɜrn mid sincerne mid ealle, 7 gmd to duste; meng wìp eced, 7 smire mid. [BLch (100/17-19)]

In LchBl3 (312/3) a swallow itself is burned to dust.

Pliny (NH 30 34) says that swallows preserved in salt can be taken for quinsy, and that their nest, taken in drïnk, is also a cure.

ENTRY XCIX

OE Variant Version:

Wìp þon ɪlcán- gehaet ceald wæter mid hatan isene, 7 bebe gelome mid þy.

[BLch (100 20-1)]

On the use of hot iron to heat water see briefly March [1901: 340].

ENTRY C

OE/Lat. Analogue:

Wið gebreceo 7 wyd nywydt genim þisse wyrtc wyrtruman þe man feneculum 7 odrum naman finul nemneph, cnuc on wone, drince frostende nigon dogas.

[1d tussem. Herbae feneculi radcem tunsam in mero ieunus bibat per dies novem.]
Medicinal Efficacy:

Culpeper observes that "juice of Sage in warm water cureth hoarseness and cough". Grieve (p. 703) notes its use in America to remedy sore and inflamed throats, and that in Sussex its dried leaves were once smoked in pipes to cure asthma. Wren recommends liquid extract of sage for pharyngitis and tonsillitis.

According to Grieve (p. 296) "[s]yrup made from fennel juice was formerly given for chronic coughs". Culpeper recommends its seed "for shortness of breath and wheezings by stoppings of the lungs".

ENTRY CI

688 morgenwlaetunga : This is a hapax legomenon. Nausea in the morning may be symptomatic of pregnancy, or of excessive drinking the previous evening (so Magoun [1954: 568])

Lochne [1986] examines references to sickness of mind in the morning in OE poetry, focussing particularly on the line ...bid a sefa geomor,  mod morgenseoc (95b-96a) in Resignation. She suggests that "morning was not just a "special time of misery": it was a metaphor for misery itself" to the OE poet, and, quoting the present remedy, she adds "perhaps the spiritual sickness of the Resignation speaker posed an analogy with physical morning sickness".

688 wy l on watre eorpgeallan : Cf. BLch (62/16-18) Wip wlaetan ... eorpgeallan 7 pipor drance on wearum weitere.

ENTRY CII

OE Variant Version and Lat. Source:

Wip hon de men blod upp wealle hu(rh h)is muð: (ge)nig forn(e yl)c an wyrt [i.e.
betonica] pre(or)a try(y)mess(a w)æge 7 cole gate meolc (preo) f(ul) fulle; ðonne bið
he swyþe ræde (h)al.

[Ad sanguinem qui per os reiciunt et purulentum. Vettonicae dragmas tres ex vino
veteri quiatos duo calefactum da [et lactis recentis caprini cyatos iii], bibat triduo
continenti.]

[OEHerb (32/23-5); noted by de Vriend (Appendix II) ]

Cf. BLch (52/13-15), seemingly a distinct translation of the Herbarium:

Gif mon blode hræce: genum betonican, swice swa III penegas gewegen; gegnid on
gate\textsuperscript{35} meolc; sele þry dagas þry bollan fulle to drincanne.

Analogues:

1. Ad eos qui per os sanguinem uumunt: Uetonica - II et lac caprinum recens per
triduum bibat.

[Eleventh- or early twelfth-century English Cambridge Antidotary (ed. Sigerist
[1923: 165])]

2 Item sanguinem quz per os iactant et pus: bettonice [denarios] VIII et lactes
caprini recentes cyatos III bibendum dabis per triduum, continuo sanus erit.

[PhysPlinB 61.9; similarly PhysPlinFPL 63.8]

Kurvinen [1953: 50] notes (together with some other parallels to OE medical texts) some
ME versions of the same remedy, e.g.:

3. For a man þat spetythe blood, take iij ounces of beteyn and gotys mylke and
temper it togeder, and drynke it iij dayes. Etc.

Gerard in his Herbal also states that betony "stayeth bleeding at the nose and mouth, and
helpeth those that spat blood".

\textsuperscript{35} C pruts gate
690 **his**: The abrupt reference is explicable by reference to the immediately preceding remedy in *OEHerb* (chap. I, no. 12) which begins *Gif mannes innod to fast sy* and concludes *ponne bið se man hal on þreora nihte fyrste*.

690 **trymess[a]**: This translates Lat. *dragmas*, the usual equation in *OEHerb* (see *OEHerb* p. lxxxiii). *BLch* has *penegas* and the equation of *penig* with *dragma* is also found in *OEMdQ* (p. lxxxii).

**ENTRY CIII**

OE Variant Version:

*Wip ælces dæges mannes tyndernysse inneweardes nime þonne wegbraðan, do on win 7 sup þæt wos 7 et [MS O ete] da wegbraðan, donne deah hit wið æghwylcre innancundre unhalo.*

*[OEHerb* (42/10-12); no Lat. source text is given by de Vriend]*

692 **wið ælces monnes tyndernesse innewearde**: "For each man's inward infirmity", but as GS observe, this is doubtless an inferior reading to *OEHerb*’s *Wip ælces dæges mannes tyndernysse inneweardes* "For a person’s daily internal infirmity" (de Vriend’s MS O also has the Lat heading *Contra omnem morbum cotitanum in homine*). However, since *Lacn.* still makes sense I do not emend the text.

692 **innewearde**: *OEHerb* has the adverb *inneweardes*.

692 **sup . . ete**: *OEHerb* confirms the imp. *sup* (which GS emend to subj. *supe*); the subj. *ete* is not supported by the text of *OEHerb* as given above, but is found in de Vriend’s MS O text, again following imp. *sup* (*OEHerb* p. 43): *sup þæt wos 7 ete þa webræden.*

---

281 Note that de Vriend’s belief that the equation of *penig* with *dragma* "may be seen as an indication that the text of *MdQ* is directly descended from an earlier Anglian version" is disputed by Professor Philip Grierson (see Bately [1988: 101]).

282 de Vriend does not note the present parallel remedy in his Appendix II.
693 pa wyrtæ : Since, unless wegþædan is taken as pl, only one plant has been mentioned, to speak of "plants" (wyrtæ) is somewhat odd; perhaps wyrtæ may be for the acc. sg. form wyrtæ attested in l. 802 and several times in BLch (see Bierbl under "wyrt").

ENTRY CIV

694-5 : In MS the words constituting Entry CV in my edition follow immediately after l. 694 delf. C (and so L) thinks there is an omission before delf and a longer one after it; GS also believe in an omission after delf and add that the words pa moran are "misplaced". They therefore transpose these words and read delf [pa moran]. Brackman [1966: 276] remarks that after delf "some information might have followed - probably about precautions to be taken when uprooting the herb - but unfortunately the rest of the sentence is lost". However, the problem has recently been resolved by Cameron [1993: 46-7] who observes that there is an almost exact parallel to Entry CV in BLch:

Gif eagan tyren: heorotes hornes ahsan; do on geswet win. [BLch (34/1-2)]

Cameron remarks:

Apparently in the exemplar which the compiler (or the scribe) copied, the recipe for sore innards began at the bottom of one page and ended on the top of the next. In the bottom margin of the first page or the top margin of the second, someone wrote in the remedy for the eyes.

694 galluc hatte : Translate "it (i.e. the plant in question) is called galluc".

ENTRY CV

OE Variant Version (see also Commentary to Entry CIV):

Gif eagan tyren: heorotes hornes ahsan do on geswet win. [BLch (34 1-2)]

696 teara : Here -a may be for dat. sg. -e (cf. l. 974 dimnessa) in which case the meaning is "tear", "tearfulness", "tearing"; cf. wip ter in the following heading to a remedy (C vol. III p. 292):
Deos eahsealf mag wip ælces cynnes broc on eagon, wip flean on eagon 7 wip gewif 7 wip mist 7 wip ter 7 wip wyrmas 7 wip dead flæsc.

Alternatively -a may be a gen. pl. inflexion after wið (cf. 1. 702 Wið healsomena), in which case the meaning is "tears".

ENTRY CVII

OE Variant Version:

Wið hwostan: nim huniges tear 7 merces sæd 7 diles sæd; cnuca þæt sæd smale; mæng ðicge wið ðone tear, 7 pipera swide; nim ðry sticcan fulle on nihtig.

[Lacn. Entry XI]

ENTRY CVIII

OE Variant Version:

Wip heelsgunde, þonne ærest onginne se healsgund wesan: smire hine sona mid hryþeres ofþe swðost mid oxan geallan; þæt is acunnod; ymb feawa niht bið hal.

[BLch (44/11-13)]

Analogues

1. strumas dscutt fel aprunum vel bubulum tepidum inlitum. [NH 28.190]

2. Fel bubulum vel caprunum ad incipientes strumas optime facere experimenta docuerunt; nam penitus crescere non sentur, si eo adsidue strumas tangantur.

[DAFL 15 53 (see Cameron [1983a: 178])]

Cf. also the use of animal gall to remedy erysipelas in Lacn. Entry XCVII.

702 Wið healsomena : This is the only certain use of wið + gen. in Lacn. (see further Language 6.iv.c).
ENTRY CIX

OE Variant Version:

*Wip lendenece: genim betonican, swilce twegen penegas gewegen; do þæerto swetes wnes twegen bollan fulle; meng wip hat water; sele nihnestig drincan.*

[BLch (64/18-20)]

Analogue:

*Wip lændenbrædena sare: genim [pare] ylcan betonican þreora trymessa wege, XVII píporcorn; gnid tosomne; wyll on ealdum wine; syle him swa wearm on niht nstig þreo full fulle.*

[Ad lumbrorum dolorem. Vettonicae dragmas iii ex vino Aminoii quietos iii, piperis grana xvii, contritum calefactum ieiunus bibat, sanatur.]

[OEHerb (32/13-15)]

Cf also the consumption of betony in hot sweetened ale as a remedy for lændenwyrece in *Lacn* Entry LXVII

ENTRY CX

706 ongema[/]lice : I do not agree with GS that "excessively" or "inordinately", the proper meaning of this word, does not make the best sense here*. I prefer it to GS's emendation on [meda] gemethce "in mead moderately".

ENTRY CXI

OE Variant Version:

*Gif hors sie ofscoten, ophe oper neat: nim onpran sæd 7 Scittisc weax; gesinge mon XII messan ofer 7 do haligwatær on þæt hors oddæ on swa hwilc neat swa hit sie; hafa de þæ wyrie simle mld.* [BLch (156/26-9)]
708 *Gif hors gescoten sy, oddē oper neat:* This is probably a reference to elf-shot (on which see especially Davidson [1956]), the piercing projectiles believed to be fired by demonic creatures (particularly elves) and possibly indicative of a multitude of afflictions. Though it is possible that the reference to the shooting of the elves is a linguistic fossil and that *gescoten ofscoten* means no more than "struck with illness" (cf. *TOE* 04.02.05.02.01), the use of masses, holy water here, and, in Entry CLV, of Christian exorcism indicating demonic agency, may tell against this. Moreover, the "shooting" of elves and other beings is memorably evoked in *Lacn.* Entry CXXVII b.

For further commentary on the concept of elf-shot see the Commentary to Entry CXXVII b, but note that, so far as extant documentary records allow us to generalise, Anglo-Saxon (and subsequent) elf-shot, may have been chiefly a problem for horses and other livestock. Cf. also *Lacn* Entry CLV: *Gif hors bid gescoten.* Other OE references (noted by Jente [1921: §112]) are found in *BLech* (pp. 16 (referring to the remedy quoted above), 174, and 290)

With regard to horses, Remly [1979: 206] (and earlier Geldner [1908: 32 of-scoten]) identifies elfshot as "the condition called colic, one of the most unpredictable and most often fatal of horse illnesses":

Typically, the condition - an intensely painful intestinal spasm - is caused by overeating, eating fresh spring grass, eating bulk without water, by bacterial or viral infection, by eating and drinking too soon after hard work, by blood worms, and by nearly anything else. The causes are various enough to be bewildering still today. Whatever the ultimate cause, the afflicted horse's intestines become impacted and sometimes twisted, the body swells to a horrible size, and - whether treated or not - the condition frequently brings death within four to twenty-four hours due to shock or rupture.

This condition seems rather similar to the affliction of cattle known as "blow", "dew-blow", "hoven", or "bloat" (see de Bairacli Levy [1984: 223-5]) - the dangerous distension of the animal's stomach - identified, at least in nineteenth-century England with elf-shot (see Davidson [1956: 151] and Meaney [1981: 110]).
Meaney [1981: 110] suggests that "the term elf-shot was first applied in animals to the
attack of the warble-fly, especially since the characteristic hole in the animal's hide would
seem to be evidence for a shot".283

708 Scyttsisc wex: This substance is also employed in BLch (114/11); in BLch it is in
close proximity to the OIr Acre charm - for which see Commentary to Lacn. Entry XXV.
Scyttsisc could potentially mean either "Irish" or "Scottish", but since Irish elements are found
elsewhere in Lacn. (most obviously in the several Irish incantations), since Scyttsisc surely
means "Irish" elsewhere in BLch (the OIr Acre charm is described as a Scyttsisc
gecost gealdor (10/23)), the former possibility seems much the likelier284. If so, it may
suggest that there was at some time (before the tenth-century?) in the Anglo-Saxon period a
trade in medicinal items from Ireland.

710 wyrtæ: Perhaps the pl. number refers to multiple ompre plants (cf. pl. ompran in l.
204). Or perhaps -a is a late spelling for -e in acc. sg. wyrtæ. BLch's wyrtæ could be either sg.
or pl.

ENTRY CXIII

OE Variant Version:

To monnes stemne: nim cerfillan 7 wuducerfillan, bisceopwyrt, ontran,
grunderwelgean; wyrc to duste on hlutrum ealod; nim þreo snæda buteran;
gemenge wð hwæten mela, 7 gesylte; þige mid þy drence; do swa nigon morgenas,
ma gsf his þearf se. [BLch (152/19-23)]

715 dreæce: BLch has duste.

283Gelder [1908 32] suggests that in cattle the word ofscozen denotes "Maul- und Klauenseuche".
284If -a is almost certainly the case - Scytrse refers here to Ireland, it may be an indication that this remedy was
composed before the tenth century. Batey [1988 114-8] finds that in OE texts which can be securely dated to the tenth
century "the terms Scotland came to be used of the northern part of Britain and Scottas of the Scots, with Ireland or
Ireland ("land of the Irish") for Ireland", whereas before that time there is evidence to suggest that Ireland and its people
tended to be referred to using (in addition to the Lat. Hibernia) the terms Scotta ealond, Scotta, Scottas". Note,
moreover, that the archetype of BLch may date from the late ninth- (or early tenth-) century (see Quirk's remarks in
Wright [1955 32], and observe the statement that certain of BLch's remedies had been sent to King Alfred (C vol. II pp.
288-90))
ENTRY CXVI

This remedy is also edited by Wyatt [1965: 125].

OE Analogue and Possible Lat. Source:

\[ Wip sidan sare genim ūere ylcan wyrte [i.e. betonice] þreora trymeæa wege; seoð on ealdum wæne 7 gned þæto xxvi piporcornu, gedrinc his þonne on niht nistig þreo full fulle. \]

[\textit{Ad lateris dolorem. Uettonicae dragmas iii cum uino ueteri quiatis iii et piperis grana xxvi, contritum et calefactum ierunus bibat.}] 

[\textit{OEHerb (32/10-12)}]

OE Analogue.

\[ Eft [i.e. Wip sidan sare]: betonican swilc swa þry penegas gewegen, 7 pipores seofon 7 XV corna tosonne getrýfulad; geot ealdes wines þry bollan fulle to, 7 gewlece, sele nihtnestigum drincan. [BLch (64/7-10)] \]

723 \textit{pollegan} : This herb is not found in the \textit{OEHerb} or BLch remedies.

724 \textit{XXVII piporcorn gegrundenra} : As it stands this is a mixed construction, \textit{piporcorn} being acc. pl (with dependant numeral) and \textit{gegrundenra} being gen. pl. (indicative of partitive gen with independant numeral). Probably \textit{piporcorn} is a mistake for gen. pl. \textit{piporcorna}

724 \textit{piporcorn gegrundenra} : The peppercorns may have been ground with a pestle and mortar, but, in addition to a \textit{handcwyrm} ("hand-mill"), a \textit{piporcwyrm} ("pepper-mill") is mentioned in one OE remedy (ed. Napier [1890: 326]).
724-5 7 gereste ... on da saran sidan: This instruction is not found in the BLch and OEHerb remedies.

ENTRY CXVII

This entry was also edited by Wyatt [1965: 125].

Cf. the use of marrubium for pain in the side in Marcellus DML 24.12:

*Marrubium ex aqua tritum salubriter bibitur aduersum lateris dolorem.*

ENTRY CXVIII

This entry was also edited by Wyatt [1965: 125].

OE Parallel and Possible Lat. Source:

*Wid sidan sare genim pas ylcan wyrte* [i.e. hocleaf], *seod on ele 7 syddan þu by gewoden haebbe 7 togaedere gedon genim þonne þa leafe, cnucan on annum mortere, do donne on anne clað, lege þereto swa þæt ðu hvyt þrim dagum ne unbinde, þu þæt sar gebest

[Ad lateris dolorem. Malvum errantium decoques cum oleo et postquam [destringis] folia in mortaro teres, in panno inducias et imponis, triduo non solvis, emendasti dolorem ]

[OEHerb (86 28-88/2)]

This parallel is not noted by de Vriend in his list of "relevant parallel cures" in OEHerb (Appendix II)

Medicinal Efficacy

Comparable use of the leaf of common mallow is recorded by Grieve (p. 509):

The use of this species of Mallow has been much superseded by Marsh Mallow, which possesses its valuable properties in a superior degree, but it is still a favourite remedy with country people where Marsh Mallow is not obtainable ... as a rule the leaves and flowers are used only, mainly externally in fomentations and poultices.
ENTRY CXIX

OE Analogue and Lat. Source:

\[ Wiþ fotadil genim þa ylcan wyrte [i.e. betonica]; seod on weteres opðæt þæs wætæres sy ðriddan dæl on besoden, cnuca ðonne þa wyrte 7 lege on þa fet 7 smite þærmid 7 drinc þæt wæs, bonne findest ðu þæræt bot(e) 7 ælteowe hal. \\
\[ Ad podagram. Vettonica decocta ad tertias, aqua potui data, ipsamque tritam et impositor mire dolorem lenire experti affirmant. \]

\[ OEHerb (36/24-7) \]

The Lacn. remedy appears to be based on a distinct translation of the Herbarium.

Cf. (with de Vriend (OEHerb (p. 401))) DML 36.8:

\[ Vettonica cum aqua ad tertias decocta ac potui data ipsaque, cum decoxerit, trita atque adposita podagrae plurimum medetur. \]

732 bewylÍ priddan dæl : "Boil away the third part", that is "reduce the volume of water by a third in boiling". It is common practice in the making of herbal decoctions to bring the water to the boil and then to simmer away a third of the volume - see e.g. Ody [1993: 120 "Decoction"] Here, however, if the process is not to involve boiling alone, any simmering has to be understood. Cf. BLch (58/5); LchBk3 (316/17-18).

733-4 þæs ðe gelærede læceas secgeað : These are the only words in the remedy unaccounted for in OFHerb.

ENTRY CXX

Cf. OEHerb (118/8-10):

\[ Wið fotadil genim þas ilcan wyrte [i.e. grundeswylige], cnuca mid rysle, lege to þam fotum, hyt gelipegad þæt sar; eac hit fremad mycelum wið þera sina sare. \\
[Ad pedem tumorem vel dolorem aut idem nervorum. Herba senecion tunsa cum axungia et imposita pedum dolorem sedat vel nervorum potentiissime.] \]
For some other medieval remedies which use old swine fat/axle-grease for podagra see DML chap. 36, e.g. 36.21 (pp. 604-06), and 36.33 (p. 608).

735 podagre : Lat. podagra may denote gout or any pain in the joints of the feet (see remarks on Pliny's use of the term by Jones in vol. VI (pp. ix, xiii) of the Loeb edition of NH). Bonser [1963: 406] records a personal communication by Dr. Underwood on the present instance:

The condition described bears no resemblance to gout. It was certainly a septic condition, possibly a chronic osteomyelitis: gangrene is also possible. It is unlikely that the treatment described would be of any value.

737 grundeswylgean : In view of the pus and matter oozing from the swelling here, it may be relevant to note with regard to the use of groundsel in the poultice that an earlier form of this plant name was possibly gundeswelg(i)we "pus-swaller" (see OED "groundsel")

Grieve's unsourced observation (p. 378) on the use of common groundsel that "[f]or gout, it was recommended to "pound it with lard, lay it to the feet and it will alleviate the disorder"" is possibly a reference to the present remedy.

737 grundeswylgean, da de on arenu waxed : Here on can be translated either "on" or "in" since common groundsel "grows almost everywhere, and is to be found as frequently on the tops of walls as among all kinds of rubbish and waste ground..." (Grieve p. 377).

Cf (perhaps) Lacn. l. 760 seo reade netele de þurh ærn inwyxð.

ENTRY CXXI

742-3 do in wīn ... mhtmhsig : Cf. the Omont Fragment (ed. Schauman & Cameron [1977: 292]). do in wīn oððo in god waelcalo. Drince on næhntmisig bollan fulle.
744 peorwerce: "Pain caused by peor". GS (following the suggestion of C p. 51 n. a) emend to peohece ("pain in the thighs"), presumably on the assumption that the first element in the compound noun should - like the accompanying endwerce and fotswilum - be anatomical. This is a possibility, but not a completely safe assumption since OE peorwerce is attested amid a series of remedies for peor in BLch (120/7).

Cf. I. 976 peorece in a similar context which GS emend to peohece.

ENTRY CXXII

OE Parallel and Lat. Source:

*Wid gicpan para gesceapa genim pas ylcan wyre [i.e. dweorgedweosle pollegion],
seod on weallendon water, let ponne cohan swa oðþæt hyt man drincan mæge, 7
hvt ponne drince, hyt gelþpegap bone gicpan.*

*[Ad veretn pruriginem. Herba puleium in aqua fervente maceratum, tamdiu donec
bibit possat aqua, optimum est et pruriginem sedat.]*

*[OEHerb (138/7-9)]*

OE Parallel (also based on OEHerb):

*Wip wambe gicpan: dweorgedwostlan weorp on weallende water; let socian on
lange oðþæt mon mæge drincan þæt water. [BLch (240/5-7)]*

ENTRY CXXIII

747 wvrmod: Wormwood is a traditional vermifuge. It is also used in the following entry and in Entries CXXVIII and CXXX. Perhaps Entries CXXIII and CXXIV and CXXVIII-CXXXI once formed a contiguous group of remedies wid lusum.

ENTRY CXXV

751 Wip innodes hefignesse: Perhaps hefignesse can be interpreted literally here ("heaviness") as especially symptomatic of indigestion or of constipation. It appears that hefignes might also mean "affliction", as in I. 974 wid breosta hefignesse.
C mistranslates "heaviness of the mind".

751 syle etan radic mid sealte: cf. perhaps Pliny (NH 19.85):

*Crudos medici suadent ad colligenda acrida viscerum cum sale dandos esse, atque ita vomitionibus praeparant meatum.*

ENTRY CXXVI

753 *Wīd fleogendan attre*: Cf. I. 58 and ll. 580-91 (in the *Nine Herbs Charm*).

753 feower healfa: C thinks the feower healfa refer to "the four quarters of the heavens"; GS seem to agree. This interpretation is possible, but a simpler explanation might be to refer them to the four sides of the body. This view would render the cutting of flesh and the subsequent reddening of the stick readily paired instructions.

753 æcenan brande: BTS (see æcen and aren) suggests this should read arenan brande, but this seems unjustified, and BTC cancels the suggestion. The word "oaken" is not instanced before the fourteenth century in *OED* and *ODEE*.

754 *sing dis on III*: C gives no indication of his opinion about what the prayers are to be sung onto since he omits to translate on. GS (p. 173) assume without question that it is the stick, but, since the direction to throw it away precedes this, it is possible that they are to be sung onto the four scarifications - hence the four crosses and the four evangelists? (Cf. the similar, though much more direct, correspondence of such fours in ll. 249-50).

754 *geblodga bone brand; weorp on weg*: Payne thinks that by making the stick bloody the disease was thought to be transferred to it, and was simply removed by the action of throwing it away. There are some OE parallels to *Lacn*. here in *BLch*:

---

*S invents the OE heading *Wīd fleogendan attre* "Against flying venom", but gives no indication that it is supplied editorially."
1. Eft wip onfealle: genim æt fruman hæselne sticcan oppe ellenne; writ þinne naman on; asleah þry scearpan on; gefylle mid þy blode þone naman; weorp ofer eaxle oppe betweoh þeoh on yrnde wæter, 7 stand ofer þone man; þa scearpan aslea, 7 þæt eall swiginde gedo. [BLch (104/6-11)]

2. Wip þon gíf hunta gebile mannan - þæt is swiþra: sleah þry scearpan neah fromweardes; læt yrnan þæt blod on grenne sticcan hæselne; weorp þonne ofer weg aweg, þonne ne bip nan yfel. [BLch (142/21-4)]

3. Eft: asleah V scearpan - æne on þam bite 7 feower ymbutan; weorp mid sticcan swægande ofer wænweg. [BLch (144 6-8)]

Alternatively perhaps, since the poison is said to be flying (at the reciter of the charm?), and since world folklore also manifests many examples of objects being flung into the air to combat airborne spirits, it is just possible that the action is an aggressive retort to flying poison which has yet to afflict the person. This, however, seems less likely. For more on this practice see notes to the following entry where a spear is hurled against mysterious javelin-throwing women.

On the throwing of the bloodied twig to remove evil see also Barley [1972: especially 72], more generally on such practices see Hand [1975b].

755-6 conserved . . liberat ... aduuat: I interpret these verbs as subjunctives following ducoð


The MS form contrive has been attained either through confusion with contribuare, or through back-formation from the perfect stem of contere. It is perhaps not
necessary to emend to Contere ... however, no parallel for contrive seems to have been recorded."
ENTRY CXXVIIa + b

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

(For other (minor) pre-1978 editions which I have not seen consult Lendinara [1978])

1843: Wright & Halliwell


1849: Kemble

1850: Ettmüller

1854: Bouterwek

1861: Rieger

1866. C

1882: Wulcker

1883: Wü

1884 Sweet

1902 Kluge

1909 G

1928 Sedgefield

1930 Flom

1931 Naumann (omits prose instructions)

1942 ASPR 6

1948. S

1952 GS

1955 Lehnert

1993. Rodrigues

1994 Doane

The text is also edited in the following PhD theses: Pender [1969], Stuart [1974], Sandmann [1975] and Abernethy [1983].
PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP (EXCLUDING EDITIONS)

1892: Gummere
Brooke
1894: Kögel
1903: Ebermann
1906: Brie
1910: Brie
1911a & b: Skemp
1916: Bunz
1920a & b Holthausen
1925. Horn
1926. Bonser [1926a]
Gordon
1927. Gr
1929. Philippson
Kittredge
1932. Chadwick & Chadwick
1933. Dickins
1935. Wardale
1937a & b Magoun
1941 Heusler
Malone
1943. Kennedy
1947: Magoun
1951: Holthausen
1953: Magoun
1956: Davidson
1960: Davidson
1961: Hampp
1962-3: Ryan
1963: Bonser
Crawford
1965: Stanley
1967: Wrenn
1969: Thun
1970: Chaney
1971: Chickering
1972: Taylor
1975: Stanley
1976: Doskow
1977: Nelson [not seen]
1978: Hauer
1979: Pilch & Tristram
1981: Meaney
1982: Glosecki
Robinson
1983: Lecouteux
Vaughan-Sterling
1984: Fell
Damico
1985: Stuart
Weston
1988: Lecouteux
1988b: Cameron
1989: Meaney
Glosecki
Nelson
1991: Niles
1992: Bragg
Meaney (1992a)
1993: Cameron
1994: Linsell
1995: Clemoes

TRANSLATIONS: A SELECTION

This entry has been translated many times, but is most conveniently rendered into English in the editions of C, G, GS, S, and Rodrigues [1993] (all parallel to the OE text).

See also e.g. Gummere [1892: 372-3], Gordon [1954: 85-6], Cook & Tinker [1935: 168],

This is perhaps the only Anglo-Saxon charm with enough aesthetic appeal to warrant serious critical assessment of its artistic merits - and concomitantly of its remedial effectiveness; it is also the only one to have consequently caught the imagination of a significant modern poet. For before he rendered The Seafarer into modern English, Ezra Pound had addressed this charm (see also Commentary to ll. 762-3). According to Robinson [1982. 244-5], whose text I reprint below, Pound's translation of the text "survives in two typewritten copies, one obviously a revised draft of the other. I reproduce the second draft, with Pound's title, supplying editorially only the second and third commas and a period at the end of line 9". Its curtailment before the litanic section (ll. 779-85) may reflect scholarly debate about the integrity of the text (cf. his The Seafarer).

Fragment

From an ANGLO-SAXON CHARM

Loud were they, loud as over the hill they rode
Were resolute, as they rode over the land.
Shield thee now! that thou escape this malice.
Out little spear if ye herein be!
Stood under linden wood under the light shield
While all the witch women - mhhigan wif - gathered their power
Sent spears a-yelling.
I will send again to them, flying arrows

To ward their advances.

* E.g. ll. 766-70 are rendered
"When the Fates ran amuck,
Those mighty old hags on their green-crested nags
Pressing horribly near, and couching their spear,
I stood under cover and darted one over
An excellent arrow, its aim was so narrow "
and ll. 786-7
"Flit away by dusk woods to the perilous hill!
Be whole! may God help thee, omnipotent will!"
Out little spear if ye herein be!

There sate the smith,
Struck the little sword
Struck with hammer, mightily.
Out little spear if ye herein be!
Six smiths sate wrighting war spears.

Out spear lie not in spear.
If herein be any iron at all
By witch work it to melting shall.\[288\]

Robinson discusses in some detail the merits and technique of this translation, which he thinks is "very close" to the original. However, it may be noted that:

i Contrary to Robinson's opinion (p. 245), it is not "made clear" in the latter part of the poem that the muhtgan wif are to be identified with the hægtessan (Pound's "the witch women - muhtgan wif").

ii To render linde as "linden wood" is potentially misleading, since the reference is probably to a shield.

iii 1. 770 flæne is probably sg. not pl. (Pound's "arrows").

iv. The translation of l. 778 as "By witch work it to melting shall" is mistaken - it is clearly the work of the witch (the isenes del of l. 777) that is to melt, not a witch that is to cause the melting.

SURVEY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Critical attention on this charm in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century focussed mainly - often in short notes - upon detailed points of perceived MS corruption and textual difficulty, suggesting numerous emendations as rectification.

\[288\] Robinson (1982 243) also records Pound's statement that.
"For twenty years throughout I have had in my head a few fragments of Anglo-Saxon:
Hiude weorun hy la hiude
Tha hy ofer thon lond rydon
Weorun anmoda, tha hy ofer thon lond rydon."
(see Textual Apparatus), and upon the identification, action and roles of the various participants, with emphasis justly placed upon the preserved elements of Anglo-Saxon paganism (see e.g. Gummere [1892: 374-5] and Kennedy [1943: 8-10]). The question of the relationship of the concluding prose directions to the rest of the charm was considered (notably Skemp [1911b: 291] and S (p. 146)), as was that of the litanic exorcism (ll. 779-85) (with its marked change in style) to the preceding lines, with the idea being propounded that the latter may once have been a distinct charm (notably S (pp. 142-3)).

The most substantial early treatments are those of G, Skemp [1911b: 289-93], and especially Horn [1925] (noteworthy for remarks on the structure of the charm and the role of iron); S remains an influential edition and discussion.

More recent criticism has continued to discuss these issues and also attempted detailed interpretations of the charm as a whole, with particular emphasis upon the issue of the nature of the charm's unity. Critics are also often appreciative of the text's dramatic immediacy. The most notable treatments are those of Malone [1948: 42] (who declares it "a little masterpiece of its kind" (a view endorsed by Glosecki [1989: 109])), Chickering [1971] (a sophisticated reading asserting that the text displays no clear structural integrity, but is unified rather by virtue of the speaker's dramatic performance), Sandmann [1975: chap 7] (includes detailed consideration of the poem's structure), Doskow [1976], Hauer [1978] (argues that "the essential unity of the poem's two parts indeed can be demonstrated and that the seemingly disparate elements of the charm are bound together in a surprisingly well coordinated, balanced pattern of verbal and imagistic echoes"), and Glosecki [1989] (relates the charm to practices typical of northern European shamanism); Glosecki's is the most detailed and largely convincing reading to date.

All of these critics have useful things to say, though most can, in my opinion, be found overstating their cases. However, although clear progress has been made (notably by Glosecki) towards an informed understanding of the text, it remains the case that the charm assumes knowledge about contexts, beliefs and superstitious practices in Anglo-Saxon England that we simply do not have; although analogy with similar practices in other cultures can certainly be enlightening, there is much that is new, and will
doubtless always remain, irremediably dark. The student of this charm will probably soon come to agree with Glosecki's observation [1989: 109] that "[q]ubbles creep in over almost every line of this lyrical charm".

MEDICINAL EFFICACY

The complaint faerstice cannot be narrowly defined (see n. to l. 760), but Cameron [1993: 142-4] (citing Grieve) observes that feferfuige (i.e. (?)feverfew) is "prescribed by herbalists for the relief of rheumatic and other pains"; he also notes that, as opposed to true nettles, red dead-nettles (l. 760 seo reade netele) "give ease in gout, sciatica and other pains in the joints and muscles" when applied as a salve, and that common plantain (l. 760 wegbraede) "was recommended for gout, for pain or swelling of sinews, for sore feet, etc". In sum: "all three herbs have been recommended for muscular and joint pains, hence useful against "sudden stitch", when applied as a salve to the aching parts".

If feferfuige is indeed feverfew then a modern East Anglian folk remedy may also be noted (Vickery [1995: 131]): "Feverfew boiled and strained is used to allay pain". See, however, n to l. 788 on the uncertainty as to whether the salve is applied to the patient or to a knife (if indeed ll. 760-1 do constitute a salve, and if it is to be identified with l. 788 waran).

STRUCTURE

For a century and a half the present entry has occasioned a great deal of commentary, more indeed than for any other Anglo-Saxon remedy. However, despite much attention having being paid to the attempt to explicate the charm's structural unity, it is sobering to note that most scholars have either overlooked (or not made sufficiently explicit) the possible implication of the MS layout, which may suggest that ll. 760-1 (Entry CXXVII a) and ll. 762-88 (Entry CXXVII b) are to be distinguished as two quite separate entities. For not only does l. 762 Hlude have a very large capital H (much larger indeed than the initial wynn in l. 760 Wido), but a clear point also follows l. 761 buteran in MS, with the

---

The issue is, however, briefly addressed by the text's most recent editor - Doane [1994: 142].
rest of the line (a considerable space) being left blank. This combination is unambiguously paralleled only once elsewhere mid-entry in *Lacn.* (the division at ll. 254-5 between prose directions and subsequent incantation), but is a common means of distinguishing single remedies or groups of related remedies. In contrast to ll. 760-1, the concluding prose directions l. 788 *Nim ponne boet seax; ado on waton* are not visually distinguished from the verse lines at all in MS, but follow on immediately without any space or punctuation.

Clearly if the MS layout were the only matter to be taken into consideration in determining the integrity of the text at this point we would scarcely hesitate to present the text as two separate entries - the fact that the verse incantation follows on immediately not being deemed problematic since it might simply constitute the second member of a group of two distinct, but associated, remedies for the same affliction (i.e. sudden stabbing pain). Of the influential editors both C and GS do so distinguish two remedies<sup>290</sup>, while S and ASPR 6 print as one remedy, the latter following a precedent started with the very first edition of the charm (that of Wright & Halliwell [1841-3: 237-8]). The unified layout is adopted by all commentators, upon the basis of which some have founded sophisticated readings which would be rendered at least partly incorrect if the implication of the MS layout were upheld.

Moreover, there is no necessity for the prose recipe to depend upon the following verse charm, even though it might then lack directions as to how the concoction is to be employed for prose remedies without such explicit directions for use - where the intended mode of administration is not obvious or explicitly connected to an immediately preceding remedy - constitute Entries XXIII (a rather vague *nytta hy ponne de dearf sy*), LXXIV, LXXXI a + b (possibly drinks), LXXXII, CV, and CXLIV (perhaps a drink like the subsequent entry). However, such directionless remedies are a very small minority in *Lacn.* Note also that if the prose recipe is granted autonomy it need not, as is commonly assumed when considered in conjunction with the poem, be certainly a salve - judging from *Lacn.* Entries LVI, LX, and LXI it might also be a drink, or a *briw,* for ingestion.

---

<sup>290</sup>C (p. 53, n. a) remarks that the verse text is "fragmentary, it partly explains its own object"; GS (pp. 172-5) give the prose recipe and the verse different entry numbers and attribute them to (as they see it) two different "strata" of *Lacn.* (namely x and b). It may be noted that one important recent commentator (Cameron: [1993: 191-2]) quotes GS's text as one unified entity without comment.
The problem, it may be thought, with viewing the text as two separate entries is that the verse incantation, contrary to normal procedure in the OE medical corpus, then gives no explicit indication of its purpose or of how it was to be employed - it is usual to find headings such as \textit{Wid hwostan}, or \textit{Wid lungenadle} etc. However, there are a few instances in \textit{Lacn.} where it appears probable (though not certain) that a new entry closely related to the previous one begins without being preceded or followed by such a heading or other indication of use, in particular Entries XXXIII, (?)XLII, and LVI. In these cases the ailment concerned is presumably to be understood from the previous entry or entries; alternatively they might be fragmentary (an introductory \textit{Efr} "Again (for the same purpose)" perhaps having been omitted). Note also that the use to which \textit{Lacn.} Entry LXXVI (the \textit{Nine Herbs Charm}) - also a \textit{galdor} - is put is uncertain. Furthermore, there are definite instances of OE charms "explaining their own object" (C's phrase, p. 53 n. a) without accompanying prose directions to detail the complaint to be cured or the manner of (presumed) recitation - namely the metrical charms now known as \textit{A Journey Charm} (ASPR 6 no. 11) and \textit{Against a Wen} (ASPR 6 no. 12)\textsuperscript{39}. In favour of the consideration of the text as one unified entity it may be added that the temporal sequence of action suggested by l. 788 \textit{ponne} "then" might follow on from l. 761 \textit{wull in buteran} (but alternatively it might rather follow on from the throwing of the \textit{flan} in ll. 769-70 of the verse), and that l. 788 \textit{weatan} refers to the herbal mixture that is prepared in ll. 760-1.

Given all these unprovable possibilities, I think sufficient doubt is shed on the matter to justify the hesitancy of my presentation of the text as two sections ([a] and [b]) within one main entry. I hope that this will be considered not so much an unhelpful equivocation, [39] Cf also the famous OHG \textit{Marseburg Charms} (ed. Brunn & Ebbinghaus [1979: 89 no. 1]; \textit{Wipf} [1992: 64-7 nos. 1 2 and 2 1]).

For further examples and discussion of the omission of "utterance instructions" in OE charms see Stuart [1985], who remarks (p. 35)

\begin{quote}
Within the charm, the utterance instruction is usually stated explicitly. However, if an utterance instruction is formally absent from a charm, its presence may still be implied textually. The implied utterance instruction can be best exemplified by \textit{Wid Farstane} ... The instructions that frame the poetic incantation here - do not include directions for its utterance; yet from the context it seems clear that the incantation is meant to be uttered, presumably sung over the medicine being prepared.
\end{quote}

Here, however, the verse incantation is surely addressed to the \textit{patent} (ll. 764, 789 \textit{chw}, ll. 783, 785, 787 \textit{chw}, l. 787 \textit{weast}), not to the medicinal substance (should there indeed be any).
as a conspicuous reminder of, and judicious response to, this most important and irremediably uncertain of issues.

The structure and integrity of the verse "section" (Entry CXXVII b) is less fundamentally problematic, but does also present considerable difficulties.

The poem seems to fall naturally into two sections. The first (ll. 762-78) consists largely of a series of past tense scenes, or "narrative suggestions" (Bloomfield [1964: 540]), depicting various vaguely defined (or at least they appear so now) participants and their actions in the drama, separated from each other by the four-times repeated present tense imprecatory refrain Ut, lytel spere, gis herinne sie (and its variants), by means of which the spear is to be removed. These figures - though they are not necessarily all distinct from each other - are: i. riders (ll. 762-3 hy), ii. mighty women (ll. 767-8 mihtigan wif), iii a smith (ll. 772-3 smid), iv. six smiths (l. 775 syx smidas), and v. (indirectly by reference to her work) a (?)witch or witches (or at least some form of malevolent female being) (ll. 777-8 hærgessan). In addition to these figures the presence and active role of a healer is perceived through the refrain, and through his declarations intended to prevent further injury to the patient which immediately follow each of the first two scenes (ll. 764 and 769) The first of these (l. 764 Scyld ðu ðe nu) is defensive - the patient must shield himself from attack; the second shows the healer, having shielded himself in the past (l. 766 Stod under linde, under leochtum scylde), adopting an aggressive posture - he will follow defence with direct full-frontal attack (l. 769-70 Íc him oðerne eft wille sædan, fleogende flane forane togeanes).

The second section (ll. 779-87) is characterized by sober and deliberate formulaic enumeration, rather than by the quick depiction of foes and bold, aggressive first person commands; the focus of attention is now centred upon the patient. 292 We may perceive a simpler structure of three related sub-sections:

i. ll. 779-81 (names all possible anatomical parts in which the "shot" may be lodged).

ii. ll. 782-5 (names - and consequently perhaps gains power over - all possible assailants, and twice asserts the healer's willingness to help the sufferer).

292 For a consideration of the distinctions between the two sections in terms of style and general approach see Weston [1985 176-80]
iii. ll. 786-7 (l. 786 is somewhat unclear, but l. 787 asserts the cure's completion, and adds a final (presumably Christian) benediction).

What is much less clear is the relationship of the various figures (with the exception of the healer and the patient) to one another, what distinctions and identifications are to be made, what roles are consequently to be deduced, and how such issues have a bearing on the integration of the two sections of the verse charm. The issues are probably not now definitively solvable, but must be outlined here (for more information on the nature of the various figures see subsequent notes on individual lines in the poem).

The main difficulty lies in the problem of identifying the multiple groups of figures in the first section with the trinity of disease-causing beings in the second (i.e. ll. 782-5 esal ... alla ... heægtessan). Any such match is not - at least to the modern reader - a straightforward one, and it might be thought that the attempt is misguided and literal-minded: Chickering [1971: 95] may be right to suggest that "the only unity" between the two sections "is the continuity of a single goal-directed gesture" against the "shot" of hostile beings. However, the following possibilities seem worthy of consideration, though none can be proven correct:

i. the riders (hy ll. 762-3) are the gods (esal ll. 782, 784), the mihhtgan wif (ll. 767-8) are to be identified with the witch(es) (heægtessan ll. 778, 783, 785), and the six smiths (ll. 775) are the elves (vifal. 782, 784). These three groups correspond to the trinity of ll. 782-3, but not in the same order: gods, witches, elves (smiths) versus gods, elves, witches. This is the view of Hauer [1978].

In addition the single smith (l. 772) is either a malevolent figure (so Doskow [1976: 324-6]) - in which case all the beings depicted in the first section are causers of affliction, or (the usual view, but less likely) a benevolent figure who forged the healer's seax (or at least an analogous seax); so e.g. Skemp [1911b: 292]. Chickering [1971: 101]; cf. Glosecki [1989: 135].

ii. the loud (hlutde) riders (ll. 762, 763 hy, otherwise unidentified) are the loud (gyllede) mihhtgan wif (note also l. 768 hy?), and are together to be identified as the gods; the six smiths are the elves, and l. 783 heægtessan alone equates with ll. 783 and 785
haegtessan. The single smith may be either another malevolent elf, or (less likely?) a benevolent figure who forged the healer's seax (or a representative seax). This approach produces a neat match, and, if we must choose one, may consequently seem to be the best solution.

iii. the riders are the gods, the mihtigan wif and l. 778 haegtessan together equate with ll. 783 and 785 haegtessan, the single smith corresponds to the elves, while the six smiths benevolently forged spears for the healer.

iv. the riders and mihtigan wif are the gods, the single smith corresponds to the elves, l. 778 haegtessan equates with ll. 783 and 785 haegtessan, while the six smiths benevolently forged spears for the healer.

v. the single smith is a benevolent figure who forged the healer's seax, as are the six smiths who forged his spears29; therefore neither are to be equated with the elves, and - unless the riders are the gods, the mighty women the elves, and l. 778 haegtessan equates with ll. 783 and 785 haegtessan (as it must) - the trinity of the second section cannot be identified in the first

An alternative view is held by Stuart [1976: 319-20], who on the basis of a tenuous circular chain of connection based mainly upon glossorial equations of various supernatural female beings (l. 767 mihtigan wif = dunelfa "mountain elves" = muses = goddesses furnes ll. 778, 783, 785 haegtessan = l. 767 mihtigan wif) believes that the reason for the enumerative trinity of ll. 782-5 and the nature of its relationship to the first part of the verse charm becomes apparent (p. 320):

The magician knows that the arrow was shot by a certain group of females; but in terms of his own culture, these females might be goddesses, or elves, or haegtessan. If he names the creatures incorrectly, he will be powerless against them, so he ensures his success by reciting all three possibilities.

If such attempts are unjustified, the question might be tentatively raised whether the second section does not constitute either entirely or partially an originally autonomous charm: S (pp. 142-3; and so Rodrigues [1993: 36]) believes, on the basis of the two

---

29 Horn [1925: 92] takes this view of the smiths, enabling him to discern an incremental increase in the power of the healer's weapons - shield to arrow to knife to deadly spears.
sections' stylistic and metrical distinctness, that two originally "different charms were probably mixed up, apparently caused by the identical expressions *Hægtesan geweorc* ... and *Hægtesan gescot*" (S pp. 142-3)\(^{29}\). However, this argument seems to me doubtful, and to support a speculative argument for difference on the basis of quite a close linguistic *correspondence* is unpersuasive. It does remain conceivable, however, on grounds of details of subject matter rather than of style, that the section of the poem is not entirely of a piece with the first. This may not have been a vital concern to (or an aim of) the Anglo-Saxon author, and it does not necessarily follow that either section was once fully autonomous, that the text as we have it can be rearranged and pulled apart to produce two shorter charms (so Sandmann [1975: 92-3] who entitles ll. 779-85 *Wid gescotum* "Gegen die Geschosse").

**THEME**

The theme of attack by the projectiles of evil spirits (especially elves) is implicit in a number of other OE remedies (see "Sources and Analogues" below), though in form none remotely approaches this incantation (see also Commentary to l. 778). The conception of disease being caused by the the projectiles of evil spirits and wicked men is widespread and ancient\(^{29}\). In northern Europe the projectiles are frequently attributed, as here, to elves and/or sorcerers - and the present realisation of this is perhaps the most dramatic and striking account to have survived.

This concept of being "shot" by disease, which often resulted from the projectiles of supernatural creatures, proved long-lived in England\(^{30}\); in *EDD* (vols. II and V, under

\(^{29}\)Kögel [1894] also thanks that this second section is a later addition, "eine jüngere Paralleldichtung", intended to replace rather than complete the preceding lines.

\(^{30}\)For a consideration of projectile-intrusion, including elf-shot, as a cause of disease in primitive medical thought see Sigerist [1951 chap 2], who remarks (p 128): The idea of object-intrusion as one of the primary causes of disease is very widespread. It is almost universal on the American continent, is found in northeastern Siberia, southeastern Asia, Australia, and New Zealand, is encountered in Africa as spots, and almost universally in European folklore. An individual is suddenly struck with illness and he knows that an object has been shot into his body. This object may be anything from a small pebble, a bit of straw, leather, earth, coal, a piece of quartz, glass, a splinter of wood, a bean, a fishbone, or a shell, to an insect, a worm, or another small animal.

"Elf", and "Shot"), for example, we find the words "elf-arrow", "elf-bolt", "elf-shot" (noun and past participle), "elfshotten", "elfshoot" ("to bewitch, enchant"), and "shot" ("cast at by fairies").

The subject of battle, usually against humans, but occasionally specifically against devils and evil spirits, is broadly typical of OE heroic poetry and of the old Germanic narrative tradition in general. The stylistic aspects addressed in the section Style and Metre - a "highly poetical dress" (Malone [1948: 42]) - and the determined reciprocity of the aggressive defence in ll. 769-70 may betray an awareness of and, within the scope of a limited compass and ambition, a successful evocation of that poetic tradition, even though, judged by the standard of "classical" OE verse, metrical "irregularities" are very apparent.

**SOURCES AND ANALOGUES**

No written source for this text has been found, and similar practices from around the world strongly suggest that its ultimate origins lie in oral traditions now almost entirely lost to us (at least from Anglo-Saxon England), rather than (despite the present MS context) predominately in a literate and lettered culture. Moreover, the alliterative pairings and enumerations of ll. 779-81, in their correspondence to other similar and widespread cross-cultural enumerative formulae (e.g. in the OHG Second Merseburg Charm - see n. to ll. 779-80), may also suggest this.

There are countless recorded practices that parallel the belief in disease-causing projectiles shot by malefic agents both human and non-human, as well as the belief in the apotropaic power of iron that might be implicit in the reference to pet sex in l. 788 (for this latter see n. thereto). Specifically, OE medical texts contain a number of remedies for

---

29 Briggs [1976: 23] states that the modern term "stroke", when referring to a paralytic seizure, "is an abbreviation of "fairv stroke" or "elf stroke", and was supposed to come from an elf-shot or an elf-blow, which struck down the victim." However, OED ("stroke" s. h. 6a) and ODEE ("stroke") state that it derives from the "stroke of God's hand".

27 Cf. most notably in the poem Beowulf the hero's conflict with the monsters Grendel and his mother (who are said in ll. 111-14 to be akin to the elves) - the parallel does not extend to the methods of combat.

28 Gloscoki [1989: 131-14] compares Wulfric's action in the Battle of Maldon (cf. also the final stand of Gunmar of Hlédarend in A Dissaga) in which the assailant's own spear is hurled back at them. Gloscoki thinks that here too the demons' own spear is sent back in retaliation to their home on the mountain-top (l. 786). However, l. 769 reads le him odorn eft wile sundon (note the alliterative stress on odorne), seeming to indicate that the healer's flam (probably sg., and possibly not exactly synonymous with spear) is not the very same "little spear".

26 See e.g. the variants and parallels to this part of the Second Merseburg Charm collected by Ebermann [1903: chap 1] (see also Christman [1914]).
"(elf)-shot" (in horses or other livestock) and *stïce* "(stabbing) pain" which may usefully be collected together here to demonstrate the range of associations of the affliction and the diverse methods of treatment, and thus possibly provide some approximation to a contemporary context in which to read the present charm. Particularly noteworthy perhaps is the frequent use of exorcistic Christian rites (conspicuously absent from the present charm) implying the involvement of devils/disease-demons and, in one remedy (no. 4), the remedial use of a seax, perhaps for the purpose of retaliatory puncturing (cf. l. 787 *nim honne ðæt seax?*)

1. *Gif hors gescoten sy, odde ðæter neat: nim ompræn sæd 7 Scyttisc wex; gesinge mæssepreost XII mæssan ofer 7 do haligwæter on; 7 do þonne on þæt hors, oddæ on swa hwylc neat swa hit sie; hafa þe þæ wyrtæ symæ mid.*

*Lacn. Entry CXI; another version of this remedy, with *øfsocoten* and *mon* for gescoten and mæssepreost can be found in BLch (156/26-29)]

2. *Wip þon ican: nim tobrécene nædle eage; stinge hindan on þone hyran; ne blíp nan ieona.* [BLch (156/30-31)]

3. *Gif hors bid gescoten:*

"Sanentur animalia in orbe terre" et "ualtudine vexantur"; in nomine Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti extingunt diabolum per impositionem manum nostrarum;

"Quas nos separaumus a caritate Christi?" per invocationem omnium sanctorum tuorum, per eum qui uult et regnat in secula seculum. Amen. "Domine quid multiplicat sunt?" III. [Lacn. Entry CLV]

4. *Gif hors øfsocoten se: nim þonne ðæt sex ðe ðæt hæflæ se fealo hryperes horn 7 sæn III æræne næglas on. Writ þonne þam horse on þam heafðe foran Cristesmæl 7 on leópæ gehwilcæ þe þu æfteolan mæge. Nim þonne ðæt winestre eære þurh sting swagende. Pis þu sceall don: genim ane grede; sleah on ðæt bæc,

---

*On nos. 1 (both versions) to 4 below see esp. Thun [1969, 383-6].*
ponne biþ þæt hors hal; 7 awrit on þæs seaxes horne þas word "Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum". Sy þæt ylfa þe him sie þis mæg to bote.

[BLch (290/22-31)]

5. Se hwita stan mæg wiþ stice 7 wiþ fleogendum atte 7 wiþ eallum uncultum brocum. Du scealt hine scaban on wæter 7 drincan tela micel 7 þære readan eorpan del scæfe þærto, 7 þa stanas sinn ealle swiðe gode of to drincanne wiþ eallum unculticum þing. Ponne þæt fyr of þam stane aslegen hit is gode wið ligetta 7 wið þunorradan 7 wið ælces cynnes gedwol þing.

[BLch (290/9-16); these are among the remedies sent by Elias of Jerusalem to King Alfred]

6. Wiþ instice genim aprotan 7 attorlaðan, bisceopwyrt þa suðernan; gehæte on beore 7 supe. Gif stice butan innode se genim þonne þa readan netlan 7 ealde sapan gebeat tosomne 7 smiræ mid 7 beþe mid to fyre.

[BLch (274 29-276 3); note the use of "red nettle" as in Lacn. 1. 760]

7. Ic me on þæse gyerde beluce and on Godes helde bebeode,

wið þane sara stice, wið þane sara slegge,

wið þane grymme gryre,

wið þane micela egþe þe bid eghwam lað,

and wið eal þæt lað þe into land fare.

[OE metrical Journey Charm (ASPR 6 no. 11, ll. 1-5)]

So far as I know, the only other reasonably detailed treatment of "elf- (or associated originators') shot" from the early Germanic world is found at the end of the thirteenth-century Olcel Bandamanna saga, where the effect is fatal\footnote{Bobberg's [1966] motif index of Olcel literature seems to lack references to elf-shot and related concepts.}:

8. Ok er þeir koma ut med Þalfeili, þá heynra þeir sem strengr gjalli upp i felliit, ok þvi næst kennir Hermundr sér söttar ok stinga undir hondna, ok verða þeir at
vikja aprir feróinni, ok elnar honum sóttin. Ok er þeir koma fyrir Þorgautsstadi,
þá verðr at hefja hann af baki; er þá farit aprir presti í Síðumúla, ok er hann
kemr, þá mátti Hermundr ekki mæla ... Ok síðan andask hann.

[ed. Magerøy [1981: 35]; also available in Íslensk Forrit vol. VII, pp. 360-1]

"When they came out by Valfell, they heard what sounded like a bowstring
twang up on the fell, and suddenly Hermund felt ill, and had a stinging pain
under his arm, and they had to turn back. The sickness grew worse, and when
they came to Thorgautsstadir they had to lift him off his horse. They sent to
Síðumúla for a priest. By the time he came, Hermund was unable to speak ....
Then he died." [Trans. Porter [1994: 113]]

Anglo-Saxon England does, however, also provide two accounts possibly analogous
to the present charm's description of an assault with metal weapons on a human by a witch
(cf l. 778 hægtessan gewearc) or demons. The first, found in a tenth-century charter, is
cited by Crawford [1963: 113] in her survey of Anglo-Saxon witchcraft, though only
Glosecki [1989: 127] draws a parallel with the present charm; it appears that an imitative
effigy of a man is stabbed with iron:

9. ... 7 þæt land æt Ægelswyrde headde an wydwe 7 hire sune ær forwyrt
forpanhe hi drifon serne stacan on Ælæe Wulfstanes feder 7 þæt werþ æereafe 7
man teh þæt morþ forþ of hire inchlæan. þa nam man þæt wif þæt ærenæte hi æt
lundene brigece 7 hire sune æðberst 7 werð ullah 7 þæt land eode þam kynge to
handa 7 se kyng hit forgeaf þa Ælæge 7 Wulstan ... 303

For numerous later examples of the belief that witches and fairies could send metallic
(and other) projectiles into their victims' bodies see Kittredge [1929: 133-4] and Rieti
[1991. 288-9]304. For a continental illustration of a witch armed with a bow shooting a
peasant in the foot with an enchanted hazel-wand see de Givry [repr. 1991: fig. 157 "The
Spell of the Bow", and pp. 182-3]. For discussions of Anglo-Saxon witches see Meaney
[1989] and Davies [1989].

303 CF Jørne [1921 §177]
304 CF also perhaps the other less certain "magical" instance cited by Crawford (p.112) from the Egbert
Penitential Gif hwa drife stacan on aemgne man fæste þreo gear ... ... 7 gif se man for þære stacunge dead biþ ... .
305 Ried reports that needles are a very common "fairy projectile" in recent Newfoundland folklore.
The other analogue (noted, edited and translated by Colgrave and Mynors [1969: 500 n. 2]), occurs in Bk 5 chap. 13 of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* - a diseased man is assaulted by two devils wielding certain implements called *vomeres* (a word added by the correctors of the early Northumbrian Leningrad and Moore MSS only; another MS has *cultra* before *manibus*):

10. *surgentesque duo nequissimi spiritus, habentes in manibus uomeres*, *percusserunt me, unus in capite et alius in pede; qui uidelicet modo cum magno tormento irreput in interiora corporis mei, moxque ut ad se inuicem peruenient, mortar, et paratis ad rapiendum me daemonibus in inferni clastra perprehari.*

"Then two very wicked spirits who had daggers [*vomeres*] in their hands struck me, one on the head and one on the foot. These daggers are now creeping into the interior of my body with great torment and, as soon as they meet, I shall die and, as the devils are all ready to seize me, I shall be dragged down into the dungeons of hell."

The interpretation of *vomeres* is a little uncertain - it might be thought strange that two correctors should use the usual word for a ploughshare if the weapon in question was simply a knife or sword (for which numerous commoner nouns would presumably have sprung to mind); furthermore, it might be thought appropriate that extremely wicked spirits should invert the words of Isaiah 2:4 (*confabunt gladios suos in vomeres*) by turning ploughshares into swords. However, Colgrave & Mynors observe that:

*Vomeres* would normally mean ploughshares but *uomer* can mean a short pointed instrument and, in the OE translation, is rendered by *handseax* meaning dagger or knife. In an Old English charm against stitch the sudden pain is attributed to little knives (called *seax* in one place), shot by witches ... It is possibly some such folklore idea which is preserved in this story.

For the meaning "dagger", "knife" cf. Latham [1965: 517] recording late fifteenth-century *vomerellus* "sheath of knife"); note also possibly the meaning "missile", 303 See textual apparatus in Colgrave and Mynors on this reading.

