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IV.—COLOR IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

T.

It is a somewhat singular fact that although students of our language and literature have been carefully gleaning their chosen fields and leaving scarcely any entirely new theme for investigation, there should remain practically untouched a subject of high interest and æsthetic importance,— I mean the use of color in poetry. To some extent the matter has attracted attention in the study of other literatures than ours. Critics often remark upon the brilliant colorsense of the Celtic poets and of the writers of the Old Norse sagas and poems. Gladstone devoted a long section of his Homeric Studies to the color-epithets in the Iliad and the Odyssey; and a German scholar, with characteristic thoroughness, has made an exhaustive study of the color-words in the entire body of the Latin and Greek classics. But an adequate investigation of the development of the color-sense in English poetry is yet to be written. I know of but one paper that treats the matter in any detail, and that paper 1 is confessedly tentative and leaves the older periods untouched.

¹ H. Ellis, The Colour-sense in Literature, Cont. Rev., LXIX, 714-730.

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As for color in Old English poetry, a few words by Professor March 1 and a few more in a very rare paper by Dr. Sweet 2 exhaust about all that has been said on the subject.

The scientific study of color has strangely lagged behind that of other natural phenomena. In fact, it is only of recent vears that men of science have attempted to construct a scientifically accurate color nomenclature. Most of us have a very limited color vocabulary, and we differ hopelessly in our terminology as soon as we move away from a few sharply defined colors. There are now listed (in Biedermann's Chemiker Kalender) about three hundred and fifty commercial dyes, of which probably less than a twentieth could be properly named by the average person. When we consider, furthermore, that the number of shades produced by mixing is practically unlimited, and that nature proceeds in her work without much regard to the deficiencies of our vocabularies, we can understand how there may be an initial difficulty in assigning an exact value to the color-words in Old English poetry. Aelfric's Nomina Colorum (Wright-Wülcker's Vocab., I, 163) and other glossaries aid somewhat, but the Latin equivalents have not always a settled colorvalue.

The remarkable fact about a great number of the Old English words that possibly are to be taken as color-words, is that they are so indefinite in their application as scarcely to permit us to decide whether a color-effect is intended or not.³ Take for example the word $h\bar{a}r$, hoary or gray, or, secondarily, aged. Does the emphasis of this word when applied to persons lie upon the grayness or upon the age implied by it? The answer is by no means certain. On the

¹ The World of Beowulf in Trans. of Am. Phil. Soc. for 1882, p. xxi.

² H. Sweet, Shelley's Nature Poetry, Lond., 1888. Twenty-five copies printed.

³The peculiar fondness of Old English poetry for formal, conventional phrases adds an element of doubt, in many cases, as to whether the colorword is to be regarded as anything more than an epithet, without a special color-value.

other hand, when the word is used in describing a stone or a suit of armor, a color-effect is doubtless intended—the dull mixture of black and white which we call gray. Similar questions arise in regard to the words deore, mirc, $n\bar{\imath}pan$, wan(n), gold, $bl\bar{o}d$, and others.

To discuss all the problems that are suggested by the topic would far transcend the limits of this paper. I shall be compelled, therefore, in this preliminary discussion to leave many important matters altogether untouched, or at most merely referred to in passing. In a full discussion, the relation of each poem to its source, with a consideration of the probability of a large transfer of borrowed color-epithets, should hold a prominent place. But such an investigation, if made at all, must be made in detail, and must therefore be reserved for another occasion.

One of the first things that strike the reader of Old English poetry is the comparatively small number of genuine color-words that it contains. Some important colors do not appear at all. Blue, for example, is practically non-existent, although one instance occurs.¹ This color, by the way, has never been much used in English poetry until our own century. Yet in a single page Tennyson uses it twice, and Byron and Shelley and Browning and others find it useful. This early neglect of blue is the more remarkable, since modern psychological tests have shown that in some quarters blue heads the list of favorite colors.² Possibly, however, what we distinguish as blue our ancestors were content to call merely dark.³

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blue, . 34.9 per cent. yellow, . 7.5 per cent. red, . 22.7 " green, . 6.1 " white, . 6.1 "
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no preference, . . 10.6 per cent. Psych. Rev., 3, 635. I am indebted for this note to Dr. C. H. Judd.

¹ Ex. 476. Wæs seo hæwene lyft heolfre geblanden.

² Sixty-six Columbia students, tested for preference of color, gave the following results:

³ Cf. Ellis, The Colour-sense in Lit., p. 727.

If we take the entire body of Old English verse we find that the most frequent of the genuine simple colors is green; next comes red, and then yellow. But violet, indigo, and orange do not appear at all. These last three colors are, in fact, very slightly represented in the English poetry of any period. Violet is almost wholly used as the name of a flower; indigo is too technical a term for poetry; and orange has only now and then appeared, more perhaps in our own century than in any other. Of the mixed colors, fealu, brūn, and hwīt are most pronounced. These will be discussed in their proper place.

The list of Old English colors is at best a rather short one, and its meagreness is the more striking as soon as we begin to compare it with the richness of color that appears in Chaucer, or the mediæval romances, or in Shakespeare. difference is seen not merely in the greater amount of color used by the later poets, but in the greater vividness and freshness with which the color-words are applied. Look for a moment at Chaucer's Prologue, which contains 858 lines. The color-words are indeed simple,—black, white, brown, blue, green, grey, pers (sky-blue), red, yellow,—but they are deliberately employed for a picturesque effect, which is enhanced by the use of comparisons, a device never used for this purpose in Old English poetry. The Frankleyne's beard is as white as a daisy; a purse is as white as morning's milk; the monk's neck is white as the fleur-de-lys. The mere mention of this lack of comparisons tells us much in a negative way with regard to the Old English use of color. nearest approach to anything like comparison with colorwords appears in the use of such compounds as blodfaq, goldfaq, and in the words descriptive of brightness—heofonbeorht, sigelbeorht, sigeltorht, heofontorht, swegltorht. It is not too much to say that after the Norman Conquest and after the contact with French literature, English poets acquired a new sense, which enabled them to see (or at least to express) things only dimly apprehended before. How great the difference is can be shown only by detailed comparison.

If we had authoritative tabulations of the colors used by the English poets in different periods, with a list of the objects to which the colors are applied, we should have a solid basis for generalization. This is in part supplied by the concordances to Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope, but the lists found in these books should be supplemented by a great number of others. In the lack of such tabulations I have limited my comparison mainly to Old Saxon, Old High German, and Icelandic poems, and to the Celtic poems contained in the so-called Four Ancient Books of Wales.

The comparative lack of color in Old English poems does not necessarily mean that they are without poetic value. lavish use of color is not necessarily an excellence. Overluxuriance is rather a token of weakness and of immature The Latin poets of the decadence, such as Statius and the mediæval imitators of Ovid, are far more free with their color-phrases than is Horace or Vergil, and they try to make up for their lack of imagination by a liberal use of the paintpot. An almost colorless poetry may have life, movement, imagination, strength, picturesqueness, but it will lack pictorial richness and be less alluring to the general taste. In Old English poetry the appeal to the senses is common enough, but some of the best passages of the Beowulf or The Battle of Maldon, though almost Homeric in life and vividness, are well-nigh destitute of color. Yet they have a vigor of conception and a depth of feeling that amply compensate for the lack of superficial glitter. A brilliant instance occurs in Beow., 1896-1913, where the voyage of Beowulf is described, yet there is not a word of color in it, unless we count the phrase fleat famig-heals. There is opportunity enough in all of the poems that are not religious hymns or versified sermons for far more color than is used. The Old English mind was evidently fixed upon something else.

II.

In marked contrast with the small number of color-words is the great variety of terms expressing light and darkness. These are in many cases used symbolically, and find their proper place in the religious poems or in passages having a religious turn. That this is still true of religious poetry may be verified by any one who will turn the leaves of a collection of modern hymns. One may almost say that the characteristic words in Old English religious poems are such terms as beorht, lēoht, torht, sunne, scīr, scīnan, and such as deorc, niht, þīestre, sweart. It is to be noted also that a large number of these words are used conventionally.

The relative frequency with which these two groups of words are used is shown by the following rough lists, which are approximately correct as far as they go. In the first list I include the words expressing light or brightness.

