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Distribution And Rhetorical Functions Of Formulas In Cynewulf's Signed Poems

Sharon Elizabeth Butler

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DISTRIBUTION AND RHETORICAL FUNCTIONS
OF FORMULAS IN CYNEWULF'S SIGNED POEMS

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, there has been a great deal of interest in formulas in Old English poetry. When the subject was first raised, it was assumed that the presence of formulas meant that the poems were orally composed, but it is generally accepted now that most Old English poems were composed in a literate way. The poems of Cynewulf are certainly among this group. Because they are the work of a literate poet, it is particularly interesting to see whether it can be determined what uses Cynewulf made of the formulas in his poems.

This study first designates repeated verses within the four poems, Fates of the Apostles, Christ II, Juliana, and Elene. Passages which are particularly high or particularly low in formulas are studied to see whether they have common characteristics. Then passages of different kinds (such as passages closely translated from the Latin, "traditional" themes, "original" material, beginnings and ends of manuscript divisions, direct speech) are tested for correlation with high or low percentages of formulas. There are some correlations, but the sample is not large enough for great reliability.

The investigation then turns to the rhetorical

functions of formulas within individual poems, and to a similar investigation of the functions of "oblique formulas." Both formulas and oblique formulas contribute in a variety of ways to the themes and structures of the poems. They indicate parallels or contrasts, define characters, make statements emphatic, shift focus, and frame passages. Formulas are more useful to bind together widely separated sections of a poem; oblique formulas are more useful for extended repetitive series.

Whether or not there are specific poetic situations which evoke a high concentration of formulas, there certainly are deliberate and careful rhetorical uses of both formulas and oblique formulas in the signed poems. These repetitions contribute greatly to the complex beauty of Cynewulf's style.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A logical, and perhaps necessary, starting point for a discussion of Cynewulf's poetry is a consideration of his use of formulas. The ubiquitous repetitions in Old English poetry were first recognized as formulas, with all that is implied by that, in 1949, in a brief discussion in Albert B. Lord's doctoral dissertation.¹ Old English formulas have received much attention since 1953, when Francis P. Magoun, Jr. published his detailed application to Old English of the arguments of Milman Parry and Lord concerning oral composition in ancient Greek and in Yugoslavian.² Parry's studies indicate that the high incidence of metrically-determined exact repetitions in Homer is clear evidence of oral composition.³ Lord's investigations of

¹ Albert B. Lord, 1949 Harvard diss., revised and published as The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 201 [Singer, p. 199].

² Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," Speculum, 28 (1953), 446-65.

³ Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I: Homer and Homeric Style," HSCP, 41 (1930), 73-147; "II: The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," HSCP, 43 (1932), 1-30.

the methods of composition among the illiterate Guslar poets of Yugoslavia support Parry's observations about formulas (style) and rapid oral composition (method).

Magoun refers to their work, saying that

the recurrence in a given poem of an appreciable number of formulas or formulaic phrases brands the latter as oral, just as a lack of such repetitions marks a poem as composed in a lettered tradition. Oral poetry . . . is composed entirely of formulas, large and small, while lettered poetry is never formulaic.

He then demonstrates that there are indeed an appreciable number of formulas in Old English poetry; he examines in detail the first twenty-five lines of Beowulf and lines 512-35 of Christ and Satan to show the formulaic character of both the epic and a poem entirely within the Christian tradition.

A difficulty which Magoun recognizes, but does not adequately answer, is the existence of a body of highly formulaic poetry composed by a poet who was almost certainly literate. Simply asserting that Cynewulf "dictated" the poems to a scribe or to himself⁵ does not solve the problem. The fact is that Cynewulf's various arrangements of the letters of his name in the "signature" passages show that he understood the connection both between runes and corresponding letters (as well as associated words), and between letters in sequence and the words they spell. In addition,

⁴Magoun, pp. 446-47.

⁵Ibid., p. 460.

as Ann C. Watts points out, his use of the Latin sources for his poems is often close enough to make the hypothesis of his illiteracy seem almost incongruous.⁶ Cynewulf suggests in his poems that he read widely in order to gather the materials he used in them.⁷ Considering Cynewulf's use of his sources, and his spelling out of his name in the epilogues to each of the four "signed" poems, it is far more reasonable to consider him to be a literate poet than an illiterate one.

If we do consider him to be literate, our findings regarding his uses of formulas become not only interesting in themselves as indicative of his conscious choices, but also lead to suggestions about other Old English poetry, also formulaic, but not necessarily orally composed. For example, if Elene is more highly formulaic than Beowulf (as is the case), this fact strengthens the argument against oral composition of Beowulf.

Let us consider the kinds of questions that might be asked about Cynewulf's uses of formulas. Does a high use of formulas suggest rapid composition? Are formulas used with apparently careful regard to meaning, or are they

⁶ Ann C. Watts, The Lyre and the Harp: A Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Epic Poetry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 188.

⁷ Cynewulf speaks of "gathering" material in both Fates of the Apostles, line 2, and Elene, line 1237. He makes specific reference to reading from books in Elene, lines 1254-1255.

indeed primarily metrical fillers? Are passages that are high in formulas more "traditional" in theme or content than passages using comparatively few formulas? Are formulas typically used for literal translation, or is their use restricted to passages "original" with the Old English poet? Is the use of a word in a formula more or less significant in terms of the word's definition than a use in a non-formulaic line? These and similar questions deserve serious consideration in our attempt to come to terms with Cynewulf's individual poetic practices.

A reasonable starting point is to determine what definition we will use through this discussion for the concept "formula." Robert D. Stevick rightly criticizes the lack of uniformity of definition used by the proponents of the oral-formulaic theory.⁸ On balance, Watts' conservative but clear definition seems to me most useful. She defines the formula in Old English poetry as "a repeated sequence that fills one of Sievers' five basic rhythmical types."⁹ She recognizes that "the criterion of repetition certainly leaves something to be desired,"¹⁰ but that there is no other designation which is clearly its superior.

There have been attempts to avoid the criterion of

⁸Robert D. Stevick, "The Oral-Formulaic Analysis of Old English Verse," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 382-89.

⁹Watts, p. 90.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 70.

repetition. The reasons for making such an attempt are clear enough. All too often, a verse "feels" formulaic, but is not repeated elsewhere. Only a very small corpus of Old English poetry survives, and the chances of finding a repetition are thus necessarily limited. Magoun suggests that if the surviving corpus were twice the 30,000 lines we have, and if part of that additional poetry were epic (like Beowulf), we might expect the language to be almost entirely "traditional,"¹¹ that is, formulaic. And in fact, most of the verses which "feel" like formulas can be seen to be parts of formulaic systems.

The two best known attempts to resolve this problem are those of Frederic G. Cassidy¹² and Donald K. Fry.¹³ They approach the problem in very different ways, but essentially they both focus on the concept of finding formulaic patterns rather than on finding repeated formulas. Cassidy has examined 8,000 lines of poetry (Beowulf and the elegies) and has discovered that only twenty-five syntactic patterns are used, ten of which account for 75% of the verses. The poet's responsibility would then be to know these syntactic frames, and to fill them with verses

¹¹ Magoun, p. 450.

¹² Frederic G. Cassidy, "How Free Was the Anglo-Saxon Scop?" in Francislegius, ed. J. B. Bossinger and Robert P. Creed (New York: New York University Press, 1965), pp. 75-85.

¹³ Donald K. Fry, "Old English Formulas and Systems," English Studies, 48 (1967), 193-204.

stressed and alliterated according to the rules. But as Watts points out, "twenty-five syntactic patterns . . . are still not finite enough to designate an oral singer's useful tools."¹⁴ And they are also insufficient guides to what "feels" formulaic to a reader--not all verses of any single pattern are formulaic, and Cassidy provides no further restrictions which would help us distinguish between formulaic and non-formulaic syntactical patterns.

Unlike Cassidy's, Fry's approach does involve some degree of word repetition, but it has a common major fault. Fry defines the system as

a group of half-lines, usually related metrically and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements, one a variable word or element of a compound usually supplying the alliteration, and the other a constant word or element of a compound, with approximately the same distribution of non-stressed elements.¹⁵

He defines formulas as verses derived from systems: "to prove that a group of words is a formula, we need only find another recorded group implying a system from which both probably originated."¹⁶ Thus it appears that Fry would consider all verses in all systems (or at least in all substitution systems) as formulas.

Fry goes on to insist that there must be verbatim repetition in order for us to be able to discuss uses of

¹⁴Watts, p. 68.

¹⁵Fry, p. 202.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 204.

the same formula. He would consider verses with differences of inflection or substitution of relatively unimportant unstressed words as formulas derived from the same system, but not as the same formula. Thus the following verse pairs from Elene would all presumably be categorized as pairs made up of different formulas:

- ymb þæt halige treo (442b)
- þurh þæt halige treo (840b)
- werodes breahtme (39b)
- heriges beorhtme (205b)
- sume wig fornam (131b)
- sume drenc fornam (136b)
- fram blindnesse (299a)
- ða ge blindnesse (389a)

The second and third pairs (substitution of a stressed word, with or without change in meaning) and the fourth (changed syntax) involve clearly distinct, though related, verses. But the first example is certainly more nearly allied to such verbatim repetitions as the following:

- hreoþan friccan (54b)
- hreoþan friccan (550b)

Fry's hypothesis of systematic generation of formulas is attractive, but the result is that he considers verses that are virtually alike as being related to each other in the same way as they are related to verses that are very different in form, meaning, alliteration, and metre. Before his terminology can be accepted, it should be demonstrated that these kinds of repetition are used in the same ways, insofar as that can be determined.

Both Fry's and Cassidy's attempts to avoid the criterion of repetition obscure one of the distinctive qualities of Old English verse. It may be interesting to know that the poetry is almost entirely (or even entirely) "formulaic." However, in terms of close textual work, it is valuable to distinguish verses so useful to the poet that their main elements are repeated, verses that are similar but have substitutions, and verses that have little apparent relationship with any others (or formulas, parts of formulaic systems, and non-formulaic verses).

William Whallon argues against the underlining technique used by Parry, Lord, and Magoun in designating formulas on the grounds that the results

are not reliable or discriminating, or analytical. They are not reliable because there is always doubt whether the specimen underlined is typical: Iliad 8.381-396 is heavily formulaic since every one of its lines recurs within Iliad 5.720-767, whereas Iliad 2.188-238 is less formulaic since none of its lines recurs in either the Iliad or the Odyssey; and in the same way some passages from Beowulf (for example, lines 1492-1500) have a far greater proportion of elements repeated elsewhere in extant Old English poetry than do some others (for example 1146-1159a).¹⁷

This is a clear justification for refusing to accept any analysis of a brief passage as typical of an entire poem, but it does not seem a justification for avoiding the analytical techniques which make clear the differences.

¹⁷William Whallon, Formula, Character and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English, and Old Testament Poetry (Washington D.C.: The Center for Hellenic Studies, 1969), p. 73.

between the passages he cites. If we hope ever to understand the way in which poets used formulas, we must be able to identify those passages that are unusually high in formulas, or unusually low, and attempt to understand the reasons for the difference. Even if the only use of formulas is to aid in speedy public composition, we should be interested in passages like the one Whallon cites above, where 47 lines in the Iliad are apparently without any direct repetition. Was such a passage composed differently than the rest of the poem? Or is the absence of formulas merely a matter of chance? Are there differences in content or purpose between the two passages of Beowulf Whallon cites? In order to answer such questions, we must at least recognize that the differences exist. We need descriptions of the verse that are as accurate as possible. And accuracy includes the distinction, so far as it can be drawn, between verses that are formulas, verses that are included in formulaic systems, and verses that are not formulaic.

In fact, definitions which omit the necessity of direct repetition make it virtually impossible to distinguish between the formulaic nature of all language, of poetic technique, and of specifically "formulaic" poetry (whether or not oral). The characteristic of formulaic poetry is, to the reader, its high proportions of repeated phrases, not its use of particular syntactic structures. Parry and Lord recognized this when they included direct repetition in their definitions of formulas. Watts'

definition requires direct repetition and a common Sievers' type. The restriction according to rhythmic type brings her definition into closer conformity with that of Parry and Lord--and this is a major reason why her definition should be accepted. She accepts "changes in inflection, tense, number, etc. that do not change the rhythm of the half-line,"¹⁸ and allows substitution or addition of minor unstressed words (like prepositions and particles) where they do not alter the basic rhythm of the verse. She seems not to include changes of stressed pronouns, though I see no reason why they should be excluded. Thus I would count Elene 400b "hlæfdige us" and 656b "hlæfdige min" as the same formula, rather than as part of a formulaic system. The change of inflection from first person plural to first person singular is no more radical than the change of inflection between Elene 218b "hyded ware" and 1107b "hydde waron," which Watts accepts.

There remains one further question concerning the nature of the repetitions which determine whether or not a verse is a formula, namely, the size of the body of poetry from which repetitions may be drawn. Many of the scholars who have discussed Old English formulas have, like Magoun, included any verse repeated anywhere in Old English poetry. However, Parry and Lord considered it desirable to limit the body of poetry by which formulas are determined to the

¹⁸Watts, p. 91.

work of the individual poet; if that is impossible, the work should be restricted to that of one area at one time.

According to Lord,

One must work with material of a single singer at a given time, and then outwards by concentric circles to his group, his district, and so forth. Otherwise one uses material which is irrelevant to the song and the singer under scrutiny.¹⁹

However, Watts decides that

Hunting for phrases beyond the unifying limits of a single poem in Old English is fully justified as a means of ramifying evidence if only because . . . almost all Old English poetry is composed according to one rhythmical convention.²⁰

She continues,

Until a greater amount of more dependable information about the history of the period, and the poetic conventions which it took for granted, is available, the inclusion of phrases from totally differing poems within the supporting evidence for the formulaic character of one poem cannot be misleading so long as rigorous definitions of the formula and the formulaic system are upheld in practice.²¹

Notwithstanding this statement, Watts herself analyzes the formulaic content of Beowulf and Elene using only Beowulf to determine formulas in Beowulf, and only Elene for Elene.

Her practice is preferable to her argument. Obviously, the aim is to draw evidence from as nearly a homogeneous body of poetry as possible. However, it is not certain that the single "rhythmical convention" justifies

¹⁹Lord, Singer, p. 289, n. 11.

²⁰Watts, p. 98.

²¹Ibid., p. 99.

including every poem written anywhere in England during three centuries, particularly when the signed poems themselves make a fairly substantial body of literature.²² Since, for the purposes of this study at least, we are interested in what Cynewulf and perhaps his immediate audience recognized as formulas, the only safe policy is to use only verses he himself repeated. There is no special virtue in having high percentages of formulas unless there is reasonable certainty that they are relevant to the particular poetry being examined. An additional practical reason for restricting the analysis here to the signed poems is that, since we have no reliable concordance for all Old English poetry, it is far too easy to make serious mistakes of omission.²³ And if we wish to base arguments on relative frequency of formulas, we must be able to determine that frequency with some reliability. There are likely to be fewer errors and omissions in a personally compiled concordance based on 2,600 lines than on 30,000.

Using Watts' definition, we are forced to concede that Cynewulf's poems are indeed highly formulaic (we should note that her definition is far more restrictive than those proposed by Mageun and most of his followers).

²² If one wishes to discuss formulas in a short poem, one must make some compromises with what is desirable-- which is one of the good arguments against trying to make a case based on formulaic analysis of short poems.

²³ For example, see the discussion of Campbell's study in Chapter Two, pp. 28-30.

She appends a list of formulas in Beowulf and Elene to her discussion in order to provide illustration and support.²⁴ Her analysis of the formulas is useful, but not exhaustive --she omits a number of half-line formulas in Elene,²⁵ so the total should be 18.9% rather than 14.8%. According to her figures, Beowulf is slightly more formulaic than Elene (16.6% in Beowulf and 14.8% in Elene). According to my figures, Elene is slightly higher in formulas (18.9% in Elene and 17.8% in Beowulf).²⁶ Of course, as indicated above, her figures for Elene include only those verses which are directly repeated in Elene itself. It seems reasonable in terms of the near certainty that Cynewulf wrote all four signed poems, and in terms of length compared to Beowulf (2601 lines in the combined four poems, 3182 in Beowulf) to count the four signed poems as one in collecting figures for comparison to Beowulf. When all the verses repeated within the signed poems are included, Elene has 25% repeated half-lines, or considerably more than Beowulf.

The jump from 18.9% to 25% is hardly surprising. One expects that the greater the number of lines considered,

²⁴Watts, Appendix, pp. 227-65.

²⁵I omit three verses which Watts includes: Elene 338a, 836a, and 209a. All three require the acceptance of emendations. I include 109 verses which Watts omits, and which I list at the beginning of Appendix A, a complete list of formulas in Cynewulf's four poems.

²⁶My count in Beowulf is based on the Bessinger-Smith computer concordance, which makes formulas easier to find than Cook's, the concordance available to Watts.

the higher the percentage of repeated verses will be. In the 122 lines of Fates of the Apostles, there is not a single internal repetition; in any group of 122 lines taken at random from the corpus of Old English poetry the number of internal repetitions would be extremely small. For example, if we consider lines 1-122 of Beowulf in isolation, there are only two formulas repeated (3a, 75a "monegum mag-pum"; 54b, 114a "longe prage"), and in Beowulf 1001-1122 there are no half-line repetitions at all. The brevity of the passages under consideration necessarily reduces the chance of internal repetition. When all 3182 lines of Beowulf provide the verses by which we determine formulaic repetition, lines 1-122 have 37 formulas, or 15.2%, and lines 1001-1122, instead of none, have 38, or 15.6%. Thus one would expect Fates taken alone to have few or no formulas; Christ II to have more, but still relatively few; Juliana to have more than the two shorter poems; and Elene to have most. This is the case. Fates has no direct repetitions, Christ II has 75 or 8.8%, Juliana has 156 or 10.7%, and Elene has 499 or 18.9%.

Taking the four poems together as the basis for determining formulaic repetition, one expects the individual poems to show roughly the same percentage of repetitions, as did the two brief passages of Beowulf analyzed above. This is not, in fact, the case. The longer poems are more highly formulaic than the shorter ones. Elene, with 2636 complete half-lines, has 659 formulas, or 25%. Juliana,

with 1461 complete half-lines, has 301 formulas, or 20.6%. Christ II, with 854 half-lines, has 168 formulas, or 19.5%; and Fates, with 244 half-lines, has 32 formulas, or 13.1%. Thus Elene has double the percentage of formulas of Fates, while Juliana and Christ II have roughly the same percentages.

On examination, it appears that short poems in Old English generally have fewer internal repetitions than passages of the same length extracted from longer poems. The tables on the following page should make this clear. The first table compares four short poems, Fates of the Apostles, Fortunes of Men, The Wanderer, and The Seafarer. The second table compares 122-line passages (chosen to match the length of Fates, Cynewulf's only short poem) from Beowulf, Christ II, Juliana, and Elene. Oddly enough, the three Cynewulfian poems show greater internal repetition within the brief passages than Beowulf does. Where the four Beowulf passages have 0 to 6 internal repetitions, the Cynewulfian poems have 12 to 16 repetitions in passages of the same length. This is particularly surprising since Cynewulf's Fates of the Apostles is like the other short poems in having no internal repetitions.

In any case, it is clear that there are substantial differences in the number or percentage of formulas between different poems and between various parts within individual poems. It is tempting to assume some sort of connection between use of formulas and kind of poetry, or perhaps

Internal Repetitions in Short Poems

poem	number of lines	repetitions	percentage
<u>Fates</u>	122	0	0
<u>Fortunes of Men</u>	98	0	0
<u>Wanderer</u>	115	2	.9%
<u>Seafarer</u>	124	0	0

Internal Repetitions in 122-line Passages
from Longer Poems

poem	lines	repetitions the passage itself	percentage within the passage	verses repeated anywhere in poem	percentage
<u>Beowulf</u>	1-122	4	1.6%	37	15.2%
<u>Beowulf</u>	1001-1122	0	0	38	15.6%
<u>Beowulf</u>	2001-2122	6	2.5%	42	17.2%
<u>Beowulf</u>	3001-3122	2	.8%	44	18.0%
<u>Christ II</u>	440-561	16	6.6%	56	23.0%
<u>Juliana</u>	1-122	12	4.9%	50	20.5%
<u>Klone</u>	1-122	15	6.1%	51	20.9%
<u>Klone</u>	1001-1122	12	4.9%	79	30.0%

method or ease of composition. Some of these possible relationships can be tested; others cannot. One of the purposes of this study is to test some of these possibilities as they relate to Cynewulf's four poems. The following chapter will propose criteria for designating passages as either "high" or "low" in formula content, and then will examine different kinds of poetic material within the poems to see whether there are correlations between the passages. Some of the kinds of poetry tested are passages containing "traditional" themes, passages closely translated from the Latin prose sources, passages for which there is no basis in the Latin, narrative highlights, direct speech, and manuscript divisions. All of this discussion will deal with the concentration (usually expressed in percentage form) of repetition in various passages.

Afterward, the discussion moves from repetition per se to an examination of the rhetorical function of specific repeated formulas in the individual signed poems. Finally, less exact repetitions (like elements of formulaic systems) will be examined for rhetorical function, in order to see in what ways, if any, such repetitions are used differently than repeated formulas.

CHAPTER TWO

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF FORMULAS IN CYNEWULF'S POEMS

One of the striking features of the use of formulas in Old English verse is their peculiar distribution. Rather than being spread relatively evenly through a poem, they occur most often in closely associated groups. Thus one may find in a single poem several lines together where nearly half the verses are formulas, and another large group of lines where only one or two formulas occur. While this fact has attracted some attention, it has never been satisfactorily explained.

The first step in considering the problem is finding terms with which to discuss the phenomenon. Throughout my discussion, I propose to call these closely related groups of formulas "clusters." A cluster is any group of three or more formulas separated by no more than the average number of non-formula verses for the poem. The next step will be to determine standards (such as number of formulas in a cluster, or length of the passage) to be applied in labeling passages as "high" or "low" in formula content.

It is evident that the formulas do tend to appear

in groups or clusters. In a random distribution, one would expect the standard bell-shaped curve, with the maximum near the average rather than significantly below or above. Thus, with the percentage of formulas in Elene 25% (that is, since approximately one verse in four is a formula), in a random distribution, one would expect most of the formulas to be separated by three verses that are not formulas. In Juliana and Christ II, with 20.6% and 19.7% respectively, one would expect most of the formulas to be separated by four non-formula verses. And Fates, with 13.1%, would have one formula for each seven verses (most of the formulas separated by six non-formula verses). But the distribution is not random: Cynewulf's poems are very heavily skewed to the left. In each of the four poems, about two-thirds of the formulas appear closer together than the average distance apart. This may be standard in Old English; I have included Beowulf in the following table to show that it follows the same tendency.¹

average number of non-formula verses between formulas ²	under	average	over
<u>Elene</u> (average 3)	59.8%	10.2%	30.4%
<u>Juliana</u> (average 4)	66.5	3.0	30.4

¹I will not attempt to determine what causes the clustering in Beowulf; if there is an answer at all, it may possibly apply to Beowulf in the same way as it applies to the signed poems. However, that investigation would be too far from the necessarily limited scope of this study.

²See Table I at the end of the thesis for a breakdown of the material summarized here.

average number of non-formula verses between formulas	under	average	over
<u>Christ II</u> (average 4)	62.7%	2.4%	35.1%
<u>Fates</u> (average 6)	59.4	9.4	31.2
<u>Beowulf</u> (average 5)	64.5	6.9	28.8

The clustering suggests that use of a formula triggered a habit of thought which evoked more formulas, sometimes related, sometimes not. If it is possible to find some consistent explanation (or explanations) to account for this phenomenon, it will be more nearly possible to understand some aspects involved in composing an Old English poem in the traditional style.

My decisions about determining passages which are high or low in formulas were necessarily arbitrary; I have tried, however, to keep them objective.³ I defined a "cluster" of formulas as three or more formulas, separated from each other by no more non-formula verses than the average for the poem. Thus, for Fates, a cluster consists of three or more formulas with no more than six intervening non-formula verses between any two. For Christ II and Juliana,

³My method takes no account of sentence or paragraph divisions. There are arguments both for and against this choice, but I decided to ignore all matters of syntax, determining character of passages with regard only to the frequency of appearance of formulas. The set of charts which makes up Table II shows formulas (designated by "x") along a linear representation of each poem from line 1a to the end. This makes it possible to gain a clear visual impression of the phenomenon of "clustering," and should also make it easier for a reader to check the accuracy of my arithmetic.

the formulas can have no more than four intervening non-formula verses, and for Elene the intervening verses can number no more than three. A passage "high" in formulas consists of a "cluster" containing at least four formulas (five for Elene). The more formulas a given cluster has, the "higher" it is; thus a passage with four formulas juxtaposed, though the percentage for those four verses is 100%, is less substantial than a passage of fifteen verses with seven formulas (47%). Passages "low" in formulas are defined in terms of the average distance between formulas, and thus differ from poem to poem. Passages must be at least three times the average length between formulas: Fates, 21 verses minimum; Christ II and Juliana, 15 verses; Elene, 12 verses or more. Each "low" passage must begin and end with a series of non-formula verses well in excess of the average distance between formulas: Fates, 10 non-formula verses at the beginning and end of a passage; Christ II and Juliana, at least 7 non-formula verses; Elene, 6 or more non-formula verses at each end of "low" passages. No passage designated "low" can have any cluster within it (this allows such a passage to have two formulas juxtaposed or close together, but not three).

In Fates there are five high passages, totalling 84 verses (34% of the poem), with 27 formulas (84% of the poem's total). The fourteen high passages of Christ II include 188 verses (22% of the poem) and 87 formulas (52%). The 30 high passages in Juliana include 360 verses (25% of

the poem) and 182 formulas (63% of those in the poem). The 48 high passages in Elene total 686 verses (26% of the poem) and 357 formulas (54% of the poem's total). The low passages in Fates include 141 verses (58%) and 5 formulas (16%). Those in Christ II include 408 verses (48%) and 28 formulas (17%). Juliana's low passages include 579 verses (40%) and 35 formulas (12%), while Elene's have 929 verses (35%) and 59 formulas (9%).⁴ Remaining passages are designated "intermediate."

The question of whether passages high or low in formulas are used to express different kinds of poetic material may be approached in two ways. First, one can simply go through the poem, comparing the content of high and low passages, to see if they appear to be used for different purposes. Second, the opposite method can be used--distinguishing kinds of material or parts of the poem, and then checking to see if each category tends to be uniformly either high or low in formulas.

Let us consider the first approach, beginning with its application to Fates of the Apostles:

Fates

Low: 1a-13b Introduction of the twelve; fate of the first two.

High: 14a-22a Andrew's choice of eternal life.

⁴ A listing of the high and low passages from all four poems is included as Appendix B. It also includes high and low passages for Christ II, Juliana, and Elene considered independently.

Intermediate: 22b-26b John's lineage.

High: 27a-35a Christ's birth; the "journey" of John and James.

Low: 35b-51b Fates of Philip and Bartholomew; beginning of Thomas's.

High: 52a-56b Thomas's raising of the dead.

Intermediate: 57a-62b Thomas's death.

High: 63a-74a Fates of Matthew and James the Less.

Low: 74b-115a Fate of Simon and Thaddeus, restatement of the deaths of the twelve. Poet's address to the reader; rune passage; poet's "journey" likened to that faced by every man.

High: 115b-122b Prayer that we too may reach heaven.

There is no clear reason why the fates of Andrew, John and James, Matthew, and James the Less (all high in formulas) should be distinguished first from Peter and Paul, Philip, Bartholomew, and Simon and Thaddeus (all low in formulas) and second from Thomas, whose career is described in a passage which moves from low to high to intermediate. We may note that the introductory and concluding summaries of the fates of the twelve are both expressed in low passages, and that the rune passage is also low in formulas--but without seeing the same kind of material expressed similarly elsewhere, no conclusions can safely be drawn.

An examination of Christ II is also inconclusive, though again there are some passages that suggest the desirability of comparing poems. Some passages that are clearly logical units move from high to low, as did the description of Thomas's work and death in Fates. An

example would be the angel song, lines 558-585, which begins as part of a high passage (557a-562b), and ends as part of a low passage (574a-595b). There are two long lists in the poem; both are low in formulas. The first is the sum passage listing the gifts God gives man. It is introduced with a summary passage high in formulas (655b-663b), but the detailed list (664-681a) is part of a long passage low in formulas (664a-689b). The second is the "leaps" of Christ. Again the list is introduced by a high passage (713a-715b), though this one stops short of the summation. The low passages (716a-725b; 735b-745a; 748a-758a) contain the metaphor which will be elaborated and the first two leaps, the sixth leap, and the application of the metaphor--that man too must progress by "leaps." The trune passage might perhaps be considered a third example of a list--and again it is, with a short break, low in formulas (791b-801b; 804a-813b). One difficulty with trying to make much of the low concentration of formulas in the lists of Christ II is that Fates, which is structured as a long list, shows variation of formula content. And the two actual lists in Christ II are not sufficient to base clear conclusions upon. However, they do suggest a possibility that might well be examined in the other two poems.

The investigation applied to Juliana again yields no absolutely definite results; certainly the most important material does not appear exclusively in either

category, and there are again unified passages which extend from high to low. There are two lists in Juliana. One of them, the sum passage, is low, as were the two lists in Christ II. ~~The sum passage extends from 468b-494a, entirely within a passage low in formulas (457b-501a).~~ The devil's summarizing statement that he is responsible for all the evil from the beginning of the world, 506b-510a, corresponds with a high passage, 507b-510b. However, the other list, the devil's itemization of important people he has destroyed (289a-315a), begins in a low passage (281b-296b) and extends into a high passage (303b-310b). The runic signatures of both Fates and Christ II were low in formulas; that of Juliana is intermediate--neither high nor low.

Let us examine the high and low passages in the first 200 lines of Elene:

Passages High in Formulas:

- 5a-9a Establishment of the time at which the story takes place.
- 15b-20a Constantine a great king; battle offered him.
- 125b-129b Pagans flee when cross raised during battle.
- 143b-150a Constantine triumphant.
- 178a-191a Gospel declared to Constantine.

Passages Low in Formulas:

- 25b-36b The pagan armies gather.
- 82a-95b Constantine's vision of the Cross.
- 111b-119a Battle begins.

130a-140b Pagan's dispersed (brief sum passage, 131b-137b).

150b-168a Constantine tries to discover the significance of the Cross.

Obviously, material that seems much alike appears in both lists of passages. The pagans flee throughout a high and a low passage (125b-140b). It is certainly true that important material is expressed in both high and low formula passages. This continues through the rest of the poem. There are no long lists in Elene like the two in Christ II and the two in Juliana--but the brief sum passage is low in formulas, like the longer ones in the other two poems. And once again the runic signature appears in the middle of a long passage low in formulas.

In the four poems there appears to be no consistent link between either all high passages or all low passages; there is no clear distinction between the two categories in terms of the nature of the material presented. There are two interesting points of similarity between poems, however. The lists in Christ II, Juliana, and Elene all tend to be low in formulas. We would not, perhaps, expect a very long list to be high in formulas, since high passages tend to be considerably shorter than low passages. But it is rather surprising that only one of the five lists (unless we count the entire poem of Fates as a list) is high in formulas at any point, except in summarizing passages at the beginning or end. A second point worth noting is that the rune-passage is never high in formulas. Three of

the four times the runes appear, they do so in passages low in formulas. The fourth time, the passage does not meet criteria for being considered low, but neither is it high.

Aside from these two uses for passages low in formulas, however, the investigation from this direction is inconclusive. Thus we should turn our attention to the second way of approaching the problem--that of looking through the poems to find passages that seem similar in content or form, and then checking to see whether they correlate with high or low formula content. It is possible to look for explanations for the differing formula content of the four poems (sequence of composition, for example), but such explanations tend to be untestable.

D. M. Jehle suggests that the increase of Latin rhetorical devices from the few in Fates to more in Christ II, more still in Juliana, and most in Elene might suggest that this was the order of composition, that is, that Cynewulf developed an increasing ability to handle the complexities of formal rhetoric.⁵ Paralleling this argument, one might suggest that in addition Cynewulf learned increasingly how best to handle the traditional formulaic style of Old English poetry: that he began weakly with Fates, learned more, and finally was able to handle the technique so well that nearly a fourth of his final poem, Elene, was formulas.

⁵D. M. Jehle, "Latin Rhetoric in the Signed Poems of Cynewulf" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1973).

Unfortunately for the success of such an explanation, it would be equally reasonable to argue from the other angle-- that, Elene, heavily traditional, came first, and that as the poet developed his own ideas of personal poetic abilities, he diverged both from the artifices of Latin rhetorical devices and from the formulaic techniques of his Germanic ancestors.⁶ Neither argument is amenable to proof, and therefore neither is worth more than passing speculation. Barring yet undiscovered external evidence, we cannot tell from Cynewulf's differing use of either Latin rhetoric or formulas which of the poems was written first and which last.

But the differences in technique implied by the variation in numbers of formulas might relate to the relative closeness of the Old English to the Latin original-- or to the Germanic heroic tradition. The first has not, to my knowledge, been considered before; the second has, at least by implication, been suggested by a number of critics.

J. J. Campbell examined The Seafarer for formulaic content (using the whole body of Old English poetry to determine formulas, as Magoun did) in 1960.⁷ He discovered that the first 38 lines had far more formulas (and also more "poetic" words) than the last 60 lines. There were,

⁶It is possible that use of rhetorical devices might somehow increase naturally with the length of the poem, as formulas appear to do.

⁷J. J. Campbell, "Oral Poetry in The Seafarer," Speculum, 35 (1960), 87-96.

according to his count, 20 formulas in the 76 verses of the first section of the poem, and 24 formulas in the final 120 verses. Thus the percentage of formulas in the first part was just over 26%, with the last part having only 20%.

This suggested to Campbell that "the Christian poet who put the poem together into its present form" was possibly "adapting an older poem and perhaps putting it to a thematic use which it did not originally have."⁸ His argument, then, was based on the assumption that the section of the poem that was highest in formulas was in fact an older poem, written in a heavily traditional style. He accounted for the less formulaic nature of the last part of the poem by considering it to be a later addition. The earlier the poem, the higher the use of formulas; the later the poem, the more "artificial" the use of them.

Though he did not quarrel with Campbell's basic assumption that the age of a text could be determined by its formulaic nature, Wayne A. O'Neil, in the next number of the same journal, undermined Campbell's argument by attacking his supporting evidence.⁹ He found one formula which Campbell had failed to count in the first section of the poem (38b), and ten which Campbell had not counted in the final section (65a, 68b, 83b, 77a, 87b, 94b, 101b, 102b, 107a, and 124b). This new count brought the

⁸ Campbell, p. 91.

⁹ Wayne A. O'Neil, "Another Look at Oral Poetry in The Seafarer," Speculum, 35 (1960), 596-600.

percentages to 27.6% for the first section, and 28.3% for the final section. O'Neil demonstrated that in the lines from The Seafarer selected by Campbell, the proportion of formulas was nearly the same in both sections, and could not therefore be used to support arguments about the relative age or the method of composition of parts of the poem.

I have discussed these two articles at length because they approach the problem of distribution of formulas in a way that seems as if it might be useful when applied to virtually any Old English text. Campbell was wrong because he failed to take into consideration all verses that were formulas (not difficult to do in these years before the completion of an Old English concordance). His failure was not in his application, or at least not necessarily or demonstrably so. The association he suggests between high use of formulas and age of poetic fragment may be viable for poems or parts of poems. The argument in its simplest terms (oral versus written original text) is of course inapplicable to Cynewulf, whose poems were almost certainly not collections of old poems interspersed with his own work. But in its more complex terms, the argument might be applicable. Do traditional themes, for example, evoke a greater reliance on formulas? Are passages of literal translation lower in formulas than Cynewulf's "original" passages? Answers to those questions certainly will advance our understanding of the way Cynewulf wrote his poems.

One indication that traditional "oral" Germanic

passages are not distinguished from Latin translation by high use of formulas is the relative concentration of formulas in Cynewulf's four poems. Elene, which is certainly close to the Latin, is highly formulaic. Fates, for which there has not yet been found a specific Latin source, is least formulaic. And the least formulaic passage in Elene is the last section, the signature passage (lines 1236-1321). When formulas are determined only by repetitions within the one poem, the last section has 8.7% formulas, compared to 18.9% for the poem as a whole. If formulas are determined by repetition within the four signed poems, the last section has 14.6% compared to 25%. In either case, the final section has only about half the percentage of formulas found in the rest of the poem. The signature passage, of course, has no parallel in the Latin. According to Charles W. Kent in his edition of Elene, the poem shows "marked parallelism" to the Latin "Vita Quiriaci" in the Acta Sanctorum of the 4th of May in sections IV to X, while I-III and XI-XV are less close.¹⁰ And the use of formulas is on the average higher in the close passages than in the distant ones (26.6% compared to 23.2%). All these facts would tend to suggest the alternative (and conflicting) theory that closeness to Latin is correlated with extensive use of formulas. It may be possible that the formula was

¹⁰ Charles W. Kent, ed., Cynewulf's Elene, Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Vol. VI (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1889), p. 6.

used not to fill in time while the poet searched for words to express his next idea, but instead as the most satisfactory way of translating received material. The obvious way to resolve this problem is to examine at least one poem in some detail, checking it for closeness of translation and for "traditional" passages. A discussion of how passages high or low in formulas correlate with passages either very close to or very far from the Latin may demonstrate that one point of view or the other is correct.