The possible confusion and/or assimilation of two originally distinct concepts, namely those of elf-shot and of the metaphorical shafts sent by the devils of the Judaeo-Christian world view, may also be noted here. In particular one Anglo-Saxon poetic description of the latter, in its references to a "sudden-shot", a poisoned point, a dangerous wound resulting from its penetration into the body, and the need to shield oneself for protection, is suggestive of the former, and so of this charm[^6]:

11. *He* [i.e. God] *his aras ponan*

*halig of heahðu, hider onsended,*

*þa us gescildap wð sceppendra*

*eeglum earhfarum, þi læs unholdan*

*wunde gewyrccen, þonne wrohtbora*

*in folc godes forð onsended*

*of his bægðbogan biterne streæ.*

*Forpon we fæste sculon wð þam færsocyte*

*swum werhce wearde healdan,*

*þy læs se attres ord in gebuge*

*biter bordgelæc under banlocan*

*feonda færsæaro. Þæt bið frecne wund,*

*blatast benna. C'on us beorgan þa,*

*pœden we on eordan eard weardæn;*

*utan us to fæder freopa wælman,*

*biddan bearn godes ond þone bidan gæst*

*þæt he us gescealde wð sceapan wepnum,*

*lapra lygesearwum, se us lÞ forgeaf,*

[^6]: Cf also Brownell 1743-7, the use of the word *wælþeum* "deadly darts" in Guthlac B (l. 1154a) is compared with medical usage (presumably specifically with "elf-shot") by Roberts [1979: 173]. An association between the weapons of Guthlac's attackers in the prose *Life of Guthlac* and the concept of elf-shot is made by Clarke [1975: 50]: "The ancient enemy of the human race shot the poisoned arrow of despair" right into the centre of his mind. This is not literary-poetic metaphor; it is the language of elf-shot and specific venom."

Cf. also the physical blindness caused by the devil's poisoned spear-tip in Juliana (II. 468b-72a, ed. Woolf [1977: 42]):

12. Often syne oftheah,
ablende bealoþoncum beorna unrim
monna cynnes, misthelme forbrægd
furh attres ord eagna leoman
sweartum scurum...

Very suggestive analogues to some aspects of the text in terms of its aggressive spirit, purpose (as previous scholars have to some extent noted), as well as in some points of detail, though again not in form, are to be found among the magical spells of the ancient Finns (the parallels seem to be close even at the level of imagery and figurative expression - see also n to II. 772-3). I quote four charms in translation (from Abercromby [1898 vol. II]) as examples. Note especially the retaliatory attack against devilish assault, the verbal attempt to remove the projectile and the presence and ambivalent role of the smith:

13. "I sew a fiery coat of fur with fiery selvages in a fiery room. In it I dress myself and then proceed to hunt the sudden stroke, to combat the elfshot disease. I hunt the stroke to fields run wild, I blow the elfshots to the clouds. If he has shot one arrow forth, two arrows I shall shoot; if he has shot two arrows forth, three arrows shall I shoot; if with three arrows he has shot, again I shoot with several, a hundred arrows I discharge, a thousand I launch forth. My bolts are swift and stronger are my tools of steel."
[Abercromby §20 a; cf. Hästeko [1914: Section 22, A1], and Kvideland & Schmidsdorff [1988: 142 no. 29.4]]

14. "The devil (Piru) forged bolts, the son of Áijo jagged spikes in the smithy of Hiltola, on Lapland's bird-snare plains. I happened to go there myself, a previous day, quite recently, while Piru was making bolts, was sharpening jagged spikes."
I ordered tiny tongs, a pair of useful tweezers to be made, with which I draw a sorcerer's bolts and the weapons of an "archer", out from a wretched human skin, the body of a woman's son." [Abercromby §37 a]

15. "Woe on thine "arrows," sorcerer! on thy "knives of iron," witch! tall Piru! on thy "shafts"; Lempo! on thy "leaf-headed spears." Archer! remove thine evil things, thy shooting instruments, O Piru, snatch thine arrows out, O Keitolainen, thy "spear," from a wretched human skin, the body of a mother's son. Shoot thine arrows forth into an evil willow's cracks, into swamps without a knoll, into the subsoil of the fields, into hills of steel or iron rocks; shoot the vipers, too, in the cleft of an iron hill; or mount up to the sky to the air above, to meddle with the clouds, to pierce the stars." [Abercromby §37 b]

16. "The island maiden, Annikki, went to the war of Istero; a plug of tin fell down, a silver terminal slit off into the space between two rocks; a sorcerer seized it in his hands, before it had time to reach the earth, he took it to a forge of smuths, into a tool a smuth fashioned it, forged the arrows of a sorcerer, an "archer's" evil instruments. The sorcerer shot his arrows forth, shot an arrow at the sky; the sky was like to split in two, etc." [Abercromby §208 a b]

See also n to II 772-3 and Abercromby §§20a, 37c, 112, 149, 208a, and 211.

Cf. also a passage from another Finnish charm (Loitsu-runoya §5a, as quoted by Bonser [1926a. 351]) which refers to evil hags (cf. OE hægresan?):

17. "I'll get to know thine origin ... elf-shots have been shot from the regions of divining men ... from the trampled fields of sorcerers, ... from the witchery of long-haired hags ... from the distant limits of the north ..."

Finally I note (cf. Bonser [1963: 159] and Sandmann [1975: 91]) a Scottish analogue to the second section (ll. 779-87) of the present Lacn. charm. It is a first-person Christian charm for the cure of cattle, cited "in the trial of Bartie Paterson in 1607", that enumerates
different types of "shot" and parts of the body (cf. Lacn. ll. 779-85), and commands the "shot" to depart from flesh and bone into stone (cf. Lacn. ll. 779-80, 786):

18. I charge thee for arrow-shot,

For door-shot, for womb-shot,

For eye-shot, for tongue-shot,

For liver-shot, for lung-shot,

For heart-shot, all the ma:t,

In the name of the Father, Son, and Haly Ghaist,

To wend out of flesh and bane

Into sack and stane;

In the name of the Father, Son, and Haly Ghaist. Amen.

[Chambers [n.d. (1870): 347-8]; see also EDD (vol. V under "Shot" sb. 4)]

**STYLE AND METRE**

[Lane references here are to the separate verse numbers]

1 There is use of anaphoric repetition in the enumerative lines 18-24.

2 Distinctively poetic vocabulary and usages are present, though not abundant, and compounds are rare

   i 1. 5 *linde* (similarly *lind* is an Olcel poetic *heiti* for "shield" - see CV *lind*).

   ii 1 14 *wælspera*.

   iii 1 35 *fyrgenhæfde* ("mountain-head", i.e. a metaphor for summit).

3 Parallel variation is present in lines:

   i ll 1-2 (a striking full line apposition).

   ii ll 5 *under linde*, ... *under leothum scylde*.

   iii ll. 8-9 *oderne*, ... *flane* ...

   iv ll 11-12. (possibly) *seax*, *lytel iserna*.

4. There is one exclusively, and one typically, poetic alliterative collocation:

   i 1. 7 *gvllende garas*.

---

Footnote:

*For some other examples of variation in OE metrical charms, and general commentary on repetition in OE poetry see Robinson [1979 esp 83-4]*
ii. I. 9 fleogende flane.

5. An intermittent "refrain" (*Ut lytel spere gif herinne siel*) is used four times in variant forms in ll. 4, 10, 13, and 15.

6. With the possible exception of ll. 6-8 (-don/-dan endings of *heræddon, sændan, sændan*) and l. 14 (*saetan, worhtan, which notably lacks conventional alliteration in the b-verse*), rhyme is not apparent beyond the correspondence in b-verses of words repeated in final position (ll. 1-2 ridan, ridan; ll. 7-8 sændan, sændan; l. 15 spere, spere; ll. 18-20 scoten, scoten, scoten, {scoten}, scoten; ll. 21-2 gescot, gescot, gescot, gescot; ll. 23-4 gescotes, gescotes, gescotes); note also the emphatic repetition in l. 1 *Hlude ... hlude.*

### SCANSION

[The following is a tentative scansion according to the system of Bliss {1958}. By "irregular" understand *"does not adhere to the metrical standard of classical OE verse"*]

| 1a | 1A1d | 1b | 2C2f |
| 2a | d2b | 2b | 2C2d |
| 3a | e1g² | 3b | 2C1a³ |
| 4a | 3E2 | 4b | 3B1b |
| 5a | a1c | 5b | a1b(2A1a) |
| 6a | 3B1b⁴ | 6b | a1b(1A1a)⁵ |
| 7a | d1b | 7b | 2A1a(i) |
| 8a | d1b | 8b | 1A1b(i)⁶ |
| 9a | 2A1a(iii) | 9b | 1A1a(i) |
| 10a | 3E2 | 10b | 3B1c(i) |
| 11a | Irregular | 11b | Irregular⁷ |
| 12a | 1D1(i)⁸ | 12b | Irregular (?or 2C1)-⁹ |
| 13a | 3E2 | 13b | 3B1b |

1. So too Pander. Though this particular type is not found in *Beowulf* that poem does attest one other one-stress line with an initial seven unstressed syllables (i.e. atg). See following n. for the difficulty of scanning this whole line.

Pander scans as a1a(2A1a), but the stress in *genesan* must be resolved.

If the usual layout is adopted with the mid-line caesura placed after *mu* the resulting b-verse then causes problems of metrical weight, pattern, and alliteration (double alliteration in the b-verse). The present layout doubtfully follows Pander, for although it is more easily scanned and has desirable single alliteration in the b-verse, the placing of the mid-line caesura after *mu* might be thought to be unnatural and injurious to the sense of the clause beginning with *mu*, according to the sense of wheth the pause would fall in the traditional position. It may be the case that *Scyld du de mu* ought to be taken as a single unpaired half-line thus

*Scyld du de mu.*

*mu* ch be mid *genesan* moite

1. *Scansion demands incorporation of the second -e* in *muhigan*, cf. 8b and 36b in the *Nine Herbs Charm* (Laxm Entry LXXVI).

2. Pander scans as a1b(1A1a*).

1. If irregular alliterative stress be allowed upon the unduplicated particle *eft* otherwise the line must lack alliterative stress and be classified (with Pander) as a1c.

2. Malone [1941, 80] remarks with regard to lift and drop patterns in OE verse that:

At one extreme may be found a line like...

*neat smid sloh seax,*

where each syllable is a major lift and drops are wholly wanting. In such a line the pattern stands stripped to the bone, or (speaking in atomic terms) stripped to the nucleus. One may compare Tennison's line,

*Break, break, break,*

where the stripping is equally thorough.

3. Pander's 1A1a(i) places stress on the second syllable of *iserna.*
Alliteration

i. Alliteration is either absent or doubtful in ll. 2, 12, 14, 25. In 17 we appear to have irregular alliteration (unless undisplaced hit "it" is in fact the noun "heat"). In l. 26 h alliteration appears to fall upon the undisplaced metrical particle helpe.

ii. Though st- and se- do not alliterate with each other in classical OE verse, there might be a chiasic ab ba alliterative arrangement (perhaps ornamental rather than fully functional) in l. 5 Stod under linde, under leochtum scylde.

iii. In l. 14 we appear to have irregular alliteration of s- with sp- in the second element of a compound noun. While alliteration of the second element in preference to the first may have been granted occasional licence in earlier Germanic lays and epic verse including Beowulf (see Campbell [1962: 17], but against this set Klaeber's Beowulf (p. 280 n. 2)), alliteration of s- with sp- is not expected in classical OE verse.

iv. There is noteworthy four-stress alliteration on one sound (s) in l. 11 Set smid, sloh seax. Cf. similarly the three-stress s alliteration in l. 14 Syx smidæ sætan.
v. The repeated refrain *Ut, lyre! spere, gif herinne sie* appears to have vocalic alliteration (*u-* and *i-* in *ut* and *inne*) (cf. l. 15 *Ut, spere! nas in spere*).

vi. If we are right to read l. 14a *Syx smidas saetan* (rather than the conjectural (?)*Syxsmidas saetan*) we may have an a-verse with triple alliteration. This is a rare feature in OE verse - see Roberts [1994: 46 and n. 51] who notes in particular *Christ III* l. 1360a *beorht boca bibod* and Resignation l. 43a *ful unysr faca*.

vii. Note that, as in "classical" OE poetry, palatal and velar *g-* do alliterate with each other (l. 7 *gylende garas*). Since this is a time-honoured collocation in Germanic poetry, it provides no sure basis for deducing a compositional date before the second half of the tenth century here; nevertheless, given that the poem undoubtedly has compositional roots in a heathen milieu, such a date does seem likely.310

The following metrical types occur (types not found in *Beowulf* are prefixed #; square brackets enclose frequency numbers):

L*ight* or one-stress verses:

- alc [1] : 5a
- ale [1] : 22b
- d1b [2] : 7a, 8a
- d2d [1] : 2a
- #elg [1] : 3a

Standard* or two-stress verses:

- 1A*1a(t) [1] : (?)26b
- 1A1b(t) [2] : 8b, 17b.
- 1A*1a(t) [1] : 9b

---

30 Malone [1941: 75-6] observes that "in OE (though not in ME) poetry one-stave alliteration to the extent of four lifts in one line is rare", but he notes, in addition to the present instance, the metrical charm *For Theft of Cattle* (ASPR 6, no. 9, 1 ') *Find hast feoh and fear hast feoh*.

31 Cf. Amos [1980: 101-2] "There was clearly a change in the alliterative practice of some poems in the tenth century or later. In general we can consider those poems in which *g* and [palatal] *g* can be proved to alliterate earlier than those in which *g* and [palatal] *g* can be proved not to alliterate."
1D*1(i) [1] : 12a.
2A3a(ii) [1] : 14b.
2C1a [1] : 3b.
2C2d [1] : 2b
2C2e [4 [5]] : 18a, 18b, 19a, [19b], 20a.
#2C2f [1] : 1b
3B1c(i) [1] : 10b
3B*1d [1] : 21a
3B*1e [1] : 21b
3E2 [3] : 4a, 10a, 13a
3E*2 [1] : 17a

Hypermetric verses:
#ala(2.41) [1] 25b
ala(1A1a) [1] : 6b
ala(2A1a) [1] : 5b.
alc(1A1a) [1] : 20b
alc(3E*2) [1] : 22a
Remainders/irregular verses:
11a, 11b, (?12b, 23a, 23b, 24a, 24b, 25a.

Overall Frequencies:
There are 7 light verses, 32 (31) standard verses, 6 hypermetric verses, and 7 "remainders". Of the standard verses there are 9 A types, 7 B types, 11 (10) C types, 1 D type, and 5 E types.

760 ḫud: "Against". Whereas it is occasionally unclear with other remedies (e.g. Lacn. Entry CXXVI) whether their purpose is preventative or remedial (or both), this charm seems to be both a prophylactic affording protection against the current attempted attack that extends indefinitely into future time (l. 764 Scyld du ðe nu: þu ðysne nið genesan mote?), and a treatment for the projectile which may have already found its mark (l. 765 Ut, lytel spere, gsf herinne se').

760 færstce: MS fær stce; other compounds formed on fær- include e.g. færclamm, færccodu, færdead and færscyte. This hapax legomenon is often translated "sudden stitch" (e.g C (p. 53), G (p. 156), GS (p. 173), and Rodrigues [1993: 143]) (MnE "stitch" being the descendant of OE stce), i.e., we now understand, a minor temporary pain in the side due to oxygen-starvation in the intercostal muscles. However, although the embedded spear is repeatedly said to be little (lytel), in view of the possibly life-threatening nature of the assault (l. 781 næfre ne sy ðin lif atacesed) and the daunting nature of the adversaries (gods, elves, and hag(s)), this might be thought too minor an ailment, one which trivialises the affliction and thereby both the disease-causing agents and the charm itself." However, it might be argued that l. 781 is merely intended to reassure a needlessly

On such a basis Davidson [1964: 63] remarks: "the impression is that here we have what was originally a battle spell like the Merseburg one [i.e. the First Merseburg Charm], which has come down in the world until it could be evoked for a prosaic stitch in the side".
worried patient, rather than necessarily as an indication of the complaint's potential severity.

Other commentators have sought with unwarranted specificity to identify the *faerstice* with severer ailments, e.g. "possibly sunstroke" (Chadwick & Chadwick [1932: 446]), and "lumbago" (cf. German Hexenschuß) ([Wrenn 1967: 168]); S (p. 142) (and previously G), despite noting the wide variety of apparently mysterious afflictions believed to be caused by disease projectiles around the world, including England in later times, thinks that from the enumeration of bodily parts in II. 779-81 (*fell ... flæsc ... blod ... [ban]*) "we can infer that rheumatic pains affecting various parts of the body are meant" (BTC would also define as "rheumatism"). It may, however, be thought a rather perverse interpretation that would exclude the possibility of other ailments on the basis of the very generality (perhaps intended to manifest the widest possible range of inclusiveness) of the enumeration - it is not difficult to think of other ailments that might well be relevant, e.g. pleursy, cholic, neuralgia; see also on the impossibility of limiting the range of application of this charm to any one named affliction Glosecki [1989: 112-13].

Bonser [1963 160-1] (supported by Ladd [1965]) would translate *faerstice* as "sudden puncture", signifying "the hole made in the victim by the elf-shot", on the basis that *stice* means puncture as well as pain (see BT *stice*). I would slightly refine this translation to indicate the word's full potential of meaning - "sudden (*far*- i.e. (probably) painful, dangerous and unlooked for) puncture/stabbing".

Cf n to 1 765 for parallels to the possible association of *stice* with spears in this charm.

760 *fefering* : Chickering [1971: 96] states that if this plant were Centaurium erythraea Rafn, the common centaury, it may have been chosen because its seeds are in the form of small spindles which might have been thought to have sympathetic power over

---

\[\text{Note: A view presumably based upon the early and probably mistaken belief that II. 786-7 (\textit{heofel hei westæ} - wrongly supposed to mean "the head in the head")] bless the head in particular.}\]

\[\text{Note that, in speaking of Irish beliefs at the end of the nineteenth century, Meehan [1906: 209] remarks: "indefinite ailments of endless variety ... crystallise in the mind of our cattle-medicine-men under the one appellation, elf-shooting."}\]

\[\text{Stabbing can scarcely be other than sudden. Furthermore, the semantic range of OE *far* covers not only suddenness (and therefore, with regard to pain, sharpness), but also danger. See BT *far* and subsequent compounds.}\]
the similarly shaped spear. This idea is very tenuous at best, as is also his interpretation of the significance of the \textit{netele} and the \textit{wegbrade} (see below).

If the plant is feverfew (a plant probably not native to Britain), then its use here may be compared with a modern East Anglian folk remedy (see Medicinal Efficacy above).

760 \textit{seo reade netele}: Chickering [1971: 95] (followed notably by Glosecki [1989: 131]) identifies this plant as \textit{Urtica dioica L.}, the stinging nettle. However, since there is nothing red about this plant, this must be wrong. The plant is very probably, as Magoun [1937a: 19] and Bierb2 define it, \textit{Lamium purpureum L.}, the red deadnettle (see also the section "Medicinal Efficacy" above).

Since the read deadnettle is completely harmless Bragg [1992: 19] is also wrong to argue that \textit{netele} is listed because of the metaphorical correspondence of its sting to the \textit{faestuce}, and that its stinging potency is removed by the boiling process. Similarly Chickering's misidentification of this plant leads him to suggest that \textit{netele} might have been chosen because it resembles a spear in shape and thus would be in a sympathetic relationship with it. This idea might be transferred to \textit{Lamium purpureum L.} (though it has noticeably rounder leaves), but is in any case in my view implausible: if the composer of this remedy were thus sympathetically inclined we may ask why he did not employ the plants \textit{ sperewurt "spear-wort"} or \textit{snecwyr} "stitch-wort".

760 \textit{de purh eorn inweydro}: OE eorn is often taken to mean "house", but Magoun's suggestion [1937a 19-20] that it is the same word as the second element in the compound \textit{Rugern} ("(the month of) re-harvest") (cf. OHG \textit{aren/arn} "harvest") is sometimes favoured. He would render as "der Biensaug, der durch das Getreide einwächst". But cf. perhaps \textit{Lacn. 1. 737 grundes wylligean, da de on ærenu wexéd "groundsel, the one that

\textsuperscript{31}However, at least in the later Middle Ages, there does appear to have been some equation of a red nettle with a stinging nettle (sometimes probably the rare reddish-stemmed \textit{Urtica pilulifera} L., roman nettle (now possibly extinct in Britain) - see Ogden [1969 113 n to 67 16-17], and Hunt [1989 257] tentatively identifies some instances of ME "red nettle", when equated with Lat. \textit{Urtica greca}, as the non-red\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Urtica urens} L., annual nettle (a weakly stinging nettle quite common in Britain).
grows in (or "on") buildings". According to Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989: 414] the red
deadnettle is "very common in cultivated ground and waste places" throughout Britain.

Grimm's suggestion [1882-8 vol. III: 1244 n. 1] that erno should be hrern "ocean" (cf.
hrernflota), though palaeographically explicable as a result of haplographic scribal error
following hurh, makes no sense in context.

760 wegbrade : Chickering [1971: 96] argues that this may be Plantago lanceolata L.,
the ribwort plantain, because its leaves resemble spears in shape. But there are several
members of the plantain family that might be appealed to; in particular Plantago major L.,
the greater plantain with its broad, flat leaves fits the description of "way-broad" very well
and is the usual identification. Its leaves do not resemble spears. Glosecki [1989: 132]
thinks that the description of wegbrade in Lacn. l. 541 as wyrra modor "mother of herbs" is
an indication that the plant here had "sympathetic power against other women, ...
especially against ... [l 767] pa mhtigan wif$. But that the designation of wegbrade as
wyrra modor had wide currency may be seriously doubted - it is probably an error (see n. to
l 541)

Wardale [1935 24] translates "dock"; this identification is probably not to be
favoured.

762-3 Illude wéran hy, la hiude ... land ridan : The verse section of the charm begins
arrestingly in media res with a fleeting glimpse of the loud ride (hunt?) of an unspecified
number of riders Their nature is now obscure, but may not have been to the Anglo-
Saxons.

It is unclear whether they may be identified with the mhtigan wif of l. 767, and/or
with the gods (gen pl. esa) of ll. 782 and 784. As G (p. 214) suggests, they might be
connected with the spectral Wild Hunt, the riotous ride of the dead army through the night
sky (possibly connected with the ferocity of a storm), which in some parts of Europe was
led by the Germanic god Odin (cognate with OE Woden).316

316 For details and discussion of the Wild Hunt see Ryan [1962-3. 473], Meaney [1966: 113-4], de Vries [1931],
Mesen [1935] (a collection of accounts, none of them Anglo-Saxon), and Smeek [1993: 372-3].
Two possible English parallels to these hostile riders have been adduced from early medieval England, and both are suggestive of the Wild Hunt (see Ryan [1962-3: 4734])\textsuperscript{317}. The first and only parallel from Anglo-Saxon England is found in the OE Storm Riddle (no. 1 among the riddles of the Exeter Book, ed. Williamson [1977: 69-70, ll. 74-92]):

\begin{quote}
ond gebrecu ferað
deorc ofer dreorgum gedyne micle,
fað feohtende, feallan lætad
sweart sumsendu seaw of bosme,
wetan of wombe. Winnende fareð
atol eoredpreat; egsa astigeð,
micel modprea monna cynne,
brogan on burgum, þonne Blake scotad
scriþendne scin searpum wæpnum.

dol him ne ondraed da deadsperu;
swylted hwæþre gif him sod meotud
on geryhtu þurh regn ufan
of gestune læted stræle fleogan,
farende flan. Fea þat gedgyðað
þara þe geræcð rynegestes wæpen.
le þæs orliges or anstelle
þonne gewite wolcengenaste
þurh gebrec þrægan þrimme micle
ofer burnan bosm.
\end{quote}

Here can be discerned a metaphorical realisation of the storm as a company of furious, airborne black riders(?) bent on the destruction of men; there is also mention of a god sending a lethal arrow (i.e. a thunderbolt?) from the sky.

\textsuperscript{317} On this see also notes to the Nine Herbs Charm, Lacn. II 543-4.
The second possible parallel is found in the entry for the year 1127 in the Peterborough Chronicle which refers to a loud, black, demonic hunt, presumably on land, though the quarry appears (primarily at least) to be deer rather than men:

...Ne pince man na sellice pet we sod seggen; for hit wass ful cuo ofer eall land
... segon 7 herdon fela men feole huntes hunten. Da huntes waren swarte 7
micele 7 ladlice, 7 here hundes ealle swarte 7 bradegede 7 ladlice, 7 hi ridone
on swarte hors 7 on swarte bucces. Dis was segon on pe selue derfald in pa tune
on Burch 7 on ealle pa wudes da waren fram pa selua tune to Stanforde; 7 pa
muneces herdon da horn blawen pet hi blwen on nihtes. Sosterne men heom
kepten on nihtes; sandon, pes be heom puhte, pet per mihte wel ben abution
twenti oder prittu hornblaweres.

[ed. Clark [1970: 50]; for translation and comment see Garmonsway [1972:
258-9]]

The loudness of the Laen. riders, emphasised by the repetition of hlude and possibly by the exclamatory la, might identify them from a Christian viewpoint as devils who were traditionally considered to be riotous116, as might their association with the hlæw (probably a burial-mound, barrow), and by extension with the chthonic, otherworldly powers which may have been thought to reside therein117. We may compare the situation in the story of the Anglo-Saxon saint Guthlac in which, according to Davidson [1950: 177], the noisy spirits (cf perhaps elves and similar creatures who were believed to inhabit mounds120) are displaced from their home at the hlæw in the wilderness.

---

\(^{116}\) Cf for instance the noisy devils at the mound in the poem Guthlac A II. 262-5 (ed. Roberts [1979]):

DA weard hreahhim hæfen, beorg ymhtiodan
hwealdum wracsumcga, wed wp ustog
cwæftla cyrm clespedon monge
feondo forespracan, firenum gypgon.

\(^{117}\) Perhaps the riders are inhabitants of the hlæw. Alternatively it might be their victims who reside therein.

For the significance of the burial mound in OE literature and archaeology see Davidson [1950] (but without reference to the present instance).

Chasey [1970: 102] thinks that the "riding of the old gods, of "mighty women", or of elves, traditionally associated with Frey, over a burial mound harks back to pagan belief now lost but obviously associated with these houses."

\(^{120}\) Cf Eldon ("elf hill") and Shacklelow ("demon mound") in Derbyshire, Shuckburgh (1086 Socheberge "demon hill mound") in Warwickshire, and Shucknall (1377 Shokenhulle "demon hill") (see Page [1970: 43] and Mills [1991]). See also n. to l. 775
If the loud riders may be identified with the mighty women of l. 767 we may note that either they themselves or the spears they throw (see discussion below) are also loud - *hy gyllende garas sændan*.

762-3 *ofer ... ofer* : Wardale [1935: 24], Bone [1943: 52-3], S, Pender and Rodrigues take *ofer* to indicate that the riders are riding through the air (i.e. above the land) rather than across the land. Perhaps they envisage them to be participants in the Wild Hunt (see above). Inferences probably need to be made to understand this charm, but it is impossible to know whether this one is justified. As G (p. 214) notes, flying witches (*tiǫrríður*) are mentioned in the Old Eddaic poem *Hávamál* (st. 155).

762-3 *ofer* *hleaw ... ofer land* : Weston [1985: 179] considers the nouns *hleaw* and *land* to be "semantically redundant", but gives no justification for this opinion - which is surely required in view of the dense allusiveness and obscurity of this charm, the suggestiveness of a *hleaw* ("burial mound"?) with regard to demons, and the nouns' probable metrical stress

165 *anmode* - BT (also Andreas ed. Brooks [1961: n. to l. 1638]) makes a fine semantic distinction between two words with similar meanings according to the length of the initial *a* - either "resolute/fierce" (with short *a*), or (*an + mode*) "single-minded" (with long *a*) Either sense is viable here, but the former is the usual translation.

Holthausen's [1920a: 30] emendation *leohtmode* ("light-hearted", "easy-tempered") would provide /alliteration for the line, corresponding to the *hi*/ alliterative pattern in the previous verse, but only at the expense of a significant and otherwise wholly unsupported change in the sense of this line. See also following n. to l. 763.

---


163 Magoun [1953 208] corrects SS's reprint *annode* ("fierce") to *anmode* (with long *a*) and translates "determined", "resolute".

Nelson [1989 51] appears not to distinguish the senses: According to Pope's understanding of Old English prosody, the five-syllable verse, *waran anmode*, would equal *hlaude waran hy*, i.e. *hlaude* in the amount of time allowed for recitation. Its five syllables, then, would become relatively time-heavy. *Anmode* (resolute) would receive two spaced stresses, with an (single) receiving the primary stress due the alliteration-bearing syllable, and *mode* (mind), the substantive element of the compound, also receiving a strong stress.
763 *land*: Ettmüller [1850: 302] would provide vocalic alliteration by emending to *eard*. This is less destructive to sense than Holthausen's proposed *leohtmode* for *anmode* (see previous n. to l. 763), but it is not therefore to be accepted.

763 *ridan*: The repetition of this verb (after l. 761 *ridan*) might be thought a little disappointing, especially after the variation of the preceding stress-words (*hlude + anmode, hlæw + land*).

764 *Scyld du de nu: ðu dysne mid genesan mote!*: There has been thought to be some difficulty in determining how to construe the connection between these two clauses. Rieger [1861: 142], most drastically, thinks a half-line is missing after *nu* and begins a new line with *þæt þu*, Sweet [1884: 122] perceives a result clause and emends *nu, [þæt] þu*, G (p. 165) keeps the MS reading but also takes it as a result clause, "that thou this onslaught mayst survive"; Horn [1925. 89 n.2] objects that in his view "Es liegt hier ein Bedingungssatz ohne einleitende Konjunktion vor ... Der konjunktionslose Bedingungssatz erklärt sich aus der alten Parataxe mit potentialem Optativ", and he translates "Schutze du dich nun, wenn du dieser Feindschaft entgehen willst"; Gr (pp. 1-2) proposes a less free and less highly conditional paratactic sense, and translates "Shield thou thee now; then mayest thou survive this onset"; most recently Doane [1994: 142] accepts the MS reading, saying "[t]he construction is asyndetic, "(shield yourself now) - you might be able to escape this attack"."

It is not clear how the sufferer (the obvious referent of *ðu*) is to shield himself. The healer has used a shield in the past (l. 766 *Stod under linde*) - perhaps the sufferer is to do the same here.

764 *dysne mid*: "This assault/affliction*. Though *mid* can mean "enmity", S’s translation "their ill-will" is inaccurate.
765 Ut, lytel spere, gif herinne sie! : This command punctuates in slightly varying forms the first fifteen lines of the incantation, separating the brief narrative sections. It is often called a "refrain", sometimes a "burden". Refrains are not characteristic of the extant OE charms (this is the only instance), though they have been thought typical of the charm form\textsuperscript{24}. In other extant OE poetry only Deor and the enigmatic lyrical poem Wulf and Eadwacer use such a device\textsuperscript{25}.

Horn [1925: 89, n. 8] compares the OE refrain with words in a Danish charm:

\begin{quote}
Marre, marre, minde!
Est du her inde,
saa skal du her ud\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

Sandmann [1975: 81] finds and translates a notable parallel in a Swedish charm (Forsblom [1927. 291, no. 986]):

\begin{quote}
Flåjest kom flygande
In med vassan tand.
Fors in, fors ut
Fors in, fors ut
Fors in, fors ut!
\end{quote}

("Trollschüß kam geflogen,
herein mit scharfem Zahn.
Schnell 'rein, schnell 'raus!
Schnell 'rein, schnell 'raus!
Schnell 'rein, schnell 'raus!")

 Cf also n to l 776.

\textsuperscript{24} Horn [1925: 90]. "Die Wiederholung der Zauberformel, die wie ein Refrain klingt, ist bezeichnend ... auch in antiken Zaubergeheimen solche Wiederholungen vorkommen; auch in germanischer Ritualdichtung finden sieh Spuren."

\textsuperscript{25} Both these poems have been interpreted by modern scholars as charms (or at least thought to have charm-like features - though not simply because they contain refrains): for a discussion of Deor as a charm see Bloomfield [1964], and for Wulf and Eadwacer as a won-charm see Fry [1971].

\textsuperscript{126} Cf another version in Grambo [1979 109, no. 34]

\begin{quote}
Moi mura
Mara, mura minde
er du i inde,
saa skal du ud
\end{quote}
This line is surely misinterpreted by Chadwick & Chadwick [1934: 446-7] as "If any little dart has found its way into me, out with it!" (my italics). Note similarly their mistaken rendering of l. 776 as "Out with thee, dart! Thou shalt not remain in me, dart!" (my italics).

765 lytel: It is not clear why the spear is said to be "little". Perhaps it is because elf-shot would presumably be small like the elves; or perhaps the practitioner is insulting and "belittling" the spear and thereby asserting his dominance over it; or perhaps he is playfully mocking it (cf. the address to the wen in the OE metrical charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6, no. 12) Wenne, wenne, wenchichenne, her ne scealt pu timbrien); or perhaps lytel serves to reassure the patient that his "wound" is not too severe, or that it is well within the expertise of his healer to deal with. It might be thought indicative of the slightness of the pain, but l. 781 naefre ne sy ðon lif atæsed might tell against this.

765 lytel spere: The "shot" causing the pain is envisaged as a spear that makes a puncture (stace) in its victim, and the choice of this weapon rather than the arrow may, at least in part, be indicative of the poem's evocation of the martial imagery of OE heroic poetry.

Cf. too, however, the realization of the cause of pain after swallowing a wyrn (perhaps a wasp or a bee) in an OlIr charm in Lacn. l. 94 as a biran ("little spear") An association between stace and spear is also made in an overtly Christian eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon charm (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 85, fol. 17; Ker dates s. xi med.), but also without heroic overtones:

\textit{Wip gestace:}

\textit{Wrt Cristes mæl, and sange drive dær on dis and Pater Noster:}

\textit{Longinus miles lancea ponit domnum et restitit sangus et recessit dolor.}

\textsuperscript{37} Cf. possibly a passage from the Corrector of Burchard of Worms (trans. McNeill & Gamer [1938: 335] (see also McNeill [1933 463])) "Hast thou made little, boy's size bows and boy's shoes, and cast them into thy storeroom or thy barn so that satyrs or goblins [pilos "the hairy ones"] might sport with them...".

\textsuperscript{38} The arrow is mentioned less commonly than the spear in OE heroic poetry.

\textsuperscript{39} See also notes thereto
Cf. too the weapon-imagery employed for the shot in the Finnish analogues (see "Sources and Analogues" above). It may also be noted that the ancient Indians called the stabbing pains of cholic or neuralgia "spear" (Sanskrit sula) (see Stutley [1980: 37-8]), and that, according to Abercromby [1898: 59], Finnish figurative expressions for stitch and pleurisy were:

"Lempo's leaf-headed spears," "Keito's spear," "Lempo's arrow," "the evil lance,"
"sorcerer's arrows," "arrows," "jagged spikes of Piru," "bloody needles," "bloody knife," "pointed needle".

Note also in Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae:

Telum lateris dolor est. Dictum autem ita a medicis, quod dolore corpus transverberet, quasi gladius. [ed. Lindsay [1911 vol. 1, Bk 4, l. 13]
"Telum, is a pain in the side. It is so named by the physicians since the body is transfixied by pain as though by a sword". [trans. Sharpe [1964: 571]]

Telum is more usually the Lat. word for a spear, or sharp weapon of any kind, not of an affliction. Here it denotes pain that feels as if it were caused by such a weapon. Cf. the equation made between this telum and stic in an Anglo-Saxon gloss (WW [1883: 112 ll. 21-2]).

Telum, I dolor lateris: sticwerc, sticadl.

Also, later (as BT stice II compares), in the Promptorium Parvorum (ed. Mayhew [1908. 475, col. 1]) we find:

Sticke, peyne on pe syde: telum.

BT also quotes usefully from the Ancrene Riwle:

Peos stiche was breouold, pet, ase breo speres smiten him to per heorte.

Little spears, which were to designed to hang from women's belts, have actually been found in Anglo-Saxon burials, but I doubt that they are directly relevant here: according to Owen [1981: 15 (and see pl. 3)] "Anglo-Saxon women buried in the seventh century at
Gilton and Kingston (Kent) carried miniature spears among the trinkets hanging by chains from their belts. They were probably amulets invoking Woden's protection.

766 Stod: The subject of the verb might be either "I" or "he/she/it"; the former, presumably referring to the reciter of the incantation, is usually - and almost certainly rightly - preferred, since there is no apparent referent for a third party. Bloomfield [1964: 540] thinks that here "the magician identifies himself with some semi-historical or mythical episode which is not clear to us"; Glosecki [1989: 115] would understand a "shamanic experience in the dreamtime", juxtaposing mythic time with quotidian time, and therefore not necessitating the understanding of "a stock episode as precedent for his manipulation of the parallel worlds of myth and reality".

766 linde .. leohtum scylde: Both C (p. 53) "linden broad") and G (p. 117) "linden trees") possibly misinterpret (or at least disambiguate) the text. The poetic usage of lind to refer to a shield (cf æsc "spear") is common in OE (see BT lind), sometimes as here in apposition to scyld (cf e.g. The Battle of Maldon ll. 98-9, scyldas wegon, lidmen to lande linde baron), cf. also the use of the adj. linden "made of lime-wood" in Maxims I B ll. 23-4, Scip sceal genægêld, scyld gebunden, leoht linden bord (ed. Shippey [1976: 68]); also note in Olcel poetry e.g. Hrýmr ecr austan, hefiz lind fyfir (Völuspá st. 50, ed. Neckel-Kuhn [1983 11], see also CV lind).

OE leoht can refer either to brightness or to lightness in weight and since lime-wood is light in both respects, it is not certain which, if not indeed both, aspects are described here, especially as both might be thought desirable. However, elsewhere in OE poetry only lightness of hue and brightness seem to be emphasised in such phrases as hwite linde (Exodus 1:301), and geowbe linde (Beowulf I. 2610); cf. too Olcel lind in blichvita, "the shining-white shield" (Hljóðskviða st. 10, ed. Neckel-Kuhn [1983: 304]). These references

310 C (p 53) translation "He (') stood". Wardale's [1935 24] opinion that "the speaker may be an onlooker merely or the victim" is unpersuasive
311 See the article "LIME, or LINDEN" in Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed.).
make it likely that the present description is at least one of radiance. Wardale [1935: 24] translates "my bright shield".

OE under plus a word for shield means "behind/under (the protection of) a shield" (cf. Andreas 1. 46 under linde (ed. Brooks [1961: 2])). Glosecki [1989: 119] sees a parallel, both of position and of action, in the Ljóðatal section of the Old Eddaic poem Hávamál (st. 156) in which the god Óðinn stands under a shield and yells a spell bringing power in war to his allies: undr randir ek gel (ed. Evans [1986: 72]).

767 þær da mihtingan wf hyra mægen beraeddon: It is unclear whether these "mighty women" may be identified with the preceding riders or with l. 778 hægtessan.

It is conceivable that, as several scholars have proposed (e.g. Chadwick [1959: 176])310, Davidson [1964a: 63], and Damico [1984: 45 and n. 16 and 17])311, comparison may be made with the Íðsi of the OHG First Merseburg Charm311, and, noting in particular their spear-throwing and riding over the land, with valkyries312, but, given that we know so little about native Anglo-Saxon myth and demonology, this cannot be confirmed.

One other wf is said to be "mighty" in OE poetry - Grendel's monstrous mother is a merewif mihtig (Beowulf 1. 1519). Comparison has also often been made with the description of bees in the OE metrical charm For a Swarm of Bees (ASPR 6, no 8) as sgewif "victorious women", a word sometimes thought - for no very good reason - to be a reference to valkyries313.

310 Chadwick (p 176) "Ja mihtingan wif can hardly be other than valkyries".
311 Damico (n 16, p 201) is inclined to reject G's conception of the mihtingan wif as witches flying through the air - "the allusion is most likely to the valkyries in their capacity as weather-goddesses".
312 Einis sagum 11 - siccan hera as hieker
sumu hapli heptadun, sumu herr lecuhun.
sumu lichdbun umhi suononauw.
313 That the Íðsi may be valkyr was suggested by the correspondence of their actions with the valkyrie name Herfotter ("War Army-Fetter"), and also perhaps by the valkyrie name Hlött (which may mean "Chain").
314 That is with the concept of the valkyrie as a war-demon, rather than with the (putatively) later aristocratic refinement often evident in Old Norse documentary mythology, though only the latter manifestation (so far as is known) rides and throws spears. The "original" conception of the valkyrie as pure battle-spirit is best evidenced by the OE glosses (see Chadwick [1959 177]) See also, however, Donahue [1941] for comparisons and genetico connections with the OIr battle-goddesses the Morrigh and Bobb, and also for the possibility that the names Alansagae and Baudhillie on early ex-votos found at Housesteads near Hadrian's Wall record an early belief in valkyrie-spirits by Germanic soldiers in Roman service in England (see also on the latter Krappe [1926]). In Norse sources the valkyrie (or possibly god) as malevolent battle spirit is perhaps best exemplified by the figure of Borgerð Hólgabróðr who comes to battle amid thunder and lightning and lets arrows fly from her fingers: só þær at efl flof hvern fingur flagðum ok varð made fyrir hvern (Jómsvíkinga saga ed. Blake [1962: 36]; see also discussion in Simek [1993: 326-7]).
315 On this see most recently Damico [1984 45].
See Sandmann [1975: 81-2] for some other possibly suggestive instances of wicked women in Germanic charms, sometimes associated with hills (cf. l. 762 hlæw?), e.g.:

*Jesus gick på itt brinnande bårgh
 och såg de wanna qwinnor...*

("Jesus ging auf einen brennenden Berg und sah die bösen Weiber...")

Another possible parallel is the "widespread belief" (McNeill & Gamer [1938: 42]) in women who, empowered by Diana the huntress, rode over the land by night. It is described in the early eleventh-century *Corrector* of Burchard of Worms ("a mine of primitive Germanic folklore and pagan supernaturalism" (McNeill & Gamer (pp. 39-40)), which derived it from (according to McNeill & Gamer (pp. 42, 333 n. 34)) Regino of Prüm's (c. 900) *De synodalibus causis et de disciplinis ecclesiasticis* (and which in turn apparently got it from another writer):

"Hast thou believed or participated in this infidelity, that some wicked women, turned back after Satan, seduced by illusions and phantoms of demons, believe and affirm that with Diana, a goddess of the pagans, and an unnumbered multitude of women, they ride on certain beasts and traverse many areas of the earth in the stillness of the quiet night, obey her commands as if she were their mistress, and are called on special nights to her service?"

[trans. McNeill & Gamer [1938: 332]]

That such beliefs may have been current in early eleventh-century Germany is suggested by another similar passage in Burchard's *Corrector* which appears to mention a German witch-being called Hulda ((?) = Hulda "the hidden one"; see Simek [1993: 165]):

"Hast thou believed that there is any woman who can do that which some, deceived by the devil, affirm that they must do of necessity or at his command, that is, with a throng of demons transformed into the likeness of women, (she whom common folly calls the witch Hulda [strigam holdam]), must ride on certain beasts in special nights and be numbered with their company?"

[trans. McNeill & Gamer (p. 331); discussion in McNeill [1933: 461-2]; see also Lecouteux [1983: 167-70]]
Possibly the same, and certainly a similar, sort of women (who are said to use invisible weaponry - cf. the present charm's gescot?) are referred to elsewhere in the Corrector:

"Hast thou believed what many women, turning back to Satan, believe and affirm to be true, as thou believest in the silence of the quiet night when thou hast gone to bed and thy husband lies in thy bosom, that while thou art in bodily form thou canst go out by closed doors and art able to cross the spaces of the world with others deceived by the like error and without visible weapons slay persons who have been baptized and redeemed by the blood of Christ..."

[trans. McNeill & Gamer (p. 339)]

767 þer: This can be understood in either a local ("where"), or a temporal ("when" or "while"), sense - see OES (§§2460-2). It could also introduce a causal clause "because/since..." (OES §§2464-5), but this seems less natural here.

767 ma'gen: Magoun [1947: 36] argues for evidence of the concept of mana in the OE charms and proposes that the women's "maugen would be the sum total of the higher, superhuman potency of these minor divinities, mhtig the adjective describing the same". He also sees a close parallel in the Olcel concept of ðsmegin, which he defines as "mana of the Æsir, or of divinities in general".328

The alliterative pairing of muht and ma'gen is also found in an OE metrical charm For Theft of Cattle (ASPR 6, no. 9 ll. 14-15), Binnan þrym nihtum cunne ic his muhta, his maugen and his mihta and his mundcraeftas, and in a charm in LchBk3 (352/5) Eorpe þe onbere eallum hire nihtum and ma'genum; see BT ma'gen for more examples in OE. It has, of course, survived in fossilised form to this day as one's "might and main".

767 berædôn: Usually the OE verb berædan means either "to deprive", "dispossess", or "to take by treachery", none of which seems applicable here (though Doane [1994: 143]

328 Cf. Shetelig & Falk [1937 411] "The Old Norse name for "mana" is megin, "power". Of the earth's megin we hear in several Edda poems, and of the moon's megin in Völuspá (compare monan miht in the Old English poem Be Domes Dage)"
would at least entertain the sense "mighty women deprived (themselves) of power"). BTS cites this as the only OE example of *beredan* meaning "to consult about" (see *MED* *bireden* 2 (a) "To plan (sth.); decide (to do sth.)", and *OED* *"berede"* for ME support) and compares Old Frisian *bireda* and Old Low German *beraden: consultus*. This seems to me satisfactory, but Doane [1994: 143] is not convinced by such "ad hoc translations" of various commentators.

Weston [1985: 179] thinks that *beræddon* "may echo *ridan*.

768 *7 hy gyllende garas sændan*: It is uncertain whether it is the *wif* or the *garas* that are "yelling" here. There is support for both points of view, and previous editors have adopted one or other point of view (most recently Doane [1994: 143] asserts on the basis of the distinct MS "suprasegmental division" between *gyllende* and *garas* that "*gyllende* belongs with *hy*"). However, the two possibilities are not necessarily mutually exclusive - an oral performance might well exploit the potential ambiguity of the syntax and render both senses viable at the same time (indeed it might be thought difficult to avoid this effect).

The alliterative pairing of *gellan* and *gar* - "a venerable heroic formula" 339,340 - is instanced with the meaning "yelling spear" in the OE poem *Widsið* (II. 127-8):

*Ful oft of pam heape hwænendne fleag*

*gyllendegar on grome peode.* [ed. Hill [1987: 32]]

Note also the cognate words in the Olcel Eddaic poem *Atlakvida* (st. 5):

*of geiri guallanda*

*ok of guyltom stefnum.*
and in st. 14 of the same poem:

*med geiri giallanda

*at vekia gram hild*. [ed. Dronke (1969)]

For a charm that personifies the spear as an entity which can respond to verbal commands this choice of heroic formula may be considered particularly and refreshingly apposite. It might not, I suggest, be over-subtle to detect a deliberate and sophisticated synaesthetic linkage here between the yelling spears and the severe ("screaming", "scream-inducing") pain felt by the victim of the "shot". Interestingly in connection with this, CH records among the suggested meanings for the disputed instance of the word *gar* in Genesis B l. 71 "piercing cold" and "sharp pain".

Cf. 1 762 *hiude wæran hy, la hiude*: the yelling spears (or women) might conceivably be equated with the loudness of the riders.

768 *garas sendan*: Vaughan-Sterling [1983: 196] sees this as formulaic - she compares *garas sellan* in the Battle of Maldon (l. 46).

769 *ic him oðerne eft wille sendan*: Cf. a reference to an arrow as protection from a disease projectile in a charm in the Sanskrit *Atharva-veda* (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 9]):

"When the bowstring, embracing the wood (of the bow), greets with a whiz the eager arrow, do thou, O Indra, ward off from us the piercing missile!"

770 *flane* As ASPR 6 (p. 212) observes, *flan* as fem., rather than the commoner masc., is attested elsewhere. L. 770 *fleogende* probably indicates fem. gender here. The number appears to be sg. - cf. appositive *oderne* (l. 769); Doane [1994: 143], apparently overlooking the mark of abbreviation, reads "*flan (= flane)*", and remarks that acc. sg. masc. *oderne* forms a "grammatical bridge" for the metonymic identification of the *flan* "arrow, dart" with a *gar* "spear".

---

---
770 *fleogende flane*: Cf. (albeit pl.) l. 768 *gyllende garas* - the syntactical correspondence bolsters the imitative retaliation of the physical action.

*Fleogan* and *flan* (and their Olcel cognates), being natural alliterative partners, were closely associated elsewhere in OE (BT and BTS give two other instances); in Olcel Eddaic poetry can be found exact and close parallels to this half-line343. These latter speak against Stuart's [1974: 721] emendation of the line to *fleogende forane*, *flanum togeanes* so as to split the constituents of the b-verse and more closely parallel *gyllende garas*.

Cf. possibly l. 787 *Fled þær on fyrgenhæfde*, though there the subject of *fled* ("it flees") is uncertain (see n. thereto).

771 *hit*: The imprecatory address of the refrains in ll. 765, 774, and 776 would seem to favour a second person address to the spear. The third person is found only here and seems awkward by contrast (but cf. possibly l. 778 *hit sceal gemyltan*). Rieger [1861: 142] *decides to omit it*, Horn [1924: 89 n. 6] declares it to be a late scribal misunderstanding, and I am inclined to agree.

772 *Set smud. sloh seax*: Cf. the Olcel Eddaic poem *Vilundarkviða* (ed. Neckel & Kuhn [1983 st 20]).

The smith is commonly thought by primitive societies to be an ambivalent figure possessing magical powers, both offensive and medicinal344,345. One or other of these viewpoints probably applies here, but it is difficult to know which.

This smith has sometimes been thought to be a reference to the semi-divine archetypal artificer Weland (Olcel *Viplundr*) of Germanic mytho-heroic legend346. Weland's smithying

---

334 E.g. *flauganda flæm* (Havamal st. 86), *oc lati sva Öðinn flæm flægo* (Hlóðskvöðl st. 28), and (with a different verb) *flæm at flægja* (R grjótna st. 35), cf. also Exeter Book OE Riddle no. 1 ... kæted *stræle fleogan. færende flæm*.
335 Some images of sitting in OE poetry are discussed by Magennis [1986], but without reference to the present instance.
336 The most famous example is probably the wonder-working smith *Vé* tambourine of the Finnish *Kalevala*.
337 Mauss [1972 29] observes "virtually all blacksmiths are magicians ... because they work with a substance which universally provokes superstition and because their difficult profession, shrouded in mystery, is not without prestige". On the folklore of smiths see Eliade [1978 esp. chaps. 8, 9, and 10]; the smith was an ambivalent figure, sometimes benevolent, sometimes not. Eliade (p. 99) also notes "a close connection between the smith, the occult sciences (shamanism, magic, healing, etc.) and the art of song, dance and poetry". On the marvellous powers, good and bad, attributed to smiths in medieval Irish literature see Scott (n. d. 184-8); there is an eighth-century reference to evil magical smiths in St Patrick's *Lorica* (ed. & trans. Greene & O'Connor [1967: 29, 31]), *To-currr eur eans in-dia inna huil ners so frin brectus ban ocus gogenn ocus droid* ("I summon between us today all these powers ... against the spells of women and smiths and druids").
338 So G (p. 214) and Kennedy [1943 10]
skill was evidently well known in Anglo-Saxon England (and beyond), since he is portrayed on the Franks Casket\textsuperscript{348} and in II. 1-6 of the OE poem Deor (ed. Malone [1977: 23]). Weapons and armour forged by him were thought to be of supreme virtue, as we see for example from Beowulf II. 454-5 (hræglæ selest... Welandes geweorc), and from the deadliness of his sword Mimming in the OE poem Waldere:

\begin{quote}
Hurw Weland\{es\} worc ne geswæcød
monna ængum dara de Mimming can
hearde gehældan. [Waldere I, II. 2-4 (ed. Zettersten [1979: 15])]\textsuperscript{349,350}
\end{quote}

The OE Metres of Boethius might, in the words hwær sint nu ðæs wisan Welandæs bæn (ed. Griffiths [1991: 75, l. 33]), provide a scrap of information to allow us to entertain the possible existence of some Anglo-Saxon evidence in support of the theory that the word "smith" brought Weland to the Anglo-Saxon mind, for, as Davidson [1958: 145] observes:

when King Alfred was translating Boethius from Latin into Anglo-Saxon and reached the phrase "the bones of the faithful Fabricius", his mind seems to have jumped from the hero's name to the Latin word faber, "smith", and from there again to the name which for him stood for the most famous of smiths, Weland.

\textit{If the smith is Weland - and he certainly need not be - this might (but need not) raise further unresolvable possibilities about the relation of the smith to the ylfa "elves" of ll. 782 and 784, since, according to the account of his story in the Olcel l'glundarkviða, he was alfa lódh ("prince of elves") and visi álfa ("lord of elves").}

\vspace{0.5cm}

772 seax : This has sometimes been identified by commentators (notably Skemp [1911b 291-2] and Chuckering [1971. 101]) with l. 788 \textit{þæt seax} in the final prose directions. However, not all commentators are inclined to agree with this (see in particular Doskow [1976 325]), and the connection seems to me highly speculative - particularly if, as I argue in the next note, \textit{seax} is here pl. Whether or not the article \textit{þæt} in l. 788

\textsuperscript{348} Housed in the British Museum. A good photograph can be found in Wilson [1980. 30].
\textsuperscript{349} Norman [1933 55-6] thanks there is "little doubt, however, that originally the sword must have been handiwork of Mimir the Smith"
\textsuperscript{350} See further on Weland Khlebës n (ed. Beowulf, p 145), and esp. Davidson [1958], though she does not consider the suggestion that Weland is referred to here in this charm.
presupposes a prior reference to the *seax* in the text is uncertain - it might, but on the other hand, since knives (or at least iron implements) are mentioned several times in OE medical texts (e.g. *Lacn.* II. 40 and 532), it might simply refer to the knife the healer always carried with him.

The Anglo-Saxon *seax* was, according to Gale [1989: 70], "a heavy single-edged knife or short sword". Gale distinguishes two types according to blade length in late Anglo-Saxon England - the commoner short *seax* (with blade as short as 8 cm, more commonly 24 cm = II. 772-3 *seax, lytel iserna?*) and the rarer long *seax* (with blade up to 36 cm). Both types might be decorated, sheathed, made by pattern-welding and worn by aristocrats. Although (pp. 79-80) "[w]ritings contemporary with the *seax* give it the status of a weapon (as opposed to tool)" it "must have played a very secondary role as a weapon. Some of the tiny *seaxes* are obviously far too small to have had any effective military use at all". Its primary domestic use must have been as a "ubiquitous domestic cutting knife... used for eating, skinning, whittling, etc". However, as Brady [1979: 94] notes, it appears from the use of a *seax* by Grendel's mother and from the efficacy of Beowulf's *wellsæax* "battle-seax" (*Beowulf* II. 2703-4, *biter ond beaduscearp*) in killing the dragon that it was considered "useful for close hand-to-hand combat". Judging from the present instance and other references to iron implements (presumably knives) in the OE medical texts, we may add that the *seax* probably had a significant role to play in Anglo-Saxon medicine.

If, as I suggest below, the little *seax* here are possibly to be counted among the weapons thrown by the malevolent beings (*lytel spere, garas, and isenes dael*), we might speculate that the Anglo-Saxons also had throwing knives. Although Gale makes no mention of any such weapon or usage, the Vikings and other Germanic peoples apparently knew of such (Shetelig & Falk [1937: 379]): "There was ... another kind of *handsæax*

---

351 Gale (p 79) does record that writings "contemporary with the *seax* give it the status of a weapon (as opposed to a tool)". Dorothy Whitelock states that smiths worked "daggers" for battles, daggers being presumably some sort of *seax*, however, he omits to provide the reference. Whitelock's observation (made in 1976, p.106).

352 Cf also the account of "Nennius" of the murderous attack by Hengest and his men on Vortigern's Britons in the *Historia Brittonum* chap 46 (ed. Morus [1980 731])

*Et Hengistus omni famula suo fuit ut unusquisque articum suum sub sede in medio ficonis su ponenter. Et quando clamaverit ad vos et dixeret Eiu, nimet saxas, cultellos vestros ex ficonibus vestris educite, et in illos irrueite, et fortier contra illos resistite."
which, like the small sax of the South Germans, was especially made for throwing; this action was spoken of as kasta handsexum.

772-3 Set smiô ... wundswiô : These have always been considered difficult lines to understand, and, given their metrical irregularity (at least as judged by the standard of "classical" OE verse), the possibility of some corruption cannot be ruled out. However, it is doubtful if such a standard applies here; furthermore, I think the text as received is quite acceptable and can probably be understood without any need for emendation on semantic grounds - I would translate as follows:

"A (or possibly "the") smith sat, forged knives,
little iron weapons, powerfult in wounding."

This is a new interpretation. I take seax as acc. pl., lytel as an acc. pl. neut. adj. (see Language 5 vi e) qualifying iserna as acc. pl. (cf. BTS mynet-isen, -isern for another instance of acc. pl -a in this word), and wundswiô as an otherwise unattested long-stemmed adj (lit. "wound-strong") with, as is sometimes the case elsewhere in Lacn. - see Language 5 vi d - late acc. pl. neut. inflexion in -e. This explanation of wundswiô adapts the recent suggestion of Doane [1994: 143] that wund-swip (sic - apparently an emendation) is a weak acc. sg. neut. adj. qualifying his reading seax lytel iserna ("little knife of iron (parts)") Doane aptly compares the formation of the adj. dryôswiô ("strong", lit. "might-strong") in Beowulf ll. 131 and 736. Another undoubtedly viable possibility, however, is that MS wund swiô means "wounded severely", referring to the hammering of

---

199 Cf. ASPR 6 (pp. 212-3) "There are several short half-lines in this passage, but it is very doubtful whether we should amend them in the interests of metrical regularity"

200 Cf., in part, Malone [1941 75 n 3] who thinks that "in all likelihood" l. 12 began with lytel:

sat smiô slooh seax,
lytel iron iserna wund swiô

He adds that:

Here lytel iron "little sword" is a variation of seax: "short sword, knife," and iserna wund has a parallel in the iserna wond of the Fifth Riddle. The -a (for -e) of iserna may be due to the orthographical confusion which arose after final unstressed short vowels had been leveled in pronunciation. But however the locansa is filled, cancellation of swiô would improve the meter and would not change the sense; the word may have been added by some transmitter insensitive to poetic values and bent on emphasis at all costs.