Beorht (with its compounds or derivatives, beorhte, beorhtian, beorhtlīc, beorhtlīce, beorhtnes, beorhtu, ælbeorht, eallbeorht, efenbeorht, goldbeorht, hēafodbeorht, heofonbeorht, hīwbeorht, rodorbeorht, sadolbeorht, sigelbeorht, sigorbeorht, sweglbeorht, wlitebeorht) is used 204 times; blīcan, 26 times; hādor, hādre, 13 times; lēoht (sb.), lēoht (adj.) (together with lēohte (adv.), lēohtbære, lēohtan, in-, on-lēohtan, onlyhtan, æfenlēoht, fyrlēoht, heofonlēoht, morgenlēoht), 193 times; lēoma, 33 times; līxan, 25 times; scīnan (and its compounds), 73 times; scīma, 9 times; scīr (adj.), scīre (adv.) (and compounds), 45 times; sunne, 59 times; sun-wlitig, once; seyne (and compounds), 29 times; torht (and compounds), 88 times. These make an aggregate of 798, and still do not entirely exhaust the list of words that suggest brightness.¹

¹ For example, more words for flame and fire might have been added, compounds like fyrleoma, kennings for sunne, the word glaeshluttur (Run. 30), the verb glitinian, etc. See also the discussion of the words in the "white group."

For some remarks on "verba des leuchtens, glänzens, scheinens," see Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge, XII, 196-197.

The total number of passages in which light or brightness is mentioned or suggested considerably exceeds 800. But if now we estimate the whole amount of extant Old English poetry at about 30,000 lines, we see that on an average we have one word suggesting light or brightness in every thirty-seven lines. When we consider that the great majority of these words occur in the religious poems, we find that the actual frequency is considerably greater.

If we turn to the words denoting or implying darkness, we find an equally striking group. As in the preceding list, there is difficulty in deciding where to draw the line of exclusion. I have, however, included such words as sweart and wann, on which, along with some others, I remark later. A great number of words of this class are used symbolically and conventionally, but I cannot take the space necessary for illustration. For the sake of brevity I present merely the base-words, and do not specify compounds.

blæc	10	: 1.4	191	Lincian >	
D1æc	19	n iht	191	peostre (52
deorc	43	nīpan	6	þēostre } (þ <u>ý</u> stre) }	00
dim	15	sceadu	11	wann	37
drysmian	1	scuwa	9	_	
heolstor	16	swearcan	12		448
mirc	7	sweart	84		

Of course not all these words (particularly dim and niht) have a distinct color value. The most notable fact is that the words expressing light or brightness are about twice as numerous as those expressing darkness, even though we exclude such words as dæg and hwit from the first list. The words in the second list, as well as those in the first list, occur mostly in the religious pieces.

When we take out these two groups of words, we have comparatively little color left. We may not very inaptly describe Old English religious poetry as a series of studies in black and white, or, rather, darkness and light, the darkness applying to hell and devils, and the light, to heaven and angels and saints. Blackness and darkness meant to the

primitive Germanic mind something fearful and terrible. Light, on the other hand, was symbolic of joy and bliss.¹

III.

Having thus cleared the ground by excluding a large number of words that are in the strictest sense colorless, we may look at the color-words proper. The simplest and, on the whole, the most satisfactory method of treatment will be to arrange the color-words in groups, and to specify the frequency with which they are used and to what objects they are applied. The list of examples is intended to be practically complete, and it contains several passages overlooked by Grein.²

- 1. White. The words belonging to this group are $hw\bar{i}t$, $bl\bar{a}c$, blanc, and possibly $f\bar{a}mig$, and $f\bar{a}migheals$.³ Nearly all the passages where these words are used imply something bright or shining. Blanc is used but three times,⁴ and is
- ¹Cf. Gummere, "The Use of Black and White in Germanic Tradition," Haverford College Studies, 1, 12.
- ² Most of the abbreviations referring to O.E. poems will be recognized without further explanation. The following may need expansion:
 - A. = Andreas (Grein-Wülker).
 - B = Beow. = Beowulf (Wyatt).
 - B. D. D. = Be Domes Dage (E.E.T.S.).
 - C. and S. = Christ and Satan (Grein-Wülker).
 - Sol. = Solomon and Saturn (Grein).
 - Wyrde = Be Manna Wyrdum.

The texts used are as follows: Grein-Wülker, Bibl. d. ags. Poesie, I, II (except Beow.); Gollancz, Exeter Book, Part I; all others from the older Grein.

³ If blāt, livid, pale, ghastly, can be counted as a color-word, it should be included in this group. Examples occur,—A. 1090, 1281, Chr. 771. Cf. blātende nīš, Gen. 981.

⁴ B. 855.

mēarum rīdan

beornas on blancum.

El. 1183.

sē ve foran lædev

...

brīdels on blancan. brōhte hwæðre

Rid. 23:17. bröhte hwæðre beornas ofer burnan and hyra bloncan mid.

applied to the white, well-groomed steeds that shine in the sun. The word is the same as the mod. Ger. blank, bright or shining.

Blāc is merely an ablaut form of the stem of blācan, to shine, and perhaps hardly means white at all. In a few cases it evidently means pale or ghastly. It is properly applied to the fire, or the fire-light, and even to the red flame, or to the lightning, or to the light of the stars. Of the twenty-eight instances where the word occurs,—either alone or as part of a compound,—nearly all seem to lay emphasis on the brightness rather than on the whiteness. The word is used in describing the bright spots on the tail of the Phoenix, and in referring to armor or clothing. In such expressions as blāchlēor ides, when referring to Judith, or blācne, when describing the ghastly face of the dead Holofernes, the near-

¹ Dan. 246.	bæron brandas on bryne blācan fyres.
² B. 1516.	fÿr-lēoht gesah
	blacne leoman beorhte scinan.
A. 1540.	Him bæt engel forstöd,
	sē ðā burh oferbrægd blācan līge.
Rid. 4:44.	blācan līge.
Run. 16.	Cēn byb cwicera gehwām cūb on fyre
	blac and beorhtlic., byrneð oftust.
³ Chr. 808.	blāc rāsetteð
	rēcen rēada lēg
⁴ Az, 105.	wolcna genipu
110. 100.	and bec liexende ligetta hergen
	blace breahtum hwate
Dan. 380.	and bec ligetu,
25 4111 5 5 5 5	blāce, berhtmhwate, þā þec blētsige.
⁵ Met. 4:8.	blacum leohte beorhte steorran
⁶ Ph. 295.	bonne is sē finta fægre gedæled
1 10. 200.	sum brūn, sum basu, sum blācum splottum.
⁷ Ex. 212.	sæton æfter beorgum in bläcum reafum
Rid. 11:7.	brimes and beames on blacum hrægle
*Gen. 1969.	Sceolde forht monig
Gen. 1303.	blächleor ides bifiende gän
	on fremdes fæðm.
Jud. 128.	blächleor ides
Jud. 128. 9Jud. 278.	
Jua. 210.	funde vä on bedde bläcne licgan
	his goldgifan.

est approach is made to suggesting whiteness. But even in these there is no pure white.

Other instances of the use of $bl\bar{a}c$, and of the occurrence of $fl\bar{o}dbl\bar{a}c$, $heorobl\bar{a}c$, $w\bar{i}gbl\bar{a}c$ and of the verb $bl\bar{a}cian$ are given below.¹

The form $bl\bar{a}c = bl\bar{a}c$ occurs,—Dom. 56, Pan. 26, An. 1264.

The word hwit occurs thirty-one times, commonly with a suggestion of brightness or light, though some instances of a literal use of the epithet in the modern sense appear to be

¹ Ex. 109.	behēold
	ofer lëodwerum līge scīnan,
	byrnende bēam. Blāce stodon
	ofer scēotendum scīre lēoman,
	scinon scyldhrēoðan, sceado swiðredon:
	neowle nihtscuwan neah ne mihton
	heolstor āhvdan. Heofoncandel barn:
Ex. 120.	Hæfde foregenga fyrene loccas,
	blāce bēamas, bēllegsan* hwēop
	in þām hereþrēate, hātan līge.
El. 91.	wæs sē blāca bēam bōcstafum āwriten
	beorhte and leohte
B. D. D. (Exon.) 66.	on ful bläcne bēam bunden fæste
Wyrde 41.	blāc on bēame bīdeð wyrde
Almosen (Grein, 11, p. 350) 6.	lēg ādwæsce, þæt hē leng ne mæg
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	blac byrnende burgum sceððan.
Ex. 496.	sāwlum lunnon
	fæste befarene, flödbläc here
B. 2487.	gūð-helm tō-glād, gomela Scylfing
	hrēas [heoro-] blāc.
Ex. 204.	werud wæs wīgblāc
Run. 90.	Ear [tir] by begle eorla gehwylcun,
	onn fæstlice flæsc onginneb
	hrāw cōlian, hrusan cēosan
	blāc tō gebeddan blēda gedrēosab
	wynna gewitab, wera geswicab.
Seaf. 91.	Yldo him on fare's, onsyn blaca's
ž	gomelfeax gnornað.
	ŭ ŭ

^{*} Sweet, bælegsa.

unquestionable. The apparently literal instances are cited below.¹

In addition to these literal uses of the word, there are a number of cases in which $hw\bar{\imath}t$ is used to emphasize the shining of light, or of a roof, or a helmet, or a gem, or the gleam of silver.²

