1973

Latin Rhetoric in the Signed Poems of Cynewulf

Dorothy Jehle O.P.

Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/1336

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License.
Copyright © 1973 Dorothy Jehle O.P.
LATIN RHETORIC IN THE SIGNED POEMS OF CYNEWULF

By

Dorothy Jehle

A dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February

1973
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the assistance I have received from the Arthur J. Schmitt Foundation in the completion of this thesis.

I also wish to acknowledge the gracious assistance given me at The Newberry Library and Loyola University Library, Chicago; and Barry College Library, Miami, Florida.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I. TECHNIQUES OF STYLISTIC ANALYSIS IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY ................................................. 1

II. SCHEMATA AND TROPI IN JULIANA ......................................................................................... 39

III. SCHEMATA AND TROPI IN ELENE ........................................................................................ 95

IV. SCHEMATA AND TROPI IN CHRIST II ................................................................................... 200

V. SCHEMATA AND TROPI IN FATES OF THE APOSTLES .......................................................... 232

VI. CONCLUSION .......................................................................................................................... 252

BIBLIOGRAPHY .......................................................................................................................... 261
CHAPTER I

TECHNIQUES OF STYLISTIC ANALYSIS
IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

When Cynewulf's poems are read and compared with the Latin sources, it may be seen that Cynewulf often departed considerably from his source in style and diction, though he rarely altered the basic narrative. It becomes apparent that in some instances tropes and figures found in Latin handbooks of grammar or rhetoric, but not in Cynewulf's Latin originals, are used to expand an incident or to provide pleasing decoration. These tropes and figures are defined by Bede in his eighth-century De schematibus et tropis. The trope may have metaphorical significance, he says, as when a word's specific meaning is replaced by one similar but not proper to it. A figure occurs when the word order is fashioned in a manner different from that of ordinary speech.

Investigating the matter of whether Cynewulf could have been influenced by late classical Latin rhetoric leads to an analysis of Old English style. Generally speaking, critics of Old English poetry have over the years divided themselves into two major groups, which may be designated briefly by individual attitudes toward what constitutes the genuine Old English style.
and where Latin influence begins to affect it. A third section of critics has tended to concentrate on more descriptive studies of style while trying to remain aloof from the issues brought forward by the others—or, perhaps one should say, they absorb the salient features of new discoveries, then continue their own work.

Those scholars who have been most concerned with finding the proto-Germanic sources and forms in the extant literature of early England have included such diverse figures as the nineteenth-century German, Richard Meyer, who felt that Latin Christianity had a detrimental influence on the literature;\(^1\) Andreas Heusler, who maintained that extant Old English literature does not necessarily reflect an Old Germanic style;\(^2\) and Francis P. Magoun, Jr.,\(^3\) and his followers in the oral-formulaic school. Others who have been concerned primarily with the Germanic background in their studies include Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, with his study of the relationship between Old Norse and Old English kennings,\(^4\) and Gregor Sarrazin and J. Kail, two nineteenth-century Germans drawn into this group by their dispute

---


on Parallelstellen, \(^1\) recognized today as poetic formulas or formulaic systems.

Not only accepting the fact of Latin influence, but recognizing this influence as a positive good, have been such critics as Richard Heinzel, Reinhold Merbot, Alistair Campbell, and Jackson J. Campbell.\(^2\) On the other hand, scholars in the third group have tried to avoid the issue of Old Germanic versus Latin origins and have studied certain characteristics of style without regard for their source among Germanic or Mediterranean peoples. Among this last group are W. Paetzel, with his study on variation;\(^3\) Brodeur, with his treatment of variation and diction;\(^4\) Adeline Courtney Bartlett, concerned with certain rhetorical patterns;\(^5\) and Claes Schaar, S. O. Andrew, and Stanley Greenfield, all of whom have concerned themselves with Old


\(^3\) W. Paetzel, "Die Variationen in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie," Palaestra, XLVIII (1913), 1-216.


English syntax. Other members of this group should probably include those who have studied the kenning, though their researches have sometimes led them closer to one of the other groups. Also in this third group are such critics as H. C. Wyld, R. F. Leslie, and C. L. Wrenn, who have contributed independent studies on the stylistic character of Old English poetry.

It is perhaps easiest to understand these various approaches to Old English poetry by going back to some of the early studies. Richard Heinzel, writing his "Über den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie," indicates understanding of the problem besetting critics of Old English literature. In his introductory section, Heinzel notes that before the culture of Christian Rome affected their language, the Germanic peoples had much of their language and verse form in common. He points out too that certain rhetorical characteristics may develop in the speech of peoples far removed from one another, with the early common roots as the real cause.

Noting that the Anglo-Saxons used

---


parallels and artistic expressions less than the Scandinavians but far more than the Germans, he hazards the suggestion that a richness in the Anglo-Saxon forms suggests a closeness to Christianity.¹

Merbot a few years later carries this idea of Latin influence a step further, when, admiring Heinzel's work on Anglo-Saxon style, he comments that the Latin influence should be investigated and points out the need for a study of tropes and figures.² Gottfried Jansen's study of the figures in Cynewulf's poetry appeared the same year, 1883, but provides only a catalog, with no analysis or consideration of sources.³

Richard Meyer, on the other hand, believes that Latin Christianity stifled the growth of the native English literature. When treating any characteristic of the poetry that he considers worthwhile, he approaches it as a Germanic trait, as in his examination of antithesis in Cynewulf.⁴

Frederick Bracher traces the use of litotes in Old English literature, but insists that it must be considered a Germanic trait unless specific proof be presented for Latin sources.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 25.
²Merbot, Ästhetische Studien, p. 32.
³Gottfried Jansen, Zur Synonymik und Poetik der allgemein als acht anerkannten Dichtungen Cynewulfs (Münster: E. C. Brunn'sche Buchdruckerei, 1883).
⁵Frederick Bracher, "Understatement in Old English Poetry," PMLA, LII (1937), 915-34.
Andreas Heusler touches upon or treats extensively most of the matters that have been crucial in Old English studies. Attempting a definition of the Old Germanic style, he considers its primitive characteristics, the effect upon it of Latin Christianity, and the relationships among the early Germanic literatures. He observes at once that the Old Germanic poetry existed in its pure form only before it was affected by Latin concepts of form and Christian attitudes toward subject matter. It was a "buchlose Kunst." Nowhere, Heusler reminds us, is a complete body of such material preserved; rather, we have only remnants, "splinters," of this literature. It is difficult under these conditions to give a definition of Old Germanic poetry, but its characteristics, says Heusler, include these: it springs from the secular and has extra-ecclesiastical contents; it imitates no Roman art, is not derived from books, and does not betray bookish talents; in form it uses alliterative verse. However, secular contents or Germanic form may bring into consideration works with religious authors or even religious subject-matter. ¹

To present Old Germanic literature unaffected by Christianity, Heusler turned to the sparse style of the saga. The saga's language, which he considers least influenced by the Church or by Roman culture, is without imagery or ornament in vocabulary, syntax, and narrative figures. These sagas in their "lean, light-footed sentence structure" present a record of the

¹Heusler, Die altgermanische Dichtung, pp. 1-6.
speech of their day. Europeans brought up under the Romans could not approve of the abstemiousness of this language, Heusler says. As far as Roman education was concerned, style—good style—was equated with heightened speech, with "epitheton ornans." The effects of this Latin Christian influence seem most obvious to Heusler in the "symmetrical, swelled-out profusion" that is Cynewulf's.

Heusler also contrasts the sparseness of the saga with the highly involved language of the skalds, with its intricate kennings and highly conventional diction, at "opposite ends of the pole" to the saga. Continuing his treatment of skaldic poetry, he notes the presence of the kenning in Old English and Old Saxon as well. Correcting the imprecision of definitions in earlier studies by Wilhelm Bode and Rudolf Meissner, Heusler defines the kenning as "Metapher mit Ablenkung," "metaphor with a difference," and calls attention to the fact that in its base word it names that which the referent is not. Heusler points out the association of Old English kennings with variation and

1Ibid., p. 229.
2Ibid., p. 171.
3Ibid., p. 240.
4Wilhelm Bode, Die Kenningar in der angelsächsischen Dichtung (Darmstadt: Edvard Zernin, 1886).
5Rudolf Meissner, Die Kenningar der Skalden (Bonn: Schroeder, 1921).
6Heusler, Die altgermanische Dichtung, pp. 136-43; and review of Die Kenningar der Skalden, by Meissner, in Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, XLI (Berlin, 1922), pp. 127-34.
the explanations given by Snorri Sturluson to assist young skalds of the thirteenth century in their use of these highly involved metaphors.¹ Snorri's explanations of the origin and meanings of the kennings present insights into the formation of Old English kennings.

Relationships among the early Germanic literatures are noted by Heusler on a number of occasions. Of most relevance, perhaps, to this paper are his comments on Germanic style and kennings, both already mentioned here; on the charms of the English and of the Finns, and on similarities between Old English and Icelandic elegies. Despite some similarities of mood and of the "human condition" between the elegies of the two nations, however, Heusler considers direct influence by the older English poems unlikely. He notes too that Eddic elegies are always epic saga-songs;² that is, they are always verse narratives.

In regard to the charms, Heusler notes that both "Wid Færstice,"³ one of the Old English charms, and a Finnish Kalevala charm--perhaps that in which Death's blind girl gives birth to nine human ailments⁴--manifest a common interest in the origins of evil.⁵ Also, though Heusler does not mention this,

¹Heusler, Die altgermanische Dichtung, p. 234.
²Ibid., p. 188.
⁵Heusler, Die altgermanische Dichtung, pp. 60-62.
the repetition found in the Old English charms bears a striking resemblance to the similar recurrence of whole phrases in Magoun's translations of charms in the Kalevala. Heusler considers as "superficial" the Christian element, which consists only of the opening word, Feferfuige, "feverfew," in the Old English "Wid Faerstice." Some of the other charms, too, contain words that are Latin, sometimes in what seems to be the kind of garbled Latin that might result from faulty recitation of inflections in the Latin grammars of the day. However, it has recently been pointed out that the Old English charm "Wid Wyrme" contains at least one line of Middle Irish: "gono mil, orgo mil, marbu mil." Though, as Heusler suggests, there may be some early relationship among the charms of the Kalevala and those of the English, there were obviously later non-Germanic influences, too, on the latter.

Heusler also treats the meter of Anglo-Saxon poetry, adopting a rhythmical basis, similar to that of music, for the alliterative line. Heusler's conclusions differ somewhat from the older theories of Edvard Sievers, but are very close to those of John C. Pope.

---

1 See A7 and A8 in Grendon, Anglo-Saxon Charms, p. 170.
4 Edvard Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik (Halle: Niemeyer, 1893).
Research on kennings and on certain aspects of syntax has been presented in many studies. A comparison of works on the kenning reveals varying interests on the part of authors, while treatments of syntax have been primarily descriptive, with less concern for Latin as opposed to Germanic influence.

In his early study of kennings Wilhelm Bode aims primarily at explaining the Anglo-Saxon kenning and makes no attempt to link it with the Old Norse. He lists a few Old Norse kennings, but he also gives kennings from French, German, modern English, and Latin in an effort to clarify his subject matter. His examples are useful, because his definition is rather vague. He defines the kenning as "a somewhat remote, unusual designation for an idea," a substitution for a more frequently used, closely-related term, and he adds that "to arrive at the kenning one must have a closely related term in mind."¹ Bode collected and arranged about 900 kennings, representing 54 conceptions and occurring 2,500 times in all.

J. W. Rankin, studying the source of Old English kennings, finds that the great majority of these phrases occur as a result of direct translation or close imitation of the many Latin terms for religious conceptions in the Old Testament, the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the Latin hymns, and other Latin sources.² Even among the relatively fewer kennings for non-religious conceptions, he finds that some still are adapted into

¹Bode, Die Kenningar, pp. 7-11.

English from similar Latin sources. Rankin substantiates these findings by comparing Old English with Old Norse and Old Saxon (Heliand) kennings. He finds that in areas of apparently marked Latin influence on English, the Norse and Saxon poetry has few corresponding compounds.¹

Dissatisfied with Bode's "far too general" definition of the kenning, Hendrik Van Der Merwe Scholtz wrote another study of the kenning. However, he finally decided that no definition can cover all cases and so gives none. He disagrees with Bode's assumption that the demands of alliteration went far to produce the kenning, with consequent loss of real meaning, and maintains that most of the kennings still retained at least part of their original signification.² Scholtz's study leads him to the conclusion that not the alliterative line but the use of variation is probably the nucleus from which the kenning developed. He also postulates a chronological relationship between Old English and Old Norse kennings, with the Old English reflecting the earlier stage in the development of the form, in regard to both use and composition.³

Hertha Marquardt, like Scholtz, believes that the Old English kenning is often relevant to its context and chosen for its exact meaning, rather than merely for alliteration. She

¹Rankin, "Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," pp. 64-83.


³Ibid., p. 179.
gives specific instances, usually from Beowulf, but some from Cynewulf. That the kenning occupied so important a position in Old Norse but not in Old English she attributes to the greater importance of variation in the English poetry and to the fact that in Old English the kenning was by variation closely associated with the context of the sentence.¹

In a more recent study of the kenning, but one which draws on different materials from Marquardt's, with which he evidently was not familiar, Douglas C. Collins maintains that the kenning is not often used meaningfully. Restricting his attention to "the more pedestrian passages"—examples, usually of narrative verse, from The Exeter Book—Collins concludes that in their transition from a pagan poetic tradition to a Christian tradition, most kennings had lost almost all their intrinsic effectiveness. They were still useful to the poet, but for pragmatic reasons: they were ornamental; they drew favorable reactions because they were conventional and familiar to the audience; they were almost essential to the verse pattern; and, by filling out a line, they carry the author through a pedestrian passage.²

Brodeur finds the kenning of special interest because of its association with variation and with formation of new compounds. Insistent that the author of Beowulf was literate,

¹Hertha Marquardt, Die altenglischen Kenningar (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1938), pp. 308-17.
"with a highly developed sense of form," Brodeur is concerned with demonstrating the poet's manner of composition. Forming new kennings and kend heiti by substitution was the most important step in building the poetic vocabulary of a compounding language like Old English, he believes. Like Marquardt, Brodeur stresses the importance of variation, which, he points out, was of more importance to the Old English poet than the kenning.¹

The largest and most important group of scholars concerned with the Germanic inheritance in Old English literature have been the oral-formulaic apologists, whose seminal publication is the article, "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," published in 1953 by Francis P. Magoun, Jr. However, concern with formulas actually goes back about a century, to such men as Sarrazin, who concluded that these formulas, or Parallelstellen, as he called them, were indications of common authorship of the works concerned.² Kail ridiculed this interpretation,³ and critical controversy continued over the years. Gradually scholars became convinced that studies of other elements would be more likely to yield information useful in determining authorship of Old English poems.⁴ But in 1953, when


³Kail, "Parallelstellen."

⁴For example, S. K. Das, Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon
when he published his article on the oral-formulaic nature of Anglo-Saxon poetry, Magoun introduced a theory about these parallel passages that was to be at once far more fruitful and far more controversial than Sarrazin's.

Magoun's theory, as he freely acknowledges, grew from studies by Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord of Homeric and Slavic verse-making. Rejecting older theories, Parry shows that the Homeric poems were composed in a poetic language wherein archaic and foreign forms were retained and new forms brought in by reason of the demands of the verse itself.¹ Only in the early poetry of nations, Parry points out, have the demands of the verse ever been as powerful as in the Homeric poems. Parry concludes that Homeric poetry must have been composed in a "diction which is oral, and so formulaic, and so traditional." He insists that a single man or even a group of men could not have made even a beginning at such an oral diction; the achievement has to be the work of many poets through many generations.²

The formula used in these poems he defines as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions

(Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942) uses metrics, treatment of sources, and certain characteristics of style to decide against Cynewulfian authorship of the unsigned poems--poems Sarrazin assigned to Cynewulf partly on the basis of parallel passages.


to express a given essential idea."¹ Magoun and most of his followers have used this same definition. They have also generally adopted Parry's definition of a formulaic system as "a group of phrases which have the same metrical value and which are enough alike in thought and words to leave no doubt that the poet who used them knew them not only as single formulas, but also as formulas of a certain type."²

Parry went into Serbia in the summer of 1933 to test his theories among the unlettered singers who were still composing their poems as they sang them. Joining him in 1934 was Albert Lord, his pupil at Harvard. After Parry's death in 1936, Lord continued the work, publishing the results in Singer of Tales. Convinced that the formulaic character of Beowulf is possible only in a poem composed orally, Lord is eager to indicate merits of the oral-formulaic tradition. He maintains that it is from "the dynamic, life principle in myth, the wonder-working tale, that art derived its force."³

Applying these theories to Anglo-Saxon narrative poetry, with specific applications to Beowulf, Magoun shocked Old English students with the assertion that the formulaic elements in this poetry prove it to have been composed orally, by illiterate singers. After a careful analysis of the first fifty verses of

² Ibid., p. 85.
Because they deal with highly specialized thematic material not represented elsewhere in the poetry, for the presentation of which in verse one might suppose that a poet would need to create his own language if he would ever have need to do so"—Magoun discloses that of these fifty verses, seventy-four percent occur elsewhere in either the Beowulf itself or in extant Old English verse. He concludes therefore that Beowulf was composed in the traditional oral manner, with the scop utilizing centuries-old formulas. "To suggest," he says, "that this order of words is in any sense 'literary' is virtually to deny oral technique in the composition of the poem, a technique demonstrated in the preceding analysis. . . . The traditional character of the recorded text is further born [sic] out by the fact that at least fifteen percent of the verses of the poem are to all intents and purposes repeated within the poem, a phenomenon unthinkable in lettered tradition." Inability to find for a particular passage an exactly similar verse or verses does not mean that these verses cannot be formulaic. It merely means that supporting evidence of formulaic character cannot be found in the surviving poetic corpus, says Magoun. 1

Magoun closes his article by outlining several steps that would help to clarify the issue of oral-formulaic provenience of Old English verse. These include construction of a concordance of the entire poetical corpus, further analyses of sample verses, further study of the relationship between

Cynewulf's literacy and his poetry if the latter proves to be formulaic, a new appraisal of phrasal similarities among poems (the Parallelstellen), and—with the aid of the concordance—further study of the origin and special function of the hypermetric verse.¹

The concordance is still awaited by scholars,² but some of the other projects have made more obvious progress. Analyses of poems for formulas, themes, and type-scenes have been made, including work on Cynewulf. Formulaic composition is generally accepted as the answer to parallel passages in various Old English poems.³ Lewis E. Nicholson has utilized study of hypermetric verses to gain further insight into oral techniques of composition.⁴

Some of the studies providing analysis of formulas or themes are of particular interest, either because they contribute to an understanding of actual Old English methods of composition.

¹Ibid., pp. 459-62.
²It is being computerized by Jess Bessinger, Jr., and Philip H. Smith, Jr. A Concordance to Beowulf, edited by Jess Bessinger, Jr., and programmed by Philip H. Smith, Jr. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969) has already appeared. However, the computer's inability to distinguish among homographs, to recognize variant spellings, and to provide cross-references may limit the usefulness of the concordance in locating formulas. See review by Larry D. Benson, Speculum, XLV (1970), 273-75.
³An exception to this is the opinion held by Claes Schaar, who, in "On a New Theory of Old English Poetic Diction," Neophilologus, XL (1956), 301-05, urges further study, since he believes still that some passages were taken over or imitated in a literary way by one poet from another, p. 305.
or because they shed light on Cynewulf's poetry. Magoun himself published a convincing article explaining, according to oral-formulaic principles, the composition of Caedmon's poetry.¹

Robert Creed has attempted to show that the making of an Anglo-Saxon poem was a process of choosing rapidly and largely on the basis of alliterative needs. The choice was not between individual words, but between formulas. He shows that use of such a highly schematized diction is possible to anyone who learns the rules, but notes that of itself the use does not produce the "continually marvellous subtlety of Beowulf." He concludes that Beowulf demonstrates such extraordinary art because its singer knew how to choose "the best of all possible combinations of formulas." (Italics are Creed's.)

Robert Diamond's study of the formulaic content of the four signed poems of Cynewulf provides valuable support for Magoun's thesis. However, Diamond states at once that the question of oral composition for Cynewulf's poems can probably never be answered satisfactorily. What he attempts to do is examine the diction of each poem and determine whether it was composed in the traditional formulaic style. Diamond laments the fact that, unlike the living poetic tradition of Jugoslavia, where Lord was able to demonstrate that all verses of a partic-


ular song are formulaic because his source of supporting evidence was unlimited, the Old English poetic tradition is a "defunct" one, with only 30,000 extant lines to support search for formulas. Despite this scarcity of materials in which to find evidence, Diamond's findings are impressive. When checked among themselves, he finds that 42.8 percent of the four signed poems are demonstrably formulaic. When checked for repeats against the whole corpus of Old English poetry, the percentages of demonstrably formulaic verses run much higher—62.7 percent. To Diamond, such a high percentage of formulaic verses strongly suggests that the poems were composed in the traditional formulaic manner. He considers it unlikely that a poet composing in the manner of a literate, modern writer and conscious of the value of his originality would make such extensive use of formulas.¹

Related to the study of formulas is interest in traditional themes—exile, beasts of prey, the hero, for instance—that reappear from time to time in Old English poetry. Although definitions of "theme" vary, scholars concerned with this aspect of the Germanic tradition do agree that the theme adds to the artistry of the poem.

Stanley Greenfield, who had published articles on the theme of exile² before Magoun's article appeared, analyzes the poetic expression of that theme in a number of Old English poems.


Noting that a concordance to simplify the checking of formulas is "not, alas, yet with us," he refrains from actually counting formulas, but remarks instead on the verbal and conceptual similarities in each poem. The most notable advantage in a highly stylized, formulaic poetry is that "associations with other contexts using a similar formula will inevitably color a particular instance of a formula so that a whole host of overtones springs into action to support the aesthetic response."

He points out that if these extra-emotional meanings supersede the denotation that should inhere in a particular passage, the words or phrases may become "conventional" in the pejorative sense of the word.¹

Magoun considers another theme, that of the beasts of battle, in twelve poems. Demonstrating the formulaic quality of the passages considered, he concludes that this theme was traditional in Old English verse.²

Examining the theme of the hero on the beach, David K. Crowne concludes that this theme frequently precedes a description of, or reference to, a scene of carnage in which the beasts of battle theme is used. Identification of other such theme sequences, if they exist, should provide important clues to the


peculiarities of the narrative structure in Anglo-Saxon poetry.  

Donald K. Fry, applying his research to Elene, differentiates between theme and type-scene. A theme he defines as an underlying structural device, while the type-scene is a recurring stereotyped presentation of conventional details.  

Theme as ornament rather than as a means for advancing the action is considered by Diamond in his study of the themes of sea-voyaging and of battle, with its associated sub-theme of the beasts of battle. His formulaic analyses of poetry include passages from Christ II and Elene. He views his research as tending to discount further the likelihood that any one Anglo-Saxon poem consciously echoes any other. The more that is learned about formulaic diction, he emphasizes, the stronger the assumption that all the poets drew on the same stock of traditional diction.  

Creed theorizes that on the level of theme we may expect to find differences in the work of "mature singers." Occurrences of a theme in a particular poem may lie at a considerable distance from another, but it is the significant relationship between such passages that holds the key to the critical study of the oral art, Creed maintains. Tracing a "submerged" metaphor

---


and numerous verbal echoes through a thematic passage of *Beowulf* causes Creed to term the lines also "an archetypal moment, a moment which creates the archetypal rhythm of sorrow followed by joy, of death and birth, of winter and spring." Thus, he decides, Anglo-Saxon poetry must be read with consideration both for its traditional elements and for "the fine tools forged by the critics of the last thirty years."¹

The oral-formulaic theory has been investigated in other literatures of western Europe, with some further developments. In their consideration of Middle English alliterative poetry, Ronald Waldron and John Finlayson find oral-formulaic techniques. They caution that it would be rash, however, to deduce from this characteristic that the poetry is of oral origin. More probably, the poetry originated in a tradition of oral composition and was enjoyed by readers who were still familiar with the conventions of an oral style.² These poems, then, which include *Sir Gawain* and the *Green Knight* and *Morte Arthure*, indicate that an oral tradition could be utilized in written composition.

Describing certain contemporary Gaelic songs and prose, James Ross explains that staticization of texts has already taken place in the Western Isles of Scotland, though the songs are still sung. He finds that among the Highlanders "conceptual


formulas" were as important as the verbal ones.\textsuperscript{1}

Accepting the oral-formulaic theory as enunciated by Parry, Lord, and Magoun in its entirety and rejecting any kind of transitional text is Robert L. Kellogg. Kellogg feels it is "safe" to assume that "the many poetic elements common to Anglo-Saxon, Old Icelandic, Old Saxon, and Old High German alliterative poetry reflect the common usage of a more or less unified and indisputably oral tradition stretching back in time to the early centuries of the Christian era, and perhaps much further."\textsuperscript{2}

Michael Curschmann has surveyed a number of studies, mainly European, that have attempted to tackle the problem of oral provenience of medieval literature. He notes other research that throws further light on current problems in the oral-formulaic discussions, especially in matters of terminology and assembling of evidence from which to draw conclusions.\textsuperscript{3}

Exploring the possibility that early Finnish singers borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon poetry, Magoun finds that certain concepts, such as blood-drinking swords and treasure-unlocking speeches, are present in both the early English and the Finnish

\textsuperscript{1}James Ross, "Formulaic Composition in Gaelic Oral Literature," MP, LVII (1959), 1-12.


\textsuperscript{3}Michael Curschmann, "Oral Poetry in Medieval English, French, and German Literature: Some Notes on Recent Research," Speculum, XLII (1967), 36-52.
His translation of the Kalevala makes available these oral songs of the Finnish peasants, collected and published by Elias Lonnrot in the middle 1800's. Magoun's translation makes clear the presence of an appreciable number of formulas, causing him to identify the poetry as oral.  

Despite the many who have given strong support to the oral-formulaic school, there are other scholars who have accepted its quasi-precepts only with serious qualifications. Jackson J. Campbell has spoken out emphatically about the need to consider a kind of transition text. Brodeur, already mentioned above for his work on kennings, disagrees with Magoun's theory that all formulaic poetry must have been composed orally. Convinced that only on the grounds of his literacy can one explain the superiority of the Beowulf poet's work to that of any other Anglo-Saxon, he maintains that a literate author could have composed in the traditional, formulaic manner.  

Robert Stevick calls for an establishment of the stages

---


2 Magoun, trans., Kalevala, xvii. The Kalevala, dealing primarily with folkloristic materials, charms, tales of magic, seems much more easily accepted as oral-formulaic composition than do the Old English poems with more personal treatments, lengthy adaptations from Latin originals, or Christian themes. One characteristic the Old English and Finnish poems have in common is variation, but the Kalevala usually has word for word repetition in conjunction with it.


4 Brodeur, Art of Beowulf, pp. 4-5.
of transition from oral to written composition. He asserts the need for "unified and systematic procedures" having "historical rigor" and "conceptual clarity" in studying the oral-formulaic character of Old English verse.¹

When Lord's Singer of Tales appeared in 1959, William Whallon referred to the book as "a remarkable achievement in imaginative philology."² He has continued to follow the work of the oral-formulaists, being quick to note inconsistencies in their arguments. His knowledge of Homeric Greek, superior to that of most of his contemporaries, has been one of his chief assets.

Through comparison of Anglo-Saxon "kennings," or compounded words, with Homeric epithets, Whallon postulates an earlier stage in the development of an oral poem for the Old English epic than for the Iliad and the Odyssey. The diction of Beowulf is much less stereotyped, and therefore less economical, than that of the early Greek epics, he finds, because the poet is relying upon a language whose familiar idiomatic style has not yet become so perfected as to be invariable.³ Fry has attacked Whallon's insistence on economy, citing Brodeur's statements about variation. Fry maintains that the importance of


² William Whallon, Review of Singer of Tales, by Lord, in Comparative Literature, XIV (1962), 399-402.

variation overrules the usual concern for thrift in oral composition.¹

In another article Whallon points out a second difference between the Homeric epithets and the Old English kennings. Formulaic epithets in the Iliad may each be applied to only one character and are used without particular regard for the context. Beowulfian formulas for individual heroes are fully appropriate to context but are true only to generic character.² Whallon has since amplified his studies of epithets somewhat and urges further study of economy in the use of Old English kennings.³ He also introduces a new approach to the religious formulas by insisting that the implications, echoes, and foreshadowings that were part of the poetic tradition were actually still attached to the words or phrases that were transferred to Christian concepts with the coming of Augustine.⁴

To support his thesis that Old English poets could and did write in an ordinary literate manner, Larry Benson presents an analysis of the Meters of Boethius, a rendition into Old English verse of Alfred's prose translation from the Latin of the original. Although a modern student may see how the author

¹Donald K. Fry, "Variation and Economy in Beowulf," MP, LXVI (1968), 353-56.


⁴Ibid., pp. 137-38.
of the Old English verse selection went about rearranging the words of the prose and inserting phrases that he thought more helpful for meter or alliteration or meaning, he will note that the verse is heavily formulaic and even contains a theme—the storm at sea. Obviously, Benson concludes, the poet "could and did write heavily formulaic verse and ... could do so pen in hand."¹

Ann Chalmers Watts, in her attack upon the oral-formulaic theory, strikes at its bases: the definitions of formula and formulaic system and the actual analogy between Greek and Old English diction. Since Parry's requirement that a formula contain at least four words or five syllables is too rigorous for Anglo-Saxon poetry and since she believes that no suitable definition has yet been substituted, she offers her own definition: "a repeated sequence that fills one of Sievers' five basic rhythmical types."² The formulaic system she defines as "two or more phrases of a similar Sievers' verse-type, syntactical pattern, and lexical significance, which may differ in an important element according to alliterative substitution, or context, or a type of narrative superfluity."³ Using her own definitions, she reconsiders certain passages from Beowulf and Elene and arrives at formulaic percentages considerably lower than did Magoun, Creed, Lord, or Diamond. Like Diamond, she finds that

³Ibid., p. 144.
the poems of Cynewulf are somewhat less formulaic than Beowulf. Her consideration of differences between the Greek and Old English diction involves Parry's research. Parry built his theory of Homeric oral-formulaic composition upon the application of epithets to gods and heroes. The wealth of repeated phrases in Old English verse, however, is found not in epithets but in half-lines of all rhythmical types, syntactic functions, and verbal import. Watts questions, therefore, whether this difference between Greek and Old English verse may not be indicative of a difference in the origin of composition.

British scholars have, on the whole, been less excited about Magoun's exposition of the oral-formulaic theory than have Americans. Thus, Wyld, Leslie, and Wrenn have been primarily concerned with diction and certain related stylistic devices, accepting the formulaic composition as fact, but with seeming unconcern about "singers" and "transition texts."

Wyld, like Brodeur, believes that a study of diction is essential to an understanding of Old English poetry. A noted linguist, he finds the vocabulary of great richness and variety,

1 Ibid., pp. 157-81.
3 Watts, Lyre and Harp, pp. 100, 117.
with many elements reserved exclusively for poetry. The phrases, metaphors, and words--clearly based upon a long-descended literary tradition--have a specific, image-creating force. Concerned with the continuity of Old English poetry into the twentieth century, he draws attention to three qualities present over a thousand years ago and still to be found today: a feeling for the mysterious in nature, a sense of the solemn and sublime, and sympathy with the impulses of the human heart.¹

Leslie cites examples of variation, chiasmus, antithesis, interlacing (linked in this instance to antithesis), anaphora, and asyndetic parataxis versus hypotaxis in his effort to demonstrate that the stylistic features of Old English poetry are not merely decorative, "but have an important functional part in the total structure, and that the syntactical constructions in their turn are diversified to suit the requirements of the style."²

Wrenn believes that the special qualities of Anglo-Saxon verse must be looked for in its meter, rhythm, and diction, which are relatively fixed during the period that we know. The formalized poetic vocabulary and style were exceptionally remote from those of ordinary speech and prose. The verse language had to express themes of war, religion, and social graces, but in writing it soon had to express also the matters of the Bible and of Christianity, and these had to be in forms inherited from oral

tradition. The formalized diction, abounding in convenient mnemonic formulae like those in the other early West Germanic languages, highly conventionalized and traditional, is rich in subtle associations for many of these formulaic phrases, he points out.¹

The importance of syntax for Old English style has received less attention in recent years than the question of formulaic composition. Recent studies, however, like that of Leslie, who examines several passages of Old English poetry to illustrate the important part that stylistic features play in the total Old English poem,² indicate a growing interest in syntax and a realization that what has seemed to be mechanical decoration is actually functional.

Early works on syntax tended to be of the nineteenth-century "Gebrauch der . . ." type, entailing study of a particular part of speech in a specific writer or work. A number involved Cynewulfian poetry.³ Other studies have concentrated upon the use of hypotaxis and parataxis, generally as a means of determining the ability of Anglo-Saxon writers to indicate subordinate materials. Claes Schaar, in his Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, related the traditional poetic practice to use of compound constructions for description of events and to

¹Wrenn, Old English Literature, pp. 47-51.
³M. Prollius, Über den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Conjunktivs in der Cynewulfischen Dichtungen Elene, Juliana, und Crist (Marburg: University of Marburg, 1888).
use of complex types for subordinate matter. He also compared Cynewulf's effective use of this tradition with the seemingly lesser awareness of it among the other members of the so-called Cynewulfian school.¹

S. O. Andrew has attempted to determine the syntax of various sentence forms in prose and in verse. He, like Schaar, is concerned with the relationship between coordinate and subordinate clauses, especially with temporal clauses, which he has termed "the essential tissue of vigorous narrative style."² He examines the use of these clauses to produce an effect of retardation and contrasts that treatment with the occurrence of short, asyndetic sentences in certain transitions for the purpose of creating an impression of rapidity.³ Manfred Scheler, in a recent study of certain Old English syntax, has noted Latin influence upon native constructions. Like the oral-formulaists, he regrets the lack of early texts to show definitely what the Germanic forms were.⁴

One member of the oral-formulaic group who has been concerned with syntax as a tool for the scop is Frederic G. Cassidy. Cassidy, setting forth work done on archetypal syntactic patterns,

¹Schaar, Cynewulf Group, pp. 146-53.

²S. O. Andrew, Postscript on "Beowulf" (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1948), p. 86. See also Andrew, Syntax and Style. Alistair Campbell, "Old English Epic Style," P. 20, n. 1, believes Andrew "overdrives" his theory.

³Andrew, Postscript on "Beowulf," pp. 86-91.

⁴Manfred Scheler, Altenglische Lehnsyntax (Berlin: University of Berlin, 1961).
or "frames," maintains that upon these twenty-five syntactic patterns all Old English verse is built. However, according to the studies cited by Cassidy, a particular syntactic frame need not always have the same syntax. Thus, one type of noun frame may consist of a substantive alone, a prepositional phrase, or a subject-verb-complement clause. For this particular "N frame" Cassidy gives these examples from Beowulf: breostgewæedu, l. 1211a; of brydburu, l. 921a; to þæm heahsele, l. 647a; and we synt gumcynnes, l. 260a. The unifying principle in this frame is the fact that one noun, usually a compound, receives both metrically heavy stresses.¹ Cassidy maintains that these frames gave to the scop "freedom to elaborate or abbreviate . . . within the steadying patterns of the syntax,"² ignoring the fact that his patterns are based on stressed words more than on syntax. Greenfield, noting the syntactic flexibility permissible with Cassidy's interpretation, says there is no longer reason to "regard the syntactic formula as in any way restricting grammatical analysis in line with the close-examination approach," even as there is no reason "for allowing the verbal formula to limit our consideration of the aptness or ineptitude of an Anglo-Saxon poet's word choice."³

Variation in Old English poetry has drawn the attention

²Ibid., p. 83.
of certain scholars. Richard Heinzel, in his early study, notes its use to impress upon the hearer the importance of an idea, sometimes in syntactically parallel constructions.¹ W. Paetzel remarks on the importance of variation to Anglo-Saxon poetry, in contrast to its very infrequent use in prose, and is especially interested in its use to emphasize an idea and its frequent syntactic separation from the phrase it served to emphasize.² He does not concern himself with the matter of parallels.

Brodeur has carried the study of variation to far greater lengths, terming it the "chief characteristic of the poetic mode of expression." Variation, he notes, "restrains the pace of Old English poetic narrative, gives to dialogue or monologue its leisurely or stately character, raises into high relief those concepts which the poet wishes to emphasize, and permits him to exhibit the object of his thought in all its aspects."³

Except for such catalogs as Jansen's,⁴ relatively few studies of the rhetorical aspects of Old English poetry were attempted before Adeline Courtney Bartlett defined certain patterns. She made no effort to establish their origin, though she did mention the possibility of Latin influence, perhaps through the Christian epics.⁵ The six patterns, not actually

¹Heinzel, "Stil der altgermanischen Poesie," pp. 3-5.
³Brodeur, Art of Beowulf, p. 39.
⁴Jansen, Zur Synonymik und Poetik.
⁵Bartlett, Larger Rhetorical Patterns.
new to scholars but clearly described and illustrated, are the envelope, parallel, incremental, rhythmical, decorative inset, and conventional device. ¹

Actual instances of attempting to support the conviction that Latin influence is present in Old English style have been few and chiefly recent. ² Alistair Campbell, primarily concerned with the emergence of the epic, and Jackson J. Campbell are two who have considered the matter of classical rhetoric. Both men also explain incidentally the emergence of a written literary tradition. His comparison of earlier English lays with the more developed epic poems leads Alistair Campbell to assert that the carefully wrought paragraphs of the Old English epic style were certainly intended for preservation, and it follows that the poems were composed for record in writing. ³ The epic poems, he explains, developed because in the monasteries the authors could read Latin materials and amplify their compositions in a manner comparable to that of the Latin epic poems. The lays also were known in the monastery—hence Alcuin's famous "What has Ingeld

¹Ibid., pp. 9-106. George K. Anderson, "Old English Literature," in The Medieval Literature of Western Europe, edited by John Hurt Fisher (Published for the Modern Language Association by the New York University Press, 1966), p. 48, notes that she "provides a scheme for analysis comparable to that which Sievers set up for alliterative verse with his five types of hemistichs."


³Alistair Campbell, "Old English Epic Style," p. 20.
to do with Christ?"—and the monks were interested in "improving" these relatively brief narratives. Campbell points out that obvious imitation of the Aeneid and even of Latin Christian epics is at no time evident in the Old English poetry, but the monks did take example from the more ample style of Latin narrative prose. Since direct imitation of the Latin epic is not found, it follows that use of classical rhetoric will not be obvious in Old English poetry; and he considers the widespread incidence of litotes a Germanic inheritance. But in the monasteries the monk would become familiar with tropes and figures, and he would certainly know that he was using zeugma, hyperbole, simile, metonymy, epithet, and hendiadys. Since Latin had subtle influences on the lay, Campbell concludes that those who are searching for "Indo-European origins for things Germanic should, in each case, weigh the alternative possibility of independent native development with hints from classical sources." 

Jackson J. Campbell believes that the time has come "to retreat from some of the extreme positions of this neo-primitive [oral-formulaic] school and realize that at least ninety percent of the extant Old English poetry was composed by literate, educated men." He considers the conditions that led to the creation of new half-lines in the oral tradition and the introduction of traditional materials into written composition.

---

1Ibid., pp. 13-14; this point is also made by George J. Engelhardt, "Beowulf: A Study in Dilatation," PMLA, LXX (1955), 825-52.

2Ibid., pp. 18-19.
Magoun's reference to Cynewulf's "dictating to himself" means almost nothing, says Campbell, "or rather it probably means quite simply sitting down and writing a poem, arranging the words, as does any poet, before setting them down." Many poets besides Cynewulf received a Roman education, which meant studying the curriculum covered by grammatica and perhaps rhetorica. Thus even having completed only the elementary grammatica, they would have been thoroughly familiar with the Latin poetry and the rhetorical figures expounded by Donatus and Bede. A poet with this background would inevitably strive for the advantages to be gained by using such figures. Campbell goes on to show how various Anglo-Saxon poets actually did incorporate rhetorical figures in their works. He draws upon translations from the Latin, like the Phoenix: upon macaronic verse with figures in both the Latin and English sections; and upon what is probably an original English composition--The Wanderer. Campbell concludes that a "conscious rhetorical artificer" is at work in many an Old English poem, not just a manipulator of formulas.  

In another article Campbell draws specific attention to the sources of figurative language for the Englishman of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. He establishes the existence of a number of schools and discusses the subject matter of the grammatica and rhetorica, subject matter often evident in the glosses on various manuscripts of Latin poetry.

1 Jackson Campbell, "Learned Rhetoric," p. 189-201.
Although there has been talk of applying the discipline of literary stylistics to Old English literature, little has been done in this area. Literary stylistics draws upon several disciplines—linguistics, literary criticism, literary history, and theory of literature.\(^1\) That application of this theory may produce stimulating analyses of literary texts is suggested by Ruqaiya Hasan, who points out that in stylistics the literary language is related to the internal organization of a text, in order to show how the text coheres into one unity and how the elements of this unity are brought to the reader's notice.\(^2\) Stanley Greenfield has applied a modified stylistic approach to Old English literature.\(^3\) He concludes, however, that of itself the linguistic description does not provide as accurate an account of the poem's grammar as its exponents maintain, nor does he believe that "formal meaning" can be determined without recourse to lexical and contextual meaning. In his own analyses of several short passages from *Beowulf*, his introduction of contextual meaning is more overt than Hasan would countenance, more interpretational, and, of course, far less technical.

