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# Aspects Of Evil In Five Metrical Old English Saints' Lives

Brian Arthur Shaw

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their power to harm the saint seems diminished from what it had been in the Greek version of the story. Here Satan no longer boasts that he has been responsible for Christ's death, and the whole encounter between the forces of hell and the imprisoned saint is made more succinct, with the result that the Old English prose version tends to focus more on Andrew's power and the ease with which he can defeat the devil and overcome the illwill of the forces which seek to destroy the saint:

Ðæt deofol þa genam mid him oþre seofon deoflo,  
þa þe [se] haliga Andreas þanon afliemde, and  
ingangende on þæt carcern hie gestodon on gesihþe  
þæs eadigan Andreas, and hine bismriende mid  
myclere bismre, and hie cwædon, "Hwæt is þæt þu  
her gemetest? hwilc gefreolseð þe nu of urum ge-  
wealde? hwar is þin gilp and þin hiht?" Ðæt  
deofol þa cwæð to þam oðrum deoflum, "Mine bearn,  
acwellað hine, forþon he us gescende and ure weorc."  
þa deofla þa blæstan hie ofer þone halgan Andreas,  
and hie gesawon Cristes rode-tacen on his onsiene;  
hi ne dorston hine genealæcan, ac hraðe hie on  
weg flugon.<sup>11</sup>

The devils confess their impotence, suggest that Satan himself slay Andrew, and when Andrew affirms his desire to do Christ's will, all the devils take flight.

It would seem that the author of the Blickling version of the story is concerned to maintain the two roles of Satan, that of tempter and tormentor, but at the same time wishes to diminish the power of the devil in this redaction of the story. While it might be argued that the reason why this happens is that the author is telling the same story in fewer words, yet the effect is to negate, as far as possible, the power of the devil and to portray

separation, but suggests a solution to the problems of death. Here the saint is initially an exile, the inheritor of the sins of Adam and Eve. But by fulfilling his role of teacher, the saint can also prepare men for the ultimate reconciliation, apotheosis to the New Jerusalem. Thus the evils of the devils and their society may ultimately be transcended.

ASPECTS OF EVIL IN FIVE  
METRICAL OLD ENGLISH  
SAINTS' LIVES

by  
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Department of English

*orig*

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Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Western Ontario  
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## ABSTRACT

Critics confidently speak of the Old English saints' lives as though these works constituted a genre with readily defined conventions. In fact, the saints' legends represented in The Exeter Book and The Vercelli Book have only a few features in common. Juliana is the only one which has the element of martyrdom as a central feature. Andreas deals primarily with the rescue of Matthew from the cannibals and the conversion of the Mermedonians. Elene treats the problems of the establishment of faith through divine intervention. Guthlac A details the inward reaffirmation of faith for the saint as he confronts the onslaught of devils who attack his commitment to the holy life. Guthlac B follows from Guthlac A and demonstrates how the saint acts as teacher in spreading the ideals of faith to another individual. Common to all five saints' legends, however, is the treatment of two clearly related problems. In each poem the author deals with the function of the devil and demonstrates how hatred of God can pervert the social order. It is the saint's confrontation with the varieties of evil, both demonic and social, that helps the reader form a better understanding of the saint's role in the individual legend.

Juliana easily overcomes the devil in prison and forces him to confess his evils; then she dismisses him to Hell. She thus reenacts the central episode of the Harrowing of Hell. While she makes converts, the wicked rulers of earth seem to triumph in her death, but Hell claims these evil men. Andrew's demonic adversary is both tempter and tormentor. Andrew's faith overcomes the devil, and is able to release Mermedonia from bondage to Hell. Central to this is Andrew's rehearsal of history to justify his own mission. In Elene, the devils' historically attested control over men is about to be challenged. Elene offers to the Jews a second chance to reject evil; she forces the representatives of the old order to reconsider the past and accept the validity of Christ's mission. Armed with this new knowledge, the people can work towards the new order on earth. In Guthlac A, the saint's response to social evils is to reject them through withdrawal; the didactic purpose of the life is not merely to advocate this solution. Withdrawal is seen simply as a metaphor for man's ability to pursue a better course of life. The devil misunderstands the saint's purpose and attacks him through "egsa" and "idel wuldor" in an attempt to lure the saint back to earthly concerns. Guthlac recognizes the inherent ability of men to learn from evil, rather than be defeated by it. He becomes the builder of God and establishes the visible token of divine purpose on earth. Guthlac B relies heavily on images of

separation, but suggests a solution to the problems of death. Here the saint is initially an exile, the inheritor of the sins of Adam and Eve. But by fulfilling his role of teacher, the saint can also prepare men for the ultimate reconciliation, apotheosis to the New Jerusalem. Thus the evils of the devils and their society may ultimately be transcended.



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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

In many respects, Emile Mâle's statement regarding art holds true for literature, for he notes the importance of the saint in everyday life of the middle ages: "One gets the impression that the world in the ninth and tenth centuries was inhabited by saints. . . . The saints form a spiritual chain reaching from St. Louis to the apostles, and from them through the patriarchs and prophets to Abel, the first of the just."<sup>1</sup> Interest in hagiography must have been high among the Anglo-Saxons, for of the thirty-odd thousand lines of poetry to survive, over five thousand deal directly with saints.<sup>2</sup> The saints' legends thus occupy a prominent place in the corpus of Old English verse, but only recently have they begun to receive anything like the attention that they seem to merit.

Earlier critics of the Old English poetic saints' legends were often less than generous in their evaluation of this body of literature. One of the earliest of these, in dealing with the author<sup>3</sup> of two of the five saints' legends, notes: "In such adaptation of his material Cynewulf reveals, I submit, no mean poetic ability. In the larger matters of construction as well as in the power

and beauty of his phrasing he shows a mastery that cannot be regarded as wholly due to chance. He was artist as well as inspired singer. To be sure, he sometimes fell into absurdities. . . . Moreover, he did not always make his meaning clear."<sup>4</sup> Thus, while some early critics saw the saints' legends as having much to recommend them, there were others who lamented the lack of unity. Often, of course, early critics tended to apply artistic criteria which would not necessarily be those of the authors of the period. Typical of this approach is the following:

We have found that [Juliana, Elene, and Andreas] . . . have the unity that lies in the single action with its beginning, its middle, and its end. The single action is developed in each case according to the common structural plan of the drama with a central climax. But in each case the admission of digressive or subordinate material tends to destroy the unity of the main action. The Juliana and the Andreas devote much space to digression. And the Elene includes, besides a rather long digression, a useless subordinate action.<sup>5</sup>

Negative evaluation of the poetry is not necessarily confined to early critics. A much more modern comment shows little sympathy with the material: "Cynewulf's Juliana holds little to attract the modern reader. . . . The poem shows no artistic merits, and her long discourse with the devil who visits her in prison is pretty dull despite much of its colourful language."<sup>6</sup> But these same two critics do allow that saints' legends, despite their drawbacks, accomplish their function: "But this stress on miracles and the supernatural has an important part to play by

providing a setting in which the saints' saintliness may shine forth. . . . Equally well the miracles demonstrate in concrete fashion how God can intervene for those who love Him. These stories are not history."<sup>7</sup> If, indeed, "these stories are not history," then some critics have attempted to evaluate just where their merits lie. Stanley B. Greenfield puts to rest once for all the notion that the saints' legends are simply secular motifs treated in a religious fashion: "The relation between the Germanic secular hero and the Anglo-Saxon saint as the latter appears in the Old English Christian epic has for the most part been oversimplified. This Christian epic hero has been viewed as garbed in the borrowed robes, or rather armour, of his Germanic counterpart. . . . Old English poetic saints' lives are not just Christian themes treated in the spirit of secular heroic poetry."<sup>8</sup>

More recent criticism has focused on certain areas of concern, which may be broadly summarized as Sources and Analogues, Style, Structure, and Themes or Motifs. In the following, it will be possible to give a very brief summary of the scope and nature of only some of the growing body of criticism dealing with the various saints' legends. The categories are, of course, arbitrary, and many articles and book-length studies do not fit neatly into one single compartment.

## Sources and Analogues

Elene, Juliana, Andreas, and Guthlac B are recognized as having sources from which the poets drew their primary material. One critic has noted the "public" nature of the narrative in Juliana, so that the artistry of Cynewulf moves in directions of abstraction. To accomplish this, Cynewulf omits repetitive details and heightens certain patterns found only minimally developed in the original (for example, the contrasts involved in the three fathers, the three emperors, and the three torments) so that the ironic perspective between earthly and heavenly values becomes more central.<sup>9</sup> James Rosier deals with Guthlac B and Felix's Life of St. Guthlac, arguing that the Old English poet reorganized the episodes of the source to focus attention on the central motif of the separation of body and soul and elaborated the brief allusions in the Latin into a transitional passage which is a crucial point of the Old English poem.<sup>10</sup> A third critic deals with the changes that Cynewulf makes in the treatment of the source for his Elene, so that the cross emerges as an emblem affecting Constantine, Judas, and the poet himself in the spheres of the temporal and ecclesiastical, and on three levels, the conflict between God and Satan, between two hostile clans, and within the heart of the poet. Cynewulf's changes from the original are all made to maintain these structural contrasts.<sup>11</sup>

The saints' legends have proven to owe certain

ideas to patristic literature. In two brief notes on Andreas, Thomas Hill traces the significance of "alfale" back to the "draco malitiae" of patristic teaching. Also, Hill points out that the poet reshapes one passage (ll. 505-509) of Andreas to reflect the "puer-senex" motif, so that the poet can "emphasize the perceptivity of Andreas, who is able to recognize the transcendent wisdom of God, even when He seems to be a man among men."<sup>12</sup> In a well argued essay, James Cross cites patristic sources for the idea of the old age of man as parallel to the old age of earth, a motif that is explored in Guthlac A.<sup>13</sup> Yet another critic examines what is implied in the idea of cannibalism, and notes that patristic sources view cannibalism as a punishment, rather than a sin, since cannibalism results from the rejection of God's agents.<sup>14</sup> Many critics have puzzled over the "meoduscerwen" of Andreas. Joseph Trahern provides an answer to this crux through his examination of sapiential literature. His study allows him to propose an interesting solution to the problem: "The bloodthirsty cannibals, like Grendel, are deprived of their usual drink through the intercession of Andreas and then are given a biter beorpegu . . . which is therefore doubly ironic--it is bitter because it is salty and it is bitter because it is water! . . . But those who repent, as the metaphor comes full circle, are reborn as New Men through the revivifying waters of God's grace."<sup>15</sup>

Some of the small but puzzling references in

Andreas can also be explained by reference to commonplaces of medieval Christianity. For example, the references to Joshua and Tobias in the poem (ll. 1513-1517) can be explained, since litanies of the period have the names of these two closely connected with Moses. The reference to these two in the poem follows the mention of Moses' receipt of the ten commandments. This, in its turn, follows the mention of the pillars (l. 1493). Pillars remind the poet of the Old Law and Moses; Moses is a type of Christ, and the relation between Christ and Joshua and Tobias is a commonplace (found, among other places, in Isidore of Seville). Thus the text does not have to be emended to account for Joshua and Tobias, who do not appear in the source.<sup>16</sup> References to patristic literature also allow for a wider interpretation of the poetry. The concepts of heat and cold in Elene and Andreas derive from patristic lore, especially the Moralia in Job. Here the idea occurs that heat and cold represent charity and sin, while Augustine pushed the metaphor further, so that heat and cold expressed the relationship between charity and sin as well as expressing their polarity. This nexus of ideas accounts for the description of Judas in terms of heat at the discovery of the cross (l. 935) and of the Mermedonians in terms of cold as they debate Andrew's fate (l. 138 f.).<sup>17</sup> In an even more interesting article, Hill again argues the relevance of Christian literature in appreciating the texture of Andreas. The episode of the flood in Andreas does



not function in literal terms. More than a sign is needed to convert the Mermedonians, and the flood acts as a typological episode. The flood in Andreas recalls Noah's flood, and this flood shows both God's justice and His mercy. But the flood also prefigures the final baptism by fire. Andrew's calling off the flood, as he comes from prison, recalls Moses leading the Israelites through the Red Sea, yet another prefiguration of baptism. As Andrew summons back to life the youth killed in the flood, he alludes to the Pauline theme of the death of the Old Man so that the New might live. Thus the miracle of the flood in Andreas and the events that surround this miracle have a typological significance.<sup>18</sup>

The problem of the relation between Beowulf and Andreas has often been noted. But critics are not unanimous in assuming that the mere repetition in Andreas of phrases from Beowulf constitutes a proven case of analogy. One critic, Peters, maintains that we should not see Andreas as a Christianized Beowulf. He notes that there are at least one hundred and forty-five significant words or phrases common to both poems, but of these seventy-two are of high enough frequency of repetition elsewhere to discount direct borrowing. Furthermore, he notes that the situations and incidents common to Andreas and Beowulf are also to be found in the Greek version, which probably closely parallels the source used for the composition of Andreas. Even those words or phrases which occur in

Beowulf and in Andreas, but seem peculiar in the context of the saint's life (such as "heah ond horngeap", l. 668), are, in fact, very few in number and can scarcely be meaningful.<sup>19</sup> Lumiansky also attempts to argue that the occurrence of the mead-serving in Andreas is justified, since it neatly parallels and complements the phrase "symbeldæge" (l. 1527), especially because the emphasis of the poem is on the prevention of cannibalism among the Mermedonians, and the poet is gloating about the ironic triumph of good over evil.<sup>20</sup>

#### Style

While some critics have examined Andreas and Beowulf to note the similarities in diction, David Hamilton has used Beowulf as the best example of Old English epic and heroic tradition in order to evaluate the role of Andrew as saint. He notes the significance of the Andreas-poet's insistence on straightforward narration as opposed to the Beowulf-poet's examination of the ever widening historical and genealogical allusions.<sup>21</sup> Arthur G. Brodeur also addresses himself to the problem of whether the Andreas-poet knew Beowulf. Brodeur dismisses Peters' treatment of the question, and maintains that the similarities between the two poems are significant enough to allow us to assume that the Andreas-poet actually borrowed from Beowulf. Proceeding on this assumption, Brodeur examines how the Andreas-poet effectively used these borrowings and

maintains that the artistry of Andreas, even judged against the signed poems of Cynewulf, is considerably higher than many are willing to concede.<sup>22</sup> Words and phrases that occur in Beowulf and elsewhere in the saints' legends can, as Larry Sklute argues, be mutually illuminating. The term "peace-weaver" occurs in Elene and in Beowulf, and is usually interpreted in Beowulf as involving marriage. But the term also is applied to the angel delivering the message to Constantine in Elene. Thus Sklute concludes that the "freoðuwebbe" acts through proper conduct as a weaver of peace, not just as a physical token or as a convenient marriage object.<sup>23</sup>

General criticism of the style of the saints' legends as a genre tends to be sparse. In a provocative article, James Earl attempts to define one reason why saints' stories are often generalized. Noting the difficulties of applying the moral interpretation to historical events, Earl suggests that the saints' legends rely on the "ethical imperative" implied in the typological reading of history. Hagiography is the attempt to draw the "moralia" into this structure so that the individual can be seen as a subfulfillment of Christ. For the hagiographer, historical or particularized events must take second place to the generalized view of events where the moral interpretation can, in fact, be a dominant concern.<sup>24</sup> A more detailed analysis of Old English saints' lives can be found in Thomas Shippey's recent book dealing with Old English

literature. Shippey accepts the idea that Andreas shows many borrowings from Beowulf, and says that one thing that makes Andreas so interesting is the way in which the poet adapts his story to the military mode of poetry and copes with the inherent limitations. Shippey maintains that the poet is not always successful, for there really is no sense of spiritual warfare, despite the use of the vocabulary of the military epic early in the poem (e.g. ll. 7-11). Similarly, reliance on the style established in Beowulf accounts for the poet's habit of describing emotional states first and then narrating the actions which have caused these emotions. Yet a third kind of stylistic device explored in Shippey's book is the "type-scene" and the stock speech. Especially interesting to Shippey are the speeches which deal with the concepts implied by "beot" and "þearf," since the poet often uses these to detail and define the past, especially as the events are seen in relation to "wyrd." Since the apostle's greatest weapon is recorded history, the Andreas-poet manipulates the style so that a structure of the emergence of light from darkness can be explored in Andreas. The writers of Old English saints' legends face a different kind of problem in the Guthlac poems, for there the action is turned essentially inward. The saint's role is no longer that of the warrior turned into the hunter of men's souls, but is to be measured by his success in resisting tyrants. The poets of the Guthlac poems are faced with

the composition of material wherein the purpose of the life is to serve as revelation itself. Shippey also argues that Juliana and Elene are closer to the structural concerns of Andreas, for in these two poems the conflict is again externalized, as the focus of these two poems is on the active encounter between good and evil. The changes made by Cynewulf in his handling of his sources are those which allow him to heighten this conflict, especially as it can be explored in the conflict of darkness and mystery as opposed to the "searching power of wisdom."<sup>25</sup>

#### Structure

One problem that critics face in dealing with poetry which, at times, is heavily indebted to a source is to discover just how much of the structure imposed by the artist is conscious and how much is simply fortuitous. Kenneth Sisam represents one extreme viewpoint on this problem. Suggesting that Beowulf proves that the Anglo-Saxons were poor story tellers, Sisam maintains that any semblance of structure in Cynewulf's saints' legends is owing to the Latin originals. Sisam sees Elene as basically smooth-flowing narrative, but gives the credit for this to the source. Additions by Cynewulf tend only to mar this structural simplicity. Also, meaningful repetition of ideas can be questioned, since this habit of repetition derives from the pre-literate period and was used at that time to "dilute" the sense so that ideas

could be hammered in by vigorous repetition. The implication of Sisam's remarks would be to negate any structural patterns based on meaningful repetitions, since the very idea of a meaningful repetition is, in essence, untenable.<sup>26</sup>

At the other extreme are critics who maintain that Old English verse is very highly structured, often according to a numerical model. Among these is Robert Stevick, who goes so far as to propose for Andreas "a schema . . . to represent an arithmetically computed plan for the length of the principal sections (or fitts) as well as the length of the complete poem. If this schema should be accepted as representing the poet's plan for the larger quantitative features of the verse narrative, then Andreas will be the second lengthy poem in Old English recognized to have an arithmetically based structure. The other one is Beowulf."<sup>27</sup> Stevick very elaborately diagrams a schema of the poem based principally on the "moduli" of twelve, thirteen, and fifteen. Earl Anderson deals with the structure of Elene, and uses the manuscript divisions as the basis of his argument, pointing out that the poetry contained in The Vercelli Book was copied out by one scribe who put fitt numbers for Elene, but did not include them in Andreas. Thus the fitt numbers would seem to be authorial, rather than scribal. Taking fitts seven and eight as intermediary, Anderson postulates a structure in which fitts one through six are parallel, in reverse order, to fitts fourteen through nine. Anderson also argues, in

direct opposition to Sisam's point of view, that Cynewulf's changes from his source are made to enhance the structure of the poem, and that these changes do not destroy the only hope that the poem has for a sense of order and unity, namely, a strict adherence to the artistry and order supplied by the Latin.<sup>28</sup>

Varda Fish examines Cynewulf's Elené and views the poem as a triptych, each section of which has its own climax of conversion. These deal with the transformation from "littera" to "spiritus." The first of the three panels of the triptych concerns the description of the state of affairs in such a way as to suppress thoughts and feelings in favour of straightforward narration. The second panel deals with the concept of the soul as seen through the limitations of the Old Law and through the fulfilled New Law. The third panel treats conversion, especially as the conversion is transformed through artistry. The letter becomes infused with the spirit, and poetry is revealed as the means of penetrating into the depth of the spirit.<sup>29</sup> Daniel G. Calder, on the other hand, sees Elené as falling into four parts. This interesting article sees the four sections as the battle between Constantine and the Huns, Elené's journey to Jerusalem, the encounter between Elené and the Jews, and finally the author's confession. These four parts are all patterned on the threefold plan of strife, revelation, and conversion.<sup>30</sup> In a joint article, Stepsis and Rand deal with

the contrasts of Elenē, contrasts which account for the structure of the poem. At its most simple level, the poem divides into the dichotomy of light and darkness. This basic division extends through multiple levels of the poem, and finds its solution in the cross, a symbol both of Christ and His dual nature. This basic contrast between light and darkness is announced in the "prologue" of the poem (Constantine's vision) and is developed so that the moral implications of the metaphor become clear, and light can come to dark minds. The metaphoric movement from darkness to light affects all characters in the poem. These two critics also point out that this well developed movement is present in the poem, but not in the Latin original.<sup>31</sup> Thomas Hill neatly blends external materials with his observations on the manuscript divisions to propose a numerical symbolism for Guthlac B. Citing the traditional symbolism connected with the number seven as it is applied both to the week and the course of the human life, Hill maintains that Guthlac's passion is based on this number. The manuscript of the poem is divided into seven sections, but Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac (chapter 50), upon which the poem is based, shows no such divisions. Hill sees a pattern of eight complementing this pattern of seven. The number eight is the number that symbolizes Guthlac's entry into heaven, just as it also is applicable to Christ's resurrection.<sup>32</sup>

Addressing himself to the structure of Guthlac A,



Laurence K. Shook has advanced the theory that the poem is to be seen as consisting of three parts. Father Shook proposes a reading of the text that is at variance with the traditional interpretations. He glosses the word "mos" (l. 274) as "bog" rather than "food." Also, Shook would let the manuscript reading of "Guðlace" (l. 182) stand in place of the usual emendation to "Guðlacs."

These readings of the text support Shook's contention that the poem's focus is on the transience of earthly things in opposition to the stability of heaven. Shook's reading of the poem brings this dichotomy into a much sharper focus, and the emphasis on the theme of transience and stability is one not found in the Latin version of Guthlac's life. Also lacking in the Vita Guthlaci is the idea that the devils gained respite on the burial mound. This latter observation on the relation between the Latin and the Old English versions is the basis for Shook's argument that Guthlac A reflects two ancient themes. On the one hand, there seems to be reference to the materials dealing with the interpretation of the biblical allusion to the angels and daughters of men and, secondly, references to the motif of the occasional reprieve from hell's torments. These notions that the devils sometimes had respite are found in such visionary literature as the Visio Sancti Pauli.<sup>33</sup> Frances R. Lipp acknowledges the work of Father Shook, but questions some of his conclusions. She maintains that the poem's major purpose is not to present a

typical saint's legend, but to focus on one aspect of the genre, namely the ethical teachings. The journey motif is crucial to this concern, and Lipp sees the poem as falling into five separate phases. These are: introduction (ll. 1-92); exposition (ll. 93-232); debates (ll. 233-403); temptations (ll. 404-732); and fruits of victory (ll. 733-818). The middle three sections are of great importance. The "exposition" lays the foundation for the thematic development, and treatment of God's love for man. The "debates" serve to strengthen the concept of the love of God for man as opposed to the arguments advanced by the devils. The "temptations" section relies on the two journeys of the saint and the symbolic suggestions of these journeys, since they prove that God is ready to aid all humanity.<sup>34</sup>

Most critics tend to focus on the Guthlac poems separately. Daniel Calder examines both poems together to see how they are organized in order to explore different aspects of one central problem. Considering the medieval scribal habit of compiling materials on principles that often seem idiosyncratic, Calder explores the problem of whether both poems together might constitute a single account of the saint's life and death. Even if this case may be argued, Calder sees fundamental differences between the two works:

By examining the formal features of these narratives--the prologues and their ritual actions--we discover that the two works embody entirely

different symbolic modes. Both modes approach or resemble allegory: Guthlac A derives its symbolism not only from traditional Christian interpretations of the desert saint, but also from the psychomachia; Guthlac B does not depend on any other literary genre, but draws directly on the symbolism of Christian typology.<sup>35</sup>

Calder examines both poems in terms of "prologue," "ritual action," and "symbolic modes." Despite the fact that the compiler of The Exeter Book seems to have seen these two poems as complementary, since they both deal with similar problems, Calder concludes that the poems treat these problems in profoundly different ways: "Still, as literary works they are distinct, and they serve as paradigms for a large corpus of Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry."<sup>36</sup>

From a brief survey of the opinions concerning structural principles of the saints' legends, it becomes apparent that there is no ready consensus. The same is true for the next category of investigation as well.

#### Themes and Motifs

David Hamilton argues that food is a major theme in Andreas. He further points out that two major devices employed by the Andreas-poet are verbal repetition and dramatic irony. For example, the four pledges by Andrew to venture his life (ll. 174; 216; 281; 430) remind the reader of phrases such as "sweord beran," so that the verbal repetitions of Andreas become, ironically, a statement that the saint's life is his weapon. An even more complex pattern is employed in the numerous repetitions of

images of food and drink, including reference to the poisonous drink given to prisoners and the very cannibalism of the Mermedonians. This is thematically related to the language of the dialogue between Andrew and the pilot. Thus these ideas are expanded into the larger concern of spiritual hunger and spiritual refreshment. By reference to Beowulf, Hamilton is able to suggest that the repetitions and ironic statements of Andreas are designed to heighten this metaphoric understanding of the poem.<sup>37</sup> A similar metaphorical reading of the text, but on a much smaller scale, focuses on the concept of the island in Andreas. Oliver Grosz argues that the physical locality of Mermedonia is really not important. The island in Andreas is more a symbol of the religious exile's absolute alienation from the world of physical concerns. The island in the poem is thus parallel to Matthew's physical imprisonment.<sup>38</sup>

Donald K. Fry approaches the analysis of Elene by examining themes and type-scenes in Cynewulf's poem. Fry describes a type-scene as the stereotyped presentation of details which recur and are conventional in nature. These details are connected with a narrative event, but are not necessarily verbatim, nor do they find expression in a specific set of formulae. A theme is less restrictive, since it is not necessarily confined to an event, but does provide the details or ideas that form the structure necessary for an action or description. Type-scenes can

be linked by various passages to form a narrative. One such type-scene is the approach to battle, and this particular type-scene occurs three times in the opening passage of Elene (at lines 19-41a; 41b-68; and 105-113). Part of the approach to battle type-scene is the repetition of the motif of the three beasts of battle, the wolf, the eagle, and the raven; these appear with the winner before the battle and feast on the losers afterwards. It is here that Cynewulf demonstrates his artistry by splitting up the beasts between the two opposing camps in the first two type-scenes. After Constantine's vision, the third repetition of the type-scene occurs, but this time the beasts are all with the Romans. Thus by using the type-scene skilfully, Cynewulf moves from a sense of uncertainty to a feeling of the assuredness of the outcome of events.<sup>39</sup>

Another theme explored in saints' legends is that of the role of the saint in winning converts to the new religion. Catherine Regan deals with this topic in her article on Elene. Regan points out that there are two important concepts at work in the poem, kerygma (the Gospel message) and didache (the moral interpretation of kerygma). Elene's didache involves her in the catechesis (instruction for baptism) of Judas. While modern readers often find Elene's treatment of Judas harsh, the reason for this treatment is that Judas must be buried in order to rise as a new man. Elene preaches to the Jews (kerygma) but teaches (didache) Judas the inadequacy of the Old Law.

The first choice offered Judas (life or death) really concerns his soul, but Judas is yet blind to the truth. Similarly, Judas' torment by hunger has spiritual connotations, especially when we remember that the church prescribed fasts for those about to receive baptism. Judas suffers seven days and becomes the regenerated man on the eighth. Judas can now properly pray for the revelation of the truth about the location of the cross. The prayer echoes baptismal rites by having a "narratio" which follows the order of Scripture and an "exhortatio" in which the candidate applies the teachings to himself.<sup>40</sup> Citing the idea held by many, that Judas' conversion is the central event of Elene, James Doubleday focuses on the idea expressed in the poem that Stephen, the protomartyr, was the brother of Judas. This idea is important for two reasons. Stephen is the type of the convert, while Judas initially functions as the type of the unconverted. Secondly, Stephen's speech to the Sanhedrin is the church's model for its approach to the unconverted. This notion was so widely held that Isidore glossed Stephen's name as "the norm." Elene's three speeches to the Jews contrast the gifts of God to the Jews with their present folly. She thus echoes Stephen's rebukes delivered from a loving heart.<sup>41</sup>

The theme of personal salvation is closely allied with that of winning converts, and it is to this theme of the salvation of the self in Guthlac A that Paul Reichardt addresses himself. Disagreeing with Shook's point that

the "beorg" of the poem represents a barrow, Reichardt proposes a symbolic reading of the poem. John Cassian's Conferences put forward the idea that there are two goals for the Christian, purity of heart and the heavenly kingdom; we must have the first before the second is possible. The poem initially concentrates on Guthlac's pure "mod," and this purity of heart is symbolically linked to the "beorg." As Guthlac gains ground, his tormenters lose ground until the saint is able to transcend the mundane. This ascension motif is again reminiscent of Cassian, who likens achievement of purity of heart to ascending a mountain.<sup>42</sup> If Guthlac A traces the achievement of spiritual grace, then Guthlac B, in Daniel Calder's reading of the text, traces the motif of the loss of beauty as the result of sin. Ideal beauty, as represented by Eden, was equated morally with the good. The artificial beauty of John's revelation is the beauty of heaven, while the partly natural and partly artificial gardens of the Bible (e.g. the garden in the Song of Songs) represent earthly beauty. Sin's role is to shatter the reflection of this beauty in the individual, for it cannot destroy the ideal. This whole process forms the prologue to Guthlac B with its descriptions of Adam and Eve's paradise, their loss of it, and the breakdown of harmony through their mutual recriminations. Guthlac restores the sense of harmony to the wasteland, and so the saint's deeds can be seen as the anti-type of those of Satan and Adam. The devil's face

continual bereavement because every saint can rely on God's grace and defy the devil's power. Even the saint's death is a reenactment of the Passion and Resurrection with a subsequent transformation to beauty.<sup>43</sup>

The role of the devils is also examined in Juliana. Kenneth Bleeth notes three images current in Old English literature, the castle of the soul, the wounds of sin, and the arrows of the devil. The image of the dwelling battered by storms (Matt. 7:24-27) is often glossed as the church on the rock of Christ, while the unstable house is equated with the human mind. The winds and rain are the forces of the devil seeking to weaken the spiritual house by impure thoughts. Cynewulf substitutes storms and winds for the arrows which attack the castle of the soul. Perhaps he was relying on a tradition which glossed these natural phenomena either as demons or as evil thoughts.<sup>44</sup> It is, Rosemary Woolf argues, with the figure of the devil that the Old English poet is most at home. Agreeing with the common view that the Old English poet at best achieved an uneasy union of Germanic heroic motifs with Christian themes, Woolf claims that the only exception to this is the figure of the devil. Northern mythology lacked an equivalent to Christ, but had a figure of the evil counselor who neatly paralleled Satan and fulfilled Satan's role of disharmonizer in Christian mythology. Thus, while "Cristes þegnas" is an uneasy concept for the Old English poet, "Godes andsaca" is completely at ease and at home



in an Old English poem.<sup>45</sup>

From the foregoing brief survey of the critical trends and problems explored by commentators, it can be seen that most of the growing body of criticism deals with individual poems. Also, little attention has been paid to the nature and scope of evil in these poems, even though one of the central problems considered by Old English hagiographers is the question of evil. Two dominant images are employed by the poets to set forth this concern, the devil and a society under the control of the devil. It is in confronting these two manifestations of evil that the saint is able to demonstrate himself worthy of his special place in the unfolding history of the Christian world.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DEVIL AND THE POWER OF TRUTH: ANDREW AND ELENE

The Old English poetic imagination often concerned itself with the devil as the embodiment of evil. Since much of the poetry of the period attempts to confront the problems of a society struggling with the forces of dissolution, authors of the time found the devil an attractive poetic device to give meaning to this struggle. The demonic figure is not confined to ostensibly religious poetry. Grendel, the archetypal antithesis of all human values, is described as a monster whose allegiance is firmly rooted in hell and who is, like Satan, the eternal outcast:

Swa ða drihtguman dreamum lifdon,  
eadiġlice, oð ðæt an oňgan  
fyrene frē(m)man feond on helle;  
was se grimma gast Grendel haten,  
mære nearcstapa, se þe moras heold,  
fen ond fasten.<sup>1</sup>

In the religious poetry, the devil often appears as an active agent of evil. He, or one of his minions, is central to the action in the "Genesis" and "Christ and Satan" of The Junius Manuscript, as well as in some minor poems of The Exeter Book. Satan, or one of his subordinate demons, also appears in the five extant poetical saints' lives. In general, the demonic forces serve as an embodiment of the

evil which the saint must overcome. But the way in which the devil is used as a literary device, as the author manipulates the idea of evil inherent in the demonic figure in order to focus on certain features that are crucial to the presentation of the saint as the figure of goodness, varies in the individual poems.

Among the five poetic saints' legends, the devil in Andreas receives the most straightforward presentation. While the Latin "source"<sup>2</sup> of the poem is now lost, the usual assumption is that the Greek recension of the story<sup>3</sup> must have been very similar to the Latin which the Andreas-poet undoubtedly used. In the Greek story, the devil and his subordinate demon play two major roles. The first of these functions is to incite the Mermedonians to evil, and the second is to torment and threaten Andrew while he is in prison awaiting further tortures at the hands of his captors. In the first of these two roles, the devil is thwarted by Andrew, who relies on divine intervention to accomplish his ends. Andrew prays God that the son and daughter of an old Mermedonian man not be eaten, since the Mermedonians have already lost the captives whom they had originally intended to eat. God grants the prayer, and the executioners are prevented from making the sacrifice which would have rendered the Mermedonians food, but which would have reconfirmed Satan's control over them. This interruption of their cannibalism would be, of course, a first step in turning the Mermedonians away from their

particular form of devil-worship, but the struggle could not be so easily won. Satan clearly recognizes the nature of the struggle and immediately attempts to reinforce the Mermedonians in their evil by appealing to their ghoulish appetites. But more importantly, Satan realizes that his control of the populace is tenuous. Once Andrew makes an inroad among the people, Satan's power will be diminished. It is for this reason that Satan's logic, perverted though its basis is, demands Andrew's death. The irony is that Andrew's death would not ultimately benefit the Mermedonians. Satan alone would benefit, since Andrew's death would guarantee Satan's continued domination:

And, behold, the devil appeared in the likeness of an old man, and began to say in the midst of all: Woe unto you! because you are now dying, having no food; what can sheep and oxen do for you? They will not at all be enough for you. But rise up, and make a search here for one who has come to the city, a stranger named Andrew, and kill him; for if you do not, he will not permit you to carry on this practice longer: for it was he who let loose the men out of the prison.<sup>4</sup>

Andrew is subsequently convinced by God that he should reveal himself, and this revelation of himself neatly contrasts with the disguises of the devil. The saint is seized and doomed to be eaten. But first the Mermedonians decide, prompted by the devil, to torture the saint. Once more the devil is able to demonstrate his complete control over the Mermedonians, since he can easily incite them to totally purposeless cruelty.

Once Andrew's torments begin, the devil can delude

himself that he has been victorious in his struggle against good; his will has become the will of the people. He is now ready to vaunt over the defeated Andrew in the prison cell:

Now hast thou fallen into our hands; where is thy glory and thy exultation, thou that raisest thyself up against us, and dishonourest us, and tellest our doings to the people in every place and country, and hast made our workshops and our temples to become desolaté, in order that sacrificés may not be brought to them? Because of this, then, we shall also kill thee, like thy teacher called Jesus, and John whom Herod be-headed.<sup>5</sup>

It is particularly interesting that Satan, at this point, takes credit for the death of Christ. The demonic forces live continually in a vale of lies; they have lost their power to discern the truth, and all too often believe the very lies with which they hope to delude others. The devil here implicitly displays himself in his role as "father of lies." For one thing, Christ submitted willingly to death; He was not simply slain by the devil. More importantly, however, Satan chooses to gloss over the whole idea of the harrowing of hell by which any initial success for the powers of darkness is rapidly turned into the greatest of all possible defeats. Satan, no doubt, is working within the image of the three levels of existence. God rules in heaven; Satan is supreme in hell; and the two forces contend for man's soul in middle-earth. But the whole Andrew story serves to demonstrate the ultimate futility of the demonic forces. The devil is, indeed, soon

reminded of the power of Christ over the world of demons, for his impotence is soon manifested. His boast that he destroyed Christ is ironically disproven in his further dealings with Andrew, whose reliance on the power of the risen and living Christ is, in itself, sufficient to overcome the demonic powers opposed to him:

And they [the seven demons who attend Satan] stood before Andrew, wishing to kill him; and having beheld the seal upon his forehead which the Lord gave him, they were afraid, and did not come near him, but fled. And the devil said to them: Why have you fled from him, my children, and not killed him? And the demons answered and said to the devil: We cannot kill him, but kill him if thou art able.<sup>6</sup>

Of course the devils are incapable of doing Andrew any real harm, and so decide to mock him instead. Even this fails, for Andrew already has God's promise that He will establish a charge or "bishopric" for Andrew among the Mermedonians. "And having heard this, they fled."<sup>7</sup>

The popularity of the Andrew story in Old English seems evident from the fact that there are recensions in both verse and prose; in fact, two almost identical copies of a prose version have survived, both of which were edited in the nineteenth century. The copy found in Blickling Hall, and consequently considered part of The Blickling Homilies,<sup>8</sup> is dated A.D. 971. It is imperfect, but a second copy is more useful than the Blickling version, since it is complete, even though nothing is known about its origin or the exact date of composition: "The Corpus MS. is contained in a volume of Anglo-Saxon homilies, marked S.8.

(198); it is the last piece in the book. . . . It is written in a different hand from the greater part of the volume, and has originally formed part of some other collection. . . . Its date may probably be placed about the end of the 10th century."<sup>9</sup> In addition, in the preface to the Blickling collection Morris mentions three other homilies which make use of the Andrew legend.

In The Blickling Homilies recension and The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica, the devil's role is approximately what it is in the Greek original. If the prose version does anything to change the artistic perspective, it telescopes and lessens the role assigned to the devil in furthering the action. Satan urges the death of Andrew, but there is no sense that by killing the saint the people will be able to persevere in their evil ways. Satan seems to be reduced to the simple motivation of seeking vengeance:

After þissum [the discovery that the prisoners have escaped] him æteowde deofol on crihtes onlicnysse, and him to-cwæð, "Gehyrað me, and secað her sumne ælpeodigne man þas nama is Andreas, and acwellað hine. He þæt is se þa gebundenan of þissum carcerne utalædde, and he is nu on þisse ceastre; [gif] ge hine nu witon, efstað mine bearn and acwellað hine."<sup>10</sup>

The devil does, however, function very similarly in the Greek and Old English prose versions when he admonishes the people to slay Andrew so that they can eat him.

The Old English prose version also includes the episode of the devil's visit to Andrew in prison, but

their power to harm the saint seems diminished from what it had been in the Greek version of the story. Here Satan no longer boasts that he has been responsible for Christ's death, and the whole encounter between the forces of hell and the imprisoned saint is made more succinct, with the result that the Old English prose version tends to focus more on Andrew's power and the ease with which he can defeat the devil and overcome the illwill of the forces which seek to destroy the saint:

Ðæt deofol þa genam mid him opre seofon deoflo,  
 þa þe [se] haliga Andreas þanon afliemde, and  
 ingangende on þæt carcern hie gestodon on gesihþe  
 þas eadigan Andreas, and hine bismriende mid  
 myclere bismre, and hie cwædon, "Hwæt is þæt þu  
 her gemetest? hwilc gefreolseð þe nu of urum ge-  
 wealde? hwar is þin gylp and þin hiht?" Ðæt  
 deofol þa cwæð to þam oðrum deoflum, "Mine bearn,  
 acwellað hine, forþon he us gescende and ure weorc."  
 Þa deofla þa blæstan hie ofer þone halgan Andreas,  
 and hie gesawon Cristes rode-tacen on his onsiene;  
 hi ne dorston hine genealæcan, ac hraðe hie on  
 wæg flugon.<sup>11</sup>

The devils confess their impotence, suggest that Satan himself slay Andrew, and when Andrew affirms his desire to do Christ's will, all the devils take flight.

It would seem that the author of the Blickling version of the story is concerned to maintain the two roles of Satan, that of tempter and tormentor, but at the same time wishes to diminish the power of the devil in this redaction of the story. While it might be argued that the reason why this happens is that the author is telling the same story in fewer words, yet the effect is to negate, as far as possible, the power of the devil and to portray



Andrew, despite the torment he suffers, as an extremely strong character. In the poetic version, Andreas, the devil is treated as a much more formidable adversary, and as such he receives a treatment significantly different from that of either the Greek or Old English prose tales.

In place of the devil who appeared in the Greek version "in the likeness of an old man" and in the prose Old English recension "on cnihtes onlicnysse," the devil of Andreas comes undisguised: "Pa for þære dugoðe deofol ætywde, / wann ond wliteleas, hæfde weriges hiw."<sup>12</sup> Like the devil of the Old English prose version, Satan here does not seem concerned with the fate of the Mermedonians. Instead of focusing on the fact that the death of Andrew will lead to the dubious benefit of ensuring the cannibals a further supply of food, Satan seems only interested in exciting the idea of vengeance in the populace. It might be argued that the Old English prose version has reduced Satan's motives to this one aspect because of the apparent desire to condense the story. Whatever may be the Andreas-poet's shortcomings, he cannot be accused of cutting out material in an apparent effort to shorten the story. The poet, in fact, often explores the full potential of the material to give ample play to his poetic genius. He elaborates, among other things, the description of the devil. For instance, a more detailed description of Satan is given by the Andreas-poet in the lines which tell us that Satan began to speak:

Ongan þa meldigan morþres brytta,  
 hellehinca, þone hālgan wer  
 wiðerhygende, ond þæt word gecwæð....  
 (1170-1172)

Similarly, after Andrew is captured, the devil is anxious to silence him when the saint prays to God not to forsake him. The Greek version remarks, almost laconically, "And as he was praying, the devil walked behind, and said to the multitudes: Strike him on the mouth, that he may not speak."<sup>13</sup> The simplicity of the narrative here is no doubt meant to recall the treatment of Paul before his accusers: "Princeps autem sacerdotum Ananias praecepit astantibus sibi percutere os eius" (Acts 23:2).<sup>14</sup> Like the Greek version of the story, the Old English prose recension gives only the baldest narration of fact: "mid þi he [Andrew] þus cwæð, þæt deofol cwæð to þam fōlce, 'Swingað hine on his muð, þæt he þus ne sprece.'"<sup>15</sup>

The poetic account makes the foe a much more terrible opponent by means of elaborating the description, and hence the implications, of Satan's evil:

Ða ðar ætywde se atola gast,  
 wrað wærloga. Wigend lærde  
 for þam heremægene helle dioful  
 awerged in wítum, ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 "Sleað synnigne ofer seolfes muð,  
 fōlcēs gewinnan! Nu to feala reordap."  
 (1296-1301)

This passage contains a double irony. The epithets applied to the devil by the author are most appropriate, since Satan is "se atola gast," a "wrað wærloga," and a "helle diofol." At the same time, Satan speaks and

continues a string of conceptually parallel phrases as he describes Andrew as "synnigne" and the "folces gewinnan." The effect is to have the second set of phrases, wrongly applied to the saint, seem to indicate something about the devil himself, who is the father of lies (John 8:44). The devil thus unconsciously picks up the tone of the description applied to him by the author, and in effect damns himself. Since the devil cannot distinguish between the wrong and right application of terms, he provides an example of his own inability to distinguish truth from falsehood. The same idea is strengthened by the fact that the echo of Acts recalls Paul at the time when he is accused of fomenting dissension among the Jews (as a "folces gewinnan") and is subsequently imprisoned and tried as a sinner. As part of his defence Paul recounts the vision in which he is convinced by God that he has a vocation to cease persecution and to spread the Gospel to the heathens. Paul's reply to Agrippa during the trial scene closely parallels Christ's charge to Andrew and foretells the outcome of Andrew's mission to the heathen Mermedonians:

Sed exsurge, et sta super pedes tuos: ad hoc enim apparui tibi, ut constituam te ministrum, et testem eorum, quae vidisti, et eorum quibus apparebo tibi, eripiens te de populo, et gentibus, in quas nunc ego mitto te, aperire oculos eorum, ut convertantur a tenebris ad lucem, et de potestate Satanæ ad Deum; ut accipiant remissionem peccatorum, et sortem inter sanctos per fidem, quæ est in me.