On the border between mere white and shining may be the use of $hw\bar{\imath}t$ to describe the raiment of the blessed. In such cases some degree of symbolism is doubtless introduced, a symbolism as old as Christianity. Largely symbolic too must be the instances in which $hw\bar{\imath}t$ is applied to the angels

¹ Zaubersegen, 1	54. and þære brādan bere wæstma
	and bære hwitan hwæte wæstma
Brun. 62.	bone hasu-pādan
	earn, æftan hwīt
Ph. 297.	sindon þā fiþru
	hwīt hindan-weard
Rid. 16:1.	Hals is mīn hwīt and hēafod fealo.
Rid. 41:98.	ne hafu ic īu hēafde hwīte loccas
Chr. 1110.	þā hwītan honda and þā hālgan fēt.
Run. 25.	Hægl byb hwitust corna; hwyrft hit of heofenes lyfte.
² Gen. 614.	nū scīneð þē lēoht fore
	glædlic ongēan, þæt ic from gode bröhte
	hwit of heofonum.
Gen. 1820.	Abraham maðelode, geseah Egypta
	hornsele hwite and hea byrig
	beorhte blīcan
B. 1448.	ac sē hwīta helm hafelan werede
Rid. 11:8.	sume wæron hwite hyrste mine.
Met. 19:22.	gimmas
	hwīte and rēade.
Ex. 301.	Hōfon hereciste hwīte linde,
	segnas on sande.
Reim. 66.	græft hafað
	searo hwīt solaþ, sumur hāt cōlað.
Gen. 2731.	ac him hygetēonan hwītan seolfre
	dēope bete.
³ Chr. 447.	þæt þær in hwitum hræglum gewerede
	englas ne oʻčeowdun
Chr. 454.	þæt hỹ in hwitum þær hræglum oðýwden.
	in þā æþelan tīd swā hīe eft dydon.

180 w. e. mead.

who live in the light of heaven. The examples explain themselves.

Fāmig, foamy, occurs nine times,2 always in a literal sense.

37	, , ,
¹ Gen. 254.	Hæfde he hine swa hwitne geworhtne;
	Swā wynlic wæs his wæstm on heofonum, þæt him
	[com from weroda drihtne:
	Gelīc wæs hē þām lēohtum steorrum.
Gen. 349.	Wæs ær godes engel,
	hwīt on heofne, o'd hine his hyge forspēon
Chr. 895.	engla <i>and</i> dēofla
	hwītra and sweartra
Gen. 265.	cwæð, þæt his līc wære lēoht and scēne,
	hwīt and hīowbeorht.
El.~72.	būhte him wlitescyne on weres hāde,
	hwīt and hīwbeorht hæleða nāthwylc.
$Chr.\ 1017.$	onne sio halge gecynd
	hwīt and heofon-beorht hēag-engla mægen.
B. D. D. 289.	Þær Þæra hwittra hwyrfð mædenhēap.
	blöstmum behangen.
Gen.~603.	bæt hire buhte hwitre heofon and eorde
	and eall beos woruld wlitigre and geweore godes
	micel and mihtig.
Chr. 545.	ær bon üp-stige, ealles waldend,
	on heofona gehyld hwite cwoman,
	eorla ēad-giefan, englas tō-gēanes.
C. and S. 200.	and ymb bæt hehsetl hwite standað
	engla fēðan and ēadigra.
² Gen. 1417.	For famig scip l and c
35 . 00 .00	nihta under roderum
Met. 26:26.	ferede on fifelstrēam fāmigbordan
4 1504	þrierēðre cēol.
$A.\ 1524.$	fāmige walcan
771 007	mid ærdæge eorðan þehton.
El.~237.	Lēton þā ofer fifelwæg fāmige scrīðan, bronte brimþisan.
G-1 1EC	oð þæt him heortan blöd
Sol. 156.	fāmig flodes bæð foldan gesēceð.
Rid. 4: 19.	fāmig winneð
Iva. 4: 15.	wæg wið wealle.
Rid. 4:32.	feore bifohten fæmig rīdan
100. 1.02.	ýða hryegum
Gen. 1452.	hwæðer fāmig sæ
G 070. I 102.	dēop þā gyta dæl ænigne
	grēnre eorðan ofgifen hæfde.
Gen. 2213.	fāmige flōdas
G 616. 2210.	

Fāmig-heals, foamy-necked, the beautiful epithet applied to the ship, is found three times. Fāmig-bosma, fām and fām-gode occur once each. These words may not in the strictest sense be regarded as color-words, but they certainly suggest color, and white more definitely than any other. The examples given below are grouped according to their relations.

2. BLACK. To the black group belong blæc, sweart, sweartian, (ge)sweorcan, gesweorc, wann, salowigpād, earp, and probably some of the other words already given in the list of terms denoting darkness. Just as the words of the white group pass by insensible stages into meanings that suggest light, so the words of the black group shade insensibly into those suggesting a mere absence of light. The indefiniteness with which words like mire and deore are used leaves us somewhat in doubt as to whether a color-effect is really intended. Opinions on this matter will necessarily differ, and the decision must be subjective.

Blæc is our modern black, and is used comparatively seldom—once in describing the black sea-roads,³ once as

¹ B. 218.	flota fāmi-heals fugle gelīcost.
B. 1908.	sæ-genga för,
	fleat famig-heals ford ofer yde.
A. 496.	is þēs bāt ful scrid,
	fære'ð famigheals fugole gelīcost.
$^{2}Ex. 493.$	Fāmigbōsma flōdwearde slōh.
Rid. 3:3.	gifen bið gewreged,
	[flod āfysed], fam gewealcen.
Ex. 481.	flöd fämgode
³ A. 1261.	īs brycgade
	blæce brimrāde
B. 1799.	reced hliuade
	gēap ond gold-fāh; gæst inne swæf,
	oþ þæt hrefn blaca heofones wynne
	blīð-heort bodode; ðā com beorht scacan
	[sunne ofer grundas].
Sol. 471.	blödige earnas and blace nædran
Rid. 58:1.	pēos lyft byreð lītle wihte
	ofer beorghleoðu, þā sind blace swīðe,
	swearte salopāde.

applied to the raven, once in referring to adders, and a few times in other cases cited in the examples. Conventional and symbolical is the use of black in mentioning evil spirits.¹

The most characteristic word for black is *sweart*, which is used more frequently than all the other words of this group combined. Eighty-four instances occur, if we count the adv. *swearte*. In the religious poems its use is mainly symbolic, figurative and conventional, and it is applied to hell and black souls. But it is also used literally of black nights, of the black raven, of black mists, of black water. Nine times it is used as an epithet with $l\bar{e}g$, flame. In these cases we may have to do with a pitchy, smoky flame, such as was doubtless very familiar to the Old English people, or possibly we may assume a certain degree of symbolism in the expression. The conception has long been a familiar one in English poetry. Compare Milton's lines:

A dungeon horrible on all sides round
As one great furnace flam'd; yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe.

Par. Lost, 1, 61-64.

Quarles (Emblem xv) presents the same image:

Rid. 88:18. Nū ic blace swelge

wuda and wætre.

Rid. 52:1. Ic seah wrætlīce wuhte feower samed sīðian: swearte wæran lästas

swaðu swīðe blacu.

for oferhygdum ealle forwurden.

C. and S. 71.

Blace hworfen

scinnan forscepene

geond þæt atole scref

Chr. 895. engla and deofla,

beorhtra and blacra

C. and S. 721. blac bealowes gast

Sol. 25. worpa's hine deofol on domdæge draca egeslīce bismorlīce of blacere liðran.

a dying spark
Of Vulcan's forge, whose flames are dark,
A dang'rous, dull, blue-burning light,
As melancholy as the night.

We now pass to the cases under examination. The great number of examples, many of which are essentially of the same sort, makes it impracticable to present all of the citations in full. The more striking instances, however, are given, and all the examples and references are arranged in groups. As might be expected, the literal and symbolic uses of the word are not in all cases kept sharply apart, and some of the examples belong as much in one group as in another.