This survey of various techniques used in stylistic analyses of Old English poetry during the last century indicates that a study to determine the presence of Latin schemata and


tropi in the signed poems of Cynewulf is a valid one. Formulas, themes, type-scenes, and kennings will be considered in relation to the schemata and tropi, in order to determine whether the schemata and tropi were perhaps originally a part of the conventional Germanic materials.

Availability in eighth- and ninth-century England of texts containing schemata and tropi known to the Greeks and Romans will be considered briefly, and explanations of the figures will be provided as needed. Marked differences in handling certain figures within the various Signed Poems will be noted.

In the course of this stylistic analysis, selected passages from Juliana, Elene, Christ II, and The Fates of the Apostles will be examined. Critical opinion has differed greatly as to the order of composition of these poems, especially as to the order of Juliana and Christ II. Schaar's studies led him to the conclusion that The Fates of the Apostles was written last, the product of Cynewulf's old age and intellectual decline,¹ so this poem appears at the end of this study. Actually, the stylistic examination in this paper suggests a definite order of composition and indicates that Schaar's conclusion may be incorrect.

¹Schaar, Cynewulf Group, p. 261.
CHAPTER II

JULIANA

Cynewulf probably wrote his poetry in Mercia, in the first half of the ninth century. At this time the schemes and tropes of Latin rhetoric were available in the grammars and rhetorical manuals of the schools. Some of these texts may have been taken to England by Augustine and his fellow monks in A.D. 597. More sophisticated materials may have been brought by Hadrian and Theodore of Tarsus in 669, since they themselves later instructed scholars in both religious and secular letters. Benedict Biscop's trips back to the Continent were also accompanied by the arrival in Britain of many manuscripts and books.


All instruction was in Latin, from texts hallowed by centuries of use. The rhetorical principles in these writings could be traced back through late antiquity to Cicero and Quintilian and thence back to origins in Greek oratory of the fifth century B.C. and to the manuals of Aristotle and other Greek rhetoricians.

These Greek manuals gradually came to treat five areas, invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery, but from the beginning great emphasis was laid on style, which effected ornatus, "embellishment." As early as the fifth century B.C., Gorgias of Leontini was famous for his ability to use certain figures of style: parison, antithesis (often reinforced by chiasmus), homoeoteleuton, and homoeoptoton. A century later Aristotle wrote of "amplification," a rhetorical principle that was to be of great importance in succeeding centuries. He associates it especially with epideictic oratory, since in this type of speech the actions are not disputed and beauty and importance may be attributed to them.¹ Over the centuries, as the opportunities for deliberative and forensic oratory lessened, epideictic oratory, which was devoted to praise or censure, grew in popularity, and "amplification" became more important. To Aristotle, "amplification" was to be achieved mainly in the construction of proofs, but later rhetoricians, like the unknown


author of the fourth century *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, gradually shifted the emphasis to style. The *Rhetorica*, formerly ascribed to Aristotle, is the earliest extant rhetorical handbook. As many other men would do in the centuries that followed, its author assumes that rhetoric is an art for which the rules can be learned and application of these rules will bring success.\(^1\)

Rhetoric was gaining recognition as an instrument of education, with a consequent narrowing of the subject-matter and greater emphasis on rules. These rules of rhetoric were now used not only for public speaking, but also for written composition.

After 146 B.C., when Greece became a Roman province, many Greek rhetoricians went to Rome to teach. Soon Latin rhetorical handbooks were appearing. Cicero's *De inventione*, because it was never completed, contains no section on style. But in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for many centuries ascribed to Cicero, the author explains that "to confer distinction upon style is to render it ornate, embellishing it by variety," by the rhetorical figures.\(^2\) The fourth book contains an exposition of the *schemata* and *tropi*, the oldest extant formal study of the figures. Quintilian, in the *Institutio oratoria*, writes that by *ornatus*, "ornament," the orator commends himself and gains the enthusiastic approval of the world.\(^3\) To achieve *ornatus*

---


\(^3\) Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, trans. by H. E. Butler,
Quintilian advocates use of the *schemata* and *tropi*.

During the centuries between Aristotle and Quintilian, then, rhetoric had come to place great stress upon the figures. Subsequent developments in rhetoric did not change this emphasis, but were concerned with the divisions into *schemata lexeos*, figures of speech, and *schemata dianoeas*, figures of thought. In the fourth century, Aelius Donatus continued the practice that Quintilian had opposed three centuries earlier\(^1\) and appropriated the *schemata lexeos* for the *grammaticus*, whose teaching preceded that of the *rhetor*, and included them in his *Ars maior*. The *schemata dianoeas* he considered more advanced, and he reserved these for the *rhetorician's pedagogy*.\(^2\) Acceptance of these divisions for centuries to come was effected through the popularity of Donatus' text, widely used in England and Western Europe.

These figurative expressions were also divided into *schemata* and *tropi*. The *schemata* resulted from special arrangement of words, while the term *tropus* was applied to what Quintilian called a "transference of expressions from their natural and principal signification to another, with a view to the embellishment of style." Quintilian notes the difficulty of determining whether certain kinds of expressions are *schemata* or

\(^{1}\) *Ibid.*, I, 204-06.

Hyperbaton, for instance, is considered a trope, because it "transfers a word or part of a word from its own place to another," yet it depends on change of order and could therefore be a schema.¹ These distinctions between schemes and tropes were known in eighth-century England, when Bede incorporated them into his rhetorical manual, "De schematibus et tropis."²

Besides Donatus' grammar, the texts of the early Middle Ages included those of Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville. Of the earlier Greek and Latin rhetoricians named above, there are no extant manuscripts dating from Anglo-Saxon England nor are there any references to indicate that their works were known by the early English.

Cassiodorus, in his treatment of grammar and rhetoric in the Institutiones, makes no study of the schemata and tropi, but does say that they should be used ornatus causa, "for the sake of adornment."³ In his In Psalterium expositio he comments on each of the figures as it occurs, making no effort, of course, to divide the figures according to type or difficulty.⁴

Isidore of Seville, opening his Etymologiae with a

¹Quintilian, Institutio, III, 351.


treatment of the seven liberal arts, devotes his first book to grammar, the second to rhetoric and dialectic. His De Grammatica seems to be an abridged and re-worded version of Donatus' Ars maior and contains about the same list of schemes and tropes, with similar definitions and examples. In the section dealing with rhetoric, Isidore includes the schemata dianoeas, though he does not use the term. ¹ The Etymologiae, a veritable storehouse of learned information, was widely used, as three extant complete manuscripts from ninth-century England indicate. ²

Other texts no longer extant must have been available to the English, however. One reason for concluding this is the fact that when Bede composed his work on the schemes and tropes, he used the term palinlogiae, which is not found in any texts definitely known to have been available to the English. ³ The word does occur in the De nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii et de septem artibus liberalibus of Martianus Capella ⁴ and in the "De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis liber of Aquila Romanus." ⁵

¹ Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae sive origines, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Libri XX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), I-II.


³ Gussie Hecht Tanenhaus, "Bede's De Schematibus et Tropis--a Translation," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVIII (1962), 237-53. Translations of Bede's "De schematibus" used in this paper will be from this work.

⁴ Martianus Capella, De nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii et de septem artibus liberalibus Libri IX, ed. by Ulricus Fridericus Kopp (Frankfurt: Franciscum Varrentrapp, 1836), V, 533.

⁵ Aquila Romanus, "De Figuris sententiarum et elocutionis
The "De figuris" dates from the third century, and two centuries later Capella took from it much of his section on rhetoric in the De nuptiis. Both Capella and Aquila explain figures not found in the works of Donatus, Cassiodorus, or Isidore. Capella's De nuptiis has a highly ornate style. In the "De figuris," on the other hand, Aquila advocates restrained use of the rhetorical figures.

That the teaching of grammar and rhetoric and the study of ornatus and amplificatio were carried into the Anglo-Saxon schools is evident in the grammars of Tatwine¹ and Boniface² and in the De schematibus et tropis of Bede. Boniface's and Tatwine's works clearly carry on the traditions of the Latin grammars and are of interest because they indicate Latin influence on even the most elementary educational level. Bede's De schematibus, the first extant work by an Englishman on the figures, follows closely Donatus' treatment in his Ars maior. Bede's work shows that early in their schooling Englishmen of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries acquired a knowledge of ornatus and of the figures and tropes that produced it. It has become customary


¹Tatwine, "Ars," microfilm, Vatican Library, Palatinate Latin 1746. This manuscript is of tenth-century provenance, according to August Wilmanns, "Der Katalog der Lorscher Klosterbibliothek aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, XXIII (1868), 396.

when writing, Bede states in the introduction to his work on figures, to use an order of words different from that of common speech, an order in which figures are to be found *causa decoris*, "for the sake of embellishment."¹ An educated Englishman of the ninth century would have been familiar at least with the *schemata lexeos* from his study of grammar, and he would have been aware of the importance of amplification and ornament in his writing. If he had studied under the *rhetor*, he would have had practice in using the *schemata dianoeas* to acquire a pleasing style. Cynewulf, therefore, had ample opportunity to learn about the *schemata* and *tropi* and the possibilities they offered for embellishment of a literary work.

In *Juliana* Cynewulf relates the story of a young girl who willingly suffers martyrdom rather than give up her Christian faith and wed a pagan.² As his source for the poem, Cynewulf used a Latin version, perhaps the one in the *Acta Sanctorum* for February 16. He follows the Latin narrative closely, but the

¹Bede, "De schematibus," p. 607, 1; Tanenhaus, "Bede's De schematibus," p. 240. In subsequent footnotes, reference will be made first to Bede's work, then to the Tanenhaus translation.

²*Acta Sanctorum*, Februarius, Tomus II, ed. by Joannes Bollandus, S. J., and Godefridus Henschenius, S. J. (Antwerp: Joannes Baptista Verdussen, 1684), pp. 868-77. For all practical purposes, this version in the Acta may be considered the Latin source used by Cynewulf. O. Glöde, "Cynewulfs Juliana und ihre Quelle," *Anglia*, XI (1889), 146-58, concluded after a careful comparison of the Acta and the Old English version, that Cynewulf must have used another, slightly different text. In the same year, James M. Garnett, "The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon Juliana," *PMLA*, XIV (1899), 279-98, conducted a similar study and decided that Cynewulf's poetic imagination was sufficient reason for any difference. Since then, scholars have followed one view or the other, noting that between the two possibilities there is only a small difference.
figures that will be examined in this paper are not found in the source.

The poem opens with a description of the persecutions that took place during the reign of Maximian:

Hwaet! We dæt hyrdon hæeled eahtian, deman dædhwate, bætte in dagum gelamp Maximianes, se geond middangeard, arleas cyning, eahtnysse ahof, cwealde cristne men, circan fylde, geat on græswong godhergendra, hæben hildfruma, haligra blod, ryhtfremmendra.2

(Lo, we have heard warriors tell, brave men proclaim that, that which happened in the days of Maximian, who, impious king, heathen leader, throughout the world raised persecution, killed Christian men, defiled churches, poured on the grass the blood of the holy, righteous worshippers of God.)

1 In this paper I am considering only the use of schemata and tropi in Cynewulf's poems. However, a comparison of the Acta version with Cynewulf's Juliana, involving an examination of the changes he has made in character portrayal, indicates that he developed the poem according to the structural principles set forth by Priscian in "De laude," the seventh chapter of his Praeexercitamina. The relatively brief treatment in Priscian is frequently expanded by material similar to that found in Cicero's De inventione. There is no positive evidence that the Old English were familiar with Cicero's work, but certain sections may have been available through lecture notes handed down from one teacher to another, perhaps over several centuries. Sections in the De inventione that bear a close resemblance to the characterizations in Juliana include treatment of loci, I.xxiv.34--xxviii.43; xxvi.38; II.ix.28; the cardinal virtues, II.liii.160-liv. 164; and the peroration and its three parts, the summing-up, indignatio, and conquestio, I.liii.98-100; II.xxx.48-49; and I.lv.106--lvi.109.

To present the activities of the passage, Cynewulf employs **zeugma**. **Zeugma** is defined by Bede as "a joining, . . . a figure in which many ideas depend upon one word or are enclosed in one utterance."¹ In his example of the first type of **zeugma**, that in which the ideas depend upon one word, he gives an instance where several nouns are subjects of, "depend upon," one verb: "Omnis amaritudo et ira et indignatio et clamor et blasphemia tollatur a vobis," "Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and railing be put away from you."² Here the nouns, "bitterness," "wrath," "anger," "clamor," and "railing," depend upon the one verb, "Let be put." Quintilian, doubting whether such a common construction deserved to be considered a figure, maintains that **zeugma** is present only when two different constructions are combined, as in "Sociis tunc arma capessant / Edico et dira bellum cum gente gerendum," "I bid my comrades straight to seize their arms / And war be waged against a savage race."³ Aquila Romanus,⁴ Donatus,⁵ Isidore,⁶ like Bede, make no such distinctions in their various rhetorical treatises, but

³Quintilian, Institutio, III, 482-83.
⁴Aquila Romanus, "De figuris," p. 36.
⁵Donatus, Ars grammatica, p. 397.
⁶Isidore, Etymologiae I.xxxvi.3.
quote only examples where syntactically parallel nouns or clauses or nouns and clauses are joined by verbs. Such joining, though less sophisticated than Quintilian wishes, must have represented zeugma to ninth-century Englishmen like Cynewulf, who were certainly familiar with these or similar handbooks. Cynewulf sometimes uses another construction, one in which two or more verbs are dependent upon one noun. Whether he considered this construction an instance of zeugma cannot be determined, but it occurs about as frequently as does the zeugma in which several nouns are dependent upon a verb.

Zeugma occurs in the first sentence as the two infinitive phrases, hæled eahtian and deman dædhwate, are joined as objects of the verb hyrdon. The infinitives in their turn control one object, dæt (l. 1a). In apposition to dæt is the noun clause which, in its entirety, extends from pæette (l. 2b) to the end of the sentence. Modifying the genitive noun Maximianis is the relative clause, se . . . ryhtfremmendra, l. 3b-8a, in which the four verbs, ahof, cwealde, fylde, and geat, depend upon the subject se.

The parallelism is extended by parison to the verb phrases. Parison is defined by Cassiodorus as "equality of sentence parts," where, however, one may be "greater" than the other, as in "Quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super millia," 1 where the adjectives, "una" and "millia," are equal, but to "una" has been added "in atriis tuis." The phrase, "una

---

1 Cassiodorus, In psalterium, col. 287.
in atriis tuis" is now said to be "greater" than "millia." Sometimes this "greater" phrase or clause is said to be "lengthened." In the first instance of parison in this sentence, the phrases, hæled eahtian (1. 1b) and deman dæðhwate (1. 2a), are equal, since each consists of subject and infinitive. But in the four verb phrases of lines 4b-7, two phrases are "greater." The first and third phrases, eahtnyssæ ahof and circan fylde, each contain object and verb and may be said to be equal. But in the second phrase, cwealde cristne men, cristne is added to modify men, so the phrase is lengthened slightly. To the object of the fourth phrase has been added the genitive phrase godhergendra . . . haligra . . . ryhtfremmendra, and within the verb phrase itself has been added the prepositional phrase, on graeswong, so this phrase is lengthened considerably.

One purpose of lengthening phrases or clauses in parison is to prevent the parallelism from becoming monotonous. Another rhetorical device that helps to avoid monotony is the chiastic arrangement of the members of the parison, and this is employed here, too. Chiasmus, so named because the placement of its parts in poetry resembles the Greek letter "chi," or "X," was one of the figures that became associated with the Greek rhetorician Gorgias. Isidore, in the Etymologiae, includes the figure under its Latin name of antimetabole, defining it as "a turning around of words, which by changed order produces a contrary sense," as in "Non ut edam vivo, sed ut vivam edo," where the order of

1 Isidore, Etymologiae II.xxi.11: "Antimetabole est conversio verborum, quae ordine mutato contrarium efficit sensum."
verbs is reversed in the second clause. This reversal of meaning did not always accompany the reversal of word position, however, and it is not present in this passage from *Juliana*. In the verb phrases, *hæled eahtian* and *deman dædhwate*, the order of subject and infinitive is reversed in the second, so that this chiastic order may be seen:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
  \text{hæled} & \text{A} & \text{B} \\
  \text{deman} & \text{B} & \text{A} \\
\end{array}
\]

Within the four verb phrases of lines 4b-6a, the order of object and verb alternate, creating another chiasmus. The figure may be shown thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
  \text{eahtnysse} & \text{A} & \text{B} \\
  \text{cwealde} & \text{B} & \text{A} \\
  \text{circan} & \text{A} & \text{B} \\
  \text{geat} & \text{B} & \text{A} \\
  \text{blod} & \text{A} & \text{B} \\
\end{array}
\]

In the second chiasmus, the last object, *blod*, is separated by two half-lines from its verb, *geat*. This slight delay in completing the chiasmus prevents monotony and recalls Quintilian’s statement that figures are no longer an ornament to style when used immoderately.¹ Aquila issued a caveat against falling into excess while imitating the wealth of Demosthenes and Cicero.²

When Cynewulf thus breaks the pattern of one figure, it is sometimes for the purpose of creating another, and this is

¹Quintilian, *Institutio*, III, 505.
done here, with *synchysis* as the new figure. Bede defines *synchysis* as "a completely perplexing *hyperbaton*," and *hyperbaton*, he says, is "a kind of transposition of words which upsets their natural order." His example of *synchysis* is: "If ye sleep in the midst of lots, wings of a dove silvered with snow shall be whitened in Selmon."¹ The ambiguity of the passage has been resolved for translation into English, but the Latin word order gives no clue in the original passage as to what is modified by "in the midst of lots" or whether "wings of a dove" is vocative or nominative. This confusion is possible in the Latin original because the interlocking word order that is characteristic of *synchysis* separates a word from its modifier or from some other closely related word. *Synchysis* is present here in the *Juliana* passage because of the separation of the verb *geat* from its object *blod*; of the three genitives, *godhergendra*, *haligra*, *ryhtfremmendra*, from each other; and of one noun phrase, *arleas cyning*, from the second, *haeþen hildruma*. The effect of this trope is to call attention to the disruptive action of Maximian. Also accentuating this disruption is *asyndeton*, or the absence of coordinating conjunctions, among the verb phrases, *eahtnysse ahof*, *cwealde cristne men*, *circan fylde*, and *geat ... blod*, which explain further his devastation *geond middangeard*, "throughout the world."

¹Bede, "*De schemativus*," p. 614, 29: "*Synchysis est hyperbaton ex omni parte confusum*." 614, 9: "*Hyperbaton est transcensio quaedam verborum ordinem turbans*." 614, 29-31: "*Si dormiatis inter medios cleris pennae columbae deargentatae ... usque nive dealbabuntur in selmon.*" Tanenhaus, "*Bede's De Schematibus*," p. 248.
Homoeoptoton, a figure in which several words have like case endings, as in the example given by Donatus, "merentes flentes lacrimantes commiserantes,"¹ is present because of the -ra endings of the genitives (ll. 6b-8a). Since the figure calls attention to the words themselves, it, too, emphasizes the disturbance caused by Maximian to the people described in the genitives, "the holy, righteous worshippers of God."

Epitheton and antonomasia, says Bede, are useful in order to "censure, identify, or praise a man." These tropes distinguish a person by means of his qualities of character, his physical attributes, or external circumstances. Antonomasia, used in place of a proper name, differs from the epithet, which must always accompany the name.² Antonomasia substitutes something else for a proper name, as godhergendra (l. 6b) may be said to substitute for the names of the martyrs, so it is "shifted from its proper meaning to one similar,"³ in Bede's words, and becomes a trope. The epithet is closely related to antonomasia and sometimes identifies the individual as much as does the proper name, so it too is a trope. In this passage epithets are used to identify Maximian ab animo: arleas (l. 4a), "impious,"

¹ Donatus, "Ars grammatica," p. 398, 22-23: "Homoeoptoton est cum in similes casus exeunt verba diversa."


and hæben (l. 7a), "heathen." Antonomasia occurs in godhergendra . . . haligra . . . ryhtfremmendra, ll. 6b-8a, "the holy, righteous worshippers of God," which takes the place of the proper names of the martyrs.

The next two sentences are brief and the first proceeds at a leisurely pace, providing a contrast to the opening:

Waēs his rice brad,
Wid ond weordlic ofer werpeode,
lytesna ofer ealne yrmenne grund.
Foron āefter burgum, swa he biboden hæefde,
ðegnas pryðfulle.

(ll. 8-12)

(His kingdom was broad, great and mighty over nations, almost over all the spacious earth. Proceeded through cities, as he had ordered, the powerful thanes.) It is not so much figurative language, however, as traditional variation, which provides this change of pace. The adjective brad is varied by the compound adjectives with prepositional phrase, wid ond weordlic ofer werpeode. Then the prepositional phrase is amplified by another one, ofer ealne yrmenne grund, which is qualified by the adverb lytesna. In the amplification of brad, though, the figure of tautologia is present. This figure is not found in Bede, Donatus, or Cassiodorus, or among the figures that Isidore explains, but is included by Aquila Romanus. Tautologia, he says, results when a noun or any word is explained by many words. As an example he gives "Senatus populi Romani summum consilium, a quo ordine iura exterae nationes petunt," which may be translated as "The senate of the Roman people is the highest assembly, from which body the foreign nations request laws." He states
that this "highest assembly" is explained by reference to its "laws" for this people, although nothing new is added, and the delivery is greatly embellished. Quintilian points out that when such additions are superfluous, they are faulty, but if they "make the sense stronger and more obvious," they are praiseworthy. The figure is present here, because Brad is explained further by the "many words" of wid ond weordlic offer werpeode.

The position of the verb Foron, l. lla, at the beginning of the second sentence, however, signals the resuming of action, and this continues in the next two sentences:

Oft hi præce raerdon,
dâedum gedwolene, þa þe dryhtnes æ feodon þurh firencræft. Feondscype raerdon, hofon hæpengield, halge cwelmon, breetun boccræftge, bæerndon gecorene, gæeston godes cempan gare ond lige.

(ll. 12-17)

(Often they, perverse in deeds, those that persecuted the law of God through wickedness, stirred up conflict. Evil they raised up, lifted up the idol, killed the holy ones, destroyed the learned, burned the chosen, persecuted God's champion with spear and fire.) Zeugma in the first sentence yokes two different

---

1 Aquila Romanus, "De figuris," p. 34: "... pluribus verbis significat hoc schema ...: hic unius nominis aut verbi prius positi vis deinceps pluribus verbis explicatur, ut si dicas: Senatus populi Romani summum consilium, a quo ordine iura exterae nationes petunt. Hic enim unum nomen senatus prosecutionem accipit ex pluribus verbis non aliud significantibus. Qui enim summum consilium dicit et eum ordinem, a quo exterae nationes iura petunt, non aliud quam senatum dicit, sed prose- quedo latius ornavit elocutionem." Isidore speaks of "tautologia," but only as a "vitium," in Etymologiae II.xx.4, not as a figure.

2 Quintilian, Institutio, III, 472: "Cum supervacua oneratur adiectione, vitium est, cum auget aut manifestat sententiam sicut hic, virtus."
constructions, the pronoun hi and the noun clause pa be dryhtnes Æe / feodon purh firencræeft, which constitute the compound subject and depend on the verb rærndon. Hypozeuxis, defined by Bede as "just the opposite of" zeugma, because it occurs where separate words or thoughts are joined each to its own clause, dominates the second sentence. As an example of this figure, Bede gives: Sive prophetiae, inquit, evacuabuntur, sive linguae cessabunt, sive scientia destruetur. Hypozeuxis exists in the six independent clauses of lines 14-17.

Among these individual clauses Cynewulf employs parison and chiasmus. The parallel structure of the parison is effected by the presence of verb and object in each clause, while the chiasmus results from alternation of the syntactic elements within each of the first four clauses (ll. 14b-16a). The chiastic pattern is broken in bærndon gecorene (l. 16b), which should have the preterite verb last, but the pattern resumes in the final clause (l. 17). This last clause, however, is lengthened by the addition of the genitival modifier, godes, and the two instrumentals, gare ond lige. The break in the chiastic pattern (l. 16b), causes bærndon to participate in the alliteration. Alliteration of the finite verb in the second half-line occurs rarely in Juliana, but it is found also in lines 29b, 185b, and 556b, again without a noun. With a noun present in the half-line, the finite verb alliterates in line 256b and, as the noun serves

as object of a preposition, in lines 285b and 728b.

Examination of these first seventeen lines of Juliana discloses that there is formulaic material in some of the figurative phrases and clauses. Godhergendra (l. 6b) and fremmendra (l. 8a) are formulaic,¹ but to them are added haligra, and the resulting genitive phrase, spreading through four half-lines and helping to separate geat from its object, participates in synchysis. Brad belongs to a formulaic half-line,² but it is coupled with the non-formulaic adjective phrase, wid ond weordlic, and the formulaic prepositional phrase, ofer werpeode,³ to effect tautologia. In these instances, the formulaic material becomes part of a figurative expression, but the formula alone does not constitute the schema. The poet is dominating his formulaic medium, rather than being controlled by it. In line 16b, when the chiastic pattern of the half-line is interrupted, it is concern for alliteration rather than a formulaic demand that causes the use of the non-formulaic bærndon gecorene.

Antithesis, classified as a trope because it involves the signification as well as arrangement of words, refers to the use of opposing ideas for the embellishment of speech. The figure is not found in Bede or Donatus, but Isidore includes the

²Ibid.
³Ibid.
definition in his book of rhetoric.¹ He gives this quotation in his grammar as an example of the figure: "Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis: / mollia cum duris: sine pondere habentia pondus." Antithesis occurs as Juliana is ordered from the prison:

Heo þæt deofol teah,
breostum inbryrded,  bendum fæstne, halig hæepenne.

(ll. 534-36)

(She, inspired in heart, holy, dragged that devil, fast in bonds, heathen.) Variations of Heo and þæt deofol are parallel to each other, and by their juxtaposition they effect antithesis. Heo is varied first by expansion, in the participial phrase, breostum inbryrded, then by the single word halig. Similarly, þæt deofol is expanded by the adjective phrase, bendum fæstne, then varied by one word, hæepenne.

In the next sentence are found homoeoteleuton and onomatopoeia:

Ongan þa hrowcearig
sidfæt seofian,  sar cwanian,
wyrd wanian,  wordum mælde.

(ll. 536-38)

(Began then the sorrowful one to complain of the expedition, his suffering to bewail, to lament fate; he spoke with words.) Homoeoteleuton occurs, says Bede, "when the middle and final sections of a verse or thought end in the same syllable," as in

¹Isidore, Etymologiae II.xxi.5: "Antitheta . . . quae, dum ex adverso ponuntur, sententiae pulchritudinem faciunt, et in ornamento locutionis decentissima existunt."

²Isidore, Etymologiae I.xxxvi.21.
"Melius est videre quod cupias quam desiderare quod nescias."¹

The final -ian of the verbs in lines 537-38a creates this figure. Seofian and cwanian also participate in onomatopoeia, because the sound they produce suggests a wail, or, as Bede suggests, "a word is formed from its sound." He offers cymbalum tinniens and clangor tubarum as examples.²

In this opening section of Juliana, Cynewulf has employed a number of the schemata and tropi found in the Latin rhetorical manuals. Among the schemata are zeugma, parison, chiasmus, homeoptoton, homeoteleuton, and tautologia, while the tropes include synchysis, epitheton, antonomasia, antithesis, and onomatopoeia. By definition the schemata depend upon arrangement of words, upon the syntactic order of the sentence. But for synchysis and antithesis, two of the tropi, word order is also important. Occurring less often are tropi such as epitheton and antonomasia, which are associated with metaphorical language. Formulas have been utilized in constructing certain schemata and tropi, but in each instance the poet has combined the conventional phrase with other materials to create his figure.

Over a third of the poem is devoted to the visit of the devil to Juliana while she is still in prison. The devil's lengthy speeches are amplifications of material in the Acta, but


one of the longest also contains much original material. This speech, which occupies about twenty lines in the Latin, is amplified to sixty-five lines in the Old English poem (ll. 352-417a). Cynewulf keeps the basic idea of the strategy of temptation, but concretizes the tactics by introducing the weapons of Anglo-Saxon warfare.

The most interesting section of this long speech is completely independent of the Acta and constitutes allegoria. Isidore says of this tropus: "Allegory is 'strange' speech, for one thing is said, and another understood," as in Tres litore cervos conspicit errantes, where, he explains, the three stags signify the three leaders of the Punic war or the three Punic wars. But scriptural exegesis, through its wide use of allegorical interpretations, had developed the figure of allegoria much further. Bede, who wrote his De schematicibus to show that the Bible surpasses all other works "not only in authority . . . but also for its artistic composition," offers a more detailed exposition of this figure, dividing it into factual and verbal allegory.

In factual allegory, an actual historical event is given a second figurative interpretation, whereas in verbal allegory the figure arises from a statement that requires an allegorical interpretation to make sense, because no real event is involved. For an example of allegoria verbi Bede quotes from the Song of

---

Solomon: "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand." This statement constitutes verbal allegory, because it does not use an historical fact. Rather, Bede says, it "indicates in a mystical manner that the mediator between God and man was adorned with wisdom and virtue."¹ It is this verbal allegory that is used in Juliana, because the portrayal of the devil-warrior is not based on an historical fact. Instead, the portrayal associates certain qualities with the devil, even as in Bede's example characteristics of the mediator are indicated.

Cynewulf is employing here what Quintilian calls "mixed allegory"; that is, there is an admixture of plain speaking. Quintilian explains that the ornamental element is provided by the metaphorical words, while meaning is indicated by those which are used literally. The key to Cynewulf's allegoria is found in earlier lines of the devil's speech, when the devil says, Ic him geswete synna lustas (l. 369), "I make sweet for him the pleasure of sin." This mixed allegoria differs from "pure" allegory, the type in which the passage gives no clue to its interpretation. Quintilian continues his explanation of allegory, stating that the most ornamental effect is achieved through an artistic use of simile, metaphor, and allegoria.²


²Quintilian, Institutio, III, 329: "[Allegoria] apertis permixta est ... Quo in genere et species ex arcessitis verbis venit et intellectus ex propriis ... Illud vero longe speciosissimum genus orationis, in quo trium permixta est gratia,
There is no simile in this allegory, but metaphor is present. Metaphor is defined by Bede as *rerum verborumque translatio*, and one of the ways in which it may be effected is by transference of these qualities from one inanimate creature to another. Metaphor is effected in this passage by the implicit comparison of temptation with a flight of arrows, *flanpræce* (l. 384a); resistance to temptation with a shield, *haligne scyld* (l. 386b); and the devil's humiliation at defeat with engulfing by flames, *in gleda gripe* (l. 391a). Though the *Institutio oratoria* was probably not available in Anglo-Saxon England, some of the distinctions Quintilian explains in it were evidently known through some other source.

"Gif ic ñeníne ellenrofne
gemete modigne metodes cempan
wif flanpræce, nele feor þonan
bugan from beaduwe, ac he bord ongean
hefð hygesnottor, haligne scyld,
gaëstlic gudref, nele gode swican, ac he beald in gebede bidsteal gifed
fæeste on fedan, ic sceal feor þonan
heanmod hweorfan, hropra bidæled,
in gleda gripe, gehdu mænan;
þæt ic ne meahte mægnes cræfte
guðe widþgongan, ac ic geomor sceal
secan operne ellenleasran,
under cumbolhagan, cempan sænran,
þe ic onbryrdan mæge beorman mine,
agaelân æt gupe."

(ll. 382-97)

("If I meet any brave, bold champion of the lord against arrow-similitudinis, allegoriae."

The simile occurs rarely in the Signed Poems. When this trope is found, it may often be traced to a Latin source.

2 Bede, "De schematicibus," p. 611, 24: "Metafora est rerum verborumque translatio."
flight—he will not flee far thence from battle, but he, wise of mind, takes up the board, the holy shield, spiritual battle-dress against \[me\]; he will not desist from good, but he, bold in prayer, makes a stand firmly in battle—I shall far thence turn away humiliated, deprived of joys, in a grip of fire, lament my misery, that I may not by the excellence of my strength overcome at battle, but, mournful, I shall seek another, less courageous, inferior champion under the war-hedge, whom I may incite by my leaven, hinder at battle." The allegoria extends through the passage, as the devil speaks of the man he plans to tempt, ænigne ellenrofne / . . . modigne metodes cempan (ll. 382-83), "any brave, bold champion of the lord," and continues through a description of this man's opposite, oberne ellenleasran . . . cempan sænran (ll. 393-94), "another less courageous, inferior champion." The devil phrases this part of the speech in military terms. The first man, the "brave champion," takes up haligne scyld (l. 386b), "holy shield," and forces the devil to retreat, heanmod hweorfan, "to turn away humiliated." The devil looks for his "inferior" opponent under cumbolhagan (l. 395a), "under the war-hedge." Through his speech, then, the devil fulfills the purpose of the allegoria, revealing his own character as a scheming enemy who makes war on mankind.

The sentence opens with a conditional clause, Gif ic . . flanpræce (ll. 382-84a), which is followed at once by a description of metodes cempan in lines 384-89a. At the close of the description the main sentence resumes, having an independent clause, ic . . . mâenan (ll. 389b-91), with its subordinate noun
clause, pæt ic . . . widgongan (ll. 393-93a); and a second independent clause, ac ic . . . saënran (ll. 393b-95), with its subordinate clause, be ic . . . guðe (ll. 396-97a). The description1 with its antitheses dominates the sentence, presenting the devil's conception of the champion who can stand against him.

The explanation is presented through two antitheses. The first, nele . . . gudreaf (ll. 384-87a), opposes nele . . . bugan, "he will not flee," to ac he bord . . . hefed, "but he takes up shield." The second antithesis contrasts nele gode swican (ll. 387b), "he will not desist from good," and ac he . . . bidsteal gifed (ll. 388), "but he makes a stand." In each figure the negative clause has appeared first.

Anaphora is used to introduce each clause used antithetically. Anaphora is defined as a figure that results when the "same word is used at the beginning of two or more verses."2 However, the verses in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew poetry were ordinarily longer and less compressed than the Anglo-Saxon verse line. Therefore, the repetition of a word after several verses must have been recognized as anaphora among the English. The figure occurs here in the use of nele (ll. 384b and 387b) and of

1 Bartlett, Larger Rhetorical Patterns, p. 48, has called attention to the "elaborated relationship of members" in the parenthetic expression, but has not explained how the balance of parts if effected.

2 Bede, "De schematibus," p. 609, 10-11: "Anafora, id est relatio cum eadem dictio bis saepiusve per principia versum repetitur." Tanenhaus, "Bede's De Schematibus," p. 242. Donatus, Ars grammatica, p. 398, 5-6, and Isidore, Etymologiae I. xxxvi. 9, also place the figure at the beginning of "verses."
The syntactic structure of the main part of the sentence, which lies outside the description, is also controlled by antithesis. The two independent clauses are opposed to each other, logically and formally: *ic sceal* . . . *bâet ic ne* . . . "I shall . . . that I may not . . .," contrasts with the adversative clause, *ac ic* . . . *cempan* . . . *be ic* . . ., "but I . . . a champion . . . whom I may . . ." There are three *zeugma* in this final part of the sentence (ll. 389b-97a). *Sceal* (l. 389b) governs the two verbs, *hweorfan* and *mâenan*; dependent upon *mâenan* are its objects, the noun *gehdu* and the noun clause, *bâet ic* . . . *widgongan*; and dependent upon *mâege* (l. 396a) are the infinitives, *onbryrdan* and *agælan*.

Synchysis appears in lines 389b-91, where *ic* is separated from its three modifiers, *heanmod*, *hropra bidâeled,* and in *gleda gripe*; and the auxiliary *sceal* is set apart from its dependent verbs, *hweorfan* and *mâenan*. The figure calls attention to the disordered state of the devil. *Heanmod hweorfan*, *hropra bidâeled*, and in *gleda gripe* are formulaic. They illustrate again the manner in which a formula or a part of a formula, as in the case of *heanmod*, could be used with other words in the creation of the scheme or trope. In this instance, another

---

1Greenfield, "Formulaic Expression of Theme of 'Exile,'" p. 201, has pointed out that *heanmod hweorfan*, *hropra bidâeled* is a typical example of Old English "exile" imagery. The sympathy aroused here by the line is counteracted, however, by the devil's disclosure a few lines later of his schemes against all men.

infinitive, māenan, is matched with hwæorfan, and the auxiliary sceal is found in a formulaic half-line with the subject ic and two adverbs. But it is the order chosen by the poet for these formulaic half-lines that creates the **synchysis**.

Tautologia is used as cempan (1. 383b) is dilated first by the pair of antithetical clauses in lines 384b-87a and then by the pair in lines 387b-89a. Similarly, cempan, l. 395b, is varied by the relative clause, ll. 396-97a. Tautologia is employed once more in amplifying the noun gehdu, l. 391b, by the noun clause of lines 392-93a.

Another type of variation, that involving a series of nouns, effects the figure of **schesis onomatón**. Bede says that the nouns in such a series "differ in sound, but are alike in meaning." As an example he gives, "Vae genti peccatrici, populo gravi iniquitate, semini nequam, filiis sceleratis," "Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly." The variation typical of schesis onomatón was a traditional device in Anglo-Saxon poetry, but a person familiar with Latin rhetoric would have recognized the schema in the series. The figure is found here, as bord, l. 385b, is amplified by the noun phrases, halighe scyld and gææstlic gudref. The terms are, of course, grammatically parallel, but the second and third terms each add an adjective.

---

1 Ibid.

to the noun, "holy" or "spiritual," which relates the "board," "shield," and "war-dress" to the allegory.

The devil's exposition in this passage of his tactics for the temptation and of his attitude in defeat recalls Isidore's definition of ethopoeia, a figure in which "we fashion the person of a man in such a way as to set forth the feelings of age, zeal, fortune, joy, grief, ... boldness." Consideration should be given, he says, to what has been done, what will be accomplished, and what can be endured by the character, and this characterization is to be effected through a speech placed in the mouth of a person.¹ However, since such exposition is a characteristic of any good dialogue, its inclusion as a figure reflects the determination of the rhetoricians to include every aspect of writing in their rules.

In this passage Cynewulf has again used schemata that result from special syntactic order: anaphora, tautologia, schesis onomaton, and zeugma. With them appear tropes, such as allegoria, where meaning lies beyond the word, and antithesis, hyperbaton, and synchysis. These last tropi, it may be noted, depend for their effect upon word order more than upon a metaphorical quality.

This concern for word order has a definite effect upon this passage. Of the nine clauses, six are arranged in

¹Isidore, Etymologiae II. xiv. 1-2: "Ethopoeia vero illam vocamus, in qua hominis personam fingimus pro exprimendis affectibus aetatis, studii, fortunae, laetitiae, ... maeroros, audaciae ... In quo genere dictionis ... quid acturus sit, aut quid pati possit."
antithetical pairs, and parallelism becomes very important. Zeugma, anaphora, and schesis onomaton continue the parallelism within the clauses. Allegoria unifies the passage, constantly exposing the devil's plans, and tautologia is used to amplify these plans. But, despite skillful use of schemata and tropi, the tightly packed, structurally related clauses draw too much attention to themselves. The constant repetition of the clauses becomes tiresome and lessens appreciation of the poet's artistry. Perhaps this passage is an example of the excess that Aquila Romanus deplored.

In a later speech of the devil's a Sum passage is included:

```
475 ... ond ic sumra fet
    forbræc bealosearwum, sume in bryne sende,
in liges locan, þat hyn lasta weard
    sipast gesyne. Þac ic sume gedyde
    þat hyn banlocan blode spiowedan,
    þat hyn færinga feorh aleton
    þurh ædra wydm. Sume on ydfare
    wurdon on wege wæetrum bisencte,
on mereflede, minum cræftum
    under reone stream. Sume ic ðode bifealh,
    þat hyn hyra dreorge on hean galgan
    lif aletan. Sume ic larum geteath,
to geflite fremede, þat hyn færinga
480 ealde æfponcan edniwedan,
    beore druncne. Ic him byrlade
    wroht of wege, þat hyn in winsele
    þurn sweordgripe sawle forletan
    of flæschoman fæge scyndan,
    sarum gesohte. Sume, þa ic funde
485 butan godes tacne, gyimelease,
    ungeblitsade, þa ic bealdlice
    þurh mislic cwealm minum honund
    searoponcuncum slogo.
```

("And I have broken the feet of some by wicked snares, some I sent into flame, into the place of fire, so that the last of
their traces was seen. Also, I affected some so that their bodies poured forth blood, that they suddenly lost their lives through welling of veins. Some on the wave-course, on waves, were submerged by the waters, on the ocean-flood, by my cunning, under the gloomy current. Some I consigned to the cross, so that they, bloody, lost their lives on the humiliating gallows. Some I incited by teachings, urged to strife, that they, drunk with beer, renewed ancient grudges in sudden calamity. For them I poured out conflict from the cup, so that they, doomed, beset by sorrows, in the hall of feasting let their souls through sword-grip hasten from the body. Some, those that I found without God's sign, careless, unblessed, those I boldly killed through various forms of death, cunningly, by my own hands."

The repetition of Sume at the beginning of four clauses indicates the presence of anaphora, but the grammatical use of Sume varies. Twice Sume serves as object of a verb (11. 481b, 483b), with the verb appearing at the end of the half-line. In line 490b Sume is again object of the verb, although it is followed by its adjective clause (11. 490b-92a), its appositive ba (1. 492b), and by the principal clause of the sentence (11. 492b-94a). Once, Sume appears as subject of its clause (1. 478b). In its other three appearances, not at the beginning of a clause, it serves as a genitival modifier (1. 472b) and as object of a verb (11. 473b, 475b). Because it appears in so many different syntactic arrangements, the anaphora does not become monotonous, but its value in providing emphasis is diminished. However, the syntax is closely related to the narrative. The human beings
represented by **Sume** are almost always the recipients of the devil's action; it is the devil who initiates the evil. In the one sentence where **Sume** is the subject, the verb consists of wurdon and the passive participle, bisencte, "submerged," so that even here the "certain ones" have not undertaken the action.