(Acts 26:16-18)

Paul, like Andrew, is successful in that he survives the trial, and converts men so that they see the light of faith. Since the power of the Mermedonians, given them by their lord (Satan), is to blind men and deprive them of their minds, then Satan, by indirectly recalling Paul's charge, prepares the way for his own destruction. While the episode in which Satan orders Andrew to be struck on the mouth in order to silence him is present in both the Greek and the Old English prose versions, the Andreas-poet augments the subtleties of the situation by characterizing the devil in four separate ways, descending from the actively evil "atola gast" and "wrað warloga" to the passive and damned "helle diofol / awerged in witum." Thus, as the devil unwittingly recalls Paul's (and foreshadows Andrew's) rising through trial to victory, the descriptions remind us that Satan's motion is in the opposite direction. Satan moves downward from his active role of tormentor of the captured saint to that of captive of hell. It is not Andrew, but Satan who "nu to feala reordap."

The tendency in the poetical retelling of the saint's life is to move away from the particular in order to make Satan seem a more universal emblem of evil. Immediately after the incident in which Satan admonishes the people to strike Andrew, both the Greek and the Old English prose versions deal with the devil's taunting of the saint. The Old English recension of the story makes the

transition between the two scenes in one sentence only: "Da geworden was þæt hie hine eft betyndon on þam earcerne."<sup>16</sup> The Greek version gives scarcely any more detail: "And when it was evening they took him again to the prison, having bound his hands behind him, and left him till the morrow again."<sup>17</sup>

The Andreas-poet, on the other hand, provides more details in the bridging passage than are to be found in his "source." The light and dark, seeing and non-seeing motif of the poem is once more called to mind, as the action of leading Andrew to prison is placed in its cosmic perspective:

þa was orlege eft onhrered,  
niwan stefne. Nið upp aras  
opðæt sunne gewat to sete glidan  
under niflan nas. Niht helmade,  
brunwann oferbræd beorgas steape,  
ond se halga was to hofe læded,  
deor ond domgeorn, in þæt dimme ræced;  
seal þonne in neadcofan nihtlangne fyrst  
wærfæst wunian wie unsyfre.

(1302-1310)

Andrew has just been through a time when victory over evil seemed easily possible; he has seen Christ as the helmsman, and has himself released many captives from the prison. It is now his turn to suffer, but the author of Andreas seems unwilling to allow this to happen without some indication that there is a providential order at work. The reader must not lose sight of the fact that Andrew is on a divinely ordained mission. Even though God has assured Andrew that his trials will be crowned with

victory, the poet, in his transitional passage, recalls once more this idea by making the transition echo the trials of Matthew, whom Andrew has been sent to save. After God had told Matthew not to fear, even though he must suffer much, Matthew's reaction was told in a passage that foreshadows the material that serves as the transition between Andrew's confrontation with the devil and the saint's return to prison. Matthew is told to be of good cheer because there is a divine plan at work, unfolding as it should for the greater glory of God:

Da was Matheus      miclum onbryrded  
 niwan stefne.      Nihthelm toglad,  
 lungre leorde.      Leoht æfter com,  
 dagredwoma.

(122-125)

It is as though the poet wishes to present the action as a cycle; just as Matthew's suffering comes to an end, so Andrew's is about to begin. But the metaphoric texture that surrounds the two events, the end and the beginning of the suffering, is the same. Matthew's encouragement and Andrew's encounter with strife are both "niwan stefne"; Matthew and his fellow sufferers inhabit ("wunedon") a "hleoleasan wic," while Andrew is confined ("sceal . . . warfast wunian") in a "wic unsyfre"; as darkness is dispelled for Matthew ("nihthelm toglad"), so it comes to afflict Andrew ("niht helmade"). Thus in Andreas, the poet takes the skeletal transition of his "source" and expands it, not just for the sake of expansion, but to indicate that the devil's power, which here

appears at its most triumphant, is really no more than an illusion. The covering of night will pass away for the soldier of Christ; for the devil, "helle hæfting," there can never be the light of belief. The devil is forever trapped in the darkness of his own lies. But the Andreas-poet is careful to make the demonic assessment of events clearly distinct from the reality of the situation. While the devil may superficially appear to be the victor, his triumph is ultimately negated by the fact that he is eternally caught in a cycle of lies and illusions.

The primary role allotted to Satan in Andreas is that of tormentor of the temporarily defeated Andrew. Here, again, the Old English poet uses the motif of light to foreshadow the defeat of Satan. In the Greek and Anglo-Saxon prose recensions of the story, Satan is not described in any way as he goes to seek out Andrew. The poetic version, on the other hand, elaborates to a considerable degree the qualities of Satan. Six verses are used to describe the features of Satan, including one which carries over the light imagery which had provided the dominant theme of the preceding passage. The devil and his subordinate demons come to torment Andrew. The six other demons are completely nebulous. Satan alone is fully described:

Pa com seofona sum to sele geongan,  
 atol æglæca yfela gemyndig,  
 morðres manfrea myrce gescyrded,  
 deoful deaðreow duguðum bereafod....  
 (1311-1314)

Satan here seems to be the more terrifying because so much can be said of him, but can only be said in negative terms. Satan seems particularly sinister, since his description here comes close to epitomizing those qualities most feared by any society, the dissolution of those values and ideals which hold it together. Yet the devil who is "duguðum bereafod" must be a terrible foe. Nonetheless, his own defeat is foreshadowed. While the clash between good and evil might be fearful, we have been warned of the outcome, and can take some solace from that. By making the devil a great enemy, the poet is assured that the defeat of Satan will be more to the saint's credit. Even the smallest details exploited by the Andreas-poet serve to magnify the evil of Satan. Instead of "the devil having taken with himself seven demons whom the blessed one had cast out of the countries round about"<sup>18</sup> of the Greek version, the poet has Satan simply as "seofona sum." The omission, by the Andreas-poet, of this particular point about the origins of those demons who come with Satan focuses attention away from the fact of Andrew's previous success. The Andreas-poet also makes the demonic forces even more menacing. The Greek version had implicitly recognized that these demons were a threat, but did not stress this fact. The Old English poetical rendition intensifies their evil by denying any real identity to the demons. Satan himself is felt to be wicked because he can be described in negative terms. His followers are also



seen to be a threat because they are unidentified. It is much easier for a saint to respond to a clearly defined threat than to the pervasive danger of an undefined evil. It is at this point that most faith in God and His mercy is required.

Even though the poet alters slightly the number involved (Satan becomes one of seven, not one plus seven) and omits the details of the previous casting out of devils, the biblical echo seems clear. Christ reproves the Pharisees by telling how evil persists in the world. An unclean spirit may be overcome initially, but that does not necessarily signify the end of its power over men:

Cum autem immundus spiritus exierit ab homine, ambulat per loca arida, quaerens requiem, et non invenit. Tunc dicit: Revertar in domum meam, unde exivi. Et veniens invenit eam vacantem, scopis mundatam, et ornatam. Tunc vadit, et assumit septem alios spiritus secum nequiores se, et intrantes habitant ibi: et fiunt novissima hominis illius peiora prioribus. Sic erit et generationi huic pessimae.

(Matt. 12:43-45)

The poet recognizes the inherent pessimism in Christ's words. Andrew's struggle lies ahead of him, for he has yet to confront and overcome the powers of the devil among the Mermedonians. The poet is in a delicate situation here. On one hand, he must present the devil as a genuine and menacing force to be overcome by Andrew. On the other, he must not suggest that all is hopeless. The resolution of the problem lies, then, in the use of the biblical story which recalls the words of Christ to the

Pharisees who doubt the validity of His mission. The poet also heightens the identification between Christ and the saint. As well, Christ's pessimistic message about human nature must be put into context. The next chapter of Matthew contains the parable of the sower and the seed, and the message of this story is that not all will be damned, nor will all be saved at the final harvest. Soon Andrew will enact this truth for the Mermedonians, and it will be up to them to opt for salvation or perdition. But whatever the outcome, the Andreas-poet knows that the struggle will not be easy, but that the outcome will be justified by the biblical context in which it appears.

Though Andreas deals with the conversion of the Mermedonians from devil worship, this is not really the central concern of the story. While the devil rules the Mermedonians, his role in the poem is primarily that of tormentor of the saint; as well, he attempts to hinder Andrew in his mission to rescue the captured Matthew. Andreas deals more fully with the confirmation of the saint in his own faith. This faith, of course, has certain concrete manifestations. After his initial reluctance, Andrew grows in confidence to the point where he is able to defeat the devil and destroy his hold over the Mermedonians. But these actions serve mainly to prove to the audience that Andrew's power, through the Lord, is justifiable. Andrew's confrontation with the devil is only one way in which the poet deals with the saint's

inner conflicts. The inward tensions, however, receive much more attention.

Cynéwulf's Elené, on the other hand, is primarily a poem about conversion and the external symbols which facilitate conversion. From the opening of the poem, the cross as token of victory and assurance of success is central. Faced with overwhelming odds, Constantine is granted divine aid. He receives the central message of the poem very early in the action: "Mid þys beacne ðu / on þam frecan fære feond oferwiðesð, / geletest lað werod."<sup>19</sup> The devil in Andreas is seen primarily as a present evil in his desire to torment the fallen hero; in Elené he is concerned with his lost powers and the danger that his already diminished kingdom will be made even less. His predominating fear is that his historically attested influence over the souls of men will be destroyed. In fact, the devil is first mentioned in the poem immediately after Constantine's vision and subsequent victory over the Huns. In reply to the king's enquiry about the God who had given him success, those few who had already received baptism give a brief summation of Christian history. It is significant that this history focuses on a central Christian problem, the power of the devil, who is seen as the demonic inversion of the true "Dryhten" of heaven:

[Cwædon] hu on galgan wearð godes agen bearn  
 ahangen for hengum heardum witum.  
 Alysde leoda bearn of locan deofla,  
 geomre gastas....

(179-182)<sup>20</sup>

The acceptance of Christianity by the king fits into the same mode of historical thought; once Christ overcomes Satan and breaks the bondage of hell, then the same victory is possible for all men. The poem seems to suggest that once the decision to accept baptism is made, then the power of Satan is destroyed. The second manuscript division<sup>21</sup> of the poem ends with this kind of finite statement about Constantine's decision:

Æt þam [Silvestre] se leodfruma  
fulwihte onfeng ond þæt forð geheold  
on his dagana tid, dryhtne to willan.  
(191-193)

It had not been sufficient that Constantine merely act on the strength of his vision alone. The acceptance of the message of the vision serves as the first step in Constantine's journey to faith. But faith without knowledge will not, in itself, be enough for the king's new role as spiritual, as well as temporal, ruler. It is interesting to note that the poet's attitude towards Constantine changes in these first two sections as the emperor undergoes in himself the conversion, a process that will be the focus of most of the rest of the poem.

The first two divisions of the poem deal with Constantine as battle chief of the Romans, and the terminology appropriate to the ruler of a warring nation initially predominates. We learn that the story takes place in Constantine's sixth year "þæt he Romwara in rice wearð / ahæfen, hildfruma, to hereteman" (9-10). Constantine's

fortunes change at the beginning of the second division when he, again described as "heria hildfruma" (101), orders his battle standard to be the cross. At the end of the same division, Constantine receives baptism, and this time is referred to as "leodfruma" (191). At this point Cynewulf includes a second reference to time, since Constantine is said to keep faith "On his dagaða tid, dryhtne to willan" (193). It would seem that Constantine, through his experience, has been able to transcend the old heroic virtues of "battle-chief" to become a "leader of the people." The implication about Constantine thus expands from simple heroic ideal to a broader ideal involving the more complex image of the Christian-heroic leader. The fulness of time has arrived for Constantine, so that his life takes on the new meaning inherent in living "dryhtne to willan." No longer is Constantine an earthly king fighting an earthly foe; he has become the soldier of Christ, fit leader of his people in both a physical and a spiritual sense. The Huns have been replaced as foes by Satan, and the battle thus takes on the added context of an allegorical or spiritual battle. Constantine will now initiate a war aimed at winning men's souls from the devil, not just a kingdom from the Huns. The conquest of the Huns, stated in terms of a few years, serves to foreshadow the struggle with the devil, a conflict which will occupy the whole of life's time.

As soon as Constantine has achieved victory on the

battle field, the poem can move on to consider war in its metaphorical extension, the war between the forces of good and evil. Constantine's question about God, in the second division of the poem, had included mention of the devil as the defeated foe in the harrowing of hell story. In the third division, Constantine goes on to learn more about Satan. The narrative here flashes back one step further in the Christian concept of history. Constantine learns about the events leading up to the crucifixion as he finds written "on godes bocum":

hwar ahangen was heriges beorhtme  
 on rode treo rodora waldend  
 afstum purh inwit, swa se ealda feond  
 forlarde ligesearwum, leode fortyhte,  
 Iudea cyn, þæt hie god sylfne  
 ahengon, herga fruman.

(205-210)

What Constantine learns in God's book is set forth within an envelope pattern.<sup>22</sup> If we accept Gradon's suggestion that "beorhtme" might be a variant of "breahtm,"<sup>23</sup> then the envelope takes on a subtly ironic tone, since the "heriges beorhtme" drowns out the knowledge that they are crucifying "herga fruman." The battle motif that had helped define Constantine as the pre-Christian king of the heroic tradition is again employed here, as the devil is called "se ealda feond." Just as Constantine, through conversion, qualifies to be the "leodfruma," so the Jews, in accepting the devil's "ligesearu," find themselves the "leod" which is led astray into killing their rightful "fruma." Thus by poetic echoes of words and concepts,

Cynewulf has suggested that Constantine will be able to offer the Jews another chance to accept rightful rule and reconciliation with God. This juxtaposition of the concepts of Constantine's rule (and God's control through Constantine) over the Jews against the lordship of the devil over these people is further heightened by the ironic treatment given to the ability of the Jews to follow the "ligesearu" of the devil. Reminiscent of the polarity of Christ as victim and victor in "The Dream of the Rood" is the line which tells of the crucifixion: "on rode treo rodora waldend." The close similarity between "rode" and "rodora" has been exploited by Cynewulf to heighten the irony between what the devil and the Jews think that they are doing and the reconciliation which has already found expression in the poem with the idea of the harrowing of hell.

The second section of the poem ends with Constantine's hearing that Christ was "ahangen for hergum" (180), that He redeemed mankind, and that He rose to heaven. This knowledge causes Constantine to remain faithful all the days of his life. A similar scheme is set up in the third division of the poem in the envelope pattern bounded by "ahangen" and "ahengon." The first use of "ahangen" (180) initiates a series of positive values that result from the crucifixion. The concluding use of the word (it is used twice in the third division of the poem, at line 205 and again at line 210) is followed by the negative

results. Instead of Constantine's lifetime of devotion, the poet stresses "Ðas hie in hynðum sculon / to widan feore wergðu dreogan" (210b-211). The Jews stand outside salvation as effected by the crucifixion, and the statement of this damnation is placed outside the envelope. Cynewulf is developing a subtle irony. The envelope contains what appears to be the victory of the devil; but his victory by deceit is really a defeat. The exclusion of the race of the Jews to eternal punishment outside the promise implicit in the material contained within the envelope pattern is really only a half-truth. The poem is, after all, about conversion, about the movement of the individual from outside grace to within its benefit. The fact that time plays an important part for Constantine and for the race of the Jews suggests that, just as we have seen Constantine move from the state of damnation (albeit the damnation of a heroic and virtuous pagan) to a state of grace through the cross, so this dire prediction, that the Jews will suffer forever for their crimes (made here at ll.210 ff), will be worked out in the course of the poem so that the potential for salvation will be realized for Judas and his followers.

The first two references to the devil in Elene recall, respectively, the harrowing of hell and the crucifixion. The third reference increases the chronological scope of the Christian concept of time by recalling the fall of the angels:



ond þu [God] womfulle  
 scyldwyrrende    sceaðan of radorum  
 awurpe wonhydige.    þa sio werge sceolu  
 under heolstorhofu    hreosan sceolde  
 in wita forwyrð,    þar hie in wylme nu  
 dreogað deaðwale    in dracon faðme,  
 þeostrum forþylmed.

(760=766)

In the expanding chronology of events, Cynewulf is setting up definite limits to the power of the devils. The first mention of the devil focuses on his role as a lord of hell, even though some souls are redeemed by Christ. The second time that the devil is mentioned, it is in connection with his influence over the Jews, as he seduces them into crucifying the Lord. The material between the second and third mention deals with Elene's struggle to bring Judas and the rest of the Jews into the realization that the attempt to conceal the truth about the cross is ultimately folly. As soon as Judas decides to reveal the location of the cross he prays, and in so doing recognizes the final weakness of the devil. The devil moves from being lord of hell to hell's most tormented captive. In the first two references, where hell is harrowed and Christ's lordship is stressed despite (or because of) the crucifixion, there is a strong element of hope to counterbalance the power of the devil. In the third reference, there is also an ambivalence in the treatment of the demonic figure. The actual reference to the devil is stated in such a way that he is seen as the symbol of weakness, not strength. But in terms of working out the idea of conversion, Cynewulf

would weaken his case if the devil's strength were to be completely dismissed. It is for this reason that the poet includes an allusion, immediately before this, to the fall of man. In praising God, Judas recalls that among the race of archangels are two of special reputation, named seraphim, who play a special part in the mythology of time:

"He sceal neorxnawang  
 ond lifes treo legene sweorde  
 halig healdan. Heardecg cwaçap,  
 beofap brogdenmal, ond bliom wrixleð  
 grapum gryrefast."

(755-759)

It is, I believe, significant that the poet has touched on four central events in the history of man, the fall of the angels, the fall of man and his expulsion from paradise, the crucifixion, and the harrowing of hell. Except for specific reference to the apocalypse, the microcosm of human events is now complete in the poem. Since salvation by the power of the cross to move men to accept baptism is the general theme of the work, then the Christian myth is, in fact, completely explored in the working out of the search for the visible token of God's grace.

The concept of rulership is especially important in the whole structure of Judas' prayer. Judas begins by praising God: "Dryhten hælend, þu ðe ahst doma gewald" (725). God's lordship over hell and hell's inhabitants is again stressed before Judas recalls the fall of the angels: "Þæs ðu, god dryhten, / wealdest widan fyrhð" (759-760).

Similarly, Judas' prayer ends with Christ's lordship over the people of Israel:

"þæt he sie soðlice sawla nergend,  
 ece ælmihtig, Israhela cining,  
 walde wīdan ferhō wuldres on heofenum,  
 a butan ende eora gēstealda."  
 (798-801)

Within the larger framework of the prayer, established by the mention of Christ's power, is an envelope pattern which juxtaposes the idea of the torment of hell against the promise of paradise offered to Israel by the "anhengnan Crist" who rules both places ("wealdan") for all eternity ("wīdan ferhō"). Bracketed within this envelope is a brief recapitulation of the central events for a proper appreciation of the spiritual history of mankind. As already noted, Judas tells of the fall of the angels. He also here touches on the virgin birth and the crucifixion, and calls for a sign to reveal the cross. It is particularly important that this material is enclosed by the formula "wealdan wīdan ferhō," because it stresses that God's providential order is everywhere. This serves to remind us of the lesson that Constantine had learned at the beginning of the poem, when he too received a sign that God is able to direct human affairs. To stress this point, Cynewulf includes another historical event within the time-frame of God's power. Judas cites God's help to Moses as a precedent for asking for help in achieving the task of finding the true cross:

"Swa ðu gehyrdest þone halgan wer

Moyses on meðle,      þa ðu, mihta god,  
 geýwdeþt þam eorle      on þa æðelan tid  
 under beorhhliðe      þan Iosephes....  
   (784-787)

The reference is, of course, to the exodus of the Jews from the Egyptian captivity:

Tulit quoque Moyses ossa Ioseph secum: et quod  
 adiurasset filios Israel, dicens: Visitabit  
 vos Deus, efferte ossa mea hinc vobiscum.  
   (Exodus 13:19)

Judas cites this particular incident as one example of a time when God intervened in history to help the race of the Jews, that is, a time in which providential order was made manifest in historically concrete terms. Judas probably does not realize, however, the true significance of this event. Typologically, the exodus of the Jews from Egypt through the Red Sea is the prefiguration of salvation by baptism. Elene herself has come on a sea journey to seek the cross as the visible emblem of salvation. Also, the carrying forth of Joseph's bones from the land of captivity would serve as the prefiguration of the harrowing of hell. Thus this particular instance of God's providence can be seen in expanded terms: God does "rule for all eternity," but not only in the limited sense of historical events alone. The envelope pattern encompassed by God's power "for ever" can be seen as functioning both historically, in the case of the exodus, and figuratively, in the help given to those who would achieve salvation.

The final oblique reference to the devil occurs at the climax of the poem, the actual invention of the three

crosses. The allusion is very brief, coming between the joy of discovery of the three crosses that had been so long buried and the raising up of these crosses before the host of men. Once more the poet returns to the influence of the devil over "Iudea cynn" who had, in the past, hidden the crosses from mankind:

Hie wið godes bearne  
nið ahofun, swa hie no sceoldon,  
þær hie leahtra fruman larum ne hyrdon.  
(836-838)

It might, at first, seem peculiar that Cynewulf would include a reference to the devil at the very moment that the climax of the poem has been reached. He has, however, worked out a chronological pattern from which all history can be viewed. It is a pattern which still awaits fulfillment, and until the events are fulfilled, the devil will be an ever-present threat. The audience must keep this fact in mind even during the exultation of the actual moment of invention and the mystery and power over death displayed by this event.

In Elene the devil delivers only one speech, immediately after the test to determine which of the three crosses is the true one. One by one the crosses are held over a dead body, and the third cross, the true one, restores life to the body. There is general thanksgiving in response to the visible token, both for the restoration of life, and for the recollection that the devil need no longer be feared in absolute terms:

Ða was þam folce on ferhösefan,  
 ingemynde, swa him a scyle,  
 wundor þa þe worhte weöröda dryhten  
 to feorhnere firä cýnne,  
 lifes lættiow.

(894-898)

This reaction serves as an epiphany to counterpoint Constantine's receiving the sign from heaven for his martial victory. The victory motif has taken on larger implications, for the celebration concerns salvation ("feorhnere"), not just temporal success. There is an incredible tone of optimism in the verse, as the prediction is made that the people "ever" shall remember the glory of God. It is against this background that the devil appears in order to put events into a new perspective. Much of what he says recalls the concerns that had already been expressed about his right to rule in the eternity of hell. The devil laments Christ's harrowing of hell, in which his possessions ("ahte mine") are taken away, and he also regrets the fact that he is shut up in hell ("in þam engan hām"). But this is not all that the devil has cause to regret. By demonstrating the power of the cross, God is able to reaffirm the power of the priesthood, that is, the ability to participate in Christ's power. Once again Satan laments the harrowing of hell, but this time it is Judas' use of the cross that has deprived him of the lordship over his eternal home:

"Sawla ne moton  
 manfremmendē in minum leng  
 æhtum wunigan. Nu cwom elpeodig,  
 þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,

hafað mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,  
feohgēstreona."

(905-910)

Besides the fact that Christ had already led off the devil's possessions no sooner than ("syððan furpum") he thought that he had achieved victory through the death of Christ on the cross, Satan now no longer can expect souls to remain in his power. This is the total inversion of the devil's expectations. He had placed great hope in a Judas [Iscariot] (921), and now another Judas (923) has upset his desires. Just as the devil had been used (834-839) to heighten the contrast between the potential of salvation and the continued possibility of sin's power, so there is a reference to futurity in the devil's speech here. While the devil is ultimately powerless against Christ's token, yet he predicts a time of tribulation for the followers of Christ:

"Ic aweccc wið ðe  
oðerne cyning, se ehteð þin,  
ond he forlæteð lare þine  
ond manbeawum minum folgaþ,  
ond þec þonne sendeð in þa sweartestan  
ond þa wyrrestan witebrogan,  
þæt ðu, sarum forsoht, wiðsæcest fæste  
þone ahangnan cyning, þam þu hyrdest ær."  
(926-933)

The devil is introduced at the beginning of this speech as "ligesyynnig . . . feond" (898 f.), and it is important that this fact be kept in mind. The devil is a liar, but like all successful liars he includes some element of truth in what he says. The apostasy of Julian will lead some to the devil's realm, but the effect will not be as

dire as the devil predicts. Ultimately, Cynewulf invites us, through the manipulation of the persona of the poet, to accept the meaning of the events of the poem and to prove that the devil is as wrong in his thought that he will gain lordship over us in hell as he was in thinking that he would be able to keep the patriarchs in bondage.



## CHAPTER III

### THE INDIVIDUAL SAINT AND THE DEVIL:

#### GUTHLAC AND JULIANA

If Andreas concerns the rescue of the hero and a people from bondage, and Elené is the exploration of the Christian myth of time and the defeat of hell's forces within the scope of a history which sees events as having a determined beginning and end, then Guthlac A revolves around the question of how a saint can personally respond, using the strength of his calling, to the threat offered by the powers of hell. This does not mean that the devil ceases his attempt to destroy mankind. Just because Guthlac appears to have divine sanction for his actions, he is not assured of an easy time. If anything, the holy man causes a more determined attempt by the powers of darkness to destroy him, inasmuch as he is an example to humanity. But Guthlac A, more than Andreas and Elené, focuses on the way in which Satan can be seen as a real and immediate threat to the individual. Both Andrew and Elené find themselves in situations imposed on them from outside. Their confrontation with the devil is thus secondary to a task which they have undertaken. Guthlac sets off

consciously to engage the devil in a direct confrontation. Guthlac has ordered events so that the devil has little option but to respond immediately to the challenge offered by the saint.

The devil initiates his attack to attempt to drive the saint away in two distinct ways, as noted by the poet:

Oft him brogañ to  
 lãðne gelaðeð, se þe him lifes ofonn,  
 eaweð him egsa, hwilum idel wuldor,  
 bragdwis bona hafað bega craft,  
 eahteð anbuendra.<sup>1</sup>

In Andreas and Elene, the lordship of Satan over a whole people or the realm of hell is at stake. In Guthlac A the power of the devil over one man is the issue to be resolved. In fact, much of the action of the poem is in the form of a cosmic battle for the soul of the protagonist. It is characteristic of the devil that he will expend as much effort, either as "terror" or as "vain glory," when a single soul is at issue as when the fate of a whole people is to be resolved. That the confrontation for the lordship over one soul is to be seen as having significance beyond the simple contention over the fate of Guthlac, as a representative of the saintly ideal, seems evident from the fact the struggle is presented as the more basic issue of the victory of good over evil. We are therefore told that two angels are at hand, one to give good advice, and the other to attempt to lead the saint to contemplate sin. Clearly the poet intends the action to be understood as both literal and metaphoric.

The conflict between Satan and Guthlac is to be considered within temporal limits; the saint is a real and knowable individual. But Guthlac also functions as an abstraction, representing the soul of any Christian confronted by the forces of evil. Because Guthlac is an individual, he is constantly subject to temptation. Because Guthlac is a type, the temptations often have universal application.

The first temptation offered to the saint seems particularly petty, for the forces of evil try to seduce him into stealing from other men. This is certainly an "idel wuldor," but the real danger from this temptation lies in the fact that what the devil actually advocates is the renunciation of all human values. If the saint is to do anything more than simply flee from evil, he must continue to operate within the social fabric, must present to the rest of mankind the image of what should be:

Oþer hýne scýhte, þæt he sceaðena gemot  
 nihtes sohte and þurh nepinge  
 wunne æfter worulde, swa doð wræcmaegas  
 þa þe ne bimurnað mornes feore  
 þæs þe him to honda hupe gelædeð,  
 butan hy þy reafe rædan motað.  
 (127-132)

This is the type of test that is easy for the saint to pass. The audience has already been informed that there is a guardian angel to counterbalance the force of the devil. The first instance of "idel wuldor" is, of course, also very easy to overcome, for the attack is only on the saint's personal system of moral judgments. And one of the first things that the poet does is to make this point

clear when he tells "hu Guðlac his in godes willan / mōd gerehte" (95 f.). The attack of the devil cannot therefore succeed, and the devil is sent on his way with relative ease:

Swa hy hine trymedon on twa healfa  
 oppat þas gewinnes weoroda dryhten  
 on þas engles dom ende gerehte.  
 Feond was geflymed....

(133-136)

The poet again stresses the fusion of ideal and individual concerns within Guthlac. The saint, as a representative of goodness, easily overcomes the first demonic assault. Guthlac is assured of the wisdom of life, and so has a penetrating realization of the worthlessness of "vain glory." But Guthlac is very human as well. Since the poet is writing of a saint who lived in recent memory as a man blessed with material benefits,<sup>2</sup> but who had decided to give them up after a youth devoted to pleasure, the devil's attempt to have Guthlac seek for riches as a criminal is clearly inappropriate. The devil cannot hope to succeed with an attack that can easily be withstood by Guthlac in his role of simple man, let alone his role of perfected example of the truly Christian way of life. This treatment of the problem faced by the devil seems to be in keeping with the tone of the treatment of the devil in Guthlac A. While the poet recognizes the inherent evil of the devil, yet he cannot resist at times making him a figure of fun. The temptation to steal booty, offered to a man who has renounced great wealth, is simply ludicrous,

but the poet expects the audience to respond to the ambiguity of the situation. At one level, the devil is a comic character; yet at another level he is the destroyer of mankind's happiness. It is part of the success of the poet of Guthlac A that both views can be held in a delicate yet effectively controlled and dynamic balance. We are expressly told that Guthlac had already seen through the folly of material possession and teaches this message to others who, in their reverence for martyrs, have already noted that Guthlac is so pious

þæt he his lichoman  
 wynna forwyrnde ond woruldblissa,  
 seftra setla ond symbeldaga,  
 swylce eac idelra eageña wynnā,  
 gierelan gielplices. Him was godes egsa  
 mara in gemyndum þonne he menniscum  
 brymme æfter þonce þegan wolde.  
 (163-169)

It is ironic that the first sustained attack of the devils should be directed against Guthlac's renunciation of worldly possessions, since it is precisely because he, in his turn, has denied them the possession of their favourite haunt. Guthlac's raising of an abode in the region, we are told, is not because of any cupidity on his part. It is because he wishes to hold the land for God. But where God (or his servant) is, there is no place for the devil. The very presence of goodness means that the devils must leave behind their temporary sanctuary and leave the place "þar ær felā / setla gesaton. þonan sið tugin / wide waçe, wuldre byscyrede" (143-145).

If the first attempt to seduce the saint through "idél wuldor" comes to nothing, then the devils decide to resort to the other method at their disposal, terror. Just after the effort to have Guthlac become a thief fails and the fiends are put to flight, the poet hints that the devils will try the other method. Despite the fact that the good angel remains to teach the saint, yet "Oft þar broga cwom / egeslic ond uncuð, ealdfeonda nið, / searo-craftum swiþ" (140-142). But the poet does not elaborate here; the implication in the next line is that all that the saint sees is the merest glimpse of the fleeing fiends, because the narrative continues immediately with the fiends on their way to exile (l. 145). If this is the case, then the poet is building up the devils as potentially physically dangerous before he exploits this possibility later in the poem. They are something to be feared, but in a different way than Guthlac fears God: "Him was godes egsa / mara in gemyndum þonne he menniscum / þrymmæ æfter þonce þegan wolde" (167-169). Whereas the terror of the devil is only something that can afflict from without ("oft þar broga cwom"), the fear of the Lord is that appropriate for a thane, since it comes from within and is moderated by hope and love. The fear of God is really the fear of failing to live up to the demands imposed on the believer. The fear of the devil, on the other hand, is the fear of stooping to the level of evil represented by Satan. But Guthlac's fear is the

sort that will enable him to accomplish the deeds which make one worthy of God's love: "He in gaste bær / heofon-cundne hyht, hælu geræhte / ecan lifes" (170-172).<sup>3</sup>

The attempt by the devils to lead Guthlac to accept "idel wuldor" has already failed; the devils next try "egsa" as a way to lead the saint away from God and back to worldly concerns. Still remembering Guthlac's noble lineage and their failure to induce the saint to steal back his property, the devils attempt to cause him, through fear of disgrace, to renounce the life of a hermit, the only life that Guthlac can accept in order to avoid disgrace:

þonne mengu cwom  
feonda farscytum fahðe ræran.  
.....  
Stodan him on feðehwearfum,  
cwædon þæt he on þam beorge byrnan sceolde  
ond his lichoman lig forswelgan,  
þæt his earfeþu eal gelumpe  
moddearu mægum, gif he monna dream  
of þam orlegē eft ne woldē  
sylfa gesecan, ond his sibbe ryht  
mid moncynne maran cræfte  
willum bewitgan, lætan wræce stille.  
(185-199)

It is ironic that the threat made by the devils against Guthlac is exactly parallel to the plight suffered by the devils themselves. With God's sustaining grace, Guthlac's soul is not afraid, but the devils have suffered shame once again. Instead of Guthlac's burning on the hill, the devils themselves can no longer escape burning in hell. Their threats of torment for the saint find only ironic fulfillment in their own torments in eternity.

They must now bear their eternal damnation, devoid of their resting-ground, and will suffer all the more because they know that there can be no rescue for themselves. It is the moment of deepest despair for them, for they, and not Guthlac, have become the social outcasts, cut off from the highest ideals of community life: "ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucan" (l. 220). The greatest threat that they could offer the saint was death when the flame devoured his body; now their greatest hope lies in the desire to cease their own tormented existence. Giving way to the despair which they had hoped that their threats would have caused Guthlac, the devils "willen þæt him dryhten þurh deaðes cwealm / tō hyrā earfeða ende geryme" (l. 224 f.).

Once the attempt to make Guthlac fear the shame of his kinsmen has failed, the devils next attempt to seduce Guthlac into heeding the vainglory of his own personal needs. In a passage that contains an echo of Christ's temptations by the devil, Guthlac reenacts the proper Christian response to the temptation of the evil one. After fasting for forty days in the desert, Christ is tempted by the devil to turn stones into bread. The same concern is used by the devil to try to lure Guthlac away from the desert spot, and the devils take delight in taunting the saint with his dependence on physical needs: "[ðu] eart godes yrmīng" (l. 272). The devils, forgetting "that man does not live by bread alone," ask Guthlac:

"Bi hwon scealt þu lifgan, þeah þu lond age?"



Ne þec mon hider mose fedeð;  
 beoð þe hungor ond þurst hearde gewinnan...."  
 (273-275)

Similarly, the devil promises Guthlac material prosperity and the aid of the devils if he will renounce God in order to obey the powers of darkness:

"We þe beoð holde gif ðu us hyran wilt,  
 oppe þec ungearo eft gesecað  
 maran mægne, þæt þe mon ne þearf  
 hondum hrinan, ne þin hra feallan  
 wapna wundum."

(280-284)

The devil does not, however, wait for an answer to either temptation; he immediately begins a series of threats. It is as if the devil already knows the response, and needs no answer to confirm his opinion. Guthlac finally responds to the devils, answering their basic three attacks in the reverse order to that in which they are made. The devil had threatened the saint in terms of military or physical conquest:

"We þas wic magun  
 fotum afyllan; folc in driçeð  
 meara þreatum ond monfarum.  
 Beoð þa gebolgne, þa þec breodwiað,  
 treðað þec on tergað, ond hyra torn wrecað,  
 toberað þec blodgum lastum...."  
 (284-289)

The saint, as a participant in Christ's power over the forces of hell, responds by denying the power of physical weapons and asserting that there are higher values than the criteria offered by the devils. The devils' threats seem woefully inadequate to the response of the saint:

"No ic eow sweord ongean  
 mid gebolgne hond oðberan þence,

worulde wæpen, ne sceal þes wong gode  
 þurh blodgyte gebuēn weorðan,  
 ac ic minum Criste cweman þence  
 leofran lace."

(302-307)

Likewise, the saint quickly dismisses the devil's demand that he worship them: "Ic eom dryhtenes þeow" (l. 314). The reply to the temptation to turn stones to bread encompasses the idea of moderation. The monastic ideal, as exemplified by Guthlac, does not advocate the total destruction of the body, simply the regulation of its desires. This is what Guthlac emphasizes:

"Is min hyht mid god,  
 ne ic me eorðwelān owiht sinnē,  
 ne me mid mode micles gyrne,  
 ac me dogra gehwam dryhten sendeð  
 þurh monnes hond mine þearfe."

(318-322)

This response reiterates the fact that Christ had answered in a similar way by noting that spiritual mysteries are the real substance upon which life is based. Physical requirements must always take a secondary place. The metrical pattern of the last line quoted is peculiar, since it places stress on the usually unimportant personal adjective "mine." This line seems particularly skilful, since it clearly delineates the difference between the devils' ideas about what is desirable (physical food and lordship) and what is really necessary for a Christian and controlled life. Perhaps the author of Guthlac A also has in mind an episode recorded in Felix's Life of St. Guthlac. It is noted that on a certain day two

devils came to tempt Guthlac to excessive week-long fasting. Guthlac responds with remarkably good sense: he eats his daily moderate ration of food.<sup>4</sup> Guthlac thus avoids the vainglory of excess, since God neither enjoins starvation nor condones gluttony. This symbolic action also serves to reassert God's relationship with the faithful, for Guthlac receives what God sends, his "daily need." That is to say, the saint can see things in proper perspective; he does have the human need for daily food, and God supplies it. What separates the saint from the devils is that their vision is limited to the daily and physical needs of man. The saint's vision allows him to detect the reality that lies behind the here and now. The saint is able to reject the promises of the devil (just as Christ had done), because he sees them for what they are: "fela ge me eardā purh idel word / aboden habbað" (308-309). The vanity of earthly things thus becomes one of the key issues faced in Guthlac A, and it seems important that what the saint rejects is not simply earthly things, but "fela." In desiring too much lies the real danger faced by mankind. Guthlac, as the epitome of the wisdom of the faith, can demonstrate the proper way in which to respond to the devils' temptations. Guthlac embodies the message of his life in a way unlike that of the other Old English saints' legends.

Section four of the poem (262-403) had begun with the tumult raised by the devils:

Da wearð breahm hæfen. Beorg ymbstodan  
 hwearfum wræcmæcgas. Woð up astæg,  
 cearfulra cirm.

(262-264)

The devils also assail Guthlac as too proud: "Nô we oferhygdu ânes mōnes / geond middangeard maran fundon" (269-270). After Guthlac has successfully overcome the two temptations offered by the devils, there comes a brief but significant moment of respite for the saint. Even though we know that the devils purpose to return, yet the final victory of the holy man is foreshadowed: "Gewat eal ponan / feonda mēngu" (325-326). The simplicity of this statement, void of any repetition or paraphrase, serves to counterpoint the bravado and confusion associated with the devils, as they appear before the temptation of the saint. After Guthlac has withstood the trials, he can rejoice in the accomplishment. Recalling the promise of friendship from the devils and their denunciation of Guthlac as suffering from "oferhygdu," the poet surely intends the listener to perceive the irony in his portrait of the saint triumphant over the forces of hell:

Swa modgade, se wið mōngum stod,  
 awreōed weorðlice wuldres cēmpa  
 engla mægne.

(323-325)<sup>5</sup>

It is also possible that the author intended another parallel to the temptation of Christ. After Christ overcomes the trial in the desert, there is a simple statement that the devil left, and there is also mention made of the angels: "Tunc reliquit eum diabolus: et ecce angeli

accesserunt, et ministrabant ei" (Matt. 4:11).

The next temptation to face Guthlac, in the series of "idel wuldor," is the one that involves the response of men in monasteries to the blandishments of the devil. The poet has already dealt with one attempt by the devil to seduce the saint by the promise of wealth. The saint can easily overcome this assault, and consequently little space need be devoted to it (127-132). The next attack against Guthlac is much more sustained and insidious, since it deals with the sincerity both of Guthlac and the monks. As well, it calls into question the validity of their commitment:

Hy hine þa hofun on þa hean lyft,  
 sealdon him meahte ofer monna cynn,  
 þæt he fore eagum eall scea wode  
 under haligra hyrda gewealdum  
 in mynsterum monna gebæru,  
 þara þe hyra lifes þurh lust brucan,  
 idlum ahtum ond oferwlencum,  
 gierelum gielplicum, swa bið geoguðe þeaw,  
 þær þæs ealdres egsa ne styreð.  
 (412-420)

Finding the saint himself invulnerable, Satan points out the usual condition of mankind. If Guthlac does not succumb to "idel wuldor," then mankind will fall prey to "idlas ahtas"; if Guthlac can resist "oferhygdu," then the monks will nonetheless be victims of "oferwlencu"<sup>6</sup>; if Guthlac has managed to come to terms with "egsa" as the reasonable response to God, then the inhabitants of the monastery are notably deficient. By pointing out that the monks (whom one would normally expect to be the best

examples of the holy life) are really depraved, then the devil implicitly attacks Guthlac who is, after all, only human. The devil also attacks the ideal, since depravity does take place in God's house, and even God's influence here is not sufficient to redeem mankind from questing after the rewards which characterize the devil's power over mankind, and which the poet so insistently exploits as emblems of the devil and the world of demonic perversion.