(1). In the first group the literal meaning is in the fore-ground, though the use of the word is doubtless influenced somewhat by conventionality and symbolism.¹

¹ Gen. 1449.	Hē þā ymb seofon niht sweartum hrefne	
	of earce forlet æfter fleogan	
	ofer hēah wæter haswe culufran	
	on fandunga, hwæðer fāmig sæ	
	deop þá gýta dæl ænigne	
	grenre eor an ofgifen hæfde.	
Gen. 1438.	lēt þā ymb worn daga,	
1441.	sunu Lameches sweartne fleogan	
	hrefn ofer heahflod of huse ut.	
Rid. 50:4.	Hwīlum on þām wīcum sē wonna þegn,	
	sweart and saloneb	
Soul and Body 54.	ne nænigum gesybban, þonne sē swearta hrefen.	
Brun. 61.	sweartan hrefn.	
Finns. 35.	Hræfen wandrode	
	sweart and sealobrūn, swurdlēoma stōd	
	swylce eal Finnsburuh fyrenu wære.	
Rid. 13:3.	fæste binde	
	swearte Wēalas	
$Rid.\ 22:10.$	and mīn swæð sweotol sweart on öðre	
Rid. 58:1.	þēos lyft byre∛ lÿtle wihte	
3.	swearte salopāde	
Met. 4:22.	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$ r s $\mathbf{\tilde{e}}$ swearta storm	
Jul.~472.	sweartum scūrum	
Gen. 1413.	lago ebbade,	
	sweart under swegle	

(2). Conventional and symbolic are the following cases	s:1
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Gen. 1299.	þū scealt frið habban
	mid sunum þīnum, sonne sweart wæter,
Gen. 1325.	wonne wælstrēamas werodum swelgað. symle bið þy heardra, þe hit hreoh wæter,
Gen. 1320.	swearte sæstrēamas swīðor bēatað.
Gen. 1374.	egorstrēamas
G66. 101 1.	swearte swogan
Gen. 1354.	pā be ūtan bēoð earce bordum,
000. 1001.	bonne sweartracu stīgan ongīnneð
B. 3144.	wud[u]-rēc āstāh
	sweart ofer swiocole
$Rid. \ 4:46.$	feallan lætað
	sweart sumsendu sēaw of bōsme
$Rid.\ 41:31.$	and ic fulre eom bonne bis fen swearte.
Rid. 41:92.	sē micla hwæl
	sē þe gārsecges grund bihealdeð
	sweartan syne.
$Rid.\ 42:1.$	edniwu
	þæt is möddor monigra cynna,
	þæs sēlestan, þæs sweartestan
$Rid.\ 42:94.$	sweartan syne
Gen. 118.	sweart synnihte
Met. 4:6.	swylce sēo sunne sweartra nihta
Chr.~870.	scīre gesceafte swā oft sceaða fæcne
	þēof þrīstlīce þe on þystre fareð
	on sweartre niht.
	ecur,-B. 167, B. D. D. 198, Chr. 934, Gen. 109, 134,
Guth. 678.	
Gen. 390.	hafað üs god sylfa
35. 5. 45	forswäpen on þās sweartan mistas
Met. 5: 45.	sunne for þæm sweartum mistum
Met. 23:5.	and of him selfum bone sweartan mist.
B. D. D. 104.	Eal big eac upheofon
	sweart and gesworcen, swīðe geþuxsað deorc and dimhīw and dwolma sweart.
Rid. 52:2.	swearte wæran lastas.
Rid. 27 : 1.	swearte wæran tastas. sīðade sweart-lāst.
100. 21 : 1.	stoade sweart-tast.
¹ Chr. 1605.	væt sceolon fyllan firen-georne men
	sweartum sāwlum
C. and S. 51.	Đã him andsweradan atole gāstas,
	swarte and synfulle.
Chr. 895.	onh≅lo gelāc engla <i>and</i> dēofla
	beorhtra and blacra weorbed bega cyme
	hwītra and sweartra

(3). Hell is five times referred to in the interpolated portion of the Genesis with the accompanying epithet, sweart,

Chr. 1104. swearte syn-wyrcend. Sol. 148. mānfullra hēap sweartne geswencan Gu8, 650. mīne myrðran and mān-sceaban swearte sigelēase Jul. 468. sweartra gesyrede Partridge, 6. and ge hellfirena sweartra geswica& swearte wihte Soul and Body, 73. Chr. 268. æbelan rīce. bonan üs ær burh syn-lust se swearta gæst fortēah and fortylde Jul. 311. būs ic wrābra fela mid mīnum brobrum bealwa gefremede sweartra synna C. and S. 639. hū hīe him on edwīt oft asettað swarte süslbonan Gu 8. 666. ซa ēow sē waldend wrāĕe bisencte in bæt swearte süsl El. 930. ond bec bonne sende in ba sweartestan and þa wyrrestan witebrogan Gen. 72. hēo on wrace syððan seomodon swearte sīðe Gen. 732. ac hie to helle sculon on bone sweartan sīð. Chr. 1411. sar and swar gewin and sweartne deas Gen. 477. ponne wæs sē öger eallenga sweart. dim and þystre: þæt wæs dēaðes bēam.

A few miscellaneous examples, not especially notable, occur,—*Rid.* 13:13, 18:7, 71:9, *Sol.* 488, *C. and S.* 704, *Gen.* 487.

The following instances of the figurative use of the adverb swearte seem to belong to group (2):—

C. and S. 371. Satanus swearte geböhte

C. and S. 371. Satanus swearte geböhte

C. and S. 445.

and heo furvor sceaf
in bæt neowle genip nearwe gebeged,
bær nu Satanus swearte bingav

C. and S. 578.

him bæt swearte forgeald
earm æglæca inn on helle.

Guv. 625.

Swearte beswicene, swegle benumene.

2

but this precise combination appears not to be found elsewhere in O.E. poetry.¹

Scarcely to be distinguished from genuine color-words are such terms as *gesweorc*, (*ge*)*sweorcan*, *sweartian*, but the literal uses shade easily into the figurative and the symbolic.²

¹Gen. 312. on þā sweartan helle.
 Gen. 345. Satan siððan, hēt hine þære sweartan helle.
 Cf. Gen. 529, 761, 792.
 Jul. 553. Þā hine séo fæmne forlet æfter þræc-hwīle þystra néosan

in sweartne grund

Ps. 142:7. wese ic earmum gelīc, be on sweartne grund siððan astīgað.

With these cases may be compared the following, which might, perhaps, have been put into group (2):—

Gen. 1925. for wera synnum wylme gesealde Sodoman and Gomorran, sweartan lige.

Gen. 2414. bæt sceal wrecan swefyl and sweart līg, sāre and grimme

Gen. 2504. Unc heht waldend for wera synnum Sodoma and Gomorra sweartan lige,

fÿre gesyllan.

Gen. 2538. pā sunne ūp,
folca friðcandel furðum ēode,
þā ic sendan gefrægn swegles aldor
swefl of heofnum and sweartne līg
werum tō wīte.

Gen. 2856. and blōtan sylf
sunu mid sweordes ecge and bonne sweartan līge
lēofes līc forbærnan.

Chr. 983. færeð æfter foldan fÿr-swearta lēg weallende wiga

Chr. 1531. þæt on þæt dēope dæl dēofol gefeallað in sweartne lēg.

Cf. also Chr. 966, 994.

 B. 1789.
 Niht-helm geswearc deorc ofer dryht-gumum.

 A. 372.
 wedercandel swearc gw8. 1279.

 Ez. 461.
 lyft ūp geswearc: fēgum stēfnum flöd blöd gewöd.

Gen. 807. gesweorc up færeð

Wann,¹ dark, dusky, is also a favorite word, being found thirty-seven times. Unlike sweart it is commonly used in a literal sense. It is thus applied to a variety of objects,—to the raven, to the dark waves, to the gloomy height overlooking the sea, to the murky night, to the dark armor, etc. The examples given below supply the details. Now and then the word seems to be a mere conventional epithet and to be introduced largely for the sake of the alliteration.²

B. D. D. 108.	and seo sunne forswyrc's sona on morgen
	ne sē mona næfð nanre mihte wiht,
	þæt hë þære nihte genipu mæge flecgan.
C. and S. 78.	hē sweartade, Sonne he spreocan ongan,
	fÿre and ättre.
Gu8. 1052.	hefige æt heortan hreber innan swearc
B. 1766.	ovče ēagena bearhtm
	forsite ond forsworce .
Jul. 78.	geswearc þā swið-ferð swör æfter worde
Wand. 58.	forbon ic gebencan ne mæg geond bās woruld
	for hwan mod-sefa min ne gesweorce.
Deor. 28.	Site's sorgceorig sælum bidæled
	on sefan sweorce's.
¹ For brūnwann,	see $br\bar{u}n$.
² B. 3024.	ac sē wonna hrefn.
Gen. 1983.	Sang sē wanna fugel
	under deore osceaftum, dēawigfe oera
	hræs on wenan.
$Jud.\ 205.$	þæs sē hlanca gefeah
	wulf in walde and sē wanna hrefn
El. 52.	hrefen uppe göl
	wan and wælfel.
Ex. 164.	wonn wælcēasega.
B. 3154.	wæl-fylla wonn.
Rood.~52.	þystro hæfdon
	bewrigen mid wolcnum wealdendes hræw,
	scīre scīman; sceadu for čeode,
	wann under wolcnum.
B.702.	Com on wanre niht
	scrīðan sceadu-genga
Gu8. 1028.	in bisse wonnan niht
Rid. 85:8.	wudubēama helm wonnan nihtum
Met. 11:61.	Hwæt! þā wonnan niht
	mōna onlīhteð