Campbell proposed an answer to this problem in the two passages from The Seafarer. However, he failed to note that the phenomenon he attempted to use to explain the difference between the first and last parts of the poem was operating equally dramatically within those two parts. He found 20 formulas in the first 38 lines. Within that 38 lines, there are some passages that are high and some that are low in use of formulas. The twelve verses of lines 10-15, for example, have seven formulas (58%), while the seventeen verses following (lines 16-24) have none. If the supposed difference between 26% and 20% was worth discussion, certainly the difference between two passages of more than five lines with 58% compared to zero is worth some thought. It is perhaps just because these differences are so pervasive a part of Old English poetry that they have been so overlooked. At times, these differences have simply been acknowledged and then passed over. O'Neil argues that differences in formula content cannot prove

dates of composition simply because such differences are ubiquitous in Old English. His article points out that

Mr. Creed, in his analysis of the formulaic structure of Beowulf, did not advocate a return to the views of Mullenhoff, Moller, and tenBrink, although he certainly saw that there were parts of Beowulf that were more heavily formulaic than other parts.¹¹

O'Neil merely points out the difference of formula content; neither he nor Creed makes anything of this difference.

One attempt to explain this grouping or clustering of formulas was made by Robert E. Diamond.¹² He attempts to relate the phenomenon to the ornamental use of traditional themes. He discusses the battle passage in Elene 109b-143, the voyage in Elene 225-255, and the voyage in Christ II 850-863, among other passages throughout Old English poetry. Of Elene 225-255, Diamond says,

It is as if the poet turned it [the theme] on, and the traditional formulas [by implication, but not in fact, formulas specifically related to this theme] came tumbling out, and then he turned it off, and St. Helena, having arrived in the Holy Land, goes on about the chief business of the poem, finding the True Cross.¹³

Certainly as one reads the poem, the voyage (like the battle passage) does not seem a disjunctive intrusion into the "chief business" of the poem. If the voyage and battle are "ornamental" rather than essential to the story, so is all the elaboration--including the lengthy and repetitive

¹¹ O'Neil, p. 599.

¹² Robert E. Diamond, "Theme as Ornament in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," PLA, 76 (1961), 461-68.

¹³ Ibid., p. 464.

meetings with the Jews, which are part of the story as it appears in the Latin sources. Old English poetry delights in ornamentation and elaboration, which are not restricted to "traditional themes." And considering the structure and emphasis of the entire poem, many readers would hardly agree that the "chief business" of the poem is merely the finding of the True Cross. Diamond never makes it clear how he determines which passages are "ornamental," which "traditional," and which the "chief business," though such definitions would seem crucial to his argument.

Diamond gives the percentage of whole verse repeats in the three passages indicated above as follows: Elene 109b-143, 31.8%; Elene 225-255, 32.2%; Christ II 850-863, 42.8%. He defines formulas on the basis of repetitions anywhere in the entire corpus of Old English poetry. As explained in Chapter One, this basis for determining formulas seems to me to present a problem, primarily because passages cannot easily be checked for errors of omission, and secondarily because we are interested in verses that Cynewulf recognized as formulas--and that can only be determined by counting the verses he himself repeated. If we define formulas as whole verse repeats within the four signed poems, those figures change to 18.8% for the battle in Elene 109b-143 (13 formulas); 17.7% for the voyage in Elene 225-255 (11 formulas), and 25% for the voyage metaphor in Christ 850-863 (7 formulas). While the passage in Christ II is more highly formulaic than the whole of the

poem (19.7%), both of the passages in Elene are considerably lower than the average percentage of formulas in that poem (25%).

Diamond's basic error seems to have been a failure to compare percentages of formulas in the "theme" passages with "non-theme" passages of comparable length. His article does not include any figures which would allow a reader to make the comparison. The figures I have given above show that the passages from Elene are well below average in percentage of formulas. For a more specific comparison, let us consider the percentage of formulas in some passages of comparable length. Diamond decides to focus directly on the battle and voyage passages to find evidence of high formula content. He deliberately chooses to avoid the preliminaries of battle--which happen in this case to be somewhat more formulaic. Lines 18-52 (the same number of verses as the battle passage he chooses) show 21.7% formulas, well above the 18.8% in the passage he selected, but still below the average for the poem. If we consider the 69 verses at the beginning of the poem, lines 1-35, we find a percentage of 24.6% (17 formulas), which is average for the poem. The passage of the same length just before the voyage of Elene to the Holy Land is far higher in formulas than the voyage passage he chooses, and also well above the percentage for the poem: lines 191-225a have 24 formulas, or 34.8%. The most highly formulaic passage of about this length in the entire poem is lines 654-688a, where 69

verses include 30 whole verse repeats, or 43.5% formulas. This passage concerns one of the exchanges between Judas and Elene, where he claims to be ignorant of the hiding place of the Holy Cross, and she claims that he is lying. The passage is based closely on the Latin, and can be considered neither a traditional theme nor particularly ornamental. And although the fourteen lines Diamond cites from Christ II are more heavily formulaic than the average for the poem, they are by no means the lines highest in formulas. Two eighteen line passages, for example, have much higher percentages of formulas. Lines 532-549 have 14 formulas, or 38.9%, while lines 772-789 have 13 formulas, or 36.1%. Again, neither passage contains material unusually traditional or ornamental.

Diamond's thesis can be tested two ways. We can find passages containing traditional themes, count the formulas, and see if they are above average. Or we can find passages that have high concentrations of formulas, and see whether they happen also to concern themselves with traditional material. Both tests fail when applied to Elene. Since they are untrue for Elene, that explanation seems a risky one to apply to Christ 850-863, where the first test may seem positive--if we consider the Christian allegory of human life to be a traditional ocean voyage scene. The association that Diamond makes between traditional and ornamental passages and the heavy use of formulas is attractive, but when one investigates carefully, it

does not provide the explanation it purports to do. Certainly something seems to "turn on" formulas--perhaps use of one somehow triggers use of other associated ones--but Diamond's argument does not hold.

A slightly different approach to the problem can be taken. We can identify passages that are particularly high or particularly low in use of formulas, and then try to determine from the poem whether there is any correlation between use of formulas and anything else we may wish to test. For example, we might look for a correlation with passages that are translated closely, passages that do not appear to have a source in the Latin, highlights of the narrative, transitional passages, beginnings or ends of narrative divisions, beginnings or ends of manuscript sections, presence or absence of rhetorical devices modelled on the Latin, speeches compared to narrative, and so on. The investigation should be undertaken with the awareness that, while positive results would be most interesting and useful, even negative results are worth the effort involved. Merely providing evidence that formulas are not used distinctively in any of these types of passages is worthwhile in that it will prevent mistakes like those of Campbell and Diamond.

Of all the possible explanations of the phenomenon of clustering of formulas, probably the most often stated or implied is that of "oral" material versus "written" material. Therefore the explanations which relate somehow to

that controversy would seem the reasonable ones to check first. We have already seen that "traditional themes" in Elene and Christ II, as designated by Diamond, are not higher in formulas than other passages. It might be worthwhile, though, in relation to that question, to compare passages which are translated closely with those translated loosely, and with apparently "original" passages. There are six passages in Elene which appear to be without specific basis in the Latin.¹⁴ Three of them, the preliminaries of battle (18b-53), the battle itself (105-143), and the voyage of Elene to Jerusalem (225-270a) are not additions to the plot, but elaborations of what is at least implied in it. The battle does take place in all the sources, but not in such great detail; the voyage may not be mentioned specifically in the Latin, but it is at least implicit in the change of locale from somewhere near the Danube to Jerusalem. The other three appear to be actual

¹⁴John Gardner, "Cynewulf's Elene: Sources and Structure," Neophilologus, 54 (1970), 65-76, cites two other Cynewulfian additions to the story. But the life from the Acta Sanctorum as printed by Kent includes those details, while Holthausen's collation (on which Gardner relies) does not. Thus Gardner assumes that Cynewulf invented such details as the stress on Constantine's fear of the heathen army (lines 56b-68) and Elene's threat to burn the Jews (573-580); Gardner refers to "Constantine's fear, probably suggested by a single word, timuit, in Cynewulf's source . . ." (p. 67). But Kent's edition has "timuit usque ad mortem," which surely allows considerable emphasis to be placed on his fear. Gardner continues, "When Elene is at last provoked to a threat (original with Cynewulf) that she will burn and kill them, the wise men deliver up Judas . . ." (p. 71). But Kent has "Tunc beata Helena jubet illos omnes igni tradi."

additions. In the first and briefest of these passages, lines 205-210a, Constantine studies the scriptures and learns of the behaviour of the wicked Jews. Another addition is the long exuberant passage (lines 967-1016) in which the news of the discovery of the Cross is spread throughout the world, Elene sends word of the finding of the Cross to Constantine, and Elene receives his charge to build a church where the Cross was found. The final addition is the entire last section of the poem, the epilogue containing the runic signature passage.

If "original" passages were composed differently from the rest, we would expect them to be uniformly higher or lower in formulas than the rest of the poem. This is not the case:

lines	no. of verses	formulas	percentage
18b-53	70	14	20%
105-143	78	15	19%
205-210a	11	4	36%
225-270a	93	18	19%
967-1016	100	25	25%
1236-1321	171	25	15%

Four of the six passages are well below the average percentage for the poem, 25%. One exceeds the average, and it is a very short passage; one long passage matches the average for the poem. The extent of the variation (15%-36%) makes it clear that material added to the Latin source is not treated uniformly. Though the average

percentage of formulas for all these passages is 19%, well below the poem's average, there is more difference between one added section and another than between added material and translated material. In order to establish this clearly, we should examine a few passages that are generally agreed to be closely translated. According to Gardner, in all the confrontations between Elene and the Jewish wise-men, manuscript sections IV-VIII, lines 276-708, "Cynewulf follows his source very closely."¹⁵ Even closer than most of this material is Judas' prayer that a sign be given to indicate where to dig for the Cross, lines 725-801.¹⁶ Following are the figures relating to this prayer and to two of Elene's speeches to the Jews:

lines	verses	formulas	percentage
288-319	64	14	22%
333-376	88	19	22%
725-801	154	35	23%

The three passages are slightly, but not dramatically, below average for the poem. They surely are not treated differently enough that one could base an argument on the fact. At the same time, it is interesting that their percentages are so consistent.

One of the serious problems with this attempt to

¹⁵ Gardner, p. 69.

¹⁶ Watts gives this section in parallel columns of Old English and Latin to demonstrate the closeness of the translation, pp. 189-92.

differentiate between material close to and distant from the Latin is the difficulty of determining just what we will call "close." It is easy enough to determine material for which there is no basis in existing Latin versions; it is quite difficult to decide whether a translation which includes most details of the Latin, but elaborates considerably and perhaps changes the emphasis, is close or loose. As an illustration of the difficulty, let us consider the two speeches by Elene cited just above. In the first passage, lines 288-319, Elene reproaches the Jews for returning God "afst" for "ar." The sequence of the speech is the same in Latin and Old English, but the Old English is expanded. Thus Elene says that she has learned from sacred books that the Jews were once the chosen of God. In Latin, they are "dilecti Dei"¹⁷; in Old English, they

geardagum
 wyrðe wæron wuldorcyninge,
 dryhtne dyre ond dædhwate.
 (290-292)¹⁸

The basic concept is the same, but it is elaborated and defined into their being worthy, beloved, and powerful in deeds. A few lines later, Elene states that God wished to redeem the Jews from their curse. The Latin uses a single

¹⁷I use Kent's printing of the Life from the Acta Sanctorum throughout this discussion.

¹⁸Quotations and line references for the poems are from The Vercelli Book, ed. George P. Krapp, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, Vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932) and The Exeter Book, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, ASPR, Vol. III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

word for "curse," "maledictum," whereas the Old English says

þe eow of wergþe þurh his wuldres miht
fram ligcwale, lysan þohte,
of hæftneðe.

(295-297)

The abstract idea of "curse" is defined and concretized by the elaboration into "punishment," "fiery torment," and "bondage." Thus "curse" becomes synonymous with "hell." In both these examples of elaboration, there is some shifting or addition of meaning, but the general idea of the Latin is accurately transmitted.

In Elene's second speech, lines 333-376, there is the same kind of adherence to the Latin, but with the addition of extra information which dramatically alters the tone of the passage. Elene confounds and rebukes the Jews by quoting their own prophets to them. She reminds them of Isaiah's words: "cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe Domini sui, Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus meus me non intellexit." The Old English elaboration greatly strengthens the case against the ungrateful Jews.

þa weregan neat,
þe man daga gehwan drifeð ond þirscæð,
ongitap hira goddend, nales gnyrnwæcum
feogað frynd hiera, þe him fodder gifeð.
Ond me Israhela afe ne woldon
folc oncnawan, þeah ic feala for him
after woruldstundum wundra gefremode.

(357-363)

In the Latin, the ox and ass simply know their masters; in the Old English, the beasts are wretched and are daily

driven and beaten, yet recognize their benefactor. He who feeds them is their friend. This focus on the wretchedness of the cattle, who recognize a benefactor nevertheless, points up the contrast with the Jews who refuse to acknowledge their Lord. And this contrast is further intensified by the "fela wundra" performed by God on behalf of the Jews, a detail omitted in the Latin. One cannot reasonably argue that the Latin and the Old English fail to agree, for they are indeed close--or parallel. However, one can argue that the closeness is more in sequence than in tone. Most of the minor alterations and additions change the emphasis or tone of the passage. So "curse," elaborated into a clear foretelling of the pains of hell, is made a concrete horror rather than an abstract threat; recognition of a master is put into terms which make both the beasts' recognition and the Jews' failure to recognize more pointed. The Latin points out a failure; the Old English makes it a heinous failure, and a failure of gratitude rather than simply one of understanding.

This kind of change is pervasive throughout the poem. It makes it difficult if not impossible to determine with accuracy precisely which passages of the Old English are close translations of the Latin and which are loose. The decision is necessarily somewhat subjective, but the three passages for which I give percentages of formulas do seem reasonable choices for closeness--and they have been so considered by both Kent and Gardner.

The fact that neither the three close passages cited nor the six without direct Latin parallel show significant and constant differences in percentages from each other or from the poem's average suggests strongly that this attempt to account for the clustering of formulas does not provide sufficient answer. Formulas may be related directly to the process of accurate translation, or to the composition of "original" material, but it is not possible to demonstrate it unambiguously.

This conclusion is confirmed by a similar analysis of Juliana, using Garnett's detailed comparison of Cynewulf's poem with the Latin legend.¹⁹ There are a number of verses that are literal translations of the Latin. For example, Garnett cites "lux oculorum meorum" translated by "minra eagna lecht" (95b), "idolis surdis et mutis" by "dumbum ond deafum deofolgielsum" (150), "dulcissima mea Juliana" by "min se swetesta . . . Iuliana" (166a, 167a), "per sex horas" by "six tida dages" (230b), and "angelus Domini sum" by "ic eom engel godes" (261a). Some of these literally translated verses are formulas, and some are not (two of the seven listed here are formulas). Garnett identifies four long passages (242-315, 345-417, 530-558, 569-671) where the Latin is "closely followed" or only "slightly expanded," and four passages "much expanded" or added by

¹⁹J. M. Garnett, "The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon Juliana," PMLA, 14 (1899), 279-98.

the poet (209-224, 460-530, 420b-422b, 683-731). Both the passages close to and those far from the Latin show a wide range of percentages of formulas:

Closely translated:

lines	verses	formulas	percentage
242-315,	148	34	23%
345-417	146	26	18%
530-558	58	18	31%
569-671	206	38	18%

Loosely translated:

209-224	32	7	22%
460-530	142	18	13%

Added:

420b-422	6	0	0
683-731	98	19	19%

The closely translated passages average 20.7% formulas, with a range from 18%-31%; the loosely translated and added passages average 16%, with a range from 0-22%.

Christ II also shows great variation, as is illustrated by the following table:²⁰

Passages based on Gregory:

lines	verses	formulas)	percentage
440-455	32	6	19%
545b-557	25	7	28%

²⁰The passages designated as having specific basis in Gregory or as being Cynewulf's additions are according to Albert S. Cook's scheme in The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston: Athenaeum Press, 1900), pp. 115-16.

lines	verses	formulas	percentage
613-755	286	42	15%
782b-796	29	8	28%
807b-866	120	26	22%
Cynewulf's additions:			
456-545a	179	41	23%
558-612	110	22	20%
756-782a	53	13	25%
797-807a	21	3	14%

Here the closely translated passages are lower in formulas than the additions. They average 18% formulas, with a range of 15%-28%, while the added passages average 22%, with a range from 14%-25%. It is clear that neither closeness to the Latin source nor "original" composition tends consistently to be either high or low in formulas.

A different possible explanation for the extensive use of formulas might be to add intensity to the highlights of the narrative. The danger of attempting to test this explanation is primarily in its subjectivity. The problem demands that a reader be able to recognize passages as highlights, and this recognition will necessarily be at least partially a matter of individual response to the poem. Even if we can agree on which elements of the plot are important, the problem of determining precisely where a particular passage begins or ends is both crucial and subjective. For example, one could argue that Constantine's vision of the Cross ends at line 93 (the motto), 95 (the

departure of the angel), or 98 (Constantine's cheer as a result of the vision, which falls at the end of the manuscript section). Still, there are several passages that would probably be generally accepted as centrally important points in the narrative. Some of them might be Constantine's vision of the Cross (lines 69-98), the defeat of the heathens (109b-147), the finding of the Cross (827-844a), the miracle of the raising of the dead youth (870-889a), and the finding of the nails (1093-1119a). I have arbitrarily given the line numbers that seem to me to be appropriate. The incidence of formulas in these passages is as follows:

lines	verses	formulas	percentage
69-98	60	11	18%
109b-147	77	17	22%
827-844a	35	9	26%
870-889a	39	6	15%
1093-1119a	53	16	30%

Obviously, these passages are neither consistently high nor consistently low. The average is 22%, just below the poem's average. And the tendency is for each passage to consist of a combination of high, low, and intermediate sections:

lines 69-98: [37a]-81b--intermediate
82a-95b--low
96a-[111a]--intermediate

lines 109b-147: [96a]-111a--intermediate
111b-119a--low
119b-125a--intermediate
125b-129b--high
130a-140b--low

141a-143a--intermediate
143b-[150a]--high

lines 827-844a: [811a]-827b--intermediate
828a-834b--low
835a-842a--high
842b-[847b]--intermediate

lines 870-889a: [869b]-881a--intermediate
881b-[891a]--low

lines 1093-1119a: 1093a-1111a--high
1111b-[1120a]--low

The fact that the percentages of formulas in these "highlight" passages vary drastically from each other and the fact that most of the apparently unified material is expressed in a combination of groups of lines designated high, low, and intermediate make it clear that the groups of formulas must not be intended by the poet to correspond with passages of particularly high narrative interest.

Related to the problem of narrative highlights is that of transitional passages, or of the beginnings and ends of major narrative divisions. As with narrative highlights, the most difficult decision is how we may define or identify such passages. Most modern readers would probably agree that the vision of Constantine followed by the defeat of the heathens is of major importance to the story, as is the series of confrontations between Elene and the Jews in Jerusalem. Therefore, the intervening material--Constantine's conversion and baptism, his orders to Elene, and her voyage to Jerusalem--would be "transitional." But there is no reason for us to dismiss the first conversion in the poem as subordinate material. In the intervals

between the three confrontations of the queen and the Jews, there is added material. The most important is Judas' lengthy speech filling in the background of the history of the Cross, and explaining why he alone is able to understand Elene's charges. While the information there presented is background to the story proper (to the "now" of the poem), it is crucial to an understanding of the plot. It is so essential that I would consider it necessary to the main narrative. A third passage possibly outside the main narrative occurs after Judas has caused the crosses to be dug up, and after the True Cross is revealed by the miracle of the raising of the dead. Almost all modern readers would regard as an intrusion into the plot the dialogue between the devil and Judas. But we are told that Judas is inspired by the Holy Ghost in his answer, and certainly Elene seems sufficiently impressed by it--so perhaps it was equally impressive to the poet and his audience.

In addition, if we are to consider the passage transitional, it is difficult to determine just what that transition is to or from. The earlier passage, Constantine's conversion and Elene's voyage, at least serves to change the locale of the poem. This passage may perhaps account for the change in Elene's attitude to Judas from distrust and bullying to admiration and reliance, though one would think that his prayers combined with his finding and identifying the Cross would have been sufficient for that. It is possible to say that the battle, confrontations,

finding of the Cross, and finding of the Nails constitute the main narrative movement of the poem, and that everything else is necessarily subordinate, transitional, or digressive. However, in poetry, far more than in simple prose narration, that stance seems a dangerously limited one. It has been reasonably argued that virtually every episode in Elene is used by the poet to echo or to contrast with some other episode in the poem.²¹ If that is so, then even transitional passages, if they exist at all, do so as more than transitional devices--they become essential to the structure of the poem, if incidental to the main narrative. Because such passages seem to be even more difficult to define than narrative highlights, I will not attempt to isolate them for this discussion.

The manuscript divisions present another place where a poet might choose to use formulas for deliberate effect. While we do not know who made the divisions or why, we do at least know without possibility of argument where they occur. They are defined by the manuscript, not by the subjective decision of the reader. Some critics believe that the manuscript divisions were determined by the poet--possibly as structural divisions, perhaps as indications of units of reasonable length and content for individual readings or recitations. Others hold that the divisions are purely scribal--perhaps indicating the

²¹Gardner, p. 66.

material contained in each folio of the source copied by the scribe-compiler. While Krapp and Dobbie do not commit themselves to a specific view, they point out that

None of the sections of the Exeter Book begins or ends in the middle of a verse line or of a sentence, and, for the most part, the sectional divisions of the manuscript correspond closely to natural divisions of thought.²²

Whatever the explanation of the divisions, however, we know that they were made by someone roughly contemporary with the poem, and that they are debatable only in the case of missing folios in the manuscripts available to us (thus, with Pope's theory of the lacuna in Christ II, we would be missing the end of section two and the beginning of section three;²³ in Juliana we are missing the beginning of the sixth section).

If the poet was responsible for the manuscript divisions, and if he consciously (or even unconsciously) used formulas for specific purposes, there might be some evidence available in the beginnings and ends of manuscript divisions. If there is no consistent pattern, we simply strike one more possible explanation from our list. If, however, there is a substantial difference between percentage of formulas used at the beginnings and ends of

²²Krapp and Dobbie, eds., ASPR, III, xvii-xviii.

²³John G. Pope, "The Lacuna in the Text of Cynewulf's Ascension (Christ II, 556b)," in E. Bagby Atwood and Archibald A. Hill, eds., Studies in the Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), pp. 210-19.

divisions, or between beginnings and ends compared with the average for the entire section, we would have evidence that would tend to suggest that formulas might be used for structural emphasis or decoration.

There does seem to be a difference, but it is not clear whether it is truly a significant one--partly because, as is so often the case, the four poems are not alike in the kind or amount of difference. Another problem is that, while there is certainly a strong tendency operating in the same direction in the two longer poems, the difference between beginnings and ends of divisions in Juliana is consistent within the poem, but in Elene it is not.

I decided to use only the ten lines, or twenty verses, at the beginning and end of each section. This was partly for convenience in figuring percentages, but mostly because an arbitrary figure had to be chosen, long enough to be worth counting, but short enough that anyone reading or hearing the poem would recognize it as not being the central bulk of the section.

The average percentages of formulas in the first and last ten lines of each section of the four signed poems are as follows:²⁴

²⁴ Compare Beowulf, where there is certainly no significant difference. The average percentage for beginnings of sections is 18%; of ends, 17.6%. The beginnings are higher than the ends in percentage of formulas 17 times, the same 4 times, and lower 21 times.

poem	beginnings	ends
<u>Fates</u> (one section)	5%	20%
<u>Christ II</u> (five sections)	21%	23%
<u>Juliana</u> (seven, but beginning of one missing)	28%	17%
<u>Elene</u> (fifteen sections)	29%	22%

The single section of Fates begins with few formulas, and ends with many, particularly when the figures are compared to the average percentage of formulas in the entire poem, 12%. The figures for Christ II are roughly the same, and are both slightly above the percentage for the poem as a whole, 19%. Both Juliana and Elene show figures that are strikingly higher for the beginnings of sections than for the ends. Since those are the two longest poems, and therefore the ones with the greatest statistical chance of showing a trend, it is tempting to decide that Juliana and Elene show a deliberately distinctive use of formulas.

Deliberate use of formulas to mark the beginnings or ends of sections should result in percentages that are substantially different; random use of formulas ought to result in roughly the same figures. I have gone through Elene checking the first and last ten lines in each hundred (making units of about the length of the sections, but not corresponding to any divisions in the poem), and the results are as expected: the beginning ten lines of each hundred show 28%, the final ten lines show 30%; the difference of 2% is certainly not significant. In comparison, the

difference between beginnings and ends of manuscript divisions in Juliana (11%) and in Elene (7%) do seem substantial.

However, the problem is more complex than that. While the averages seem significant, the individual sections are not entirely consistent, especially in Elene:

Juliana

section	% of formulas in first 20 verses	% of formulas in last 20 verses	average % of section
I (1-104)	35%	25%	20%
II (105-224)	35%	10%	23%
III (225-344)	20%	15%	24%
IV (345-453)	25%	15%	19%
V (454-558)	20%	15%	18%
VI (??-606)		15%	17%
VII (607-731)	35%	25%	20%

Elene

I (1-98)	30%	10%	21%
II (99-193)	25%	35%	23%
III (194-275)	25%	30%	27%
IV (276-363)	20%	10%	23%
V (364-453)	20%	40%	33%
VI (454-546)	40%	15%	23%
VII (547-618)	25%	10%	23%
VIII (619-708)	40%	25%	31%
IX (709-801)	50%	40%	25%
X (802-893)	30%	15%	26%

XI (894-966)	30%	25%	23%
XII (967-1042)	15%	40%	26%
XIII (1043-1146)	30%	30%	31%
XIV (1147-1235)	40%	0	26%
XV (1236-1321)	10%	10%	15%

In Juliana, the beginnings of sections have a higher percentage of formulas than the ends of sections in every case. In Elene, the beginnings have a higher percentage than the ends only nine times, are the same twice, and have a lower percentage four times. In Juliana, the beginnings are higher than the average for the section five times and lower only once; the ends are higher twice, and lower five times. In Elene, the beginnings are higher than the average for the section nine times and lower six times; the ends are higher six times and lower nine times. Thus, though the overall figures indicate that there may be a significantly high level of formulas at the beginnings of sections compared with a low level of formulas at the ends, it is not consistently the case through even the two poems for which it is true; it is certainly not the case for the whole group of the signed poems.

Another set of figures which seems possibly significant, but not certainly so, is found when we examine direct speech in the poems. Fates has no speeches; Christ II has very few, and those do not differ strikingly from the poem as a whole (145 verses of speech, 24 formulas,

17%). Juliana has 898 verses of direct speech, 185 (21%) of which are formulas. Elene has 1079 verses of speech, with 263 formulas, or 24%. Since the speeches in both Juliana and Elene contain approximately the same percentages as the entire poems do, no differentiation is made in use of formulas for quotation per se. However, in both poems the positive characters have higher percentages of formulas in their speeches than other characters do. In Juliana, Juliana herself has 24% formulas, compared with 13% for Heliseus, 18% for Affricanus, and 21% for the devil. More strikingly, in Elene the heroine has 27% formulas, Judas 25% (average for the poem) and the sage 21%. The wholly negative characters have far less to say, and say it with considerably fewer formulas: the Jews' speeches are 18% formulas, and the devil's is only 14%.

Juliana

character	verses	formulas	percentage
Devil	499	103	21%
Juliana	248	59	24%
Heliseus	75	10	13%
Affricanus	70	13	18%
Voice	6	0	0

Elene

Judas	523	129	25%
Elene	352	96	27%
Sage	58	12	21%
Devil	64	9	14%

As usual, there is a great deal of variation between individual brief speeches of characters (Juliana's speeches, for example, range from 4 to 57 verses in length, with from 0 to 38% formulas), but the overall percentages seem very possibly significant. The sample is not big enough, and the numerical differences not large enough to say with certainty that we have discovered a particular use of the formula. However, it is at least intriguing that the positive characters speak in more highly formulaic language than the negative ones.

There are undoubtedly other kinds of material within the signed poems that might be tested for correlation with the use of formulas. However, this study has concerned itself with the kinds of passages that have seemed to me to be most likely to produce results--or most interesting to know are not differentiated by distinctive use of formulas.

This discussion has been an attempt to confront some of the basic facts about Cynewulf's use of formulas. It establishes that he uses formulas to a significant degree--more, in the cases of Elene, Juliana, and Christ II, than even Beowulf--although Cynewulf was almost certainly a literate poet, composing in a way that often seems to be a direct, though elaborated, translation of Latin source material. As is typical of Old English poetry, the four

poems considered here use formulas in a non-random way. There occur heavy concentrations of formulas in some passages, with few or none in other passages of corresponding length. I have attempted to define passages that are "high" or "low" in formulas in such a way as to make discussion of this phenomenon clear and easy to follow. Most of the rest of the discussion has consisted of attempts to investigate possible reasons for the clustering of formulas. Traditional themes, narrative highlights, and digressions or transitions, insofar as these can be determined, show no evident correlation with the high or low passages. The only four possibilities which appear to show a correspondence are lists (in Christ II, Juliana, and perhaps Elene), passages with no basis in the Latin (in Elene), passages at the beginnings and ends of manuscript divisions (in Elene and Juliana), and passages which consist of direct speeches by the central characters (in Elene and Juliana):

None of these is consistent enough or explains enough to be beyond argument. A major difficulty is that no single category of verses tested is large enough to be statistically sound; the smaller the sample, the less reliable the results. In addition, these explanations work only in one direction: while we can discover that material unique to the Old English version of Elene is lower in formulas than translated material, we cannot say that a passage low in formulas never is based on the Latin. In Elene and Juliana, beginnings of manuscript divisions and speeches

by the heroines tend to be unusually high in formulas-- but passages that are high in formulas are not necessarily in either of these two categories, and some speeches and beginnings of sections are not high in formulas.

Thus my main conclusion about clustering of formulas is a negative one: none of the explanations investigated accounts sufficiently and unambiguously for the visible facts of Cynewulf's use of formulas. The explanation is probably that there are a large number of situations (probably including the four discussed above) which tend (perhaps especially in combination) to evoke high or low use of formulas. But I have demonstrated that the explanations so far advanced by critics cannot account for the clustering of formulas.

The next step in the investigation of how Cynewulf used formulas involves a shifting of our attention from the poems taken as a group to each poem separately. And we will no longer be concerned with the distribution of formulas, but with the way individual formulas function within the poems. Chapter Three considers repeated formulas used within each of the three poems that have such repetitions. Chapter Four considers the related question of Cynewulf's use of formulaic systems (and other similar non-exact repetitions) in each of the four poems.

CHAPTER THREE
RHETORICAL USES OF FORMULAS

After an initial enthusiasm for Magoun's equation of "formulaic" and "orally composed," scholarship today is tending to recognize that there can be formulaic poetry based on oral traditions, but composed in and for a literate society. At the Oral Literature Symposium of the 1974 M.L.A. meeting, Donald Fry's statement that Cadmon's Hymn is probably the only extant orally-composed Old English poem passed unchallenged. William Whallon pointed out that one distinguishing feature of non-oral, formulaic poetry was the relative infrequency of repetition of each formula. Both the Odyssey and the Iliad have numerous repetitions of many formulas. The Aeneid, composed in writing in deliberate imitation of the Greek epics, uses as many formulas--but usually repeats any given formula only once or twice. John S. Miletich, studying poems composed within the oral tradition, demonstrates some extended repetitions unparalleled in Old English.¹ Similarly, Francelia Clark

¹John S. Miletich, "Narrative Style in Spanish and Slavic Traditional Narrative Poetry: Implications for the Study of the Romance Epic," Oriente, 2 (1974), 109-28. He is dealing with brief poems of approximately fifty to ninety lines, and cites three examples of these extended

has pointed out numerous exact or close repetitions of lengthy passages in the Slavic Song of Bagdad.²

Thus, Old English poetry tends to differ from other formulaic literatures that have sometimes been considered "analogous" in two important respects: first, there are no extended repetitions (the longest repeated passages within Old English poems are three verses, or one and a half lines); second, most repeated half-lines are repeated only once--numerous repetitions of a single verse are quite rare.

Fates of the Apostles, the shortest of Cynewulf's four poems, has no internal repetitions; Christ II, next in length, has 31 half-lines appearing twice, three appearing three times, and one appearing four times; Juliana, almost double the length of Christ II, has 52 appearing twice, nine used three times, two used four times, one used six times, and one used ten times; Elene, the longest poem, has 172 half-lines appearing twice, 31 used three times, seven used four times, three used five times, and three used six times. Thus there are relatively few verses repeated frequently within any single poem. Only eighteen verses (counting in middangeard separately for Christ II and

repetitions, pp. 112-13. A sixteenth century Spanish romance has six consecutive lines repeated twice; a South Slavic bugarstica has four lines (from passages of five and six lines) repeated twice; a Russian bylina has three consecutive lines repeated three times.

²Francelia Clark, "Testing the Theory of the Oral-Formulaic Theme: A Character Explains His Need in Beowulf and in The Song of Bagdad," paper presented orally May 6, 1975, at the Conference on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University.

Elene) are repeated four times or more; only eight are used five times or more. Of these high-incidence verses, the one used most often is ofer/in/on/geond middangeard. Next most common are various verses indicating conversation: ageaf ondsware, ond þæt word gecwæþ, Elene mabelode. Personal names account for two more of the eight verses repeated most frequently: Iuliana and Constantinus. The remaining two verses concern major themes in Elene, where they appear: ond þæt halige treo and on fyrþsefan.

The infrequency typical of repeated formulas in Old English, and the failure of the poets to make use of whole blocks of repeated lines, suggest that formulas were not compositional aids in the way they appear to be in oral poetry. If they were not used to facilitate rapid composition, how were they used? It could be argued that they are merely decorative, that they have no function other than to allow the reader or hearer to feel a pleasing sense of recognition. But if that were the case, surely the rule would be to use individual repetitions frequently enough within poems to give even slow-witted listeners a chance to recognize the verse. Frequent repetitions would not be desirable, however, if the formulas are used rhetorically. A writer is more likely to want to compare or contrast two or perhaps three persons, events, or ideas than to compare five or six.

Very little work has been done on the rhetorical uses of formulas in Old English, but the investigation

seems a promising one. Adeline C. Bartlett makes occasional references to repeated half-lines, but appears to consider them "awkward." She believes that the poets who use exact repetitions "often do so to fill out a line,"³ and focuses most of her attention on repeated words or on ideas which are repeated in different words. Neil D. Isaacs includes formulas in his discussion of the structure of "The Dream of the Rood,"⁴ but they are not his primary focus. Stanley B. Greenfield suggests the possibility "that under certain circumstances formulas in larger formal patterns or associations could exhibit nuances or extensions of meaning such as we have come to expect in the patterns of modern poetry."⁵ He examines some repeated formulas and collocations in Beowulf, Gawain, and The Battle of Maldon. Ann G. Watts has suggested rhetorical functions for a few repeated verses in Beowulf and Elene. She notes three pairs of verses in Beowulf used in direct reply (510a, 538a; 512b, 539b; 428a, 545a), two pairs used to establish contrast (2445a, 2452a; 767b, 823b), and one pair used to

³Adeline C. Bartlett, The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), pp. 115-16.

⁴Neil D. Isaacs, "Progressive Identifications: The Structural Principle of The Dream of the Rood," in his Structural Principles in Old English Poetry (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968). See especially pp. 8, 12, and 14. See also "Christ and Satan," p. 137 and "Daniel," p. 147.

⁵Stanley B. Greenfield, The Interpretation of Old English Poems (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 52.

"link Beowulf, known to be a great swimmer, with the wyrmas and wildeor of Grendel's mere."⁶ Watts discusses seven pairs of verses from Elene. Three of the repetitions concern "the statement and fulfillment of an order" (281b, 284a; 700b, 712b; 1087a, 1100a).⁷ Two pairs are used to "bind the speeches of Elene and Judas" (661a, 671a; 654b, 658b).⁸ One pair is used by Elene to emphasize "the temerity (so it seems to her) of the Jews' judgment" (303a, 311a).⁹ The remaining formula discussed by Watts is Iudas hire ongen pingode (609a, 667a). Watts points out that "both verses are followed by the alliterating gehðu in the second half-lines, and indeed, the phrase is used of Judas after Elene delivers her cruelest threat and then her cruelest accusation."¹⁰ Interestingly, Watts' notes are not intended primarily to assert that Old English formulas can be used rhetorically; rather they indicate that the formulas noted are "obviously questionable" in terms of the "repetition for the sake of versemaking" characteristic of oral literature.¹¹

There has not yet been a systematic attempt to

⁶Watts, p. 248, n. 12. All these examples are listed in her notes to pp. 233-48.