201 The reference is to the L.W.S anonymous Legend of the Seven Sleepers: Former siden mon awende mynet isena (variant reading mynet iserna) on his dogum (ed. Skeat [1966: 516]), see also Magennis [1994] with minentserna recorded on p 58)

202 Alternatively, but less likely, it might be the case that lytel iserna means "a small quantity of iron weapons", taking lytel as acc. sg. neut. subst. and iserna as gen. pl. - cf possibly lytel + gen. sg. of noun ("small amount of something", see BT lytel, BTS lytel li l, the construction is used in Lacn. l. 527 lytel sausun "a little (of) savine") - but the expected way of expressing this would be lyrn iserna (cf BT lyr giving lym moma "few (of) men").
the seax/iserna on the anvil\(237\) (\textit{wund} being then an acc. pl. neut. adj. "wounded" and \textit{swide} an adv. "very much, severely"), whence the translation:

"A (or possibly "the") smith sat, forged knives, little iron weapons, wounded severely."

\textit{Lytel iserna} seems to be in apposition to \textit{seax} here; the description "little" may well suggest a connection between \textit{seax} and the little spear (also pl. in l. 768 \textit{garas}). It is also conceivable that a connection is to be made with the \textit{hægstesæn geawærc} - described in l. 777 as \textit{isesænes dæl}. It may be noted that in the magical charms of the Finns it appears that, as images for the magical "shot", knives, "irons", spears and arrows were virtual synonyms - thus Abercromby [1898: §149 (my italics)]:

"For Pleurisy (Stitch) a. : "the sorcerer's "arrows" ... I'll lift, I'll draw the bloody needles forth..."; b. : "I'll lift out "Lempo's arrow", shall extract the "bloody knife ..."); c. : "... come to lift the arrows out, to disengage the spears, to wrench the shooting-irons out, to remove the jagged points..."."

According to this interpretation the \textit{smid} might well be numbered among the victim's assailants\(238\) - perhaps to be grouped with the smiths of l. 775 (\textit{Sæx smiðas}) and together identified with the elves of ll. 782 and 784 (\textit{ylfa}). But it might be the case - we cannot tell - that the healer's knife (l. 788 \textit{seax}) was also little, and was identified as one that was forged by this smith

As will be apparent from the Textual Apparatus, there have been many previous attempts to understand these lines, none of them - given that we are unfamiliar with the metrical conventions that may apply at this point in the poem - convincing\(239\). Many of them assume there is a lacuna (apparently thought to be small\(240\)) before \textit{iserna}, and some think that MS \textit{wund} ought to be emended to the adv. \textit{wundrum} "wonderfully, terribly" (Rieger [1861. 142] and Holthausen [1920a: 30; and 1951: 100], sometimes followed by

\(237\) Cf. the poetic \textit{perkirhisa homera lafa} ("leavings of hammers" - sword blades) in \textit{Beowulf} l. 2829. Cf. Sweet's [1884 123, 202] emendation and interpretation of the present passage - \textit{isernæ wund} "wounded with iron", i.e. "beaten with an iron hammer"

\(238\) Cf. Doskow's [1976] doubts about the benevolent nature of the smith.

\(239\) Note also Kögel [1894 vol 1 93] who proposes \textit{isern wund swade} "iron good at inflicting wounds", but this is most unlikely

\(240\) Though S (p 143) remarks that any "attempt to reconstruct this passage is doomed to failure as we do not know how much has been omitted" (my italics).
subsequent commentators). Previously lytel has often been thought (notably by G, S, and ASPR) to qualify sax (taken as sg.), and hence placed at the end of l. 772, but this might be thought to spoil that line's massed and balanced s-alliteration (and cf. l. 775 Syx smidas sætan). Of the major editions only C and GS do not amend or assume a lacuna: GS (p. 174 n.) (following essentially the text and translation of C (pp. 52-3)) think there is "clearly some considerable corruption here" and take iserna as "wk. nom. masc." (but isern is otherwise a strong noun in OE), and, apparently take wund as the noun "wound" and swode as an adj. "woeful" (presumably perceiving a poetic use of the wk. declension), translate (p. 175):

"Sat a smith, a knife he sledged,
Small the iron, woeful the wound."

775 Syx smidas sætan, welþpera worhtan: The scene parallels the previous, with the single smith - l. 772 Smid sæt, sioh seax.

No group of six smiths is known from Germanic lore. As S (p. 146) suggests the number six may have been caused by the s-alliteration. However, an alternative to understanding syx as "six" might be to suppose that we have an otherwise unattested compound noun syxsmaðas "knife-smiths" with y being a Kentish inverted spelling of Anglian (especially North.) or LWS smoothed sex "knife" (cf. Language 2.vi.a). Alternatively, it might be explained as resulting from a LWS scribe's misinterpretation of sex as the Anglian (or early Kentish) form of the numeral "six". Cf. the MS form sexbennum in Beowulf l. 2904 which is emended by modern editors to the otherwise unattested compound noun sexbennum ("dagger-wounds") - Klaeber (p. lxci, §I.a) explains that this MS spelling presupposes "the form sex ... which was mistaken for the numeral and altered to sex. Perhaps, though, we may doubt whether knife-smiths would make deadly spears (welþpera).

Note the exact syllabic balance in the half-lines: syx smidas (or syxsmaðas) + welþpera and sætan + worhtan.

I owe this interesting conjecture to Prof. Janet Batey.
Hauer [1978: 254-5] identifies the six smiths with the elves of ll. 782 and 784, referring for support to the elfin (especially the so-called Ólcel dökkálfarsvartálfar "dark-elves" who are difficult to distinguish from dwarfs (Turville-Petre [1964: 235])), dwarfish, trollish and giantish smiths common in Norse mythology and folklore. He argues that "the conception of the smith specifically as a worker of pain seems to be a traditional and even commonplace motif", exemplified by the Finnish smith Väinämöinen's forging of pain in the seventeenth poem of the Kalevala (cf. too the Finnish charms cited in Sources and Analogues above).\(^{342}\)

It is possible (but of course no more than a guess), particularly if the identification with the elves is correct, that these smiths and/or the single smith might be the inhabitants of the hlæw in l. 762, since such elfin smiths are associated with mounds and hills in continental Germanic mythology and folklore\(^{63}\). I do not, however, think this very likely.

775 *wælspera*: This word is found only once elsewhere in OE\(^{344}\), in the Battle of Maldon - another OE battle poem greatly concerned with spear-warfare\(^{345}\):

\[\text{Oft he gar forlet,} \]
\[\text{wælspera wændan on pa wæcingas.} \]

ME *walspere* is also found once in Layamon's *Brut* l. 14260 (Caligula text, ed. Brook and Leslie [1963, 1978. vol II]), *And Arthur forwunded mid wæl-spere brade*.

Glosecki [1989 112] mistranslates as sg. "the slaughter spear".

775 *worhtan*: Ettmüller [1850: 302] alone thinks "*duo versiculi coaluisse hic videntur, sta ut utrisque pars altera desperdata sit. Cetrum haud difficile esset "vælspera vorhton" mutare in "slògon valsperu"; sed duo versus coaluisse veri similius est". But see

\(^{342}\) Hauer's opinion (pp. 254-5) that the demons wielding wælman in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (see Analogue no. 10 above) are "armed like smiths with plowshares" (my italics), and that they consequently provide early English evidence for the conception of the smith as a worker of pain, is unconvincing.

\(^{344}\) See Motz [1977] for this and for the association of dwarfish and elfin smiths with burial sites (with reference to Weland's megalithic tomb in Berkshire, known as Wylund's Smithy); also note p. 52 "[t]he concept of the mound dwelling smith is so familiar to Danish lore that it left its imprint on the language, and we thus have the words: smeðbjerg and smeðshov - and of such mounds or hills ... many tales are told in Jutland".

\(^{345}\) It is, however, unexceptional. Cf. the similarly formed OE compounds wælger (BT) (also as a conjectural emendation in the OE *Journey Charm* l. 30 (ASPR 6 no. 11)), wælpl (Guthlac B (ed. Roberts [1979: 117, L1154a]), and wælstre (Guthlac B, l 1286a).

\(^{63}\) Brookes [1991 210] remarks that in "contrast with *Brunanburh*, where the poet placed the main emphasis on the English warriors fighting with swords, in *Maldon* the emphasis in the descriptions of combat is on the use of spears".
e.g. Lacn. l. 544 (ofer by bryde bryodedon, ofer by fearras fnardon) for another instance of the lack of cross-caesura alliteration with possible rhyming of verbal inflectional endings and alliteration within the half-lines.

776 Ut spere! nas in spere! : Cf. (with G (p. 214)) the balanced use of "Out" and "In" in a common rhyme for a nettle-sting:

*Out nettle,*

*In dock;*

*Dock shall have a new smock.* [ed. Hunt [1916: 414]].

As Brooke [1892: 160 n. 8] observes, Geoffrey Chaucer mentions it in *Troilus and Criseyde* (Bk 4 l 461) *Nettle in, dok out, now this, now that, Pandare!* (see further references in n to this line in Windeatt [1990]; also see Opie & Tatem [1989: NETTLE STING, charm for], Vickery [1995: 107 "Dock"], and Grimm [1882-8 vol. IV: 1868 no. LIX])

Comparison can also be made with a common charm for a burn containing variations on the exhortation "Out fire! In frost!" (see Opie & Tatem [1989: BURN OR SCALD, charm for]) G (p. 214) also compares the command *Gang uz Nesso* ("Go out Worm") in an OHG charm (ed. Wipf [1992: 74, no. 3.1]).

See further n. to l. 765.

777 Gif heranne sy : These words occur here for the final time, having previously been used three times as the final part of the refrain "Out, little spear, if you are in here!" (ll. 765, 771, and 774) Their use here at the start of a new clause, one that follows immediately upon the varied refrain *Ut spere! nas in spere!,* rather than as the last part of one, might well surprise the listener. The present association of these words with the *isenes del* rather than with the expected *tytel spere* might also reinforce the identity of these objects for the listener.
777 isenes del: OE del seems to mean "piece" or "sliver" here, but this sense is not recorded by BT or DOE. The words isernes del are also found in Riddle 56 (ed. Williamson [1977]), l. 10, referring to the make-up of a draw-well, though in the usual sense of a part of iron. Cf. possibly l. 773 lytel iserna.

For a possible Anglo-Saxon parallel to this puncturing with iron see Analogue no. 9 above.

778 hægiessan geweorc: "Work of a (?)witch (or (?)witches)." It is conceivable - though certainly not necessary to suppose - that there might be a play on words here: the "work" (geweorc) in question is manifest as "pain" (weorc (see BT weorc VII)).

The word hægiessan (also ll. 783 and 785) is problematic. It is often taken (without comment) as gen. pl., sometimes facilitating an identification with the mihtigan wif of ll. 767. That it may well be gen. pl. is suggested by the trinities of assailants in ll. 782-5 esa (gen. pl.) gescot ... ylfa (gen. pl.) gescot ... hægiessan (gen. pl.?) gescot ... esa (gen. pl.) gescotes ... ylfa (gen. pl.) gescotes ... hægiessan (gen. pl.?) gescotes. The expected gen. pl. form of wk. hægiessæ would be hægiessena (an unattested form), but, according to SB (§276, Anm. 5) and now Hoad [1994], there are occasional instances in LWS of weak gen. pl. in -an. It seems likely that we have such a form here.

The precise meaning of hægiessæ is in doubt, though it seems clear that it denotes a female being of mighty power and malevolent will. In OE this word (and the variant and contracted forms hægtes, hægts, hæhts, hæhtsæ, hætse, hæts, (hegitisum) are equated with Lat. words for various malefic female beings both human and non-human (for references see Chadwick [1959: 174-5](includes discussion), BT and BTS): of the human beings we find stunga "hag, witch", pythonissa (together with OE hellerune) "sorceress, woman inspired with oracular power", maledictam illam, and the word's use to describe Jezebel in Ælfric's adaptation of the Book of Kings, of the words for immortal beings we

---

364 Only Grummen [1882-4: 1244] remarks that the form is gen. sg., not pl. hægiessana.
365 On the contracted forms see Hogg §6 71, for a collection of references to hægiessæ see also Jente [1921: §168].
366 I e "being (probably female) skilled in the mysteries of hell or of death". Cf. with Chadwick [1959: 174]. Goth heluronianæ, the "women who engaged in magic with the word of the dead", and who had intercourse with evil spirits, and are described in chap. 24 of the Getica of Jordanes; also note OHG hellruna: necromantia; in Beowulf 163 helrunan is rendered as "such demons" by Klaeber (p. 134).
find the Parce and the Furies of classical mythology (i.e. beings with the power of life and death over men) - Tissiphona, eumenides (filiae noctis), erenis, parcae, and furia. Finally, "a neat alliterative Christian conclusion linking hægtesse with both paganism and the devil" (Fell [1984: 34]) in Ælfric's homily De Auguriis may be noted:

*and forhogan ūga haetsan. and dyllce hædengyl.*

*and þes deofles dydrunga.* [ed. Skeat [1966: 376]]

The etymology of hægtesse is rather unclear (see OED "hag sb." and ODEE "hag"). However, according to Lecouteuex's [1983] study of the word and its Germanic cognates (OHG hagazussa, Middle Dutch haghenisse, Norwegian hagatsja)\(^\text{360}\), even if (p. 172) "le véritable sens du composé reste dans l'ombre", the word is a compound of hæg + tesseltesa; the first element hæg- ("hedge", "enclosure") is the determinant in a number of words pertaining to the domain of magic and sorcery\(^\text{370}\), e.g. OE h(e)agurun, and OHG hagu-, hogabart (Lat larva); the second element -tessel-tessa (OHG -zussa) "appartient à la famille de te(os)u, "damnum, intentus, contentio, prejudicium" et de tesvian/teoswian "torturer, nuire, outrager", its absence from other compounds implying the term's specificity\(^\text{371}\). For Lecouteuex (p. 178):

Hagazussa signifie donc en fait "Dusesse de l'enclos"; c'est un genius loci féminisé auquel les glossateurs ont fait appel pour designier, par "sympathie", des individus se livrant à des pratiques magiques, donc maléfiques pour les chrétiens. En fait ce n'est pas un être humain à l'origine, ce qu'exprime la glose deas deosque hazessa thuresa...

\(^{360}\) German glosses equate hagazussa with ganea "prostitue" and histerno, palestricus "actor" in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. In these centuries (p. 163) "[t]he sense principal semble être, au témoinage des glosses, "Furie""; it is not until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that it is equated with strix ("screech-owl") in the sense of sorceress. Notke (d. 1022) equated the word with "conubial"

\(^{361}\) Morris [1972 n 9] compares the element burg- in OE burgunne (which glosses Lat. Furiae and Parcae) with hæg- in hægtesse, since the latter also glosses Furiae (and for that matter Parcae). He suggests that these elements "could be analogous". Cf. the earlier comparison of these two words in BTS burgunne

\(^{362}\) This etymology is debatable. It may be noted here that Doskow's [1976: 326] assertion that hægtesse and ganea contain "the same lexical root" is incorrect.

\(^{363}\) With regard to the present charm Lecouteux remarks (p. 172)

*Ica les ëtres appelés hægtesse sont mis sur le même plan que les Aes et les Elles: de plus, Fauteur anonyme utilise la périphrase "femmes puissantes" (mihigun wi). Cela ajouté au fait que ces êtres décorent des traits aux humains, comme les Elfes et les Aes, invite à penser que les personnes ici évoquées sont en rapport immédiat avec la base mythologie: ce ne sont pas encore, on peut le supposer, des morcellas. Tout semble indiquer que nous avons ici un esprit du type mar peu à peu assimile aux prophétises (bullaeums), ou ce que regent l'évolution des strigae et des lamae: pour l'Antiquité ce sont des démons prunant forme humaine, pour le Moyen Âge ce sont des êtres humains.*

\(^{364}\) The word's original meaning is also considered by Morris [1991: 171-2]; [the] conception of bordering two worlds is expressed etymologically in OHG hagazussa "fence hag" and ON trunrdr, or "fence rider". The etymology "fence hag" sees the witch as a woman who sits on the
hit sceal gemyltan: (?) "It must melt/dissolve/be consumed" - the precise meaning of the verb gemyltan is unclear in context, but together the words amount to an imperative command paralleled by the preceding "refrains".

Only Horn [1925: 90] observes the apparent discrepancy in the means of removing the spear: "Das Schmelzen des Eisens steht nicht in Einklang mit dem Herausziehen, das in der vorausgehenden Formel verlangt wird".

Taylor [1972: 449-50] compares the melting of the giant sword in Beowulf 1608 (... hit eall gemealt ise gelicost) as a result of Grendel's hot, corrosive blood, and considers (also doubtfully in my view) that "gemyltan carries comparable suggestions of magic and charm in other places in the OE corpus as well" (he cites wyrm hat gemealt (Beowulf l. 897), beorgas gemeltad ond heahcleofu (Christ l. 977), and fyre gemelted (Riddle 30b)).

Holthausen [1920a: 30] remarks "hat statt hit" and also compares Beowulf l. 897 wyrm hat gemealt, but Klaeber takes the latter as the adjective "hot". However, as ASPR 6 (p. 213) notes, "hvt in Beowulf 2649 is now generally regarded as a noun, and this may be what is intended here". This is the basis of Chickering's [1971: 85] alternative translation "heat [perhaps referring to an applied herbal lotion] must melt it", though, since words alone are deemed powerful enough to expel the spear, there seems to be no pressing need to look for another agent to effect its dissolution, particularly as hit (cf. l. 771b gif hit heornne sy) might simply be a pronoun referring to the isenes dat. Possibly though, a noun is desirable to support alliteration with hægessan in the a-verse.

779-80 Gif du were on fell scoten, odde...odde...[odde]...odde: Cf. (with Lindquist [1923 46-7]) an enumerative part of the OHG Second Merseburg Charm (ed. Braune & Ebbinghaus [1979. 89]):

sose benrenka, sose bluotrenka, sose hahrenka:

threshold between the cultivated and uncultivated land, a woman who possesses knowledge of both the natural and supernatural worlds, a woman who can be either benign or malevolent.....OHG hagQlLSSa is not a Christian word or concept and reveals some pre-Christian beliefs in the supernatural powers of women

So also Gloecks [1989 137].

Klaeber's note to Beowulf l. 2649 "The assumption of a noun hit(5) "heat" - first definitely proposed by Grein - has been largely approved by modern scholars".
ben zi bena, bluot zi bluoda,

lid zi geliden, sase gelimida sin.

Sandmann [1975: 91] also usefully compares the following Scandinavian charms:

Ja lagar om för genomskott

Å blodskott

Å beinskott

Å alla skott

I namn Fadrens och Sonens o.d.H.A-s.

"Ich bespreche für Durchschuβ

und Blutschuβ

und Knochenschuβ

und alle Schüsse

im Namen des Vaters etc."

Je i tyött

Så ska e gå ur tyött

Je i sen

Så ska e gå ur sen

Å je i bein

Så ska e ga ur bein ..

"Bist du im Fleisch,

so sollst du herau aus dem Fleisch!

Bist du in der Sehne,

so sollst du herau aus der Sehne!

Und bist du im Knochen,

so sollst du herau aus dem Knochen!..."

See similarly charms from Scandinavia in Bang [1901-2: no. 86], and Matthiessen [1967] Cf. also the Scottish words "wend out of flesh and bane" in Analogue no. 18 above.
This emendation to supply the possibly missing b-verse was first suggested by Grimm [1882-8: 1245], though he provides no evidence to substantiate his proposal, and it is not certain that there is any omission at this point since single half lines are found in OE poetry including the charms (see Bliss [1971: 445]). Subsequently the emendation has been adopted by almost all editors and commentators. *Blod and ban* were doubtless natural alliterative partners which would readily suggest each other in an anatomical listing, as is seen in the *Second Merseburg Charm* (where they are also followed by OHG *ld*, = OE *līd*)\(^{37}\). OE support comes from a listing of bodily parts and aspects of being for which divine protection is sought in a prayer (BL MS Cotton Galba A xiv fol. 104r-105v (s. xi')):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ic hebiode minre sawle gehealdnesse} \\
\text{and mines lichoman min word and weorc} \\
\text{and mine gepohtas. mine heortan and} \\
\text{minne hyge min leomu and mine ho-du} \\
\text{min fell and flæsc. min blod and ban} \\
\text{min mod and gemynd. and min gewit eall} \\
\text{and æghwæt pas be me lichomics ophe} \\
\text{gastlices sy mid rhte to gecyrranne.}
\end{align*}
\]

[Fol 104r (ed. Brackman [1966: 272]) (my emphasis)]

It is notable, though perhaps no more than a likely coincidence given the ready association of such terms, that, not only do we find here all of the anatomical elements of the present charm (plus *leomu*), but also that the same alliterative pairings (with the exception of *hd* and *lf*) are given in the same order and sequence\(^{39}\).

\(^{36}\) *The Microfiche Concordance to Old English* records numerous pairings of *blod* and *ban*, e.g. Guthlac A 1. 380 (ed. Roberts [1979]), Riddle 3\(^{7}\), 1 18 (ed. Williams [1977]), and The Judgement Day I, 1. 40 (ed. Shippey [1976]).

\(^{37}\) The ending of the OHG *Second Merseburg Charm* (ed. Braune & Ebbinghaus [1969: 89]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sose benrenks</th>
<th>Sose blicrenks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ben zi bena</td>
<td>blust zi blooda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lid zi geliden</td>
<td>sode gelimida si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{38}\) Banks [1965 209-10] discusses the poetic qualities of this passage in the Cotton text and considers it an approximation to the "debased verse" that was first composed in the tenth and became common during the eleventh century in England, but does not observe the parallel with the present charm; see also Muir's edition of the MS [1988: xxiv, 136-7]
The only objection - noteworthy but highly conjectural - raised to the emendation is that of Magoun [1937b: 3-4] who, developing a theory of Lindquist [1923], would see the remains of an earlier stanzaic "incantation form" in such triplets, one perhaps related to similar anaphoric, rhyming, repetitive survivals in the Old Icelandic ljóðaháttr metre, as in e.g. the Eddaic poem Fafnismál st. 13:

\[ \text{Sumar ero áskungar, sumar álfungar, sumar ero datr Dvalins.} \]

On this basis he would not supply a b-verse and would view the next line - \( oððe wære on lið scoten, nēfre ne sy ðin lif atæsed \) - as a later accretion.

782-3 Gif hīt wære esa gescot ... nu ic wille helpan : Cf. this triple source of affliction with the corresponding threefold remedy in II. 784-5 (\( Íns de to bote ... \)), and also with Lacn. II 927-9. On the basis of a supposed connection with strophic structure in other OE charms Magoun [1937b: 3] thinks that the phrases \( nu ic wille ðin helpan \) and \( ic ðin wille helpan \) (II 785) are later accretions that spoil the original effect - see also n. to I. 780.

782 gescot . Cf. certain unspecified afflictions resulting from "shots" in BLch (110 16-17) hwæthwega þæs þe fram scottum come. Cf. also the āescyce "sudden/deadly shot" of devils in the poem Christ II The Ascension (ed. Muir [1994 vol. I: 78 I. 327]) - the passage containing this word is quoted above as Analogue no. 11.

At least in later times the word "shot" could mean - in addition to denoting a projectile - "a sudden sharp pain", or "a sudden attack of disease or illness" (see OED "shot" and EDD "shot"; MEx ("shot" 4e) gives the senses "a muscular spasm of the neck or back; a spasmodic pain in the side, stitch, ?also, tetanus").

---

²⁷⁹ Magoun's text reads \( \text{Sumar ero áskungar, sumar álfungar, sumar ero datr Dvalins.} \)

²⁸⁰ His other instances (quoted from Magoun's article) are the OE metrical charm "For a Swarm of Bees" (II. 5-6), \( \text{And wād anand, and wād arminda,} \) and \( \text{wē ā pacel mannes tungor,} \) the OE metrical "Journey Charm" (II. 2-3), \( \text{lið ðane sara stice, wē ðane sara siege,} \) and \( \text{wē ðene grymna gryvere,} \) behind the OE metrical Cattle-theft charm in CCC MS 41 (II. 7-9) he would detect a simplified \( \text{Find þast feoh, and fære þast feoh,} \) and \( \text{fære hom þast feoh,} \) the metrical charm for a woman who cannot rear a child (Lacn. II. 927-9) he would rearrange \( þos me to bohe þære laþan lantlyðe, þos me to bohe þære laþan lantlyðe,} \) \( þos me to bohe þære laþan lantlyðe,} \) \( þos me to bohe þære laþan lantlyðe,} \) \( þos me to bohe þære laþan lantlyðe,} \) the Nine Herbs Charm (Lacn II 540-1), ðu miht wē ðate ðæt 7 wē onyge, ðu miht wē ðæt laþan, ðe geond bond ðæt. Note also in the OHG Second Merseburg Charm: ðoze benrenge, ðoze blyotrenge, ðoze lidrenge.
"Shot of the gods". OE *esa* - the noun *os* (nom.sg.) "(pagan Germanic) god"\(^{380}\) may also be attested as a simplex in the OE *Rune Poem* (st. 3, l. 10)\(^{382}\) as the name of the o rune, where it appears that a Christian censor may have interpreted it as the Lat. word for mouth. The testimony of the analogous Icelandic rune poem's *óss* (óss) "heathen god" (but not of the Norwegian analogue's *óss* "river mouth") suggests to some commentators that "god" (perhaps Woden in particular) was the original meaning of the word in a hypothetical earlier OE redaction, but *os* has also been interpreted here as the Lat. word for "mouth" (see Page [1973: 76-7])\(^{383}\):

"Os" *byð ordfruma ælcre spræce,

*wisdomes wraþu and witen af frosfur,

*and eorla gehwam eadnys and tohht. [ed. Shippey [1976: 80]]

The OE word *os* "god" is also attested as the first element in proper names such as *Oswald* and *Osræc*\(^{384}\), and possibly, as Wilson [1992: 21] observes, in place-names:

The last group of possible pagan place-names comprises those which might have OE *es*, *os* "a god" as their first element. There are only three place-names in this group. Easewn the Hundred (Sussex), first recorded in Domesday Book; Easole (Kent), first recorded in 824, and Eisey (Wiltshire), first recorded in 775\(^{385}\).

Furthermore, it has been suggested - but this is highly conjectural - that *os* appears as the second element of an otherwise unattested compound noun *herh-os* ("shrine-god") in the runic inscription on the right side of the Franks (or Auzon) casket: a number of scholars (see Elliott [1989: 133, 135]) read *herhos steþ on hærmbægæ "temple-god sits

---

\(^{380}\) The cognate Old English word *dæs* (pl. *æsir*) might be used to denote all the gods of Norse mythology, or only those gods such as *Oðinn* and *bôr* who were not part of the family of the *Vanir* (i.e. *Njörðr*, *Freyr*, and *Freyja*) (see Simek [1993 31]).

\(^{382}\) For a collection of references to OE *os* see Jente [1921, §54].

\(^{383}\) Conjectural analogous support for an Anglo-Saxon belief in Woden as the origin of speech might be found in the role of the cognate Norse god *Oðinn* as granter of breath (grend) as the account of the quickening of the first man and woman, Ask and Embja, as the Old English poem *Futhorc* (ed. Nickel & Kuhn [1983: 5, st. 18]):

_Qnd þau nê cito, ðod þau nê hopo,  
lá nê lar, nê lito göda,  
gend gaf Oðinn, ðod gaf Hœmir,  
ða gaf Lôtôr och lito göda._

On the interpretation of this myth (and a different version of it given by Snorri Sturluson) see Simek [1993: 21 Aks].

\(^{384}\) For a list see Ekwall [1933 153-4], for an interpretation of *Os* as "a sacred royal name" see Chaney [1970: 22-3].

\(^{385}\) Earlier, Ekwall [1933 153] proposed that "the gen. pl. *esa* may also form the first element of the Worsc. word-name Easefield Coppice in *Lyre Magna* (1669 *Easelfield*), though it is hazardous to attempt an explanation of so late a form"
on sorrow-mound”. If this interpretation is correct (and there are several other explanations of these words) then the herhos would presumably be the fantastic-looking creature seated on a mound on the left in the carving on the casket (for photographs see Elliott [1989: pl. XXIII] and Wilson [1980: 31]).

Little more is certainly known of the Anglo-Saxon belief in the pagan Germanic gods than the mere fact of their existence, though the word gydid (see BTS gydid; cf. gyden "goddess") may conceivably also bear testimony to a Germanic belief that the gods could cause abnormal states of mind or even illness. Their names are preserved principally in the days of the week, place-names and, seemingly euhemerized, in dynastic genealogies - Tiw, Woden, Ænur, and Frigg. There is no evidence for belief in a distinct group of Vanir (i.e. in Olcse Ænur, Freyr and Freyja), though knowledge of Freyr, or at least a being associated at some time in Scandinavia with Freyr, may be suggested by the reference to one Ing in the OE Rune Poem and in the name Ingwine in Beowulf. Freyr was also called Olcse Ænur and Ingwine. Their Scandinavian counterparts Týr, Óðinn, Ænir, and Frigg are well attested, but the extent to which Norse myth corresponded to English belief is unknown. Consequently, translation with the Olcse word "Æsir" (so GS (p 175)) might be thought potentially misleading here: I would render simply as "gods" or "divine beings".

The dearth of extant native information also means that we cannot know which gods (if any) in particular might have been thought particularly likely to cause such afflictions, though Woden (the god of war who, at least in Norse myth, is intimately associated with the spear), and Ænur (the symbol of whose lightning weapon has been tentatively discerned on a sword-pommel and sword-belt plates found at Bifron, Kent and whose swastika is found on East-Anglian cinerary urns (see Wilson [1992: 17, 115, and fig. 25]),

---

36 See Jonte [1921 §27], BTS, OED "gydd", and ODEE "guddy" ("OE gyd, var. of *gydgh ... GOD, the primary sense being "possessed by a god" (cf. OE yfīg "insane")
37 Others - almost completely obscure - are known only from Bede's De Temporum Ratione. For a translation and discussion of the relevant lines see Meaney [1985b].
38 The use of boar crests on Anglo-Saxon helmets, such as the gilded one found at Benty Grange (Webster & Backhouse [1991 59-60]), and reference to boar crests in Beowulf, has also sometimes been thought to suggest knowledge of this god - in Olcse myth Freyr is associated with the boar, particularly one called Gullinbursti ("the one with golden bristles").
39 For Sandmann [1975 91], however, who would derive *es from Gmc. *onsio (fem. 10-stem), "Es bedeutet danach "die zum Asen Gehörige" (die Valhörs). und eso, da Gen Pl., "der Walschüren"."
seem likely candidates. Perhaps the shot of the gods was originally the lightning bolt. Chickering [1971: 97-9] has entertained the possibility of Wodenic allusion throughout this charm on the basis of the references to the (putative) Wild Hunt, the spear-throwing, the (putative) valkyries (known as "Óðinn's girls" in Norse myth), the hlæw, and of this reference to gods.

On the form eso see Language 5.iii.

782 ylfa gescot: There is a considerable literature on elves and similar beings - on the Anglo-Saxon elf, its nature, actions, effects upon man and beast, and the means of combatting it see - often with reference to the present charm - especially Bonser [1926a], [1963], Davidson [1956], Peters [1963], Thun [1969], Stuart [1972] and [1976]. There is a useful collection of references in Jente [1921: §112]. In summary it may be said that the Anglo-Saxon elf was a nature spirit, probably of small stature, which caused various kinds of illness, in part at least, by shooting projectiles into the bodies of men and especially cattle. It is possible, but uncertain, that there were good elves as well as bad elves (cf. the Old Norse conception of light and dark elves). Elves were given (at least by glossators) different classificatory names according to their habitats, e.g. waterelf, muntelf, and that this may have had at least some genuine basis in Anglo-Saxon belief is suggested by the use of the word waterelfulf "water-elf disease" in LchBk3 (unless as Cameron [1993: 154] suggests this word means "watery elf-disease"), and by the statement in BLch (see Sources and Analogues), Sv ylfa be him se his meag to bote. The elf was demonised by

---

290 It is possible that the Nine Herbs Charm (Lcan Entry LXXVI) tells in II. 564-7 a story of how Woden was responsible for the origin of flyng poisons (i.e. infectious diseases).
291 See Bonser [1926a: 352] and references therein. Cf also Elfric's description of thunder as dangerous for pas fyras sceotungum in De Temporibus Ann (ed. Henel [1942 82, chap 14 De Tontrutu]).
One of the most interesting aspects of the place-names containing either Woden or Thunor is the number of names, seven in all, that the god's name is combined with a word denoting some kind of man-made feature of the landscape. Five of these refer to a burial mound, or barrow, indicated by either OE hlæw or OE beorg, and it is intriguing to consider the possible significance of the association of a god's name with this type of feature.

Woden hlæw is found in Wodneslava (Bedfordshire), the beorg place-name is Wodnesbeorg (Wiltshire). For Thunor there is Thunorshlaw (Kent) and Thuneslaw (Essex). Cf also perhaps some topographical features named after Grim (a by-name for Woden, though possibly a Scandinavian toponym) including Grim's Hill, Gloucester (see W.ison [1992 20]). However, these surviving names are too few for us to be able to conclude that there was a widespread practice of dedicating mounds to these two gods.

293 No-one has yet suggested a connection between Woden and the smith smiths - but for Odin as a smith in the Gesta Danorum of Saxo Grammaticus see Davidson & Fisher [1979, 1980 vol. II: 57 n. 45].

294 For a list see Peters [1963], for a caveat on their value as evidence for Anglo-Saxon myth see Thun [1969: 380].
Christianity and assimilated to the concept of Satanic devils with their darts, but they might still be used as God's scourge of the wicked. Christian ritual was used to combat them, as well as (presumably) earlier methods involving the use of herbs, secular incantations and possibly the apotropaic metal iron.

For an (incomplete) survey of words for supernatural beings in OE see Serjeantson [1936].

782, 784 esa ... ylfa: The pairing of gods (esa) and elves (ylfa) in parallel syntactic constructions and by alliteration is very significant since it is also found fourteen times in the mythological poems of the Olcel Poetic Edda\(^{11936}\). Unfortunately, since the pairing is not attested in East Germanic (Goth), OHG and OSax texts it cannot be certainly demonstrated whether it (and therefore its intrinsic mythological significance) is of common Indo-Germanic origin (and therefore native Anglo-Saxon) or is influenced by the later importation of Scandinavian paganism (cf. Chickering [1971: 95 n. 32]), but the former seems more likely. Either way, the Olcel evidence clearly shows that it is not valid to argue, as some have done, that the pairing demonstrates the downgrading of the gods to the level of minor supernatural beings such as the elves\(^{306}\). Rather, it is apparent that, as Motz [1973-4 95] observes with regard to the Olcel instances of the alliterative pairing, the elves "in their prime ... must have been closely allied with the gods".

783 hægtesasan gescot : Cf. the German word for lumbago, Hexenschuss. See also Commentary to l 778 Here and in l. 785, following on from gen. pl. esa and ylfa, it is attractive to take hægtesasan as a weak gen. pl. in -an (see Language 5.ii.b).

---


\(^{306}\) So kennedy [1943 10] "The reduction of the Esa, or pagan gods, into a category with witches and malign spirits is itself an indication of Christian influence", also S (p. 147): "The Gothic historian Jordanes (Cap. 13) calls them maxs id est semidei, and among the Anglo-Saxons they also seem to have occupied an inferior position, because they are coupled with elves and hags" Note also that Wardale [1935: 25] translates essa as "giants".

This is not, however, to say that such downgrading did not occur - it did and might apply here, but cannot be shown to do so on the basis of the pairing with the elves. An orthodox Christian view of the pagan gods - perhaps suggestive of the charm's presentation of the malign assailants - is neatly summarised in the OE Paris Psalter 95: 5 (ed. Krapp [1912 68]), Syndon sälle habenu godu hildeodeoful "All heathen gods are battle-devils" (Vulgate: omnes dii gentium daemonia).
784, 785 *pis de to bote*: This formulaic expression is also found in another metrical charm in Lacn. (ll. 927-9), also three times for a threefold source of affliction:

- *pis me to bote* Þære laþan læþyrde;
- *pis me to bote* Þære swæran sæþyrde;
- *pis me to bote* Þære laðan laþyrde.

It is also found in some medieval German charms - see Wipf [1992: chap. 8, nos. 2.6 (l. 11 *daz dir ze bvoze*), 5.2 (l. 6 *daz dir zo bvza*), 6.4 (l. 6 *daz dir ze buoza*)].

On the basis of the parallel in Lacn. ll. 927-9, Sandmann [1975: 90 n. 24] suggests the following metrical arrangement:

- *pis de to bote* esa gescotes,
- *pis de to bote* ylfa gescotes,
- *pis de to bote* hægtessan gescotes;
- *ic din* wille helpan.

However, this ignores the (presumably cross-caesural) alliteration of *esa* with *ylfa*, and of *hægtessan* with *helpan*, moreover, *ic din* is too short to be a credible half-line.

784-5 *pis de to bote esa gescotes ... hægtessan gescotes*: Skemp [1911b: 290] (see also Wardale [1935: 24] and Kennedy [1943: 10]) thinks that the final prose instructions in l. 788 are to be applied here, i.e. that "the salve would be "stroked" onto the part affected, with the knife". On the possible uses of the herbal mixture and the knife see n. to l. 788.

Another possibility might be that this threefold formula was accompanied by a stabbing action with the point of an iron weapon (possibly the *seax* of l. 788) - cf. a remedy (in a section on the medicinal efficacy of iron) for sudden, stabbing pains in the side and chest in Pliny’s *NH*:

*... pungique leviter mucrone, quo percussus homo sit, contra dolores laterum pectorumque subitos, qui punctionem adferant. [NH 34.151]*
786 Fled þær on fyrgenhæfde: This line (and the following one) has caused much debate (see also notes to the words þær, fyrgenhæfde and hal westu below), but there is no reason to suppose with the text’s most recent editor (Doane [1994: 144]) that the line may be "deliberately nonsensical".

MS fled is difficult, has almost always been thought to be corrupt, but might just be acceptable. I very tentatively take it to be an unmutated, possibly Anglian, 3 sg. pres. ind. form of the verb fleon ("he/she/it flees" (or "is fleeing" or "will flee")), with either the cross-stroke of an intended final d having been inadvertently omitted in an exemplar (thus making the letter appear to be a d to the scribe of Lacn.), or simply with a non-standard (possibly very late or very early) use of d for ð (cf. l. 799 wordgum for wordigung); see Language 2 ii f and 5 ix.a. It does not appear that the Lacn. scribe has simply omitted the cross-stroke himself since ð is well distinguished from d by its much longer up-stroke. Another possibility is that fled is a scribal error for subj. sg. fleo - this would be a simple mistake to make since the bodies of the letters o and d are similar in shape, and the letters might be especially similar if the scribe were working from an exemplar written in an Anglo-Saxon square minuscule in which d had a horizontal extension. We might then translate "May he/she/it flee ..."; another conceivable emendation - one adopted by many editors - is imp sg. fleoh (see below). Doane [1994: 144] has recently suggested that fled might be a very early instance of the past tense "fled" - OED first records such forms as past tense fledde and past participle fled(d) in the thirteenth century.

Further complication might (but need not) potentially be added to the interpretation of this word by the fact that in LWS the meanings of the verbs fleon "to flee" and fleogan "to fly" merged "so dass Formen von fleon auch in der Bedeutung "fliegen", solche von fleogan auch in der Bedeutung "fliehen" gebraucht werden" (SB §384, Anm. 2). Consequently the present verb (if such it be) fleon might be used to support either of the two plausible interpretations of this line (on which see further below) - either that it the gescot which is sent fleeing from the victim, or that, as promised in ll. 769-70 (Ic him oderne eft wille sendan, fleogende flane...), it is the healer’s missile which is sent flying.

---

[a]: Doane remarks that "some charms introduce deliberately nonsensical incantations". However, in Anglo-Saxon medical texts these are almost never (if at all) in OE.
if the reference is not to the healer's "flying dart" then his declaration of intent is not explicitly fulfilled in the charm.

Previous editors and commentators have suggested many emendations on semantic and metrical grounds (see Textual Apparatus), but, given our uncertainty over the metrical acceptability of this line, none can be convincing - particularly if the line is interpretable as it stands. Despite this it is worth examining some of these briefly.

A popular choice - "flee!" formulas being commonplace in charms and exorcisms is to emend fles to imp. sg. fleoh "flee!" (or "fly!")", though the basis for this can hardly be, as Doane [1994: 144] supposes, Lacn. I. 555 (Fleoh þu nu Attorlaðe), for there fleoh must be transitive ("put to flight..."). Also noteworthy is Skemp's [1911b: 293] addition of flan (cf. I. 770 flan) so as to read Fleoh þær flan on fyrgenheafde! G and GS, however, emend to past tense fleah "(it has) fled", thus making the line not a command, but an assurance that the cure has been effected.

Additionally, it may be worth drawing attention to BT, which takes MS fled (see flæt) to mean "a dwelling, abode". This makes no sense unless we provide a verb - perhaps then hæfstan or hæfpp or hafa or (taking fyrgen as a simplex?) hæfde, whence perhaps fled þær on fyrgen hæfde "it had a dwelling on the mountain". But I find this unpersuasive.

I'kgndcoofth o.sifusicei mthe Banlde of Ia1don see Saagg [1981: 82, n.to L 275]. Ni1e also Chadwid & Chadwid 1932 447) "she shall flee to your forest" (in footnote to "shall" they remark "Text corrupt. Perhaps to be emended to a pl. form"). Gummere [1982: 374 n. 3] remarks "we might of course read "flood" and refer to the Mighty Women". 39

30 For an instance of such confusion in the Battle of Maldon see Scragg [1981: 82, n.to L 275].

31 Note also Chadwick & Chadwick [1932 447] "She shall flee to your forest" (in footnote to "shall" they remark "Text corrupt. Perhaps to be emended to a pl. form"). Gummere [1982: 374 n. 3] remarks "we might of course read "flood" and refer to the Mighty Women".

32 Cf e.g. C vol I (p.394) Fuge diabolus Christus te sequitur ... Fuge diabolus (cf. a fifth-century Egyptian smulet (Meyer & Smith [1994 40, no. 16]) containing almost the same words "Flee, hateful spirit! Christ pursues you" (also note p.272, no. 128, "Flee, all you demons"). Marcellus DML 29.35 (p. 514) Fuge, fuge, lepsceula, et tecum asiper col dolorem, Marcellus DML 36.70 (p.618) Fuge, fuge podagra....; the so-called Canterbury Formula (ed. Jacobson & Molke [1941-7 no. 419]) kuri sarbuara far ju fu funum intu ... "Gyriel, the infirrctor of wounds", now flee, you have been found out, ...", in the Sanskrit Atharva-veda (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 8]) we find, e.g., "Fly forth from here, O bala, as a swift foal", and "As the rays of the sun swiftly to a distance fly, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea!".

33 But of perhaps the OE metrical charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6 no. 12, II 2-3) in which the wen is instructed to move home

her ne scealt þu tmhren, ne neonne til habben, ac þu scealt north eomen to þan nhgan berhge

her ne scealt þu tmhren, ne neonne til habben, ac þu scealt north eomen to þan nhgan berhge
with the ailment being charmed, probably the bursting being seen here as the outer sign of the effected cure. This sense is forced, and anyway, it seems unlikely that a færstice would be a boil.

Depending on whether we think that it is i. the lytel spere (or isern) that is ejected at this point, or ii. the healer's flan that is hurled in retaliation, different analogues may be cited:

i. If it is the spere that is ejected, we may be reminded of the cure of a man afflicted by a thorn in the foot in Felix's Life of St. Guthlac - the saint places his garment on the man and:

"Straightway that same thorn leapt from the man, just like an arrow leaves the bow, and went some distance away. And at the same time all the swelling and all the pain immediately left him." [trans. Swanton [1985: 55]]

Furthermore, we may note some accounts of the ejection of "elf-shot" projectiles in recent Newfoundland folklore (derived primarily from southeast Irish and West Country English tradition) collected by Rieti [1991], e.g.:

Another man was trouting at dusk when he felt "a shower or something" go over him, and went home with a pain in his side. His mother put poultices on it and, . . . a darn needle with wistard [darning needle with worsted] came out of it. And they said that's what the good people - fairies threw at him. Because the fairies didn't want him there that hour in the evening, you know, that's what happened.

and.

One time there was a dance in the parish hall and during the evening one young man noticed that his hand had become infected and was festering, although he had no recollection of having injured himself. He betook himself to the priest who told him to go home and put a poultice on the infection, and to throw whatever came out of it into the fire. Well, he did this and whatever was inside
flew straight across the room. He picked it up and threw it into the fire, whereupon it shot up the chimney like an explosion.

Expulsion of an affiction to a mountain/hill (or other distant and deserted topographical feature) is also seen in the OE metrical charm *Against a Wen* (ASPR 6 no. 12 l. 3, *pu scealt north eonene to pan nihgan berhe*), and in some other European charms (see Hamp [1961: 92-3] who cites instances - including the present one - of the removal of afflictions onto mountains). An associated idea may be that a projectile must depart into stone - cf. e.g. the words "wend out of flesh and bane | Into sack and stane" in Analogue no. 18 above.

If it is the healer's *flan* that is hurled then we may compare the common practice of throwing iron against evil spirits (see Horn [1925: 103]). We may also note Glosecki [1989: 113, and n. 5] who wonders if the line details the charmer's retaliatory attack specifically against *muntaelfna* "mountain elves", and recall the Olcel quotation from *Bandamanna saga* in which a "shot" comes from a fell (Analogue no. 8 above).

A third possibility is that the healer throws his *flan* towards a mountain top with the intention of effecting an identical sympathetic action from the embedded *gescot* - cf. perhaps charms in the Sanskrit *Atharva-veda* (trans. Bloomfield [1897: 8, 11]):

"As a well-sharpened arrow swiftly to a distance flies, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the expanse of the earth!"

"As an arrow flies to a distance when hurled from the bow - thus let thy urine be released, out completely, with the sound bâli!"

Note also Frazer [1922: 539]:

To cure toothache some of the Australian blacks apply a heated spear-thrower to the cheek. The spear-thrower is then cast away, and the toothache goes with it in the shape of a black stone called *karnitch*. Stones of this kind are found in old mounds and sandhills. They are carefully collected and thrown in the direction of enemies in order to give them toothache.
Might such a belief operative here in \textit{Lacn.} in fact enable the healer to accomplish his stated aims in one go - expulsion of the \textit{spere} and retaliation against the assailants?

786 \textit{per}: "There". Even given the difficulty of understanding this line, C’s expansion (p. 54) of the abbreviation to \textit{Por} is a rare error of judgement - it fabricates documentary evidence for English belief in the \textit{Scandinavian god Thor} (Olcel \textit{Pörr}, cognate with OE \textit{Punor}), otherwise attested only in the castigations of late Anglo-Saxon homilists. Belief in a cognate Anglo-Saxon god \textit{Punor} is evidenced certainly only in the early centuries of English settlement by placenames (and possibly archaeology) and by the fifth weekday name, \textit{Punresdag} "Thunor's day" (also \textit{Punresnicht}).

786 \textit{fyrgenhæfde}: Apparently "mountain-head", which is presumably a metaphor for "mountain-top", "summit" (though Jente [1921: §75] translates "Vorgebirge", and TOE (01 01 02 01 03 01) gives "Promontory, headland, cape" (cf. TOE 01.01.02.01.02.02 giving \textit{heafod} under "summit"); cf. perhaps the the conceptual "heads" of hills in the fourteenth-century ME alliterative poem \textit{Sir Gawain and the Green Knight} (ed. Tolkien & Gordon [1967. l. 2081]): I'ch hille hade a hatte, a myst-hakel huge "Each hill had a hat, a huge must-cape"

The compound noun \textit{fyrgenhæfde}, though otherwise unattested, is probably the intended reading since \textit{fyrgen} appears not to be found as a simplex in OE (it is considered a gravely doubtful word in TOE 01.01.02.01.02.02.02). Emendation of \textit{hefde} to \textit{heafde} (so Sweet [1884: 123]) is unnecessary since such spellings are occasionally found elsewhere in \textit{Lacn} (see Language 2.ii.g).
Sandmann [1975: 85] has the wild notion that the *fyrgenheafod* is to be equated with the ""Berg des Töters" ... der Sitz des Urwesengottes als Totengott"; he thinks the correct translation of this line is "Fliege von hinnen, dort auf die Spitze des zum Urwesengott gehörigen Berges!"

787 *Hal westu!* : "Be well!". Cf. the address to mother earth in the metrical charm *For Unfruitful Land* (ASPR 6 no. 1, l. 69): *Hal wes pu, fold, fira modor*⁴⁶⁶. Cf. also a formal salutation "Hail!" (always in the a-verse in OE poetry), e.g. *Beowulf* l. 405 *Wes pu, Hroðgar, hal* and *Andreas* l. 914 *Wes du, Andreas, hal.*

Skelton [1978: 154] notes the typicality of the use of such a concluding imp. address - it is apparently still in use in modern healing spells, such as the following example:

*Let the blood
and the gut
be clean

*Be whole*  
*Be whole*

*Heal*  
*Heal*

787 *helpe din Drihten* : "May the Lord help you". Sandmann [1974: 86 n. 18] guesses: "Drihten betont die Heilspotenz des Urwesengottes und wurde später als Bezeichnung für den christi Gott-Vater verwendet." We may doubt the validity of this specific idea here, but there is a possibility (probably slight) that *Drihten* might once have applied to a pagan Germanic god. However, there is no reason to think any such sense still survived into the eleventh century - judging from the wider context of *Lacn.* with its many Christian references it would have been understood as a reference to the Christian God; it makes a text which undoubtedly has pagan roots at least nominally Christian.

---

⁴⁶⁶To translate *Hal westu* here as a greeting "Hail to thee" (so S (p. 177); and Gordon [1954: 90], similarly G (p. 177 "All hail")) is probably to misunderstand. Bradley's [1982 547] subj. "Hale may you be" is not sufficiently direct.
Wardale [1935: 25] remarks that: "Obviously the term "Lord" is an addition of the scribe's". This is not a safe assumption, but the contrast with the emphasis on the healer's importance (first person ic in l. 783 ic wille din helpa) should be noted.

788 Nim bonne paet seax; ado on wətan: "Then take the knife; put (it) into liquid", the wətan possibly - but not necessarily - being the boiled herbal concoction that was prepared in ll. 760-1. Various interpretations of these words have been ventured. G (p. 215) has the improbable idea (rejected by Skemp [1911b: 291]) that the knife is "apparently to be used on some dummy representing the evil spirits"; Skemp [1911b: 290-1] thinks that the knife is used to apply the liquid to the patient; Wardale [1935: 25] thinks that wətan refers to water into which the knife is put so that "none of the healing ointment with its magic power be left on the knife". Niles [1991: 136], following earlier precedent, suggests that "a surgical operation" is to be carried out, presumably utilising the seax.

A number of commentators (notably Horn [1925] and Glosecki [1982], [1989]) argue plausibly that in the use of the seax here we encounter an Anglo-Saxon instance of the common belief amongst early cultures that iron has magical power against evil spirits - though there seems to be no other example of this belief extant from Anglo-Saxon England. Good British (Welsh) examples can be found in Sikes [1880: 52-3]; I note the following account in particular:

There was Evan Thomas, who, travelling by night over Beddewly Mountain ... saw the Gwyllion on each side of him ... He also heard the sound of a bugle-horn winding in the air, and there seemed to be invisible riders riding by. He then began to be afraid, but recollected having heard that any person seeing Gwyllion may drive them away by drawing out a knife. So he drew out his knife, and the faires vanished directly.

More telling, probably, is the distinct possibility that such a belief is attested among certain early continental Germanic tribes by the first-century Roman historian Tacitus: in chap. 40 of his Germania we learn that when the goddess Nerthus (cognate with the Olcel
god Njörðr) departs from her island retreat to visit the people everything iron is locked away (clausum omne ferrum); as Dumézil [1973: 229] observes:

[it is] as though the visit of Nerthus were incompatible with the mere presence of that metal. Was the reason not perhaps because, even as early as pagan times, iron, whether used for military purposes or not, would have prevented the approach of the desired divinity, as today steel is the best means of preventing the feared approach of the havfrue [i.e. a Nordic female sea-spirit who also regularly visits land]?

Hubener [1936: 432-3] also draws attention to the exorcistic powers of knives in popular exorcistic rites, and quotes a suggestive Indian exorcism that is worth repeating here:

Later I myself went with an Indian to such an exorcist. He was squatting on the ground in a corner behind the Delhi bazaars, holding a peacock feather in the one hand and a knife in the other. He was exorcising a child, whom the veiled mother held in front of him, while he repeatedly and alternately touched the child and the earth with the peacock feather and the knife, at the same time pronouncing the following words in Urdu: "O Mahadev, O God, God of all disease! I touch the ribs of this little girl three times with my holy knife in the name of the holy God. I touch her head three times with my holy peacock feather and I pray that the God of all diseases may cure the rib disease of this little girl. Oh my holy knife and peacock feather, with God's help you have cured many thousand children, so cure this little girl."

Glosecki (1982) rejects the interpretations of G (probably rightly) and Skemp (less certainly) with regard to the use and significance of the knife, in the belief that the seax has "sympathetic power ... crucial to a full understanding" of the charm: "[s]ince the knife

---

* Cf. also possibly the use of a feather in the OE metrical charm Against a H i en (ASPR 6 no. 12, ll. 6-7):
  Under fort wolve, under weler earles,  
  under earnes clea. a fe gewyarne.
* It might also be relevant to note (with Hubener) that the seax may have been held in particular esteem by the Saxons, for not only does the tribal name Saxons (OE Seaxon, see OED and ODEE "Saxon") seem to contain the word, but in an Old Saxon baptismal vow one of their gods is named as Saxnot. Furthermore, the genealogies of the East Anglian kings trace their lineage to a cognate figure called Saxnot/Saxmne/Saxnot, a word apparently meaning "Companion of the Sax" (or perhaps "of the Saxons"). On this figure see Turville-Petre [1964: 100], Simek [1993: 276], and Sisam [1953].
and the elfshot are both made of iron - a magical metal, intrinsically potent during the Iron Age - we need not look beyond the text itself to find the purpose of the seax". Glosecki proposes a solution to the problem (one which I have also tentatively entertained) which may have virtue in permitting the final prose instructions to provide all the information necessary for the working of the cure. Bearing in mind the sympathetic relationship that the seax may reasonably be supposed to have with the pointed weapon (or weapons) that has struck the victim, he notes [1989: 139] a Renaissance custom recorded by Francis Bacon (Sylva Sylvarum, Experiment 998) in which:

> It is constantly Received, and Aouchted, that the Anointing of the Weapon, that maketh the Wound, will Heale the Wound it selfe ... the Ointment, wherewith this is done, is made of Divers Ingredients; whereof the Strangest and Hardest to come by, are the Mosse vpon the Skull of a dead Man, Unburiendor; And the Fats of a Boare, and a Beare, killed in the Act of Generation .... the same Kinde of Ointment, applied to the Hurt it selfe, worketh not the Effect; but only applied to the Weapon.

Thus, according to this interpretation, in Lacn. the seax - sympathetically identified with the iltel spere - and additionally, if my reading of ll. 772-3 is correct, with the smith's seax - is placed in the healing mixture, and in so doing the wound is healed.

Since there appears to be no other Anglo-Saxon instance of such practice* the interpretation must be thought conjectural, but many other examples of later belief in the "weapon salve" (as it came to be known) from less intellectual sources might be cited (see Ope & Tatem [1989: 451 "WOUND healed by tending weapon" - earliest recorded instance 1584]. Thomas [1971: under "weapon-salve" in index, esp. 225-6] Frazer [1922: 41-3], and for numerous English examples Radford & Radford [1948: 366-8 "Wound Treatment")]. However, it would be rash to rule out other, possibly combative, possibilities**.

---

*Unless a curious little remedy in BLc (296 17-18) is somehow relevant: Wip gongelwaeftan bisu: smut on isen swat "For the bites of a spider amear sweat on iron".
**For some American instances of the "weapon salve" see Hand [1969: 308-9].
---

Cf e.g. a sixteenth-century Northumbrian custom for elf-shot animals, cited by Davidson [1956: 152] (see also [1960b 221]), which combines the direct sympathetic magical action of the healer's remedial elf-shot with the application of the liquid in which it has been dipped. "In the north of England the "elf-shotted" animal is cured by touching it with one of these arrows and administering as a drench water in which an elf-arrow has been dipped". Cf.
Against this interpretation, and in favour of the use of the knife to apply the (postulated) salve to the victim's body, might perhaps be placed a remedy in *PhysPlinFP3* (49.9 (p. 165)) which applies nettle (cf. l. 760 *seo reade netele*) to draw out a foreign body:

*Ad Extrahenda Ea, Que Corpori Infixa Sunt.*

Vrvice autem radix trita et imposita.

Doane [1994: 145] suggests that *weatan* refers not to a salve, but to "the watery issue from a rash, boil, or hive, the placing of the knife in it being a magical gesture of finality as the ailment is "killed". This is unpersuasive.

Given all these possibilities, the paucity of our knowledge, and the difficulties of the text, it seems unlikely that the uncertainty over the use and significance of the *seax* in this charm will ever be resolved.

788 *ado on*: Abernethy [1983: 113] suggests the emendation *ado off* on the basis of phrases such as *ado of da buteran*, but *DOE* *adon* attests the meaning "put in" here; cf. *ado in* in *Lacn* I. 190 *ado in hluittor eala* "put into pure ale" (and similarly in II. 191, 199, and 202).
ENTRY CXXVIII

790 *gecdned*: CH gives no indication that this verb is found with the *ge-* prefix.

ENTRY CXXX

OE Parallel and Lat. Source:

*Wid þæt rengwyrmas ymbe þone nafolan derigen genim þas ylcan wyrte absinthium [i e. wermod] 7 harethunan 7 elechtran, ealra gelice mycel, seod on geswettum wætere ofhe on wine, lege tuwa oddo þriwa to þan nafolan, hyt cwelþ þa wyrmas.*

[Ad lumbricos. *Herbae absynthii et marrubii et lupinorum paria pondera in aqua mulsa cocta vel vino, bis aut ter postum in umbilico necat lumbricos.*]

*[OEHerb (148/15-18)]*

Very similar, but not quite so close in wording in some respects to *Lacn.* is another remedy from *OEHerb*:

*Wid rengwyrmas abutan nafolan genim þas ylcan wyrte marubium 7 wermod 7 elechtran, ealra þyssa wyrta gelice fela be gewihte, seod on geswetton wætere 7 mid wine twee oddo þriwa lege to þam nafolan, hit cwelþ þa wyrmas.*

[Ad lumbricos. *Herbae marrubii, absynthii et lupinorum paria pondera in aqua mulsa cocta cum vino bis aut ter in umbilico posta, necat lumbricos.*]

*[OEHerb (92/4-7)]*

The present *Lacn.* remedy is not given in de Vriend’s list of relevant parallel cures (*OEHerb Appendix II*).