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B. 649.	obče nipende niht ofer ealle,
D. 049.	scadu-helma gesceapu scrīðan cwōman,
	wan under wolcnum
Wand. 103.	hrīð hrēosende hrūsan bindeð
wana. 105.	wintres woma bonne won cyme's
	nīpeð niht-scua norþan onsendeð.
	hrēo hægl-fare hæleðum on andan.
Ph. 98.	seo deorce niht
111.00.	won gewite's
Gen. 108.	geseah deorc gesweorc
<i>a citt</i> 100.	semian sinnihte, sweart under roderum
	wonn and weste
Gu8. 1279.	swearc norð-rodor
	won under wolcnum
A. 836.	sceadu swederodon
	won under wolcnum
Met. 5:4.	gif him wan fore wolcen hangad.
Gen. 118.	wonne wægas
Gen. 1301.	wonne wælstrēamas
A. 1168.	pā for þære dugoðe dēoful ætywde
	wann and wliteleas, hæfde weriges hiw.
Gen. 1378.	wreah and beahte
	mānfæhðu bearn middangeardes
	wonnan wæge.
Gen. 1460.	Gewāt sē wilda fugel
	on æfenne earce sēcan
	ofer wonne wæg
Gen. 1429.	þā hine on sunde geond sīdne grund
	wonne yða wide bæron.
$Rid.\ 4:37.$	won wægfatu
B. 1373.	þonon yॅ8-geblond ūp āstīge8
	won to wolcnum.
Rid. 4:19.	fāmig winneð
	wæg wið wealle; won ārīseð
~ ~.	dūn ofer dype.
Gen. 210.	Fægere lēohte
	bæt liðe land lago yrnende,
	wylleburne; nalles wolcnu da giet
	ofer rūmne grund regnas bæron
Chr. 1422.	wann mid winde.
UNT. 1444.	and mec þā on þēostre ālegde biwundenne mid wonnum clāþum
Rid. 54:7.	wonnum hyrstum.
Rid. 50:4.	Hwīlum on þām wīcum sē wonna þegn.
Ma. 90:4.	minum on pam wicum se wonna pegn.

Salowigpād, dark-coated, is applied a few times as an epithet to the raven, the eagle, and to gnats: Wyrde 37, Jud. 211, Brun. 61, Rid. 58:3. Salo and salonebb are also slightly used. Earp (eorp), dusky, dark, is used three times: Rid. 4:42, earpan gesceafta; Ex. 194, eorp werod (of the Egyptians); Rid. 50:11, eorp unwita.

3. Gray. Remarkable in Old English poetry is the fondness for mixed and neutral colors. A group of such colors is found in the words $gr\bar{e}g$, $fl\bar{o}dgr\bar{e}g$, $flintgr\bar{e}g$, $h\bar{a}r$, hasu, blondenfeax, gamolfeax. The color gray lies somewhere between white and black, with nothing to determine precisely where.

 $Gr\bar{\alpha}g$ is used seven times, and its compounds are found once each.² In every case it is used literally. It describes

Rid. 41:105. Māra ic eom and fættra, þonne āmæsted swīn bearg bellende on böc-wuda won wrōtende wynnum līfde

Rid. 85:14. is mīn bæc wonn and wundorlic.

Chr. 1564. won and wliteleas hafa' werges bleo.

Rid. 53:5. þāra öðrum wæs ān getenge

wonfāh Wale

A parallel to the expression, se swearta leg, is found in se wonna leg; and a similar explanation doubtless applies to both.

B. 3114. Nū sceal glēd fretan

(weaxan wonna leg)

C. and S. 715. hwīlum sē wonna lēg

læhte wið þes laþan

Chr. 964. Sonne eal prēo on ēfen nimes won fyres wælm wide tōsomne sē swearta līg

¹ For the etymology of salo, see Uhlenbeck in Paul and Braune's Beiträge, 20, 564.

²Gen. 2864. ac hine sẽ hālga wer

gyrde grægan sweorde.

B. 2680. Nægling forbærst,

geswac æt sæcce sweord Biowulfes,

gomol ond græg-mæl.

Finns. 6. gylleð græghama, gūðwudu hlynneð,

scyld scefte onewy 8.

B. 333. fætte scyldas, græge syrcan ond grim-helmas. the sword, the shirt of mail, the wolf, the seamew, the flood of the sea, the ash-spear with the gray bark still left on the shaft, the curling smoke, the hoar-frost. Especially picturesque is the mention in one of the Riddles (4:19) of the $flintgr\bar{\alpha}gne\ fl\bar{o}d$.

 $H\bar{a}r$, hoary, is used more conventionally than $gr\bar{e}g$, and appears at times to be chosen more for the sake of the alliteration than for the sake of the color. $H\bar{a}r$ occurs twenty-seven times, and $unh\bar{a}r$, $feaxh\bar{a}r$ and $regh\bar{a}r$ once each. Seven times $h\bar{a}r$ is applied to the hoary, gray stone, once to the gray cliff, four times to armor, once to a sword, once to the ocean, once to the gray heath, three times to the wolf, twice to the frost, and seven times to warriors, in each case with some touch of conventionality and with an apparently slight feeling for the color. Even $unh\bar{a}r$ seems to emphasize the age of $Hr\bar{o}\delta g\bar{a}r$ quite as much as his grayness. In $feaxh\bar{a}r$ $cw\bar{e}ne$ the color element appears to predominate.

Brun. 64.	<i>þæt</i> græge dēor,
	wulf on wealde
Gnom. (Ex.)	149. Gryre sceal for greggum, græf dēadum men
, ,	Hungre heofes, nales bet heafe bewindes
	ne huru wæl wēpeð wulf sē græga.
A. 370.	horufisc plegode,
	glād geond gārsecg and sē græga mæw
	wælgifre wand; wedercandel swearc.
Gnom. I. 30.	Ea of dune sceal
	flödgræg feran.
Met. 7.	Swā oft smylte sæ sūðerne wind
	græge glas-hluttre grimme gedrēfed
B. 330.	æsc-holt ufan græg.
Rid. 4:19.	Ic sceal tō staŏe þ⊽wan
	flintgrægne flöd.
¹ B. 887.	hē under hārne stān,
B. 1415.	ofer härne stän.
B. 2552.	stefn in becom
	heaðo-torht hlynnan under hārne stān.
B. 2743.	Nū &ū lungre geong
	hord scēawian under hārne stān,
	Wīglāf lēofa.
A. 841.	ymbe hārne stān
	tigelfāgan trafu

Ruin 40 weal eall befeng beorhtan bösme, bær bå babu wæron hat on hrebre: bæt wæs hydelic: lēton bonne gēotan ofer hārne stān hāte strēamas Rid. 41:74. sē hāra stān Met. 5: 12. Swā oft æspringe ūt āwealleð of clife hārum col and hlūtor. Heil. 210. bænne embe eahta niht and feowerum bætte fan gode besenctun on sægrund sigefæstne wer, on brime hāran Jud. 327. læddon tō være beorhtan byrig Bethuliam helmas and hupseax, hāre byrnan, gū8sceorp gumena golde gefrætewod Wald, II, 16, feta, gyf öū dyrre, æt dus headowērigan hāre byrnan. B. 2153. hāre byrnan B. 2988. hāres hyrste Higelāce bær. Wald, I. 2. huru Welandes gewore ne geswīce♂ monna ænigum, gara ge Mimming can hēarne gehealdan. Ex. 117. þy læs him westengryre hār hæð Rid. 22: 3. hār holtes fēond Wand, 82. sumne së hāra wulf dēa de gedælde. Wyrde. 12. sceal hine wulf etan hār hæðstapa. Rid. 88:7. hwīlum hāra scōe forst of feaxe. A. 1257. swylce hrim and forst, hāre hildstapan hæleða ēðel lucon, lēoda gesetu. Brun. 38. on his cybbe norb Constantinus, hār hilderinc; hrēman ne vorfte mēca gemānan. B. 1306. bā wæs fröd cyning hār hilde-rinc B. 3135. æbeling boren, hār hilde [-rinc], tō Hrones næsse. Mald, 168. pā gyt þæt word gecwæð hār hilderinc

Haso, 'gray,' is found seven times,¹ and the compounds hasofāg, hasupāda, haswigfeðra, once each. Haso is used with an apparent definiteness of color-feeling, and is applied to the dove, to the eagle, to the curling smoke, to the leaves of plants, and even to the herestræta, the highways with their dusty, dirty-white surfaces. The examples are not sufficiently numerous to enable us to decide whether it was often used conventionally, but there is certainly little evidence in the instances cited that such was the case.