The first two tests, to worship Satan and to convert stones into food, are as easily overcome by Guthlac as by Christ. The third test faced by Christ, that He cast Himself down from the parapet of the temple, seems to receive a more metaphoric treatment in Guthlac A. The other two temptations are primarily physical; the third is spiritual, inasmuch as it serves to define man's relationship with God. In Guthlac A the temptation seems to be for the saint to cast himself down spiritually to the level of those who do not measure up. In fact, it is obvious that the devils, in their own blindness, do not see the truth. They can interpret Guthlac only as an emblem of pride, and do not realize that to test God's grace would, indeed, be to succumb to "idél wuldor." They completely misunderstand Guthlac's essence:

"In þam mægwlite      mōnge lifgað,  
 gyltum forgiefene;      nales gode þigað,  
 ac hy lichoman      fore lufan cwemāð  
 wista wynnum.      Swa ge weorðmyndu  
 in dolum dreame      dryhtne gielðað.

Fela ge fore monnum miþað þas þe ge in mode  
 ne beoð eowre dæda dyrne, beah þe ge hy in dygle  
 gehyegað;  
 gefremme."  
 (460-466)

The devils actually react as though Guthlac had failed the test; they seem to forget that the saint has already returned to his desert home without hurling himself into the despair offered as an alternative. Guthlac, however, soon points out the error of the devils by reasserting that God had allowed them to have power over him, and that the result of this had been to produce good from evil: "Was me swelges lecht / torht ontyned, þeah ic torn druge" (486-487). The light revealed to Guthlac has enabled him to see clearly the real implications of the point that the devil makes about those monks who seem to fail to live up to the heavenly ideal.

The equation between light and the wisdom of God recalls the end of the temptation of Christ in the wilderness. After Satan has failed to seduce Christ, the Bible informs us that Christ departed to Capernaum and thus fulfilled a prophecy: "Populus, qui sedebat in tenebris, Vidit lucem magnam: Et sedentibus in regione umbrae mortis, Lux orta est eis" (Matt. 4:16). Guthlac, now armed with the light of vision, is confident that the young men of the monastery will also be able to grow into wisdom and thus, in the fulness of time, be able to escape from the shadow of death:

"Peodum ywab

wisdom weras, wlcnu forleosað,  
 siððan geoguðe geað gæst aflihð."  
 (502-504)

It is, of course, this quality of mankind, the ability to make amends, which distinguishes humanity from the devils and the attitude that they show towards God. For this reason, Christ can overcome the temptation of the devil and can go on to minister to the people: "Exinde coepit Iesus praedicare, et dicere: Poenitentiam agite: appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum" (Matt. 4:17). But for the devils there can be no repentance, and Guthlac himself points this out to them:

"Ge sind forscadene, on eow scyld siteð!  
 Ne cunnon ge dryhten dugupe biððan,  
 ne mid eaðmedum are secan...."  
 (478-480)

It is at this point that Guthlac's spiritual trials are over, and he is allowed to partake of one of the qualities of Christ Himself: "was se martyre from moncynnes / synnum asundrad" (514-515). The poet makes the identification of Guthlac with Christ even clearer. He reminds us that Guthlac was yet to suffer at the hands of the devils. But this is like Christ who, after the temptation in the wilderness was overcome, will also suffer death from His murderers (515-525). Now the poet can directly address the listener and exhort him to praise the deeds of those men who have served as examples of the power of God by partaking of some of the mystery and majesty that Christ Himself had demonstrated to mankind:



Forþon is nu arlic þæt we afastra  
 dæde demen, secgen dryhtne lof  
 ealra þara biseña þe us bec fōre  
 þurh his wundra geweorc wisdom cyþað.  
 (526-529)

The pattern of the two alternating kinds of trial, "egsa" after "idel wuldor," begins afresh for the saint, but this time we are assured that "geofu was mid Guðlac" (l. 530). Armed with this knowledge, we can judge the attempt by the devils to terrify the saint by showing him the gates of hell as pathetic an effort as their first attempt to have Guthlac gather a band of desperadoes for the purpose of plundering. The devils have slowly lost any of the terror that they might have had, as gradually they reveal themselves to be little more than dull jokes. At the same time, Guthlac rises in our opinion. More and more of the awe due him, not only as a participant in Christ's power, but as the very embodiment of that power at work in the world, is explored in the revelation of his character. Guthlac, in his turn, becomes the persecutor of evil, pointing out that the fallen angels are the ones who must inhabit hell. Guthlac is assured of heaven, but the fiends will never come to that bliss, because, ironically, they lack the human dimension of hope of salvation. They had thought to exploit Guthlac's lack of hope, only to find that it is they who are the hopeless exiles:

"Ðar eow næfre fore nergende  
 leohtes leoma ne lifes hyht  
 in godes rice agiefen weorþeð,

for þam oferhygdum þe eow in mod astæg  
 þurh idel gylp ealles to swiðe."  
 (658-662)

The circle has come full round, and Guthlac can point out the "oferhygdu" of the devils and the vanity of their boasting. The tests have led Guthlac to hope; the devils have got nothing from them but despair. In fact, their trials purify the soul of the saint so that he takes on all the earthly perfection which makes him a fit exemplar of Christ's power over earth. In other words, the poet arranges the conflict between the saint and the devils to prove the truism that evil is always self-defeating.

Guthlac A ends with the death of the saint and his translation into heaven. Immediately following this poem in The Exeter Book is a second poem about the saint. Remarkably different in tone, it deals primarily with the instruction of the saint's disciple and Guthlac's preparation for and acceptance of death. The treatment of the saint in Guthlac B is much more pathetic, concerning itself more with Guthlac as the representative of humanity who must learn the lessons of how to deal with the indwelling power of God and the demands placed upon mankind by the physical limitations of humanity. In keeping with this altered focus, the treatment of the devil is minimized, and really serves as a background against which the saint can act out the final event of human life. The devil's one power over mankind, the humanly mortal state, is confronted by Guthlac and placed in its proper

perspective.

The first section of Guthlac B begins with God's creation of Adam and Eve. The poet emphasizes the fact that paradise is essentially a place of physical pleasure from which mutability is excluded:

Fader was acenned  
 Adam ærest þurh est godes  
 on neorxnawong, þær him nænges was  
 willan onsyn, ne welan brosnung,  
 ne lifes lyre ne lices hryre,  
 ne dreames dryre ne deaðes cyme,  
 ac he on þam lande lifgan mōste  
 ealra leahtra leas, longe næotan  
 niwra gefeana.

(825-833)

In this ideal situation, it is the devil who brings both deprivation and death; the poet stresses that Adam and Eve's offspring are the inheritors of the evil brought about by the devil. The equation of subservience to the devil and death thus becomes the focal point of the "prologue." The main problem of the poem, then, becomes the exploration of the human response to evil and death. The poet is not particularly pessimistic about the problem, however, for he tells us that there were many who have managed to do God's will despite the fact that they must finally fall victim to death (872-878). Guthlac was one such, and his attempt is worthy of serving as an example to us all. God's power shines through Guthlac's humanity:

Us secgað bec  
 nu Guðlac wearð þurh godes willan  
 eadig on Engle. He him ece geceas  
 meah̄t ond mundbyrd. Mære wurdon  
 his wundra geweorc wide ond side,

breme æfter burgum geond Bryten innan....  
(878-883)

The only significant appearance of the devils occurs at the beginning of the second manuscript division of the poem (894-976). Here we are informed that they did their best to torment the saint, but there is never any question of his succumbing to their torments: "Symle hy Guðlac gearene fundon, / þonces gleawne" (913-914). The fortitude shown by the saint is not particularly remarkable, since the onslaught of the devils has passed beyond the threatening. The devils have certain powers, and the human lot demands that these be accepted. The poet has already noted that the devils bring death, through the downfall of Adam and Eve, to all mankind; the poet also notes that obedience to God's will is the antidote to the horrors of the transience of life. It is the assurance of Guthlac that makes the assaults of the devils seem ridiculous at the beginning of the second division, especially since the poet reiterates that the saint was very courageous through the whole trial:

Oft to þam wicum weorude cwomun  
deofla deaðmægen duguþa byscyrede  
hloþum þringan, þær se halga þeow  
elnes anhydig eard weardade.  
þær hy mislice mongum reordum  
on þam westenne woðe hófun  
hludne herecirm, hiwes binotene,  
dreadum bidrorene.

(894-901)

If Guthlac B is meant to be considered as the logical sequence of events after those narrated in Guthlac A, then

there is something verging on the incongruous in the devils' attempt to terrify the already victorious saint by shouting battle cries in various tongues and howling "on cōrōre" (l. 908). What is significant about the attack is that the devils are spoken of in the unusual phrase "deofla deaðmægen."<sup>7</sup> Since the "prologue" to the poem deals with the coming of death to mankind, then the concept of the devils as a "death-band" is totally in keeping with their function in the poem, their emblematic representation of the final evil which man must face.

The poet does, however, have an ambiguous approach to death. On the one hand, it is the brew that Eve in wickedness concocted for Adam; but on the other hand, it is the only release for the soul's imprisonment in the body. The poet tells us that God had decided not to allow Guthlac to dwell longer "in þisse wonsælgan worulde life" (l. 946) and so comes to visit the saint with a final illness. Yet the depiction of this illness involves a partial ascription of disease and death to the work of the fiends:

He þæt soð gecneow  
 þæt hine ælmihtig ufān neosāde,  
 meotud fcre miltsum. He his modsefan  
 wið þam færhagan fæste trymede  
 feonda gewinna. Næs he forht sepeah,  
 ne seo adlþracu egle on mode,  
 ne deaðgedal, ac him dryhtnes lof  
 born in breostum, brondhat lufu  
 sigorfast in sefan, seo him sarā gehwylc  
 symle forswiðde.

(957-966)

What seems to define the nature of the saint is his

ability to reconcile "deaðgedal," an apparent evil visited upon him by the devil, with God's purpose. The saint can face, with ease of mind, the separation of body and soul. And the relation between body and soul is represented by the poet as "sinhiwan tu" (l. 968). As a representative man, Guthlac must reenact the punishment of that other "married couple," Adam and Eve, who had forfeited the "lufu" of God by forsaking Him in favour of the devil. The irony is that, for the saint, the journey simply completes that begun by Adam and Eve. Their departure from Eden is one aspect of the "deaðgedal." Guthlac's journey to paradise is the other side of the same idea. The devil might be instrumental in both ways of viewing the "deaðgedal," but he is really powerless to have the separation through death work to his advantage in either instance. God's purpose simply presupposes and accommodates anything that the devil may hope to achieve through forcing men to undertake the journey of death.

Andreas and Elene treat the problems of the devil's influence over society. Guthlac A and Guthlac B deal with the difficulties faced by an individual in conflict with evil. Juliana combines the two ideas and addresses itself to how the devil attacks the individual through the control that the power of darkness exercises over those under its influence. Juliana explores one possible way for the saint to confront the tension that arises from the individual's subjection to the city of man. Whereas the other

saints' legends deal in concrete ways with the role of the devil, Juliana treats the problem in a more abstract and philosophical way.

In Cynewulf's Juliana, the process of working out the idea of the sin of Adam and Eve is a dominant motif. In one of the few good words that Rosemary Woolf, in her edition of the poem,<sup>8</sup> has to say about the material, she notes that Cynewulf, in working with the general tradition of the story,<sup>9</sup> has achieved an admirable effect by altering the structure of the original which Cynewulf might have used as the basis of his recension:

In order to give Juliana a dramatic shape and texture not possessed by the Vita, Cynewulf modulated his emphases, so that the story, instead of progressing as a sequence of events, unrelieved by dramatic emphasis, has acquired a more closely knit and more effective structure, notably by Cynewulf's pointing of the scene between Juliana and the devil, which thus becomes the dramatic core of the work.<sup>10</sup>

The confrontation between the saint and the devil is explored, however, for a purpose beyond simply providing a scene charged with dramatic energy. Having successfully overcome the temptation to renounce her soul for temporal gains, marriage to a wealthy and powerful man, Juliana is turned over to her father for examination. He fails to convince her, and she is subsequently taken before Eleusius for judgment. So far, there is a general similarity to the process by which Christ comes to judgment. But for the middle ages, the Bible was not the only source of knowledge about the events of Christ's life. Certain

apocryphal works also shed light on the passion, crucifixion, and burial of Christ.

In the first part of The Gospel of Nicodemus, which deals with the passion and death of Christ, Joseph of Arimathaea accords the body proper entombment and thus incurs the wrath of the Jews, who lock him in prison with dire threats concerning his future safety:

Tenentes itaque Iudaei Ioseph iusserunt custodiri eum propter diem sabbati, et dicunt ei: Scito quia hora non exigit aliquid agere adversum te, quia sabbatum illucescit. Cognosce autem quia nec sepultura dignus es, sed dabimus carnes tuas volatilibus coeli et bestiis terrae.<sup>11</sup>

Fortunately for Joseph, when his captors come to lead him to judgment, they find the prison empty, even though the seal on the door had not been broken. While they are yet marvelling about this event, there appears one of those soldiers detailed to guard the sepulchre against any attempt by the disciples to steal away the body of Christ. He announces that the tomb is empty and that an angel has proclaimed the Resurrection. While The Gospel of Nicodemus does not pointedly equate the two events, clearly the imprisonment of Joseph corresponds to Christ's entombment, and this analogy becomes all the clearer when the soldiers are rebuked for negligence of duty. In a fit of pique, they turn the tables on their superiors:

Date ergo nobis Ioseph, et nos vobis dabimus Iesum Christum (p. 370).<sup>12</sup>

This dramatic moment in the narrative thus serves to heighten the similarity between the imprisonment of Joseph



and the entombment of Christ.

Thus, while The Gospel of Nicodemus does not overtly equate the two "imprisonment" scenes, it would be relatively easy to read the imprisonment of Joseph, and by extension any imprisonment, in the light of the entombment of Christ. When we learn subsequently of the events that occur in hell during the period of burial, then the ramifications of the imprisonment motif become even more significant. The model established in The Gospel of Nicodemus thus provides insight into the poetic treatment of incarceration. One such episode occurs in Cynewulf's Juliana.

Juliana has refused to marry Eleusius; her father fails to convince her of the folly of her decision, and the significant detail is that Juliana is led to judgment at dawn ("after leohtes cyme")<sup>13</sup> just as Christ is led to Pilate at dawn (Matt. 27:1). Juliana's first torment is scourging:

Ond þa farnan het  
þurh niðwræce    nācode þennan,  
ond mid sweopum swingan    synna lease.  
(186-188)

Similarly, Christ is first scourged (Matt. 27:26) before being handed over for crucifixion. The time on the cross lasts from nine in the morning (Mark 15:25) to three in the afternoon (Luke 23:44), or six hours. After Juliana's initial beating, she is hung up by her hair:

He bi feaxe het  
ahon ond ahebban    on heanne beam,

þar seo sunsciene slege þrowade,  
 sace singrimme, siex tida dages....  
 (227-230)

At least two details of this passage are important; the first is that Juliana suffers "on heanne beam," and "beam" is a term very often associated with the cross. Secondly, she suffers for six hours. Cynewulf is clearly heightening those details which suggest the similarity between Juliana and Christ, and it does not seem unreasonable to push the comparison one step further and include reference to the events as narrated in the second half of The Gospel of Nicodemus, the actual harrowing of hell. After the period of Juliana's torment, she is removed to a prison, and it is here that she successfully confronts the devil, just as Christ descends into hell and there defeats Satan. But beyond the general similarity between the two episodes, Cynewulf seems to have structured his material so that it recalls in more detail one specific episode in The Gospel of Nicodemus.

In the first place, both Juliana and The Gospel of Nicodemus allude to details about the gates of hell. Cynewulf specifically mentions the barring of the gates of Juliana's prison: "Ða was mid clustre cærernes duru / behliden, homra geweorc" (236-237). In The Gospel of Nicodemus, just before Christ comes to release the souls of the virtuous, Satan vainly attempts to prevent the overthrow of his dominion by locking up the gates of hell:

Tunc Satanas dux mortis advenit, fugiens

territus, dicens ministris suis et inferis: Ministri mei et omnes inferi, concurrite, portas vestras claudite, vectes ferreos supponite, et pugnate fortiter et resistite, ne tenentes captivemur a vinculis. Tunc impia officia eius omnia conturbata sunt et coeperunt portas mortis cum omni diligentia claudere, serasque et vectes ferreos paulatim iungere, omniaque ornamenta sua strictis manibus tenere et proclamare ululatus dirae vocis ac teterrimae (p. 423).<sup>14</sup>

The fear of the minions of hell is that they, in their turn, will be made captives. Through divine aid Juliana recognizes that her visitor is really a fiend, and soon reduces him to captivity. While the devil is thus imprisoned, he is forced to confess his many iniquities. Similarly, in the harrowing of hell, Satan boasts of the wickedness which he has accomplished on earth:

Et permulta adversatus est mihi male faciens,  
et multos quos ego caecos claudos surdos leprosos  
et vexatos feci, ipse verbo sanavit (p. 395).<sup>15</sup>

Some of the evils that Juliana forces the devil to confess are remarkably like those of which Satan boasts in the harrowing of hell episode. Juliana's captive fiend is forced to admit:

"Oft ic syne ofteah,  
ableneð bealoþoncum beorna unrim  
monna cynnes, misthelme forbrægd  
þurh attres ord eagna leoman  
sweartum scurum, ond ic sumra fet  
forbræc bealosearwum, sume in bryne sende,  
.....  
Eac ic sume gedýde  
þæt him banlocan blode spiowedan,  
þæt hi færinga, feorh aleton  
þurh ædra wylm."

(468=478)

The blindness and the lameness confessed by Juliana's devil is obviously parallel to Satan's remarks in The

Gospel of Nicodemus.

More difficult to see as connected are the other evils, burning, possession, and leprosy. Two of these are replaced by subsequent incidents in the poem, and it is also possible that the reference to disease refers to the torments suffered by Juliana, though unfortunately it is impossible to tell how Cynewulf dealt with these tortures since that portion of the poem has been lost. If Cynewulf is concerned with leprosy as a disease, and not as a metaphor for torture, then it is necessary to examine the usual interpretation of the last four lines quoted. Gollancz, for example, renders them thus: "And some I have afflicted that their bodies spouted blood, so that suddenly they let forth life through their veins' fount."<sup>16</sup> Gordon's translation is quite similar in tone: "Also I have caused the bodies of some to spurt blood, so that suddenly they let forth their lives through the gush of the veins."<sup>17</sup> At best these lines in Cynewulf's text are ambiguous. "Far-inga" can mean "suddenly,"<sup>18</sup> but can also mean "unexpectedly" or "by chance." "Wielm" might mean "gush," or can be glossed as "inflammation." There is also a noun, "wielma," which clearly means "inflammation" and is found with a specific medical connotation in Leechdom, Wortcunning and Starcraft of the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>19</sup> Bearing these possibilities in mind, one could easily render these lines as "Also, I accomplished it for some that they spat up blood from the body, that they unexpectedly (quickly) let forth

life through the inflammation of the veins." Since there is nothing inherent in the lines to suggest violent blood-letting, then it is possible that Cynewulf is really giving a poetic expansion to the disease mentioned in The Gospel of Nicodemus. This is especially feasible, since medical science had not developed any exactitude regarding the symptoms of any specific diseased condition.

In place of the Gospel's dumbness which is inflicted on mankind, Cynewulf's devil confesses that "sume in bryne sende, / in leges locan, þat him lasta wearð / sibast gesyne" (473-475). Juliana's temporal difficulties are the result of her "dumbness," her refusal to praise heathen deities. Juliana denounces these false idols as both deaf and dumb when the attempt is earlier made to have her worship them in place of the true God:

"Nafre þu gelærest þat ic leasingum,  
dumbum ond deafum geofolgiældum,  
gæsta geniöldum gafu onhate...."  
(149-152)

Of course, behind this refusal to worship idols lies the biblical recognition that they are indeed dumb (cf. Psalm 135). The devil in the poem, on the other hand, speaks too much since he is forced by the saint to tell his manifold wickedness. Therefore dumbness, which in the normal course of events is a great evil, is for Cynewulf's purpose an ironic virtue. Thus the devil of Juliana cannot really boast that dumbness is one of his accomplishments, and replaces it with a reference to burning. Of all the

substitutions that might have been made, this is probably the most appropriate since Juliana will soon face an unsuccessful attempt to burn her to death, but that will not be the cause of the last of her footprints being seen.

The final power confessed by the devil in The Gospel of Nicodemus is the ability to possess. In Juliana the devil tells the saint that he drowns some of his victims:

"Sume on yðfare  
wurdon on wege wattrum bisencte,  
on mereflode, minum cræftum  
under reone stream."

(478-481)

This statement is particularly ironic, since it looks forward to the end of the poem in which those who persist in evil are indeed condemned to hell through drowning (671-682). The devil's boast that he condemns some to hell is the last thing mentioned in The Gospel of Nicodemus, but Cynewulf continues the list of evils perpetrated by the devil in the "sum" passage.<sup>20</sup> These particular evils seem significant in light of the action of the harrowing as explored in the apocryphal gospel. Immediately after he talks of those drowned, Cynewulf mentions those who lose their life on the "rode" (481-483a). But such a one is also granted paradise: the saints awaiting delivery from hell question a new arrival and learn that he has suffered death on the cross:

Vere dixistis quia latro fui, omnia mala faciens  
super terram. Et Iudaei crucifixerunt me cum  
Iesu, et vidi creaturarum mirabilia quae facta

sunt per crucem Iesu crucifixi, et credidi eum esse creatorem omnium creaturarum et regem omnipotentem, et deprecatus sum eum dicens: Memor esto mei, domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Statim suscipiens deprecationem meam dixit mihi Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso (p. 405).<sup>21</sup>

Christ's treatment of the thief on the cross again ironically deflates the power of the devil to accomplish all of which he boasts.

The next evil confessed by the devil in Juliana poses something of a puzzle:

"Sume ic larum geteah,  
to geflite fremede, þat hy faringa  
ealde æfþonean edniwedan,  
beore drucne. Ic him byrlade  
wroht of wege, þat hi in winsele  
purh sweordgripe sawle forletan  
of fleschoman fage scyndan,  
sarum gesohte."

(483-490)

The usual interpretation of this passage is that the devil is confessing simply that he can incite men to violence and thus, by causing murder, deprive men of their souls. If, however, Cynewulf does indeed have the harrowing of hell motif in mind, then it might be possible that a more specific episode in history is being alluded to. John the Baptist is present in hell awaiting the coming of Christ, who had promised that He would descend into the lower regions. St. John is, in fact, a victim of a feud, for he had denounced Herod for his marriage to his sister-in-law, Herodias. John had been arrested, and it is during a feast (when no doubt many would be drunk with wine) that Herodias, recalling the feud, arranges to have John

beheaded (Mark 6:17-28). In this particular "sum" passage there is only one soul involved, and it seems strange that only one soul would be lost if the point of the passage is to condemn feuding in general. The meaning of the passage might be clearer if it were punctuated thus:

þæt hi in winsele  
 þurh sweordgripe sawle forletan  
 of flæschōman, fage scyndan  
 sarum gesōhte.

"Scyndan" can be either transitive or intransitive. If it is a transitive verb in this case, the passage might be translated as "That they in the winehall, through the gripping of a sword, sent forth the soul from the body, drove forth the fated one [i.e. the soul] by wounds assailed."

The final enumerated evil in the series of "sum" is that the devil can send off any to hell whom he finds unbaptized:

"Sume, þa ic funde  
 butan godes tæne, gymelease,  
 ungeblætsade, þa ic bealdlice  
 þurh mislic cwealm minum hondum  
 searopuncum slog."

(490-494)

The whole point of the episode of the harrowing of hell is that those who had died before God's token was available are still capable of salvation, especially Adam and Eve. It is the devil's failure to see the folly of boasting about their fall that makes him the target of the irony here. If Adam and Eve's fall is intended by Cynewulf, then we have a reference to the felix culpa, the idea that



there is a divine providence overseeing the whole unfolding of history. The devil's vain boast about his control over unbaptized souls is just one more indication that the devil who comes to seduce Juliana is trapped in his own perpetual and unforgivable ignorance. It is no wonder that Juliana can so easily chain this devil: "Heo þæt deofol teah, / breostum inbryded, bendum fastne, / halig hæþenne" (534-536). This action recalls Christ's victory over the previously boastful Satan in the realm of hell:

Et Satanās remānsit in medium, stabatque confusus  
 et delectus, conligatus compede in pedibus. Et  
 ecce dominus Iesus Christus veniens in claritate  
 excelsi luminis mansuetus, magnus et humilis,  
 catenam suis deportans manibus Satān cum collo  
 ligavit, et iterum a tergo ei religans manus  
 resupinum eum elisit in tartarum, pedemque suum  
 sanctum ei posuit in gutture, dicens Per omnia  
 secula multa mala fecisti, ullo modo non quievisti:  
 hodiē te tradō igni perpetuo (p. 429).<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, when Juliana is finished with the fiend she dismisses him into hell's abyss:

Da hine seo fāmne forlet  
 æfter præchwile bystra neosan  
 in sweartne grund, sawla gewinnan,  
 on wita forwyrð.

(553-556)

Thus Cynewulf appears to have made the episode of the "sum" passages closely parallel to The Gospel of Nicodemus. Just as Juliana's soul goes to heaven, so Christ too ascended. Just as those of the synagogue who hear of the vision of the harrowing of hell are left to seek hell for themselves by their failure to heed the message, so Juliana's pleading with the people to obey God's will fails to

move the hearts of Eleusius and his band, and those who will not listen and obey are condemned. Surely in Juliana we have a working out of the life of the saint in terms of her figural defeat of the powers of hell. The saint's limited success over those who hear her preach is not as important for Cynewulf as the victory that the saint has over the devil and the things for which he stands.

## CHAPTER IV

### GUTHLAC'S EXILE AND THE RETURN HOME

The five saints' lives present, in varying degree, not so much a final rejection of the earthly society and the ideals which are inherent in it, as a way of transcending its limitations. As Alvin A. Lee<sup>1</sup> has argued, there is in much of Old English poetry a clear dichotomy between the "dryht" of earth and of heaven. The basic tension of the saints' lives derives from the perpetual contrast between the two and the attempt to achieve a harmony between them. While the final point made by each saint's life is that the evil in society must be rejected in favour of the life which will lead to salvation, the way of doing this is by no means presented in simplistic terms. The process of rejection is not as easy as it might at first appear; the way open to the saint ranges from simple personal denial to the attempt to refashion society in the image of the higher order. In all cases the poets recognize that the proper response of the saint is to see clearly what is involved in society's evil; the options of response, however, remain potentially different.

Guthlac demonstrates the most straightforward

response to social evil: rejection. But this is not necessarily the final word on the subject by the author of Guthlac A. Rather, it is a commonplace of monastic culture and, by extension, a generally accepted mode of response for the extremely zealous:

St. Bernard defines the monk as a dweller in Jerusalem: monachus et Ieroslymita. Not that he must be bodily in the city where Jesus died, on the mountain where, it is said, He is supposed to return. For the monk, this might be anywhere. It is particularly in a place where, far from the world and from sin, one draws close to God, the Angels and the Saints who surround Him. The monastery shares Sion's dignity; it confers on all its inhabitants the spiritual benefits which are proper to the places sanctified by the life of the Lord, by His Passion and Ascension, and which will one day see His return in glory.<sup>2</sup>

Much of the prologue<sup>3</sup> of Guthlac A concerns the way in which the hermit's retreat in the fens serves as the type of the heavenly city (just as the monastery should for the man in holy orders) and emphasizes that the New Jerusalem is the appropriate reward for the man who successfully strives after holy things on earth. The apotheosis of Guthlac into heaven is not so much a change of kind as of degree. The saint had already done much to transform his fen home into an image of heaven by striving to banish the evil of the world.

It is significant that the poem begins with the journey to heaven already completed for the blessed soul. While anticipation is a poetic technique common to much Old English verse, the use of this device is particularly effective here. On the most basic level, the beginning of

the poem assures the hearer that all will work out well for the saint since we first learn of the reward for tribulation before we see the actual trial of the soul. Also, by having the beginning and ending of the poem similar in tone, the poet is able to enforce his message concerning the purpose of life by a pleasing and symbolic symmetry. This pattern of a large envelope puts the middle section of the poem, the treatment of temptation and doubt, into its proper perspective. Home, for Guthlac, is ultimately the heavenly home, but his period of exile in the fens has made it possible for him to achieve this goal.

The attitude towards society expressed in Guthlac A is somewhat ambiguous. While the poet recognizes that salvation is possible for those who remain within the social order, the saint is clearly an example of the best that the individual may achieve by rejecting the joys of earth. Just after the poet makes clear, near the end of the poem, that Guthlac's soul has been granted a "setl on swegle" (l. 785), he applies the message to all men, apparently regardless of their particular station in life:

Swa soðfastra sawla motun  
 in eene gearð up gestigan  
 rôdera rice, þa þe ræfnað her  
 wordum ond weorcnum wuldorcyninges  
 lare longsume, on hyra lifes tid  
 earniað on eorðan ecan lifes,  
 hames in heahpu.

(790-796)

What the poet does stress, however, is the fact that these men have made the decision within themselves. Possibly

because the poem is clearly a didactic work, the poet is unwilling to leave the generalizations about the duties of the "soðfæstra sawla" unexplained. Immediately following the description of the concrete benefits, the earning of "ecan lifes" and "hames in heahpu," the poet puts man's duty, what he must do to bring himself into a right relationship with the heavenly kingdom in order to "earn" these blessings, into as concrete terms as possible. Even though there are many states ("monge . . . hades," l. 30 f.) open to men, Guthlac offers a fine example of how the individual can recognize the full potential of the earthly pilgrimage to win salvation:

Ðæt beoð husulweras,  
 cempan gecorene,      Criste leofe,  
 berað in breostum      beorhtne geleafan,  
 haligne hyht,      heortan clæne  
 weorðiað waldend,      habbað wisne gepoht,  
 fusne on forðweg      to fader eðle,  
 gearwap gastes hus,      ond mid gleawnesse  
 feond oferfeohtað      ond firenlustas  
 forberað in breostum,      broþorsibbe  
 georne bigongað,      in godes willan  
 swencað hi sylfe,      sawle frætwað  
 halgum gehygdum,      heofoncyniges biboð  
 fremmað on foldan.      Fæsten lufiað,  
 beorgað him bealonip      ond gebedu secað,  
 swincað wið synnum,      healdað soð ond ryht.  
 (796-810)

This passage does not suggest that physical separation from the evils of society is necessary. The "wise thought" seems to be all that the poet considers necessary for the accomplishment of God's will on earth in order to achieve God's kingdom in heaven. Immediately after this passage, the poet praises those who will go forth from this life

to "Jerusalem" and will behold in "wynnum" (l. 814) God's "onsyne" (l. 815). But again the poet nowhere suggests that the way selected by Guthlac is the only way to earn heavenly reward, nor does he even go so far as to suggest that the hermit's way is the most desirable, or even the most effective. The hermit's life, as far as the poet is concerned, is really a metaphorical paradigm for man's ability to renounce the sinful state through the proper direction of his love. The often very concrete images of the poem only serve to reinforce the main trials of the saint. The tribulations to which he is subject are the emblem for every soul, regardless of its physical locality, as it attempts to overcome the onslaught of the forces of darkness.

Before the poet can explore the possibility of the ways to achieve salvation, he first strongly extols the reward that will be granted to the successful human soul. In an extremely imaginative and powerful way, the poem begins with the reception of the pilgrim soul into heaven. From the beginning of the poem, the poet has begun to put the reason for the reward of the successful soul into proper perspective. While it is the "fairest of joys" for the pilgrim spirit to attain its heavenly home, yet the evaluation of the life left behind is not altogether negative, since the soul has resigned "eorþan wynne" (l. 2) and "dreasas" (l. 3). Even though these joys are characterized as "lanan" (l. 3), the poet does, nonetheless,

refer to them as joys. He seems more concerned to define them than to denounce them, as might be expected if the poem were concerned only with utter rejection of the things of the earth in favour of the life of a hermit. Despite the fact that the soul's stay on earth is presented as having some positive qualities, the poet manages to sustain the tension inherent in the two possible view-points, since the announcement made to the soul by the angel makes it clear that the soul's time on earth has really been that of an exile, but an exile that can be made comprehensible either in terms of physical exile, as in the case of Guthlac, or can simply be seen as the refusal to give allegiance to the other "dryhten" and his band of eternal outcasts:

"Nu þu most feras bider þu fundadest  
 longe ond gelome. Ic þec lædan sceal.  
 Wegas þe sindon weþe, ond wuldres leoht  
 torht ontyned. Eart nu tidfara  
 to þam halgan ham."

(6-10)<sup>4</sup>

If we accept the notion that Guthlac A is based to some degree upon the life written by Felix, or at least that the poet was familiar with the material of this work, then he can be seen as greatly developing a theme that the Latin text had treated only in a most elementary fashion. In the Latin text, Guthlac spends two years at the monastery of Repton. He is strengthened by this solitary life, and from here goes to seek out his desert home:

Cum enim priscorum monachorum solitariam vitam  
 legebat, tum inluminato cordis gremio avida



cupidine heremum quaerere fervebat. Nec plura,  
 intervenientibus aliquorum dierum cursibus, cum  
 seniorum licitavolentia, incepto aeternae  
 prosperitatis itinere, solitudinem invenire  
 perrexit (p. 86).<sup>5</sup>

Felix accepts it as a given condition that the renunciation of the earthly kingdom is a prelude to the attainment of the heavenly realm. But Felix does not manifest the complexity of the Old English version. The brief detail given by Felix comes nowhere near the tension generated by the Old English poet who balances the joy of earth against the reward of heaven, and invites the audience to see things in their proper perspective. Even though the choice must ultimately be for the New Jerusalem, the decision seems only black and white to Felix. The prologue to Guthlac A ends in the same conclusion, but shows the way to that conclusion in a more cogent and realistic way. Similarly, the idea that the Fenland retreat is a "ham" coupled with the notion that the saint is seeking a higher reality is only briefly touched upon when the saint returns to the place after he had revisited Repton to say farewell to his fellows of the monastery:

Itaque intervenientibus ter tricenorum dierum  
 curriculis quibus sodales suos fraternis com-  
 mendabat salutationibus, ad supradictum locum,  
 quasi ad paternae hereditatis habitaculum (p.  
 90).<sup>6</sup>

Clearly the idea that the saint has left society in order to establish himself in an earthly type of the New Jerusalem is only minimally developed in the Vita. Scant attention is paid to the idea that what Guthlac builds in

his fen retreat has any significance beyond its being simply a convenient shelter from the elements. The Vita dismisses this activity in the barest fashion possible: "In qua [the cistern] vir beatae memoriae Guthlac desuper inposito tugurio habitare coepit" (p. 94).<sup>7</sup>

Closely connected with the idea of the "ham" explored in the poem is the motif of the builder, another central concern of Guthlac A. The angel of the prologue gives utterance to this motif when he explains to the newly arrived soul that the eternal city is the reward prepared for those who had done God's will on earth: "þar se hyhsta / ealra cyninga ceastrum wealde<sup>x</sup>. / Ðæt sind þa gëtimbru þe no tydriað" (16-18). Clearly heaven is thought of in concrete terms: the heavenly city is not just a metaphor. Again, because the poem seems to be very didactic in intent, the poet would not likely explore the implications of a celestial city on the allegorical level. The New Jerusalem may well be a state of spiritual perfection, but the poet emphasizes its concrete nature. This is reminiscent of the practical advice in the angel's speech concerning the ways to achieve heaven. At the same time, the poet does not become overly simplistic, for he recognizes that the joys of earth must be brought into harmony with the heavenly kingdom. The emphasis on the physical reality of the New Jerusalem helps to make this equation more comprehensible. The poet thus explicitly develops the concept that earthly society can be

transformed into a more worthy expression of man's aspirations: "Swa þas woruldgestreón / on þa mæran god bi-mutað weorþað" (70b-71). And particularly those who renounce the world to occupy "hamas on heolstrum" (l. 83) can expect full measure of recompense: "Hy ðas heofoncundan / boldes bidað" (83-84).

It is against this concept of the heavenly home that Guthlac's activities as a builder are presented. Guthlac comes to erect his earthly home, which is an imitation of the buildings of heaven because the terrestrial "ham" partakes of the eternal by virtue of the activities which are performed there:

Was seo londes stow  
 bimiben more monnum, oppæt meotud onwrah  
 beorg on bearwe, þa se bytla cwom  
 se þær haligne ham arærde,  
 nales þy he giende þurh gitsunga  
 lænes lifwelan, ac þæt lond gode  
 fagre gefreopode.

.....  
 Ðær he dryhtnes lof  
 rehte ond rærde....

(146b-160a)

This passage clearly echoes the earlier speech of the angel who had pointed out one of the conditions for entry into the heavenly city, for they are accepted "þe her Cristes æ / lærað ond læstað, ond his lof rærað" (23-24). Similarly, when the devils lament the loss of their former resting place and threaten Guthlac, the saint can easily denounce their attempts at intimidation by pointing out that he has consecrated the mound to God's service:

"Ic me anum her eaðe getimbre

hus ond hleonað; me on heofonum sind  
 lare gelonge. Mec þas lyt tweoþ  
 þat me engel to ealle gelædeð  
 spowende sped spreca ond dæda.  
 Gewitað nu, awyrgde, werigmode,  
 from þissum earde þe ge her on stondað...."  
 (250-256)

Certainly Guthlac has built for himself the "getimbru"  
 which anticipates the heavenly resting place which will  
 not fail. It is interesting to note, also, that Guthlac  
 partakes of the role of God in telling the evil ones that  
 he will be granted success in words and deeds, but that  
 they will be ordered to leave the place of his home, the  
 type of the heavenly city. This speech echoes Christ's  
 words concerning the words and works of the hypocrites:

Multi dicent mihi in illa die: Domine, Domine,  
 nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, et in nomine  
 tuo daemonia eiecimus, et in nomine tuo virtutes  
 multas fecimus? Et tunc confitebor illis: Quia  
 numquam novi vos: discedite a me, qui operamini  
 iniquitatem (Matt. 7:22-23).

As soon as Guthlac has ordered the "awyrgde" to depart  
 from the place, he reasserts his faith in the steadfastness  
 of God's power. The idea of the saint's home on earth is  
 expanded to include his achievement of wisdom as necessary  
 for the continuance of "sped spreca ond dæda":

"ne sceal min gast mid eow  
 gedwolan dreogan, ac mec dryhtnes hond  
 mundað mid mægne. Her sceal min wesæn  
 eorðlic eþel, nales eower leng."  
 (258-261)

This statement of confidence in God's might and His power  
 to uphold the righteous man in an earthly home recalls the  
 further teaching of Christ after the warning to the

hypocrites:

Omnis ergo qui audit verba mea haec, et facit ea, assimilabitur viro sapienti, qui aedificavit domum suam supra petram, et descendit pluvia, et venerunt flumina, et flaverunt venti, et irruerunt in domum illam, et non cecidit: fundata enim erat super petram (Matt. 7:24-25).

As one who does God's works, Guthlac can expect to be as a house built on a rock.

To counterpoint the "gētīmbū be ne tydrīað" of heaven and the activity of Guthlac the builder establishing his house on a rock, the devils attempt to lead Guthlac into despair for the activities of monks who should also be inhabiting a type of the heavenly city. Although the Old English version of the story does not make this point clear, Guthlac had spent two years in the monastery of Repton before taking up his solitary life. Felix narrates that Guthlac gave up his possessions, entered the monastery, and henceforward abstained from all intoxicating drink and all choice liquor, except for holy communion. Instead of immediately eliciting love from the other monks, Guthlac's actions initially stir up strife: "Hac igitur ex causa omnibus fratribus illic cohabitantibus aspero odio habebatur" (p. 84).<sup>8</sup> While the *Vita* does not give a reason for this reaction, the cause would seem to be that the saint's fellow monks are engaged in some more worldly style of life. Perhaps working from this incident, the poet creates the episode in which Guthlac is allowed to see the vices of those who inhabit a monastery. The saint

is hauled aloft to note their wickedness:

Hy hine þa hofun on þa hean lyft,  
 sealdon him meakte ofer monna cyñ,  
 þæt he fore eagum eall scæwode  
 under haligra hyrda gewældum  
 in mynsterum monna gebaru,  
 þara þe hyra lifes þurh lust brucan,  
 idlum æhtum ond oferwlencum,  
 gierelum gielplicum, swa bið geoguðe þeaw,  
 þær þæs ealdres egða ne styreð.  
 (412-420)

While this picture of wanton monks is far from appealing, the poet has nonetheless prepared the hearer to be not altogether intolerant of their youthful folly. For one thing, the passage does stress the fact that these are the sins of young men. Nor is monastic life to be condemned out of hand since, by implication, the elders see the folly of the younger members, even if they cannot curb it. Perhaps we are meant to think that wisdom will come with age. Also, we have been told that Guthlac had passed through a period of youthful pleasure:

                                    Ond his blæd gode  
 þurh eaðmedu ealne gesealde,  
 oone þe he on geoguðe bigan sceolde  
 worulde wynnum.  
 (102-105)

The end of the prologue includes two "sum" constructions (ll. 60-80 and 81-92). The second of these deals with the man who has already made a commitment to God through the choice of the hermit's life. The first is of central importance for an understanding of the significance of Guthlac's vision of monastic corruption and his response to it. The passage begins by pointing out that some men

see earthly wealth as the highest good and consequently despise holy men. But the passage is not negative about the place that earthly wealth occupies; it points out that change is possible, and total abstinence is not the only way to salvation. Unlike the devils, who can only see the mound in relation to their own desires, men can come to appreciate the world as part of a divine plan:

Swa þas wöruldgestreón  
 on þa mæran gōd bīmutað weorþað,  
 ðōnne þæt gēgyrneð þa þe him godes egsa  
 hleonap ofer heafdum. Hy by hyhstan beoð  
 þrymme gēpreade, þisses lifes  
 þurh biboðu brucað ond þas betran forð  
 wyscað ond wenap. Wuldres bycgað,  
 sellað almæssan, earmē frefrað,  
 beoð rummode ryhtra gestreōna,  
 lufiað mid lacum þa þe læs agun,  
 dæghwam dryhtne þeowiap. He hyra dæde sceawað.  
 (70-80).