793 *wyl*: C’s emendation *wyr* "myrtle" (i.e. *Myrica gale* L., bog myrtle, sweet gale) is a possibility. It is too quickly dismissed as unnecessary by GS (p. 176 n. 1): the use of *ealra* ("all") rather than *begra* ("both") in this clause must support three ingredients - as in the *Herbarium* - rather than two, moreover the imp. "boil!" is found in the next clause and in a different spelling (*wyl*). However, in view of *OEHerb* we might expect *wyl* to be a corruption of *elechtran* rather than of *wyr*. 
ENTRY CXXXII

This is the first in a series of five (possibly six if we can include Entry CXXXVII) veterinary remedies for cattle, sheep and pigs.

ENTRY CXXXIII

Although there is no new heading, and MS gives no indication of a break, ll. 804-8 could constitute a separate remedy (as GS think) using many of the same ingredients and a similar fumigatory procedure.

799 lungenadle hriderum: It is likely that tuberculosis in particular would afflict cattle - Hagen [1995: 61] remarks:

One might expect tuberculosis to be widespread, since this was common in herds until recently, and exacerbated by keeping cattle in dark or badly-ventilated byres, but primitive breeds in general have a lower incidence of disease.

799-800: These lines are problematic: there may be some corruption here. Perhaps the name of pa wyrt has dropped out. See following notes.

799 pa wyrt on wordigum: These words are somewhat problematic, possibly as a result of some corruption at the folio break. They seem to require a transitive verb to make sense of acc pa wyrt. C takes the verb to be the following geccuca (l. 800), and I have concurred, although it is a long way from its subject and the resulting construction is somewhat awkward. Alternatively, perhaps a common imp. like nim is to be understood at the start, hence "(take) the plant (?)sc. which grows) in homesteads". Or perhaps a relative particle and the third sg. pres. indicative of the verb weaxan weaxan "to grow" have dropped out after wyrt (due to scribal error caused by three words beginning with w - wyrt *wexed/wordigum and/or the following wexed? Cf. BLch (44 4-5) genim pet micle greate windelstrew twyecge pet on worpum wexd and (92/26-27) grundeswelge pa de weaxad on worpigum).
Stuart [1974: 433], taking her cue from S’s translation ("the herb of this description"), emends *pa wyrt on wordigum* to *pa wyrt on wordum*. She would translate "in speech it resembles *hundes micgea*". But this does not account for the acc. case of *pa wyrt*, and, so far as I can see, makes for unlikely sense: surely *gelc* refers either to visual or olfactory similarity here.

799 *pa wyrt*: Bierb2 (pp. 69, 137, following C (p. 333)) identifies this plant as deadly nightshade (*Atropa Belladonna L.*). Both *Hyoscyamus niger* L. (henbane being one possible identification of the plant II. 799-800 *hundes micge*) and deadly nightshade belong to the potato famly *Solanaceae* and could be thought to like each other in the shape of their flowers and in their poisonous properties - they both contain the alkaloids *Hyoscyamine* and *Atropine* (see text and illustrations in Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989: 348-9]).

Another point of connection between deadly nightshade and *hundes micge* (whatever its identification) might conceivably be that of unpleasant smell - according to Grieve deadly nightshade when crushed "exhales a disagreeable smell" (for the vile smell of *hundes micge* see following note).

It is interesting to note that, not only has deadly nightshade (despite being a very toxic plant) long been used in herbal medicine, but according to Wren it can be used as an antispasmodic in *bronchial conditions*. The berries (which are to be administered here?) are apparently the least toxic part of the plant and even other parts of it can be consumed with impunity by certain animals (including horses, sheep, goats, and swine) (Grieve).

799 *hundes micgean dreere wyrite*: The possible identification of this plant as hound's tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale L.* ) is C's, on the basis of the following passage in the sixteenth-century English *Herball* (Bk 2 chap. 286) of John Gerard:

These leaves [i.e. those of hound's tongue] stinke very filthily, much like to the pisse of dogs; wherefore the Dutch [i.e. German] men have called it Hounds pisse, and not Hounds tongue.
Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989: 328] write that this plant "smells distinctly of mice and was formerly used as a medicinal plant"; C (p. xxxii) also quotes Sir J.E. Smith on this plant: "Exhaling a strong fetid odour resembling that of mice, or as some say, the urine of dogs".

However, it appears from Bierb2 (hundes micge) that another possible identification is the foetid plant henbane (Hyoscyamus niger L.), for which he cites the following names - German Hunnemigenkraut, Danish hundepis-rod, hundemeje, and French pisse de chien. Its unpleasant smell has certainly been noticed in England - henbane was (is?) known in Cumberland as "stinking roger" (Grigson [1958: 291]).

800 pysbeana: This difficult word perhaps means "pea-beans", i.e. shelled peas (being the "beans" of the pea-plant)? It is otherwise unattested, and is not included in the dictionaries (nor does MED have anything comparable). C renders simply as "peas"; GS (not very convincingly) emend pys[an] and dismiss beana as a dittographic error due to the preceding word (l. 800) bergean on the basis that:

- no other example of a compound pys-bean ("heavy-bean") or pyse-bean ("pea-bean") is known; and it should be noted that the wider meanings of "bean", such as "seed", "fruit", "berry", are not recorded until centuries later.

GS also suggest the possibility that "the original reading was pysan odóe beana "peas or beans".

Stuart [1974 433] says pysbeana is "surely a possible compound", but does not explain her translation "bean-plants" (she queries "peas and beans" in her Glossary).


802 Genim þa ylcan wyrt; do in glede, 7 finol ... 7 recels: This is clumsily expressed - Genim þa ylcan wyrt, 7 finol 7 cassuc 7 godeweb 7 recels; do in glede would have been clearer.
804 *Weorc...* : Perhaps a new entry should begin here (see above).

805 *"Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore"* : Vulgate Psalm 33. Psalms are also sung over beasts suffering from lung disease in a fragmentary remedy in BL MS Cotton Vitellius E xxi, fol. 15v (ed. C vol. I, p. 388; Ker no. 224).

805 *usque in finem* : These words might indicate that at least this part of the remedy has a Lat. source. Cf. Commentary to Lacn. Entry XXIX II. 103-6.


806 *hærn ymb recels 7 godeweb* : Owen-Crocker [1986: 189] remarks that the Anglo-Saxons used the word *godweb* for very luxurious cloth. The meaning behind this compound is not, simply "good cloth" but "a godly or divine cloth". It was used to translate Latin *purpura*, which, literally, means "purple" or "purple cloth". Professor Dodwell, however, has suggested that the Anglo-Saxons did not use the terms *godweb* and *purpura* for the purple-dyed silk which was a not uncommon luxury at the time, but reserved them for some very special material. Dodwell demonstrates that this material might be of various colours, not just purple: English churches owned vestments of red, white, green and black *purpura*. Some descriptions imply that there was more than one colour in it. Essentially *godweb/purpura* was thick and iridescent; Dodwell argues convincingly that this material was shot-silk taffeta. In the light of this the present practice of burning *godweb* is striking (but understandable since its status as "divine cloth" allows us to understand its burning with *recels* and the other parts of the ritual as an aspect of Christian fumigation/exorcism) - as Meaney [1981: 188] notes, "to burn *godwebbe* would be virtually like burning money; and presumably a fair quantity would have been required to affect a herd of cattle". Clearly the

---

413 C (p 57) thought the material was "cotton".
performer of this remedy needed to be a very wealthy man. The charm also shows us that cattle were more valuable than godweb.

See also on the use of godweb here Flint [1991: 287]. Godweb is also employed in a remedy Wid blodes flewsan in OEMdQ (238/17).

807 syle pone teohan panig for Gode: i.e. give a tenth of the value to the Church. Cf. the practice of paying yearly tithes to the Church, and see BT teodungeceap ("tithe-stock") which quotes the Blickling Homilies:

_Ure Drhten bebead, ðet we symle emb twelph monæ gedælan done teohan dæl on urum wæstmum and on cwcum ceape._

**ENTRY CXXXIV**

809 abrocen: This word might denote some serious physical damage or incapacity (as in the modern use of "to break down" with regard to horses with stretched tendons). Cf. OEHerb (1 19) Wid þæt man sy innan abrocen, corresponding to (34/4) Gif mon sy innan gebrocen (Lat Contra internam rupturam). Alternatively, BTS (abrecan) (supported by Magoun [1954: 568] and TOE (04.02.05.02.02 "sore, ulcerous"), but not by DOE) proposes that abrocen denotes the visible "breaking" of the skin by a disease, or the "breaking out" of a rash - note perhaps the immediately following remedy Wid poccum 7 sceapa hreoflan.

**ENTRY CXXXV**

812 sceapa hreoflan: "Sheeps' scab". According to de Bairacli Levy [1984: 174] the word "scab" can cover "many disorders of the skin in sheep. The condition may be purely mange, or a form of ringworm, or caused by lice infestation".

813 agrundene: A point after agrundene in MS favours taking it (with C) as qualifying the previous words sperewyr stfanwearde (i.e. "upper part of sperewyr, ground up"), rather than (so GS) with the following words greate beane (i.e. "large beans ground up").
814 snade: BT, BTS, BTC, and CH do not record snad (as opposed to snæd) in this sense.

ENTRY CXXXVI

816 doa: If this is the intended form, it may be an Anglian imp. - see Campbell §768(b) who says it is found in the OE gloss to the Vespasian Psalter. This form doa is not found elsewhere in Lacn. Alternatively, we might understand do a "put always" (so C, and GS who object to L's doa); Stuart [1974: 316-9] emends do pas.

The object of this direction is not immediately obvious and possibly a plant name or names has dropped out. If the object is [c]li[t]an then the words syle etan seem unnecessary.


Bierb2's identification of this plant name with Arctium lappa L. finds support in ME - see Hunt [1989 under Clite in Index].

817 desforn: Bierb2 (p 120 n.) points out that this word is also found in BLch (52/7-8) (wrongly divided be fojorne by C and L - this had been noted earlier by Bradley [1916: 214]). The word is found in ME often denoting the buckthorn (see Hunt [1989: references under Thevethorn in Index]). See also OED "theve-thorn", and cf. (possibly) the local Leicestershire name "thief" for the blackberry (recorded in Grigson [1958: 144]).

817 snge ofer feower messan: Although it is not clear 'whether the masses are to be sung over the plants or the pigs, the former is probably the likelier possibility - cf. ll. 708-9 nim ompran sead 7 Sceattisc wex; gesenge maesepreost XII maesan ofer 7 do haligweeter on; 7 do bonne on peet hors.

414 S invents the OE title llip swena for steorfan "Against sudden death of swine" for this remedy, but gives no indication that it is supplied editorially.
817-8 *hoh da wyrte on feower heaflfe 7 on pan dore*: Stuart [1974: 316-9] would see a parallel to this rite in Chaucer's *The Miller's Tale*, where a *nyght-spel* (rather than plants) is used to ward off "elves" and "wightes":

*Therwith the nyght-spel seyde he anon-rightes*

*On foure halves of the hous aboute,*

*And on the thresshold of the dore withoute* [II. 3480-2 (ed. Benson [1987: 72])]

A noteworthy OE parallel using consecrated bread is found in a fragmentary remedy in BL MS Cotton Vitellius E xviii fol. 16r (ed. C vol. III p. 290): *nim of dom gehalgedan hlafe þe man halge on hlaflmæssedæg feower snæda, 7 gecryme on þa feower hyrnan þæs berenes.*

Note that, just as in *Lacn.* four plants are used for four sides, so in this remedy four pieces of bread are used for four sides of the barn.

**ENTRY CXXXVII**

821-2: Some of these words are so far unexplained, though Meroney [1945-6: 181] cautiously suggests some connections with OIr. These identifications hardly attain to continuous sense and interpretation is very difficult. The language does, however, seems to be (at least in part) Irish:

a) *luben* cf OIr *lobad* "weakens, destroys". (But I would suggest OIr *lubán* "young of animals", "foal", "lamb". This latter might be an attractive possibility in view of this charm's position after a series of veterinary cures (Entries CXXXII-CXXXVI). We might also compare the other theft charm in *Lacn.* (Entry CXLIX) which is probably for lost cattle.)

b) *niga* cf OIr *ngid* "washes, purifies", although "ni gaefid *might equal ni gaibid (2nd pl. impv. of OIr. gaib-) *don't take*, but an object is missing". (But *ni gaefid* meaning "don't take" is surely irresistible in a theft charm, and, if *luben* (= OIr *luban* "foal", "lamb") or the following *fel* ( OIr *fell* "horse") can be the object, perhaps the meaning is something like "Do not take (the) foal, (the) foal, do not take (the) horse!").

c) *fel* cf. *fil* "it is"; or (Meroney n. 2) "perhaps OIr. *bel* "mouth" or *fuil* "blood" is involved". (Alternatively I suggest - more relevant to the present context perhaps - OIr *fel* "evil", or *fel* "poetry", or (see above) *fell* "horse").
ceid; this form is unexplained.

d) delf (in MS feldelf): "comes close to OIr. delb "visage"". (But perhaps Irish delb "poor", "miserable" should be mentioned too - OE imp. sg. "dig" takes the same form but does not seem relevant. Might fel delf fel be a series of curses "evil! miserable! evil"?

e) orceggaei: (Meroney wrongly reads orceggaei): "probably akin to OIr. org- "kill"". cf. orgo (I. 94), arcum (I. 87), and arcun (I. 255).

f) cume: "can be OIr. cu mér "with finger"".

(So cu mer orceggaei might conceivably mean "with (the) finger I strike" - perhaps some aggressive gesticulation is called for here. For other OIr first person statements of striking see notes to Lacn. ll. 94-5.)

g) ceufor: this is unexplained (but given the alternate repetition in this charm - niga eflO niga eflO ceid fel - I hesitantly suggest that ceufor might be an attempt at an English phonetic spelling of cume. However, if Meroney's interpretation of cume is correct, it is harder to account for any transcription of initial OIr m- in mer as f- in -for since the m- ought not to lenite after cu (a lenited m- might well sound like (and so be spelled as) an f- to an Anglo-Saxon)).

h) dard: cf. tart (BLch Bk I chap. viii; also ed. Napier [1890: 323]) "thirst, dryness". (But this is not of obvious relevance to a theft charm).

i) giug farig pidig : these forms are unexplained. They may be just mystificatory mumbo-jumbo without conventional meaning, though the possibility that they have been greatly corrupted from once meaningful words cannot be discounted. (Note that Meroney's guig is an incorrect reading).

j) delou and delupih: might be "efforts to spell what appears in delf".

Stuart [1974: 820-3] attempts the following reconstruction of the incantation. Unfortunately, it scarcely amounts to sense:

Luben[s], luben[s], nugae fit: fil cet, fil dil, fil co mor orc[un]. Gae co sun dar[ais]. Giull. Fa-rig fid: DELOUDELUPUH.

Presumably MS feldelf is to be divided fel delf and not interpreted as an unattested OE word feldelf (but cf. CH feldelfen) with the meaning "field-elf"!
"Willingly, willingly, may he become useless; which is a hundred (?) which is a casting, which is with great slaughter. A spear with a word across it. It stuck fast.

The wood delays him. DELOUDELUPIH".

According to Stuart the incantation is "a binding device, intended to make the thief powerless to move". She thinks "the chanting of the incantation is accompanied by the ritual casting of a special spear, which has the magical inscription DELOUDELUPIH upon it". This is all wildly speculative.

821-2 Luben luben ... delou delupih : Alliteration, rhyme, repetition, and echo here combine to make an effective incantatory utterance in which conventional lexical meanings may not be of paramount importance. G's (p. 168) division of the text into seven roughly equal lines (though without MS authority) is interesting, and certainly helpful to one's perception of the sound-patterning. I follow G's lead below, but since he introduces some misreadings and unjustifiable transpositions, the text is mine. The use in ll. 2-4 of two words beginning with the same sound on either side of a word beginning with a different sound may be noted as a possible organisational principle. The line division is intended solely as a speculative conceptual aid:

Luben luben niga.
efiō niga efiō
fel ceid fel delf fel
cumer oreoggaei ceufor
dard giug
farig pidig
delou delupih.

Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in Lacn. - Entries XXII, XXV, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CLIV, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.
ENTRY CXXXVIII

OE Variant Version:

Wip hondwyrme: nim sciptearo 7 sweft 7 pipor 7 hwit sealt; meng tosomne; smire mid. [BLch (124/9-11)]

Medicinal Efficacy:

The use of *sweft* (sulphur) is a fine traditional remedy for scabies (for the identification of the complaint as scabies see following n.) - *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed. "Scabies") remarks that the "remedy is soap and water, and sulphur ointment".

However, without use of soap and water, the remedy would only have killed the male mites which remain on the surface of the skin, for:

To get at the female and the ova prolonged soaking in soap and water is necessary, the epiderm being rubbed away and the ointment then applied.

*[Encyclopedia Britannica* 11th ed., "Sulphur" (final paragraph)]

The other ingredients seem to be unnecessary, but presumably the tar would prevent (or be thought to prevent?) the mites from moving, and the potency of pepper and salt (so it was perhaps thought) would contribute to their destruction.

See also Logan [1981: 68-9].

823 *hondwyrmmum*: Literally "hand-insects". These appear to be very small creatures since in the metrical charm *Against a Wen* (ASPR 6 no. 12) the wen is wished to become (l. 12) *miccli lesse alswa anes handwirmes hupeban* - that is (presumably) invisible and non-existent". Magoun [1937a: 22] finds a satisfying parallel to this line in *Romeo and Juliet* (Act II, scene iv, 67-9) in the description of Queen Mab's smallness:

*Her waggoner a small grey-coated gnat,*

---

"Students of the OE Wen Charm may be interested in an Irish quatrain (ed. Meyer [1897]):

*Cid becc - méd frghed - do locht,
airgh for nech do chèin:
*cid médither slíab do locht,
nocha n-airghhe fort fín.

"Though a fault be small - the size of a fleshworm -
Thou perceivest it on any one from afar:
Though a fault be as big as a mountain,
Thou dost not perceive it on thyself."
Not half so big as a round little worm


As several commentators and authorities (OED "handworm"; HWDA (article on Wurm, col. 849); Talbot [1904: 44]; Fazakerley [1945: 16 n. 14]; Keil [1957] - a study dedicated to this topic; Bonser [1963: 278 n. 1]) observe, the "handworm" is probably the very small (but visible) parasitic itch mite Sarcoptes scabei which causes scabies. Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed., "Scabies") reports that the creature usually begins burrowing "at the clefts of the fingers, which will probably have been torn at their summits by the scratching of the patient, or have been otherwise converted into vesicles or pustules".

A collection of remedies for "handworms" is found in BLch Bk I chap. i (pp. 122-5).

ENTRY CXXXIX

OE Variant Version:

Weaxsealf wip wyrme: weax sealf, butere, pipor, hwit sealt; meng tosomne; smire mid. [BLch (124/11-12)]

Medicinal Efficacy:

See remarks on the previous remedy. The use of wax instead of ship's tar and the lack of pepper should make no difference to the salve's degree of effectiveness.

825 sweft : As Meaney [1984a: 259-60] points out, the second instance of the word sealf in the BLch remedy is likely to be a mistaken scribal substitution for Lacn.'s sweft.

BLch also differs from the Lacn. remedy in using butter and pepper.

825 sealt : Specifically white salt is required for the BLch remedy.
ENTRY CXL

OE Variant Version:

Gif nægl sie of handa 7 wip wearhbrædan: nim hwæte corn; meng wið hunig; lege on pone finger. [BLch (80/22-3)]

826 Gif nægl of honda weorde : BLch is additionally wip wearhbrædan.

827 wyll stahbornrinde; þweah mid ðy d'rence : BLch has no parallel to these words. Perhaps they in fact constitute a distinct and acephalous remedy - possibly for the same affliction, though there is no parallel extant to confirm this.

ENTRY CXLII

Parallel:

Wið þæs magan topundennyse 7 þæra innoþa genim þas ylcan wyrtel pollegium geecnucde 7 on weitere œðe on wine gewyllede, ðe þsurh hy sylfe sylæ picegan. sona byþ seo untrumnys forlæten.

[Ad stomachi inflammationem aut intestinorum. Herbam puleium ex aqua calida contritum vel ex vino aut per se dato, remitteris cito.]

[OEHerb (140/5-8)]

Lacn.'s reference to magan wyrce can be compared with the following OE translation of Lat. stomachi nausiam as magan sare:

Eft wið þæs magan sare genim þas sylfan wyrtel pollegium, cnuca hy 7 mid wetere gewæsc, sylæ drincan on ecede, hyt þone wættan þæs magan wel gelipigah.

[Ad stomachi nausiam. Herbam puleium tritam vel in aqua maceratum cum aceto potui dabis, nausiam stomachi sedat.]

[OEHerb (138/4-6)]

This latter is possibly a source for a similar remedy in BLch (184/29-30):

Wip metes unluste: dweorgedwostlan on weære ofþænde; geognid mid ecede; sele drincan wið wættan.
Cf. also NH (20.153) on the virtues of pennyroyal:

nausias cum sale et polenta in frigida aqua pota inhibit, sic et pectoris dolorem,

stomachi autem ex aqua.

Medicinal Efficacy:

This remedy might well provide some relief for minor discomforts of the stomach and for flatulence. Grieve (p. 626) records that pennyroyal may be taken in water or wine as a drink and is beneficial for "flatulence and sickness, being very warming and grateful to the stomach".

830 gif he bid toblawen se innoð : GS (p. 180 n. 1) think the syntax is loose, and suggest that he should be emended to him (giving *gif him bid toblawen se innoð). This is possible - perhaps a scribe neglected to note the postponed subject se innoð and so altered him to nom. he - but he and se innoð may be in apposition.

ENTRY CXLIII

Cameron [1993: 134-5] thinks this remedy may not be an amulet (as Meaney [1981: 47-8] takes it), but "a pessary of pennyroyal in wool (i.e., put under the woman) to treat suppression of the menses". He notes that Cassius Felix stated that dumbness resulted from "suffocation of the womb" and that Dioscorides recommended it for complaints of the womb. As possible OE corroboration I would add that the contents details of BLch (172/22) for the lost chap. lx (Lacedomas wip wip gecyndum forsetenum 7 eallum wip tydernessum) refer to a remedy gif man [i.e. a woman] semminga swigie.

However, sudden dumbness might also result from other causes, such as a a stroke, or a severe emotional shock, for which the herb's traditionally-held soothing, stimulatory and purificatory properties may have been thought efficacious.

Cf. the use of pennyroyal in a similar remedy in PD 30, where the aromatic herb is placed under the patient's nose for suddenly dumbness:
Eis, qui sobito obmutescunt.

Pisne lævecraft man sceal don þan manne, da særinga adumbiap: Nim dworgedwostlan, hoc est pollegia, and do hi on ecede, 7 nim þanne anne linnenne clad, and do þa dworgedwostlan on innan and do þanne benyþan his nosu, and he meg specan sona.

This has its source in the Practica Petrocelli (PD (p. 16)):

. . . . . Ad eos, qui subito obmutescunt: Pulegium mite in aceto, in panno inducens, pone sub naso . . . . . ; mox loquitur.

Note similarly Pliny NH (20.154):

semen obmutescentibus olfactu adnovetur...

NH (20.155) also refers to remedies for tertian ague in which pennyroyal is to be wrapped in wool for the patient to smell or "placed under the bedclothes for the patient to lie on".

ENTRY CXLIV

This entry has no directions for preparing the remedy and consequently might well be incomplete. Judging from the following remedy - Eft oper ... syle drincan nyxtnig - it was a drink.

ENTRY CXLV

838 nyxtnig : C would read nystig, and GS emend nyx[t]ig[um] on the basis of l. 705 syle hit nistigum drincan. GS do not note BT nihstnig "fasting"(?), which gives an instance from the OE Benedictine Rule.

ENTRY CXLVI

839 aelc inyfel : Previous editors, following a suggestion by C, think it necessary to emend to either aelc yfel or aelcum yfele, but I see no reason to object to an otherwise unattested neut. noun inyfel "internal affliction". GS (p. 180 n. 5) think C's translation of inyfel as "inward evil" is impossible, but in view of similar words such as OE inwerc
"internal pain" and *instice* "internal stabbing pain", and the sense of *1. 844 leth yrnæn pone drænc into ælcan lime*, this is clearly not the case. OE *inýfel* "internal affliction" is not found in BT, BTS, BTC, CH, or TOE.

840 *finoles*: The word *leaf* may have dropped out following this word since it follows each of the other plant names in this list, but it is not necessary to emend since it can be readily understood.

841 *reades seales*: Bierb2 (p. 102) suggests that this plant is purple loosestrife (*Lythrum salicaria* L.), one popular name for which in later times was apparently "red sally" (Grigson [1956: 194] records the name in Lancashire). As alternatives I suggest the purple willow (*Salix purpurea* L.) which has reddish catkins, or *Salix rubens* Schrank. A later medieval English gloss also refers to a "red willow" - *Salix (rubea et alba), pe wipý pe rede and the whyte* (Hunt [1989: 226]).

843 *ár pu pe wille blod lautan*: See Entry CLXXXII and notes thereto for the practice of bloodletting.

Note that the addressee lets his own blood, not that of a patient.

**ENTRY CXLVII**

846 *metecweorran*: A *hapax legomenon* which presumably, as the dictionaries have it, means "surfeit of food" or "indigestion"; see *AEW cweorra*, "Überladung mit Speise"; cf. the verb *acweorran* (BT, CH) meaning "to guzzle, gorge, eat too much".

C translates *Wíd mete cweorran* as "In case meat of milk diet turn sour".

Medicinal Efficacy:

This is a good remedy - Grieve (p. 183) (see also Wren (pp. 69-70)) remarks on the medicinal use of common centaury that:
The dried herb is given in infusion or powder, or made into an extract. It is used extensively in dyspepsia, for languid digestion with heartburn after food, in an infusion of 1 oz. of the dried herb to 1 pint of water.

ENTRY CXLVIII

Medicinal Efficacy:

This is probably an effective remedy. Grieve says that henbane seeds possess all the properties of the leaves, having antispasmodic, hypnotic, and sedative properties. When applied externally the leaves induce giddiness and stupor. The juice of mint has a pleasant, relaxing smell. Culpeper recommends the external application of mint leaves to induce sleep. See also Wren.
ENTRY CXLIX

PREVIOUS EDITIONS


PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP (EXCLUDING EDITIONS)

1903: Wordsworth
1904: Stevens
1906: Brie

McBryde [1906a]
1932: Chadwick & Chadwick
1937a: Magoun
1946: Bonser
1951: Holthausen
1953: Magoun
1960: Stürzl
1961: Schneider
1963: Brackman
1964: Bloomfield
1975: Sandmann (see also under Editions above)
1978: Hill
1979: Grant
1989: Smallwood
1992: Bragg

47 G invents the OE title Wiô ceapes lyre "For loss of cattle" for this entry. S invents the title Wib peofbe "Against theft".
TRANSLATIONS

In addition to the parallel translations in the editions of C, G, S, GS, Rodrigues and in the unpublished theses, see Cook & Tinker [1935: 171]. There are German translations in Sandmann [1975: 133, 137-9].

SURVEY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

There is little that requires note here that is not considered in the following sections since the charm is not difficult to understand. However, a few misconceptions should be corrected: S and (far worse) Schneider (and so too his student Sandmann) discern what are in my view illusory - or at least extremely doubtful - heathen survivals, and subsequent clerical additions and alterations. Whatever practices may be ultimately descended from putative pagan rites, there is no reason to suppose that this charm, viewed synchronically in the context of late Anglo-Saxon England, is not an entirely Christian composition (so also Chadwick & Chadwick [1932: 447]). G (pp. 127-8) classifies this charm as a "Christian exorcism" (my italics), but as even a cursory glance at the text will show, this is obviously wrong since the charm makes no mention of evil spirits.

Valuable contributions are made by McBryde, S, Hill, Grant, and Smallwood.

SOURCES, ANALOGUES AND TEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

This charm is the only extant OE metrical charm to have survived in more than one version. There are also several close relatives extant, and so such charms were presumably popular. It is possible that a Lat. text provides an approximate Lat. source for part of the prose conclusion.

418 Schneider (also Sandmann [1975]) attempts to reconstruct a Germanic pagan version of this charm, though there is no a priori reason to suppose there ever was one; note e.g. his equation of the words Crucem Christi ab oriente reducat (etc) with a hypothetical OE phrase *Bealages tungol hit efhringe eastan (etc) and his reconstruction of the first verse line as *Breadelic hatte seo buruh be Building on accenmed wes - this is sheer fancy and completely unnecessary; see Hill [1978: esp. 488 n. 1] (if need be) for a refutation of Schneider's highly implausible view.

Though the sun is never directly mentioned, Stürzl [1960: 82] also sees evidence of primitive sun worship. This might be possible, but Hill's article probably makes such suppositions unnecessary.

419 Though it may be noted that the OE metrical charm Witjymba (ASPR 6, no. 8) is paralleled by an OHG version printed in Branca & Ebbinghaus [1979: 89-90]; on their relationship to each other see esp. Eelsakkers [1987] and references therein.
OE Variant Version:

1. *Dis man sceal cweóon*\(^{420}\) *done his ceapa hwilcne man forstolenne.* *Cyð\(^{421}\) ær he anyg ofer word cweðe:*

"Bethem hatta seó burh \(\text{de Crist on geboren wes.}\)

Seó is gemærsoð \(\text{ofe eallne middangeard;}\)

swa deós dæd wyrfe \(\text{for mannu(m) mare,}\)

\(\text{p(ér) cruce(m) (Cristi)}\)."

7 gebide pe þon(ne) þríwa east and cweð þríwa: "+(Cristi) ab oriente reducat";

7 in\(^{423}\) west 7 cweð: "Crux (Cristi) ab occidente reducat"; 7 in suð 7 cweð\(^{423}\): \("Crux (Cristi) a meridie redun\text{cant}^{414}\); 7 in norð 7 cweð: \(^{423}\) "Crux (Cristi) abscondita sunt\(^{426}\) \& inventa est; Judeas\(^{427}\) Crist ahengon, gedidon him dæda þa wyrst\(\)\text{an}^{428}; \(\text{helon þ(æt) hi forhelan ne mihton; swa nafre deos dæd forholen ne wyrde}^{429}; \) \(\text{per cruce(m) (Cristi).}\)

[CCCC MS 41, p. 206; Ker no. 32, s. xi\(^{\text{I}}\) or xi med; here edited from the facsimile in Robinson & Stanley [1991: no. 19.2] (abbreviations expanded within round brackets)]

Note the following particularly significant differences (and implications) between this variant version and *Lacn.'s text:*

i. The omission - doubtless merely a mechanical error in transmission - of the words *Crux Cristi ab aquiline reducut\(^{430}\).*

ii. The inferior metre produced by the transposition of the verb *wyrfe.*

iii. *Geboren for *Lacn.'s acæmed (see Metre below).*

\(^{420}\) S cweðan; ASPR cweðan.

\(^{421}\) S & ASPR emend c[w]yoð.

\(^{422}\) So MS, S, but probably to be emended to III (i.e. þríwa) on all three occasions - so G and ASPR. Cf. Glossary þríwa for instances of adverbial III in *Lacn.*

\(^{423}\) S adds þríwa without comment.

\(^{424}\) S emends reducut.

\(^{425}\) It would appear that the words *Crux Cristi ab aquiline reducut have here dropped out.*

\(^{426}\) S emends ess.

\(^{427}\) S Judeas.

\(^{428}\) The word wyrst\(\text{an is partly obscured in the facsimile. I rely on published editions for the full reading.}\)

\(^{429}\) S wyrfe.

\(^{427}\) Hill [1978: 488 n. 2] mistakenly remarks that there is also no equivalent for the words *helon þat by forhelan ne mihton in the variant version.*
iv. The words *hwilcne man forstolenne* in place of Lacn.'s *sy losod*. See Commentary on this line below.

Other differences in the OE variant version are also interesting indicators of likely oral transmission:

i. One is to say the charm before *he* (i.e. the person who informs you of the theft) says anything more, whereas in Lacn. the charm must be said before *you* yourself say anything more (ll. 850-1, *cwed pu ærest ær pu elles hwæt cwæpe*).

ii. *Ofer* replaces (l. 853) *geond*.

iii. *Per crucem Cristi* is twice found in place of the (translated?) OE words ll. 855, 861-2 *þurh þa haligan Cristes rode. Amen*.

As McBryde [1906a: 180-1] and Grant [1979: 7-14] observe, certain lines in this charm and others (quoted below) are paralleled by some lines of what Grant (p. 7) contends is one long charm in OE and Lat. for theft of livestock. I quote the relevant lines (from Grant's text pp. 5-6, though I expand the abbreviations within round brackets):

2. *Gif feoh sy undernumen: gif hit sy hors, sing his on his fetera oðde on his bridel; gif hit si oðer feoh, sing on þ(at) hofrec 7 ontend .iii. candella, dryp þriwa þ(at) weax - ne mag hit nan man forhelan; gif hit sy oðer orf, þon(ne) sing ðu hit on .iii. healfa ðin.*

7 sing ærest uprihte hit:-

"7 Petur, Pol, Patric, Pilip, Marie, Brigit, Felic,

*In nomine D(e)i, 7 Chiric.*

*Qui queri inuenit.*

[I omit 18 Lat. lines here]

*Crux (Cristi) reducat, crux (Cristi) p(er)iiit et inuenta est.*

*Habrachem tibi uias montes silua semitas fluminas Andronas cludat.*

*Isadc tibi tenebrae inducat. Crux Iacob te ad iudiciu(m) ligatu(m) p(er)ducat.*

*Iudei (Cristum) crucifixerunt p(er)simun; sibimet ipsu(m) p(er)petraerunt.*
Opus celauerunt quod non potuerunt celare; sic nec hoc furtu(m) celat(ur) nec celare possit. Per d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m ".

[CCCC MS 41, pp. 206-8; Ker no. 32, s. xi or s. xi med]

As McBryde [1906a: 181] and Grant [1979: 131 observe, with the exception of the words Habrachim ... perducat (which could easily be an interpolation - see McBryde p. 181), these concluding Lat. lines (or others very like them) may constitute an approximate source for the following (possibly translated\textsuperscript{43}) words (ll. 859-62) in the present Lacn. charm:

\begin{quote}
Crux Cristi abscondita est et inuenta est; Judeas Crist ahengon, dydon dæda ða wyrrrestan, hælon ðæt hy forhelan ne mihtan; swa þeos dæd nængie þinga ð(s)ðroholen ne wurhe, þurh ða haligan Cristes rode.
\end{quote}

Additionally, of course, the words Crux Christi reducat (and their positioning before the concluding words above) may correspond to the fourfold repetition to the cardinal points of the similar line in Lacn., Crux Christi ab oriente reducat . . .

Another version of this last charm is extant in slightly differing redactions in several MSS:

3. Gyf feoh sy underfangen.

Gif hit sy hors, sing on his feteran oppe on his bridele.

Gif hit sy oder feoh, sing on ðat fotspor, and ontrynd þreo candela and dryp on ðat hofrec ðæt wex þriwa. Ne meag hit þe nan mann forhelan.

Gif hit sy innorf, sing þonne on feower healfe þas huses and ane on middan:

Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi perfurtum periit, inventa est.

Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes conclusat, Job et flumina.

Ad iudiciu mligatum perducat.

Judeas Crist ahengon, ðæt heom com to wite swa strangan.

Gedydon him dæda ða wyrrrestan, hy ðæt drofe onguldon.

Heolan hit heom to hearme micclum, for þam hi hyt forhelan ne mihtan.

[ed. S (no. 11A; see very similarly 11B - the two are probably best treated as variant versions of one charm). CCCC MS 190, p. 130 (Ker no. 45, s. xi\textsuperscript{3}; BL MS Harley

\textsuperscript{43} Both McBryde and Grant are sure that these lines were translated from Lat. into English.
438, p. 128 (A.D. 1656, paper transcript of CCCC MS 190); BL MS Cotton Tiberius A iii, fol. 106 (Ker no. 186, s. xi med); Rochester Cathedral MS Textus Roffensis, fol. 95 (Ker no. 373, s. xii'); BL MS Cotton Julius C 2, fol. 66b (late 17th-century paper transcript; CCCC MS 383 p. 87 (see Ker no. 65, s. xi/xii))

S (p. 210), Magoun [1953: 209], Grant [1979: 8-9] and Hollis & Wright [1992: 240-2] consider the possible relationship of these various Anglo-Saxon texts to one another. S is of the opinion that these charms "have so much in common that it is convenient, and to a certain extent obligatory, to analyse them together. ... the wording is such that they can safely be regarded as different versions of one and the same charm". However, this seems an over-simplification: though of course they share the common (but not identical) ground of their concluding lines, it is better to distinguish two related but distinct charms - i. the Lacn. charm and its variant version in MS CCCC 41; ii. the other texts (of which some subdivision is probably desirable).

For a tentative stemma which distinguishes thus see Grant (p. 8), but (as he notes) charms often do not make good subjects for firm conclusions about manuscript and textual relationships, since they may have been primarily passed on by word of mouth rather than by formal manuscripts in which their often literally marginal status bears testimony to the arbitrariness of their survival as writings; furthermore, charms will doubtless have been adapted, re-ordered, and prone to omissions, mishearings, and addumbrations of semi-autonomous and interchangeable sections and motifs, thus rendering the meaningful existence of a single original and authoritative text, and so the reconstruction of its subsequent transmissional history, doubtful.

Magoun [1953: 209] remarks simply that the CCCC MS variant version is "a less good version" of the present Lacn. charm, a statement that holds good as regards the parallel's apparent omission of Crux Cristi ab aquilone reducat, the bad Lat. of reducant, and (at least

---

432 Cf. Stuart's remarks [1980: 100] on textual differences in MSS of the medieval German Tobiassegen:
These textual differences seem to be the result of techniques of charm composition and preservation, which were based on two seemingly contradictory principles: the principle that power lies in the word, and that therefore the original text should be copied as carefully as possible, even if it made no sense, and the encyclopedic principle that efficacious phrases should be tried in other circumstances, which evidently led to phrases from other incantations being inserted into the Tobiassegen at suitable points.
from the standpoint of "classical" OE verse) the poor metre of *swa ðeos ðæd wyrpe* | *for mannum mære* (see Metre below).

There is one other OE metrical charm for theft of cattle which is worth quoting for its corresponding analogical connection of the Invention of the Cross by St. Helena and the recovery of lost cattle. I cite the relevant part of ASPR 6's text (no. 9), the part arranged as prose:

4. *Ne forstolen ne forholen namanht, þæs ðe ic age, þe ma ðe mihte Herod urne drihten. Ic gebohte sancte Eadelenan and ic gebohte Crist on rode ahangen; swa ic þence þis feoh to findanne, nas to ðoðeorrganne, and to witanne, nas to odwyrceanne, and to lußanne, nas to oðlædanne.*

[ll. 1-5; CCCC MS 41 p. 206 (Ker no. 32, s. xi' or s. xi med)]

A number of later medieval and early modern analogues to the use of the words *Crux Christi ab oriente* [etc.] *reducat*, and to the Invention of the Cross by St. Helena also exist in later English and European charms:

For a significant Middle Dutch analogue found in a fourteenth-century MS see S (pp. 213-4) and Braekman [1963: 298 (no. 33), 343-4]: I quote the relevant lines from Braekman's text (the original text is also given by Sandmann [1975: 132-3] and by Van Hauer [1964: no. 797]), and from S's translation:

5. *Aistu eyet verloren hebs, so saltu ten eersten male aldus segghen : dat cruus christi was gheborghen in der erden, ende het es vonden van sente heleenen, der coninghammen, bi den heleghen dienst des wonders, so moet dese verloren dinghen ñ. vonden werden. Ende mettien so saltu di strecken up die erde in cruus wijs ten oesten wert ende dat ansicht in die erde, ende selt een cruue maken ende segghen : Cruus christi van orienten moet weder brinchen den dief met desen verloren dinghen .ñ. . Ende ten zuden suldi hu dan keeren , ende maken een cruue ende segghen : cruus christi van zuden moet weder brinchen den dief met desen verloren dinghen .ñ. [E]nde dan ten westen, ende maken een cruue ende seggen : cruus christi van westen moet weder brinchen den dief met desen verloren dinghen .ñ. .
[Er]nde dan ten noerden ende maken een cruus ende segghen: Cruus christi van noerden die moet weder bringhen den dief met desen verloren dinghen. N. ...

"When you have lost something, you must first say:

"The cross of Christ was buried in the earth, and it was found by St. Helena the queen, in the holy service of the miracle. Likewise this lost object N. [here one must name the object] must be found."

Immediately afterwards you must stretch yourself on the earth in the form of a cross, in the direction of the east and with your face turned to the earth. Then you must make the sign of the cross and say:

"The cross of Christ must bring back the thief with this stolen object N. from the east."

(The action is repeated to the south, west and north)...

Another Dutch charm (ed. Van Hauer [1964: no. 798]):

6. Om gestolen goed temg te brengen.

Cruus Christi moet weder bringhen.

den dief met desen verloren dinghen.

A similar German charm against theft cited in this connection by McBryde [1906a: 182] (also Sandmann [1975: 135-6]):

7. "Das Kreuz geschlagen:

"Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Aufgang der Sonne mit dem gestohlenen Gut".

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen:

"Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Mittag mit dem gestohlenen Gut".

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen:

"Wiederkehre der Dieb mit dem gestohlenen Gut".

Vaterunser sprechen:

"Das Kreuz Christi ward verbogen, ward wiedergefunden durch die Sankt Hellmann. - Also wahr muß der Dieb wiederkehren und sich wiederfinden mit dem gestohlenen Gut."

A previously unnoticed fourteenth-century German analogue (ed. Steinmeyer [1883]):
8. Ad fugitivum. peda inpeda. prepeda. conpeda. prepedias Inpedias. Conpedias
Chvm wider in daz hvs da du bist gegangen uz daz heilige cruce bringe dich von
nodert (sic) wider. daz heilige cruce bringe dich von wester wider. daz heilige cruce
bringe dich von oster wider. daz heilige cruce wart von sand elenen fnnden also
mystv mir werden fnnden vnd widerchomen nv chvm wider min dæp. oder min
chneht od swaz mir verstolni si durh den svzzen wech den der heilig crist gie do er
daz cruce ane sah. Ich beswer erde vnd m're bi dem vater vnd bi dem svn vnt d(em)
h(eiligen) g(eiste) daz si mir in bringen wider.

Also unnoticed are a number of Danish analogues. A Danish charm, c. 1700 (ed. Ohrt
[1917: 407-8, no. 924 I]):

9. Her efter folger om at skrifver [paa] døren, som en en
yff er goaan igjennem, paa det at hand icke
kand undvege.

Bede + nebula + prebyla + Abram + liguit + Jacob + religut + Jsaag +
aoldomimum + redurit + dicens: Crux Christi reoluca te aberinte fugientem pene,
crux Christi reoluca te ab oe siolente fugientem pen[e], crux Christi reducat
teameriolie fugientem pene, crux Christi reoluca te abaqvilone fugientem pene!
Crux Christi fuit inventa ab Helina regina. Sic inumat homo ist per virti toros
sancti cruccis, et si[c]ut sanctus Johi vitad pacionem, jta revertatur homo jste,
unde eriu! Adiuro tetre raper patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, per mare et
omnia qve eneis sunt, noncanti nuas fugientem istumi sedeum cito remitas per
Christ dominum nostrum Amen.

Saa maa dete nu endeligen relig skrif[es] som tilforn er om mel.

Again a Danish text, c. 1500 (ed. Ohrt [1917: 408-9, no. 924 II]):

10. Will tw, ath en tyeff skall hindres oc ey borth kome, om han haffi4'er stalethfraa tegh, tha skulk tw
glare 1111 koorss I 1111 hiorner I dørneth, (her som han er vdgonginde, oc sknfftiisse effler skr,ffne ordh I
døren:

In nomine domini Abraham te alligat, Isaac te ten[e]at, Iacob te ostendat, sanctus
Salamon, cuj numquam homo fugit te jnueniat! Oc sigh swa:
O tw hellige koors, ther begraffweth i thet bierg Kaluarie, oc ther aff sancta Elena droningh vor fsndhen i the hellige beders aies villie, ther hwn tha badh, saa bedher ieg, at thenne tyeff, som thetthe haffwer gwotz staleth paa then vey eller paa then march, eller aff huilchen stede som han nw i aër, ey aff ath kome, gonginde eller ridinde agende, men han skall vere dwellinde oc kome her ighen i thenne stede, som han thetthe gwotz aff staleth haffwer. Och tw, hellige korss, lweche hanum vey for, oc dag oc nath fortawrae watneth, ath han theer ey affwer komer! O tw hellige Marcelliane, lede hannem i then dullhedh oc vthen vidskab her ighen at kome! O tw hellige her sancte Gabriel, lede hannem hiidh ighen, som tw liedhe sanctum Tobiam tiill sin fadres hwss, amen!

Wors herres Jesu Christi korss foræ hannem hiid af østhenn! Amen pater noster aue Maria. Wors herres Jesu Christi korss, for hannem hiid aff nordhen! Amen pater noster aue Maria. Wors herres Jesu Christi koors, for hannem hiid ighen aff vesthen! Amen pater noster aue. Wors herre Jesu Christi koors, for hannem hiidh ighen aff sondhen! Amen pater aue. Then vey vor herre Ihesus Christus ginghe tiill sin velsingnedede pine, for then tyeff hiidh ighen. Ieg maner edher, hemel, iordh oc vatne, ath I oss then tyeff ighen forer; ieg maner edher vedh fadher, sön, then helligandh, vedh that hellige korsens vabene, ther Ihesus forde i sin hand, then tiid handh foer tiill høwidi, ath i thenne tyeff her ighen forer indhen en dag eller twoo.

Ladh saa sighe en messe aff het hellige koors, oc then messe skall vere ath soghen messe.

From the same edition of Danish charms (pp. 409-10) another charm contains the lines:

11. Du hellige +, som vaar begraffuet i det hierig Calvarie, som S. Helena forst fandi, lig nu den tyv stedse i vejen for baade dag och nat, som staal dete N. fra N. och for törne vandet och veyrit, at han ey offier komer! Den vej som vor herre Jesus Christus gik paa til sin pine och doed, fører dene tyff hid igien, førend hand enten æder eller dricher!

Vor herris Jesu Christi kors fore denne tyff hid af det Østen + Fadervor etc. Vor herris Jesus Christi kors fore denne tiff hid af den sønden + Fadervor etc. Vor
herris Jesu Christi kors fore denne tiff hid af det vesten + Fadervor etc. Vor herris Jesu Christi kors fore denne tiff hid af det Norden + Fadervor etc.

and another (p. 412):


Du hellige Kors, som var begjaert det Bjærg Catraria, som Stedets Holler før[st] fant. Tyv nu, du Tyv, stedse være forbandet!

Also note - most recently of the analogues I have adduced - a seventeenth-century English charm referring to St. Helena and the Invention of the Cross, and beginning with an instruction to turn to the east cited in this connection by McBryde [1906a: 182] (see also Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft [1584: 148]):

13. "Charme to find out a theefe.

The man' how to find out a theef, is thus, turn y' face to y' east & make a cross upon cristall w'h oyl, & und' y' cross write these 2 words (Saint Helen) then a child y' is innocent, and a chast virgin borne in true wedlock, & not base begunget, of y' age of 10 years, must take y' Cristall in his hand, and behind his back, kneeling on thy knees, thou must devoutly, and reverently say ov' this pray' thrice, I beseech thee my Lady S. Helen, mother of King Constantine, w'h did find y' cross whereupon Christ dyed: by this thy holy devotion and invention of y' cross, and p ys y' same cross, & p y' joy w'h thou conceivest at y' finding thereof & p y' love w'h thou bearest to thy sonne Constantine, & p y' great goodness, w'h thou dost always use, y' thou show me in this cristall, w'm soev' I wish or desire to know ; amen. & w'm y' child seeth y' angell in y' Cristall, demand w'm you will, & the Angell will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, just as sun rising, w'm y' wheather is fair & clear."

Finally, Braekman [1986: 118] notes a possible analogue to the Anglo-Saxon theft-charms invoking the Cross in a fifteenth-century ME charm:

14. For engges frat beo ylore.

haue in mynde be crosse of crist, and gif four loues to power men for be love of gode. [ed. Braekman [1986: 130 (no. 25)]]
Other Anglo-Saxon charms for theft include: *Lacn.* Entry CXXXVII; an arcane OE diagrammatic amulet for theft is found in BL MS Cotton Vitellius E xviii, fol. 13v (ed. S no. 86; C I p. 396) and has been thought by Stuart [1974] to bear some comparison with the present charm; OE charms against loss or theft of bees are to be found in C vol. I (p. 395 *pis is S(an)c(t)e Columcille circul;* p. 397 . . . *e mædere cið on pinre hyfe* . . . ); a Lat. Anglo-Saxon charm *Pro furto* in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (ed. Günzel [1993: 197]); a herbal remedy to deter robbers known to the Anglo-Saxons in *OEHerb* (114/15-18); a Lat. Christian prayer-charm with OE heading *wido netena ungetionu 7 diofum* ("against foul injuries and thefts of livestock") in the *Durham Ritual* (ed. Lindelöf & Thompson [1927: 119]; also ed. Corrêa [1992: 231]).

Bonser [1946] briefly surveys Anglo-Saxon laws and charms relating to theft, and Clutton-Brock [1976: 375] points out that "the Laws of Ine [688-694] show that ... cattle-thieving was a common activity against which there were the most stringent laws". See also on this Hagen [1995: 70-71, and chap. 18].


**METRE**

[ll. 852-5 = verse lines 1a-3b]

Cross-caesural alliteration is lacking in l. 1 and (as ASPR 6 notes) the layout is rather doubtful here\(^{433}\). The OE variant version's *geboren* in place of *acannoned*\(^{434}\) might provide alliteration with *Bœleem* in the a-verse, though its position on the second stress is less satisfactorily according to the norms of "classical" OE metre; this provides some support for the layout of the corresponding line in *Lacn.* as two paired half-lines with internal

\(^{433}\) G prints l. 1 as two separate lines, but the variant version as two half-lines linked by *b-* alliteration; this is defensible, but I do not adopt this layout.

\(^{434}\) Magoun [1937a: 27] prefers *Lacn.*'s reading on metrical grounds.
alliteration (\textit{Beo\-leem + buruh; Crist + ac\-\ae nned}) (cf. \textit{Lacn.} l. 544 \textit{ofer ðy bryde bryodedon}, \textit{ofe\-r ðy fearras \-\ae rdon}). In l. 3a alliteration falls on the second rather than the first stress.

There is no distinctively poetic vocabulary and there are no kennings. One notes the use of two paired light-verses (2a and b).

Note that, at least according to the standard of "classical" OE verse, the variant version's \textit{swa ðeos dæd wyre | for monnum mare} with its lack of cross-caesural alliteration and double b-verse alliteration is metrically inferior to \textit{Lacn.'s swa ðyos dæd for monnum | mare gewurpe}.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
l. & Irregular$^1$ & l& \#2B2a(3B1)$^2$ \\
\hline
1a & & 1b & \\
\hline
2a & alc & 2b & d5c \\
\hline
3a & a1b(1A1a) & 3b & 1A*1a(i)$^3$ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1} Probably best considered as a metrical type perhaps allowed as a formulaic naming formula - see n. to Scansion on l. 14a of the \textit{Nine Herbs Charm} (\textit{Lacn.} Entry LXXVI). \textit{Stune hette freos yrt}. Pender [1969] scans as 1A*1c, apparently treating \textit{buruh} as disyllabic - this is very doubtful, the second -u- being a mere parasite vowel (see Campbell §§361, 366).

\textsuperscript{2} Pender scans incorrectly as -2B2-(3B1).

\textsuperscript{3} Pender also scans the following words \textit{burh \-\ae r haligan Cristes rode} - as a1b(1D*3(i)).

850 sege : Wü (p. 323 n.) suggests reading \textit{sege} or \textit{sage} "see", but this is completely unnecessary.

850 \textit{ceap} : The meaning of this word could be either "goods/possessions" or specifically "cattle/livestock". Given the analogous cattle/beast-theft charms cited above, and the numerous laws against theft of cattle, and perhaps the fact that cattle have the capacity to stray and hence be lost (see following n.), \textit{ceap} is likely to mean "cattle" here.
850 losian: The OE variant version's hwilcne man forstolenne in place of sy losod might indicate that the Lacn. charm is also for loss arising specifically from theft. In the Lacn. text such an active cause may be easily understood from the word deed "deed" in l. 854 and by the analogy drawn with the action of the Jews who Crist ahengon, dydon daed pa wyrrestan, helon paet hy forhelan ne mihton; swa peos daed naenigne pinga [f[o]rholen wurpe.

However, CH also gives "event" as one definition of this word, which, if it applied here, might cast doubt on the certainty of theft as the imputed cause of loss in all recitations of this charm, particularly as the verb losian usually means "to perish", "be lost", "stray", "escape". Perhaps then Lacn.'s charm was also of use if the person's cattle (if we so interpret ceap) had simply escaped or strayed of their own accord.

850-1 ponne cweô Jiu wrest cr Jni el/es hwa!t cwee: The pragmatic urgency is striking, and the variant version's is still more so - Cyd³⁴⁹ ær he anyg oper word cweðe.

852 Baoleem halte seo buruh pe Crist on acannad was: See Smallwood [1989: especially 214-5] for descendants of this line in ME (and continental) charms for theft, particularly in charms utilising the so-called "Flum Jordan" motif referring to Christ's baptism. As he notes:

This opening, unlike the reference to the finding of the Cross, seems to be linked only arbitrarily with the main tenor of the charm; presumably any other celebrated item of Christian lore would fit the argument equally well. But conventional associations of this sort, once established, tended to be persistent in the tradition of medieval superstitions...

³⁴⁹ Though one understands their reasons, given the other differences between the two OE variants of this charm, there is no pressing need to emend Cyd to C[w]yd with S and ASPR. If the verb really is cydan ("to make known", "proclaim", "announce", here imp. sg.) then this is the only time it is applied to the recitation of an OE charm. Might it indicate formality of pronunciation? See Stuart [1985] for other verbs used of charm recitation in OE.
³⁴⁶ Cf. the beginning of a charm for blood-stopping in Soot's Discoverie of Witchcraft [1584: 155] where the reference to Christ's birth is not immediately relevant to the charm's purpose: Christ was borne at Bethlehem, and suffered at Jerusalem, where his bloud was troubled...; cf. also such words as christus uuart geboran, in crippa ge-uvoirpan in medieval German charms (ed. Wipf [1992: p. 68 (no. 2.4), 70 (no. 2.5)].
853 geond ealne middangeard: Vaughan-Sterling [1983: 196-7] sees this as formulaic - she compares geond pisne middangeard in Beowulf (ll. 75 and 1771).

854 swa pyos ded for monnum mare gewurpe: The classic analogical mode of thought ("as x, so y") is here explicit, as it is again later in swa peos ded næigne þinga fforholen wurpe. Although the analogical mode of thought is fundamental to the workings of OE charms (and of charms in general), in OE it is usually implicit rather than explicit437. On this mode of thought see Bozóky [1992].

Cf. Lacn. Entry CL (immediately following) ll. 864-5 (sana oculos hominis istius N. sicut sanasti oculos filii Tobi...) and notes to that remedy.

854 mare: Depending on whether or not the loss was due to theft, we may render either as "notorious" or simply "well known". Particularly if the former is the case, we may note a pointed echo of gemiersad "glorified, famed" in the previous line.

856-9 Gebide pe bonne priwa east ... west ... sud ... norð: Bragg [1992: 12] points out that, whether or not these actions are a relic of ancient sun worship438 or a reflex of belief in the power of the cosmological Cross, they may also serve a more mundane function: "when one has lost one's cattle, it is natural to look around for them, which is exactly what the directions have one do, albeit in a highly stylized form"439.

Certain critics (e.g. S (p. 213); Sandmann [1975: 132]) are assured that the instruction to turn to the cardinal points is clearly a preserved heathen relic. There is no a priori reason to suppose this, and even if there were, it need have no bearing on a synchronic interpretation of an obviously Christian charm in its late Anglo-Saxon Christian context.

---

437 Bloomfield [1964] compares the refrain þes ofernode; þisses swa mag in the OE poem Deor.
438 Cf. a remedy (wō þeoradulm) in BLch (116/8-10): ... to middes mergenes stande eastweard 7 bebeode hine Gode geornlice 7 hine gesenige; cyrre hine sungonges ymb...
439 Cf. very generally a tenth-eleventh-century Egyptian charm for theft addressed to the angel Raphos (Meyer & Smith [1994: 225, no. 112]): "East and west, north and the sea, if it lies buried underground, you must make it visible; if it is hidden in a place that is closed, you must return it to its place".
It may be significant that the praying begins in the east because there are other references to such a practice extant from Anglo-Saxon England - see Commentary to Lacn. 1. 131.

856 gebide: Holthausen [1951: 100] thinks (referring to the variant CCCC MS OE variant version) "für gebide ist gewiss gebige "verbeuge" zu lesen" (note too that Sandmann [1975: 132] interprets gebide as an act of bowing), but this is both unnecessary and contrary to the Lacn. readings.

It is not clear what form this "praying" or "worshipping" would take - if it does not in fact simply constitute the recitation of the Crux Christi... formula - since no detail is given. In a Dutch analogue (no. 5 in Sources and Analogues above) there is an instruction to "stretch yourself on the earth in the form of a cross, in the direction of the east and with your face turned to the earth" (S's translation (p. 213)). Perhaps in the Lacn. charm (as in another OE charm addressed to the Cross in which there is an instruction to asete ðe adenedum earmum ... Stand þonne up sume hwile 7 sing ðisne sealm ðod ende apenedum earmum (ed. Pulsiano [1991: 4])) one must make one's body into the sign of the Cross. Or perhaps one is to bow, or make the sign of the Cross.

Stevens [1904: 31] is struck by the concept of "a divine personality in the true cross" found in the present prayer. He compares the implication of its having "a sacred personality of its own" in the metrical charm For Unfruitful Land (ASPR 6 no. 1) where it is addressed beside Christ and Mary (ll. 40-2), and bebeod hit Criste and sancta Marian and þære halgan rode.

Holthausen's division of Gebide þe þonne þriwa east into two half-lines (i.e. (using the variant version) And gebide þe ðonne þriwa east!) is unconvincing, there being no reason to suppose poetic form for this line or its parallels.

856 Crux Christi ab oriente reduca...: The Cross of Christ is deemed to have power over the four cardinal points, and thereby the whole world. The notion and use of the "cosmological cross" in medieval literature, of Christ drawing all things to Himself on the
Cross, and its importance to this charm is helpfully discussed by Hill [1978]. Though its use here is interestingly pragmatic and literal-minded, the underlying notion of the cosmological cross is not original to this charm, but has precedent in the works of such learned authorities as Jerome and Alcuin. Hill cites one other OE instance, in a homily by Ælfric on Palm Sunday (B. Thorpe *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (1844-6), II, 254-6):

*Drihten wes gefestnod mid feower nægelum, to west-dele awend; and his wynstra heold done scynendan sud-dæl, and his swiðra norð-dæl, east-dæl his hnoi; and he ealle alysde middaneardes hwemmas swa hangiende.*

To Hill’s examples I would add that of the OE poem *The Dream of the Rood*, in which the Cross is depicted as towering from the centre over the corners of the earth (*foldan sceatum*), beheld by all creation, and drawing men towards it (see Swanton’s ed. [1987, especially pp. 50-1]).

