THE CYNEWULF QUESTION

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BY

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The Cynewulf Question.

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THE CYNEWULF QUESTION

The study of Old English poetry reveals the important part that the Church played in its development.

Towards the close of the 6th century, the conversion of the English to Christianity was begun by Roman missionaries. A century later it was the dominant religion in all the English kingdoms. Although the youngest of the Christian churches, the English Church had the most religious zeal, in addition to warmth and depth of religious sentiment. This was shown in the pilgrimages, the works of Christian Charity, and in the rich gifts to the Church. Kings and queens are known to have erected convents and monasteries, and after renouncing their crowns, to have given themselves up to prayer and meditation. The missionaries also, did great work among the still pagan tribes on the continent.

From the earliest times religion went hand in hand with education. This is not surprising, since education was in the hands of the monastic orders. The secular schools

were as yet non-existent. The centres of education were the monasteries. It was here that the new Christian literature, the literature which had come into England with Christianity, was taught by the members of the religious orders.

English learning was greatly influenced by the Irish monastic schools--also a product of the Christian Churches in Ireland. As early as the middle of the 6th century, Ireland had been dotted from shore to shore with schools, monasteries, colleges and foundations of all kinds, belonging to the Christian community. Books had multiplied to a marvellous extent. The fame of these early Irish schools attracted the attention of students in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, from all quarters to Ireland, which had now become a veritable land of schools and scholars. The Venerable Bede tells us of the crowds of Anglo-Saxons who flocked over into Ireland during the plague, about the year 604, and says they were all warmly welcomed by the Irish, who took care that they should be provided with food every day, without payment on their part; that they should have books to read, and that they should receive gratuitous instruction from Irish masters. Books must have multiplied considerably when such great numbers of Anglo-Saxons could thus be supplied with them gratis. Aldhelm's own master was an Irishman, Mael-dubh. In one place, Aldhelm tells us, that while the great English school at Canterbury was by no

means overcrowded, the English swarmed to the Irish schools like bees.

Later, the monasteries of England began to form nuclei of culture for the surrounding districts. The study of theology was flourishing--the remnants of the Roman Empire saved by the Church. The English became the teachers of their teachers because they revived the study of the classics.

The period following the settlement, in the eighth and ninth centuries, of the Old English kingdoms, was one of national growth and development. The missionaries, the schools, and the Latin religious literature, began to build up a united Christian Church. This Church was the most influential factor in bringing about the national unity of the English nation. The monastic school of York gathered in on the one hand, the harvest of Irish learning, and on the other hand, the barbarized Latin culture of the Franco-Gallican monasteries.

The heroes of the new covenant, Christianity, were apostles, holy martyrs and confessors, who presented themselves to the religious epic as subjects for glorification. From the Greek and Latin languages---Latin was commonly used as a medium for the Greek originals---there appeared translations into the national literatures of the different European peoples. In this entire range of poetical composition, the English found their sources as well as their models among the

Christian Latin poets and writers of theological prose. More particularly, the Latin homiletic literature acted upon a class of English poetry,which came itself to bear a homiletic character. An important influence was that of the great Latin fathers, and above all Gregory, who was venerated by the Christian Church as an apostle.

The great period of Anglo-Saxon poetry was the 7th and 8th centuries . There existed a large body of Anglo-Saxon poetry, some of which has come down to us, and much of which must have been destroyed during the period of Dane ravage. We know the names of two poets--Caedmon and Cynewulf. Of the history of Caedmon and his work, we know nothing, except what we learn from Bede. He tells us,in two successive chapters in his Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum,of the life and death of the Abbess Hilda of Whitby, and then of Caedmon, whose great sacred poem was produced at Whitby in her time. Bede writes of Caedmon that he was " a brother in her monastery specially distinguished by divine grace; for he used to make songs apt to religion and piety; so that whatever he learnt through interpreters of Holy Writ, this he, after a little while, in poetical works, composed with the utmost sweetness and feeling, would produce in his own tongue, namely, that of the Angles. By whose songs often the minds of many were made to glow with contempt of earthly, and desire for heavenly things." It would appear that the lives of Caedmon and Bede overlapped, since Bede was born 673 and Caedmon's death is assigned to 700. It is therefore probable that Bede's

account of Caedmon may be relied upon. A specimen of the poet's work in the Northumbrian dialect is provided in the Mss. of Bede's History, with an accompanying note "Primo cantavit Caedmon istud carmen.

It is probable that this hymn was written down during the first half of the eighth century, so that we are brought near to Caedmon's period. Nothing else can be assigned with certainty to his authorship. There has been a great struggle to determine which poems Caedmon actually did write, by comparison of the early anonymous Christian poems to his hymn, and there has grown up what is known as the Caedmonian School of poetry, which includes the class of poetry conjectured to have been written by Caedmon or his imitators.

The name of the other poet, Cynewulf, is an inferred one. There exists no biography of a poet by that name, as there does of Caedmon. Whereas, Bede tells us the story of Caedmon's gift of divine grace, no mention is made in any contemporary Anglo-Saxon literature of a poet by the name of Cynewulf. The name was inferred by Kemble and Grimm in 1840, when they read at the end of a poem known as the Elene, certain "runic letters." When these runes were taken out of the context, used as single letters, and written in one word, they supplied the name of Cynewulf. His existence therefore is of a purely inferential nature.

It would be well at this point to add a note in explanation of these runic letters. When we speak of runes, we mean a certain alphabet or set of alphabets. The original meaning of "run" is that of "mysterium" a secret. Runes are the letters of the oldest alphabet of the Germanic peoples,

especially the Scandinavians and the English. In northern England there survive runic inscriptions on monuments. The runic alphabet is called the "fuþorc" from the first six letters f u þ o r c. The form, no., and value of the rune staves changed during the many centuries they were in use, and those of different countries exhibit considerable differences. There are three divisions :

1. Those of the earliest inscriptions (probably 3rd or 4th-6th century) in a language not yet differentiated.

2. Anglian runes used in Northumbria from the seventh to the ninth centuries.

3. Later Scandinavian runes used in Sweden and Norway in the seventh and following centuries.

The runes which spell the name of Cynewulf belong to the second class.