It is exactly this potential for change, which Guthlac in his own conduct exemplifies, and which he sees for the monks, that allows the saint to refute the attack of the devils. Instead of despair for the sins of man or the hardening of the heart through failure to appreciate free will, Guthlac can respond to the devils' temptation in strength. If the "egsa" of the elders is not enough, then there is always the "egsa" of the Lord to mend the lives of the youthful monks. Guthlac is not simply temporizing in his reply: he is stating the central message of his life.

It is because the message of the poem teaches moderation and hope that the image of the monastery

changes. When Guthlac speaks of the monasteries ("myhsterum"), the diction changes as he recognizes that the devils had revealed a truth, not for his edification, but to lead him to despair:

"Ac me yrringa up gælæddon,  
 þæt ic of lýfte londa getimbru  
 geseon meahte. Was me swegles leoht  
 torht ontyned, þeah ic torn druge.  
 Setton me in edwit þæt ic eaðe forþær  
 rume regulas ond reþe mod  
 geongra menna in godes templum;  
 woldon þy gehyrwan haligra lof,  
 sohtun þa sæmran, ond þa sellan no  
 demdan after dædum."

(484-493)

Because Guthlac has been granted the light of heaven, he can perceive the essential truth that the monastery is a type of "þa getimbru þe no tydriað." Furthermore, Guthlac predicts that wisdom will come in time to the monks until "se gast lufað / onsyn ond ætwist yldran hades" (499b-500). Surely this is meant to recall the angel's words in the prologue to the blessed soul: "Ðonne cwið se engel, (hafað yldran had)" (l. 4).<sup>9</sup>

As the concept of the monastery changes when God's providence becomes unveiled through the imagery of light, so too the relationship between the builder and his mound undergoes a transformation. The *Vita* presents the fen retreat simply in dismal terms:

Est in meditullaneis Britanniae partibus immensae  
 magnitudinis aterrima palus, quae, a Grontae flu-  
 minis ripis incipiens, haud procul a castello quem  
 dicunt nomine Gronte nunc stagnis, nunc flactris,  
 interdum nigris fusi vaporis laticibus, necnon et  
 crebris insularum nemorumque intervenientibus flexu-  
 osis rivigarum anfractibus, ab austro in aquilonem



mare tenuis longissimo tractu protenditur (p. 86).<sup>10</sup>

Nothing is done by Felix to counter the original impression made by this description. The Old English version of the story does not unduly stress the bleakness of the fens. The prologue mentions hermits who dwell "on westennum" (l. 81) or who have "hamas on heolstrum" (l. 83). Guthlac leaves society to occupy a "beorgsepel" (l. 102). While such diction weakly implies an unpleasant place, the poet suppresses any horror involved. After Guthlac overcomes the first temptation (127-132), his perception of his retreat and his reaction to it begin to change as he receives angelic instruction: "þæt him leofedan londes wyne, / bold on beorhge" (139-140). One of Guthlac's first actions on the hill is to mark it as God's dominion: "ærest arærde / Cristes rode, þær se cempa oferwon / frecnessa fela" (179b-180).

In the last section of the poem (722-818) the hill has taken on a completely different meaning. Guthlac is again called a "bytla" (l. 733) and is surrounded by a flock of birds which rejoice in the food provided by the saint. The setting itself is transmogrified by the actions of the holy man:

Smolt was se sigewong ond sele niwe,  
 fæger fugla reord, folde geblowen;  
 geacas gear budon. Guþlac moste  
 eadig ond onmod eardes brucan.  
 Stod se grena wong in godes wære;  
 hæfde se heorde, se þe of heofonum cwom,  
 feondas afyrde.

(742-748)

In a generalized summary of the "message" of the saint's life, the poet applies the lesson of Guthlac's holy life to all men who may ascend to heaven. For them the entry into glory is assured, for they have dealt with the earth in a proper fashion:

Donne hy hweorfað in þa halgan burg,  
 gongað gegnunga to Hierusalem,  
 þar hi to worulde wynnum motun  
 godes onsyne georne bihealdan,  
 sibbe ond gesihðe, þar heo soð wunað,  
 wlitig, wuldorfæst, ealne wiðan ferh  
 on lifgendra londes wynne.  
 (812-818)

Clearly, then, the poet sees Guthlac's "beorg" as a type of the New Jerusalem. Thus earthly society is not explicitly condemned; the good man can re-create the things of this earth as the shadow of the New Jerusalem. It is this tension between the potentials of good and evil, between the demonic and the beatific use of the fen retreat, that makes possible the action of the saint on earth.

Guthlac A ends with the assertion that the man who acts according to God's commands may expect to go to the New Jerusalem and forever enjoy the "londes wynne." Guthlac B picks up the same complex of images and redefines it in terms of the motif of the earth as a place of exile. Guthlac B begins with the story of God's creation of Adam and Eve who are placed in Paradise, the land where the joys are reminiscent of those foretold of the New Jerusalem at the end of Guthlac A:

willan onsyn, þar him nænges was  
 ne welan brosnung,

ne lifes lyre ne lices hryre,  
 ne dreames dryre ne deaðes cyme,  
 ac he on þam lande lifgan moste  
 ealra leahtra leas, longe neotan  
 niwa gefeana.

(827-833)

While the Bible does not mention what was to become of Adam and Eve ultimately, the poet of Guthlac B sees the potential of Eden transformed into a closer fellowship with God in a new and transcendent social order:

Ac æfter fyrste to þam færestan  
 heofonrices gefean hweorfan mostan,  
 leomu lic somud ond lifes gæst,  
 ond þær sippan a in sindreamum  
 to widan feore wunian mostun  
 dryhtne on gesihðe....

(836-841)

But this is exactly the same promise held out to man at the end of Guthlac A if he will only be obedient to God (811-818). The poet continues the narration of the events of Genesis, including the eating of the "blede forbodene" (l. 847), and the result of the action. Of the events which might have been developed or commented upon, the poet chooses to concentrate only on the actual exile of Adam and Eve from their original and rightful home:

Sippan se eþel uðgenge wearð  
 Adame ond Euan, eardwica cyst  
 beorht oðbroden, ond hyra bearnum swa,  
 eaferum æfter, þa hy on uncyððu,  
 scomum scudende, scofene wurdon  
 on gëwinworuld.

(852-857)

But the poet sees the exile motif as having further implications than just this single action in human history; even more disastrous is the punishment of death, a

punishment imaged in the separation of the soul from the body, for the "gastgedal" (l. 862) is the last word that the poet has for the punishment of Adam and Eve. And all men are the inheritors of this punishment, for the poet stresses that death, the separation of soul from body, comes to all men as a result of the sin of our first parents:

Deað in geþrong  
fira cynne, feond rixade  
geond middangeard. Nænig monna was  
of þam sigetudre sippan æfre  
godes willan þas georn, ne gynnwised,  
þæt he biþugan mæge þone bitran drync  
þone Eue fyrn Adame geaf,  
byrelade bryd geong; þæt him þam gescod  
in þam deoran ham. Deað ricsade  
ofer foldbuend....

(863-871)

Despite the fact that death, the separation of body and soul, must come for all men, there is still hope for the soul, after its departure, to achieve a transcendent union which will be for all time. After the separation comes union with the society of the elect. Much of Guthlac B deals, in terms of the imagery of separation and exile, with the way in which the New Jerusalem, the heavenly and eternal society, may be achieved.

Guthlac himself bridges the two ideas expressed about exile in the poem. On one level he is the inheritor of Adam and Eve's sin, and consequently of their punishment. It is for this reason that he, too, must undergo the "gastgedal." When death is near at hand for the saint, the images of separation and exile are again developed as

a major theme of the poetry:

Was gewinnes þa  
 yrmba for eorðan endedogor  
 þurh nydgedal neah geþrunge,  
 sibban he on westenne wiceard geceas,  
 fiftynu gear....

(932-936)

Similarly, as Guthlac's disease progresses, the poet again returns to the idea of separation as the punishment that all men must undergo:

Nas him songcearu  
 on þas lanan tid, þeah his lic ond gast  
 hyra somwiste, sinhiwan tu,  
 deore gedælden.

(966-969)

The image of the soul and body as a "wedded couple" seems to the poet to recall the first "wedded couple," Adam and Eve, and the poet again refers to their former sin and the result of that crime (969-975). But the reference to Adam and Eve does not serve only to justify the necessity of Guthlac's death. The concept of marriage is fulfilled in the images of the New Testament in which the church or New Jerusalem is prepared as the bride of the Lamb. Thus, even though the saint must undergo a period of exile as a result of the sins of the first wedded couple, it is only for a finite period of time. The implications of this marriage image include, by its very nature, the idea of union with Christ the victor-king.

While the ultimate journey of the saint's soul to heaven is not specifically referred to in terms of a marriage, yet the poet seems to have had in mind the idea

of a reunion imaged in a formalized and religious frame. In a passage that recalls The Wanderer, the poet shows the saint perceiving his forthcoming death as the culmination of his exile on earth in the image of the faithful retainer reunited with the Lord. What the literal level of The Wanderer had achieved in secular terms, Guthlac B does in the larger concept of the universal meaning of exile:

Ðonne dogor beoð  
 on moldwege min forð scripen,  
 sorg gesweoðrad, ond ic sippan mot  
 fore meotudes cneowum meorda hleoðan,  
 gingra geafena....

(1038-1042)

Whereas the speaker in The Wanderer had only recalled the past when, before the knees of his lord, he had enjoyed the benefits of an earthly gift-throne, Guthlac foresees the future when, before the knees of his Lord, he too will be endowed with gifts. The significant difference is that Guthlac's gifts will be new. Clearly the idea of new gifts is analogous to the new dispensation which is the core of Christian teaching. The Lord presides over the New Jerusalem, and it is to this city that Guthlac is bound. The poet reinforces the idea of the new order; Guthlac sees himself as becoming a follower of Christ in this new realm: "Ond godes lomber / in sindreamum sippan awo / forð folgian" (1042b-1044a). Surely this is meant to recall the apocalyptic vision of the New Testament:

Post hæc vidi turbam magnam, quam dinumerare  
 nemo poterat ex omnibus gentibus, et tribubus,  
 et populis, et linguis: stantes ante thronum,  
 et in conspectu Agni amicti stolis albis, et

palmae in manibus eorum: et clamabant voce magna dicentes: Salus Deo nostro, qui sedet super thronum, et Agno (Rev. 7:9-10).

Images of Christ as both the Lamb of God and the King of the new city tend to reinforce this apocalyptic tone. The joy of the elect in the New Jerusalem is echoed in the attitude of Guthlac as he tells his faithful retainers that his journey hence holds no terror:

"Ic eom sibes fus  
 upearð niman edleana georn  
 in þam ecan gefean, ægewyrhtum  
 geseon sigora frean, min þæt swase bearn.  
 Nis me wracu ne gewin, þæt ic wuldres god  
 sece swegelycning, þær is sib ond blis,  
 domfastra dream, dryhten ondweard...."  
 (1077-1083)

The accumulation of positive aspects echoes in tone the song of the angels in John's account of the praise offered to the Lamb: "Dignus est Agnus, qui occisus est, accipere virtutem, et divinitatem, et sapientiam, et fortitudinem, et honorem, et gloriam, et benedictionem" (Rev. 5:12).

The next time that the poet talks of Christ as the king of a city, the reference is expanded to include both the judicial function of the Lord and the idea of His chastity:

"Ond hyre eac gecyð  
 wordum minum, þæt ic me warnade  
 hyre onsyne ealle þrage  
 in woruldlice, for ðy ic wilnode  
 þæt wit unc eft in þam ecan gefean  
 on sweglwaldre geseon mostun  
 fore onsyne eces deman  
 leahtra lease. þær sceal lufu uncer  
 wærfæst wunian, þær wit wilna a  
 in ðære beorhtan byrig brucan motun,  
 eades mid englum."  
 (1182-1192)

It is the absolute nature of chastity on earth that ensures that eternity will be spent in fellowship with the Lamb of God. But Guthlac's longed for journey is neatly counterpointed by yet another view of the motif of the journey. Complete abstinence from the world, and the affairs of the world, is not necessarily the only good. In fact, one of the most important functions of a Christian is to spread the word of faith: "Sine ut mortui sepeliant mortuos suos: tu autem vade, et annuntia regnum Dei" (Luke 9:60). Thus Guthlac, in his dealing with the world, is an emblem of the world to come. He rejects the evil that is inherent in earthly society and embraces those things which are conducive to establishing the image of God's order on earth.



## CHAPTER V

### CYNEWULF'S SAINTS:

#### EXPOSURE AND REFORMATION OF SOCIETY

In a rather curious introduction to his translation of Juliana, R. K. Gordon states: "Juliana is a typical saint's life and less interesting than Andreas or Guthlac. . . . The saint suffers the same torments, displays the same constancy, and wins the same glory of martyrdom as other saints whose lives were written and read throughout medieval Christendom."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one reason for this negative appraisal is the fact that the life draws very clear lines between earthly and heavenly society. The dichotomy between the two poles is made more black and white than in the other metrical Old English saints' legends. While the potential for conversion and salvation is present, the real focus of the life is the opposition of the two kingdoms. Reward and punishment are two dominant considerations, and Cynewulf is faced with a source which sees the two as mutually exclusive. The poem is thus unlike Guthlac A, which pits the saint against the already damned, or Guthlac B, in which the saint reconfirms his disciple in the truth of the faith by the example of his own holy life.

But Cynewulf is too subtle a poet to rest contented with so simplistic an opposition. The values represented by Eleusius and Africanus are clearly secular and are invalidated by Juliana's adherence to the values of God's kingdom. But such an evaluation of the two societies fails to note the complexity of the texture of the interplay between these two kingdoms. As Cherniss points out, the picture of pagan society offered in Juliana would be honourable if the only criterion were the pagan Germanic-heroic ideals<sup>2</sup>; such values are, however, undercut in the context of the action of the life.

The first seventeen lines of the poem serve to establish the limited earthly setting against which a larger and more important action is to be played out. Maximian rules most of the earth, and therefore establishes the way in which earthly affairs are run. Virtually in the middle of the "prologue," Cynewulf relates the potential that this realm has for good:

Was his rice brad,  
wid ond weorðlic ofer werbeode,  
lytesna ofer ealne yrmennē grund.  
(8-10)

Surrounding this description of Maximian's realm with the favourable connotations of "weorðlic," are the actions of the tyrant king who perverts God's creation.

The first eight lines (1-8a) portray the evils of Maximian himself (the "arleas cyning") against the people of God. It is he himself who "eahtnyse ahof" (l. 4) and

"circañ fylde" (l. 5). Following the medial section, which ironically implies the possibility of good, is a passage which asserts the evil which radiates from the "arleas cyning." Clearly Maximian is responsible ("swa he biboden hafde," l. 11), but his "þegnas pryðfulle" (l. 12) are scarcely less culpable for the zeal with which they obey the emperor's evil commands. The Acta S. Julianae does not include any of these details about the rôle of Maximian in perverting the social order from potential good to active sin:

Denique temporibus Maximiani imperatoris, persecutoris Christianae religionis, erat quidem senator in civitate Nicomedia, nomine Eleusius, amicus imperatoris.<sup>3</sup>

Clearly Cynewulf is manipulating his version of the story to heighten the idea of this earth as a place of struggle between the forces of good and evil.

Again, Eleusius is presented by Cynewulf in an ambiguous way. If one accepts the secular heroic ideal as a criterion by which to judge men, then Juliana's suitor is presented initially in a favourable way. His introduction into the action of the poem is such that the audience would respond well to him:

Sum was athwelig aþeles cynnes,  
rice gerefá, Rondburgum weold,  
eard weardade oftast symle  
in þære ceastre Commedia,  
heold hordgestreon.

(18-22a)

Such a description would not be out of place applied to Beowulf. Similarly, when the poet gives us the man's name

and introduces the first action significant for the particular saint, the probable response of the audience would range from neutral to positive:

Was his noma cenned  
 Heliseus, hæfde ealdordom  
 micelne ond mærne. Ða his mod ongon  
 farnan lufian, (hine fyrwet bræc),  
 Juliana.

(24-28)<sup>4</sup>

Of the twenty-one verses used to introduce Eleusius into the action of the poem, the first nine, and the last eight are either neutral, or positive if judged simply by secular values. The remaining four verses come between these two nearly equal sections. They put forth in no uncertain terms the evil which characterizes Eleusius: "Oft he hæbengiæld / ofer word Godes, weoh gesohte / neode geneahhe" (22-24).

There is no possible excuse for Maximian: he is simply "arleas cyning." His followers were influenced by him to the point where they "hofon hæbengiæld" (l. 15). Similarly, Eleusius is a subordinate who, even though it is "ofer word Godes," seeks "hæbengiæld" (l. 22). The interesting thing about the descriptions of two of the evil characters in the story is that both suggest the positive values of earthly society which have been turned aside from good to evil. The condemnation is not of the earth, but of the use that is made of it. Juliana's virtue is not that she is apart from the earth, but that she has a proper perspective. The Latin version of the story

offers no suggestion about the character of Eleusius. He is presented simply as "a friend of the emperor." It is sufficient for the author of the Acta S. Julianae that Eleusius is part of the Roman hierarchy. The author of the Latin version simply states: "Hic desponsaverat quandam puellam nobili genere ortam, nomine Julianam" (p. 33).<sup>5</sup> It is clear that Cynewulf is focusing attention on the conflict between evil and good in the character of Eleusius. In the depiction of the social order, Cynewulf is moving away from the black and white morality of his source by framing both Maximian and Eleusius in terms that, at least, suggest the possibility of good submerged in evil.

For the same reason, Cynewulf is silent about the moral stance of Africanus, the saint's father. Immediately after we are told that Eleusius loves Juliana, the poet focuses on her response:

Heo in gaste bar  
 halge treowe, hogde georne  
 þæt hire mægohad manā gehwylces  
 fore Cristes lufan clæne geheolde.  
 (28-31)

The Latin version interposes some information about Africanus between Eleusius' desires and Juliana's response: "Cujus pater Africanus cognominabatur, qui et ipse erat persecutor Christianorum" (p. 33 f.).<sup>6</sup> It appears that Cynewulf is specifically omitting as much detail as he can about the evil in society. Not only does he stress the positive aspects of the social order for good, or at least

the potential for good, but also he makes the father a totally neutral character at the beginning of his version of the story. Africanus is left as neither good nor evil. His fall will be the result of his choice as the action of the story unfolds. As with the other evil characters of the story, Cynewulf makes Africanus' choice to follow the evil of society a more central concern of the poetic version. The reason for these subtle changes in handling his source becomes apparent in the subsequent confrontation between the saint and her suitor.

The treasures that had, at worst, been neutral in their first presentation by Cynewulf are now clearly put into their proper perspective by Juliana's attitude towards them:

Hire was godes egða  
 mara in gemyndum,   bonne eall þæt mappungesteald  
 þe in þæs æþelinges   æhtum wunade.  
 (35-37)

This is the first time that any negative quality has been associated with wealth. Balancing the idea of earthly treasure, the characteristic which dominates the description of Eleusius, is the notion that God's treasure, the rightly directed fear and love men feel in their hearts, is more valuable by far. Cynewulf has made a point about the proper response to earthly riches much more succinctly through Juliana's character than his source had done. In fact, the Latin version suggests several qualities about the saint which might account for her reluctance to espouse

the impious pagan:

Juliana autem habens animum rationabilem, prudens-  
que consilium, et dignam conversationem, et vir-  
tutem plenissimam, hoc cogitabat apud se quoniam  
verus est Deus, qui fecit coelum et terram; et per  
singulos dies vacans orationibus concurrebat ad  
ecclesiam Dei, ut divinos apices intelligeret  
(p. 34).<sup>7</sup>

Cynewulf's Juliana immediately knows the answer about the question of love and has only one reason for rejecting her suitor. If the term "egsa" suggests the idea of loving reverence and the proper relationship of man to God, then it is most ironic that Cynewulf returns to Eleusius' point of view immediately after we are told that Juliana thinks that "godes egsa" is greater than any wealth. Since the poem does not suggest that Juliana has yet told Eleusius of her decision, there is nothing particularly incongruous, from his point of view, in his desire to possess her:

þa was se weliga þare wifgifta,  
goldspedig guma, georn on mode,  
þæt him mon fromlicast fæmnan gegyrede,  
bryd to bolde.

(38=41)

Whereas the previous description of Eleusius' wealth had been undermined by the mention of his heathen activities, this description of him as a "weliga" and a "goldspedig guma" is much more clearly put into perspective by Juliana's adherence to a society which obviously transcends the merely secular virtue of wealth and power suggested by gold.

Juliana's initial response to Eleusius recognizes that he is powerful in the earthly realm:

Heo þæs beornes lufan  
 fæste wiðhogde, þeah þe feorhgestreon  
 under hordlocan, hyrsta unrim  
 æhte ofer eorþan. Heo þæt eal forseah...  
 (41-44)

Cynewulf has thus brought the audience to the point where Juliana's words will make sense; he has clearly delineated the difference between the two kingdoms. The contrast between good and evil has been developed by oblique references. Now Juliana can pinpoint the exact nature of the conflict in her first reply to Eleusius:

"Ic þe mæg geseġan þæt þu þec sylfne ne þearft  
 swiþor swencan. Gif þu soðne god  
 lufast ond gelyfest, ond his lof rærest,  
 onġietest ġæsta hlec, ic beo ġearo soðra  
 unwæclice willan þines."  
 (46-50)

Juliana's refusal focused on two important aspects of the development of her logic of refusal that had only been partially developed up to this time. The main development of Eleusius had, to this point, focuses mainly on his role in society and his failure to make amends for the widespread manifestations of evil found in Maximian's kingdom. Juliana's answer shifts the emphasis to Eleusius as an individual; the metrical stress in the first line of the cited rejection is on "sylvne," and this is an unusual word to receive stress. The line seems to suggest that the amendment of the individual must precede any social action. Secondly, Juliana's response makes concrete the second level of society present in the poem. To this point, the concept of God has received no real amplifica-



tion; Cynewulf has used only terms devoid of specific connotation such as "Dryhten" or "God." Juliana's response amplifies this by making God the "soðne god," an idea which clearly denies any possible validity to heathen idols. More importantly, however, she also declares that God is "gæsta hleo." Clearly she moves from the ideals of the earthly society to those of the spiritual. If Maximian's followers have been shown as having power, it is only power over the physical well-being of the Christian men whom they persecute. Juliana's speech is the first instance where the concept of God's kingdom is expanded to include reference to men's souls. The story is beginning to diverge from the tale of a maiden persecuted on earth to one in which larger issues are at stake. The positive qualities suggested for the realm of Maximian at the beginning of the poem are refocused as more symbolic than real.

Likewise, the second half of Juliana's speech again emphasizes that the power of those who worship devils is confined solely to the physical. But even here they cannot exercise control over the virtuous, no matter how hard they try:

"Swylce ic þe secge, gif þu to samran gode  
 þurh deofolgielð dæde biþencest,  
 hætsð hæpenfeoh, ne meht þu habban mec,  
 ne gepreátian þe to gesingan.  
 Næfre þu þæs swiðlic sár gegearwast  
 þurh hæstne nið heardra wita,  
 þæt þu mec onwende worda þissa."  
 (51-57)<sup>8</sup>

The moral connotations of Eleusius' wealth as implied here show the constant destruction of this kind of power. The neutral, or perhaps even positive, quality of "feohgēstreon" (l. 42) has become the symbol of active evil in "hæpenfeoh" (l. 53). One difference between the Vita and Cynewulf's Juliana noted by scholars is the omission by Cynewulf of Juliana's condition that Eleusius obtain a higher rank before she will consent to a marriage. Rosemary Woolf, in the preface to her edition of the poem, suggests that the two reasons offered by Cynewulf's Juliana, praise of virginity (28-31) and her refusal to marry a pagan (46-50), are contradictory and not clearly worked out:

In the former [the Liflade]<sup>9</sup> Juliana's demand that Eleusius should obtain a higher rank before she will consent to marry him is represented as a deliberate stratagem, designed to enable her to evade the marriage, and therefore her second condition had presumably the same intention. The unreasonableness of the Vita and the inconsistency of Cynewulf's poem are thus both avoided, and it may well be thought that the Liflade here shows us the original form of the story. In this case Cynewulf's version, with its omission of Juliana's first demand [that he obtain a prefecture] and emphasis on virginity, would show a confused handling of such a source, but whether the confusion was Cynewulf's own, or that of an intermediary text, would still remain open to doubt.<sup>10</sup>

But maidenhood is a gift of God just as the earthly kingdom is; it is up to the individual to make of it what she will. Unlike Maximian and Eleusius, who pervert the gift of the earthly kingdom, Juliana perseveres in using her gift properly. She does not, as Woolf seems to suggest,

refuse outright to marry: "Hogde georne / þat hire mægðhad  
 mana gehwylces / fore Cristes lufan clæne geheolde" (29-  
 31). Even Saint Paul recognized that celibacy was not the  
 only way for mankind; marriage to Eleusius under the prop-  
 er circumstances would not invalidate Juliana's resolution  
 to keep her maidenhood clean "mana gehwylces."

It is only after Juliana calls upon Eleusius to  
 reject the false gods that a truly negative picture of him  
 emerges. Previously his role in society had been framed  
 in terms of ignorance more than malice. While it is  
 against God's word that he sought heathen idols, he none-  
 theless is not condemned as a persecutor in the same way  
 that Maximian had been. After his exposure to the truth  
 that Juliana proclaims, he becomes less than heroic in  
 stature:

Da se æpeling wearð yrre gebolgen,  
 firendædum fah, gehyrde þare fæmnan word,  
 het ða gefetigan ferend snelle  
 hreoh ond hygeblind, haligre fader,  
 recegne to rune.

(58-62)

Just as the evil exhibited by Maximian flows throughout  
 society, so now the wickedness evident in Eleusius' refus-  
 al to accept the truth presented by Juliana begins to have  
 repercussions in another level of society, the relation-  
 ship between father and daughter. Cynewulf had suppressed  
 information about Africanus; he does not include the de-  
 tail found in the Vita that he was a persecutor of the  
 Christians. As soon as Eleusius fails to respond properly

to Juliana's call, Africanus is summoned and we are given further details about him and Eleusius: "Hæðne wæron begen / synnum seoce, sweor ond apum" (64-65). The disease, the sickness of sin, begins to emanate from these two and results in the alienation of the father from the daughter. Africanus and Eleusius, on the other hand, are linked together in a now unholy family alliance.

The result of Africanus' sin-blindness is put in terms of the social bond. Eleusius' complaint to Africanus is that Juliana has refused him unless he will worship a god whom they did not formerly know (68-77). Africanus' response does not centre on the theology involved, as one might well expect, but on the social issue. He asserts that he is really satisfied with things as they have been, equating the favour of the old gods with the continued good-will of his earthly lord:

"Ic þæt geswenge þurh soð godu,  
 swa ic are æt him æfre finde,  
 oppe, þeoden, æt þe þine hyldu  
 winbuḡum in, gif þas word sind soþ,  
 monna leofast, þe þu me saḡast  
 þæt ic hý ne sparige, ac on spild giefe,  
 þeoden mæra, þe to gewealde."  
 (80-86)

It is ironic that Africanus uses the phrase "soð godu" (l. 80) to describe the pagan practices since Juliana had already called on Eleusius to accept the "soðne god" (l. 47) as the condition for their betrothal. Africanus believes that he has received "are" from the false gods just as he receives "hyldu" from his temporal lord. Clearly

the process of evil is an active one as its influence spreads out to encompass more and more individuals. The only absolutely vicious character sketch is that of Maximian, the "arleas cyning." As soon as Juliana presents the alternative, the two principal actors in her martyrdom have the information necessary to allow them to make a clear-cut evil choice. Only when they know of the existence of the two societies can they opt for Babylon over the New Jerusalem. Thus they make their choice for the graceless state of the perverted temporal realm in place of a life devoted to the "lof" of the true God.

The idea of the two societies finds concrete embodiment elsewhere in the poem. The darkest image of the total perversion of society is that displayed by the devil who comes to tempt and torment the imprisoned Juliana. There is no positive quality about the society of hell. Yet, hell is set up in the poem as a social order in which good is punished and evil rewarded. Analogous to Maximian's kingdom, in which the inhabitants are sent forth to persecute good men, is the kingdom of hell, whose ministers are likewise sent forth to persecute men. But the kingdom of hell is more vicious than the realm ruled over by the "arleas cyning," Maximian. His agents go forth to do every wickedness on the physical level. Hell's king sends his minions forth to attack men spiritually:

"Bonne he usic sendeð þæt we soðfæstra  
 þurh misgedwield mod oncyrran,

ahwyrfen from halor. . . .<sup>11</sup>  
(325-327)

In a parody of earthly society, the lot of a failed devil is exile:

"Gif we yfles noht  
gedon habbaþ; ne durrān we sibþan  
for his onsyne ower geferān."<sup>12</sup>  
(329-331)

Also, Satan, the "hellwarena cyning" (l. 322) is a persecutor of his own subjects when they fail to accomplish the evil intentions of their master:

"þonne he onsendeð geond sidne grund  
þegnað of þystrum, hāteð þræce rāran,  
gif we gemette sin on moldwege,  
oppe feor oppe neah fundne weorþen,  
þæt hi usic binden ond in þalwylme  
suslum swingen."  
(332-337)

The values of the two societies, that of Maximian and that of Satan, seem quite parallel. Both rulers send out servants to persecute the good, either physically or spiritually. Failure to pervert the good results in torment. For Eleusius, the punishment is his burning but unfulfillable passion for Juliana. The devil suffers actual physical pain when he cannot accomplish his mission. For both types of society Juliana is the stumbling block, for she emblematically resists the worst that Maximian's ministers can offer on the physical level as well as steadfastly resisting the spiritual attacks of Satan's ministers. She thus provides the common meeting ground where both physical and spiritual evil-doers find their wickedness of no avail.

Similarly, Juliana provides the focal point for the resolution of the conflict between the two societies, that of Babylon and the New Jerusalem. Juliana's apotheosis into the realm of heaven is presented very simply. After her sermon to the people, Juliana's death comes with great dignity and simplicity: "Ða hyre sawl wearð / alæded of lice to þam langan gefean / þurh sweordslege" (669-671). On the other hand the death of the thirty-four persecutors is marked by violence and terror, since their kingdom becomes the kingdom of hell, and all their expectations meet ironic fulfillment in the inversion of the expected order:

Ne porftan þa þegnas in þam pystran ham,  
 seo geneatscolu in þam neolan scrafæ,  
 to þam frungare feohgestealdā  
 witedra wenan, þæt hy in winsele  
 ofer beorsætle bægas þegon,  
 æpplede gold.

(683-688)

The just punishment for those who pervert the social order by persecution of the righteous is portrayed as the static denial and reversal of the image of that society. For the workers of right, however, the reward is not only heaven but also the ideal of continuing to win men to the New Jerusalem. Juliana's body is brought to the city with rejoicing, and even in death her accomplishments continue to grow:

geara gongum            þær siððan was  
 þrymme miclæ        godes lof hæfen  
 mid þeodscipe.        op þisne dæg

(692-695)

In Juliana, Cynewulf is dealing with the transient and corruptible nature of earthly society in contrast to eternal, heavenly society. He does not, however, show us, except by implication, how the former can be made more like the latter, as he does in Elene, a poem concerned mainly with the transformation of society through the revelation of knowledge. The only resolution of the social problems in Juliana is the punitive destruction of wicked earthly rulers; this is not a suitable approach for the world of Elene where the rulers are, by the limitations imposed by history, to be defined as intrinsically good men who, in the course of their lives, perceive an even greater good. The difference in theme is expressed by Cynewulf's manipulation of the image of the earthly society in both poems. Unlike the treatment in Juliana, where the positive potentials are perverted and nullified, the handling of the image in Elene is much more positive, and the movement of the poem is towards affirmation of those values rather than to denial of or transcendence over them.

The beginning of Elene is, in many ways, a peculiar one for a saint's life. While the element of struggle is present, it is not, as in the other four metrical Old English saints' legends, focused clearly on the differences between good and evil. In the contest between the Romans and the Huns there is little significant difference; nothing in the context of the poem really makes any particular difference between the two sides. Both armies are



described in favourable terms, and Cynewulf makes sure that neither Constantine nor the king of the Huns is diminished in heroic stature. The clearly traditional colouring of the confrontation, replete with the battle beast motif, serves to heighten the feeling that the poem is only about a struggle on the secular level. The main element which marks the difference and allows the protagonists to see the deeper meaning of the contest is still lacking. Knowledge is the special quality which puts things into perspective.

Knowledge about the relationship between heavenly control and the outcome of earthly events is a function assigned to the messenger and the vision of the cross which he presents. The angel addresses Constantine and assures him that the revelation is from heaven, since it is God who has ordered the "ware" (l. 80) announced to Constantine. In conveying the message, the angel refers to God in three distinct functions; God is represented as "eyning engla" (l. 79), "wyrda wealdend" (l. 80), and "duguða dryhten" (l. 81). Cynewulf seems to have chosen these three attributes with considerable care. The first shows God as king of heaven; the second portrays Him in a generalized fashion as responsible for whatever happens on earth; finally, God is revealed as specifically in charge of a type of the chosen people, the Romans. Earlier in the poem the narrator had been aware that God must have been directing Constantine's affairs:

Hine god trymede  
 mærdum ond mihtum,    þæt he manegum wearð  
 geond middangeard    mannum to hroðor,  
 werþeodum to wræce,    syððan wæpen ahof  
 wið hetendum.

(14-18)

It is clear that Constantine must have been in ignorance about the role God played in human events since he does not even appear to know anything about Him:

Dā þæs frieggan ongan folces aldor,  
 sigerof cyning,    ofer sid weorod,  
 wære þær anig    yldra oððe gingra  
 þe him to soðe    secgan meante,  
 galdrum cyðan,    hwæt se god wære...  
 (157-161)

Cynewulf has altered his source for a significant reason. The Latin version of the story presents the arrival of the messenger and his introduction to the vision in the barest possible fashion: "Ea vero nocte, [cum dormiret,] veniens vir splendidissimus suscitavit eum et dixit: 'Constantine, noli timere, sed respice sursum in caelum et vide!'"<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the introduction of Constantine (ll. 14-18) has no parallel in the *Acta* version. While taking the idea of God's rule for granted, the *Vita* in effect ignores it. Cynewulf's version, on the other hand, clearly depicts God as ruler both in heaven and on earth, even though Constantine himself is not aware of it.

Cynewulf, then, is interested in the function of the cross in making evident to mankind, and Constantine in particular, the fact that God has always been the ruler over human affairs. Since Cynewulf wishes to establish this idea, the reason for his elaboration of battle images

becomes clearer. Most commentators are silent about the battle sections of the poem, being content simply to note that these passages are Cynewulf's additions. Typical of the attitude, and among the earliest examples, is Kent's petition for a positive response:

In several places there have been noted interpolations; and these belong to the chief beauties of the poem. Perhaps the appreciative reader would most praise the description of the battle and the description of Helena's journey, both of which Cynewulf himself draws.<sup>14</sup>

But these "chief beauties" also have a function. The drawing together of armies which are undifferentiated, at least from their own viewpoint, serves as the token of society; without knowledge, the distinctions between good and evil become blurred. Constantine's victory over his foes is assured by the knowledge conferred by the messenger, but Cynewulf cannot allow the process to end here. The description of the actual battle scene is still primarily secular in tone. While Kent is, of course, correct in his response to the beauty and power of the passage, there is still a purpose beyond mere ornamentation in such a description. Knowledge without understanding limits the perspective of both sides; the conflict has not yet transcended the old ethos. The raven, the wolf, and the dewy-feathered eagle all symbolize the old order of things; the "fæge folc" (l. 117) are part of the old way of looking at events in this world without the advantage of revelation to put events into their new perspective. It is only at

the end of this sequence that we are again reminded that a new order has been proclaimed, for the sign of victory is again mentioned. The enemy has changed from simply a temporal foe into the representatives of a deeper dimension of evil:

Ða wæs þuf hafan,  
 segn for sweotum, sigeleoð galen.  
 Gylden grima, garas lixtan  
 on herfelda. Hæðena grungon,  
 feollon friðelease.

(123-127)

It is only after Constantine, but more importantly the audience, has been informed about God's providence that the Huns can be characterized in morally negative terms such as "hæðena" and "friðelease."

The first manuscript division of Elene (1-98) ends with Constantine's vision. The second division (99-193) deals with Constantine's use of the "tacen" (l. 85) and his enquiry into the meaning of the cross. The very first time that the cross is mentioned occurs when the angel appears to Constantine to present the vision in the heavens: "Þu to heofenum beseoh / on wuldres weard, þær ðu wraðe findest, / sigores tacen" (83-85). The last time that the cross is mentioned in division two makes use of the same formulas to describe it and recalls the fulfillment of the help earlier promised:

[Christ] Alysde leoda bearn of locan deofla,  
 geomre gastas, ond him gife sealde  
 þurh þa ilcan gesceaft þe him [Constantine]  
 geywed wearð  
 sylfum on gesyhðe, sigores tacen,

wið þeoda þrace.

(181-185)

Within the large envelope pattern of "sigores tacen," a significant development has taken place. Constantine's knowledge of the cross has gradually changed into a deeper understanding of what is meant by the "tacen." Initially it was only the sign of victory over the Huns, who are subsequently revealed, not merely as the heroic foes of the beginning of the poem, but as God's enemies. By the end of this division, the power of the cross has expanded into the spiritual realm. Just as the cross confers success against secular foes, so it is able to offer salvation to "gastas." The cross has thus become the means for earthly success (as embodied by Constantine's prowess as an earthly lord) and spiritual success (as embodied by the Lord's conquest of the devil) to dwell together harmoniously. The two kingdoms are not mutually exclusive, but are symbolized and unified by the same image. It is this message, the transformation and not the transcendence of earthly society, that Elene goes to preach to the Jews. And in this case also, the cross is the physical embodiment of the mission, the symbol of transformation, that unites the two portions of the poem into a coherent whole.

Constantine's foes are presented in positive secular terms and are revealed to be heathens only after Constantine has the vision of the cross. Elene goes to face an enemy depicted in different terms, for they are pre-

sented as a people who had had God's favour but had rejected it through their own will. This is the basis of the three charges made by Elene against the Jewish leaders as she chronicles the outline of Jewish history. The Jewish nation had been in decline, and this is symbolically imaged in the diminishing assembly of leaders thought worthy to appear before the empress. She encounters first three thousand, then one thousand, and finally five hundred.

The first confrontation with the three thousand centres on the one period of history where the Jews had the opportunity to transform their society from the old to the new dispensation. As in the Acta version, Elene begins by reminding the Jews of past glory as shown in their writings:

"Ic þæt gearolice ongiten hæbbe  
 þurg wītgena wordgerynō  
 on godes bocum þæt ge geardagum  
 wyrðe wæron wuldorcyninge,  
 dryhtne dyre ond dædhwate."  
 (288-292)<sup>15</sup>

The main argument of Elene's first confrontation centres on the fact that the Jews have failed to respond, as a people, to the challenge of salvation. The principal image in the passage is vision, both physical and spiritual. The image of blindness finds its fullest exploration in the complex of ideas surrounding Christ's attempts to lead the Jewish people from the bondage of darkness:

"Ge mid hōru speowdon  
 on þæs ondwlitān þe eow eagna leoht,

fram blindnesse bote gefremede  
 edniowunga þurh þæt æðela spald,  
 ond fram unclænum oft genærede  
 deofla gæstum."

(297-302)

The result of this one instance in which the Jews act evilly in rejecting the light is the continuation of evil in social terms. In place of the times when they were "dædhwate," the situation has now arisen in which spiritual blindness has produced temporal evils which continue into the present. Blindness of heart actively refuses to recognize light, and must suffer the consequences. Part of the deed and its consequences, in fact, seems to be the inability to distinguish any longer between light and dark: "Swa ge modblinde mangan ongunnon / lige wið soðe, leoht wið þystrum, / æfst wið are" (306-308). It is in this deplorable state that Elene finds the Jews: "Ond ge-dweolan lifdon, / þeostrum geþancum, oð þysne dæg" (311-312).

Elene's second confrontation, this time with a thousand Jews, learned in the old tradition, focuses on the events which led up to the rejection of Christ. Picking up the notion, briefly alluded to in the earlier speech by Elene, Cynewulf develops the idea that the Jews were "dryhtne dyre." This dearness to God is shown in two special ways. On the one hand, God had amply forewarned the Jews about the coming events through such prophetic figures as Moses, David, and Isaiah. Immediately after recalling the Book of Isaiah, with her elaboration of the

homely simile of the ox which knows its own master, Elene breaks aside from her recapitulation of the spiritual gifts to consider the second way in which God had favoured the Jews.<sup>16</sup> As in her previous confrontation with the three thousand, Elene here again uses the epic formula, and again reminds her audience that, as previously ("on godes bocum," l. 290) her knowledge has the sanction of divine authority:

"Hwæt, we þæt gehyrdon þurh hālige beo  
 þæt eow dryhten geaf dōm unscyndne,  
 meotod mihta sped, Moyses sagede  
 her ge heofoncýninge hyran sceoldon,  
 lare lastan."

(364-368)

Elene finally points out how the people lost the favour that had been theirs in the age of the prophets and patriarchs. This development in the saint's argument recalls both the material of and principal image associated with her first address to the Jews:

"Eow þæs lungre apreat,  
 ond ge þam ryhte wiðroten hæfdon,  
 onscunedon þone sciran scippend eallra,  
 dryhtna dryhten, ond gedwolan fylgdon  
 ofer riht godes."

(368-372)

In both cases, the rejection of Christ is associated with the image of light ("þa sciran miht," l. 310 and "þone sciran scippend eallra," l. 370), and the result is also verbally echoed in both cases ("ond gedweolan lifdon," l. 311 and "ond gedwolan fylgdon," l. 371).