**Parison** is present in the two sentences introduced by **Sume** as object (ll. 481b-83a and ll. 483b-86a). In each sentence the syntax is the same: object: **Sume**; subject: **ie**; dative noun: **rode, larum**; verb: bifealh, geteah; result clause (ll. 482-83a) or second part of compound verb (l. 484a) and result clause (ll. 484b-86a). In the second sentence the principal clause is lengthened by the addition of the verb phrase, to geflite fremede (l. 484a). Result clauses (ll. 474b-75a, 487b-90a) conclude two other sentences, and the second sentence of the passage ends with two result clauses (ll. 476, 477-78a). Except in the sentences of lines 481b-83a and 483b-86a, the parallelism does not extend beyond the arrangement of the clauses.

In the last **Sume** sentence, **pa**, "those," l. 492b, is used as a recapitulation of the pronoun and adjective clause of lines 490b-92a, "Some, those that I found without God's sign, careless, unblessed." Bruce Mitchell has noted the frequent appearance of such a construction in Old English, describing it as a "device of pausing in mid-sentence and starting afresh with a pronoun or some group of words which sums up what has gone before."\(^1\)

Variation in this passage occurs in a number of ways, twice displaying concern with consonant sounds. The first instance is found among the four prepositional phrases and one of the nouns used instrumentally in lines 478b-81a. Two members of the variation, on ydfare, "on the wave-course," and on wege, "on waves," give the place of the journey; one, waetrum "by the waters," recalls the physical qualities of this death-dealing element; and two, on mereflode, "on the ocean-flood," and under reone stream, "under the gloomy current," describe the great expanse of sea, but the diversity among concepts is not great. The sounds of "m" and "r" appear frequently within the phrases. Contrasting with this group are the prepositional phrase and two adjectives of lines 491-92a, butan godes tacne, "without the sign of God," gymelease, "careless," and ungebletsade, "unblessed," where the heavy sounds "p" and "d" are found.

Variation involving clauses occurs as the clause of line 476, "so that their bone-chambers poured forth blood," is amplified by the clause of lines 477-78a, "so that they suddenly lost their lives through the welling-up of the veins." There is not complete logical parallelism here, because in the first clause the body acts, while in the second the action is accomplished by the human person. Also, the second clause is more specific as to result, but the semantic content of both clauses is fundamentally the same. Tautologia occurs, as Sume, l. 490b, "certain ones," is varied by the clause of lines 490b-92a, "those that I found without God's sign, careless, unblessed."
But the principal clause of lines 492b-94a is also introduced by ba, in apposition to Sume, and the entire clause, "those I boldly killed, through various forms of death, cunningly, by my own hands," though grammatically governing Sume as its object, nevertheless describes Sume. Therefore, this clause seems also to be a part of the variation of Sume. One other instance of tautologia occurs within this last clause, as the verb slog is varied by the prepositional phrase, burh mislic cwealm.

In this passage, as with that containing the antitheses (ll. 382-97a), the schemata tend to effect parallel structures. Parison, emphasized by anaphora, is present within two sentences. The variations call attention to the parallel structures in the passage, although every member of a variation may not have the same grammatical construction. For instance, the four prepositional phrases and wætrum, used instrumentally (ll. 478b-81a), all modify wurdon . . . bisencte and are members of one variation.

Cynewulf uses fewer schemata and a less involved style when his subject matter demands it. There is an instance of this in his emphasis upon the unsuccessful outcome of the devil's visit to tempt Juliana. At the conclusion of the devil's last long speech (ll. 461-530a), one rich in schemata and tropi and the passage most revelatory of the devil's character, comes the speaker's final comment:

"Ic bihlyhhan ne pearf æfter sarwraece sidfæt þisne magum in gemonge, þonne ic mine sceal agiefan gnorncearig gafulrædenne in þam reongan ham."

(ll. 526-30)
(After this sore distress I will not need to laugh at this journey when I, sorrowful of heart, give my account in the midst of kinsmen in that gloomy home.") The sentence has only one dependent clause, a temporal clause which might have preceded the main clause, but which produces a humorous effect by its position at the end of the sentence. However, in Juliana Cynewulf rarely places the temporal clause before the principal clause. Such placement is found in lines 438-43a, but in lines 675b-78a, 695b-99a, and 718b-29a, the temporal clause has a final position, as it does here. Occasionally the temporal clause has a medial position, as in lines 456-60a, 494b-505a, and 518b-25a, with two temporal clauses. The final placement of the temporal clause here may be a matter of habit, then, rather than an instance of deliberate striving for effect.

The whole sentence is an instance of charientismos, a kind of allegoria "which uses a mild word to express something harsh." As an example of charientismos, Bede quotes from the Old Testament: "Did not I serve with thee for Rachel? Wherefore then hast thou beguiled me?" He explains that by "using the one, very mild, word 'beguiled' [Jacob] has in a restrained manner designated the very grave injustice he suffered." The devil's assertion here that he will not have to "laugh" when he gives to kinsmen an account of this trip is certainly a mild statement for

---

what he actually will have to do. In fact, the devil has earlier told Juliana of the bonds and scourging that await him because of his failures. (11. 332-37a)

Hyperbaton is present in both clauses. Bihylhhan is separated from its object sidfaet bisne, with a consequent emphasis on the futility of such laughter. In the bonne clause, the subject ic is followed immediately by mine, a possessive pronoun modifying the object. The verb sceal agiefan follows, and then are juxtaposed georncearig, which modifies the subject, and the direct object itself, gafulraedenne. This hyperbaton, separating mine and gafulraedenne, prolongs suspense as to what the devil "will give," so it has rhetorical value. But concern for rhythm may have been a consideration too, since normal word order would create awkward verse patterns.

Perhaps to reinforce the expression of the devil's discomfiture, perhaps because he knew his audience would enjoy the humor, the narrator a little later re-states the matter of the devil's return home:

Wiste he pi gearwor,
manes melda, magum to secgan,
susles þegnum, hu him on side gelomp.
(ll. 556-58)

(He knew better, messenger of evil, than to tell his kinsmen, thanes of torment, how it happened to him on the journey.)

Wiste, the verb of the main clause, has as its object the infinitive secgan, and the infinitive in its turn has as object the noun clause, hu him on side gelomp, so that the action of the sentence is apprehended as a whole. The statement constitutes
charientismos, since the narrator's assertion that the devil knew better than to say" to his kinsmen contrasts strongly with what the audience knows he wanted to say. Beginning with wiste emphasizes the ironic quality of the devil's knowledge. Another figure present is schesis onomaton, with "messenger of evil" as variation for "he" and "thanes in bondage" as amplification for "kinsmen."

There are several figures in each of the sentences just quoted from Juliana, but each is simple and contributes to the charientismos, the chief figure. Had either of these sentences been vehicles for antithesis or zeugma, figures accompanied by highly intricate word arrangements, the charientismos would have been neglected by the reader. Rather, the repetition present makes certain that the figure cannot be missed. Cynewulf, then, chose his figures with regard for what they could contribute to the subject he was treating and with concern for other figures he was using at the time.

Another instance of such regard occurs in the runic passage. Syntactically and rhetorically, the passage containing the runes is the simplest in the poem. For this reading of the passage, Kenneth Sisam's interpretation, with "Cynewulf" as the word signified by each group of runes in Juliana,¹ is followed:

¹"Cynewulf and His Poetry," Proceedings of the British Academy, XVIII (1932), 303-31. Cogent arguments for accepting Cyn, the word formed by the first group of runes, as "human race"; Ewu as "sheep" (the faithful); and Lf, the last group of runes, as lagu-flod, or "flood-bound wealth," are given by Ralph W. B. Elliott, "Cynewulf's Runes in Juliana and Fates of the Apostles," English Studies, XXXIV (1953), 193-204. However, consideration of the context makes Sisam's solution seem most probable.
Geomor hweorfed
h.~ h.~ ond .~
Cyning bip rebe,
sigora syllend, ~ bonne synnum fah
.~ .~ ond .~ acol bided1
hwaet him æfter dæædum ~ deman will
lifes to leane. .~ .~ beofæd, seomad sorgcearig.

(ll. 703-09)
(Sad of heart, cen, yr, and ned Cynewulf shall depart. The
king will be severe, the giver of victories, when, stained with
sins, terrified, eoh, wyn, and ur Cynewulf awaits what will be
adjudged to him according to deeds, for a reward of life. Lagu,
feoh Cynewulf trembles, the sorrowful one lies prostrate.) In
the first, simple sentence there is only one schema, a hyperbaton
by which geomor is separated from its subject. The poet in the
preceding sentence has been speaking of himself, so it is
expected that geomor refers to him. Slight emphasis, therefore,
is placed on this word, and the major emphasis falls on cen, yr,
ond ned, the first words after the interrupting hweorfed. The
audience (or reader) waits then for further identification of
this individual.

The next sentence is more sophisticated grammatically,
but the parts are arranged in logical order: independent clause,

Throughout the rest of the passage, the speaker uses only the
first person, even imploring those who recite the poem to remem-
ber him by name in their prayers. It seems unlikely, then, that
the poet would switch to the third person and introduce the
concepts suggested by Elliott.

1 The manuscript forms, bidad, a plural verb, and acle, a
plural adjective, are read as bided and acol respectively to
accommodate the use of "Cynewulf." The singular verbs in each
sentence and the singular adjective fah need no emendation with
this use. The scribe, glancing ahead, may have written bidad
by analogy with beofæd and seomad, then altered acol to agree
with his new form bidad.
temporal clause, and noun clause object. *Schesis onomatoton* is present here, with *sigora syllend*, "giver of victories," to identify *cyning*, "king." Since the speaker is *synnum fah*, "stained by sins," and *aol*, "terrified," it is appropriate that he be judged by a king who is "giver of victories," and the choice of the appellation for "king" fits the context as well as the alliterative pattern.

In the third sentence, the two clauses constitute *hypozeuxis*, since each has its own subject (*sorgcearig* is a substantive) and predicate. For the audience, who have been waiting for final information as to the meaning of the runes, the first brief clause provides the answer plainly. The second clause amplifies the matter by stating that the person identified by the runes not only "trembles," but "the sorrowful one lies prostrate." Emphasizing the closeness of these two brief clauses is *paronomasia*, or word-play, a figure in which the words are very similar in sound but differ in meaning, as with "videte concisionem; nos autem sumus circuncisio."¹ The figure occurs here in *beofad* and *seomad*. That the similarity of sound is not accidental is indicated by the presence of *chiastic parison* in the two clauses, where the subject-verb order of the first is reversed in the second.

A cursory examination of the lines preceding and

following the runic sentences discloses somewhat more complicated figures, but nothing that would distract the reader from the runes themselves. The last section of the poem, lines 695b-731, follows naturally from the account of the deaths of Juliana and Heliseus into the speaker's speculations about his own approaching death and judgment:\footnote{The subject matter of this section corresponds closely to the \textit{loci}, or commonplaces, that Cicero enumerates for the \textit{conquestio}, or appeal for mercy, in \textit{De inventione} I. lv. 106-lvi. 109: deploring separation from someone loved; fall from prosperity; troubles that have been, are now, and are destined to be; deploring of separate phases of the misfortune; recounting of what the person has suffered or is likely to suffer that is unworthy of his age, race, former fortune, position, or preference; presenting all his misfortunes to view, one by one, in order that the auditor may seem to see them and be moved to pity; revealing one's own helplessness; commending to the audience some duty, such as burying him; imploring the audience in humble and submissive language for mercy; and seeking for mercy for others, out of the nobility of the speaker's own soul.}

\begin{quote}
Is me pearf micel \\
\textit{paêt seo halge me helpe gefremme,} \\
\textit{ponne me gedaêlad deorast ealra,} \\
sibbe toslitad sinhiwan tu, \\
micle modlufan. Min sceal of lice \\
sawul on sidfaêt, nat ic sylfa hwider, \\
eardes uncydgu; of sceal ic þissum, \\
secan operne ærgewyrhtum, \\
gongan iudaêdum. \\
\end{quote}

(For me there is a great need that the holy one give me help, when the dearest of all departs from me, body and soul severs the relationship, great heart-love. My soul shall depart from the body on a journey, I myself know not whither, ignorant of the land \textit{to which it is going}; from this home I must go, seek another with my deeds of old, with former actions.)

The figure which begins here and dominates the last
thirty-six lines is allegoria. Although it operates on all the four levels explained by Bede, it is not obtrusive, because its interpretations were familiar from patristic and homiletic materials. The allegoria first denotes an historical fact: the body dies and the soul is no longer present. The allegoria next takes on a figurative, or spiritual, meaning about Christ, since the speaker's present fear and hoped-for salvation at the judgment represent the suffering and resurrection of Christ, who is mentioned a few lines later (l. 726b). In like manner, the third level of the allegoria designates tropological, or moral, perfection, because in his Ærgewyrhtum (l. 702b) the speaker has had an opportunity to carry out God's instructions to him. Finally, an anagogical interpretation is possible, because sidfæt (l. 700a) signifies a journey to heaven or hell, the lean and meord of lines 708a and 729a; and cyning (l. 704b) refers to God, who is present in heaven and will deliver the judgment. Variation calls attention to the separation of body and soul, which is the basis of the allegory. Deorast ealra, first of the subjects of the temporal clause, is varied by sinhiwan tu, the second subject. Sibbe, object of the second verb of the clause, is varied by micle modlufan, its appositive. Sinhiwan, originally "a pair related by marriage," is a striking periphrasis for "body and soul." However, it became formulaic in this second meaning, as in Guthlac (l. 968b), so perhaps in this passage the term did not retain its effectiveness. In the runic section the tropological level of the allegoria is reëmphasized as the poet describes the judgment scene, where the man must show
what he has done with the help given to him by God during life. The man awaits hwâet him ðæfter ðæedum deman wille / lifes to leane (11. 707-08), "what after deeds will be judged to him for a reward of life."

After the runic section are three sentences in which the speaker continues the allegoria, lamenting his evil deeds during life, when "body and soul together journeyed on earth." After this exposition comes the speaker's request for the prayers of him who "recites" this poem:

(I ask each of the men of the race of human beings, each who may recite this poem, that he, earnest, of noble spirit, remember me by name and ask the lord that the protector of the heavens, ruler of might, give me help in that great day, the father, spirit of assistance, the judge of deeds, and the dear son, in that terrible time, when the trinity, sitting in unity, through that shining creation, adjudges reward to each man according to works.) The syntax of this sentence is not as complicated as its length would suggest, because the elements follow in logical order. There are two instances of zeugma: the pronoun gehwone and the noun clause, ðæet he ... bidde, depend on bidde
heofona helm and the five members of its variation depend on the verb gefremme. The verbs gemyne and bidde (l. 721b) are governed by he. Concluding the sentence, the temporal clause refers to the "Trinity sitting in unity," a key to the anagogical level of the passage. The figure of schesis onomatôn helps to unify the sentence, as heofona helm is varied by a series of noun phrases: mehta waldend, fãeder, frofre gàest, dàeda demend, and se deora sunu.

The final lines of the poem ask forgiveness for all, that all may see God's countenance "in that glorious time":

Forgif us, mâegna god,
ðaet we ðine onsynye, æþelinga wyn,
milde gemeten on þa mæran tid. Amen.
(11. 729-31)

(Grant us, great God, joy of princes, that we may find thy face merciful in that glorious time. Amen.) The poem is thus completed with a final reference to the anagogical interpretation, the level of allegoria dealing with "higher things."

The long runic section, lines 695b-731, reveals Cynewulf's practice in adapting the schemata and tropi to his subject. When providing information that might easily be misunderstood, he was careful to introduce no highly artificial schemata that would create interest only in themselves. Rather, the figures resulted from his treatment of the subject matter. When using a figure like the allegoria that pervades this long passage, he was careful to keep it simple, so that it would focus attention on important material, such as the runes and the request for prayers. The other schemata and tropi used contribute
to the effectiveness of a very few important figures. Simple repetition, especially through synonymia and schesis onomaton, is sometimes employed to give emphasis.

Possible sources of metaphorical language in Juliana are the kenning and kend heiti. The kenning is a metaphor in which a person or thing is compared with someone or something completely different, except in a very special or artificial sense.¹ For instance, in the kenning sunsciene, Juliana is compared to the sun, in the sense that her goodness makes its presence felt about her, even as the brightness of the sun is evident to all. In Juliana there are very few kennings, but a number of compounds are kend heiti. Kend heiti, like kenning, is a term borrowed from Old Norse poetry, because there are no equivalent English terms. To form a kend heiti, a simplex is "kent," that is, "characterized," or "qualified," by another noun, forming either a compound or a noun-plus-genitive phrase. Examples are modlufu, "heart-love," because lufu is combined with mod, which qualifies and intensifies it, and homra geweorc, "work of hammers," since "work" is characterized in terms of an actual circumstance. Terms like these just given are striking if new, but frequent use in formulas may have dulled the figurative power of some expressions.

Since Juliana is the story of a young woman's steadfastness in her faith in God despite torture and death, the kennings

¹For this discussion of kenning and kend heiti, I am using the terminology suggested by Brodeur, Art of Beowulf, pp. 247-53; and Brodeur, "Snorri's Categories," pp. 129-47.
and *kend heiti* in the poem are largely religious. Most of the compounds and genitival phrases, in fact, are variations for the concept of God. Another group, though smaller in number, stand for the devil. Since the poem is also concerned with the feelings of Juliana, the devil, and the poet himself, the non-religious *kennings* and *kend heiti* might be expected to refer to some concept like "heart," and they do. Many of the religious terms occur either in passages where Juliana's sufferings cause her to look to God for help or in the last section of the poem, where the poet is seeking God's help at judgment, and in these areas a number of the terms suggest God's role as "helper" or "protector."

First of the "protector" *kend heiti* in the poem is *gæsta hleo*. It occurs as Juliana tells Heliseus that she will wed him only if he accepts the true God, the protector of the angels:

"Gif þu soðne god
lufast ond gelyfest, ond his lof rærest,
ongietest gæsta hleo, ic beo gearo sona
unwaclice willan þines."

(ll. 47b-50)

("If you love and believe the true God and exalt his praise, recognize the holy spirit, I shall be ready at once, resolutely, for thy will.") Suspicion that *gæsta hleo* is chosen partly for the alliterative pattern is strengthened by recognition that *hleo* forms a homoeoptoton with *beo* in the formulaic first half line. On the other hand, the concept of divine assistance is introduced quite appropriately here, since Juliana's disregard for the

---

1 *Beowulf*, 1825b.
senator's wealth and her resolute decision to withstand his advances have just been told.

Another reference to God as "protector" is found in beorna hleo, when Juliana asks God that she not be permitted to turn from his love during the ensuing tortures:

"Nu ic þec, beorna hleo, biddan wille ece ðælmihtig, þurh þæt ðæbele gesceap þe þu, færder engla, æt fruman settest, þæt þu me ne læte of lofe hweorfan . . . . . . . . . . . .
Swa ic þe, bilwitne, biddan wille þæt þu me gecyðe, cyninga wuldor, praymmes hyrde, . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
(11. 272-80)

("Now I beseech thee, protector of men, ever almighty, through that noble creation that you, father of angels, established at the beginning, that you not let me turn aside from praise . . . So I beseech thee, shining one, glory of kings, shepherd of glory, that you make known to me, . . . .") In her apostrophe to God, three phrases, beorna hleo, færder engla, and praymmes hyrde, represent God as one who protects, while ece ðælmihtig, bilwitne, and cyninga wuldor place more emphasis on glory. With its references to "shepherd" and "glory," praymmes hyrde links both groups of kend heiti and suggests that the maiden who now seeks protection will soon receive it in the "glory" of the king.

Although each appellation of God represents a different aspect of his divinity, none is unusual. In fact, all are formulaic. ¹

One, bilwitne, with its denotation of "mild" seems a singularly inappropriate substantive here, but it may have been chosen for

its contribution to rhetorical figures: it effects a double alliteration of "b" and "w" with the second half-line and thus calls attention to the anaphoric repetition of biddan wille, a phrase which occurs also in line 272b.

Just before her execution, Juliana asks the people to pray that the son of God intercede for her:

"Biddad bearn godes pæet me brego engla meotud moncynnnes, milde geweorpe, sigora syllend."

(ll. 666-68)

("Ask the son of God that the protector of angels, measurer of mankind, giver of victories, be merciful to me.") That assistance be sought from the "protector of angels," "measurer of mankind," and "giver of victories" seems suitable for one about to suffer death, undergo judgment, and receive the "victory" that is heaven. But each kend heiti is formulaic and none seems to present a concept uniquely fitting in this passage. Considerations of alliteration and rhythm seem to have borne most weight in choosing these terms.

At the close of Juliana, the poet uses a kenning, heofona helm; a kend heiti, frofre gæst; and a simplex, fæder, to refer to God's protection:

... meotud bidde
pæet me heofona helm helpe gefremme
meahta waldend, on þam miclan dæge,
fæder, frofre gæst, in þa frecnan tid,
dâeda demend.

(ll. 721-25)

(... ask the lord that the protector of heavens, ruler of might, give me help in that great day, the father, spirit of assistance, the ruler of deeds, in that terrible time ...)
The *kend heiti*, *daêda demend*, and *simplex*, *meotud*, associate God with judgment and recall the speaker's concern in the runic passage, about twenty lines earlier, about his own judgment at death. The *kend heiti*, *meahta waldend*, with its concept of "ruler of power," gives another aspect of the deity who is the "helmet of the heavens," but so would *maddumgyfa*, *manna scyppend*, *maêgna cyning*, or a number of other *kend heiti*. Therefore, *meahta waldend* seems to be present chiefly for its alliterative and rhythmical patterns. *Heofona helm* is a *kenning*, because its base word identifies God with a "helmet." God, of course, is not a "helmet," but the *kenning* implies a comparison between his protection of "the heavens" and the helmet's protection of the warrior. The metaphorical allusion to God's protection of the heavens is apt here, among the references to judgment. But the frequent inclusion of *helm* in such religious phrases\(^1\) argues strongly against its retaining its original freshness. The archaic *simplex* *meotud*, common in religious poetry, must by this time have been shorn of its original associations with "measuring," though perhaps a little of the metaphorical quality remained.

Examination of these four passages indicates that periphrases used by Cynewulf do contribute to the significance of a particular passage. But it is also evident that his choice was sometimes influenced by the usefulness of a word or periphrasis

\(^1\) *heofonrices helm* (Christ, l. 566); *wuldres helm* (Christ, l. 463); *engla helm* (Genesis, l. 2751); *gæsta helm* (Elene, l. 176); *æbelinga helm* (Andreas, l. 277); *helm ealwihta* (Christ, l. 274); and others.
in a particular schema, as with gaësta hleo or bilwitne. In some instances, as with mehta waldend, alliteration and rhythm seem to have been deciding factors.

Since Cynewulf's periphrases for the deity were commonly formulaic, it is probable that they were part of a common poetic stockpile, from which he and others borrowed. But at some time or another each had to be formed from material that was primarily Latin or Germanic. Snorri Sturluson in his thirteenth century instructions for young skalds offers periphrases for Christ, but not for other Christian terms. The manner of compounding is already familiar from Old English: noun-agent plus limiting genitive; adjective plus noun; or noun compounded with noun. Among his periphrases for "Christ" Snorri includes "Fashioner of heaven and earth, of angels" and "King of heavens,"¹ which bear some resemblance to the kennings and kend heiti quoted above from Juliana.

However, J. W. Rankin, in his study of Latin sources for Old English kennings, has found exact Latin equivalents for many of these periphrases. Examples are gaësta hleo--animarum pastor; heofona helm--cæli defensor.² In other Old English periphrases, elements were borrowed from two Latin phrases, as may have occurred in beorna hleo--hominum creator and custos animae; frofre gaëst--spiritus veritatis and paracletus consolator; cyninga wuldor--rex regum and terrarum gloria; faeder engla--

pater rerum and dominus angelorum. When an exact Latin original cannot be found, substitution probably has taken place in both terms of a Latin phrase, with the principles of formation for the Old English periphrases being those followed by Snorri.

Among the non-religious kennings and kend heiti appearing in Juliana, there are several periphrases for "heart" or "mind": modlufu, breostsefa, and ferðloca. In the first three compounds both the base term and the qualifying word have almost synonymous denotations, and the kend heiti must originally have had an intensive force. We cannot be sure whether the kend heiti retain their original meaning, but they probably do if the original meaning is still suitable in a particular context. Modlufu appears first as a variation of lustas:

"Ic him geswete synna lustas, mæne modlufan . . ."  

(11. 369-70)

("For him I sweeten the pleasures of sins, vicious heart-love . . .") Here the intensive force of mod upon lufu, "heart-love," effects a suitable variation of lustas, with its suggestion of "strong desires." The compound occurs again in this passage:

. . . þonne mē gedaelad deorast ealra, sibbe toslitað sinhiwan tu, micle modlufan.  

(11. 697-99)

( . . . when the dearest of all departs from me, body and soul severs the relationship, great heart-love.) It serves as a variation for sibbe, "relationship." Again, the compound modlufan is used appropriately to give richness to the passage,
presenting another aspect of this "relationship," its "great heart-love."

In the devil's account of his spiritual warfare, \textit{breostsefan} is used, without variation:

\begin{verbatim}
        . . . in onsende
        in breostsefan bitre geponcas.
\end{verbatim}

(ll. 404-05)

("... send bitter thoughts into the heart.") An intensive form of "heart," or "inner spirit," it is used appropriately as a target for the diabolical "thoughts."

\textit{Ferdloca} occurs twice, having in each instance its literal meaning of "enclosed place of the heart." In line 234 it is the enclosure for Christ's love. Elsewhere in the poem, it appears as part of a formula for "to speak," retaining its meaning of "heart-enclosure." It is here a kind of treasury for words:

\begin{verbatim}
        Geswearc þa swidferd sweor æfter worde
        ferdhlocan onspeon.
\end{verbatim}

(ll. 78-79)

(Then the violent father-in-law grew angry ... opened his heart enclosure.)

These non-religious \textit{kend heiti}, \textit{modlufan}, \textit{modsefan}, \textit{breostsefan}, and \textit{ferdhlocan}, have retained much of their original force in the passages in which they occur in \textit{Juliana}. In this respect they have fared better than certain religious \textit{kend heiti} in \textit{Juliana}, like \textit{meahta waldend}, evidently chosen to fit alliterative and metrical needs, and \textit{gæesta hleo}, perhaps chosen to effect a rhetorical \textit{schema}. These last phrases seem to have been chosen with little regard for specific meaning.
Snorri proposes many periphrases for gods, seas, fire, gold, poetry, battle, warriors, and other concepts dear to the Norse, but he offers only a few for "heart." Among these are "house or ship of the heart." He also lists a number of simplices, such as "affection," "love," "desire," closer to Cynewulf's mod.¹

Rankin, noting the _cofa_ compounds used in Old English to represent "breast" or "heart," thought such terms might be related to the Latin _thesaurus_ or _claustra pectoris_ of the New Testament and certain hymns of the early Christian Church.² However, the similarity of _ferdloca_ to Snorri's "house of the heart" and the fact that the Old English periphrases are all formed in the Germanic rather than Latin manner—that is, they are compounds—argues strongly for Germanic origin of these non-religious kend heiti. For the religious kennings and kend heiti, however, the sources are primarily the Latin Christian writings of the early centuries, with formation of the kennings according to the principles of Snorri.

The kennings and kend heiti, then, whether compounds or phrases, are formed according to the same patterns that Snorri Sturluson would later give to the young Norse skalds. The religious kennings and kend heiti in Juliana tend to fit blandly into their context, rather than to add striking details or vivid images. Such sameness of expression strongly argues for

² Rankin, "Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," II (1910), 69, n. 32.
selection chiefly to fit alliterative patterns or, occasionally, a rhetorical figure. The non-religious terms examined here have retained more of their original meaning. The religious kend heiti and kennings are frequently translations of Latin terms. Certain non-religious kennings and kend heiti, such as those for "heart," are more likely to be of Germanic origin.

This study of Juliana reveals that the poem contains many of the schemata and tropi found in the Latin rhetorical manuals. Most frequently the poet employs those schemata which result from a special word order. His use of zeugma, hypozeuxis, paronomasia, schesis onomatone, homoeoteleuton, homoeoptoton, anaphora, and asyndeton has been noted. Among the tropi, too, he chooses often those figures involving unusual word order, such as hyperbaton and synchronysis. However, his utilization of certain tropi that include some metaphorical language, such as antonomasia, epithet, allegoria, metaphor, and charientismos has also been demonstrated. These schemata and tropi are all among the schemata lexèes, the figures which were commonly taught by the grammaticus in his exposition of literature and are to be found in the grammars of Donatus and Isidore and in Bede's "De schematibus." A few of the figures used by Cynewulf are among the schemata dianoëas, which are also termed figuræ sententiae, "figures of thought." Of these Cynewulf employs antithesis and chiasmus, or antimetabole. These figures also depend upon arrangement of words within the sentence. One schema that Cynewulf employs, parison, is not to be found in the grammars or in Isidore's rhetoric, but is explained by Cassiodorus in his
commentary on the psalms. Tautologia is another figure not found in the grammars, but it is not among the figures considered by Isidore or Cassiodorus, either. It is found, however, among the figures presented by Aquila Romanus. Just how Cynewulf became familiar with the schemata and tropi cannot be determined, but all the texts named here, except that of Aquila Romanus, are definitely known to have been available in Anglo-Saxon England. Cynewulf's constant use of figurative language indicates a familiarity with these or similar texts.

The concern for word order that is shown by the poet's choice of certain schemata and tropi has an effect upon the poetry. Parison, zeugma, and antithesis, in particular, lead to the use of parallel structures. Other schemata and tropi, such as anaphora, homoeoteleuton, schesis onomatton, synonymia, and asyndeton, are helpful in providing emphasis and variety within such parallel sentence structures. Even a tropus like allegoria, which depends upon a metaphorical interpretation, may be structured according to parallel patterns within antitheses. Use of many types of clauses in the course of the poem helps to prevent monotony. When the subject-matter or the importance of another schema demands, Cynewulf is careful not to employ too many schemata or tropi in a particular passage. Variation sometimes includes non-parallel as well as parallel constructions and may include clauses as well as phrases or single words.

Woolf has said that the style of Juliana has "a uniformity verging on monotony. The style is ... generally unrelieved by any emotional or rhetorical emphasis or by any
On the contrary, the style does have emotional and rhetorical emphasis, and sometimes this emphasis is carried to excess. Perhaps this excess occasionally produces the monotony of which Woolf complains, but on the whole the style is varied. When handling material that could easily be misunderstood, as in the runic passage, Cynewulf is careful to use simple schemata and tropi, but at other times he creates involved antitheses, allegoria, zeugma, and other figures.

Formulas appear occasionally in the figures, but very rarely does a formula alone constitute the entire schema. On the whole, Cynewulf demonstrates ability to work with formulaic material to achieve his own ends, and does not let himself be dominated by the formulas. Use of formulas could bring rich associations to a passage, but it could also introduce stereotyped material. For instance, an expression like sinhiwan tu (l. 698b), which at first seems memorable, may, because of its formulaic character, have been just another kend heiti to Cynewulf's contemporaries.

The kennings and kend heiti which appear in Juliana do not prove a notable source of metaphorical language. The compounds and phrases of a religious nature often seem to be chosen for alliteration or, occasionally, to complete a rhetorical figure, rather than for suitability to the context. The non-religious terms examined here have retained more of their original meaning. All the kennings and kend heiti are formed

\(^1\text{Woolf, ed., Juliana, p. 17.}\)
according to the explanations given several centuries later by Snorri Sturluson to the young Norse skalds. The religious kennings and kend heiti are often translations of Latin terms, though conforming to the traditional English patterns, but a number of non-religious terms are probably of Germanic origin.
CHAPTER III

ELENE

Recent Cynewulfian scholarship has concentrated on passages of Anglo-Saxon warfare and sea-voyaging in Elene, with consequent emphasis on the Germanic techniques of style in these sections of the poem. By analogy, the entire poem begins to assume a Germanic manner. But Juliana, too, has extended passages using the terms of Anglo-Saxon warfare (ll. 382-409) and sea voyaging and death at sea (ll. 671b-88a), and yet the presence of many Latin schemata and tropi in the poem has been demonstrated in Chapter II. It is possible, therefore, that these figures are present in Elene, too.

In this chapter, then, I will examine a number of passages in Elene, some with obviously Anglo-Saxon content, others re-telling a Christian legend, to determine whether the figures of Latin rhetoric may be found in this poem and whether there is a higher concentration of them in certain subjects. Study of the figures will lead into a consideration of formulaic content and of Cynewulf's use of type-scenes and themes and to

conclusions as to whether these Germanic elements prevented or at least controlled the poet’s creation of figurative language. The poet’s use of kennings and kend heiti will also be considered. The opening lines of Elene, certain passages with battle terminology, the sea voyaging passage, sections concerned with legends about the cross, and the concluding section, which includes the runic lines, will be examined.

Elene is named for one of its main characters, but it is primarily a narrative concerning three actions: the finding of the cross,¹ Constantine’s finding of the faith, and the discovery of the nails. The scenes of warfare, developed from a nineteen-line statement in the Latin source,² are related to Constantine’s vision of the cross and the victory he wins by using the cross as an ensign in battle. The sea voyage is introduced as Constantine sends Elene and her thanes to Jerusalem to search for the cross. This first section of the poem, dealing with Constantine, his vision, and the battle, is only loosely associated with the main narrative, Elene’s struggles with the Jews in her effort to

¹F. Holthausen, ed., Cynewulfs Elene (Kreuzauffindung) (4th ed., rev.; Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitatsbuchhandlung, 1936), has rightly used this main theme as an alternate title. As a source for Elene, a Latin version similar to the life of St. Jude Quiriacus among the May 4 entries of the Acta Sanctorum, ed. by Godefridus Henschenius, S. J., and Daniel Papebroch, S. J. (Antwerp: Michael Cnobarus, 1680), pp. 445-48, is generally assumed. Since Cynewulf uses a wording in some places that is slightly different from that in the Acta, it is evident that his source was a different one. Holthausen has constructed such a text and includes it with this edition of Elene. Quotations in this paper from the Latin source will be from this reconstructed text of Holthausen’s.

²Holthausen, ed., Elene, pp. 1-5.
locate the cross and nails. It was important to Cynewulf, apparently, because of the opportunity it provided for amplification. In this respect its use is similar to that of the devil's speeches in Juliana, especially to that speech which also contains English war terms.

The verse paragraph which opens *Elen* sets forth the time at which events of the poem will take place, utilizing anaphora, parison, zeugma, and other figures to do so:

\[\text{Da waes agangen geara hwyrtum} \\
\text{tu hund ond preo geteled rimes,} \\
\text{swylce XXX eac, pinggemearces,} \\
\text{wintra for worulde, paes be wealdend god} \\
\text{acenmed weard, cyninga wuldor,} \\
\text{in middangeard purh mennisc heo,} \\
\text{sodfaestra lecht. Da waes syxte gear} \\
\text{Constantines caserdomes.}\]

Examination of the narrative as a story of action discloses that Cynewulf has amplified his source according to principles set forth by Priscian in his chapter, "De descriptione," of the "Praeexercitamina," in *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Karl Halm (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Reprint Co., n.d.), pp. 558-59. The main principles of organization for the poem are contained in Priscian, but the characters and actions are often amplified with material comparable to that given by Cicero for attributes of persons and actions, *De inventione* I. xxiv. 34-xxviii. 43; II. xii. 41-xiii. 43; and II. liii, 159-lvi. 168. There is no evidence that this work of Cicero was known in Anglo-Saxon England, but it is to be expected that instruction in composition extended beyond the bare framework that constitutes even Priscian's advanced exercises. Perhaps lecture notes to accompany the "Praeexercitamina" were developed by Priscian or his fellow teachers in sixth-century Asia Minor, with the *De inventione* as a source of material, and were eventually taken to England. Schaar, *Cynewulf Group*, p. 308, though he does not offer suggestions as to its source, does comment on Cynewulf's organization, asserting that the poet "succeeds in arranging the foreign poetic material so that it accords with his preconceived ideas of composition."
(Then was passed, reckoned by numbers, in the turning of years, two hundred and three, even thirty also, of the measuring of time, of winters for the world, since God the ruler was born on earth in the appearance of man, glory of kings, light of the just. Then was the sixth year of Constantine's empire, that he the battle leader was raised up for ruler in the kingdom of the Romans.) Parallelism of content and syntax in these two sentences is emphasized by anaphora, a wæs . . . . a wæs, and parISON. This latter figure is evidenced by similarity of sentence syntax: a principal clause, with demonstrative (a)—verb (wæs gangen, wæs)—subject (tu hund ond breo . . . XXX eac, gear) order, and a subordinate temporal clause (bæs be . . . lecht, bæst he . . . to hereteman). The principal clause of the first sentence is lengthened by addition of the noun phrase, gæara hwyrftum, "in the turning of years"; by a second participle and its genitive, geteled rimes, "reckoned by numbers," serving as a variation for agangen; and by the three genitives, binggemearces, wintra for worulde, and bæg, all dependent upon the subject. In the second sentence one genitive phrase, Constantines caserdomes, "Constantine's kingdom," depends on the subject. In the two dependent clauses, the parts of the periphrastic verbs are arranged chiastically: acenned weard, weard

---

Each dependent clause also contains two prepositional phrases and either two or one subject variant. The arrangement of these elements in one clause is reversed in the next, as the two subject variants of the first clause are separated by the two prepositional phrases, while the two prepositional phrases of the second clause are separated by the verb phrase and the single subject variant. The anaphora involves another figure, *syllepsis*, which results from coupling the singular *waes*¹ and the plural cardinal number. *Syllepsis* is a figure occurring when "words which do not agree in number are used together to constitute a single thought," as in "Attendite populus meus legem meam."²

In the first sentence three genitives—*pinggemearces, wintra, and baēs*, the first of the two relatives used to introduce the temporal clause—depend upon the subject, *tu hund ond preo . . . swylce XXX eac*. At the same time, a *hyperbaton* results from the artificial separation of the elements of the cardinal number. Attention is thus given to continuity in the course of time and to permanence of each year itself, and a syntactic tension results. The significance of the first sentence is unfolded gradually, since it becomes clear only at

---

¹Gradon, ed., Cynewulf's *Elene*, p. 25, n. 1, suggests that use of the singular may be due to the inversion or to the collective plural. The latter is probable, because of the poet's stress on each year "of winters," "of time-markers," "since Christ was born."

the end of the sixth line that two hundred years have passed since Christ was born as man.

_Schesis onomatōn_ (45) is present in three appellations for Christ, "Ruler God," "glory of kings," "light of the just," with the sequence viewing him as heavenly ruler and in relation to earthly rulers and good men. These aspects are pertinent to his arrival at the beginning of a new epoch, one that starts at the time of his birth.

The second sentence, dating the events of the narrative from the naming of Constantine as emperor, is suitably briefer and less embellished than the first, which places events in relation to the birth of Christ, perhaps in England already considered as the central point in history.

The use of "w" as an alliterating consonant in lines 4, and in the two verses, 1b and 3a, is a unifying factor between these opening lines and the rest of the poem. In the 1321 lines of the poem, there are 143 instances of "w" alliteration. These occur chiefly in the opening section and preparations for war (ll. 1-110), but not in the battle itself; preparations for Elene's journey (ll. 220-45), but not the arrival; Elene's first speech to the Jews, their consultation, and the beginning of her second speech (ll. 288-387); a part of Judas' prayer to find the Cross (ll. 760-80); and the final section, which includes the runes (ll. 1236-1320). The incidence of such words as Romwara, weras, -hwaete, werod, beadwe, -ywed, may have motivated the practice in this first section.
This type of alliteration may stem from a Germanic practice, but such concern for detail seems unlikely in an oral tradition. A cursory check of Christian Latin poetry of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries reveals nothing exactly like Cynewulf's use, but it does show interest in repetition of initial sounds within groups of lines. Prudentius' "Psychomachia," with which the English were familiar, has repetition of initial and medial "v" in groups of lines; for example, lines 50-68, 101-113, 153-168, 176-80, 435-44, 663-701, and others.¹ These passages give an account of allegorical warfare between Virtues and Vices, especially Chastity ("Victrix") and Lust ("Vexatrix"). In the famous "Pange Lingua"² of Venantius Fortunatus "p" recurs often in initial and/or accented syllables. The last three stanzas of the "Altus Prosator," attributed to Columba, the Irish monk who died at Iona in 597, contains groupings of words with initial and medial "d" and "r" sounds.³ Homoeoptoton is as noticeable as alliteration in this last poem, however.


That Cynewulf thought the next section important is evident from his choosing to amplify so fully the brief Latin account of Constantine, the warlike preparations, and the battle. The remainder of the poem he dilates by adding details to speeches, prayers, incidents. His portrayal of action here can be compared only to his vivid characterization of the devil—again, his own creation—in *Juliana*. Diamond has demonstrated that the battle scene is heavily formulaic: "Checking every verse against the entire corpus of Anglo-Saxon poetry reveals that 22 of the 69 verses (or 31.8 per cent) are repeated elsewhere, and at least part of another 27 verses is formulaic, i.e., 49 of the 69 verses (or 71 per cent) are demonstrably formulaic."1 Fry has examined the three approach-to-battle scenes and has shown how closely they correspond in context to descriptions of similar material in *Genesis* and *Exodus*.2 Then he turns to the two examples of the Hero on the Beach theme in the "approach" section. At this point, it seems unlikely that any Latin influence could be present in these set-pieces of Germanic tradition. However, it is Cynewulf who arranged the formulas, type-scenes, and theme into a logical whole, and it may be that within these conventional techniques he was able to achieve some of the figures then being advocated for artistic composition.