⁷Ibid., p. 257, n. 19.

⁸Ibid., p. 258, n. 21; p. 261, n. 25.

⁹Ibid., p. 257, n. 20.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 261, n. 25.

¹¹Ibid., p. 229.

discover whether formulas¹² were in fact used consistently as structuring devices in Old English poetry. Only poems long enough to have internal repetitions are suitable for such an investigation. The four signed poems (three of which have internal repetitions) offer a unique opportunity to see how a single poet used the techniques of repetition in a variety of very different poems. When the same formula is used twice within twenty or thirty lines by a literate poet, one must conclude that the poet either is incompetent or is intending to draw our attention to the formula itself or to its immediate context. If he is using, rather than misusing, the formula, he might be intending a strong emphasis by that repetition; or he might wish to point up a contrast or progression. Even when a formula is repeated only after a long interval, rhetorical possibilities remain. Formulas could be repeated to envelop a crucial idea or fact, to indicate divisions of the poem, or to point out parallel or antithetical episodes or ideas.

It should be made clear that the words or ideas being compared need not consist of the formula itself. We can see this use of the context of a repetition in the final two examples cited by Watts above. Lines 303a and 311a, dean ongunnon, mean "judged"; they concern the Jews' condemnation of Christ; the repetition emphasizes Elene's

¹² Throughout the following discussion, I use "formula" and "repeated verse" interchangeably. I do not intend either to refer to techniques of oral composition.

belief that that condemnation was outrageous. Similarly, lines 609a and 667a, Iudas hire ongen pingode, are a neutral statement of the fact that Judas began to answer Elene. The negative (and cumulative) significance of the verses is derived from the context in which they occur.

I do not intend to argue that all verses repeated within a single poem are used for deliberate rhetorical effect. There are certainly some verses that appear to be used primarily to fill out lines; some of the multitudinous terms applied to God may fit into this category. Certainly I would not try to argue that each of the ten uses of the name Iuliana is rhetorically significant. Her name is a convenient one to fill out a verse, and it is reasonable for it to appear often since she is the central figure in the poem.

A final problem which should be confronted before we move to the consideration of the rhetorical functions of formulas is that of the poet's consciousness of the relationships we find. My position is that it does not matter very much, and can only be guessed at in any case. It is possible that Cynewulf used the same verse a second time with a deliberate and conscious care. It seems to me probable that some second uses were deliberate in that sense, while others may have been more fortuitous. Cynewulf might have recognized that a particular verse was "right" as he used it, but not necessarily always have been aware that the reason it seemed "right" was that he had used it before

in a passage that he wanted the reader to bear in mind at this point. There are so many verses used with such striking effect that it is virtually impossible to believe that the repetitions are purely accidental. The weight of the evidence suggests strongly that Cynewulf's repetitive technique was indeed fundamentally a conscious one at some level.

It is my intention in this chapter to examine the formulas repeated within poems to see whether or not they appear to be repeated deliberately for clearly discernible effects.¹³ I will examine the three poems that have internal repetitions (in order of length: Christ II, Juliana, and Elene), and then discuss the conclusions that can be drawn from that investigation.

Christ II

It would perhaps be useful to begin with a brief discussion of repeated verses in Christ II which do not appear to have any particular rhetorical significance. The first line of the poem contains one such verse. At the beginning of the poem, the great man addressed is invited to seek an answer to a problem with "gæstgerynum" (440b). Much later in the poem, Solomon is referred to as being wise both in song and in "gæstgerynum" (713b), when he

¹³ Each formula discussed is discussed in every use within the poem. At no time will I consider only selected occurrences, silently omitting those that do not conform to the pattern I demonstrate.

sings of the "leaps" of Christ. The two men seem to be used in neither a parallel nor an antithetical way; the word "gæstgeryne" appears to be used with slightly different meanings. The problem in the first part of the poem --why the angels wore white at the Ascension, but not at the Nativity--is not alluded to in the "leaps" passage, though naturally both the Nativity and the Ascension are mentioned. Since the mysteries to be understood are of totally different orders, there is no obvious relationship between the two passages to which a reader's attention might reasonably be called. Probably "gæstgeryne" is less important as a repeated verse than as a repeated word, fitting into the reiterated theme of various spiritual mysteries.

Another verse repeated with no evident rhetorical meaning intended is "in/geond/ofe middangeard" (452a, 644b, 698a, 787a). The first two of these verses refer to Christ's Nativity and ministry. The third states that the moon shines over the earth (the moon is likened to the church, as the sun is likened to God himself). The fourth verse refers again to the Nativity. Obviously, the verse is not restricted to a single context, nor is there a clear progression (as might be asserted, for example, if the four verses concerned Christ's Nativity, ministry, Ascension, and return for judgment). The word "middangeard" also appears as 557a and 826b. In 557a, Christ is the ruler of earth. In 826b, the great places of earth will tremble

when Christ returns to judge. The fact that "middangeard" formulas appear so often makes them almost impossible to use with sufficient control to produce a rhetorical effect.

Like "middangeard" in being a verse useful in a variety of general contexts is "ond þæt word acwæð" (474a, 714b). The first time, it is Christ who speaks, giving the Great Commission. The second time, it is Solomon, speaking of the "leaps" of Christ.

Another type of verse where repetitions do not always appear to be rhetorically significant consists of names or epithets for Christ. Thus "godbeorn of grundum" (499a, 682a) refers first to Christ ascending from the earth, and then to Christ's dispensing of gifts to men. "Freobeorn godes" (643b, 788b) is the name given when the Jews could not understand Christ's tokens, and again at His descent to the maiden at the Nativity. "Halig of heahðu" (760a, 789a, 866a) refers first to God's sending angels to protect us, then to the Nativity, and finally to Christ's having opened the "port" to us at the Ascension.

Probably in some of these cases it would be possible to find some relationship between the passages. But even if there is a relationship, it is far less obvious than those which I discuss through the rest of this chapter. Many of the repeated verses do appear to be used carefully and clearly to point up relationships between the passages in which they occur. Sometimes that relationship is a contrast. The two most important contrasting situations in

the poem are before and after the Ascension, and the departure of Christ at the Ascension compared with the return of Christ at the Last Judgment. Another contrast (or perhaps parallel) is that between the duties of Christ and man. The duties are different, but Christ's actions function as a kind of precedent for man's. The comparison between life and death is like that between Christ and man in that it is both contrasting and similar. Sometimes a repetition appears to be used primarily for emphasis. Other times it may be used as an expansion (either a clarification or a movement from the personal to the general).

The contrast between the time before the Ascension and the time after the Ascension involves three formulas (461b, 534b; 464a, 544a; and 465b, 532b). The context in which the first formula appears is that of the disciples' state before and after the Ascension. In 461b, the disciples are ready to journey "to þære halgan byrg" with Christ in order to receive His last instructions before He leaves them forever. In 534b, the disciples return mournfully to Jerusalem "in þa halgan burg" after having witnessed Christ's departure. The first journey to Jerusalem is one of joy and triumph; the second is one of desolation and loss. The second formula concerns Christ's instructions to the disciples, and their fulfillment of His commands. In 464a, Christ revealed many signs in mysterious words "ærþon up stige." In 544a, the disciples stay for ten days in Jerusalem as they were commanded to do by Christ "ærþon up

stige." Their sad hearts and lamentation during that ten days suggest that Christ's command was indeed a "wordge-ryne" to the disciples--that they fulfilled His commands although they did not understand them. The context in which the third formula appears has its focus shifted from the disciples to Christ Himself. The first use of the formula, 465b, occurs in the same sentence as the other two formulas. But this time it is part of an epithet for Christ. The signs were revealed to the disciples by Christ, the "child co-eternal with "agnum fæder." The second use of that formula, 532b, refers to Christ's position after the Ascension, when he sits at the right hand of "agnum fæder." The three formulas are used in a complex and sophisticated, but very clear way. The first element progresses from a focus on the disciples, to a consideration of their relationship with Christ between the Resurrection and the Ascension, to a focus on Christ Himself. The second use of each of the three formulas is organized differently. The first reference is to the triumphant Christ. The second formula, which follows immediately after the first, presents the dramatic contrast of the desolate disciples. The last formula of this set refers to their fulfilling Christ's commands to wait in Jerusalem. Though the disciples appear not to understand the reasons for waiting, the reader surely knows that Pentecost comes at the end of the ten days--that the desolation of the disciples in the absence of Christ will be replaced by the comfort sent by Him.

The second major contrast highlighted by repeated formulas in the poem is that between Christ's ascension to heaven and His return from heaven to judge mankind (these two events provide a major theme of the poem). One such contrast occurs in 492a and 834a. The first passage is part of the description of the Ascension:

Ða wearð semninga sweg on lyfte
hlud gehyred. Heofonengla preat,
weorud wlitescyne, wuldres aras,
cwomun on corðre.

(491-494a)

The second passage is part of the description of Judgment Day:

Ðas hi longe sculon
ferðwerige onfon in fyrbaðe,
walmum bewrecene, wraðlic ondlean,
þonne magna cyning on gemot cymeð,
þrymma mæste. Þeodegsa bið
hlud gehyred bi heofonwomun,
cwaniendra cirm, cerge reotað
fore onsyne eces deman,
þa þe hyra weorcum wace truwiað.

(829b-837)

In both cases, there is a sound from heaven "hlud gehyred." But there the resemblance ends. The first sound is "sweg," which can mean either "unregulated, confused sound, noise, din, crash," or "regulated, modulated, or articulated sound," particularly "made by living creatures, . . . song."¹⁴

The sound is certainly made by living creatures, the angels; and the definition "melody" is further supported by the later reference to the song of praise sung by the angels

¹⁴ Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, eds., An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).

immediately following the quoted passage (502b-505). The second sound is "woma," suggesting "noise, howling, tumult, terror, alarm"¹⁵ or "noise of battle."¹⁶ In the first case, the noise accompanies angels coming "on corðre," with associations of a "retinue." At the Judgment, Christ comes "on gemot" to the assembly or court. The picture of the first passage is not totally joyful, however, for we see it through the limited understanding of the disciples. Their reaction is one of sadness:

Him was geomor sefa.
 hat at heortan, hyge murnende,
 þas þe he swa leofne leng ne mostun
 geseon under swegle.

(499b-502a)

They are sad because they cannot see Christ any longer on earth. In contrast, the men described in the Judgment passage are unhappy because they must confront Christ to His face.

Yet another way in which formulas can be used rhetorically is in pointing up such parallels as those between the actions of Christ and man. Two formulas concern the obligations of the disciples (and of Christians generally) to mankind, and parallel Christ's functions toward man. A third shows that Christ's life sets up a moral pattern for men. The obligations of man toward men are set forth in Christ's commission to His disciples (476-490). The

¹⁵J. R. Clark Hall, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (4th ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

¹⁶Bosworth-Toller.

disciples are commanded to preach to and to baptize "folc under roderum" (484b). This is necessary because, at Christ's return to judge mankind, He must judge the deeds performed by those very "folc under roderum" (526b). The disciples must also "sibbe sawað on sefan manna" (487). Paralleling this passage is the one concerning Christ's gifts to man. Not only does He give man a place with the angels, but He also gives the varieties of wisdom of mind. These He "seow ond sette geond sefan monna" (663). In both these passages, the verb "sawan" is used in conjunction with the repeated formula "on/geond, sefan manna." Paradoxically, the disciples must spread the gift of divine peace, while Christ distributes gifts which involve worldly as well as spiritual abilities. The relationship between Christ and man is made even more emphatic in the immediate repetition of 745b and 747b. The passage follows directly after the explanation of Christ's "leaps" (715-743). In it we are told that

Pus her on grundum godes ece bearn
ofer heahhleopu hlypum stylde,
modig after muntum. Swa we men sculon
heortan gehygdum hlypum styllan
of mægne in mægen.

(744-748a)

Thus Christ's "leaps" set a moral pattern which ought to be followed in the thoughts of men's hearts.

Christ's generosity to us in life and in death is made clear in the passages in which lines 660 and 860 appear. The first formula appears in the sentence preceding

the long sum passage which itemizes the gifts given to man. It explains the two kinds of gifts Christ gives.

Da us geweorðade se þas world gescop,
godes gæstsunu, ond us giefes sealde,
uppe mid englum ece stapelas,
ond eac monigfealde modes snyttru
seow ond sette geond sefan monna.
(659-663)

The sum passage explains the second sort of gift; the first sort is given in detail at the end of the poem, where the full line indicating the giver and the giving ("godes gæstsunu ond us giefes sealde") appears again. But this second time we are not simply to be with the angels; in the final voyage-metaphor of the poem, we are led to the harbour of salvation after a stormy life. Christ's gift is that which enables us to know ("oncnawan") the place to anchor our ship. This verb further relates the gift to the earlier list which concerned "modes snyttru." And the "ece stapelas" we are to have with the angels is recalled in 864b, "hyht stapelian," where we ask to have our hope confirmed in that harbour opened to us by Christ's Ascension. Within the harbour passage is another repetition, pointing out the "travel" of life opposed to the haven after life. The repetition is of "sundhergest." The first use comes in the passage likening our lives to travel by ship over a wide sea. The second use is in the statement that we will know where to anchor our ship.

There are several kinds of repetition for emphasis. The most direct of these occurs when the poet makes a

statement, and follows it with the comment that it is fitting or that it is according to Scripture. This is the case with 493a, 554a and 546b, 548b. The angels coming to meet Christ are described in 493a:

Heofonengla preat,
weorud wlitescyne, wuldres aras,
cwomun on corðre.

(492b-494a)

The poet later comments, "Wel þæt gedafenað" (551b) that the "þegnas cwoman, weorud wlitescyne" (553b-554a). The repetition is closer, and therefore even more striking, in the statement that the angels wore white for the Ascension:

Hwite cwoman
eorla eadgiefan englas togeanes.
Ðæt is wel cweden, swa gewritu secgað,
þæt him albeorhte englas togeanes
in þa halgan tid heapum cwoman,
sigan on swegle.

(545b-550a)

More interesting, because a little more complex, are two pairs of verses used for emphasis. One describes the angels, the other, the disciples. Both begin with a statement concerning the Ascension, and continue in time until a city is reached. Two angels are seen at the Ascension, "fægre ymb þæt frumbearn frætsum blican" (507). The angels tell the disciples that the host they see "frætsum blican" (522b) will convey the Lord "to þara beorhtan byrg" (519a). In contrast to the splendid and joyous angels are the despondent disciples. They are described as "hat at heortan" (500a) at the disappearance of Christ. After the angels have announced to the disciples the

intention of accompanying the triumphant Christ to His heavenly city, the disciples return to Jerusalem ("pa halgan burg"), still "hat æt heortan" (539a). The descriptions remain the same, but the location changes from the place of the Ascension to the heavenly (for the angels and Christ) and the earthly (for the disciples) Jerusalem.

Another repetition, possibly for emphasis, can be seen in the "leaps" passage. Formulas are used four times in the passage. In each case, the other uses of each verse occur in longer passages dealing with the same episode in Christ's life. Thus 732a refers to the harrowing of hell (where He bound the inhabitants "in cwicsusle"). The only other use of the verse is at 561b, a longer description of the binding of the devils. The other three formulas occur at 737b ("pa he to heofonum astag"), 739a ("on pa halgan tid"), and 741a ("þeþelinga ord"). All of them relate to the Ascension--and all other uses of those verses (866b, 549a, 632b, and 515a) also refer to the Ascension.

Another way that formulas appear to be used rhetorically is for expansion. That expansion might take the form of a clarification or extension of meaning, or it might be the expansion from a personal to a general point of view. The first kind of expansion can be seen in 606b and 694a. The repeated verse is "sunne ond mona." It first appears in the passage (600-611a) where food, wealth, weather, sun, moon, and stars are listed as the gifts God gives to all mankind. After the sun passage, where

individual gifts are listed, Cynewulf returns to the "halge gimmas" of the earlier passage. But this time, we are given the spiritual significance of the natural gift of sun and moon:

Hwæt sindan þa
gimmas swa scyne buton god sylfa?
(694b-695)

The expansion from the personal to the universal point of view takes place in the final section of the poem. It is a maneuver characteristic of Cynewulf, and occurs in the final passages of all four signed poems. In Christ II, the personal observations of the rune passage are followed by an address to the audience, which includes that audience in the poet's concerns. The poet has a personal dread of his own fate "þonne eft cymeð engla þeodep" (791). But he then bids "gumena gehwylc" (820b) to contemplate the severity of Christ "þonne eft cymeð" (824b). Thus the Judgment Day moves from being a matter of personal concern to the poet to being an individual concern to each man on earth. Similarly, the poet first says that he himself must look on punishment for sin when everyone assembles "fore onsyne eces deman" (796). The focus moves from his own feelings to those of the multitude, "þa þe hyra weorcum wace truwiad" (837), when they appear "fore onsyne eces deman" (836). The situation is the same, but our attention shifts from the poet as an individual to a multitude of individuals confronting Christ as their judge.

The terrifying implications of the judgment scene

are somewhat mitigated by an earlier passage in the poem. When the angels address the disciples at the Ascension, they twice refer to themselves as the group "þe ge her on stariað." The first time (521b) they simply state that the host the disciples are gazing at will accompany Christ to His city. The next time, they explain who it is that makes up the host seen by the disciples. When Christ harrowed hell, He rescued

folces unrim,
þisne ilcan þreat þe ge her on stariað.
(569b-570)

Although the end of the poem focuses on the terror of Christ's second coming, this episode displays the possible positive results of judgment. Christ is not only the giver of gifts, but He also places the redeemed with the angels (661). This sight of the Old Testament redeemed shows the literal fulfillment of that promise.

Juliana

In Christ II Cynewulf obviously uses formulas for rhetorical purposes with care and precision. Juliana, with far more repeated formulas, does not appear to have involved such careful attention to these formulas on the part of the poet. Fewer passages are made thematic parallels or contrasts by the use of repeated formulas, and the parallels which are made seem to me to be far more obvious and straightforward. I will discuss the uses of formulas in Juliana here, and reserve the consideration of the

differences between Juliana and Christ II until after the discussion of Elene. When all three poems have been investigated separately, the contrasts between them should be clear. I will at that point suggest some reasons for the differing uses the poet makes of repeated formulas.

The most numerous (and perhaps least interesting) class of repetitions is that of a description constantly applied to persons, events, or attitudes. Juliana, for example, is twice called "synna lease" (188b, 614a), twice called "leahtra lease" (566a, 583a), and twice referred to as one who is "on hyge halge" (533a, 604a). None of the three terms is applied to anyone else (as they might, for example, have been applied to Christ by Juliana or even by the demon). Juliana's willingness to trust God rather than her own judgment or the angel's counsels is demonstrated in her prayer, lines 272-82a. She twice, within that short speech, uses the phrase "biddan wille" (272b, 278b). First she asks that she be permitted to remain faithful rather than to turn from God's praise as the seeming angel has told her to do. Then she asks that God will reveal "hwæt þes þegn sy."

One of the ways the devil is characterized is by suddenness. He appears twice in the poem, when Juliana is in prison, and again just before she is to be executed. In both instances, his appearance is heralded by "Da cwom semninga" (242b, 614b). Daniel G. Calder points out that this repetition "is clearly formulaic, but Cynewulf's use of the

formula nevertheless enhances his ritual effect."¹⁷ When the demon explains to Juliana the methods by which he destroys mankind, he twice uses the phrase "pæt hi feringa" (477a, 484b). The first time, he is describing how he kills some men by making the blood spew from their joints until they "suddenly" give up their lives. Another method of destroying men is to get them drunk so that they "suddenly" renew old grudges and kill each other in the wine-hall. Similarly, he is immediately ready to pervert men's hearts, as he points out twice in one speech. He says that when he finds a soul faithful to God, "ic beo gearo sona" (365b) to tempt that soul. And if a soul under attack resolves any good, the devil again asserts "ic beo gearo sona" (398b) to examine his inner heart in order to corrupt him.¹⁸

Juliana complains to God that the seeming angel "mec læreð from þe" (281b). That her terminology is accurate is made clear by the demon's later boasts. He claims to have "taught" two different leaders. Very close together (297b, 307b) in one speech he says, "Eac ic gelaerde"

¹⁷ Daniel G. Calder, "The Art of Cynewulf's Juliana," MLQ, 34 (1973), p. 368, n. 20.

¹⁸ Juliana uses the same phrase at one point earlier in the poem, when she agrees to do Heliseus's will if he is converted. It is interesting that this passage in the Latin vita involves what seems deliberate deception on Juliana's part. Cynewulf softens and shortens the passage. However, we still know that Juliana's offer is not wholly sincere; she wishes to be Christ's bride, not merely the bride of a Christian. She makes the offer in the disingenuous certainty that it will be refused.

Simon and Egias to persecute or kill Christians. In that same passage, the "pegn" whose authenticity Juliana has rightly questioned boasts twice that he has arranged persecution or death for "Cristes pegnas" (299b, 303b).

Both Affricanus and Heliseus become "yrre gebolgen" against Juliana at the beginning of the poem (58b, 90b). The futility of this anger still has not been impressed on Heliseus near the end of the poem when he "yrre gebolgen" (582b) commands that Juliana be thrust into a vat of boiling lead. The first two uses of this verse suggest an identification of Affricanus and Heliseus, united in their reaction to Juliana's faith.

This identification is carried further in a far more interesting group of formulas which equate Affricanus and Heliseus with the devil. Affricanus gives Juliana, the "light of his eyes," to Heliseus "be to gewealde" (86b) to be destroyed. Similarly, the sinful give themselves to the devil (as he says, "me to geweald," 412b), and therefore into utter destruction. Affricanus and the false angel both falsely address Juliana as "seo dyreste" (93b, 247b). Ironically, however, the false angel speaks more truly than he knows when he tells Juliana she is "seo dyreste . . . wuldorcynige," for she is and remains so. Heliseus warns Juliana of the hideous tortures prepared for her "gif pu onsecgan neilt" (174a); the false angel reiterates that warning in lines 249-252, using the same verse in 251b. The demon repeats a complete line first used by Heliseus

(203, 462), but with an ironic shift of context. First, Heliseus warns Juliana that she is in his power, and that he must avenge his gods:

Gif þu leng ofer þis,
 þurh þin dolwillen gedwolan fylgest,
 þohne ic nyde sceal nipa gebædede
 on þære grimmetan godscyld wrecan.
 (201b-204)

Afterwards, when the demon has been subdued by Juliana's faith and is being interrogated by the saint, he recognizes his helplessness in the same words:

Nu ic þæt gehyre þurh þinne hleoporwilde,
 þæt ic nyde sceal nipa gebæded
 mod meldian, swa þu me beoðest,
 þreaned polian.
 (461-464a)

Heliseus' failure to compel Juliana to submit is a source of shame to him; he

fracuðlic þuhte
 þæt he ne mehte mod oncyrran,
 fæmnan foreþonc.
 (225-227a)

The devil sometimes has the same failure, couched in the same terms, when he encounters a faithful servant of God, and is

gehðu menan,
 þæt ic ne mehte megnas crafte
 guðe wiðgongan.
 (391b-393a)

The formula "mod oncyrran" is used four times (226b, 326b, 363b, 439b). The first time it explains the reason for Heliseus' shame. The other three times concern the attempts of demons to change the minds of the righteous. Juliana learns that it is a distressing assignment for the

demons, for when "hellwarena cyaing"

usic sendeð þæt we soðfæstra
 þurh misgedwield mod oncyrran,
 ahwyrfen from halor, we beoð hygegeomre,
 forhte on ferðpe.

(325-328a)

Sometimes the demon succeeds in perverting the minds of the faithful (362b-363), and sometimes he fails, as he has with Juliana:

Donne ic beom onsended wið soðfæstum,
 þæt ic in manweorcum mod oncyrran,
 hyge from halor, me hwilum biþ
 forwyrned þurh wipersteall willan mines,
 hyhtes æt halgum, swa me her gelamp
 sorg on sipe.

(438-443a)

Finally, Heliseus and the devil share the same ultimate fate after their frustrated attempts to pervert the righteous. In 390b, the devil is "hropra bidaled," as he goes to the flames of hell. At the end of the poem, Heliseus and his crew are drowned and go to hell, "hropra bidaled" (681b).

There is, in addition, a passage that maintains the idea of an association between Heliseus and the devil, but which shows that relationship to be a manipulative one rather than a genuine equation. First we see Heliseus torturing Juliana. He commanded ("het") that Juliana be "ahon ond ahebban on heanne beam" (228). But the devil later confesses to Juliana that he was responsible for instigating a similar act, when Egias commanded ("het") that Andreas be hung ("ahon") "on heanne beam" (309b). The implication is surely that the devil is responsible for

manipulating the man (whether Heliseus or Egias) to act against the saint (whether Juliana or Andreas).

As Heliseus is identified with all that is evil, so Juliana becomes a type of the righteous. We have already seen one example of this in the discussion above of "mod-encyrran" (226b, 326b, 363b, 439b). There are three other passages which make this identification, and a fourth that at least implies the same association. When the demon first appears to Juliana as a false angel, she is able "ferð stapelian" (270b) by praying to God. Later the demon is forced to confess to her that when he finds a righteous man able "ferð stapelian to godes willan" (364b-365a), he immediately attempts to corrupt him. Similarly, when the demon confesses that he must sometimes attempt to pervert "soðfastra" and make them "ahwyrfen from halor" (327a), he follows this by admitting that this was his very purpose against Juliana:

þat ic þe meahte
butan earfeþum anes craftes
ahwyrfan from halor.
(358b-360a)

After the demon explains the difficulty of perverting good Christians, Juliana asks him why he has not learned caution about attacking the righteous ("wið soðfastum," 426a). He does not ever really answer her question, but merely replies that when he is sent "wið soðfastum" (438b) he sometimes fails, as he has done with her. The devil has already told her that the result of such failure is suffering the worst punishments "þurh sarslege" (341a). Interestingly

enough, these punishments are not postponed until he returns to hell, for the demon complains to Juliana that he has already suffered through her: "Hwæt, þu mec breades þurh sarslege?" (546b-547a).

Juliana's indifference to earthly conflict and pain is made clearly evident at the beginning of the poem. To her father's angry threats, Juliana answers:

Næfre ic me ondræde domas pine,
ne me weorce sind witebrogan,
hildewoman.

(134-136a)

Her statement is put to the test the next morning, when she is brought before Heliseus' judgment seat. He affirms that her refusal to honour the "soð godu" will result in her suffering "witebrogan" (196b). The torments begin immediately, but do not influence her convictions. But although Juliana does not fear "hildewoman" when it simply refers to earthly strife, she recognizes the dangers of the devil's battle against a soul's eternal happiness in her address to the people just before her beheading:

Wærlíc me pinceð þæt ge wæccende
wið hettendra hildewoman
wearde healden, þy Ias eow wiperfehtend
weges forwyrren to wuldres byrig.

(662-665)

In that final speech to the people, Juliana repeats two verses previously used by the devil. In his speech, he suggests that the good man is particularly vulnerable to attack. She dismisses this idea just as she dismissed the demon's attack on her. The demon tells her

Swa ic brogan to
 laðne gelæde þam þe ic lifes ofonn,
 leohtes geleafan, ond he larum wile
 þurh modes myne minum hyran,
 synne fremman, he sippan sceal
 godra gumcysta geasne hweorfan.
 (376b-381)

Juliana refutes him with his own words when she advises the people:

Ge mid lufan sibbe,
 leohte geleafan, to þam lifgendan
 stane stiðhyðge stapol fæstnið,
 seðe treowe ond sibbe mid eow
 healdað æt heortan, halge rune
 þurh modes myne.
 (652b-657a)

In fact, she has demonstrated that the devil is powerless against one who genuinely holds "bright belief." And if the soul's purpose is devoted to the holy mysteries of belief rather than to the devil's teachings, there is no need to fear him. The whole poem makes it clear that Africus was wrong when he warned Juliana that her strife against Heliseus was "unbiþyrfe" (97b), and that Juliana was right in characterizing the useless gods of Heliseus as "unbiþyrfe" (217b).

Still, Juliana is unusual in her tenacity against the wiles and arguments of the devil. She is "sinless," as we are not. The poet points up that difference by applying against himself (as perhaps the type of ordinary, rather than saintly, Christian) one of the boasts of the devil. When Juliana asks the demon how he injures the righteous, he agrees to tell her the cause of every evil that he has furthered by "the wounds of sin":

Ic þe, ead mæg, yfla gehwylces
 or geȳðe oð ende forð
 þara þe ic gefremede, nalæs feam siðum,
 synna wundum.

(352-355a)

The poet, contemplating the Judgment, acknowledges the evil he has committed through his life, and uses that same unusual phrase:

Sar eal gemon,
 synna wunda, þe ic siþ oppe ær
 geworhte in worulde.

(709b-711a)

Because the poet (and presumably every reader) has participated in the evil for which the devil is ultimately responsible, he must ask the help both of the saint and of God Himself. He states,

Is me þearf micel
 þæt seo halge me helpe gefremme.
 (695b-696)

And each reader is asked to pray for the poet:

and meotud bidde
 þæt me heofona helm helpe gefremme,
 mehta waldend, on þam miclan dæge.
 (721b-723)

The necessity for help for the poet is generalized into a need for all of us in the next (and final) sentence, where the poet's "ic" and "me" becomes "us" and "we."

Elene

When Cynewulf decided to use the Acta Cyriaci as the basis for a poem, he was faced with the necessity of unifying the three separate stories that were part of the legend. The story opens with a brief account of Constan-

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tine's vision of the Cross, victory over the Huns, and conversion. The next section of the story deals with St. Helen's search for the Cross, during which Judas is first coerced into becoming her instrument, and is then converted. Finally, St. Helen conceives a great desire to find the Nails. Again Judas (now Bishop Cyriacus) acts under her orders and finds the missing Nails. They will be used to make a bridle for Constantine's horse, miraculously guaranteeing him victory in battle. (To the three-part story, Cynewulf added the runic epilogue mentioning his own conversion and discussing Judgment Day--with a hopeful emphasis on the possibility of salvation for the sinful who repent.

Careful comparison of the Latin sources and the Old English poem shows numerous minor plot changes designed to make the whole story hold together more smoothly.¹⁹ In addition I would argue that Cynewulf used repeated verses in such a way as to contribute to the unity of the poem. For example, some of the formulas used to describe the battle between the Romans and the Huns at the beginning of the poem are also used in the presentation of Elene's "battle" with the Jews. Other formulas from the first battle are repeated at the very end of the poem, where the bridle is described as ensuring success in just such battles as the

¹⁹Eric Gordon Whatley, "Wisdom and Bondage: An Interpretation of Cynewulf's *Elene* (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1973), p. 4 ff.

one which opens the poem. Klene's voyage to Jerusalem is reported in some of the same verses as the later voyage of her messengers to report the success of her mission. Let us move to a detailed examination of these and other rhetorically significant formulas.

At the beginning of the poem, the Huns and the Romans are dramatically compared by the use of five formulas, each used once for each of the two opposing armies. A sixth formula, "Huna leode," appears first when the Huns are a powerful threat (20a), and finally when the Huns run from the raised cross before the Roman host (128a). The first of the five formulas appears in 19b and 60b. In 19b, the "werod samnodan" consists of the Huns, Franks, Hrethgoths, and Hugas²⁰; in contrast, the Roman "werod samnode" under the command of a frightened king all too aware of being outnumbered. The pagan preparations for war are described first. Their "garas lixtan" (23b); they "hofon herecombol" (25a); huge hosts come "hergum to hilde" (32a). When Constantine went forward with his single "herge to hilde" (52a), he was terrified by the relative size of the heathen army. The night before the battle, Constantine had a vision of the Cross, and decided to construct a replica of it to carry into battle. Thus the Romans were ordered "hebban heorucumbul" (107a) and to carry the holy cross

²⁰The manuscript reads "hunas" (21b), but since the Huns are already accounted for in 20a, the word is usually amended to "Hugas."

before them into battle. As the shining pagan spears brought terror to the Romans in 23b, so now the Roman "garas lixton" (125b) as they sang the victory song. The final outcome of the battle is made evident in the statement of how the armies went home. The Huns are virtually destroyed:

Lythwon becwon
Huna herges ham eft panon.
(142b-143)

The Romans are triumphant:

Gewat pa heriga helm ham eft panon,
huðe hremig, (hild was gesceaden),
wigge geweordod.
(148-150a)

Constantine's battle against the Huns is a military victory over heathen hordes. More importantly, it results in Constantine's own interest in and conversion to the Christian faith. It is both reasonable and significant that the struggle should move from the literal battlefield to an intellectual confrontation with a willier enemy of truth. Four pairs of formulas make clear the parallel between Constantine's encounter with the Huns and Elene's encounter with the Jews, two different groups of pagans. As Constantine's army "pressed forward" ("stundum wræcon," 121b) at the height of battle, so Elene's host "stundum wræcon" (232b) in order to board the ships to go to Jerusalem to seek the Cross. The triumphant Romans pursued the fleeing Huns "on herefelda" (126a). Elene sought the Jews "ofer herefeldas" (269a). When at last she reaches the

land of the Jews, the military language of the earlier battle is maintained. During his preparations for battle, Constantine's heralds make proclamations "hreoþan friccan" (54b). Just before the battle begins, trumpets are sounded "hlude for hergum" (110a). Similarly, when Elene scornfully dismisses the five hundred wise men, asking them to find "þa ðe snyttro mid eow," she makes her demand "hlude for herigum" (406a). Judas is her real antagonist, and he is brought forward in answer to this demand. After the Jews have had time to consult (and to discover from Judas just what Elene is seeking) they are called by heralds ("hreoþan friccan," 550b) to the final council, at which they deliver up Judas to the queen.

The building of the Church of the Cross is similarly related to the opening battle (of which it is, in a way, the direct result) by the use of two pairs of formulas, indicating Constantine's order and the way in which it is to be carried out--with great haste. When Constantine heard of the coming of the Huns, "þa se casere heht" (42b) that his own army gather "ofstum myclum" (44b).²¹ When, near the end of the poem, he learns from Elene's messengers that the Cross has been found, he is equally anxious to have a church constructed as a fitting place to keep the Cross. He rejoiced at the news brought by the messengers,

²¹ This verse is used in one other place in the poem, 102b, where it conveys the urgency with which Constantine has a sign of the cross constructed between the time of his vision and of the battle.

and then

ofstum myclum sylfe to side. He se casere heht.
 eft gearwian

(998b-1000a)

This hasty journey is, of course, in order to charge Elene to build the church.

The opening battle is related to one further incident in the poem, the finding and using of the Nails. Since the Nails are to be used to bring Constantine just the sort of military victory he won at the beginning, the repetitions are appropriate. The Roman army prepares itself for the battle with arms, "wæpnum to wigge" (48a), before receiving the sign of the Cross, which is actually responsible for their victory. The Cross is never called a "wæpen," but the bridle constructed around the Nails is itself a "wæpen æt wigge" (1188a). After the victory over the Huns, Constantine's army returns home "wigge geweorðod" (150a). As the rider of the horse with the holy bridle, Constantine will be similarly honoured in the future:

halig nemned, Bið þæt beacen gode
 wigge-weorðod, ond se hwsteadig
 se þæt wigc byrð.
 (1193b-1195)

One final "battle" episode is integrated into this complex motif by a formula used in common with the bridle passage. It is Judas' battle with the demon after the miraculous raising of the dead youth with the True Cross. After their contest, Elene learned how the "feond" and the "freond" strove "on twa halfa" (954b). Similarly, when

"feonda gehwylcne" seek battle "on twa healfe" (1179a), the user of the bridle will have the success that Judas, the user of the Cross, had against the demon.

The opening battle, then, obviously provides a constant referent for other battles, both literal military actions and metaphorical struggles against recalcitrant Jews or even the devil himself. It is the episode most frequently used to link together other passages. But there are many other parallels or contrasts developed through the poem by repeated verses.

One such parallel is that made between Elene's journey to seek the Cross and the journeying of her messengers to report the successful completion of her quest.²² Four different verses are repeated in the two passages (249a, 1016a; 250a, 262a, 998a; 255a, 995a; 260a, 997a). Earl R. Anderson points out these repeated verses. He suggests that the repetitions support his theory that the fitts in which they occur are deliberately balanced.²³ In the first passage, Elene leads her troops in ships "ofer

²²Neither Kent nor Holthausen includes any source for the messenger passage, and Whatley asserts that no Latin manuscript includes the passage. We must, then, accept the probability that Cynewulf invented the episode. As Whatley points out, it brings Constantine back into the action, making the opening story about him more clearly related to the poem as a whole (p. 28). In this light, it is significant that the passage is so deliberately related to the earlier voyage (which was elaborated considerably by Cynewulf).