Elene's third convocation of Jews again diminishes the number, this time to five hundred. Unlike the other



two confrontations, this one centres exclusively on the present. Again the saint reintroduces the idea of the foolish deed of the past, and its continuing consequences. A number of important themes are brought together and are put into clear focus by the introduction of the motif of exile. While this concept had not been explicitly used in the previous two speeches, the implications of the bondage to darkness had foreshadowed the idea. Now Elene makes the notion explicit and thus places all the subsidiary themes in place. She makes it clear that the blindness and folly of the Jews make their exile self-willed. As soon as knowledge becomes understanding for the Jews, they too will undergo the same regenerative process that Constantine himself experienced when his understanding of the vision put his victory over the Huns into a new perspective:

Oft ge dyslice      dæd gefremedon,  
 wergē wræcmæggas,      ond gewritu herwdon,  
 fædera lare,      næfre furður þonne nu,  
 ða ge blindnesse      bote forþeigon,  
 ond ge wiðsocon      soðe ond rihte,  
 þæt in Bethleme      bearn wealdendes,  
 cyning anboren,      cenned wære,  
 æðelinga ord.      þeah ge þa æ cuðon,  
 witgēnā word,      ge ne woldon þa,  
 synwyrçende,      soð oncnawan.  
 (386-395)

Elene has thus traced the history, both literal and spiritual, of the Jewish people from the time that they were "dædhwate" to the present, characterized by "dyslice dæd." The physical plight of the people is best summed up as "wræcmæggas." The spiritual implications of the state

of their society are also clear. From the time that they knew the law, the Jews have regressed to the point where they do not know the fulfillment of the law. The Jews knew Moses, but failed to recognize the Messiah of which he was the type.

The response of the Jews picks up the heroic vocabulary that had been characteristic of Elene's recognition of the past glory of the Hebrew people. Perhaps as a symbol of their still continuing blindness, the Jews take part of Elene's condemnation (393-395) and assume that it is a positive virtue. They still fail to recognize that the "æ" has changed in its implications:

"Hwæt, we Ebreisce æ leornedon,  
 þa on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon  
 æt godes earce, ne we geara cunnon  
 þurh hwæt ðu ðus hearde, hlæfdige, us  
 eorre wurde."

(397-401)

The days of yore have been transformed, and yet the Jews do not recognize it. They are content with the law learned at the ark, the symbol of the old covenant. As in their attitude towards Moses, the Jews do not recognize that the ark is a type of the church, the embodiment of the new covenant. This is the "soð" which they have yet to understand. The Acta version, on the other hand, does not contain any of the verbal texture which makes Cynewulf's handling of the material into a coherent development of the two levels of society, the physical and the spiritual. The Jews are not represented as exiles, nor

is there much emphasis on their active failure to recognize the truth: "Vos quam stulti estis, filii Israel, secundum scripturas, . . . qui patrum vestorum caecitatem secuti estis, qui dicitis Iesum non esse filium dei, qui legistis legem et prophetas, et non intellixistis" (p. 14 f.).<sup>17</sup>

The response of the Jewish learned men, more significantly, contains nothing of the possible typological significance of the ark: "Illi autem dixerunt: 'Nos quidem et legimus et intelligimus. Pro qua causa talia nobis dicas, domina, [nescimus]'" (p. 15).<sup>18</sup> Cynewulf, obviously, wishes to exploit the dual implications of society. Just as the Jewish nation has declined since the time of the prophets and patriarchs, so too has the spiritual awareness of the nation failed to keep pace with the realization of the fulfillment of the types of the ark and Moses into Christ and His Church.

Finally, in the stripping away process, only Judas is left with the burden of interpreting the truth. In response to those who are still puzzled about the meaning of the queen's charge to the nation, Judas has the knowledge which implies the potential of understanding. He knows that Elene seeks the true cross; but he is unwilling to tell what he knows:

"Nu is þearf mycel  
 þæt we fæstlice ferhð staðeliē,  
 þæt we ðæs morðres meldan ne weorðen  
 hwar þæt halige trið beheled wurde  
 after wigpræce, þy læs towerpen sien

frod fyrngewritu ond þa fæderlican  
lære förleten."

(426=432)

But Judas is not as wise in this as he seems. The "frod fyrngewritu" and the "fæderlican lære" are not destroyed by understanding but simply understood in a new light. In his speech to the Jews, Judas further recalls the words of his grandfather, Sachias, to Simon (Judas' father); these words, in fact, are the real truth for they recognize that Christ is the true king. Sachias claims that his son should speak up quickly if dispute ever arises. His speech is rather ambiguous:

"Ne mæg æfre ofer þæt Ebreá þeod  
ræðþehtënde rice healdan,  
ðuguðum wealdan, ac þara dom leofað  
ond hira dryhtscipe,  
in woruld weoruldá willum gefylled,  
ðe þone ahangnan cyning heriað ond lófiað."  
(448=453)

On one level, Sachias suggests that the "Ebreá þeod" will lose its earthly kingdom if knowledge of the Saviour is spread abroad; balancing this is the "dom" and "dryhtscipe" of those who worship Christ. From Sachias' point of view the two are mutually exclusive. But Constantine has already provided a paradigm of how the two societies, temporal and spiritual, can be brought into perfect harmony. Until the Jews fully accept the truth and all its implications, their wisdom and understanding can only be imperfect. Elene must make them understand, just as God's angel had made Constantine understand, the totality of the truth.

While Judas knows the truth, his understanding of it is hindered by his loyalties to the old social order. Clearly he has the knowledge, for his father, in reply to his question about how the people could have taken Christ's life even though they knew He was the son of God, has told him of the sacrifice. He has likewise made it clear that he had, as an individual, striven against the wickedness. Simon further relates two conversion stories, that of Stephen (here depicted as Judas' brother) and Saul. Simon ends by charging Judas to avoid taint and blasphemy if he wishes to have eternal life. But even here the potential for future conflict is present. Despite the good advice of his father regarding spiritual truth, Judas still is willing to defer to the demands of the council:

"Nu gē geare cunnon  
 hwæt eow þæs on sefan selest þince  
 to gecyðanne, gif ðeos cwen us ic  
 frigneð ymb ðæt treo, nu ge fyrhðsefan  
 ond modgeþanc minne cunnon."  
 (531-535)

Judas is selected to represent the people since he is "fyrngidda frod" (l. 542). Debate rages among the other councillors, and then the queen's messenger arrives with the summons. But it is not till the subsequent interview with Elene that we find out the decision of these men and Judas' response to it. The proper outcome of the conflict is, however, foreshadowed in the beginning of the dialogue between Judas and Elene. Elene has told Judas that he will, in effect, be choosing between life and death in his

answer to her questions. Judas replies with an echo of the Sermon on the Mount:

"Hu mag þam geweorðan be on westenne  
 meðe ond meteles morland trydeð,  
 hungre gehæfted, ond him hlaƿ ond stān  
 on gesihðe bu samod geweorðað,  
 streac ond hnesce, þat he þone stan nime  
 wið hungres hleo, hlaƿes ne giƿe,  
 gewende to wædle, ond þa wiste wiðsæce,  
 beteran wiðhycge, þonne he bega beneah?"  
 (611-618)<sup>19</sup>

Judas appears to interpret the choice in too narrow a way. For him the choice seems to be only between the stone, or earthly kingdom, and the bread, or the heavenly kingdom.<sup>20</sup> In this way the choice, as he perceives it, is a much more complex and exhausting one than that faced by Constantine. Judas believes that unhappiness awaits him whichever choice he makes, and, confronted with a dilemma, makes the wrong decision in the moment of choice between physical and spiritual realities:

Judas maðelade, (him was geomor sefa,  
 hat at heortan, ond gehwæores wa,  
 ge he hecƿonrices hyht swa mode  
 ond þis ondwearde anforlete,  
 rice under roderum, ge he ða rode ne tahte)....  
 (627-631)<sup>21</sup>

Elene's response to Judas' denials is not death by fire as she had threatened. Instead, she places him in a pit to starve until he is willing to reveal the whereabouts of the cross. While a modern audience may not favour such brutal methods, what Elene is doing, in effect, is stripping away the social elements from Judas, to deny him access to the society which had prompted his earlier

refusal. His perception of the torment is reminiscent of the lament traditionally associated with the exile on earth:

Ðær he duguða leas  
 siomode in sorgum VII nihta fyrst  
 under hearmlocan hungre gepreatod,  
 clommum beclungen, ond þa cleopigan ongan  
 sarum besylced on þone seofeðan dæg,  
 meðe ond meteleaf, (mægen was geswiðrod)...  
 (693-698)

The effect of this is to put Judas' life into proper perspective, for he now calls on Elene "þurh heofona god" (l. 699) and agrees willingly ("lustum," l. 702) to reveal the location of the holy tree. Again, the details of the story originate with Cynewulf, for the Latin does not dwell on the hardships of Judas nor does it hint at his changed outlook:

Cum transissent autem septem dies, clamavit Iudas.  
 . . . 'Obsecro vos, educate me [hinc], et ego  
 ostendam vobis [sanctam] crucem Christi!' (p. 26).<sup>22</sup>

Once Judas has made the transition from the earthly to the spiritual kingdom, the rest of his transformation is easily accomplished. After Elene adorns the cross with precious gems, the poet informs us that Judas likewise received baptism. This description picks up the metaphor of the social order. Co-existing with Judas' adherence to the kingdom of heaven is God's indwelling grace granted to the reformed sinner who totally renounces the old law in favour of the new:

His geleafa wearð  
 fæst on ferhðe, siððan frofre gast  
 wic gewunode in þas weres breostum,

bylde to bote. He þæt betere geceas,  
 wuldres wyne, ond þam wyrsean wiðsoe,  
 deofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde,  
 unrihte æ.

(1035-1041)

What had happened externally in Constantine's kingdom has now occurred for Judas on the personal level. Judas has come to accept God's rulership not alone over the earth but also over the individual's soul: "Him wearð ece rex, / meotud milde, god, mihta wealdend" (1041-1042). Constantine had readily recognized the validity of the sign of the cross and had won an earthly kingdom; Judas had effected the transition from knowledge to understanding and thereby made his soul the home of the ruler of might. By altering the focus of the original, Cynewulf has made Constantine's conversion the concrete symbol of what has happened to Judas as an individual. Constantine's acceptance of the cross is the outward token of Judas' inward acceptance. While the token is important, its ultimate validity rests in the effect it has on the soul, its ability to bring it into harmony with the heavenly kingdom.

Thus, in the broader canvas of Elene, Cynewulf shows the possibility of the redemption of the individual within society. More importantly, he also shows us the significant example of an individual who is now ready to help redeem others and, eventually, that society itself. Elene is a saint who not only shows others the way to the City of God in a personal sense (as Juliana had done), but



one whose work is bent towards the extension of that City in this world. Her example shows not so much that the individual can transcend, or escape from, society, as that he can help work towards the re-establishment of the Earthly Paradise.

## CHAPTER VI

### ANDREW AND THE ULTIMATE REDEMPTION OF SOCIETY

Elene and Andreas are similar in the image of society that they portray; the earthly kingdom is unreformed and potentially destructive, both physically and spiritually, to those caught up in the social order. In Elene the society of the Huns poses a threat from the outside, but is easily overcome. The Jews pose a threat that arises in the mind and is directed at self-destruction; the destruction of this evil occupies the centre of the poem. Andreas combines the two types of evil as one in the Mermedonians who destroy others as well as themselves. The harm done to themselves and to others exists on both a physical and a spiritual level. Thus the Mermedonian society presents the most complex and horrifying image of wickedness of the five metrical saints' legends.

The external evil epitomized by the Mermedonians is made explicit from the beginning of the poem. Lacking food and drink, the Mermedonians, goaded by the treachery of the devil, are forced to consume human flesh and blood. But this is only one level of their wickedness, for they also are capable of destroying the inner light of their

victims. Besides the physical blindness which they inflict, they also have the power to pervert the minds of those whom they will soon devour:

Syððan him geblendan bitere tosomne,  
 dryas þurh dwolcræft, drync unheornē,  
 se onwende gewit, werā ingeþanc,  
 heortan on hreore, (hyge was oncyrrēd),  
 þæt hie ne murðan æfter mǣndreame,  
 haleþ heorogrædige, ac hie hig ond gars  
 for meteleaste meðe gedrehte.<sup>1</sup>  
 (33-39)<sup>1</sup>

While Matthew loses the "sun" of his head, he cannot lose the faith in his heart. His faith in the kingdom of heaven remains steadfast. Matthew recognizes God's ruling hand in all things and willingly submits to the decrees of heaven. Once he does this, the power of the Mermedonian captors over Matthew is totally negated. The only power left to the Mermedonians is purely physical: "ond his heafdes segl / abreoton mid billes ege" (50-51). Only momentarily does Matthew entertain the idea that he might have to suffer the inner blindness of Nebuchadnezzar: "nu ðurh geohða sceal / dæde fremman swa þa dumban neat" (66-67). Matthew casts this idea aside in his affirmation of his willingness to do what God has appointed. Matthew is ready "to adreoganne" (l. 73) what God decides; the infinitive used by the poet suggests the physical aspect of Matthew's suffering. But Matthew feels that he especially needs God's grace and the light of his mind if he is to survive the onslaught against his reason since the Mermedonians have already shown themselves capable of attacking

the mind through their evil drink:

"Forgif me to are, ælmihtig god,  
leohht on þissum life, by læs ic lungre scyle,  
ablended in burgum, æfter billhete  
þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra,  
lædra leodseaðena, læng þrowian  
edwitspræc."

(76-81)

Matthew, then, does not fear the physical torment. He seeks God's help to avoid the "edwitspræc" of his foes. Matthew sees even his blinding as part of the process of the power of words to corrupt.<sup>2</sup> God answers Matthew's prayer, and the way in which the poet depicts the action forms a significant pattern; the poet uses a kenning to describe the process: "ond his heafdes segl / abreoton mid billas ecge" (50-51). The same noun is picked up again, this time to describe God's response to the prayers for grace:

Æfter þyssum wordum com wuldres tacen  
halig of heofenum, swylce hadre segl  
to þam carcerne. Þar gecyðed wearð  
þæt halig god helpe gefremede,  
ða wearð gehyred heofoncyniges stefn  
wætlic under wolcnum, wordhleodres sweg  
mares þeodnes.

(88-94)

The poet shifts the connotation of "segl" from the kenning for the eyes to the symbol of God's truth. In effect, Matthew is rewarded for the loss of his eyesight with a spiritual perception; inner vision replaces the lost eyesight. Also, the evil potential of speech ("hearmcwide" and "edwitspræc") is rectified by the poet's insistence on God's voice offering help (ll. 92b-94a). Matthew is

assured of "hælo ond frēfre" (l. 95) by God's own "beorhtan stefne" (l. 96). The power of the word is thus revealed in its capacity to direct men's minds to proper goals as God promises Matthew the reward of faithful service, freedom from earthly bondage and acceptance into paradise:

"þe is neorxnawang,  
blæda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost,  
hamā hyhtlicost, halegum mihtum  
torht ontyned."

(102-106)

This is the final concrete expression of Matthew's firmness of mind, the home that is "beorhtost" and "torht ontyned." The revelation of the truth to Matthew is the natural culmination of his function in the story. The initial thing that the poet mentions about Matthew is that he is the one who began among the Jews "godspell ærest / wordum writan wundorcraefte" (12b-13a). The Andreas-poet thus uses the Matthew episode to establish a dominant theme of the treatment of the story to prepare for Andrew's rescue of Matthew. In opposition to the society of Mermedonia which can transform its victims into the image of its own wickedness is the power of the word and the promise of ultimate transformation, that of the earthly man into an inhabitant of the "boldwela fægrost."

With the model established in Matthew, the poet moves to a fuller examination of the issue with Andrew. The transition from Matthew to Andrew serves to focus the problem and make the expected response of the saint-hero clear. The poet initiates the change by introducing God

and recalling the original ordering of the world. There is nothing to correspond to this in the Greek original, and the author might well have had in mind the origin of the world as described in the Gospel of John:

In principio erat Verbum. Et Verbum erat apud Deum, Et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: Et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est. In ipso vita erat, Et vita erat lux hominum: Et lux in tenebris lucet, Et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt (John 1:1-5).<sup>3</sup>

At first Andrew's response is negative, for he is still bound by his limited perception in comparison with the angel who possesses knowledge about the dangers of travel as well as the help available. Andrew has to be assured about God's power to accomplish His will: "Gif hit worde becwioð wuldres agend" (l. 210). From the point of view of the audience, the poet makes a more telling point after the message has been delivered to Andrew:

Gewat him þa se halga healdend ond wealdend,  
 upengla fruma, eþel secan,  
 middangeardes weard, þone maraþ hām,  
 þær soðfastra sawla mōton  
 æfter lices hryre lifes brucan.  
 (225-229)

The Greek version of the tale ends simply with an unelaborated statement: "And He went into the heavens" (p. 518). The effect of the expansion is to finish off the transition from Matthew to Andrew neatly. After beginning with the idea of God as Creator, the poet moves on to give the specific commands issued at one point in time. The section then ends with the reassertion of God's eternal

nature as implied in the concept of heaven. The transition moves from God's creation of a home for mankind to the idea of His visitation of that very home. Furthermore, the description of God's return to heaven involves an expansion of the ideas associated with Him. At the beginning God is seen only as creator (*se ðe middangeard / gestaþelode,* ll. 161-162) or as the ruler of men ("*meotud mancynnæs,*" l. 172 and "*weoruda drihten,*" l. 173). By the end of the passage, Andrew has received his instructions and we are told more about the nature of God and His relationship to human society. As well as being ruler, God is seen as redeemer ("*healdend,*" l. 225) and controller of events both temporal ("*wealdend,*" l. 225) and spiritual ("*upengla fruma,*" l. 226). Thus Andrew's introduction into the action is heralded by the expanding concept of God, and Andrew's mission is more clearly seen as it applies to a larger scheme of things.

The first test for Andrew comes when he attempts to fulfil his command and find transportation to Mermedonia. The poet makes the potential for conflict clear at the beginning of the interchange between Andrew and the sailors. Andrew realizes the difference that exists between the two societies and calls attention to this fact:

"Wolde ic þe biddan, þeh ic þe beaga lyt,  
 sincweorðunga, syllan meahte,  
 þæt ðu us gebrohte brante ceole,  
 hea hornscipe, ofer hwales eðel  
 on þære mægðe. Bið ðe meorð wið god,  
 þæt ðu us on lade liðe weorðe."  
 (271-276)

Christ replies to the request by pointing out two distinct problems, but in both cases phrases are used to describe God that are both complementary and contrasting. Both answers stress the physical location of Christ the speaker, the first reply being delivered "of yðlide" (l. 278) and the second "of nacan stefne" (l. 291). The two answers are further tied together by a close similarity in the system used to describe Christ. In the first, He is referred to as "engla scippend" (l. 278) and in the second as "engla peoden" (l. 290). The differences between the two passages serve to heighten the contrast between the response to the two kingdoms. The first problem mentioned to Andrew is the Mermedonian hostility to strangers. In this instance, the second phrase used for Christ is "æðel-inga helm" (l. 277), and this is most appropriate since Christ will promise to guard Andrew physically from any permanent harm. Andrew's response to this is to point out that he nonetheless wishes to go on the journey, but his motivation suggests something beyond the merely physical since the two things that compel him to go are "lust" (l. 286) and "mycel modes hiht" (l. 287). Thus, in answer to objections centred on the evil of Mermedonian society, Andrew replies in terms to suggest spiritual goals.

The second obstacle to the journey is money. Christ, who is this time referred to as "nergend fira" (l. 291) tells Andrew that he can have passage to



Mermedonia for a price. The epithet chosen by the author is again most appropriate since this time the question involves the proper response to earthly treasure. To Andrew's response that he has little wealth, Christ asks how the saint could expect passage over the seas, especially since Andrew's condition superficially resembles that of the Mermedonians themselves: "Nafast þe to frofre on faroðstrate / hlafes wiste ne hlutterne / drync to dugoðe" (311-313). Andrew's reply to this plight is, of course, the right one since he recognizes that men do not live by bread alone but must also have spiritual nourishment. This recognition allows Andrew to put the idea of worldly wealth into its proper perspective and, more importantly, allows Andrew to express confidence in God's providential ordering of human affairs. In direct contrast with the Mermedonian power to corrupt through treacherous magic is Andrew's reliance on the power of the word to instruct in righteousness:

Da him Andreas ðurh onðswarë,  
 wis on gewitte, wordhord onleac:  
 "Ne gedafenað þe, nu þe dryhten geaf  
 welan ond wiste ond woruldspede,  
 ðæt ðu onðsware mid oferhygðum,  
 sece sarewide."

(315-320)

As soon as Andrew points out the potential for evil in worldly treasure, namely pride, he gives the opposite point of view. Echoing the idea of God the creator, an idea which had ended the second division of the poem, Andrew again reasserts that there is a definite link

between the heavenly and earthly kingdoms:

"We his pegnas synd  
 gecoren to cempum. He is cyning on riht,  
 wealdend on wyrhta wuldorbrymmes  
 an ece god eallra gesceafta,  
 swa he ealle befehð anes cræfte,  
 hefon ond eorðan, halgum mihtum,  
 sigora selost."

(323-329)

But man should not be content to be a passive citizen of the earthly kingdom, even if he recognizes that his ultimate affiliation is with the heavenly realm. Andrew presses the line of argument one step further by recalling a previous instance in which God had spoken to his chosen warriors. This serves to complete the circle of the argument in two ways; it suggests the reciprocal duty of man to God and completes the idea of judgment by rejecting earthly treasure in favour of the spiritual gifts that Andrew and his thanes can give to the rest of mankind:

"Farað nu geond ealle eorðan sceatas  
 emne swa wide swa water bebugeð,  
 oððe stedewangas strate gelicgaf.  
 Bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne geleafan  
 ofer foldan fæðm. Ic eow freoðo healde.  
 Ne ðurfan ge on þa fore frætwe læðan,  
 gold ne seolfor. Ic eow goda gehwas,  
 on eowerne agenne dom est anwette."

(332-339)

With the recognition that the journey is also an emblem of the crossing to new life, the author informs us of the changed attitude towards the sea journey. Opposed to the initial reluctance of the saint to make the journey to a hostile land is the recognition that good can come from such a voyage:

þa in ceol stigon collenfyrhðe,  
 ellenrofe, æghwylcum wearð  
 on merefarðe mod geblissod.  
 (349-351)

In discussing the symbolic value of the water in Andreas, Constance B. Heatt notes earlier discussions of the poem which see the voyage as a pilgrimage to God and the word "elpeodige" as a "term with many resonances for a Christian audience."<sup>4</sup> In light of this comment, it is interesting to note the pattern that emerges in the concluding statements of the first five main script sections (1-121; 122-229; 230-351; 352-468; and 469-600). Parts one and two end with the counterpoint to the concept of "elpeodige." The first of these points out that Christ returns to heaven after granting comfort to Matthew:

Gewat him þa se halga helm ælwihta,  
 engla scyppend to þam uplican  
 eðelrice. He is on riht cyning,  
 staðolfast stýrend, in stowa gehwam.  
 (118-121)

The second section ends with Christ's commands to Andrew to journey over the sea as an "elpeodige." Again Christ goes back to heaven, and the description of the return is expanded to include the idea that heaven will be the final abode for the "elpeodige" who fulfills his duty:

Gewat him þa se halga healdend ond wealdend,  
 upengla fruma, eðei secan,  
 middangeardes weard, þone mæran ham,  
 þar soðfastra sawla moton  
 æfter lices hryre lifes brucan.  
 (225-229)

The third section ends with the journey motif, but this time it is Andrew and his disciples who are involved in

making the voyage. Constance B. Heatt has convincingly argued that Andrew serves as a subfulfillment of Christ. Thus, the journey about to be taken over the sea produces the unusually favourable response in Andrew and his men. The poet has twice stressed that Christ returns to heaven. Andrew is about to undertake a voyage that will also lead him to heaven, although, as for Christ earlier in history, the way must lead through hell or Mermedonia:

Ƣa in ceol stigon collenfyrhðe,  
 ellenrofe, æghwylcum wearð  
 on merefaroðe mod geblissod.  
 (349-351)

The fourth section contains the storm passage, and allows Andrew to reassure his men by recalling a previous time when Christ calmed the seas. Thus this whole section, which deals with the crossing of the sea, is viewed from a new vantage point, and the typological significance of Andrew is clarified. As the first two divisions end by strongly echoing each other, so the third and fourth end in a verbal similarity:

Mere sweoðerade,  
 yða ongin eft oncyrde,  
 hreoh holmþraçu. Ƣa þam halgan wearð  
 æfter grynehwile gast geblissod.  
 (465-468)

The ending of the fourth section echoes and fulfils the end of the third. As well as more clearly identifying Andrew and Christ by having the sea calm in response to what the saint says, the poet characterizes him as "þam halgan." More significantly, Andrew is now seen as having

passed a crucial point in his trials. He has responded properly to adversity, and he alone now is characterized as having a "gast geblissod," whereas in the previous passage the "mōd geblissod" was the condition of all whō boarded ship. The focus has narrowed to the saint alone as the type of Christ on the journey to fulfil the typological demands. The ending of the fifth section acts as the culmination of the previous four. As the perspective on Christ moves from His return to heaven to His return to a heaven available to the blessed, and as the focus on Andrew narrows from the response of saint and disciples to the saint alone, so in the end of the last of these five sections the role of Christ and Andrew fuses. Andrew, through the power of his instruction, tells precisely hōw all men may come to heavenly glory:

"Nu ðu miht gehyrān,    hyse leofesta,  
 hu us wuldres weard    wōrdum ond dædum  
 lufode in life,    ond þurh lare spēon  
 to þam fageṛan gefean,    þær freo moton  
 eadige mid englum,    eard weardigan  
 þa ðe after deaðe    dryhten secað."  
 (595-600)

The first five divisions of the poem seem to form a thematic unit which establishes the problem and announces the hero who is to deal with it. The sixth section, while continuing to deal with some of the problems of evil in society, already mentioned in the fifth, moves away from direct consideration of the issue at hand to detail incidents of Christ's ministry. Thus the sixth section recalls Christ's time on earth and the evil which again sprang up

as a result of the actions of wicked men. The first five sections make possible the seeking of heaven. The sixth section ends with a restatement of human evil and prepares for the action of the rest of the poem: "Man eft gehwearf, / yfel endeleas, þar hit ar aras" (694-695).

Andrew makes good use of the time spent on the sea voyage in a long discussion with Christ the Helmsman in rehearsing various events of Christ's ministry. One of the central episodes narrated by Andrew concerns Christ's response to the wickedness of those who adhere to the Old Law. This episode foreshadows the course of events that the saint is about to experience. Christ and His disciples come to the temple<sup>5</sup> and are denounced in terms that would exactly fit the plight of Andrew as he arrives in Mermedonia. The chief priest makes four claims against the faithful disciples: they must travel, do not follow the customs of the land, lack wealth, and claim that Christ is the son of God while his earthly parents are, in reality, known (676-685). Christ's answer is two-fold; He first goes off and, by many miracles, asserts His divinity. He then returns to the temple and performs a miracle central to the story of Andrew. Calling down a "stan" from the temple wall, Christ orders it to declare the mystery to the unbelievers. Recalling the motif of the power of speech to lead men to heaven, the stone declares that the priests, in their turn, are the wretched ones:

"Ge synd unlæde, earmra gepohta  
 searowum beswicene, oððe sel nytton,  
 mode gemyrde. Ge mon eigað  
 godes ece bearn, þone þe grund ond sund,  
 heofon ond eorðan ond hreo wægas,  
 saltē sæstreamas ond swegl uppe  
 amearcōde mundum sinum.

(744-750)

The stone further brings three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to refute the idea that black magic has been used to create the illusion. They also declare Christ as the true God.<sup>6</sup>

Many of the ideas in this central miracle are applicable to Andrew's conversion of the Mermadonians. In both instances, the stones have strong Old Testament affinities. In the recounted miracle, the stone is closely associated with the idea of the Heavenly City and with manifesting God's glory through the singing of His praise:

"Dis is anlicnes engelcynna  
 þæs breместan þe mid þam burgwarum  
 in þære ceastre is. Cheruphim et Seraphim  
 þa on swegeldreamum syndon nemned.  
 Fore onsyne ecan dryhtnes  
 standað stiðferðe, stefnum herigað,  
 halgum hleoðrum, heofoncyniges þrym,  
 meotodes mundbyrd."

(717-724)<sup>7</sup>

In Andrew's action in calling forth the destruction of the wicked, stone again plays a central role, and again we are reminded that it is symbolic of God's rightful lordship over mankind:

"Hwat, ðu golde eart,  
 sincgife, sylla! On ðe sylf cyning  
 wrat, wuldres god, wordum cyððe  
 recene geryno, ond ryhte æ  
 getacnode on tyn wordum,

meotud mihtum swið."

(1508-1513)

Both stones are connected with the power of God in Old Testament terms as well as with the fulfillment of that power in Christ, or Christ's disciple.

The idea of terror is clearly associated with both instances as men realize the folly of not paying heed to the message implicit in the stone. In the first case the people are "egesan geaclud" (l. 805) as a result of the power accorded to the stone; similarly, when Andrew calls forth the flood, "duguð wearð afyrhted" (l. 1529). From the initial response of terror, both stones allow the teaching of a central truth. The stone calls forth the three patriarchs who proclaim the Father of Creation. The Mermedonians similarly recognize the error of their ways and turn to the saint for the succour of knowledge.

Finally, the stone in both cases is implicitly connected with the universal church. One critic has made the case that the poet sees the Temple as the Synagogue, part of which is still in exile, and part of which reigns with God, and that Christ is both the unifier of the two and the very symbol of that unification. Thus the church spans all time and the "stone" takes on the mystical power of all the church. In the miracle which Andrew performs, the stone is also a central idea in the unity of time. As part of the prison, the stone represents the worst feature of the Synagogue, but also recalls the best of the Old



Law, the ten commandments. Andrew, like Christ, can unify this heathen building with the ideal of the universal church and, through the flood, calls forth and converts men to the New Law.<sup>8</sup> Surely the poet suggests this by having the church consecrated in the very spot at which the flood sprang up:

Ða se modiga het  
 cyninges cræftiga,      ciricean getimbran,  
 gerwan godes tempel,      þær sió geogoð aras  
 þurh fæder fulwiht      ond se flod onsprang.  
 (1632-1635)

The Greek version simply states that Andrew built a church, but is not specific about its location. Thus, the Andreas-poet is careful to make a point which probably was not in his original. The church is the tangible sign of the heavenly city on earth. The poet takes this one step further by uniting the church and the heathen prison and thus creates a powerful symbol of the transcendence of the earthly city into the City of God. The story, as retold by the poet, then exists on two levels. The literal retelling of the deeds of Andrew derives from the source, but the use of the symbolic significance of the events is the achievement of the poet alone.

The Andreas-poet has a distinct advantage in the handling of his material. Juliana, Elene, and Guthlac are clearly thought of in the context of a readily knowable historical past. Their actions can be miraculous, but are still tied to a historical connection felt to encompass the time of the poets themselves. Andrew's story,

on the other hand, by virtue of its remoteness, is a much more typological narrative. The poet is freed from the restraints of Western history. He can, therefore, concentrate his attention on writing a symbolic story. Realism, in the sense in which we usually employ that term, is not really a concern of the Andreas-poet. The poet comes close to writing a purely typological narrative in which human concerns are made subservient to the larger significance of the story.

## CHAPTER VII

### JULIANA'S RESPONSE TO EVIL

Juliana operates as a type of Christ in her encounter with the devil, and her function as saint elsewhere in the poem also exemplifies the way in which she can demonstrate the power of her role. Her role as saint, and the type of aid she may expect in her confrontation with the demonic forces and their sphere of influence, society, have broad implications which go far beyond re-enacting one episode in Christian history, Christ's triumph over hell. Juliana's life is preeminently the fusion of temporal values and divine fulfillment. Cynewulf does much to heighten the parallel states conducive to the right and wrong use of the various gifts granted men. The potential for the two responses is, throughout the poem, to be found in the central character herself, as well as in the contrast between Juliana and other characters. Cynewulf first uses the idea of the possibility of either good or evil use of creation in establishing the setting for the drama of Juliana's life. This theme is further explored by the poet in his depiction of Juliana's character.

Juliana is first introduced into the narrative in the rôle of a passive creature, the object of Eleusius' desires. Cynewulf has already portrayed Eleusius as actively wicked in establishing the worship of idols, and this wrong approach to creation is characteristic of Eleusius and his followers throughout the poem. Cynewulf first mentions Juliana as a logical extension of Eleusius' active approach to the world, even though no explicit moral judgment is made: "Ða his mod ongon / fæmnan lufian" (26-27).<sup>1</sup> After this initial presentation of Juliana as object of love, Cynewulf immediately changes the focus to present Juliana's active response to Eleusius' attempt to make her an object:

Hio in gæste bær  
halge treowe, hogde georne  
þæt hire mægohad man gehwylces  
forē Cristes lufan clæne geheolde.  
(28-31)

But this shift in emphasis from Juliana as passive recipient of unwanted love to active example of holy truth does more than simply introduce Juliana into the poem and qualify her rôle. Cynewulf is also highlighting the dichotomy that exists between the various levels of love that are central to the saint's life. Opposed to Eleusius' love, which is characterized by his "mod," is Juliana's "gæst," in which the holy truth, as a manifestation of the love for God, is evident. Eleusius' love is tainted by his false idols, while Juliana's love is rightly directed to Christ. It is for this reason that Juliana can so easily

reject the love offered by Eleusius. Treasures of the earth are of no consequence for the saint, who has "Cristes lufan" as the standard by which to judge the gifts proffered by her suitor:

Heo þas bæcnes lufan  
faste wiðhogde, þeah þe feohgestreon  
under hordlocan, hyrsta unrim,  
ahte ofer eorþan.

(41-44)

Within fifteen lines, Cynewulf has thus established a dominant theme of the poem, and used verbal repetition to make the point clear. The struggle is to be fought in terms of love, and the various ramifications of this concept will do much to inform the progress of the saint to her fated end. Eleusius begins "lufian" (l. 27a); Juliana has already accepted Christ's "lufan" (l. 31a) and so can reject Eleusius' "lufan" (l. 41b). Thus Cynewulf exploits a variety of ways in which to see Juliana, and all three ways are individualized by the verbal echoes; when Juliana is introduced, she is the passive object of love, and just before she begins her speech (l. 46) she is active in rejecting a certain type of love. Acting as the bridge for this transition is the phrase "Cristes lufan." The phrase itself is ambiguous. On one level, the words imply that Juliana is the active participant in love, in fact that she so much loves Christ that she is able to reject those who do not see the truth of her position. Read another way, Juliana's response to what Eleusius offers can be seen as the recognition of Christ's

love, especially in His passion, a passion that she all too soon will be called upon to act out in her own martyrdom. Thus Cynewulf suggests a very subtle pattern in this triple echo. The saint is first presented as the passive object of love. Next she is shown as both passive, the object of Christ's love and, as well, active in her love for Christ. Finally, Cynewulf moves to the saint's active response, her rejection of Eleusius as a lover. The subsequent action of the poem depends to a large degree on the success of the change in direction initiated by Juliana's rejection of the purely passive role, and the futile attempt of Eleusius to reassert himself as the principal actor, not the rejected lover.

It is interesting at this point to compare the Latin version with Cynewulf's conception of the import of the saint's responses. Cynewulf does not spend any time in developing Juliana, either physically or in terms of the outlook which influences her decision. She is presented as having already made the decision, and no further details seem necessary. The Latin version details Juliana's virtues and her search for divine aid in reaching a decision:

Juliana autem habens animum rationabilem,  
 prudensque consilium, et dignam conversationem,  
 et virtutem plenissimam, hoc cogitabat apud se  
 quoniam verus est Deus, qui fecit coelum et  
 terram; et per singulos dies vacans orationi-  
 bus concurrebat ad ecclesiam Dei, ut divinos  
 apices intelligeret. (p. 34)<sup>2</sup>

The result of this is that Juliana first demands that

Eleusius win promotion, and when he succeeds, then refuses, unless he recognize the true God. The Latin version is more leisurely in its development of this point than Cynewulf's taut version. Also, by suppressing the details about Juliana's attributes, Cynewulf makes his version focus much more immediately on the real issue of the story, the conflict of the two world views as seen primarily in terms of love.

While Juliana is making her transition from passive object of love to an active role of rejecting Eleusius as long as he remains a pagan, Eleusius himself likewise undergoes a change. He is at first presented in as neutral a way as possible within the outline of the legend; against the general description of the persecution of the Christians, he is described, not as a persecutor himself, but as a man of great wealth and position. Cynewulf is careful not to suggest that Eleusius knows anything about those who are persecuted: he is simply presented as a loyal thane of a wicked man. Cynewulf cannot change the characters, but he can present them in neutral ways: "Sum was æhtwelig æpeles cynnes / rice gerefa" (17-18). As might be expected from a man in his position, Eleusius is the active one in demonstrating his desire for Juliana: "Ða his mod ongon / fæmnan lufian" (26b-27a). There follow two brief passages concerning Juliana's love for God and her rejection of Eleusius. It is between these two passages that Eleusius is shown as attempting to initiate

action based on the love that he feels for the saint: "Ða was sio fæmne mid hyre fæder willan / welegum biweddad" (32-33). It is interesting to note that the Latin version has no corresponding phrase for "mid hyre fæder willan." Cynewulf seems here to be suggesting already that Eleusius is not as much in control as he might be, since he apparently has had to consult Africanus about the proposed marriage. Thus from the point where Eleusius, a "rice gerefá," is in control, he is reduced to the medial position of a bargainer for Juliana's favour.

Through the concepts implied by "lufian," Juliana is moving into a dominant role, while Eleusius has become less than the powerful individual seen at the opening of the poem. It is noteworthy that Juliana is the first to speak. Her speech has two purposes, to invite Eleusius to embrace the good and to have him renounce the evil course of action. The first half of her speech picks up the central motif already associated with her stance regarding her relationship with God. The first part of her utterance allows Eleusius the possibility of asserting himself as an active agent if only he will recognize the implications of his potential for salvation:

"Ic þe mæg gesecean þæt þu þec sylfne ne þearft  
 swiþor swencan. Gif þu soðne god  
 lufast ond gelyfest, ond his lof rærest,  
 ongietest gæsta hleo, ic beo gearo sona  
 unwaclice willan þines."  
 (46-50)<sup>3</sup>

Thus the first part of Juliana's speech offers Eleusius



the way to regain the initiative, to move back to the position of being fully in charge of affairs and validating the agreement already reached with Africanus. The message of the speech is expressed in vocabulary very reminiscent of the beginning of the poem. Juliana echoes the verb "lufian," already seen as a dominant motif. The line also serves to bring together two other central concerns of the poem, belief (or faith) and praise for God. Juliana has already demonstrated her faith and her love; the rest of the poem will demonstrate how she comes to exalt God's "lof." Cynewulf is also suggesting in this brief passage two more interesting parallels. Juliana tells Eleusius that he must exalt or raise up ("rærest") God's "lof." Earlier, in the generalized description of the persecution of the Christians at the hands of Maximian's forces, the verb "ræran" occurs twice: "Oft hi þræce rædon" (l. 12) and "feondscype rædon" (l. 14). The choice is clear; Eleusius can exert himself actively in exalting God or, like the persecutors, can raise up enmity. Ironically, the wrong choice, to be an active agent of evil, leads ultimately to the most passive role possible, that of a tormented soul in hell. Counterpointing these suggestions about human activity is the positive reward offered by Juliana. If Eleusius recognizes and acts upon the good advice offered, she is willing "unwaclice" to comply with his "willan." In other words, Juliana is willing to reassert Eleusius' right to rule if he

harmonizes himself with God's will. Juliana's words ironically echo the earlier statement of the poet. That Juliana should be betrothed "mid hyre fader willan," that is to say, with the Heavenly Father's will, is impossible as long as Eleusius remains pagan. If Eleusius converts, she proclaims herself ready to submit "willan þines."<sup>4</sup> Eleusius' acceptance of God's will would thus allow Juliana to fulfil the expected role of a maiden; Eleusius, as God's thane, could expect Juliana to submerge her role into a higher will, exemplified by Eleusius' own recognition of the right of God, not Maximian, to direct his actions. Thus the first part of Juliana's speech explores the complex problems of the potential of Eleusius to regain his control of the situation through submission to divine right and thus win Juliana's willing submission to the love which he feels for her. Cynewulf indicates that a proper state of affairs would result from the recognition of the necessity of belief, love, and praise, and the willingness to be guided in action by these three concepts.

The second part of Juliana's speech explores the opposite possibility open to Eleusius. In many ways the second half of the speech serves as a mirror image of the first:

"Swylce ic þe secge, gif þu to samran gode  
 þurh deofolgielð dæde biþencest,  
 hætsð hæpenfeoh, ne meht þu hæbban mec;  
 ne geþreatian þe to gesingan.  
 Næfre þu þæs swiðlic sar gegearwast  
 þurh hæstne nið heardra wita,  
 þæt þu mec onwende worda þissa."  
 (51-57)

Clearly Cynewulf intends Juliana's speech to fall into these two sections. The second part begins "swylce." "Likewise" suggests a close parallel, and this parallel is strengthened by the clear echo of a system. Cynewulf juxtaposes "gif þu to sāmran gode," against the positive aspects inherent in "gif þu soðne god" of the first half. Service to the true God had been expressed in a triple formulation of love, belief, and praise; similarly these three find their demonic counterparts in "deofolgielð," "hæpenfeoh," and in the "dæde" that pertains to devil worship. Ironically, Eleusius' recognition of the true God would allow Juliana to demonstrate passive willingness to accept his love, while Eleusius' action of devil worship will make Juliana actively oppose him. Paralleling her passive "ic beo gearo sona / unwaclice willan þines" (l. 50) in the first half of her speech is her active statement in the second half: "ne meaht þu habban mec."<sup>5</sup> Juliana is prepared to suffer the consequences of her action, though her active refusal leads ultimately to martyrdom and acceptance into heaven while Eleusius' actions lead him to thralldom in hell.

To this point in the poem, Eleusius has already progressed downward. He first seems to be in absolute control; then he must consort with Africanus in order to gain Juliana. Juliana then very elaborately and clearly enunciates the choice before him, and he makes the wrong choice. It is at this point that Eleusius is reduced to

the lowest point yet, and gives way to his passion to become less than a man in his evil desire to possess Juliana against all the laws of God: "Da se æþeling wearð yrre gebolgen, / firendædum fah" (58-59). It is again interesting to note that the Latin version does not suggest that Eleusius has given in to his anger in this fashion: "Audieris hæc præfectus, vocavit patrem ejus, et dixit ei omnia verba quae ei mandaverat Juliana" (p. 34).<sup>6</sup> Eleusius is characterized as "hreoð ond hygeblind" (l. 61). Eleusius has become blinded by passion, and this cruelty is shown in the speech which he delivers to Africanus. This speech shows that he has been aware of what Juliana has said, but that his passion has truly blinded him to the implications of the choice given him. Eleusius misinterprets to Africanus the tone of Juliana's rebuke. Juliana had simply said that she would be obedient to his will if he recognized the true God. To Eleusius' mind this becomes a severe rebuke of his proffered love:

"Me þin dohtor hafað  
 geywed orwyrðu. Heo me on an sagað  
 þæt heo mæglufan minre ne gyme,  
 freondrædenne. Me þa fraceðu sind  
 on modsefan maste weorce,  
 þæt heo mec swa torne, tæle gerahte  
 fore þissum folce...."  
 (68-74)<sup>7</sup>

Eleusius' interpretation of Juliana's speech as an instance of "orwyrðu" and "fraceðu" clearly demonstrates just how "hygeblind" his anger has made him.