It seems practical, therefore, to examine the battle scene itself first. If it contains figures found in the Latin

1 Diamond, "Theme as Ornament," p. 462.

grammars and rhetorics of the day, we have further evidence that even with the most traditional themes the artist could use schemata and tropes to construct his poem.

Byman sungon

115  þæer wæs borda gebrec ond beorna gebrec, heard handgeswing ond herga gring, syddan heo earhfaere ðærest metton.
On þæt faêge folc flana scuras, garas ofer geolorand on gramra gemang, hetend heorugrimme, hildensædran, þurh fingra geweald ford onsendan.
120  Stopon stidhidinge, stundum wræcon, bræcon bordhredan, bil in dufan, þrungon bræchéarde. Da wæs þuf hafen, segn for sweetum, sigleod galen.
(11. 109-43)

(Trumpets sang loudly before the hosts. The raven, the dew-feathered one, rejoiced in the work. The eagle beheld the march, the battle of the cruel. The wolf, companion of the forest, raised his cry. Battle-panic was present. There was breaking of shields and pressing of soldiers, brave hand-beating and
slaughter of armies, after they first met arrow-flight. On that fated folk, through might of fingers, the fierce haters sent forth showers of arrows, battle adders, spears over yellow shield into the throng of the hostile. Brave-hearted ones advanced, at times they pressed on, they broke shield-covers, they thrust in swords, the strong-in-battle thronged. Then was the banner raised, a sign for troops, the victory song chanted. Golden helmets, spears shone on the battlefield. Heathens perished, peaceless ones fell. Fled at once the people of the Huns, as the king of the Romans, giving battle, ordered that holy tree to be raised. The bold ones became widely scattered. Some battle snatched away. Some with difficulty saved their lives on the military expedition. Some half-dead fled into the fastness and saved their lives along rocky cliffs, inhabited a place around the Danube. Some drowning snatched away in the stream at life's end. Then was the host of high-spirited ones desirous, they pursued the foes even until evening from that day's beginning. Ash-darts, battle adders, flew. The host was cut to pieces, shield-bearing troops of hated ones. Few of the army of Huns arrived home afterwards from there.) The battle account opens with the short sentences typical of hypozeuxis, but their suitability for introducing trumpets, beasts of battle, and accompanying panic suggests that such sentences may have been traditional in Anglo-Saxon war poetry. There is also the ubiquitous variation, which here results from use of a genitive phrase to amplify a noun. Thus, "battle of the cruel" explains
the sid, or "march," that the eagle observes, and Wulf is dilated as "companion of the forest." One expects this holtes gehleda to be a formula, but it is not, offering a little more support to the premise that the poet is elaborating somewhat upon his theme. In the next two lines homocoteleuton is present in gebrec . . . gebrec and handgeswing . . . gring, four subjects which depend, in a zeugma, upon the copulative waęs. The similarity of sounds and differences of meaning that are essential to paronomasia are here also: borda gebrec--beorna gebrec, "breaking of shields," "pressing of soldiers"; and heard handgeswing--herga gring, "brave hand-beating," "slaughter of armies." But a question arises as to whether the schema is formed according to the rules of the rhetorical manuals. Donatus gives "amentium . . . amantium,"¹ "of the insane . . . of lovers," where one letter of the word is changed to effect the figure. Isidore uses "abire . . . obire,"² "to go into exile . . to die," as an example, with different prefixes added to the root word. Bede's examples also include such forms: "confisi . . . confusi," "confided . . . confused," and "concisionem . . . circumcision,"³ "concision . . . circumcision," but Cynewulf is neither varying prefixes nor changing just one sound in a word. However, Bede gives one example, "iudicium," "justice," and

¹Donatus, "Ars grammatica," p. 398, 16.
²Isidore, Etymologiae I. xxxvi. 12.
"iniquitas," "oppression,"\(^1\) where two completely different words are used, so perhaps in eighth-century England more freedom was permitted in forming the schema. Cassiodorus says only that the figure should stir up the emotions of the hearer, "concitat audientis affectum."\(^2\) This stirring of the emotions would be accomplished by the repetition of sounds and the strong beat, as Cynewulf opposes phrase to phrase, borda gebrec and beorna gebrec, for example. Within the phrase several sounds, not just one, differ from each other, as in Bede's last example. In this second instance, heard handgeswing ond herga gring, there are even more differing sounds. Yet the similarities among the phrases are striking. It seems that paronomasia is intended here, but that this is another instance where the Anglo-Saxon writer adjusted the rules of the manuals to his particular situation. Cynewulf had started out, perhaps, with the formulaic borda gebrec, a phrase, and he therefore formed his paronomasia of phrases, not single words. Substituting words with the same roots did not suit his purpose, so he used completely different words, with several differing sounds.

In lines 117-20 there are one subject, hetend heorugrimme, and one verb, onsendan, but the verb governs three objects, flana scuras, garas, and hildenaedran, in a zeugma. The subject is placed among these objects and separated therefore from its verb. Linking the subject to the verb and linking the objects\(^1\) Bede, "De schematibus," p. 609, 35-36. Tanenhaus, "Bede's De Schematibus," p. 242.
\(^2\) Cassiodorus, "In psalterium," col. 344.
among themselves discloses a synchrony. Bede's "completely perplexing hyperbaton," an appropriate schema in this passage, because who are attacking whom is not important, but the battle itself. Each embattled host has been introduced in the same manner,\(^1\) with reference to its fierce combatants, shining armor, battle flags, martial music, and beasts of battle. As the actual battle opens, almost the same details are given a third time. This sentence telling how the attack is launched "on the doomed folk"\(^2\) strengthens the impression that there is to be great carnage and the killing of many heroes. This same concern with action, rather than with names of fighters, is maintained in the next sentence, where the stīdhidige, the "brave-hearted," drive on, with no identification of army.

A chiastic arrangement of noun and verb may be found in the brief, independent clauses, examples of hypozeuxis, in lines 121-23a. The chiasmus results from the fact that each first half-line has verb—noun order, with this order reversed in the second half-line. The functions of the nouns differ among the clauses, so parison is not present. Stīdhidige and præchearde are used as subjects, and bordhredağan and bil are objects. Stundum is used adverbially. The asyndeton, or absence of coordinating conjunctions among the clauses, calls attention to

\(^1\) The armies are dilated a similibus, according to Cicero's terminology; see De inventione I. xxviii. 42 and xxx. 50

\(^2\) Fry, "Themes and Type-Scenes," p. 41, explains that the audience, from the previous, patterned appearances of raven, eagle, and wolf, already has a clue to the favorable result of the battle.
the rapid advancing, thrusting, shield-breaking of the battle
and opposes the regular arrangement of the verbs in the chiasmus,
emphasizing the fierce but constant activities of war in this
passage.

Hypozeuxis, with each clause having its own subject and
predicate, chiastic parison, and asyndeton are used again, in
lines 126b-27a, to produce the impression of quick, definite
action. The chiastic parison occurs in subject-verb (Haðéne
grungon) and verb-subject (feollon friðelease) constructions,
with a resultant A B B A pattern. A few lines later, ll. 130b-
31a, the hyperbaton is formed by the separation of wurdon and
towrecene, components of the passive periphrastic verb, and the
placement of the verbs at opposite ends of the half-lines creates
a chiastic pattern: Verb X X Verb.

The next section, ll. 131b-37b, is unified by anaphora,
as Sume opens each of the four principal clauses,¹ and parison,
present in the careful balance effected by parallel construction
and length of the clauses. The thirteen half-lines are largely
formulaic, but it is Cynewulf's arrangement of the formulaic
parts that is interesting. In the passage given below, the
demonstrably formulaic measures, verses, and verse pair are
underlined. The broken lines indicate substitution in a

¹Sume passages occur rather frequently in Old English
poetry, and Cynewulf employs them also in Juliana, II. 472b-94a,
and Christ, ll. 664-81a. The wide use of such passage has
sometimes been thought to stem from an early Germanic convention,
but whether such a theory of origin is correct or not, an
educated man would have recognized the anaphora present.
formulaic system: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse Numbers</th>
<th>Syntactic Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>The syntactic order is this:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>0 S V</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. 131b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>S Adv. O V Prep. Phr.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>132-33a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>S Adj. V PP Cong. O V PP, O V PP</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>133b-36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>0 S V PP PP</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>136b-37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first and last sentences balance each other grammatically, as do the second and third, so the four sentences are arranged in a **chiasmus**. In the third and fourth sentences, the cola are lengthened by medial and final additions respectively, in order to avoid monotony. Added in the third sentence, immediately after subject and modifier, are two more verbs, object, conjunction, and two prepositional phrases: **flugon on fæsten ond feore burgon æfter stanclifum**. At the end of the last sentence are added two prepositional phrases, **on lagostreame and lifes æt ende**. Repetition at the end of the passage of a half-line clause similar to that of line 131b would bring the entire battle description to a rhythmic pause, and Cynewulf avoids this by leading from the final, three-verse **Sume** clause into an over-all consideration of strife, in lines 138-40a.

---

1 See Diamond, "Theme as Ornament," p. 462. A *formulaic system* is composed of verses which permit substitution of an important word for the sake of alliteration; see Diamond, "Diction of the Signed Poems," *PQ*, pp. 228-41.
In the first sentence, *Sume wig fornarn*, *Sume* is used as the objective complement, and this, of course, is true also in the last independent *Sume* clause, since each clause participates in the same formulaic system. But when Cynewulf creates the medial sentences, *Sume* becomes the subject of its verb. He also refrains from re-creating the personification present in the formulaic clauses. Examination of the formulaic verse-pair provides further information about Cynewulf's use of borrowed material. In *Elene* the line reads *flugon fæsten ond feore burgon*. In *Malden*, where Diamond notes its occurrence, it is *flugon on pæt fæsten and hyra feore burgon*. Cynewulf has carefully avoided use of the article and possessive pronoun, thereby tightening his sentence structure, quietly emphasizing the fleeing man's lack of concern for details, and achieving his desired syllable count for the line. There is actually more of the excitement of a real battle in *Maldon*, but there is also less of the disciplined self-control that Cynewulf exercises on his verse. A further manipulation of formualic material is seen as Cynewulf adds another verb, *weardedon*, to the *flugon* and *burgon* of the verse-pair formula (l. 134), with the three verbs depending upon the subject *Sume*.

If lines 138-40a are read as two sentences, the first clause, "Then was the host of high-spirited ones desirous," and the second, "They pursued the foes even until evening from that day's beginning," are each an example of hypozeuxis. Mægen is

---

1Diamond, "Theme as Ornament," p. 463.
subject of the first clause (l. 138), but the third person plural subject, "they," for the second clause (l. 139) is contained in the verb ehton. But if lines 138-40a are taken as one sentence, syllepsis is present. The syllepsis results when mægen, the collective "host," governs the singular copulative wāes and the plural verb ehton, "pursued." This joining of the two verb phrases, Da wāes . . . on luste and ehton elpeoda to the subject mægen involves two formulaic elements, Da wāes and ehton elpeoda.

Diamond's inclusion of Da wāes as a formula, because of its frequent use to introduce C-, B-, and A3-verses,¹ raises a question about the methods of the oral formulaists. Da wāes is such a common form in both poetry and prose that to consider it formulaic seems unnecessary. Diamond has defined the formula as "a verse, or sometimes only a measure, repeated under certain metrical conditions."² In instances like this, however, it seems that syntactical rather than metrical considerations occasion use of Da wāes and the phrase should not be considered formulaic.

A syllepsis occurs in lines 140b-41a, where the singular daroðæesc³ governs the plural verb flugon, perhaps as a collective noun or possibly on the strength of its plural variant hildenaædran.

¹Ibid., pp. 462-63.
Lindwered (l. 142a) involves a metonymy, a figure resulting from substitution of names. Here the "shield-" of "shield-warriors" is represented by lind, "linden tree," the wood of which it is made. Cynewulf seems to use metonymy infrequently if at all, except in phrases like this one, where the concept is already a familiar one in Old English poetry. Lindwered apparently occurs only in this one line, but the use of lind as a metonymy for "shield" is common, as with lind, lindplega, linowiga, for instance. Lindwered may be original with Cynewulf, but it probably demonstrates his ability to utilize the traditional Germanic materials rather than his creation of the metonymy of Latin rhetoric. Such an explanation is probably true also for lindægborga, l. 11, another nonce word.

In addition to the chiastic parison of lines 121-23a and 126b-27a and the parison of the Sume passage, consideration of the final half-lines discloses that Cynewulf employs parison at the opening and closing of this passage. In lines 109b-13 these syntactic patterns are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Noun (variant of S)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Noun (genit.) Noun (variant of O)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Noun (genit.) Noun (variant of S)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lines constitute a logical as well as rhetorical unit.

\(^1\)Bede, "De schematibus," p. 612, 29: "Metonymia est quaedam veluti transnominatio."
conveying information about the harbingers of battle: trumpets, animals of prey, and fear. The first and fifth clause balance each other, while the second, third, and fourth are parallel in structure. The lengthened colon of the first clause and the slight changes among the three variants prevent monotony without destroying symmetry.

Parison is to be found also in lines 140b-43, where this syntactic order occurs:

140b-41a

S V (active) Noun (variant of S)

S V (passive periphrastic) Noun (genit.)

Noun (variant of S)

S V (active) Noun (genitives mod. S)


142-143

The modifications here are more noticeable than those in lines 109b-13. Change from the active verb of line 140b to the passive periphrastic of line 141b involves no formulaic material and seems motivated solely by the desire to avoid tediousness. In the first two sentences there is a logical pause following the verb and preceding the variant of the subject, but this is missing in the third. The altered rhythm of the third sentence results from the fact that hyperbaton separates "of the army of the Huns" from the subject it modifies, and the reader naturally goes on to learn what "few" arrived. By this separation of the subject and its modifying genitive phrase, the sentence becomes similar syntactically to the two others, since it is by this means that it too has a half-line referring back to the subject.
Asyndeton and hypozeuxis, already mentioned with reference to lines 121-23a and 126b-27a, are two of the figures chiefly instrumental in producing the rapid activity of this entire battle passage. The conjunction and occurs only three times, twice among the compound subjects of lines 114-15, and once, in (the formulaic) line 134, to join two of the compound predicates. No other conjunction is present in the passage. In the first and second instance, the use of and gives further importance to borda gebrec and beorna gebrec and to heard handgeswing and herga gring, where homoeoteleuton and paronomasia are already present. On the third occasion, the and emphasizes the rush of the vanquished as they flee and seek protection. One subject may join the verbs of lines 138-39. But, except for these two or three sentences, separate thoughts (subject and predicate) are joined each to their own clause, and the passage is a sustained example of hypozeuxis. In the clauses of lines 121b-22 no subject is expressed. However, the individual clauses are nevertheless independent and each has a third person, plural subject implied in the verb. These brief, compact statements convey a sense of urgency and achievement suitable to the description of a hard-fought battle.

The question naturally arises as to whether such asyndeton and hypozeuxis are characteristic of Old English battle descriptions. A cursory examination of battle descriptions in five poems1 indicates that such syntactic ordering tends to be

1Maldon; Brunanburg; Finnsburg; Judith, II. 186b-241a; Beowulf, II. 700-835, 1501-69, 2550-2705.
present, but never does it occur in more than fifteen lines at a time. It seems, therefore, that the formal discipline demanded of the poet by the prolonged asyndeton and hypozeuxis in the Ælfrics passage was of Cynewulf's own choosing. The figures contribute effectively to the rapidity of action normally associated with war, giving expression to the participation by Huns and Romans in the activities of battle.

In this battle passage there are eighteen instances of a half-line that contains a verb and is also formulaic. Two such half-lines are *flugon on fæsten* (l. 134a), which introduces a compound verb phrase in a formulaic verse pair and could form an independent clause with the subject not expressed; and *ehton elbeoda* (l. 139a), perhaps used by Cynewulf as a clause here, with a third-person, plural subject contained in the verb. The other sixteen instances occur in the second half-line. Of these formulaic half-lines containing a verb, four are used by Cynewulf as independent clauses: *hildegese stod* (l. 113b) and *Hæðene grungon* (l. 126b), with subject and verb; *stundum wraæcon* (l. 121b), adverbial noun and verb; and *Sume wig fornam* (l. 131b).

However, within lines 446-512 of Exodus, in the section which describes the drowning of the Egyptians, there are least two brief passages with asyndeton and hypozeuxis, ll. 446-54a and 459-70a, and several other characteristics of Cynewulf's battle passage are discernible. Parison occurs in lines 448, 451 and 453; 449 and 450; 452 and 454a; 479b-84a; 487b-91a; the syllable-count of the half-lines is quite regular, with four-, five-, and six-syllable verses tending to occur in groups. The passage lacks the restraint and balance evident in Cynewulf's lines. Differences between this Exodus passage and lines 109b-43 of Ælfrics suggest influence on both poets of similar rhetorical training rather than familiarity of one poet with the poem of the other.
object, subject, and verb. Six others contain the essentials of the independent clause; *Byman sungon* (l. 109b) and *garas lixtan* (l. 125b), with subject-verb; *Hrefn weorces gefeah* (l. 110b), *earn sid beheold* (l. 111b), and *Wulf sang ahof* (l. 112b), with subject, object, verb; and *Sume drenc fornam* (l. 136b), object, subject, verb. Each of these half-lines is followed in this passage by a variant of the subject or object or by a prepositional phrase. Others appear here with subject, object, or modifiers. Because each of these half-lines either constitutes a formula or belongs to a formulaic system, and because they occur in almost one-third of the lines of this passage, one may hypothesize that such brief independent clauses were characteristic of the traditional Anglo-Saxon lays in battle passages. Some support for such a view is to be found in the *Finnsburg* fragment, where lines 3b-12 contain a number of such clauses. However, even if Cynewulf acquired many of the phrases and some of his attitudes toward short clauses from a Germanic tradition, what he did with them constitutes his art.

---

1 Lines 110 and 112.
2 Line 111.
3 Lines 109, 125, and 136.
4 Lines 120, 124, 132, 134, 135, and 142.
5 On the other hand, one also wonders about the possibility of Latin influence on the *Finnsburg* author, since these lines contain an instance of *antithesis* (much simpler than in *Juliana*, ll. 384b-89a) and one of *chiastic parison* (perhaps not deliberate, since these three brief clauses of lines 5b-6 are thrust among a series of clauses of varying length).
The matter of syllable-count in each half-line is quite noticeable in this entire description of the battle. Of the sixty-seven half-lines, thirty-nine verses have five syllables each; twenty-two verses, four syllables each; seven verses, six syllables each; and one has seven syllables (l. 118a). Though the predominate number of syllables in a verse may vary slightly in different passages, Cynewulf maintains this formal discipline throughout his poems. A comparison of sample passages from Maldon, Brunanburh, Genesis B, Exodus, Guthlac, Beowulf, The Wanderer, The Seafarer, Phoenix, and Dream of the Rood indicates, however, that among the authors of these works, only the authors of Guthlac, Exodus, and Beowulf were similarly concerned about uniformity in the number of syllables in the half-lines. Cynewulf's concern for the number of syllables in the half-line may result from interest in isocolon, a schema requiring an equal number of syllables in matching phrases or clauses. Isocolon is explained by Aquila Romanus, who also gives this example: "Classem speciosissimam et robustissiman instruxit, exercitum pulcherrimum et fortissimum legit." Here the first clause has seventeen syllables, the second fifteen, but Aquila warns against "squeamishness" about syllable count.¹ The author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium states plainly that the correct number of syllables should come from experience and

¹Aquila Romanus, "De figuris," p. 30: "Isocolon, exaequatum membris. Fit autem, quotiens non pugnantibus interesse, sed paribus tantummodo verbis duo vel etiam plura membra, quae colore dicimus, explicatur, . . . dum ne in fastidium incurras."
practice, rather than from actual count, and may vary by one or two syllables.\(^1\) Parison is present in a number of lines in this passage from \textit{Elene}, and the syllable count in these half-lines is therefore approximately equal. But in lines 121-23b, where there is no parison, the number of syllables is also quite regular. Each clause in the first half-line, with verb preceding its noun, has six (\textit{Stopon stidhidge}) or five (\textit{braecon bordhreadan brunon praechearde}) syllables. The clauses in the second half-lines, where the verb follows the noun, each have four syllables (\textit{stundum wraecon, bil in dufan}). Isocolon may be said to be present in these lines. It seems also to be present in the phrase, \textit{Romwara cyning} (1. 129b), and its variation, \textit{headofremmende} (1. 130a). The difficulty in being certain results from the fact that such similarity in number of syllables could be accidental in a particular instance.

In the battle passage, the subject-matter is definitely Germanic and the use of many short independent clauses may be influenced by Germanic tradition. The formulaic phrases, half-lines, and one verse-pair seem to have had a conventional quality, though we cannot know whether this conventionality existed chiefly in the poems of the written tradition. But the poet has carefully structured subject-matter, formulaic material, and syntactic elements into a unified whole, while employing certain rhetorical figures that could have been known to him only from the Latin educational system.

\(^1\)Rhetorica \textit{ad Herennium}, p. 299.
Parison has been the most important of the rhetorical figures in these two passages, both because it has been used most extensively and because other figures are used with it to embellish and strengthen the balanced structures it effects. Parison is used here to balance sentences, not only phrases or brief clauses. Monotony is avoided within the balanced structures by lengthening of cola and by use of chiasmus.

The parison provides an orderly arrangement of battle details, with its organization of formal and logical units for the opening of battle, the feverish fighting, the ill-fated flight of the vanquished foreigners, and the final summary of activities. Anaphora from time to time calls attention to this parallelism and also emphasizes some aspect—past time or "certain ones," perhaps—of the narrative. Hypozeuxis is used throughout the battle passage, its short clauses calling attention to the swift, changing activities of warfare. Chiastic parison or chiasmus alone is found among a number of these short clauses.

Isocolon, which regulates the length of clauses as parison does their parallel structure, is probably present in some of the clauses and phrases of the battle passage. Because this regularity in number of syllables among half-lines could be due to some other reason or, occasionally, to accident, it is difficult to be certain about presence of the figure. However, isocolon is often associated with three other figures present in this passage, parison, homoeoteleuton, and chiasmus, so it is more likely that isocolon would also be here.
The paronomasia used in lines 114-15 presents a similar problem about identification of the schema. In the paronomasia the poet has differences of meaning and opposing sounds, as the manuals require, but he has sometimes matched several completely different words, as well as single words with only one letter or one syllable changed. Thus, he works with several different meanings and sounds. Such apparent failure to conform closely to the prescriptive rules of the manuals recalls Alistair Campbell's statement that "a strong influence of classical rhetoric is not to be expected in Old English poetry."¹ The poet took what he needed from the manuals and adapted the materials to his own work.

The use of lindwered (l. 142a) is another proof that the rhetorical manuals did not contain all sources of figurative language available to the Old English writer. The compound is an instance of metonymy, but it reflects utilization of traditional Germanic materials rather than of a Latin tropus.

Fry has identified three approach-to-battle type-scenes in Elene. These type-scenes, or recurring stereotyped presentations of conventional details, offer a narrative pattern here. The first passage, ll. 19b-41a, describes the assembling of the Huns; the second, ll. 41b-68, covers the gathering of the Roman forces; and the third, ll. 105-13, tells of final pre-battle arrangements and includes the first four-and-one-half lines of the battle passage that have been analyzed above for figurative

¹Alistair Campbell, "Old English Epic Poetry," p. 18.
elements. Separating the first two type-scenes from the third is the account of Constantine's vision of the Cross. Fry finds that "the traditional formulaic poet" using type-scene construction gains certain advantages from his medium. The poet may manipulate certain patterns--the command to advance, preparations for advancing, the advance, the beasts of battle, hastening, and the attitude of the warriors--which are "already rich in association," thereby affording himself possibilities for "unity, symmetry, suspense, foreshadowing."¹ But the careful use of syntax in lines 109b-43 to achieve those schemata most useful for portrayal of a hard-fought battle suggests there may be a similar plan for lines 19b-68 and 105-13, the preceding lines of preparation. Thus, it seems that the "unity, symmetry, suspense, and foreshadowing" may derive from the rhetorical form as well as from the use of traditional pre-battle details.

Diamond's demonstration of the high formulaic content of lines 109b-43 when compared with the entire corpus of extant Old English verse² indicates strongly a similar content in the pre-battle passages. Therefore, the question of what Cynewulf did with the formulaic material is to be considered. A preliminary examination of the schemata in the first 143 lines of the poem argues strongly for a definite plan on the poet's part. It seems that hypozeuxis is used in this early part of the poem to present various details associated with martial preparations,

¹Fry, "Themes and Type-Scenes," pp. 38-40.
while zeugma is employed to convey more complicated information.

Synchrony dominates the non-military section, that relating
Constantine's vision, with its intermingling of human and divine,
vision and ensuing action. The synchrony, parison, and anaphora
of the first ten lines have already been studied. In lines
11-19a, not part of a type-scene, but part of Cynewulf's over-all
plan, are hypozeuxis, contrasting with what went before and what
will come after; and zeugma, used in presenting a more complex
exposition of facts that Cynewulf is setting forth himself,
independent of the Latin source. The first type-scene, 11. 19b-
41a, alternates zeugma and polysyndeton with hypozeuxis as the
poet builds up suspense and provides fuller information about
the embattled armies and their preparations. As the Romans'
preparations are set forth in lines 41b-68, hypozeuxis and
asyndeton predominate, and emphasis is on the details of prepa-
ration. Neither zeugma nor hypozeuxis is of great importance in
lines 69-104, an amplification of the brief account in the Latin
source of Constantine's vision. Rather, the inter-locking
character of synchrony here emphasizes repeatedly the different
aspects of the heavenly herald and his message, of Constantine
and his orders for making a representation of the cross. In the
final lines (105-09a) the one sentence contains zeugma and
polysyndeton, which afford contrast with the asyndetic hypozeuxis
of the battle description to follow, and chiastic parison, which
provides a transition to the extended presence of parison in the
lines that follow.
A detailed examination of the type-scene sections will not include lines 11-19a, since these describe Constantine’s relationship with his subjects. A summary of the schemata they contain has been given.

In the first type-scene, the description of the Hunnish preparations, the first six independent clauses have a certain relationship among themselves, because of their compound subjects and, in one instance, a set of two instrumentals:

\[
\begin{align*}
20 & \quad \text{Werod samnodan} \\
& \quad \text{Huna leode} \text{ and Hredgotan,} \\
& \quad \text{foron fyrdhwate} \text{ Franca} \text{n} \text{ and Hugas.} \\
& \quad \text{Wæeron } \text{herebreate, heorugrimm} \text{e} \text{ weras,} \\
& \quad \text{gearwe to gufe. Garas lixtan,} \\
& \quad \text{wriðene waëhlencan. Wordum ond bordum} \\
25 & \quad \text{hofon herecombol. } \text{Da wæron heardingas} \\
& \quad \text{sweetole gesamnod ond eal sib geador. (I1. 19b-26)}
\end{align*}
\]

(The people of the Huns and Hrethgoths gathered a band, the battle-brave Franks and Hugas advanced. They were battle troops, fierce men ready for fighting. Spears shone, twisted links of coats of mail. With shouting and shields they raised the ensign. Then were warriors openly gathered and all relationship together.) Zeugma is present in most of these sentences. It occurs in the first as both subjects, Huna leode and Hredgotan, depend upon the verb samnodan. The syntactic order in the sentence is $O \ V \ N$ (genit.) $S$ ond $S$. In the next independent clause, members of another compound subject, Franca and Hugas, are joined in a zeugma by the verb foron, with $V \ Adj. \ S$ ond $S$ as the sentence order. Line 22 of the manuscript has only one verse, Wæron hwate weras, and this includes the unusual repetition of a word (hwate) from the previous line.
Probably the line should include a verb followed by another compound subject, as do the two previous clauses, but without a conjunction, like the following sentence. This would be an example of a frequent practice of Cynewulf's, using a transitional sentence with certain characteristics of both the preceding and the following constructions. The line might read, wæeron herebreate, heorugrimme weras.¹ This reading retains the transverse alliteration common in the lines alliterating in "w-." Zeugma is present as the two subjects, herebreate and weras, depend upon the copulative wæeron and again as both subjects, herebreate and weras, govern the adjectival modifier, gearwe. The syntactic order of the sentence is V S Adj. S Adj. Prep. Phr. In the following sentences, the subjects, garas—the only subject in the group to precede the verb—and (wriðene) wælhlencan,² depend upon the one verb lixtan, constituting another zeugma. The syntactic order is S V Adj. S. For the next sentence, two nouns used in an instrumental sense and found in the formulaic Wordum ond bordum modify the verb hofon. This time the syntactic order is N ond N V O. In the last sentence of this group, each subject, hearðingas and sib, is dependent upon the verb wæron gesamnod, causing a zeugma. As in the sentence of lines 23b-24a, only sib, the second member of the compound subject, has modifiers, eal and

¹For other emendations, see Krapp, The Vercelli Book, p. 133.

²This is not an instance of variation, because the subjects have completely different meanings, "spears" and "(twisted) links of coats of mail."
The syntactic order is Adv. V S Adv. V ond Adj. S Adj., which creates a *synchysis* that is evident when subject is linked to subject, and verb part to verb part. The interlocking nature here suggests the manner in which the embattled forces are closely mingled, one with another. This concept of uniting has been presented not only in this last sentence, but in each of the six sentences, through the *zeugma*, so this last clause provides a summing-up.

Despite the presence of the compound subjects or instrumentals in each of these relatively brief clauses, it is obvious that Cynewulf is deliberately avoiding the use of *parison*. Yet he has used *parison* in lines 1-10 and will employ it extensively in lines 109b-43. Avoiding monotony was probably one motivation, but the disorder inherent upon such a gathering of troops—a disorder opposed to the careful balance of *parison*—was probably another. The *polysyndeton* in these sentences indicates a gathering together of the disparate elements among the enemy forces, even as does the *zeugma*.

*Hypozeuxis* and *asyndeton* are present in the next four independent clauses. The first sentence, in line 27a, corresponds to that of line 35a, and their parallel structure and the repetition of *For* provide *anaphora* and *parison*:

```
For folca gedryht.  Fyrldleoð  agol
wulf on wealde,  wāelrunne ne mað.
Urīgfeðera  earn sang ahof,
ladum on laste.  Lungre scyndē
ofeð burg enta  beadubreta maest,
hergum to hilde,  swylce Huna cyning
ymbsittendra  awer meahte
abannan to beadwe  burgwigendra.
```
(Advanced the host of folk. The wolf in the forest sang a battle song, he did not conceal the slaughter-secret. The dewy-feathered eagle raised a cry behind the hated ones. Straightway hastened over the fastnesses of the giants the greatest of war-hosts, with armies for war, such as the king of the Huns might in any manner summon to battle, of the fortress-warriors dwelling about. The greatest of armies advanced. The infantry grouped in bands, so that in a foreign land, on the banks of the Danube, the dart-brandishers, courageous, dwelt near the water's surging. They intended with clamor of hosts to overcome the kingdom of Romans, with armies to plunder.) There are two complex sentences in this passage, interrupting the succession of short independent clauses. The first complex sentence occupies lines 30b-34, and probably contains no schemata. However, the puzzling over burgenta (l. 31a) of the manuscript, here emended to over burgentia, "over the fastnesses of the giants,"¹ could perhaps be considered a periphrasis, or circumlocution, for "over the mountains." In the adjective clause the separation of Ymbsittendra, placed immediately after the subject, and the noun it modifies, burgwigendra, which appears only at the end of

¹Krapp, ed. The Vercelli Book, p. 133. See also Gradon, ed., Cynnewulf's Elene, p. 27.
the clause, results in a hyperbaton and calls attention to the wide area covered by the men and suggests their great number.

The short independent clause corresponding to that of line 27a comes next. For the complex sentence (ll. 35b-39a) that follows, a number of readings have been suggested.¹ In one, Feðan trymedon, "fell into formation," is taken as a parenthetic expression, with its subject contained in the preterite verb trymedon. In this case, For fyrdæ maest (l. 35a) opens the sentence, which still extends through the subordinate clause. Cynewulf uses the parenthesis in Elene (ll. 776b-82) but the Elene example is lengthy and contains antitheses, so it bears little resemblance to the words here. What seems better is to read For fyrdæ maest (l. 35a) as an independent clause matching For folca gedryht (l. 27a), while lines 35b-39a, Feðan ... wylm, form a complex sentence similar to that of Lungre ... burgwigendra (ll. 30b-34). In this reading, Feðan, "infantry," is subject of the intransitive verb trymedon, "grouped." The sentence then reads, "The infantry grouped in bands, so that in a foreign land, on the banks of the Danube, the dart-brandishers, courageous, dwelt near the water's surging."

Zeugma is used in the last sentence to give unity to the intentions of this army, with the two verbs gebringan and ahydan dependent upon the auxiliary woldon. The invaders wish "with clamor of hosts to overcome the kingdom of Romans, with armies to plunder."

¹Ibid.
The next section describes the preparations of the Romans for the battle. **Zeugma** is rarely used, and **hypozeuxis** and **asyndeeton** dominate the middle section:

> Dær weard Huna cyme cuď ceasterwarum. Da se casere heht ongean gramum gudgelæcan under earhfaere ofstum myclum
> bannan to beadwe, beran ut þræece rincas under roderum. Wæron Romware, seegas sigerofe, sona geganwod wæepnum to wigge, þeah hie werod læsse hæfdon to hilde þonne Huna cining;
> 45 ridon ymb rofne, þonne rand dynede, campwudu clynede, cyning preate for, herge to hilde. Hrefen uppe gol, wan ond waælful. Werod waes on tyhte. Hleopon hornboran, hreopan friccan, mearh moldan træð. Mægen samnode, cafe to cease. Cyning waes afyrhted, egsan gea clad, sidan elpeodig, Huna ond Hrede hre sceawed/e/, dáet he on Romwara rices ende
> 50 ymb þaes wateres stæð werod samnod/on/, mægen unriime. Modsorge waeg Romware cyning, rices ne wende for werodleste, hæfde wigena to lyt, eaxlgestealna wid ofermæægene,
> 55 hrora to hilde. Here wicode, eorlas ymb ðæðeling, egstreame neah on neaweste nihtlangne fyrist, þaes þe hie feonda gefær fyrmest gesægon.
> 60 (11. 4lb-68)

(There the coming of the Huns became known to the citizens. The caesar commanded to summon warriors to battle with great haste, under a flight of arrows, against the hostile ones, soldiers to set forth in an attack under the skies. The Romans, victory-brave men, were at once prepared with weapons for battle, though they had a smaller force for fighting than the king of the Huns; they rode about the valiant one when the shield rang; the war-wood resounded; the king pushed forward with his band, with an army for war. The raven sang above, dark and slaughter-savage.)
The host was in motion. Hornblowers leaped, heralds proclaimed, the mare trod the earth. The host gathered promptly for battle. The king was afraid, frightened with dread, when he saw the foreigners, the army of Huns and Goths, that they gathered a band, an uncounted host, about the water's bank at the border of the kingdom of Romans. The king of Romans bore mind-sorrow; he hoped not for his kingdom, for want of troops; he had too few of warriors, of shoulder-companions against a superior force, of bold men for fighting. The army camped, the earls around the prince, near the river in the neighborhood, for a night-long space of time since they first saw the expedition of the enemy.) A short independent clause opens the section with the simple statement that "the coming of the Huns became known to the citizens." The zeugma of the following sentence calls attention to the organization of the Romans: governed by the emperor's command--heht--are the two infinitives, bannan and beran. The orderly arrangement of the sentence is stressed also by the presence of isocolon in lines 43-44 and within the two half-lines of 45. The prepositional phrase and object, ongean gramum guðgelæcan, balances in number of syllables the prepositional and instrumental phrase, under earhfaère ofstum myclum, and their meanings support this pairing: "against the hostile ones, warriors" and "under a flight of arrows with great haste."

Four complex sentences occur in this passage. In the first (ll. 46b-49), the principal clause is followed by a concessive (peah) clause. The syntax is simple, and the subject Romware is varied by another noun with its adjective, secgas
sigerofe, in a brief tautologia. Line 50 may be read as a principal clause, ridon ymb roine, followed by the temporal clause, bonne rand dynede. The next two clauses, campwudu clynedede and cyning breate for, herge to hilde, may be considered either as two more temporal clauses, also dependent on the verb ridon of the main clause, or as independent clauses. The latter reading seems preferable, because of the many other short, independent clauses that appear in this section.

The sentence of lines 56b-61a consists of a principal clause followed by a temporal clause and a past tense clause which may express result or serve as object of the verb sceawede. The manuscript's sceawedon, the verb of the temporal clause, is here emended to sceawede, 1 "looked on," so that cyning (1. 56a) may be antecedent for "he," contained in the verb. The final clause, retaining the manuscript reading, may be read as a result clause, "so that he gathered a band, an uncounted host, about the water's banks," but this seems contradictory to the statement two lines later that Constantine has "too few warriors." Further emendation seems necessary. Probably he (1. 59a) should be taken as a plural and samnode (1. 60b) should have a plural form, samnodon. 2 The resulting noun clause would then constitute a second object of sceawede: "The king was afraid, frightened with dread, when he saw the foreigners, the army of Huns and Goths,

---

1 Krapp, ed., The Vercelli Book, p. 134. With this reading sceawede retains its transitive force.
2 Gradon, ed., Cynewulf's Elene, p. 28.
that they gathered a band, an uncounted host, about the water's
bank at the border of the kingdom of the Romans." With this
reading a **zeugma** is present, since both the noun here (l. 58b)
and the noun clause,  
\[\text{ææt he . . . unrime,}\]  
are governed by
the verb **sceawede**.

One independent clause (ll. 63b-65a) has only one
subject and one verb, but three genitives, **wigena**, **eaxlgestealna**, 
and **hrora**, are dependent upon **lyt**. In the last sentence
(ll. 65b-68) of the passage, the principal clause is followed by
a temporal clause. The subject here is amplified by another noun
with its prepositional phrase,  
\[\text{æorlas ymb æðeling,}\]  
in an
instance of **tautologia**.

**Asyndetic hypozeuxis** is found in lines 51-56a, where it
is used in telling of the army's preparations for the coming
battle. These arrangements are much less complicated than the
drawing together of the Hunnish forces, which required so many
instances of **zeugma**, and their straightforward narration suggests
a clearer purpose among the Romans. **Asyndeton** and **hypozeuxis**
are also used in lines 61b-63a, where they are employed in the
two brief, clear statements of the king's concern about the small
size of his force. **Homoeoteleuton** and **isocolon** are utilized in
lines 50b-51a,  
\[\text{ðonne rand dynede, campwudu clynede,}\]  
to tell of
the Romans' activities and their orderly execution of the king's
order to proceed. The parallelism of **isocolon** is extended from
syllabic equality to sound equality in the triple rhyme,
\[\text{dynede . . . clynede,}\]  
at the end of the cola, producing
**homoeoteleuton**. As might be expected in such a passage, terms
referring to the armed forces of either side are amplified six times, on four occasions for the Romans and twice for their opponents. In the first instance, ll. 46b-47a, Romware are identified further as "victory-brave men," secgas sigerofe. This promise of victory is strengthened in the next reference, in lines 63b-65a, where Constantine realizes that he has wigena to lyt, / eaxlgestealna . . . hroræ, "too few (of) warriors, shoulder-companions, . . . bold /men/." The use of hyperbaton here causes each of the substantives to appear in a different half-line, with consequent emphasis on the worth of the forces. In the third instance referring to the Romans, ll. 65b-66a, the variation for here,¹ "army," is eorlas . . . ymb ædeling, "the earls around the king," with a suggestion of security and protection. In the last, the term for which variation is supplied is breate, l. 51b, which is amplified by herge to hilde, l. 52a. By this use of the instrumental to express accompaniment, "with the band" is explained further by "with the army for battle." The Huns are identified first as elbeodige, l. 57b, "the foreigners," with the variation, Huna ond Hreda here, l. 58, "the army of the Huns and Hrethgoths." The next time they are referred to as werod, l. 60b, "troop," and amplified as mægen unrime, l. 61a, "uncounted host." Probably this mægen unrime carried about the same connotation it does today, a great physical force that causes the reader subconsciously to throw

¹Bosworth-Toller, here, notes that here is the word always used in the Chronicle for the Danish forces in England, while fyrd refers always to the English forces, but Cynewulf uses the word with no comparable distinction.
his support to the "underdog." Thus, the second term applied to the Huns may have had a pejorative meaning, and the first one, "foreigners," certainly did. Of the terms applied to the Romans, secros sigcrôfe definitely suggests the outcome of the battle; wigana to lyt, ealgreostalma . . . hrora to hilde probably links with the mægen unrimc for the Huns, to throw readers' support to the army of Constantine; and eorlas . . . ymb ægelcng carries at least a mild suggestion of victory.

Although lines 69-104 provide a contrast to the lines preceding and serve as a preparation for the section following, which deals with the Roman victory in battle, they will be considered subsequently and the third approach-to-battle type-scene considered next:

105 Heht þa on uhtan mid ardæge
wìgend wreccan, ond wæpenpraæce
hebban heorucumbul, ond þæt halige treo
him beforan ferian on feonda gemang,
beran beacen godes.

(11. 105-09)

(He ordered then at dawn, with the beginning of day, to rouse the warriors and hostility, to lift up the ensign, and to carry that holy tree before him into the throng of the enemy, to bring God's sign.)