²³Earl R. Anderson, "Cynewulf's Elene: Manuscript Divisions and Structural Symmetry," *MLQ*, 72 (1974), 119.

lagofæsten" (249a) where they land "on Creca land" (250a). The ships are left to await Elene's return "ofer eastwegas" (255a) while the "seccgas ymb sigewen" (260a) set out "on Creca land" (262a) with the ultimate goal of reaching Jerusalem. The paired passage uses the same formulas once again. After Elene has accomplished her goal, she sends messengers to Constantine to make a report. The emperor is delighted in the news brought by the messengers "ofer eastwegas" (995a). They tell him how the "seccgas mid sigewen" (997a) made a safe journey "on Creca land" (998a). He immediately dispatches the messengers on a return journey "ofer lagufæsten" (1016a) to have the church built for the Cross. His commands about the building of the church are clearly what Elene herself would desire. She has said earlier in the poem that she intends to purify ("geclensian") the place on Calvary used for the crucifixion in order to help men: "Criste to willan, haleðum to helpe" (678b-679a). Constantine uses the same expression when he explains that the church must be built on Calvary at the place the Cross was found, "Criste to willan, haleðum to helpe" (1010b-1011a).

The third episode in the story as it was adapted by Cynewulf has not yet been demonstrated to be related to the earlier two episodes. However, it is so related. The primary way in which the identification is made is by repeated verses which link the finding of the Nails with the finding of the Cross. The first link is provided by a common

epithet for the Cross and the Nails, and the statement of a common function. Throughout the poem, only the Cross and the Nails are called "sigores tacen" (85a, 184b, 1120b). The first time the term is used is when the angel in the vision tells Constantine to look to heaven to see the sign of victory. The second time, 184b, is when the Christians explain to him that grace is received

purh þa ilcan gæceaft þe him geywed weard
sylfum on gesyhðe, sigores tacen,
wið þeoda þræce.

(183-185a)

As the Cross has been the instrument by which Constantine is converted (and its finding leads to the sincere conversion of Judas), the Nails are responsible for the conversion of large numbers of Jews previously under the dominion of the devil. They say:

Nu we seolfe geseoð sigores tacen
soðwundur godes, þeah we wiðsocum ær
mid leasingum.

(1120-1122a)

Their experience is related to Constantine's not only by the repeated verse, but also through the stress on personal sight of the revered object. The Cross was "revealed to him [Constantine] himself in his sight"; the converted crowd says, "Now we ourselves see the sign of victory."

Both the Cross and the Nails have been deliberately hidden in the earth. Constantine commanded his mother to find

hwær se wuldres beam,
halig under hrusan, hyded wære.
(217b-218)

In response to Judas' prayer, a sign is given to show the place where "hydde wæron . . . næglas on eorðan" (1107b, 1108b). More interestingly, both Elene and Judas use repeated verses to refer to the Cross and the Nails. Since Elene does not herself search for either the Cross or the Nails, but works through Judas as intermediary, she must ask him to find the place. When she insists on knowing the place where the Cross can be found, she explains that she must know in order

þæt me halig god
gefylle, fræa mihtig, feores ingebanc
weoruda wuldorgeofa, willan minne,
gasta geocend.

(679b-682a)

Two of these verses are repeated when she approaches Judas with her second request. She reminds him that he successfully found the Cross where "gasta geocend" (1076a) was hanged by heathens. She now states that she will grieve until God grants her will ("willan minne," 1084b), the finding of the holy Nails. Therefore she asks him to pray to God to allow him to find them.

Judas' two prayers asking God to show where the Cross and the Nails are buried also involve two pairs of repeated verses. When he asks that the Cross be found, Judas asks God to "open" the goldhoard:

biddan wille
þæt me þæt goldhord, gasta scyppend,
geopenie.

(789b-791a)

He asks God to give a sign by having smoke rise "of ðam

wangstede" (793a). When he later looks for the Nails,
 Judas

bæd him engla weard
 geopenigean uncuðe wyrd.
 (1100b-1101)

Again he asks for the exact place, "on þam wangstede" (1103a). He requests the revelation of "uncuðe wyrd" instead of the earlier "goldhord." However, the Nails are also related to treasure, since they shone "swylce heofonsteorran oððe goldgimmas"²⁴ (1112b-1113a). The place where the Cross was hidden was signified by smoke, at Judas' request. The Nails, however, were indicated by fire. It is interesting that the fire does not appear as such in the Latin versions (neither in Kent's edition nor in Holthausen's composite edition). The sign there is "a bright flashing, brighter than the light of the sun" ("magna autem coruscatio de loco illuxit, . . . clarior solis lumine").²⁵ Cynwulf changes this to "sunnan beorhtra lacende lig" (1109b-1110a). The only other place he uses the term "lacende lig" is at 580a, where Elene threatens the Jews with destruction if they persist in lying to her. Is it over-subtle to note that she threatens them with destruction by fire, and that in fact the fire that allows the discovery of the Nails does "destroy" the power of the Jews and permit numerous Jews to be converted? She promises

²⁴ Emended from the manuscript "god, gimmas."

²⁵ Kent, p. 59.

fire as recompense for their persisting in falsehood, "pissum lease" (576a); the result of the miraculous fire is that the multitude accepts the truth that they had previously rejected "mid leasingum" (1122a).

A very different set of relationships is drawn by the use of repeated formulas from Elene's impressive speech in lines 333-376. That speech is designed to make it clear to the wise men of the Jews that Elene herself is not wholly ignorant of their law and tradition. In it she quotes Moses, David, and Isaiah, demonstrating (to her own satisfaction and presumably also to Cynewulf's) that the Old Testament sages knew of Christ, and that the Jews' failure to believe was deliberate rejection rather than simple ignorance.

Elene characterizes David as a "frod fyrnweota" (343a) who sang of Christ. When Judas later explains to the Jews what Elene seeks, he refers to his grandfather Sachius. The old man, who tells of Christ and believes in Him, is characterized as a "frod fyrnwiota" (438a). David's song uses two epithets for God that are repeated only once more in the poem. He uses the names "sigora dryhten" (346a) and "brymnes hyrde" (348a). Elene is the only other person in the poem who uses these names. She wishes to know on which of the three crosses "brymnes hyrde" (858b) suffered. When both the Cross and the Nails have been found, she gives thanks to "sigora dryhtne" (1139a), an appropriate title for the God associated with the objects

which are "sigores tacen."

A more striking set of formulas is the three pairs that relate Isaiah's rebuke of the Jews to Judas' finding and identifying the True Cross. Elene quotes Isaiah who speaks "deophycgende" (352a), as if in the person of the Lord. He states, "Ic up ahof eaforan gingne" (353). But these young children were unsatisfactory; they (the Israelites) refused to recognize Him who "wundra gefremede" (363b) for them. But Judas is a Jew who breaks away from the ingratitude to God of which the prophet complained. He has indeed known the truth and refused it, but he is at last brought (by Elene's torture of him) to act upon his knowledge. Thus when he prays that God will give him a sign to show where the Cross is hidden, he refers to those very "wundra gefremede" (778b) as proof that Christ is truly the son of God. Judas is no longer one of the sons of Israel whom Isaiah found so unsatisfactory; he has gratefully acknowledged God's truth. In reward, God performs yet another miracle, and sends the smoke as a sign to show the place where the Cross lies. Judas now becomes identified with Isaiah rather than with the willfully ignorant Jews. As Isaiah had "pondered deeply," Judas reflects "deophycgende" (881a) as he tests the three crosses over the body of the dead youth. Isaiah complained of "raising" sons who scorned their father-benefactor; Judas raised ("ond up ahof," 878b) the crosses over the boy. The boy, like Judas earlier in the poem, may signify the Jews, who

can be brought to eternal life only by their accepting the Cross of Christ. He is described as "gingne gastleasne" (874a), recalling the "eaforan gingne" of Isaiah's complaint. He is raised from death by "lifes lattiw" (898a) as Judas had been, metaphorically, by his own acceptance of the Cross.

Judas' complex development takes place during the action in the centre of the poem. That development is, of course, reflected in the way repeated verses are used in relation to him. Early in the poem he is a spokesman for, almost a type of, the Jew who refuses to recognize the truth he knows. Some repeated verses are used first of this subtle and stubborn spokesman for the Jews, and later to show the change in his attitude. Then we see repetitions fairly close together which emphasize the fact that he is a converted man. Judas is, finally, a man who can successfully be contrasted to the Jews with whom the early part of the poem is concerned.

When Judas first appears in the poem, he provides the answer to the question of what it is that Elene wants of the wisemen of the Jews. After she rebukes and then dismisses the three thousand, they try to discover what answer, evil or good, they can give "swa hio him to sohte" (325b). She then rejects the one thousand and the five hundred. They appear at this point to be truly ignorant of what she requires. However, Judas realizes that she is looking for the Cross, and warns the others that her search

will result in the dominion of the Jews being superseded by that of the Christians. As a result of his information and advice, the Jews resolve not to give her any answer "þæs hio him to sohte" (568b). Elene recognizes Judas' responsibility when she applies the same reproach to him as she earlier applied to all the Jews. She points out to the wisemen that the Jews have denied ("wiðsocon") "soðe ond rihte" (390b) when they knew, but refused to accept, the word of their prophets regarding the Son of God. Similarly, when the frightened Jews have handed Judas over to Elene for interrogation, she accuses him of knowing about the Cross (and having just spoken truly to his people about it) but lying to her; she says he denies ("wiðsæcest") "soðe ond rihte" (663b) concerning the Cross.

Three pairs of verses (427b, 796b; 612a, 698a; 683a, 716b) contrast this deceitful representative of Jewish stubbornness with Judas while he is in the process of conversion. The first occurrence of each of these verses shows Judas adamantly rejecting the truth. As he recalls to the other wise men the horrible truth about the crucifixion, he impresses upon them the necessity of "setting their hearts" not to tell the queen:

Nu is þearf mycel
 þæt we fastlice ferhð staðelian,
 þæt we ðæs morðres meldað ne weorðen
 hwar þæt halig, trio hweled wurde.
 (426b-429)

Next he answers Elene deceitfully. She offers him life (both heavenly and earthly) as a reward for giving her the

information, and death as a punishment for refusal. He evades giving her a direct answer by asking a question in return--a question which sounds like a rhetorical question meaning that he will cooperate since he has in effect no alternative, but which in fact he uses simply to obscure his refusal to give a direct answer. He asks who, starving in the wilderness "meße ond meteleas" (612a), would choose a stone in preference to bread. That is, symbolically, precisely what he has himself chosen. Elene, however, recognizes the evasion for what it is, and repeatedly insists that he give her the answer or be left to starve in a dry pit. Judas' stubbornness is made evident in his "steadfast" refusal to tell the truth. He is described as "stihycgende" (683a) as he answers with a direct and deliberate lie:

Ic pa stowe ne can,
ne þas wanges wint ne þa wisan cann.
(683b-684)

Elene responds by having Judas placed in the dry pit, where he suffers for seven nights.

At the end of this time, Judas finally decides to reject the "stone" and choose the "bread" of his earlier parable. He is literally "meße ond meteleas" (698a), and that allows him to understand that his spiritual condition is also one of deprivation. Earlier he was "bold" or "resolved" in refusing to give Elene an answer; now he is "stihycgende" (716b) in company with the guards as they all go to Calvary to seek the Cross. In contrast to the

passage where he advised the Jews to "set their hearts" to hide the location of the Cross (427b), Judas now prays to God to give him a visible sign of the exact location. He promises that such a sign will enable him to "set his heart" ("ferhō staðelige," 796b) more firmly on Christ. Thus with these three pairs of verses, Judas has changed from the stubborn and deceitful advisor of the Jews to a man who not only agrees to follow the queen's orders, but also resolves to accept the personal salvation Christ offers through the Cross.

The converted Judas is characterized by humility, happiness, and inspiration, each emphasized by a pair of repeated formulas. For the first time, he bows to the will of God, praying that God will help him if it is His will. The prayer formula, "biddan wille" is used when he prays for a sign (789b), and again immediately afterward when he offers himself to God as a willing convert, and prays that God will forget his many sins (813b). At the finding of the Cross, Judas' heart is "myclum geblissod" (839b). Again at the sight of the dead youth whose resurrection will determine which of the three crosses is the True Cross, Judas is "on modsefan miclum geblissod" (875). In addition to being made happy, Judas finds his soul inspired ("inbryrðed breostsefa," 841a) by the finding of the Cross. That emotion leads at last to his baptism, where the same expression is repeated:

inbryrðed breostsefa on þat betere lif,

gewended to wuldre.

(1045-1046a)

After his experience in the pit, Judas is no longer identified with, but is contrasted to, the wisemen questioned by Elene. At her first encounter with the Jews, Elene accuses the three thousand of reviling Him who intended to deliver them from "imprisonment" "purh his wuldres miht" (295b). After Judas has been delivered from his "prison," he uses the same term. He prays to the God that he acknowledges created everything "purh pines wuldres miht" (726b). Elene characterizes the Jews as "synwyrcente" (395a). After the miracle of the Cross, Judas prays that his sins will be blotted out, and then rebukes the devil himself by calling him "synwyrcente" (943a). There have been discussed already a number of phrases suggesting tenacity or stubbornness. Yet another such verse emphasizes the difference between the attitude of the Jews and the converted Judas. The Jews determine "faste on fyrhðe" (570a) that they will not answer Elene. Judas, at the point of baptism, has a secure faith: "His geleafa wearð faste on ferhðe" (1035-1036a).

There is one last group of verses which might concern the progressive virtue of Judas' career. It is possible, though not at all certain, that Judas is the Sage whom Elene consults about the use to which the Nails should be put.²⁶ The Latin does not make it clear, and in any case

²⁶Whatley assumes this identification, p. 31, but

the Latin differs substantially from the Old English. In Cynewulf's poem, Elene consults a wise man about the Nails, he recalls the Old Testament prophecy, and she takes his advice. In the Latin, Elene requires the attendance of a faithful man whom she commands to have the Nails put into the bit of a bridle for Constantine. The man is identified only as "faithful and disciplined" ("virum fidelem et disciplinatum, cui testimonium perhibebant multi"),²⁷ and his function is a passive one. In the Old English, the man is exceedingly wise, and either Elene knows his counsel well or he knows the counsel of the prophets well:

Heht 8a gefetigean forðsnotterne
 ricene to rune, þone þe rædgeþeah
 þurh gleawa miht georne cuðe,
 frodne on ferhðe, ond hine frignan ongan
 hwæt him þæs on sefan selost þuhte
 to gelæstene, ond his lare geceas
 þurh þeodscipe.

(1160-1166a)

Since the article is not given in Old English, the problem becomes a matter of translation only; one must choose whether to use "a" or "the." If Elene calls in "a wiseman," he must be one not previously mentioned; if she calls in "the wiseman," he can only be one already mentioned, and the only one who is suitable in the context of the story is, of course, Judas/Cyriacus. And since the relative "þe" of line 1161 is undeclined, lines 1161b-1163a may mean either

does not discuss it. See also his "Old English Onomastics and Narrative Art: Elene 1062," MP, 73 (1975), 117.

²⁷ Kent, p. 61.

that Elene called "him who knew, through wisdom's might, the counsel of the wise in heart" or "him of whom she knew, through wisdom's might, the counsel, wise in heart."

If "pone pe radgepeant . . . georne cuðe" refers to Elene's knowledge of the Sage's counsel instead of to the Sage's knowledge of the counsels of others, then the Sage ought to be the transformed Judas. Elene brought with her no wisemen capable of aiding her investigation; she found no wisemen but Judas able or willing to help her. She imported the wise bishop of Rome, Eusebius (also described as "forðsnoterne"), to place Judas in the priesthood and make him bishop of Jerusalem. Thus the only two wisemen who appear to be available to consult with Elene are Eusebius (who would presumably have returned to Rome) and Judas/Cyriacus, whose counsels have indeed been known and respected by Elene. Not only is Judas consulted by Elene about finding the Cross and the Nails, but he is recognized as one of the wisest of the Jews--which means that he knows the prophets. The advice he gives is based on the words of the prophet ("se witga") Zacharias, while his interpretation is an indication of true understanding of Old Testament prophecy, which his fellows have demonstrated is impossible to them. The Sage combines the knowledge of the Jews with the understanding and wisdom of the Christian. Judas is certainly the most likely person to be consulted by Elene.

The most direct rhetorical linking of Judas with

the Sage is in the repetition of a full line (532, 1164). In the first passage, Judas is still among the Jews who stubbornly cling to error. He has explained to them about Christ and the Cross, and has advised them to keep this truth hidden. He concludes by telling them that the next time the queen interrogates them, they will know the response "hwæt eow þæs on sefan selest pince" (532). After the Nails have been found, Elene asks the Sage's advice: "hwæt him þæs on sefan selost puhte" (1164). The dishonesty and ambiguity of the first statement is atoned for by the second, and by its honest and forthright results. Judas believes at first that the Jews should "think it best" to lie; the Sage "thinks it best" to fulfill yet another prophecy toward the glory of Christ's kingdom. Similarly, an answer to Isaiah's complaint about the lack of wisdom of the Israelites (that they had no "wisdomes gewitt," 357a) is balanced by the Sage's recalling the words of the earlier prophet who had "wisdomes gewitt" (1190a) about the use to which the Nails might be put. That the Sage himself possesses immense wisdom is made clear by Elene's judgment of him: she determines to take the advice of the Sage who is "frodne on ferhðe" (1163a). The only other time this term is used in the poem is in Judas' characterization of his father, "frod on fyrhðe" (463a), as he acknowledged Christ as Saviour. It would be appropriate for that distinguishing Christian wisdom to be applied to both father and son. The final pair of verses

which concerns the Sage relates to his own perception of wisdom, and to Elene's. Early in the poem, Elene demands that someone be found who can "through skill of wisdom" ("purh snyttro craft," 374a) give her the answers she requires. The Sage recognizes that "sawle sigesped ond snyttro craft" (1171) reside in Elene herself; again it is fitting that he be one of those earlier addressed by the queen, no longer perversely refusing to cooperate.

All these repeated verses emphasize the fact that the Sage is a truly wise man, wise with both the knowledge of the Jew and the understanding of the Christian. He is certainly a man whose advice Elene respects, and he is humble enough that he takes no glory in his knowledge of the answer to the problem of the Nails, but instead assigns that glory to the prophet whose words he quotes and to Elene, who alone is able to order the fulfillment of the prophet's words. It is possible but unlikely that he is a previously unmentioned counselor; it seems probable that he is Judas/Cyriacus, the most logical person for Elene to consult in her uncertainty.

Elene's first encounter with Judas was certainly different from this final one. At the beginning, Elene was in search of the wisdom and historical knowledge possible only among the Jews, and Judas was finally designated as the single man who understood her quest and its implications. Her search is a determined and intense one, and this determination and intensity is reflected in the number

of repetitions within that relatively brief portion of the poem. In just over a hundred lines, there are five pairs of repeated verses dealing with Elene's gradually narrowing search (314b, 419a; 317b, 376b; 319b, 410b; 372b, 406b; 381b, 408b). She first addresses the three thousand, demanding that they find men "wordes craftige" (314b), men who "secgan cunnon" (317b) the answers "pe ic him to sece" (319b). When she meets the one thousand, she demands "Nu ge rape gangap" (372b) to find those who "secgan cunnen" (376b) her answer. The Jews then select five hundred who "maste hæfdon" (381b) learning. She again rejects them, insisting "Ge nu hraðe gangað" (406b) to find those who "maste hæbben" (408b) wisdom, might, and intelligence to give her the answer "pe ic him to sece" (410b). The passage began with Elene's demand that the Jews find someone "skilled in speech"; it is closed by Judas' revelation to the Jews of the answer sought by Elene, and Judas is there described as "wordes craftig" (419a). This repetition makes it clear that he is the very man she seeks.

When Elene at last is able to negotiate directly with Judas, he insists on his own ignorance of the truth he knows so well. First she openly states that she wishes to find the Cross. He asks how he can be expected to find "þæt swa fyrrn gewearð" (632b). Immediately he restates the impossibility, but with a significant difference. At first he simply suggests the impossibility of finding that which existed so long ago; now he says (more truthfully) that he

cannot find in his heart ("on fyrdæ"). "þæt swa fyrd ge-
 wearð" (641b). In fact, he can find the physical object
 lost long ago, but he refuses to understand within his own
 heart the meaning of the truth about that Cross. Elene
 counters by pointing out that the Trojan war was much farther
 back in history, but that its details are "ongewritu setton"
 (654b) and therefore known. Judas agrees that information
 about the Trojan war in "on gewritu setton" (658b) and
 therefore accessible, but explains that information about
 the Cross is less available. It was never made known ("hale-
 ðum cyðan," 661a) except by Elene at this moment. Elene
 first states accurately that Judas himself has just spoken of
 it to his people, and then points out that the facts of the
 crucifixion have indeed been "revealed to men" ("haleðum
 cyðan," 671a) through the holy scriptures; those writings
 state that God's son was hanged on Calvary. In the face of
 this, Judas can only sullenly persist in his falsehood.

Judas and Elene have another repetitive interchange
 later in the poem, but it is not direct discourse. The
 repetitions are neither so close together nor so clearly
 building on one another. This passage occurs when Elene
 asks Judas/Cyriacus to find the Nails, and when the de-
 scription of Judas' prayer twice involves phrases from her
 request. She asks him to search for the Nails through
 "gastes mihtum" (1069b), and (unnecessarily, one hopes)
 recommends that his prayer be made with humility, "eallum
 eaðmedum" (1087a). Cyriacus is described on Calvary,

gastes mihtum to gode cleopode
eallum eaðmedum.

(1099-1100a)

This dramatic change in Judas is potentially available to all of those for whom he is at first the spokesman. He knows the truth from the beginning of the story, but refuses to accept or act upon it. The other Jews seem to be genuinely ignorant, and protest to Elene that they do not know ("ne we geare cunnon," 399b) what their fault might be. Judas then tells them what the queen seeks, and suggests that they withhold the information they now possess ("nu ge geare cunnon," 531b). Elene's accusations condemn the Jews even before this, but at this point they become individually and personally responsible for the crime committed by their forefathers. Judas is not the only Jew who renounces that crime. At the end of the poem, Elene has established a community of converted Jews under the leadership of Cyriacus in Jerusalem. Let us examine the portrayal of the Jews, both in their wickedness and later as the "good" Jews make amends for their earlier perversity.

In the earlier part of this discussion I mentioned that the epithet "synwyrcende" is applied both to the Jews and to the demon who confronts Judas (395a, 943a). This identification is strengthened by the repetition of another verse. It first occurs in a description of the results of Constantine's studies, where he finds that the Jews must forever "wergðu dreogan" (211b) for their crime. Later, in that same confrontation between Judas and the demon, Judas

states that for the folly of forsaking God the demon will "wergðu dreogan" (951b) forever. And at the very end of the poem, the recalcitrant Jews of the interchanges with Elene are clearly linked with the group of the damned at Judgment Day. After Judas has told them the truth, they as "bitter enemies" ("torngeniðlan," 568a) refuse to answer the queen. When Judas has been persuaded to seek the Cross, he digs and finds the three crosses where the "impious band" ("arleasra sceolu," 835a) hid them. At the Judgment, men are divided into three groups. The righteous have the purifying flames tempered, the sinful must suffer the temporary punishment of the flames, and the third group must endure eternal torment. That third group is designated as "arleasra sceolu" (1301b) and "torngeniðlan" (1306a).

A number of verses show how the Jews diminish and pervert concepts or actions which suggest high ideals and forthrightness as they are applied to others. Thus Constantine's search for the wisest, "pā wisestan" (153b, 169a), is a sincere attempt to find the truth about his miraculous vision. Similarly, twice Elene "eagerly seeks" something: at Constantine's command she travels to the land of the Jews "georne secan" (216b) the Cross; later, after she has found both Cross and Nails, she begins "georne secan" (1156b) an answer to how she might best use the Nails. In contrast to these highly idealistic and honest searches is the search of the Jews. They

georne sohton

pa wisestan wordgeryne
 þæt hio þære cwene oncweðan meahton
 swa tiles swa trages, swa hio him to sohte.
 (322b-325)

Their "search" is not for truth, but for an expedient answer; "the wisest" no longer suggests wisdom and truth, but cleverness and deceit. The "mystic sayings" (323b) they hope to find are far from the "wordgeryno" (289b) of the prophets quoted by Elene. Elene has also told them of the openness with which Christ raised the dead "on wera corpre" (304b). Their use of this term emphasizes only cunning and deceit, when they tell Judas to answer what he likes if Elene questions him "on wera corðre" (543a).

The intensity of the evil judgment of the Jews against Christ is made clear in the repetition of "deman ongunnon" (303a, 311a) with related words in dramatic contrast. In lines 302b-305 Elene tells the Jews that they condemned to death ("to deaþe") Him who had raised them from death ("of deaþe"). In lines 310b-312, she tells them that since they condemned this radiant power, they have lived in error ("gedwolan lifdon"). The life of error leads only to death; the death to which they condemned Christ was only a temporary one, as Simon's speech reported by Judas makes clear. He says that the "unfortunate men" could not really kill Christ:

Ne meahton hie swa disige deað oðfæstan,
 werað wonsalige, swa hie wendon ær,
 sarum settan, þeah he sume hwile
 on galgan his gast onsende.
 (477-480)

Those Jews who remain in error are described in the same phrase after the finding of the Cross. Sorrow comes to "werum wanseligum" (977a) at the joy felt by the Christians.

However, some of the Jews participate in the joy, for some of them have understood the significance of the miracle. And at the end of the poem, Elene brings together those Christianized Jews. At the beginning of her adventure, Elene "cwomon in pa ceastre" (274a) of Jerusalem. At the end of it, she commands that the best of the Jews "cuman in pa ceastre" (1204a). Twice the queen's attempts to gain the cooperation of the Jews are introduced by "hio/ pa sio cwen ongan" (384b, 558b). The last time the phrase is used, it is directed to those "best" Jews who make recompense for earlier obstinacy by learning of Christ. When she has them in the city, "pa seo cwen ongan" (1204b) to teach them. At the moment that Judas finds the Cross, we are reminded that the Jews would not have been so wicked if they had not listened to the counsels ("larum ne hyrdon," 838b) of the author of sins. When they come to a better teacher, they have the opportunity to become better men:

ond þas latteowes larum hyrdon,
cristenum þeawum, þe him Cyriacus
bude, boca gleaw.

(1209-1211a)

Elene's successful quest has not only brought joy to the Christian world, but has allowed those steeped in error to have a chance to acknowledge truth. The conversion of Judas is given in great detail; the chance for the

other Jews is evident through Judas as type and through this colony established by Elene.

It is evident that many of the formulas Cynewulf used in Christ II, Juliana, and Elene do contribute significantly to ideas or relationships within the poems. As the entire discussion suggests, and as I have pointed out above, however, formulas are used differently in Juliana than in the other two poems. This difference can be accounted for on the grounds of the great differences in the complexity of subject matter, I believe. Juliana, unlike the other two poems, has a single narrative strand from beginning to end. The story is so simple and straightforward that formulas are not required to help bind together elements that might otherwise seem separate. Formulas are still used to decorate, or to make clear such an identification as that of Affricanus/Heliseus/Devil. Christ II is a lyric, not a narrative poem. Thus the sequence of episodes or ideas does not depend on a narrative framework. Formulas help to establish relationships between elements of the poem that might otherwise seem more nearly independent. Elene, though it is a narrative poem, is a very complicated one. It consists of three separate stories, bound together into a unified whole. Thus, formulas can be used not only within sections (as in the verbal battle between Elene and Judas, or to highlight changes in Judas' behaviour or character) but also to link sections that are

widely separated (like the two voyages, or the various "battles" through the poem). Though they are necessarily used in a more sophisticated way in Christ II and Elene than in Juliana, formulas contribute to the unity and power, as well as to the beauty, of all three poems.

CHAPTER FOUR

CYNEWULF'S USE OF REPEATED FORMULAIC SYSTEMS

The previous chapter discussed the wide variety of uses of repeated formulas in the four Signed Poems. There are, however, other significant repetitions in the poems. It would be possible to study repeated words or concepts that are central to each of the poems. More interesting, in terms of the approach of this study, are repetitions somewhere between the word and the verse in extent--that is, repetitions which involve the verse as a unit, but which fail to meet the criteria accepted here for the formula. The first discussion, of Fates of the Apostles, will explain through concrete examples the major possibilities for such extended repetitions. That discussion distinguishes between the formulaic system as it is usually defined and other kinds of close repetitions. Since, however, there appears to be no difference in the way these various repetitions are used, the discussions of the three longer poems do not make that distinction.

One important difference between the ways in which it is possible to discuss the exact repetition of the formula and the close repetition of the system results from the possibility of defining formulas with some precision.

Thus the previous chapter discussed each use of every formula considered. But since the repetitions in this chapter differ in some significant way (metre, alliteration, meaning, syntax, etc.), it is virtually impossible to catalogue all the variants in a coherent discussion. In addition, formulas, particularly where they are used in groups, are highly visible repetitions. The system is far less easy to spot unless its elements are fairly close together or used in conjunction with repeated formulas. This means that formulas are more useful in binding together widely separated parts of a long poem. There are compensating uses for the system, however, as will be seen in the discussions which follow.

One problem with the inexact repetitions discussed in this chapter is that there is a greater possibility of accidental repetition, particularly if a verse is repeated infrequently and in widely separated parts of a poem. Repetition within a few lines could reasonably be considered deliberate. So too could even widely separated repetitions which clearly fulfill intelligible functions (such as framing important passages or highlighting parallel sections of the poem).

Fates of the Apostles

The investigation of repetition for rhetorical effect in Fates of the Apostles is interesting and rewarding. Much of the interest lies in the difficulty of the

task. The only verses which could possibly be categorized, as formulas are 43a, "pæt to Indeum," and 51a "on Indea."¹ These two verses are simply locative, and seem to have no significant function apart from that.² However, there are numerous repetitions which help to point out themes or structural patterns in the poem. Such single words (or elements of compound words) as "sið" and "leht" appear throughout the poem. But this study has been concerned with repetitions of greater extent than single words or parts of words. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter deals with the use of formulaic systems and other such extended repetitions involving verses which have similarity of meaning, metre, or alliteration, usually in conjunction with at least one exactly repeated stressed word.

Fates of the Apostles is organized in such a way as to assert a correspondence between the fates of the apostles

¹ One formulaic system used suggests the possibility that Cynewulf deliberately avoided using formulas in this brief poem. In presenting the deaths of Peter and Paul and of Thomas, Cynewulf uses two verses which mean exactly the same thing, that they "gave" their lives. The word for "life" is "feorh" in both cases, but the word for "give" varies. In 12b, Peter and Paul "feorh ofgefon," while in 58b Thomas "feorg gesealde." But since both are off-verses, the alliteration falls on "feorh," and the second stressed word does not need to be changed. There is no apparent reason for the variant words--unless Cynewulf wished to avoid the direct repetition of a formula.

² The only apostles listed together in the poem are those who died in the same place. Thus, the list begins with the pairing of Peter and Paul, who died together in Rome, and ends with the pairing of Simon and Thaddeus, who died together in Persia. All the other disciples died alone, though Bartholomew and Thomas were both in India.

and the ultimate fate of each human being. After detailing the means by which each of the apostles met his death, the poet focuses on the necessity for his own death--for making a similar "journey" alone. At the end of the poem, the poet broadens his scope from a consideration of his own death to that of all of us. While Cynewulf does not use formulas in Fates of the Apostles, he does still emphasize these two major points (and a number of other less important ones) by repetition.³ The repetition is not one involving exact half-lines, but of partially repeated ones. The easiest kind of this repetition to define and understand is that which involves verses with the same metre; one of the two stressed words remains constant, and the other changes--but remains grammatically parallel. Such verses appear in 20b, 120a; 88b, 107b; and 55a, 61a. The first two pairs concern the relationship between the fates of the apostles, poet, and reader or listener. The third points out the irony and savagery of the relationship between one of the apostles and those who martyr him. Let us examine these three pairs in detail.

Verses 20b and 120a have the same alliteration, the same metre, and the same word used as second stress; the first stress varies, but is a noun modified by the same

³See Constance B. Heatt, "The Fates of the Apostles: Imagery, Structure, and Meaning," PLL, 10 (1974), 115-25. Much of her discussion is based on repetitions (both of similar half-lines and of individual words) which emphasize patterns of imagery.

adjective meaning "eternal" in both verses:

leoht unhwilen (20b)
lean unhwilen (120a)

The passage in which 20b appears concerns Andrew's martyrdom, and his deliberate choice of "langsumre lif, leoht unhwilen"--that is, of heaven. Similarly, the verse at the end of the poem signifies heaven. This time it is not Andrew but "we" who must make this choice; the greatest joy is when God gives the "eternal reward" to the pure.

Verses 88b and 107b have the same metre, the same form of the same word used as second stress, and the same literal as well as metaphorical meaning.⁴ The alliteration differs (both verses are off-verses, so the first stress must alliterate with one of the stresses of the on-verse):

beorn se ðe lufige (88b)
mann se ðe lufige (107b)

"Beorn" alliterates with "bidde," in the poet's request that the reader of the poem pray to the apostles on behalf of the poet as he faces the journey of death. "Mann" alliterates with "gemyndig," as the reader is bid to remember to seek what will save and comfort the poet. This is not merely a restatement of the request that the reader pray for the poet; it also suggests that the reader should seek (for himself) what the poet recognizes each man needs--

⁴ Calder, "The Fates of the Apostles, the Latin Martyrologies, and the Litany of the Saints," *MLQ*, 44 (1975), 221, believes that this repetition is an expression of the "essentially iterative and ritualistic" movement of the poem.

help to reach "hamas in hehþo." This reading is emphasized by the swift movement from the poet ("ic," 109b) to every man ("ælcum menn," 113b) to the first person plural which includes both poet and reader ("we," 115a).

The third example of this kind of formulaic system concerns the irony of the cruel treatment of Thomas by the heathens he has come to help. The verses have contrasting meanings, but the same alliteration, metre, and second stressed word:

awehte for weorodum (55a)
wund for weorudum (61a)

The first verse describes the public miracle which ought to have assured Thomas the gratitude of the nation. When the king's young brother died, Thomas showed mercy and kindness in "wakening" him in the presence of multitudes. But in contrast to this mercy, and in opposition to any gratitude, the heathens kill Thomas. As the miracle was performed publicly, so Thomas is publicly killed by a swordblow.⁵

In addition to the three systems discussed above, there are other kinds of repetition which seem more substantial than the simple repeating of a single word.⁶

⁵ Calder, "Fates," also notes the irony of this repeated phrase, p. 223.

⁶ See Donald C. Green, "Formulas and Syntax in Old English Poetry: A Computer Study," Computers and the Humanities, 6 (1971), 90. In identifying "formulaic hemistichs" for his project, he classified them into "twelve categories . . . ranging from exact repetition through formulaic substitution systems to a loosely defined category of 'some similarity.'" Two of these groups include formulas (exact

There is no recognized term (parallel to "formula" or "system") which would indicate the nature of these repetitions, but they remain a significant area for investigation. For the purposes of this study, I will group together all these partial repetitions under the interchangeable terms "oblique formula" and "oblique repetition." Oblique formulas have the same sort of relationship to formulas as oblique rhymes have to precise rhymes. They are sufficiently alike in sound that a reader or listener hears the likeness, but are not exactly alike. The remainder of this discussion of Fates will distinguish between several varieties of oblique formulas; since they are all used just as we have seen that elements of formulaic systems are, the blanket terms will be used throughout the discussions of the other three poems.

One type of oblique formula is a category of verses which come very close to being formulas.⁷ If we accept Watts' stipulation that formulas must have the same metrical type, we are left with a number of verses composed of the same two major stresses, but with different metrical types.

repetition, exact repetition of stressed portion of verse); the other ten would be varieties of oblique formulas. Neither Green nor anyone else, as far as I know, has used a term like "oblique formula," but some such term clearly would be useful.

⁷ It has been argued that they are formulas in Old English, which has interchangeable verse-types. Since the poet is free to use any of the verse-types in any place, those types might reasonably be considered interchangeable to the degree that verses of different metre but with the same words might be counted as formulas.

An example of this occurs in verses 9a and 90a. The first verse, "halgan heape," is an A-verse; the second, "pone halgan heap," is a B-verse. If such verses are not to be counted as formulas, they must still be considered when we discuss the nature of repetitive verses in Old English poetry. Verses 9a and 90a have an important function in Fates, where they make the first statement of the crucial theme of the parallel "journeys" of the apostles and of the poet. The "halgan heape" was guided by lot to places where each apostle could tell the heathens of God's law. Thereafter, in each of these places, we hear of the manner of death of each apostle--often phrased in terms of a journey. After all these histories are complete, the poet begins to think of his own journey to "eardwic uncuð," and asks for his reader's prayers to "pone halgan heap." The poet is in need of "friends" for this "journey," and the apostles, who have voluntarily sought just such a journey, are the ideal ones to accompany him.