In several Old English manuscripts, runes are found in isolated cases, as in Beowulf and in the Durham ritual. In the Riddles of the Exeter book, the occasional introduction of runes sometimes helps to solve the mystery of the enigma and sometimes increases the absurdity of the passage. Kemble tells us that the practice of writing runes forthe name of the person who had composed or transcribed a book in "Runic Letters" was not an uncommon thing at home or abroad. Why then should not the runic letters which spell Cynewulf, a not uncommon name of the period, be the name of the poet?

There arose then, what is now known as the Cynewulf question.

Did such a man ever exist? If so, what poems are his? A search immediately began, which has resulted in finding three other poems signed with the runic letters. The fact was then universally accepted, that Cynewulf was the author of four poems, since he signed them with his own name. By what was perhaps a mere caprice, the poet has not only redeemed his name from oblivion, but afforded grounds for surmising, mainly from evidence of style and other literary characteristics, the paternity of poems not so signed.

The poem in which Kemble found the runes embedded is known as the Elene, a long poem on the finding of the Cross by Constantine's mother Helena. After the close of the poem, and apparently intended as a tail-piece to the whole, comes a poetical passage of one hundred and sixty lines in which the author refers principally to himself. After a reference to his own increasing age, and the change from the strength and joyousness of youth, he breaks into a moralizing strain in which he concludes his work.

The passages where the runes appear in each of the four poems, are devoted to personal references. The poet regrets his reckless youth and looks forward to forgiveness for his sins on the Holy Judgment Day.

The runic letters which Cynewulf makes use of, in signing his poems, are as follows:

Runic Letter	Letter of the Alphabet	Old Eng.	Meaning
ᚳ	C	cen	torch
ᚣ	Y	yr	a bow
ᚾ	N	nyd	need, or sorrow
ᛖ	e(eo)	ɛoh	a horse
ᚹ	W	wen	hope, or expectation
ᚢ	U	ur	wild ox or bison
ᛚ	L		
ᚠ	F	Laɋu	sea

The following passage shows how these runes can be read into the Legend of St. Juliana:

A.S. Text of Thorpe	Translation.
ȝeomon hpeoppeð	Sorrowfully shall depart
·ᚳ·ᚣ·ᚷ·	CY&N--mankind
cyninȝ biþ neþe	The King shall be wroth
rizona ryllend	The giver of victories
þon rynnum fah	when, stained with sin
·ᛖ·þ·ᚷ·ᚢ	EW&U---sheep
acle bidaþ	shall await in terror
hpæt him æfter dædum	what to them after their deeds
deman þille	the Judge shall will
hfer to leane	as a reward for life
·ᛚ·ᚠ·þeofaþ	LF-Sea-floods shall tremble
reomaþ rohȝ-ceariȝ	and sorrowfully await

(I)"Of no genius in the entire range of English literature do we know at once so little and so much. When we strip Cynewulf of conjecture, surmise, and academic theory, our actual knowledge of Cynewulf, of his circumstances and life, is small. He seems to be the merest shadow of a name, given us in the eight Anglo-Saxon runic letters. The personal passages in the poems signed by his name, give us swift gleams of insight into his nature in an intimate way, such as is unique in the history of Anglo-Saxon poetry." We can realize him as a man then. No other of the Anglo-Saxon poets has this fashion of talking about himself, and it is so unique, that when a similar personal passage is found in a poem like "The Dream of the Rood" it is not surprising, that although it is unsigned, it is attributed to him.

The only truth we can arrive at concerning Cynewulf is, that he must be the author of four well-known poems, since he marked them with his name as his own. He stands forth as the most illustrious representative of what may be called the Latin School of Poets who succeeded Caedmon.

The poems of Cynewulf belong to Christian England, and must have been very much influenced by Latin literature. (2)"The fundamental conception of his work is Christianity vs. Paganism or Judaism." In each case it is a combination of a single dominant thought, a single controlling passion, and a single mood of mind. It involves two essential interests of the Old English

(I)C.W.Kennedy;Poems of Cynewulf
(2)G.A. Smithson; Study in Plot Technique.

life of his time--violent action, with pagan ideals of strength, loyalty, courage, revenge, generosity, wisdom and acquiescence in the decrees of fate, and Christianity, with the new ideals of love, faith and self-sacrifice. This conception is developed by conflicting interests of the new religion and the old.

"There is a profound spiritual difference between the productions of the Caedmonian and the Cynewulfian groups of poems" (I) Each portrays a perfectly distinct outlook, a different grade of what we may call Christianization. The Christianity of the Caedmonian poems is of the most primitive. It is all on the surface, a matter of mere profession of faith--of externals. It is clear that the poets have as yet no idea of the essentials of the new religion. Their minds are still "heroic",-it is the heroic they look for in the great new sources of story now opened up to them. Their point of view has been analyzed more than once, and it has been aptly pointed out, that they mostly draw their subjects from the Old Testament, when they do turn to it, in a purely martial heroic spirit. They are clearly not yet Christians in any true sense of the word. We are still in what may be termed a "heroic evangelized period."

These Caedmonian poems, whenever written in their present form, represent then, what we may roughly consider a seventh century mentality--that of the earliest Christian generations. By the eighth century great progress had been made. Together with great technical ability, a softer element is found. The old heroic note is certainly still prominent. But whereas in an earlier period it had borne the burden of the melody,

(I) Aldo Ricci; Eleventh Century Crisis. Rev. of Eng. Studies Jan/29

now it is, as it were, more for an ornament or at least, less of an essential. The New Testament, and the Lives of the Saints, offer the principal subjects. There is the beginning of some restraint. At any rate, the spirit of adventure, the admiration of the martial, the worship of strength and of physical courage are no longer almost the sole interests of the poet.

Charms, gnomic verses, elegies, and some poems, are pre-Christian types,-and in varying degrees,-beneath the superimposed or infused Christian elements. We may actually reconstruct, or at least infer, the forms of the originals. This will give us a first group of poems that we may conveniently call heroic. This is independent of difficulties raised by the dating of the actual MSS.forms of the poems. The rest, or most of it, will then naturally fall into a second group subsequent to the former--the Christian group. Then it will, of course, be a question of gauging the degree of penetration to the Christian spirit--the distinction from the pagan heroic mentality. (1) The distinction between the Caedmonian and the Cynewulfian groups is now more or less firmly and universally recognized. Even the tests tend to confirm it."