The verb Heht, "he commanded," governs in a zeugma the four infinitives, wreccan, hebban, ferian, and beran. The first verb may govern two objects, wigend and waëpenpraæce, in another zeugma, "to rouse the warriors and hostility."^1 This yoking of

two such dissimilar nouns creates a more striking figure than Cynewulf's ordinary *zauma*, such as the one in this sentence that merely joins four verbs. *Wæepenbraece*, however, could be simply an instrumental, "by force of arms," signifying how the symbol is to be taken to the enemy. Each of the last three verbs governs one object, and the three phrases participate in synonymia and chiastic parison. Synonymia is one of the schemata dianoeas and is found in Isidore's second book, on rhetoric, where it is defined as "one thing signified by many words in connected speech." Isidore's example consists of independent clauses: "nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas," "you do nothing, you set nothing in motion, you bring nothing together." The synonymia in this passage of Elene results from the fact that the meaning of each verb and its object is really the same, although expressed in different words: *hebban heorucumbol*, "to life up the ensign;" *baet halige treo him beforan ferian on gemang*, "to carry the holy tree before him into the throng of the enemy;" and *beran beacen godes*, "to bring forth God's sign." Chiastic parison is present because each of these verb phrases contains infinitive and object, with the syntactic order alternating. The second phrase is lengthened by addition of two prepositional phrases. Each verbal object, though maintaining semantic similarity, varies in form: noun; article, adjective, noun, prepositional phrases; and noun with genitive. The presence of

1Isidore, *Etymologiae* II. xxi. 6: "Synonymia est quotiens in connexa oratione pluribus verbis unam rem significamus."
ond (ll. 106b and 107b) constitutes polysyndeton and adds dignity to the commands given to the troops. It is particularly effective in adding importance to the reading of wīgend wēccan ond wæpenbræce as zeugma. Subtle foreshadowing of Roman victory is achieved through the logical order achieved by use of zeugma, parison, chiasmus, and synonymia in this passage, giving emphasis to the organization of Constantine's men.

According to Fry's division, lines 109b-13, which re-introduce the raven, eagle, and wolf, conclude the third type-scene. However, these lines are also the opening of the battle passage and have been considered above. Analysis of their rhetorical ordering has shown that they belong to the block of material unified by asyndetic hypozeuxis and do not belong with lines 105-09a.

As a result of his research, Fry concludes that the three stereotyped scenes provide a clue to the outcome of battle:

Allotting one type-scene to each army but keeping them closely parallel imparts a sense of balance between the combatants and puts the outcome in doubt. The audience fears for the outnumbered Romans, especially when they see King Constantine afraid. When the third type-scene begins immediately following the ruler's dream, the repetition in the structure of the imagery unites that approach with the previous two; and all three scenes reverberate with every approach-to-battle the audience has heard before. They would know, for example, that the beasts generally follow the winning side before the battle and prey on the losers afterward. Thus, when the raven, eagle, and wolf appear with the Romans in the third scene, the audience has a clue to the favorable result of the battle.¹

But Cynewulf has not completely balanced the type-scenes allotted

¹Fry, "Themes and Type-Scenes," p. 41.
to each army nor has he kept the outcome in doubt. The reader's fear for the Romans is lessened by knowledge of Constantine's vision, which Fry has failed to take into account. In the first scene, that of Hunnish preparations, there is the constant drawing together of men and even at the end they are camped in various groups on the banks of the Danube. Subtly underlining the need for order among the mægen unrime is the use of zeugma, synchysis, and anastrophe, as each figure calls attention to the disparate elements. During the Roman preparations, the simpler, straightforward account suggests that the Romans have a clearer purpose and better organization, with its rhetorical sub-structuring of asyndetic hypozauxis and isocolon. Furthermore, the diction gives clues. The Romans are referred to as secgas sigerofe, eorlas . . . ymb ægelæng, while the Huns are elbeodige. Sympathy is aroused for Constantine, who has wigena to lyt, eaxlgestealna . . . hrora to hilde, with simultaneous distaste for the Huns' impersonal mægen unrime. There is further foreshadowing when the command to carry high the "holy tree" is given three times. Again, there is the subtle influence of the rhetorical structuring, as parison, polysyndeton, and zeugma impart dignity to the Roman forces advancing with the ensign. Therefore, the audience or readers have a number of clues to the outcome of the battle before the eagle, raven, and wolf reappear in lines 109b-13.

Syncyhsis, sometimes resulting from the placement of members of the variations, is most noticeable in the section
Then was revealed in sleep to the caesar himself, where he among his retinue slept; by the victory-brave one the revelation of a dream was seen. It seemed to him that someone of the warriors was shown in the form of a man, beautiful, splendid and bright of hue, more glorious than he had seen before or since under the heavens. To the caesar," is separated from its modifier, sylfum, "himself," and its variant or appositive, sigerofum, "the victory-brave one," by a part of the passive periphrastic verb. This participle, ætywed, "revealed," is in its turn removed from both its auxiliary weard and from gesegen, "seen," which may be considered either its variant or the other member of a compound verb. The links among casere and its modifiers; and among weard, at the beginning of the sentence, and its subject woma, at the end of the sentence, effect synchysis and emphasize the "revelation" for which the reader or audience has been waiting. Variation in the second sentence places stress on the angel, nathwylc, "someone," who is whitescyne, "beautiful," hwit, "white," hiwbeorht, "bright of hue," ænlicra bonne he ær oddē sid gesège under swegle, "more glorious than he before or since had seen under the heavens." In the next sentence, the
He from sleep started, covered himself with a boar ensign.

To him the messenger, beautiful herald of glory, quickly spoke and called him by name—the covering of night slipped away.

In this instance the two verbs, onbrâegd and bebeaht, are joined to one subject, he. The first verb is modified by the prepositional phrase, of slepe, while the second verb is accompanied by the instrumental, eofurcumble. The angel again is the subject of variation in the second sentence. The variation this time constitutes a tautologia, since one word, ar, is amplified by the phrase, wlitig wuldræs boda. If nihil-gelm toglad, "covering of night slipped away," is read as a parenthesis, it may be considered as corresponding in use to the similar brief construction, Fédan trymedon (l. 35b), which may constitute the same schema.

Synchysis is found in the next sentence, as the angel addresses Constantine:

"Constantinus, heht pe cyning engla, wyrdæ wealdend, waere beodan, duguda dryhten." (11. 79-81)

(0 Constantine, the king of angels, ruler of fates, lord of hosts, ordered protection to be announced to thee.) The subject, cyning engla, is varied by wyrdæ wealdend and duguda dryhten, in a schesis onomaton, or series of noun phrases. A synchysis is
effected by the linking of the noun phrases; and of heht and its
object, weære beodan.

In another sentence, the verb of the principal clause and
the subject of the subordinate one are each expanded:

He waês sone gearu
purh ðæs halgan haês, hréderloca onspeon,
up locade, swa him se ar abead,
faele frídowebba.

(ll. 85-88)

(He was at once ready at the bidding of that holy one, opened his
heart, looked up, as the angel, faithful weaver of peace,
commanded him.) The verbs, waês, onspeon, and locade, depend
upon the subject He. The subject ar is amplified by faele
frídowebba, "faithful angel," in tautologia. One sentence
combines zeugma and synchysis:

Da þæt leohht gewat,
up sídode, ond se ar somed,
on clãenra gemang.

(ll. 94-96)

(Then the light departed, journeyed up, and the messenger
together, into the midst of the pure.) The three instances of
zeugma occur as the compound subjects, leohht and ar, govern the
verbs, gewat and sídode, which in turn jointly govern the two
adverbial modifiers, up and on clãenra gemang. The synchysis
becomes evident in the interlocking relationships formed by
linking each of these three groups among themselves.

In the final sentence of the section synchysis probably
involves every word in the sentence:

Heht þa onlice æðelinga hleo,
beorna beeggifa, swa he þæt beacen geseah,
heria hildfruma, þæt him on heofonum ær
geiewed weard, ofstum myclum, Constantinus, Cristes rode, tireadig cyning, tacen gewyrcan.
(ll. 99-104)

(The protector of princes, ring-giver of warriors, ordered then to fashion with great haste a token, Christ's cross, in the same manner as he, battle-leader of armies, saw the sign that was earlier revealed to him, Constantine, glorious king, in the heavens.) The subject, æðelinga hleo, is varied by beorna beggifa, heria hildfruma, Constantinus, and tireadig cyning, in a schesis onomatoton. The first three members consist of genitive and noun; the last two, of proper noun, and adjective and noun. Beacen is varied by the relative clause (ll. 101b-02) which describes it; and, logically but not grammatically, by tacen, object of gewyrcan, and by Cristes rode, the variation for tacen. Heht, which opens the sentence, may be related to the infinitive it governs, gewyrcan, at the end of the sentence, and to onlice, ba, ofstum myclum, and the adverbial clause, swa he bæt beacen geseah, which modify either heht or gewyrcan. The synchysis results from the relationships among æðelinga hleo and members of its variation; beacen and its variants; and the verbs and their modifiers, and includes every sentence element. These relationships among Constantine's titles, the titles of the cross, and his orders suggest similar relationships between his success in battle and his use of the cross.

Throughout this section concerning Constantine's vision, emphasis has been given, by means of variation, to the angel, to its message about the cross, and to Constantine, who receives
will exist between Roman efforts and divine assistance in the battle to come. The interlocking of sentence elements here and the frequent use of variations provide a contrast to the stress on organization in the preceding sections, with their descriptions of the Huns' and Romans' preparations, and the rapid action of the following passage, which relates the actual battle. Variation in this passage, affecting both subjects and verbs, sometimes includes such schemata as schesis onomaton, synonymia, and tautologia.

In the sea-voyage passage (ll. 225-55) another section evolving from a Germanic theme and one where Diamond has demonstrated that 72.5 per cent of the sixty-two verses are formulaic, Cynewulf uses a variety of schemata: hypozexis, zeugma, synchysis, and chiastic parison. Most of the sentences are short and describe in conventional language the preparations, journey, and arrival. As elsewhere in the poem, the formulaic materials are freely used by the poet, but they do not control the syntactic order of his sentences. In order to achieve chiastic parison, for instance, he may use two formulaic

---

2 Lines 225-26a, 231-32a, 237-38a, 238b-39, 240a, 246b-47a.
3 Lines 232b-36.
4 Lines 240b-42, 250b-55.
5 Lines 244-46a.
half-lines and one formulaic verse and introduce one verse of his own, but it is his arrangement of the materials that effects the figures:

\[ \text{Daer meahte gesion, se done sid beheold, brecan ofer baedweg, brimwudu snyrgan under swellingum, saemearh plegean, wadan waegflotan.} \]

(11. 243-46)

(There he who beheld that journey might see the breaking over the way, the sea-wood to hasten under the swelling \( \text{[of sails]} \), the sea-horse to prance, the wave-floaters to proceed.) In lines 244-46a he achieves chiastic parison (V Prep. Phr. S V Prep. Phr. S V V S) by first choosing the formulaic \( \text{brecan ofer baedweg, brimwudu snyrgan, and waegflotan,} \) because they fit into the pattern he envisions. This combining of the two formulaic half-lines poses one problem, however, because they differ syntactically, \( \text{brecan ofer baedweg} \) having no subject of its own. \( \text{Brimwudu} \) may serve as subject of both \( \text{brecan and snyrgan,} \) "ships to break over the way and hasten under the swelling \( \text{[of sails]} \)" Or the infinitive \( \text{brecan} \) may be used as a verbal noun, in the sense of "breaking over the way." Another possibility is to read \( \text{sid} \) (l. 243b) as subject of \( \text{brecan} \), "who observed the travel that breaks over the way." Because of the parison present, the second reading, which makes \( \text{brecan} \) independent of a subject within another construction, seems most probable. \( \text{Brecan} \) does not participate fully in the parison, however, because it is missing a subject.

\[ ^1 \text{Underlining indicates the presence of a formula; a broken line indicates substitution within a formulaic system.} \]
Acceptance of waëgflotan as a formula\(^1\) also raises a question. Diamond accepts as formulaic such compounds, which constitute the second measure of a D- (or B- or C-) verse.\(^2\) This really means that any noun which could fill a second measure of such a verse assumed formulaic status as soon as it had appeared in any two verses. But such a compound seems to be meeting needs of context and alliteration just as surely as of metrical definition. That it should be termed a formula seems doubtful.

The poet, assembling formulaic and non-formulaic materials to effect certain schemata, lengthened the second verb phrase, brimwudu snyrgan, by adding a non-formulaic prepositional phrase, under swellingum. To complete his schema, he fitted the compound waëgflotan into an A-verse with wadan and matched this verse with a second half-line having a contrasting word order, sæmearh plegean. The placement of se done sid beheold in line 243b is unusual, but the grammatical function of this subordinate clause is clear. It is either a relative clause in apposition to the third person singular subject, expressed only in the verb meahte, or the se of the clause contains both its antecedent and relative pronoun in the same word, and the clause is the subject of meahte. Perhaps Cynewulf visualized a link between this clause and meahte to balance the link between gesion and the four infinitives that gesion governs, thus creating a synchysis.

\(^1\) Diamond, "Theme as Ornament," pp. 464-65.

Such a plan, requiring separation of meahte and its subject, the adjective clause, would account for the metrically defective line 243a, which appears elsewhere as gesion meahte.¹

Ceolas leton
aet saefearode, sande bewrecene,
ald ydhofu, oncrum faeste
on brime bidan beorna gebinges,
hwonne heo sio gudcwen gumena preate
ofer eastweges eft gesohte.
(ll. 250-55)

(They left at the seashore the keels, the old wave-houses whipped by sand, secure by means of anchors, to await on the surf the fate of warriors, until the queen with a band of men afterwards would seek them over paths from the east.) This final sentence of the passage provides an example of two variations extending through the sentence to form a synchysis. Ceolas is varied by ald ydhofu. The three phrases, leton aet saefearode, "left at the seashore," oncrum faeste, "secure by means of anchors," and on brime bidan, "to await on the surf," though differing grammatically, all convey the idea that "the ships wait" and are members of another variation. Linking separately members of the two variations shows the interlocking relationships of synchysis.

Examination of these passages, which embody conventional aspects of Anglo-Saxon warfare and sea-voyaging and are narrated largely through a formulaic vocabulary, discloses that despite these traditional elements, they are structured according to

principles of Greek and Latin rhetoric. It is chiefly the schemata of the rhetorical tradition that Cynewulf is employing, rather than the tropi or figures of thought. Thus far in Klene, certain schemata have been used oftener than others. These include zeugma, synchysis, hypozeuxis, parison, chiastic parison, asyndeton, anaphora, and isocolon. Paronomasia, homoeoteleuton, hyperbaton, and polysyndeton have been noted twice each.

In the passage relating to the swift action of battle, ll. 109b-43, the short, abrupt sentences of asyndetic hypozeuxis are dominant, and homoeoteleuton, paronomasia, parison, and anaphora emphasize the martial order. In the passage describing the preparations for battle, ll. 19b-69 and 105-09a, zeugma, hyperbaton, and polysyndeton are used to suggest the strong efforts to draw together the Huns' scattered forces. Asyndetic hypozeuxis, however, is used again, to place the animals of prey in relation to these forces and to provide contrast. For the Romans, zeugma and hyperbaton are coupled with isocolon to shift the emphasis to organization in these forces. As Constantine's dream is narrated, the use of synchysis lays stress on the close relationship between human and divine. Preparations for, and the sea-voyage itself, are told by the use of hypozeuxis, synchysis, chiasmus, and chiastic parison.

This summary indicates that Cynewulf does choose the schemata with regard for their usefulness in giving shape and identity to particular meanings of his text. Those schemata used most often in these sections have been asyndetic hypozeuxis, used
very often in depicting rapid action; and the schemata that result from logical arrangement: parison, chiasmus, anaphora, polysyndeton, and, as Cynewulf frequently employs it to join grammatically parallel structures, zeugma. A disturbed word order characteristic of hyperbaton is sometimes found in passages describing a confused situation. On the basis of these uses, some prediction may be made regarding the kind of patterning that may occur in the rest of the poem. The remainder of the poem is concerned with a lengthy struggle between Elene and the Jews and the eventual finding of the Cross and nails. The devices that Cynewulf may be expected to employ, then, are those suitable for thoughtful discussion, exposition, and resolution of differences. Asyndetic hypozeuxis might be present occasionally for contrast, but there will be no swift action to be shaped by it. Rather, such devices as zeugma, synchrony, chiasmus, and parison may be expected, with a variety of other schemata that will provide diversity within Cynewulf's unified structure.

Such utilization of various schemata is coupled with the introduction of involved grammatical constructions as Elene summons the wisest men among the Jews to a council. In her speech she implies that the Jews are withholding information, and the resulting tension is reflected in the language:

```
Heht ða gebeodan burgsittendum
þam snoterestum side ond wide
géond ludeas, gumena gehwylcum,
medélhegende, on gemot cuman,
þa de deopicost dryhtnes geryno
þurh rihte æe reccan cudon.
Da waæs gesamnod of sidwegum
maægen unlytel, þa de Moyses æe
```
reccan cudon.

Hwaet, ge ealle snyttro unwislice, wraedc widwecorpon, ba ge wergdon bane
pe eow of wergde purh his wuldres miht, fram ligcwale, lysan bohte, of haeftnede. Ge mid horu speowdon
on baes ondwlitan pe eow eagena leoh, fram blindnesse bote gefremede

edniowunga purh baet aedele spald, ond fram unclaeenum oft generede deofla gastum.

Gangap nu snude, snyttro gepencab, weras wisfaeste, wordes craeftige,

pa de eowre aedelum craeftige on ferdesefan fyrmest haebben,
pa me sodlice secgan cunnun, ondsware cydan for eowic forf
tacna gehwylces be ic him to sece."

(ll. 276-319)

(He ordered then to be announced to the wisest city-dwellers far and wide among the Jews, to each man, that those deliberating, those who could most profoundly explain the secrets of the Lord by the true law, were to come to the moot. Then was gathered from wide ways not a small host, those that knew how to explain the law of Moses. . . . Lo, ye unwisely, perversely, rejected all wisdom when you cursed that one who through the power of his glory thought to redeem you from the curse, from death by fire, from bondage. You with filth spat upon the face of the one that perfected anew the light of your /1. 298b/ eyes, /perfected/ a remedy from blindness, through that noble spittle, and from unclean spirits of the devils often saved you /1. 298b/. Go now quickly, ponder wisdom, /think of/ learned men, ingenious of word, those that, knowledgeable in racial origins, may have your law first in their hearts, that they may know how to tell me truly, make known an answer for you henceforth, about each of
the signs that I seek from them.) In the first sentence the important syntactic features are the interrelationships among the parts. The object of the verb *Heht* is the infinitive *gebeodan*, whose object in turn is the infinitive phrase, *medelhegende on gemot cuman*. *Medelhegende*, a present participle used as a substantive, has as its appositive the pronoun *ba*, to which in turn the relative clause, *de deoplicost dryhtnes geryno / burh rihte æ reccan cuðon*, stands in apposition. *Synchysis* results from linking *burgsittendum* and its variant, *gumena gehwylcum*; the verbs and their objects: *Heht* and *gebeodan*, and *gebeodan* and the infinitive phrase (l. 279); and the substantive *medelhegende* with its appositives *ba* and the relative clause (ll. 280-81). The *tropus* calls attention to the carrying of Elene's message to a spread-out area.

As he often does, Cynewulf here repeats a construction in two successive sentences. In this instance, it is the use of an appositive and relative clause, *pa de Moyses æ reccan cuðon*, which describes *mægen*, "the host," more fully. This relative clause is parallel in structure to the similar appositional clause in lines 280-81, and *parison* is present. The second colon is shortened, and the syntax of the two cola is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infinit.</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infinit.</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1\]For another possible use of "*medelhegende,*" see Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, p. 136.
The last three words in each clause are identical and constitute antistrophe. This is one of the schemata dia
coeas, but it is not found in Isidore's second book or in Cassiodorus' Expositio. The term, included by Martianus Capella and Aquila Romanus, is defined by Aquila Romanus as a figure involving the repetition of words at the end of the clause, rather than at the beginning, as anaphora. As an example he quotes this: Frumenti maximus numerus e Gallia, peditatus amplissimae copiae e Gallia, equites numero plurimi e Gallia. In Elene, repetition of the key phrase, æ reccan cudon, enables the poet to stress the importance of finding Jews who "could explain the law."

The antistrophe is continued through the passage, but with it is used anaphora, producing another figure, symploce. Symploce is defined by Aquila simply as a figure composed of these other two schemata, and Quintilian adds that the cases and genders of the words repeated may be varied, or "the first word is repeated last after a long interval, while the middle corresponds with the beginning, and the concluding words with the middle," or the effect may be produced by "repeating the

1Aquila, "De figuris," p. 33, 11-16: "Species huius figurai cum eadem fere vim habeat, contraria est superiori /spanaphora/, eo quod ibi ab eadem parte orationis saepius incipitur, hic in eadem partem desinit."

2Aquila, "De figuris," p. 33, 17-20: "Haec figura ex utraque earum, quas supra demonstravimus, composita utramque orationi speciem circumdat. Nam et incipit saepius ab una parte orationis et totiens in unam atque eandem desinit." This figure is not found in Isidore, Etymologiae.

3Quintilian, Institutio, III, p. 466: "Interim variatur casibus haec et generibus retractatio." He notes that polyptoton results from these case variations.
possibilities offered by Quintilian to provide variety.

The **symplece** can be recognized only through its components, the **anaphora** and **antistrophe**. Tracing the anaphora through Elene's speech reveals that all clauses except one open with personal pronouns. **Ge** is used most frequently, as the first or second word of either principal or subordinate clause:

- *baet ge* (1. 290b); *Hwaet ge* (1. 293a); *ba ge* (1. 294b); *be eow* (1l. 295a, 298b); *Ge* (1l. 297b, 302b, 310b); *Swa ge* (1. 306a); and *Eow* (1. 309b). Use of the dative (1. 309b) and accusative *eow* effects polyptoton also. Other clauses with the first person pronoun, nominative, *Ic baet* (1. 288a) and *be ic* (1. 319b) and dative, *ba me* and the third person pronoun, singular, *se de* (1. 303b), and plural *ba de* (1. 315a), effecting further polyptoton. The **antistrophe** occurs twice. Corresponding to **æ reccean cudon**, which concludes each of the first two sentences, is **æ ... secgan cunnun** (1l. 315-17), which extends through two clauses of the final sentence and has the finite verb in the present, not preterite, tense. The figure occurs again in **deman ongunnon** (1l. 303a, 311a) and **mengan ongunnon** (1. 306b). **Mengan ongunnon** is not actually at the end of its clause, but a pause is required before continuing on to the triple **antithesis** of the compound object.

---


2**Gangab** is placed at the beginning of the final sentence.
There are three other instances of duplication in the passage. The first is found in *wergdôn* (l. 294b), "you cursed" (i.e., "despised"); of *wergđe* (l. 295a), "from the curse" (i.e., "from punishment"); and *seo wergđu* (l. 309b), "the curse" (i.e., "punishment"). Because the two nouns and verb are closely related etymologically, it may be said that the same word is used with different meanings in neighboring passages and therefore the figure of place is created. The same figure is effected through *speowdôn* (l. 297b), "you spat upon" (i.e., "insulted") and *spald* (l. 300b), "spittle" (i.e., "a sacramental"). The first term, *speowdôn*, is used only in its literal sense, but the second instance of the word has a metaphorical level, attached to it by Christ's use of "spittle" for a symbol of regeneration. The same thing is true of *wergđu*, "curse," whose metaphorical signification must be traced back to Adam's fall. To reinforce the concept of "wisdom" in the last sentence, the poet repeats *craēftige*, in *wordes craēftige* (l. 314b), "ingenious of word," and *ādēlum craēftige* (l. 315b), knowledgeable in racial origins," and creates *anadiplosis*. This figure results from the repetition of a word for emphasis, with one or a few words in between. Aquila gives an example in which almost every word is repeated: *Negat Phanium esse hanc sibi cognatam*

---

Aquila Romanus, *De figuris*, in Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores*, p. 31: "Exa figura elocutionis, in qua idem verbum aut nomen bis continuo positum, diversa significat, ut est illud: Sed tamen ad illum diem Memmius erat Memmius. Ita enim hoc bis positum est, ut superius quidem nomen tantum significet hominis, posterius velit intellegi eundem qui semper fuerit ac sui similem."
Demipho? / Hanc Demipho negat esse cognatam. ¹

Antitheses run through the passage, but the basic contrasts are contained in one compact sentence of the Latin source: cursing the one redeeming; spitting upon him whose spittle saved; giving over to death him who brought life; confusing of truth and mendacity, light and darkness. ² Gynewulf amplified this material by using the figures already explained, but also by the use of tautologia, synonymia, and zeugma. The first antithesis in the Latin, *eum qui volebat de maledictio vos redimere maledixistis*, will provide an example. This becomes the subordinate clause of lines 294b-97a, and it contains the antithesis plus synonymia, zeugma, chiasmus, and synchysis. The synonymia is present as the three prepositional phrases enlarge upon the idea of the "punishment" from which Christ wished to free the Jews: a general appellation, *of wergdu*, "from the curse;" a specific one, *fram ligcwale*, "from death by fire;" and an abstract one, *of hæftnede*, "from bondage." Each of these phrases depends upon the infinitive *lysan*, constituting a zeugma. The word order achieved by separation of *be* (l. 295a), subject of the relative clause modifying *bane*, from its verb *bohte*; and

¹Aquila Romanus, *De figuris*, in Halm, Rhetores, p. 32: "Interest autem inter hoc et illa duo superiora tantum, quod hic ea, quae in superiore membro postrema ponuntur, in posteriore prima repetuntur."

²See Holthausen, ed., *Elene*, p. 11: "... eum qui volebat de maledicto vos redimere maledixistis et eum, qui per sputum sanctum oculos vestros illuminavit, immundis potius spitis iniuriastis, et eum qui mortuos vestros vivificabat in mortem tradidistis et lucem tenebras existimastis et veritatem mendacium, ... ."
of the infinitive lysan from its object eow, creates a chiasmus.
when the three prepositional phrases referring to "punishment" are also considered as a related group, the overlapping word order results in a synchysis.

In the next sentence, lines 297b-302a, Cynewulf uses hyperbaton, synchysis, and tautologia to dilate eum qui per sputum oculos vestros illuminavit immundis potius sputis iniuriastis. The tautologia is present as each word or phrase is amplified: mid horu, "with filth," is added to speowdon, "spat;" eow eagena leocht . . . gefremede, "he restored the light of your eyes" clarifies fram blindnesse, "from blindness;" and to the verb phrase just given is added another, ond fram unclaënum oft generede / deofla gastum, "and often saved you from unclean spirits of demons." This last addition is tautologia, not new information, because in the Biblical narrative this restoration of sight was related by some to the casting out of demons.¹ Eow (l. 298b) may be in either the dative or accusative case, and it seems that Cynewulf is taking advantage of this fact and using the word in two constructions. Eow performs the function of a dative of possession in line 298b, "light of your eyes," and of an accusative as the object of generede (l. 301b). The verbs, gefremede and generede, are both dependent upon the subject be (l. 298b). Hyperbaton is present in the separation of fram unclaënum from the rest of the prepositional phrase, deofla gastum, calling attention to

¹ John 9:34.
"unclean," which is associated with the blindness. **Synchysis** is present in the interlocking relationships among the two verbs of the subordinate clause and their subject and objects: be, gefremede, generede; gefremede, leoh; and generede, eow (1. 298b).

**Hypozeuxis** is present once, in lines 309b-10a, affording brief respite from the involved constructions that precede and follow it. Emphasis in this passage is on the contradictory nature of the actions of the Jews in the past, and this is brought out by the **antithesis**. However, despite this background, Elene is now demanding that the Jews furnish information to her and wants the demand understood. Therefore, in the final sentence the natural word order is strictly maintained. First come the two verbs of the principal clause, *gangap* and *gebencap*, both in the imperative mood; then the objects of *gebencap*, which are *snyttro* and *weras wisfaeste*. In apposition to *weras* is *ba* (l. 315a), "those." Dependent upon *ba* is the relative clause, *de eowre æ ææelum cræftige / on ferðsefan fyrmest hæbben.*

A purpose clause, *ba me sodlice secgan cunnon, / onsware cyðan for eowic ford / tacna gehwylces*, follows.

A clue to Elene's attitude toward the Jews and to later events in her dialogue with them is given by the fact that the verb *hæbben* of the relative clause is in the subjunctive mood and indicates Elene's doubt that anyone among the Jews has the information that she seeks. As the narration continues it is disclosed that only Judas has heard the truth, and his prayer before he digs for the cross reveals even his uncertainty.
Within the second relative clause is a _zeugma_, as _cunnun_ governs the two infinitives, _secgan_ and _cydán_. Modifying _tacnæ_ is the final relative clause, _be ic him to sece_. The verbs _secgan_, "to tell," and _cydán_, "to make known," constitute a _synonymia_, with the second word suggesting a more formal pronouncement on the part of the Jews.

This passage is another example of the _Envelope_ pattern described by Bartlett. It is a "logically unified group of verses bound together by the repetition at the end of . . . words and ideas which are employed at the beginning"—already noted above in regard to _sympleco_—and contains other "intricate verbal relationships"—_antithesis_, _chiasmus_, _zeugma_, and _synchysis_, in this instance—that reinforce the _Envelope_ pattern.

As with his use of traditional formulaic and thematic material, so too in Cynewulf's adaptation of plot from the Latin narrative, shape and meaning are imparted to the literary work by the rhetorical structuring. Elene's statement in the original _Vita_ of St. Jude Quiriacus is a direct one, enumerating the illogicalities in the Jews' treatment of Christ. To the contending elements in these antitheses Cynewulf gives emphasis by way of _tautologia_ and _anadiplosis_; interrelationships are clarified by _zeugma_, _synchysis_, and _chiasmus_; and the literary work, with a unity largely effected by _sympleco_, places new emphasis on the "you" who have done these things and must now offer assistance to Elene in rectifying matters.

---

⁠¹Bartlett, _Larger Rhetorical Patterns_, pp. 9-29.
It is important to note that almost all the schemata found here depend upon the arrangement or repetition of words, not upon figures of thought. The one tropus, or figure of thought, found here is the antithesis. But the antitheses in this passage, which provide the basis for Elene's exposition are carried over from the Latin sources and are not original with Cynewulf.

Lines 411-555 contain Judas' revelation to the other Jews that he knows what Elene wants them to tell her. Running through the passage is the anaphoristic use of the personal pronouns, usually preceded by a conjunction but occasionally followed by an adverb instead. The device is unobtrusive, but it has to be deliberate. In Juliana, for instance, with about two hundred-fifty lines of dialogue between the devil and Juliana, pronouns are used with much less frequency. Instead, seo halge, se feond, seo faemne, and other substantives refer to the speaker. In Elene this use of pronouns extends from line 288, when Elene first addresses the Jews, to line 663, when Elene decides to throw Judas into the pit and action begins to replace dialogue. There are occasional breaks, with Iudas (Elene) madelode. A clause often opens with a conjunction (or adverb) and a pronoun; an inflected form of the demonstrative pronoun or of se (as a relative or demonstrative) is used as an introductory word sixteen times. The first person pronoun is used thirteen times; the second person, seventeen times; and the third person, twenty times. Only six times is a particular conjunction-pronoun combination repeated. At times a particular pronoun, perhaps
with inflected forms, is grouped in one section. Instances are ἄνατ (ll. 426a, 427a, 428a, 429a) and by (l. 430b); and ἵο (ll. 468a, 469b, 471b); ἵο (ll. 474b, 477a, 478b); and ἵο (ll. 495a, 498b, 501b, 504a, 509a), his (l. 493b), him (ll. 495a, 500b, 502b, 505b).

Antistrophe is present three times in this passage, in the repetition of words or phrases at the end of a line or clause. The parenthetic clause, ὁμ ναὶς Κύκλος (Sachius, Simon) nam, occurs in lines 418b, 437b, and 530b. Κύκλος is repeated at the end of line 531b and 535b, and σπύττρο is found at the end of clauses, in lines 544b and 554b. Symplece, the figure resulting from the presence of both anaphora and antistrophe in a passage, is therefore to be found here. Ploce, another figure depending on the repetition of a word, also occurs here. It results from the use of ἀεδελυ (ll. 433b), "race," and ἀεδελυτ (ll. 476b), "noblest," and ἀεδελα (ll. 545a), "to that noble [Tady], since in its last two appearances the word has a different meaning than in the first. Actually, the first word is the adjective ἀεδελε, but in their inflected forms the noun and adjective may sometimes be spelled alike. Ploce refers to the repeating of a word, but with a different meaning the second time. ἀεδελυ, "race," occurs also in 315b, and ἀεδελε, "noble," the adjective, in line 300b.

Tautologia is the chief schema used in the passage, because almost every clause or phrase is amplified by being repeated at least once in other words. But zeugma, synchysis,
...and chiasmus are also present, countering any tendency to
prolixity and marking relationships among syntactic or logical
groups. Several sentences from the passage will be used to
demonstrate these points:

415

Rodon pa from rune, swa him sio rice cwen,
bald in burgum, beboden haefde,
geomormode, georne smeadon,
sohton searobancum, hwaet sio syn waere
be hie on pam folce gefremed haefdon
wid pam casere, pe him sio cwen wite.
(II. 411-416)

(Then they went forth from the council as the powerful queen,
mighty over cities, had commanded to them, sad of heart they
earnestly reflected, sought with wise thoughts, what that sin
might be that they had committed among the people, against the
king, that the queen imputed to them.) In the first sentence
tautologia is present in the three dependent clauses of lines
414b-16, as the Jews reflect on "what that sin might be that they
had committed among the people, against the king, the sin that
the queen imputed to them," because the Jews have stated their
ignorance of this matter in lines 401b-03: We daet æbylgd
nyton / pe we gefremedon on bysse folcscere, "We know not the
offence that we have committed among this people." Whenever thus
repeating a statement, Cynewulf is careful to present material
in slightly differing ways, usually adding some new information
after the first telling. In this case, the earlier statement has
been made by the Jews themselves, in direct address, and merely
states the fact. The second statement is made by the narrator
and considers the matter from the viewpoints of both Jews and
Elene. Synonymia is the figure employed in linking the verb
phrases, **searobancum**, "sought with sagacity," as the second calls more attention to the intricacies of thought. **Zeugma** joins the three verbs *Eodon*, *smeadon*, and *sohton*, all dependent upon the third person plural subject contained in the verb, or, possibly, **geomormode** is to be considered as a substantive used as subject. **Geomormode** may be an example of **antonomasia**, the use of an epithet in place of a proper name, and, with its reference to the Jews' "sadness," describes them "ab animo."

Sometimes the sentence is briefer and less complex, but **tautologia** is nevertheless present:

"Næfre ic þa gepeahhte þe þeos þeod ongan secan wolde, ac ic symle mec
470 asced þara scylda, nales sceame worhte
gaste minum. (ll. 468-71)"

("Never would I seek those counsels that this people began, but I ever held myself aloof from their guilts, by no means did I work shame to my spirit.) In these lines the clauses are set up in the form of an **antithesis:** "Never would I seek those counsels that this people began," is opposed to "but I ever kept myself aloof from their guilt," and a third clause repeats the same idea, "by no means did I work shame to my spirit." There is not real contradiction of thoughts, although the third and first clauses have negative forms, and the second is positive.

In lines 493-510 Judas repeats his father's account of Stephen and Paul:

ne geald he yfel yfele, ac his ealdfeondum
493 pingode prohtherd, þaed prymcyning
He did not return evil for evil, but, strong under affliction, interceded for his ancient foes, besought the king of glory that for revenge not charge to them those deeds of woe, that they for hate deprived of life the guiltless one, free of sins, by the teachings of Saul, as he through enmity condemned to death, to destruction, many of Christ's people. However, to him the lord afterwards showed mercy, so that to many people he became a help, from the time when the God of beginnings, the savior of men, changed his name, and afterwards he was called Saint Paul by name, and ever afterwards, under the protection of the heavens, no other among the teachers of the law, of those that man or woman brought into the world, was better than he, though he ordered Stephen, thy brother, to be slain with stones upon the mountain.) By the use of tautologia "he did not return evil for evil" (l. 493a), the first part of the independent clause, is dilated by the rest of the sentence. The method of dilatation used here is typical of Cynewulf. The rest of the...
sentence, ll. 493b-500a, consists of the second (bingode) and third (hæð) parts of the compound predicate and of subordinate clauses, each related logically and formally to what precedes and what follows it and each supplying further information about Stephen's "not returning evil." The last verb, "besought" (hæð), is followed by its compound object, the noun brymcyning and the noun clause, pæt he . . . ne sette. Offering a reason for this seeking of forgiveness of "enemies" is the clause, pæt hie . . . beraeddon, "that they for hate deprived of life the guiltless one, the one free of sin, at Saul's behest." The last, adverbial clause, swa . . . to deape, "as he through enmity condemned many of Christ's people to death (deape), to a violent death (cwale)," provides further information about Saul's command, so it participates in the prolonged tautologia, but it also leads logically into the following sentence, of lines 500b-10. Demonstrated here is the ability to provide with each additional phrase, some new piece of information, some previously unseen aspect of the situation. It is this ability that gives charm to Cynewulf's use of tautologia and prevents the boring repetition which constitutes the vice condemned by Isidore.¹ This skill may be seen too in the poet's use of schesis onomatton, as with deabe and cwale in this passage and of synonymia, as in lines 413-14.

How carefully the syntax of this sentence (ll. 493-500a) has been worked out is revealed by the placement of personal

¹Isidore, Etymologiae II. xx. 4.
pronouns. He (ll. 493a, 495a, and 496b) appears as subject of three of the four clauses, referring each time to a different person. Each time, the antecedent—Stephanus (l. 492a), prymcyning (l. 494b), and Sawles (l. 497b)—has been carefully introduced in the previous clause, and only the third person plural pronoun, always referring to ealdfeondum (l. 493b), is juxtaposed with he, so that there can be no confusion about identities.

A modified parison may be said to be present among the seven clauses of the sentence in lines 500b-10. The first and third clauses open with a conjunction (or adverb) and indirect object: Swa peah him and syddan him. Then appear subject, object, verb, in that order, with an occasional modifier appearing among these elements. In the fifth clause the order is irregular, with nænig, "no," separated from æelaerendra oder, "other of teachers of law," by wæs, in a hyperbaton. The second, fourth, sixth, and seventh clauses open with conjunction and subject, bæt he, ond he, de wyf odde wer, and peah he; and the syntactic order then varies.

As the passage draws to a close, action replaces the long exposition, and clauses are opened by verbs—weoxan, l. 547a; Da cwom, l. 549b; Hreopan, l. 550b—rather than by pronouns. But tautologia is still the most important figure. Of the three clauses, each independent, the first is a flat statement: "You, O men, this queen summons to the hall." The reader or audience knows by now that the hall is the place for the council, but the herald adds the purpose, "that ye may proclaim rightly your
"Finally, the place and purpose are stated again: "There is need for your advice in the assembly place, of your mind's wisdom."

The tautologia in this passage permits a fuller exposition of Judas' knowledge of Christ and therefore confers dignity upon the material itself. The figure is suitable here, where the important—and temporarily unwilling—part to be played by Judas in the finding of the Cross is presented. It is the means by which his motivation, responsibility, and suitability for his mission are clearly set forth.

Elsewhere in the poem Cynewulf continues this placing of personal pronouns for special effects. For instance, in lines 632-41 and 699-705a he uses the pronoun Ic or the copulative Is to open almost every sentence.¹ The passages are related in content, since in the first one Judas protests to Elene that he cannot remember events so far back as the disposal of the Cross, while in the second he calls out that his imprisonment has made him ready to disclose the information:

"Hu mæg ic þæt findan þæt swa fyrm geweard wintrā gangum? Is nu worn sceacen, CC odde ma geteled rime.
635 Ic ne mæg areccan, nu ic þæt rim ne can. Is nu feala sidban fordægwitenra frodra onð godra þe us fore waéron, gleawra gumena. Ic on geogode weard on Siddagum sydðan acenned,
640 cnihtgeong hæled. Ic ne can þæt ic nat, findan on fyrdē þæt swa fyrm geweard." (ll. 632-41)

¹ Schaar, Cynewulf, p. 121, says that the "dramatic significance of the correspondence [effected by use of Ic ... Is] is striking."
"Ic eow healsie þurn heofona god paét ge me of dyssum earfedum up forlæatan, heanne from hungres genidlan. Ic þæt halige treo lustum cyde, nu ic hit leng ne màeg helan for hungre. Is þes haefte to dan strang, þeanyd þæs þæl ond þæs þrohte to þæs ðeart dogorramum. Ic adreogan ne màeg, ne leng helan be dam lifes treo, þæg ic aær mid dysige þurhdrifin wære ond dægt sod to laete seolfe geceowe.

(1l. 699-708)

(How may I find that which happened so long since in the course of winters? Now a great number is gone, two hundred or more counted by number. I cannot say, since I do not know that number. There are now many prudent and good [people], since departed, wise men, that were [here] before us. I was born in later times, afterwards, in youth, a young man. I cannot find in my heart what I know not, that happened so long ago. . . . I beseech you through the God of heavens that you let me, miserable from torment or hunger, up from this suffering. I will willingly make known that holy tree, since I may no longer conceal it for hunger. This servitude is too harsh, the cruel necessity too severe, and this hardship too cruel in number of days. I may not endure nor longer keep secret about the tree of life, though I formerly with folly was imbued and too late I perceive the truth.)