Blondenfeax, blended-haired, that is, gray-haired, is hardly a color-word at all, but it occurs four times in Beowulf, twice

B. 1677.	Đã wæs gylden hilt gamelum rince,
	hārum hild-fruman, on hand gyfen.
Ex. 240.	Gamele ne möston,
	hāre heaðorincas, hilde onþēon
Ex. 181.	hāre heorawulfas hilde grētton
B. 356.	þær Hröðgār sæt
	eald ond un-hār.

Rid. 73:1. Ic wæs fæmne geong, feaxhar cwene. The picturesque word $r \alpha g h \bar{\alpha} r$, meaning gray with moss or lichen, is

The picturesque word $r \alpha g h \bar{a} r$, meaning gray with moss or lichen, is used in describing a broken wall in the Ruin 9-10.

Oft þæs wāg gebad ræghār and rēadfāh rīce æfter öþrum.

¹ Gen. 145.	haswe culufran
$Rid.\ 25:4.$	hwīlum ic onhyrge bone haswan earn
Ph. 121.	swā sē haswa fugel.
	beorht of þæs bearwes bēame gewīteð
Rid. 12:1.	Hrægl is min hasofag.
Brun. 62.	þone hasu-pādan
	earn, æftan hwīt
Ph. 153.	onne bio gehefgad haswig-feora
	gomol gēarum frōd [g]rēne eorðan
Rid. 2:6.	rēcas stīgað
	haswe ofer hröfum.
Rid. 14:8.	meahtum āweahte mūðum slītan
	haswe blēde.
Rid. 41:60.	swylce ic eom wrāðre þonne wermöd sy,
	[be] her on hyrstum heasewe stonded.
Ex. 283.	Wegas syndon dryge,
	haswe herestræta.

in Genesis and once in the Battle of Brunanburh with about the same meaning as hār. Gamolfeax, old-haired, grayhaired, occurs three times, *Beow.* 608, *Seafarer*, 92, *Edg.* 46.

4. Brown. Brown is an indefinite color, which may shade through various degrees of duskiness into black or red. We may, however, properly enough speak of a brown group, though the variants brūnfāg, brūnwann, sealobrūn occur but once each. Brūn is used eleven times, apparently with a variety of meanings.² Brūnecg is found twice. When applied to helmets or to the edge of the sword the term brūn possibly

¹ B. 1593.	þæt wæs ӯ҈ुð-geblond eal gemenged
	brim blöde fäh. Blonden-feaxe
	gomele ymb gödne on geador spræcon
$B.\ 1790.$	Duguð eal ārās;
	wolde blonden-feax beddes nëosan,
	gamela Scylding.
B. 1872.	hruron him tēaras
	blonden-feaxum.
B. 2961.	þær wearð Ongenðiow ecgum sweorda
	blonden-fexa, on bid wrecen.
Gen. 2600.	Ne wiste blondenfeax
Gen. 2340.	self ne wende, bæt him Sarra,
	bryd blondenfeax, bringan mealte
	on woruld sunu.
Brun. 44.	gylpan ne þorfte
	beorn blandenfex billgeslihtes.
² B. 2614.	ond his māgum ætbær
	brūn-fāgne helm.
Jud. 318.	hyrsta sc y ne,
	bord and brād swyrd, brūne helmas,
	dyre mādmas.
Rid. 18:7.	hwīlum ic sweartum swelgan onginne
	brūnum beaduwæpnum.
B. 2577.	þæt sīo ecg gewāc
	brūn on bāne.
B. 1545.	Ofsæt þā bone sele-gyst, ond hyre seax getēah
	brād, brūn-ecg.
Mald. 162.	Đã Byrhtnöð bræd bill of scēðe,
	brād and brūneccg [sic]
Ex. 69.	wiston him be sūðan Sigelwara land,
	forbærned burhhleoðu, brūne lēode
	hāte heofoncolum.

means bright, glittering, or flashing, with a suggestion of redness. In the Ep. Gloss. burrum is glossed by bruun, and burrum is the equivalent of rufus. As applied to the swordedge, the word appears to be used somewhat conventionally. In the Exodus the Ethiopians are called brūne lēode, brown people. In the poem on the Phoenix (296) that wonderful bird has a tail partly brown. But the Latin original (l. 31) reads:

Caudaque porrigitur fulvo distenta metallo,

which implies a reddish-yellow or tawny cast. The raven is referred to in the Fight at Finnsburh, 36, as sweart and sealobrūn, which means a sallow or dusky-brown. This I take to be the dull, rusty, brownish black color which dark feathers may assume in some lights. In the Andreas, 1306, night is described as brūnwann, a color that can scarcely be distinguished from 'dark.' Milton twice uses a similar expression:

To arched walks of twilight groves, And shadows brown that Sylvan loves.

Il Pens., 133, 134.

and where the unpierc't shade Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.

Par. Lost, IV, 245.

Ph. 295.	ponne is sē finta fægre gedæled
	sum brūn sum basu sum blācum splottum
Ex. 497.	fæste befarene, flödbläc here
	siððan hīe onbugon brūn yppinge
Rid. 88:9.	Siððan mec īsern innanweardne
	brūn bennade.
Rid. 27:8.	spyrede geneahhe
	ofer brūnne brerd.
A. 519.	sē ve brimu bindev, brūne yva
	శ్రేశ and þrēatað.
Rid. 61:6	ac mec uhtna gehwām yð sio brūne
Met. 28.	þā weard ceald weden
	stearc storma gelāc: stunede sīo brūne
	ÿŏ wiŏ ōŏre.
Finns. 35.	Hræfen wandrode
	sweart and sealobrūn
A. 1304.	oඊ ඊæt sunne gewät tō sete glīdan
	under niflan næs: niht helmade,
	brûnwann oferbræd beorgas stēape.

The passages where the waves are called 'brown' may mean simply that they are dark, with perhaps a trace of muddiness. Yet possibly the suggestion of Merbach¹ has some force, when he says that the waves may mirror the sky and thus seem like a molten mass of bronze.

Brown was a favorite color with English poets of the eighteenth century,² but it appears in our own time to be much less popular.

- 5. Red. No color is more distinctive than red, yet its use in Old English poetry is comparatively restricted. The only words properly belonging to the red group appear to be rēad, rēadfāh, and baso. Such words as blōd, blōdig, blōdfāg, swātig, have only a secondary claim to be regarded as colorwords.
- 1. $R\bar{e}ad$. Of the twenty passages in which $r\bar{e}ad$ occurs, all but four are found in the religious poems. The four exceptions occur in the Riddles. But the word $r\bar{e}ad$ does not once occur in the Beowulf or in any other heroic poem or in the lyrics. In the Ruin (10) occurs the compound $r\bar{e}adf\bar{a}h$, describing the shattered walls of the desolate city.

The various objects with which the word is used are as follows: Flame or fire is five times described as red, partly perhaps for the sake of the alliteration. Roses are twice called red. In Exod. 296 the waters of the Red Sea are referred to as rēade strēamas, as though the poet really imagined them to be red.³ We have also four passages in which gold is called red. This is a familiar convention of the Middle Ages, which may be due to the fact that the gold of that time was often darker than that of our own, and contained a considerable alloy of copper. Red trappings are referred to in the Riddles. The cross, reddened with blood, is mentioned in Chr. 1101; the red edges of the sword are

¹Das Meer in den Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, p. 16.

² Ellis, The Colour-sense in Lit., p. 720.

³This is very different from the cases in which the Red Sea is merely referred to by name. Cf. Ex. 134; Ps. 105: 8, 9, 18; 135: 13, 15.

spoken of in describing the sacrifice of Isaac (*Exod.* 412). Some other miscellaneous examples are found in the list given below.¹

We see, then, that the color which is strongest and most effective has a relatively restricted use, and that an obvious convention has determined the choice of the word in many passages where it occurs.