See also notes to *Lacn.* 1. 592.

For a detailed discussion of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England see Stevens [1904]; for a charm in the form of an address to the Cross for protection against the deliberation of one’s enemies see Pulsiano [1991].

858-9 *gebide ponne*: Note the lack of the pronoun *be* in contrast to the preceding parallel directions - it may be an oral variant, or perhaps an omission here may result simply from scribal error.

859-60 *Crux Christi abscondita est et inuenta est*: The relevance and importance of the invention of the Cross by St. Helena (a story popular in Anglo-Saxon England) is obvious to a charm for lost property which uses the Cross itself as the medium for recovery: it is itself the archetypal Christian instance of the repossession of a prized object. On knowledge of the invention of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England see Stevens [1904: 14]. Not only was the Cross thought to have been found, but its recovery may have seemed especially immediate to the Anglo-Saxons because pieces of it were said to have reached England: e.g. one entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles for 883 records that *Marinus papa sende ha lignum domini*
Ælfrede cynge (ed. Plummer [1892: 79]), and William of Malmesbury records a gift of part of the Cross enclosed in crystal to King Æthelstan from King Hugh of Brittany (see Stevens [1904: 11-12]).

859-62: Sandmann [1975: 138] thinks these lines are a clerical addition. But there is no reason to think this. Schneider [1961: 49] (and so Sandmann (pp. 137, 138)), despite the lack of alliteration, would arrange these lines as OE verse. The implausible arrangement reads:

Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est.

Judeas Crist ahengon,

dydon dæda þa wyrrestan,

hælon þæt hy forhelan ne wurþe

þurh þa haligan Cristes rode.
ENTRY CL

OE/Lat. Variant Version:

Wip sarum eagog.

Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus sana oculos hominis istius. N. sicut sanasti oculos filii Tobi et multorum cecorum\(^{40}\), manus aridorum, pes claudorum, sanitas egrorum, resurrectio mortuorum, felicitas martyrum et omnium sanctorum.


Analogues:

Cf. (with C pp. 61-3) a remedy in the *Durham Ritual* (ed. Lindelöf & Thompson [1927: 155]) (also - Lat. only - by Corrêa [1992: 228, no. 636])):

1. wid egna sare sinc ðis:

```latex
  gabloedsa 7 ghialgesa ðv gymeodvma alim' ece god ðas giscæft
  Benedicere et sanctificare digneris omnipotens aeterne deus hanc
  creaturam.
  vastro h(æt) ve bloedsad on ðimu(m) halgy(m) nome 7 bearnes ðines hal' crist' 7
  n. aquarum quam benedicimus in tuo sancto nomine et filii tui iesu christi et
  gastes halges h(æt)ite sie to lecedome vid onsep' dovels 7 giwvmne
  spiritus sancti. ut sit ad remedium aduersus insidias diaboli et prestet
  halō voerc dolende ghai drhi' ego monnes ðisses ðæ(m)
  sanitatem dolorem patienti. Sana domine oculos hominis istius cui
  ve gabloedsad ðas giscæft egna sve ðv gyhaldest ego tobi' halg' 7
  benedicimus hanc creaturam oculorum sicut sanasti oculos tobie sancti et
  sve ðv vyndest ego vœogra blinda cloppendra ðe on godspelle 7
  sicut aperuisti oculos duorum cecorum clamantium tibi in evangeli et
  vœoedendra milsa vora' svvø dav' 7 gimsada ðæm 7 vyntdo voeron ego
```

\(^{40}\) S (n. 1) remarks "Some words are missing after cecorum".
Cf. also Sheldon [1978: no. 78].

865 filii Tobi: The reference is puzzling. One expects the reference to be to Tobit/Tobias.

865 quos . . . .: This word presents difficulties. It is missing from the CCCC variant version. S emends quos to quod, and GS translate puzzlingly "those (of many blind men)", but two of the texts cited above read quos in evangelio commemorat and quos evangelium commemorat (the Durham Ritual has clamantium tibi in evangelio), so it is likely - as I have indicated in the text - that some such words have dropped out here in Lacn.

865 oculos: For oculus.

867 eregas: A verb erego is not recorded by LS or Latham [1965], but cf. erigo.

ENTRY CLI

This entry is the only one in Lacn. to have no obvious medical or otherwise remedial or prophylactic function. It is derived from liturgical rite for the consecration of a church.

871-3: GS (p. 185) supply this entry with the title "Prayer at the Consecration of a Church", this being the purpose to which other instances of this text are put.

Dr. Furnivall (pencil n. in his copy of C) observes that the same prayer is found twice in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, on the basis of which he proposes the improved reading constitute (confirmed by the other texts referred to below) for Lacn. 1. 872 (MS constituam, -am being a simple scribal repetition of -am in the preceding word perpetuam):

\[\text{Domum tuam quesumus domine clementer ingredere . et in tuorum tibi cordibus fidelium perpetuam constitue mansionem . ut cuius edificatione subsitit . huius fiat habitatio preclara . per dominum. [ed. Wilson [1903: 75-6]]}\]

The second instance of this text (p. 96) is identical to the first.

871 *quesumus* : C, L, and GS all expand the MS abbreviation *qs* wrongly as *quaeso*, giving the mistaken impression that this text has been adapted for personal use. *ASMMFI* (p. 33) has the correct reading. For the *qs* abbreviation denoting *qu(a)esumus* see Capelli [1899: 287].

872 *mansionem* : An obvious scribal error for *mansionem* and probably caused by the -st- in the preceding word *constitu[e]*.

**ENTRY CLII**

874 *gewraht* : "Sprained", "wrenched", "twisted", or "tormented". BT *wreccan* and Magoun [1953: 211] note *wrecce* in the *Rushworth Gospels* gloss (Lindisfarne Gospels has *wrecce*) to Mark 5: 7 *torqueas*; Magoun points out that, in addition to "torment", the verb *torqueo* can mean (see LS) "to twist", "twist awry". Cf. *AEW wreccan* where the cognate Old Frisian word *wretza* ("reissen, brechen") is adduced. OE *wreccan* in this sense is not attested in CH.

---

*Note also that in his Additions and Corrections (p. xxxi) C remarks: "This collect may be compared with a Benedictio domus nosse in a Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem sacrosante Romane Ecclesie, Venetii, MDLVII., at fol. 203b."

*G invents the OE heading *Wid hors-wreccunge* "For a horse's sprain" for this entry. S invents the title *Gif hors bil gewraht* "If a horse has sprained its leg", but gives no indication that this is supplied editorially.*
Stuart [1974: 354] favours derivation from the class I weak verb *gewregan* "to excite, stir up" (pa. ptc. *-wreged, -wreht*) (according to CH this meaning occurs only or mainly in poetical texts) and translates "frenzied", this state presumably being the result of demonic affliction.

For a famous charm for a foundered horse in OHG see the *Second Merseburg Charm* (ed. Braune & Ebbinghaus [1979: 89, no. 1 ll. 5-12]; or ed. Wipf [1992: 64, no. 2.1]).

875 "*Naborrede unde uenisti*": The form *Naborrede* is problematic; if, like the rest of the words to be recited in this remedy, it is Lat. then we might speculate that *-rede* is a corruption of Lat. imp. *redi* and so read *redi unde uenisti* "return whence you came!", this presumably being a command to the affliction/demon of disease to depart. As for *Nabor-* I can only speculate that it might be the (corrupted?) name of the affliction or disease demon; I leave the form unchanged in the text. However, it is also possible that *unde uenisti* is a question meaning "whence have you come?" (see below). There exist several other attempts to explain these words (and *Naborrede* in particular) - none convincing in my view:

i. C (p. 63 n.) remarks that *Naborredus* (as he gives the form in his translation) "seems to be the Nabonnedus of Berosus, in whose reign Babylon was taken by Cyrus. Berosus is quoted by Josephus". Presumably C thinks that *-rr-* is corrupted from the similar letter forms *-nn-*, but he gives no indication why such a person should be named in a charm for a sick horse. On Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king, see *Encyclopedia Britannica* 11th ed. (article on "Babylonia and Assyria. V. History").

ii. GS translate "*Naborredus, Whence comest thou?*", and simply comment (p. 185 n. 1) that the reference is "unidentified". Braekman [1980: 465] (see below) thinks that *Naborrede* has a "non-Latin ending" and thus that C and GS "emend" and "latinize" the form to *Naborredus*, but it seems to me rather that C and GS take *Naborrede* to be a Lat. second declension masc. noun with voc. sg. inflexional *-e", "O Naborredus".

iii. Stuart [1974: 353-5] suggests the emendation *N, abor[ere], rede unde uenisti*. She thinks the corruption is explicable as a scribal haplography perhaps caused by the rarity of the verb *aborior* (class 4 deponent; LS "very rare"). She translates "N, disappear, return
where you came"; this interpretation requires the name of the disease demon to be spoken at 
N (for Nomen) - this seems unlikely given that none is given; note, furthermore, that rede 
must be supposed to be for redi. She compares Mark 5: 8: Dicebat enim illi: "Ext, spiritus 
imunde, ab homine", but this is not a significant parallel.


[i]t is possible that an originally non-Christian and non-Latin charm was in later 
times translated into Latin, at least as far as was feasible. If this be accepted, it
would follow that the word Naborrede with its non-Latin ending, may well have
been left untranslated because it did not lend itself readily to the procedure. The
kinds of words which are bound to resist translation are, of course, proper names.

Braekman takes Naborrede as a Germanic compound noun. He relates nabo- to
Indo-Germanic "nobha or onbha which in OHG. occurs as nabalo or nabo and in OE. as
nabo in nabo-gar or nafo-gar. Du Cange agrees with Diefenbach in translating the word
nabolo nabo as vorax (voracious)" (but OE nafu and nabo- mean "nave (of a wheel)"). A
second element -rede he relates to Low German/medieval Dutch rede "fever", OSax redde,
redte, ridde "fever", OE ridian (febricitare), and OHG ridon (febricitare): "[i]n conclusion
we may say that nabo(r)rede is a Germanic compound the meaning of which is: a fever
caused by voracity". He argues that a connection between voracious fever and sprain may be
made by reference to acute equine laminitis.

In connection with the words unde uenisti, which he (like GS) takes to be a rhetorical
question, Braekman adduces a possible parallel (war come dv do?) in a twelfth-century
German charm for stiffness of the joints in which the demon must depart in deine Gebirge.
in deine Meere:

Contra rehin.

Primo dic pater noster. in dextram aurem.

Marh phar .
niene tar .
mvnt was .
mark was.
war come dy do.
var in dinee.
ciprige.
in dine.
marisere.

daz dir ze bvoze.
ter. et pater noster.
"Gegen die Rähe
Zuerst sprich ein Vaterunser ins rechte Ohr.

Geh weg, Dämon!
Schade nirgendwo.
Schutz wart(?).
Dämon wart(?).
Wo kommst du her?
Geh in deine
Gebirge,
in deine
Meere.

Das dir zur Heilung.

Und drei Vaterunser." [ed. and trans. Wipf [1992: VIII 2.6, pp. 72-3]]

For Braekman, Lacn.'s charm not only addresses the personified disease demon Naborrede with a question concerning its origins, but, by analogy with this OHG charm, is also:
indicative of a procedure in which the magician should recite a charm beginning thus. It may be presumed that it went on to order the Naborrede to return to the
place it was supposed to have come from. In other words, the demon was ordered to leave the horse so that the sprain would be cured.

875 Credidi propter: Vulgate Psalm 115 verses 10ff.

875-6 "Alpha et o, initium et finis" : Apocalypse 21: 6. Cf. Lacn. II. 965, 968. These quintessentially powerful words are common in charms.

876 Crux mihi ... inimici: The same statement is made in Lacn. Entry CLXVIII (ll. 964-5; also, in part, for a sick horse); there too it is accompanied by the words Alpha et Omega, initium et finis.... The same formula is found, as S (p. 284) notes, on one of the most ancient portable crosses, found in a Christian tomb at Rome (see ERE vol. 3, p. 328): Crux est vita mihi; mors, inimice, tibi.

876 inimici: For inimice.

ENTRY CLIII


Although there are problems with the interpretation of l. 878 Noðhæs, the fundamental rationale of the charm is not difficult to understand. As Nöth [1977: 68] remarks (though I would alter his perception of "shrinkage" to one of diminution):

The main effectiveness of this charm is believed to rely on the principle of shrinkage. This is represented as a possibly mythological event which is reported by means of language: nine sisters are transformed into zero sisters by making one after the other disappear. At the same time as this event is reported by means of language and thus in the form of signs, the disappearance of the kernels is supposed
to occur on the level of the objects referred to. There is a relation of similarity between the desired process of recovery (disappearance of kernels) and the event described by the magician. Although the charm is a linguistic formula, the assumed effectiveness of the charm is based upon an iconic sign relation. Only the added "benedicite" has a magic power inherent in language. Also the number 9 had its own symbolic meaning in OE magic, which was supposed to contribute to the intensification of the remedy.

Earlier G (p. 127) was of the contextually irrelevant opinion that this charm "with its numerical formula ... was singularly appropriate to the ceremony of casting lots".

He also thought (probably wrongly given that the verb l. 879 wurdon is not imp.) that "the spell really constitutes a "command" formula", and is corrected in this view by Magoun [1945: 99] who, more plausibly, draws upon the analogical associations covered by the term "sympathetic magic" to explain the charm's workings:

As the numbers are recited backwards from 9 to 1, and then to 0, so, analogically, the disease-demons, presumably lurking in the patient, may, as the numbers are uttered, be supposed to depart one by one from the seat of infection.

This charm is the only example of a "counting-down" or "diminishing" charm extant from Anglo-Saxon England. However, other instances of this type, both medieval and post-medieval are common. A selection of these analogues is collected by Magoun (also by Brie, Bonser, S, and Cameron), some of which I present below. The comparable use of the common number nine as the start number, of the concept of disease siblings (whether sisters or brothers), and of the charms' use against similar glandular or skin swellings or worms will be seen in several of the examples:

40 Though S would compare the concluding lines of a Lat. remedy Contra febres (S no. 64 12th century):

    Istud carmen debet dici in primo die novies. in secundo Villes tertio die species. Quarto die Vies Quinto

    There are also, of course, other charms which induce shrinkage of a single affliction - Fry [1971: 250] says our charm uses the same technique as the medical charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6, no. 12), but though their aims are similar their techniques are not quite the same. The medical charm clearly addresses the wen, commands it to shrink to nothing, ll. 8-13:

    Clinge þju alswa col on heorþe,
    sreng þju alswa sceerne awage,
    and weorne alswa weter on ambra.

    Swa liel þu gewurþe alswa innsetcorn,
    and misceli lasse alswa anes handwarmes hupeduan, and alswa liel þu gewurþe jet þu nawiht gewurþe.

44 Bonser (p. 253) notes a Breton charm, "probably ... derived from Marcellus" (which charm is cited above), in which we find daughters instead of brothers or sisters: "The gland has nine daughters - from nine they became eight ...".
1. This analogue, first cited in connection with the present charm by Payne [1904: 136] is found in chap. 15 (Ad Anginam vel Synachem et Strumas et Parotidas et Reumata et Glandulas vel Tosillas et ad ea quae Fauclus Haeserint Evocanda Remedia Rationabilia et Physica Diversa de Experimentis) of the DML by Marcellus of Bordeaux (late fourth century AD). The two charms are probably (as is usually thought) best considered independent manifestations of the same type of charm based on oral traditions, but the possibility that the Lat. charm might be a source or influential related antecedent of the Lacn. charm cannot be dismissed outright (see for this suggestion Payne [1904: 136]):

Glandulas mane carminabis, si dies minuetur, si nox, ad uesperam et digito medicinali ac pollice continens eas dices: "Nouem glandulae soorores, octo glandulae soorores, septem glandulae soorores, sex glandulae soorores, quinque glandulae soorores, quattuor glandulae soorores, tres glandulae soorores, duae glandulae soorores, una glandula soror; nouem fiunt glandulae, octo fiunt glandulae, septem fiunt glandulae, sex fiunt glandulae, quinque fiunt glandulae, quattuor fiunt glandulae, tres fiunt glandulae, duae fiunt glandulae, una fit glandula, nulla fit glandula." [DML 15.102 (p. 266); see also Heim [1892: no. 96]]

2. From a ninth-century MS of the MedPlin comes the following charm cited by Hälsig [1910: 104]; see also Heim [1892: 557] (also noted by Barb pp. 19-20):

ad faucium dolorem ... haec dicis, manus inversas tergori inducis [ita ut]: septem [a] tusella, VI tusella [se illas et a tusella] V tusella IV tusella III tusella II [duo] tusella I tusella [nulla].

(See similarly the St. Gall MS of the Physica Plinii (ed. Önnerfors [1985: 238 (no. 9)])).

3. Magoun observes that there are many analogous Danish charms against such ailments as warts, corns, ring-worm, and evil spirits which produce inflammation of cows' udders (and cf. 7 below). E.g.:

Ringorm haver de Brødre ni. Ni bad te otte ... to bad én, én bad te ingen.

---

445: S is certain that the charm was not borrowed from Marcellus because only the spoken charm itself and not the preceding directions corresponds to Lacn., but since the restrictive directions lack any sound patterning to aid the memory, they might easily have been forgotten.
4. One representative example of a common dimishing charm concerning Job's affliction by worms reads:

_A charme for _po farciouns: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. In _po honour of oure lord Jesu Criste and of oure ladi seynt Mari and of sen Jop and for sent Jopes fader soule and moder soule and all his auncetures soules, sey _iii. Pater Noster and _iii. Ave. "Seynt Jop had _ix. wormes, had _vii. worm, had _vii. worm, had _vi. womes, had _v. w., had _iii. w., had _ii. w., had _i. worme pat had no heved". Sey pis aboute _po hors and he chal be hole be _po grace of God._

[ed. Hunt [1990: 83]; see also his n. 81 (p. 357) and the diminishing and augmenting formulas in his nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 45, 64, and 74]

5. Another related charm survived in Cornwall until at least the nineteenth century, for Hunt [1916: 414] records a common "Charm for a tetter". Payne (p. 137) was the first to cite it in connection with the present charm.

"Tetter, tetter, thou hast nine brothers.
God bless the flesh and preserve the bone;
Perish, thou tetter, and be thou gone.
_In the name, &c._

"Tetter, tetter, thou hast eight brothers.
God bless the flesh and preserve the bone;
Perish, thou tetter, and be thou gone.
_In the name, &c._

"Tetter, tetter, thou hast seven brothers."

&c. &c.

Thus the verses continue until the "tetter", having "no brother," is ordered to be gone.

6. Another charm from Cornwall (taken from Black [1883: 122-3]):

"Against the bite of an adder a piece of hazlewood [sic], fastened in the shape of a
cross, should be laid softly on the wound, and the following lines, twice repeated,
"blowing out the words aloud, like one of the commandments": -

_Underneath this hazelin mote,_

_There's a braggoty worm with a speckled throat._

_Nine double is he;
Now from nine double to eight double,
And from eight double to seven double,
And from seven double to six double,
And from six double to five double,
And from five double to four double,
And from four double to three double,
And from three double to two double,
And from two double to one double,
And from one double to no double._

_No double hath he!_  


_Mot revormar:_

_De nio blevo åta,_
_de åta blevo sju,_
_de sju blevo sex,_
_de sex blevo fem,_
_de fem blevo fyra,_
_de fyra blevo tre,_
_de tre blevo två,_
_de två blevo en,_
_den ena blev ingen._

8. Finally cf. (with Brie [1906: 17] and Barb) the (now racially offensive) counting-out rhyme:

---

*Braggoty = spotted, mottled.*
*For another version of this charm see N&Q 2nd. Series no. 80, July 11 1857, p. 25.*
Ten little niggerboys went out to dine,

One choked his little self, and then there were nine, etc.

(Note also the well-known counting-out rhyme "Ten green bottles hanging on the wall...")

Barb [1950] in his section "Excursus: Noththe's Sisters and their Next of Kin" would see (following S (p. 155)) a connection between the present Lacn. charm and another well-known Germanic charm extant in two versions:

Pro Nessia.

Gang uz, Nesso, mit niun nessinchilinon,
uz dona marge in deo adra, vonna den adrun in daz fleisk,
donu demu fleiske in daz fel, dona demo velle in diz tulli.

Ter pater noster.

[ed. Braune & Ebbinghaus [1979: 90, no. 4]; see also Wipf [1992: 74, no. 3.1]]

Contra vermes.

Gang ut, nesso, mid nigun nessiklinon,
üt fana themo marge an that ben, fan themo bene an that flesg,
üt fan themo flesgke an thia hud, üt fan thera hud an thesa strala.

Drohtin, uuerthe so.

[ed. Braune & Ebbinghaus [1979: 90, no. 4a]]

Barb would derive the concept of the demon Nessia and her family of nine (who come to be identified as worms) and of the nine sisters of Noô in the present charm from the early apocryphal Coptic Book of the Resurrection of Christ in which Death with his six sons enters Christ's tomb with the intention of taking possession of the body, but is defeated. The seven demons are said to wriggle like worms. He cites in support of his contention a German counting-down charm in which St. Peter may have been substituted for Christ (earlier cited in connection with our charm by S (p. 154)):

Der Herr Petrus liegt im Grab, 9 Würmer hat er bei sich, 8 Würmer hat er bei sich,
7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, Würmer hat er bei sich, keinen Wurm hat er bei sich.
However, a lot of doubtful assumptions and connections are made here. Firstly Lacn.'s charm shares with the Nessia charms only the application against worms (which is not striking, particularly as Lacn.'s charm is principally for swellings), the mention of nine disease demons (actually ten (one + nine) in the Nessia charms (again not striking - nine is a ubiquitous number in early Germanic myth and superstition (cf. e.g. ha nygon naedran in l. 594)), and the use of (supposed) proper names for the disease demons beginning with and alliterating on the letter N-. None of this proves (or to my mind even strongly suggests) a significant genetic relationship between the charms. Secondly, of course, the Nessia charms (and the Book of the Resurrection of Christ) have no counting-down formula. Thirdly, according to Jordan [1986: 293, also n. 32]), there is "no evidence that the work [i.e. the Resurrection of Christ] was ever known in the West during the Middle Ages", and the following statement by Barb does not warrant serious consideration:

It will ... hardly be contended that some Germanic Druid went to Egypt and wrote the Coptic "Resurrection of Christ" or taught Egyptian magicians what a really good malediction should sound like.

877 Wiô cyrnel : It has not been remarked that this remedy's position in the middle of a number of remedies which are explicitly for horses (Entries CLII-CLV) may indicate that it too is for cyrnel in a person's (Pis he lib be) horses. Counting down formulas were commonly used for farcy/glanders in horses in later times (Hunt [1990: 83, and n. 105]; see analogue no. 4 cited above), but a remedy for this disease need not have been restricted to horses since glanders is contagious to man too.

878 Neogone wær ðæs weostar : Although such obvious alliteration in spoken charms is unlikely to be fortuitous, S (pp. 150-1) would deny any verbal crafting: "Alliteration is entirely absent, for neogone and ðæs in l. 1 can hardly be said to alliterate and seem to have come together only accidentally". In fact, these words may constitute a previously unrecognised line of OE verse (both "half-lines" scanning as Bliss type 2A1a(i))^{48}, and I present them as such with a mid-line caesura.
A Swedish protective formula dated 1679 begins *Nio voro de Nockunden söner* (Klintberg [1965: no. 71, p. 92]).

878 Neogone: S observes intriguingly that:

The number nine may be the usual magical number, without further significance, or it may refer to that form of tumour which is called furuncle in modern English, and *negenoog, Neunauge* in Dutch and German, from the nine eyes or heads that are supposed to show in it. The Latin version [i.e. the Marcellus charm quoted above as no. 1] partly confirms our supposition for it is only possible to hold all nine of them between the healing finger and the thumb, when the swellings occur in a small area.

878 Nodjxes: This otherwise unattested word is problematic (only BTC records it). It is apparently a noun, and, though there can be no certainty of this, I have taken it to be a proper name for the disease demon - "Swelling/Node" in effect.

There are a number of attempts to explain the word:

i. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is that of GS (pp. 184, n. 5, 185, 185 n. 3) (accepted by BTC). They translate it as "node" (but do not acknowledge that the idea was originally Payne's [1904: 136 n. 146]). They observe that:

Although the first recorded instance of the word "node" in English is of the sixteenth century (see OED), its meaning "ganglion" would fit in well with kernels. It is not impossible that the original writer was using, as he often does, a Latin word, and that he wrote down *nodus* in a late form with the spirant ð in place of d. In this case the duplication ðh would be due to careless transcription.

LS "nodus" (4) records the meaning "a swelling, tumour (on the joints)" in Pliny.

Alternatively, we may wonder whether a putative underlying Lat. *nodus* might be interpreted as "knot" with reference to the nodules on stalks of a cereal plant (LS "nodus" (5)) - Bonser [1963: 253] compares two modern wart charms:

---

878 Even if the ð in *Nodjxes* were a scribal error, the o may well be long (from Lat. *nodus*) thus enabling an unresolved stress; if the o were short the half-line could still son as Bliss type 2C1.

846 "Possibly "Noththe" was originally some word corresponding to glandula, such as nodus, which was mistaken for a proper name."; see also G (p. 218).
Count most carefully the number of warts: take a corresponding number of nodules or knots from the stalks of any of the cerealia, ... wrap these in a cloth, and deposit the packet in the earth. All this is to be done secretly. As the nodules decay, the warts will disappear.

Find a straw with nine knees: bury the knots: as they rot, so will the warts.

Bonser also refers in this connection to the Roman god of corn Nodotus (St. Augustine's City of God (trans. O'Meara [1984: 144] "the god Noditus looked after the nodes and joints on the stalks"), but does not directly venture a connection with Lacn.'s Nodp.

ii. S (p. 152) is of the opinion that "the occurrence of the name of Noththe of whom nothing is known except that the form looks entirely Germanic, is a strong argument in favour of the Germanic origin of the charm". Since neither the meaning nor the etymology of the word is certainly known this is not a sound statement. Nor, of course, would the use of a Germanic word prohibit it being a translation of a foreign word in a putative source.

iii. Barb (pp. 27-8) suggests tracing it (and Nessia/Nesso see above) to "the root of Greek Nosos = "destroying, killing" disease (cf. Lat. neco, noceo; Greek nykys = dead". He also suggests (p. 28 n. 66) taking Noththe as "a transcription of Greek nothé (femin. from nothos), the "bastard" or "base-born"." But this might not fit the context so well as the derivation from Lat. nodus.

iv. Magoun [1945: 102] remarks on an earlier observation of his [1937a: 24] that he at first proposed:

... I fear, on purely formal grounds - that Nophæs might represent a masc. personal name *Nôh, perhaps a hypocorism for Nôb-her, -wine, or the like, but I should no longer wish to support this suggestion. One might pertinently ask, for example, why should an ordinary personal name be thus introduced in a charm?

But of course we are hardly in a position to ponder the significance of such a hypothetical name!

He also remarks: "Nor can one do much of anything with the OE sb. nóþ f. "daring, boldness"". However, the final s of nodphaes could conceivably be a scribal anticipation of the
first letter of *sweostar, or a corruption due to mis-hearing or incomprehension, the intended reading being then *Nod(p)ae sweostar. Taking *Nod(p)ae as the gen. sg. of the noun *nod\textsuperscript{450} - whence *Nod(p)ae sweostar "sisters of Presumption" - is perhaps not completely inconceivable as the personificatory identification of swellings which have had the temerity to set up home on the sufferer (cf. perhaps the metrical charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6, no. 12, l. 2), her ne scealt þu timbrien, ne nenne tun habben)!

Or might (in similar vein) *nod(p)ie be an adjective *nod (see AEW noð 2. "kühn")? Whence perhaps the meaning "There were nine presumptuous sisters". Or might it be a woman’s name - cf. Olcel Nanna (wife of the god Baldr) which is possibly derived from the Germanic root *nanp- (see AEW noð), and may mean "the daring one", but the etymology is uncertain (see Simek [1993: 227])?

Magoun [19451 rejected his first thought (see above) in favour of interpreting the reading *Nōlpæ sweostar (attained as just described) as meaning "Need’s sisters”. He argues, as a consequence of Anglian forms in Lacn., for a possible origin for the charm in the Danelaw region (but he does not observe that Neogone displays Kentish back-mutation). He would understand noð(p)æ as a loan-word from Old Danish (Old West Norse au (i.e. nauðr) = Danish c. 1050 ø (see Gordon [1957: 322 §205]), i.e. noð, whence Anglo-Danish *nöð\textsuperscript{451}; usual OE nied, nid, nýð), "need, necessity, distress". He believes that *nöð is chosen "to head the descending series of numbers" because of the numerical position (tenth) of the rune-name nauð/nöð in the Common Germanic fulpark (not the younger Danish fulpark where its position is eighth (Magoun says ninth)) and the OE fulorc - it may thus "be thought of as standing at the head of a series of 9 ("sister"):runes". He gives evidence for the magical significance of the rune-name nauð in Scandinavia, but (surprisingly) does not believe:

that the magic qualities of Nauð were important in determining its choice for use in [the] OE charm ... More important than the name Nōð (Nauð) is, I imagine, the number; for 9 was a favorite magic number in Germanic antiquity and was much used in various counting-down charms noticed above. The number 9, the number of

\textsuperscript{450} Attested once in OE, in Juliana I. 343: ic fisse noðe wæs | nyde gehaebeld.

\textsuperscript{451} Which was apparently attested in "one of two somewhat Anglicized versions (ca. 1000 A.D.) of the Danish futhorc in Brit. Mus. Ms. Cotton Galba A. ii" which was destroyed in 1867.

Magoun compares Old Danish øre > OE dro; see OEED "ør" sb. 1.
Nœf's sisters, is, then, in my opinion, the true starting point of the charm. The rune-name Nœf was, on the other hand, chosen, I think, because of the happy chance that it both alliterates with 9 (OE neogone, ON niu) and that it stands in position 10 in the futhorc, thus making possible the arithmetical device used here.

But, ON nauð, of course, like its OE cognate nied, can also mean "distress", "pain", "trouble", "violence", which would seem more relevant here. I can see no reason to bring runes into the matter - particularly as they can hardly be associated with the swellings. And if we were to read *Nœdfjœ sweostar it might be safer to take noð as the otherwise attested OE noun "presumption", rather than as an otherwise unattested loan-formation from late Danish in a charm that has a distinctively Kentish spelling in neogone.

Finally, two commentators (Magoun [1945: 105] and Meaney [1981: 18-19]) have (apparently independently) mentioned in connection with the nine Nœdfœ sweostar a reference to ni nouþær ("nine needs") on the so-called "Magic Wand of Ribe" (North Jutland), a stick of pine-wood inscribed with the following runic inscription (of thirteenth-century date, but showing, according to Meaney [1981: 18], "signs of adaptation from a West Norse original") probably for malaria or some such feverish, convulsive disease.

Text and translation are taken (with slight typographical adaptation) from Moltke [1985: 493-4; for photographs and a transcription see p. 495):

"Earth I pray guard and the heaven above, sun and Saint Mary and himself the Lord God, that he grant me hands to make whole and healing tongue to cure the

242 This cross is omitted by Moltke without comment.
Trembler when treatment is needed. From back and from breast, from trunk and from limb, from eyes and from ears; from every place where evil can enter. - A stone is called swart; it stands out in the sea. On it lie nine Needs. They shall neither sleep sweet nor wake warm [(?]i.e. they must unceasingly torment the sickness-demon] until you [the patient] are better of it; for whom I have caused runes to utter words [i.e. for whom I have used runes to write the exorcism to be spoken over the patient]. Amen. And so be it +."

Neither Magoun nor Meaney (nor I) knows quite what to make of this analogue (if such it be), but Magoun does note [1945: 105, and n. 1] that, whereas in Lacn.'s charm Noðþæs sweostar appear to signify the afflictions, in the runic inscription they may be the agents of the exorcism of the disease (though that seems to me debatable - might not the "needs" be in some way the cause of the disease, who are consequently to be tormented until they free the sufferer?).

878 Noðþæs sweostar: Here Noðþæs sweostar appear to be the personified swellings (or - judging from l. 881 aeghwylces yfeles - any other symptom) against which the charm is to work. The concept of disease siblings is a common one in folklore, and there are several instances of this in the analogues cited above. There are two further instances of the concept in the OE magico-medical corpus, both in metrical charms: in Lacn. l. 654 occur the words deores sweostar ("sister of the beast"), and in the charm Against a Wen (ASPR 6, no. 12) the wen is told to depart north eonene to an nihgan berhge, per þu hauest, ermig, enne broper⁴⁹. See further e.g. Barb [1950: 20 n. 22; 30 n. 78].

G (p. 218) notes Grimm's example [1882-8: 1155] of a Russian superstition which supposes nine sisters who plague mankind with fevers.

⁴⁹ I wonder whether the mound is not itself the wen's brother, the mound being conceived as a wen upon the earth, According to Alexander Carmichael (notes to no. 454 ("The charm of the swellings: "Be this stroke upon the Mâm of the Boar...")) in Cornmna Gadelica p. 652 (Floris Books single volume 1992 reprint of the translations)) in Gaelic Scotland: Mâm, a low rounded swelling hill, is commonly used of various swellings on the body, as mâm slitine (swelling in the groin), mâm achlas (swelling in the armpit), mâm seic, mâm sic, also maidhm seic (rupture), mâm amhcha (swelling in the neck, mumps).

In the north-western mainland there are many hills called "Mâm" with some qualifying term, and the object of the incantation is to transfer to such hills the swelling on the patient's body.

Furthermore, the Scottish (though it may not be confined to Scotland) practice of striking (or almost striking) the swellings with a sharp point or axe probably parallels the OE charm (ll. 6-7): Under fô wolues, under ușep erarnes, under earnes clea, a þu geweornie.
It might be worth mentioning - if like the disease sibling in *Lacn.* LXXXVI the "sisters" were to some degree imagined to have intelligence or human form - that there are some other references to groups of nine (human) sisters in early Germanic literature, groups which have an air of magic and mystery about them:

i. In the fragment of the Olden poem *Heimdalargaldr* ("Heimdallr's incantation"), preserved in Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda* the god Heimdallr says he is the son of nine mothers who are sisters:

\[ Nju \text{ em ek maðra mögr}, \]
\[ niu \text{ em ek systra sonr. [ed. Faulkes [1982: 26]]} \]

It is possible, but not certain, that these nine sisters are the waves of the sea (see Dumézil [1973: chap. 7, esp. 132-3]; Simek [1993: 135-6]). Certainly the sea-god Ægir has nine daughters (i.e. waves; see Simek [1993: 2]).

ii. In the Olden *Eiriks saga rauða* the seeress Þorbjörg had nine sisters (making ten in all!):

\[ hafói átt sér niu systr, ok váru allar spákonur, en hon ein var þá á lifi. \]

[ed. Sveinsson & Þórdarson [1935: 206]]

881 *Dis be lib be cyr[n]eles* : A word *libbe* (so Kemble [1849: 528]) is not otherwise attested in OE as a simplex (as opposed to the prefixed *unlybbe* -a). I tentatively take *be* as a late subj. form (or a scribal error) of the verb "to be" (see Language 2.iii.j). Nevertheless *libbe* could conceivably be the correct reading - none of the comparable constructions elsewhere in *Lacn.* has a verb:

\[ Dis \text{ de to bote esa gescotes, } dis \text{ de to bote ylfa gescotes,} \]
\[ dis \text{ de to bote hægtesan gescotes (ll. 784-785)} \]
\[ Dis \text{ me to bote þære laþan læþyrde;} \]
\[ þis \text{ me to bote þære swæran swæþyrde;} \]
\[ þis \text{ me to bote þære laðan læþyrde. (ll. 927-9)} \]

Similarly in OHG we find *daz tir ze boze* (Wipf [1992: 70, no. 2.5; 72, no. 2.6]).
Lib here must mean "remedy", "cure" in general (cf. parallel constructions using bot above), and not "drug". The word is only found once elsewhere in the OE magico-medical corpus, in a herbal remedy in BLch (30/14): peet bid ansplid lyb which (as Deegan [1991: xxviii-xxix] points out) translates the Herbarium's singulare remedium, which OEHerb translates as synderlic lecedom.454

Probably (but not certainly since there are no instructions for recitation) the charm was to be spoken, so the possibility that lib (like lybesn) might denote an amulet would not apply here (see BT lybb, lybesn, and BTS lybesn). Given the evidence of glosses, however, and the inclusion of the element lyb(b) in words such as lybbestre "witch, sorcerer" and lyblac "sorcery", lyblaeca "sorcerer" (BT "the word often implies the use of witchcraft"), the definition "(magical) remedy" or (?)"charm" (so CH) for this instance of the word might be worth considering.

On lib, its related compound nouns and etymology see Jente [1921: §171] ("Heilmittel, Droge"; die Beteutung "Gift" geht aus den Kompositis hervor") and AEW.

881 cyr[n]eles 7 scroffelle[s] : Both terms can denote glandular swellings, a symptom of scrofula being the enlargement of the lymphatic glands.

Cf. a passage from Lanfrank's Science of Cirurgie (c. 1400) quoted by OED ("kernel" 4): Of scofules & glandeles pat bup curnellys pat comyth in pe flessch.

881 scroffelle[s] : "Scrofula" or "scrofulous swelling". This is the only occurrence of this Lat. loan-word in OE. OED treats (bracketed) under "scroffles" sb. pl. and defines this as scrofulous swellings (see also under "scrofula"). Payne [1904: 136] also renders as "scrofeles".

881 weorme[s] : Worms are commonly associated with swellings in folklore and medieval medicine (cf. e.g. a fifteenth-century remedy To knaw iff a worne be in a wounde or in an op[er] sore... (ed. Dawson [1934: 171 (no. 526)])455), and this may be the case here

454 For another (doubtful) instance of OE lib in a remedy see S (p. 300, no. 68).
455 The general concept survives in the term "ring-worm", which is a skin disease characterised by ring-shaped patches.
too, though the generalisation of the subsequent words 7 ągwhylyces yfeles raises doubts about how specific its usage is here. Cf. OED "worm" 12: "the worm: formerly a popular name for various ailments supposed to be caused by the working of a "worm", or resulting in a worm-shaped tumour or growth". Note also RSC (p. 149):


It is interesting to note that the medieval Welsh Physicians of Myddvai (trans. Pughe [repr. 1989: §305 (p. 54)]) associated "worms" with specifically scrofulous ulcerations: "A plaster to reduce the swelling, and to extract worms from scrofulous ulcerations".

881 7 ągwhylyces yfeles: This is perhaps a casual catch-all addition to a charm otherwise directed against swellings of various kinds. Cf. Lacn. 1. 1068 gescyldað me wið da lafan poccas 7 wið ealle yfelu.

881 sing "Benedicite" nygon sipum: For Stuart [1974] this is an "instance of unsuccessful christianization", but comments such as this seem to me too simplistic and speculative.

881 "Benedicite": Vulgate Daniel 3: 57-90. For an almost complete version of this in an Anglo-Saxon MS that also contains some OE remedies see Muir [1988: no. 75].

881 nygon sipum: The number nine is of obvious appropriateness to this charm. That all (one presumes) the lines of the Benedicite are be sung nine times makes for a not inconsiderable undertaking.

causd by fungi.
⁴⁶ Singer (n. 2): "Vermis was a mediaeval and renaissance term for boils or farcy".
ENTRY CLIV

884-5: Alliteration, rhyme, repetition and echo here combine to form an incantation in which conventional lexical and syntactic sense was doubtless not of the greatest importance. G's (p. 170) presentation of these lines (here slightly adapted), while highly speculative in its line divisions (other possible divisions become readily apparent after some study), may help the reader to perceive these sound patterns:

- Geneon genetron genitul
- catalon care trist pābist
- etnic forrune naht ic forrune
- nequis annua maris
- scana nequetando.

However, if the MS spacing is any guide, then the following arrangement may have something to commend it:

- Geneon genetron
- genitul catalon
- care trist
- pābist
- etnic forrune
- naht ic forrune
- nequis annua
- maris sanctana
- nequetando.

Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in *Lacn.* - Entries XXII, XXV, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.

All of this is lost in Stuart's [1974: 847-52] attempt to reconstruct an original form for this charm, one bearing orthodox lexical and syntactic sense - sense which, as I have said, may not have been sought for by the Anglo-Saxon redactor of this charm who clearly strove at least in part for an aurally paralinguistic effect:

---

\(^4\) G invents the OE title *Wul corn* "For corms" for this remedy. S invents the title *Wip cornes* "Against corms" (sic).
His mæg horse wîd þon þe him bið corn on þa fæt:

Γενέων γένετορ γένει τ' ἀλ[λος] κατ' ἀλλον.

χαίρε τρός.

"Pater" bis, et "Meae fortune".

Naht[ei] ic for rune. Ne quis annua maris sancta [det], ne quid danto.

This she translates as:

"This is good for a horse if it has corns on its feet:

"Begetter of offspring of different kinds, farewell! (or welcome!)

three times. The paternoster twice, and "My fortunes"(?)

"I had nothing for a cure. If not the annual holy things of the sea(?) let them give nothing.”"

884 pãbist : I leave the sign of abbreviation since it cannot be determined whether it stands for -m or -n or perhaps -ter (i.e. Lat. pater).

885 sanctana : So Magoun [1937a: 23] would also read. Or perhaps the intended reading is sancta na. Either way conventional meaning is not forthcoming. The -tan- sound in sanctana is roughly echoed in the -tan- in nequetando.

884 etmic forrune naht ic forrune : This might (with the exception of et which is probably Lat. "and") be garbled (or at least obscure) OE: mic might be the Anglian form of the acc. sg. first person personal pronoun "me"; forrune might conceivably be divided for rune, the former perhaps being the preposition meaning "because of", and the latter being the acc. or dat. of the noun run; naht might mean "nothing" or "useless" or "bad" or "not (at all)", or it might possibly be an irregular part of the verb *nagan ("not to have"), which has nahte as its preterite; ic is presumably simply the OE first person pronoun "I". C (p. 62 n. 5) thinks the passage means "I had nothing for a "charm"" (?cf. Middle Welsh rhin "magic charm",
Finnish runo "song", "(?)-incantation"), though it is difficult to see what any such statement could have to do with corns on a horse's hooves.

If rune in forrune really is part of OE run it might be a significant (but extremely obscure - Stuart's translation "cure" is entirely without corroboration) occurrence, for Fell [1991: 228], in a discussion of the meanings of OE run which does not consider this instance, remarks that "Old English has not a flicker of a connection between runes and ... charms". The possibility that rune may here bear reference to runes here is recognised (and not discounted) by Page [1964: 25].

ENTRY CLV

GS (p. 186) conclude their corresponding entry with l. 893 (Solue, iube, Deus, ter, catenis) of the present edition, having transposed l. 892 (Gif wif ne mæge bearn beran) to head Lacn. Entry CLXI (in the present edition). However, since convincing reasons have been adduced to support ll. 892-3 as a separate entry (see notes to Lacn. Entry CLVI below), such treatment is unjustified.

886 gesceoten: "Shot", probably a reference to demonic "elf-shot" - see Commentary to Entry CXI.

887-91: C (p. 65) remarks:

The Latin words bear a ritualistic character, and may be perhaps arranged nearly thus: Oratio. Sanentur animalia in orbe terræ, quot, etc. Oratio altera. Extinguatur diabolus, etc. Lectio. Rom. viii. 25. Quis nos separabit, etc. Psalmus iii.

888 extingunt: A mistake for extinguatur.

888-9 "Quas nos separauimus a caritate Christi?": This is either a corruption or an imperfect echo of the beginning of Romans 8: 35. The reason for its citation becomes clear if

---

438 This might not be quite true - see Ker no. 390 art. b (also in supplement there) and Hollis & Wright [1992: 247].
the whole verse is given (though, unless this was once understood as an abbreviation, the whole verse is apparently not to be cited in Lacn.):

_Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi? Tribulatio an angustia an persecutio an
fames an nuditas an periculum an gladius?_


890 "Domine quid multiplicati sunt": This is the beginning of Vulgate Psalm 3:2. The full verse reads:

_Domine quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me; multi insurgent adversum me._

891 III: I.e. *priwa"thrice*. A verb of recitation (e.g. *sing"sing") must be understood.

**ENTRY CLVI**

893 Solue, iube, Deus, ter, catenis: As they stand in MS these words do not make sense ((?)*Release, command, God, thrice, from chains*). They are discussed and convincingly explained by Brown [1987] who recognizes (p. 46) in these Lat. words:

an abbreviated and slightly corrupted well-known verse directed to the apostle Peter. Its extensive use in anthologies and the liturgy would mean that even a relatively uneducated cleric would have easy access to it. In the popular collection of epigrams called the *Anthologia Isidoriana*, after the title "In icona sancti petri hi duo sunt versus" ("There are two verses on the picture of Saint Peter"), the distich runs:

_Solve iubente deo terrarum petre catenas
qui facis pateant caelestia regna beatis._

(Peter, who makest the heavenly kingdom open to the blessed, release by God's command the chains of the world).
Brown also (p. 46, and n. 6) observes that this epitaph occurs in Anglo-Saxon England in the collection of Lat. epigrams by Milred, eighth-century bishop of Worcester (see Sims-Williams [1982: 28]). He also suggests that:

The erased area that occurs between ter and catenis may have contained in abbreviated form the rest of terrarum or the name petre (unfortunately, ultraviolet light does not reveal either), which an obtuse corrector, not recognizing an already garbled verse, decided to obliterate.

893 Solue ... catenis : Cf. a Swedish charm for childbirth recorded in an eighteenth-century transcript. It too implies a concrete metaphor of binding, in this case of locks and keys, to signify the constrictions of a hard delivery:

Virgin Mary, gentle mother,
loan your keys to me;

to open my limbs
and my members.


Such associations with locks and keys are widespread in folklore: for examples concerning beliefs and injunctions against knots and locked locks during childbirth see Frazer [1922: chap. xxi §11]. For other charms and superstitions concerning childbirth see Kittredge [1929: esp. 114-5] and Forbes [1966].

With regard to the use of charms to release chains (in Lacn. metaphorical of course) in Anglo-Saxon England mention may be made of a story in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (Bk 4 chap. xxii; ed. Colgrave & Mynors [1969: 402]) in which a prisoner called Imma cannot be chained because his brother recites frequent masses for his soul. His captor, ignorant of this explanation, enquires whether he has about him any litteras solutorias, de quals fabulae ferunt "loosing letters (or "spells"), such as are described in stories"\(^{459}\).

\(^{459}\) In view of the present charm (and the following one) in Lacn., Lerer's [1991: 31, 35] assertions with regard to the story of Imma, that "no Old English charm for releasing fetters has been found", and that "while there are no extant Old English charms to support the currency of such a spell, there is a Continental tradition for the magic of release", might be questioned. The present charms are, however, Lat. rather than (with the exception of the heading in 1.892) OE. Since there is evidence for an aggressive Anglo-Saxon binding spell - in chap. 13 of the Life of Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus the chief priest of the seventh-century pagan South Saxons "set himself up on a high mound like Balaam and started to curse God's people, trying to bind their hands by his magic art" (trans. Farmer [1965: 119]) - a countering native Anglo-Saxon
893 *Solve iube:* A corruption of *Solue iubente.* Lack of comprehension and subsequent corruption leading to rhyming pairs is typical of charms.

893 *ter:* "Thrice" - a corruption of *terrarum.* Cf. 1. 1049 *ter* - a corruption of *te.* Threefold repetition is very common in charms.

**ENTRY CLVII**

OE/Lat. Variant Version:

*Wip lidwarce: sing VIII sipum bis gealdor þæron, 7 þin spalt spiw on:*

"*Malignus obligauit,*

*angelus curauit,*

*Dominus saluauit.*"

*Him bip sone sel. [LchBk3 (322/7-9)]*

This three-line rhymed charm is an exception to Bartlett's [1935: 85] observation that "the art of the Charms is so chaotic that no patterns in their use of Latin words can be determined. Nor are the clearly Latin words, as a rule, in the verse portions of the Charms".

Olsan [1992: 127-8] notes that "only a few Latin charms display poetic structures". Olsan also examines the differences between these two poetic "multiforms" and concludes that "they show good internal evidence for oral composition, because the same rhythmical, phonetic and morphological constraints have generated different lexical items that fit the patterns*⁴⁶⁰.

No source text has yet been identified for the Lat. words, but other tripartite formulae are commonly found in medieval charms, e.g. *Christus tonat ... Angelus nunciat ... Johannes predicat* (ed. Müller [1929: 58]; so too Fritz [1896: 186-7]), *christus vincit ... christus regnat ... christus imperat* (ed. Fritz [1896: 99, 143-4, 221])⁴⁶¹, and *christus te uocat ... Mundus te gaudet ... lex te desiderat* (ed. Fritz [1896: 143]).

*magic of release* seems a reasonable assumption.

For a discussion of the OE poem *The Wanderer* as a releasing charm to unbind the wintry forces of nature see Taylor [1972].

Note, however, that Olsan's text of the variant *LchBk3* charm is incorrect - the last line should read *Dominus saluauit* (as in Lacn.) and not *Dominus sanauzt* - and that one significant detail of her commentary is consequently wrong. It is odd that, while she notes only this one illusory lexical difference, the main lexical variants (*diabolus lignauir* versus *Malignus obligauit*), comprising the entire first line, pass without comment.

*Christus vincit Christus regnat Christus imperat* is the introductory acclamation of the so-called *laudes regiae* which were used on "important state occasions such as coronations to acclaim a monarch and the ecclesiastical and lay
894 Ab: A mistake for Ad.

894 dolorum constantium malignantium: For dolorem constantem malignantem.

894 medicina: This word is placed after l. 898 nomine in MS. Although Olsan [1992: 127] keeps its MS position and translates in nomine medicina as "In (his) name (is) the remedy", the word seems awkward there. I follow GS (supported by Brown [1987: 47]) in transposing it to the end of the heading - cf. the apparent misplacement of l. 899. Perhaps it is a rubric that a scribe has mistakenly incorporated into the text. Cf. the construction of a Lat. charm heading in Heim [1892: no. 118]: Ad memoriorum omnium dolorem praecantatio.

895 Diabolus lignauit: "The devil has bound". This action might lend itself to interpretation either in relation to mankind's having been bound by sin and subject to death as a result of the Fall's devilish instigation, or, conceivably, as referring to the Mediterranean idea of devotus defixusque, of a magical "knot" which binds the victim (see GS pp. 35-6; cf. OEHerb chap. 8 Gyf hwa on þære untrumynsse sy þæt he sy cis, þonne meaht ðu hine unbindan... [Lat. Si quis devotus defixusque fuerit, sic eum resolvis]; see also for an edition of ancient binding spells Gager [1992]). Note too the devil's magical fettering of the doomed warrior in the First Poetical Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn (ASPR 6, II. 158-63):

Hwilum he gefesterad feges mannas,
handa gehefegad, ðonne he æt hilde sceall
wið lað werud lifes tiligan;
awriter he on his wepne wellnota heap,
bealwe boctafas, bill forscrifeð,
meces mæðo.

895 lignauit: A mistake for ligauit.
895-7 lignuit ... curuit ... saluuit: S (p. 280) thinks that:

The rhyme of the verbs is due to the late Latin levelling of b and v, for the meaning is probably that the malignant one has bound the sufferer, but the angel will cure him and the Lord will save him.

However, there is no reason why all three verbs cannot be taken as straightforward past tenses: these lines may then relate a past event to a present situation ("as x has happened, so may y now") - a temporal association fundamental to many charms.

898 in nomine ... : I.e. presumably in nomine Patris et Fili et Spiritus Sancti.

ENTRY CLVIII

Sources and Analogues:

This is a broadly typical (but see n. to l. 900) version of perhaps the most ubiquitous charm of all (unless that is rather the "Jordansegen"445), a narrative charm known to German folklorists as the Petrussegen. It has remained in use in various forms as both incantation and amulet throughout Europe460 into the twentieth century and possibly even until the present day (see Opie & Tatem [1989: TOOTHACHE, charm for] for examples up to 1957)464 - as Kittredge [1929: 32-3] observes, "[it] has run a career of triumphant popularity for a thousand years and is still chanted with as much efficacy as ever".

Here, as is often the case, it is used for toothache, but a similar sort of charm is also sometimes employed in varying forms especially for fever (e.g. Müller [1929: 80], a memory of one typical version of which, that has Peter standing or lying at the gate of Jerusalem or Galilee, may, according to Barb [1950: 117], survive in the rhyme "Peter stands at the gate waiting for a buttered cake"). Such related charms for fever may well have been in

445 The Jordan-segen flum Jordan charm is not extant in Anglo-Saxon documents, but see Hieatt [1990] for a discussion of the use of the basic motif of the miraculous still waters of the Jordan at Christ's baptism in the OE poem The Descent into Hell with regard to later instances of this charm-type. Hieatt thinks it "very likely that it [i.e. the flum Jordan charm] was in circulation in the Anglo-Saxon period". For a detailed study of this charm see Ohrt [1938].

460 It is also found in America - see e.g. Patterson [1895: 287].

464 The earliest instance of this type of charm in Western Europe is thought to be the following ninth-century text for fever:


[Ohrt [1936: 50] (see also Herupp [1961: 183])]
circulation in Anglo-Saxon England, for one instance (Ker no. 219 dates s. xii in.) is found
on fol. 83v of BL Cotton Vitellius C iii, here transcribed and edited from MS[66](
abbreviations are expanded within round brackets; for a recent published edition see
D'Aronco [1995], substantive differences from which are noted in footnotes):

1. Contra febres:

In nomine Patris & Filii & Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i Am(en). In monte Epheso ciuitate
Caelio ibi req(uisit)escent VII dormientes Malchus, Martinian(us), Maximian(us),
Dionisius, loh(anne)s, Seraphion 7 Constantin(us). Req(uisit)escit sup(er) illos D(eu)s,
7 sic(ut) req(uisit)escit sup(er) illos D(eu)s ac req(uisit)escere dignet(ur) sup(er)
fa[mulum] [above line -a(m)] istu(m) [above line -a(m)] N(oemen), ac lib(ere)are
dignet(ur) de febrib(us) cunctis, siue cotidianis, siue biduanis, siue t(ri)duanis[66],
siue q(uar)tanis, siue noct(u)nis.

Ante port(a)m Galileae iacebat Petrus(us). Venit D(omi)n(a)n(us), int(er)rogavit eu(m):
"Q(u)i d hic iaces Petre?"

Respondit:
"D(omi)n(a)n(e), plen(us) su(m) febrib(us)".

D(omi)n(a)n(u)s auete(m) tangebat Petrusque san(us) fiebat. 7 dix(it) Petru(s):
"D(o)m(in) e, q(u)i ista uerba pot(eri)t tenere aut sup(er) se habuerit scripta n(on)
debet febres hab(er)e".

7 dix(it) D(omi)n(a)n(u)s:
"Fiat, Petre, sic(ut) petisti".

Am(en) Am(en) Am(en).

Ang(e)l(u)s D('omi) n iuenvat lib(eri)ans famulu(m) [above line -a(m)] hunc [above line
[h]a[nc] N(oemen), ut n(on) habeat febres, nec ardores, nec frigores, sed san(us)
fiat, te iubente D(omi)n(i) n o(st)ro lh(es)u (Cristo), q(u)i cu(m) Patre 7 Sp(irit)i
S(an)c(t)i o uuius[66] 7 regn(a)n(s) D(eu)s p(er) o(mn)a s(ecula).

[66] A very similar combinative charm - partially reproduced as analogue no. 10 to Lacn. Entry LXXXVI above - is
edited from a late English medieval MS in Stockholm by Holthausen [1887: 79-80, no. 10]. Another similar charm - but
with Peter lying super petram mormoriam - is edited from BL MS Sloane 122, fol. 163r by Olsan [1992: 132].

[66] D'Aronco unus.

An error in D'Aronco's text of the immediately following charm (Carmen contra sanguinis fluxum...) in BL MS
Cotton Vitellius C iii may also be noted: her domini should be dei (MS di with overline abbreviation bar).
There are two other versions of the present *Lacn.* charm (both also for toothache) extant from Anglo-Saxon England:

BL MS Cotton Vespesian D xx, fol. 93r (Ker no. 212 s. x med.). This charm has been published by S (no. 52 pp. 289-90), but I edit it here from my own transcript (abbreviations are expanded within round brackets; where I differ significantly from S this is noted in footnotes):

2. *Ad dentium dolorem:* *Petrus* sedebat sup(er) petra(m) & man(us) suas tenebat ad maxillas suas & dixit (Ihesus):

"Petre, q(ue)m tristis sedes?"

"D(omi)ne vermes ***in me. Fac m(edi) beneplacitum q(uam) fecisti Lazaro que(m) resuscitasti*** de mortuismo***."