Eleusius' speech, like Juliana's, falls into two

parts. In the first part, already quoted, he demonstrates his own blindness of mind in misunderstanding the tone of what Juliana says. The second half of his speech serves to strengthen the principal point that Cynewulf is making:

"Het me fremdne god,  
ofer þa opre þe we ar cupon,  
welum weorþian, wordum lofian  
on hyge hergan, opþe hi nabban."  
(74-77)

Juliana had suggested three responses necessary for Eleusius: belief, love, and praise. He sees only the third of these three, and praise without belief and love is not possible. He sees Juliana as demanding a "hygeblind" exultation of a "fremdne god," the need "weorþian," "lofian," and "hergan" what he does not know or love. Clearly he has missed the spirit of what Juliana had said. Also, he has failed to keep distinct the two parts of Juliana's speech. She had said that she would be at his will if he recognized "soðne god," but that if he persisted in giving himself to "sæmran gode" he could not expect "habban" her. Eleusius conflates these two opposites by picking up one element of the first part of her speech ("weorþian," "lofian," and "hergan") and mixing it with the significant concept of the second part of her speech ("nabban"). Cynewulf thus subtly shows another aspect of Eleusius' mental blindness. While Eleusius, on a superficial level, recognizes what Juliana has said, he really does not perceive the true meaning. Eleusius' blindness of mind thus shows itself overtly in his misrepresentation to Africanus of

what Juliana says, and covertly in his failure to perceive the nuances of her position. It is surely no accident that Eleusius does not echo the two terms introduced by Juliana, "soðne god" and "sæmran gode," but introduces his own perversion of what Juliana had said in his reference to a "fremðne god."

In the first manuscript division of Juliana, there are three speeches, one by Juliana, one by Eleusius, and finally one by Africanus. His speech concludes the material of the first manuscript division. Africanus' speech, like that of Juliana and Eleusius, divides into two parts, the first delivered to Eleusius and the second to Juliana.<sup>8</sup> Africanus' speech serves two distinct purposes; it recalls and recapitulates the major oppositions in the saint's life and concludes the movement of the first section of the poem.

In its function of summing up the material already presented, Africanus' speech is organized as a chiasmic version of what Juliana had already said to Eleusius. Juliana had placed the positive aspect first; if Eleusius accepts the true God, then she is ready. After the positive part of her speech, she places the negative; if Eleusius refuses to recognize the validity of her stance, then he will not have her. Africanus' speech reverses the order by first dealing with Juliana's refusal and the evil that will result and then, in the part of the speech delivered to Juliana, detailing the benefits that would

result from her acceptance of Eleusius as a husband.

The half of the speech delivered to Eleusius demonstrates how closely Africanus identifies with Eleusius. Like him, Africanus betrays himself as given over to anger: "Geswearc þa swiðferð" (l. 78). Eleusius had ended his speech by complaining of a "fremdne god" compared with "þa opre" which he was accustomed to worship. Africanus picks up this idea and carries it one step further. Balancing Juliana's demand that Eleusius recognize the "soðne god," Africanus reinforces Eleusius' view of the plurality of the gods and ironically echoes Juliana's major doctrinal point: "Ic þæt geswerge þurh soð godu" (l. 80). Africanus also suggests that earthly powers and divine grace are equal, and thus attempts to flatter Eleusius rather than tell him the truth as Juliana had done:

"Swa ic are æt him æfre finde,  
oppe, peoden, æt þe þine hylðu  
winburgum in...." (81-83)

In the part of the speech directed to Juliana, Africanus again shows that he accepts Eleusius' point of view. Like Eleusius (l. 58), Africanus is also "yrre gebolgen" (l. 90). But also like him, Africanus is blind in his heart, for he sees Juliana only as physical possession, and equates her in this guise with the wealth that Eleusius possesses. Africanus attempts to assert his ownership of Juliana, even though he uses blandishments:

"Du eart dohtor min seo dyreste  
ond se sweteste in sefan minum,  
ange for eorþan, minra eagna leoht,

Juliana!"

(93-96)

Africanus soon betrays his real motives, however. In an echo of his description of Juliana as "ange for eorþan," he describes Eleusius as superior to Juliana: "se is betra þonne þu, / æþelra for eorþan" (100-101). Cynewulf is demonstrating that Africanus does not comprehend the meaning of his daughter's course of action. Africanus' blindness is abundantly clear in his evaluation of her action: "Wiðsæcest þu to swiþe sylfe rades / þinum brydguman" (99-100). It is, of course, not Juliana's "self-will" that makes her refuse Eleusius. In light of the point already made by Cynewulf about the various kinds of love, it is ironic that Africanus' speech ends with an echo of the term. In direct opposition to Juliana's love of God, and her demand that Eleusius love the Lord, Africanus ends by advocating only earthly love: "Forþon is þæs wynþe, þat þu þæs weres frige, / ece eadlufan, an ne forlæte" (103-104). Surely, when measured against "Cristes lufan," the love of Eleusius is anything but "ece."

Cynewulf, through the three set speeches, already has established the nature of the conflict and set out the major lines upon which the conflict is to be resolved. The subsequent action of the poem deals with the way in which love is displayed by the two major opposing forces. We have already seen the demonic perversion in the love of evil as manifested both in society and in the world of the



demons. But Juliana is not left helpless; just as the love of an earth dominated by the devils leads to death, so the love of Christ leads Juliana to her proper end. The question yet to be answered is how this love shows itself and what the appropriate response of the saint to this love is to be.

It has already been noted that Juliana's message to the heathens involved the triple demand that they believe, love, and exalt the true God. The doctrinal differences have been explored in the three speeches given in the first manuscript division of the poem (ending at l. 105). Then in response to her father's demands, Juliana clearly sets forth her position:

Him þa seo eadge ageaf ondsware,  
 Juliana (hio to gode hæfde  
 freōndrædenne fæste gestabelad):  
 "Næfre ic þas þeodnes þafian wille  
 mægrædenne, nemne he magna god  
 geornor bigonge þonne he gen dyde,  
 lufige mid lacum þone he leoht gescoþ,  
 heofon ond eorðan ond holma bigong,  
 eodera ymbhwyrft."

(105-113)<sup>9</sup>

It is clear in this speech that Juliana exhorts Eleusius to love God ("lufige mid lacum"). The other two parts of the condition are more covertly explored by the saint in this speech. Immediately after Juliana says that Eleusius should love God with sacrifices, she elaborates the very nature of God by indicating that He is the source of all creation. Eleusius has already demonstrated one response to creation, his misrule of his part of "eorðan." Juliana

amplifies the power of God over the heaven and the sea as well as the earth. But it is not simply by chance that Juliana includes all three areas. The end of the action of the poem also includes a tacit reference to these three. Because of Eleusius' misuse of earth, Juliana is freed to journey to heaven: "Ða hyre sawl wearð / alæded of lice to þam langan gefean" (669-670). Eleusius also takes a journey, but in the opposite direction: "Heliseus ehstream sohte" (l. 673). Eleusius' journey on the sea begins as a metaphor for, and ends up specifically as, Hell. Cynewulf is moving into the meaning of the saint's life itself, since he is taking the process of belief out of the abstract and is alluding to the ultimate experience for man. Words without works will not suffice; by mentioning heaven, earth, and the sea (a metaphor for Hell), Cynewulf is indicating that belief has a concrete meaning for Eleusius and Juliana.

Juliana's speech also deals with the concept of exaltation, but does so in a much more complete way than had been achieved with the ideas of love and belief. Juliana's own love and belief are readily apparent already in the poem since her refusal to accept Eleusius as a husband stems from her own belief and love. But the exaltation of God is yet to be demonstrated fully in the poem, and the martyrdom of the saint is the fullest expression of this theme of exaltation. In his recalling of God's creative process, Cynewulf begins with the light, and then moves

on to the heaven, earth, and sea. In beginning with the light, Cynewulf is, of course, echoing Genesis. But this is not the first time that the concept of light has occurred in the poem. Africanus, addressing Juliana, calls her "minra eagna leoht" (l. 95). Juliana is thus characterized by a light image which, ironically, fails to move her father to see things rightly. A few lines later, Cynewulf mentions God as the creator of light. This second reference suggests that Juliana is part of the world of eternal light. Even Eleusius recognizes that Juliana is a part of the marvel of creation for her beauty is equal to the sun:

Hy þa se æðeling      ærest grette,  
 hire brydguma,      bliþum wordum:  
 "Min se swetesta      sunnan seima,  
 Juliana!      Hwæt, þu glæm hafast,  
 ginfæste giefe,      geoguðhades blæd!"  
 (164-168)

When Juliana begins her suffering, she is again referred to in an image of radiance. She is raised on the "beam" (l. 228) and is called "sunsciene" (l. 229). If, at this moment, Juliana is meant to recall Christ, then the light image suggests the exaltation of Christ at His greatest moment. Juliana, as a type of Christ, is shown in the act of exaltation itself. She has become a concrete example of the most sublime form of exaltation, a necessary quality which she had earlier demanded that Eleusius recognize and emulate.

While Juliana's speech at the beginning of the

second division of the manuscript looks forward to the idea of the exaltation she will come to embody, her speech also looks back to the opposite of exaltation. She says that, unless Eleusius recognizes the need to praise God, he will fail to win her as a wife:

"Ne mæg he elles mæg  
bringan to bolde. He þa brydlufan  
sceal to oþerre æhtgestealdum  
idese secan; nafað he ænige her."  
(113-116)

Eleusius had already expressed his desire to have Juliana "bryd to bolde" (l. 41). Juliana recognizes the choice that lies before her suitor. If he is willing to participate in her glory, to accept union with Christ as she has done, then they both will participate in the ultimate dwelling, heaven. If he fails to respond properly, then another union awaits him. The choice is clear; he may choose God the creator or Satan the destroyer. But the choice is not an abstract one. It comes to be focused in the image of the bride. One of Juliana's roles is to represent the Church, the bride of Christ. To choose a proper union with Juliana is to accept the message of her life, to accept a union with Christ Himself. Thus Eleusius has a chance, ironically, to choose another bride relationship, as a bride of Christ. To choose Juliana as a bride, on her terms, is to make a choice to become a bride of the Lamb. Juliana is the embodiment of the final exalting of Christ, and Cynewulf has only to follow the legend to its conclusion to give ample proof of the process which has

already begun.

Juliana, throughout the rest of the poem, is shown in close harmony with God, who is always presented as her protector against the evils of the wicked society and the powers of darkness. Juliana's ready acceptance of God parallels her equally adamant rejection of Eleusius. Again recapitulating her reason for rejecting her suitor, Juliana asserts her willingness to embrace God as the logical alternative to an earthly marriage that would be unacceptable to her, not because of its object but because of its end:

"Ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor  
 middangeardes ond mægenþrymmes,  
 ond him anum to eal biþence,  
 þat he mundboða min geweorþe,  
 helpend ond hælend wið hellscēapum."  
 (153-157)

Juliana's steadfast recognition of her spiritual union remains constant throughout Cynewulf's treatment of her trials. Again Juliana asserts her oneness with God in her recognition that He is the proper object of her love. While God does, ultimately, rule over earth, the real glory extends beyond any earthly limitations. Compared with this, Eleusius' domination over a portion of the earth is insignificant. It is only one more example of the wicked man's blindness to assume that anything he might offer would be of consequence compared with the saint's perception:

"Ic to dryhtne min  
 mod stapelige, se ofer magna gehwylc

waldeð wideferh, wuldres agend,  
 sigora gehwylces. þæt is soð cyning."  
 (221-224)

Both of these speeches by Juliana are interesting because they not only assert her faith in God, but also reject emphatically the only positive thing that might have been said about Eleusius. He had been presented as powerful over the regions of the earth. But even that is ultimately denied him, since Juliana overtly recognizes that God is the final ruler of earth. Thus by this time Eleusius is totally rejected as even a possibility for Juliana. It is at this precise moment in the poem that Juliana makes the transition from the complete expression of all that is good in earthly terms to the ultimate manifestation of the divine order. In a sense she becomes one with Christ, and the apotheosis occurs just as her Christ-like torment ends on the "beam" and she is led to prison. Juliana again praises God, again demonstrating the "lof" that characterizes the saint: "Hyre was Cristes lof / in ferðlocan fæste biwunden, / milde modsefan, mægen unbrice" (233-235). But now the "lof" resides within her heart and, because she is the example of God's exaltation, she can praise the Lord with new fervor and meaning, relying exclusively on the aspect of God as ruler of heaven and saviour of men: "Symle heo wuldorcyning / herede æt heortan, heofonrices god . . . nergend fira" (238-240). Up to this point the audience has had to accept Juliana's belief, love, and praise as an act of faith; now the trial

is over for the saint and her love is rewarded. For the first time Cynewulf gives firm expression to the idea of the favour of God towards Juliana: "Hyre was hālig gæst / singal gesið" (241-242). To heighten even more the sudden revelation of God's special care for the saint, the reward for her constant love and praise, Juliana faces the devil who is disguised as an angel. While this might normally be an impossible test, it poses no problem for Juliana. God immediately answers Juliana's prayers and tells her what to do. The immediately reciprocal nature of the bond between God and saint serves to set Juliana even further from normal earthly concerns:

Hyre stefn oncwæð  
 wlitig of wolcnum, word hleoþrade:  
 "Forfoh þone frætgan ond fæste geheald."  
 (282-284)

Juliana wastes no time in obeying the command: "Heo þæt deofol genom" (l. 288). Juliana had delayed in rejecting Eleusius because, as a man, he was still capable of salvation. No mercy need be shown to the devil since, by his very nature, he is incapable of redemption. Juliana now moves with absolute assurance about the outcome of events. The saint has the confirmation that she needs; God is clearly now completely united with the saint, and she acts instantly to do His bidding. But more importantly, she has assumed another feature of the godhead. She no longer just rejects evil, but goes forth to grapple with the forces of hell. The climax of Juliana's life as saint has

almost been reached.

The reason for Juliana's life is that she is to act as a model of true Christian living and dying; she is to be a surrogate figure for Christ. Besides her harrowing of the devil in prison, she fulfils at least two more attributes of Christ before her martyrdom. Like Christ, Juliana must not only reject evil but must also actively engage it. This process begins when she obeys God's command to seize the visitor from hell. During her confrontation with the devil, he three times comments on her power over the forces of hell and his lord, the Devil:

"Du me ærest saga,  
hu þu gedyrstig þurh deóp gehygd  
wurde þus wigbrist ofer eall wifa cyn,  
þæt þu mec þus fæste fetrum gebunde,  
æghwæs orwigne."

(430-434)

But the devil here answers his own question, although he does not, in true demonic fashion, recognize the reality of the situation. He fails to note the significance of his observation that she has put her faith in God while his is in the king over the dwellers in hell. To the perverted mind of a devil, this state of affairs seems somehow unfair. The second time that the devil comments on her power, the range of her might surpasses the former limit suggested by the devil ("ofer eall wifa cyn"). Now her might is said to surpass that of any of the race of men:

"Ne was ænig þara  
þæt me þus þriste, swa þu nu þa,



halig mid hondum,      hrinan dorste,  
 næs ænig þæs modig      mon ofer eorþan  
 þurh halge meáht,      heahfædra nan  
 ne witgena."

(510-515)

Still the devil appears puzzled and resentful that Juliana should be mightier than the prefigurations of Christ, for he cannot comprehend the real essence of power that characterizes surrender to God's will. It is precisely because Juliana has surrendered that her power over the forces of evil surpasses any example that the devil might care to imagine. The third time that Cynewulf mentions the bondage of the devil occurs when Juliana is being led from the prison. This time the reason for Juliana's power is made clear explicitly; it is because she is united with God, that He now resides in His majesty within her mind:

Heo þæt deofol teáh,  
 breostum inbryrded, bendum fæstne,  
 halig hæþenne.

(534-536)

This part of the process is complete; Juliana's identification with Christ's power over the forces of evil is well established, and Cynewulf can examine the second of the two similarities between Christ and His type on earth.

The story of Juliana's life begins with sin, the persecution of the Christians, and shows how sin perverts the devils and afflicts society. For the saintly figure in this particular legend it is necessary that she, like Christ, be free of sins. This idea is not developed until after the point is made that Juliana has power over the

forces of darkness. The testimony to her sinless state is made in two key passages in the poem. As Juliana is dragging the devil forth from prison, he begins to lament his defeat. He at least recognizes now that the whole attempt to trick and torment Juliana had been futile, for the saint is now shown as partaking of Christ's innocence:

"Is on me sweotul  
 þat þu unscange æghwas wurde  
 on ferþe frod."  
 (551-553)

Despite the previous whining of this particular devil, he has been held fast in bondage; he had never expected anything like this when he had set out on his mission. His own particular blindness had been to underestimate the power of Christ, and, more importantly, of His representative on earth. This devil had been characterized as totally lacking comprehension of the scope and might of divine aid. He finally realizes the power of the forces of good, recognizes that the might of the saint is "unscange" (l. 552). As soon as he learns this, he is allowed to slink back to hell.

The second recognition of Juliana's freedom from sin occurs when Eleusius is attempting to have Juliana put to death in a shameful fashion. Again recalling the anger which righteousness causes in those stained by evil, Eleusius orders Juliana to be boiled in lead:

Het þa ofestlice yrre gebolgen  
 leahtra lease in þæs leades wylm  
 scufan butan scyldum.  
 (582-584)

This attempt fails, and many of the tormentors die. The beauty of the saint remains unscathed (l. 590) and Eleusius gives vent to his anger, being reduced to a totally inhuman rage "swa wilde deor" (l. 597). Part of Eleusius' rage derives from the fact that he now cannot avoid the recognition that his own gods are powerless. His own sense of his worth had come from the fact that he exercised the power of life and death on earth. But Juliana has proven that this is no longer the case; God has a hand in the disposition of her life, preserving it as long as it pleases Him. Juliana's special relationship with God denies the basis of her tormentor's power. Her denial of Eleusius' power accounts for the rage; when he no longer has the power which he thinks necessary for him as a man, then he is reduced to the status of a beast. His impotent anger comes from his forced recognition that God is obviously in control and is the object of the maiden's love:

Ond his godu talde,  
 þas þe hy ne meah tun mægne wipstondan  
 wifes willan. Was seo wuldres mæg  
 anræd ond unforht, eafodra gemyndig,  
 dryhtnes willan.

(598-602)

Once this fact can no longer be denied, the saint's role is over. The saint's final encounter with Eleusius neatly counterpoints her own sinlessness and his failure to achieve his goals despite the illusion that he still has some vestige of power remaining to him:

Het þa leahtra ful

clæne ond gecorene to cwale lædan,  
synna lease:

(612-614)

The final conflict between Juliana ("leahtra lease") and Eleusius ("leahtra ful") is now over. But Juliana is about to assume a position superior to any that Eleusius might have bestowed.

Judged by any standard, Juliana's life is a success. She wins converts to the true God as she is led to her death: "Ongon heo þa læran ond to lofe trymman / folc of firenum" (638-639). But Juliana's "lof" does not end with her death; it survives as the central point of her life. The story of her deeds ends with a triumphant note as her victory over evil transcends all limitations:

ðær siððan was  
geara gongum godes lof hafen  
þrymme micle op þisne dæg  
mid þeodscipe.

(692-695)

Cynewulf's deft reworking of the text stands as a testimonial to the "lof" that is the necessary result of belief and love. The epilogue simply serves to demonstrate the effect that Juliana's exaltation of God has on the individual. Cynewulf is every man who must recognize the need for belief, love, and praise. The very act of writing Juliana is his own personal response to the need to give a lasting testimony to the power and the majesty of God's "lof."

## CHAPTER VIII

### ELENE'S FAITH

If Juliana is Cynewulf's exploration of the necessity to act upon belief and love by showing "lof" as the outward token of these inner motivations, then Elene is the poet's treatment of the idea of belief. The poem treats the problems of the recognition of faith and the consequences of belief. To this end Elene is concerned with various approaches to the attainment of faith. The poem has been criticized because it fails to deal exclusively with Elene, placing too much emphasis on Judas. But much of the material embodied in Elene comes from the "Vita Quiriaci" in the Acta Sanctorum, and it is only an editorial convention to give Elene prominence in the title of the work. This editorial practice is, however, sound since Elene is prominent in the development of the theme of conversion, the outward sign of belief, and it is Elene who is present in some capacity to demonstrate various aspects of faith as it affects the other two principals of the poem, Constantine and Judas. Thus Elene serves as a link between the two major figures who undergo a conversion. The remarkable thing about Elene herself is that

she apparently undergoes no process of conversion; her role is to be confined to that of messenger for Constantine, who reacts to his new found belief, and to that of the agent who allows Judas to rid himself of his blindness and see the light of faith. Elene, paradoxically, serves a major and a very minor role in the poem. Without her, Judas would undergo no conversion; but the reader's attention is often focused so intently on Judas and his struggle to see the light of revelation that Elene's place in the poem at times fades into the background.

Elene does not appear in the poem until after Constantine has won his victory over the Huns; Constantine has triumphed through faith in the token he had seen, and it is only after the efficacy of the sign has been proven in battle that Constantine begins to worry about the real significance of what he has seen. His initial reaction is to seek for truth in the traditional places, the records of the past. His kingship, until this time, had been only a secular affair. Lacking an understanding of the Christian's view of history, Constantine is only partly aware of the historical process; he views history as a series of past events. The revelation to him of the cross opens the way for him to see the futurity of history, the period when past events will take on a new significance. But this lesson is still to be learned, and Constantine cannot learn it unaided:

Da se æðeling fand,

leodgebyrga, þurh larsmiðas,  
 guðheard, garprist, on godes bocum  
 hwar ahangen was heriges beorhtme  
 on rode treo rodora waldend.  
 (202-206)

This passage suggests the earlier revelation granted to Constantine. The first divinely inspired insight given to Constantine had contained all the elements necessary for a Christian audience to be able to deduce exactly what was happening. As Constantine consults God's book, he begins to see previous events in a new light; various phrases in the initial message now become more fully explained. The message of the cross, which Constantine interprets as a promise of help against the Huns, is presented as "bocstafum awriten" (l. 91). Now Constantine is led to consult "godes bocum." The repetition of the word "boc" in both instances serves to show how Constantine's understanding is moving from simple faith in a divine help for a particular battle to a comprehension of the full nature of the help offered to man. Similarly, Constantine sees in his vision a "włiti euldres treo" (l. 89); seen on one level, this tree might easily be described as one of glory since it is gem encrusted ("golde geglenged, gimmas lixtan," l. 90). When Constantine consults God's book, he learns of an entirely different aspect of the "tree," for it now is presented to him as "rode treo" (l. 206). This additional information about the tree must surely allow Constantine a clearer insight into the way in which the vision is that of a "wuldres treo." The vision is

prefaced by a heavenly messenger who announces that he has come from the king of the angels and the "wyrda wealdend" (l. 80). After Constantine has consulted the sacred writings, he has fuller knowledge about the God who is not only the ruler of events, a God who can grant victory over the Huns, but also the "rödora waldend" (l. 206), the God whose power stretches beyond mere events. Constantine's growing awareness of God, both His nature and the scope of His power, foretells the role that the discovery of the divine influence will have in the subsequent episodes of the poem.

Constantine's response to the initial vision is to put his faith immediately into practice by causing a replica cross to be carried before his army. The king's reaction to the second, and more profound, understanding that he receives from the books is again to embrace immediate action. He quickly puts his new faith into practice, but this time no replica will suffice. It is Elene's job to secure the true cross, which is to be the outward symbol of Constantine's new knowledge just as the image of the cross had previously served as the token of Constantine's faith. And the cross that Elene goes to seek is presented as the embodiment of the new truth that Constantine has acquired. Each new bit of information or vantage point serves to satisfy a longing for faith; faith also causes a great desire for even more knowledge. Cynewulf manages to capture the growing tension inherent in



the quest for the true faith:

Ða was Cristes lof þam casere  
 on firhōsefan, forð gemyndig  
 ymb þæt mære treo, ond þa his moder het  
 feran foldwege folca þreate  
 to Iudeum, georne secan  
 wigena þreate hwar se wuldres beam,  
 halig under hrusan, hyded wære,  
 æðelcýninges rōd.

(212-219)

Thus Elene's journey to Jerusalem is seen as parallel to Constantine's encounter with the heathens, for both the king and the saint are acting upon faith to overcome the enemy, either on the battlefield or in the assembly hall.

Constantine's victory over the Huns seems relatively easy,<sup>1</sup> and the reader might expect Elene's triumph over the Jews to be similarly without great difficulty. This illusion is fostered by the description of Elene's single-minded purpose and the apparent ease with which she accomplishes the voyage. She is "sona gearu" (l. 222) for the journey; she is described as a "wif on willsið" (l. 223) who, with her band of followers, seeks the ship "ofstlice" (l. 225). Even the physical description of Elene as a victorious leader of men resembles in tone the description of Constantine the king victorious over the Huns: "Wæron æscwigan, / secggas ymb sigecwæn, siðes gefysde" (259-260). In fact, to this point Elene and Constantine seem to represent the same values and function in the same way in the poem as those who are instructed by God through the gift of faith and are thus enabled to work miracles. It is in the description of the journey

that Cynewulf makes his most significant contribution to the working out of the legend, for it is during the trip over the sea that Elene begins to be seen in an entirely new way, a way that dramatically distinguishes her from her son. Constantine had been the recipient of the good news concerning the impending defeat of the Huns; Elene becomes the embodiment of that good news herself as she arrives at the land of the Jews to give them one more chance at salvation:

þær was gesynē    singim locēn  
 on þām hereþreate,    hlaforðes gifu.  
 Was seo eadhreðige    Elene gemyndig,  
 þriste on gepance,    þeodnes willan  
 georn on mode    þæt hio Iudeas  
 ofer herēfeldas    heape gecoste  
 lindwigendra    land gesohte,  
 sæcga þreate.

(264-271)

In this passage Elene emerges as something more important than just an image of her son. Unlike Constantine, who had been beset by enemies, now Elene is actively going to search out her foes, for they are also the enemies of the Lord.<sup>2</sup> This extract also shows the same kind of ambiguity that Cynewulf has exploited elsewhere. Elene, just previous to this particular passage, is called "caseres bodan" (l. 262), a phrase that clearly indicates the temporal nature of her mission, a messenger dispatched by an earthly lord. But in this central section of the poem, Elene is referred to as acting "þeodnes willan," and "þeoden" might be a reference to her fulfillment of God's will as well as Constantine's, for Elene has now become

blessed ("eadhreðige"), a somewhat strange epithet if all Elene's glories are yet to be realized in the confrontation with the Jews and Judas. But the blessed nature of Elene has already been suggested by Cynewulf, for Elene is the "singim," and gems have already been mentioned as an important feature connected with the cross seen by Constantine. If this repetition of the idea of the gem is meant to recall the cross, and by close association Christ Himself, then there is a specific reason why Cynewulf should refer to Elene as "hlafordes gifu." Just as Christ is the greatest possible gift to a fallen world, so Elene is God's gift sent to the pagan world, the "Iudeas," and, like Christ with His disciples, she comes with her "heape gecoste." If Elene is meant to stand for Christ in her confrontation with the Jews, then this could account for the way in which Cynewulf develops her role in the rest of the legend.

When Elene first summons the Jews to hear her commands, she is confronted with three thousand who are supposed to embody the wisdom of the Old Law and can penetrate the secrets that lie hidden beneath the surface. The number who come forth is large because the summons is general; to qualify, all that is necessary is a familiarity with the old laws and customs of the Jewish nation:

Da was gesamnod of sidwegum  
 mægen unlytel, þa ðe Moyses æ  
 reccan cuðon. Þær on rime was  
 preo M þara leoda . . . .  
 (282-285)

It is interesting to note that Moses specifically is mentioned in the summoning of the Jews. Christ is, typologically, the second Moses come to lead the people from captivity. The Latin version of the legend does not mention Moses specifically by name: "Post haec congregavit multitudinem magnam de impiissima Judaeorum gente, quos convocans beatissima Helena dixit ad eos."<sup>3</sup> Since the poem is not only about the invention of the cross, but also concerns the effects of its discovery, the acceptance of the true faith by the Jews, Cynewulf is already preparing for this outcome. By suppressing the editorial comment on the wickedness of the Jews as found in the Latin version, Cynewulf is preparing for a conversion scene which will appear as valid. To stress too much the wickedness of the Jews might make their conversion seem more miraculous, but would doubtless detract from its psychological validity. Cynewulf is faced with certain facts in the legend, and he is faithful to these; but his real interest lies in the effects of conversion and faith on a human being, and for this reason he does not unduly stress the wonderful. The Jews will not be called upon to change radically from deeply perverted men of crime to Christians. Rather, they will simply come to recognize what they have already seen for themselves. Even more importantly, the Jews are mentioned as knowing the law of Moses; they are part way to salvation already and need only see the next step, that Elene is the bearer of the

new law and has come to offer the gift of salvation once more through the mediation of the cross.

Elene's three speeches to the assembled Jews (to the three thousand, the thousand, and the five hundred) are all concerned with the historical relationship between Christ and the Jews. In the first, Elene points out that the historical Jews had a special place in the working out of history and were "dryhtne dyre" (292). She has learned these facts from "godes bocum" (290). Cynewulf has already shown Constantine's striving after the truth in God's books, and now he succinctly parallels this with the actions of the Jews who are at this moment rejecting the truth:

"Hwæt, ge ealle snyttro unwise,  
 wraðe wiðweorpon, þa ge wergdon þane  
 þe eow of wergðe þurh his wuldræs miht,  
 fram ligewale, lysan þohte,  
 of hæftnede."

(293-297)

Just as Constantine's perception of the truth is imaged in an actual vision of the cross, so the Jewish rejection of the truth is imaged as varying forms of blindness: "Swā ge modblindē mangan ongunnon / lige wið soðe, leoht wið bystrum / æfst wið are" (306-308). Unlike the emperor, who accepts the brilliant message from heaven and begins his pursuit of wisdom, the Jews have already rejected Him "þe eow eagenaleoht, / fram blindnesse botē gefremede" (298-299) and so "gedweolan lifdon" (311). Elene offers the first hope of a solution to these Jews, for she sends

them off to reconsider their past wickedness and to accept the truth which she bears. But the saint does not simply ask the Jews to accept her words as unsupported information; Elene, in fact, demands, as the response to her commands, a new interpretation of the law of old. Elene orders the Jews to do for her what they have failed to do for Christ, to see the fulfillment of history:

"Gangaþ nu snude, snyttró geþencap,  
 weras wisfaste, wordes cræftige,  
 þa ðe eowre æ æðelum cræftige,  
 on ferhōsefan fyrrest hæbben,  
 þa me seðlice secgan cunnōn,  
 ondsware cyðan for eowic forð  
 tacna gehwylces þe ic him to sece."  
 (313-319)

This, of course, is a great task for the Jews, and it is scant wonder that they depart "reonigmode" (l. 326).

Elene, like Christ, demands much, but does not demand more than can be performed. While Elene's speech to the three thousand poses a fundamental question, her speech to the thousand Jews in effect answers the question for them.

When the three thousand are commanded to assemble, they are spoken of as those "ðe Moyses æ / reccean cuðon" (283-284), but they prove unsuccessful at interpreting and answering Elene's charge to them. Elene's second great speech, this time to the thousand, establishes how the Jews are to understand their own "æ." She announces to the Jews, for the first time in her charge to them, the message of the incarnation. In her first speech to the Jews, Elene had accused them of rejecting wisdom:

"Hwæt, ge ealle snyttro unwise, / wraðe wiðweorpon"  
(293-294). In her second speech Elene defines the wisdom available to, but rejected by, the Jews:

	Hwæt, ge witgenā
lære onfengon,	hu se liffruma
in cildes had	cenned wurde,
mihta wealdend.	Be þam Moyses sang. . . .
	(334-337)

A good portion of Elene's speech is concerned with the prophetic utterances of Moses, David, and Isaiah (337-363). Elene has turned from the favour of God in the Old Testament to show the failure of the Jews to recognize and heed the lessons of the New Testament, a testament founded firmly on the old laws. Elene then returns to the main point of her speech to the thousand, their failure to comprehend the "lære" that they had been given:

Hwæt, we þæt gehyrdon	þurh haligē bec
þæt eow dryhten geaf	dōm unscyndne,
meotod mihta spēd,	Moyse sagede
hu ge heofocnyninge	hyran sceoldon,
lære læstan.	
	(364-368)

The repetition of reference to Moses in this speech serves two purposes. It frames the passage which deals with the exact nature of the old law and the failure of the Jews to live up honestly to the old law (despite the way that they think of themselves). The repetition also focuses attention on Moses himself, one of the most convenient and persuasive biblical types of Christ.

This speech by Elene also contributes to the development of her logic of persuasion. The first two

times that she uses the "Hwat" invocation (l. 293 and l. 334) she is recounting various deeds of the Jews. The third time, however, that the phrase occurs, it is followed by "we." Clearly Cynéwulf is reminding the audience of the central theme of the poem, the act of conversion. The Romans had been pagans, but now have become the real embodiment of God's "æ." Elene can now cite and interpret the law of Moses to the very men who should be most familiar with its significance. With this assurance that she indeed knows the law better than those who have answered the summons, Elene sends for those "þe fyrngewritu / þurh snyttro craeft selest cunnæn, / æriht eower" (373-375). The Jews can respond to the overt commands of the queen, for they go in search of yet more wise men. But they do not yet totally understand what the queen is demanding; she asks a complete and sincere acceptance of what had already been foretold in the Old Testament. As before, the Jews respond unfavourably to the real significance of Elene's commands as they continue to be obstinately "mod-cwanige" (l. 377) and "collenferhðe" (l. 378).

Elene begins her third speech, to the five hundred learned Jews, by pointing out that they not only have ignored the implications of their own sacred works, but also have actively sought out an evil course of action. This line of attack is like that of the first speech, but is considerably shortened since she does not mention past glories of the race. Her denunciation is becoming more



pointed, dwelling on the present rather than the past. This speech is also reminiscent of her first speech in its return to the theme of blindness. But the focus of this speech is insistently on the present. The process of conversion seems to dwell on the ongoing nature of learning God's purpose:

"Oft ge dyslice    dæd gefremedon,  
 werge wræcmæggas,    ond gewritu herwdon,  
 fadera lare,    nafre furður þonne nu,  
 ða ge blindnesse    bote forsegon...."  
 (386-389)

While the previous actions of the Jews have implications for the present, it is in this third speech that Elene concentrates on the present generation of Jews. It seems that she sees herself as representing the divine authority, and it is against this idea that the speech can confidently speak of "nu." Elene is again bearing to the Jews the central message, that a saviour has been born (391-393). At this point Elene's final words to the assembled Jews, aside from the demand that they seek someone to answer her question, is the charge that they do not seem ready to accept the truth of the message that she has brought to them:

"Deah ge þa ær cuðon,  
 witgena word,    ge ne woldon þa,  
 synwyrccende,    soð oncnawan."  
 (393-395)

Elene does not let the Jews forget that they are still in a state of sin, for she characterizes them by use of the present participle "synwyrccende." Elene's third speech

is very dramatic, for it is the only one to which the Jews reply. In response to her denunciation that they are workers of sin, the Jews attempt to defend themselves. It is clear from what they say that they have learned nothing, for they return to a line of defence already demolished by Elene; they take refuge in the old law and ignore the implications of what the saint has already said about the relation of the Old Testament to the events that fulfil it:

"Hwæt, we Ebreisce æ leornedon,  
 þa on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon  
 æt godes earce, ne we gearu cunnon  
 þurh hwæt ðu ðus hearde; hlæfdige, us  
 eorre wurde."

(397-401)

Furthermore, the Jews still do not see the nature of the crime of which they are guilty. They answer that they have done nothing against Elene personally:

"We ðæt æbylgð nyton  
 þe we gefremedon on þysse folcscere,  
 beodenbealwa, wið þec æfre."

(401-403)

It seems that Elene is doomed to failure with the multitude of the Jews. Salvation is, ultimately, a personal affair, and if Elene is to succeed in her mission of salvation, not to mention her other goal, the discovery of the true cross, she must work on a personal level. Cynewulf now turns his attention to developing this idea, focusing on Judas. In working out the confrontation between Elene and Judas, a different strategy must be employed, and the rest of the poem deals with Elene, as Christ's vicar, as

she confronts Judas, the representative of all the Jews.

When Elene confronts Judas, she poses the most essential question that can be faced by any individual, whether he will choose salvation. She has already laid the philosophical background; the Jews have sufficient knowledge and must now apply it. They can no longer take refuge in simple knowledge of the old law, but must rather accept and act upon the new knowledge and interpretation which Elene, acting in her role as messenger of God, has presented to them. It is for this reason that Elene confronts Judas. He functions as the individual soul which must accept the gift of salvation. Elene's question serves two purposes; she is seeking the cross, but the question that she puts to Judas is more universal in its meaning than a simple desire to find the physical cross:

"þe synt tu gearu,  
swa lif swa deað, swa þe leofre bið  
to geceosanne. Cyð ricene nu  
hwæt ðu þæs to þinge þāfian wille."  
(605-608)

Judas' answer, like the question, has a double meaning. He says, on the literal level, that he will accept life over death. But his answer ironically echoes the New Testament as he compares the fates offered to him to bread and a stone. Judas is beginning to see the issues involved as he responds to Elene's demands in a way that suggests that the New Testament is to provide the answers to the questions. While Elene's immediate method of encouraging Judas to speak seems to a modern reader

somewhat less than admirable, it is nonetheless symbolically sound. Elene knows that Judas is lying about the cross: "Ond nu lytle ær / sægdest soðlice be þam sigebeame / leodum þīnum, ond nu on lige cyrrest" (664-666). While it is not explicitly clear how Elene knows what has passed between Judas and the rest of the Jews, yet this knowledge in some way justifies her resorting to violent means. And these means are most appropriate since Judas enters a symbolic hell where he is tormented until he is forced to call upon Elene to rescue him: "Ic eow healsie þurh heofonā god / þæt ge me of ðyssum earfeðum up forlaten" (699-700). It is at this point that Elene's role as a symbolic Christ is most apparent, for she alone has brought about the salvation of the soul and has the power to release it from hell. Once Judas has recognized the truth, that Elene can save him, the conversion is completed; Judas has only to grow in his faith until he can completely and symbolically die to the old man and assume his new name and function in a reborn society.

The changing of name has proven important earlier in the story when Judas relates to the rest of the Jews the conversation he had had with his father, Simon. Simon, responding to Judas' questions about how the crucifixion had happened, makes some sage observations about the nature of Christ: "Se is niða gehwam / unasecgendlic, þone sylf ne mæg / on moldwege man aspyrigean" (465-467). Closely following Simon's statements about the difficulty

of speaking of Christ comes the story of the martyrdom of Stephen and Saul's role in it, and the conversion of Saul himself. The narration of the conversion of Saul stresses God's direction of human affairs:

Swa peah him [Saul] dryhten eft  
miltse gefremede, þæt he manegum wearð  
folca to frefre, syððan him frymða god  
niða nergend; naman oncyrde,  
ond he syððan wæs sanctus Paulus  
be naman haten. . . .

(500-505)

The narration about Saul momentarily interrupts the main story, Elene's confrontation with the Jews, but it is a skillfully handled episode which directly comments on Elene's dealings with Judas. Just as there is difficulty if man is left with only abstract words about God, so Elene fails miserably while she attempts to use words without actions in her dealings with the Jews. It is only when she resorts to action against Judas (and thus makes concrete the abstract ideas about salvation) that he begins to respond. Secondly, the digression contains elements of persecution; Saul is responsible for the death of Stephen and other Christians. Judas is not actively a persecutor, but his passive resistance to the truth does endanger his own soul as well as those of the rest of the Jews, who could benefit from the knowledge which Judas possesses. Thirdly, both the Saul episode and the main plot involve a change of name as the outward sign of the inward transformation, and both Paul and Cyriacus teach and lead men to the new faith. Finally, in both instances there is a

central agent who makes the miraculous transformation possible. For Saul, it is God's own intervention that makes the change possible. Judas' transformation is directly the result of Elene's influence. Thus these two incidents, the conversion of Saul and the conversion of Judas, seem directly parallel and tend to give a dramatic example of how Elene functions as Christ's vicar.

Once Elene's mission is accomplished, the cross has been found and, spiritually more important, Judas and a number of the Jews have responded to the cross, then her function again drastically changes in the story. While she remains important politically, and initiates the action of finding the nails, yet her spiritual function in the poem is completely changed. She is now no longer the imperious queen giving commands. She is now willing to defer to the authority of Cyriacus, and is deferential to his new power as she asks that he find the nails: "Wolde ic þæt ðu funde þa ðe in foldan gen / deope bedolfen diernē sindon" (1079-1080). When the nails are found, Elene seeks advice about what to do with them from Judas.<sup>4</sup> Elene's role has been fulfilled, and Cyriacus has become the central figure, making the decisions: Elene "his lare geceas / þurh þeodscipe" (1165-1166). But this sudden ascendancy of Cyriacus is not simply an unfortunate feature of the poem; the poem is about faith, how it comes and what is to be done with it. Constantine is granted faith by grace and wins a victory over the Huns.

Similarly, Elené is enlisted by her son to undertake a divine mission and recreates his victory over the pagans and also emulates Christ's victory over the forces of darkness by her victory in the struggle for the soul of Judas. In the process, Judas is converted and in his turn converts many Jews and heals the sick. Cynewulf is examining the way in which faith can be made to work, first in the historical context of the invention of the cross and also in a personal context. Just as Judas was forced to confront himself in the pit, so Cynewulf forces the reader to contemplate truth in the material of the epilogue. Just as the physical cross is the object of salvation in the historical perspective of the poem, so contemplation of the cross provides the faith that guarantees salvation in the epilogue. The motto of the poem might well be that faith without works is death. Just as Constantine, Elené, and Judas, each in turn, act upon the gift of faith, so Cynewulf himself is active and produces the poem as his own sign of faith. He is one more link in the chain of salvation. It is for this very reason that the poem does not have a single saint-hero. The gift of salvation through faith cannot be the property of anyone alone. Cynewulf is confident that the day is coming when "sceall aghwylc ðar / reordberendra riht gehyrān / dædā gehwylcra" (1281-1283). The poem itself is Cynewulf's effort to transform faith into a satisfactory "dæd," and

his transformation seems even more glorious than Constantine's, Elene's or Judas'.