Red is probably suggested now and then by the words

¹ Ruin. 9.	Oft bæs wāg gebād
	ræghār and rēadfāh rīce æfter öþrum
	ofstanden under stormum.
Gen. 41.	pā hē hit geare wiste
	sinnihte beseald, süsle geinnod,
	geondfolen fyre and færcyle,
	rēce and rēade lēge.
Chr. 807.	þon <i>ne</i> fræt we sculon
	byrnan on bæle; blac råsetteð
	recen ; rēada lēg rēþe scrīþeð.
B. D. D. 149.	rēadum līge
	bio emnes mid þy eal gefylled.
	Đonne fỹren lĩg blāweð and braslað
	rēad <i>and</i> rēðe
Wyrde, 46.	rēad rēðe glēd.
Met. 9:12.	gif þæt fÿr meahte
	līxan swā lēohte and swā longe ēac
	rēad rāsettan.
B. D. D. 286.	þær þā ærendracan synd ælmihtiges godes
	and betweeh rosena rēade hēapas
	þær symle scīnað.
	pær þæra hwittra hwyrfð mædenheap,
	blöstmum behangen, beorhtost wereda.
Ex. 295.	nū sē āgend ūp ārærde
Th	rēade strēamas in randgebeorh.
$Rid. \ 49:6.$	Ryne ongietan rēadan goldes
	guman galdorcwide
Gen. 2403.	gesāwon ofer since salo hlīfian,
	reced ofer readum golde.
Jud.~338.	sweord and swātigne helm, swylce ēac sīde byrnan
T. = 0	gerënode rëadum golde.
Dan. 59.	berēafodon þā receda wuldor rēadan golde
Met. 18:5.	Hwæðer gē willen on wuda sēcan
	gold þæt rēade on grēnum trēowum?

blōd, blōdig, blōdfāg, drēorig, heolfor, swātig, which in the aggregate are used much more frequently than rēad. One cannot always be sure that a color effect is intended, but some passages appear unmistakable. I present a few selected examples:

6. Yellow. From the frequent reference to gold in Old English poetry one might perhaps expect yellow to be often

Rid. 12:1. Hrægl is min hasofag, hyrste beorhte reade and scire on reafe [minum]. Reden der Seelen, 57. Ne magon be nu heonon adon hvrsta ba readan. Chr. 1101. Sonne são reade rod ofer calle swegle scine on bære sunnan gyld on bā forhtlīce firenum fordone swearte syn-wyrcend sorgum wlītað Ex. 411. wolde slēan eaferan sīnne, unweaxenne ecgum reodan. Met. 19: 22. æðele gimmas hwite and reade and hiwa gehwæs. Rid. 27:15. Nũ bā gerēno and sē rēada telg. Chr. 1174. va wearv beam monig blodigum tearum birunnen under rindum reade and bicce æp weard to swate. Rid. 70:1. Ic eom rīces æht rēade bewæfed, stīð and stēap wong.

Baso, purple or crimson, occurs twice,—once in Dan. 724, baswe bōcstafas, and once in the Phoenix 296, in describing the bird's tail:

bonne is sẽ finta fægre gedæled sum brūn, sum basu, sum blācum splottum.

¹B. 484. Đonne wæs þeos medo-heal on morgen tid driht-sele dreor-fah, bonne dæg lixte, eal benc-belu blode bestymed, heall heoru-dreore. Đếr wæs on blode brim weallende, B. 847. atol voa geswing eal gemenged hāton heolfre, heoro-drēore wēol. B. 446. ac hē mē habban wile d[r]ēore fāhne, gif mec dēad nimed byreð blödig wæl. B. 934. bonne blöde fäh, hūsa sēlest heoro-drēorig stod. B. 1416. wæter under stöd

drēorig ond gedrēfed.

mentioned. But of the use of geolo only four instances occur, and three of these are plainly conventional. Twice the word is used in the compound geolorand, once alone in referring to linden shields, and once in describing fine cloth.¹

This is a somewhat indefinite color which occurs seventeen times. The prevailing meaning appears to be a pale yellow shading into red or brown, and in some cases into green. Two compounds, fealohilte and appelfealu, occur once each. A tolerably clear use of the word is in the Battle of Maldon, 166, where the sword is called fealohilte. This evidently means 'golden-hilted.' Fealwe mearas (Beow. 865) are probably bay horses of a golden color shading into red. Fealwe stræte (Beow. 916) may be roads covered with pale vellow sand or gravel. Fealwe linde (Gen. 2044) probably means the yellow borders of the linden shields (cf. geolo), which were either painted or gilded. The most common use of fealo is in connection with water. Some of the examples already cited appear to involve a genuine realization of the color. But the various passages in which the sea is referred to as the fallow flood seem to be more conventional and to introduce the word, in part, perhaps, because of the convenient alliteration. I hardly think that in these passages the word means dusky, as is sometimes suggested, but per-

Ex. 448.	Wæron beorhhliðu blöde bestēmed,
	holm heolfre spāw.
Ex. 571.	Gesāwon hīe þær wealles standan;
	ealle him brimu blödige þūhton
Chr. 934.	sunne
	on blödes hīw
Chr. 1085.	bēacna beorhtast blōde bestēmed
Wald. 153.	sē full cāflīce
	bræd of þam beorne blödigne gar.
$^{1}B.\cdot 2609.$	hond rond gefeng
	geolwe linde, gomel swyrd geteah.
B. 438.	geolo-rand tö gűőe
El. 118.	gāras ofer geolorand on gramra gemang
Rid. 36:9.	Wyrmas mec ne āwæfan wyrda cræftum
	þā þe geolo godwebb geatwum frætwað.

haps yellowish green, a common color in the English and Irish channels.

A more vivid sense of color is found in fealo to (Ph. 218), the yellow flame in which the Phœnix is consumed, and in a few other examples cited below.¹

¹ B. 1949.	syððan hīo Offan flet
	ofer fealone flöd be fæder läre
	sī'še gesõhte.
A. 420.	Lang is bes si ofæt
	ofer fealuwne flöd
Brun. 35.	crēad cnear on flot, cining üt gewät,
	on fealone flod feorh generode
A. 1536.	Wēox wæteres þrym; weras cwānedon,
	ealde æscberend; wæs him ūt myne
	flēon fealone strēam.
A. 1588.	þær in forlēt
	flod fæðmian, fealewe wægas.
Wand. 45.	Đonne onwæcneð eft winelēas guma
	gesih∛ him beforan fealwe wægas
Gnom. II. 51.	Storm oft holm gebringeb
	geofen in grimmum sælum; onginnað grome
	fundian,
	fealwe on feorran to lande.
Bī Monna Cræftum, 53.	sum fealone wæg
	stefnan stēore o.
B. 865.	on geflit faran, fealwe mēaras
B. 916.	Hwīlum flītende fealwe stræte
	mēarum mæton.
Gen. 2043.	þæt meahte wel æghwylc
	on fyrd wegan, fealwe linde.
Ph. 217.	hrēoh ōnette∛
	fealo lig feorme and Fenix byrnes.
Ph. 310.	sindon þā scancan scyllum biweaxen
	fealwe fōtas
Ph. 74.	ne fealle vær on foldan fealwe blöstman
Rid. 72:15.	and swiora smæl, sidan fealwe.
Rid. 56:9.	þær wæs hlin and ac and se hearda iw
	and sē fealwa holen.
Rid. 16:1.	Hals is min hwit and heafod fealo.
Mald. 166.	fēoll þā tō foldan fealohilte swurd
B. 2163.	Hỹrde ic, þæt þæm frætwum feower mearas
	lungre gelice läst weardode,
	appel-fealuwe.

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- Gold. In addition to the strict color-words we may have to include in the yellow group the word gold, which in some passages appears to suggest a color effect. There is room for much difference of opinion as to how many of the passages are genuine instances of the use of the word for this purpose, but such compounds as goldfāh, goldtorht, goldbeorht appear unmistakable. The primary word with its various derivatives is used something like a hundred times in Old English poetry. How many of these cases are to be taken as clear instances of color-words can be shown only by detailed discussion, for which I have not space here. I will, therefore, reserve the topic for later examination.
- 7. Green. As might perhaps be expected, the favorite color in Old English poetry, taken as a whole, is green, the color of growing plants. The extraordinary fondness for this color in English ballads has been often pointed out. singularly enough, the examples in Old English poetry are found almost wholly in the religious poems, one-third in the Genesis alone. Yet not a single example occurs in the Beowulf or in any other heroic poem. In the religious poems the word is commonly used in a somewhat conventional way. and seldom with a keen appreciation of the color. The earth, the fields, the grass, the trees, the hills, and other objects are mentioned, but the color-word appears to be added in many cases as a mere epithet. Now and then, however, the colorword seems to be used in order to make the passage more vivid. Thus the rod of Moses is called a grene tane (Exod. 281). Green streets leading to the home of the angels are once mentioned (C. and S. 287). Two instances of the deliberate use of green for descriptive purposes are found in the Phœnix, a somewhat artificial poem based upon a still more artificial Latin original, but nevertheless containing a greater variety of color-words than any other Old English poem. We read (l. 293) that the back of the bird's head is

¹ Etymologically, gold is, of course, "the yellow metal."

green, hēafod hindan grēne, and then (l. 298), sē hals grēne nioðoweard and ufeweard. In these passages the Old English poet is evidently trying to reproduce the viridante zmaragdo of his Latin original (l. 135). Yet in no passage do we find anything like the easy mastery of color-phrases that is so marked in Tennyson and Shelley and Keats.