In the first passage, three sentences are linked by the anaphoristic Ic (ne), two by Is nu. Further examination reveals that, in a prolonged instance of tautologia, the Ic clauses are variations of the principal clause of line 632a, "How may I imagine that," while the Is nu sentences amplify the relative clause of lines 632b-33a, "which happened so long ago in the course of winters." The Ic clauses are alternated with the Is nu
group in a chiastic pattern. The noun clause of line 641b, "that happened so long ago," belongs to the Is nu group and completes the chiasmus: A (Ic, l. 632a) B (pæt, l. 632b-33a) B (Is nu, ll. 633b-34) A (Ic ne, l. 635a) B (Is nu, ll. 636-38a) A (Ic, ll. 638b-40a) A (Ic ne, ll. 640b-41a) B (pæt, l. 641b). The same subordinate clause, pæt swa fyrm geweard, forms the second verse of lines 632 and 641, creating an antistrophe. This figure, coupled with anaphora, creates symplece for the passage. In one variation the participle and two adjectives, ford gewitenra frodra ond godra, are varied by a noun and one adjective, gleawra gumena. In a tautologia the pronoun ic is varied by adjective and noun, cnihtgeong hæled.

Lines 699-709 seem to be less carefully balanced, but the structuring is similar. Anaphora is present in Ic . . . . Ic . . . . Is . . . . Ic . . . . , linking the passage to lines 632-41. Antistrophe is probably intended in leng ne mæg / helan, ll. 702b-03a, and ne mæg, / ne leng helan, l. 705b-06a, and symplece is effected. Such a slight departure (neither phrase is placed at the end of a clause or line) by Cynewulf from the exact requirements of the rhetorical manuals has been noted before, especially in regard to parison and duplication of words. Tautologia is present as me is amplified by the adjective phrase, heanne fram hungres genidlan. The sentence in lines 701b-03a is varied by lines 705b-06, with the antistrophic phrases forming part of the variation and giving emphasis to Judas' new intentions. The concessive clause of lines 707-08 give a reason for
the speaker's delayed conversion, thereby providing new information in this variation.

Ordinarily Cynewulf does not juxtapose a subject and its verb, but separates them by an adjectival or adverbial word or phrase or other lexical material. An exception to this custom occurs in the independent subject-verb or verb-subject clause that occupies one half-line. In the various passages just considered for their use of pronouns his usual procedure is followed. A passage from Judas' prayer to God for locating the Cross shows particularly effective placement of pronouns while conforming to this norm.

(He refused your rule. Therefore, in misery, he, full of foul
nesses, guilty, must suffer, endure enslavement. There he,
author of all sin, may not reject your word, /But/ is fixed in
punishments, bound in torments. If it be your will, ruler of
angels, that he rule, /He/ who was on the cross and was born of
Mary on earth, in the form of a child, 0 prince of angels (if he

He þinum wiðsoc

ældordome. Þæs he in ermdum sceal,
ælra fûla ful, ðæð ðrowían,
þeowned þolian. Þæer he þin ne mæg

word aweorpan, is in witum fæст,
ealre synne fruma, susle gebunden.
Gif þin willa sie, wealdend engla,
pæet ricsie se de on rode waes,
ond þurh Marian in middangeard

acenned weard in cildes had,
peoden engla, (gif he þin näere
sunu synna leas, näefre he sodra swa feala
in woruldrice wundra gefremedæ
dogorgerimum: no du of deaðe hine

swa þrymlice, þeoda wealdend,
aewehte for weorodum, gif he in wuldre þin
þurh da beorhtan bearn ne waere),
gedo nu, faeðer engla, ford beacen þin.

(11. 766-83)
were not your son, free of sins, never would he have performed so many true wonders in the world during the days of his life; you would not have awaked him from death so gloriously, ruler of princes, before hosts, if he were not your son in glory by that shining \( \text{one} \), show forth now, 0 father of angels, your sign.) In lines 766b and 769b \( h \), representing the devil, and \( b \) (um), standing for God, are juxtaposed to emphasize the contrast between their referents. In both instances the possessive pronoun\(^2\) is, however, separated from the noun it modifies and through this anastrophoe receives additional stress. In line 776b he and \( b \) are again juxtaposed, but this \( h \) refers to Christ. The emphasis given to the pronouns by this placement is appropriate, because Judas is introducing a parenthetical statement: "If he were not your son. . . .," creating a personal relationship similar to that between God and the devil in lines 766-71. With a parenthesis, Bede states, one might interrupt a thought to insert a reasoned explanation, and he gives this example of such a hyperbaton: "Cum vidissent gratiam, quae data est mihi (qui enim operatus est Petro in apostulatu circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi inter gentes), Iacobus, Cephas, et Iohannes . . . .\)

\(^1\)Its antecedent is dracan, "serpent," a genitive noun modifying \( b \) in line 765b.

\(^2\)Lydia Fakundiny, "The Art of Old English Verse Composition, Pt. II," RES, XXI (1970), 257-66, has found that these different uses of the possessive pronoun in this passage "contribute significantly to the intricacy of the language which serves as an apt medium for the complexity of the speaker's prayer."
In line 781b he is separated from bin by a prepositional phrase, lessening the contrast between the referents. This is fitting, because, in lines 776b-81a, the speaker has clarified the relationship between God and Christ.

These lines, 772-83, are similar in structure to lines 382-97a in Juliana, discussed above, and a comparison of the two passages demonstrates certain differences. The differences stem from the fact that the principle of parallelism has been carried farther—probably too far—in Juliana.

In the selection from Elene there are eight clauses, and six of these are arranged in antithetical pairs: Gif . . . gedone, ll. 772-76a and 783; gif he . . . naefre, ll. 776b-79a; and no du . . . gif he, ll. 779-82. In the last pair the order of conditional and result clauses is reversed, lessening the danger of monotony. Parison is present in the result clauses of the parenthesis, where the order is adverb—subject—modifiers—object—modifiers—(vocative)—verb—adverbial modifier. The freedom permitted among the modifiers is useful here in preventing rigidity, since the parenthetic clauses already balance each other with reference to type, conditional or result. The three clauses of lines 772-75 and the result clause of line 783 are related grammatically and logically: in the conditional clause the verb sie, l. 772, is followed by its complement, the

noun clause, *baet ricsie* . . .; reversed word order is used in this noun clause, and its subject *se* is followed by its relative clause, *de* . . . *had*, ll. 773b-75; and these clauses lead logically into the conclusion of line 783.

**Schesis onomatoni** is present in the series of four noun phrases, *wealdend engla*, *beoden engla*, *beoda wealdend*, and *faeder engla*, used as vocatives. Two phrases precede the parenthetical material, one phrase is within the parenthesis and one follows it. The first and third employ *wealdend* as the nominative, while the first, second, and fourth have *engla* as genitive. The second and third phrases are related by their use of *beoden*, but in the second phrase *beoden* occurs as the nominative and in the third as genitive (*beoda*). In both instances, *beoden* (*beoda*) is the first measure of a half-line. *Faeder*, in the fourth phrase, introduces a new element, but one which follows logically from Judas' address to God and his consideration of Christ as God's son. These four phrases, introducing grammatically non-related material, cause definite interruptions in the thought patterns of the sentence, but their extension from the second through the penultimate verses of the passage makes them a powerful unifying force. The elements of the compound verb, the copulative *waes* and the periphrastic verb *acenned weard*, are dependent on the relative particle *de*, l. 773b. The *Gif* clauses of lines 776b-77a and 781b-82, with their references to the possibility of Christ's not being the son of God, vary each other, in a tautologia. Of this selection Schaar has said that "the mazy intricacy, balanced by the extensive chiasmus, is an outstanding example of the
In Elene and Christ II are found passages of what are variously referred to as "hypermetric" or "expanded" or "swollen" verses. Cynewulf employs such verses in Elene, ll. 582-89, for example, where the half-lines usually contain seven to eleven syllables. The passage contains the end of Elene's ultimatum, a description of the Jews' fears, and the opening lines of their reply. The origin of expanded lines is not certain, but B. J. Timmer has drawn conclusions about the manner in which they are used. Sometimes, he finds, the lines are used to slow down the reading tempo for an artistic effect. This is surely the result of using expanded lines later on (ll. 1157a and 1159a), when Elene is trying to decide what to do with the nails that Judas has discovered. The expanded lines there are appropriate vehicles for verbalization of her mental groping. This purpose of delay is probably a reason for employing such lines in 609-10 also, where Judas is trying to avoid telling Elene what he knows about Christ. Use of the lines is a means of securing emphasis of his dilatory tactics, and emphasis is another reason found by Timmer for the lines. Timmer also has noted that hypermetric lines often

1Schaar, Cynewulf Group, p. 122. The four clauses within the parenthesis are arranged chiastically: negative conditional--negative result--negative result--negative conditional.

Irene concludes her threats against the Jews.

"Ne magon ge ða word gesedan þe ge hwile nu on unriht wrigon under womma sceatum, ne magon ge þa wyrd bemidan, bedyrnan þa deopan mihte." Da wurdon hie deades on weman, ades ond endelifes, ond þær þa aènne betæenton giddum gearusnottorne, (þam waes Judas nama cenned for cneomagum), þone hie þære cwene agefon, sægdon hine sundorwisne: "He þe maeg sod gecydan, onwreon wyrda geryno, swa ðu hine wordum frignest."

(You may not prove those words that you for a time now in unrighteousness have covered up under a cloak of shameful words; you may not hide that fate, conceal that solemn power." Then they began to think of death, of the funeral pile, and of the end of life, and there they delivered up one very prudent in speech (to him was the name Judas given before his relatives), him they gave to the queen, said he was especially wise. "He may make known the truth to you, reveal mysteries of things to happen, as you ask him in words.") It might seem that more complicated arrangements of the schemata would be found within the hypermetric lines, but this is not the case. Cynewulf's use of these expanded lines apparently results from his perennial interest in the arrangement of words, rather than from concern for certain schemata. For instance, he makes use of the definite article, in lines 582a, 583b, and 584a, in phrases where he would ordinarily omit it. He is also able to construct a lengthy half-line,
consisting of the anaphoristic phrase, Ne magon ge ða, plus object and verb, whereas he would usually have to reduce the clause to fit one normal verse or expand it into two verses. With this basic half-line and within the sentences given here, the poet effects parallel structures similar to those he has elsewhere. This half-line occurs in its negative form in lines 582a and 583b, where it is used to open Elene's sentences. In a positive form it is employed to begin the speech of the Jews, He be maæg soð gecyðan (l. 588b). It always constitutes a principal clause. In its first occurrence, Ne magon ge ða word geséðan, the half-line is followed by the subordinate (adjective) clause (l. 582b-83a) which modifies ða word. In its second appearance, ne magon ge ða wyrd bemidan, it is followed by the second part (l. 584a) of its own compound verb. When the anaphoristic half-line appears the third time, it unites the two syntactic structures already used, being followed by another verb phrase (l. 589a) and a subordinate clause (l. 589b). The narrator's statement (l. 584b-88a) containing two independent clauses, employs both the compound verb and the subordinate clause and adds a compound object. Its compound verb phrases, ðenne betæhton giddum gearusnottorne and saegdon hine sundorwisne, are placed before and after the parenthetic clause, and the subsequent hyperbaton emphasizes the references to "one very prudent in speech" and "especially wise." The other independent clause contains a compound object, deades, ades, and endelifes. This last clause is an example of how the expanded lines enabled the poet to place
words effectively. Certainly the semantic elements here could have been utilized in some manner in normal half-lines, but it is this particular arrangement of the verb and its objects, "of death to think, of the funeral pile and the end of life," that actually explains the Jews' decision to deliver Judas up.

Pareison is present in the balanced structure within the principal clauses: adverb--auxiliary--subject--object--verb-- (verb--object or adjective clause or both). Synonymia is present in two sets of verb phrases. Bemidan (l. 583b) and bedyrnan (l. 584a) both signify to "hide" or "conceal," while reversing these denotations are gecydan (l. 583b), "make known," and onwreon (l. 589a), "reveal what is hidden." Onwreon is also the antonym of wrigon, l. 583b, the past tense of wreon, "conceal" or "cover up," and use of the two words helps to unify the passage.

From line 699, where Judas cries out to be released from the pit, in order that he may reveal his knowledge of the true cross, through line 1032b, when Elene has encased the cross in gold and silver so that all may honor it, the poem is primarily concerned with the cross itself. Longer sentences marked by principal-plus-subordinate clause(s) or by coordinate construction predominate. The simple statements typical of hypozeuxis occur occasionally. Many of the longer sentences are carefully unified and constitute a firm foundation for the schemata of Greek and Latin rhetoric. Some are used to create a certain amount of suspense. Others may have a cumulative effect, one clause leading logically into the next. A few, near the end of
this section, seem to be used primarily to convey large amounts
of information quickly, as in lines 967-79a and 981b-88a.

A mild suspense is built up in these sentences as Judas
digs for the cross:

Ongan þa wilfaðegan æfter þam wuldres treo,
elnes anhydig, eordan delfan
under turfhagan, þæt he on XX
830 fotmæelum feor funde behelede,
under neolum nider næesse gehydde
in peostorcorfæn. He þær III mette
in þam reoniam hofe roda ætsonme,
greote begræuene, swa hio geardagum
835 arleasra sceolu eordan bepeahton,
ludea cynn.

(11. 827-36)

(Began then the glad one, resolute of courage, to dig the earth
under the turf-covered spot, for the tree of glory, which he
found concealed at twenty feet down, at the bottom of the deep
pit below, hidden in the dark chamber. He there came upon three
crosses together in that gloomy house, buried in the sand, as the
band of cruel ones, the race of the Jews, covered them with earth
in the days of old.) Suspense occurs in the first sentence,
since only at the end of line 832b does he reveal that the some-
thing buried is "in a dark chamber." Similarly, only at the end
of the next sentence is the "band of cruel ones" identified
definitely as "the race of Jews," and only here are the Jews
named as the ones who "covered with earth" that "tree" first
named in line 827b. In lines 827-32a, the verb ongan governs the
infinitive phrase, eordan delfan / under turfhagan, and this in
turn is followed by the relative clause of lines 829b-32a, which
modifies treo. In the second sentence there are only the
principal clause and the adverbial clause of lines 834b-36a. The substantive of line 827a, "the glad one," is amplified through tautologia by another adjective and genitive, elnes anhydig (1. 828b), "resolute of courage," and treo is amplified by the relative clause (ll. 829b-32a). The participles, behelede, "concealed," and gehydd, "hidden,"--the latter word sometimes had specific associations with the grave--form a synonymia. The four prepositional phrases, under turfhagan, on XX / fotmælum feor, under neolum niðer næsse, and in beostor-cofan, extended through the two sentences, each contribute a different characteristic of the place where the crosses lie: turf covering, depth (twice), darkness, and sadness. This is certainly not synonymia, and perhaps is not variation at all, but included matter-of-factly by the narrator, the cumulation stresses the "concealment" by arleasra sceolu. Judas' action, eordan delfan (1. 827b), "to dig the earth," contrasts with that of the Jews, eardan bepeahton, "covered with earth," at the close of the passage, while serving as a link between these phrases is the participial phrase, greote begrauene (l. 834a), "buried in sand."

After the cross has been identified, the devil appears and cries out against his misfortunes (ll. 902-33). The closing sentence of this speech serves a threefold purpose: to summarize the devil's speech and, by associations, all the poem thus far, and to assist in drawing the scene to a close.

"Gen ic findan can

925 burh wrohtstafas widercyr siddan
(Yet I know how to find through accusations a reversal afterwards, from the home of the accursed. I shall raise up against thee another king, who will persecute you and he will abandon your teachings and conform to my customs and will then send you into the darkest and worst punishments, so that you, afflicted with sufferings, will quickly reject that crucified king, to whom you listened before.) The sentence is marked by parison, with subject--verb--object as the basic structure of each clause except the very last, *bæm ðu hyrdest æer*, which has object--subject--verb--(adverb). There are occasional modifiers within the clauses, but only two clauses are lengthened considerably. The first independent clause (ll. 924b-26a) is extended by the prepositional phrases, *burh wrohtstafas* and *of ðam wearhtreafum*, and the third independent clause (ll. 928-31) is lengthened by its compound verb phrases. Opening the sentence is the independent clause of lines 924b-26a, and to its object *widercyr*, "reversal," the remainder of the sentence stands in logical apposition. This second, appositional part of the sentence opens with another independent clause (ll. 926b-27a), and the adjective clause of line 927b modifies the *cyning* of line 927a. Finally, comes the third independent clause (ll. 928-31), whose three
verbs, forlaeted, folgab, and mende, are dependent upon he (l. 928a); the purpose clause (ll. 932-33a), which is dependent upon the three verbs just mentioned; and the adjective clause of line 933b, modifying the cyning of line 933a.

The importance to the devil of his plan is suggested by his use of ond, at the beginning of each line, 928-31, to join first the clauses and then the verb phrases within the third independent clause. Thus coordinated are the plans expressed by the devil in the second and third independent clauses: "I will raise up another king ... and he will abandon your teachings ... ." Similarly joined are the verb phrases that give projected details: "he will abandon your teachings and conform to my customs and will send you then into the darkest and worst punishments." Since it is obvious to the audience or reader that these plans must fail, the use of the coordinate conjunctions, in polysyndeton, to lend them importance and dignity, has almost a comic effect. The use of the indicative mood for the verb widsæcest (l. 932b) also indicates the devil's certainty that his plan will work.

The verb folgab (l. 929b), "he conforms to," has the same form as the noun folgab (l. 903b), "retinue," and since there a semantic difference, place is the figure effected by this device which draws together the devil's speech. But this sentence serves to unify not only the speech, but also the whole poem thus far. Thus, oðerne cyning (l. 927a), "another king," is contrasted with bone æhægnan cyning (l. 933), "the crucified king."
The oderte cyning is the devil's antichrist, obviously a futile thrust, coming as it does just after the cross of Christ has been identified through its power to restore to life a dead man. But this association with the recent miracle suggests connections with the "race of Jews," the refusal of the Jews to disclose information to Elene, Elene's trip, and eventually with Constantine's vision of the Cross and his vanquishing of his enemies through the power of the cross. Parallel to these are the associations suggested by bone ahagnan cyning, which recalls all previous references to Christ as "king" and to the cross on which he was "crucified." It, too, brings to mind not only the discovery of the cross, but also its part in the restoration of the young man to life and all the precedent actions going back to Constantine's vision and his success in battle, which prefigured the power of the cross. Finally, the devil's threat to produce oðerne cyning leads naturally into Judas' refutation and thus into the close of the scene.

Complex sentences appear again in that part of the poem where Judas finds the nails. Here the marshalling of many parallel phrases or clauses and of subordinate clauses permits much information within a short space. Structural and semantic elements associate the passage closely with that of the finding of the cross, while a traditional thematic substructure relates it to Constantine's vision of the cross, lines 69-98.

1080    "Wolde ic þæt ðu funde þa þe in foldan gen
deope bedolfen dierne sindon, heolstre behyded.    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
Bide wigena brym

1090  ðæt be gecyðe,  cynigædælmihtig,
hord under hrusan  ðæt gehyded gen,
çugûåm dyrne,  ðæogol bided."
ða se halga organ  hyge stædolian,
breostum onbryræd,  bisceop þæs folces.

1095  Glædmod eode gumenæ breate
god hergendra,  ond þa geornlice
Cyriacus on Calvarie
hleor onhylde,  hygerune ne mað,
gastes mihtum to gode cleopode
eallum eadmedum,  þæd him engla weard
geopenigean uncuðe wyrd,
iwan on nearwe,  hwaer he þara nêeglæ swidost
on þam wangstede  wenan porfte.
Leort ða tacen ford,  þær hie to sègon,
fàèder, frofre gast,  þurh fyres bleo
up edigean  þær þa aèdelstan
hæleda geraedum  hydðe wæron
þurh nearusearwe,  nêeglæs on eordan.
Ða cwom semninga  sunnan beorhtra

1100  lacende lig.  Leode gesawon
hîra willgifan  wundor cydan,
ða ðære of heolstre,  swylce heofonsteorran
odde goldgimmas,  grunde getenge,
nêeglæs of nearwe  neðan scinende
leohete lixton.  (ll. 1079-1115)

"I would that you found those that are still in the earth,
deeply buried, hidden, covered in concealing darkness . . . .

Ask the glory of warriors that he, the almighty king, make known
to you the treasure that under the earth still waits concealed,
hidden from men, secret." Then the holy one, inspired in his
mind, the bishop of that folk, began to make steadfast his heart.
Glad of heart, he went with a band of men, worshippers of God,
and then willingly Cyriacus bowed his face, concealed not the
secrets of his heart, by the strength of his spirit called to
God with all humility, asked that to him, in difficulty anew, the
 guardian of angels reveal the unknown circumstance, where in that
place he ought especially to expect those nails. Where they were
watching, the father, the spirit of comfort, caused then a sign to breathe forth, up, in the appearance of fire, where those noble nails were hidden in the earth by the agency of men, by secret cunning. Then came suddenly a flaming light, brighter than the sun. People saw the wonder made known to their giver of good, there where, from concealing darkness, as stars of heaven or gems of gold, lying on the ground, from confinement beneath, shining with light, the nails gleamed.) Within the cross and the nails passages, certain incidents parallel each other and certain semantic groups recur. These incidents include a prayer by Judas, a sign from God, and presentation of the objects to Elene. Judas' prayer before he begins to dig for the cross is an apostrophe to God, extending from lines 725 to 801. Here, before Judas searches for the nails, the prayer is recounted briefly in indirect discourse (ll. 1099-1103), by means of the last two members of the compound verb phrase, the infinitive phrase, and the adverbial clause: "... called to God ..., asked that the guardian of angels reveal to him ... where especially he ought to expect those nails." The sign from God comes suddenly (ll. 1109-10a), in a brief sentence that is an instance of hypozeuxis, "Then came suddenly a flaming light brighter than the sun." But it has already been prepared for in lines 1104-08: "Where they were watching, the father, the spirit of assistance, caused then the token to breathe forth, in the appearance of fire, there where the noble nails were hidden in the earth by the planning of men, by secret cunning." By tautologia the noun
Of lines 1112-15, where the nails, identified as source of the fire, are, in another simile, "as stars of heaven or gems of gold," or, in a participial phrase, "shining with light," and, in the verb, they "gleam." As with the cross, so now with the nails, the objects are lifted by Judas and taken to Elene, in a simple account.

Semantically, there are several relationships between the cross and nails passages. These do not occur in the Latin version. The first and most obvious association is that of "burial in the earth." Emphasis on "concealment" of the cross has been pointed out. The description of the nails begins in Elene's speech, in the noun clause of lines 1079b-81a, "those that are still in the earth, deeply buried, hidden, covered in concealing darkness;" continues in another noun clause (ll. 1091-92) at the close of her speech, "the treasure under earth that still waits, concealed, hidden from men, secret," and is completed in two prepositional phrases and a participial phrase (ll. 1112-14), "from concealing darkness, . . . lying on the ground, from confinement beneath." With the exception of three repeated words, gen (ll. 1079b, 1091b), dierne (l. 1080b), dyrne (l. 1092a), and heolstre (ll. 1081b, 1091b), evidently used for emphasizing the concept of "prolonged concealment," no two terms

1This simile and that of lines 1112b-13a appear in the Latin source: "clarior solis lumine" and "tamquam aurum fulgens."
have exactly the same connotations. Even the second of the related terms, behydd (l. 1081a), and gehydded (l. 1091b), suggests a rather "confining" concealment. Three of the words found here are found also in the cross passage, gehydde (l. 831b), delfan (l. 828b), and under hrusam (l. 842a), and are probably repeated here for their associational value. Three other words also help to associate the two passages. In both passages, wuldor (ll. 892b and 1123b) occurs toward the end, as "glory" is given to God. Also, Judas is geblissod (ll. 875b and 1125a) after the discovery of both cross and nails, and the verb onwreon (ll. 1071a, 1123a) refers to the successful outcome of each search.

Parallels between this passage of the finding of the nails and that of Constantine's vision of the cross result from the presence in both of the elements prescribed by Fry for the hero on the beach theme in Old English poetry: 1) the hero on the beach 2) with his retinue 3) in the presence of a flashing light 4) as a journey is completed. These elements are present in the Latin source for the finding of the nails, as they are in that part of the source used for lines 88-105a, where Fry has already recognized the possibility of the theme.

The first three of the thematic elements are closely grouped. Gumena breate (l. 1096b), "with a band of men," the hero Judas is on Calvarie (l. 1097b), rather than on the beach, although Constantine was actually camped with his men on the bank

\footnote{Fry, "Themes and Type-Sences," pp. 42-45.}
of Danube. The flashing light appears in lines 1109–10a, and,
as mentioned above, is amplified in lines 1112b-15a. The end of
the journey, though not specifically mentioned here, is at hand,
since Elene has now accomplished her mission and will soon return
home. Besides this thematic relationship, there are semantic
links between Constantine's vision and Judas' finding of the
nails. Both men are happy: cyning waes by blidra ond be
sorgleasra (ll. 96b-97a), and glaedmod (l. 1095a). Each passage
refers to the sign sent by God as tacen (ll. 85a, 104b, 1104a,
1120b). Leocht, associated with the tacen, appears twice in each
passage (ll. 92a, 94b, 1115a, 1122b). References to Christ as
king occur once in each passage (ll. 79b, 1090b). The vision and
the nails episodes are closely related to the story of the cross:
in the former a special significance of the cross is suggested,
while in the latter passage the legend of the cross is drawn to
a close.

Hygerune ne mad (l. 1098b) is an instance of litotes, one
of fourteen examples that Bracher found in Elene. Bracher
maintains that litotes, found frequently in Old English poetry
but rarely in prose, was one of the Germanic poetic conventions.
In Old English passages where the figure may be recognized, it is
achieved by the use of a negation, a denial of the opposite.
Among Cynewulf's poems litotes occurs twice, or on an average of
once every forty-seven lines, in Fates of the Apostles; fourteen
times in Juliana, or an average of once every fifty-two lines;
and, in *Elene*, on an average of once every ninety-four lines.¹

The term is not defined by Bede, Isidore, Donatus, or Aquila Romanus. In this paper the figure is not considered as a Latin trait.

The concluding section of *Elene*, two-and-a-half times as long as that of *Juliana*, is a more sophisticated work than is the epilogue to Cynewulf's other saint's legend. In addition to its middle, runic section, it contains an introduction describing the poet's literary career and a concluding section on the judgment. Here are found parison, synonymia, ananphora, polysyndeton, and asyndeton. More famous than any of these is the leonine rhyme of lines 1236-50, the first prolonged instance of internal rhyme in Old English. The poem could be complete without the epilogue, but is associated with it by semantic relationships. The runic lines in *Elene* present fewer problems to scholars² than do those in the other signed poems. As with *Juliana*, the sentence structure in these lines is much simpler than elsewhere in the poem, though here a rune may occur in a principal or subordinate clause or in a variation of the subject. The transitoriness of life is treated in the runic section and leads naturally into the consideration of the judgment that occupies the last third of the


epilogue. There is no formal request for prayers.

The most interesting part of this epilogue is the first, both for its stylistic innovations and for its references to the poet's art. Little is known about the introduction of rhyme into English verse, but Wrenn thinks it may be traced ultimately to the influence of a Celtic practice in hymn-making, either in Irish or Latin. As further support for this view, he points out that the thought of line 1236, "Thus I, wise with years and ready for death, by means of that guileful house," closely parallels the first line of the Celtic Hermit Song, where the poet describes himself as "me all alone in my little cell."¹

As the passage in Elene is preserved in the classical Anglo-Saxon of the late tenth-century Vercelli Book, the rhyme is imperfect. Wrenn has pointed out that restoration of words ending each half-line to their probable Mercian forms clarifies the rhymes, near-rhymes, and assonance of the passage.² These restorations are placed in parentheses and the rhymed words underlined below.

To effect the leonine rhyme, Cynewulf tended to employ the same part of speech in medial and final positions of a line. This led naturally to the use of compound verbs and sometimes to the parallel structure of parison. Because the joining of many members within the zeugma becomes complex, the clausal structures

¹Wrenn, Word and Symbol, pp. 32-33.
²Wrenn, Old English Literature, p. 46, prints the restored forms, which are used here.
themselves are relatively simple and are not parallel.

Thus I, wise with years and prepared for death by means of that guileful house, wove word-skill and gathered wondrously, at times pondered and arranged my thought in the confinement of the night. I knew not well the truth concerning the cross before wisdom revealed to me a more spacious thought by that glorious might in deliberation of mind. I was stained by long-acccustomed activities bound fast by sins, tormented by anxieties, tied up by bitter thoughts, encompassed by cares, before the mighty king gave me

---

1 I am following the manuscript reading. For metrical reasons, Krapp, ed., The Vercelli Book, p. 148, following Edvard Sievers, emends to wordcraeftum.

2 Cynewulf's original Anglian forms are restored here, as suggested by Wrenn, Old English Literature, p. 46. The underlined words demonstrate the rhymes, near-rhymes, and assonances of the passage.
learning, in a bright form, for a help in old age, measured out
and infused an honorable gift into my mind, allowed a bright
something to burst forth, from time to time extended ʃɪʃ, unbound my body, loosened my heart, unlocked my poetic skill.
That I enjoyed in the world with pleasure, willingly. I had
thoughts of that tree of glory often, not just once, before I
made known that wonder concerning the bright beam, as I in books
found made known in writings about that victory-beacon, in the
course of events.)

The passage opens as the second adjective of the pair, frod ond fus, rhymes with the noun, hus, with consequent stress
upon the relationship between the speaker, who is "wise with
years and prepared for death," and the means, the "house" or
"body," by which he has reached this state. Two rhyming sets--
really one instance of assonance and one of rhyme--occur in the
pairs of verb phrases: wordcraeft waėf ond wundrum leas (lāes), "wove word-skill and gathered wondrously," and bragum breodude
ond gebanc reodode, "at times pondered and arranged my thought."
The coordinate conjunction lends significance to the members of
the phrases and also calls attention to the chronological
relationship between the two verb phrases, wordcraeft waėf and
wundrum leas, where the second, "gathered wondrously," would
actually precede the first, "wove word-skill." This reversal of
normal order produces hysteron proteron, the tropus in which the
natural order of thought is changed. In line 1239 the rhyme is
effected by the noun nearwe and the adverb gearwe, lying in
different sentences. In lines 1240-41, the nouns riht (reht), gebeaht (gebeaht), miht (mæht), and beaht (bæht), having various syntactic uses, effect the near-rhyme and rhyme. In line 1242 the active verb onwreah (onwrah) is rhymed with an adjective, fan, from the next sentence. But in lines 1243-44, the four participial phrases, synnum asæeled, sorgum gewæeled, bitrum gebunden, and bismum bebrungen, participate in the rhyme and also in parison. The parison results from the parallel structure achieved as each participle is preceded by a noun used instrumentally. These verb phrases are all dependent upon ic (l. 1242b).

In the temporal clause of lines 1245-50a the eight verbs all depend upon the subject mægnecynning. Onlag (l. 1245a), the first of these verbs, governs the object lare and is joined in assonance with a noun, hæd. The next two verbs, amæt and begeat (begæt) (l. 1247), both governing the object gife (l. 1246b), rhyme with each other. Ontynde (l. 1248a) governs torht, used as a substantive, and is joined to gerymde in assonance. Of the other verb phrases, bancofan onband, breostlocan onwand, and leoducreæft onleac (ll. 1249-50a), the first two are rhymed with each other. All three, however, are members of a parison, because of their object-verb structure. The third, onleac, rhymes with the verb breac, of the next sentence. This next sentence is an instance of hypozeuxis, and, with its one subject and one verb, provides a contrast to the preceding sentence with its two sets of compound predicates and to the following sentence with its subordinate clauses.
Both the rhyme and the schemata here contribute to the speaker's concern for his art. Four of the rhyming words, waef, less, breodude, and reodode, describe the writer's work as poet. The adjective fah and the four participles, asæled, gewæled, gebunden, bebrungen, that are rhymed among themselves, provide information about the speaker's condition before receiving his gift, and the verbs, onband, onwand, and onleac, give the effects of the gift. Anaphora and polyptoton reinforce these points. Occurring as the first (ll. 1242b and 1251b) or second (ll. 1236a, 1239b, 1250b, 1253a, and 1254b) word of all but two clauses, i.e., has an anaphoristic value, calling attention to the speaker himself. In the two exceptions, the clause opens with aer me (ll. 1240b, 1245a) a polyptoton which places a slight emphasis on the fact that the speaker is recipient of the gift.

Throughout the passage, in the various instances of synonymia, words have been chosen to emphasize the learning that comes with age and suffering and grace. The poet is frod ond fus, "wise with years and prepared for death." Both these adjectives carry a connotation of experience, an awareness attained over a prolonged period of time, and will thus be dilated logically by lines 1242b-44, which explain both the poet's suffering and God's gift to him. In lines 1237-38, the poet says he has "woven word-skill" and "gathered wondrously"; he has "pondered at times" and "arranged my thought in the confinement of the night." This statement may or may not be a poetical commonplace, but the phrase wordcraeft waef is an accurate description of what
Cynewulf has been doing in this poem. It applies with obvious appropriateness to his arranging of certain passages to produce synchysis or chiasmus, but it is just as true when he orders words to fit any design, whether that design be dependent upon syntactic order or repetition of some lexical item.

In lines 1242b-44 of the third sentence, the poet is stressing not his present condition, as in *frōd ond fūs*, but one that he knew at a former time and which brought him to his current situation. His sufferings are all abstract in nature, but the first two have a more concrete association. He says that he was "stained by long-accustomed activities," "bound fast by sins," "tormented by anxieties," "tied up by bitter thoughts," and "encompassed by cares." The terms constitute a synonymia among themselves, but merely explain the adjectives of line 1236a. But these conditions existed before God gave learning to this "aged one," "measured out and infused into my mind an honorable gift." Again, each of these verb phrases participates in the one synonymia. Further emphasis on the encouragement given this older man is presented in the remaining five verb phrases (ll. 1248-50a), each of which calls attention to the poet's development: "allowed a bright something to burst forth," "from time to time extended it," "unbound my body," "loosened my heart," and "unlocked my poetic skill."

---

1Das, *Cynewulf Canon*, finds this tendency to reflect on the abstract attributes one of the determining factors in establishing the Cynewulf canon. See especially pages 138-41.
in the epilogue Cynewulf repeats certain words that have appeared at intervals throughout the poem. Most important among the words are those referring to the cross, rode (l. 1240a), treowes (l. 1251b), and beam (l. 1254a), and to its manifestation onwreah (l. 1242a) or onwrgen (l. 1253b). Each of the nouns has previously appeared in the description of Constantine's vision and of his use of the symbol with his troops; in Judas' relation to his fellow Jews of the history of the cross; in the sections dealing with the finding of the cross and the nails. Onwreon has appeared in Judas' decision to "reveal" information about the cross (l. 589) and in the discovery of the cross (l. 1071) and nails (l. 1123). Thus, the principal actions of the poem are recalled through semantic echoes within these few lines. The battle and sea-going voyages, extraneous in the poet's mind to the story of the cross, are not recalled.

Krapp has said that "this runic passage . . . is so different in general style from the rest of Elene that it would seem to have been composed as an entirely independent effort." This difference in style is due largely to the syntactic importance in the rest of the poem of the hypotactic, or complex, sentence, while here it is rather the compound verb that dominates the sentence. For the body of the poem Cynewulf has been employing subordinate clauses to create relationships among

1 Rode (ll. 103, 147, 219, 482, 833, 879), treo (ll. 107, 429, 664, 706, and 1026), and beam (ll. 91a, 424, 850, and 864).

individuals themselves and among individuals and their actions. Emphasis is on the complex significance of every act, on circumstances relating this act to someone else. In the epilogue it is the verbal series, with its demand for syntactically parallel elements, which determines the clausal structure. Instead of stress on interrelationships among people and actions, there is in the epilogue a constant emphasis on the speaker and the activities leading to his poetic gift. Such activities are expressed in verbs, and it is therefore the verbs that extend the meaning and provide variation in this first part of the epilogue. In the rest of the poem it is the variation of nouns, especially of the subject, that more often effects a delaying action and prolongs the enjoyment of a particular passage. Consequently, the fact that Cynewulf here uses certain constructions common to the rest of the poem and continues to show his concern for experimentation by his introduction of rhyme, relates this section to the rest of the poem, but does not make the epilogue an integral part of Elene.

The large number of compounds in Elene suggests the presence of kennings. In fact, since the kenning is actually a metaphor—the referent is compared to something which it is not—they might constitute an important source of figurative language and provide at least one tropus, metaphor. Though they might not be closely related to the metaphors of Latin poetry, there might be some association. However, the first thing that a study of the Elene compounds—chiefly the ones not found outside Cynewulf's poems, because these seem more likely to be original
with Cynewulf—reveals is that the majority are not kennings. Rather, they are descriptive and occasionally are picturesque, but they are not metaphorical. The kennings that do occur, such as hildenaedre (l. 119, 141), "battle adder,"\(^1\) and brogdenmæl (l. 758), "sign moving to and fro (sword)" are few, and their importance to the variation in which they occur is no greater than that of other compounds. Instead of kennings, there are kend heiti, that is, a compound formed of two simplices, one of which characterizes (kent), or describes, the other. Examples of these kend heiti include fifelwæg (l. 237a), "road of the sea-monster"; stangreopum (l. 823), "stone-seizing ones"; wordcraeftum (l. 592, 1237), "word-skill"; sweordgenidlan (l. 1180), "sword-foe"; mordorhoe (l. 1303), "place of murder (hell)"; and darodaesc (l. 140b), "ash-dart." Others which are suitable in context but less picturesque are eofulsæc (l. 524), womenscædan (l. 1299a), "evildoer"; lindwered (l. 142), "shield-band"; caserdomes (l. 8), "emperor-power"; and lindgeborga (l. 11), "shield-protector."

These compounds all suggest an affinity to Germanic rather than Latin origins in their manner of formation. A few conform precisely to the suggestions given by Snorri Sturluson in his *Skaldskaparmal* for effecting periphrases. An example of this is fifelwæg, "road of the sea-monster," which parallels the "road of the sea-kings" that Snorri offers.\(^2\) Another instance is

---

\(^1\)Hildenaedran occurs also in Judith, l. 222, as a variant of scuras.

found in a kenning, hildenæedran, "battle adder," which compares a particular weapon, perhaps a dart, to a snake, following this rule of Snorri's: "Thrusting weapons are properly periphrased by calling them by names of serpents." However, in Cynewulf's passages hildenæedran is a variation of scuras (l. 117), "arrows," which are a missile weapon; garas (l. 118), "spears," presumably considered as missiles here; and darodæesc (l. 141), "ash-dart," another missile; so that comparison with an adder's striking out ("thrusting weapon") is weak. Other compounds conform to more general classifications, perhaps to what Snorri calls "epithets of possession" or "true terms," or to similar broad groups. Among these would be stangreopum, sweordgenidlan, eofulsaec, womsceadan, linndered, and lindgeborga. But this compounding, a union of two nouns to produce a third, more precise substantive, is in the Germanic, not Latin, tradition, and is not related to the precepts of the rhetorical manuals.

Summarizing this study of schemata and tropi in Elene leads to these conclusions: many schemata are present, but there are very few of the figures that Bede and Donatus identify as tropi; all sections of the poem are marked by many schemata, but not necessarily the same ones; and formulas, themes, and typescenes are assimilated into the figured passages with no apparent difficulty. It will be best to review each point separately.

The figures used by Cynewulf in Elene are many, and they are almost exclusively the schemata resulting from arrangement of

syntax and from repetition of words in some special manner. There are relatively few of the tropi, the figures resulting from a metaphorical use of language. It may be seen in Elene that the schemata become part of the newly written work, shaping the poem as truly as does the basic narrative taken from the Latin source. The schemata used most extensively in Elene are almost all to be found in the "De figuris" of Aquila Romanus and in Martianus Capella's "De rhetorica," which is based on Aquila's work. Capella's ornate style, resulting from use of unusual Latin words, some perhaps coined by him, and of allegorical characters, rather than from use of schemata and tropi, does not seem to associate him closely with Cynewulf. Capella does use hyperbaton frequently, and chiasmus or synchysis sometimes results from syntactic arrangement within a clause, but Cynewulf's style, particularly his concern for parallel structures, does not closely resemble that of the "De rhetorica" in Capella's De nuptiis. Aquila's concerns, however, are more like Cynewulf's, not only in regard to the figures he includes, but also in his advice about using them. Among the figurae elocutionis, both Aquila and Martianus give definitions and examples for anitheton, anitheton.  

1See Martianus Capella, "De rhetorica," in De Nuptiis philologiae Mercurii, pp. 383-94.  

2Classification of the figures differed among the various rhetoricians and their schools. Aquila's two categories are "figurae sententiae," or "dianoias schemata," and "figurae elocutionis," or "lexeos schemata." For further information on the various divisions adopted at different times, see Richard A. Lanham, A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968, pp. 101-13, "Trope."
isocolon, parison, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton, paronomasia, epanaphora (Bede gives this name as well as anaphora), antistrophe, polyptoton, synonymia, asyndeton, diezeugmenon (hypozeuxis), epizeugmenon (zeugma), symploce, ploce, anadiplosis, and syllepsis. With the exception of antimetabole, or chiasmus, synchysis, and polysyndeton, every rhetorical device used extensively by Cynewulf is to be found in Aquila and Martianus.  

Chiasmus is defined in only one of the texts examined for this paper, Isidore's Etymologiae (Book II). Polysyndeton and synchysis are found in any compilation of the schemata lexeos, such as those by Donatus, Isidore (Book I), or Bede. Similarly located in these texts for use by grammaticus are other schemata and tropi that Cynewulf uses from time to time, such as schesis onomatton, antonomasia, epithet, onomatopoeia, hyperbaton, allegoria, parenthesis, hysteron proteron, and charientismos. This consideration of where the various schemata and tropi could be found suggests that Cynewulf was familiar with a text similar to that of Martianus or Aquila, as well as with a basic grammar. That Aquila's own work might have been known to the poet is suggested by the rhetorician's advice about use of the figurae elocutionis. He condemns their immoderate use by Gorgias of Leontini, but advocates prudent employment. He points out that

1 Martianus took his definitions and examples for the "De rhetorica" of his De nuptiis philogiae et Mercurii from Aquila's earlier "De figuris." See Halm, ed., Rhetores Latini minores, p. 478, n. 1.