The poems signed by Cynewulf belong to a high type of religious epic. They display much of the old heroic manner, with the viewpoint changed. The subjective note is everywhere prominent, and the poet is interested first and foremost in ideas and emotion. No other Anglo-Saxon poet

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(1)Aldo Ricci;Chronology of A.S.Poetry.Rev.of Eng.Studies July 29

better represents the essence and spirit of Christianity.
(I)
"In the poems that shelter themselves under the name of Cynewulf we feel the touch of a true poet and also his influence. A Celtic stream may account for the wistful beauty of some of his work, but the strong tendency to self-analysis and profound religious experience revealed, is that of a Saxon warrior--the flame leaps up at times through the even movement of the poetry, yet subjects are now from the new testament rather than from the old."

It is as far back as 1840 that Grimm and Kemble simultanously discovered that certain Old English poems contained embedded in them runic letters, a personal name, and presumably that of the author; the form of the name varied between Cynewulf and Cynwulf. In 1888 Napier discovered the second form in a poem known as the 'Fates Of The Apostles' and thus extended the list of the poet's work. For more than half a century conjecture has been at work with that problem--hypothetical lives of the poet have been written and the identity of his works vigorously debated.

(2)
"The ancient bard is indeed a problematical character; he has roamed like a restless ghost through centuries far apart--appearing now in the latest, now in the earliest period of the literature. The Old English poet Cynewulf is but a "nominis umbra," a featureless phantom that streams like a cloud man-shaped. We know his name from his runic accrostics--that is all."

(I)Scudder;English Literature
(2)C.W.Kennedy;Poems of Cynewulf

Since the name at the end of the poems in runes must be the name of the author, this theory was taken up by the critics, who added for him the majority of other verses in the same Mss. Starting on the doubtful solution of the first Riddle, they gave to Cynewulf all the Riddles. Depending on the doubtful resemblance of form and subject, they assigned to him other lives of the Saints--Andrew and Guthlac, and other religious poems--Phoenix and Dream of the Rood. Then they ascribed to him all the Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry. To increase our uncertainty, there has been a tendency to attribute to him almost all the floating anonymous minor poems in the language. Then they searched history and attempted to identify him definitely with three ecclesiastics of the same or similar name, whose lives fell in, or near, the conjectured period in which Cynewulf's poetry was written.

Cenwulf--Abbot of Peterborough and Bishop of Winchester, who died 1006.

Cynewulf--Bishop of Lindisfarne, who died 783.

Cynulf--Bishop of Dunwich, who at Clovesho, 803, signed his name to a decree forbidding laymen to be elected to the lordship of monasteries.

That the problem can ever be settled to the absolute conviction of every critic without the aid of entirely new external evidence is perhaps too much to hope for. The effort in this paper will be to present a conclusion based upon a more elaborate investigation of the internal evidence than has heretofore been attempted.

CHAPTER 1

THE IDENTITY OF CYNEWULF

Out of the dead runes which spell the name of Cynewulf, a great poet has been manufactured, who is reputed to have written not only the poems in which the runes appear, but others too, on the basis of style, language, etc. Cynewulf has been equipped with life and experiences extracted from the poems in question. But of the exact date and the exact authorship of no one of them can anything be said to be certainly known; and if the rune of Cynewulf is deciphered correctly, this signature cannot be accepted as going more than a very little way to establish even the most shadowy personality.

Yet some critics have built up Cynewulf's life from the cradle to the grave by taking either a poem signed by our poet, and adding any other poem to fit their theory, or else by taking an unsigned poem like the "Wanderer" as a basis for their imaginative life of our poet.

The myth of our own day concerning our poet, is based on the false hypothesis that he is the author of a poem known as "Ruins" and this poem was held to be Cynewulf's description of his father's house at Ruthwell. The result is this biography.

Situated in the south-west part of Scotland, in the present district of Dumfries near the village of Ruthwell,

about the year 700, was a stately castle. Cynewulf was born here, the son of a great lord. The bard spent his youth at this rich homestead. Here he got the first pictures of the scenery shown so lovingly in Guthlac and Andreas and also the sea-pictures as portrayed in Andreas and Elene.

When the boy became older he was sent to a neighboring monastery where he was taught the Christian lore;-that heaven could be reached through good deeds. He was also taught to read and write Latin here. When his education had been completed he returned to his father's house as a young man eager to enjoy the pleasures of the world. Later he became a lord.

Coelwulf, Cynewulf's king and benefactor, had to subdue in Northumbria, foreign and domestic foes. Cynewulf served him as a soldier and also sang in his halls the victories he had helped to win. As a "scop" he travelled to the courts of princes where he received gems and gold. Then he wrote the "Riddles" and "Wanderer" and the "Gnomic Verses". When he was thirty-seven years of age, Aethelbald wasted Northumbria, burned cities, and ruined monasteries. Coelwulf gave up the crown and withdrew to the monastery of Lindisfarne. Cynewulf, saddened by the loss of friends, gave himself up to contemplative life and became a monk and an abbot. In the year 750 Cynewulf fell under the suspicion of king Eadbert, because he was thought to have been privy to the murder of Offa, was seized and carried off to prison. He was exiled

and imprisoned for a while, during which time he wrote the Lives of the Saints as a comfort. Later he was recalled to the Bishopric again and ruled until 780, after which he resigned and returned to his birth-place for contemplation.

There by Ruthwell had a noble man, a friend of Cynewulf's work, made a stone cross and in honour of the poet, and inscribed thereon some lines from the "Dream of the Rood." Here by this stone cross, Cynewulf had built his hut and dug out his own grave. In 783 his soul went to heaven, but his body rests at the Cross of Ruthwell, the remembrance of which endured all the storms of time, and even now, after more than a thousand years, stands as a reminder of the Singer of the "Christ."

This, we must admit, is very ingenious biography, but the facts are extremely fragile. The four main conjectures which helped build up this myth are the following;

1. That Cynewulf was a Northumbrian.
2. That he was the Bishop of Lindisfarne.
3. That the Cross of Ruthwell was built in his honour.
4. That Cynewulf composed many other works besides the Riddles, Christ, Juliana and Elene.

It is my intention to discusss these points in the order in which I have listed them.

Rieger says, "Dass Cynewulf in der mundart dichtete die man Northumbrisch nennt.....hat Dietrich nachden

er es fruher gegen Leo bestritten in den abhandlung "Kynewulfi poetas aetas "(1865)" zu volliger genuge beweisen". Dietrich inferred the Northumbrian origin of Cynewulf from his supposed association with the lines upon the Ruthwell Cross. He also suggested that the poet might have been born at Ruthwell. Grein also accepted this theory. But the attempt to find the proof in the above-mentioned work is useless. In the first work Dietrich speaks against this probability of Cynewulf having been a Northumbrian and holds the"Riddles"to have been earlier work than that which Cynewulf signed. In the second article he claims Northumbrian origin for the poet. Where is the proof?