The examples given below are intended to be complete, and they are self-explanatory.¹

$^{1}Gen.~1517.$	eorðe ælgrēne and ēacen feoh
Chr. 1128.	eorðan eal-grēne and ūp-rodor
A.797.	hwā æt frumsceafte furðum tēode
	eorgan eallgrene and upheofon.
Gen. 1453.	þā g⊽ta dæl ænigne
	grēnre eorðan ofgifen hæfde.
Ph. 154.	[g]rēne eorðan
Gen. 1560.	þa him wlitebeorhte wæstmas bröhte,
	geartorhte gife grēne folde.
Ex. 311.	wod on wægstream, wigan on heape
	ofer grēnne grund.
Rid. 67:3.	sæs mē sind ealle
	flödas on fæðmum and þās foldan bearm,
	grēne wongas.
Gu8. 476.	Sægde him to sorge þæt hy sigelēase
	þone grēnan wong of-giefan sceoldan.
Heil. 206.	þæt üs wunian ne möt wangas grēne
	foldan frætuwe.
Gu8. 746.	Stod se grena wong in godes wære
Gen. 1655.	Gesetton þa Sennar sidne and widne
1657.	heora gēardagum, grēne wongas.
Rid. 41:50.	Eom æghwær brædre
	and wīdgielra þonne þēs wong grēna.
Rid. 13:1.	Fōtum ic fēre, foldan slīte,
	grēne wongas, benden ic gæst bere.
$Rid.\ 16:5.$	ordum ic steppe
	in grēne gras.
Gen. 1137.	siððan Adam stöp
	on grēne græs, gāste geweor od.
Gen. 116.	Folde wæs þā gyt,
	græs ungrene: garsecg beahte,
	sweart synnihte side and wide
	wonne wægas. Þā wæs wuldortorht
3	

3

IV.

We have thus gone through the color-words found in Old English poetry and rapidly observed the way in which they are used. If the list is somewhat disappointing, it is at all events far more striking than anything that the Old High

	heofonweardes gäst ofer holm boren,
	miclum spēdum. Metod engla hēht,
	līfes brytta, lēoht forð cuman.
Gen. 510.	brāde synd on worulde
	grēne geardas and god site8
	on þām hēhstan heofna rīce
Gen. 1017.	forðon hēo þe hröðra oftihð
	glæmes grene folde.
Gen. 1920.	Him þā Loth gewāt land sceawigan
	be Iordane, grene eorðan:
	sēo wæs wætrum weaht and wæstmum beaht,
	lagostrēamum lēoht
Ph. 33.	sun-bearo līxeð
	wudu-holt wynlic wæstmas ne drēosað
	beorhte blēde, ac þā bēamas ā
	grēne stondað swā him god bibēad.
Ph. 78.	on þām græs-wonge grēne stondaþ
	gehroden hyhtlīce hāliges meahtum,
	beorhtast bearwa.
Gen. 1479.	ac hēo land begeat,
	grēne bearwas.
Ph. 13.	þæt is wynsum wong, wealdas grēne
Gen. 841.	on bone grenan weald
Sal. 312.	Lytle hwile leaf beo'd grene.
Met. 19:5	Hwæðer gē willen on wuda sēcan
	gold bæt reade on grenum triowum.
Gen. 1472.	līðend bröhte
	elebēames twig ān tō hande,
	grēne blædæ.
Dan. 517.	oð þæt eft cyme
	grēne blēda
Ex. 280.	hū ic sylfa slōh and þēos swīðre hand
	grēne tāne gārsecges dēop.
Gen. 2548.	Līg eall fornam,
T	bæt hē grēnes fond goldburgum in.
Ph. 293.	hēafod hindan grēne

German literature has to offer, for this, as represented by Otfrid and other versifiers, is almost utterly destitute of color-words. The Old Saxon, as represented by the Heliand is almost equally barren. The equivalents of O.E. blæc, brūn, feala, græg, hār and haso are not found at all. Blêk (O.E. blāc) occurs four times; gelo (O.E. geolo) once; rōd (O.E. rēad) once; grōni (O.E. grēne) six times; swart (O.E. sweart) five times. Berht and torht are also found, but they play a minor role. Not much perhaps is proved by such a comparison, for if more poems, of a different type, had been preserved, we might have a different story to tell. But there is nevertheless some interest in finding that several of the rarer color-words of Old English poetry are rare or non-existent in Old Saxon poetry, and that green and black (swart) hold a prominent place in Old Saxon, as they do in Old English poetry.

In so far, then, as Old English poetry is compared with contemporary Germanic poetry it more than holds its own. When, however, it is put beside the Celtic poems contained in the so-called *Four Ancient Books of Wales* or the Icelandic poems found in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, it is seen to be lacking in vividness and richness of color. In the Welsh

Ph. 297. sindon þā fiþru

hwīt hindan-weard and sē hals grēne

niobo-weard and ufe-weard.

Ps. 141:4. On byssum grēnan wege.

C. and S. 286. Gemunan symle on mode meotodes strengto,

gearwian üs tõgenes grēne str $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ te

ūp tō englum.

A. 775. foldweg trēdan

grēne grundas.

Guð. 231. sceoldon wræc-mæcgas

ofgiefan gnornende grēne beorgas.

Gnom. 1. 34. Beorh sceal on eorban

grēne standan.

Rid. 22:9. mē bið gongendre grēne on healfe

Met. 11:57. lēaf grēnian.

¹The recently discovered O.S. original of the interpolation (II. 235-858) in the O.E. Genesis, is of course to be credited with all the color-words occurring in that long passage.

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poems we meet twelve times the color blue—which is found but once in Old English poetry. In every case the word seems to be used with a sharp definition of the object, even though the exact shade of color may vary. Note these lines:

> A shield, light and broad, Was on the slender swift flank, A sword blue and bright, Golden spurs and ermine¹—

or this,

With his blue streamer displayed, while his foes range the sea.2

Yellow occurs thirteen times; black, fourteen times; brown, seven times; green, nineteen times; red or purple, thirty-five times; white, fifty-three times. Lack of space forbids further illustrations, but they would show brilliantly beside almost any example from Old English poetry.

Very different too from the Old English color-scheme is that presented by the Old Icelandic poems. I have gone through the first volume of the Corp. Poet. Bor. (comprising 374 pages) and collected all the color-words. The first notable fact is the comparative lack of words for light and darkness, words which play so prominent a part in Old English poetry. The symbolic use of color is also less marked than in Old English. The leading color in Icelandic poetry is red—the most brilliant color of all. This occurs forty-six times, and, it must be confessed, is often used somewhat conventionally. The suggestive phrase, to 'redden the spear,' or to 'redden the sword,' occurs more than once. 'Red rings' and 'red gold' are also favorite expressions. White occurs thirty-one times, usually with a keen appreciation of the value of the color. We find the phrases 'sun-white,' 'swan-white,' 'drift-white maid,' 'whiter than egg-film,' 'linen-white,' 'white-throated,' 'red and white shields,' and the like. Black occurs thirteen times. We read

¹Four Anc. Books, 1, 374.

²Ibid., 1, 402.

of bears with black hide, of something blacker than a raven, of black targets, of a coal-black ox, and so forth. Gray is found eight times, in every case apparently used for the sake of a genuine color-effect. The wolf is once called 'the gravcoated beast,' as in Old English poetry, and the eagle is referred to as 'the gray bird of carrion.' A novelty is found in the mention of a gray mouse and of gray silver. Blood is used eight times, and bloody five times, with a sort of color-effect; but the favorite way of referring to blood is to suggest it by indicating the color which it gives to the sword or to the field. Green occurs but six times, and is used in the most commonplace way. It is applied as a mere epithet to the fields, to paths, herbs, and the forests, once to the ash-tree Yggdrasil, and once to the city of the gods. When we remember how freely green is used in Old English poetry. we see that the difference is remarkable. Brown is found only three times, and twice is used as an epithet describing hair. Yellow occurs twice, once as an epithet for the sword and once in describing hair. A fallow steed is mentioned once. Blue is twice used, once to describe a coverlet and once to describe a sark. But this blue was probably not blue in our sense, but more like a deep raven black-hrafnblar.2

I need hardly say that this sort of numerical comparison is very rough and arbitrary, and that it attempts merely to point out some broad lines of difference in two or three considerable bodies of poetry. In order to make the comparison perfectly fair, we ought, if possible, to take pieces of about the same length and of the same general type, but in so rapid a sketch as the present one I can do no more than call attention to salient characteristics. I cannot undertake in the present paper to make generalizations or to enter upon theoretical explanations of the facts, and I cannot, therefore, make further comparisons, for which I have collected material. I

¹Yet the rarity of green in most of the O.E. secular poems must be remembered.

² Cf. Paul's Grundriss der germ. Phil, II., 11, 237.

realize clearly the tentative character of the paper in its present form, but I cannot do more without opportunity for more extended discussion. The two notable facts to consider are, that the color-sense in the Old English poets is comparatively feeble, and that conventionality plays a large part in the passages where color is used at all. Genuine freedom in the employment of color-phrases does not come until long after the Norman Conquest, but the tendency to individuality in this respect is one of the most striking characteristics of Elizabethan poetry, as it is also of nineteenth century literature.

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