"*In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Adiuro te migranea* p(er) Patre(m) et Filiu(Pn) et Sp(iritu)m S(an)c(tu)m Ut tu amplius non possis stare nec in faciib(us), nec in dentib(us), nec in capite tuo. *In nomine Pa(ri) & Filii & S(piritu)i S(an)cti. Amen.*"

Accipe saxafriga, id (est) grumin, et petrosino & ambrosiana & api & tanesia et mitte simul, & de quo472 eas cu(m) uino in olla473 noua ita ut trib(u)s vicib(u)s474 suffundes eas de uino ut ad mediate(m) p(er)ueniat et postea da infirmum bibere.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 85, fol. 17v (ed. C vol. I p. 394; see also S p. 289; Ker no. 336 s. xi med.). It is probably fragmentary - it comes at the very end of the last verso of a quire (and Ker remarks "ending imperf."). I edit it from my own transcript (abbreviations are expanded within round brackets):

3. *Wido todece:*

*S(an)ctus Petrus supra marmoream*
However, the closest parallels to Lacn. I am aware of are to be found in two MSS from later medieval England; note in particular that both have Christ sitting without suffering (an unusual feature – see below) supra marmor / supra petram marmoream, and that, after the adjuration, the first parallels Lacn. II. 912-3 usque LX annos et unum diem. Rex pax nax in Christo filio. Amen. Pater noster with the words usq(ue) ad extreimu(m) a(n)num et die(m). rex nax pax uax. Pat(er) n(o)(oste)r:

BL MS Royal 12B xii, fol. 206v second column II. 11-31 (unpublished; late thirteenth century (abbreviations expanded within round brackets)):

4. C(ontra) dolore(m) d(e)nitu(m) c(arm)en b(e)n(edi)ctu(m):

In no(m)i(n)e Pat(ri)s et Filii 7 Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i Am(en). (Cristus) sup(ra) marmor sedit. Pet(ru)s t(ri)stis an(te) illu(m) stabat, man(um) ad maxillas tenebat. 7 i(n)t(er)rogabat illum d(uce)nus: "Q(ue)r i(stia)mes, Petre?" 7 ait illi Pet(ri)us. D(omi)ni d(e)nites mei dol(e)nus. 7 ait illi D(omi)ni(n)e(s) adiuro te gutta emig(ra)nea gutta malig(na) p(er) P. 7 F. 7 S. S. 7 per om(ne)s a(n)gelos 7 archa(n)g(e)los. p(er) th(ro)nos 7 d(omi)nationes, per principat(us) 7 potestates, p(er) cherubi(m) 7 seraphi(m), 7 p(er) om(ne)s v(ir)tutes celor(um), 7 p(er) sanctam Mar(a) in(m) D(omi)ni n(o)(s)tr(i)i Ihe(es)u (Cristi), 7 p(er) s(an)c(t)i am i(n)carnat(i)o(n)e(m), natiuitate, c(r)i(tu)is(m)e(n)is, appar(a)rio(ne)m, pass(i)one(m), resurrect(i)one(m), asent(i)ione(m) D(omi)ni(n)e(s) tr(i)i Ihe(es)u (Cristi) 7 aduent(um) Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i Paracletus, 7 p(er) xxi milia iii seniores, 7 p(er) duodeci(m) p(ro)ph(et)as, 7 p(er) xiiii ap(os)to(lo)s, 7 per iiiii eva(n)g(e)listas, Math(eu)m, Marcu(m), Luca(m), Joh(an)n(e)s, 7 per xliii milia i(n)nocentes, 7 p(er) s(an)c(t)i a(m) martires 7 co(n)fessores, 7 p(er) om(ne)s v(ir)i(gines, 7 o(nn)i a s(an)c(t)i a(a)gnina celor(um) vt n(on) plus noceas h(o)ic fam(u)lo Dei usq(ue) ad extremu(m) a(n)num et die(m). rex nax pax uax. Pat(er) n(o)(oste)r. Credo i(n) D(omi)ni. (Cristus) ui(n)cit, (Cristus) regnat, (Cristus) i(m) p(er)at. + . O crux admirab(i)lis, euacuat(i)o uuln(er)iis, resstit(uti)o sanitatis, Am(en).
BL MS Additional 33996, fol. 91v (ed. Heinrich [1896: 102-3] (here slightly revised)):

5. Carmen pro Dolore Dentium:

\[ \text{dominus noster + ihesus + christus + supra petram marmoream\textsuperscript{480} sedebat, petrus tristis ante ihesum stabat, et dixit ei ihesus: quare tristis es . petrus respondit: domine, dentes mi dolent . at ille dixit: Adiuro te, migramea gutta maledicta, per patrem, 7 filium, et spiritum sanctum, 7 per duodecim apostulos} \textsuperscript{481} \text{per iiij ebangelistas + Marchum + lucam + matheum + Iohannem, 7 per centum quadraginta quatuor milia Innocentes, et per marian, matrem domini domini nostri iesu christi, qui talem filium portauit, per quem mundus redemptus est, ut non habeas potestatem in istum hominem N., neque in dente, neque in capite, neque in villo loco corporis sui nocere valeas . adiuro te per illum qui passus est pro nobis in cruci . amen .} \]

Scholars have made several collections and/or studies of this charm to which the reader is referred for further examples: Gaster [1867: 85-7]; Black [1883: 77-8]; Mackenzie [1895: 55-9]; Kohler [1900]; Häsig [1910: 46-7, 79-81]; Leather [1912: 74-7]; Clodd [1920: 199-201]; Kittredge [1929: 389-93] (an indispensable bibliographical list of instances and types of this charm, but still not exhaustive); van Hauer [1964: 454-5, and nos. 494-504]; HWDA vol. 9 under "Zahnsegen"; Forbes [1971: 297, 311]; Townend [1948] (but note that on p. 32 the present Lacn. charm is misattributed to BL MS Regius 12 D x, vii); Thompson [n.d.: 167-8] (plus other toothache charms); Hampp [1961]; Rushton [1980: 116], Opie & Tatem [1989: TOOTHACHE, charm for]; Bozóky [1992: esp. 86-7]. On the age and origin of texts of the "meeting-charm" (German Begegnungssegen) type see Ohrt [1936].

The source for the present charm is unknown, though a number of scholars have suggested possibilities. Barb [1963: 123] believes that "[t]his charm can be traced back to an apocryphal Gospel of St. Bartholomew\textsuperscript{482}, and hoped to demonstrate this in a paper (which

\textsuperscript{480}I do not know the meaning of this.
\textsuperscript{481}Heinrich Dencium.
\textsuperscript{482}Heinrich mar marmoreum, and remarks "mar ausradiert, aber noch deutlich sichtbar".
\textsuperscript{483}Heinrich omits.
was either never written or not published). I, at least, have not found any evidence to support this theory. Others (i.e. Köhler [1900: 551] and Brie [1906: 25]) point out that the opening scene may derive from Christ's address to Peter in Matthew 16: 18: *Et ego dico tibi: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam.* This is possible, but since Peter is by no means always the sitter, it is not certain. However, it probably is the basis for such a variant reading as *Petrus sedebat super petram...* (BL MS Cotton Vespasian D xx, fol. 93)[283,484].

Perhaps the following charm from the sixth- or seventh-century St. Gall version of the *Physica Plinii* might also be noted - perhaps the general situation of suffering "upon a rock" has roots in classical paganism:


[ed. Önnerfors [1985: 238 (no. 10)]; see also Heim [1892: 557]]

In more recent times at least, there appears to have been a popular belief that the present charm was to be found in the Bible - in the Hebrides, for example, it was called *Toisgeal,* a word corrupted from *soisgeal* "gospel" and denoting (according to Mackenzie [1895: 56 n. 1]) a text of Scripture written in a peculiar manner to be worn on the body, and which has been blessed by a priest[485]. There was also a movement among those arguably a little more enlightened to legitimise and authorise the use of this charm or to remedy a deficiency (as it

---

[283] With regard to the related charms which read "Peter stands/lies/stood/lay at the gate of Galilee..." (not attested from Anglo-Saxon England) Barb [1950: n. 11] states that "this type of incantation ... can be traced back ultimately to the prayer of Seth the son of Adam, at the gates of Paradise, in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Descend into Hades, ch. 3-4)."

[484] Since this Biblical text established Peter's supreme authority as the first Pope it may be that it is reflected in a later tradition of this charm which begins (Campbell [1902: 70]; Moore [repr. 1971: 98]):

Peter was ordained a saint
Standing on a marble stone,
Jesus came to him alone,
And said to him, etc.

Another version of the charm (noted by Köhler [1900: 545]) begins:

Breve al male de' denti e a migrana, nel qual duolo di resta; il qual breve si vuole portare in capo addosso
iscritto a reverentia di Jesus Cristo: "Jesus docebat discipulos suus et abi sedebat Iacobus major,
Bartolomeus, Taddeus, Matteus, Barnabas, Iohannes, Iacobus minor, Petrus, Simon, Tommas, Philippus,
Lucas, Marcus, Matteus, Iohannes evangelista, et Petrus, qui sedebat super petram marmoream, tenebat
manum suam a caput suum e cepit contristari...

[485] Campbell [1902: 94] explains the term thus:

*Gospel.* A "Gospel" consisted of a verse of Scripture, or a hymn, or some good words, usually got from the priest, and sewn in the clothes to keep the wearer from weakness of mind, and as a protection from spite (air son inntinn lag'd droch rin). When going for it a person must not speak to anyone on the way, and must take up his lodgings for the night before the sun goes down.
was perceived) in Biblical tradition, its elusive presence in the Bible being avowed by some to the consternation of rural pastors who denied such a provenance, others taking the more practical approach of simply stuffing the written charm into a Bible or writing it on a flyleaf in a Bible or in the Book of Common Prayer (see Latham [1878: 40] and Henderson [1879: 172]). As illustration of this source debate two amusing anecdotes may be noted:

Firstly, Sholbus [1850: 293] records a dialogue between a Parson and an old woman from south-eastern England, in which the Parson eventually coaxes the charm from her:

""Well, your reverence, you have been very kind to me, and I'll tell you: it's just a verse from Scripture as I says over those as have the toothache:-

""And Jesus said unto Peter, What aileth thee? And Peter answered, Lord, I have toothache. And the Lord healed him."

Parson: "Well, but Dame Grey, I think I know my Bible, and I don't find any such verse in it.

Dame. Yes, your reverence, that is just the charm. It's in the Bible, but you can't find it!"

Secondly, Bruce [1850: 397] reports:

"A worthy Scotch woman told me, that the way to be cured of my toothache was to find a charm for it in the Bible. I averred ... that I could not find any such charm. My adviser then repeated to me the charm, which I wrote down from her dictation. Kind soul! she could not write herself.... According to my recollection it ran thus: - "Peter sat upon a stone, weeping. And the Lord said unto him, "Peter, why weepest thou?" And he answered, and said, "Lord, my tooth acheth." And the Lord said unto him, "Arise, Peter, thy teeth shall ache no more." Now," continued my instructress, "if you gang home and put yon bit screed into your Bible, you'll never be able to say again that you canna find a charm agin the toothache i' the Bible." This was her version of the matter; for, although one of the most benevolent old souls I ever knew, she was also one of the most ignorant and superstitious. I kept the written

\[49 \] Leather [1912: 75-6] records a Lat. version of the charm from "about 1400" which is "preserved in a volume in the Cathedral Library, entitled Officium Ecclesiae ... It evidently belonged to some Welsh Church, possibly to Kilpeck". The same instance is quoted by Townend [1948: 33].
paper, not in my Bible, but in an old pocket-book for many years, but it has disappeared."

899 [Contra dolorum dentium]: These words are clearly misplaced in MS. Dolorum is for dolorem - cf. likewise l. 894 dolorum.

900 Cristus super mamoreum sedebat: Usually in this charm and its variants it is the sufferer who sits. The sufferer is usually - as here - St. Peter or another saint, such as Mary or Apollonia; sometimes, however, it is Christ who sits suffering. For two later English instances of this charm which, unusually like Lacn., also have Christ sitting without suffering see Sources and Analogues above.

Possibly relevant to the association of Peter with the rock in most versions of the charm and its contemporary Anglo-Saxon interpretation are some involved words by the homilist Ælfric on the Biblical text Tu es Petrus... in his homily In festuittate Sancti Petri Apostoli (ed. Thorpe [1843, 1846 vol. II: 380-95]):

Crist cwæð to him betwux oðrum wordum, "Ic sece þe, Þu eart Peirus, and ofer ðisne stan ic getimbrige mine cyrcan". Augustinus tractauit, quod Petrus in figura significat ecclesiam, quia Christus petra, Petrus populus christianus. Ær ðam fyrste was his nama Simon, ac Drihten him gesette þisne naman, Petrus, þæt is, "stænen", to ði þæt he hæfde getæcnunge Cristes gelaðunge. Crist is gecweden "petra", þæt is "stan", and of ðam naman is gecweden "petrus" eal cristen folc. Crist cwæð, "Þu eart stænen, and ofer ðisne stan, þæt is, ofer ðam geleasæ þe ðu nu andettest, ic getimbrige mine cyrcan." "Ofer me sylfne ic getimbrige mine cyrcan, ofer me ic getimbrige ðe, na me ofer ðe. Ic eom seo trumnyss ðe ðe healdan sceal, and ealle ða getimbrunge cristenre gelaðunge."

"Christ said to him among other words, "I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and over this stone I will build my church". .... Before that time his name was Simon, but the Lord appointed him this name, Petrus, that is, of stone, to the end that he might be

---

49 For some instances of this type of charm with Christ sitting and suffering see Hansp [1961: 194-5] and Schuster [1865: 307-8 (no. 172)].
typical of Christ's church. Christ is called "petra", that is, stone, and from that name the whole Christian people is called "petrus". Christ said, "Thou art of stone, and over this stone, that is, over the belief which thou professest, I will build my church." "Over myself I will build my church, over me will I build thee, not me over thee. I am the firmness that shall hold thee, and all the structure of the Christian church." [pp. 389-91]

Since, according to this reading, every Christian person was an aspect and part of petrus, the sufferer utilizing this charm might readily identify himself with the charm's Petrus - St. Peter. This perhaps obviated the need for the direct naming of the contemporary sufferer by means of a naming formula.488

900 Cristus ... Petrus: Kieckhefer [1989: 72] places in context the meeting between Christ and St. Peter and the endowment of the remedy through adjuration of the disease spirit in standard versions of this charm:

The authority of ... charms is sometimes enhanced by ascription to a saint. The "charm of St. William", for example, was allegedly given to the holy man by Christ himself as a remedy for worms, cankers, fester, and various forms of gout. Another charm was said to have been devised by St. Eustace for the benefit of a woman in great pain. A common variation on this theme is the blessing or adjuration woven into an apocryphal story, with a character in the legend actually speaking the healing words. In these cases the legend itself becomes the charm, and the words ascribed to the holy person are the operative portion. The charm for toothache ... is a case in point. When Christ finds Peter sitting on a rock and holding his jaw because a worm is rotting his tooth, Christ himself in most versions adjures the worm or the toothache to depart.

---

488 Compare and contrast a fourteenth-century continental version cited by Bozóky [1992: 86]:
Sanctus Petrus cum sederet super petram marmoream misit manum ad caput, dolore dentium fatigatus tristabatur. Apparauit autem ei Jesus qui ait: "Quare tristatis, Petre?" "Domine, venit vermis emigraneus et devorat dentes meas." Jesus autem ait: "Aduro te, emigrane, per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, ut eases et recadas a famulo dei N. et ultra eum non ledas."

Bozóky remarks:
Here the historiola of the encounter between an [sic] legendary patient and a supernatural adjurer is followed by an adjuration pronounced by Christ himself, addressed directly to the worm that has caused the toothache. But by a skillful transposition of reality into the mythic narrative, the name of the patient is substituted for that of St. Peter, and the sick person enters the mythic world of the narrative incantation.
900 *mamoreum*: This is a mistake for *marmoreum*. The standard dictionaries of classical and medieval Lat. cite *marmoreus* only as an adj. meaning "(made) of marble", "marble-like", not as a noun. In which case the MS sense "Christ sat upon a marble" would seem, ideally at least, to lack a noun and be defective. Possibly the word *saxum* has dropped out (though this word is not found in any other versions of the charm known to me) or perhaps *lapis* (found in one Scottish example [Mackenzie [1895: 57]]) is missing; unless we suppose a mechanical scribal error or grammatical ignorance, masc./neut. *marmoreum* does not accommodate the fem. acc. sg. noun *petram* found in several other versions. It is unfortunate that the Junius 85 text breaks off at this point.

It may be noted that a sometimes specifically marble stone causes a horse to founder in some versions of the well-known Second Merseburg Charm-type, and in certain other charms (see Halsig [1910: 79-81], Köhler [1900: 551] (to which add Schuster [1865: 307-8 (no. 172)]), Ebermann [1903: 5, 6, 13, 19, 21], and Leather [1912: 74]).

901 *interrogebat*: For *interrogabat*.

902 *tritis*: A mistake for *tristis*.

906-12: This kind of enumerative exorcism invoking powerful Christian figures, and listing parts of the body to be protected and the aspects of daily life during which one is to be protected, are common in charms and prayers and are closely paralleled in e.g. *Lacn*₄₋₁²₋₁₃ (the Lat. prayers therein) and LXV (LL). They are common in Irish texts and in texts influenced by Irish tradition. A previously unpublished charm may also be noted in BL MS Royal 12 E xx fol. 162v (ll. 11-17) (eleventh-century English) - note that the adjuration is possibly a charm in its own right (abbreviations are expanded within round brackets):

*Cont(rai) bon(u)m malannu(m): S(an)c(t)i(a) crux amen. crux s(an)c(t)i(a) am(en).*

*Obsorbis 7 opto Cuni sorbis subalca. Edifa am(en). Crux s(an)c(t)i(a) am(en).*

*S(an)c(t)i(a) crux am(en). + Pat(eri) n(oste)r.*

486 Rest of line left blank in MS - space for approximately seven letters.
Adiuro te p(er) d(o)m(inum) 7 d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(um). p(er) patre(m) 7 filiu(n) 7 sp(iritu)m s(an)c(tu)m gutta
mig(ra)nea, ut n(on)habeas potestate(m) in capite isto stare, nec in dentib(us) morari, nec in manib(us), nec in pedib(us), nec in ullo loco do(min)ari. Lib(er)a famulu(m) tuu(m) .N. d(eu)s agyos . agyos . agyos . s(an)c(tu)s d(eu)s agyos . s(an)c(Iu)sfortis. s(an)c(tu)s 7 i(m)montalis. (Criste) eleyson. Pater n(oste)r.

906 Adiuro te migranea uel gutta maligna: From the reference to migraine (see OED "megrim") in this and many other instances of this charm we might expect the charm to be directed specifically against headache. Cf. Lacn. II. 69-70 ad dolorem capitis quod Grece ancausius uocant, hoc est emigrane[u]m capitis.

Of gutta maligna GS (pp. 104-5 n. 6) remark that this was "a common term for a painful spot as in a joint".

It may be noted that, in contrast to many other versions of this charm (including the Anglo-Saxon instance in MS Cotton Vespasian D xx - see above), there is no reference to worms as the cause of the toothache in Lacn.'s version of the charm.

909 ut non possit diabolus nocere ei: The grammatical flow of this sentence - which started Adiuro te migranea uel gutta maligna - is broken with the introduction of diabolus as a new subject in the third person. This latter is doubtless a later corruption (a scribe may have recalled such formulas as e.g. Lacn. I. 263 ut non habeat potestatem diabolus, nec loquendi, nec tacendi ... and particularly the Durham Ritual (ed. Lindelöf & Thompson [1927: 116]) ut non possit diabolus nocere eis nec in uisu nec in risu...). The original reading presumably lacked diabolus and had possitis rather than possit.
912 usque LX annos et unum diem: This date is evidently well beyond the patient's expected lifespan, even if he/she were an infant. It may be noted that, according to Cameron [1993: 5], the contents of Anglo-Saxon grave sites reveal "a fairly short life expectancy"; it may be that the average life span of an Anglo-Saxon was no more than 31 years, with many dying between the ages of 15-20, and 35-40, and that very few people lived to, let alone beyond, the age of sixty (see Miles [1962] and [1969]).

Cf. in the BL MS Royal 12B xii charm cited above the words Adiuro te ... vt n(on) plus noceas h(o)c fam(u)lo Dei usq(ue) ad extremu(m) a(n)num et die(m). Comparison can also be made more generally with (non-Anglo-Saxon) instances of pacts in which the devil is to be allowed to return to afflict a human at an impossible date, e.g. when Christ is born again of Mary, or when Christ shall write a new Gospel (see ERE vol. III, p. 429).


"rex pax nax" derives from a liturgical Latin phrase such as "rex pacis nascitur in christo filio" ["the King of Peace is born in Christ, the Son"], or the actual antiphon now in the Roman Office for First Vespers of Christmas but prescribed for Lauds of Christmas in the Wulfstan Portiforium (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 310) and surviving in a number of antiphonaries (cf. Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library, F. 160, facs., Paléographie musicale 12 [Tournai 1922]: 26): "rex pacificus magnificatus est" ["the peaceable King has been exalted"].

Sheldon [1978: no. 92] edits a ME toothache charm (BL MS Sloane 3160, fol. 154r) which concludes with the same formula:

A good charme to bere y-writte for tothe ake. Write these wordus in perchment + rex + pax + nax in Christo fili[o] dei amen.

Sheldon would explain (less plausibly in my view) the formula as meaning:

Another similar charm for toothache including the same formula is found in the fourteenth-century *Rosa medicinae* of John of Gaddesden:

> De dolore dentium . . . carmen pro dentibus: Scribe in maxillam pacientis ista nomina + In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen + rex + pax + nax + in Christo filio. Et statim cessabit, ut vidi frequenter.

[BL MS Sloane 1067 fol. 248r; ed. Hunt [1990: 28]]

Cf. *rex nax pax uax* in the BL MS Royal 12b xii charm cited above. Another fourteenth-century MS (BL Royal 12 G iv fol. 143v) also contains a version of the *Lacn.* exorcism *Adiuro te migranea ... in a charm Contra dolorem dentium* that concludes *rex pax nax*, as well as a version of the charm beginning *Petrus supra petram marmorem sedebat* ...

(on this collection by John of Greenborough see Hunt [1990: 33ff., 86-7]). The words *pax in Christo Filio* are also found in a Lat. charm including a version of the adjuration *Adiuro te migranea uel gutta maligna...* in the ME *Liber de Medicinis* (ed. Ogden [1969: 18]):

*A charm for the tethe.*

> Destruens est lareowe, *pax in Christo Filio, & dices isti: Adiuro te, gutta migranea, per Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, per Patrem & Filium & Spiritum sanctum, vt non habeas potestatem in capite isto stare nec in dentibus nocere nec in pedibus nec in manibus nec in aliquo loco morari...*

*Rex pax nax* and similar sounds are common in charm tradition[^1]. Thus Forbes [1971: 297, 299] quotes charms which include the sequence *Pax max fax, and Pax Max and Max Hax Max Adinax, and max ... max ... prax ... prax max Deus I max;* see also Scot [1584: 154], Ohrt [1921: 116], Bang [1901-02: nos. 1058-65], Olsan [1992: 126], and *NQ* for Mar. 6 1858, p. 191. A charm in *NQ* for April 10 1858, p. 305 is worth quoting (note especially the series of underlined (my emphasis) words *O rex gloria Jesu Criste, veni cum pace in nomine Patris + max* in the third line):

> "Contra canis rabidi morsum, pani inscribitur: "Irioni khirioni essera khudor fere," inde voratur. Vel hoc scriptum in papiro aut pane, homini sive cani in os inseritur : "O rex gloria Jesu Criste, veni cum pace in nomine Patris + max, in nomine Filii

[^1]: Note S (p. 301, no. 69): *be pax. box. max; also* (p. 300, no. 68) *eac. filiaz. artifex. Amen.*
+ max, in nomine Spiritus Sancti + prax, Caspar, Melchior, Balthazar + prax + max + Deus gmax +" Non infimae sortis nobilem cognovi, simili curationis ratione celebrem, qui pomæparticulæ inscribit : "Hax pax max Deus adimax," atque edendam illam venenato à cano rabido porrigit. Voces autem corruptae sunt ex ignorance linguae Latinæ et literarum ubi forté is nobilis in schedula Germanicâ comperit ad ejusmodi curationem has valere voces, "hoc + po + mo + Deus adjuvet + , cum crucibus interstinctas, uti ferè in similibus superstitionum mysteriis fit, cruces ex affinitate, x literam esse ratus, hax, pax, max, Deus adimax, legit et in pomo exaravit.

--- Wierus, de Praestigiis Daemonum, l. v. c. 8. 531., fol., Basileæ, 1583.

See also the discussion of such sound "strings" in charms in Olsan [1992: esp. 124-6].

913 Pater noster: Since these words presumably have no especial power unless they denote that the Lord's Prayer is to said, they might indicate that the incantation proper is also to be recited rather than put to amuletic use; however, this is uncertain.

ENTRY CLIX

914-5 Venite ad me ... reficiam vos: These words are extracted from Christ's speech in Matthew 11: 25-30 (this is verse 28). Sims-Williams [1990: 291] observes the similar usage of what the Book of Common Prayer calls "comfortable words" in the eighth-century Royal Prayerbook (BL MS Royal 2 A xx) and remarks:

The effect of selection is such as to give the impression of an apocryphal gospel in which Jesus figures solely as a thaumaturge and personal saviour, rather than a teacher. The ease with which such texts could be used for magico-medical purposes can be seen from the employment in the Old English Lacnunga of the "comfortable words": "Come unto me all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you".
ENTRY CLX

Variant Version and Analogues:

Braekman [1983: 608-10] finds "a remarkably close" parallel text, "the only one which has come to light up to the present day" in a three-part charm, apparently for pestilence, in BL MS Additional 39, 638 (fol. 15r), a fifteenth-century MS in late Middle Dutch. Following the recitation of some Christian prayers and fasting (not paralleled in Lacn.) "one is invited in the second part to write a number of "names" on a strip of parchment of sufficient length so that it may be put round the neck of the patient after it has been sown in his underwear" - cf. Lacn.'s Writ pis on swa langum bochtse het hit maeg befon utan het heafod, 7 hoh on hes mannnes sweoran. The Dutch text continues:

Dit es gheprouft ende waer vonden; dinghel van hemelricke brochtse te roome in eene grote steertfe ende ghafse den paeus te sinen groten versoucke ende narenstiger bede. Dit syn de woorden:

+ kaey vinghan adonay satheos mirre ineffabile omiginam ona animan misane dyas mode vnde memar gemasten orcamin sanguine berisone irritas venas cansi dulis feruor fixiantis siccatur. fla fla gra gra frigela uirgum et siden benedicite dominus.

Braekman freely translates the first section of this charm thus:

"This has been tried and found true; the angel of heaven brought them (i.e. the words) to Rome in an epidemic and gave them to the pope at his urgent request and insistent prayer. These are the words."

Given the difficulty and obscurity of the subsequent incantations it may prove helpful for the purpose of comparison to present the parallel passages one above the other (Lacn. on top):

kaey vinghan adonay satheos mirre ineffabile omiginam ona animan

misane. dimas. mode. mida. memagartem. Orta min. sigmone. beronice.
misane dyas mode vnde memar gemasten orcamin sanguine berisone
Brackman thinks the variant version's *sanguine* "blood" may be a better reading than *Lacn.'s* corresponding *sigmone*; however, whatever *sigmone* means, we may doubt this - perhaps the variant version's *sanguine* has been misplaced and really equates to *Lacn.'s sanguinis* (which otherwise has no parallel). He also thinks that the words *et siden* in the variant version are "no doubt" for untranslated ME *and sithen* "then, afterwards", and thus that "it is very likely that the Dutch scribe borrowed the text from a lost Middle English version". This, however, must be incorrect - *et siden* is surely a corruption/variant of *Lacn.'s* l. 922 *etsihdon* (and anyway *et* is, of course, Lat. not ME; furthermore, we might expect an ME word to take the form *siden*, not *siden*).

Cf. more generally with *Lacn.'s* opening prose directions an Anglo-Saxon charm from BL MS Cotton Caligula A xv, fol. 136r (ed C vol. III, pp. 288-90) which begins:

> Se engel brohte pis gewrit of heofonum, 7 lede hit on uppan scs petrus weofud on rome ...

See also the references in G (p. 153 n. 6) on beliefs in divine writings sent from heaven.

920-4 : Note the use of alliteration in this passage (particularly on the letters *m, f, and s*) for incantatory effect. Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in *Lacn.* - Entries XXII, XXV, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, CLXIV, and CLXXXIII.
920-4 Ranmigan adonai ... Alleluia: GS explain (as best they can whilst struggling with the corruption and difficulty of these words):

The words *ran migan adonai el* represent fairly the Hebrew "shout, my shield is the Lord God". Then follows Greek *theos mou* = "my God". Then in Latin *the ineffable [name]*. Then some words which cannot be interpreted but suggest Irish. Then something like "Beronice irritas venas quasi dulath fervor; fluxantis sanguinis siccatur sta": "O Veronica, thou irritatest the veins like a burning fever (Hebrew *dalak*). The flood of blood is dried up. Stop." Then more gibberish. Then "Saviour", ending with *Amen* in Greek and *Alleluia*.

However, GS might have supplemented their explication of this passage with the findings of Prof. H. A. Wilson of Harvard University (reported in Magoun [1937a: 32]) on the passages they dismiss as "gibberish". More Hebrew, and now Aramaic⁴⁸, words are suggested:

*mur*, wahrscheinlich für aram. *mar* "Herr".

*Omiginan mid*, wahrscheinlich das Rufwort "O!" mit hebr. *maginenu mide* (vgl. *mida* [l. 921]) "unser Schirmherr gegen die Macht von ...".

*misane ... mida*, wahrscheinlich hebr. *mosi "enu ... mide" unser Retter ... vor der Macht von ...".

*etsihdon segulta*, wahrscheinlich latein. *et "und" und aram. sader lan segulta "und schicke uns ein Heilmittel".

*abar sydone*, wahrscheinlich aram. *aber ... sedin "entferne ... Dämonen".*

Despite GS's statement (see above), I am not aware that any Irish words have been discerned in this incantation.

The reference to Veronica is to the woman cured of the issue of blood by Jesus in the apocryphal *Acta Pilati* and identified with the woman of Matthew 9: 20-2 (see Sims-Williams [1990: 299]). St. Veronica (*beronice*) is also invoked in amulets in *BLch* (140/21-3) (where the name is spelled *Beronice, Beronicen*) and (probably) 140/28-9 (*BPONice⁴⁹*); possibly also in an amulet in *BLch* (138/28-9), and clearly (cf. the immediate

⁴⁸ For an edition of some Aramaic charms from late antiquity see Naveh & Shaked [1985].
⁴⁹ The *P* might be a runic *vynn*. 
context of the BLch 140/21-3 instance) in LchBk3 (348/24), byrnic e beronice. She is also referred to (Beronice) in a charm (or charms) to stop bleeding in the Royal Prayerbook (BL MS Royal 2 A. xx) (ed. Kuypers [1902: 223]); on these and other Lat. blood-charms mentioning Veronica see S (p. 56), Barb [1968; also 1948: 42-3, and n. 4, 5], and Sims-Williams [1990: 299-300]; on an OE translation of an apocryphal gospel familiarly known as the Legend of St. Veronica, which recounts the healing of Veronica's bleeding, see di Paolo Healey [1985: 103-4]).

923 saccula: This is presumably not the Lat. noun sacculus "small bag", but a corruption of s(a)eculum (nom. and acc. pl. s(a)ecula) "generation", "age" (the first e might have been misread as o).

923-4 sother, sother: The word sother is Greek for "saviour".

924 miserere mei Deus: These Lat. words (unidentified by GS) are the first words of Psalm 50: 3 in the Vulgate Bible. The same psalm is to be recited in Entry XXIX, l. 113.

924 mini: This does not appear to make sense. Perhaps it is for abbreviated m' m' (i.e. m(e)i m(e)i), the superscript letters having been misinterpreted as scribal insertions for intended mi mi and the original number of minim strokes having been corrupted; or perhaps it is for mihi. Magoun [1937a: 32] proposes that Deus mini is for Deus domini (domine) (cf. ODEE jiminjy (and Low German jemini) - a perversion of Jesu Domine).

924 AMEN: In MS this is in attempted Greek uncials. Doubtless the scribe knew no Greek.
ENTRIES CLXI, CLXII AND CLXIII

[Although I distinguish three separate charms here, these charms have often been treated as a single unit in the past (see below) and consequently it is convenient to deal with them together here]

PREVIOUS EDITIONS


PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP (EXCLUDING EDITIONS)

1910: Richter
1912: Schlutter
1920b: Holthausen
1932: Chadwick & Chadwick
1937a + b: Magoun
1948: Malone
1951: Holthausen
1953: Magoun
1963: Bonser
1974: Rubin
1980: Niles
1983: Vaughan-Sterling
1984: Fell
1985: Nelson
1989: Meaney
Deegan
1990: Keefer
1991: Smith

G invents the OE title Wif lathyrde "For delayed birth" for these entries which are treated by him together as one unit. S gives the three charms (also treated as one) the invented title Wif mishyrde "Against Miscarriage".
1993: Cameron
1994: Linsell

TRANSLATIONS


SURVEY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The fullest commentaries on these charms are those of S, Sandmann [1975] and Nelson [1985], many of whose observations are considered in the notes to individual lines below. Keefer [1990] discusses the difficult l. 936 Criste, ic sæde, pis gecyped. Bonser [1963], Deegan [1989] and Cameron [1993] discuss the charms in the context of other Anglo-Saxon obstetrical and gynaecological writings. Schlüttter [1912] attempts to explain the words maga þihtan and mete þihtan. Holthausen [1920b; and 1951] and Magoun [1937a and b] suggest a number of (in my view) unnecessary emendations, but also make some useful comments.

The charms' poetic qualities are well received by Malone [1948], Vaughan-Sterling [1983], and Nelson [1985]; Malone (p. 40) affirms that "the verses ... have power and poetry beyond expectation"; C may have been quietly pleased with them ((p. 69 n) "Jingling nonsense loses by translation"); GS are uncharacteristically enthusiastic, calling it (p. 191 n. 3) a "beautiful little compendium of magic".

Critics (who in the main treat these charms as a single entry - see Structure, Integrity and Purpose of the Charms below) have often perceived these charms to be essentially pagan (so especially S, Sandmann, and GS who entitle them "Pagan Rites for Miscarriage"), conveniently dismissing (without much discussion) the references to the church (l. 934), the altar (l. 935), and to Christ (l. 936) as interpolations or clerical alterations. There is no evidence for this, and while we must certainly be aware of the likelihood of religious syncretism and adaptation to changing social pressures, such adaptations are by their very
nature often going to be difficult to isolate. Consequently, unless we have good evidence to
the contrary (and none has so far been adduced) it is perverse and unprofitable not to treat a
text primarily as it stands before us, here (at least in the case of Entry CLXI) as ostensibly
Christian material incorporating either areligious (or degenerate pagan religious) folk rites.
There is nothing exceedingly pagan in these charms - there are no invocations of pagan
gods, barbaric sacrifices, or worshipping of inanimate objects - rather there are private
superstitions (visits to graves, the recitation of rather innocuous verses, the "selling" of bad
luck to traders (paralleled in the undeniably Christian charm For Unfruitful Land (ASPR 6
no. 1)), sympathetic magical ritual at a stream, and the common taboo against looking
backwards); furthermore, it would be naive to maintain that Christianity and minor
superstition do not in practice, if not in the ideals of zealots and law-makers, very frequently
and naturally accomodate each other in peoples' everyday lives without them perceiving any
incongruity.

For a discussion of the nature and role of motherhood in Anglo-Saxon England as
manifest in documentary sources see Smith [1991]. Fell [1984] is a book-length study of all
aspects of women in Anglo-Saxon England. Deegan [1989] is a preliminary survey of the
treatment of pregnancy and childbirth in the Anglo-Saxon medical texts.

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES

No sources for, or substantive analogues to, these charms have been adduced by scholars.
It is possible that some parallels may have been present in the lost chap. lx containing remedies
for women's complaints (wip ... wifa tydernessum) in Bk 2 of BLch, though this book is on
the whole not characterised by the presence of charms. Particularly noteworthy among its
contents might have been the remedies (172/13-16):

Gif wif bearn ne mage geberan, oþpe gif bearn weorpe dead on wifes innope, odde
gif hio cennan ne mage, do on hire gyrdels þas gebedo swa on þisum lacebocum
segþ.
STRUCTURE, INTEGRITY AND PURPOSE OF THE CHARMS

The three remedies here numbered CLXI, CLXII, and CLXIII have traditionally been presented not as separate entries, but as three parts of a single charm (so Wü, who entitles it "Für schwangere frau", G, who invents the title Wiô lëthyrde "For Delayed Birth, ASPR 6 (and Rodrigues [1993]), which also entitles it "For Delayed Birth", S, who entitles it Wiô misbyrde "Against Miscarriage", and Sandmann [1975] who also invents the title Wiô misbyrde ("Gegen Fehlgeburt")). However, Kemble, the charms' first editor, sees three separate remedies and numbers them as such; C treats the first two parts (i.e. Entries CLXI and CLXII) together under one numbered division (his 103), but gives the third (whose beginning falls at the start of a new line in MS, and could there thus be given a rather more prominent initial capital than that of the previous one) a numbered section to itself (104). ASPR 6 (p. cxxxvii) thinks that the three repetitions of Se [wif]man (in my edition the third of these stands without emendation as l. 942 Se man) and the fact that each of these instances of Se has a large capital S suggests "that we have here three originally separate texts ... which were combined into one by the scribe of the Harley manuscript".

GS are confused (and confusing): they give each of the three charms a separate entry number, head them "Pagan Rites for Miscarriage", but also transpose a heading from elsewhere in the MS (l. 892 Gif wif ne maçe bearn beran) to (presumably) form a collective title, and in their notes (p. 188 n. 8) refer (I think) to all three as one charm.

With the exception of Sandmann, no reasoned argument is given by these editors for treating these charms as one integrated unit. Their presentation in MS as one block or paragraph makes it clear that they, like many other remedies in MS, were certainly grouped together as remedies for the same affliction, but since each charm has its own heading and initial capital I see no reason to defy the clear implication of the text. Certainly there are formal similarities between these charms which are not shared with others extant from Anglo-Saxon England, namely the utilisation of a similar structure alternating the ritualised action of prose directions with the ritualised speech of short utterances in rough alliterative verse, and the use in Entries CLXI and CLXIII (but not in CLXII) of groups of three-line alliterative verse. However, these do not prove the case for their integration into a single
integrated unit. Nelson [1985: 3], while admitting that the appearance of the MS suggests that "the scribe received the poem as three separate charms", affirms that "since the various meanings for afedan suggest closely related objectives that can be considered parts of an extended process (afedan has been translated "nourish a child in the womb," "bring a child to full term," and "nurse a child") I will interpret the charm as a single poem". However, the perception of such a progressive chronology is highly speculative and somewhat forced as I will now show.

The precise purpose of the charms has been thought the source of some difficulty, due partly to the ambiguity of the verb afedan ("to nurture, rear, nourish, feed, suckle") in the heading of each entry. Clearly the charms are not solely "For Delayed Birth" (l. 927 leæthyrde; but possibly, if leæt- means "slow-", not even for that) as the titles of G and ASPR propose, nor simply "For Miscarriage" (so S)\(^{301}\). The first charm is also (perhaps) to aid conception since the words 7 ponne het wif seo mid bearne l. 930 indicate that prior to the workings of the charm the woman was not pregnant, and it is certainly to prevent a blue-baby or still-birth (swærtbyrde l. 928) and the birth of a mal-formed baby (l. 929 lambyrde); once the baby kicks the charm is also to ensure a living baby not a dead (or possibly a "killing") one (l. 932 mid cwican cilde, nales mid cwe[l]endum), one that will be brought to full-term, not doomed by premature delivery (l. 933 mid fulborenum, nales mid feægan); furthermore, it is therefore not, as GS believe, necessarily only to ensure the nourishment of the foetus in the womb.

The specific physiological difficulty (I doubt, in fact, that there is one) against which the second charm avails is not stipulated, so to affirm that it is specifically "to bring a child to full time" (so Nelson [1985], following Bonser), or to assert that it is to be employed shortly before the birth itself (so Sandmann), is mere guesswork. Nelson does not address the fact that miscarriage has already been dealt with in the previous charm (l. 933 mid fulborenum, nales mid feægan) - a point which sheds doubt upon the perception of these charms as a single unit of chronologically sequential rites to ensure in the first section the nourishment of

\(^{301}\) Cf. Keefer [1990: 71]: "This charm is perhaps misnamed, because it deals, not with delayed birth as such, but with the inability of the wifman for whom it is written to conceive at all, or to bring a child to term without miscarriage".
the foetus, in the second the prevention of miscarriage or establishment of favourable
preconditions for the birth, and in the third the milk-supply for the new-born infant.

The third charm is very probably to ensure that the mother can breast-feed her new-born
child (though it is not impossible that it might be to ensure that the foetus is nourished). The
use of l. 942 ponne might be thought to indicate temporal sequence following on from the
previous entry, but this is doubtful (see n. thereto).

Those who believe that these three charms were conceived as a chronologically
consecutive and integrated unit must explain why each one is given effectively the same title,
and why the only clear linked temporal sequence (from before pregnancy to the baby's
movement in the womb) is found within one charm (Entry CLXI).

**METRE**

There has been disagreement about which lines should be classified as verse in these
927-9 or 946-8; C also recognises ll. 927-9 as verse; Wū also presents these last lines 946-8
as verse. Line 936 was first clearly arranged as verse by ASPR 6.

Lines 925-9 are presented as three lines of verse by ASPR 6 with the mid-line caesura
after bote in each line. Such an arrangement, though it lacks cross-caesural alliteration and
has double alliteration in the b-verses, does seem to reflect the MS spacing, and so I adopt
it too.

Subsequent lines are perhaps more convincing as alliterative OE verse, though light
a-types are not permitted in the b-verse in *Beowulf* and type 1A normally has double
alliteration in the a-verse.

---

The same such spacing is found in MS in the analogous ll. 784-5, but there it appears not to mark the mid-line caesura.
SCANSION

[Utilises the classificatory system of Bliss]

Lines 931-3:

Up ic gonge, ofer ye steppe
mid cwican cilde, nalaes mid cweleendum,
mid fulborenum, nalaes mid fægan.

1A1a(i) and 1A1a(i)503.
2Cl1504 and a1c.
d2a505 and a1c.

Line 936:

Criste, ic sæde, jis gecyed.

1A*1a(i)506 and a1b.

Lines 940-1:

Ic hit bebicge, ge hit bebicgan,
has sweartan wulfe 7 pysse sorge corn.

alc and a1c.

Lines 946-8:

Gehwerferde ic me bone mearan moga pihtan.
Mid pysse mearan mete pihtan
jo[n]e ic me wille habban 7 ham gan.

a1(2A1a)507 and 3B1c(i).

925 Se wifman se hire cild afedan ne mæg : GS transpose the words (L. 892) Gif wif ne mæge bearn beran from Entry CLVII to precede this heading, apparently as a collective title for this associated group of remedies for childbirth. Since each of the Entries CLXI, CLXII, and CLXIII already has a heading this would appear to be a drastic and unwarranted

---

503 Pender [1969] scans as a1c, but I see the stress as being on the woman going up and ofer - and it is these words that bear the alliteration.
504 Pender's a1a(2A1a) does not resolve the stress on cwican.
505 Pender's d2a is also possible, syncopating the e- in pronunciation.
506 Pender's 2A1a(i) appears to elide the e- in Criste before ic. This is debatable.
507 Pender scans as +2A1a(i), but Bliss does not allow an ansicrus in this type.
508 Pender scans as a1g.
509 Pender reads poner ic me wille habban (so MS) and scans as a1e.
510 This assumes (following Richter [1910: 36]) that the metre here requires the earlier uncontracted form of the verb -gdan. Cf. BeowulfII. 386b but in gan and 1644a Do com in gan. This may not be a safe assumption since in some late OE poems verses ending in two consecutive stresses are found.
511 Pender's scansion a2a is unorthodox - displaced gan ought rather to bear a full stress; furthermore there is no such type in Beowulf.
editorial decision, even if convincing reasons had not subsequently been found for maintaining the transposed words in their MS position (see Commentary to Entry CLVI).

925 *Se wifman se hire cild*: These words (similarly l. 937 *Se wifmon se hyre bearn*) pass from masc. grammatical gender in the first noun (*Se ... se*) to fem. natural gender in the possessive pronoun (*hire*). Cf. *OES* §69(a).

925 *cild*: In the the headings of Entries CLXII and CLXIII (ll. 937, 942) the word found is *bearn*, which is presumably a synonym there.

925 *afedan*: Also *afedan* in ll. 937 and 942. The definition of this word has been a source of some difficulty (cf. Cameron [1993: 181]). Mitchell [1995: 304 n.] (cf. BTS *afedan*) defines at least the first of these three instances as "to bring forth/produce/give birth to", though these senses are rejected by BTC. I would translate the first two instances of *afedan* as "to nurture/rear" (cf. BTC *afedan*); the third instance (see n. to l. 942) may well mean "to feed, (?)suckle".

925 *gewitenes mannes birgenne*: "A departed (i.e. dead) person's grave". This is the obvious meaning, G's "grave of a wise man" being implausible.

511 The *man* is not necessarily male, but the analogy with the woman's similar stepping over her husband in l. 931 may suggest that this is the case. Cf. notes to *man* l. 942.

Despite the apparently ready sense of these words, Sandmann [1975: 108] adopts a double emendation: he would read (gange to) *gewittes mannes birgenne* "gehe zu eines weisen Mannes Birkenzweig". His reasons for emendation are firstly (p. 99) the supposed pleonasm of the words "dead man's grave", and secondly the observation that, on the basis of later folklore, the action of a pregnant woman stepping over a grave might be thought highly dangerous and to produce quite the opposite effect of the one intended (pp. 98-9):

Im deutschen Aberglauben heißt es zum Beispiel "Geht eine schwangere über ein grab, so stirbt ihr kind" oder "Die Schwangere darf nicht über ein Grab oder auf den Kirchhof gehen; sonst stirbt ihr Kind oder wird ein schlafendes Kind" oder "Die Frucht kommt tot zur Welt, wenn die Schwangere auf dem Friedhof ein Grab betritt." Das gleiche gilt für den englischen Aberglauben: "The minister of Meigle parish ... informed us ... that if a young woman should walk over the grave of Vanora [the British Helena], she should entail on herself perpetual sterility." 512

Furthermore, Sandmann notes that according to some popular beliefs the stepping of a woman over a stick, particularly a birch stick such as a broom, would produce a pregnancy, e.g.:

"... in England women are often warned not to step over brooms or broom-handles, and are threatened with an undesired conception as a penalty if they step over one of the latter."

The instances of peril to such women who step over graves would, were it not for the quite unambiguous meaning of the OE text, render it seemingly unlikely that such a conflicting belief should have existed in Anglo-Saxon England. As it stands the text must be thought remarkable, but not necessarily thereby suspicious. It is straining credibility too far to suppose that both gewitenes and byrgenne should be errors, especially when grave-rites (albeit of a different nature) are to be practised in the following and associated remedy (ll. 937-8 genime heo sylf hyre agenes cildes gebyrgenne dat). Nor is it perhaps to be expected that a direction to go somewhere (gange to) should direct one to an unlocalised branch belonging to a man rather than to a topographical or other stationary feature. Furthermore, Sandmann's emendations gewittes and bircenne do not convince: OE gewittes would mean "of intelligence" (not "wise") and we expect an adj. in context; OE bircen seems to be attested only (as expected) as an adj. (though BTC does give *bircen as a place-name element meaning "birch-copse", and Sandmann (pp. 99-100) would support the possibility of a substantival reading of OE bircen by reference to Olcel hjarkan "Birkenzweig" and OHG 512 See also the instances of such British beliefs given in Opie & Tatem [1989: 181 "GRAVE, pregnant woman treads on."], e.g. this Welsh instance: "A woman who is about to become a mother .. must not walk or step over a grave. If she does so, her child will die".
pirichin "die birkene Rute"). Finally, it may be noted that there are instances attested in English folklore of rites involving the walking around, the crawling over, or the bestraddling of a grave to remedial effect: to cure ailments such as boils, toothache, and incontinence (though not it seems of infertility or other problems of motherhood; see Opie & Tatem [1989: 180 "GRAVE cures" (citing these Lacn. charms), "Grave cures incontinence")].

926 steppe bonne ofer ha byrgenne priwa: This action seems to be paralleled subsequently by that of the woman over her husband (though the latter is not said to be done thrice), where the action is suggested by the woman's words (l. 931 Up ic gonge, ofer he steppe) - see n. to l. 930.

It is debatable here whether this action is intended to signify the woman's conquering or defiance of death (so S (p. 199) and Nelson [1985: 3]), or whether (so GS p. 191 n. 1) she is burying her misfortune in the earth - "a common folk practice" apparently. I think the former interpretation is more likely513.

926 cwefre onne riwa 1bas' word: Depending on how fronne ("then") is to be interpreted here, it may well be the case that the following poem is to be recited once during each of the woman's steps over the grave, rather than afterwards.

927 Pis me to bote: The idiom "this for me as a remedy" has already been encountered in Lacn. II. 784-5 Pis de to bote (and see n. thereto for OHG instances). Perhaps the subj. of the verb "to be" (cf. l. 881 Pis he lib be (with be for subj. beo possibly)) is to be understood, whence the sense "May this be a remedy for me" (and so Mitchell [1995: 304 n.] would understand sie).

513 Opie & Tatem [1989: 377] cite some British instances (mostly modern) of superstitions connected with "stepping over" people in which the action is believed to restrict the physical growth of the person stepped over. If the action of the Anglo-Saxon woman in stepping over the grave was intended to prevent the power of death from continuing to afflict her child-rearing in the future, then her action might perhaps be considered basically analogous to such modern superstitions.
927-9 *pis me to bote ... ðære laðan lambyrde*: As Nelson [1985: 3] observes, "[s]yntactic symmetry, underscored by repeated consonants and vowels, binds the words together" - for details see her article.

The textual lay-out here is moot - see Metre. Cf. too the similar tripartite grouping of *Læcn*. Entry CXXVII b, ll. 784-5 where, however, the similar formulas appear to form alliterating half-lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pis de to bote esa gescotes,} & \quad \text{dis de to bote ylfa gescotes,} \\
\text{dis de to bote hægtesan gescotes;} & \quad \text{ic dîn wille helpan.}
\end{align*}
\]

Magoun [1937b: 5] would transpose, on unconvincingly speculative metrical grounds, *pis me to bote ðære swæræn swærbyrde* to follow *pis me to bote ðære laðan lambyrde*. But the speech is probably crafted as it stands, the enclosing pair of lines with *l* alliteration being aesthetically pleasing. Furthermore, it is conceivable that, as Vaughan-Sterling [1983: 199] suggests, the most horrible possibility (l. 928 ðære laðan lambyrde) is deliberately put off until last.

927-9 *læðbyrde ... swærbyrde ... lambyrde*: These three words are *hapax legomena*. *Læðbyrde* means either "slow-" (Magoun [1937a: 33]) or "late- birth". *Swærbyrde* means literally "black/dark-birth" and may denote the discolouration of a "blue-baby" (according to Magoun [1937a: 33] this is sometimes due to a congenital heart defect, and doubtless the child was usually doomed to death, if not already dead), or (less probably perhaps in view of the specificity of the surrounding words *læðbyrde* and *lambyrde*) "evil-birth" or (so BTS and CH) "dismal-birth". Perhaps both meanings were simultaneously active. ASPR 6 (p. 214) thinks that the "simple emendation to *swærbyrde*, "difficult birth," gives much better sense", but the resulting *swæræn swærbyrde* may be thought a disappointing tautology (Holthausen [1951: 100] also thinks it "verdächtig", but his suggestion *saran* "painful", is also unnecessary). I am convinced by the MS reading*. *Lambyrde* means "lame-birth", denoting some form of physical handicap or malformation in the baby*.36

---

34 See also remarks on l. 932 cwef/endum below.
35 CH has entries for both *swærbyrde* and (queried) *swærbyrde*.
36 Keefer [1990: 79 n. 8] remarks that "the presence of other "black" and "white" colour-words in the charm perhaps argues for the original emendation of *sweart*".
Mitchell [1995: 218, and fig. 36] thinks that "the skeletons of a mother and her undelivered babe from a sixth- or seventh-century grave at Worthy Park, Hampshire, are a grim commentary on the efficacy of this charm".

930-1 *heo to hyre hlaforde on reste ga ... "Up ic gonge, ofer he steppe ... ": This procedure appears to parallel the woman's immediately preceding actions in ll. 925-9: first she went to a dead person (but not certainly male) lying in the grave, stepped over him thrice, and thrice recited three lines of verse, now she goes to her husband lying *on reste* ("in bed" - but might it also be thought "in rest" - i.e. lying asleep in the likeness of a dead man?515), and steps over him while reciting three lines of verse. The rationale behind this sympathetic magical ritual is, however, arcane.


932-3 *mid cwican cilde, nales mid cwe[l]endum, mid fulborenum, nales mid faegan*: As Nelson [1985: 4] observes:

once again a phonetic pattern underscores meaning, similarity of sound now drawing attention to difference in meaning .... the listener who may expect that similar meanings will go with similar sounds is struck by the difference when they do not, and his surprise emphasizes the unexpected difference.

Vaughan-Sterling [1983: 198-9] includes this passage among her examples of the use of antithesis and incremental patterning in the OE metrical charms.

---

515 Depending on the baby's social status, the nature and extent of its deformity, and its subsequent talents, physical handicap was not necessarily always disastrous - Hawkes [1989: 2] observes that: recent work on Anglo-Saxon skeletons from pagan cemeteries is making it increasingly clear that this was a society that valued its children and kept them alive even when grossly handicapped. There are known cases of severe *spina bifida*, for example, and even a case of a congenitally deformed man, born with only one arm, who was yet allowed to live out what was then a not abnormally short life-span of about thirty years ... Evidence such as this suggests that there was a place even in pagan Anglo-Saxon society for the physically handicapped. ... clearly for the physically handicapped child of good birth who was intelligent and otherwise talented there must have been alternative career-prospects in the arts. ... opportunities must have increased dramatically with the coming of Christianity, when there was both a proliferation of sheltered accommodation in monasteries and a greatly increased range of quiet skills to be practised...

519 The likeness of sleep to death is a universal commonplace. It finds frequent expression in OE, being encapsulated for example in the verb *swefan* (see BT) and in the word *rest* "resting-place, grave" (CH).

520 (p. 4) "When the woman with child prepares to "go to rest" with her husband".
932 *cwellendum*: "A dying (one)". If, as I (and others) think, the pairings in ll. 932-3 are antithetical pairings (see previous n.), then we might expect "dying" as the antithesis of "living" (l. 932 *cwican*), in which case MS *cwellendum* ("killing") seems to need emendation to *cwellendum* ("dying"). The mistake would be an easy one for a scribe to make. However, this is not certain: Mitchell [1995: 304] retains the MS reading in the sense "killing", and refers in support of this to the last line of an OE text on the formation of the foetus in BL MS Cotton Tiberius A iii, fol. 38v (ed. C vol. III p. 146):

> On þam teohan monpe þæt wif ne gedigð hyre seore gif þæt bearn accenneð ne bið, for þam þe hit in þam maganwyrd hit tofeorhade, ofést on tiwes niht.

If MS *cwellendum* ("killing") is accepted then the possibility that the loathsome *laethyrde* (l. 927) is not "slow birth" but "late birth" would be reinforced.

933 *fulborenum*: Lit. "full-carried", i.e. "brought to full term", not miscarried. One other instance of this word with reference to pregnancy in the OE translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care* is apposite here, bearing additional testimony to the fate of premature (fægan) babies in early medieval Europe (ed. Sweet [1871: 383]):

> Eac [hi] sint to manigenne &t hi geóencen ôcette ôa wifoe ôa geeacnodan bearn cennað de ðonne git fulborene ne biod, ne fyllað hie no mid ðæm hus ac byrgenna.

934 *ponne seo modor gefele þæt þæt bearn si cwic*: This is clearly a reference to the baby "kicking" in the womb.

934 *ga ponne to cyrican*: Sandmann [1975: 110], believing this rite to be fundamentally pagan, replaces *cyrican* with *hearge* "heidnischer Götterhain, Tempel". This is completely unjustified. Churches, priests, ecclesiastical paraphernalia, and prayers are, of course, referred to often in *Lacn.*, *BLch.* and *LchBk3*.

936 *Criste, ic sade, pis gecyped*: Possibly translate "By/to Christ, I have said, this is manifested", "By Christ" here expressing agency rather than casual blasphemy, and "To
Christ" being the preference of OES §3997. This is a difficult line to interpret (and so to punctuate), for why should the woman saying the words declare that she has already spoken (sæde = past tense), and to what is she referring? (I can see no way short of considerable emendation, to take sæde as an oblique case of the noun sēd "seed, offspring").

The uncertainty over the interpretation of Criste is made worse by the possibility that it might not be an OE word at all, but rather the Lat. voc. of Cristus, indicative, as its syntactic position at the start of the statement, as well as the context of the woman being before the church altar, might support, of direct address - "O Christ!".

Gecyed is also problematic - it might refer to the pregnancy having been verbally declared to Christ by the woman in church, or to her acknowledgement of its having been made corporeally manifest by Christ. Furthermore, some part of the verb "to be" probably has to be understood (Mitchell suggests [1995: 304 n. 14] is "To Christ this is known" or sē "May this be known to Christ" (see also OES §3997)).

If sæde were a mistake for present tense sægō, the line would then make easy sense either as an affirmation of faith ("By Christ I say this has been made manifest") or as a dedication ("To Christ I say this has been declared"), but the assumption of such corruption here is too speculative to convince.

Keefer [1990] devotes an avowedly speculative article to this line, but, despite asserting that (p. 74) "[i]n all probability, the line is corrupt in its grammatical and syntactical construction", she confidently asserts that it is "clearly" an "exhortation to thanksgiving". While this is a possibility, it is by no means clear, and it could just as easily be a dedication of the unborn child to Christ. Keefer (p. 76) wonders whether this section of the charm: did not once include reference to a form of the Magnificat, taken from Luke's account of the Visitation, when within the once-barren womb of Elisabeth, "exultavit infans in utero eius", the unborn John the Baptist leaped at the presence of his Lord: "by" or "for Christ", Criste.

She suggests that "[t]his then is how the charm section might once have been set down to read: "Through Christ I have spoken, this is made known" ... "Criste", at the head of the
formula, would govern both the *wifman's* "saying" ... and the manifestation of her pregnancy".

Other treatments are not very satisfactory, e.g. Rodrigues [1993: 147] translates as "Christ, I said, made this known!", but this is not likely - *Criste* is not nom. and the pa. ptc. *geçyped* means "made known, manifested" not "(he) made known"; Sandmann [1975: 104-5, 110-11] emends *Criste* to *cyning* "king" for no reason other than the wish to see paganism - the latter word he thinks is a reference to an extremely obscure (if indeed not wholly illusory⁵⁹⁶) pagan Germanic god Hagal; he renders *cyning* here as "Erzeuger".

This line is thought to be a Christian interpolation into otherwise pagan rituals by a number of critics (e.g. S (p. 200) who proposes that the "original directions" may have entailed giving thanks to some pagan god, such as the fertility god *Frey*). The case is not argued as such, merely asserted. Such speculation is not limited to earlier critics, but continues to be entertained by scholars such as Sandmann [1975] and Keefer [1990]. Keefer seems to be surprised at the (unproven!) use of the *Magnificat* in such a context - "we should be turning our attention more closely to the question of monastic influence on Old English "pagan" verse" - but since the vast majority of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts were produced in monasteries, since even a cursory glance at *Lacn.* reveals the widespread use of Christian prayers, since it may be doubted that there is any unalloyed "pagan" verse (Keefer's inverted commas seem to recognise as much) in *Lacn.* (though ll. 650-8 might well be an exception), since most of *Lacn.* is full of medicinal remedies for which the Benedictine Rule gave monasteries a brief, and since monasteries were prime centres of learning, some monastic connection (we do not know of what kind or degree) would not be surprising.

937-8 *genime heo sylf hyre agenes cildes gebyrgeonne dæl* : Cf. the direction in Entry CLXI to visit a dead man's grave. Note that the words *sylf* and *agens* allow no compromise with regard to the manner in which the *dæl* is obtained - the mother must take charge of her own grief and misfortune.

⁵⁹⁶There is no reference to a god Hagal in Turville-Petre [1964] or Simek [1993].
As Mitchell [1995: 304 footnote] observes, these lines are an "unintended reflection on the dangers of pregnancy and on infant mortality in those days".