That Cynewulf was of Northumbrian origin was first pointed out by Leo in 1857. He called attention to the fact that on the title-page Cynewulf's name was spelled "Quae se ipso Cynevulfus, (sive Cenevulfus, sine Coenevulfus) Poeta Anglosaxonis tradiderit." The alternative spelling was an argument that Cynewulf was Northumbrian. That Leo could have, in 1857, supposed that the poet would have revealed the first two syllables of his name by means of the adjectives coene, cene and the nouns cen and coen, is comprehensible in view of the knowledge of Old English and especially of early Northumbrian then current, but nowadays this is impossible.

Stopford Brooke also expresses faith in the belief that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian and gives the following reasons:

1. If Cynewulf wrote the Riddles, as most people believe,

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he was well acquainted with the storm-lashed coast

Stopford Brooke; History of Early English Lit.

bordered with cliffs and with the tempestuous icy seas. The ice was never seen in East Anglian Coasts, or southern Wessex, or inland Mercia.

2. Christ is full of sea allusions and the passages are written by one who had been a sailor--who knew the pains and longings of a seaman's life and who spoke to men who understood.
3. The last part of Guthlac B is most likely by Cynewulf and speaks for a Northumbrian origin.
4. Andreas is most likely by Cynewulf and speaks for a Northumbrian origin.
5. The scenery of the poems closely resembles the coast scenery of the North. There is a personal statement that the author wasasailor and there were many places where a sea-poet was likely to write on the coast of Northumbria- Whitby, Jarrow, Tynemouth, Lindisfarne, and Coldingham-- all centres of learning and all in constant sea- communication.
6. No school of native poetry is proved to have existed either in Mercia or Wessex and there is plain proof that there was a good one at Northumbria. Poems of such a high class must have arisen in a country where native poetry had been practised and nurtured for nearly a century.
7. Personal sentiment for the poems agree with historical conditions of Northumbria, All the personal portions are marked with regret and melancholy, not only for himsdf and his sins but for the state of the world in which he lived, which was a barren one.

> Elene and the Fates of the Apostles speak of how wealth is fleeting under heaven; how all the treasures of the earth glide away like water or pass like wind which rushes through the sky and then is shut in silence and in prison. This atmosphere does not suit Wessex which was looking forward in a fine fighting condition, active and young. This would rather kindle the poet to hope. Northumbria was exactly the place to produce the half-sad, despairing note of Cynewulf, who finds all joy in the work-to-come.

Most of Brooke's arguments strike one as very poorly founded and sometimes even ridiculous. The majority of his reasons for making Cynewulf a Northumbrian are based on the erroneous supposition that Cynewulf wrote the Storm Riddles. It is almost universally established that Cynewulf was not the author of these and also that our poet was not a sailor. This eliminates arguments Nos.1, 2 and 5. Then again it is not at all certain that Cynewulf wrote the last part of Guthlac B, and even if he did, that argument belongs to the theory that Cynewulf was of Merchan origin. Then we come to the last argument. I intend to point out that the end of the eighth century was a time of anarchy in Northumbria and therefore no time for quiet religious compositions, and this view is held by Cook and Wulker, and yet Brooke makes that one of his proofs that our poet was a Northumbrian! Brooke would have found better support for his argument in the theory, that while Northumbria was beginning to decline as a military state, having lost to Mercia, that state was distinguishing itself by application to learning and culture.

And yet it seems to be the accepted theory. Ten Brink says "Cynewulf is the only one who handed down his name in his work and also part of his life. Was a Northumbrian by birth like Caedmon. His conjectured birth is 720-730, and his principal works belong to that century."

Stubbs expresses the same view. "We know very little about him, but the scenery of his poems closely resembles the coast scenery of Northumbria-- storm-lashed cliffs, wintry tempests, and therefore must have belonged to one of the towns of that region-- Whitby, Lindisfarne, Tynemouth,--all centres of learning and in touch with York, the centre of learning--could breathe the atmosphere of the sea which his poems contain."

Strunk, in his introduction to the Juliana, writes, that it is perfectly plain in spite of the mistakes made by scribes, and the mixture of dialects in recopying, that the author was not a West-Saxon but almost certainly a Northumbrian.

Henry Morley writes thus; "If he was born in Northumbria and did not write in the broad Northumbrian dialect would only mean that in a time of advanced culture he used what had become the standard English of cultivated speakers, and the writer indicating only now and then by chance, the dialectic forms familiar to the ear."

Trautmann gives ten reasons for Cynewulf's having written in the Northumbrian dialect. "Wir können aber die sprache Cynewulf s noch näher bestimmen. Von den beiden hauptzweigen des Anglischen ist nicht die merkische sondern die northumbrische die mundart Cynewulf s. Wir mussen dies daraus schliessen, dass die auf uns

1. Early English Literature.
2. The Christ of English Poetry.
3. English Writers Vol.11.
4. Kynewulf, der Bischof und Dichter.

gekommnen westsächsischen texte der werke des dichters eine beträchtliche zahl sprachlicher eigentumlichkeiten enthalten die zwar zum teil auch auf andre nicht-westsächsische gegenden in ihrer gesamtheit aber nach Nordhumberland weisen".

Trautmann now gives his arguments supported by examples from Cynewulf's work.

1. The interchange of ea,ēa and eo,ēo; fealaE1362 instead of feola, deogal instead of deagol, An621.

2. The appearance of ē instead of the West-Saxon āe ongeton An534 (efna Gut.1216).

3. The failure of breaking before l+consonant,ald E1252,galgan Jul.310.

4. ae(e) as i-umlaut of the unbroken a, aelda Jul.727 eldum An.1057 ,waelmum An.452, welm An.495.

5. e as i-umlaut of ēa, henthum An.117, ned Jul.464, teman El.10 against the West-Saxon ie.

6. e as i-umlaut of ea and eo before r, ermthum El.768 gerwan An.1636, ferhthe El.1037 against the West-Saxon ie(y).