Another category of repetition is that of verses which have one common stressed word, and often also the same metre, but where the substituted stressed words are not grammatically parallel. An example should help to make this clear:

eorðan sohte (28a)
 side gesohte (32a)
 ricene gesohte (39b)
 sawle gesohte (62a)

sigelea secan (81a)
 ana gesecan (93a)

All these verses involve the repetition of the verb "(ge)-secan," and all but 81a are A-verses. But the varied word involves a number of different grammatical functions. It may be a direct object, an instrumental, an adverb, or a subject of the verb. But the six verses do appear to be used in a careful and controlled way. The first in the series is Christ's deliberate "seeking" of earth from heaven. The next four concern five of the apostles and their searches for heaven (John sought "lifes weg," Philip "ecelelif," Thomas "wuldres lecht," and Simon and Thaddeas "sigelean"). The last verse enforces the parallel between that which is sought by the apostles and that which is sought by the poet (though he appears to feel less certainty about his reward--he seeks "alone" the "langne ham, eardwic uncuð"). The parallel is made by the repetition of the verb, but the poet's uncertainty is emphasized by the variant word, "ana," stressing his loneliness in the face of death.

A similar point is made by another brief series not grammatically parallel:

siðe gesohte (32a)
 siðes sone (34a)
 sið asettan (111a)

The first verse, part of the group discussed in the previous paragraph as well as of this group, concerns John's seeking life's way by means of a journey. The second suggests the eagerness of James, who was "not slow" to journey (by means of the blow of a sword). The third verse takes us to the similar journey which must be made by the poet (and

by each of us)--but which leads to unknown territory ("natic sylfa hwar," 111b).

The final example of kinds of verses which are significantly repetitive involves a repetition of meaning, construction, and metre--but not of alliteration or of either stressed word:

feorh wið flæsce (37a)
lif wið lice (83a)

Both verses refer to the separation between soul and body at the deaths of the apostles concerned. When James, brother of John, was parted from life ("ealdre gedælan"), the poet further defines this as "feorh wið flæsce." The "f" alliteration of the expansion allows the introduction of the next disciple whose fate will be discussed, Philip. Verse 83a refers to the deaths of the eleventh and twelfth apostles, Simon and Thaddeus. The "l" alliteration leads not to another proper name, but to the transitory treasure ("lænan gestreon") they despised, which contrasts with the "sigelean" they sought, mentioned a few lines above. This theme of the separation of what is truly alive ("feorh" or "lif") from the transitory body is picked up even more emphatically a few lines later in the poem, when the poet looks toward the fate of his own body:

lic, eorðan dæl,
wælfreaf wunigean weormum to hroðre.
(94b-95)

Christ II

Christ II begins with a brief introduction relating the Nativity and the Ascension. The relationship is a contrasting one, with the angels dressed in white garments of joy for one but not the other. This contrast is emphasized with Cynewulf's use of a formulaic repetition in verses 449b and 460b:

Bodan wæron gearwe (449b)
Sona wæron gearwe (460b)

In the first of these verses, the messengers (angels) are ready to announce the birth of Christ to the shepherds. The "b" of "bodan" alliterates with "beorn in Betlem"--an epithet for Christ. The second verse tells us that the disciples were immediately ready to accompany Christ to Jerusalem at the time of the Ascension. The "s" alliteration of the off-verse again alliterates with an epithet for Christ, but this time it is one of particular relevance to His ministry on earth as it is expressed in this poem. Christ among His disciples is "hyra sincgiefan" (460a). The poem devotes much attention to the treasure-dispensing aspect of Christ, itemizing gifts of nature, of the mind and body, and of the spirit.

Another important function of this pair of verses is the parallel it points between the heavenly and the earthly, between angels and disciples. This parallel of the heavenly and the earthly is expressed again and again through the poem. There are three verses that join angels

and men in terms of Christ's concern for them:

englum ond wuldum (582a)
 engla ond monna (690b)
 englum ond eorðwarum (697a)

The first of these verses appears in the angelic song of triumph as the host escorts Christ to heaven; the angels state that as a result of the harrowing of hell and of the Ascension, there will be peace forever between angels and men. (Interestingly, the structure "x ond y" is repeated again two lines later, in 584a. The "peace" between "angels and men" appears to be the result of the "covenant" between "godes ond monna.") The second verse appears in the summation just after the long list of gifts. There we are told the gifts for the earthly, for the blessed, and the great gift of peace for men and angels alike:

Ðus god mechtig geofum unhnæawum,
 cyning alwihta, cræftum weorðap
 eorþan tuddor; swylce eadgum blæd
 seleð on swegle, sibbe wæreþ
 ece to ealdre engla ond monna.
 (686-690)

The third verse makes even closer the relationship between angels and men; God's relationship to each is the same:

He is se soðfæsta sunnan leoma,
 englum ond eorðwarum spele scima.
 (696-697)

In the light of this relationship, it is interesting to note that the approach of the angels to meet Christ, a three-part description which involves an almost visual focusing, moves from the characteristic of whiteness (associated with the angel garments at the beginning of the

poem) to a final identification of the angels as "thanes," a term that might seem more appropriate to the disciples:

hwite cwoman (545b)
 heapum cwoman (549b)
 begnas cwoman (553b)

The description contains an increasingly defined view of the host of angels, beginning with an undifferentiated shining whiteness, moving to the more clearly defined crowd, and ending with the recognition of the relationship between them and their Lord (precisely that of the disciples and their Lord).

In the first speech the angels make to the disciples, 510b-526, just before the Ascension, the same identification is made, but specifically with redeemed man. The two verses are quite close together, and both state that Christ will go

mid pas engla gedryht (515b)
 mid pas bliðan gedryht (519b)

The first host is, clearly, the angelic host. But the second is almost certainly the host of the redeemed rescued from hell by Christ (the formula "þe ge her on stariað," in verses 521b and 570b, discussed in the previous chapter, p. 79, supports that identification).

A similar parallel between the heavenly and the earthly is made by the poem's placement of the Ascension between the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. The Ascension directs our attention

to þære halgan byrg (461b)
 to þære beorhtan byrg (319a)

The first is clearly the earthly city, as the disciples ("hæleð mid hlaford") prepare to accompany Christ. The second reference appears in the first message of the angels mentioned above; they will

hlaford fergan
to þære beorhtan byrg mid þas bliðan gedryht
(518b-519)

Christ is still "hlaford," but this time the double "b" alliteration focuses our attention on the heavenly escort (the "bliðan gedryht" of the redeemed) rather than the earthly escort of the disciples ("hæleð").

Another passage directs our attention to the fact that Christ's nature is both heavenly and earthly, and that He retains this attribute after the Ascension (that is, He adopted a human form for His life on earth, but did not relinquish it when He returned to heaven). In this case, it is not the repeated verse that makes the point, but the alliterating half-lines:

heah ond halig ofer heofona prym (653)
in monnes hiw ofer magna prym (657)

This is the prophetic description of Christ as a bird, being raised above the glory of heaven and the angels. But the specific attribute of heaven over which he is exalted is surely of importance primarily in alliteratively stressing terms which show His dual nature. His human nature mentioned here is emphasized again later in the poem, in the "leaps" passage. In the first leap, where Christ passes into Mary, he takes on man's form ("ond þær mennisc

hiw," 721b); in the second leap, into the manger, His acceptance of man's vulnerability in a temporal world is stressed by his description "in cildes hiw" (725a).

The "leaps" passage is filled with oblique formulas. In addition to the one in 721b and 725a discussed above, oblique formulas occur in 719a and 723a; 723b and 728b; and 720a, 726b, 730b, and 736b. The poet quotes Solomon as saying that the Lord should redeem all mankind, "ealle eorðbuend" (719a), by a noble leap ("purh pone ~~sp~~pelan styl," 719b). Then the poem continues to explain that "leap" as consisting of six separate leaps. Line 723 involves variations on both "ealle eorðbuend" and "purh pone ~~sp~~pelan styl." The first leap of the six is a comfort to "eallum eorðwarum"; the second leap is introduced in the off-verse, "Was se oper stiell." The other repetitions mentioned above all are variations on this pattern:

purh pone ~~sp~~pelan styl (719b)
 Was se oper stiell (723b)
 Was se feorða stiell (728b)
 Was se forma hlyp (720a)
 Was se bridða hlyp (726b)
 Was se fifta hlyp (730b)
 Was se siexta hlyp (736b)

The "noble" leap comprises all the six minor leaps. It is interesting to consider the extent to which Cynewulf has managed to achieve variety of phrasing in what might so easily have been a purely mechanical listing of the six leaps in order. Each of them is introduced by the statement that it "was se x hlyp/styll." Naturally the numbers vary, going from the first to the sixth. But in addition,

Cynewulf has varied the word for "leap," alternating "styll" and "hlyp," until the fifth and sixth, where he uses the same word.⁸ The alternation is exact from the "noble" leap ("styll") through the first five, ending with the fifth "hlyp." I suspect that the reason that the sixth leap does not continue that alternation is that it is (like all but the first leap which begins the passage) an off-verse. While "siexta styll" may, technically speaking, have single alliteration (since "s" and "st" are distinct), it does have two "st" sounds side by side (the second syllable of "siexta" and "styll"). Thus a careful poet would almost certainly avoid that juxtaposition--particularly with the number of lines intervening between the fifth and sixth leaps, making the repetition of "hlyp" less obvious.

A different use of repetition is in "framing" a passage of special importance. This technique is used twice in the poem. The first time involves Christ's reiterated promise to His disciples, framing the Great Commission He gives them. The Great Commission itself is given in lines 481-488a. Just before it and just after it, He promises that He will abide with them:⁹

⁸We should note in this connection that the Latin source for this section of the poem lists only five leaps, omitting the harrowing of hell which is so important to the theme of this poem--and to which Cynewulf has devoted more space than to any other leap (the first two leaps receive seven and six verses, respectively; the third, fourth, and sixth leaps are described in four verses each; the fifth leap, the harrowing of hell, requires twelve verses).

⁹Colin Chase, in "God's Presence through Grace as

ond mid wunige (478b)
Ic eow mid wunige (488b)

The alliteration falls on "mid" in both verses; in both cases it alliterates with "meaht" in the on-verse. In line 478, Christ promises that He will give them power ("ond eow meaht giefe"); in line 488 he explains that they can fulfill the obligations imposed by the Great Commission by the abundance of their power ("purh meahta sped").

A similar "frame" encloses the "gifts" passage of lines 664-682. Just before the list of gifts, we are told that Christ gives men wisdom of mind ("modes snyttru," 662b). At the end of the list, we are told that Christ is not willing to give all wisdom of spirit ("gastes snyttru," 684a) to any one man. The emphasis, and the alliterating stress, in the first statement is on the wide variety of gifts given, their "monigfeald" nature. The final statement focuses on the danger of spiritual pride; "gast" alliterates with "gielp," the danger from which we are saved by Christ's care in dispensing the gifts.

Within the list of gifts, we find another oblique formula which helps to identify the two basic categories. The list is divided into five gifts of wisdom (eloquence, music, understanding of God's law, knowledge of stars, and

the Theme of Cynewulf's Christ II and the Relationship of This Theme to Christ I and Christ III," ASE, 3 (1974), 90, points out that this idea does not appear in Gregory, and that by the repetition, "Cynewulf gives the idea some prominence. . . . Much of the remainder of the poem shows how Christ remains with his followers."

writing, lines 664-673a) and five gifts of action (victory in battle, sailing, climbing, sword-making, and pathfinding, lines 673b-681a).¹⁰ The repetition underscores this division:

Sum mæg searolice (672b)
Sum mæg fromlice (676b)

Ingenuity or artistry is appropriate to the first category; boldness is appropriate to the second. The two verses appear as part of the last gift in the "wisdom" group and as part of the description of the second gift in the "action" group. While it might seem to a modern reader that it would be a stronger contrast if they were even more closely juxtaposed (that is, related to adjacent gifts), Cynewulf's order allows another, metrical, resemblance. "Searolice" is the stressed word in a type-C off-verse; the on-verse is a double-alliterating D-verse with both stresses resting on words related to wisdom and artistry ("secgan, side gesceaft"). "Fromlice" is also the stressed word in a type-C off-verse; the on-verse associated with it is also a double-alliterating D-verse where both stresses relate to the active life of the warrior and to the dangers which ought to be met with boldness ("flacor flangeweorc").

¹⁰This division into two categories does not appear in the Latin source, which is heavily biased in favour of gifts of the mind and spirit: "Dedit vero dona hominibus; quia misso desuper Spiritu, alii sermonem sapientie, alii gratiam curationum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretationem tribuit sermonum. Dedit ergo dona hominibus." The Latin text is quoted here as it appears in Albert S. Cook, ed., The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston: Atheneum Press, 1900), Appendix II, "Homilia in Ascensione Domini," p. 149.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that Cynewulf's list of gifts is intended to be understood on a merely literal level. Some of the gifts are identified clearly as being metaphors; they set up a pattern which encourages the reader to understand all of them as having spiritual parallels. These parallels are established by repetitions outside the list of gifts itself. One concerns the fifth gift, the ability to understand "ryne tungla." In the earlier brief list of gifts of nature (lines 604-611a), the sun and moon are identified as "wepelast tungla" (607a). After the gifts described in lines 664-682, we are told that the sun and moon are God Himself and His church (see the discussion in the previous chapter, p. 78). God is the true radiance of the sun; the moon, a "gæstlic tungol" (699a) shines over the earth just as God's church gleams brightly. If the sun and moon are "tungla" which are identified with God and His Church, the ability to understand the stars is indeed a spiritual as well as an intellectual gift.

The active, military gifts of the second category also have spiritual parallels, developed in the passage where the devil's wiles are seen in the metaphor of a battle, lines 756-782a. The passage begins with a phrase which is repeated (with the alliterating word substituted) in the middle of the passage:

Forþon we a sculon (756a)
 Forþon we faste sculon (766a)

As is so often the case with this sort of repetition, the substituted word focuses our attention on the word which alliterates with it. In this case, the first occurrence is a literal warning of what we must guard against if we wish to ascend bodily with Christ; the second is the metaphorical statement of the same warning. "A" in 756a alliterates with the phrase "idle lustas," which is immediately thereafter identified with the metaphor "synwund." That metaphor is developed for a few lines, and then we are again warned that we must firmly guard against "arrows" and their resulting "wounds." Here the word "fæste" alliterates with "færscyte," the metaphorical equivalent of the earlier "idle lustas."

In this same passage, three close repetitions indicate what we should do, and what God will do, for our protection against this warfare:

pa us gescildap (761a)
 þæt he us gescilde (775a)
 gif hine god scildep (781b)

We are first told that God will send His angels to shield us, then that we ought to pray to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to shield us, and finally that no one need fear attack if God shields him. The alliterating verse identifies, in each case, the foes against whom we need to be shielded: "wið sceppendra" (761b), "wið sceapan wæpnum" (775b), "gromra garfare" (781a).

The poem's two major metaphors of the life of action, the battle against the devil and the voyage of life,

are related through an oblique formula. This time, the alliterating stress of the repeated off-verse remains unchanged; the non-alliterating stress identifies the metaphor:

þæt bið frece wund (770b)
Is þæt frece stream (853b)

The perilous wound caused by the dart of fiends is the danger we must shun by praying for God's protection. Life itself (the sea of life) is perilous until we receive help from Christ, who leads us to the harbour of salvation.

The difficulty and peril of life on earth are emphasized just before that final voyage metaphor. We can focus our attention on one of two times, neither very encouraging:

on þa snudan tid (841b)
on þas gæsnan tid (849a)

The first "quickly approaching" time is seen in the context of the fear of the "synwyrendra" (the alliterating word) at the moment of Judgment. The sinners would rather be part of the "sigepreat" than to have the whole "læne gesceaft." The second "barren" time is that very "transitory world" in which we live--which provides our chance "ær þam gryrebrogan" to ponder earnestly the beauty of the spirit. Alliterating with "gæsnan" is "georne bipencen" (849b), the means by which we can avoid the fate of the "synwyrendra."

Juliana

Juliana also makes use of these oblique formulas.

In some ways, they are used more flexibly than the formulas themselves, but they remain relatively simple compared to the uses made of the technique in more complex poems.

One of the first uses of an oblique formula in the poem occurs at a point where Juliana offers two alternatives to Heliseus:

gif þu soðne god (47b)
gif þu to sǣmran gode (51b)

These two verses, part of the same speech, indicate the consistency of her convictions; the alternatives depend on Heliseus' behaviour. If he loves and believes in the true God, Juliana will be ready to do his will. If he prefers to put his trust in worse gods, he will never have her, regardless of the force he might use. Much later in the poem, the demon states that he usually overpowers his human antagonists. However, if one of God's warriors "nele feor þonan" (384b), then the devil himself is forced to flee: "ic sceal feor þonan" (389b). The alternatives here are implied: either "metodes ceman" or the demon himself is forced to flee. Juliana's alternatives indicate a constancy of purpose; she will change her mind only as a reciprocal response to a change on Heliseus' part. The demon's alternatives are almost a joke in their underscoring of how easily he may be defeated; if his opponent will not flee, then he will.

A different use of oblique formulas is that of framing a significant unit of the narrative. This occurs

twice in the poem. The first time, the material framed is the sum passage, lines 468b-494b, where the devil lists the methods by which he harms men. The devil recites the list in response to Juliana's order that he confess "micelra manweorce" (459a). After he completes the list of how he harms various unidentified people, he confesses to the origin of human sin and misery, the temptation of Adam and Eve. That crime, resulting in perpetual misery for them and all their offspring, is "mircast manweorca" (505a). The other frame consists of the two commands that Heliseus gives, the first to bring Juliana out of her prison to be executed in some fiendish way ("Da se gerēfa het," 530b), the second to give her the conventional honorable sword-blow ("Da se dema het," 602b). Thus the commands frame his unsuccessful attempts to kill her through various means of torture.

Interestingly, the conflict between Juliana and the pagans is presented at first as a genuine conflict of ideologies: she believes that she worships the true God, and her opponents are equally convinced of the validity of their faith in their own gods. This is made clear by descriptions of both sides as having "true" gods, and by Affricanus' and Heliseus' definition of Juliana's god as "strange." Juliana, Affricanus, and Heliseus all indicate that they believe that their own gods are the true ones:

gif pu soðne god (47b)
 purh soð godu (80b)
 þæt pu soð godu (194b)

Juliana insists that Heliseus believe in the "true God" before she will agree to marry him. Affricanus swears "by the true gods" that Heliseus is free to kill Juliana if she has indeed refused him because she worships Christ. When Heliseus has Juliana beaten, he tells her that he will allow her to live, although she too strongly refuses to love the "true gods." Neither Heliseus nor Affricanus recognizes, at least at this point, that Juliana's God is the true one and that their own are false gods, demons. Heliseus reports to Affricanus that Juliana told him to honour a "strange god": "het me fremdne god" (74b). Similar to this is the verse "ond þu fremdu godu" (121a), where Affricanus is explaining to his daughter that she will be killed if she continues to worship the strange god. It is evident that both men have the honest conviction that their gods are indeed the right ones.

The rest of the poem shows, of course, that however honestly Heliseus holds his opinion originally, he is finally forced to recognize the weakness of his gods against Juliana's faith. The rightness of her convictions and the wrongness of his is underscored by a number of oblique repetitions. One such repetition demonstrates Juliana's understanding of the real nature of the false gods:

wites þegnum (152b)
susles þegnum (558a)

The first verse appears in a passage where Juliana is speaking to Heliseus. She refuses to make sacrifice to his

gods, stating that she will not give tribute to the "servants of torment." The next verse comes at the point where the poet tells us of the devil's release from Juliana. After her long conversation with him, Juliana has had mercy and allowed him to depart. The only place he can go is to hell,

magum to secgan,
susles pegnum, hu him on side gelomp.
(557b-558)

Thus Juliana recognizes the false gods for what they are even before she has confronted one in his own form and forced him to confess his evil nature.

Heliseus' misunderstanding is made emphatic by a repetition pointing out what he thinks will happen and what really does. He threatens Juliana with death for her foolishness. Later, the devil applies two of those verses to himself:

gif þu leng ofer þis (201b)
sceal nu lange ofer þis (444b)
purh þin dolwillen (202a)
ond þus dolwillen (451b)

Verses 201b and 202a are part of Heliseus' warning to Juliana that if through her foolishness she long remains deluded, she will be killed. Verses 444b and 451b are the devil's statement of his own case: he says that he will long suffer shame over his defeat by her, and admits that he was foolhardy in seeking to corrupt her faith.

A different way in which oblique formulas can be used is in the presentation of a statement and an elaboration

of it. This can take such forms as statement and fulfillment, statement and explanation, or statement and its metaphorical expression. Let us examine an example of each of these possibilities.

The first concerns the torments with which Juliana is threatened. There are three verses involved in this pattern:

sar gegearwast (55b)
wraðra gegearwast (177b)
witu gegearwad (250b)

The first verse is Juliana's anticipation of the torments she will be forced to endure as a result of her refusal to marry Heliseus. She tells him that she will not marry him unless he worships her God, and adds that he cannot prepare pain so severe as to make her change her mind. The second verse comes in her response to his direct threat: he will indeed torture her if she refuses to sacrifice to his gods. Again she offers her love only on condition that he give up his gods to accept the true one, and again she reminds him that no torments will change her mind without his conversion:

Næfre þu gepreatast þinum beotum,
ne wita þæs fela wraðra gegearwast,
þæt ic þeodscipe þinne lufie,
buton þu forlæte þa leasinga.
(176-179)

The final time this repetition is used is after the first of Juliana's tortures. After the beating, she is placed in a prison where she is confronted by what seems to be an angel. He warns her that the judge has prepared torments

for her, and that she ought therefore to sacrifice to his gods. The threat is no longer an abstract possibility, but a real danger of which she has already had painful experience. Of course, the demon's statement that the tortures are ready to be applied cannot change Juliana's mind, for she has already truthfully stated that only Heliseus' conversion could do that.

The next pair of verses involves the devil's boast and Juliana's insistence on his elaborating it. At first he explains how his angel disguise helps him pervert the righteous; in keeping with his hidden nature, he sends "dyrtra gedwilda" (368a). Juliana naturally recognizes what these "dark delusions" are, and forces the demon to amplify his statement. Her command that he explain the wickedness done by "deorcum gedwildum" (460a) elicits the detailed list of crimes of the sum passage. These two verses are very similar. The metre, alliteration, and meaning are the same. Thus, even though they are fairly widely separated in the text, I think they were probably made parallel deliberately.

In the devil's explanation of how he attacks the righteous man, he uses two oblique repetitions which relate temptation to the metaphor of battle:

grimra geþonca (367b)
 bitre geþoncas (405b)
 synna lustas (369b)
 lices lustas (409a)

Verses 367b and 369b describe how the devil brings "cruel

thoughts" and sweetens "the pleasures of sin" to the righteous man who is not on guard against him. Then he develops the metaphor of the battle against "metodes ceman." This metaphor restates, with variation, the situation described above:

purh eargfare in onsende
 in breostsefan bitre geponcas,
 purh mislice modes willan,
 þæt him sylfum selle þynceð
 leahtras to fremman ofer lof godes,
 lices lustas.

(404-409a)

Another way in which oblique formulas can be used is in making fine distinctions about the developing relationship of characters. We have two verses which are very much alike, but which indicate the change in relationship between Juliana and Heliseus. The verses have the same alliteration, and both refer to the same person, Juliana:

him seð æþele mæg (175a)
 him þæt æþele mod (209a)

The alliterative link with the off-verse is made with "æþele" in both lines. The first off-verse is the neutral "ageaf ondsware." The second describes the way in which the answer is given, "unforht oncwæð." The first time she answers Heliseus, Juliana does so as a "mæg," a maiden who is a prospective bride. His threatening and insulting response is answered by her, no longer as "maiden," but as his spiritual antagonist, the "æþele mod." Thus the alliterative stress in the off-verse on her fearlessness is suitable to her changed status.

In the description of Heliseus between these two speeches of Juliana, we see a similar change in him. He first threatens her, and then insults her:

beotwordum spræc (185a)
hospwordum spræc (189b)

His anger is emphasized alliteratively in line 185, where "beotwordum" alliterates with "bealg." In line 189, the word which alliterates with "hospwordum" is "hererinc." He is no longer merely an angry suitor, but a warrior, prepared to fight the spiritual battle against her faith.

A series of four oblique formulas makes the point that Juliana's prison is a kind of hell, and that hell is the true home of both the devil and Heliseus:

of þam engan ham (323a)
in þam reongan ham (530a)
of þam engan hofe (532a)
in þam bystran ham (683b)

The first two of these refer to the devil's home. He says first that his father sent him from the "narrow home," and then that he will have to pay the penalty of his failure with Juliana in that "mournful home." Two lines beyond that, Heliseus has Juliana brought from the "narrow dwelling" of her prison. Finally, at the end of the poem, we see Heliseus and his company in hell, in the "dark home" where they cannot expect to find treasure. It is perhaps significant that the word "ham" is used for the three verses which concern the devil and Heliseus, and that "hofe" is used only for Juliana.

There are interesting aspects of the devil's

character which are emphasized by oblique formulas. One of these is his powerlessness, his being dominated by those who are stronger. He points this out when he complains that he is forced to do what he does not wish to:

nyde gebæded (343b) -
nīpa gebæded (462b)

In the first passage, he is explaining to Juliana that he did not come to tempt her by his own choice, that his father in hell compelled him to do so; he was "constrained by necessity." In the second passage, he is being compelled by Juliana to confess his evil to her (which appears to have been a very painful process). He answers only because he is "constrained by her enmity."

He tries to see himself as being something like Juliana, though she has defeated him. He described himself and her in similar phrases:

hu þu gedyrstig (431a)
þeah ic þec gedyrstig (451a)

In the first verse, he is asking the "bold" Juliana how she can be as strong as she has shown herself. In the second verse (part of the same speech) he asks her mercy although he has deliberately sought the confrontation. He characterizes himself as "bold," but in conjunction with foolishness ("ond þus dolwillen"). It is this foolishness that makes his boldness rash. Another parallel he draws, in his next speech, is between the power that both he and Juliana possess:

þurh halge meah³t (514a)

þa miclan meah̄t (521a)

Juliana's "holy strength" surpasses that of the patriarchs and prophets; it is sufficient to vanquish his own "great power" given him by his father. It is made very clear that her power is greater than his, for the devil can only flee after each of his two confrontations with her. The first experience is so traumatic that, when he returns to encourage Heliseus to kill her, he flees from the bound saint before she even speaks to him. Both times, his flight is phrased in terms of what he seeks:

þystra neosan (554b)
wita neosan (631a)

All that he can expect to find is darkness and torment.

A different word for "seek" is used in the parallel description of Heliseus' panic-stricken flight. But again the point is made that this attempt to escape the saint leads only to hell:

ehstream sohte (673b)
helle sohton (682b)

Heliseus' attempt to find safety in flight is doomed to failure. The misery which he finds at the end of his journey is emphasized by two succeeding lines with the same "h" alliteration:

hæane mid hlaford, hropra bidaled,
hyhta lease, helle sohton.
(681-682)

Just as Heliseus is identified with the devil through exact repetitions of formulas and through parallels like that discussed above, the poet identifies himself with

the devil in terms of his own sins:

pe ic ær ond sip (496b)
pe ic sip oppe ær (710b)

In the first verse, the devil states that he cannot tell all the evil he wrought "early and late." The second verse is the poet's recollection of pain and the wounds of sin that he himself has wrought "late and early." This makes the point that man, like the devil, sins constantly. The difference, of course, is that man can repent, and ask the saint's intercession for himself.

The positive impact of the whole poem is made clear by the shift in the poet's attitude toward Judgment Day at the end of the poem. He looks to what we may expect to find

in þa frecnan tid (724b)
on þa mæran tid (731b)¹¹

Modestly, the poet himself fears the "perilous" time, for which he needs his readers' prayers to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But when he makes the significant and typical change from "me" to "us" in the final lines of the poem, the stress is on the mercy we may receive at the "great" time:

milde gemeten on þa mæran tid.

¹¹ Calder, "Art of Juliana," p. 371, sees these verses as indicating "the genuine fear of the sinner facing his end and the common end, though he is buttressed by the hope that his own poem has bestowed."

Elene

One of the interesting points about Cynewulf's use of oblique formulas in Elene is that he so often uses them extensively in passages already filled with formulas. Perhaps the best example of this is the very beginning of the poem. The discussion of Elene in Chapter Three of this study began with a consideration of six pairs of formulas occurring in the first section of the poem, which describes the battle between Constantine's Roman army and the combined pagan armies. The formulas were balanced, with one member of each pair concerning the Romans, and the other concerning the pagans. The same technique may be seen in the use of four pairs of oblique formulas--38b, 65b; 39a, 60a; 29b, 112b; and 19a, 71b.

In 38b, the pagan army is encamped on the shore of the Danube, "stæðe wicedon"; in 65b the Roman "here wicode." The pagan encampment "ymb þas wæteres wylm" (39a) is countered by the Roman army's gathering "ymb þas wæteres stæð" (60a). The wolf and eagle are seen accompanying the pagan army to battle in lines 27b-30a; the eagle raises its battle song, "earn sang ahof," in 29b. The beasts of battle are brought forward again in lines 110b-113a, but this time when the "wulf sang ahof" (112b) it was at the advancement of the Roman army bearing the sign of the cross.¹²

¹²Anderson, p. 117, draws our attention to the animals' changing sides, but does not note the oblique repetition which accompanies that change.

The tumult of war, "wiges woma" (19a), is offered Constantine by the pagans. The threat is negated by the results of the "dream-tumult," or "swefnes woma," which comes to him in line 71b.

The contrast established between the apparent superiority of the pagans before the vision and the triumph of the Romans after the vision is intensified by yet another oblique repetition. The verses (25b, 130b) are very much alike, and both refer to the pagan army. However, the first refers to the gathering of the pagans, and the second to their scattering in defeat:

Pa wæron heardingas
sweotole gesamnod ond eal sib geador.
(25b-26)

Wurdon heardingas
wide towrecene.
(130b-131a)

Still within this relatively brief passage in the poem, we have a pair of verses that establishes the contrast in Constantine's attitude before and after his vision. Before, Constantine can only fear for his kingdom's chances of survival: "Cyning was afyrhted" (56b). But immediately after his vision his fear disappears: "Cyning was by bliðra" (96b).

The two elements of Constantine's vision, the angel messenger and the holy cross itself, are associated closely in verses which make use of the same two initial words:

wlitig wuldres boda (77a)
wliti wuldres treo (89a)

A second oblique formula makes that same association, though this time the similarity is of meaning and structure of the verses rather than of partially repeated words. The angel is "hwit ond hiwbeorht" (73a), while the cross is inscribed with "beorhte ond leohte" (92a) letters.

Twice in the poem we have a situation of partial revelation followed by resolution. These two situations are linked by the oblique repetitions in four verses. The first of these two passages deals with Constantine's desire to know more about the cross which has miraculously given him the victory. He asks his advisors what the cross means, but they cannot answer him clearly:

ne ful geare cuðon
sweotole geseccgan be þam sigebeacne.
(167b-168)

Similarly, after Judas has found three crosses, Elene is eager to know which of them is the True Cross. Again, the answer is not forthcoming because the person asked does not know; Judas

ne ful gere wiste
sweotole gecypan be þam sigebeame.
(859b-860)

The variation between "sigebeacne" and "sigebeame" is a significant one, though there is no metrical or alliterative difference between the verses in which they appear. But Constantine is asking about the emblem of the cross; he knows of it only as a "sign of victory." Judas' uncertainty concerns the cross itself, as a physical object. In both cases ~~the~~ result of the questioning is to give the

seeker after truth a "new joy." After Constantine's learning about Christ and being baptised, "was him niwe gefea" (195b). Judas and the others who found the three crosses are allowed to set them up and wait for the miracle which will indicate which is the True Cross; they "hæfdon neowne gefean" (869b).

The passage where Judas' name is changed to Cyriacus, 1060b-1062a, reflects back to two earlier passages. One of these establishes the connection between his turning to a better life ("on þæt betere lif," 1045b) and to a better name ("on þæt betere forð," 1061b).¹³ The other repetition recalls the much earlier reference to Paul, who is the type of the man who changes his name with his adoption of a Christian life. Saul's "naman oncyrde" (503b), so he became Saint Paul, the great teacher of the law, "ælarendra" (506a). Judas' "nama was gecyrred" (1060b), to Cyriacus, the meaning of which is given (inaccurately--the name involves no idea of "a") by Cynewulf as "a hælendes." Both Saul and Judas were wise men among the Jews; both were transformed to Christians who understood truly the nature of God's law.

There is a long series of oblique repetitions concerning the refusal of the Jews and of Judas to tell the truth about the Cross. At her first meeting with the wise

¹³Whatley, "Old English Onomastics," p. 115, also relates "he þæt betere geceas" (1038b), at Judas' baptism, to his naming in 1061b.

men of the Jews, Elene accuses them of having lived in error, "ond gedwolan lifdon" (311b). After she has met with the thousand, the accusation changes from the relatively passive act of "living" in error to the active evil of "following" it: "ond gedwolan fylgdon" (371b). In Chapter Three of this study the formula "secgan cunnan" (317b, 376b) was discussed. The second of these repetitions involves two interesting oblique formulas as well:

Nu ge rape gangap
 ond findap gen þa þe fyrngewritu
 þurh snyttro cræft selest cunnan
 ærht eower, þæt me ondsware
 þurh sidne sefan secgan cunnan.
 (372b-376)

They "best know" the ancient writings "through skilful wisdom"; but, more importantly, they must be able to give her, from their deep minds, the answer she seeks. The two ideas of knowing and answering are here made distinct.

After Judas has told his story to the assembled Jews, they assert that they have never heard it before--or at least that they have never heard anyone else "butan þec nu ða" (539b) speak "þyslic" about such a secret. Judas attempts to use the same excuse later when he is being interrogated by Elene. He claims never to have heard of the story before Elene herself tells him "butan her nu ða" (661b). It is possible that the Jews are telling the truth to Judas, and that they have not heard of the secret event before; but it is certain that Judas is lying. However, between the two repetitions of 539b and 661b the Jews also

lie deliberately. They are asked by the herald to come to the queen prepared to tell the truth, "rihte reccen" (553a). But they refuse to tell the mystery, "rihte cyðan" (566b). Thus they are equally guilty with Judas. Judas attempts to justify his refusal to admit to his knowledge by pointing out how long it has been since the events in which Elene is interested occurred. She counters with the argument that the Trojan war is known, though it happened many years before the crucifixion. He uses the phrase "wintra gangum" (633a) to express the passage of time; she uses "geara gongum" (648a). The off-verse in his speech emphasizes the multitude of years that have passed ("Is nu worn sceacen"), while the alliterating stress with "geara" is "geare"-- notwithstanding the passage of years, the Jews can "clearly tell" the details of that battle. Thus Elene uses Judas' own idea and a variation of his own phrase to defeat him.

All Judas' lies are told with the clear knowledge of wrongdoing. In the speech in which he reveals the truth about Elene's quest to the Jews, he makes it clear that he himself understands the importance of telling about the Cross when someone comes to inquire for it. He quotes his grandfather's instructions to his father to tell the truth "ær þec swilt nime" (447b). In her last speech before she consigns him to the pit, Elene warns Judas that he must answer her question about where Calvary is "ær þec cwealm nime" (676b). She elaborates this in the next verse as being "swilt for synnum." Sachius offered a warning about

the urgency of the information; Elene's warning is in fact a threat--and her use of "cwealm," a less neutral word for "death," suggests this.

Finally, after seven nights in the dry pit, Judas' "mægen was geswiðrod" (698b) and he asked to be brought up "fram pam engan hofe" (712a). The "diminished strength" is, of course, the strength to persist in his falsehood. His being raised from the pit makes it possible for him to find the three crosses "in pam reonian hofe" (833a), and to raise them up out of it. In response to Judas' diminished evil, and to his being raised from the pit, the devil complains that his own kingdom has diminished ("min is geswiðrod," 917) and that the saviour often shuts him into his narrow abode, "in pam engan ham" (920a). As in Juliana, the devil, a permanent inhabitant of the abyss, is the one for whom "ham" is used in preference to "hofe."

At the end of the poem, as at the beginning, there are a great many verses of oblique repetition. Links between the end of the story of Elene and the rune passage also function to relate the poet to the rest of mankind, as is done at the end of each of the four poems. However, there is a difference; this time the poet is related to the blessed rather than to the damned. Two sets of verses make this connection:

heofones ontyned (1229b)
torht ontynde (1248a)

pe on gemynd nime (1232b)
ond on gemynd begeat (1247b)

in gemynd cumað (1303b)

The first verse concerns the expectations of all those who keep the festival of the Cross: heaven will be opened or revealed to them. And the poet is associated with that group because God has revealed the splendour of the truth about the Cross to him. The trio of verses deals first with that same blessed group who remember and observe the festival; second with the poet's situation, since God infused his mind with the truth; and third, in dramatic contrast, with the damned, who will not come into the mind of God after the Judgment.