"it is better to use many figures of this kind and with examples to vary the speech rather than to remain too long among the same ones."¹ Such constant varying of the schemata is exactly what Cynewulf is doing in Elene, concentrating on different figures as he moves from section to section. In his closing chapter Aquila speaks of the effectiveness of using several figures together, quoting an example in which he identifies isocolon, homoeoptoton, and diezeugmenon (hypozeuxis). He concludes with a caveat against excess while utilizing this plentiful supply of figures.² Whether Cynewulf ever saw Aquila's text or not, no single figure in Elene is ever extended continuously through a lengthy passage or used without a number of other schemata to provide contrast and variety. There is no way of determining what text or texts were actually used by Cynewulf. That he was familiar with several is suggested by the manner in which he introduces new schemata from time to time. However, his general practice within a particular passage is to emphasize one schema and to have several others occur at least once, so that some "new" figures might previously have been unnoticed.

The Germanic elements in the poem, the formulas, themes, and type-scenes, are not deterrents to the use of schemata, but are simply incorporated into Cynewulf's design. These elements,

¹Ibid., pp. 35, 27-36, 1-2: "Melius itaque est pluribus huius modi figuris uti et exemplis variare elocutionem quam diutius in iisdem manere."

²Ibid., p. 37, 29-30: "Ne tamen, dum copiam imitamur, in nimietatem incidamus, cavendum est."
whether semantic or thematic, are combined with the schemata to produce the poem. As a matter of fact, more different schemata are dominant in the war and sea-voyaging passages than anywhere else in the poem, because the preparations, vision, battle, voyage, and epilogue are each treated as a separate unit with its own dominant schema. The remainder of the poem, from line 276 to line 1235, based on the life of St. Jude Quiriacus, is treated as a single unit, with the complex sentence as the prevailing stylistic device, but with a wide variety of schemata found within the individual sentence or group of sentences.

Attention has also been called to Cynewulf's obvious interest in certain devices: repeated use of "w" alliteration, regular number of syllables in a half-line, prolonged use of pronouns, rhyme, semantic relationships existing between words in various passages, use of compounds. Though not directly resulting from a particular schemata, they, too, reflect Cynewulf's intense concern about language.

The schemata never appear alone, but in groups. Within the groups the schemata create the tensions that enable the poet to write that he has "woven" "word-skill." Harmony is found in the smooth-flowing, polished quality of Cynewulf's writing and the profound sense of form, even sometimes the highly developed artifice, which underlies it. Cynewulf's delight with words encourages him to juggle with language, producing two worlds, Germanic and Christian. Most important of all, the various events that contribute to the exaltation of the cross--Hunnish invasion,
Constantine's vision, the battle, Constantine's conversion, Elene's voyage, the Jews' obstinacy and Elene's perseverance, Judas' opposition and conversion, the actual finding of cross and nails, and the poet's telling of his part in the narrative--are united by the poet's vision, which subordinates this diversity to the dominant rhetorical and semantic structures.
CHAPTER IV

CHRIST II

Christ II, or The Ascension, is a shorter work than either Juliana or Elene. It comprises the middle section (ll. 440-866), of Christ in The Exeter Book. For many years considered as one poem, the entire 1666 lines of Christ were attributed to Cynewulf after John M. Kemble's recognition of the runic signatures in 1840.¹ Even after correct placement of the runic signature by Israel Gollancz in 1892, recognition of separate authorship of the three parts of the poem came slowly.² Alois Brandl first recognized that Cynewulf was the author only of Christ II.³


The poem opens with an account of the resurrection, then proceeds to related meditations on Christ.\(^1\) In Christ II are found a number of the schemata that occur also in Juliana and Elene. Figures in certain passages of Christ II will be examined here to determine their relationship to similar schemata in the other two poems.

In the opening lines of Christ II the dominant figure is not *zeugma*, as in Juliana, or *parison*, as in Elene, but the complex sentence.

Cynewulf is using the complex sentence to draw several points together:

440    Nu du geornlice gæstgerynum, 
mon se maera, modcraefte sec 
þurh sefan snyttro, þaet þu sod wite 
hu þaet geeode, þa se ælmihtiga 
acenne weard þurh clæenne had,

445    sippan he Marian, maegda weolman, 
mæerre meowlan, mundheals geceas, 
þaet þær in hwitum hraæglum gewerede 
englas ne odeowdun, þa se æþeling cwom, 
beorn in Betlem. Bodan wæron gearwe

450    þa purh hleoporcowide hyrdum cyddon 
sægdon sodne gefeann, þætte sunu wære 
in middangeard meotudes acenned, 
in Betleme. Hwædre in bocum ne cwid 
þaet hy in hwitum þær hraæglum odywden

455    in þa æþelan tid, swa hie eft dydon 
da se brega maera to Bethania,

beoden prymfäest, his pegna gedryht
gelaðade, leof weorud. ¹

(Now you, O illustrious man, earnestly seek in reflections, by
power of mind, through wisdom of heart, that you may know the
truth how that happened, when the almighty was born through an
immaculate person, when he chose protection of Mary, paragon of
maidens, glorious virgin, that angels appareled in white garments
did not appear there when the noble one came, a prince in
Bethlehem. Heralds were ready who through speech announced to
the shepherds, told true joy, that the son of God was born on
earth, in Bethlehem. However, in books it does not say that they
appeared there in white garments in that noble time, as they
afterwards did when the glorious prince, mighty lord, summoned to
Bethany his throng of thanes, beloved band.) In the first sen-
tence the verb sec (l. 441b), governs its object, the noun clause
of line 442b. Wite, the subjunctive verb of this subordinate
clause, governs a compound object, the noun sód and the noun
clause of line 443a, hu baet geeode, constituting a zeugma. The
remainder of the sentence follows from either baet or geeode.
In apposition to baet is the noun clause of lines 447-48a, which
in turn is modified by the temporal clause of line 448b-49a. The
verb geeode is modified by the temporal clauses of lines 443b-44
and 445-46. A complicated synchysis results from linking, first,

¹ Christ, in The Exeter Book, ed. by George Philip Krapp
and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records,
l. 440-58. Subsequent references to this poem will appear in
the text.
each subordinate clause with the word on which it depends; secondly, the adverbial modifiers (Nu, geornlice, gaestgerynum, modcraefte, and burh sefan snyttro) of lines 440-42a; thirdly, the three vocatives, bu (ll. 440a and 442b) and mon se maera (l. 441a); and, fourthly, the terms referring to Christ, se aelmihtiga (l. 443b), he (l. 445a), se aebeling (l. 448b), and born in Betlem (l. 449a). The second sentence is also complex, with a temporal clause (ll. 450-51a), and the compound verbs, cyddon and saegdon, of this clause govern the noun-object gefean (l. 451a). In apposition to gefean is the noun clause, baette sunu ... in Betleme (ll. 451b-53a). In the third sentence the verb cwid (l. 453b), which has no expressed subject, has as its direct object the noun clause of lines 454-55a. Modifying the verb odywden (l. 454b) is an adverbial clause (l. 455b), which in turn is modified by the temporal clause of lines 456-58a. Two instances of zeugma occur in this passage. The verb wite (l. 442b) yokes its two objects, the noun sod and the noun clause (l. 443a). The two verbs, cyddon (l. 450b) and saegdon (l. 451a) govern the single object the noun gefean (l. 451a). There are two instances of tautologia. The noun sod (l. 442b), "truth," is amplified by the rest of the sentence, hu ... Betlem (ll. 443-49a), because the "truth" refers to "how that happened, when the almighty was born through an immaculate person, when he chose protection of Mary, paragon of maidens, glorious virgin, that the angels did not appear there, when the noble one came, a prince in Bethlehem." The figure occurs again as the three
adverbs and one prepositional phrase of lines 440-42a--
"earnestly," "in reflections," "by power of mind," and "through
wisdom of heart"--explain the spiritual attitudes, ranging from
active interest to contemplation, that the man addressed must
have.

**Paronomasia** is present in māegda weolman, māerre meowlan,
(ll. 445b-46a), as the slight changes in sound and an unusual
transposition of letters in *weolman--meowlan* take place. This is
a figure used occasionally by Cynewulf in all his poems to excite
attention. It is usually the case, however, that in his word
pairs there is little or no logical opposition among the pairs,
and this is true here of "paragon of virtues" and "glorious
virgin."

As does the **paronomasia**, the recurrence in this passage
of words having medial "d" or "p" also calls attention to
Cynewulf's perennial interest in the sounds of words. Words with
this unusual placement of the digraph are found, one to each
half-line, in lines 445, sippan, māegda; 448, eðeowdun, æðeling;
and 450, hlæborcwide, cyðdon; and in lines 154b-55a, odýwden,
aððelan.

Christ II, like Juliana and Elene, contains a Sum ... passage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sumum wordlape wise sended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>665</td>
<td>on his modes gemynd burh his muples gæest,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aedele ondgiet. Se mæg eal fela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singan and secgan pam bit snyttru cræeft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bifolen on ferðe. Sum mæg fingrum wel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hlude fore hæleþum hearpan stirgæan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>670</td>
<td>gleobeam gretan. Sum mæg godcunde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(To a certain one he sends learned eloquence, noble understanding, into the memory of his mind, through the spirit of his mouth. He to whom the power of wisdom is entrusted in mind may sing and speak all things. One may with fingers play the harp well, loudly, before warriors, address the gleewood. One may set forth the divine law rightly. One can tell of the course of stars, broad creation. One may write clearly the spoken word. To one he gives success of battle in war, when the shooter sends a spear-shower, flickering arrow-work, over the shield-covers. One may confidently drive the sea-wood over the salt sea, stir the sea-rage. One may climb the high, steep tree. One may fashion the hardened sword, the weapon. One knows the extent of fields, the far-reaching spaces.)

The most easily recognized schema is anaphora, resulting from the use of _Sum maëg_, which occurs seven times. _Se maëg_ (l. 666b) and _Sum con_ (l. 680b) vary the pattern slightly, as does the polyptoton effected by use of _Sumum_ (ll. 664a and 673b), with its inflectional endings for the dative case. Parison is present, too, but of a rudimentary type. Except for the two _Sumum_ clauses and the two subordinate clauses (ll. 667b-68a and
all clauses are constructed on the basic subject--auxiliary--(modifiers)--object (and/or modifiers)--verb--(object/verb) pattern. However, the diversity among modifiers and within the verbs and objects is so great that the symmetry and elegance associated with parison cannot result. This lack of definite order can be seen clearly among the three sentences that are instances of hypozeuxis:

In the first clause, the object modifier precedes the verb; adverb and object follow. In the second, adverb and object precede the verb, nothing follows. In the third, object and two modifiers precede the verb, nothing follows. Yet an attempt at an orderly arrangement is obvious and continues through all the other sentences in the group. In the longer sentences the diversity is again too great. This irregularity may be seen in the three sentences having two verbs dependent upon the auxiliary, in a zeugma:

In the first clause, the object modifier precedes the verb; adverb and object follow. In the second, adverb and object precede the verb, nothing follows. In the third, object and two modifiers precede the verb, nothing follows. Yet an attempt at an orderly arrangement is obvious and continues through all the other sentences in the group. In the longer sentences the diversity is again too great. This irregularity may be seen in the three sentences having two verbs dependent upon the auxiliary, in a zeugma:
In the first sentence, the adjective clause modifying *se* follows the verbs, but the object and modifier precede. In the second sentence, each object precedes its own verb, effecting a perfect parison, complete even with *homoeoteleuton*—present in the repeated *-an* endings of the verbs—within the half-lines. Too great concern for one part of the sentence has vitiated the possibility of any over-all pattern. The same thing is true in the third sentence, where one object precedes its verb and the other follows, creating *chiastic parison* within the half-lines. In the first sentence a chiastic arrangement of sentence parts may be recognized when interrelationships are indicated among *se* and its clause modifier; object and modifier; and auxiliary and verbs. The presence of *synchysis* in the second and third sentences may be seen by linking first the verbs, then the objects in their respective sentences.

The absence of an expressed subject, an unusual grammatical usage in Cynewulf's poetry, may be observed in two sentences in this section, in the *Sumum* clauses of lines 664-66a and 673b-76a. In each instance the subject, contained in the verb, is "he" and its antecedent is found in *se* . . . *godes gæestsunu* (ll. 659b-60). But all personal pronouns are excluded from this passage with the indefinite *Sum*, except *his*, appearing twice in line 665. Unlike *Elene*, where personal pronouns play...
so important a part, Christ reflects a sparing use of this part of speech.

Variation in this passage is relatively simple, always involving two items in a parallel construction. Instances include noun-adjective variation in wordlāđe wise (l. 664), "learned eloquence," and ñêðle ondgiatan (l. 666a), "noble understanding"; one noun of a genitive phrase amplified by noun and adjective: ryne tungla (l. 671b), "course of the stars," and side gesceat (l. 672a), "broad creation"; and wonga bigong (l. 680b), "extent of fields," and wegas widgielle (l. 681a), "far-reaching spaces." Other parallel constructions used as variation are also examples of synonymia: noun and adjective varied by noun alone: styled swoerd (l. 679b), "hardened sword" and wāepen (l. 680a), "weapon"; and gargetrum (l. 674b), "spear-shower," and flacor flangewearc (l. 675a), "flickering arrow-work"; verb and object varied by the same construction, arranged to effect either parison: hearpan stirgan (l. 669b), "play the harp," and gleobeam gretan (l. 670a), "address the gleewood"; or chiastic parison: sundwudu drifan (l. 677b), "drive the sea-wood," and hreran holmbræce (l. 678a), "stir the sea-rage."

In lines 720-38a, anaphora and parison are used again. In neither Juliana nor Elene does an example of anaphora as obvious as that in the above Sume passage appear, but this is the second of three such instances in Christ: ¹

¹The third, that in lines 586-99, also contains internal rhyme and will be examined below.
(The first leap was when he came to the woman, a spotless virgin, and there took on the form of a man, except for sins, so that he became a help to all earth-dwellers. The second leap was the birth of a child, when he in the manger was wrapped with clothes, in the form of a child, majesty of all majesties. The third leap, bound of the heavenly king, was when he ascended upon the cross, the father's spirit of comfort. The fourth leap was in the grave, when he left the cross, became secure in the sepulcher. The fifth leap was when he brought low a multitude of dwellers in hell, in living torment, bound the king within, the spokesman of devils, the hostile one with fiery bonds, where he, fastened with fetters, shackled with sins, yet lies in prison. The sixth leap, joyous play of the holy one, was when he rose to heaven, into his former dwelling.) Two phrases, *waes se ---- hlyp* or *waes se ---- stiell*, found at the beginning of the six sentences constitute the anaphora. The phrase is too bland--a
half-line including linking verb, article, ordinal, and noun--to be annoying when repeated so often, but it also fails to create any great interest. The new element can come only in the second half-line. This repetition of a syntactic pattern provides the beginning for parison, which is found here in a more developed form than in the first Sum passage (lines 664-81a). The syntactic pattern for elements following the anaphoristic half-line is phrase--temporal clause, but again too much freedom is allowed within the pattern. The "phrase" may consist of a predicate nominative (l. 724a); a variant of the subject (ll. 727a and 737a); a prepositional phrase (l. 729a); or may be omitted altogether, as after the clauses of lines 720a and 730b. A similar lack of syntactic regularity is found within the temporal clauses. Two clauses have compound verbs, astag and onfeng (ll. 720b-22a) and forbygde and gebond (ll. 731-34a). The clause of lines 724b-26a has a periphrastic verb, waës . . . bewunden, with the elements separated. Three clauses (ll. 727b-28a, 729b-30a, and 737b-38a) follow this pattern: subject--prepositional phrase (object)--verb--variant of subject (prepositional phrase); the clause of lines 731-34a has not only a compound verb, but also variation and an adverbial clause. Parison, therefore, contributes some symmetry to the passage, but its potential contribution is diminished by constant alterations in the syntactic pattern. On the other hand, the regular recurrence of the anaphoristic half-lines prevent any innovation at the beginning of the sentences.
In six instances of variation in this passage, one word, usually a simplex, is amplified by a two-word phrase, always a grammatical appositive. In five cases, variation is by a genitive phrase: he (l. 724b)--ealra pryamma pryrm, "majesty of all majesties; he (l. 727b)--fæder frofre gæest, "the Father's spirit of consolation"; hlyp (l. 726b)--rodorcyninges ráes, "bound of the heavenly king"; hlyp (l. 737a), "leap"--haliges hyhtplega, "joyous play of the holy one"; cyning (l. 732b)--feonda foresprecan, "spokesman of devils," and (noun) gromhydigne, "hostile one." Twice the variation is by noun and adjective: fæmnan (l. 720b)--mæged unmaele, "spotless virgin" and cwicsusle (l. 732a)--fyrnum teagum, "fiery bonds." In one instance the variation is not of grammatical appositives: he (l. 734b)--clommum gefaestnad, "fastened with fetters," and synnum gesæled, "bound with sins." In all except the last, synonymia is present.

Another passage of Christ II that contains anaphora is that in which leonine rhyme is found:

Hwæt, we nu gehyrdan hu pæet hælubearn purh his hydarcyne hals eft forgeaf, gefreode ond gefreopade folc under wolcnnum, mære meotudes sunu, pæet nu monna gehwylc cwic bændan her wunan geceosan mot swa helle hienpu (hænpu) swa heofones mærpu swa pæet lehte leht (lehta leht) swa da lapan neht, swa prymmes bræece swa bystra wræce, swa mid dryhten dream swa mid deoflum hream, swa wite mid wræcum swa wuldor mid arum swa lir swa dead, swa him leofre bid
Lo, we have now heard how that savior-child, by his coming afterwards gave salvation, set free and protected people beneath the clouds, glorious son of God, that now each man, as long as he lives here, may choose either the ignominy of hell or the glory of heaven, either that light of light or that hateful night, either a burst of glory or punishment of darkness, either gladness with the lord or uproar with devils, either torment with fiends or glory among angels, either life or death, as to him it may be dearer to do, as long as flesh and spirit dwell in the world.) The passage consists of one complex sentence: the main clause of line 586a has as its object the noun clause of lines 586b-89a, which in turn is modified by the result clause of lines 589b-96a. Modifying the result clause are the temporal clauses (ll. 590a and 597b-98a) and the adverbial clause (ll. 596b-97a). Clausal syntax varies greatly and clausal parison is not present. Four clauses have single subjects: we (l. 586a); hælubearn (l. 586b); gehwylec (l. 589b); and cwic, used substantively (l. 590a). One clause has a compound subject that effects a zeugma, flæsc ond gæst (l. 597b), dependent on wuniad; and one clause (ll. 596b-97a), has no expressed subject. All clauses have a simple verb, except the noun clause with three

^Rhyming words are underlined. Where necessary for the rhyme, the Anglian restorations made by Wrenn, Old English Literature, pp. 128-29, are given in parentheses. Wrenn reads lehtæ of the manuscript as a genitive plural and so normalizes to lehta.
verbs, forgeaf, gefreode, and gefreopade; and the result clause, with modal auxiliary and infinitive, geceosan mot. Certain verbs have objects. For the verb gehyrdan (l. 586a), the object is the noun clause (l. 586b-89a). Within the clause, the verb forgeaf governs hals, while gefreode and gefreopade both govern folc. In the result clause (l. 589b-96a) the infinitive geceosan governs a ten-member object, which constitutes a zeugma. The members of the zeugma participate in the leonine rhyme.\(^1\) The rhyming words are underlined in the passage above. Assonance rather than true rhyme is present in haenpu and mærpu (l. 591).

Each of the ten members of the zeugma is introduced by swa, in a prolonged anaphora, and each member is placed in a separate half-line of the rhymed section. The one exception to this occurs in line 596a, where the last two members of the zeugma appear, swa lif swa dead. The two verses in each line are syntactically parallel, so that a perfect parison is achieved within each line. In line 596a the balance exists between the two measures. The one exception to the balance within matching half-lines occurs in line 592, where the syntactic order of the first verse is swa--article--dative--noun, while that of the second is swa--article--adjective--noun. Emendation of the manuscript reading of leohete to leofe, as suggested by William

---

\(^1\) As in Elene, the rhyme in the surviving text is imperfect, but becomes clearer if rewritten in the Anglian dialect. These rhymed passages, therefore, are among the reasons for placing Cynewulf in Mercia or Northumbria. A fuller discussion may be found in Kenneth Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 3-6.
would achieve a balanced structure that was probably here originally.

Variation is effected in a number of ways in the passage. The noun hælubearn (l. 586b), is varied by the phrase, mære meotudes sunu, consisting of adjective, genitive, and noun. Amplifying the verb phrase hals forgeaf (l. 587b), are the remaining members of its zeugma; gefreode ond gefreopade folc. The temporal clause of line 590a, cwic bendan her wunad, is amplified both formally and logically by the second temporal clause, benden flaesc ond gaëst wuniađ in worulde. The first clause has a single substantive as subject, "the living," while the second has the compound subject, "body and soul"; the first clause has a singular verb; the second, of course, requires a plural verb, with consequent change of form; in the first clause the adverb refers to a vague "here," but the prepositional phrase of the second clause speaks specifically of dwelling "in the world." These variations all involve an expansion of the original term and are instances of tautologia.

Within the rhymed half-lines, however, neither tautologia nor synonymia is present, nor is there the series of nouns characteristic of schesis onomaton. Half the phrases vary helle hienpu (l. 591a), "ignominy of hell": "that hateful night," "punishment of darkness," "with uproar with devils," "torment with fiends," and "spiritual death." The remaining phrases

---

provide variation for *heofones maerpu* (l. 591b), "the glory of heaven": "light of light," "burst of glory," "gladness with the lord," "glory among angels," and "spiritual life." Since the first phrase, genitive plus noun, is varied by syntactic structures that include article--adjective (dative noun)--noun; genitive--noun; prepositional phrase--noun; noun--prepositional phrase; and noun, variation by parallel structures is not present here.

The final section of the poem, lines 756-866, leads from a consideration of the spiritual warfare for which men have been prepared by Christ's life and ascension, through about seventy lines on the judgment and Christ's appearance there, to a final comparison of life with sailing to a safe port prepared by Christ. Throughout, *zeugma*, *synchysis*, and the complex sentence are to be found. *Anaphora* is present within certain lines, as is a certain amount of balanced sentence structure. These stylistic characteristics, plus the handling of each rune separately, perhaps link the poem more closely to *Elene* than to *Juliana*. However, the semantic relationships established here are comparable to those found in both the other poems. The section tends to divide itself into at least three shorter passages, each with its own characteristics. Certain *schemata* predominate in particular passages, but examination discloses that these figures also occur to some extent in the other groups of lines, thus creating a unity among the entire section.

The first part (ll. 756-77) of this final section, in an instance of allegoria similar to that of *Juliana* (ll. 483-97a),
discussed in Chapter II, describes the spiritual warfare between God and the devil in terms of "the holy one" and his "foes," of "arrows" and "shields," of "fortifying" against "attacks." In presenting the concept of struggle between these groups, a partially balanced syntactic order is employed.

756 Forpon we a sculon idle lustas, synwunde forseon, ond paės sellran gefeon.

770 Forpon we fāeste sculon wīd ām fāerscyte symle waērlice wearde healdan, by laēs se attres ord in gebuge, biter bordgelac, under banlocan, feonda fāersearo. Dāet bid frecne wund, blatast benna. Utan us beorgan ba, penden we on eardan eard weardien; utan us to fāeder freopa wilnian, biddan bearne godes ond þone bīdan gāest paet he us gescilde wīd sceapan waēpnum, lapra lygesearwum, se us lif forgeaf, leomu, lic ond gāest.

(11. 756-77)

(Therefore, we must ever despise vain desires, wounds of sin, and rejoice in the better thing . . . . Therefore, we must firmly, ever warily, keep guard against that sudden shot, lest the source of poison, painful dart, sudden cunning of fiends, enter in, into the body. That is a dangerous wound, most livid of hurts. Let us be on guard, then, as long as we on earth possess our home; let us beseech peace from the father, ask the son of God and the joyful spirit, that he who gave us life, limbs, body and spirit may shield us against weapons of the enemy, wiles of the hostile.)

Parison is not present here, but it seems likely that such experimentation as is found in this passage eventually led to the perfected use of that schema in Elene. The sentences participating in the partially balanced structures fall into two pairs,
each pair being unified by the presence of its own introductory phrase. This repeated phrase is anaphoristic and strengthens the belief that the poet was deliberately experimenting with a balanced sentence structure. Members of the first sentence pair share the Forbon we . . . sculon opening and also demonstrate methods of avoiding monotony. The first sentence (ll. 756-57) has only one clause, but this contains two verbs, forseon and gefeon, governed by the auxiliary sculon. The verb forseon governs two objects, lustas and synwunde, so the sentence has two instances of zeugma. In the clause of lines 766-67, there is no zeugma, but there are four adverbial modifiers, fæeste, wid pam faerscyte, symle, and waerlice. A negative purpose clause is added, the major syntactic innovation, in which the subject, se attres ord, and its variation, biter bordgelac and feonda faersearc, balance the zeugma of the other sentences. Two more adverbial modifiers, in and under banlocan, are also added. There is a contrast between the zeugma of the first sentence and the variations of the subordinate clause in the second, because the verbs have widely differing denotations, "despise" and "rejoice," while the members of the variation are similar in meaning: se attres ord, "source of poison"; biter bordgelac, "sharp dart," and feonda faersearc, "sudden cunning of fiends."

In the second pair of sentences (ll. 771b-77a), both sentences open with the Utan us. In the first sentence (ll. 771b-72) the infinitive follows at once and is modified by the temporal clause which concludes the sentence. In the second sentence (ll. 773-77a) the principal and subordinate cola are
both lengthened, so that the entire sentence is an expansion of the earlier one. To the principal clause, a prepositional phrase is first added; then, more importantly, this second Ætan governs two verbs, wilnian and biddan. Biddan, in turn, governs three objects, the nouns, bearn and gæst, and the noun clause, þæt he us gescilde wið sceapan waēpnum, lādā lygesearwum. The subject of this clause, he, is modified by the adjective clause of lines 776b-77a, which concludes with double variation of its object. Thus, the concise principal and subordinate clauses of lines 771b-72 are expanded, in lines 773-77a, to include principal clause, two subordinate clauses, two instances of zeugma, and a subject variation.

The interlocking patterns achieved in lines 756-57 by placement of the verbs and of the objects produce *synchysis*. In lines 766-70a the figure is effected by the relationships among adverbial modifiers, elements of the periphrastic verb, and members of the subject variation in the negative purpose clause. In the clauses of lines 771b-77a, *synchysis* results from relationships among the personal pronouns, we and us, one of which appears in each clause; among the pronouns, he (l. 775a) and se (l. 776b), and their antecedent, fæder (l. 773a); and the verbs of the clauses.

The variations of this passage are among syntactically parallel words or phrases, but the first term may be expanded in the second or, if one occurs, third member. The latter happens as the adverbial modifier in (l. 478b) is varied by a prepositional phrase used adverbially, under banlocan. Also, lif
(l. 776b) is varied first with one noun, leomu, and then with a phrase, lic ond gaest. In the other variations, a slight change in syntax of modifiers is probably not considered a break in parallelism. The phrase, se attres ord (l. 768b), consisting of article, genitive, and noun, is amplified by adjective and noun, biter bordgelac, and by genitive and noun, feonda faersearo. The adjective and noun, frecne wund (l. 770b), is varied by superlative and genitive, blatast benna.

Following the discussion in these lines of spiritual warfare comes a passage on the judgment that will follow death. Concern for parallel structures continues and an interesting example is seen in one sentence:

Huru ic wene me ond eac ondraede dom dy rebran, ponne eft cyne engla peoden, þe ic ne heold teala þaet me hælend min on bocum bibead. (ll. 789-93)

(Indeed, for myself I expect and also dread judgment, when the prince of angels again will come, a judgment more severe because I have not observed well what my savior bade me in books.) The subject ic governs the verbs wene and ondraede in a zeugma. Wene and ondraede, in turn, govern one object, dom. Modifying dom is the ponne clause, used adjectivally. Both wene and ondraede are modified by the adverbial clause, þe ic ne heold teala, which presents the reason for expecting the "more severe judgment" of line 790b. Object of the verb heold is the noun clause, þaet me ... bibead (ll. 792b-93a). Thus, in the principal clause, two verbs, wene and ondraede, have one subject
(1c), one object (dom), and are qualified by one adverbial clause (l. 792a). Of the two other subordinate clauses, one (l. 791) modifies dom and the other (ll. 792b-93a) serves as object of the adverbial clause.

Most important in the long passage dealing with judgment are the runic lines:

Donne ḳ cwacad, gehyred cyning mæðlan, rodera ryhtend, sprecan repe word pam þe him aær in worulde wace hyrdon 800 þendan ȝ ond ȝ ypast meahtan frofre findan. Þæer sceal forht monig on þam wongstede wergi bidan hwæt him æfter dæđum deman wille wræbra wita. Bif se ȝ scaecen 805 eorpan fraetwa. ȝ waes longe ȝ flodum hilocen, lifwynna dæl, ȝ on foldan.  ноя 793-807

(Then cen [Cynewulf]1 shall tremble, hear the king, ruler of heaven, speak, utter severe words to the one that negligently listened to him before in the world, as long as yr and ned [Cynewulf] might most easily find comfort. There shall many a fearful one, weary, await in that place what cruel punishments he [The king] will adjudge to him according to his deeds. Wynn [Joy] is departed, treasures of earth. Ur[ſe] [Our] portion of life's joys, possessions on earth, was long ago locked in by lagu-[water]-floods.) Probably the syntax of lines 797-801a, the longest sentence in the group, is the most difficult found among sentences of the four runic passages. This sentence, extending

---

1My interpretation of the runes follows Sisam, "Cynewulf and His Poetry," p. 323: "When cen and yr stand alone, or form part of a group of runes, the single letter or group stands for the whole name 'Cynewulf.'"
through four and one-half lines, contains three clauses and two instances of zeugma. The sentence has a principal clause with a verbal zeugma; gehyred, one of the verbs, governs as its object the accusative infinitive construction of lines 797b-98, which includes the verbs, maedlan and sprecan. Both these infinitives govern the indirect object bam (1. 799a), creating a zeugma. The adjective clause of line 799 modifies bam; modifying the verb hyrdon of this clause is the temporal clause of lines 800-91a.

One rune is found as subject of the principal clause, thereby governing the two verbs; two more runes serve as subject of the final, temporal clause. The sentence is one of the most intricately contrived in this poem, each syntactic element being carefully related to what precedes and to what follows it. But for an audience or reader to understand this careful structuring requires close attention, with consequent neglect of the runes.¹

The syntactically simple sentence of lines 801b-04a follows, containing no runes. The "W" rune appears in lines 804b-05a, in a clause which has only one subject and one verb and constitutes an instance of hypozeuxis. The last runic sentence (11. 805b-07a) has a threefold variation of the subject, with one rune, Ur[e] modifying the subject (dael), another (feoh) within the variation, and the third (lagu-) compounded with flodum. This last sentence has drawn scholarly attention because of

¹Elliott, "Cynewulf's Runes in Christ II and Elene," pp. 55-57, would extend the sentence of lines 797-801a back two lines, beginning at paer monig (1. 795). This provides a new principal clause and subordinates the clause of lines 797-98.
difficulties in interpreting the "U" rune,¹ but the sentence syntax is clear.

The closing lines of Christ have several things in common with the closing lines of Elene: in each poem about fifty lines of poetry follow the runic signature; zeugma is especially frequent in these final lines; and there is an extended simile not contained in the source used for the rest of the poem. In Elene the simile, following closely upon the runic passage, is based upon a comparison of earthly possessions with the wind, since both possessions and wind grow great and pass away. Marguerite-Marie Dubois has noted the similarity between this simile and that found in lines 50-63 of the first book of the Aeneid,² and it seems probable that Cynewulf's lines have at least a remote relationship to the Latin passage. This simile in Christ is similar in content to several verses in Psalm CVI. In fact, line 859 of Christ appears also in the Anglo-Saxon version of the psalm.³ The simile, however, does not appear in the psalm, and this may indicate that Cynewulf found the comparison elsewhere. The few similes that he does employ, like the "wind" figure in Elene, may usually be traced to a Latin source.


³Diamond, "Theme and Ornament," p. 466.
In theme, this comparison of life to a sea-voyage is similar to the sea-going passage of *Elene* (ll. 225-55), which takes Elene and her thanes to their search for the cross. There Cynewulf employed hypozeuxis, zeugma, synchysis, chiasmus, parison, and chiastic parison. In this briefer passage of Christ are found zeugma, synchysis, and the use of clauses with partially parallel syntactic order, a step toward the parison of *Elene*.

850 | *Nu is bon gelicost* swa we on laguflode ofer cald wæter ceolum lidan
    | *geond sidne se, sundhengestum, flogwudu fergen. Is þæt frecne stream yða ofermæta þe we her on lacad*
    | *geond pas wacan woruld, windge holmas ofer deop gelad. Waes se drohtad strong ærbon we to londe geliden hæfdon ofer hreone hrycg. Da us help bicwom, þæt us to hælo hybe gelfedde, godes gæstsuny, ond us giefe sealde þæt we oncnawan magun ofer ceoles bord hwaer we sælan sceolon sundhengestas, ealde ydmearas, ancrum fæste.†
    | *Utan us to þære hyde hyht stapelian, da us gerymde rodera waldend, halge on heahpu, þa he heofonum astag.*

(Now is it most like as if we on the sea-flood over chill water may sail by ships through the wide sea, by sea-steeds may convey the ships. Dangerous is that stream, the waves excessive, that we toss on here through this inconstant world, windy are the billows over the deep road. Severe was the way of life before we had sailed to land over the rough back [of the ocean]. Then to

†The demonstrably formulaic measures, verses, and verse pairs are underlined; the broken lines indicate substitution in a formulaic system. See Diamond, "Theme and Ornament," p. 466.
us came help, that God's spirit-son led us to a port of safety
and gave us grace that we might know, over the wood of the keel,
where we must moor the sea-steeds, ancient sea-horses, secured by
anchors. Let us make steadfast our hope upon that harbor, which
the ruler of the heavens prepared for us, in holiness on high,
when he rose to heaven."

The sentences of the passage tend to divide themselves
into two groups (ll. 850-58a and 858b-64). There are syntactic
and semantic relationships between the two groups and with the
rest of the poem. In the first three sentences the parallelism
lies within the subordinate clauses, with subject--adverbial
modifier--verb order and with we as subject. Serving as verb in
each principal clause is the copulative *is* (l. 850a, following
Nu, one of the many adverbs used to introduce clauses in this
poem; and l. 853b), or *waēs* (l. 856b). Positions of subjects in
these three principal clauses differ greatly. In the clause of
line 850a, the subject "it" is not expressed, but contained in
the verb. In the clause of lines 853b-56a, the subjects, *bēt
stream, yda, and holmas* depend upon *is*, which joins them, in a
second *zeugma*, to the three predicate adjectives, *frecne,
ofermēta, and windge*. A *syllepsis* is effected in this clause by
use of the singular copulative with the plural *yda* and *holmas.*
In the clause of lines 856b-58a there is the single subject
*drohtad*. A unifying element among the sentences is the occur-
rence of spatial adjuncts, six prepositional phrases that give
emphasis to the transitory and menacing nature of the sea: on
leguflode, "on the sea-flood"; ofer cald waēter, "over chill
water"; geond sidne sae, "through the wide sea"; geond bas wacan
world, "through this inconstant world"; ofer deon gelad, "over
the deep road"; ofer breone hrycg, "over the rough back."
Affording a semantic contrast to these phrases is to londe
(ll. 857a), "to land." This phrase also relates closely to the
phrases in the second group of lines: to hælo hyme (ll. 859),
"to a port of safety," and ancrum faeste (ll. 863b), "secured by
anchors." The fourth and fifth sentences have certain syntactic
elements in common. In each sentence, the principal clause
(lll. 858b and 864) and one subordinate clause (lll. 859-60 and
ll. 865-66a) open with an introductory word plus us. Two
remaining subordinate clauses (ll. 861 and ll. 862-63) have their
subject following immediately after the conjunction. Again,
we and us help to unify a passage through the restrained use of
anaphora and polyptoton. Utan us (ll. 864a) recalls the narrator's
use of the phrase for his urgings to steadfastness in lines 771b-
77a. To þære hyde (ll. 864), echoing the phrase in line 859,
recalls the image of life as a sea-voyage. The final word in the
poem, astag, has previously been used in lines 737b and 754b to
describe Christ's ascension and its use here brings to mind once
more the treatment of the subject throughout the poem.1

Mention has already been made of the unifying effect
exerted in this passage by the prepositional phrases referring to

---

1In the passage on the six "leaps" astag appears also in
lines 720b and 727b, referring to Christ's incarnation and
crucifixion respectively. In line 786b it also refers to the
incarnation. Each of these uses has a certain appropriateness
here, but the word heofonum shows clearly that reference to the
ascension is intended.
the sea and by the personal pronouns used as subject, indirect object, or object. Performing a similar function are the six verbs relating to sailing: liðan (l. 851b), fergen (l. 853a), lacaf (l. 854b), geliden (l. 857b), gelædde (l. 859b), sælan (l. 862a). Synchysis results in the first sentence (ll. 850-53a) from the relationships among the verbs, liðan and fergen; and among the prepositional phrases referring to the sea, on laguflode, ofer cald waeter, and geond sidne sæ. In the sentence of lines 858b-63, the figure occurs again, resulting from the relationships among the verbs, gelædde and sælan; and the pronouns, us (ll. 858b, 859a, 860b) and we (ll. 861a and 862a).

This passage with the sea-voyaging simile has been compared by Diamond with the extant Old English poetic corpus. As are passages of Juliana and Elene that have been similarly examined, these lines are heavily formulaic.¹ That Cynewulf's handling of formulas here is similar to his techniques in Elene may be seen by examining some of the formulas in relation to the pronouns that are used to create anaphora and polyptoton. In only one instance (l. 857a) is the we found in formulaic material; no introductory us is located within formulaic material. Therefore, Cynewulf has combined formulaic measures, half-lines, and two whole-verse repeats, with non-formulaic words, phrases, and half-lines while creating the poetry that contains the anaphora and polyptoton. It may be noted that in this passage of Christ

¹Diamond, "Theme as Ornament," pp. 462-65, finds Christ (ll. 850-63) to be seventy-five percent formulaic. The formulaic content of Elene (ll. 225-55) is seventy-two percent.
Cynewulf uses skillfully not only the traditional formulas, but also the native theme of sea-voyaging, to expand the psalmist's verse about God's bringing man to safe harbor.

This final passage is one of the finest in the poem, because of its many relationships resulting from restrained use of *synchysis*, *anaphora*, *polyptoton*, and *zeugma*; from special concern for semantic meanings that echo through the poem; from mingling of the conventional formulas and the traditional sea-voyaging theme with the Hebrew psalmist's image of a safe harbor and the Christian tradition of Christ's ascension.

There is not the concern about regular syllable count in this poem as in *Elene*. Syllable count in the half-lines never runs below the basic four, of course, and five or six syllables are very frequent, but many half-lines have seven or eight. Concern for regularity among half-lines may have resulted from an interest in *isocolon* and may have gone hand in hand with a concern for *parison*, a schema found frequently in *Elene*.

In *Christ*, as in *Juliana* and *Elene*, it is the schemata, the figures concerned with the syntactic order of clause and sentence, that are used most often by Cynewulf. Most important among these figures in this poem are what may be called a rudimentary *parison*, *zeugma*, *anaphora* and *polyptoton*. Passages involving a certain amount of parallelism are found throughout the poem. The great amount of freedom permitted within the balancing constructions prevents attainment of much symmetry, however. As in *Juliana* and *Elene*, *zeugma* often appears in such
constructions. This schema, too, is less perfected than in Juliana and Elene and usually involves the joining of two verbs, perhaps with objects or modifiers, but rarely the yoking of more diverse elements that would effect a more striking figure. Of as great importance in this poem as this schema is the complex sentence. It might even be said to be of more importance, because it employs the partially balanced syntax and the zeugma within its own many clauses. Synchysis appears at intervals in the poem. Anaphora is used in some passages in an obtrusive manner, appearing as often as eleven times within nineteen lines. In other instances, especially in the last hundred lines of the poem, the repetition of a word or phrase occurs only twice within a passage and is coupled with a brief balancing of the syntax for more effective emphasis. There is also a tendency to place personal pronouns immediately after an introductory adverb or conjunction and to repeat this order in several neighboring clauses, thus giving the pronouns anaphoristic value. Polyptoton is present, occurring almost always in conjunction with anaphora. It is used conservatively and serves to prevent monotony. Even when the use of anaphora is excessive, the polyptoton is employed in a restrained manner.

A special concern for auditory effects and semantic significances is evident throughout the poem. This concern manifests itself in occasional paronomasia and onomatopoeia, but also in repetition of certain words to emphasize a point, to recapitulate a theme, to unify a section or the poem itself.
This concern for semantic relationships is most noticeable in the final lines of the poem, where each of these ends is attained.

Variation is effected in a number of ways. Frequently the members of a variation are parallel grammatically, but this is not a fixed rule. The variation may involve one- or two-word members or it may involve expansion of the original one- or two-word item by a longer phrase or by a clause, thereby effecting tautologia. In many instances, the members of the variation present various aspects of the object under consideration and vary greatly in denotation. In some cases, the members differ only slightly in regard to connotations, and synonymia is present.