938 gebyrgenne: Although byrgen is otherwise attested, the prefixed word gebyrgen(n) is found elsewhere only in a gloss: tinipa: gebyrgen (WW I, col. 277, l. 7), in which according to BTC (which would not make a material distinction gebyrgen and byrgen) and DOE, the lemma is corrupt and should read tumba (i.e. "tomb, sepulchral mound"). Magoun [1937a: 33] and [1953: 209] (noting AEW byrgen 2. "Netz") (and so queried by CH) thinks it could mean "caul" "amnion", but l. 941 corn "grains" suggests visitation to an earthy grave.

Another suggestion (reported by DOE) - unnecessary and lacking support in my view - is that this word be taken as referring to an infant's swaddling cloths (cf. EDD "barrow" sb. 5).

938 [w]ry: MS pry is doubtless an elementary scribal error - misreading of the letter "wynn" for a b. Sandmann [1975: 94, 110] keeps pry and translates "schlage", but does not explain the basis for this (presumably he believes it to be the verb prean (preon) "afflict", "oppress", but this does not make sense contextually).

938 [w]ry ... on blace wulle 7 bebiege to cepemannum: As Niles [1980: 52-3] explains with regard to the trading of bad seed (cf. l. 941 corn "grains", (?)"seed") with beggars in the Charm for Unfruitful Land (ASPR 6 no. 1 ll. 45-6 nime man uncib saed at eimesmannum and selle him twa swyle, sweyle man at him nime) and the present charm:

The logic of the trade is that of symbolic transference of bad luck from one party to another. Magic by transference is a commonplace of folk belief from early times ....

Because the chapman has bought the wool, symbolically he has "bought" the bad luck as well.

See also more generally on such practices - including the surreptitious concealment of an item of bad luck within another which is then passed on to somebody else - Hand [1965].
For some early eleventh-century German grave rites concerning dead infants, possibly of a not entirely dissimilar folk-pagan nature to this and the preceding charm, see the Corrector of Burchard of Worms (trans. McNeill & Gamer [1938: 339-40 (nos. 180-5)]).

938 blace wulle: The colour symbolism is obvious here, black being the colour of death and mourning. It may or may not be unjustifiably cynical to suggest that black wool might also have been chosen to better conceal the dark earth it contains from the traders, though the mention to them of pysse sorge corn (l. 941) could be thought to invalidate this possibility (but corn might be understood more abstractly as "source" - see n. to l. 942). Alternatively, perhaps black wool was simply especially prized and so easy to sell.

940 Ic hit bebicge, ge hit bebicgan: This neatly balanced line "I sell it, you sell it!" is mistranslated by C (p. 69) (and so G (p. 209)) as "I sell it or have it sold". The syntax of the line is discussed in OES §§894, 909, 3981, the last of which also rejects C's rendering in favour of the translation "I sell/am selling it, you sell it!".

941 pysse sorge corn: This seems to mean "grains (or metaphorically "seed(s)") of this sorrow", referring to the del of the child's grave wrapped within the wool. However, DOE takes corn figuratively here, in the sense "source" or "cause". Possibly more than one of these senses is active at the same time here.

Magoun [1953: 20921] (and earlier [1937a: 34]) considers sorge corn "an unusual expression" and prefers to assume "an easily understandable scribal misreading of sorge cearu (for ceare) "sorrowful anxiety" in support of which one might instance Nes him sorg-cearu of Guplac 966b and the adj. sorg-cearig, very common in the poetry". I am not persuaded by this. Sandmann [1975: 106] thinks that pysse sorge corn is a "Kenning für das gestorbene Kind", but again I doubt it.

31 Magoun also records a suggestion of Max Förster that corn might here mean "core", "essence", "main part of", cf. German Kern vs. Korn.
942 Se man se [n]e mæge bearn afdan: The parallel headings in ll. 925 and 937 both have the possessive hire/hyre before cil. Perhaps hyre (or his) has dropped out here before bearn. Alternatively the difference could be explained as an oral variant.

942 man: Despite the headings of Entries CLXI and CLXII which have wifman/wifmon there is no need to emend the present form (as is often done), since man is not grammatically gender specific in OE (and it would be a damaging emendation if man in Entry CLXIV I. 953 refers back to here). There is a good parallel in OEHerb (122/10-12) (the readings man, hyne and he are found in all MSS, yet Smith [1991: 111], who translates these forms as "man", "himself", and "he", thinks that their use "is perhaps indicative only of a lack of interest or a lapse in attention from the scribe"):

\[\text{Wid \textit{het} wifmen earfulice cennen genim \textit{has wyrte he} we pastinacam situaticam nemdun, seo\d on waiere, syle bonne \textit{het se man hyne per(m)id be(i)ge, he bid} gehael.}\]

942 se [n]e mæge: MS \textit{he} is understandable as a simple scribal error over the relative construction, but Kemble's emendation \textit{se he \textit{[n]e} mæge} is also possible. It seems to me highly unlikely that these words should stand unemended, but Abernethy [1983] thinks they might make sense if \textit{mæge} could be taken as a subj. indicating a condition that will obtain in the future if the rituals described were performed. The fact that the heading of this section (MS \textit{Se man se be mæge bearn afdan}) differs in more than this one detail from the preceding (and very similar) headings of CLXI and CLXII is noteworthy, but I see no alternative to emendation so as to correspond to them, and an affliction rather than a positive condition is to expected in headings in OE remedies. Sandmann [1975: 110-11] - again unconvincingly in my view - also keeps the MS reading, believing that a positive sense is justifiable since this remedy is (as he sees it) a continuation of the two previous ones which were designed to ensure successful childbirth - now that the woman is able to bear a child the problem this remedy addresses is that of providing good food for the infant.
942 *afedan* : This instance of *afedan* may well mean specifically "suckle, nurse" (a sense attested - though not for this instance - by *DOE afedan* 1.a.i.).

942-4 *nim ponne* ... 7 *forswelge* : Linsell [1994: 124] would explain the rationale behind the mother's actions thus:

> When she takes the milk into her mouth, the harmful spirit within her, which had previously entered her child through her milk, enters the cows [sic] milk and is spat out into a running stream which carries it far away. The drink of running water has a purifying effect which destroys any remaining trace of the spirit.

I suggest that the cow's milk, when ingested or held in the woman's mouth, represents her own failed milk supply; she, wanting to be rid of this, expels it into the running water to be carried away, and then drinks the purificatory water in the belief that in so doing she will ensure a good milk supply for her child. For other instances of the use of running water in *OE* medicine see n. to ll. 108-9.

942 *ponne* : This word is not necessarily an indication of a temporal connection between this entry and the preceding one, but may be merely contingent upon the immediately preceding state of affliction in this entry - cf. e.g. *OE* *Herb* (40/20) *Wið wunda hatunge nim ponne wegbreadan ā on wyrt*, and (40/23-4) *Gif manus none on syre tydrien genu nim ponne wegbreadan da wyrt*.

942 *nime ponne anes bleos cu meoluc* : *Milk at anes heowe[es] cy, þæt heo sy eall reod odde hwit 7 ummaele* is also required for *Lacn*. Entry LXIII ll. 245-6 (see further n. thereto).

Keefer [1990: 79 n. 10] refers to German Blass "white" to justify her translation of *anes bleos* as "of white", but, however much she may wish the cow to be *explicitly* white for the purpose of sympathetic correspondence with the colour of milk, this is hardly tenable: *OE bleo* does not mean "white". From instances of the word cited in *BT bleoh* (note especially the glosses *color: bleoh* (immediately followed by *albus: hwit*) and *unicolor: anes bleos*) it is apparent that the word here means "colour". And since a cow of one colour might well be
white (or brown, or black) I see no reason to force such an unparalleled and unnecessary meaning onto bleo.

Magoun [1953: 209] thinks "the issue would seem to hinge not on the rarity in Anglo-Saxon England ... of cows of one color, but rather on some undesirable quality felt to be latent in ringstraked, speckled, or spotted cattle; cp. the dealings between Jacob and Laban in Gen. xxx.-xxxii passim".

943 gesupe mid hyre mufe : It is not clear whether the milk is actually swallowed (as Mitchell [1995: see Glossary under gesupe] thinks) or merely sucked up and held in the mouth; perhaps the use of forswelge "let her swallow" with regard to water in l. 944 implies a contrast with the latter action.

943 spiwe : Depending on whether or not the milk is swallowed, this verb may mean either "spew, vomit" or "spit" - both these meanings for spiwen are otherwise attested in OE. For other instances of spitting in OE medicine (albeit not all for the same purpose) see S (pp. 61-2).

946-8 Gehwer ferde ic ... 7 ham gan : Despite many attempts these lines have not (I think) been satisfactorily interpreted by previous editors and commentators. The text's most recent editor simply "gave up" on them (Mitchell [1995: 304-5]), concluding that "[n]one of the attempts to emend the passage carries conviction. Obviously something is seriously wrong". However, while I do not accept any previous interpretation in its entirety, and while the lines are not easy, I do not think there need be anything "seriously wrong"; they are certainly not so obscure as to warrant the label "gibberish" (C p. 69 (in margin)). The difficulty lies primarily in how we understand the MS readings ferde, maga, jihtan (twice), pysse, mete, and bonne.

Since OE feran seems to lack (see BTS) the causative sense "to carry, bring" which I (and other editors) believe is required here, I tentatively take the verb to be ferian (though

[^20]: See BTS feran which, after attesting cognate forms in other Germanic languages, remarks that "[a]ll these, though agreeing in form, are used with a causative force to carry, bring".
perhaps the ge- prefix of geferan "to bring" (BTS geferan III) has simply dropped out by haplography after gehwer) - see Language 5.x.d. However, if l. 946 pihtan is to be interpreted as a verbal infin. (see below), the possibility then exists that ferde is after all the straightforward 1 sg. pret. ind. of feran "to go".

L. 946 maga is to be interpreted as acc. sg. of the str. masc. noun magu "son" (see Glossary under maga) with -a for -u (cf. e.g. l. 957 subernewuđa)

L. 946 pihtan is to be interpreted, not as the second element in an otherwise unattested compound noun magapihtan, but either as wk. acc. sg. masc. of an adj. piht meaning "strong, solid, firm", or, perhaps less likely, as a transitive verbal infin. meaning "to strengthen". Piht (see BT piht; AEW ñiht; OED "thight"; StratBrad þiht; EDD "theat"; cognates and developments in Olcel þetr, MHG dichte, ME tiht, English "tight") seems to be otherwise attested in OE only in the word pihtan of the following line, but it may well be related to OE ìhtig "strong" (so also undyhtig "weak"), or to the prefixed word geþyht (Riming Poem 1.18 geþyhte, "pleasing", if this form is not as some editors believe, a mistake for þyhtig (see Muir [1994 vol. II: 546-7]; Klinck [1992: 147-8])). Cf. the Promptorium Parvulorum (ed. Mayhew [1908]) 479 Thyght, hoole, not brokyn: Integer and Thyght, not hoole withyn: Solidus. For the possibility of pihtan as a verb cf. the Promptorium Parvulorum (ed. Mayhew [1908]) 499: Thytyyn, or make thyte: Integro ... Solido ... Consolido (and see OED "thight" 2, 5).

This line is to be translated either "Everywhere I have carried the glorious, strong son", or "I have gone everywhere to strengthen the glorious son".

---

323 Nelson [1985: 5, 8] also thinks mægo means "son".
324 Some previous interpretations of mægo as simplex: G (p. 208) apparently takes it as a wk. acc. sg. masc. adj. meaning "strong" (but unless he thinks it is a North. form this should be mægan); Holthausen [1920b: 119] suggests it is gen. pl. of mægo "son", "male kinman"; ASPR 6 (p. 214) does not commit itself, nor does Mitchell [1995: Glossary under mægo]; S (p. 198) seems to take it as an adj. meaning "powerful" (cf. G); Stuart [1974: 760] emends mægan and (p. 761) translates þone mæran mægan þihtan as "this great powerful strong one".
325 So (apparently) C (p. 69) "kindred doughty one"; BTS and CH mag apis "Strong of stomath"; GS (p. 191) translate "stomach-sturdy one"; Sandmann [1975: 107] thinks magapis is a "(wahnscheinlich magische) Bezeichnung für Milch"; as an alternative he suggests (p. 107 n. 26) "Sohnesmilch" (mit mægan Gen.Sg.: mægo mu. "Sohn"). See also ODEE "tight".
326 If the present treatment is correct OED is mistaken in its belief that "thight" is not attested in the earlier stage of any West Germanic language.
327 Previous treatments of þihtan as a simplex: Schütter [1912: 69-70] would derive a noun þiht from þeow ("to thrive, prosper, grow"), as siht from seo, þiht from þeow, and tiht from niht; Holthausen [1920b: 119] remarks "Scheidet es etwa für þihtan = þyhtan, zu þyhtig "strong"?"; Stuart [1974: 764] takes þihtan to be a weak noun derived from the adj. þyhting "strong".
L. 947 *hysse* "this" is to be interpreted as instr. sg. masc. (possibly an Anglian (North.) form).

L. 947 *pihtan* (cf. l. 946 *pihtan*) is also to be interpreted, not as the second element in an otherwise unattested compound noun *mete-pihtan*, but either as wk. dat. sg. masc. of an adj. *piht* "strong, solid, firm", or (less likely here I think), as a verbal infin. meaning "to strengthen".

L. 947 *mete* is simply the dat. sg. noun meaning "food".

This line may be translated "By means of this glorious, strong food"; or possibly this line follows on without break from the preceding one, whence "I have travelled everywhere to strengthen the glorious son with this glorious, strong food" or "I have travelled everywhere to strengthen the glorious son, to strengthen (him) with this glorious food".

MS pon(ne) I emend to 1. 948 *pof[ne]* (see n. thereto below). This provides a direct object for the line ("that one", "him"), and otherwise ponne ("when" or "then") does not seem to make good sense. This line ("I will keep him and go home") seems to follow on without break from the preceding one.

The poem as a whole, then, may be rendered:

"I have carried the glorious, strong son everywhere.

By means of this glorious, strong food

I will keep him and go home."

or perhaps:

"I have gone everywhere (or "in all directions") to strengthen the glorious son,

To strengthen (him) by means of this glorious food.

I want to (or will) keep him (or "it") and go home."

However, with regard to the latter rendering, it might be objected that the mother has not travelled *everywhere* to strengthen her child, for the prose directions tell us that for this

---

32 Schlüter [1912: 69 n. 3] remarks, "ich vermute *hysse* [with a bar above the last s - not in MS] = *hysse*, denn *pihta* ist masc.;" Holthausen [1920b: 119] remarks, "scheint *hysse* = *hyssum* zu sein".

33 So (apparently) C (p. 69) "meat doughty one"; GS (p. 191) "robust one"; BTS *mete-piht* "strong from taking food (7)"; CH *mete-piht* "well-nourished"; Sandmann [1975: 107] thinks "*mete-pihta* bedeutet Speisemilch". He translates Il. 946-7 as "Von allenhalben führte ich mir diese berühmte Frauenmilch zu, vermittels dieser berühmten Speisemilch". See also ODIEE "Night".

34 Note that Mitchell [1995: 305] mistakenly marks the -e- in *mete* as long (but still interprets the word as meaning "food").
purpose she has merely had to go once to running water (l. 943 yrnendum waṭere), for which an extended search was presumably not required.

946 ic me āpone : GS (p. 190 n. 9) take me as a possessive dat. referring to the baby in the womb, but I take it to be a pleonastic reflexive dat. ("I (myself")). Others (e.g. S) have thought it to be a dat. of accompaniment ("with me"). I take l. 948 ic me also as a pleonastic reflexive dat.

Cf. the parallel to these words in the third line of the verse: l. 948 po[ne] ic me.

946 maeran maga pihtan : Lit. "glorious son strong", i.e. "glorious, strong son". See OES §169 for some other instances of this adj. - noun - adj. pattern.

947 mid : Schlutter's [1912: 69] emendation and is unwarranted.

947 mid pysse maeran mete pihtan : The food in question may be either the swallowed water, or the mother's own milk which is purged and made wholesome by the rite.

948 po[ne] ic me : This probably refers to the son (cf. l. 946 ic me āpone ... maga), but alternatively it might refer to the mete. Cf. n. to l. 946 ic me āpone. For the emendation of MS āpone cf. the scribal errors (albeit possibly by a different scribe) āponne for āpone (l. 196) and āpone for āonne (l. 44).

Nelson [1985: 5] would keep the MS reading, and translate the entire line as "then I wish to own myself [have control of my body] and go home"; she admits that this "may sound outrageously feminist", and I am not persuaded by it.

949 ne beseo heo no : This is an ancient taboo. It is best known from the story of Orpheus and Eurydice (a story translated into OE as part of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae (Bk 3)), and the Biblical story of Lot's wife (Genesis 19: 15-26). It is also found

---

85 G (p. 209) renders as "Then I wish to have it and go home", supplying "it", the referent of which is uncertain.
in OEHerb (52/16-17) 7 ḫonne he ut ga ne beseo he hyme na onbæc (Lat. et ne post vos respiciatis), (136/12) 7 ḫonne þu þanon wende ne besæoh þu þe na (Lat. reversus ita ne respicias), and in LchBk3 (318/23-4) beheald þæt þu ne locige æfter. In Britain the superstition promises to see out this millenium - for examples see Opie & Tatem [1989: "Looking Back"] (the most recent instance being from 1982). See also on this superstition Hand [1975a: 5 (and references in footnote 36)].
ENTRY CLXIV\textsuperscript{332}

Variant Version:

\textit{Dis man sceal singan nigon sypon wip utsiht on an hrerenbraden æg ðry dagas:}

"+ \textit{Ecce dol gola ne dit dudum bethe cunda bræthe cunda. elecunda ele uahge}
\textit{macte me erenum. ortha fuetha la ta uis leti unda. noeuis terræ dulge dop.}"

\textit{Pater noster op ende. 7 cweb symle æt þam droric huic ðis.}

[BL MS Cotton Faustina A x, fol. 116r (ed. S no. 82 (p. 307); for an early edition
and attempted interpretation as an OE charm see Dietrich [1867: 202-14])]

that this passage is:

Largely unintelligible except for a few familiar Latin and Old English words or
word-parts .... yet the sequence exhibits rhyme, alliteration, traces of a non-syllabic
metre, and indications of a half-line and whole-line structure. Whatever the origin
of these curious sounds, they are ordered by a number of responsorial or echoic
functions, some of which we associate with the fully developed alliterative line of
the major Old English genres.

The following layout (adapted from G (pp. 195-6)) may help to highlight such
characteristics. The use of alliterating and/or rhyming "word" pairs of roughly equal length
is striking:

\textit{Ecce dolgula medit dudum}
\textit{bedegunda brecdegunda}
\textit{elecunda eleuachia}
\textit{mottem mee renum}
\textit{orpha fuepa}
\textit{letaues noeues}
\textit{terre dolge droro wic}
\textit{Alleluia.}

\textsuperscript{332} S invents the OE title \textit{Wip utsihte} "Against dysentery" for this entry.
A few recognisable words can be discerned in the incantation, but interpretation is very
difficult, and they do not amount consecutively to sense (see more fully Meroney [1945-6:
180]; see also Magoun [1937a: 23]):

a) *Ecce*: (Lat.) "Behold!"

b) *dudum*: (Lat.) "a short time ago".

c) *gunda*: Meroney suggests OE *gund* "pus" or OIr *conda* "so that thou art".

d) *ele*: possibly (if a separate word), as Meroney thinks, OIr for "incantation" (cf. l. 255);
(?) or OE *ele* "oil".

e) *beóe* and *breóe*: Meroney compares OIr "t-abstracts of *biu* "am" and *berid* "bears";
also OIr *bethe* "name of the ogam letter B".

f) *cunda*: Meroney suggests equation with OIr *cond* "reason, sense", or *conda* "so that
thou art".

g) *uachia*: Meroney compares OIr *og* "egg" (in the variant version the OE directions
instruct one to sing the incantation on an egg), but prefers OIr *úaige* "wholeness", "the
prescription requiring chastity on the part of the performer".

h) *terra*: Lat. *terra* "earth, world" in the gen. sg.; (?) or to be identified as OIr *tara* "over
his".

i) *orpa*: this word is probably OIr, being either the noun *ortha* "incantation" (see DIL
*ortha*), or, as Meroney favours, the 2 sg. imper. ("Go!") of the verb *air-fo-eth* (see DIL *urtha,
*ortha*).

j) *fuelpa*: Meroney says this stands for "an OIr *fo-etha*; cf. *ro-faith, ro-faeth* "went away",
and OIr *ad-etha* "it attacks," *atetha* (2nd sg. impv.)."

Meroney translates *orpa* *fietha* as "Begone! Go away!".

k) *dolge*: possibly OE *dolg* "wound, scar, boil". So *terra* *dolge* = "over his wound"?

Stuart [1974: 816-9] attempts to reconstruct the *Laen.* text as an Irish and Lat. charm
(for an attempted reconstruction of BL MS Cotton Faustina A x, fol. 116r see her no. LXIII);
the most drastic textual surgery is involved in the process:
"See the distribution of the disease. It is this which consoles us, which must be struck, until you are perforated, until you are safe, until you are safe (sound?). Pride, a childish lie, a thick finger (?). It is finished: they have eaten. The deadly nine terrify, suffer, and are destroyed here. Alleluiah."

Whatever merits this may have, as Stuart herself remarks, "little sense can be made of this incantation". Furthermore, much has been lost in terms of its sound patterning. Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in Laco. - Entries XXII, XXV, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, and CLXXXIII.

952 terre dolge drore uhic: Cf. the variant version's:

    terre dulge dop.

Pater noster op ende. And cwep symle et pam drore huic dis.

954 Wið cyrnlā: It is unclear whether these words terminate this remedy or begin Entry CLXV. Neither remedy has any other indication of the affection against which it is to be used (unless the present remedy is connected with the previous one - see below), so one of them may well be incomplete. Furthermore, none of the variant versions of either remedy are for this affliction (indeed all four later versions of the following entry are for difficult childbirth). Previous editors and commentators have different opinions about what to do with these words: C (p. 69) thinks this "title probably belonged to the previous [i.e. this] article"; G silently moves wið cyrnlā to head this remedy (which he fails to separate from the following Arcus charm); S (see also below) ascribes these words to the present remedy; GS ascribe them to the following remedy and invent the unjustified title "Charm for Man with Barren Wife" for the present one, declaring (p. 191, n. 4) that "[t]hough the title of this charm is missing it seems probable that it is intended for the male member of the partnership "that cannot bring a child to birth"."
Most recently Olsan [1989a: 439] ascribes *wīd cyrnlā* to the present remedy (but does so without addressing the problem that its variant version is *wīp utsiht*). She thinks it likely that *cyrnlā* here refers to swellings of the groin and that consequently the present remedy is for "an ailment associated with impotence in a husband". Although there is no clear instance of *cyrnlā* denoting groin swellings in OE (see *OED* "kernel" 4), this seems possible, but *se man* might refer to a woman here (cf. *se man* l. 942, and see further below).

In favour of the ascription of these words to the present entry is their placement on the same line as *nigan sipan* with the remainder of the line (space enough for about nine letters) being left blank in MS (the remedies on the surrounding folios in *Lacn.* all have their headings on the same line as the remedy instructions proper), and the fact that OE remedies do occasionally end with reference to the affliction to be treated (e.g. *Lacn.* l. 122 *hon ne haefspu gode selse wīd wennas 7 wīd nyrewet*, and *Lacn.* ll. 668-9 *lege on wīd omena geswelle*, though both these examples do also have some initial indication of the affliction).

On the other hand there is a punctuation point and a space before these words which might well indicate that they belong with what follows, and we may speculate with S - who however was unaware of the later analogues for Entry CLXV - that this remedy (in agreement with its OE variant version) was originally the second of two originally contiguous entries *Wīd utsihte* (the first being Entry CLX) which the compiler of *Lacn.* has separated by the inclusion of the group of remedies for childbirth (Entries CLXI-CLXIII).

Furthermore, contrary to Olsan [1989a: 439], I am doubtful that there are no extant OE charms *wīd cyrnlā* in horses:\(^{333}\): it is possible that *Lacn* Entry CLIII [*Wīd cyrnel*] is for a horse because it immediately follows one remedy *Gif hors bið gewraht* and immediately precedes two others *Bis mag horse wīd þon þe him bið corn on þa fet* and *Gif hors bið gesceoten*.

There is one other possibility, that, while there is no reason to agree with GS that the present remedy is for a *man* with a barren wife, it might - if it is not *wīd cyrnlā* - refer to the

\(^{333}\) In horses *cyrnlā* might conceivably refer to corns on the feet (so S (p. 308)) or to the once common and fatal disease glanders (which is also contagious to man - see de Bairacli Levy [1984: 280-1]).

I do not understand Olsan’s [1989a: 439] reason for rejecting as an "unlikely diagnosis, given the elaborate treatment of the barley bread" the possibility that *cyrnlā* refers to glanders in the horse of the following *Arcus* charm: the preparation of the barley bread is not especially elaborate and even if it were we cannot deduce from that anything concerning the nature of the affliction other than that the horse must be able to eat the barley bread (thus, as Olsan observes, probably ruling out the affliction called "strangles").
woman of the previous charm who [n]e mege bearn afedan (se man l. 942, cf. se man l. 953) and who was to eat food (gebyrge metes l. 950, cf. conceivably þæt se man drincan wille l. 953). Against this is the MS layout (whereas the associated Entries CLXI-CLXIII are one unbroken block of text Ecce dolgula... begins a new line), the awkwardness of the transition (which would be much smoother if the prose instructions preceded the charm in some such form as *Singe man þis gebed þe hereafter awritten is on þæt se man drincan wille nigan sipan, 7 "Pater noster" nigan sipan), the fact that all five incantations in the preceding three entries are in intelligible English, and (depending on how we interpret l. 953 Singe man ("let (someone) sing"? "let (this prayer) be sung"?)) that the preceding five incantations are all sung by the woman herself. In spite of this I think it possible that the present remedy was intended to refer to the preceding one, that the objections voiced above might be dismissed if it were the case that this remedy is an addumbration to the previous one, that it has been subsequently tacked onto the preceding group by a later doctor or scribe. If this interpretation were correct then wið cyrla would head the following Arcus remedy in spite of the application of the latter's variant versions to difficult childbirth, and there would be no need to assume the loss of a heading in Lacn.

Finally, we might question whether the words wið cyrla have been misplaced. Might they have been intended for the space after l. 950 metes and so to head the present remedy?

In short, we cannot be sure of the remedy to which these words apply. The presentation of these words in the text - with Wið following a full-stop and a space, and being given a capital W (not a capital in MS) - is intended to reflect the uncertainty regarding which remedy to ascribe them to.

ENTRY CLXV

This charm has been discussed and explained by Olsan [1981], [1989a], [1992], and by Braekman [1983]. These critics have adduced the following later medieval English analogues to the Lat. incantation in l. 955 (all of which were unknown to previous editors of Lacn.) in the opening words of four charms:

1. A charme for a womman þat trauelyt on childe.
Arcus forcior super nos sedebit semper maria lux et hora sedule sedebit nator
natoribus saxo silet memer esto et sic puer uel puella exit foras quum Christus
natus natus est nullum dolorem passus est venit homo fugit dolor Christus
exquisitor adiuro te virgam per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum vt habeas
potestatem coniungendi: and say this charme pryse and he schal haue child
sonne gif hit be hyre tyme. [ed. Henslow [1889: 32], s. xiv]

2. Here begynnes a charme for trauellyng of childe.

In nomine patris et filij & spiritus sancti. Amen.

Arcus forcium super nos sedebit, virgo Maria natabit, lux et hora sedule sedebit
rubus rebus rarantibus natus nator natoribus saxo. Sic memor esto vt sit puer vt
puella. Eius exit foras mater, quum christus natus est, nullum dolorem passa est.
Venit homo, fugit dolor. Christus adiutor, adiuro te virgam per Patrem & Filium &
Spiritum Sanctum vt habeas potestatem coniugendi. Say this charme thris & scho
sal sone bere childe, if it be hir tyme.

[Liber de Diversis Medicinis (ed. Ogden [1969: 56]), s. xv]

3. Here byginnes charmes for trauayling of childe:

Arcus forcium super nos sedebit
virgo maria natabit
lux et hora sedule sedebit
rubus rebus rarantibus
natus nator natoribus saxo scilicet
memor esto ut sit puer uel puella eius exit foras
qum Christus natus eius nullum dolorem passus est
venit homo. Fugit dolor. Christus adiutor:

---

334 Braekman [1983: n. 7] thinks the abbreviation mark after qu should be expanded as quando, i.e. quando.
335 The second natus is presumably a scribal dittography. It is omitted by Braekman [1983: 606] without comment.
336 Braekman [1983: 606] has et without comment.
337 Braekman [1983: n. 8] would read coniungendi. But coniungendi may well be what was intended.
338 Braekman [1983: 606] has quam without comment.
Adiuro te virga per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum
ut habeas potestatem comningendi.

Say his charme thrys and scho sall haue childe sone
if it be hir tyme.

"The bow of the mighty will preside over us. The virgin Mary will swim. The day and the hour are set ready. *rubus rebus rarantibus/ natus nator natoribus saxo scilicet.* Let this be remembered so that her boy or girl comes forth. When Christ was born His [Mother] suffered no pain. A Man came. Pain fled. Christ is our Help: I adjure you rod, through the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, that you have the power to bring forth water."

[BL MS Royal 17 A VIII fol. 47r-v (ed. and trans. Olsan [1989a: 439]), but I add the group heading from MS; s. xiv]

4. Here is a charm for child berynge

*Archus forcior super nos sedebit
uirgo maria natabit
lux et hora sedebit sedule
nator natoribus saxo salet.*

*Memor esto et sic puerilus puella eius exit
fons quon christus natus est nullum dolorem passus est.
Uenit homo fugit dolor exiit adquisitor.
Adiuro te virgo per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum
ut habeas potestatem comningendi.

and say his thre tymes And sche schal haue child gif it is hire tyme in sothnesse.

"Here is a charm for child bearing:

Archus the mighty will preside over us. The Virgin Mary will swim. The day and the hour are set ready. The swimmer leaps to the swimmers from the rock. Let this be remembered and thus her little boy [or] girl comes forth. The Fountain, when

---

Braekman [1983: n. 10] observes that this is corrupt for *puer uel.*
Christ was born, suffered no pain. A Man came. Pain fled. The Collector came forth. I adjure you woman, through the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, that you have the power to bring forth water."

[BL MS Sloane 2457, fol. 30va (ed. and trans. Olsan [1989a: 443], but here revised from MS) (parallel first noted and edited by Braekman [1983: 606-7]); Braekman dates s. xv]

The discovery of these analogues, in which variant versions of the Lat. *Arcus...* incantation form part of a charm against difficult child-birth, make it possible that our charm is to be put to similar use - for a mare's delivery of a foal (Olsan [1989a]). For the possibility that this charm is, however (as G\(^{34}\), S and GS think), *wid cyrnla* see notes to the previous entry.

GS's emended Lat. text reads "*Arcus supe[r] assedit uirgo*, *cana bi[s]; "lux" et "ure", *cana bi[s].* The later versions strongly suggest that while emendation to *supe[r]* is good, the -biō (for -bit) must stand as a verb inflexion. They also make it very likely that the two instances of *canabidō* are transmissional errors for *natabidō* (possibly as Braekman [1983: 607] suggests *natabidō* was misread by a scribe as the unintelligible *nacabidō*, the n- and -c- of which were then transposed to produce *canabidō*; Olsan [1989a: 444], however, thinks *canabidō* is an "auditory substitution") and *sedebidō* respectively (the second *canabidō* could be explained by simple scribal dittography). It also appears that *ure* is a corruption of Lat. *hora*. Braekman would also have *nos sedēt* instead of *assedit* and read *Maria* after *uirgo*, but these changes are unnecessary. A reconstructed Anglo-Saxon text might therefore (adapted from Braekman p. 607\(^{42}\)) read:

*Arcus supe[r] assedit* (or possibly *noJs sedēt/sed[eb]it); *uirgo natabit; lux et *[ho]r[a]*\(^{43}\) *sedebit.*

The meaning of the words *Arcus super assedit* is disputed. Braekman [1983: 608] would equate *arcus* with Satan. He cites evidence of the equation of *arcus* with Satan in medieval

\(^{34}\) G (pp. 194-7) treats this and the preceding charm as one unit *Wid cyrnla*, but MS layout and sense (the first is for a man, the second for a horse) show that this is wrong.

\(^{42}\) According to Braekman there can be "no objection to emendating the text of the OE charm as follows": *Arcus super nos sedēt, uirgo [Maria] natabit, lux et [h]ora sedebit.*

\(^{43}\) Or perhaps this was spelled *o[r]a*. 
Lat., and notes two Biblical passages which he thinks have some resemblance to the charm (particularly its later manifestation as e.g. Arcus forcium super nos sedebit): i. I Kings 2: 4
Arcus fortium superatus est, et infirmi accincti sunt robore, ii. in the Book of the Apocalypse 6: 2 it is remarked of the first horseman et qui sedebat super illum habebat arcum. For Braekman these words mean in effect:

"Arcus (i.e. Satan) has held us in his power."

He would understand the whole charm as meaning:

"Arcus has held us in his power; the virgin Mary will be born and from that hour onwards Arcus will no longer dominate us but the light will rule our destiny."

However, natabit means "will swim" (from nato), not "will be born" (which would be nascetur, or future perfect nata erit, from the verb nasco)\(^4\).

Olsan [1989a], however, rejects much of Braekman's interpretation, and also argues that this charm ("the rudimentary Anglo-Saxon variant") is for the birth of a foal (I accept that this charm probably ought to be for easy and successful birth, but am unsure that this is in fact the case with this particular corrupt instance in Lacn. - see notes on l. 954 wiô cyrnla).

She observes that Braekman's quotation from Kings comes from the song of the barren wife Hannah in thanksgiving for the birth of her son Samuel. For her the arcus is the "rainbow", the symbol of God's covenant to man after the Flood (Genesis 9: 13 Arcum meum ponam in nubibus et erit signum foederis inter me, et terram), of God's power over water, and which is interpreted in the OE translation of Alcuin's Interrogationes Sigewulf "as a reminder to turn our thoughts to God in every distress", and which had a place in humoral theory (in PD we read that feower watan syndon on þan manniscen lichama, for þam byô wylyd ealswa middangeardes boga).

Further, with regard to Byrhtferth of Ramsey's diagrammatic Microcosm (see Byrhtferth's Manual (ed. Crawford [1929: frontispiece (also see pl. facing p. 86)]; this is more clearly presented (and translated) in GS as figs. 14-16) she observes:

Reading chronologically around the chart, we find that Virgo is the sign in closest proximity to the cardinal point labeled Aqua without having passed it. The phrase

\(^4\) Olsan [1989a: 440] thinks natabit means "will swim", but also that it echoes the verb "to be born".
virgo natabit makes sense in such a context, when one conceives that with the passage of time, the astrological sign Virgo moves into the element of water. Further the phrase lux et hora applies in the direct astrological sense that the light (that is, the day) and the hour of the birth will be properly fixed (sedule sedebit).

The reconstructed Anglo-Saxon charm can thus be seen as a sophisticated little text, possibly employing and combining a Biblical echo of a successful birth, reference to the religious and physiological significance of the rainbow, (perhaps) the sympathetic invocation (whether direct through a lost word Maria or simply implicit in uirgo) of the Virgin Mary who was often invoked in charms for childbirth on account of her having suffered no pain in giving birth to Christ, and the astrological assurance of an appointed time for the "breaking" of the amniotic "waters". According to this persuasive interpretation then, the reconstructed Anglo-Saxon charm can be translated:

"Rainbow has sat above; Virgo (?also Virgin (Mary)) will swim; the day and hour will be fixed."

For discussion of the meaning of the more complex later analogues, of their use of Biblical types and of puns see again Olsen [1989].

955 "Arcus ... canabid": Although it has been shown above that these words are corrupt, I have decided (with the exception of supe[r]) not to present a reconstructed text: if the emendation supe[r] be allowed, the corrupt MS text could conceivably have been interpreted by an ignorant Anglo-Saxon reader as a reference to some apocryphal story in which a virgin/the Virgin Mary sang about the auspicious rainbow:

"The Virgin will sing "A bow has sat above"; she will sing "light and ure"."

956 Sing dis nigon sipan 7 "Pater noster" VIIII on anum berenan hlafe : Cf. the directions in the previous remedy Singe man his gebed on hæt se man drincan wille nyan sipan, 7 "Pater noster" nigan sipan.

35 E.g. S (p. 283, no. 45): Wih bearn eacenum: Maria virgo peperit Christum...
ENTRY CLXVII

959-60 nim snegl 7 aform a hine 7 nim bat clane fam ... syle þicgan : Cf. possibly (if it is not the snegl itself which is to be drunk!) Blch (110/15-16) þone blacan snegl awesc on haligwætre; sele drincan.

959 clane fam : It might be supposed that the "clean foam" is simply the secretions one might induce from a snail after it has been cleaned, but Magoun [1954: 568-9] has a more precise explanation:

In question are land snails to be described as "animals of retiring habits, living on green plants or on decaying vegetable debris." My French gasterpodist ... informs me that the creatures take off early in the morning and eat as many leaves as they can. Once replete they hole up in their shells in contact with a stone or a wall and digest. If you interrupt this nap and digestion and detach it, you will notice a long green filament: this is the excrement and what is to be cleaned off in the Anglo-Saxon recipe. At this the snail will wake up and emit a substantial stream of mucus-like slime which will be quite clean; this is obviously the clane fam here talked about.

959-60 wifes meolo : This consumption of milk here conflicts with Pliny's opinion (NH 28.121) that milk is generally bad for a fever.

This is the only example of the use of woman's milk in Lacn.

ENTRY CLXVIII\(^{47}\)

This charm was first edited (slightly inaccurately) by Kemble [1849 vol. I: 529-30].

961 Wið horsoman 7 mannes : "For horse-ome and (that) of man". Ome often refers to erysipelas or similar skin complaints (see also following n.). The syntax is interesting here, oman being both the second element in a compound and also understood as an independent

\(^{47}\) G invents the OE title Wið hors oman "For erysipelas" for this entry. S invents the title Wiþ hors oman and mannes "Against erysipelas of horses and men" (sic), but gives no indication that it is supplied editorially.
element with regard to 7 mannes. It is presumably for this reason - since there are many OE compounds formed upon hors - that GS hyphenate this word as hors-oman. BTC accepts the compound horsoman.

961 horsoman: According to Remly [1979: 207] this affliction is "as its name tells, the appearance of boils on the horse's body, beginning usually in the area where he carries the harness, but afterwards spreading all over the body". However, Dent [1965] remarks interestingly that the affliction:

must signify laminitis, popularly known as "founder" or fever in the feet". This is a painful and crippling inflammation of the interior of the hoof, and the cure mentioned in the Lacnunga is acceptable nowadays in cases of laminitis .... Ideally the horse should be swum, thus taking pressure off the feet. But where sufficient depth of water is not available, the application of cold water to the feet will itself give relief. If only a small stream is available, the deepest places will be found immediately below a bridge or ford, and the custom was, and is, to tie the horse downstream from the bridge. If you were to leave the horse tied to the bridge at all, it would be necessary to do it this side because their instinct is always to face against the current, and if tied on the upstream side of the bridge complications would arise through constant efforts to turn round. This treatment is not used for any other complaint. In the days before piped water and hoses were available it was much more frequently used.

For the suggestion that Lacn. Entry CLII is also a charm against equine laminitis see Commentary thereto.


962 on yrndonum weteres ... ongean stream: Remly [1979: 208] observes that:

Although anti-fungal agents and iodine soap were hardly within reach, the early medieval horse-leech recognized at least that washing not only provides relief from
the irritation of the pustules, but also cleanses and has a mild drying effect in the case of sores. This advice shows at least good common sense mixed in with the magic.

964 *Indomo mamosin ... marethin*: These incantatory sounds (words?) seem to be at least partly derived from Lat. *Indomo* might be for *In domo* "in (the) house". Stuart [1974: 843-6] attempts to reconstruct the line as a mixture of Lat. and OE thus:


However, the resulting sense is extremely obscure and unpersuasive:

"In the house of my bog, on the horn of my pack of hounds, rest. Dwindle yourself, because he has offered offerings devoutly and for your glory."

964 *el*: This may well be the Hebrew word for God.

964-5 *Crux mihi uita est, tibi mors, inimici*: Cf. Lacn. 1. 876 *Crux mihi uita est et tibi mors, inimici* and see notes thereto.

965 "*Alfa et O ... dicit Dominus*": Derived from *Apocalyphe* 1:8; 21:6. Cf. Lacn. II. 875-6, 968.

**ENTRY CLXIX**

This charm was first edited by Kemble [1849 vol. I: 530].

966 *ane grene gyrd*: S (p. 299) thinks that "green is symbolic of freshness and coolness, and as such it is efficacious against the red colour and the burning feeling that are symptomatic of erysipelas".
966 *let sittan on midden huses flore*: If this instruction to "sit the man in the middle of the house" is not simply common sense - one could not draw a circle round him (*bestríc hine ymbutan*) so easily if he were sitting in a corner - it might conceivably be a late manifestation of an ancient Anglo-Saxon superstition held by the pagan King Æthelberht of Kent (c. 560-616), whereby the enclosed space of a house apparently was thought to have a magnifying effect on the potency of magic (which in the case of the present remedy would be desirable):

Post dies ergo uenit ad insulam rex, et residens sub diuo iussit Augustinum cum sociis ad suum ibidem aduenire colloquium. Cauerat enim ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, uetere usus augurio, ne superuentu suo, siquid maleficae artis habuissernt, eum superando deciperent. At illi non daemonica sed diuina uirtute praediti ueniebant....

[Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bk I chap. 25 (ed. Colgrave & Mynors [1969: 74 (and see n. 2)])]

It may have been the case that the middle of the house was thought to be the place in which to best effect maximum magical potency - it is away from the openings to the outside world (i.e. doors and windows).

967 *bestríc hine ymbutan*: S (p. 299) (and see earlier G (p. 121)) thinks that by "making a stroke about the patient the disease-spirit is prevented from returning to him". This is possible, but might not the circle rather prevent the disease from leaving, as is the case with the other instances of the use of circles in OE medicine discussed by S (pp. 86-7, to which may be added *OEHerb*'s (pp. 170-1) circle preventing the mandrake from fleeing)? I suggest that the circle is intended to prevent the disease from escaping the power of the following Lat. Christian exorcism.

The OE *Journey Charm* (ll. 1, 6) provides another OE reference (a significant omission in S pp. 86-8) to the use of a *gyrd* to form a circle (albeit purely protective) around a person:

*Ic me on hisse gyrd bealu ce....

Sygegealdor ic begale, sigegyrd ic me wege*
Further, in relation to these instances of "magic" circles in Anglo-Saxon England, it may be noted that one (albeit doubtful) explanation of the presence of ring ditches surrounding certain Anglo-Saxon graves is that they function as protective "magic circles which could not be crossed" either by the dead person from within or by the living from without - see Wilson [1992: 59-63] for discussion.

One indisputable and striking instance of the use and effect of a magic circle in combination (as here) with Christianity in early northern Europe occurs in the seventh-century *Life of St. Samson of Dol* in which the saint uses a circle to prevent a serpent from escaping before he commands it to die in the name of Christ - this usage may parallel the rationale behind the present OE instance:

"St. Samson ... boldly made the sign of a circle around the serpent over against himself, planting within it the emblem of the cross which he bore, and said, "Advance now as far as thou art allowed." .... Now ... they saw the serpent rather slowly uncoil itself and creep along the ground and round in a circle as it made for the place where the saint's staff was fixed. Again and again it did the same thing, but never was able to raise aloft its head beyond the boundary."

[trans. Taylor [1925: 36]; see also remarks in Henken [1991: 92]]

For discussions and other instances of the use of "magic" circles in folk medicine see *HWD4* "umkreisen" [vol. 8: 1328-33], Hand [1972] (also [1969: 315-6]), and Opie & Tatem [1989: index under "circle/ring", also p. 291 under "OAK TREE benign"].

968 : On this passage Shook [1940: 139], commenting on Grendon's text, remarks:

The Latin incantation or formula contains only one completely garbled expression: *rilla pars*, which may be a corruption of *illorum pars*. This suggestion is based on a comparison of the formula with *Apoc. xxi*, 6: *ego sum A et Ω initium et finis*, and *ibid.*, 8: *pars illorum erit in stagno etc*. That both the formula and *Apoc. xxi*, 8 are curses tends to confirm the emendation. The formula, properly punctuated, might
well read: \( \Omega \) pars, \( \Omega \) illorum pars, et pars iniopia est: A et \( \Omega \), < initium et finis.

\textit{Amen}.

The scribe may have stopped at \textit{initium} out of casualness, the expected conclusion having been given just before (l. 965).

968 \textit{et pars iniopia est}: Translate "and the part is helpless", the "part" here presumably being the erysipelatous swellings. The second -i- in \textit{iniopia} might result from scribal error over the number of minims.


\textbf{ENTRY CLXX}

Variant Versions:

Four other versions of this remedy (none previously adduced) are known to me.

1. OE Variant Version: \textit{LchBk3} (314/20-316/4):

\textit{Wyrc godne duesto penc\textsuperscript{50} wip þære geolwan adle:}

\textit{Nim merces sæd 7 finoles sæd, dilesæd\textsuperscript{50}, eorforprotan sæd, feldmoræn sæd, sæperian sæd, petorsilian sæd, alexandrian sæd, lufestices sæd, betonican sæd, caules sæd, costes sæd, cymones sæd 7 pipores maest; þara oderna emfela.}

\textit{Gegnidle ealle wel to duste; nim þæs dustes godne cucler fulne; do on strang hlutter eala; drince scenc fulne on neahtnestig.}

\textit{He is god wip ælcre liman untrumnesse 7 wip heafodece 7 wip ungemynde 7 wip eagwarce 7 wip ungelyrnesse 7 breostwarce 7 lungenadle 7 lendenwarce 7 wip ælcre feondes costunga.}

\textit{Gewyrc þe dust genoh on hærfeste þonne þu þa wyrra hæbbe; nyitta þonne þe hærf sie.}

\textsuperscript{50}dust is added above the line. 
\textsuperscript{50}C reads dille sæd, which should either be a compound noun dilleœd or emended to dineæd (so Lacn. reads); see Bierbl (p. 47).
2. RSC, fol. 177r (ed. Singer [1917: 146]):

_Hac potio omni corpori dat sanitate(m) & fortitudinem. Si quis illam usitauerit
nullam egritudinem incurr(it). Utilis enim est ad reuma ewartigens. caligines humores
incutaneos rufo fel cauculosos epaticis. spleneticis. sanguinem erraticum qui
varietatem facit lumborum dolori ne freneticis vesicam purgat. lapides frangat.
neruos geniculorum dolorem. paraliticis. urinam mouet. somnum facit & in omnes
infirmitates mundat._

*Recipit apii semina. leuindola. uiola oderata. feniculi semina. liuestici semina.
uetonica fenogreci. coste. manus. i. ana m. i. petrostlino. centaurea. ruta. semina
brasice. semina lauribus. pastinaci semina. iusquiami semina. anati. semina. asaro.
gariofile. piper. spica. mastice. ana uncias. iii. His omnibus puluerem faciens.
addes uino tertia parte amphora. mel obtimo libras. xv. & commises repones in
usco picato. da exinde ieiunis per singulos dies calicem unum. Qui desiderat
sanitate(m). hoc habeat in usum._

3. BL MS Harley 4986 folios 79r-v (Beccaria [1956: 252-4] late eleventh to early twelfth
century). So far as I know the remedy is unpublished; it is here edited from my own
transcription (abbreviations expanded within round brackets); the first seven lines below are
in badly faded red ink and in places either illegible to me or entirely worn away.

_Potio aristolabia qua(m) c(om)posuit Aristolabius rex, cui(s) c(om)positio[n]am [(?)]
dat om(n)i corpori fortitudine(m) 7 sanitate(m). 7 si q(ui)s i(us) ilta us(us) fuerit, ab
om(n)i infirmitate lib(eri)abit(ur). S(cilicet) au(tem) utilis ad reumaticos humores
deponendos. Ad ewartigine capit(is) *** caligine(m) oculus ad humores

***************ri(s) dolore(m) 7 ad splen 7 ad e**p590 7

***************-nes corporu(m) efficacissime emendare n(on)
dubitatur:

Appii semini(s) uncias v. feniculi seeminis(s) unc(ias) ii, petriselini seeminis(s) unc(ias)
ii, centauriae seeminis(s) unc(ias) ii, rute seeminis unc(iam) i, pip(eri) unc(ias) iii,

[1] Probably epar (= hepar "liver").
betoniae unc(cias) iii, cauli sem(nis) unc(cias) ii, pastinace sem(nis) unc(cias) ii, aneti
sem(nis) unc(cias) ii, fenog(re)cii farina unc(cias) ii, costo unc(cias) iii, cariofili 7
spico unc(cias) ii, g(um)no mastice unc(cias) iii, bacas lauri unc(cias) ii, cynamono
uncia(m) dimidia(m). De hi(s) om(n)ib(us) faci(s) puluere(m) in mortariolo, 7 q(uo)d
remanserit ei(us) t(r)i(tu(ra) teras iteru(m) 7 cribras, 7 distemp(eres cu(m) uino
uet(er)i amphora(m) una(m), 7 mel dispumatu(m) libras xv, 7 bibat q(ui) corporis
sanitate(m) desiderat.

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 69 fol. 125r (dated c. 1300 by Thorndike & Kibre
[1963]). So far as I know the remedy is unpublished; it is here edited from my own
transcription, with abbreviations expanded within round brackets).

Potio Aristolabii regis:

Potio q(uam,) rex Aristolabi(us) utebat(ur). H(aec) au(tem) dat sanitate(m), 7
fortitudi(n)em. Q(uii) i(n) usu h(ab)i(er)i null(a) i(n)c(ur)ret eg(ri)tudi(n)em. Utilis
(est) c(ontra) reum(a) 7 u(er)i gigi(n)em, caligi(n)es 7 hu(m)ores (?)nerios 7
i(n)tr(eri)cutaneos felq(ue), calc(u)losos, epaticos, splenet(icos), nefreticos c(ur)at.

Vesica(m) mu(n)dat, lapide(m) f(ra)ng(it), n(er)uor(um) genic(u)lor(um)q(ue)
dolare(m), podag(ri)co(s), p(ar)alitic(os) sanat. Vrina(m) mouet, so(m)pnu(m) fac(it)
7 o(m)nes i(n)firmitates p(ur)gat. R(ecipe): Apii s[e]men, laue(n)dule, uiole
odorate, feni[culi] s[e]men, luuest(ici) s[e]men, uetonic, costi an(a) .111. .ii.,
pet(ro)silini, centaure, rute s[e]men, brasae s[e]men, lauri, pastinace,
i(us)q(u)i(ami s[e]men, aneti s[e]men, asari, gariof(iliis), spice, cinnamo(n)i, an(a) .111.
. .i., p(ri)p(eriis), mast(ics) an(a) .111. h(aec) o(m)n)i a p(u)lu(era) tota,
c(om)misceb(isc) c(um) uini amphora .i. 7 lib(ri) mell(is) .xv. i(n) uase picato, 7
dab(i)s in(de) patienti ieiuno p(er) sing(u)los die(s) cocl(ear)e .i. q(uii) sanitate(m)
desid(erat, ha(n)c potione(m) i(n) usu habeat.

331 The sign for uncia.
5. A highly abbreviated version of the remedy may also perhaps be found in the ME Liber de Diversis Medicinis (ed. Ogden [1969: 27] (no antecedents given)), where it is apparently used to cure costiveness (cf. Lacn.'s use wið ornum utgange, 7 wið þon þe mon gemigan ne mæge):

   Secundum Rectorem de Oswaldkirk, tak sedis of fenkall, anys, rew, lofage, percell, comyn & salt, & pouder þam & gyff hym þam ay a sponfull in his metis & in his drynkes.

   All these ingredients - with the exception of the salt and anys (identified by Ogden as anise (Pimpinella anisum L.) - are paralleled, mostly in the same order, in Lacn. However, anys might well connect with Lacn.'s dill, which also precedes rue in the list: cf. Lat. anethum defined as "dill, anise" by LS, and the modern botanical classifications of anise and dill as Pimpinella anisum L. [Anisum vulgare] and Anethum graveolens L (now Peucedanum anisum) [Anisum vulgare] respectively (Blamey & Grey-Wilson [1989: 272, 276]).

6. Ogden (p. 95) notes a close parallel to this text in the Cambridge Antidotary (ed. Sigerist [1923: 162]):


7. Ogden also notes another version in an Olcel medical miscellany (ed. & trans. Larsen [1931: 111, 196]):

   Item [i.e. Ef madur ma eigi þurfar sinar ganga] tak frio gras þess er ar netum [read anetum] heitir. ok frio feniculi ok coriandí. ok frio subasticu. Rute. ok petrisilio. ok sallt alltt jafn micit ok ger. af duft sina. ok et af þvi spon fullann j blauttu eggi. þat stykir kvid. ok dugir ef þu gerir þat þria daga.
"Item ["If a man may not go his necessary errand"], take seed of the herb called
anethum and seed of fennel and seed of coriander and seed of lovage and rue and
parsley and salt all of equal amount and make powder and eat of that a spoonful in a
soft egg."

969 Arestolobius was hatten an cing: This king has not been certainly identified and
might be fictitious. Arestolobius, GS suggest, may be a corruption of Arestobulus, with the
letters l and b transposed. A certain king and bishop of the Jews called Aristobolus is
mentioned in the OE Orosius (ed. Bately [1980: 125]), and GS (p. 193 n. 2) observe that he
is mentioned by Josephus in his Jewish War. The name is spelled Arestolabius in texts 3 and
4 above (1 and 2 have no attribution).

970 morgendraenc: This is the only occurrence of this word in OE, though BT notes
Olcel morgindrykkja and gives numerous OE compounds formed upon morgen.

972 hwyrfnesse: BT and CH's definition of this word as "giddiness", "dizziness" fits the
context well - "for turning (i.e. the world is revolving before one's eyes?) and fever/agitation
of the brain" (cf. hwierfan "to turn, revolve", hwyrfleda "round", and hwyrflung "revolution").
Here wió braegenes hwyrfnesse may render Lat. ad uertiginem capitis.
BTC would substitute the meaning "delusion" or "insanity", but do not give any
supporting evidence (cf. hwyrflung in the sense "wandering, error"?).

973 wió seondum geallan 7 ðære geolwan adle: Cf. a remedy preceding the variant
version in LchBk3 (314/13-19) which links these two conditions and provides a causal
connection:

Win þære geolwan adle sio cymð of seondum geallan...

The previous remedy in LchBk3 (314/9-11) is also Wip seondum geallan.
Yellow sickness is jaundice, for more on which see particularly *BLch* Bk I chap. xlii (pp. 106-8). It might also perhaps be equated with the *geolwan attre* of the *Nine Herbs Charm* (*Lacn.* I. 583).

976 *peorece*: "Pain caused by *peor*". GS (following a suggestion by C p. 70 n. 4) emend *peohece* ("pain in the thigh"; *peohece* is found in *BLch* (6/6, 64/29)), which is a real possibility (especially given the following *sina ... cneowwærce 7 fotgeswelle*) - but cf. *peorwerce* (l. 744) and notes thereto. Unfortunately there is no parallel in *LchBk3* and the Lat. texts are no help either.

*Peorece* is otherwise unattested, and is not found in BT, BTS, BTC, or CH.

977 *wið oprum giceendum blece*: GS justify their emendation *wið o[r]num giceendum* [*sic*] *blece* ("for harmful itching blotch") on the tenuous grounds that "there is no evidence that "swollen body" itches". There is, however, equally no evidence that it does not.

982 *cawelsæd*: GS wrongly print as two words - *cawel sæd*.

982 *cylle[n]dran*: I, like previous editors, think that MS *cyllelendran* is a scribal error at the turning of the leaf. However, it does not seem necessary to suppose with C (who is followed by L and GS) that the scribe has "wavered between *celendran* and *cylepenian*" since *Lacn.* elsewhere attests a spelling of the former plant name with *-y-* (l. 796 *cylendran*) and spellings with double *l* are frequent in OE (see Bierbl under *cellendre*). Consequently I think it easier to suppose that the scribe has merely inadvertently repeated the letters -*le-* at the start of the verso side and that GS's emendation *cylepenian* is wrong. Note also that the possible related remedies in the *Cambridge Antidotary* and the Olcel collection quoted above both include coriander seed among their ingredients.

986 *wudumerces*: Since *merce* has already (l. 980) been mentioned in this list, *wudumerce* probably denotes sanicle here, not wild celery.
988 *cymen*: This word probably corresponds to *cynamono* ("cinnamon") in the Lat. text. According to Stracke [1974: n. to no. 295] when Lat. *cinnamomum* is not rendered by *superne rind* the Anglo-Saxons equate it with *Cuminum cyminum* (cumin) and gloss with OE *cymen* (which according to Bierbaumer can also denote caraway). In *Lacn*. l. 120 it appears that cinnamon is simply called *rinde*.

989 *hwit cudu*: This is mastic, "a resinous exudation obtained from the lentisk plant" (Riddle [1965: 188]). According to GS (p. 195 n. 2) (so too CH) *hwit cudu* "gum mastich" is in effect chewing gum.

990 *swip[e]*: MS *swipan* is an obvious scribal error - the intended sense must be "a very fine powder", not "a powerful, fine powder".

991 *scæncecuppan*: This word is not in BT, BTS, BTC, or CH. C treats it as two words, GS as one. Cf. n. on l. 181 *scæncbollan*.

991 *cealdes wines*: C thinks this should perhaps be *ealdes wines*, and this is supported by Lat. text no. 3 above, *distemperes cum uino ueteri amphoram unam*.

**ENTRY CLXXI**

Although the MS gives no indication of a division (a later annotator signals one by means of capitulum signs) and GS do not distinguish this direction from the preceding entry, it seems to me that these words ought to be separate. Neither the Lat. nor the *LchBk3* versions of the previous entry have anything corresponding to these words.

993-4 *mugcwyrt ... ha readan wæpnedmen 7 ha grenan wifnen*: C's (p. 73) mistranslation "mugwort ... the red males and the green females" was adopted by BT
(\textit{wapnedmann} II. of plants, \textit{a male}; \textit{wifmann} II. applied to plants, \textit{female}), and is not corrected by BTS or BTC.

"Green" (\textit{grenan}) mugwort might be "fresh mugwort", and \textit{pa readan} mugwort might be a description of the plant in its dessicated form.

993-4 \textit{lecedome ... lecceraete} : For a discussion of the various meanings of these two words in OE ("medicinal skill", "remedy", "medicine", "medicinal substance") see Stuart [1975], who remarks on the distinction (if any) between the present two instances of the words that (p. 27) "[t]he context is too vague to determine meaning differences".