The last forty-five lines in the poem concern God's division of all mankind into three different categories at the Last Judgment. Let us examine five different oblique formulas from this passage. The first involves three verses:

dæda gehwylcra (1283a)
 womma gehwylces (1310b)
 scylda gehwylcre (1313b)

At the beginning of the passage, we are told that each man will hear from the mouth of the Judge about "all his deeds." Those who are deemed worthy of purification by fire are likened to gold, which is cleansed of "every defilement" through the fire; they shall be purified by the fire of judgment of "every guilt." After we hear from God about each deed and word of every man, He divides us into three groups: "ponne on þreo dæleð" (1286b). All three groups must endure the fire, but at different intensities. The

third part "bið se bridda dæl" (1298b) will be cast into hell perpetually. But the other two parts, "bið þam twam dælum" (1306b) will suffer the fire as a means of achieving purification. All of mankind who have ever lived "ofer sidne grund" (1289a) must face the Judgment; but only the accursed third part must stay "in þæs wylmes grund" (1299b), or "in hellegrund" (1305a). The last two oblique repetitions focus our attention on the blessed and their reward. The first of them involves a play on the words "mann" and "man," and refers back to the previous section of the poem, where "Sic þara manna gehwam" (1228b) who remember the festival of the Cross, the gates of heaven will be open, the door of hell shut:

swa bið þara manna ælc (1312b)
 þæs ðe hie mana gehwylc (1317b)

Like the purified gold, "so shall each of these men" be cleansed. And the reason that God will be merciful is that they renounced "every wickedness." The final repetition reveals the reward of these good men. After the flames, they will enjoy peace, "sybbe brucan" (1315b); they shine in beauty like the angels (the word which provides the alliterating link in the on-verse), and enjoy the heritage "yrfes brucap" (1320b) of the King of Glory forever.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Formulaic studies in Old English have so far emphasized the fact that the whole body of poetry shows a high degree of repetition of half-lines. Definitions of terms sometimes seem designed to elicit satisfyingly high percentages of formulas for the whole corpus rather than to provide a useable tool for modern critics studying the literary quality of individual poems. Such definitions have served a purpose in that they have demonstrated the stylistic likeness of widely diverse poems; they have provided strong evidence that poems sometimes thought to be orally composed are written in a formulaic style indistinguishable from poems that are certainly literary. Clearly "oral" techniques are possible in a literate culture.

But the need now is for investigations that tell us something about the functions of the repetitions within individual poems. We know that all Old English poetry uses both exact and oblique repetition. Old English poems are not good or bad as poetry because they have high or low percentages of formulas. But surely their quality is related to how effectively they use the poetic techniques available--including repeated phrases.

This study has investigated both the frequency and distribution of formulas in the signed poems of Cynewulf, with occasional reference to Beowulf for purposes of comparison, and the functions of repetitions within individual poems.

After establishing criteria for determining whether to designate specific passages within the poems as "high," "low," or "intermediate" in formula content, it has tested a number of different kinds of poetic material to see whether there are correlations between use of formulas and the content of the poetry, its source, or the poem's structure. The conclusions in that section of the study are mostly negative ones. The differences in percentage of formulas between the four poems cannot be accounted for in terms of content. Even differences within poems cannot easily be explained.

It certainly cannot be argued that formulas are consistently used to point out important material (or unimportant material). Theories that have been advanced by previous scholars (almost invariably based on analysis of brief passages only, outside the context of longer poems in which they may occur) are shown to be inadequate. There is no correlation between high use of formulas and "traditional" Germanic material, like battle scenes and voyages. Passages of more or less original material are not distinguished by high concentrations of formulas. Especially in Elene, they tend to be lower in formula content than

passages closely translated from the Latin, but not dramatically or consistently so; however, the runic "signature" passages in each of the four poems are well below the average percentage of formulas for the poem in which they appear. The two long lists in Christ II, one of the two lists in Juliana, and the short list in Elene are low in formulas (the second list in Juliana is about average for the poem). In Elene and Juliana (most strikingly in the latter), the beginnings and endings of manuscript divisions are differentiated, with the beginnings unusually high in formulas and the endings unusually low. Finally, direct speeches of the positive characters (in Juliana and Elene, the only poems with a substantial amount of direct discourse) are higher in formulas than those of negative characters.

One of the reasons that it is difficult to come to clear explanations for the uneven distribution of formulas is the fact that the four poems are so very different in so many ways. Fates of the Apostles, the shortest poem, is less than one tenth the length of Elene, the longest. And, making this fact a critical one, it appears that short poems in Old English generally have fewer internal repetitions than passages of comparable length in longer poems. Christ II and Juliana, though they have about the same percentage of formulas, are written in such different ways (perhaps primarily because Christ II is a lyric poem and Juliana a narrative) that they have few comparable passages.

Juliana and Elene are both narrative poems, but Elene is nearly twice as long and is far more complex, partly because it contains three separate narratives interwoven. The only way in which all four poems are alike in formula frequency is that all have rune passages that are low in formulas.

A second, more important, reason for the difficulty of reaching conclusions is the limited number of lines of poetry. A small sample necessarily results in statistics of low reliability. Thus even the positive results of this part of my study should be considered interesting tendencies rather than firm conclusions.

Since there are no single clear answers to the question of how Cynewulf used formulas when the question applies to high and low frequencies of formulas per se, this study then goes on to examine the uses which are made of specific formulas in individual poems. Since Fates has no internal repetitions, this discussion can concern only Christ II, Juliana, and Elene. In all three poems, formulas appear to be deliberately used for a wide variety of purposes (depending to some extent on the nature of the poem being examined). They sometimes focus our attention, as readers or listeners, on brief passages within the poem. At other times they may establish an important theme, or may provide a link between widely separated passages of the poem.

The most frequent use is in establishing parallels,

as in C 484b, 526b; 487b, 663b; and 745b, 747b, where they liken the duties of man toward man to those of Christ toward man. In Juliana, Affricanus and Heliseus are identified with each other, and with the Devil in 58b, 90b, 582b; 86b, 412b; 93b, 247b; 174a, 251b; and 390b, 681b.

Elene makes use of this technique of parallels with four formulas that make the Queen's confrontation of the Jews parallel to Constantine's battle with the pagans, and with another four formulas which are used to describe the journey to Jerusalem and the later return of Elene's messengers from Jerusalem. A special use of paralleling can be seen at the end of Christ II, where Cynewulf's characteristic shifting of focus from a consideration of the poet's own personal fate to a consideration of the fate of all of us at the Judgment is underlined by the use of three repeated formulas.

Another common use is in establishing contrasts. In Christ II, the same three formulas are used immediately before and immediately after the Ascension. The contrasts between Affricanus and Juliana and between the Devil and Juliana are emphasized by the use of formulas. Perhaps the most extensive use of this technique of contrast is in the opening section of Elene, where six pairs of formulas enforce the contrast between the huge pagan army and the outnumbered army of the Romans, and between the pagans' hope of success and their final failure.

Character may be emphasized by formulas, as

Juliana's is. A more interesting use of the characterizing formula can be seen in the passages in Elene which always identify Judas, but which concern him at different stages of his career, from his initial deceitfulness to his final transformation into Cyriacus.

Sometimes repetitions seem to be used primarily for emphasis, as in Elene's double statement of the crime of the Jews (303a, 311a) or in the description of the angels' approach in Christ II 546b and 548b. The restatement may shift the emphasis, as in Judas' double statement of his inability to find the Cross (E 632b, 641b). Occasionally, the restatement involves clarification, as in the identification of the angel host in C 521b and 570b.

Other uses for repetition, usually of verses found close together in the poem, and limited to Juliana and Elene (because of their subject matter and reliance on dialogue) include refutation, demand and response, and question and answer. More general, and therefore possible to find in Christ II as well, are such uses as statement and fulfillment, statement and explanation, and literal and metaphorical expression of the same idea.

The final phase of this study involves an examination of various repetitions which are more substantial than repetitions of single words, but not exact enough for the verses to be considered formulas. An example of such a repetition would be formulaic substitution systems. There are many kinds of repetitions of this order which have no

generally accepted designation. Therefore, I have proposed the blanket terms "oblique formula" or "oblique repetition" to indicate all those verses which are recognizably like others, but which do not meet the criteria for formulas.

These oblique repetitions occur frequently in all four poems. One specific point which is made by formulas in one poem and by oblique formulas in the others is the typically Cynewulfian paralleling of the poet with the audience (and occasionally with the characters in the poem). Christ II makes the point primarily by using repeated formulas; Fates uses extensive oblique repetitions. The point is made less strongly in Juliana and Elene, but it still is emphasized by the use of oblique formulas. Throughout the four poems, oblique repetitions are used in many of the same ways that formulas are used--to indicate parallel events, to make pointed succinct contrasts, to clarify or expand by means of a restatement, or to frame a passage. They are often used in conjunction with formulas.

But just as the repeated formula is more easily used to link widely separated episodes in a poem, and to define the unchanging character of a protagonist like Juliana, the oblique formula also has some special functions distinct from those of the formula. Particularly in the formulaic substitution system, where one of the two major stressed words is varied, the oblique formula focuses a reader's attention on the change indicated by that different word. The oblique repetition, particularly when

the varied words have the same meaning, can direct our attention to the alliterating word in the other half-line. And the variation possible with the oblique formula makes it possible to have an extended repetitive series involving three or more verses. Sequential focusing can be managed with this technique, as in the angels' approach in C 545b, 549b, 553b. The number of repetitions in the "leaps" passage would be tedious if they were all exact. This may help to explain why the long lists in the poems tend to be low in formulas--repetitions linking the list with other passages might detract from its unity by directing attention away from it, but if half-lines were repeated exactly within the list, they would be too obvious and the passage therefore clumsy. Formulas and oblique formulas have some separate functions, but more overlapping ones; still, both contribute to the total effect of the poem's complexity and coherence. More close work should be done with various long Old English poems to see whether this similarity of function is peculiar to Cynewulf or typical of all the poetry.

We can safely conclude, I believe, that whether or not there are specific poetic situations which evoke a high concentration of formulas, there certainly are deliberate and careful rhetorical uses of both formulas and oblique formulas in Cynewulf's signed poems. An analysis of the ways in which he uses repetitions to achieve particular poetic effects demonstrates that his poetry is highly

sophisticated. Individual parts of poems are often unified by these repetitions; major units are linked by them; central ideas are emphasized by them. Our observing them and understanding how they work will help us to become more aware of what Gynewulf and his audience must have seen in the poems.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF FORMULAS OCCURRING AT INTERVALS INDICATED

No. verses between formulas	<u>Fates</u>	<u>Christ II</u>	<u>Juliana</u>	<u>Elene</u>	<u>Beowulf</u>
0	12.5%	20.7%	23.8%	30.6%	18.4%
1	15.6	15.4	21.5	16.5	13.8
2	6.3	11.2	8.6	12.7	13.0
3	12.5	15.4	12.6	10.2	10.7
4	12.5	2.4	3.0	7.6	8.6
5	0	8.3	3.6	6.4	6.9
6	9.4	1.2	4.6	2.4	4.4
7	0	5.9	5.0	2.9	4.4
8	0	5.3	2.3	1.7	3.6
9	3.1	3.6	3.0	2.1	2.7
10	6.3	2.4	3.0	1.4	2.0
11	3.1	1.8	1.7	0.9	1.9
12	6.3	1.2	1.7	1.1	1.5
13	3.1	1.2	1.3	0.5	1.3
14	0	0	1.0	0.6	0.7
15	0	2.4	0.7	0.5	0.4
16	3.1	0	0.7	0.5	1.0
17	0	0	0.3	0.2	0.7
18	0	0	0	0.2	0.9
19	0	0	0	0	0.3
20	0	1.2	0	0.5	0.4
21	0	0	0	0.3	0.4
22	3.1	0	0.3	0	0.2
23	0	0	0	0	0.3
24	0	0	0.3	0	0.4
25	0	0	0	0	0.3
26	0	0	0	0.2	0.2
27	0	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.1
28	0	0	0.3	0.2	0.3
29	0	0	0	0.2	0.1
33	0	0	0.3	0	0.2
39	0	0	0	0	0.1
42	3.1	0	0	0	0
Totals:	100.0%	100.2%	99.9%	100.4%	100.2%

Note: The totals are not exactly 100% in each case because the figures are calculated to a single decimal place.

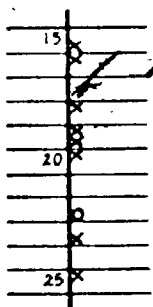
Except for the very brief Fates, the signed poems show far higher concentrations of percentages at the lower numbers than Beowulf does. In a normal bell-shaped curve, the peaks would be at approximately 6 for Fates, 5 for Beowulf, 4 for Christ II and Juliana, and 3 for Elene. In a normal curve, we expect to find approximately 34% one standard deviation below the average, and another 34% one standard deviation above the average. But the four signed poems are very heavily skewed to the left:

	S.D.	one S.D. below the average	one S.D. above the average
<u>Fates</u>	8.3	(0-6) 68.8%	(7-14) 21.9%
<u>Christ II</u>	4.5	(0-4) 65.1%	(5-9) 24.3%
<u>Juliana</u>	4.3	(0-3) 66.5%	(4-7) 16.2%
<u>Elene</u>	4.1	(0-3) 70.0%	(4-7) 19.3%

TABLE II

LINEAR REPRESENTATION OF DISTRIBUTION OF FORMULAS

The graphs in Table II indicate the presence of a formula by "x" and the presence of a missing or defective verse by "o." The line numbers follow in sequence from the top to the bottom of the vertical lines. Each horizontal line indicates one line (or two verses) of the poem. For example, consider Elene 15-25. Formulas occur at 15b, 16a, 18a, 19a, 19b, 20a, 23b, and 25a. One off-verse is omitted, 22b. On the graph, this is represented as follows:



Formulas in the four poems taken together are presented as follows:

- II-1 Fates, Christ II
- II-2 Juliana
- II-3,4 Elene

Formulas in the three poems and in Beowulf, with each poem considered separately, are as follows:

- II-5 Christ II
- II-6 Juliana
- II-7,8 Elene
- II-9,10,11,12,13 Beowulf

II-1

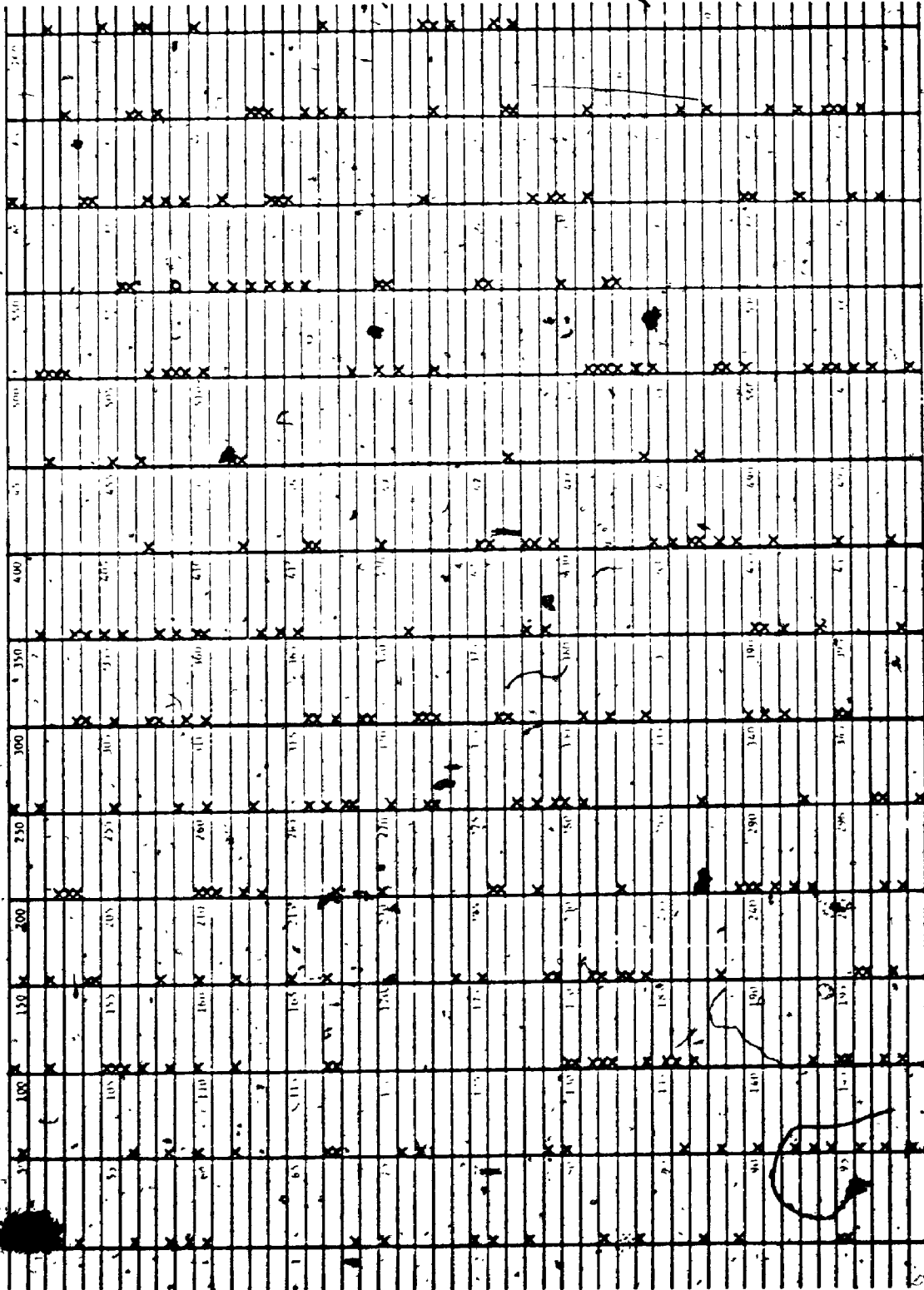
Christ II (440-866)

Fates (1-122)

	30	100	450	500	550	600	650	700	750	800	850
1											
2			455	505	555	605	655	705	755	805	
3											
4			460	510	560	610	660	710	760	810	
5											
6			470	520	570	620	670	720	770	820	
7											
8			475	525	575	625	675	725	775	825	
9											
10			480	530	580	630	680	730	780	830	
11											
12			485	535	585	635	685	735	785	835	
13											
14			490	540	590	640	690	740	790	840	
15											
16			495	545	595	645	695	745	795	845	
17											
18			500	550	600	650	700	750	800	850	
19											
20			505	555	605	655	705	755	805	855	
21											
22			510	560	610	660	710	760	810	860	
23											
24			515	565	615	665	715	765	815	865	
25											
26			520	570	620	670	720	770	820	870	
27											
28			525	575	625	675	725	775	825	875	
29											
30			530	580	630	680	730	780	830	880	
31											
32			535	585	635	685	735	785	835	885	
33											
34			540	590	640	690	740	790	840	890	
35											
36			545	595	645	695	745	795	845	895	
37											
38			550	600	650	700	750	800	850	900	
39											
40			555	605	655	705	755	805	855	905	
41											
42			560	610	660	710	760	810	860	910	
43											
44			565	615	665	715	765	815	865	915	
45											
46			570	620	670	720	770	820	870	920	
47											
48			575	625	675	725	775	825	875	925	
49											
50			580	630	680	730	780	830	880	930	
51											
52			585	635	685	735	785	835	885	935	
53											
54			590	640	690	740	790	840	890	940	
55											
56			595	645	695	745	795	845	895	945	
57											
58			600	650	700	750	800	850	900	950	
59											
60			605	655	705	755	805	855	905	955	
61											
62			610	660	710	760	810	860	910	960	
63											
64			615	665	715	765	815	865	915	965	
65											
66			620	670	720	770	820	870	920	970	
67											
68			625	675	725	775	825	875	925	975	
69											
70			630	680	730	780	830	880	930	980	
71											
72			635	685	735	785	835	885	935	985	
73											
74			640	690	740	790	840	890	940	990	
75											
76			645	695	745	795	845	895	945	995	
77											
78			650	700	750	800	850	900	950	1000	
79											
80			655	705	755	805	855	905	955	1005	
81											
82			660	710	760	810	860	910	960	1010	
83											
84			665	715	765	815	865	915	965	1015	
85											
86			670	720	770	820	870	920	970	1020	
87											
88			675	725	775	825	875	925	975	1025	
89											
90			680	730	780	830	880	930	980	1030	
91											
92			685	735	785	835	885	935	985	1035	
93											
94			690	740	790	840	890	940	990	1040	
95											
96			695	745	795	845	895	945	995	1045	
97											
98			700	750	800	850	900	950	1000	1050	
99											
100			705	755	805	855	905	955	1005	1055	

II-2

Juliana (1-731)



II-4

Elene (750-1321)

750	800	850	900	950	1000	1050	1100	1150	1200	1250	1300	1350	1400
695	745	795	845	895	945	995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345
705	755	805	855	905	955	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355
715	765	815	865	915	965	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365
725	775	825	875	925	975	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375
735	785	835	885	935	985	1035	1085	1135	1185	1235	1285	1335	1385
745	795	845	895	945	995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345	1395
755	805	855	905	955	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355	1405
765	815	865	915	965	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365	1415
775	825	875	925	975	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375	1425
785	835	885	935	985	1035	1085	1135	1185	1235	1285	1335	1385	1435
795	845	895	945	995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345	1395	1445
805	855	905	955	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355	1405	1455
815	865	915	965	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365	1415	1465
825	875	925	975	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375	1425	1475
835	885	935	985	1035	1085	1135	1185	1235	1285	1335	1385	1435	1485
845	895	945	995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345	1395	1445	1495
855	905	955	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355	1405	1455	1505
865	915	965	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365	1415	1465	1515
875	925	975	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375	1425	1475	1525
885	935	985	1035	1085	1135	1185	1235	1285	1335	1385	1435	1485	1535
895	945	995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345	1395	1445	1495	1545
905	955	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355	1405	1455	1505	1555
915	965	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365	1415	1465	1515	1565
925	975	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375	1425	1475	1525	1575
935	985	1035	1085	1135	1185	1235	1285	1335	1385	1435	1485	1535	1585
945	995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345	1395	1445	1495	1545	1595
955	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355	1405	1455	1505	1555	1605
965	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365	1415	1465	1515	1565	1615
975	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375	1425	1475	1525	1575	1625
985	1035	1085	1135	1185	1235	1285	1335	1385	1435	1485	1535	1585	1635
995	1045	1095	1145	1195	1245	1295	1345	1395	1445	1495	1545	1595	1645

II-9

Beowulf (1-749)

50	100	150	200	250	300	350	400	450	500	550	600	650	700	750
55	105	155	205	255	305	355	405	455	505	555	605	655	705	755
60	110	160	210	260	310	360	410	460	510	560	610	660	710	760
65	115	165	215	265	315	365	415	465	515	565	615	665	715	765
70	120	170	220	270	320	370	420	470	520	570	620	670	720	770
75	125	175	225	275	325	375	425	475	525	575	625	675	725	775
80	130	180	230	280	330	380	430	480	530	580	630	680	730	780
85	135	185	235	285	335	385	435	485	535	585	635	685	735	785
90	140	190	240	290	340	390	440	490	540	590	640	690	740	790
95	145	195	245	295	345	395	445	495	545	595	645	695	745	795

II-10

Beowulf (750-1499)

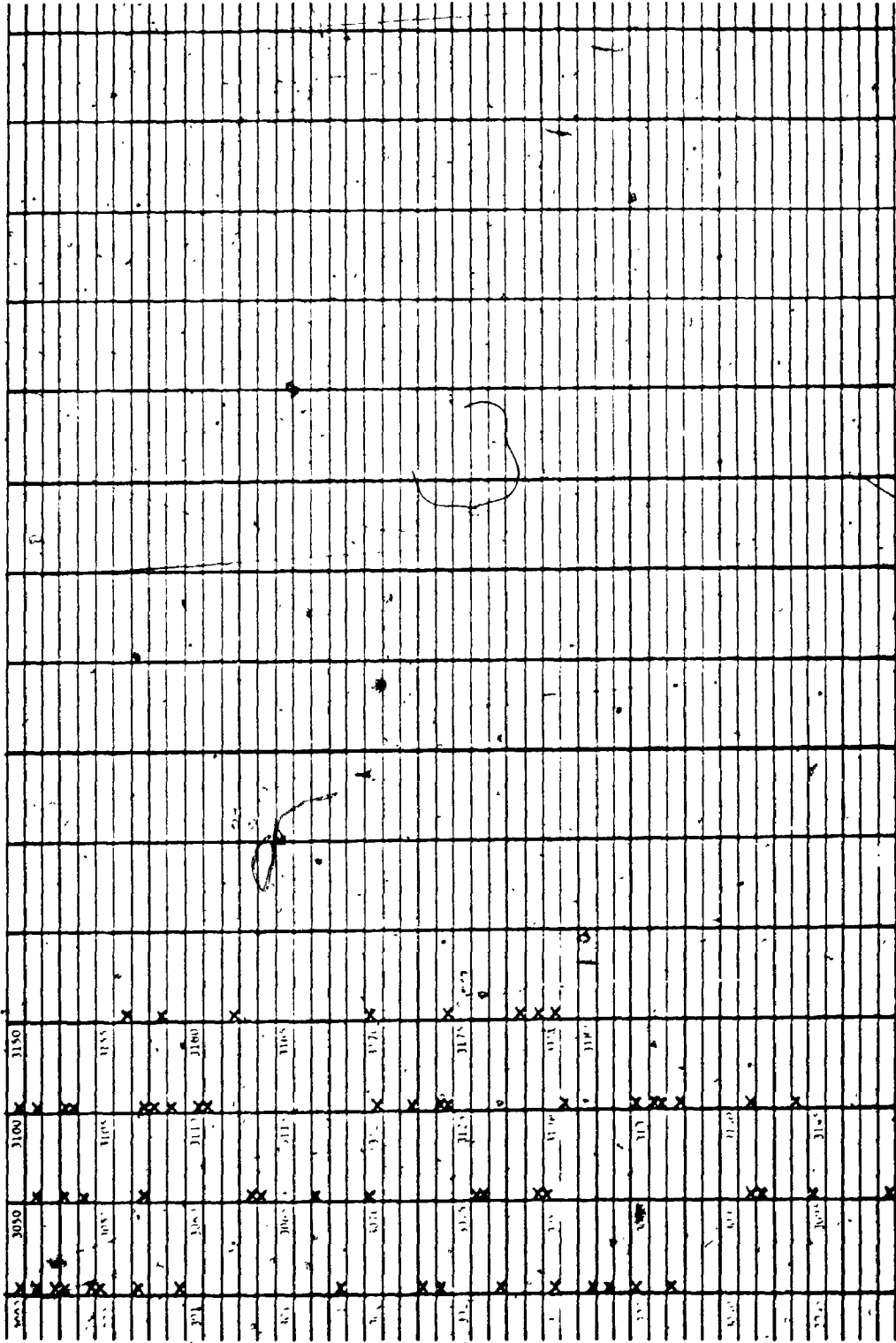
150	910	940	1000	1050	1100	1150	1200	1250	1300	1350	1400	14
151	911	941	1001	1051	1101	1151	1201	1251	1301	1351	1401	
152	912	942	1002	1052	1102	1152	1202	1252	1302	1352	1402	
153	913	943	1003	1053	1103	1153	1203	1253	1303	1353	1403	
154	914	944	1004	1054	1104	1154	1204	1254	1304	1354	1404	
155	915	945	1005	1055	1105	1155	1205	1255	1305	1355	1405	
156	916	946	1006	1056	1106	1156	1206	1256	1306	1356	1406	
157	917	947	1007	1057	1107	1157	1207	1257	1307	1357	1407	
158	918	948	1008	1058	1108	1158	1208	1258	1308	1358	1408	
159	919	949	1009	1059	1109	1159	1209	1259	1309	1359	1409	
160	920	950	1010	1060	1110	1160	1210	1260	1310	1360	1410	
161	921	951	1011	1061	1111	1161	1211	1261	1311	1361	1411	
162	922	952	1012	1062	1112	1162	1212	1262	1312	1362	1412	
163	923	953	1013	1063	1113	1163	1213	1263	1313	1363	1413	
164	924	954	1014	1064	1114	1164	1214	1264	1314	1364	1414	
165	925	955	1015	1065	1115	1165	1215	1265	1315	1365	1415	
166	926	956	1016	1066	1116	1166	1216	1266	1316	1366	1416	
167	927	957	1017	1067	1117	1167	1217	1267	1317	1367	1417	
168	928	958	1018	1068	1118	1168	1218	1268	1318	1368	1418	
169	929	959	1019	1069	1119	1169	1219	1269	1319	1369	1419	
170	930	960	1020	1070	1120	1170	1220	1270	1320	1370	1420	
171	931	961	1021	1071	1121	1171	1221	1271	1321	1371	1421	
172	932	962	1022	1072	1122	1172	1222	1272	1322	1372	1422	
173	933	963	1023	1073	1123	1173	1223	1273	1323	1373	1423	
174	934	964	1024	1074	1124	1174	1224	1274	1324	1374	1424	
175	935	965	1025	1075	1125	1175	1225	1275	1325	1375	1425	
176	936	966	1026	1076	1126	1176	1226	1276	1326	1376	1426	
177	937	967	1027	1077	1127	1177	1227	1277	1327	1377	1427	
178	938	968	1028	1078	1128	1178	1228	1278	1328	1378	1428	
179	939	969	1029	1079	1129	1179	1229	1279	1329	1379	1429	
180	940	970	1030	1080	1130	1180	1230	1280	1330	1380	1430	

II-12

Beowulf (2250-2999)

II-13

Beowulf (3000-3182)



APPENDIX A

LIST OF FORMULAS IN THE FOUR POEMS

All the verses in Fates of the Apostles, Christ II, Juliana, and Elene which I consider to be formulas are included in this appendix. The arrangement of each entry is as follows: 1) line number 2) other places in the four poems that the same verse appears, arranged with other references in the same poem first, then the other poems in the order of F, C, J, E 3) verse quoted. Each poem is referenced to itself only; i.e., the reader will not be referred to an earlier entry in a different poem, but will be referred to an earlier citation in the same poem. If a verse occurs only twice, the reference is given in both places. If a verse occurs several times, the entry is given in full the first time, but following citations refer back to that first entry, using "see." Generally I omit emended verses. But if the emendation is purely one of form, the verse is given with the emended form in square brackets following (as in 184b below).

Examples from Elene:

E 5b--178b, C 508a, J 279b cyninga wuldor

E 54b--550b hreoþan friccan

E 85a--184b, 1120b sigores tacen

E 178b--see 5b cyninga wuldor

E 184b--see 85a sigores tacen [tacne]

E 185b--485b ond hu 8y briddan dæge

E 485b--185b ond ba by briddan dæg

E 550b--54b hreopan friccan

E 1120b--see 85a sigores tacen.

My list varies somewhat from those of Diamond and Watts. Diamond's format (various underlinings) is more difficult to follow than Watts' lists, so he may omit some I do not note, but the following verses are omitted by them:

Same words:

Changes in pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, etc.:

Added words:

(Diamond)

C 540a, E 804a

(Watts)

E 25a, 107a
E 174a, 990a
E 188a, 1207a
E 196b, 992b
E 216b, 322b, 1156b
E 222a, 1199a
E 254b, 1095b
E 255a, 995a
E 314b, 419a
E 319b, 410b
E 337a, 1042b
E 348a, 858b
E 363b, 778b
E 391b, 850b
E 438b, 454b
E 452b, 1070b
E 463a, 1163a
E 474a, 1148a
E 503a, 1085a
E 559b
E 596b, 1143a
E 632b, 641b
E 674a, 1242a
E 681b, 1084b
E 751a, 1084a
E 835a, 1301b
E 841a, 1045a
E 963a, 1126a
E 1012a, 1224a
E 1012b, 1224b
E 1033a, 1267a

(Diamond)

C 537b, E 1131b

C 559b, E 290b

C 772a, 814a

C 857a, J 677a

J 94b, 342b

J 100a, 165a

J 210a, E 81b

J 532b, E 714b

E 48a, 1188a

E 37b, 136a

E 144a, 264a

E 155a, 560b

E 182b

E 260a, 997a

E 295b, 726b

E 402b, 967b

E 532a, 1164a

E 713a, 1196a

E 735a, 1014a

E 826a, 896a

(Watts)

E 37b, 136a

E 185b, 485b

E 205a, 671b, 1075a

E 260a, 997a

E 525b, 562b

E 636b, 1267b

E 774b, 917a, 1176a

E 826a, 896a

E 959a, 1047a

E 1096a, 1220b

(Diamond)

C 737b, 866b

J 521a, E 597a

E 267a, 1286a

(Watts).