In Christ, as in Juliana and Elene, the poet demonstrates complete freedom in his decisions to use formulaic or non-formulaic half-lines and lines as traditional themes. It is his ability to blend these materials to create schemata or other special effects that constitutes his genius.

The schemata occurring in Christ II are also found in Juliana and Elene, but in those longer poems the figures are employed in a more sophisticated manner than in Cynewulf's work on the Ascension. In Juliana, Cynewulf utilizes all the schemata found in Christ and makes more extensive use of parison and chiasmus, frequently effecting chiastic parison among half-lines but rarely extending the figures to a larger syntactic unit. His utilization of balanced structures is still imperfect, as in Christ, but he attempts to bring a greater variety of grammatical constructions, clauses especially, within the parallel material.

In Juliana the zeugma involves the yoking of many verb phrases,
as in the opening lines, or of widely differing structures, providing a greater display of rhetorical skill. The complex sentence, too, is extended to greater lengths, with that of lines 382-97a perhaps providing an instance of excessive extension. Anaphora and polyptoton appear less ostentatiously in Juliana than in Christ, but greater refinement in their use is still needed. Schemata that appeal particularly to the sense of hearing are found also in Juliana, with attention being given to harsh, unpleasant sounds as well as those which please. Certain words occur and recur in Juliana, perhaps with greater frequency than in Christ, but probably never with greater artistic effect than in Christ's sea-voyage simile.

All of the schemata found in Christ or in Juliana occur also in Elene, but with far more skillful utilization. Figures that tend to become rigid and monotonous, like parison and zeugma, are used with great skill but also with great restraint, so that they effect elegance rather than satiety. In the Christ, several schemata are used in one passage. In Juliana, at least one or two more are added to a similar passage and all are used extensively in the passage. In Elene, even more schemata than in Juliana may be found in a passage of similar length, but each is used with restraint. In Elene, one schema dominates a particular passage, and others are carefully subordinated. Such a passage is usually shorter than in either Christ or Juliana, so that the poet is constantly revealing his store of rhetorical wealth, ever providing some new source of delight for audience or reader.
Because these schemata are used with greater effectiveness in *Juliana* and *Elene*, it seems that *Christ* is an earlier poem. *Christ II* displays a knowledge of *parison*, *zeugma*, *synchysis*, *anaphora*, *polyptoton*, and *chiasmus*, but not the extensive familiarity with these and other figures to be found in *Juliana* and *Elene*. Lack of such familiarity is apparent throughout *Christ II*, which has a subdued and colorless tone. The one exception to this statement occurs in the simile of the closing lines, where the poet displays an ability to combine modified *parison*, *anaphora*, *polyptoton*, *zeugma*, *synchysis*, and sensitivity to semantic meanings in order to produce a passage which, for artistic use of these schemata and of word relationships, is perhaps not surpassed in his other poetry.
CHAPTER V

FATES OF THE APOSTLES

In the short poem, Fates of the Apostles, are found most of the schemata that occur elsewhere in the Signed Poems. These are the schemata created by special syntactic arrangements: zeugma, synchysis, parison, chiasmus, paronomasia, tautologia, synonymia, and antithesis. In addition, signs of keen interest in the sound of words, exhibited so often by Cynewulf in other poems, are present.

Nevertheless, Fates of the Apostles has often been dismissed as a work without literary merit. Kenneth R. Brooks has said that the poem has "no literary merit, for its subject and plan would hardly permit this: it belongs to the class of memorial verse."¹ Kennedy feels that there is "no opportunity for poetic imagery or expression save in the personal passage" and that it is hardly worth Cynewulf's signature.² Krapp, however, states that it may have had greater value to Cynewulf than to us.³ Schaar maintains that the poem is a product of

²Kennedy, trans., The Poems of Cynewulf, pp. 40-41.
³Krapp, ed., The Vercelli Book, xxxviii.
Cynwulf's old age and intellectual decline. The presence in the poem of the many schemata mentioned above supports Schaar's thesis. If his view is correct, the figures appearing in The Fates will probably be less vigorous and less carefully interwoven with one another than are those in the other poems. Examination of the text should provide information about the figures and facilitate determination of the date of composition of The Fates in relation to Cynwulf's other poems.

Fates of the Apostles is a simple listing of the twelve apostles, with place of martyrdom and person or group responsible for the death of each. Such listings were common, and the exact source of Cynwulf's work has not been found. The difficulty lies in the fact that no list known to have been available by A.D. 900, probably the very latest date at which Cynwulf could have composed the poem, has the name of John before that of James, his brother, as Cynwulf has. However, George L. Hamilton has found such a listing in an Irish manuscript and thinks that this order may have been taken to England and eventually used by

1 Schaar, Cynwulf Group, p. 261.

2 James L. Boren, "Form and Meaning in Cynwulf's Fates of the Apostles," Papers on English Language and Literature, V (1969), 115-22, has found that this information is presented according to certain patterns.

Such use of an Irish manuscript becomes more probable when considered in the light of Wrenn’s theory about an Irish source for the leonine verse.

The outstanding feature in the opening section, and to some extent throughout the poem, is the use of parallel grammatical constructions, which may be considered as members of a variation or as participants in a zeugma. Such constructions are present in other poems, but in those poems, where verbs and objects are concerned, there is often the yoking of words, phrases, clauses that differ widely in meaning and in syntax, so that the presence of zeugma is strongly felt. In Juliana and Elene and Christ II, words or phrases modifying the subject often continue to appear as the sentence progresses, perhaps with each one occupying a first half-line, so that variation seems the chief goal. In Fates the parallel constructions are usually in pairs. Sometimes both members of the pair are found in one half-line, as in ll. 4a, 7a, 12a, 14a; sometimes three members extend through two or more half-lines, as do domfaêste, gecorene, and leofe (ll. 5-6a), but never are they more than a few lines apart.

These parallel constructions fulfill the requirement of the rhetorical manuals that for a zeugma two or more ideas depend upon one word, and will therefore be considered as examples of this schema. In the opening section of Fates there is at least one

compounded grammatical element in each sentence:

Hwaet! Te bysne sang sidgeomor fand
On scecum seforan, samnode wide
Hu ba sceclingas ellen cyddon,
Torhte ond tireadige. Twelfe waeron,
Daecum domfaeste, dryhtne gecorene,
Leofe on life. Lof wide sprang,
Mhht ond maerdo, ofer middangeard,
Beodnes begna, brym unlytel.
Halgan heape hlyt wisode
Paer hie dryhtnes ae deman sceoldon,
Reccan fore rincum. Sume on Romebyrig,
Frame, fyrdhwate, feorn ofgeforn
Burg Nerones nearwe searwe,
Petrus ond Paulus. Is se apostolhad
Wide geweordod ofer werbeoda! ¹

(Lo! travel-weary, with sad heart, I arranged this poem,
gathered from afar how the princes, glorious and renowned, made
known their bravery. Twelve they were, illustrious in deeds,
chosen by the lord, dear in life. Praise, might and strength of
thanes of the Prince, not a little glory, spread far over the
earth. A lot showed to the holy throng where they should pro-
claim the law of the lord, speak before men. Certain ones,
brave, battle-bold, Peter and Paul, gave their lives in the city
of Rome by the cruel cunning of Nero. The apostleship was widely
honored among nations.) In these lines it is the subject that is
most often concerned, with either appositional items or with
pairs of adjectival modifiers. In the first sentence are found
two instances of zeugma, the subject of each clause having its
own pair of adjectival modifiers. In the principal clause of

¹Fates of the Apostles, in The Vercelli Book, pp. 51-54, ll. 1-15. Subsequent references to this poem will appear in the

Solid scoring indicates a formula; broken underscoring
indicates a substitution in a formulaic system. This marking of
formulaic content is taken from Diamond, "Diction of the Signed
lines 1-2 the adjective *sidgeomor* and the prepositional phrase, *on scocum sefan*, both depend upon the subject *ic*. Another zeugma occurs as the adjectives, *torhte* and *tireadige*, depend upon *sædelingas*, subject of the subordinate noun clause. In the second sentence, too, adjectives form a zeugma, referring back to the subject *Tewolf*. Here the adjectives, *domfaeste*, *gecorene*, and *leofa*, are each combined with a noun or prepositional phrase in lines 5-6a. In the third sentence, that of lines 6b-8, the subject *lof* has in apposition to it the two nouns, *mift ond mærdō*, and the noun phrase, *brym unyltel*. This group of four nouns forms a zeugma dependent on the verb *sprang*.

In lines 11b-14a, the two patterns, involving either compound subjects or compound modifiers, are united in one sentence: the subject *Sume* has in apposition to it *Petrus ond Paulus*, so that all nouns depend on the verb *ofgefon* and constitute a zeugma; modifying the subject are the two adjectives, *frame* and *fyrdhwate*, thus creating another zeugma.

In this passage there are also two instances of compound verbs. In the principal clause of the first sentence the subject *ic* (l. 1a) governs both verb phrases, *bysne sang* . . . *fand* and *samnode wide hu* . . . *tireadige*. A zeugma is found in the temporal clause of lines 10-11a, as the auxiliary *sceoldon* governs the two infinitive phrases, *dryhtnes æ deman* and *reccan fore rincum*. Chiasmus operates within each pair of verb phrases. In the phrase of lines 1-2a, the verb *fand* follows its object *sang*, whereas *samnode* precedes its object, the noun clause of lines
3-4a, so that a chiasmus is created. The chiastic order is found also in the zeugma of lines 10-11a, since demên follows its object and reccan precedes its adverbial phrase. In neither of these instances is parison present.

Of interest is the unity extending through the entire passage. This results from the relationships existing among the various nouns, pronouns, and adjectives referring to the apostles: æodelingas, torhte, tireadige, twelffe, domfæeste, secorone, leofe, Sume, frame, fyrdhwate, Petrus, Paulus, and apostolhad; and the three appearances of the adverb wide, which, in line 2b, describes the far-reaching area from which the poet gathered his information about the apostles, and, in ll. 6b and 15a, refers to the broad area to which the apostles' fame spread. It has been pointed out that the poet's statement in line 2b, that he has gathered his information from afar, is "hardly more than a conventional poetic formula."¹ That the idea is a poetic commonplace is surely true, but the phrase, samnode wide, that Cynewulf chose is not formulaic in the sense of appearing elsewhere in the extant Old English poetic corpus.² It follows, then, that wide was placed here because it relates so easily to the formulaic wide of lines 6b and 15a, which stressed the far-reaching praise given to the twelve.

Paronomasia is present in nearwe scarwe, "by cruel cunning." In this instance, the two words are identical in sound

¹Krapp, ed., Andreas and The Fates, xxix.
except for one letter. The final sentence, with its subject and one (though periphrastic) verb, is an instance of hypozoeuxis, providing a contrast, as Bede, Donatus, and Isidore indicate it will, to sentences containing a zeugma.

The second section of this poem opens with an instance of hypozoeuxis, as the first closed with one:

Swylce Andreas in Achagia
for Egias aldre genedde.
Ne preodode he, for brymmes, deodcyninges,
æeniges on eordan, ac him ece geceas
langsumre lif, leohht unhwilen,
sibpan hildeheard, heriges byrhtme,
aefter gudplegan gealgan behete.4

(In like manner Andrew, before Egias in Achaia, risked his life; he did not hesitate before the majesty of a king, of any on earth, but ever chose for himself a long-enduring life, eternal light, when with shouting of army the battle-brave one was stretched out on the cross after battle-play.) In the second sentence, zeugma occurs as the verb geceas governs lif and leohht.

In lines 18b-19a, æeniges on eordan is in apposition to deodcyninges, with both deodcyninges and æeniges dependent on brymmes, but æeniges is followed by its dependent phrase. A

---

1 Bede, "De schematibus," p. 608, 21-22.
3 Isidore, Etymologiae I. xxxvi. 4.
4 Solid scoring indicates a formula; broken underscoring indicates a substitution in a formulaic system. This marking of formulaic content is taken from Diamond, "Diction of the Signed Poems," MP, p. 237.
chiastic arrangement of prepositional phrase--genitive (foro brymme beodcyninges) and genitive--prepositional phrase (geniges on eordan) results, but the constructions are not syntactically parallel, since brymme, object of one prepositional phrase, governs both genitives, while the second prepositional phrase is governed by the second genitive. The compound beodcyninges and its prepositional phrase extend beyond the half-line. In the adversative clause, langsumre lif is varied by leocht unhwilen, with the adjective--noun order of the first phrase reversed in the second, creating chiastic parison.

The sentence of lines 18-22 is constructed as an antithesis. As in the antitheses of Juliana (11. 382-97a) and Gnune (11. 772-83), the negative clause appears first: ne ... ac ... . Compared with that of the similar passages in the two other poems, the syntax of the Fates passage is quite simple. There is only one set of oppositions, that expressed in the two principal clauses Ne breetoode ... eordan and ac ... unhwilen, and modified by the temporal clause of lines 21-22. Parallel constructions are found in the zeugma already described, but not within the syntactic order of the opposed clauses.

Checking the formulaic content, Diamond has compared the first twenty-nine lines of Fates with the extant Old English poetic corpus and has found that the lines are as heavily formulaic as those similarly checked in the other Signed Poems. Examination of these lines with reference to the schemata they

contain discloses that Cynewulf's use of formulas here is basically the same as elsewhere. He employs formulaic materials freely, combining them with non-formulaic words and phrases to achieve his schemata. Sometimes a particular schema is contained within the formula, and he combines this phrase with another phrase, perhaps also formulaic, to create his pattern. In most instances one member of a zeugma is formulaic, the other not, another indication that the schema was deliberately planned by Cynewulf. Instances of such mingling of formulaic and non-formulaic words to effect a zeugma may be seen in the adjective phrases of lines 5-6a; in members of the subject variation of lines 6b-8; and in members of the verbal zeugma of lines 10-11a. There are three instances where both members of the zeugma are formulaic: torhte, tireadige (1. 4a); frame, fyrdhwate (1. 12a); and Petrus ond Paulus (1. 14a). The second formula Cynewulf left as he found it, recognizing its firm rhythm as a D-verse. But to the first pair, of line 4a, he added ond, matching the phrase with Petrus ond Paulus, and then added a third, non-formulaic pair, miht ond maerdo (1. 7a), complete with its ond. Thus, among the seven clauses in these first fifteen lines, the pairs joined by ond occur in this order: torhte ond tireadige is in the second clause; miht ond maerdo in the fourth, or middle, clause; and Petrus ond Paulus is found in the sixth clause.

Members of the paronomasia, nearwe searwe, are not formulaic. One member (leocht unhwilen) of the chiastic parison (1. 20) is formulaic, one (langsumre lif) is not, so again the
figure is dependent on Cynewulf's design, not on a traditional phrase.

Though Cynewulf's methods here are basically the same as elsewhere, his assimilation of formulaic materials is less skillful than in other poems. For instance, in Elene (l. 134) there occurs a formulaic verse pair, consisting of two members of a verbal zeugma. To these two phrases Cynewulf adds two prepositional phrases and another verb phrase, all members of formulaic systems, and a non-formulaic subject, producing a sentence which, despite the intricacies of its triple zeugma, participates in parallel. In line 10 of Fates, there is a verse pair, bæcr hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon, constituting a subordinate clause, but Cynewulf adds to it only a verb phrase, reccan fore rincum, effecting merely the zeugma described above.

Variation in these first twenty-two lines includes the very same words and phrases that have already been considered as members of the zeugmas. In only two variations are the members completely parallel in syntax: the two adjectives of line 4a and the two noun phrases of line 20. In lines 5-6a, the three members are daedum domfaeste, noun and adjective; dryhtne sceorene, noun and participle; and leofe on life, adjective and prepositional phrase. In another instance, members of the variation are grammatically parallel, but formally additive: lof (l. 6b) is varied first by the compound nouns miht ond maerdo (l. 7a), then by noun plus adjective, brym unlytel (l. 8b). Since each member of the variation presents some manifestation of
"fame"—"praise," "virtue," "honor," "glory"—synonymia is affected. Sume, the indefinite pronoun of line 11b, is amplified by the compound noun phrase, Petrus ond Paulus. Here the variation is both formally and semantically additive. Because of the formal expansion, tautologia is present.

Interest in parallel structures manifests itself often in the poem:

50 Swylce Thomas eac priste geneðde
on Indea ðode ðælas,
pær manegum weard mod onlihted,
hige onhyrded, purh his halig word.
Syddan collenferð cyninges broðor
awhte for weorðum, wundorcræfte,
purh dryhtnes miht, ðæt he of deade aras,
geong ond gudhwæt, ond him waes Gad nama,
ond da ðæm folce feorg gesealde,
sin æt sæcce. (11. 50-59)

(In like manner, also, Thomas boldly ventured into farther parts of India, where the mind of many was enlightened, the heart encouraged, through his holy word. Afterwards the one bold in spirit awakened, through the might of the lord, the king's brother before the multitude by wondrous power, so that he, young and battle-brave—and his name was Gad—arose from death, and then for that people [the one bold in spirit] gave up his life, in conflict.) In the subordinate clause of lines 52-53, zeugma is found twice as the subjects, mod and hige, are both governed by the auxiliary weard, and weard governs also the two participles, onlihted and onhyrded. Synchysis becomes evident when first the two subjects, then the two participles are linked.
The sentence of lines 54-59 has these clauses: principal clause with two verbs, awehte (l. 55a) and feorg (l. 58b); subordinate result clause (ll. 56b-57a) linked by content, coordinating conjunction and, and isocolon to a third clause; and this third, independent, parenthetic clause (l. 57b). The verbs of the principal clause are awehte and gesenalde, dependent upon the subject, the substantive collenferd. The shape of the sentence is determined by the placement of the verbs, with awehte relating to itself all modifiers, object, and clauses of lines 54b-57, while to gesenalde belong the modifiers and indirect object of lines 58-59a. The verb phrases, brodor awehte and feorg gesenalde, are parallel in syntax, an instance of parison, although brodor awehte is distributed between lines 54b and 55a. To the result clause of lines 56b-57a is attached the clause of line 57b. This latter clause is actually independent and parenthetic in nature but its introduction by the coordinate conjunction indicates an intention that it be considered parallel to the result clause. Use of the grammatically unessential and provides six syllables in the half-line, matching the six in line 56b, if the final "-e" of deade is elided before the "a-" of aras. This effects isocolon, the schema present when the members of phrase, colon, or period have an equal number of syllables. Within this passage the figure occurs also in lines 52b, 53a if "-e" is elided before "o-" of onhyrded; and in lines 55b, 56a.
Parallel structure gives unity to the sentence in lines 79b-84:

\[ 
\text{Aeđele sceoldon} \\
\text{80} \\
\text{durh waepenhete, weorc browigan,} \\
\text{sigelean secan, ond bone sodan gefean,} \\
\text{dream æfter deade, } \text{ba gedæedl weard} \\
\text{lif widlice, ond } \text{bas laênan gestreon,} \\
\text{idle æhtwelæn, ealle forhogodan.} \\
\]

(The noble ones were destined to endure affliction through weapon-hate, to seek the victory reward and the true joy, the gladness after death, when life was separated from body, and [The noble ones] despised all these fleeting treasures, vain riches.) The first word in the sentence, the subject aeđele, governs not only the auxiliary sceoldon (l. 79b), but also the final word of the sentence, the verb forhogodan (l. 84b). Following each of these verbs is a zeugma. Sceoldon governs the two infinitive phrases, weorc browigan and sigelean secan, while forhogodan governs three objects: the noun phrases, bas laênan gestreon and idle æhtwelæn, and the indefinite pronoun ealle. Within the zeugma dependent upon sceoldon, the verb secan governs the three noun objects, sigelean, gefean, and dream. Dream, however, is more than the third noun in the series. Sigelean (l. 81a) is joined by ond to gefean, and dream is a recapitulatory term varying them both. Parallel to this structure is that of lines 83b-84 where ealle serves as a summary for gestreon and æhtwelæn. Parison is present in the object--verb phrases, weorc browigan and sigelean secan, of lines 80b-81a, but the schema does not provide symmetry within the broader scope of the
sentence. Rather, the parallel structures within the zeugma give a definite order to the sentence.

The grammatical use of variations in this sentence has been pointed out in discussion of the zeugmas. The variations, all of nouns, involve parallel structures. Sigelean is varied by demonstrative--adjective--noun, bone södan gefean and both terms by noun--prepositional phrase, dream æfter deade. Demonstrative--adjective--noun, pas læenan gestreon is varied by adjective--noun, idle æhtwelan, and both are summed up semantically in a single pronoun, ealle. Since both variations involve expansion of one word, dream or ealle, by several words, tautologia is present.

Near the close of Fates is an interesting complex sentence. Order is imposed by the parallelism of the zeugma and of the two adjectival clauses that conclude the sentence:

115  Ah utu we þe geornor to gode cleopigan, sendan usse bene on þa beorhtan gesceaf, þæt we þæs botles brucan motan, hames in hehdo, þær is hihta ðæst, þær cyning engla clænum gildæ

120  lean unhwilen.

(But let us more earnestly call on God, send our prayers into that bright heaven, that we may enjoy that house, the home on high, where is the greatest of hopes, where the king of angels grants to the pure a reward eternal.) The sentence opens with utu, which governs the infinitives, cleopigan and sendan, juxtaposed in lines 115b-16a. These verbs jointly govern the purpose clause of lines 117-18a, which has a zeugma resulting as botles
and hames form a two-member compound object of the verb brucan. Modifying hames is the prepositional phrase, in hehōo, and hehdo, in turn, is qualified by the two adjective clauses of lines 118b and 119-20a. Each pair of parallel syntactic elements--verb phrases to gode cleopigan, sendan . . . gesceaf; objects, bāes botles, hames in hehōo; or adjectival clauses, bāer . . . maest, bāer . . . unhwilen--occupies its own two lines. Parallel structures exist also within the clausal syntax. The verbs, cleopigan and sendan, have each a prepositional phrase as modifier, to gode and on ba beorhtan gesceaf, but both verbs govern one adverbial phrase, be geornor. With the second bāer placed between them, the subjects of the two adjective clauses are juxtaposed in lines 118b-19a. The subjects are syntactically parallel, each consisting of genitive and noun, and the order of the second is reversed, so the placement effects chiastic parison.

Variation occurs as the verb phrase of line 115b is amplified by the second phrase, with object, usse bene, added, in line 116. The members are arranged chiastically: prepositional phrase--verb; and verb--object--prepositional phrase. Since the verb phrases are syntactically parallel, with the second lengthened by addition of the object, parison is also present. The article and noun, bāes botles, is varied by noun and prepositional phrase, hames in hehōo.

The runic signature of Fates of the Apostles is the simplest in any of the Signed Poems. Not only does the poet announce his intention to disclose hwa bas fitte fegde, "who put
this poem together," but after the runic signature he states plainly that the information has now been made available to all men. The runes are not presented in the order in which they appear in Cynewulf's name, but as F W U L C Y N, as if part of a puzzle. As in Christ II, the "E" rune is absent:

The runes are not presented in the order in which they appear in Cynewulf's name, but as F W U L C Y N, as if part of a puzzle. As in Christ II, the "E" rune is absent:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Paer on ende standed,} \\
\text{eorlas pæs on eordan brucap Ne moton hie awa} \\
\text{ætsomne,} \\
\text{woruldwunigende; sceal gedreosan,} \\
\text{on edle, æfter tohreosan} \\
\text{laene lices fraetewa, efne swa toglidea} \\
\text{Donne h ond craeftes neosad} \\
\text{nithes nearowe, on him liged,} \\
\text{cyninges peodom. Nu du cunnon miht} \\
\text{hwa on þam wordum waës werum oncydig.} \\
\end{array} \]

(Feoh \[\text{wealth}\] stands there at the end, men enjoy it on earth.

They may not always be together, dwelling on the earth; Wynn \[\text{Joy}\] shall pass away, Ur \[\text{Ours}\] on earth, afterwards the fleeting ornaments of life shall perish, even as Lagu \[\text{water}\] glides away. Then Cen and Yr \[\text{Cynewulf}\] shall seek for strength in the confinement of the night. Upon him Nyd \[\text{necessity}\] lies, the king's service. Now you may know who in these words was made known to men.) A clue to the puzzle is the statement accompanying the first rune: "P stands at the end." After this, the runes are treated as in Elene and Christ II, each appearing alone. In the text, each probably has its own name, except for \(\text{N}\), which may be read as Ur, "our," and \(\text{H}\) and \(\text{F}\), for which "Cynewulf" seems the only sensible interpretation. The fact that \(\text{H}\) and \(\text{F}\)
appear as a compound subject supports this reading.¹

Except for ː (l. 101a), which varies the subject, each rune appears as subject of its clause. One sentence (ll. 100b-02) contains a double zeugma,² since the subjects, ː and fraetewa, and the verbs, gedreosan and tohreosan, are governed by the single auxiliary sceal. ː, standing beside the auxiliary and first infinitive, is easily understood. In the subordinate clause, efne swa ß toglided (l. 102b), the rune appears as subject. In one case the compound subject, ː and ː, depends on neosad ß, constituting a zeugma. Thus, syntax within the runes is very simple, presenting no problem.

Throughout the poem there is an attempt to effect balanced sentence structures and zeugma is the instrument most often utilized, so it becomes the most important schema in the poem. In the course of this poem more than in any of the others there is evident a growth in the poet's ability to handle his materials. With no other figure is this growth as obvious as with zeugma. In the opening section of the poem, the zeugma usually joins nouns or adjectives modifying nouns, although two verbs are sometimes governed by one subject. Regardless of the part of speech concerned, members of the compound constructions in this poem are always single words or short phrases and are


² This figure is comparable to that of lines 52-53.
placed close to each other in the sentence, often in the same half-line or in adjoining half-lines. As the poem progresses, there is less concern with the subject and more with the verb. Thus the double zeugma—for instance, compound subjects and compound participles of a periphrastic verb, all governed by the auxiliary weard—appears. At this time, too, the use of compound verbs begins to assume importance in sentences having subordinate clauses. One subject governs the now often widely-separated verbs and imposes order upon them. The zeugma or the compound construction, still having only two members, structures a parallel syntax which, by means of other compounds and of subordinate clauses, continues through the sentence. The most important schema in this poem, then, is the zeugma.

Sometimes the zeugma appears in conjunction with a complex sentence. From these brief complex constructions, ordinarily occupying three to six lines, evolve the sophisticated instruments of Cynewulf's other poems. Since one clause may be derived, both logically and formally, from the one that precedes it and may lead similarly into the one following, so these complex sentences of Fates are related to those in the other Signed Poems.

Figures which acquire greater importance in other poems may be found here in simple form. One of these is parison, used in Fates almost exclusively within two measures of a half-line or within two matching half-lines, as in langsumre lif and leocht unhwilen (l. 20). Chiasmus appears similarly, sometimes with
parison, as in the example just given. *Isocolon* occurs infrequently, but also operates within half-lines. Most of the schemata in *Fates* are designed to fill a sentence or a half-line, rather than a longer section. There is a manifestation of Cynewulf's concern for auditory impressions, again within a brief span or space, in his use of *paronomasia*, *assonance*, and *isocolon*.

Variation is much simpler in this poem than in the other *Signed Poems*. Members of a variation are always syntactically parallel, though sometimes a modifier is added or altered in the second member. Very infrequently the single word of the original term is expanded by two parallel terms or by a phrase, and *tautologia* is present. *Synonymia* occurs occasionally, as in the variation of lines 6b-8a. There are two instances where a single word summarizes two preceding members of a variation. In the *runic signature* there is one sentence containing a double *zeugma* and a subordinate clause, but its syntax is neither new to the poem nor difficult. The syntax in this section is definitely the simplest of any among the *Signed Poems*.

In the matter of using formulas Cynewulf is already master of his materials. As elsewhere, he combines formulaic and non-formulaic materials to effect his *schemata*. Here, however, he does not combine many formulaic phrases in order to produce several *schemata* in one sentence.

From the summary of Cynewulf's achievements in this poem, it becomes evident that *Fates of the Apostles* does have literary
crit and that Cynewulf had good reason for considering it worthy of his signature. However, in a critical evaluation the poem suffers because most of the schemata occur in isolation or in a relatively brief space and do not show to advantage. For example, when the short antithesis of lines 18-22 is compared with the complicated antitheses of Juliana or Elene, it becomes insignificant. But here, in this brief poem, may be seen early forms of schemata that were to be used with striking effect in later poems.

It follows, then, that this poem is not the product of Cynewulf's old age, as Schaar believes,¹ nor is it the work that follows Juliana, as Elliott proposes,² but it is rather the earliest of Cynewulf's extant works. No writer who had mastered the elaborate, extensively-used schemata of Elene or of Juliana, or even of Christ II, could have returned again to the painstakingly careful arrangements of syntactic units within half-lines--the ambitious work of a beginner--found in this poem.

¹Schaar, Cynewulf Group, p. 34.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this study the Signed Poems of Cynewulf have been examined to determine the presence in them of the schemata and tropi found in the late Latin rhetorical manuals. The poems do contain many schemata. Predominating are those resulting from a special syntactic order within the sentence, from the repetition of words according to a certain pattern, or from similarity of sounds among words or syllables. Certain tropi appear, too, but they are usually closely related to the arrangement of words rather than to metaphorical signification.

That the schemata and tropi of Latin rhetoric were known to educated Englishmen of the eighth and ninth centuries may be deduced from extant manuscripts of the writings of Donatus, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and Bede. References made by Bede in the early eighth century, in his "De schematibus et tropis," indicates that other texts were also available. Statements of Cassiodorus and Bede make it clear that the schemata and tropi were considered of great value for "embellishment" of style. It follows, then, that writers like Cynewulf, aware of this esteem for figurative language, would have deliberately employed the schemata and tropi.
The figures that Cynewulf uses most frequently in all the Signed Poems are zeugma, hypozexia, parison, and chiasmus, which result from a special syntactic order within the sentence. Closely related to these schemata is his concern for the complex sentence, often with many subordinate clauses. His skill in handling this type of sentence grew with his ability to create the schemata. Schemata resulting primarily from repetition of words include ploece, anadiplosis, anaphora and antistrophe, and symloce. Among the schemata caused by similarity of sounds in words are paronomasia, homoeoteleuton, and homoeoptoton. Three schemata, schesis onomatton, synonymia, and tautologia, are actually types of variation, a traditional characteristic of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Each of these types may have been familiar to the oral singers of the early days, but a writer trained in Latin grammar would have recognized them as schemata and would have been pleased to adorn his work with them. Other schemata appearing in the poems are isocolon, polysyndeton, asyndeton, and syllepsis. Tropi, which, according to Bede, contain a certain amount of metaphorical language, occur too. Those found most often are the ones that also involve the arrangement of words. Among these are hyperbaton, synchysis, parenthesis, antithesis, epitheton, and antonomasia. Occasionally a tropus like allegoria, whose value depends on its metaphorical signification, occurs, but such figures are rarely found in the Signed Poems. Similes occur occasionally, as at the end of Christ II, but may generally be traced to a Latin source.
The poet's use of these figures may be traced through Fates of the Apostles, Christ II, Juliana, and Elene. In Fates of the Apostles, zeugma is the most important of the schemata or tropes used. In the early part of Fates, the schema results from the joining of subjects or of adjectival modifiers of the subject, but as the poem continues, the use of compound verbs becomes more important. In this poem, the zeugma regularly consists of only two members, usually of one or two words each. In the latter part of the short poem, the members become more widely spaced within the clause and occasionally have widely differing denotations, so that a real "yoking" may now occur. When the zeugma appears in the brief complex sentence of Fates, it is the zeugma which gives its parallel structure to the sentence. Such schemata as isocolon, parison, or chiasmus are sometimes present among the members of the zeugma, effecting symmetry or contrast among the verbs, nouns, or adjectives concerned. The complex sentence of Fates is brief and uncomplicated, but it may be recognized as the beginning of the more sophisticated syntactic structure found in Cynewulf's other poems. Throughout the poem the schemata are carefully worked out, but almost always within the half-line or within a short sentence, so that they are much less noticeable than in the other poems. The syntax of the runic section is the simplest of that in any of the Signed Poems. Each rune appears as subject of its clause or in a variation of the subject.
As important in Christ II as the zeugma is the complex sentence, which employs zeugma and a rudimentary parison within its numerous subordinate clauses. The zeugma usually contributes to parallel structure within one clause rather than within the sentence as a whole. It may involve the joining of two verbs, perhaps with modifiers or objects, but occasionally results from the yoking of many syntactically different members and effects a striking figure, as in the passage with leonine rhyme. A rudimentary parison is sometimes found among certain clauses, but the great freedom permitted within balancing constructions prevents the symmetry necessary for the schema to be satisfactory. Efforts to extend such devices as anaphora, polyptoton, parison, and leonine rhyme through a passage characterize this poem. The syntax of the runic section in Christ II is the most difficult among the four containing the signatures, with one sentence having three runes, three clauses, and two instances of zeugma.

In Juliana, Cynewulf often uses in one passage a number of the schemata and tropi found in Christ II and Fates. Sometimes the sentence becomes quite lengthy and probably suffers from too prolonged use of a particular schema. In certain instances zeugma is made to draw together a number of ideas and arrange them in an orderly manner. The complex sentence of Juliana differs from that of Christ II chiefly in its variety of subordinate and independent clauses. In Christ II the subordinate clauses are adjectival, adverbial, or nominal, with the temporal as the most frequent type of adverbial clause. In Juliana these
clausal types are still present, but the many adverbial clauses include result, purpose, conditional, and concessive, as well as temporal. In Christ II coordinate and subordinate clauses are not used together, but in Juliana both may be found in one sentence.

Parison is found in Juliana, not only within half-lines, as in Fates, nor only in a rudimentary state within clauses, as in Christ, but it is sometimes fully developed among certain clauses. There is also an attempt to extend parallel structure beyond the clause and throughout the sentence. Asyndeton appears oftener in this poem than in the others. Polysyndeton, on the other hand, is used more frequently in Christ II and Elene. Certain schemata and tropi that have appeared occasionally and briefly in Fates or in Christ II are used with great skill in Juliana. Among these are charientismos, hyperbaton, parenthesis, allegoria, antithesis, epithet, and antonomasia. The runic signature in Juliana is in a section less difficult syntactically than that of Christ II. One group of three runes appears in a sentence having two subordinate clauses, but each clause is brief and there is no zeugma.

In Elene no one schema or tropus may be said to dominate the poem. Zeugma is used extensively, but parison, synchysis, hypozeuxis, polysyndeton, and other figures also occur frequently. In a particular section of the poem, one schema usually does recur more often than any other, however. Each of the passages treating the traditional matters of preparation for battle, the
actual warfare, and sea-voyaging becomes a "section" in this sense, because in each of these passages, a different schema predominates. In the lengthy middle section of the poem, which contains the narrative of the search for and finding of the cross, the complex sentence becomes very important, but zeugma, parison, polysyndeton, and many other schemata are constantly used with it. The figures are always used with great restraint in Elene. One reason is that when a very obvious schema, such as anaphora or antithesis, dominates a passage, this passage is shorter and involves less repetition of the figure than does a comparable passage in Christ II or Juliana. The zeugma in Elene sometimes yokes together members of different grammatical constructions or of widely differing semantic content, but it is used also at times simply to unite members of a compound construction. Zeugma may be used within a complex sentence, but it does not dominate the structure of the entire sentence as it does in Fates and occasionally in Christ II. Polysyndeton is often used with the zeugma in Elene. The figures used by Cynewulf in Elene are many and include, in addition to those already mentioned in the other poems, such schemata and tropi as anadiplosis, ploce, antistrophe, and symploce, which result from repetition of a word. As with Juliana, the runic section of Elene has a relatively simple sentence syntax, though here a rune may occur in either a principal or subordinate clause. Within Elene may best be seen the careful arrangement of words to effect the schemata and tropi with their "embellishment" of the poetry. Here, too, is evident not only the poet's concern for auditory effects, but also his
interest in the world described by these sounds. Here he best displays his ability to draw together the Anglo-Saxon poetic conventions and the newer Christian legends.

The development of variation within the Signed Poems parallels that of the schemata and tropi. In Fates of the Apostles the variation is very simple. It almost always consists of two members that are parallel syntactically, with each member having only one or two words. Synonymia is present occasionally, when the members of the variation are very closely related semantically. Tautologia is very rare, occurring only when the original term is amplified by two parallel terms or by a phrase.

The variation of Christ II includes the types found in Fates of the Apostles, but has more instances of tautologia. Developments in Juliana include frequent use of phrases as members of variation, occasional use of members that are not parallel syntactically, and more frequent use of schesis onomatopon, synonymia, and tautologia. In Elene are added the practice of amplifying separately each of two elements of a phrase, the use of parison among members of the variation, and the frequent use of variation for more than one word or phrase of a sentence.

The compounds and genitive phrase which constitute the kennings and kend heiti in the poem are formed in the traditional Germanic manner, following the same patterns that Snorri Sturluson later wrote down for the young Norse skalds. The religious kennings and kend heiti, usually translations of Latin terms, tend to have been chosen for alliteration or meter or,
occasionally, a rhetorical figure. On the other hand, the non-
religious kennings and kend heiti considered in this paper
usually seem to be of Germanic origin and to have retained more
of their original meaning. The metaphorical value that these
kennings and kend heiti have in the poems is slight. Their
presence does not alter the fact that the most important
stylistic devices used by Cynewulf in the Signed Poems result
from special syntactic order of sentences or patterned repetition
of words or sounds.

The studies of Diamond have shown that the poems of
Cynewulf contain a high percentage of formulaic material. The
schemata and tropi which have been examined in this paper are
not, however, to be found within individual formulas. Rather,
one or more formulas may be found within many of the schemata and
tropi, indicating Cynewulf's mastery of the formulas to effect
his purposes. He also utilizes the traditional themes and type-
scenes of Anglo-Saxon poetry. There is a gradual progression in
the skill with which formulas are employed, ranging from the use
of one formula while creating one schema, in Fates of the
Apostles, to use of many formulas to create several schemata
within one sentence of Elene.

From this study of the use of schemata and tropi in the
four Signed Poems of Cynewulf, it may be concluded that Fates of
the Apostles was composed first and that it was followed by
Christ II, then by Juliana, and finally by Elene. This order is
determined by the gradual development of a more involved syntax.
from one poem to the next. The only exception to this occurs in the runic sections, where the syntax of Christ II is more difficult than that of Juliana and Elene. But throughout Christ II Cynewulf has employed a much more fully developed syntax than he does in Fates. The runic section of Fates is like a simple puzzle, with clues at beginning and end. Perhaps the poet strove to present a greater challenge to his hearers in the runic section of Christ II. He may have found, however, that the more complicated syntax of this Christ passage drew attention from the runic signature itself. For understanding of the runic signature, greater syntactic simplicity was probably needed, even in his own day, and consequently the signatures of Juliana and Elene are placed among sentences with no involved subordination.

This study of the poems of Cynewulf reveals the careful work of an artist striving deliberately to bring to his work not only the best of the ancient oral traditions of his craft, but also the principles of rhetoric, equally ancient but more recently brought to England. When Cynewulf "wove word-skill," his was an artistry that combined the traditions of two cultures, Germanic and Latin.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. LATIN


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venantius Fortunatus. &quot;Pange Lingua.&quot; Raby, F. J. E. A History</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. OLD ENGLISH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles. Edited by George Philip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beowulf. Edited by Fr. Klaeber. 3rd ed. with 1st and 2nd supp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beowulf and Judith. Edited by Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie. The</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codex Exoniensis. Edited and translated by Benjamin Thorpe.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynewulf's Christ. Edited by Israel Gollancz. London: David Nutt,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynewulf's Elene. Edited by P. O. E. Gradon. New York:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynewulf's Elene (Kreuzauffindung). Edited by F. Holthausen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry. Edited by R. W. Chambers,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS


---


B. ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS


ELLIOTT, Ralph W. V. "Cynewulf's Runes in Christ II and Elene." English Studies, XXXIV (1953), 49-57.


FRY, Donald K. "Old English Formulaic Themes and Type-Scenes." Neophilologus, LII (1968), 48-54.


Hamilton, George L. "Sources of the Fates of the Apostles and Andreas." Modern Language Notes, XXV (1920), 385-95.

Heinzel, Richard. "Über den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie." Quellen und Forschungen, X (1875), 1-54.

Heusler, Andreas. Review of Die Kenningar der Skalden, by Rudolph Meissner. Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, XII (1922), 127-34.


--- "Parallelstellen in altenglischer Dichtungen." Anglia, XIV (1891), 186-92.


Smithson, George Arnold. "The Old Christian Epic: A Study in the Plot Technique of the Juliana, the Ælne, and the Andreas, and the Christ, in comparison with the Beowulf and with the Latin Literature of the Middle Ages." University of California Publications in Modern Philology, I (1910), 303-400.


Whallon, William. Review of Singer of Tales, by Albert B. Lord. Comparative Literature, XIV (1962), 399-402.


VITA

Dorothy Jehle attended grade and high schools in South Bend, Indiana, and Joliet, Illinois, and was graduated from the College of St. Francis, Joliet, in 1943. She worked as a reporter on the Joliet Spectator from 1943 to 1945, then taught in parochial and private high schools in Detroit, Michigan, and Elgin, Illinois. She taught English at Siena Heights College, Adrian, Michigan, during the summer of 1952.

She received the Master of Arts degree in English from John Carroll University in 1952. In the summer of 1963 she began studies toward a doctorate at Loyola University. She received an Arthur J. Schmitt Foundation grant and was in residence at Loyola University in 1967-68. Since 1971 she has been an instructor in English at Barry College, Miami, Florida.
APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Dorothy M. Jehle has been read and approved by members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date
4 Jan 75

Signature of Advisor

[Signature]