7. The discontinuation of ā, stenan El.151,wege Jul.487 against the West-Saxon ae.

8. The discontinuation of the i-umlaut beside ea,ēa and eo,ēo, otheawed(Phoenix 322) streonan An.331,

9. which on account of the front palatal consonant produced so-called palatal umlaut,geseh El842,fex An.1429.against West-Saxon ae.

10. The falling-off of the n in the inflexion; gewinna Jul.555.

Now,says Trautmann, there is still further proof that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian and that his poems were

written in that dialect but the strongest lies in the form"ewu" for sheep in the runic passage of the Juliana. This form is most certainly Northumbrian in origin as well as in ending; in the stem through the e (west-saxon eo) and in the ending through the -u for -au.

In the light of a searching examination, Trautmann's ten arguments for a Northumbrian origin of the Cynewulfian poems are seen to rest upon a persistent exclusion of the alternative possibilities, that immediately suggest themselves to anyone who has any acquaintance of the elementary knowledge of Old English phonology.

Present opinion seems content to assign Cynewulf a Northumbrian home. I make no contention that he was a Southerner, but I do claim that the peculiarities cited do not prove that he was not.

Bishop of Lindisfarne.

Now we come to the second conjecture, that Cynewulf was the Bishop of Lindisfarne.

Dietrich inferred the Northumbrian origin of our poet from his supposed association with the Ruthwell Cross, and that it not unlikely that Cynewulf was the same man as the bishop of that name, who held the bishopric of Lindisfarne from 737 to 780. Grein accepted this suggestion and attributed 8 more poems to Cynewulf for no reason at all.
(1).

Bright critizes Cook's view that"Cynewulf was a Northumbriam or at least an Anglian ecclesiastic." He holds that the Bishop of Lindisfarne was the poet that best satisfies all the conditions of the problem. A minor detail of suggested evidence

1. Mod. Lang. Notes XXXV, 250-254.

that the poet used Bede, can, says Bright, hardly be said to be convincing.

Trautmann is sure that our poet is the same as Cynewulf Bishop of Lindisfarne. He bases his identification on the translation of

"U(nne) was longe
L(ond) flodum bilocen, lif-wynna dael."

But the poet is considering here the transitory nature of all earthly benefits and possessions as they were formerly overcome by the waters of the flood, so at the last day they shall burn in the fire of Judgment. That is probably the thought, not the particular reference to one of his estates surrounded by water. Trautmann concludes that Cynewulf was certainly the Bishop of Lindisfarne.

Trautmann also suggests that our poet was perhaps descended from the "Fursten Lindisfarorum".

(I)
"Lindisfarne, or the Holy Island as it is called, is a small island of England belonging to the county of Northumberland and situated about ten miles south-east of Berwick-on-Tweed. It is about 4 miles long and 2 miles broad and is connected with the mainland by sands 3 miles in extent which can be traversed at low water by vehicles of all kinds. On the island are several ruins, the chief of which are the extensive and sombre-looking remains of the Abbey of Lindisfarne, originally a Saxon edifice, there is also an ancient castle now fortified and occupied by a party of artillery."

(2)
Trautmann says "Nicht unmöglich scheint dass Cynewulf

(I) Chamber's Encyclodedia
(2) Trautmann--Kynewulf

von dem"lond flōdum bilocen" als von seinem langjährigen besitz noch in andrem sinne reden durfte. Bei Florentius von Worcester finden wir eine stammtafel der kleinen fürsten der Lindisfaran derer hauptsitz Lindisfarena Ee war;Woden, Winta, Cretta etc. War Cynewulf ein abkomme dieser kleinen fürsten? Kam er als solcher an den Northumbrischen könighof? Ward er auf grund angestammter weltlicher rechte fur besonders geeignet zum vorsteher des Lindisfarner sprengels befunden?"

I mention this theory,not because I think that it throws any light on the Cynewulf question,but because I wish to correct a grave error on the part of Trautmann.I find,on investigation,that the Island of Lindisfarne was not the seat of the kings of the Lindisfari. Trautmann tells us in a footnote that he has not the book of Florence of Worcester with him but that he is using the remarks of K.W.Bouterwek. On consulting Florence of Worcester,I find that the province where the kings of the Lindisfari lived was called Lindsey in Mercia and not Lindisfarne, as Trautmann suggests.

I do not think it likely that Cynewulf was the Bishop of Lindisfarne. In the first place, there is no mention made of the bishop having been a poet. The books of the distfict are full of Cuthbert; is it possible that if Cynewulf,who was his follower, had been famous as an author,that he would have been ignored?Then again, the biography of the bishop and the circumstances of his life do not warrant his having written. Finally if we accept Cook's argument that the Elene was written after 800, the theory explodes, since the bishop of Lindisfarne died in 783.

The other arguments upon which the myth about Cynewulf rests,namely,that the Ruthwell Cross was built in his honor, and that he composed other poems besides the Riddles,Juliana, etc.I shall discuss later. For the present it suffices to say that there is not enough evidence to prove either of these suggestions.

Abbot of Peterborough.

When Kemble in 1840 first read Cynewulf's name into the Elene, he identified the poet with the Abbot of Peterborough, later Bishop of Winchester.[1] "I believe him to have been the Abbot of Peterborough of that name who flourished at the beginning of the eleventh century, who was accounted in his own day a celebrated poet both in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, whose work has long been reputed lost, but whose childish ingenuity has now enabled us to assign to him,with some certainty,the authorship of the Vercelli and Exeter Codices."

This identification was first suggested by Kemble and supported by Benjamin Thorpe, who pointed out that in Aelfric's sermon of the 10th century the thought is expressed that only the Jews did not know Christ. Upon this ground then it was argued that Cynewulf's Christ was later than Aelfric's sermon. But Dietrich points out that they both drew from an earlier source, namely, the tenth Homily of Pope Gregory the Great.

Wright[2] also believed that Cynewulf could be identified with Kenulf of Peterborough. He says "Cynewulf, or as he is called by most of the Latin authorities,Kenulfus, is said to have been one of the most remarkable literary men of the commencement of the eleventh century. But no one has been able to specify any

1.Archaeologia XXXIII. 360ff. 2.Biographia Britannica Litteraria.

literary production of which he was the author until Mr. Kemble recently discovered the name concealed in a playful device among the Anglo-Saxon poems of the Exeter and Vercelli Mss. There can be no doubt that a person named Cynewulf was the author of the religious poems in those collections, but we think it by no means clearly established that he was the Abbot of Peterborough."