\textbf{ENTRY CLXXIII}

OE Variant Version:

\textit{Wip hwostan, hu he missenlice on mon becume 7 hu his mon tilian scyle:}

\textit{Se hwosta hæfð manigfealdne tocyme swa pa spatl beod missenlicu; hwilum cymð of ungemetfæstre hæto, hwilum of ungemetfæstum cyle, hwilum of ungemetlicre drignesse.}

\textit{Wyrc drenc wiþ hwostan: genim mucgwyrt; seob on cyperenum citele 7 wyl opþet hio sie swipe þicce 7 hio sie of hwetenum mealte geworht; genim bonne eoforfearnesæst, bisceopwyrt, hindheolodan, dweorgedwostlan, singrenan; do to eall on fæt; sele drincan middeldagum 7 forga sur 7 sealtes gehwet.}

\textit{[BLch (56/16-26)]}

Possible Partial Lat. Source:

\textit{De tussi ... Initium habet modo a calida distemperantia, modo a frigida aut humida aut sicca}

\textit{[Alexander of Tralles, \textit{Practica Alexandri} 2.1; see Meaney [1992a: 26 n. 11]]}

With the exception of Entry CLXXVI, Entries CLXXIII-CLXXX are found in the same order in \textit{BLch}. 

999 da swat beod missenlicu: CH is unsure whether swat is of masc. or neut. gender. Here, as C (vol. II p. 407) notes, missenlicu shows this instance to be neut.

999 swat : BLch has spatl "salivas". Meaney [1984a: 261] thinks that "spatl fits the context better and is a more unusual word than Lacnunga's swat, and so is likely to be original".

1000 hwilum of ungemaelicre wætan : These words are omitted in BLch.

1002 mascwyrt : "Mash-wort" is not a plant as such, but the infusion of malt in water before brewing. See Banham [1990: 96], Hagen [1995: 208], and OED under "mash" (1a, and 5 "mash-wort"). BLch's mucgwort "mugwort" is doubtless the inferior reading.

ENTRY CLXXIV

OE Variant Version:

Wip hwostan eft: genim hunan; seod on wætere; sele swa warpne drincan.

[BLch (56/26-58/2)]

OE Parallel:

Wip hwostan: wyl marubian on wætre godne dæl; geswet hwon ; sele drincan scencfult553. [LchBk3 (312/25-6)]

OE Parallel and Possible Lat. Source:

Wid geosu 7 wið þat man hefelice hræce genim ðas wyrte de Grecas prassion 7 Romane marubium nemnað 7 eac Angle harehune hatað, seod on wætere, syle drincan þam de hefelice hræcen, heo hine gehæled wundorlice.

553 C (vol. III p. 312 n. 3) proposes scenc fuine.
[Ad tussem gravem. Herbam marrubium cocques ex aqua et dabis bibere his qui grauiter tussiunt, sanabuntur mirifice.]

[OEHerb (90/23-6)]

Medicinal Efficacy:

Whether *hune* is horehound or (as Bierb2 identifies it) black horehound, it would be good ingested as here for a cough, but the latter apparently tastes worse (Wren p. 146; Buchman [1993: 137]). A modern Derbyshire gypsy folk remedy that recommends an infusion of horehound for coughs and colds is cited by Vickery [1995: 189].

Cf. the use of horehound for lung-disease in Entries LIV, LV, LVII, and LIX.

ENTRY CLXXV

OE Variant Version:

*Eft: genim clifwyrt - sume men hatado foxesclife, sume eawyrt; 7 hio sy geworht ofer midne sumor; seob ba on wætere opbat driddan [read driddan] del bæs woses of sie; sele drincan briwa on dag.*

*[BLch (58/3-6); I underline the words presumed to be missing from Lacn.]*

It is clear from the variant version that l. 1008 *gepigce* does not conclude the present Lacn. entry, and previous editors state that a folio is lost from MS at this point (i.e. after l. 1008 *oddet*). Meaney [1984a: 260-1] observes that, on the basis of very close correspondences with BLch (Bk I chaps. xv-xvii) both before and after the present remedy (see Table of Extant Anglo-Saxon Variant Versions), the lost material probably constitutes both sides of one folio of text in Harley 585, though the possibility exists that, rather than a leaf having being lost from Harley 585, an inattentive Lacn. scribe simply skipped a leaf in copying from his exemplar. However, doubt is shed on the amount and nature of text lost from Lacn. by Entry CLXXVI which has no parallel in BLch - this raises the possibility that the lost material did not correspond in all substantive respects with that found in BLch; Meaney [1984a: 261] argues reasonably that that entry may be "an independent addition to
Lacnunga”. The material presumed missing - herbal remedies for cough and breast/chest-pain - reads as follows in BLch (note that the final word gepicge corresponds to Lacn.’s l. 1008 gepicge):

Wið hwostan eft: genim sæmiantan; wyl on ealæþ; sele drincan.

Eft: genim spracen berindred; wyl on ealæþ; sele drincan.

Eft: gen[1]m hofan, gearwan, reade netelan; wyl on meolce.

Eft: genim wîp hwostan 7 wîp angbreoste slarian godne déæ; do bollan fulne wines to; bewyl þriddan déæ on þa wyrtæ; supe on nihntesig.

Eft: genim marubian; wyl on ealæþ; do pipor on.

Eft wîp angbreoste: gif men ste drige hwosta genim spices smæde þynne; lege on hatne stan; scead cymed on; sete horn on; drince þonne smic.

Wiþ drigum hwostan eft: genim eolonan 7 galluc; ete on huniges teare.

Wiþ breostwarce: genim þa lytlan culmillan 7 cymed; wyl on hluttrum ealæþ; supe 7 drincæ.

Eft: genim dwoergedwostlan 7 gyprisan kyncean; welle on hluttrum ealæþ; drince scenc fulne on neahntesig.

Wyl on ealæþ wîp þon ilcan: finul, marubian, betonican, 7 drincæ.

Wiþ breostwarce: genim rudan, hunan 7 aprotanan; gegnid tosomne smæle on mortere; meng wið hunig, 7 þry dagas, ælce dag ær mete, þrie cucler fulle gepicge.

[BLch (58/7 - 60/3)]

1007 clîfwyr - sume men hatað foxesclife, sume eawyrť : In the bottom margin of fol. 18r in Harley 585 a later medieval (probably thirteenth-century) hand writes and equates (by means of Lat. idem) the OE plant names clîfwyrť, foxes glofe and eawyrť. de Vriend (OEHerb p. 279) reads - wrongly I think - clîfwyrť, foxes glofe, eawyrť. They have doubtless been placed here as a result of an understandable confusion between the plant dealt with at this point in OEHerb (i.e. clîfwyrť) and OE clîfwyrť. If, as seems likely, these forms are nom.
sg. it may be noted that OE *foxes glofe* (wk. fem.?) - as opposed to *foxes glofa* and *foxes clofe* - appears to be otherwise unattested; however, since it is likely that *Lacn.* is the source for the annotation, here it might well be a corruption of the present *foxesclife*.

1007 *foxesclife*: Bierb2 takes this to be acc. sg. (though *clife* is wk. fem. noun, with long -1-, and Bierb1 defines the parallel instance in *BLch* as nom. sg.). For other instances of *hatan* + nom. noun see BTS *hatan* III(5)a.

1007 *eawyrt*: It is curious that a plant name meaning "water/river-wort" should be equated with burdock (or possibly cleavers) since, although Bierb1 (p. 52) remarks that this plant likes a damp location, judging from Clapham, Tutin & Moore [1989: 479-81] no variety found in Britain has any particular association with water.

**ENTRY CLXXVF54**

This remedy was first edited by Kemble [1849 vol. I: 530].

The remedy is not found in *BLch*, and here interrupts a series of entries (CLXXII-CLXXX) which are found in the same order in *BLch*. It may be incomplete since there are no instructions detailing what to do with the water once it has been fetched - perhaps these have dropped out after l. 1012 *preo*.

1009: *Gif wënnas eglian man at þære heortan*: See n. to l. 624.

1009 *mædenman*: Cf. l. 648 *ga þæne an mædenman to*. See also n. to l. 108.

1009-10 *wylle þe rihte east yrne*: See n. to ll. 108-9.

1010 *east*: For references to the east in Anglo-Saxon magico-medicine see n. to l. 131.

---

*G* invents the OE title *Wid wennum* "For wens" for this entry. *S* similarly invents the title *Wiþ wennum* "Against tumours".
1010 gehlade ane cuppan fulle forde mid dam streame: Payne [1904: 118-9] compares a nineteenth-century Cornish remedy (see Hunt [1916: 416]) in which one must "dip a quart of water from the stream, which must be taken in the direction in which the stream runs; - by no means must the vessel be dipped against the stream".

1010-12 "Credan" 7 "Pater noster" ... "Credan" 7 "Pater noster": On these pairings of Creed and Our Father see n. to l. 114.

ENTRY CLXXVII

This and the following three remedies constitute all but the last remedy in BLch Bk I chap. xvi5.

OE Variant Versions:

1. Wiþ heortwærce: rudan gelm seop on ele 7 do alwan ane yntsan to; smire mid þy; þæt stilþ þam sare. [BLch (60/5-6)]

2. Wið heortwærce: rudan gelm seóð on ele 7 do aþwan to ane yntsan; smire mid þu [read þy]; þæt stillass þam sare. [BL MS Additional 43703, fol. 261v (The "Nowell transcript")]

ENTRY CLXXVIII

OE Variant Versions:

1. Wiþ heortece: gíf him on innan heard heortwærce sie, þonne him wyxþ wind on þære heortan 7 hine þeged þurst 7 biþ unmehtiglic. Wyrc him þonne stanbæð, 7 on þam ete superne rædic mid sealte; þy mæg wesan sio wund gehæled. [BLch (60/6-11)]

55 C (p. 74 n. 3) mistakenly refers us to BLch Bk I chap. xviii.
2. Gif him on innan heard heortwaerc sie bonne him weaxed wund on þære heortan,
7 hine þegeð þurst 7 byþ unmeahtiglic; wirc him þonne stanbad ond on þon ete
superne redic mid sealt, þu [read þy] sceal bion se wund gehæled.

[BL MS Additional 43703, fol. 261v. (The "Nowell transcript")]

1016 wund: As Meaney [1984a: 262] points out, this is an error for wund shared by both
Lacn. and BLch against the Nowell transcript’s wund (though se wund is abnormally masc.);
note also seo wund in l. 1017.

1017 Wyrc him þonne stanbæð: On this treatment see Entry LXXIII and notes thereto.

1017 superne redic: This plant is referred to only here (and in the two variant versions)
in OE. The adj. presumably denotes a southern import. Hagen [1995: 36] suggests it may be
the "large white radish eaten on the continent today".

1017 þy: "By this means". It is not necessary to emend to [mid] þy with GS since OES
§1367 (see also §1369 with regard to later prose) notes that "[t]he means of instrument by
which something is effected can be expressed by the dative/instrumental alone as well as by a
preposition". Furthermore, neither of the variant versions has mid.

ENTRY CLXXIX

OE Variant Versions:

1. Wiþ heorotece: eft genim giprifan; seoð on meolce; sele drincan VI dagas.
   [BLch (60/12-13)]

2. Eft: genim gyprifan; seoð on miclum; drincan [read sele drincan] six dagas.
   [BL MS Additional 43703, fol. 261v (The "Nowell transcript")]

1019 meolce: The Nowell transcript’s miclum is obviously a mistake.
ENTRY CLXXX

OE Variant Versions:

1. Eft: nioheweard eforfearn, gy þ rífan, wegbæ[dan]; wyl tosomne; sele drincan.
   [BLch (60/14-15)]

2. Eft: nioheweard eforfearn, gy þ rínan [read gyðrían], wegbæadan; wel tosomne;
   sele drincan.
   [BL MS Additional 43703, fol. 261v (The "Nowell transcript")]

BLch (and the Nowell transcript) end this section with a remedy not found in Lacn.

ENTRY CLXXXI

1021 breostmyrwtte : "Constriction of the chest". TOE includes this unique word under
both "Tightness in the chest" (02.08.08.01) and "Angina" (02.08.08.03). A sensation of chest
constriction can also be symptomatic of a heart attack. Note that this remedy follows five
others dealing with heart (heort) troubles, particularly pain.

1021-3 nime ane cuppan gemeredes huniges ... 7 wylle hit oððet hit beo wel briwicce :
The word briwicce is unique, but cf. Lacn. 1. 232 seoð ... oððet he swa ðiccse sy swa briw,
and also the beginning of a remedy in London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 46,
fol. 144 (Ker no. 98, s. x/xi; ed. Napier [1890: 325]):

Hat wyrccean þe sylf wemensealfe. man sceal niman clæne hunig, swylc man to blacan
briwe deþ, 7 wyllan hit neah briwes þicnesse...

1025 7 pipra hit syþpan swa swa man wille : Freedom to season to taste is also granted at
the end of the Wellcome MS text just cited - 7 piperian swaswa þe þince.
ENTRY CLXXXII

Sources and Analogues:

Although Cameron in his recent book on OE medicine [1993: 165] states that there is only one version of this text extant in OE, this is incorrect, for Förster [1929] not only finds another virtually identical (but somewhat inferior) text in BL Cotton Vitellius C viii fol. 22r-v; a. below), but also identifies another differently worded version that survives in two Anglo-Saxon MSS. I present one of these (from BL MS Cotton Vitellius E xvii; the other MS being CCCC MS 391 (p. 718) (Ker no. 67, s. xi', xi/xii; ed. Förster [1929: 273-4])) as b. below.

Förster also in 1903 (pp. 352-4), and more fully in 1929, observes that these OE passages are independent translations of part of a single Lat. source, namely the (possibly ninth-century) tract on bloodletting entitled De minutione sanguinis, sive de phlebotomia, attributed - probably wrongly - by the Middle Ages to Bede (c. below; on this text see Jones [1939: 88-9]). I also present Förster's hypothetical reconstruction (d. below) of an approximate Lat. text of the De minutione which comes closer in some respects to that from which the OE texts may have been translated, one arrived at by comparing the readings of one eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon version with a later fifteenth-century one (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 814, fol. 60r). Finally, I present a number of other parallels from Anglo-Saxon England and later times.

Note that is not necessarily the case that either OE translator was working from the full text of the De minutione, since a Lat. version of this section alone is found in the eleventh-century Prayerbook of Ælfwine (ed. Gunzel [1993: 144 (no. 56)]).

a. Parallel OE text in BL Cotton Vitellius C viii folios 22r-v (Ker no. 221 s. xi'). (I print a slightly revised version of Förster's [1929: 271-3] edition; abbreviations are expanded in round brackets):

Dry dagas synodon on geare pe we Egiptiace hatað, þa(et) is on ure gedeode

"plihilice dagas", on dom natepæshwon for nanre neode ne mannæ ne neates blod

Franzen [1991: 69] observes that the thirteenth-century "tremulous scribe" of Worcester copied part of the opening of this text onto p. 721 of the same MS.
b. Representative of the other extant OE translation (BL Cotton Vitellius E xviii, fol. 15r; Ker no. 224, s. xi med) (here considerably revised from Förster’s [1929: 273-4] edition; abbreviations are expanded within round brackets):

\[\text{Find [for Sind] eft pry dagas [on] twelf monðum pa syndon swide unhal[wend]\text{e} mon}[num]\ oðde nytenum blod to forlate\text{en} oðde drenc to drincanne: \(p\text{(et)}\) is se æfemesta monandæg on Aprilis, ær he gange of tune, 7 se forma monandæg on Agustus-monde, 7 se æfemesta monandæg on Decembres-monde, ær he gange of tune.\]

\[\text{[Se] \(\text{de} \text{on \(\text{ham} \text{prim monandagum mannu(m) oðde nytenum blod forlætæd ær feowertæoden dægæ [CCCC MS 391 reads \(\text{dridan dæg}\) he sceal swyltan, oðde he ne gebåted þæs seoðædan dæges. 7 
}\]

\[\text{gif he drenc drecnæ to kecercæfte ær fijyne dagæn he sceal swyltan. 7 
}\]

\[\text{gif hwilc man acen[nd byð on] þyssum \(\text{prim dagum he sceal swyltan yfelæ dan deæðe. 7 \(\text{se} \text{et[cð gose] flæsc on þyssum \(\text{prim dagu(m) he sceal swyltan ær feowertæugu(m) dag[um].}\)\}

\]

c. Source text in PL 90, col. 960-1 (from Pseudo-Bede \textit{De minutione sanguinis, sive de phlebotomia}):
Plures sunt dies Ægyptiaci, in quibus nullo modo nec per ullam necessitatem licet homini vel pecori sanguinem minuere, nec potionem impendere, sed ex his tribus maxime observandi, octavo Idus April. illo die lunis, intrante Augusto; illo die lunis, exeunte Decembri; illo die lunis, cum multa diligentia observandum est, quia omnes venæ tunc plena sunt.

Qui in istis diebus hominem aut pecus inciderit, aut statim aut in ipso die vel in tertio morietur, aut ad septimum diem non perveniet; et si potionem quis acceperit, quindecimo die morietur; et si masculus, sive mulier, in his diebus nati fuerint, mala morte morientur; et si quis de auca in ipsis diebus manducaverit, quindecimo die morietur.

d. Förster's [1929: 275] hypothetical reconstructed source passage from the De minuttione:

Tres sunt dies Ægyptiaci, in quibus nullo modo nec per ullam necessitatem licet homini vel pecori sanguinem minuere nec potionem impendere: id est prima die luna octavo Idus Aprilis, secunda die luna intrante Augusto et tertius dies lune exeunte Decembri, quia omnes venæ tunc plena sunt.

Qui in istis tribus diebus hominem aut pecus inciderit, aut statim aut in ipso die vel in tertio morietur aut ad septimum diem non perveniet. Et si potionem quis acceperit, ante XV dies morientur. Et si masculus aut femina in his diebus nati fuerint, mala morte morientur. Et si quis de auca in ipsis diebus manducaverit, ante XL dies morietur.

e. Parallel to the De minuttione passage in Pseudo-Bede De tribus diebus periculosus (PL 90, col. 955):

Sunt tres dies in anno qui per omnia observandi sunt. viii Idus April. ille dies lunis, intrante August. ille dies lunis,exeunte Decemb. ille dies lunis observandus est, in quibus omnes venæ in homine et in pecude plena sunt. Qui in his hominem aut pecus percusserit, aut statim, aut tertio die morietur, aut septimo die periclitabitur.
Et si potionem acceperit, intra quindecim dies morietur. Et si masculus aut femina in his diebus nascuntur, mala morte morientur. Et si de auca in his diebus alquis manducaverit, intra quindecim vel quadraginta dies morietur.

Later English Analogues:


Ilka man in þer dayes forsake
To lat hym blod, or medecyn take.
It is to bestes ful houly,
And þer dayes namly:
The last day of aueryll
þat is both stowt & gryll;
The fyrst day of august is not tender;
And þe last day of december.
And who-so in þes dayes ettes fleche
Of gos, other mare or lesse,
The master says - Imake no ly -
Wyth-in forty dayes he sall dy. ....

... Bede says, þat was clark cler.
þer is thre dayes in þe yere,
In þe qwylk for nakyn case of ned
Lyket noght to man no best to bled.
Ne tak any potacyon
þat is of drynkes confeccon.
The last day of all apryll -
þat many a man lykes well;
The fyrst day of august -
þat lettes many fro þe lust;
The last day of December beand
Passes many a man fro her land:
Three days for to ken
Wyth all your besenes full eveyn.
In her three days pat er ser,
Watte man or women of he yer
Er born, so says he prophecy,
Thurght euyle ded pai sail dy.

g. Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 59, fol. 136 (ed. Hirsh [1975: n. 7]):

There bene iij perlous Mondays in he yere the chylde pat ys gotyn on any of these
iij Mondays be yt Man chylde or woman chylde odyr yt shall be brenet or ondone or
dy sodenly and yf yt be a Maydon chylde yt shall be lecherous or dey an evyll deth
also gyf Any man or woman ete of any gose of any of iij Mondays he shall dy that
yere And whett man or woman that byldyth ony howsyng on these yt shall com to
evyll prove and he workys pat he goth abought these dayys And these ben the
Mundays The fyrst Munday of Feverrer and pe last Munday of May and the last
Munday of Decembr.

h. BL MS Sloane 635, fol. 11r II. 34-49 (unpublished; abbreviations are expanded within
round brackets):

Ther byth iij dayes in he yere yn which no ma(n) sshal for no nede lese hys blood ne
medecyne take. h(at) ys to wete be last day of pe mo(n)th of Ap(ri)l, be first day of
be mo(n)th of August, and be last day of be mo(n)th of Decembr(e). h(e)se iij dayes
ben good to kepe for be vaynes of man byth full of blood. And h(er)fore ho so these
dayes be cutte or wild best be (?)smether(n) w(t)ynme viij dayes or ell(s) xv dayes
sshall be ded and pey he take medecyn(e) (?)wondes and he ascape.
And ho so yn ony of these iij dayes ete ony gas flessh or pe xv day he sshall dye or
sh(al)l be mesel or leper, or yf male or female be borne pe (?)hou* of ht sshall...
i. BL MS Sloane 635, fol. 11v ll. 14-19 (unpublished; abbreviations are expanded within round brackets):

Also iij days of p(er)el to blede op(er) take any manys medecyn(e) on, p(at) ys to wete the first m(o)nday of August, the last m(o)nday of Ap(ri)l, and the last m(o)nday of Decembr(e), op(er) he sshall ware ffebyll op(er) nev(er) r(e)cov(er).

j. Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 342 fol. 136v (s. xv) (noted and edited by Förster [1929: 276-7]):

These ben. III. perlous monedayes in pe yere: on ys e fyrst monday of Feuerere; and ober is e last monday of May; and pe pryde ys e last monday of Septembre.
Pe maliche of hem is per, os [lies as] clerkis sayn, hat what chyld ys born or getyn on any of pe. III. dayes, he schall be brende or drenchyd, or be do to schendful deth; or elles he schall dye sodenly hym-self. And gyf yt be a mayd-chyld, sche schall become a commen woman or elle a strumpet and per-to have euel endyng, but hit be pe more wonder. And gyf any man or woman ete eny gose-flesch in any of pe [sic]. III. dayes, he schall have pe [sic] fallyng evelle. And no worke schall come to good ende, hat ys begunne in any of pe. III. dayes.

k. BL MS Harley 1772 fol. 115v (ed. Hazlitt [1965: 56]: 57)):

Beware of letting blood, drinking, or eating goose, on these three days, nono k/is Aprilis die lunis: intrante Augusto die lunis XX: exeunte Decembris die lunis.

l. Hazlitt [1965: 375] (no source given, but cf. k. above):

"It was considered improper to partake of goose, to be let blood, or to take any medicinal draught, on three particular Mondays in the year, if the days in question fell on a Monday, viz., March 22, August 20, and the last Monday in December."

---

560 Rest of text lost with bottom of leaf.
560 This work is reprinted in one volume as W.C. Hazlitt, Dictionary of Faiths & Folklore: Beliefs, Superstitions and Popular Customs, Bracken Books, London, 1995.
m. Hazlitt [1965: 375] continues:

The "Schola Salernitana" adds, that the first of May, and the last of April and September were also considered unsuitable for phlebotomy, and for the use of goose as a diet. The "Schola" does not support the opinion.

n. From the "Book of Knowledge" including the Practica Rusticorum; quoted in Hazlitt [1965: 487]:

"Astronomers say, that six dayes in the year are perillous of death : and therefore they forbid men to let blood on them, or take any drink : that is to say, January the 3d, July the 1st, October the 2d, the last of April, August the first, the last day going out of December. These six dayes with graet diligence ought to be kept, but namely the latter three, for all the veins are then full. For then, whether man or beast be knit in them within seven dayes, or certainly within fourteen dayes, he shall die. And if they take any drinks within fifteene dayes, they shall die; and, if they eat any goose in these three dayes, within forty dayes they shall die; and, if any child be born in these three latter dayes, they shall die a wicked death."

o. From MS. Porkington 10 fol. 1 (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth; s. xv; ed. Kurvinen [1953: 40]):

There bene .iij. dayes in pe yere before oer to be kept: pe .viij. Kalends of Aprile, pe firste day of Auguste and pe laste, and pe .iij. Kalends of December. What man or beste take sykenes in his dayes, in pe .iij. day schal dye. And who so be borne in po dayes schall dye an yvel dethe.

p. From a mid sixteenth-century MS (additions to Pierpont Morgan Library 776 (fol. 6r)) (Bühler [1941: 612]):

And of theis said daungerus dayes the worste ben the last Munday of Aprill, the first Munday of August and the last Munday of September. And the Revolucion of howses in theis dayes sheweth a suddayne Ruyne of them in theis dayes begune.
q. From Thomas Moulton's *Myrrour or Glasse of Helthe* (s. xvi; Bühler [1941: 612] (see also n. 19 for the taboo against eating goose flesh)):

*These ben the .iii. peryllous Mondayes in the yere to let blod or to take any medycyn or purgacion on, that is for to sayne, The fyurste Mondaye of August and yf seconde is yf last Monday of Apyrll. And the thyrde is the last Mondaye of Decembre.*

r. From Lord Burghley's *Precepts* 1636; quoted in Hazlitt [1965: 375] (also quoted in this connection by Förster [1929: 277]):

"Though I think no day amisse to undertake any good enterprize or businesse in hande, yet have I observed some, and no mean clerkes, very cautionarie to forbeare these three Mundayes in the yeare, which I leave to thine owne consideration, either to use or refuse, viz. 1. The first Munday in April, which day Caine was born, and his brother Abel slain. 2. The second Munday in August, which day Sodome and Gomorrah were destroyed. 3. The last Munday in December, which day Judas was born, that betrayed our Saviour Christ."

On the possible Byzantine origins of this part of the *De minutione* see Förster [1903: 353-4; 1939: 275-7].

Bonser [1963: 298] also quotes a passage from the medieval Welsh *Meddygon Myddfai* which derives from the same passage in the *De minutione*.

1026 dagas ... Egiptiaci: The general concept and name of certain unpropitious "Egyptian days" appears many times in Anglo-Saxon calendars and other documents (see e.g. *Elfwine's Prayerbook* (ed. Günzel [1993: nos. 4, 56, 59]), Wormald [1934: e.g. 16, 17, 19-21], Bonser [1963: 296-9], and (possibly Anglo-Saxon) Stuart [1979]). Here, however, the term is applied (not uniquely), with a degree of historical incorrectness, solely to three critical Mondays in the year. Steele [1919: 108] identifies three distinct (the oldest dating

---

381 See Förster [1903: 353 n. 1].
from the fourth century) sets of Egyptian Days in medieval MSS (Lacn.'s corresponding to
the second):

The oldest set is of two days in each month, a second is found in the pseudo-Bede
and comprises three Mondays in the year, and the third gives certain days in each
lunar month.

The concept of unlucky "Egyptian days" derives ultimately from ancient Egyptian tables
of lucky and unlucky days (see Dawson [1926] for examples; see also discussion of this and
later medieval views of the days' origins in Thorndike [1929 vol. I: 686-8]).

For a useful (but incomplete) list of citations of Egyptian Days in early medieval
manuscripts see Thorndike [1929 vol. I: Appendix II]. For discussion of the concept and
extensive instances dating from the fourth century see (in addition to Thorndike) Steele
[1919], and Webster [1916: 299-301]; for more OE instances see also Henel [1934-5].

1027-8 *blod sy to wanienne*: I.e. in the remedial practice of bloodletting. For other
instances and consideration of the theory and practice of bloodletting in Anglo-Saxon
England see Bonser [1963: 294-9], and especially Cameron [1993: chap. 14]. There is one
other reference to bloodletting in Lacn. (Entry CXLVI, l. 843).

The time at which blood was let was believed to be critical - hence not only the present
entry, but also other bloodletting tables and documents from Anglo-Saxon England (see e.g.
Ælfwine's Prayerbook (ed. Günzel [1993: nos. 1, 18, 35, 56, 58]), and many instances in the

1028-9 *pat is bonne ... se nyhsta monandeg*: I.e. the last Monday in April as in the
other OE version (se æftææste monandæg on Ap(ri)l(i)s, ær he gange of tune) (nos. f., h., n.
have somewhat similarly the last *day* in April), but this date is not paralleled in any of the
Lat. texts of the De minutione cited above.

The syntax of this and the next statement is Latinate, probably being based on an
ablative absolute construction (though the adduced readactions of the source do not have this
construction for the first Monday), and makes for rather awkward and potentially ambiguous
OE, for (understanding *nyhsta* as "next" rather than "last") it could be construed as signifying the *next* Monday after April, i.e. the first Monday in May. Some such mistaken interpretation may lie behind the dating of the third Monday as the first in January (see below).

Meaney [1984b: 124] notes that Ælfric, in his homily for January 1 (*Octobas et Circumcisio Domini Nostri*), speaks in condemnation of a commonly held related superstition against bloodletting of one's livestock ("they will not diminish (*wanian*) their things") on every Monday:

> Sind eac manega mid swa micclum gedwyldse befangene, þæt hi cepað be ðan monan heora fær, and heora dæda be dagum, and nellad heora ðing wanian on monan-dæg, for anginne ðære wucan, ac se monan-dæg nis na fyrnset daga on þære wucan, ac is se oðer. Se sunnan-dæg is fyrnset on gesceapanysse and on endeyrdrmysse, and on wurðmynye.

"Many are also possessed with such great error, that they regulate their journeying by the moon, and their acts according to days, and will not let blood from their livestock on Monday, because of the beginning of the week; though Monday is not the first day in the week, but is the second. Sunday is the first in creation, in order, and in dignity." [ed. & trans. (here revised) by Thorpe [1843 vol. I: 100-1]]

Similar such superstitions against activity on Monday - and of course the popular view of Monday as the first day of the week - have lasted well into the twentieth century - see e.g. Opie & Tatem [1989: 258].

1028-9 *þam monþe þe we Aprelis hatað ... þe we Agustus hatað* : Contrast the OE sentence concerning the *third* Monday, which lacks the Latinate syntax and uses the Lat. month name without the explanatory *þe we ... hatað* - ll. 1030-1 *þonne is se þridda se æresta monandæg æfter utgange þæs monþes Decembris.*

1029-30 *þonne is oþer ... se æresta monandæg* : I.e. the first Monday in August. This date is unproblematic.
Note that, whereas the Lat. source and parallel texts here explain the medical theory behind the avoidance of bloodletting on these three Mondays (quia omnes venae tunc plene sunt), no such rationale is provided in the OE texts, which might thus appear in this respect to have degenerated into superstition.

1030-1 ponne is se bridda ... Decembris: I.e. the first Monday in January.

Since all the other versions and analogues cited above (with the exception of j., m., and p. which have the last (Mon)day in September, and of o.) agree on the third Monday being either the last Monday, or, not too dissimilarly, the last day, in December, Lacn.'s date here is suspicious. I suggest that it may result from the misinterpretation of a putative earlier OE line that, like the preceding lines 1028-30 which give the first two Mondays, used a dative absolute construction based on a Lat. ablative absolute construction (et tertius dies lune exeunte Decembri):

*ponne is se bridda utganggendum þam monpe þe we Decembris hatoð se nyhsta monandaeg.

In such a sentence nyhsta might easily be misunderstood by a syntactic reviser, who lacked knowledge of the Lat. source and who wished to alter a Latinate construction that is "not very frequent in OE" (Quirk & Wrenn [1957: 66]) to a more idiomatic English syntax, as meaning not "last, closest in proximity to" but "next" (that is, in effect, the Monday following the end of December). Hence, I suggest, Lacn's awkward signification of the first Monday in January with reference to the end of the previous month562.

1032-5 Se þe on þysum þrim dagum his blod gewanige ... odde gif he hwilne drenc drincð: Cf. the pairing of bloodletting and drinking (in man and beast) here with the following passage from the OE Prognostics (ed. C vol. III p. 152; see also Förster [1929: 265-70] and Henel [1934-5: 335-6]):

Da ealdan leces gesetton on Ledon bocum þæt on ælcum monðe beod æfre twegen dagas þa syndon swiðe derigendlice æneg ðrecne to drincanne, ophe blod to

562 On local variations and scribal contamination and interpolations in prognostic literature see the remarks of Taavitsainen [1988: 115-7 "The Scribe as an Editor"].
latenne for ðam þe an tid is on ælcum þara daga gif man ænge æddran geopenad on þara tide þæt hit bid lîfleast oddæ langsum sar. Þæs cumed ðum læce 7 let his horse blod on þære tide, 7 hit læg sona dead.

1033 on þam forman dage oppe þam feorpan dage : The other OE version has instead in CCCC MS 391 on þone ðridan dæg, and in BL Cotton Vitellius E xviii ær feowerteodan dæge. Of these days only the first (þam forman) and the third (þone ðridan) correspond to the source texts adduced above.

1035-6 þis dagum ... þys ylcum : The lack of a dat. pl. inflectional ending to the demonstratives is paralleled in the second instance in the other redaction of this text in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C viii (see above for the text, but note that despite this correspondence Förster emends these instances in both texts to give -um endings).

1037 gosæ flæces : Förster [1929: 272 (and n. 3)] would treat this as a compound gosæflæces.

GS (p. 43) remark that "[a]s goose taboo is Celtic it may very well be that the A.S. lore of lucky and unlucky days for bleeding was introduced by Irish missionaries".

Another OE text concerning perilous days in BL MS Harley 3271 folios 90v-91r (ed. Henel [1934-5: 336-7]) indicates that it was not just on certain critical days that gooseflesh was thought to be harmful to the infirm:

gyt her to eacan is to warhienne þæt man ne þlicge gosæflæsc on þane æftemestan dei hlydan monþes, ne on þane æftemestan dæg december monþes; gosæflæsc byþ æfær unhalwende þam untruman, swa swa ma ofra metta, þe we ne magan her secggan.

However, at least one OE remedy recommends the ingestion of goose stomach/giblets (BLch (176/24) gosæ inneflæ). Another (BLch (88/7-10)) does not recommend the eating of fresh goose, but will permit it if the meat is salted.
According to Steele [1919: 120-1], it is only in English forms of this text that the prohibition against eating goose is found. With regard to the presence and use of geese in Anglo-Saxon England Clutton-Brock [1976: 388] remarks that their bones:

are commonly found on Anglo-Saxon sites (they were the only bird remains from Sedgeford), and domestic geese are frequently mentioned in the literature, where they are given the same value as domestic fowls.


For a small collection of OE remedial instructions to abstain from certain types of food see Hagen [1992: 93], and also for tabooed food see Hagen [1995: chap. 13].

ENTRY CLXXXIII

There is an early (but misleading) mention of this text by Pettigrew [1844: 81-2] in a discussion of remedies for smallpox.

1039-57 : All previous editors print these lines as prose. I owe the observation that they can be divided into rhyming poetic couplets to Dr. Furnival's pencilled notes in his copy of vol. III of C [though my lineation does not correspond in all details to his, which ends with l. 1058, and the stanzaic layout is entirely mine).

Schaller and Könsgen's [1977] catalogue of the beginnings of Lat. poems includes one reference to what proves to be an earlier ("(?saec ix") redaction of this poem (though they do not record this instance in Lacn.). It is edited without any identification, verse lineation, commentary or notes by Staerk [1910 vol. I: 55-6] from Codex Q.v.I. no. 20 fol. 13v (s. ix) in the Imperial Library in Leningrad (St. Petersburg) (abbreviated Ld). In verse lineation and with abbreviations expanded within round brackets and modern editorial punctuation the text reads:

AVGVSTIDYNENSIS OPUS TIBI SOLVO SIAGRI

S invents the OE title Wipoccas "Against pocks" for this entry.

Kept at King's College London.

For facsimiles of folios 9v and 10v of this MS see no. LII in Staerk (vol. II).
\[ A + \omega \]

\[ D(e)o caeli regi regu(m) nos debemus reddere \]
\[ gratiaru(m) actiones atq(ue) a se petere \]
\[ ut a nob(is) lues ista hui(us) pestis careat \]
\[ et in nob(is) qua(m) donauit salus uera p(e)rmaneat. \]
\[ Ih(es)u (Criste) nos defende p(e)r tua(m) potentia(m) \]
\[ atq(ue) n(un)c ostende benigna(m) clementia(m), \]
\[ quia solus ipse potes praestare auxiliu(m) \]
\[ et petenti toto corde donare presidiu(m). \]
\[ Patre(m) piu(m) dignu(m) summu(m) atq(ue) obtimu(m) \]
\[ te rogamus audie preces famuloru(m) omnium. \]
\[ Ih(es)u (Criste) uita alta subueni auxilio \]
\[ et salutis tuae defende p(re)stdio. \]
\[ surne digne te obsecre intende ad ilia \]
\[ cordis mei atq(ue) peto angeloru(m) milia \]
\[ ut nos saluent ac defendant doloris igniculu \]
\[ potestate et protegent mortis a periculo. \]
\[ Tua(s) Ih(es)u aure(s) nobis inclina clem(en)tiam; \]
\[ ne dimittas nos intrare in hanc pestilentia \]
\[ sed salutare nos dignare p(e)r tua(m) potentia(m). \]
\[ Fili D(e)i Ih(es)u (Criste) qui es uite donator \]
\[ miserere atq(ue) nob(is) huius mundi saluator. \]
\[ Ih(esu)s (Crists) qui cu(m) Pa(trem). \]

This MS attributes the poem ("I reveal to you the work of Siagri Avgystdvnensis") to Syagrius of Autun. Although little is known about the details of this man's life, he was undoubtedly a figure of importance. He was elected bishop of Autun in c. 560 and died (?)599-600. He is associated with King Guntram, Lothar II, Childebert II, and Pope Gregory I who recommended to him the missionaries he had sent to Britain (letters from Gregory to
Syagrius are extant); Syagrius is referred to a number of times in the History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours. See Di Berardino [1992 vol. II: 802] for a summary of what is known about him.

A reconstruction of the original form of the poem based on these two versions reads as follows, each line being a trochaic septenarius:

Deo caeli regi regum nos debemus reddere
gratiarum actiones (or actionem) atque a se petere
ut a nobis lues ista huius pestis careat
et in nobis quam donavit salus uera maneat.

5 Ihesu Criste nos defende per tuam potentiam
atque nobis nunc ostende benignam clementiam,
quia solus ipse potes praestare auxilium
et petenti toto corde donare praesidium.

Patrem pium dignum uerum summum atque optimum

10 te rogamus audi preces famulorum omnium.
Ihesu Criste uita alta subueni auxilio
et salutis tuae pelta defende presidio.

Summe digne te obsecro intende ad ilia
cordis mei atque peto angelorum militia
15 ut nos saluent ac defendant doloris igniculo
poteestate et protegant mortis a periculo.

Tuas Ihesu aures nobis inclina clementiae,
in salute ac uirtute intende potentiae;
ne dimittas nos intrare in hanc pestilentiam,
sed saluare nos dignare per tuam potentiam.

Fili Dei Ihesu Criste qui es utiae donator
miserere atque nobis huius mundi saluator.

1039 N ... N : The name (n(omen)) of the implorer (or of the sufferer?) is to be given here.

1040-1 Deo celi ... gratiarum actionem : Cf. the first line of Caedmon's Hymn (ed. Smith [1978: 39]): Ne we sculan herian | heofonrices weard.

1041 actionem : Ld has the pl. actiones which is perhaps preferable.

1041 se : This should read a se with Ld.

1042 lues isti : This should read lues ista with Ld.

1043 maneat : The metre shows that this, not Ld's permaneat, is the correct reading.

1044 me : Ld has nos.

1044 per [tuam] potentiam : So Ld. MS perpetua potentiam is an easily explicable scribal error.

1045 nobis : No reading in Ld, but the word is required for the metre.

1045 extende : Ld's ostende is probably to be preferred.

1046 potest : This is an error for potes. Ld has the correct reading.
1047 *potentibus*: The metre shows that Ld's sg. *petenti* is the correct reading.

1047 *ex*: No reading in Ld, and the word spoils the metre.

1048 *[Patrem] pium*: MS *summe digne Patrem pium* results from scribal error - *summe digne* belongs at the start of l. 1052, though there it is corrupted to *summo & digne*.

1048 *uerum*: No reading in Ld, but the word is required for the metre.

1049 *ter*: Ld's *te* is doubtless to be preferred as the original reading. *Lacn.* probably here displays the influence of the characteristically multiple recitation of prayers and charms, particularly in factors of three. Cf. the corruption of Lat. *terrarum* to *ter* in l. 893.

1049 *famularumque*: No reading in Ld, and the word spoils the metre. It is an indication that the text has passed through the revising hands of a community of Christian women - see also n. to l. 1062 *illum*.

1049 *tuarum*: Ld has *omnium*.

1050 *Domine*: No reading in Ld, and the word spoils the metre.

1050 *uite alta*: GS emend to the dat. *uite alt[e]*, but Ld has the ablative *uite alta*. In classical Lat. *subvenio* usually governs the dat. (I.S).

1051 & *salutis tue pelta*: The image of the "shield of safety" recalls "lorica" imagery, cf. e.g. LL.'s *tuta pelta* (l. 374), and *galea salutis* (l. 390). Cf. also with the *loricae*, the calling upon (l. 1053) *angelorum milia* (cf. LL.'s *seraphin cum milibus* (l. 340)), but note also (see Herren (p. 114 n.)) Boniface in the poem at the end of his *Praefatio ad Sigibertum* l. 8
(angelorum cum milibus), and the so-called "Oratio Gildae" l. 74 (angelorum ditemur in milibus).

1051 pelta: No reading in Ld, but required for the metre.

1051 summo: This word spoils the metre and rightly belongs not here but (in the form summe) at the start of the next line - as in Ld. See also following n.

1052 & digne: This should read summe digne (Ld has sume digne), which reading is erroneously placed before [Patrem] in MS.

1052 obs[ec]ro: So Ld obsecro; MS obscuro is an obvious error.

1052 a[d] [ilia]: MS ardana is corrupt, and GS's suggested emendation ad arcana does not fit the metre. I emend on the model of Ld. This use of the word ilia seems rather strained: ilia (see LS ile) usually means "that part of the abdomen which extends from the lowest ribs to the pubes, the groin, flank". However, the Oxford Latin Dictionary (ilia, sense e) does record a meaning "guts", "inwards", and it appears that, due to the constraints of the metre, the author of the poem has had to force some such meaning ("inner parts") upon ilia here. Cf. the more felicitous expression of the same concept in LL. (l. 454) as cordis uitalia "vital parts of the heart".

1053 mei cordis: Ld has cordis mei.

1053 angelorum milia: On these words see n. to l. 1051 above.

1054 aut: This should be spelled ut with Ld; the a- may result from scribal dittography after -a in the preceding word milia.
1054 *me* : Ld has *nos*.

1054 *N* : I.e. *N(omen)* as usual, but the addition of a name here spoils the metre, and there is no reading in Ld.

1055 & : No reading in Ld., and the word spoils the metre.

1055 *variole* : No reading in Ld, and the word spoils the metre. It means "pustule", "pox", "smallpox", "variola" (see Latham [1965: *variol/a*] (the earliest British instances there being thirteenth century)); cf. 1. 1068 *da lap/ an poccas*.

1055 *ac* : Ld has *et*.

1056 *Criste* : No reading in Ld, and the word spoils the metre.

1056 : This line is problematic. Both versions of the text read *clementiam*, but this neither makes sense, nor provides the necessary rhyme with *potentie*. There is clearly some corruption here dating back to an earlier version from which both texts derive. It is likely that the series of rhymes on *-am* and *-um* in earlier lines (*potentiam, clementiam, auxiliium, presidium, optimum, omnium/tuarum*) has caused a scribal error. The emendation I adopt - *clementiae* (i.e. gen. sg. *clementiae*) - provides rhyme with *potentie*, but the resulting *aures ... clementiae* ("ears ... of mercy") is rather inelegant.

1057 : This line is absent from Ld. It seems that the verb *intende* is used absolutely here without a noun object (see LS *intendo 4 C*), i.e. the line may be translated "in the safety and strength of your power turn your attention to (us)".

1058 *pestilentiam* : Ld's *pestilentia* is an obvious error.
1059 saluare: Ld has salutare – an inferior reading.

1059 dignare: So too Ld; GS are wrong to emend to digna.

1059 [per]: That this word has dropped out is confirmed by Ld.

1059 potentiam tuam: Ld's tuam potentiam is preferable for the metre.

1060 Filii: This ought to be Ld's voc. Fili.

1060 uiui: No reading in Ld, and the word spoils the metre.

1060 dominator: The metre shows that the Ld's donator is the original reading.

1061 nos: The metre shows that Ld's nobis is the original reading.

1062 illam: The reference to a woman is noteworthy: cf. the addition of famularumque to the poem in l. 1049. However, the address to a third person does not follow on smoothly from the first persons of the poem (nos, nobis, me, peto) or of a following prayer gescyldað me (l. 1068). This entry may display the results of alteration and addition by a community of Christian women.

For other instances of the involvement of women in the use, alteration, and dissemination of medical texts and charms in Anglo-Saxon England see Hollis & Wright [1992: 236] and [1994] (to which may be added the Book of Nunnaminster (ed. Birch [1889]) (see esp. remarks on pp. 15-17)) which contains a text of LL., and other Lat. charms (including a parallel to Lacn. Entry LXIV ll. 299-314).

1062 de periculis anni: Cf. LL.'s mortalitas uius ani (ll. 324, 326).
1063 *fìat sanitas Domini super me*: C, L and GS all read *supreme* rather then *super me* (-er being abbreviated in MS), but this is probably mistaken since, according to Martin [1910: viii] the abbreviation (*p* with bar through tail) is not to be expanded *p,re*, and furthermore, sense would then necessitate emendation of gen. *Domini* to voc. *Domine* (so GS alone). The present reading presents no difficulty.

1065-6 *Brigitarum ... rubebroht*: These words resist sure interpretation, but appear to be a mixture of Lat. and OIr.

The first two words seem to be Lat. words in the gen. pl.: *Brigitarum*: "of Brigits" - "oddish Latin" (Meroney [1945-6: 174]; GS (p. 201 n. 15) tentatively suggest a pl. noun *brigitae* denoting "nuns of St. Brigit"56). C misreads the following word *dricillarum* as *ancillarum* and so (p. 397) sees a reference to women associated with St. Brigit.

*dricillarum*: unexplained; Meroney (p. 174) suggests that it may involve another proper name (though he suggests none) "which would be just as good gibberish in Irish as in Latin". But might *-illarum* in fact be Lat. *illarum*?

*tuarum*: this is unambiguously Lat. "of your (fem.)" (cf. possibly l. 1049 *famularumque tuarum*).

*malint uoarline dearnabda murde murrunice domur brio rubebroht*: C recognises these words as corrupt Irish and (p. 397) thinks they might contain the words *fiorglan, dear neamda, muire de* i.e. "Immaculate, Maid of Heaven, Mary of God" (note that Brigit is often identified with Mary in Irish tradition, e.g. in *máthir Ís* in Ultán's *Hymn* l. 6 (ed. Stokes and Strachan [1901, 1903: 325])). Meroney, however, would cast doubt on this, particularly on the equation of *nabda = neamda*, by observing "the apparent repetition in *damur demur ... domur*" (themselves unexplained).

According to Meroney (p. 174):

*malint*: OIr *mál* "prince" + int ("some form (voc. sg. masc.) or other (gen. sg. masc. and neut., nom. sg. fem.) of the Old Irish definite article").

56 See S no. 12 (p. 206) for another reference to St. Brigit in an Anglo-Saxon charm.
woarline: possibly a corruption of an otherwise unattested noun OIr sōarline (sōer "free, noble" (DIL saer) + lin "(full) number, (large) group").

Thus his proposed reconstruction reads: mál int sōarline, "prince of the noble multitude".

runice: possibly "a Late Latin adverbial formation "runically," in runes"; but Meroney favours identification with OIr ru-nice "mayest thou heal us". The latter seems much the likelier possibility.

brio: probably OIr breo "flame, (poet.) saint". Meroney records one example of the term applied to St. Brigit in Ultan's Hymn (ed. Stokes & Strachan [1901, 1903: 325]) 1. 1. Brigit bē bithmaith breo [variant reading bruth] órde òilech "Brigit ever excellent woman, golden sparkling flame [variant reading "raging heat", "glowing mass"]".

rubebroht: Meroney would emend and read OIr rube broth; rube might contain OIr bē "woman", but Meroney prefers to view it as pres. subj. sg. of the OIr copulative verb; broth (= DIL bruth) "heat, glowing mass (of metal)", a term applied to St. Brigit in the OIr Ultan's Hymn (see above).

1065-6 Brigitarum ... rubebroht : These words make use of rhyme and echo for incantatory effect. Note particularly the alternating similar sounds in the sequence da murde mur ... domur.

Cf. the use of sound patterning in other incantatory passages in Laen. - Entries XXII, XXV, XXVI, LXIII, LXXXIII, CXXXVII, CLIV, CLX, and CLXIV.

1067 Sancte Rehhoc : As C (p. 398) and GS (p. 67) suggest, this is probably St. Rioch, a fifth-century convert of St. Patrick. He was consecrated a bishop, but retired to the island of Innisboffin where he founded a monastery. Rioch (Riocatus) is mentioned in a litany in a lost MS from Rheims, possibly of Breton origin and of uncertain date, that may be associated with the English church during the reign of King Athelstan (924-39) - see Lapidge [1991: no. XXXVIII.121].
1067 Sancte Rehwalde: GS (p. 67) think this is possibly the famous King Rædwald of East Anglia. But, if Bede's account of his polytheistic worship (Historia Ecclesiastica Bk 2 chap. 15 (ed. Colgrave & Mynors [1969])) is a reliable guide, this would seem very unlikely. Furthermore, the -h- would have to be supposed a corruption.

S (p. 316) repeats an error of C in misreading Rehwalde as Ehwalde. He proposes identification with two English priests and martyrs mentioned by Bede (Historia Ecclesiastica Bk 5 chap. 10; see also the OE Martyrology (ed. Herzfeld [1900: 184])), both being named Hewald, who "had long lived in exile in Ireland for the sake of their eternal fatherland".

Since Rehwald does not appear to be a name attested elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England, I suggest that the letters Reh- are a scribal dittography following Rehhoc, in which case we can only say that the correct form was probably an English name ending in -wald (e.g. Berhtwald, Erkenwald, or Oswald).

1067 Sancte Cassiane: This may be St. Cassian (c. 360-433), possibly an associate of the next saint in the list, St. Germanus (l. 1067 Sancte Germane - but see following n.), and one of the founders of Western monasticism (see Farmer [1987: 76]). There are, however, other saints of this name. One St. Cassianus is mentioned in a late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon litany (Lapidge [1991: XXIV.138]). The martyrdom of a St. Cassianus is recounted in the OE Martyrology (ed. Herzfeld [1900: 146]).

1067 Sancte Germane: GS (p. 66) (so too S p. 316) identify this saint as Germanus of Auxerre (died 446) who visited Britain to suppress a revival of the Pelagian heresy and to whom a number of British and Breton churches are decorated. However, the identification is not necessarily so simple since, according to Farmer [1987: 180], there was another St. Germanus (Garmon, German) of the same period (c. 410-c. 475). He was a Celtic saint and is confused with Germanus of Auxerre. It is sometimes asserted (e.g. GS p. 67) that the Garmund mentioned in OE metrical charm no. 9 For Theft of Cattle (l. 6 Garmund, godes degen ASPR 6 p. 125) constitutes another reference to the (?)latter St. Germanus, but this is
uncertain\textsuperscript{567}. There are many references to St. Germanus in Anglo-Saxon litanies (see Lapidge [1991]).

1068 \textit{Sancte Sigismundi regis}: King of Burgundy, and reputed to be a martyr (died c. 524). St. Sigismund is mentioned in an eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon litany (Lapidge [1991: XVI.ii.106]; Muir [1988: 124]). As GS observe, two masses of St. Sigismund the King are found in the \textit{Bobbio Missal} (ed. Lowe [1919: 101]).

1068 \textit{Sigismundi}: For Sigimuth.

1068 \textit{regis}: For \textit{rex}. Perhaps -gis is a scribal repetition of -gis- in the preceding word \textit{Sigismundi}.

1068 \textit{da lapan poccas}: As Creighton [1891: 452] suggests, \textit{poccas} might here be the OE equivalent for l 1055 Lat. \textit{uariole} "smallpox". For three medieval charms for smallpox (two of them Anglo-Saxon) see Dickins & Wilson [1937: 72-3].

\textbf{ENTRY CLXXXV}

There is a very similar blessing with an interlinear OE gloss in the tenth-century \textit{Durham Ritual} (ed. Lindelöf & Thompson [1927: 98] (also Lat. only by Corrêa [1992: 214, no. 592]) immediately preceding a version of the blessing of apples that constitutes Lacn. II. 288-9:

\begin{verbatim}
B'ARBORUM
god de deæsom tres  æppilberende duvm(m) hase 7 fesceavege
Deus qui hanc arbore pomiferam tua iussione et prouidentia
vææende  vosa i þæt(e) de woldest ny wet' þæt iica  gibloetsia 7 gihalgia
progenitam esse volusti. nunc etiam eandem benedicere et sanctificare
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{567} Cf. Sims-Williams [1990: 301]: "An indigenous British magic tradition cannot be ruled out... although the only possible evidence of such influence seems to be the invocation of Garmund, Godes ðegem - arguably the Welsh saint Garmon (< British Latin Garmanus < Germanus) - in an Old English charm."
Certain medieval sacramentaries (CCSL CLIX, CLIXa, vol. 2 p. 44, no. 2836; CLIXB p. 232, no. 1861 (BENEDICTIO ARBORIS); Richter & Schönfelder [1912: 366, no. 2776] (BENEDICTIO NOVARUM ARBORUM, paired with a version of Lacn. II. 288-9)) also contain versions of this text (immediately following the two blessings of apples that constitute Lacn. II. 285-9), though none are exact parallels of Lacn. and none are specifically for blessing herbs. The version found in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson [1894: no. XC]) reads:

BENEDICTIO ARBORIS

Deus qui hanc arboris poma tua iussione et providentia progenitam [esse voluisti],
nunc etiam eadem benedicere et sanctificare digneris precamur; ut quicumque ex
ea sumpserint, incolumes esse valeant. Per.

ENTRY CLXXXVI

This and the following entry are paralleled in a longer blessing with an interlinear OE
gloss in the tenth-century Durham Ritual (ed. Lindelof & Thompson [1927: 115-6] (also Lat. only ed. Corrêa [1992: 228, no. 637])):

\[\text{dis mon scall reda ofer drence 7 ofer . . . . . .} \]

\[\text{god foeder alm' 7 crist ha' bearn godes lifgiend' 7 gastes holges ic hido oec} \]

Deus pater omnipotens et christe iesu filii dei uiui et spiritus sancti rogo te.
\(\text{h(at)te sende gimeodvma do bloedsvnge } \text{din 7 lecodom heofne of } \text{daz} \)

\[\text{ut mittere digneris benedictionem tuam et medicinam celestem super hanc} \]

\[\text{guscaft drenges i smurenisse h(at)te gichi allvm monnv(m) i netnv(m)} \]

\[\text{creaturam potionis uel unguentu ut prodecat omnibus hominisibus uel pecoribus} \]

\[\text{damm 7 halo sia dam on allvm liomvm dara lichoma h(at)te ne meg} \]

\[\text{quibus et sanitas fiat eis in omnibus membris illorum corporum. ut non possit} \]
diabolus nocere eis nec in usu nec in risu, nec in auditu nec in ambulando nec in gibus in girodadi nec in drinca' drync' ah dh drih' rhymnod dh de arh nec in gustu ciborum nec in bibendo potus. sed tu domine clemens qui es

 ENTRY CLXXXVII

For a parallel in the Durham Ritual see Commentary to the previous entry.

C and S think this entry is incomplete, but since the sense may be complete as it stands this is not necessarily the case.

1090 gustu huius unguenti : C (p. 80 n.) may be right in thinking that this should read gustu huius potus vel tactu huius unguenti.

 ENTRY CLXXXVIII

The top third of the final leaf of the MS is missing and therewith are presumably lost three or four lines of text. Fortunately, however, from the letters and words remaining on the extant piece of parchment (arbor (rest of line missing) and sint sanctificati . p(er)) we can
probably identify the text of this entry. It seems very likely to be the remains of a blessing also found (in a variant form) in Lacn. Entry LXIII ll. 288-9 (see also notes thereto):

*Sanctifica, Domine, hunc fructum arborum ut [hi] qui ex eo ut[u]ntur simus sanctificare; per.*

However, in view of the final *sint sanctificati* (rather than *simus sanctificare*) the original form of this entry's text is likely to have corresponded rather to the following version, found e.g. in a tenth-century sacramentary from Fulda (ed. Richter & Schönfelder [1912: 366] (for the same text in other medieval sacramentaries see CCSL vol. 159 (II) *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis* p. 446, and CCSL vol. 159B *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis* p. 232)) - I underline the correspondences with Lacn.:

*Alia. [i.e. BENEDICTIO NOULARUM ARBORUM] Benedict domine hunc fructum nouarum arborum, ut hi qui utuntur ex eo sint sanctificati. P.*

It is also likely, judging from the format of the four preceding and associated entries that this entry would have had a heading - perhaps *Benedictio Nouarum Arborum* or *Benedictio Pomorum* (but presumably not *Alia*) as in other MSS.

Finally, it may be noted in support of the proposed identification of this fragmentary text that, in the sacramentaries referred to above and in the Anglo-Saxon *Durham Ritual* (ed. Lindelöf & Thompson [1927: 98-9], also ed. Corrêa [1992: nos. 592-3]), versions of it occur next to (both immediately before and after) versions of the blessing that constitutes Lacn. Entry CLXXXV.

1093 *arbor*: The tops of the letters -bor and the words between *arbor* and *sint sanctificati per* are lost with the missing top third of the leaf. *Arbor* is probably the remains of the word *arborum* (see above).

**ENTRY CLXXXIX**

This entry is in a different hand and so badly faded and damaged as to be largely illegible. However, it is clearly a short Lat. text (or texts) employing barley bread (l. 1097 *pane ordeaceo*). The word *manducare* means "to chew" or "to eat".
ENTRY CXC

This entry, in the same hand as the preceding one, is also partially illegible. However, enough is decipherable to show that it is a Lat. remedy for a cancer (i.e. malignant ulcer) (l. 1099 Medicina ad cancrum, l. 1100 cancri) - the only one in Lacn. - using some form of meal or flour (l. 1099 farina).

ENTRY CXCI

The addition of this Anglo-Norman remedy (in another different hand) is presumably evidence of the possession (though not necessarily the use) of at least this one Anglo-Saxon medical MS by at least one Anglo-Norman physician. This point is not noted by Kealey [1981] in his study of Anglo-Norman medicine.

For an edition and discussion of other such Anglo-Norman remedies see Hunt [1990].

1101 amerusche : For the identification of this plant name with stinking camomile (Anthemis cotula L.) see Stone & Rothwell [1977-92: under Ameroke, -usche] and Hunt [1990: 396 under AMEROCHE, 428 under AMEROKE].