E 9a, 59a

E 398a

E 416a

E 472a, 516a

E 519a

E 836b

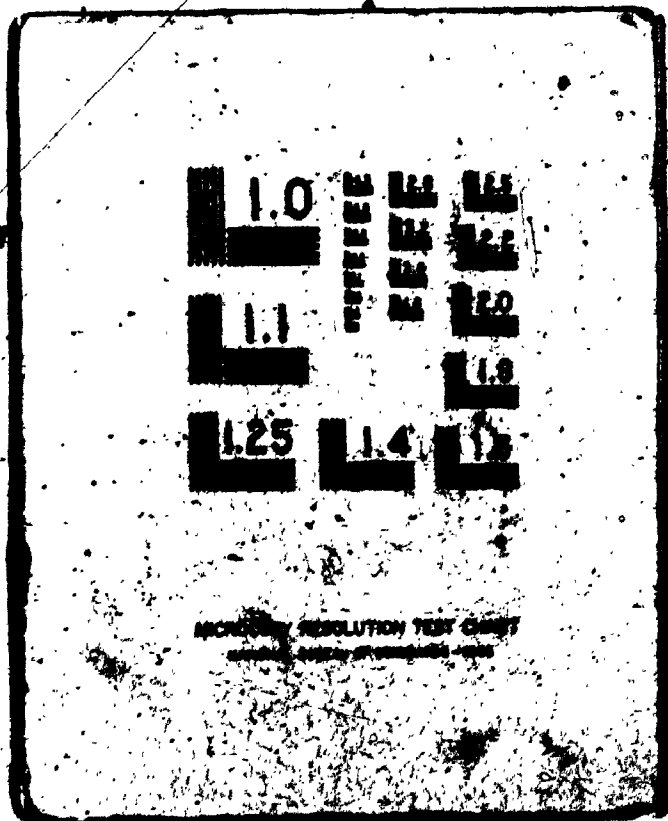
E 676a

E 711b, 1275a

3

4

OF / DE



E 1053a, 1107a
E 1066b
E 1120b
E 1151a
E 1152a, 1251a
E 1160b

FATES OF THE APOSTLES

- F 7b--C 452a, 644b, 698a, 787a, J 3b, E 6a, 16a, 434a,
774b, 917a, 1176a ofer middangeard
- F 14a--J 804a Petrus ond Paulus
- F 15b--J 9b, 507b, E 968a ofer werbeoda
- F 19a--C 780a eniges on eorðan
- F 21b--E 205b heriges byrhtme
- F 22a--C 573a after guðplegan
- F 27a--E 72b on weres hade
- F 27b--C 565b syððan wuldres cyning
- F 28b--J 293a eorðan sohte
- F 32a--J 452a siðe gesohte
- F 33a--J 503a beorhtne boldwelan
- F 35a--E 216a, 328a, 1202a mid Iudeum
- F 41a--E 205a, 445a, 671b, 718a, 1075a aþangen wæs
- F 46b--J 604b heafde beneotan
- F 52a--E 15b, þær manegum wearð
- F 53a--E 840a hige onhyrðed
- F 55a--E 781a awehte for weorodum
- F 55b--J 575b wundor cræfte
- F 56b--C 467a, E 187a þæt he of deaðe aras
- F 63a--J 1a, E 364a, 670a, 852a hwæt we þæt gehyrdon
- F 63b--E 364b, 670b, 852b þurg halige bec
- F 66a--J 378a, 653a, E 491a, 1136a leohtes geleafan
- F 68b--C 620a, E 685b þurh yrne hyge
- F 70b--C 533b, E 273b, 1055a in Ierusalem
- F 74a--J 428a mid wuldorcining

- F 95b--J 416b. weormum to hroðre
 F 104a--E 1239a nihtes nearowe
 F 115b--E 1099b to gæde cleopigan
 F 116b--E 1088b on þa beorhtan gæsceaft
 F 119a--C 715b þær cyning engla
 F 121a--J 26a mycel ond mære
 F 122b--J 562a ofer ealle gæsceaft

CHRIST II

- C 440b--713b, E 189b, 1147b gæstgerynum
 C 442a--E 382a þurh sefan snyttro
 C 444a--E 5a, 179a, 775a acenned wearð
 C 452a--644b, 698a, 787a, F 7b, J 3b, E 6a, 16a, 434a,
 774b, 917a, 1176a in middangeard
 C 453a--E 391a in Betleme
 C 455a--E 786b in þa æbelan tid
 C 459b--E 221b word he gehyrwdon
 C 461b--534b, E 1005b, 1053b, 1203b to þære halgan byrg
 C 463b--E 289b, 323b wordgerynum
 C 464a--544a ærþon up stige
 C 465b--532b agnum fæder
 C 467a--F 56b, E 187a from deaðe aras
 C 469a--E 394a witgena word
 C 474a--714b, J 45a, 143b, 631b, 640b E 1071b ond þæt word
acwæð
 C 474b--E 722b waldend engla
 C 481b--J 10b yrmenne grund

- C 484b--526b folc under roderum
 C 487b--663b on sefan manna
 C 492a--834a hlud gehyred
 C 493a--554a weorud wlitescyne
 C 493b--E 737a wuldres aras
 C 499a--682a godbearn of grundun
 C 499b--E 627b him was geomor sefa
 C 500a--539a, E 628a hat at heortan
 C 502a--E 75a geseon under swegle
 C 502b--E 867b song ahofun
 C 507b--522b, J 564a frætwum blican
 C 508a--J 279b, E 5b, 178b cyninga wuldor
 C 509b--J 45b, 596a ofer wera mengu
 C 515a--741a, 845a, E 393a spelunga ord
 C 519a--E 821a to þære beorhtan byrg
 C 520b--E 1018b þæt seleste
 C 521b--570b þe ge her on stariab
 C 522b--see 507b frætwum blican
 C 525b--E 1283a dæda gehwylce
 C 526b--484b folc under roderum
 C 529b--J 607b hyht was geniwad
 C 532b--465b agnum fæder
 C 533b--F 70b, E 273b, 1055a to Hierusalem
 C 534b--see 461b in þa halgan burg
 C 535a--E 413a, 555b geomormode
 C 537a--E 1111a hyra wilgifan
 C 537b--E 1131b þær was wopes hring

- C 539a--see 500a hat et heortan
- C 540a--E 804a beorn breostsefa
- C 544a--464a arpon up stige
- C 544b--577b, E 512b ealles waldend
- C 546b--548b englas togeanes
- C 547b--E 674b swa gewritu secgað
- C 548b--546b englas togeanes
- C 549a--632b, 739a in þa halgan tid
- C 554a--493a weorud wlitescyne
- C 557a--826b, J 154a, E 809a middangeardes
- C 557b--J 154b ond mægenbrymnes
- C 559b--E 290b þa he geardagum
- C 561b--732a ond in cwicsusle
- C 562b--E 1305b in helle grund
- C 565b--F 27b sippan wuldres cyning
- C 569a--J 545a of feonda byrig
- C 570b--521b þa ge her on stariað
- C 571b--E 461b, 798b sawla nergend
- C 572b--E 179b, 422b, 1076b godes agen bearn
- C 573a--F 22a after gudplegan
- C 573b--E 399b, 531b nu ge geare cunnon
- C 577b--see 544b ealles waldend
- C 582a--E 476a enlum ond aldum
- C 588a--J 565a gefreode ond gefreopade
- C 596a--E 606a swa lif swa deað
- C 596b--J 88b, E 606b swa him leofre bið
- C 598b--E 1123b wuldor þæs æge

- C 599b--E 810b þonc butan ende
- C 600a--J 643a þæt is þæs wyrðe
- C 606a--E 507a under swegles hleo
- C 606b--694a sunne ond mona
- C 610a--E 897a to feorðnere
- C 610b--J 509b, E 897b fira cynne
- C 616a--J 198a, 717a ond geþingade
- C 618a--E 392a cyning anboren
- C 620a--F 68b, E 685b þurh yrne hyge
- C 626b--E 255b eft gesecan
- C 632b--see 549a on þa halgan tid
- C 635b--E 891b sunu waldendes
- C 643b--788b freobearn godes
- C 644b--see 452a geond middangeard
- C 649a--710a, J 316a, E 199a, 1057a, 1156a þurh gæstes
giefu
- C 650b--E 1188b bi þon se witga song
- C 655b--E 472b onðsac fremedon
- C 658a--E 218a, 625a, 842a halig from hrusan
- C 658b--E 975b ahafen wurde
- C 660a--860a, E 673a godes gæstsunu
- C 660b--860b, E 182b ond us giefu sealde
- C 662b--E 554b modes snyttru
- C 663b--487b geond sefan monna
- C 668a--E 196a bifolen on ferðe
- C 682a--499a godbearn on grundum
- C 690a--J 646a, E 1217a see to ealdre

- C 692a--E 861b þæt a hæfen wæren
- C 694a--606b sunna ond mona
- C 698a--see 452a ofer middangeard
- C 700b--E 390b, 663b soðas ond ryhtas
- C 707a--816b gæstes þearfe
- C 710a--see 649a purh gæstes giefes
- C 713a--E 418a, 586a giedda gearosnottor
- C 713b--see 440b gæstgerynum
- C 714b--see 474a ond þæt word acwæð
- C 715a--E 1191a cuð þæt geweorðeð
- C 715b--F 119a þette cyning engla
- C 726a--E 483a ealra brymma brym
- C 728a--J 724a, E 1105a fæder frofre gæst
- C 729a--E 186a, 484a in byrgenne
- C 732a--561b in cwicsusle
- C 735a--J 233a, E 715a in carcerne
- C 739a--see 549a on þa halgan tid
- C 741a--see 515a þe belinga ord
- C 745b--747b hlypum stylde
- C 747a--E 1223a heortan gehygdum
- C 747b--745b hlypum styllan
- C 751b--847b, J 695b is us þearf micel
- C 758b--E 1150b fæder on roderum
- C 760a--789a, 866a, J 263a, E 1086a halig of heahðu
- C 760b--J 322b hider onsendeð
- C 764b--E 120b forð onsendeð
- C 767b--J 664a wearde healdan

- C 772a--814a bendan we on eorðan
- C 772b--J 20a eard weardien [weardigen]
- C 774a--J 666a biddan bearn godes
- C 778a--E 452a purh woruld worūlda
- C 778b--E 800b wuldor on heofnum
- C 780a--F 19a snig on eorðan
- C 780b--J 727b, E 521b alda cynnes
- C 782a--E 81a duguða dryhten
- C 783b--J 622b leanum hleotan
- C 785a--J 332b, E 1289a geond sidne grund
- C 787a--see 452a in middangeard
- C 788b--643b freobearn godes
- C 789a--see 760a halig of heahpu
- C 791a--824b bonne eft cymeð
- C 796a--836a, J 331a, E 745a fore onsyne
- C 796b--836b, E 745b eces deman
- C 802a--E 793a, 1103a on þam wongstede
- C 803a--J 707a hwæt him æfter dædum
- C 803b--J 707b deman wille
- C 814a--772a benden him on eorþan
- C 815b--J 647b læran wille
- C 816b--707a gastes beaŕfe
- C 821b--849b georne biþencan
- C 822b--J 723a, E 337a, 1042b meahta waldend
- C 824b--791a bonne eft cymeð
- C 826b--557a middangeardes
- C 830b--E 948b in fyrbaðe

- C 832b--E 279b on gemot cymeð
 C 834a--492a hlud gehyred
 C 836a--see 796a fore onsyne
 C 836b--see 796b eces deman
 C 841a--E 395a, 943a synwyrccendra
 C 845a--see 515a æbelinga ord
 C 847b--see 751b is us þearf micel
 C 849b--821b georne bibencen
 C 852b--862b sundhengestum
 C 857a--J 677a ærþon we to lond
 C 857b--J 677b, E 249b geliden hæfdon
 C 860a--see 660a godes gæstsunu
 C 860b--see 660b ond us gief sealde
 C 862b--852b sundhengestas
 C 863b--E 252b ancrum fæste
 C 864b--J 437b hyht stapelian
 C 865b--J 305b, E 206b, 482b, 1066b rodera waldend
 C 866a--see 760a halge on heahþu

JULIANA

- J 1a--F 63a, E 364a, 670a, 852a hwæt we ðæt hyrdon
 J 1b--609b haleð eahtian
 J 3b--F 7b, C 452a, 644a, 698a, 787a, E 6a, 16a, 434a,
 774b, 917a, 1176a se geend middangeard
 J 6b--E 1096a, 1220b godhærgendra
 J 8b--E 916b wæs his rice brad
 J 9b--507b, F 15b, E 968a ofer werþeode

- J 10b--C 481b yrmenne grund
- J 18b--E 591b ebeles cynnes
- J 20a--C 772b eard weardade
- J 25a--160a, 673a Heliseus
- J 26a--F 121a micelne ond mearne
- J 28a--96a, 106a, 131b, 148b, 167a, 316b, 531b, 540a, 628b
Iulianan
- J 32a--267a, 287a ða was sio fæmne
- J 34a--71a, 107a, 220a, E 1207a freondrædenne
- J 37b--E 907a shtum wunade
- J 39b--E 268a georne on mode
- J 45a--143b, 631b, C 474a, 714b, E 1071b ond þæt word
acwæð
- J 45b--C 509b, E 596a on wera mengu
- J 49b--365b, 398b ic ðeo gearo sona
- J 50b--428b willan þines
- J 56b--E 180b heardra wita
- J 58b--90b, 582b yrre gebolgen
- J 60a--E 1160a het ða gefetigan
- J 62a--E 1161a recene to rune
- J 67a--79a wið þære fæmnan fæder
- J 67b--184b fræcne mode
- J 71a--see 34a freondrædenne
- J 72a--E 875a on modsefan
- J 79a--67a þære fæmnan fæder
- J 80a--E 686a ic þæt geswerge
- J 86b--412b þe to gewælde [ge weald]
- J 88b--C 596b, E 606b swa þe leofre sy

- J 90b--see 58b yrre gebolgen
- J 92b--E 1190b he þa worde cwæð
- J 93b--247b seo dyreste
- J 94b--342a in sefan minum [variant stressed pronoun]
- J 96a--see 28a Iuliana
- J 97b--217b unbipyrfe
- J 99a--E 663a wissæcst þu to swibe
- J 100a--165a þinum brydguman [variant stressed pronoun]
- J 102a--E 910a feohgestreona
- J 105a--130a, E 619a him þa seo eadge
- J 105b--117b, 130b, 147b, 175b, 319b, E 455b, 462b, 662b
ageaf ondsware
- J 106a--see 28a Iuliana
- J 107a--see 34a freondrædenne
- J 108b--E 608b þafian wille
- J 110a--E 1170a geornor bigonge
- J 112a--E 727a, 752a heofon ond eorðan
- J 117a--158a hyre þa þurh yrre
- J 117b--see 105b ageaf ondsware
- J 130a--see 105b him þa seo eadge
- J 130b--see 105b ageaf ondsware
- J 131b--see 28a Iuliana
- J 132a--E 574a ic þe to soðe
- J 132b--E 574b secgan wille
- J 134b--210b domas þine
- J 135b--196b, E 931b witebrogan
- 136a--663b hildewoman

- J 137a--E 906a manfremmende
- J 143b--see 45a ond þæt word acwæð
- J 145a--308a, E 946a þe þu unþnyttrum
- J 145b--E 1285b ær gespræce
- J 147b--see 105b ageaf onðsware
- J 148b--see 28a Iuliana
- J 150b--E 1040a deofolgielðum
- J 152a--250a þam wyrrestum
- J 154a--C 557a, 826b, E 809a middangeardes
- J 154b--C 557b ond mægenþrymmes
- J 158a--117a hy þa þurh yrre
- J 160a--see 25a Holiseo
- J 162a--534a to his domsetle
- J 165a--100a hire brydguma [variant stressed pronoun]
- J 167a--see 28a Iuliana
- J 174a--251b gif þu onsecgan nelt
- J 175b--see 105b ageaf onðsware
- J 179a--E 689a buton þu forlæte
- J 179b--E 689b þa leasiga
- J 181b--E 790b gæsta scyppend
- J 182a--436a, 667a meotud moncynnes
- J 183a--E 801a, 893a a butan ende
- J 183b--E 893b ealle gesecefta
- J 184b--67b frece mode
- J 188b--614a, E 497a synna lease
- J 196a--E 951a wiberhyccendre [wiber hycgen de]
- J 196b--see 135b witebrogan

- J 198a--717a, G 616a gebingige
- J 202b--E 371b, 1040b gedwolan fylgest
- J 203a--462a 'ponne ic nyde sceal
- J 203b--462b nipa gebæded
- J 210a--E 81b ne ondræde ic ne
- J 210b--134b domas pine
- J 211a--E 1299a awyrgeð womsceaða
- J 212b--E 197b, 445b, 718b heofonrices weard
- J 213b--E 347a magna waldend
- J 217b--97b unbipyrfe
- J 220a--see 34a freondrædenne
- J 226a--392a bæt he ne mehte
- J 226b--326b, 363b, 439b mod oncyrran
- J 228b--309b, E 424b on heanne beam
- J 233a--C 735a, E 715a to carcerne
- J 239b--E 1124b heofonrices god
- J 240a--E 711b, 1275a in þam nydclafan
- J 240b--E 1077a, 1172a nergend fira
- J 241b--E 935b hyra was halig gæst
- J 242b--614b, E 1109a ða cwom semninga
- J 243b--345b haleða gewinna
- J 247b--93b seo dyreste
- J 248b--E 291b, 962a, 1304a, 1321a wuldorcyninge
- J 250a--152a þa wyrrestan
- J 251b--174a gif þu onseogan nelt
- J 255b--E 447b ær þec swylt nime
- J 259a--E 1049a Criste gecweme

- J 260b--429b, E 77b wið þingade
- J 263a--C 760a, 789a, 866a, E 1086a halig of heahpu
- J 266a--E 391b, 850b bearn waldendes
- J 267a--see 32a ða was seo fæmne
- J 268a--E 57a, 1128a egsan geaclad
- J 268b--319a þe hyre se aglæca
- J 270b--364b, E 427b, 796b ferð stapelian
- J 272b--278b, E 789b, 813b biddan wille
- J 273a--E 799a ece elmihtig
- J 277b--E 577b þe me fore stondeð
- J 278b--see 272b biddan wille
- J 279b--C 508a, E 5b, 178b cyninga wuldor
- J 280a--E 248a, 858b brymmes hyrde
- J 281a--E 795a lyftlacende
- J 287a--see 32a ða was þære fæmnan
- J 293a--F 28b eorþan sohtun
- J 297a--E 1041a unryhtre e
- J 297b--307b eac ic gelaerde
- J 299b--303b Cristes bearnas
- J 303b--299b Cristes bearnas
- J 304a--F 14a Petrus ond Paulus
- J 305b--C 865b, E 206b, 482b, 1066b rodera waldend
- J 307b--297b eac gelaerde
- J 308a--see 145a þæt he unsnytrum
- J 309b--see 228b on heanne beam
- J 310b--E 480b þæt onsende

- J 316a--C 649a, 710a, E 199a, 1057a, 1156a purh gæstes
giefre
- J 316b--see 28a Iuliana
- J 317b--523a, 630a feond moncynnes
- J 319a--268b hyre se aglæca
- J 319b--see 105b ageaf ondsware
- J 322a--437a, 544b hellwarena cyning
- J 322b--C 760b hider onsende
- J 323a--E 920a of þam engan ham
- J 326b--see 226b mod oncyrrer
- J 327a--360a ahwyrfen from halor
- J 331a--C 796a, 836a, E 745a for his onsyne
- J 332b--C 785a, E 1289a geond sidne grund
- J 334b--E 467a on moldwege
- J 340a--E 931a ond þa wyrrestan
- J 341a--547a purh sarslege
- J 342a--94b on sefan þinum
- J 345a--E 1093a þa gen seo halge ongon
- J 345b--243b halepa gewinnan
- J 351b--455b, 538b, E 351b, 537b wordum mælde
- J 353b--E 590b oð ende forð
- J 354a--E 817a þara þe ic gefremede
- J 355a--710a, E 514a synna wundum
- J 356a--E 708b, 807b sylf gecnawe
- J 358a--E 1286a þriste geþoncge
- J 359a--E 1292a butan earfeþum
- J 360a--327a ahwyrfan from halor

- J 360b--E 170b bæt pu heofoncyninge
- J 363b--see 226b mod oncyrre
- J 364b--see 270b ferð stabelian
- J 365b--see 49b ic beo gearo sona
- J 371b--E 838b, 1209b larum hyreð [hyrað]
- J 378a--653a, F 66a, E 491a, 1136a leohtes geleafan
- J 379a--657a purh modes myne
- J 390b--681b hropra bidaled
- J 391a--E 1302a in gleda gripe
- J 392a--226a bæt ic ne meafte
- J 394a--702a secan operne
- J 398b--see 49b ic beo gearo sona
- J 407b--E 532b, 1164b selle bynceð
- J 412b--86b me to gewealde
- J 416a--C 551a, E 993a weorban in worulde
- J 416b--F 95b wyrme to hrobor
- J 420a--E 96a on clænra gemong
- J 425b--611b, E 1048b weorban sceolde
- J 426a--438b wið soðfestum
- J 428a--F 74a purh wuldorcyning
- J 428b--50b willan bines
- J 429b--see 260b wið bingade
- J 435a--726b, E 810a prysittendne
- J 436a--see 182a meotud monocynnes
- J 437a--see 322a hellwarena cyning
- J 437b--C 864b hyht stabelie
- J 438b--426a wið soðfestum

- J 439b--see 226b mod oncyrre
- J 441b--E 681b, 1084b willan mines
- J 445a--E 761a scyldwyrrende
- J 448a--E 519a, 563b, 854a, 858a gebrowade
- J 452a--F 32a sibe gesohte
- J 455b--see 351b wordum mælde
- J 457a--615a hean helle gæst
- J 462a--203a bæt ic nyde sceal
- J 462b--203b nipa gebæded
- J 477a--484b bæt hi færinga
- J 484b--477a bæt hy færinga
- J 487b--686b bæt he in winsele
- J 501b--E 1205b bæt hi lufan dryhtnes
- J 502a--563a ece eadgiefre
- J 502b--E 630b, 946b anforleton
- J 503a--F 33a beorhtne boldwelan
- J 507b--see 9b geond werbeode
- J 508b--E 211a, 1288b, 1321b widan feore
- J 509a--E 1141b from fruman worulde
- J 509b--C 610b, E 897b fira cynne
- J 510b--518b ne was enig þara
- J 518b--510b was enig þara
- J 520a--E 1276a bream forþrycte
- J 521a--E 597a þa miclan meahht [miclum]
- J 523a--see 317b feond moncynnes
- J 531b--see 28a Iulianan
- J 532a--E 712a of þam engan hofe

- J 532b--E 714b ut gelædan [variant stressed preposition]
- J 533a--604a on hyge halge [halige]
- J 534a--162a to his domsetle
- J 535a--E 1094a breostum inbryrdeð
- J 538b--see 351b wordum mælde
- J 539a--E 699a ic þec halsige
- J 539b--E 656b blæfdige min
- J 540a--see 28a Iuliana
- J 543b--E 277a þone snotrestan
- J 544b--see 322a hælwarena cyning [helwerena]
- J 545a--C 569a in feonda byrig
- J 546a--E 941a morbres manfrea
- J 547a--341a þurh sarslege
- J 549a--E 456b, 778a, 1048a in woruldrice
- J 556a--E 764a on wita forwyrd
- J 556b--E 945b wiste he þi gearwor
- J 561a--E 665a sægdon soðlice
- J 562a--F 122b ofer ealle gesceaft
- J 563a--502a ecra eadgiefra
- J 564a--C 507b, 522b frætwan blican
- J 565a--C 588a gefreoðe ond gefreoðade
- J 566a--583a leahtra lease
- J 570a--E 978a þær he hit for worulde
- J 570b--E 978b wendan mehte
- J 575b--F 55b wundorcraefta
- J 576a--E 19a wiges woman
- J 580a--E 950a ad onslan

- J 582b--see 58b yrre gebolgen
- J 583a--566a leahtra lease
- J 600a--E 1131a wifes willan
- J 604a--533a on hyge halge
- J 604b--F 46b heafde bineotan
- J 607b--C 529b hyht geniwad
- J 608b--E 839b, 875b miclum geblissad
- J 609b--1b hæleð eahtian
- J 611b--see 425b weorban sceolde
- J 614a--see 188b synna lease
- J 614b--see 242b ða cwom semninga
- J 615a--457a hean helle gæst
- J 622b--C 783b leana hleotan
- J 628a--E 43a ongean gramum
- J 628b--see 28a Iuliana [Iulianan]
- J 629b--E 900b helle deofol
- J 630a--see 317b feond moncynnes
- J 631b--see 45a ond þæt word acwæð
- J 640a--E 1149a weg to wuldre
- J 640b--see 45a ond þæt word acwæð
- J 643a--C 600a he is þæs wyrðe
- J 646a--C 690a, E 1217a ece to ealdre
- J 647b--C 815b læran wille
- J 653a--see 378a leohte geleafan
- J 656b--E 333b, 1168b halge rune
- J 657a--379a þurh modes myne
- J 658a--E 1083b fæder almæhtig

- J 663a--E 18a wið hettendra
- J 663b--136a hildewoman
- J 664a--C 767b wearde healden
- J 666a--C 774a biddað bearn godes
- J 667a--see 182a meotud moncynnes
- J 668a--705a sigora sellend
- J 673a--see 25a Heliseus
- J 677a--C 857a ærbon hy to lande
- J 677b--C 857b, E 249b geliden hæfdon
- J 681b--390b hrobra bidaled
- J 686b--487b bæt hy in winsele
- J 688a--E 1259a æpplede gold
- J 691b--E 1056b burgum in innān
- J 693a--E 648a geara gongum
- J 694b--E 312b op þisne dæg
- J 695a E 1166a mid beodscipe
- J 695b--C 751b, 847b is me þearf micel
- J 696b--722b helpe gefremme
- J 702a--394a secan operne
- J 705a--668a sigora syllend
- J 707a--C 803a hwæt him æfter dædum
- J 707b--C 803b deman wille
- J 710a--see 355a synna wunde
- J 717a--see 198a geþingige
- J 722b--696b helpe gefremme
- J 723a--C 822b, E 337a, 1042b nehta waldend
- J 724a--C 728a, E 1105a fæder frofre gæst

J 726b--see 435a prymaittende

J 727b--C 780b, E 521b alda cynne

ELENE

E 2b--634b geteled rimes

E 5a--178a, 775a, C 444a acenned wearð

E 5b--178b, C 508a, J 279b cynþinga wuldor

E 6a--16a, 434a, 774b, 917a, 1176a, F 7b, C 452a, 644b,
698a, 787a, J 3b in middangeard

E 8a--79a, 103a, 145a 1007a Constantines

E 9a--59a bæt he Romwara

E 13a--147a, 631a rice under roderum

E 15b-- F 52a bæt he manegum wearð

E 16a--see 6a geond middangeard

E 18a--J 663a wið hetendum

E 19a--J 576a wiges woma

E 19b--60b werod samnodan

E 20a--128a Huna leode

E 23b--125b garas listan

E 25a--107a hofon herecombol

E 29a--111a urigfeðera

E 32a--52a hergum to hilde

E 37a--651a deareðlacende

E 37b--136a on Danubie

E 42b--998b þa es casere heht

E 43a--J 628a ongean gramum

E 44b--102b, 999a gístan myclum

- E 48a--1188a wæpnum to wigge
- E 52a--32a herge to hilde
- E 54b--550b hreoþan friccan
- E 57a--1128a, J 268a egsan geaclad
- E 59a--9a þæt he on Romwara
- E 60b--19b werod samnode
- E 62a--129b Romwara cyning
- E 67a--873a on neaweste
- E 70a--212b, 416a þam casere
- E 72b--F 27a on weras hade
- E 75a--C 502a gesege under swegle
- E 77b--J 260b, 429b wið þingode
- E 79a--see 8a Constantinus
- E 81a--C 782a duguþa dryhten
- E 81b--J 210a ne ondræd þu þe
- E 85a--184b, 1120b sigores tacen
- E 85b--222b he wæs sona gearu
- E 96a--J 420a on clænra gemang
- E 98a--213a, 316a, 849b, 1078a on fyrhōsefan
- E 100a--1198a beorna beaggifa
- E 102b--see 44b ofstum myclum
- E 103a--see 8a Constantinus
- E 107a--25a hebban heorucumbul
- E 107b--128b, 429a, 442b, 840b ond þæt halige treo
- E 110a--406a hlude for hergum
- E 111a--29a urigfeþra
- E 119b--141a hildensædran

- E 120b--C 764b forð onsendan
- E 121b--232b stundum wracon
- E 125b--23b garas lixtan
- E 126a--269a on herefeldu [hera felda]
- E 128a--20a Huna leode
- E 128b--see 107b swa þæt halige treo
- E 129b--62a Romwara cyning
- E 136a--37b ymb Danubie
- E 141a--119b hildensædran
- E 143b--148b ham eft þanon
- E 144a--264a þa wæs gesyne
- E 145a--see 8a Constantino
- E 145b--865b, 1090b, 1151a cyning ælmihtig
- E 147a--see 13a rice under roderum
- E 148b--143b ham eft þanon
- E 150a--1195a wigge geweorðod
- E 153b--169a, 323a þa wisestan
- E 155a--560b þurh fyrngewrito
- E 168b--1256a be þam sigebeacne
- E 169a--see 153b þa þa wisestan
- E 170b--J 360b þæt hit heofoncyniges
- E 173a--191a lærde wæron
- E 174a--990a ferhð gefeonde
- E 178a--see 5a acenned wearð
- E 178b--see 5b cyninga wuldor
- E 179b--422b, 1076b, C 572b godes agen bearn
- E 180b--J 56b heardum witan

- E 182b--C 660b, 860b ond him gife sealde
- E 184b--see 85a sigores tacen [tacne]
- E 185b--485b ond hu ðy briddan dæge
- E 186a--484a, C 729a of byrgenne
- E 187a--F 56b, C 467a of deaðe aras
- E 188a--1203a hæleða cynnes
- E 189b--1147b, C 440b, 713b gæstgerynum
- E 191a--173a lærde wæron
- E 196a--C 668a befolen in fyrde
- E 196b--992b wæs him frofræ mæst
- E 197b--445b, 718b, J 212b heofonrices weard
- E 199a--1057a, 1156a, C 649a, 710a, J 316a purh gastes gife
- E 203a--556a leodgebyrga
- E 204b--290a on godes bocum
- E 205a--445a, 671b, 718a, 1075a, F 41a hwær ahangen wæs
- E 205b--F 21b heriges ðeorhtme
- E 206a--855a on rode treo
- E 206b--482b, 1066b, C 865b, J 305b rodora waldend
- E 211a--1288b, 1321b, J 508b to widan feore
- E 211b--951b wergou dreogan
- E 212b--see 70a þam casere
- E 213a--see 98a on firhðsefan
- E 216a--328a, 1202a, F 35a to Iudeum
- E 216b--322b, 1156b georne secan
- E 218a--625a, 842a, C 658a halig under hrusan
- E 218b--1107b hyded ware

- E 221b--C 459b word gehyrwan
- E 222a--1199a hiere sylfre suna
- E 222b--85b ac was sona gearu
- E 224a--235b byrnwigendra
- E 224b--412b beboden hæfde
- E 232b--121b stundum wræcon
- E 235b--224a byrnwigendum
- E 236a--1221a werum ond wifum
- E 247a--378a, 848a collenferhðe
- E 249a--1016a ofer lagofæsten
- E 249b--C 857b, J 677b geliden hæfdon
- E 250a--262a, 998a on Creca land
- E 252b--C 863b oncrum fæste
- E 254b--1095b gumena preate
- E 255a--995a ofer eastwegas
- E 255b--C 626b eft gesohte
- E 260a--997a secggas ymb sigecwen
- E 262a--see 250a on Creca land
- E 262b--551a caseras bodan
- E 264a--144a þær was gesyne
- E 267a--1286a briste on gebance
- E 268a--J 39b georn on mode
- E 269a--126a ofer herefeldas
- E 272a--383a ymb lytel fæc
- E 273b--1055a, 770b, C 533b to Hierusalem
- E 274a--1204a cwomon in þa ceastre
- E 277a--J 543b þam enoterestum

- E 279b--C 832b on gemot cuman
- E 281b--284a reccan cuðon
- E 284a--281b reccan cuðon
- E 287b--385a, 559b wordum negan
- E 289b--323b, C 463b wordgeryno
- E 290a--204b on godes bocum
- E 290b--C 559b þæt ge geardagum
- E 291b--962a, 1304a, 1321a, J 248b wuldorcyninge
- E 295b--726b burh his wuldres miht [wuldre]
- E 299b--515b bote gefremede
- E 303a--311a deman ongunnon
- E 304b--543a on wera corpre
- E 311a--303a deman ongunnon
- E 312b--J 694b oð þysne dæg
- E 314b--419a wordes cræftige
- E 316a--see 98a on ferhōsefan
- E 317b--376b secgan cunnon
- E 319b--410b þe ic him to sece
- E 322b--see 216b georne sohton [eorne]
- E 323a--see 153b þa wisestan
- E 323b--see 298b wordgeryno
- E 325b--568b swa hio him to sohte
- E 328a--see 216a mid Iudeum
- E 330b--669b caseres mæg
- E 332a--404a, 573a, 604a, 642a, 685a Elene mabelode
- E 332b--404b ond for eorlum spræc
- E 333b--1168b, J 656b halige rune

- E 336a--775b in cildes had
- E 337a--1042b, C 822b, J 723a mihta wealdend
- E 343a--438a frod fyrnweota
- E 344a--440b, 938a, 1190b, J 92b ond þæt word gecwæp
- E 346a--1139a sigora dryhten
- E 347a--J 213b mægena wealdend
- E 348a--858b, J 280a brymmes hyrde
- E 351b--537b, J 351b, 455b, 538b wordum mælde
- E 352a--881a deophycggende
- E 353a--878b ic up ahof
- E 357a--1190a wisdomes gewitt
- E 363b--778b wundra gefremede
- E 364a--670a, 852a, F 63a, J 1a hwæt we þæt gehyrdon
- E 364b--670b, 852b, F 63b purh halige bec
- E 371b--1040b, J 202b ond gedwolan fylgdon
- E 372b--400b nu ge rabe gangap
- E 374a--1171b purh snyttro cæft
- E 376b--317b seggan cunnan
- E 378a--see 247a collanferhðe
- E 378b--715b, 979b, 1017a swa him sio cwen beað
- E 379b--1052b, 1160b forþenottera
- E 381b--408b mæste hæfdon
- E 382a--C 442a on sefan snyttro
- E 383a--272a ymb lytel bec
- E 384b--558b, 1204b hio sio cwen ongan
- E 385a--see 287b wordum genegan
- E 390b--663b, C 700b soðe ond rihte

- E 391a--C 453a bet in Bethleme
- E 391b--850b, J 266a bearn wealdendes
- E 392a--C 618a cyning anboren
- E 393a--C 515a, 741a, 845a sbelinga ord
- E 394a--C 469a witgena word
- E 395a--943a, C 841a synwyrrende
- E 398a--425a, 528b pa on Tyrndagum
- E 399b--531b, C 573b ne we geare cunnon [eare]
- E 402b--967b on bysse folcscere
- E 404a--see 332a Elene maedelade
- E 404b--332b ond for eorlum sprac
- E 405a--620b undearninga
- E 406a--110a hlude for herigum
- E 406b--372b ge nu hraðe gangað
- E 407a--1018a sunder asecaþ
- E 408b--381b mæste hæbben
- E 410b--319b þe ic him to sece
- E 412b--224b þaboden hæfþe
- E 413a--555b, C 535a geomormode
- E 416a--see 70a wið þam casere
- E 418a--586a, C 713a gidda gearosnotor
- E 418b--586b þam was Iudas nama
- E 419a--314b wordes cræftig
- E 420b--444a, 665b, 860b þe þam sigebeame
- E 421b--780b þeoda waldend
- E 422b--see 179b godes agen bearn
- E 424b--J 228b, 309b on heanne beam

- E 425a--see 398a in fyrndagum
- E 425b--458b fæderas usse
- E 427b--796b, J 270b, 364b ferhð staðelien
- E 429a--see 107b hwær þæt halige trio
- E 434a--see 6a ofer middangeard
- E 438a--343a frod fyrnwiota
- E 438b--454b fæder minum
- E 440b--see 344a ond þæt word gecwæð
- E 442b--see 107b ymb þæt halige treo
- E 443b--953b ond geflitu ræran
- E 444a--see 420b be ðam sigebeame
- E 445a--see 205a ahangen was
- E 445b--see 197b heofonrices weard
- E 447b--J 255b ær bec swylt nime
- E 449a--868a rædþeahende
- E 452a--C 778a in woruld weorulda
- E 452b--1070b willum gefylled
- E 453a--933a ðe þone ahangnan cyning
- E 454b--438b fæder minum
- E 455b--462b, 662b, J 105b, 117b, 130b, 147b, 175b 319b
ageaf ondsware
- E 456b--778a, 1048a, J 549a on woruldrice
- E 458b--425b fæderas usse
- E 461a--564a soð sunu meotudes
- E 461b--798b, C 571b sawla nergend
- E 462b--see 455b ageaf ondsware
- E 463a--1163a frod on fyrhðe

- E 467a--J 334b on moldwege
- E 472a--516a bæs unrihtes
- E 472b--C 655b ondsæc fremede
- E 474a--1148a on sefan sohton
- E 476a--C582a engla ond elda
- E 478a--977a weras wonsælige
- E 480b--J 310b gast onsende
- E 481a--862a, 1146a sigebearn godes
- E 482b--see 206b rodera wealdend
- E 483a--C 726a eallra brymma brym
- E 484a--see 186a in byrgenne
- E 485b--185b ond þa by briddan dæg
- E 487a--776a, 857b ðeoden engla
- E 490b--1033b fulwihtes bæð
- E 491b--1136a, F 66a, J 378a, 653a leohtne geleafan
- E 497a--J 188b, 614a synna leasne
- E 502a--1142a folca to frofre
- E 503a--1085a niða nergend
- E 505a--755a be namen haten
- E 507a--C 606a under swegles hleo
- E 512b--C 544b, 577b ealles wealdend
- E 514a--J 355a, 710a synna wunde
- E 515b--299b bote gefremmap
- E 516a--472a ond bæs unrihtes
- E 519a--563b, 854a, 858a, J 448a þæt gebrowade
- E 520a--898a lifes lattlow
- E 521b--C 780b, J 727b ilda cynnes

- E 525b--562b, 836b wið godes bearne
 E 528b--see 398a on fyrndagum
 E 531b--see 399b nu ge geare cunnon
 E 532a--1164a hwæt eow þæs on sefan
 E 532b--1164b, J 407b selest pince
 E 537b--see 351b wordum mældon
 E 543a--304b on wera corðre
 E 545b--619b ondwyrde agifan
 E 550b--54b hreoþan friccan
 E 551a--262b caseres bodan
 E 554b--C 662b modes snyttro
 E 555b--see 413a geomormode
 E 556a--203a leodgebyrgean
 E 558b--see 384b þa sio cwen ongan
 E 559b--see 287b wordum negan
 E 560b--155a ymb fyrngewritu
 E 562b--see 525b þe godes bearne
 E 563b--see 519a gebrowade
 E 564a--461a soð sunu meotudes
 E 568a--1306a torngeniðlan
 E 568b--325b þæs hio him to sohte
 E 570a--1036a fæste on fyrhðe
 E 573a--see 332a Elene mabelade
 E 574a--J 132a ic eow to soðe
 E 574b--J 132b secgan wille
 E 577b--J 277b þe me fore standap
 E 580a--1110a lacende lig

- E 586a--see 418a giddum gearusnottorne
 E 586b--418b pam wæs Judas nama
 E 590b--J 353b oð ende forð
 E 591b--J 18b meles cyneð
 E 596a--C 509b, J 45b for wera mengo
 E 596b--1143a wisdomes gife
 E 597a--J 521a purh þa myclan niht
 E 601b--1074b riht getehte
 E 604a--see 332a Elene mabelode
 E 606a--C 596a swa lif swa deað
 E 606b--C 596b, J 88b swa be leofre bið
 E 608b--J 108b þafian wille
 E 609a--667a Judas hire ongen þingode
 E 612a--698a meðe ond meteleas
 E 619a--J 105a, 130a him þa seo eadige
 E 619b--545b ondwyrde ageaf
 E 620a--1197a Elene for eorlum
 E 620b--405a undearnunga
 E 625a--see 218a halig under hrusan
 E 627a--655a, 806a Judas mabelade
 E 627b--C 499b him wæs geomor sefa
 E 628a--C 500a, 539a hat æt heortan
 E 630b--946b, J 502b anforlete
 E 631a--see 13a rice under roderum
 E 632b--641b þæt swa fyrn gewearð
 E 634b--2b geteled rime
 E 636b--1267b forðgewitenra

- E 641b--632b bæt swa fyrrn gewearð
- E 642a--see 332a Elene maðelade
- E 648a--J 693a geara gongum
- E 651a--37a dareðlacendra
- E 654b--658b on gewritu setton
- E 655a--627a Iudas maðelade
- E 656b--J 539b hlæfdige min
- E 658b--654b on gewritu setton
- E 661a--671a hæleðum cyðan [hæleðu]
- E 662b--see 455b ageaf ondsware
- E 663a--J 99a wiðsæcest ðu to swiðe
- E 663b--see 390b soðe ond rihte
- E 664a--706b, 1026b ymb bæt lifes treow
- E 665a--J 561a sægdest soðlice
- E 665b--see 420b be þam sigebeame
- E 667a--609a Iudas hire ongen pingode
- E 669b--330b caseres mæg
- E 670a--see 364a hwæt we ðæt hyrdon
- E 670b--see 364b purh halige bec
- E 671a--661a hæleðum cyðan
- E 671b--see 205a bæt ahangen was
- E 672a--676a, 1010a, 1097b on Caluarie
- E 673a--C 660a, 860a godes gastsunu
- E 674a--1242a wisdom onwreon
- E 674b--C 547b swa gewritu secgab
- E 676a--see 672a Caluarie [caluare]
- E 678b--1010b Criste to willan