That the Abbot of Peterborough, later Bishop of Winchester, lived in the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century is sufficient proof that he was not the Cynewulf who signed his poems in runes. Firstly, these were the days of Dane ravage and therefore no time for leisurely composition of religious works. The first collapse of learning occurred in the ninth century due to the Danish invasions. The peculiar circumstances of learning in the Middle Ages, its concentration in a few monasteries, did expose it to easy destruction, once a sufficiently barbarous invader massacred the monks and burned the monasteries with their libraries. In Anglo-Saxon England, where almost all the important monasteries were established within the restricted area, this was all the easier. Indeed, even apart from the burning of the libraries and so forth, material discomfort due to external events can destroy the outward calm and peace-of-mind indispensable to the scholar, and can hence produce the decay, or even the temporary destruction of learning. Of course, it may be argued, that poets, whether "scopas" or their descendants the minstrels, or ecclesiastical poets, do not all of a sudden lose their faculty of song on account of an invasion. Yet such a time, I repeat, is not one for leisurely composition of religious poems. The second reason for my objecting to his

being identified with the Abbot of Peterborough is that the spelling and narrative form speak for the eighth century. Then again, all arguments from point of view of language are against the view that Cynewulf wrote at the end of the tenth century. If Cynewulf had written these poems, they would have been written in late West-Saxon like those of Aelfric and his contemporaries.

Finally, Cynewulf is a distinct name and the connection is not to be thought of.

East-Anglian---Bishop of Dunwich.

Dunwich was the chief sea-port of the East Anglian coast. It is now swallowed up by the ocean, but it was, in the middle of the seventh century, the seat of Felix, the first East Anglian bishop. Cook suggests that Cynewulf was a priest of that diocese.

There was a certain Cynewulf at the Synod of Clovesho in 803 and this is attested by his signature to a decree executed at Clovesho on October 12th, 803, when the archiepiscopate of Richfield was solemnly recognized. The same day, by a synodal act, Aethelheard and the clergy assembled in obedience to the papal orders, and forbade the election of the laymen to the lordship of monasteries, and this was the decree signed by the members of the Synod, and following the signature of Tidfrith, Bishop of Dunwich, is that of Cynulf, probably a priest of that diocese.

Cook cites the following reasons for his identifying our poet with Cynwulf;

1. The date agrees with what we should expect.

2. The form of the name is such as the poet was using at this time (ulf or wulf may be disregarded).

3. Cynewulf was almost certainly an ecclesiastic: if not a monk a priest, or perhaps both.

4. Dunwich was the seat of the school established by its first bishop Felix from which school in later times the University of Cambridge was asserted to have sprung.

5. Through Aethelheard,archbishop of Canterbury,and Tidfrith, his own bishop,Cynewulf could have kept in touch with Alcuin,from whom he derived his notions concerning the fire of Doomsday. Aethelheard was in favour at once with Offa and with Charlemagne,and Alcuin constantly corresponded with him. About the time of the council of Clovesho,Tidfrith received a letter of advice from Alcuin, who had heard of his exemplary life from an East Anglian b abbot, named Eull, one of the two abbots that subscribed to the charter of 803. Possibly,Tidfrith, Aethelheard,or more likely Alcuin may be the "eminent man" whom Cynewulf apotrophizes at the beginning of part two of the Christ.

6. At Dunwich Cynewulf would have had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the sea.

If it be urged that we know nothing of the dialect of East Anglia, one might reply that at all events it was Anglian; if that the Dunwich school may by this time have become extinct, it is very likely that Cynewulf may have attended a more famous one at York, and it is by no means certain that he was not a Northumbrian or a Mercian by birth. If the influence of Offa was sufficient to raise the Mercian Aethelheard to the see of Canterbury it was sufficient to induct a priest from another province into

his East Anglian office. It is thus possible that the court which Cynewulf knew, was the court of Offa, and it was there that he received the "appled gold". (Elene)

Mr. Tupper has remarked on the subject of Cynewulf's origin, that the evidence for an Anglian home of our poet deserves much more careful consideration than Trautmann's ten arguments for a Northumbrian origin.

Mr. Lindeman[1] has another reason for attributing an East Anglian home to Cynewulf. "We find in the opening lines of the Christ the words "flint unbraecne". Why should Cynewulf use these words"? Now Mr, Lindeman urges that in Sir Bannister Fletcher's History of Architecture we find that the flint works of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of the South Coast gives a pronounced local character to the churches of the district. Cook has referred to the discussion of Cynewulf's identity in his editions of the Christ and the Elene. In the former he suggests a possibly of the author being Cynulf a priest of Dunwich whose name is appended to a decree of the Council of Clovesho '803. In the latter he merely believes the author to have been a Northumbrian or at least an Anglian ecclesiastic. Lindeman therefore suggests that Cynewulf spent much time in the flint district about Dunwich, though he may have written the poem later in the north, and that the word "flint", so closely related to the church-building in East-Anglia, was selected by him as especially fit to use in describing a temple in the opening lines of the Christ.

This, it seems to me, is an interesting example of the effort that is being made to find out where Cynewulf's home really was.

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1. Mod. Lang. Notes XXXIX, 397-399.

Mercian Origin of Cynewulf

Wülker had regarded Cynewulf as a West-Saxon, until in 1865 he tried to prove him a Mercian. Wulker's reasons for this opinion were as follows:

1. Literature is not brought forth amid continual strife and tumult, but under the reign of peace. Northumbria was in a state of confusion and was beginning to be devastated by the Danes. Mercia,on the other hand, was in a better condition. This is shown by the fact that although Northumbria had fifteen rulers in one century Mercia had only seven.

2. If Cynewulf was a Mercian,we can more easily understand why the poem has reached us in the West-Saxon dialect. Wessex had not direct relation with Northumbria, while Egbert conquered Mercia 825, and may thus have brought the poems home with him, where they could be transcribed into West-Saxon.

3. Guthlac lived in Mercia. Cynewulf, in writing about the life of Guthlac,used the "Vita" written by Felix of Croyland as a source. Croyland was the main centre of learning and the principal monastery of Mercia. The hermit lived in the district of Croyland, which is also Mercia,Since the author of Guthlac A says he had known the hermit personally, he must have been a Mercian. Cynewulf, in Guthlac B,also used the "Vita"of Felix of Croyland. If our poet had been a Northumbrian,he would have preferred to have written about a holy man of his own homelamd--an Aidan, or Cuthbert or Oswald.