## CHAPTER IX

## ANDREW, SOLDIER OF GOD

In Andreas, a third basic concern of the Old English versions of saints' legends emerges, and it is one that is more characteristically an Anglo-Saxon concern than either the need to praise God or the question of the relation of faith and knowledge to conversion. While, of course, the military motif has a role in both Juliana and Elene, Andreas is more clearly and consciously a working out of the military metaphor as it applies to the saint. While Elene is, on one level, the victorious queen whose might imposes Christianity upon Judas and many of the Jews, yet she is only a link in a chain of conversion, and when she has done her job, her position in the action is no longer central. In working out the idea of conversion in Andreas, on the other hand, the poet is dealing with a central character whose role in the poem is constant. Like any temporal hero, Andrew may have his setbacks, but his role never changes. And it is the Andreas-poet's great achievement to accomplish a very neat fusion of the temporal and spiritual values which characterize the true soldier of Christ.

The Andreas-poet is most insistent on the development of his martial images. The ideal world of the poet is imaged as that of the perfect state; God is the king and mortals are His chosen warriors. The twelve disciples are "þeodnes þegnás" (l. 3), "tíreadig háleð" (l. 2), and the rightful expression of their love for God is "þrym" (l. 3) in the battle-strife against the wicked. In this, Andrew is not unlike Juliana or Elene who display some aspect of "þrym" in their own confrontation with evil. What makes Andreas different is that the hero undergoes an intensification (though not a change) as he learns exactly how he is to exert his valour against evil. Juliana and Elene are static in this respect; while the poet may choose to reveal progressively deeper levels of spirituality in these saints, yet they remain unchanged themselves. The core of Andrew's belief rests secure throughout his trials, yet he undergoes an educational experience that will deepen his comprehension of his role in the unfolding of history. Andrew, in the course of working out his destiny, is forced to confront the exact nature of the saintly life, and to evaluate himself in terms of the ideals which he learns. But of course Andrew is not forced to undertake the task without some sort of divine aid; he has a model in Matthew and, when the necessity arises, is allowed direct communication with God.

Matthew provides the example of the educated Christian warrior, the hero who knows his duty. There is

no delay on Matthew's part when he is ordered to go to Mermedonia. The narration of the deed is extremely laconic; the poet simply introduces the concept of the soldier of God (1-11) and then details Matthew's going to the island:

Ðam [Matthew] halig god hlyt geteode  
 ut on þæt iglānd þær ænig þa git  
 eallþeodigra eðles ne mihte  
 blādes brucan.

(14-17)

Following the information that Matthew has been appointed Mermedonia, the revelation of the ghastly cannibalistic practices of the people is made. The poet then narrates the saint's arrival in the city, again in an unelaborated fashion: "Ða was Matheus to þære mæran byrig / cumeñ in þa ceastre" (40-41). The effect of the sharply contrasting narrative styles, elaboration of the evil balanced against the bare statement of Matthew's deeds, tends to heighten Matthew's role as a man of action. One attribute of a soldier of God is his immediate obedience to His commands. But the poet is careful not to suggest that this is all that there is to Matthew; the saint also has a spiritual side to his mission, and while the hero temporarily suffers a setback in his military role, his spiritual integrity remains untouched. Just before Matthew is introduced, the poet has used a number of military metaphors. When Matthew is mentioned, only one thing is said about him: "se mid Iudeum ongan godspell ærest / wordum writan wundorcrafte" (12-13). But the Mermedonians

attack their victims on two levels; they deprive them of their "eāgenā gešihō" (l. 30) as well as having them drink a preparation which destroys "wera ingēpanc" (l. 35). Matthew loses his eyesight, but the Mermedonians can do little to overcome his spiritual might for, despite the fact that he is made to drink the potion, he still recognizes that God is the rightful king and that only from God will help come:

Eadig ond onmod, he mid elne forō  
 wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor,  
 heofonrices weard, halgān stefne,  
 of carcerne.

(54-57)

If it had seemed before simply a poetic aside that Matthew had written the gospel first among the Jews, it now becomes obvious that the poet has stressed the most important thing about Matthew. When the two virtues are judged together, simple military might, the physical manifestation of courage, is less important than the spiritual; what the saint says is more important, finally, than what he does. Only Matthew's ability "wordum" keeps him from degenerating to the level of the other prisoners. Thus, while Matthew's imprisonment provides the immediate reason for Andrew's journey, it also gives a paradigm of the perfect saint and provides the touchstone by which Andrew's education and full realization of sainthood may be judged. The Matthew episode expands the concept of "prym" to include both the spiritual and the temporal values of a saint. Andrew's education as a Christian knight must

include his realization of the full meaning of these two. The new implications for the reader of the idea of "prym" will also serve as a criterion by which to judge Andrew's progress to full expression of his qualities.

The physical test for Andrew comes when he is ordered to rescue Matthew. The poet has already made it clear that there is really nothing to worry about since the God who orders Andrew to go on the mission is the one "se ðe middangeard / gestaðelode strangum mihtum" (161-162). When God addresses Andrew, the only detail mentioned about Andrew is that he is a teacher: "leode lærde on lifes wæg" (l. 170). It is ironic since Andrew himself has yet to learn the full responsibility of a Christian knight. The doubt is mirrored in Andrew's answer to God:

"Hu mæg ic, dryhten min, ofer deop gelad  
fore gefremman on feorne wæg  
swa hrædlice, heofona scyppend,  
wuldres waldend, swa ðu worde becwist?"  
(190-194)

But the question contains the answer, for God is both the creator and the ruler. God does not need to explain to the saint how He may choose to work His will. It is sufficient for the saint to put his faith in God's power. God simply tells Andrew that he will be able to accomplish the journey, and this settles the issue:

"Ðu scealt þa fore geferan ond þin feorh beran  
in gramra gripe, ðær þe guðgewinn  
þurh hæðenra hildewoman,  
beorna beaducraft, geboden wyrðeð."  
(216-219)

The poet seems to be working on various levels here. In

the first place, he is suggesting that the physical side of the struggle is not really important; just as Matthew suffers, yet remains true to his spiritual values, so Andrew will undergo torment. The first lesson any soldier of God needs to keep firmly in his mind is that obedience will be rewarded. Andrew appears to forget this momentarily when he questions God's actions. But it is a sufficient reminder to him when God simply asserts that His will can, and shall, be done. The passage just quoted foretells the physical trials, and the paradigm of Matthew suggests that the saint is able to overcome spiritual evils with God's help. Secondly, the poet is constantly offering reassurances that all will be well since God is so insistently characterized as a measureless and bountiful ruler. The third thing that this episode does is to introduce the idea of the voyage that is about to be undertaken. The emphasis on this voyage thus prepares for a central episode of the poem, the journey with Christ Himself as helmsman. The voyage does get Andrew to his mission, the physical rescue of Matthew, but much more importantly it also serves to further his education since it brings sharply into focus the spiritual development, the furthering of insight into his role as saint, that Andrew must undergo if he is to attain complete perfection. The physical aspect of Andrew as a soldier of the Lord is now settled. There was relatively little difficulty in bringing the saint to a recognition of his duty

to obey the commands of God without delay:

ne was him bleað hyge,  
 ah he was anræd ellenweorces,  
 heard ond higerof, nales hildlata,  
 gearo, guðe fram, to godes campe.  
 (231-234)

But Andrew still has much to learn in order to become "godes campa," the complete Christian warrior, for he must yet learn to harmonize the physical and the spiritual dimensions of the Christian knight.

From the time of Andrew's brief failure to believe that it was possible to fulfil God's orders, the education of the saint proceeds quickly. Assured by God that the mission is possible, Andrew seeks out the ship to carry him to Mermedonia. His physical capacity is again tested as Christ, disguised as the helmsman, attempts to dissuade Andrew. To begin with, the arguments focus on the physical impracticalities of the journey, the fierce nature of the inhabitants and the saint's lack of money. The saint's reply to these objections does not focus only on the physical, but he does recognize that the material objections have a certain validity. What the saint argues is not that the sailors should totally disregard material gain, but rather that they should see a just proportion and avoid the cardinal sin of pride arising from too much concentration on their ability to prosper materially. The "welan ond wista ond woruldspeðe" (l. 318) that the shipman appears to enjoy is, from Andrew's new point of view, a danger since it could blind a man to the spiritual

values that must counterbalance these earthly goods. Furthermore, the saint argues, earthly goods are not really ours after all, but are simply manifestations of God's power since they all lie in God's keeping to dispense as He pleases:

"He is cyning on riht,  
wealdend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes,  
an ece god eallra gesceafta,  
swa he ealle befehð anes crafte,  
hefon ond eorðan, hālgum mihtum,  
sigora selost."

(324-329)

And it is precisely because Christ is so powerful that He can legitimately demand of His thanes that they translate the physical into spiritual victory: "He ðæt sylfa cwæð, / fæder folcā gehwæs, ond us feras het / geond ginne grund gastā streonan" (329-331). Andrew has now expressed the basis for his further enlightenment, since this is the first time in the poem that he has been able to articulate the clear relationship that exists between the physical and the spiritual worlds. All that remains for him is to explore further the implications of this harmonizing view of the two realms over which Christ has control.

God's help to Andrew does not cease with Andrew's recognition that spiritual and physical courage are to be held in balance; Christ puts a number of questions to the saint, and these serve to strengthen the hero's mind concerning his destiny. These questions force Andrew to look back to the ultimate model of his own actions, for he is forced to narrate events from Christ's ministry. A



terrible storm has arisen, and Andrew must articulate the way in which God can help men and yet leave them free. Safety for Andrew's followers seems to lie on the shore, but they reject this, using the metaphor of the lot of those who survive their lord on the battle field. Obviously Andrew's followers have passed the test of physical courage, and Andrew must account for it in some terms that he believes will be comprehensible to the helmsman. The helmsman sums up the lesson in regards to the physical nature of God's help: "God eaðe mæg / heaðoliðendum helpe gefremman" (425-426). But this is too simple an answer, and Andrew must explain more fully the nature of God's power. It is not sufficient only to say that God can help if He wishes. Andrew's answer is to recall a similar episode during Christ's time on earth when He stilled the waves. A more significant episode to explain the mystery of the relationship between Christian knight and his Lord could not have been selected. In the biblical account of the event, the story of the stilling of the tempest is preceded by the parable of the sower and the reward of the man who brings the seed, the preaching of Christ, to fruition. St. Luke (chapter 8) next narrates how Christ embarked, and then stilled the storm that arose and threatened the disciples. The question posed by Christ at this time concerns the faith of His followers. The third major theme of this chapter of St. Luke is that of putting faith into practice in the casting out of devils.

This chapter, then, contains a synopsis of the problems to be resolved in Andreas. And it must certainly be against this background that Andrew gives his answers. Andrew has already made himself receptive to the commands of God when he overcomes his brief moment of doubt. At the very moment of narrating the story of the stilling of the waves he is reasserting his faith in the spiritual powers of God, and will soon put that faith into practice when he casts out the unclean spirits of Mermedonia. Andrew finishes the narrative, and makes a very important observation on his own development towards a complete understanding of the duty he must perform:

"Forþan ic eow to soðe secgan wille,  
 þæt nafre forlæteð lifgende god  
 eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen deah."  
 (458-460)

This piece of gnomic wisdom serves to complete what the helmsman had already said about God's ability to help sailors. Taken in the context of what Andrew has narrated about Christ's calming of the seas, his observation suggests a way of viewing history that transcends the helmsman's statement. Andrew is undergoing a process of education in which he, through attempting to explain, is made to see more clearly.

As Andrew gains insight into the nature of his journey, he likewise becomes more clearly the proper person to undertake that journey. In the next interchange, the theme of the saint's fitness to undertake the journey

is explored. The audience has already learned that Andrew is on the voyage because God commanded it, but now the poet turns his attention to the question of why Andrew is the appropriate man. Andrew's retainers have fallen asleep, and Andrew is left to question the helmsman about how he can so perfectly control the ship. The answer, the helmsman points out, is readily apparent: in any journey God is fully in control. He states:

"Flodwylm ne mæg  
 manna ænigne ofer meotudes est  
 lungre gelettan; ah him lifes geweald,  
 se ðe brimu bindeð, brune yða  
 ðyð ond þreatað."

(516-526)

Andrew's narrative of Christ's power over the waters on one particular instance has just been completed; now a generalized statement follows since the helmsman indicates that Christ's victory over the waves is now easily repeated. In fact, Andrew has a similar power:

"Forþan is gesyne, soð orgete,  
 cuð onenawen, þæt ðu cyninges eart  
 þegen gebungen, brymsittendes,  
 forþan þe sōna sæholm oncneow,  
 garsægges begang, þæt ðu gife hæfdes  
 haliges gastes."

(526-531)

The next question posed by the helmsman follows directly from the theme of the soldier of Christ as bound to go among the enemy and be seen for what he is, the "cyninges þegn." Andrew will soon have to undergo his trial by being revealed to the Mermedonians. In order to draw out the saint, the helmsman engages in a description,

asking how it came to pass that Christ Himself failed to display both aspects of His mission, the physical as well as the theoretical:

"Æpelinge weox  
word ond wisdom, ah he þara wundra a  
domagende, dæl nænigne  
fratre peode beforan cyðde."  
(568-571)

Andrew is quick to point out that Christ did indeed put the theoretical into the practical through the many marvelous deeds accomplished. One of the first things mentioned about Andrew was that he "lærde" (l. 170) the people. Now that concept has been enlarged as Andrew assures the helmsman that Christ loved men "wordum and dædum" (l. 596) and can "purh lare" (l. 597) lead men to heaven. Andrew's own teaching to the people will soon encompass both words and deeds.

There yet remains one spectacular example of the efficacy of words and deeds, and again it is Andrew who recounts the story and thus furthers his education for the future by reference to the past. The helmsman still professes wonder that the people rejected Christ and asks whether Christ made it clear by miracles that His words were the truth. The helmsman now confesses his own belief, but wishes to hear more of Christ's ministry. In reply, Andrew narrates the episode of Christ's calling to life the statue of a cherub at the temple in Jerusalem. In many respects, this example is central to the development of Andrew's education as a perfect Christian knight, for

the essence of the story is that Christ can make his words, his teachings to the multitudes, take a physical manifestation. The wicked have rejected "haliges lare" (l. 709) and require some great sign to convince them. The sign is forthcoming as the statue comes to life at the Lord's bidding. Words will cause deeds, and these deeds will confirm the validity of the words themselves:

"Nu ic bebeode beacen atywan,  
wundor geweorðan on wera gemange,  
ðæt þeos onlicnes eorðan sece,  
wlitig of wægē, ond word sprēcē,  
seçge soðcwidum, (þy sceolon gelyfan  
eorlas on cyððe), hwæt min æðelō sien."  
(729-734):

The statue fulfils "godes ærendu" (l. 776) and produces from the dead Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who acknowledge God's power: "woldon hie ædre gecyðan / frumweorca fader" (803-804). This episode, which Andrew is forced to recall as an example for the helmsman, also serves as an example for the saint when he comes to preach and to act out Christ's sufferings in Mermedonia. The rest of the poem details how the lesson Andrew learns is fulfilled among the cannibals.

The sea voyage comes to an end, and Andrew and his disciples find themselves on land, ready to begin their adventure. But the Andrew who began the journey in doubt is most unlike the Andrew who, through the process of education, ends the sea journey. Andrew has become worthy of the power promised to him by God, and the symbol of this worth is Andrew's recognition that Christ had been

the helmsman. Andrew is overjoyed that Christ had been on board the ship and interprets the fact as a sign of God's favour: "Ðær is help gearu, / milts æt mærum, manna gehwylcum; / sigorsped geseald, þam þe seceð to him" (907-909). In response to Andrew's recognition that God can indeed give "sigorsped" to the chosen, the saint is allowed to see Christ. It is at this point that the first half of the action of the poem is completed. Andrew has the divine charge, and is now about to begin to fulfil the duty. Andrew is still puzzled, however, about God's reason for not simply declaring Himself at the outset of the journey. The reason, Christ points out, is simply that Andrew did not have sufficient faith in God's power over physical and spiritual foes. Reminding Andrew of the fault of his doubt in Achaia, God affirms that Andrew has learned the necessary facts about divine power and is thus made into the perfect Christian warrior:

"Wæst nu þu gearwor  
 þæt ic eaðe mæg anra gehwylene  
 fremman ond fyrþran freonda minra  
 on landa gehwylc, þær me leofost bið."  
 (932-935)

The words spoken by God about Matthew apply equally well to Andrew: "Him sceal bot hraðe / weorþan in worulde ond in wuldre lean, / swa ic him sylfum ær secgende was" (947-949).

As soon as Andrew's education has been completed, the saint can begin to fulfil the duty that has been laid upon him, and in order to do this Andrew's new role is to

be an imitation of Christ. Christ Himself makes this rôle clear. He warns the saint that much suffering is to be his lot, but that the enemy will not be able to kill the saint. Christ further points out that in this way Andrew will be imitating the passion, since Andrew is always to keep in mind how Christ was bound, tormented with scourging, and mocked with words. This time, Andrew does not question God's words, but is willing to endure: "Ða was gemyndig mōdgeþyldig, / beorn beaduwe heard"(981-982). Andrew consequently suffers much, but he is able to accomplish the mission without further doubts about the wisdom of God's commands. His education has enabled him to possess the intensity of holiness necessary for the true Christian knight.

Andreas began with the poet's remembrance of the days of yore when glorious heroes exhibited "þrym." The poem deals with Andrew's realization that "þrym" has theoretical and practical sides, and the saint fulfils his rôle both as teacher and doer. It is only fitting that Andrew should have the reward for actions, and the poem ends with a brief recapitulation of the hero's death in battle. It might seem strange that the poet does not tell how Andrew's soul is received into heaven. The poet chooses, however, to tell his audience that the wicked need not rejoice in their evil:

Ðæt þam banan ne wearð  
hleahtre behworfen, ah in helle ceáfl  
sið asette, ond syððan no,

fah, freonda leas, frofre benohte.  
(1702-1705)

The poem has been dealing, largely, with Andrew's conversion of the Mermedonians. It is well that the poet should end by reminding his audience that death and hell are still awaiting those who persist in evil. But since the poem has constantly pointed out the divine aid awaiting those who do God's bidding, there really is no need to affirm outright that Andrew's lot is heaven. Instead, attention is focused on how the crowd reacts to the saint's death. They have lost their teacher, and now they recognize that they too must put into practice the lessons recently learned. The poem had opened with the epic device of recounting what had been heard: "Hwæt! We gefrunan" (l. 1). The poet repeats this device at the end of the poem, but this time the reference is narrowed down to a speaker who uses the first person singular:

Da ic lædan gefragn leoda wecrode  
leofne læneow to lides stefnan,  
mægas modgeomre.  
(1706-1708)

It is as though the lesson of the saint's life has directly affected the poet's perspective, and he has become personally involved. The brightest hope comes when the people respond in unison and proclaim the lessons which Andrew had journeyed across the sea to teach them:

An is ece god eallra gesceafta!  
Is his miht ond his æht ofer middangeard  
breme gebledsod, ond his blæd ofer eall  
in heofonþrymme halgum scineð,  
witige on wuldre to widan ealdre,



ece mid englum. þat is æðele cyning!"  
(1717-1722)

The implication is clear; Andrew has proven his "brym" completely in God's service. And God Himself dwells in "heofonbrymme." Without stating the case, the poet has made it clear that Andrew can expect a dwelling in glory.<sup>1</sup> The poem seems to make it clear that God provides an education to each man, but that that kind of knowledge is not sufficient in itself. Ultimately, the individual must put his knowledge into practice, for faith, without deeds, will not suffice for the kind of saint that interests the Andreas-poet.

## CHAPTER X

### GUTHLAC AND THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM

Elene, Andrew, and Juliana all face concrete evils, both in the form of devils and of society under the influence of the forces of evil. Elene must struggle with Judas' reluctance to accept conversion, Andrew is confronted by cannibals, and Juliana must decide on pagan life or martyrdom. In all three lives the struggle is with external foes, even though some of the saints, notably Andrew, must experience a new awakening of the spirit. Guthlac's sainthood seems to be of a different type than that of the other saints, for his confrontation with evil seems much more dependent on his coming to terms with his own resolution to reject the evil of society. Juliana's decision is clearly made before the beginning of her tale, Elene accepts conversion without question, and Andrew's faith is never doubted, even if it requires encouragement and enlightenment to help him redefine his rôle in society. Guthlac alone seems to face a challenge to his own faith, and his quest is to seek a new and secure realization of his own belief and expression of his own faith.

Guthlac A begins with the poet's assurance that

the blessed soul will be received into heaven provided  
that certain conditions are fulfilled on earth:

Bider soðfæstrā sawla motun  
cuman æfter cwealme, þā þe her Cristes æ  
lærað and læstað, ond his lōf rærað;  
oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gæstas, bigytað  
him wuldres ræste,  
hwider sceal þæs monnes mod aştigan,  
ær oppe æfter, þonne he his ænne her  
gæst bigonge, þæt se gode mote,  
wōmma clæne, in geweald cuman.  
(22-29)

The description of those who will enjoy eternal life is not concerned with stating specifically how it is to be attained. The poet continues, however, to give a general dictum that those who love the things of this earth will not attain eternal life: "Bið him eorðwela ofer þæt ece lif / hyhta hyht" (62-63). On the other hand, those who use the "eorðwela" in the service of God will come to the "ece lif." In other words, the poet is suggesting that it is the spiritual response of the individual that really counts. It matters not so much that Guthlac chooses to live in the desert, but that he is willing to do so for the love of God. And those who are willing may expect God's aid, not in the physical sense in which it was manifested in Andreas, but in a spiritual fashion: "Fore him englas stondað, / gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum" (88-89).

When Guthlac is introduced into the poem, the first thing that the poet mentions is that Guthlac has already made a decision to reject the wealth that had formerly been important to him. Since it is quite possible

that the poet's audience would know the basic details of the saint's life, namely that Guthlac had come from a wealthy family, then it might seem logical that the struggle within the saint's mind to make this choice would be a subject for the poet's exploration. But the poet simply notes that Guthlac had rejected "eorðlic æþelu" (l. 97), and later notes that he gave to God that wealth which had pleased him in his youth. It would seem that the poet passes lightly over these events in order to heighten the importance of the conflict which goes on in Guthlac's mind. The crisis occurs when Guthlac had already disposed of the temptation of wealth. Picking up the idea of angels and spiritual weapons, the poet objectifies the conflict in Guthlac's mind:

Tid was toweard; hine twegen ymb  
 weardas wacedon, þa gewin drugon,  
 engel dryhtnes ond se atela gæst.  
 Næles hy him gelicē lare bæron  
 in his modes gemynd mongum tidum.  
 (114-118)

The conflict presented to the saint's "modes gemynd" represents two courses of action possible for the saint, either rejection of the things of this earth in favour of heavenly rewards or the complete surrender to self-satisfaction. But the struggle is not an equal one, for the "atela gæst" counsels, not simple enjoyment of the earth, but rather an immoral use of the things of this world. He suggests that Guthlac should seek out a band of thieves in the night and plunder treasures. Of course the evil

spirit underlines the inherent weakness of his own position, but more importantly the poet uses this particular argument to indicate that the moral choice has already been made by the saint. In contrast to the decision he has already made regarding the true quality of genuine treasure, the heavenly home, Guthlac now sees any use of the goods of this earth not directed towards his goals as immoral, as a type of "huþe" (l. 131) or wrong use of treasures.

The poet is thus able to show in ostensibly outward action an inward state of mind. By skilful manipulation of concrete symbols, the poet gives his audience real insight into the mental condition of the saint. Given the predisposition of the saint's mind, then the victory of the Lord's angel comes as no real surprise. The poet is extremely clever in the way in which the internal world of Guthlac is presented as externalized:

Feond was geflymed;    siþ þam frofre gæst  
 in Guðlacēs    geoce gewunade,  
 lufade hine ond larde    lenge hu geornor,  
 þæt him leofedan    londes wýnne,  
 bold on beorhge.

(136-140)

It might seem initially that Guthlac's victory is somewhat ironic since he has been struggling against the temptations of the world, and yet his triumph is described as an appreciation of "londes wýnne" and the "bold on beorhge." But the saint's life is not so simplistic as to suggest that total rejection of the earth is the only approach to

a holy life since the poet has already stated: "mōnge siñdon geond middangeard / hadas under heofonum" (30-31). Guthlac has reached a new appreciation of the proper love owed to God, and yet must still remain in the struggle on earth. The "bold" is still a central concept; the forces of evil have not yet given up, and Guthlac's resolution, and his response to the immediate situation, have yet to be fully explored by the poet.

The "londes wynne" is not so much a physical sensation as the manifestation of spiritual condition. Guthlac comes to a location that was hidden from men's view and begins to build a holy edifice there. The "bold on beorhge," in fact, takes on certain qualities which seem to dissociate it from its earthly context:

Was seo londes stow  
 bimiþen fore monnum,    oppæt meotud onwrah  
 beorg on bearwe,    þa se bytla cwom  
 se þar haligne    ham aræde,  
 nales þy he giemde    þurh gitsunga  
 lænes lifwelan....

(146-151)

Thus Guthlac's habitation is divorced from the attributes formerly associated with the accumulation of wealth, the pride of ownership which had formerly characterized Guthlac's response to the world. It now has taken on a new and truly spiritual quality. But Guthlac is never entirely free from the danger of evil, for the poet refers again to his spiritual torment (l. 153). Despite this, Guthlac remains steadfast in his rejection of the fleeting pleasures of earth:

Oft þurh reorde ahead,  
 þam þe þrowera þeawas lufedon,  
 gods ærendu, þa him gæst onwrah  
 lifes snyttru, þæt he his lichoman  
 wynna forwyrnde ond woruldblissa,  
 seftra ætla ond symbeldaga,  
 swylce eac idelra eageana wynna,  
 giereþan gielplices.

(160-167)

Guthlac is moving closer to a clearer understanding of his saintly mission. The first thing that God shows him ("onwrah," l. 147) is the mound on which the saint is to build. And he is to raise up a holy edifice free from the love of transitory wealth. Next, Guthlac is shown ("onwrah," l. 162) the wisdom of life, that he should actively reject the wrong use of earthly goods, vainglorious building. Thus the poet clearly shows just how Guthlac has accepted the advice of the good angel and has become "mid gæstlicum / wæpnum" (177-178) the true builder of the Lord.

The architectural metaphor is central to an understanding of Guthlac's significance. Guthlac's primary role is as a builder, for it is in this way that he proves God's strength:

þar he mōngum wearð  
 bysen on Brytene, sibban biōrg gestah  
 eadig oretta  
 . . . . .  
 ærest arærde  
 Cristes rode. . . .

(174-180)

But the significance of Guthlac's building involves more than simply raising the cross; by marking out the territory as God's, Guthlac deprives the devils of any hope of respite from their torments. Any gain made in God's

behalf must correspondingly diminish the power of the old enemies. Guthlac's decision to be a builder for God has thus deprived the devils of a place of peace, but they are not willing to give up easily. In consequence, God must come to Guthlac's aid. It appears that God had always known of this spot, but only when Guthlac claims it for the Lord does He actively work to deprive the devils of their resting place:

Stod seo dygle stow dryhtne in gemyndum  
 idel ond æmen, eþelriehte feor,  
 bad bisæce betran hyrdes.

(215-218)

In other words, what makes the spot so valuable is that Guthlac has claimed it for God. The poet is now ready to introduce the torments of the devils, but makes it abundantly clear that the battle exists as both a physical and a spiritual conflict: "Ne mostun hy Guðlages gæste scēpan, / ne þurh sarslege sawle gedalan / wið lichoman" (226-228).

In a series of hypermetric lines (239 ff.) Guthlac enumerates a fundamental tenet of the poem, namely that belief in God is sufficient strength, and the fear of death is inconsequential. With this belief, Guthlac can easily hold the spot. More importantly, he affirms his own growing power. Recalling the former debate in which the demonic force had urged him to gather together a band of plunderers, Guthlac taunts the devil by pointing out that he now has help beyond what a mere band of men could



provide, since he is becoming the temple of the Lord in whom divine mystery dwells.

Other saints had become primarily types of Christ; Guthlac assumes one of the functions of the church:

"Ne eam ic swa fealog, swa ic eow fore stonde,  
 mōnna weorudēs, ac me mara dæl  
 in godcundum gæstgerynum  
 wunað ond weaxeð, se me wraþe healdeð."  
 (246-249)

Guthlac builds for himself a resting place, but he also fortifies himself as the receptacle of God's wisdom. And like the church, Guthlac is divinely inspired and aided:

"Ic me anum her eaðe getimbre  
 hus ond hleonað; me o. heofonum sind  
 lare gelonge. Mec þas lyt tweoþ  
 þæt me engel to ealle gelædeð  
 spowende sped spreca ond dæda."  
 (250-254)

Finally, Guthlac's spiritual battle is won completely. Again using an architectural image, the poet asserts that Guthlac has triumphed completely. By raising the cross on the hill, he has established the church and himself simultaneously as concrete symbols of God's grace at work on earth. Guthlac can now banish the devils, since he is a participant in the ecclesiastical power. Both his spiritual and physical position have been assured and the saint can be most confident in the trials that lie ahead:

"Ic me frið wille  
 at gode gegyrnan; ne sceal min gæst mid eow  
 gedwolan dreogañ, ac mec dryhtnes hond  
 mundað mid mægne. Her sceal min wesañ  
 eoðlic eþel, nales eower leng."  
 (257-261)

When the devils begin to torment Guthlac, they

of devils: "Ond ic þæt gelyfe in liffruman, / ecne on-  
wealdan ealra gescæfta" (637-638). Guthlac has hope  
that he will come "to þam betran ham" (l. 654). Thus, in-  
stead of fearing hell, Guthlac looks forward to possession  
of the radiant new home: "ond ic dream wyn / [sceal] agan  
mid englum in þam uplican / rodera rice" (680-681).

In direct answer to Guthlac's assertion of faith,  
God's messenger appears. This messenger bears a central  
message of the poem. The messenger is Bartholomew, one of  
the disciples, and he reassures Guthlac that he will be  
able to hold the barrow as God's thane: "He sceal þy wonge  
wealdan, ne magon ge him þa wic forstandan" (l. 702).  
Even more important, Bartholomew assures Guthlac that "his  
word ond his weorc" (l. 720) are known to God and that  
Guthlac's residence on earth is united with God since  
Bartholomew will serve to unite the two:

"Ic þæt gefremme, þær se freond wunað  
on þære sočne, þe ic þa sibbe wið hine  
healdan willē, nu ic his helpan mot,  
þæt ge min onsynn oft sceawiað."  
(715-718)

Once Bartholomew's message is made known, all nature par-  
ticipates in the harmony, and in the midst of this joy is  
Guthlac in his dwelling. The transcendent vision soon  
reaches its climax when Guthlac's soul is carried into  
Paradise. Guthlac has shown the way, and those who wish  
may follow. Guthlac has provided the means for others to  
achieve heaven: "Swa soðfastra sawla motun / in ecne  
geard up gestigan" (790-791). And finally those, who like

seem powerless in any physical harm they might want to do; they crowd about threatening and maligning the saint, but appear capable of little beyond suggesting that the saint seek a dwelling elsewhere. This allows Guthlac once more to assert the central message of the poem, namely that his soul is in God's keeping and nothing physical can harm him. In consequence, Guthlac's battle with the devils does not descend to the physical level: "No ic eow sweord ongean / mid gebolgne hond oðberan þence" (302-303). By neatly repeating the system of infinitive and "þence," the poet delineates the real significance of Guthlac's life, for the saint owes Christ a dear gift, to hold the land secure against the onslaught of all foes: "ac ic minum Criste cweman þence / leofran lace" (306-307). Guthlac thus stands as symbol of God's power on earth, and can expect the relation he has with men to be reciprocal. Just as the church both serves and is served, so Guthlac receives his sustenance from those who are obedient to God's will: "ac me dogra gehwam dryhten sendeð / þurh monnes hond mine þearfe" (321-322). In return for their temporal support, men receive from the saint a spiritual reward, as he mediates the prayers of those who serve him. Dwelling on the hill in the delight of his abode, Guthlac prays for the souls of men:

No he hine wið monna miltse gedælde,  
 ac gesynta bæd sawla gehwylcre,  
 þonne he to eorðan on þam anade  
 hleor onhyldé.

(331-334)

While God keeps Guthlac's body from real danger, his spirit is severely tried. Guthlac has already confronted the inevitability of his own death and has warned the devils that physical torment will not alter the steadfastness of his soul: "Næfre ge mec of þissum wordum onwendað þendan mec min gewit gelæsteð. / Þeah þe ge hine sarum fōrsæcen, ne motan ge mine sawle gretan" (376-377). The devils, at this point, abandon any hope that torture will work; it would necessarily fail even if God were to allow the fiends complete control over Guthlac's body. They now turn to a more threatening type of torment by questioning the basis of Guthlac's power. To do this they raise the saint up in the air so that he can look down on the lamentable state of the monasteries. The monastery is another architectural symbol in the poem. It should embody the same values that sustain and define Guthlac. Instead of holiness, Guthlac finds "lust" (l. 417) and men who lead their lives among "idlum æhtum ond oferwlencum" (l. 418). Guthlac remains unshaken in his faith and returns to his retreat. Partly, his steadfast faith must come from the manifest weakness of the devils' argument. They point out that many live in wickedness, but the lesson that they draw from this does not in any way follow: "Swa ge weorðmyndu / in dolum dreame dryhtne gieldað" (463-464). Guthlac has an irrefutable response to this line of reasoning, for he is able to teach the devils the profound difference that exists between devils and men.

The devils are hardened in sin and cannot ever escape: "ne cunnon ge dryhten duguþe biddan, / ne mid eaðmedum are secan" (479-480). Men, on the other hand, can change and repent:

"þeodum ywāþ  
 wisdom werās, wlenču forleōsað,  
 siððan geoguðe geað gæst aflihð."  
 (502-504)

Guthlac then berates the devils for their lack of mercy. He is able to do this because he is already linked with the process of the revelation of divine history. Guthlac has been sent by God: "Me þonne sige sendeð se usic semon mæg" (l. 511). Guthlac is beginning to transcend the earthly limitations: "was se martyre from moncynnēs / synnum asundrad" (514-515). Despite this, Guthlac is to suffer more, and this seems miraculous to the people, yet there is a good precedent, for Christ Himself suffered torment and death:

Was þat gen mæra, þat he middangeard  
 sylfa gesohte, ond his swat ageat  
 on bonea hond; ahte þega geweald,  
 lifes ond deaðes, þa he lustum dreæg  
 eaðmod on eorðan ehtendra nið.  
 (521-525)

It is by these very actions that the church is established on earth, and Guthlac is closely associated with these deeds by means of the close parallel drawn. It is at this point in the poem that the poet steps aside and directly tells the audience the import of what has been happening:

Forþon is nu arlic þat we æfastra  
 dæde demen, secgen dryhtne lof  
 ealra þara biþena þe us bec fore

þurh his wundra geweorc      wisdom cyþað.  
(526-529)

Clearly the link is made between the grace granted through the incarnation and Guthlac's actions on earth. Just as Christ left behind the church as the reminder of His grace, so too Guthlac stands on his mound in a similar role. He serves to remind all men of the mercy formerly shown by Christ in His passion. Guthlac's raising of the cross on the hill is symbolically the equivalent of Christ's establishment of His church.

If the present cannot terrify Guthlac, then the devils have no option but to try the future. The demons seize Guthlac and force him to confront hell which, they say, will be his ultimate home since he is not truly perfect "wordum ond weorcum" (l. 581). Faced with this, Guthlac can, and must, rely solely on the faith that his words and works among men will prove pleasing to Christ in the afterlife:

"Ic þone deman in dagum minum  
wille weorbian      wordum ond dædum,  
lufian in life,      swa is lar ond ar  
to spowendre      spræce gelæded,  
þam þe in his weorcum      willan ræfnað."  
(618-622)

As if to demonstrate the power of "lar ond ar," Guthlac begins a lengthy sermon to the devils, pointing out that they are the authors of their own misery. In contrast to the wrong use that they have made of their words and deeds in rejecting God, Guthlac proceeds to use his words properly in declaring a creed before the unbelieving host

of devils: "Ond ic þæt gelyfe in liffruman, / ecne onwealdan ealra gesceafta" (637-638). Guthlac has hope that he will come "to þam betran ham" (l. 654). Thus, instead of fearing hell, Guthlac looks forward to possession of the radiant new home: "ond ic dream wyn / [scea]l agan mid englum in þam uplican / rodera rice" (680-681).

In direct answer to Guthlac's assertion of faith, God's messenger appears. This messenger bears a central message of the poem. The messenger is Bartholomew, one of the disciples, and he reassures Guthlac that he will be able to hold the barrow as God's thane: "He sceal þy wonge wealdan, ne magon ge him þa wic forstondan" (l. 702). Even more important, Bartholomew assures Guthlac that "his word ond his weorc" (l. 720) are known to God and that Guthlac's residence on earth is united with God since Bartholomew will serve to unite the two:

"Ic þæt gefremme, þar se freond wunað  
on þære socne, þe ic þa sibbe wið hine  
healdan wille, nu ic his helpan mot,  
þæt ge min onsynn oft sceawiað."  
(715-718)

Once Bartholomew's message is made known, all nature participates in the harmony, and in the midst of this joy is Guthlac in his dwelling. The transcendent vision soon reaches its climax when Guthlac's soul is carried into Paradise. Guthlac has shown the way, and those who wish may follow. Guthlac has provided the means for others to achieve heaven: "Swa soðfastra sawla motun / in ecne gearð up gestigan" (790-791). And finally those, who like

Guthlac achieve paradise, enter the New Jerusalem. Guthlac participates in this because one of his functions is to act as a type of the church. He becomes a participant in the ultimate expression of the church's destiny, and those who follow his ways are also allowed to see God. Guthlac, through his life, has proven the power of the spirit over the world of the flesh. Guthlac on his "beorgseþel" (l. 102) becomes the glory of the eternal city on the hill. Guthlac's life provides the model of the way to achieve this victory:

Him þæt he hreoweð after hingonge,  
 ðonne hy hweorfað in þa halgan burg,  
 gongað gegnunga to Hierusalem,  
 þæt hi to worulde wynnum motun  
 godes onsyne georne bihealdan....  
 (811-815)



## CHAPTER XI

## CONCLUSION

The saints' legends of The Exeter Book and The Vercelli Book do not constitute a cohesive genre. Juliana alone explores the concerns of the typical saint's story in dealing with the miracles and martyrdom commonly associated with a saint. Andreas explores the growth of the saint in his ability finally to obey God's commands to free Matthew from prison and convert the Mermedonians from their cannibalism and subservience to the devil. Elene has a miraculous episode as its centre, but lacks the element of martyrdom. From Cynewulf's point of view the conversion of the Jews from the old law is, in many respects, the most miraculous of all events. Guthlac is tormented by devils in Guthlac A, but really suffers no physical harm from their onslaught. But the trial of his soul, as he confronts terror and vainglory, does serve to reinforce his role as the builder of God who establishes a visible sign of man's ability to realize his full potential for salvation. In Guthlac B, the saint moves to fulfil the role of the teacher who establishes in others the same love of God. Yet there are some problems which

are common to each of these thematically varied poems. In each, the devil, as a symbol of evil, has an important function. The devil confronts the saint's ideals. As well, the devil infects society, so that the social order is seen as diseased because of the demonic influence. This study has attempted to demonstrate some of the ways in which these five metrical Old English saints' lives differ in their approach to these two closely related problems.

Juliana confronts the devil in prison and easily overcomes him through divine aid. Before Juliana sends the devil back to Hell, she forces him to confess his evils. In this way she functions as a type of Christ, who had harrowed Hell and firmly bound Satan forever. Unfortunately for Juliana, the demonic control of society is too pervasive for her. Self-seeking is so strong among the rulers that they never see the implications of her life. They appear victorious in her martyrdom, but their hopes are ironically inverted; they end up thralls of the devil just as earlier they had been subject to their own anger. The devil in Andreas acts as a foil for the saint. Through tempting and tormenting the saint, the devil ironically makes it possible for the saint to grow in the strength of his faith. As Andrew discusses Christ's mission with the Helmsman, he perceives the validity of his own mission. Andrew grows in his perception of the journey; the voyage to Mermedonia becomes a spiritual journey, not just a

physical one. Andrew comes to rely on the nourishment of the word as the proper response to Mermedonian cannibalism.

In Elene, the devils are on the defensive. The victory of Christ's forces is assured by Constantine's success over the Huns. The battle image changes to encompass the spiritual level. In her pursuit of wisdom, Elene discovers that the Christian theory of history is valid and that the old power of the devil can be defeated. Once Elene demonstrates this, her role in the poem diminishes, and the Jews are left to work out the problems of the new order for themselves. Guthlac seems to withdraw from active confrontation with the evil of society; it is in his fen retreat that he confronts the hoards of devils who attempt to seduce him into reverting to his old values and into falling victim to despair over the debased state of humanity. Guthlac A advocates moderation. Wisdom will grow out of folly. Guthlac establishes his dwelling as the sign of God's order on earth, and the threats and attacks of the devils are put into perspective. The vainglory initially offered by the devils to Guthlac ultimately becomes the lot of the devils themselves. Guthlac B picks up the positive ideals of Guthlac A and demonstrates how these ideals may be communicated. The saint had begun as an exile in the wasteland; he achieves his purpose in life and teaches his message to others. Thus the imagery of separation at the beginning of the poem finds its culmination in the idea of union with God. It is by seeking

this union that man can compensate for the original separation brought about by Adam and Eve.

While the Old English poetic saints' legends all deal with a saintly individual, the similarities between them are few. All five lives do confront the evil of the devil and society's subjection to wickedness. It is surely a mark of the great skill of Cynewulf and his fellow hagiographers that each has been able to produce a remarkable work of art dealing with these problems without mere repetition of commonplace ideas. The diversity of treatment proves the consummate ability of the Anglo-Saxon poet to manipulate his word-hoard:

Heofonas sindon  
 fagre gefylled, fader ælmihtig,  
 ealra þrymma þrym, þines wuldres,  
 uppe mid englum ond on eorðan sōmōd.  
 (Phoenix, 626-629)

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image, trans. Dora Nussey (New York and London: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), p. 268.