- E 679a--1011a hæleðum to helpe
- E 681b--1084b, J 441b willan minne
- E 682a--1076a gasta geocend
- E 683a--716b stiðhygende
- E 685a--see 332a Elene maðelode
- E 685b--F 68b, C 620a purh eorne hyge
- E 686a--J 80a ic þæt geswerige
- E 689a--J 179a butan þu forlæte
- E 689b--J 179b þa leasunga
- E 698a--612a meðe ond metealas
- E 699a--J 539a ic eow healsie
- E 700b--712b up forlæten
- E 705a--779a dogorrimum
- E 706b--see 664a be ðam lifes treo
- E 708b--807b, J 356a seolf gecneowe
- E 711b--1275a, J 240a ond of nydcleofan
- E 712a--J 532a fram þam engan hofe
- E 712b--700b up forlete
- E 713a--1196a hie ðæt ofstlice
- E 714b--J 532b up gelæddon [variant stressed preposition]
- E 715a--C 735a, J 233a of carcerne
- E 715b--see 378b swa him seo cwen bebed
- E 716b--683a stiðhygende
- E 718a--see 205a ahangan was
- E 718b--see 197b heofonrices weard
- E 720b--1011b hwar sio halige rod [halig]
- E 726b--295b purh þines wuldres miht

- E 727a--752a, J 112a heofon ond eorðan
- E 732a--1024a ofer þam æðelstan
- E 735a--1014a of eorðwegum
- E 737a--C 493b wuldres aras
- E 745a--C 796a, 836a, J 331a fore onsyne
- E 745b--C 796b, 836b æces deman
- E 751a--1084a weoroda wealdend
- E 752a--see 727a heofun ond eorðe
- E 755a--505a be naman hateð
- E 760a--800a wealdest widan fyrhð
- E 761a--J 445a scyldwyrçende
- E 764a--J 556a in wita forwyrð
- E 772b--C 474b wealdend engla
- E 774b--see 6a in middangeard
- E 775a--see 5a acenned wearð
- E 775b--336a in cildes had
- E 776a--see 487a beoden engla
- E 778a--see 456b in woruldrice
- E 778b--363b wundra gefremede
- E 779a--705a dogorgerimum
- E 780b--421b beoda wealdend
- E 781a--F 55a aweakte for weorodum
- E 786b--C 455a on þa æðelan tid
- E 789b--813b, J 272b, 278b biddan wille
- E 790b--J 181b gasta scyppend
- E 791a--1101a. geopenie
- E 793a--1103a, C 802a of þam wangstede

- E 795a--J 281a lyftlacende
- E 796b--see 427b ferhð staðelige
- E 798b--see 461b sawla neigend
- E 799a--J 273a ece salmihtig
- E 800a--760a walde wigan ferhð
- E 800b--C 778b wuldres on heofenum
- E 801a--893a, J 183a a butan ende
- E 804a--C 540a beornes breostsefa
- E 806a--see 627a Iudas mabelode
- E 807b--see 708b seolt gecnawen
- E 809a--C 557a, 826b, J 154a middangeardes
- E 810a--J 435a, 726b brwmsittendum
- E 810b--C 599b þanc butan ende
- E 813b--see 789b biddan wille
- E 817a--J 354a þara þe ic gefremede
- E 821a--C 519a in þære beorhtan byrig
- E 826a--896a wundor þa he worhte
- E 826b--1255b on gewritum cyðed
- E 827b--866b after þam wuldres treo
- E 835a--1301b arleasra sceolu
- E 836b--see 525b hie wið godes bearne
- E 838b--1209b larum na hyrdon
- E 839b--875b, J 608b myclum geblissod
- E 840a--F 53a hige onhyrded
- E 840b--see 107b þurh þæt halige treo
- E 841a--1045a inbryded breostsefa
- E 842a--see 218a halig under hrusan

- E 848a--see 247a collenferhðe
- E 849a--see 98a on ferhðsefan
- E 850b--see 391b bearn wealdendes
- E 852a--see 364a hwæt we þæt hyrdon
- E 852b--see 364b purh halige bec
- E 854a--see 519a gebrowedon
- E 855a--206a on rode treo
- E 857b--see 487a beoden engla
- E 858a--see 519a gebrowode
- E 858b--see 348a brymmes hyrde
- E 860b--see 420b be ðam sigebeame
- E 861b--C 692a ahafen wære
- E 862a--see 481a sigebearn godes
- E 865b--see 145b cyping ælmihtig
- E 866b--827b be ðam wuldres treo
- E 867b--C 502b sang ahofon
- E 868a--449a rædþeachtende
- E 869a--873b oð þa nigoðan tid
- E 873a--67a on neaweste
- E 873b--869a wæs þa nigoðe tid
- E 875a--J 72a on modsefan
- E 875b--see 839b miclum geblissod
- E 878b--353a ond up ahof
- E 881a--352a deopþycgende
- E 891b--C 635b sunu wealdendes
- E 893a--see 801a a butan ende
- E 893b--J 183b eallra gesceafta

- E 894b--see 98a on ferhōsefan
- E 896a--826a wundor þa þe worhte
- E 897a--C 610a to feorhnere
- E 897b--C 610b, J 509b fira cynne
- E 898a--520a lifes lattiw
- E 900b--J 629b helledeofol
- E 906a--J 137a manfremmande
- E 907a--J 37b shtum wunigan
- E 910a--J 102a feohgestreona
- E 916b--J 8b is his rice brad
- E 917a--see 6a ofer middangeard
- E 920a--J 323a in þam engan ham
- E 931a--J 340a ond þa wyrrestan
- E 931b--J 135b, 196b witebrogan
- E 933a--453a þone ahangnan cyning
- E 935b--J 241b him wes halig gast
- E 938a--see 344a ond þæt word gecwæð
- E 941a--J 546a moðres manfrea
- E 943a--see 295a synwyrçende
- E 945b--J 556b wite ðu þe gearwor
- E 946a--J 145a, 308a þæt ðu unsnyttrum
- E 946b--see 630b anforlete
- E 948b--C 830b ond on fyrbæbe
- E 949b--1027b syððan wunodest
- E 950a--J 580a ade onled
- E 951a--J 196a widerhycgende
- E 951b--211b wergðu dreogan

- E 953b--443b geflitu rædon
- E 954b--1179a on twa halfa
- E 959a--1047a hu he swa geleafful
- E 961b--1138b gode pancode
- E 962a--see 291b wuldorcyninge
- E 963a--1126a burh bearn godes
- E 966b--1037b in þæs weres breostum
- E 967b--402b in þære folcsceare
- E 968a--F 15b, J 9b, 507b geond þa werþeode
- E 975b--C 658b ahafen wurde
- E 977a--478a werum wansæligum
- E 978a--J 570a þær hie hit for worulde
- E 978b--J 570b wendan mehton
- E 979b--see 378b þa sio cwen beþead
- E 990a--174a ferhð gefeonde
- E 992b--196b wæs him frofra mæst
- E 993a--C 551a, J 416a geworden in worlde
- E 995a--255a ofer eastwegas
- E 997a--260a secgas mid sigecwen
- E 998a--see 250a on Creca land
- E 998b--42b hie se cæsere heht
- E 999a--see 44b ofstum myclum
- E 1005b--1053b, 1203b, C 461b, 534b to þære halgan byrig
- E 1007a--see 8a, Constantinus
- E 1010a--see 672a on Caluarie
- E 1010b--678b Criste to willan
- E 1011a--679a haleðum to helpe

- E 1011b--720b bær sið halige roð
- E 1012a--1224a gemeted was
- E 1012b--1224b mærost beama
- E 1014a--735a of eorðwege
- E 1016a--249a ofer lagufæsten
- E 1017a--see 378b ða seo cwen bebead
- E 1018a--407a sundor asecean
- E 1018b--C 520b þa selestan
- E 1024a--732a mid þam sæbelstum
- E 1026b--see 664a bær þæt lifes treo
- E 1027b--949b siððan wunode
- E 1033a--1267a æfter fyrstmearce
- E 1033b--490b fulwihtes bæð
- E 1036a--570a fæst on ferhðe
- E 1037b--966b in þæs weres breostum
- E 1040a--J 150b deofulgildum
- E 1040b--see 371b ond gedwolen fylde
- E 1041a--J 297a unrihte æ
- E 1042b--see 337a mihta wealdend
- E 1045a--841a inbryrðed breostsefa
- E 1047a--959a þæt he swa geleafful
- E 1048a--see 456b in worldrice
- E 1048b--J 425b, 611b weorðan sceolde
- E 1049a--J 259a Criste gecweme
- E 1052b--see 379b forðsnoterne
- E 1053a--1107a hæleða gerædum
- E 1053b--see 1005b to þære halgan byrig

- E 1055a--see 273b in Ierusalem
- E 1056a--1072a to bisceope
- E 1056b--J 691b burgum on innan
- E 1057a--see 199a purh gastes gife
- E 1060a--1127a niwan stefne
- E 1066b--see 206b rodera wealdend
- E 1069b--1099a gastes mihtum
- E 1070b--452b willan gefylde
- E 1071b--C 474a, 714b, J 45a, 143b, 631b, 640b ond þæt word acwæð
- E 1072a--1056a to þam bisceope
- E 1074b--601b ryhte getæhtesð
- E 1075a--see 205a on þa ahangen wæs
- E 1076a--682a gasta geocend
- E 1076b--see 179b godes agen bearn
- E 1077a--1172a, J 240a nerigend fira
- E 1078a--see 98a on fyrhðsefan
- E 1083b--J 658a fæder ælmihtig
- E 1084a--751a wereda wealdend
- E 1084b--see 681b willan minne
- E 1085a--503a niða nergend
- E 1086a--C 760a, 789a, 866a, J 263a halig of hiehða
- E 1087a--1100a eallum eaðmedum
- E 1088b--F 116b in ða beorhtan gesceaft
- E 1090b--see 145b cyning ælmihtig
- E 1093a--J 345a þa se halga ongan
- E 1094a--J 535a breostum onbryrded

- E 1095b--254b gumena breate
- E 1096a--1220b, J 6b god hergendra
- E 1097b--see 672a on Caluarie
- E 1099a--1069a gastes mihtum
- E 1099b--F 115b, J 271b to gode cieopode
- E 1100a--1087a eallum eaðmedum
- E 1101a--791a geopenigean
- E 1103a--793a, C 802a on þam wangstede
- E 1105a--C 728a, J 724a fæder frofre gast
- E 1107a--1053a hæleða gerædum
- E 1107b--218b hydde wæron
- E 1109a--J 242b, 614b ða cwom semninga
- E 1110a--580a lacende lig
- E 1111a--C 537a hira willgifan
- E 1120b--see 85a sigores tacen
- E 1123b--C 598b wuldor þess age
- E 1124b--J 239b heofonrices god
- E 1126a--963a þurh bearn godes
- E 1127a--1060a niwan stefne
- E 1128a--see 57a egesan geacloð
- E 1131a--J 600a wifes willan
- E 1131b--C 537b þa wæs wopes hring
- E 1136a--see 491a leohte geleafan
- E 1138b--961b gode þancode
- E 1139a--346a sigora dryhtne
- E 1141b--J 509a fram fruman worulde
- E 1142a--502a folcum to frofre

- E 1143a--596b wisdomes gife
- E 1146a--see 481a sigebearn godes
- E 1147b--see 189b gastgerynum
- E 1148a--474a on sefan secean
- E 1149a--J 640a weg to wuldre
- E 1150b--C 758b fæder on roderum
- E 1151a--see 145b cining ælmihtig
- E 1152a--1251a willan in worulde
- E 1156a--see 109a purh gastes gife
- E 1156b--see 216b georne secan
- E 1160a--J 60a heht ða gefetigean
- E 1160b--see 379b forðsnotterne
- E 1161a--J 62a ricene to rune
- E 1163a--463a frodne on ferhðe
- E 1164a--532a hwæt him þæs on sefan
- E 1164b--see 532b sælost þuhte
- E 1166a--J 695a purh beodscipe
- E 1168b--see 333b halige rune
- E 1170a--J 110a georne begange
- E 1171b--374a ond snyttro cræft
- E 1172a--see 1077a nerigend fira
- E 1176a--see 6a geond middangeard
- E 1179a--954b on twa healfe
- E 1188a--48a wæpen æt wigge
- E 1188b--C 650b be ðam se witga sang
- E 1190a--357a wisdomes gewitt
- E 1190b--see 344a he þæt word gecwæð

- E 1191a--C 715a cūp þæt gewyrðeð
- E 1195a--see 150a wigge weorðod
- E 1196a--713a þa þæt ofstlice
- E 1197a--620a Elene for eorlum
- E 1198a--100a beorna beaggifan
- E 1199a--222a hire selfre suna
- E 1200b--1246b gife unscyhde
- E 1202a--see 216a mid Iudeum
- E 1203a--188a hæleða cynnes
- E 1203b--see 1005b to þære halgan byrig
- E 1204a--274a cuman in þa ceastre
- E 1204b--see 384b þa seo cwen ongan
- E 1205b--J 501b þæt hie lufan dryhtnes
- E 1207a--J 34a, 71a, 107a, 220a freondræddenne
- E 1209b--838b larum hyrdon
- E 1217a--C 690a, J 646a ece to aldre
- E 1220b--1096a, J 6b god hergendum
- E 1221a--236a werum ond wifum
- E 1223a--C 747a heortan gehigdum
- E 1224a--1012a gemeted was
- E 1224b--1012b mærost beama
- E 1239a--F 104a nihtes nearwe
- E 1242a--674a wisdom onwreah
- E 1246b--1200b gife unscynde
- E 1251a--1152a willum in worlde
- E 1255b--826b on gewritum cyðan
- E 1256a--168b be ðam sigebeacne

- E 1259a--J 688a æplede gold
- E 1267a--1033a after fyrstmeorce
- E 1267b--636b forð gewitene
- E 1275a--see 711b in nedcleofan
- E 1276a--J 520a bream forþrycced
- E 1283a--C 525b dæda gehwylcra
- E 1285b--J 145b ær gespreccena
- E 1286a--267a bristra geþonca
- E 1288b--see 211a on widan feore
- E 1289a--C 785a, J 332b ofer sidne grund
- E 1292a--J 359a ond butan earfeðum
- E 1299a--J 211a awyrgeðe womsceaðan
- E 1301b--835a arleasra sceolu
- E 1302a--J 391a in gleda gripe
- E 1304a--see 291b wuldorcyninge
- E 1305b--C 562b in hellegrund
- E 1306a--568a torngeniðlan
- E 1321a--see 291b wuldorcyninges
- E 1321b--see 211a to widan feore

WHOLE-LINE FORMULAS

- F 63, E 364, 670, 852, hwæt we þæt gehyrdon / þurg halige
bec
- C 499b-500a, E 627b-628a him was geomor sefa / hat æt
heortan
- C 557, J 154 middangeardes / ond mægenbrymnes
- C 596, E 606 swa lif swa deað / swa him leofre bið

- C 610, E 897 to feorhnere / fira cynne
- C 660, 860 godes gæstsunu / ond us giefe sealde
- C 796, 836, E 745 fore onsyne / eces deman
- C 803, J 707 hwæt him æfter dædum / deman wille
- C 836, see C 796 fore onsyne / eces deman
- C 857, J 677 ærbon we to londe / geliden hæfdon
- C 860, C 660 godes gæstsunu / ond us giefe sealde
- J 132, E 574 ic be to soðe / secgan wille
- J 154, C 557 middangeardes / ond mægenbrymmes
- J 179, E 689 būton þu forlæte / þa leasinga
- J 183, E 893 à butan ende / ealle gesceafta
- J 203, 462 þonne ic nyde sceal / nipa gebæded
- J 462, J 203 þæt ic nyde sceal / nipa gebæded
- J 570, E 978 þær he hit for worulde / wendan mehte
- J 677, C 857 ærbon hy to lande / geliden hæfdon
- J 707; C 803 hwæt him æfter dædum / deman wille
- E 332, 404 Elene mabelode / ond for eorlum spræc
- E 364, see F 63 hwæt we þæt gehyrdon / þurh halige bec
- E 404, 332 Elene mabelode / ond for eorlum spræc
- E 418, 586 gidða gearosnotor / þam was Iudas nama
- E 574, J 132 ic eow to soðe / secgan wille
- E 586, 418 giddum gearusnottorne / þam was Iudas nama
- E 606, C 596 swa lif swa deað / swa þe leofre bið
- E 627b-628a, C 499b-500a him was geomor sefa / hat æt heortan
- E 670, see F 63 hwæt we þæt hyrdon / þurh halige bec
- E 678b-679a, 1010b-1011a Criste to willan / haleðum to helpe

- E 689, J 179 butan þu forlæte / þa leasunga
- E 745, see C 796 fore onsyne / eces deman
- E 852, see F 63 hwæt we þæt hyrdon / þurh halige bec
- E 893, J 183 a butan ende / eallra gesceafta
- E 897, C 610 to feorhnere / fira cynne
- E 978, J 570 þær hië hit for worulde / wendan meahton
- E 1010b-1011a, E 678b-679a Criste to willan / hæleðum to
helpe
- E 1012, 1224 gemeted was / mærost beama
- E 1224, 1012 gemeted was / mærost beama

APPENDIX B

PASSAGES CHARACTERIZED AS HIGH OR LOW IN FORMULAS

The criteria for determining passages high or low in formulas vary somewhat from poem to poem, as they are established in terms of the average distance between formulas (and the average varies from one formula in seven verses in Fates to one formula in four verses in Elene).

HIGH FORMULA CONTENT

A passage high in formulas begins and ends with at least one formula. The passage must contain at least four formulas (five for Elene), with none separated by more than the poem's average of non-formula verses.

Fates has 13% formulas, or approximately one verse in seven. A passage characterized as "high" in formulas has at least four formulas, with no more than six non-formula verses intervening between any two.

Christ II has 20% formulas, or approximately one formula for each five verses. Passages characterized as "high" have at least four formulas, with no more than four non-formula verses between any two formulas.

Juliana has 21% formulas, or approximately one formula for each five verses. The standards for "high" passages are the same as those for Christ II.

Elene has 25% formulas, or approximately one formula for each four verses. Because there are so many more formulas in this poem than in the others, I have established five as the minimum number of formulas in a passage characterized as "high." There can be no more than three non-formula verses between any two formulas.

LOW FORMULA CONTENT

The criteria for determining passages with low formula content also make use of the average number of formulas per

poem. To be included in this list, a passage must be at least three times the length of the average distance between formulas; it must begin and end with a non-formula passage at least one and a half times the average distance between formulas; and there must be at least the average number of non-formula verses before or after each formula (so a passage may include two formulas immediately adjacent, if the first is preceded by the average number of non-formula verses and the second is followed by them).

Fates has an average of 13% or one formula in seven verses. The passage must be at least twenty-one verses in length, beginning and ending with at least ten non-formula verses.

Christ II and Juliana have an average of 20% and 21% respectively, or about one formula in five verses. A "low" passage must be at least fifteen verses long, and must begin and end with at least seven non-formula verses.

Elene has an average of 25% or one formula in four verses. The "low" passages must be at least twelve verses long, and must begin and end with at least six non-formula verses.

HIGH FORMULA CONTENT

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
<u>Fates:</u>			
F 14a-22a	17	5	29%
F 27a-35a	17	6	35
F 52a-56b	10	5	50
F 63a-74a	23	6	26
F 115b-122b	15	5	33
<u>Christ II:</u>			
C 459b-469a	20	7	35%
C 499a-502b	8	5	63
C 519a-522b	8	4	50
C 532b-540a	16	8	50
C 544a-549a	11	6	55
C 557a-562b	12	5	42
C 569a-573b	10	6	60
C 596a-600a	9	5	56
C 655b-663b	17	7	41
C 713a-715a	6	5	83
C 778a-791a	27	11	41
C 821b-826b	11	4	36
C 830b-836b	13	5	38
C 857a-866b	19	9	47
<u>Juliana:</u>			
J 6b-10b	9	4	44%

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
J 56b-62a	12	4	33%
J 86b-102a	32	11	34
J 105a-112a	15	7	47
J 130a-137a	15	9	60
J 143b-154b	23	9	39
J 179a-184b	12	7	58
J 210a-213b	8	5	63
J 239b-243b	9	6	67
J 247b-251b	9	4	44
J 266a-273a	15	7	47
J 277b-281a	8	5	63
J 303b-310b	15	7	47
J 316a-323a	15	8	53
J 351b-360b	19	9	47
J 390b-394a	8	4	50
J 425b-429b	9	5	56
J 435b-441b	14	7	50
J 501b-503a	4	4	100
J 507b-510b	7	5	71
J 518b-523a	10	4	40
J 531b-535a	8	6	75
J 538b-540a	4	4	100
J 543b-549a	12	6	50
J 561a-566a	11	6	55
J 607b-615a	16	7	44
J 628a-631b	8	5	63

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
J 663b-668a	11	6	55%
J 691b-696b	11	6	55
J 722b-727b	11	5	45

Elene:

E 5a-9a	9	5	56%
E 15b-20a	10	6	60
E 125b-129b	9	5	56
E 143b-150a	14	7	50
E 178a-191a	27	12	44
E 203a-206b	8	6	75
E 221b-224b	7	5	71
E 287b-291b	9	5	56
E 311a-319b	18	6	33
E 343a-348a	11	5	45
E 376b-385a	18	9	50
E 390b-395a	10	7	70
E 402b-413a	22	11	50
E 416a-429a	27	12	44
E 438a-449a	23	10	43
E 452a-458b	14	7	50
E 472a-478a	13	5	38
E 480b-487a	14	7	50
E 558b-564a	12	6	50
E 604a-609a	11	5	45
E 630b-636b	13	5	38

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
E 661a-667a	13	8	62%
E 669b-676a	14	10	71
E 681b-686a	10	6	60
E 711b-720b	19	11	58
E 772b-781a	18	10	56
E 789b-801a	24	11	46
E 804a-810b	14	6	43
E 835a-842a	15	8	53
E 848a-855a	15	7	47
E 857b-862a	10	6	60
E 865b-869a	8	5	63
E 891b-898a	14	8	57
E 945b-954b	19	10	53
E 975b-979b	9	5	56
E 992b-999a	14	7	50
E 1010a-1018b	18	11	61
E 1045a-1049a	9	5	56
E 1052b-1057a	10	7	70
E 1074b-1078a	8	6	75
E 1083b-1090b	15	8	53
E 1093a-1111a	37	16	43
E 1123b-1128a	10	5	50
E 1146a-1152a	13	7	54
E 1188a-1191a	7	5	71
E 1195a-1207a	25	13	52
E 1220b-1224b	9	5	56

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
E 1301b-1306a	10	5	50%

LOW FORMULA CONTENT

Fates:

F 1a-13b	26	1	4%
F 35b-51b	33	2	6
F 74b-115a	82	2	2

Christ II:

C 444b-451b	15	0	0%
C 469b-491b	45	5	11
C 510a-518b	18	1	6
C 574a-595b	44	3	7
C 620b-648b	57	5	9
C 664a-689b	52	2	4
C 694b-712b	37	4	11
C 716a-725b	20	0	0
C 735b-745a	20	2	10
C 748a-758a	21	1	5
C 761a-771b	22	2	9
C 791b-801b	21	2	10
C 804a-813b	20	0	0
C 837a-844b	16	1	6

Juliana:

J 11a-24b	28	2	7%
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lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
J 40a-49a	19	2	11%
J 72b-86a	28	2	7
J 112b-129b	35	2	6
J 185a-195b	22	1	5
J 214a-225b	24	2	8
J 229a-239a	21	1	5
* J 281b-296b	31	2	6
J 366a-390a	49	3	6
J 394b-412a	36	2	6
J 457b-501a	88	5	6
J 511a-518a	15	0	0
J 523b-531a	16	0	0
* J 549b-560b	23	2	9
J 566b-575a	18	2	11
J 583b-603b	41	1	2
J 615b-627b	25	1	4
J 632a-639b	16	0	0
J 668b-686a	36	4	11
J 710b-722a	24	1	4
<u>Elene:</u>			
E 25b-36b	23	2	9%
E 82b-95b	28	2	7
E 111b-119a	16	0	0

* These passages include the two breaks in the manuscript.

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
E 130a-140b	22	1	5%
E 150b-168a	36	2	6
E 225a-246b	44	3	7
E 292a-310b	38	4	11
E 353b-363a	20	1	5
E 365a-371a	13	0	0
E 429b-437b	17	1	6
E 463b-471b	17	1	6
E 487b-501b	29	3	10
E 533a-554a	43	5	12
E 580b-590a	20	2	10
E 612b-618b	13	0	0
E 637a-654a	35	4	11
E 690a-697b	16	0	0
E 721a-734b	28	3	11
E 737b-750b	27	2	7
E 755b-772a	34	3	9
E 828b-834b	14	0	0
E 881b-891a	20	0	0
E 901a-916a	31	3	10
E 920b-930b	21	0	0
E 968b-975a	14	0	0
E 980a-989b	20	0	0
E 999b-1005b	12	0	0
E 1019a-1032b	28	3	11
E 1060b-1066a	12	0	0

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
E 1111b-1120a	18	0	0%
E 1152b-1159b	15	2	13
E 1172b-1187b	31	2	6
E 1210b-1220a	21	1	5
E 1225a-1274b	100	9	9
E 1277a-1282b	12	0	0
E 1292b-1298b	13	0	0
E 1306b-1320b	29	0	0

POEMS CONSIDERED INDEPENDENTLY

For those who may be interested in the clustering of formulas within individual poems (that is, determined by repetitions within single poems instead of within the group of four poems), the following tables indicate passages "high" or "low" in formulas with reference only to the individual poems.

HIGH FORMULA CONTENT

Fates--Omitted, since no formulas recur within it.

Christ II--9%, or approximately one formula for each eleven verses. The cluster must contain at least four formulas, with no more than seven non-formula verses intervening between any two formulas.

Juliana--11%, or approximately one formula for nine verses. A "high" passage contains at least four formulas, with no more than six non-formula verses between any two formulas.

Elene--19%, or approximately one formula in each five verses. The passage must contain at least five formulas, with no more than four non-formula verses between any two formulas.

	lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
<u>Christ II</u> only:				
C 544a-549a		11	5	45%
C 707a-714b		16	4	25
C 787a-791a		9	4	44
C 845a-852b		16	4	25
C 860a-866a		13	4	31
<u>Juliana</u> only:				
J 90b-100a		20	6	30%
J 105a-107a		5	4	80
J 130a-136a		13	6	46
J 143b-152a		18	5	28
J 158a-162a		19	5	56
J 267a-272b		12	4	33
J 316b-322a		12	5	42
J 360a-365b		12	4	33
J 425b-329b		9	4	44
J 335a-339b		10	5	50
J 609b-615a		12	5	42
<u>Elene</u> only:				
E 2b-9a		14	6	43%
E 54b-62a		16	5	31
E 125b-129b		9	5	56
E 141a-150a		19	8	42
E 184b-191a		14	6	43
E 203a-206b		8	5	63

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
E 322b-337a	30	11	37%
E 371b-385a	28	11	39
E 402b-413a	22	11	50
E 416a-429a	27	11	41
E 438a-435b	16	8	50
E 452b-463a	22	10	45
E 481a-487a	13	5	38
E 555b-564a	18	8	44
E 630b-636b	13	5	38
E 658b-685a	54	21	39
E 711b-720b	19	8	42
E 774b-780b	13	8	62
E 835a-842a	15	7	47
E 848a-862a	29	12	41
E 990a-999a	19	7	37
E 1010a-1018a	17	10	59
E 1052b-1057a	10	6	60
E 1069b-1078a	18	9	50
E 1095b-1103a	16	7	44
E 1195a-1204b	20	11	55

LOW FORMULA CONTENT

Fates--Omitted, since no formulas recur within it.

Christ II--The passage must be at least thirty-three verses long, beginning and ending with at least sixteen non-formula verses.

Juliana--The passage must be at least twenty-seven verses

long, beginning and ending with at least thirteen non-formula verses.

Eleng--The passage must be at least fifteen verses long, beginning and ending with at least seven non-formula verses.

	lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
<u>Christ II only:</u>				
C 441a-461a		41	1	2%
C 466a-484a		37	1	3
C 562a-643a		163	4	2
C 664a-706b		86	3	3
C 715a-731b		34	0	0
C 752a-786b		70	2	3
C 797a-813b		34	0	0
<u>Juliana only:</u>				
J 2a-24b		46	1	2%
J 51a-66b		32	1	3
J 71b-86a		30	1	3
J 107b-129b		45	2	4
J 204a-217a		27	1	4
J 229a-242a		27	0	0
J 279a-297a		37	1	3
J 327b-340b		27	0	0
J 366a-390a		49	2	4
J 399a-425a		53	1	2
J 440a-455a		31	0	0
J 463a-501b		78	3	4
J 511a-531a		41	2	5

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
J 547b-603b	113	4	4%
J 632a-652b	42	1	2
J 673b-696a	46	2	4
<u>Elene only:</u>			
E 25b-36b	23	2	9%
E 38a-51b	28	3	11
E 62b-97b	71	5	7
E 111b-125a	28	2	7
E 130a-140b	22	1	5
E 155b-172b	35	2	6
E 225a-246b	44	3	7
E 250b-259b	19	2	11
E 292a-299a	15	1	7
E 353b-363a	20	1	5
E 429b-437b	17	1	6
E 463b-471b	17	0	0
E 491b-501b	21	0	0
E 505b-515a	20	0	0
E 533a-550a	35	3	9
E 573b-619a	92	8	9
E 637a-650b	28	2	7
E 685b-704b	39	2	5
E 721a-750b	60	4	7
E 755b-774b	38	1	3
E 781a-789a	17	0	0

lines	number of verses	formulas	percentage
E 801b-825b	49	3	6%
E 881b-892b	23	0	0
E 898b-942b	89	3	4
E 968a-989b	44	2	5
E 1018b-1032b	29	3	10
E 1110b-1125b	31	1	3
E 1128b-1135b	15	0	0
E 1152b-1160a	16	2	13
E 1172b-1187b	31	2	6
E 1205a-1220a	31	1	3
E 1225a-1301a	153	10	7
E 1306b-1320b	29	0	0

APPENDIX C
CONCORDANCE

Word and line references in this concordance are to ASPR, although the concordance was originally compiled with the aid of the glossaries in Cook's edition of Christ, Woolf's edition of Juliana, and Gradon's edition of Elene.

"Æ" is treated throughout as a distinct letter, following "a." Words beginning with "þ" and "ð" are spelled with the common initial letter of "p." Proper names and runes follow the complete list of words. Square brackets around a number indicate that the word has been added to that line by Krapp and Dobbie (see a, E 1277). Emended forms are indicated by an asterisk preceding the line number (see asecgan, J 313). Some manuscript forms, omitted in ASPR because replaced by an emendation, are indicated by an "x" before the number (see asengan, J 313).

Since this list is intended as a concordance rather than a glossary, the English equivalents of words are given only when they are necessary to distinguish words which are spelled alike (since length of vowels is not indicated in this list, there are a number of words that appear to be the same though they are distinct).

The following words are omitted from the list, primarily to keep the concordance a reasonable length: beon, he, ge, ic, ond, se, pa, pe, þær, þæt, þes, þonne.

A.

- a F 120. C 582, 756.
J 183. E 743, 801, 893,
895, 1028, 1081, 1256;
[1277].
- abannan E 34.
- abeodan E 87, 1003.
- ablendan J 469.
- abreotan E 510.
- ac F 19, 34. C 477, 707.
J 85, 153, 385, 388, 393.
E 222, 355, 450, 469, 493,
569, 1304.
- acennan C 444, 452. E 5,
178, 339, 639, 775, 815.
- acigan E 603.
- geaclian J 268. E 57,
1128.
- acol J 586, 706.
- acwellan J 303.
- acwepan C 474, 714. J 45,
143, 631, 640. E 1071.
- acyrran J 139, 411.
E 1119.
- ad J 580. E 585, 950,
1290.
- adreogan E 705, 1291.
- afedan E 913.
- afon J 320.
- afyrhtan E 56.
- agalan J 615. E 27, 342.
- agalan C 816. J 397.
- agan (possess) F 115.
C 598. J 44, 518, 646,
658. E 356, 725, 1123,
1181.
- agan (depart) E 1226.
- agangan E 1.
- agen C 465, 532, 572.
E 179, 422, 599, 1076.
- agend C 471, 513, 543.
J 223.
- agiefan J 105, 117, 130,
147, 159, 175, 319, 529.
E 167, 455, 462, 545,
587, 619, 662.
- aglæca J 268, 319, 430.
E 901.
- ahebban C 502, 658, 692.
J 4, 228. E 10, 17, 29,
112, 353, 482, 723, 837,
843, 861, 867, 878, 884,
975.
- ahlyhhan J 189.
- ahladan C 568.
- ahon F 41. J 228, 305,
309. E 180, 205, 210,
445, 453, 475, 671, 687,
718, 797, 933, 1075.
- ahwyrfan J 327, 360.
- ahyldan J 171.
- ahyðan E 41.
- aladan J 670.
- alatan J 477, 483.
- alwiht C 687.
- aldor (life) F 17, 36, 43.
C 479, 690. J 124, 500,
504, 646. E 132, 349.

571, 1217.
 aldor (prince) J 153, 329,
 448. E 97, 157.
 aldordom E 767.
 alesan E 286, 380.
 alysan C 718. J 612.
 E 181.
 amen J 731. E 1321.
 amerian E 1312.
 ametan E 729, 1247.
 an F 79, 93, 110. C 567,
 683, 685. J 69, 104,
 155, 359, 562, 626, 712.
 E 417, 585, 599, 1287.
 anbid E 884.
 anboren C 618. E 392.
 ancenned C 464.
 ancor C 863. E 252.
 anda E 969.
 andsæc C 655. E 472.
 andswaru J 105, 117, 130,
 147, 175, 319. E 166,
 318, 375, 455, 462, 567,
 642, 662, 1001.
 answerian E 396.
 andweard E 630.
 andweardlice E 1140.
 andwlita E 298.
 andwyrde E 545, 619.
 anforlutan J 502. E 630,
 946.

anga J 95.
 anhaga E 604.
 anhydig E 828, 847.
 anmod E 396, 1117.
 annes J 727.
 anræd J 90, 601.
 apostolhad F 14.
 apundrian E 581.
 ar (messenger) C 493, 503,
 595, 759. J 276. E 76,
 87, 95, 737, 980, 995,
 1006, 1087.
 ar (grace) J 81, 715.
 E 308, 714.
 arasian J 587.
 aræran J 498. E 129, 803,
 886.
 areccan J 314. E 635.
 arfæst E 12, 512.
 arisan F 56. C 467.
 E 187, 486, 802, 887.
 arleas J 4. E 835, 1301.
 arwyrpe E 1128.
 asalan E 1243.
 asceadan E 470, 1313.
 ascyrian E 1313.
 asecean E 407, 1018.
 asecgan J *313, 494.
 asengan J x313.
 aseopan E 1308.

asettan F 111. J 231.
E 846, 862, 876, 997.

aspyrigan E 467.

astigan C 702, 720, 727,
737, 786, 866. J 62.
E 188, 794, 899, 1272.

asundrian E 1309.

aswebban F 69. J 603.

attor C 768. J 471.

atydran E 1279.

apreotan E 368.

apum J 65.

awa F 99. C 479. E 950.

aweallan C 625.

aweaxan E 1225.

aweccan F 55. E 304, 781,
926, 945.

aweorpan E 762, 770.

awer E 33.

awreccan C 633.

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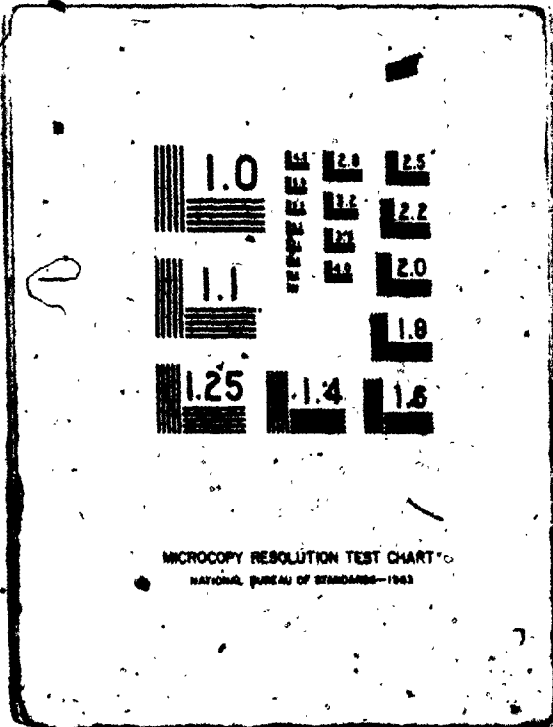
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