4. If Cynewulf was a Northumbrian,it is strange that Alcuin nowhere mentions him.

Cook is very much in favor of this suggestion, because he is able to strengthen his own by it, that is, his identification of Cynewulf with the Bishop of Dunwich, who signed his name to a decree executed at Clovesho on October 12th, 803.

Cook writes[1] "We know too little about the Mercian dialect as distinguished from the Northumbrian proper to make any positive affirmations respecting the possibility of assigning a given poem of Cynewulf to the one region rather than to the other."

Trautmann objects very strenuously to Cook's favoring the Mercian origin.[2] "Cynewulf ein Merke! Um den dichter zu einem Merken machen zu können, tut Cook, als wüssten wir beinahe gar nichts von sprachlichen eigentümlichkeiten, durch die sich Merkisch und Northumbrisch von einander scheiden. Auf der merkischen seite keine n-losen infinitive und keine -u(-o-a-e) für formen der n-declination, während sie auf der Northumbrischen die regel sind!" He now proceeds to refute Wulker's arguments one by one;

1. It is true that the period was not a favorable one for the composition of religious poems, yet that would not altogether put an end to writing. Besides, being Bishop of Lindisfarne, as some critics believe him to have been, he was far away and undisturbed on his quiet island. A time of strife does not crush a nation overnight. Also, there was a lack of schools and books in Mercia.

2. So many Northumbrian works have been handed down to us in West-Saxon that there seems to be no reason why Cynewulf's could not have been, without his being attributed a Mercian origin.

1. Christ (Introduction) Ed. Cook 1900.
2. Anglia Mitteilungen XI, 321-329.

3. It is too much too say that Guthlac's Death is certainly by Cynewulf,nor does that prove he was a Mercian.

4. It is not strange that Alcuin does not mention him. He makes no mention of other contemporary celebrities either, namely,Ecgbert,and King Coelwulf,Eadbert,Oswulf and Alcred. Those people all lived before Alcuin wrote his letters, of which the first certain date is 789, and Cynewulf, as Bishop of Lindisfarne, died in 782.

I am more inclined to agree with Trautmann, not in identifying Cynewulf with the Bishop of Lindisfarne, but in refuting Wulker's arguments. There is no well-founded reason for making Cynewulf a Mercian. The conjecture that he wrote Guthlac B has led many to agree to a Mercian origin. But there is no way of proving that Guthlac A or B is by Cynewulf,since that poem is unsigned.

As a matter of fact,no sufficient evidence exists to identify our poet with any known Cynewulf.

Chapter 11

The Signed Poems of Cynewulf

Legend of St. Juliana

Juliana seems to be the oldest of the poems signed by Cynewulf. As far as we can judge, the first Life of St.Juliana, published in the Acta Sanctorum of the 16th of February, is the oldest, and must have been scattered through the monasteries of England and the continent. Such a Mss. Beda must have had access to, and Cynewulf after him.

Our poet follows this well-known legend faithfully for the most part. Sometimes he adds,sometimes he omits,and sometimes he translated word for word. But Cynewulf does not allow it to be an artificial imitation.In closing,he commends himself unto the protection of the Saint when he dies,makes a humble confession of his sins in the past,and reveals his name in runes. He does not fail to ask for the good-will of the reader and finishes with a short prayer.

Although taken from a Latin original, our poet has given a national Anglo-Saxon colouring to the story. It is true that the setting is that of Nicodemia, and that the action takes place at the time of the Emperor Maximian, but the Count is very much like an Anglo-Saxon lord and as such is rendering justice before his people. When the Count appeals to Juliana's father for help, the two "strong in battle" place their spears side by side, they worship the gods, offering them treasure(welum weordian). The war-like nature of the Anglo-Saxons, which dominates their

real, as well as their imaginative life, is uppermost. On the other hand, the poet avoids anything that might destroy the national setting of the story.

Cynewulf is certainly the author of this poem, since he signed it with his name concealed in runes. The style is that of a writer who has not yet mastered narrative verse, and the vivacity of treatment which he introduces into his later poems is lacking. The style and manner are those of one using a power that has not yet developed and not yet brought to fruition.

Elene

This poem was the first one found to contain the runic signature of Cynewulf.

It is a religious epic, and here Cynewulf is at the summit of his art. The tone and spirit, in which the Christian fable is conceived, come nearer to the national epos in this poem than in any other poems written by Cynewulf, and a number of noble descriptions and bold personifications recall to us the best that is preserved of the old popular song.

The source appears to be the Latin life of Quiriacus or Cyriacus, Bishop of Jerusalem, written in the Acta Sanctorum of the 4th of May.

Elene is the Latin form of the name Helena. By comparison made between the Latin source, and the poem as written by Cynewulf, it can be shown that the author worked on the Latin source and perhaps on the Acta Sanctorum of the fourth of May. Our poet uses the source with freedom--he expands and contracts, and interpolates long inventions of his own.

Cynewulf proceeds as he did in Juliana, but here his model offers him the opportunity to create detailed paintings of of military expeditions on land and on sea, such as they liked in the National Epic Poetry of the Anglo-Saxons. These are the most original parts of the poem and the most attractive from the poetic point of view. They contain also, Cynewulf's personal account of how he wrote the poem, and of the state of mind he was in at the time.

Elene is a much more important work than the Legend of St. Juliana, and offers a much greater interest both in subject matter and in poetic style. The heroine who has given her name to the Legend is the mother of Constantine the Great, and the finding of the Cross is the subject.

The poet begins with the expedition in which Constantine was converted. Just as in the Latin model, the expedition is carried on against a strange army which passes the Danube. But while the Latin version simply names them as a barbarous people, Cynewulf describes the enemy as being composed of Huns and Germans but principally of Goths and Franks. It is the King of the Huns who commands their army and the poet is probably thinking about Attila. He makes use of the most live colours to paint this march--the lances and the shining coats of mail--the cry of battle, which is accompanied by the clash of shields, resounds--the wolf sings the song of battle, and the eagle with feathers dewy-wet, follows in the footsteps of the soldiers. The march of the Romans is described with the same vigour; the noise of the iron coats of mail--the arms,--

the sound of the heralds--the song of the crows--nothing is lacking. The two armies meet near the Danube. The emperor Constantine fears for the great superiority of the enemys' numbers. But an angel appears to him in his sleep and shows him the cross, which, if carried as a standard, would yield him the victory. Immediately, on rising, he has a cross prepared and carried into battle.