<sup>2</sup>See Sherman Kuhn, "Was Ælfric a Poet?," Philological Quarterly, 52 (1973), 643-662. Kuhn argues that in essence Ælfric's saints' legends are poetical in nature, and that the variance from classical versification looks ahead to later developments as, for example, The Brut. Kuhn is, of course, arguing against the view that Ælfric's works are a type of prose exploiting poetic techniques for heightened effect. The question of whether Ælfric's style is prosaic poetry or poetic prose still seems open to debate.

<sup>3</sup>I follow the modern trend that only the signed poems may safely be ascribed to Cynewulf.

<sup>4</sup>Gordon H. Gerould, Saints' Legends (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. 75 f.

<sup>5</sup>George A. Smithson, The Old English Christian Epic (Berkeley: The University Press, 1910), p. 392.

<sup>6</sup>M: W: Gröse and D. McKenna, Old English Literature (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1973), p. 86 f.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>8</sup>Stanley B. Greenfield, A Critical History of Old English Literature (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 102.

<sup>9</sup>Daniel G. Calder, "The Art of Cynewulf's Juliana," Modern Language Quarterly, 34 (1973), 355-371.

<sup>10</sup>James L. Rosier, "Death and Transfiguration: Guthlac B," in Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt, ed. J. L. Rosier (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1970), pp. 82-93.

<sup>11</sup>John Gardner, "Cynewulf's Elene: Sources and

Structure," Neophilologus, 54 (1970), 65-76.

<sup>12</sup>Thomas Hill, "Two Notes on Patristic Allusion in Andreas," Anglia, 84 (1966), p. 162.

<sup>13</sup>James Cross, "Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature," in Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur, ed. S. B. Greenfield (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Books, 1963), pp. 1-22.

<sup>14</sup>John Casteen, "Andreas: Mermedonian Cannibalism and Figural Narration," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 75 (1974), 74-78.

<sup>15</sup>Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., "'A Defectiōne Pōtus Sui': A Sapiential Basis for 'ealuscerwen' and 'meoduscerwen,'" Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 70 (1969), p. 68 f.

<sup>16</sup>Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., "Joshua and Tobias in the Old English Andreas," Studia Neophilologica, 42 (1970), 330-332.

<sup>17</sup>Thomas D. Hill, "The Tropological Context of Heat and Cold Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 69 (1968), 522-532.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas D. Hill, "Figural Narrative in Andreas: The Conversion of the Mermedoniāns," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 70 (1969), 261-273.

<sup>19</sup>Leonard J. Peters, "The Relationship of the Old English Andreas to Beowulf," Publications of the Modern Language Association, 66 (1951), 844-863.

<sup>20</sup>R. M. Lumiansky, "The Context of Old English 'Ealuscerwen' and 'Meoduscerwen,'" Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 48 (1949), 116-126.

<sup>21</sup>David Hamilton, "Andreas and Beowulf: Placing the Hero," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 81-98.

<sup>22</sup>Arthur G. Brodeur, "A Study of Diction and Style in Three Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poems," in Nordica et Anglica: Studies in Honour of Stefán Einarsson (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 97-114.

<sup>23</sup>Larry M. Sklute, "'Freoðuwebbe' in Old English Poetry," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 71 (1970), 534-541.

<sup>24</sup>James W. Earl, "Typological and Iconographic Style in Early Medieval Hagiography," Studies in the Literary Imagination, 8 (1975), 15-46.

<sup>25</sup>Thomas A. Shippey, Old English Verse (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1972).

<sup>26</sup>Kenneth Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

<sup>27</sup>Robert D. Stevick, "Arithmetical Design of the Old English Andreas," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 99.

<sup>28</sup>Earl R. Anderson, "Cynewulf's Elene: Manuscript Divisions and Structural Symmetry," Journal of Modern Philology, 72 (1974), 111-122.

<sup>29</sup>Varda Fish, "Theme and Pattern in Cynewulf's Elene," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 76 (1975), 1-25.

<sup>30</sup>Daniel G. Calder, "Strife, Revelation, and Conversion: The Thematic Structure of Elene," English Studies, 53 (1972), 201-210.

<sup>31</sup>Robert Stepsis and Richard Rand, "Contrast and Conversion in Cynewulf's Elene," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 70 (1969), 273-282.

<sup>32</sup>Thomas D. Hill, "The Typology of the Week and the Numerical Structure of the Old English Guthlac B," Mediaeval Studies, 37 (1975), 531-536.

<sup>33</sup>Laurence K. Shook, "The Burial Mound in Guthlac A," Modern Philology, 58 (1960), 1-10.

<sup>34</sup>Frances R. Lipp, "Guthlac A: An Interpretation," Mediaeval Studies, 33 (1971), 46-62.

<sup>35</sup>Daniel G. Calder, "Guthlac A and Guthlac B: Some Discriminations," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 66.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>37</sup>David Hamilton, "The Diet and Digestion of Allegory in Andreas," in Anglo-Saxon England, vol. I, ed. Peter Clemoes et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 147-158.

<sup>38</sup> Oliver J. H. Grosz, "The Island of Exiles: A Note on Andreas 15," English Language Notes, 7 (1970), 241-242.

<sup>39</sup> Donald K. Fry, "Themes and Type-Scenes in Elene 1-113," Speculum, 44 (1969), 35-45.

<sup>40</sup> Catherine A. Regan, "Evangelicalism as the Informing Principle in Cynewulf's Elenē," Traditio, 29 (1973), 27-52.

<sup>41</sup> James Doubleday, "The Speech of Stephen and the Tone of Elene," Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Fraese (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 116-123.

<sup>42</sup> Paul F. Reichardt, "Guthlac A and the Landscape of Spiritual Perfection," Neophilologus, 58 (1974), 331-338.

<sup>43</sup> Daniel G. Calder, "Theme and Strategy in Guthlac B," Papers on Language and Literature, 8 (1972), 227-242.

<sup>44</sup> Kenneth A. Bleeth, "Juliana 647-52," Medium Ævum, 38 (1969), 119-122.

<sup>45</sup> Rosemary Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry," Review of English Studies, n.s. 4 (1953), 1-12.

## CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> Beowulf, ed. F. Klaeber, 3rd ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1950), ll. 99-104.

<sup>2</sup> See Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles, ed. K. R. Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> The Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. Rev. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), VIII, 517-525. Subsequent references to the Greek version of the story will be to this edition and translation.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 523.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 523 f.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 524.



<sup>8</sup>The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, ed. and trans. Rev. R. Morris (London: N. Trübner and Company, 1880).

<sup>9</sup>The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica, ed. C. W. Goodwin (Cambridge: Macmillan and Company, 1851), p. v. Future reference to the prose Old English version of the Andrew story will be to this edition.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 14 f.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>12</sup>Andreas, ll. 1168 f., as printed in The Vercelli Book, ed. G. P. Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). All future references to Andreas will be from this edition (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records) and will be cited by line reference only.

<sup>13</sup>Acts of Andrew and Matthias, p. 523.

<sup>14</sup>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado, Quarta Editio (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 1965). All biblical references are to this edition of the Vulgate, and follow the chapter and verse divisions of this edition. Chapter and verse references are noted in the text, and follow the standard English form. References are to the Vulgate, since this is closer to the version that an eighth century author would have known than any available translation. Since biblical material is well known, a translation has not been provided for citations.

<sup>15</sup>Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Acts of Andrew and Matthias, p. 523.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Elene, ll. 92-94, as printed in The Vercelli Book, ed. G. P. Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). All subsequent references to the poem will be from this edition, and will be cited by line reference only.

<sup>20</sup>Compare this with R. K. Gordon, Anglo-Saxon Poetry, rev. ed. (London: Dent, 1954). This is, of course, a translation of the poetry, and not an edition. It is often possible, however, to infer how Gordon

understood the text from his translation of it. He renders the last two lines quoted and those immediately following thus: "How He had set free the sons of men, the sorrowing spirits, from the snares of the devil, and had given them grace by the same object which had appeared in His sight as a sign of victory against the onset of nations" (p. 214). This translation is misleading in two ways. The phrase "ond him geywed wearð / sylfum on gesyhðe" (ll. 183-184) must surely refer to Constantine, and not Christ as suggested by Gordon's capitalization. More importantly, the translation of "locan deofla" as "snares of the devil" misses the real meaning. The author of the poem is not suggesting (as Gordon implies) that sin would be any more easily recognized or overcome after the crucifixion, but is alluding to the actual harrowing of hell. Therefore, "locan" should be translated as "hell" and not simply as "snares."

<sup>21</sup>The numbering of the sections of Elene seems to be something more than scribal, since the scribe has not numbered sectional divisions in other poems of the Vercelli Book. P. O. E. Gradon notes this in her edition of Elene (London: Methuen, 1958), p. 19 f., and also points out the fact that some of the Latin manuscripts of the story have numbered sections which correspond to those in the Old English poem.

<sup>22</sup>A. C. Bartlett, The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966). Bartlett defines an envelope pattern thus: "The name Envelope pattern is here applied to any logically unified group of verses bound together by the repetition at the end of (1) words or (2) ideas or (3) words and ideas which are employed at the beginning. Within the group there may be other intricate verbal relationships which may reinforce the Envelope scheme" (p. 9).

<sup>23</sup>Cynewulf's Elene, ed. P. O. E. Gradon (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd.), p. 35.

### CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Guthlac A, ll. 84-88, as printed in The Exeter Book, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). All future citations from the Guthlac poems will be to this edition (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records), and will be cited by line reference in the text.

<sup>2</sup>For a further account, see Felix of Croyland, Vita Sancti Guthlaci, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956). Felix

begins his account of Guthlac's life by noting and stressing the noble lineage and material prosperity of the saint. Future references and translations will be from this edition.

<sup>3</sup>Compare with Joseph Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968). In an interesting thesis, Campbell traces the successive stages of the "monomyth" as the hero becomes initiated into the rites of the religion. In part, the process involves the recognition of the father and the atonement or acknowledgement that the children may share in the power or majesty of their father. He writes: "Atonement (at-one-ment) consists in no more than the abandonment of that self-generated double monster--the dragon thought to be God (superego) and the dragon thought to be Sin (repressed id). But this requires an abandonment of the attachment to ego itself, and that is what is difficult. One must have a faith that the father is merciful, and then a reliance on that mercy. Therewith, the center of belief is transferred outside of the bedeviling god's tight scaly ring, and the dreadful ogres dissolve" (p. 130).

<sup>4</sup>"His auditis beatus Guthlac exurgens psallebat: Convertantur inimici mei retrorsum, et reliqua. Quo facto hostis strososus velut fumus a facie eius vacuus in auras evanuit; ille vero zabulicum magisterium despiciens ne ullus locus consentiendi illis in eo videretur, tunc adsumpta ordeacei panis particula victum suum contidianum vesci coepit." ["When the blessed Guthlac heard this he rose up and sang: 'Let mine enemies be turned back,' etc. When the impostor his foe heard this, he vanished like smoke from his presence into thin air. But the saint, despising this devilish instruction, and lest there should appear any sign of his consenting to them, began even then to eat his daily food, taking a scrap of barley bread"] (Felix, pp. 100-101).

<sup>5</sup>The usual translation of "magne" is "might" or "power." Gordon, in his translation, renders the phrase: "nobly upheld by the strength of angels" (p. 261). Golancz, in his translation in the Early English Text Society edition of The Exeter Book (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1895) renders it thus: "nobly sustained by angels' might" (p. 125). In some instances, "magne" has an added connotation of "miracle," though there is nothing overtly in the text to suggest this. If the word does suggest this, however, then there would be a stronger parallel with the angel's ministration to Christ.

<sup>6</sup>"Oferwlencu" seems to be synonymous with "oferhygdu." Gordon renders the word simply as "riches" (p.

263), but this seems an inadequate translation.

<sup>7</sup>"Deaðmægen" seems to be a hapax legomenon.

<sup>8</sup>Juliana, ed. R. Woolf (London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1966).

<sup>9</sup>Woolf notes that it is difficult to determine which Latin version of the story might have been used as a source by Cynewulf: "It is possible that the text printed in Bolland, and generally referred to as the Vita or Acta, is not the exact version used by Cynewulf, although the general similarity in the progress of the action, and many sentences of identical phraseology, suggest that Cynewulf's original was closely related to it." Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>11</sup>Evangelia Apocrypha ed. Constantine De Tischendorf (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), p. 366. All citations from The Gospel of Nicodemus (Part I, "Gesta Pilati" and Part II, "Descensus Christi ad Inferos") will be from Tischendorf's edition of the text. Translations will be from James as found in The Apocryphal New Testament, ed. and trans. Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). James' translations of these lines is as follows: "But the Jews took hold on Joseph and commanded him to be put in safeguard until the first day of the week: and they said unto him: Know thou that the time alloweth us not to do anything against thee, because the sabbath dawneth: but know that thou shalt not obtain burial, but we will give thy flesh to the fowls of the heaven" (p. 105). The Gospel of Nicodemus was a popular text in the middle ages, and two copies have survived of an Old English translation, with the manuscript dated about 11th century. The Old English translation is quite close to the Latin. The better of the two manuscripts has been edited as The Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. S. J. Crawford (Edinburgh: I. B. Hutchen, 1927).

<sup>12</sup>"Give ye therefore Joseph and we will give you Jesus" (James, p. 107).

<sup>13</sup>Juliana, l. 161, as printed in The Exeter Book, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). All future references to the poem will be to this edition (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records), and will be cited by line reference in the text.

<sup>14</sup>"Then came Satan the prince of death, fleeing in fear and saying to his ministers and unto the hells: O my ministers and all the hells, come together, and shut your gates, set in place the bars of iron, and fight boldly and

withstand, that we that hold them be not made captive in bonds. Then were all the evil ministers troubled, and began to shut the gates of death with all diligence, and by little to make fast the locks and the bars of iron, and to take fast in hand all their instruments, and to utter howlings with dreadful and hideous voice" (James, pp. 124-125).

<sup>15</sup>"And he has been much mine enemy, doing me great hurt, and many that I had made blind, lame, dumb, leprous, and possessed he hath healed with a word" (James, p. 129).

<sup>16</sup>Gollancz, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup>Gordon, p. 173.

<sup>18</sup>See Sharon E. Butler, "Distribution and Rhetorical Functions of Formulas in Cynewulf's Signed Poems," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1976. Dr. Butler points out that suddenness is repeatedly applied to the devil in Juliana.

<sup>19</sup>As pointed out by John R. Clark Hall in his dictionary entry for this word.

<sup>20</sup>A "sum passage" refers to an Old English rhetorical device of repeating the word "sum" a number of times to call attention to the inherent contrasts that the author is stressing.

<sup>21</sup>"Ye have rightly said: for I was a robber, doing all manner of evil upon the earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jesus, and I beheld the wonders in the creation which came to pass through the cross of Jesus when he was crucified, and I believed that he was the maker of all creatures and the almighty king, and I besought him, saying: Remember me, Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom. And forthwith he received my prayer, and said unto me: Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise" (James, p. 141).

<sup>22</sup>"And Satan remained in the midst and stood put to confusion and cast down, and bound with a fetter about his feet. And behold, the Lord Jesus Christ coming in the glory of the light of the height, in meekness, great and yet humble, bearing a chain in his hands bound therewith the neck of Satan, and also binding his hands behind his back, cast him backwards into Tartarus, and set his holy foot upon his throat and said: Throughout all ages hast thou done much evil and hast never been quiet at any time. To-day do I deliver thee unto eternal fires" (James, pp. 134-135).

## CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>Alvin A. Lee, The Guest-Hall of Eden (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972).

<sup>2</sup>Jean Leclercq, O. S. B., The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), p. 68.

<sup>3</sup>See Laurence K. Shook, "The Prologue of the Old-English Guthlac A," Mediaeval Studies, 23 (1961), 294-304. In this excellent article, Father Shook suggests that the first twenty-nine lines of the poem form a prologue to it and establish a dominant theme of angeology. Some earlier editors had thought that these first twenty-nine lines were the epilogue of Christ III, while others hypothesized that they were a separate and complete poem in themselves. While I agree with Father Shook that these lines are an integral part of Guthlac A, I would extend the term "prologue" to include the first ninety-two lines of the poem. Christ III ends with a combination of dots and the Old English version of the ampersand. This is followed by a blank space equivalent to three lines. Guthlac A begins with the words "SE BID GEFEANA FER[ast]" in capitals. At the end of line ninety-two, there appears a pair of dots and the ampersand figure. Line ninety-three has the word "MAGUN" in capitals. Similarly, the extant portions of the poem are divided into seven more sections, each of which terminates in a pair or pairs of dots and the ampersand figure. Also, each subsequent section begins with the first word only in capitals. Guthlac B, however, like Guthlac A, begins with more than one word capitalized ("DET IS WIDE CUD WE[ra]") and is separated by a three-line space from Guthlac A. The section divisions within Guthlac A are marked only by a single-line space, but in some instances the scribe has put the last word of the previous section within this one-line space. Whatever the author's intentions, it seems fairly evident that the Exeter Book scribe thought of the first ninety-two lines as comprising a single unit separate from Christ III, and a part of Guthlac A.

<sup>4</sup>In The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records edition, Krapp and Dobbie punctuate only these lines as the actual direct speech of the angel. There is no particular reason why the lines immediately following cannot be considered as part of the angel's speech, especially since they describe the condition of heaven and those who deserve reward. Gollancz, in The Early English Text Society edition, includes the next two verses (to 11b) as part of the angel's speech. In his translation, Gordon considers the first twenty-nine lines of the poem as part of Christ III, but

this does not affect the way in which he punctuates them; he takes the angel's discourse as running to the phrase "bigytað him wuldres ræste" (l. 25 of Guthlac A in the Krapp-Dobbie numbering system). This conjecture seems reasonable enough, since the angel's speech begins with a capital in the manuscript and can conceivably, with no forcing of the sense involved, run on up to line twenty-six, which also begins with a capital. It is clear that the narrator is speaking in his own voice by the next section (beginning at l. 30) since the pronoun "we" is used to describe how men, including the speaker, can be long to any state "geond middangeard." Although Krapp and Dobbie do not capitalize "hwider" (l. 26), the manuscript does show the word as having a small capital. Using the punctuation provided by Krapp and Dobbie, the "hwider" clause must be dependent on the phrase "wuldres ræste." If, on the other hand, "hwider" begins a new sentence, then it must surely introduce a question. In fact, both Gordon and Gollancz treat it this way. Supposing that the poet intended a question at this point, it would then be illogical and out of character for the angel, who has been explaining the nature of heaven and the reasons for salvation to the newly arrived soul. The angel cannot be the speaker after line twenty-five; there is no reason why he cannot be the speaker up to this line.

<sup>5</sup>"For when he read about the solitary life of monks of former days, then his heart was enlightened and burned with an eager desire to make his way to the desert. Briefly, after some days had passed, with the willing consent of the elders, he started out on the path to eternal bliss and proceeded to look for a solitary place" (Colgrave, p. 87).

<sup>6</sup>"And so after he had spent a period of ninety days in greeting his companions with brotherly salutations, he returned to the above-mentioned place whence he had come, as though to a home inherited from his father" (Colgrave, p. 91).

<sup>7</sup>"And in this [cistern] Guthlac the man of blessed memory began to dwell, after building a hut over it" (Colgrave, p. 95).

<sup>8</sup>"For this cause he was intensely hated by all the brethren who lived with him there" (Colgrave, p. 85).

<sup>9</sup>The exact grammatical relationship to "hafað yldrán háð" seems unclear. Krapp and Dobbie put the phrase in brackets, and appear to see it as an appositive description of the angel. Gollancz's translation has the same force, since he renders the phrase thus: "(his the more exalted state)" (p. 105). Gordon's translation is

similar in meaning: "Then the angel should speak; he shall have a higher rank" (p. 163).

<sup>10</sup>"There is in the midland district of Britain a most dismal fen of immense size, which begins at the banks of the river Granta not far from the camp which is called Cambridge, and stretches from the south as far north as the sea. It is a very long tract, now consisting of marshes, now of bogs, sometimes of black waters overhung by fog, sometimes studded with wooded islands and traversed by the windings of tortuous streams" (Colgrave, p. 87).

#### CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup>Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>Michael D. Cherniss, Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry, (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1972), p. 200 f.

<sup>3</sup>Juliana, ed. William Strunk (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1904), p. 33. This edition contains the Latin Acta Sanctorum version of the legend, as originally published by the Bollandists (Feb. Tom. II, pp. 875-879). All references to the Acta Sanctorum version are from Strunk's reprinting of the text. The translations are my own. These lines may be glossed: "For in the time of the emperor Maximian, a persecutor of the Christian religion, there was a certain senator in the city of Nicomedia whose name was Eleusius. He was a friend of the emperor."

<sup>4</sup>The word "fyrwet" is perhaps ambiguous here, possibly suggesting only the burning desire to know. The use of fire in the story as part of Eleusius' attempt to bend Juliana to his lust would make the term more telling if the outline of the story were already known to the audience. R. K. Gordon's translation of the word is rather neutral on this point: "Desire was strong upon him" (p. 165). Gollancz comes closer to suggesting that the phrase has negative qualities: "Desire subdued him" (p. 243). The formula "hine fyrwet bræc" occurs three times in Beowulf. The first use comes when the "weard Scildinga" sees Beowulf and his retinue disembarking (l. 232); the second is when Hygelac asks the recently returned Beowulf about his adventures (l. 1985); the third occurs when Wiglaf, wondering if he will find his lord still alive, hastens back to the stricken Beowulf (l. 2784). In none of these instances does the phrase suggest a morally negative attitude on the part of the author. Since the audience has not yet been told about Juliana's virtues, it would hardly react with great disgust to the advances of the wicked man to the "famnan." It is immediately after this advance



that we find out about the nature of Juliana. It is this knowledge that puts his advance into its proper perspective. Even in furthering the story, Cynewulf seems to make use of the technique of contrasting potential good and evil reality.

<sup>5</sup>"He had become betrothed to a certain maiden. She was sprung from noble lineage, and her name was Juliana."

<sup>6</sup>"Whose father was called Africanus. And he was himself a persecutor of the Christians."

<sup>7</sup>"For Juliana, having a rational soul, wise counsel, and worthy speech, and most full virtue, was thinking to herself about the man opposed to God, Who had made heaven and earth. And for the whole day, calling out in her prayers, hastened to the church of the Lord that she might consult the divine writings."

<sup>8</sup>This passage incorporates the emendation to "hæpenfeoh" of the manuscript reading "hæpenwech." This emendation is suggested in Rosemary Woolf's edition.

<sup>9</sup>The Lifestory of St. Juliana is a later version of the story, usually dated as early thirteenth century.

<sup>10</sup>Woolf, p. 14 f.

<sup>11</sup>Strunk, Woolf, Gollancz, and Krapp and Dobbie all agree in taking these lines as a temporal adverb clause. It is also possible to read them as a simple principal clause. I would take 327b and 328a as a separate principal clause on the grounds that it seems a more logical development to have the devils afraid because their lord is not a "frea milde," rather than because he sends them forth to tempt men into sin. While the Acta does not develop to any great extent the relationship between "Beelzebub" and his minions, it does suggest that they are sometimes successful: "Statim enim ut ei assistimus, dirigit nos tentare animas fidelium. S. Juliana dixit: Et qui repulsus fuerit a Christiano, quid patitur? Daemon respondit: Mala et pessima patitur tormenta" (Strunk, p. 39 f.). [Therefore, in order that we help him, he directs us to tempt the souls of the faithful. Saint Juliana said: And what does he suffer, who has been repulsed by the Christian? The Demon replied: He suffers evils and the worst torments.] Here it is clearly failure which results in the punishment of the devils. Logically, they would fear defeat, not just the task assigned by "Beelzebub."

<sup>12</sup>I have altered the punctuation slightly from that in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. I would read

these lines as one complete sentence. Strunk's edition gives virtually this reading since he punctuates with a semicolon before "gif" and one after "geferan."

<sup>13</sup>See Elene, ed. F. Holthausen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1963), p. 3. For convenience, all references to the Acta Sanctorum version of the story (Vita Quiriaci) are taken from Holthausen's reprinting of the text in his edition of Cynewulf's poem. The translations are my own. The lines quoted run: On that very night, when he slept, a man most splendid came and aroused him, saying: "Constantine, do not fear, but look upwards into heaven and behold!"

<sup>14</sup>Elene: An Old English Poem, ed. Charles W. Kent (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1889), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup>These lines very closely parallel the Acta version: "Cognovi de sanctis libris propheticis, quia olim fuistis dilecti dei" (Holthausen, p. 11). [I learned from the sacred prophetic books that formerly you were pleasing to God.] This version, probably known to Cynewulf, places the Jews in a passive position. Cynewulf's addition to the concept in the Acta version is the idea of activity implicit in the word "dædhwate." Cynewulf is adding another concept which suggests the role of the Jewish people as a social unit. The very next word to "dædhwate" is the epic invocation "hwæt." Since the "hwæt" introduces the idea that the Jews renounced virtue, the juxtaposition of "dædhwæt" and "hwæt" seems deliberate on the part of the poet.

<sup>16</sup>In Cynewulf's version, Elene's use of the parable focuses on the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the ox and its master. In return for the fodder, the ox must exert itself for man's benefit. The Latin version only gives the barest outline: "Cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui" (Holthausen, p. 13). ["The ox knows its owner and the ass the stall of its master."]

<sup>17</sup>"Oh how foolish you are, oh sons of Israel, according to scriptures, who have followed the blindness of your fathers, who have said that Jesus was not the son of God, who have read the law and the prophets, but have not understood."

<sup>18</sup>They however replied: "We both read and understand it. We do not know for what reason, empress, you say such things to us."

<sup>19</sup>The force of this echo is particularly strong when the biblical verse immediately before it is considered, since it is Christ's answer to the question of the

availability of the heavenly kingdom to those still on earth: "Petite, et dabitur vobis: quaerite, et invenitis: pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit: et qui quaerit, invenit: et pulanti aperietur. Aut quis est ex vobis homo, quem si petierit filius suus panem, numquid lapidem porriget ei?" (Matt. 7:7-10).

<sup>20</sup>Elene, on the contrary, has a more liberal viewpoint which can encompass both kinds of kingdom simultaneously. The emphasis in her perception of the choice at hand is on the heavenly reward, but not to the exclusion of the earthly realm totally: "Gif ðu in heofonrice habban wille / eard mid englum ond on eorðan lif, / sigorlean in swegle, saga ricene me" (621-623). Her vision of the proper relationship between the two possibilities is not the "either/or" decision which events beyond her control force Juliana to make.

<sup>21</sup>This passage is rather confused in syntax. Gradon emends the text differently, and provides an answer more suitable to Elene's demands. The Latin text gives the choice much more succinctly: "Si ergo in caelo et in terra vis vivere, dic mihi, ubi absconditum est lignum pretiosum crucis Christi" (Holthausen, p. 23). [If, therefore, you wish to live in heaven and in earth, tell me where the precious wood of Christ's cross has been hidden.] Judas' reply, as reconstructed in the Old English version edited by Gradon, is a more direct answer than the version in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records:

Iudas maðelade --him was geomor sefa,  
 hat at heortan ond gehwæðres wa  
 ge h [im] heofonrices [hadon] swamode,  
 ond þis andwearde anforlete,  
 rice under roderum, g[if] he ða rode ne tæhte--.  
 (Gradon, p. 50)

Gradon also suggests a possible translation of these lines: "His was a sorrowful heart . . . a double woe: the light of heaven would grow dim for him and he would leave this present (light), the world under the heavens, if he did not reveal the cross" (p. 50). This translation does not fully emphasize the conflict of "either/or" as Judas perceives it. I do not think that Gradon's assessment of what is happening is quite accurate: "The sense of the English is thus that, if Judas conceals the whereabouts of the cross, his affliction will be twofold: his body will die and his soul will perish in hell" (p. 50). I believe that the passage is an elaboration of the conflict between the stone and the loaf. Obviously, something must be supplied in line 629b for the purpose of alliteration and metrics. Krapp's notes record a number of possibilities, and the most appealing appears to be that of Grimm:

"Wülker indicates an omission after *heofonrices*, but supplies nothing, though he approves Grimm's 'hygdē,' or better 'hogdē,' and he reads 'swa mōde'" (p. 142). A sensible reading of the text could be constructed thus:

Iudas maðelade-- him wæs geomor sefa,  
 hat æt heortan, ond gehwæðres wa,  
 ge he heofonrices [hygde] swa mōde  
 (ond þis ondwearde anforlete  
 rice under roderum) ge he ða rōde ne tæhte--

The passage could be thus translated: "Judas spoke--for him was a sad spirit, hot about the heart, and woe either way; either he strive for the heavenly kingdom thus in his mind (and this present kingdom under the heavens relinquish) or he not point out the cross." This reading has the advantage of preserving the "ge . . . ge" ("either/or") dichotomy which seems to be the issue that Judas is facing. Since concealment of the cross has already been equated with the preservation of the earthly kingdom, the dilemma facing Judas is thus heightened. The *Acta* version unfortunately does not contain a parallel to this passage, which would help resolve the crux.

22 "But when seven days had passed, Judas cried out . . . 'I pray you, take me hence and I will show you the blessed cross of Christ.'"

## CHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup>Kenneth R. Brooks punctuates in a slightly different manner; he places a semicolon after "hræðre" (l. 36). This makes the effect of the drink on the minds of the prisoners seem more dramatic. "Onwendē" has three direct objects, and the idea takes on fresh impetus by having a restatement of the central idea ("hyge wæs oncyrrēd") with the result ("þæt") clause immediately after it. Thus the poet conveys the idea of two successive stages of horror in the drink. First, those who partake of it lose their minds. Secondly, they become like the Mermedonians themselves in rejecting the joys of men and by lusting after human flesh ("heorogrædig," l. 38). In his notes to this line, Brooks claims that the word "heorogrædig" is inappropriate to the captives, and suggests that "the meaning here is no more than 'ravenously hungry'" (p. 63). Neither the Greek *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* nor the Old English prose version of the story states that the drink does anything other than derange the mind. But it is surely possible that the Old English poet specifically chose "heorogrædig" (which he repeats, this time applied to the Mermedonians, l. 79) to suggest that one evil in society is the potential for society to

corrupt others into its own image. The prose version makes no mention of the hay and grass. The Greek version mentions it, but says that it was offered to Matthew, and does not indicate that it was the general lot of the prisoners awaiting death. The details of the hay and grass as the food of prisoners is probably meant to recall the story of Nebuchadnezzar, who was exulting in the glory of Babylon when God deprived him of reason and "ex hominibus abiectus est, et foenum, ut bos, comedit" (Daniel 4:30). The biblical story links pride in the earthly city with madness and spiritual exile, and the image of this exile is that of an ox eating hay. The Andreas-poet expands this idea found in the Acts of Andrew and Matthias where hay as food seems a special added torment to Matthew; the poet's version makes it the general lot of all prisoners, and Matthew is the exception because he can refuse the "dwolcraft" which deprives men of their wits. Matthew remains "eadig on onmod" (l. 54) because he continues to serve "heofonrices weard" (l. 56). In other words, Matthew cannot be forced to accept the world-view that the Mermedonians and their now demented captives embrace. Thus Matthew is the central focus between the two points of view, and retains the inward vision which Andrew will subsequently reveal to the Mermedonians as the way for them to attain salvation.

<sup>2</sup>In a footnote to "after billhete," Brooks says: "These words are to be construed with 'ablended in burgum.' . . . They cannot be taken with the following lines, as Krapp's punctuation demands" (p. 65). Thus the "billhete" is the immediate agent of violence, but the motivation behind it is the "hearmwide." It is interesting to note that the poet uses the word "heorugradigra" with the compound "hearmwide," the ability of rational speech to be misused. The same word had already been applied to the captives when, deprived of their minds, they act like oxen eating grass and hay. The verbal echo establishes a very neat pattern, for the Mermedonians make their prisoners into the likeness of cattle, and this image then serves to mirror the captors themselves. The Greek version of the legend also has Andrew pray for the restoration of his sight, but there is no hint that the light he asks for is anything other than the physical property of sight: "Afford to me then, O Lord, the light of mine eyes, that at least I may behold what the wicked men in this city have in hand for me" (Acts of Andrew and Matthias, p. 517). Thus the Andreas-poet shows considerable skill in exploiting the full potential of the physical and spiritual significance of the motif of light.

<sup>3</sup>The transitional passage in the poet's version seems deliberately ambiguous. Besides recalling creation, the passage appears to refer both to Matthew's present

situation and to the larger concept of man's general duty to his brother:

þa was gemyndig, se ðe middangeard  
 gestaþelode strangum mihtum,  
 hu he in ellþeodigum yrmðum wunode,  
 belocen leoðubendum, þe oft his lufan adreg  
 for Ebreum ond Israhelum;  
 swylce he Iudea galdorcraeftum  
 wiðstod stranglice. Þa sio stefn gewearð  
 gehered of heofenum, þær se halga wær  
 in Achaia, Andreas, was.

(161-169)

Taken out of context, the "he" (l. 163) might apply as well to Christ's time on earth among the estranged people for whom He shows His love by interceding on their behalf to reconcile them with God as to Matthew's present torments among a similarly estranged people. If the passage is meant to suggest both Matthew's present imprisonment and Christ's exile among the Jews, then Andrew's duty to seek out and rescue Matthew is doubly imperative. It exists not only as a single episode but also on a spiritual and universal level. Speaking of the judgment day, Christ had already taught that service to one's brother was, in fact, service to Himself (see Matt. 25:31-41).

<sup>4</sup>Constance B. Hiatt, "The Harrowing of Mermedonia: Typological Patterns in the Old English Andreas," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 77 (1976), p. 54.

<sup>5</sup>The temple is described as "heah ond horngeap" (l. 668). The similarity of the description with that of Heorot has been noted by many critics. If the poet intended to recall the other famous hall of secular legend, the reason is probably that both the hall and the temple are the place of residence of the devil, or at least a devil-figure, and both must be purified to become fit for the new order. In Andreas, the temple is also like the prison house which will be overcome and transformed by the mystery of divine intervention.

<sup>6</sup>It is interesting to note that Christ bids these three to return to heaven:

Hie ða rices het rices hyrde  
 to eadwelan oþre siðe  
 secan mid sybbe swegles dreamas,  
 ond þas to widan feore willum neotan.  
 (807-810)

The Greek version gives a slightly different account:  
 "And Jesus said to them, Go away to your places; and they

went away" (p. 520). Because there is no amplification in the Greek, the idea seems to be that the three returned to the graves from which they had been summoned. Since the poet is concerned with the harrowing of hell story, he might have inadvertently thought of the patriarchs as already rescued from hell, when in fact the event had not yet occurred.

<sup>7</sup>The poet changes the identity of the stones, for in the Greek version they are statues called "sphinxes," but are noted by Christ as being "like the cherubim and the seraphim which are in heaven" (p. 520). The Greek version does not mention the role of the seraphim and cherubim in proclaiming God's "protection."

<sup>8</sup>Penn R. Szittyá, "The Living Stone and the Patriarchs: Typological Imagery in *Andreas*, Lines 706-810," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 72 (1973), 167-174.

#### CHAPTER VII

<sup>1</sup>As I suggested earlier, this is an ambiguous statement, since love, rightly directed, could still redeem Eleusius. Cynewulf's version is much more suggestive than the Latin: "Hic desponsaverat quendam puellam nobili genere ortam, nomine Julianam" (Strunk, p. 33). ["He had betrothed a certain young woman sprung from noble lineage, Juliana by name."] The Latin version does not suggest the potential, since the betrothal is presented as a legal contract already agreed upon by Eleusius and Africanus.

<sup>2</sup>"For Juliana, having a rational soul, wise counsel, and worthy speech, and most full virtue, was thinking to herself about the man opposed to God, Who had made heaven and earth. And for the whole day, calling out in her prayers, hastened to the church of the Lord that she might consult the divine writings."

<sup>3</sup>Cynewulf here deviates significantly from the Latin version. Instead of the delaying tactic of demanding that Eleusius gain promotion, Juliana immediately proclaims the crucial point of the difference. Eleusius must love ("lufast") the true God. It is only through acceptance of the higher love that earthly love will be valid.

<sup>4</sup>The idea of the conflict of wills also occurs later in the poem. In her encounter with the devil in prison, Juliana notes that he is not as powerful as he pretends, since many have withstood his powers: "Be þe oft wiðstod / þurh wuldorcýning willan þines" (427-428). By the time that Juliana confronts the devil, she has emerged

more clearly as a type of Christ, and it is important that the power of the devil be made to seem less formidable in comparison to the power open to mankind through the gift of God. Here (l. 50) another aspect of God is expressed in the same phrase, since Eleusius' acknowledgement of God's love can make it possible for Juliana to accept his "willan."

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note Cynewulf's elaboration of the bare narrative in the Latin version. Cynewulf follows fairly closely the sense of the Latin in the first half of Juliana's speech: "Si credideris Deo meo, et adoraveris Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, accipiam te maritum" (Strunk, p. 34). ["If you believe in my God, and worship the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I will receive you as a husband."] Cynewulf's version of the second half of the conditions laid down by Juliana heightens the parallel much more neatly; Juliana actively denies herself to Eleusius. The Latin version is much less emphatic: "Quod si nolueris, quaere tibi aliam uxorem" (Strunk, p. 34). ["If you do not wish this, seek another wife for yourself."]

<sup>6</sup> "Hearing this, the prefect called her father and told him all the words which Juliana had said to him."

<sup>7</sup> The Latin version does not give a direct speech to Eleusius at this point. It moves directly from stating that Eleusius recounted to Africanus what Juliana had said to the response of Africanus to this information. Cynewulf is manipulating the source to increase the dramatic quality of Eleusius' failure to see exactly what is implied in the choice that Juliana offers.

<sup>8</sup> In this, Cynewulf's version is quite close to the Latin. But the speeches in the Latin version are considerably shorter; the one directed to Eleusius simply promises to surrender Juliana to him if she indeed has answered as reported. The speech delivered to Juliana is even more terse, simply asking why she does not wish to accept Eleusius as a husband.

<sup>9</sup> The Latin version makes no reference to God the creator of heaven, earth, and sea, nor does it express Juliana's love of Christ in a phrase equivalent to "freond-raedenne." As is usual with the Latin version, only the barest outline is given: "Beata Juliana confidens in Christum dixit: Si coluerit Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, nubam illi; quod se noluerit, non potest me accipere in conjugium" (Strunk, p. 34 f.). ["The blessed Juliana, believing in Christ, said: If he will reverence the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I shall marry him. If he does not wish to do this, he may not have me"]



in marriage."<sup>1</sup> The Latin version shows a remarkable consistency, since both speeches by Juliana (the one before and the one after her father's prompting) are almost identical in tone and content. The ongoing development of images, and their ramifications, is Cynewulf's alone. It should also be noted how much more subtly Cynewulf manipulates his ideas. Juliana's love-bond with Christ (l. 107) echoes what has already been said about her earthly love. Cynewulf has already told us that Africanus did not know about the love ("freondrædenne," l. 34) of his daughter when he betrothed her to Eleusius. Also, Eleusius complains that Juliana rejects his love ("freondrædenne," l. 71). Cynewulf is most careful in manipulating his vocabulary so that the basic contrast is made abundantly clear.

#### CHAPTER VIII

<sup>1</sup>Cynewulf's version of the battle scene is very graphic and is quite extensive (105-143). The Latin version spends very little time describing the actual battle episode: "Et veniens cum suo exercitu super barbaros coepit caedere eos proxima luce. Et timuerunt barbari et dederunt fugam per ripas Danubii, et mortua est non minima multitudo" (Holthausen, p. 4 f.). ["And coming with his army upon the barbarians, he began to slaughter them at dawn; and the barbarians were afraid, and took flight over the banks of the Danube, and no small group died."] Cynewulf draws out the battle episode, but stresses the victory of Constantine. The effect is to make the victory seem easier for the forces of goodness. Elene's confrontation with the Jews, on the other hand, is much more difficult, since her foes seem more resistant to change. As the saint moves deeper into the mystery of the cross, the way to knowledge, and the use of that knowledge, become more and more difficult to comprehend.

<sup>2</sup>While there is no proof that Cynewulf wrote The Dream of the Rood, or even that he knew the poem, the similarity in tone at this point is remarkable. Elene is like the Christ of The Dream of the Rood who, despite His humiliation, is nonetheless triumphant over His enemies.

<sup>3</sup>Holthausen does not print this particular section of the Latin text, since he omits material which is not directly used by Cynewulf. This quotation comes from Kent's edition of the poem, p. 29. "After that she called together a large number of the most impious race of the Jews, and calling them, the most blessed Helen said to them."

<sup>4</sup>The text here is ambiguous, since Judas is not mentioned by name. There is, however, no reason to suppose

that Elene has called upon another man to reveal what to do with the nails. Since the decision is an important one, and Judas (now Cyriacus) has been instrumental in finding the nails, it seems logical that Cynewulf is re-introducing him to the action of the poem without naming him.

## CHAPTER IX

<sup>1</sup>If the Fates of the Apostles, which immediately follows Andreas in The Vercelli Book, is intended as an epilogue to the story of Andrew, then the same theme is reiterated again by Cynewulf. This time Andrew has no need to fear the might of an earthly king, for he is bound for an eternal realm:

Ne preodode he fore prymme ðeodcyninges,  
 aniges on eorðan, ac him ece geceas  
 langsumre lif, leoht unhwilen,  
 suppan hildeheard, heriges byrhtme,  
 after guðplegan gealgan þeht.

(Fates of the Apostles, 18-22)

Here, Andrew's apotheosis is clear, but since the poem provides so little context for each life, Cynewulf can hardly do anything but be specific.

## CHAPTER X

<sup>1</sup>This is Krapp and Dobbie's version of the line. The manuscript for the a-verse is "Me þonne sendeð." In light of Guthlac's role as a type of the church, the manuscript reading makes sense. The b-verse is also ambiguous. As Krapp and Dobbie interpret the line, the idea of judgment is preserved in the verb "semon." Gollancz's edition, on the other hand, keeps the manuscript version of the a-verse and separates "semon" into two words, ("se mon"). Gollancz renders these lines thus: "Then He sendeth me, He who for our sakes moved as a man" (p. 93). Gordon's translation indicates that he must also have accepted the manuscript reading: "Then He sends me, He who for us lived as a man" (p. 264). Since the poet is soon to recall Christ's ministry, the reading accepted by Gollancz seems tenable, despite the problems involved.

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