Then the battle is described, and this the poet paints with gusto. The pagans, who compose the army of the Huns, fall and are put to flight. But Constantine, since he now knows to what god he owes the victory, is baptized by the Pope, St. Silvester.

The emperor, learning later of the place where Christ was crucified, sends his mother to the Jews to look for "The Glorious Wood". She undertakes the mission with an army, and our poet takes the opportunity of giving us a wonderful description of a maritime expedition. This he paints with all the magnificence of the national epic poetry.

When she arrives in Jerusalem, Elene calls the Jews together, and asks that the wisest amongst them be chosen to answer the questions and to carry out her orders. From among the three thousand who present themselves, five hundred are chosen, but they are unable to comprehend the object of her mission.

Meanwhile one of them, Judas, son of Simon, and the brother of the first martyr, Stephen, explains to them what she wishes;-Elene is looking for the Cross. But, says Judas, his grandfather Zaccheus had told him that if the Cross be given up, the laws of the Jews and of their empire would come to an end. When they are summoned again and their lives threatened, the Jews point out Judas as the most learned man, and the most capable of instructing her. Judas refuses to carry out her orders. He is put into prison and condemned to die of hunger if he should not reveal the place where the cross is hidden. He is silent for seven days, after which time he decides to speak out.

He goes with a host to Golgotha, but he does not know for certain, the place where the Cross is hidden. He therefore prays to God that he should reveal to him the resting-place of the Cross. The prayer is answered, and a cloud of smoke, rising from the earth, reveals to the people the place where the Cross lay hidden. Judas digs feverishly at the place whence the smoke is emanating and finds three crosses. Now arises the question--which is the Cross of Christ. In the meanwhile, a dead man on a bier is brought in;—Judas lays each cross on him in turn, and at the touch of the third cross, the man takes on a new life. Judas is converted and the people sing praises to the Father and the Son. Only the devil complains, because his plans had been upset--he had put all his hopes into

winning Judas, and now the latter had eluded his grasp. He threatens Judas, but the newly-converted one is unafraid.

With joy in her heart, Elene sends a message to the king, to tell him the good news. Constantine, in return, begs his mother to have a temple erected on the mountain of the Calvary. His order is carried out; Elene has the cross adorned at the same time with gold and silver and with gems and shut up as a precious relic. It is there that all the miracles are performed, and the sick healed. During this time, Judas receives the baptism, and the Pope, Eusebius, names him the Priest of Jerusalem under the name of Cyriacus.

Elene, meanhile, wishes to recover the nails of the Cross also. In answer to a prayer uttered by Cyriacus, God sends a sign--a flame rises from the ground which indicates the place where the nails are buried on the mountain of Calvary. When found, the nails shine like stars or like pearls in the dark. On the advice of Cyriacus, and in order to fulfill a prophecy, Elene has the nails sent to Constantine, with instructions that they be placed in the bridle of his horse. These nails would ensure victory in battle.

Before returning home, Elene speaks to the Jews and commands them that they should obey Cyriacus. Finally she institutes "that they ever observe with soul and strength in the thoughts of their hearts that glorious day when the Holy Rood was found, fairest of all trees that have grown from out of the earth with leaves, that hell was closed, heaven open,

and salvation given by Mary to all men who celebrate the Feast of the Cross."

But Cynewulf adds an epilogue of an essentially personal character. Just as in his poem on the Christ, he speaks with conviction of soul about his life of shame which he had led formerly, ignorant of the virtue of the Cross, and of his enlightenment through the Grace of God in his old age. When he makes known to us his name in runes, he looks back on the vain joys of youth which are transitory;— all perish in the Fire of Judgment. Then comes a description of the Day of Judgement.

"Then shall the folk be divided into three parts and committed into the embrace of the flames, every one of men of those who from the beginning have lived upon the spacious earth. And the righteous shall be uppermost in the flames,-so may they suffer only slightly, free from woe. But the wicked, sad at heart, soiled with sins, shall be among the throng in the middle of the hot surging flames, compassed about with smoke. And the 3rd part, the cursed scathing spoilers, the lying foes of men, the impious crew, shall be "in the gripe of the gledes", in the bosom of the fire, fettered in the flame for their former deeds. These shall enter into the depths of hell, while the other two sections are purified from their faults, as gold is by fire, to receive peace and eternal felicity."

I cite this passage at length because Cook points out that there are remarkable resemblances between the

description of the Day of Judgement in the Elene and the description of the Day of Judgement in Alcuin. Here also are 3 groups--(impii, sancti, & justi) all subjected to the flames. In the more familiar conception of purgatory, it belongs to a state intermediate between death and final Judgement.

"It may be confidently affirmed that neither Augustine nor Gregory, who first developed the doctrine of purgatorial punishment in the West, nor Bede, the latest expounder of the subject before Alcuin, presents any such astonishing parallel to the passage in Elene, though it is doubtless true that Alcuin has borrowed individual thought and perhaps expression from some of them and from their predecessors."

According to the generally accepted tradition, Bede died in 735. Alcuin was born in 735 and died in 804. His "De Fide Trinitatis" was dedicated to Charlemagne. Since it was dedicated to Charlemagne as Emperor, this must have been after the year 800, and according to the writer of the preface in 802, when Alcuin was in retirement at the Monastery of Tours. According to Ébert, no other of Alcuin's work produced so strong an impression upon his age. His system seemed a new one to his times and contributed to the intellectual Renaissance which Charlemagne inaugurated.

Some time must have elapsed before a knowledge of the work was generally diffused in England, although Alcuin's friends at York would soon be provided with a copy. In any case we must suppose a few years

to have elapsed before his views could have been appropriated by an English poet. These views and these details of purgatorial fire of Doomsday, must have been his, since they are not to be found in Bede, nor in the Father of the English Church, Pope Gregory. That they should have been independently originated by Cynewulf is inconceivable, for how account for the close resemblances between the two theories, except on the assumption that Alcuin, the theologian, appropriated the inventions of Cynewulf, the poet, and gave them a conspicuous place in the most influential of his treatises?--the mere statement is enough. In the Christ, there is a description of the Day of Judgement, but without any of the peculiar features which are here found. Can this indicate that at that time he was not yet acquainted with the teaching of Alcuin?

The pint established by this comparison(if indeed it is to be established) is that Cynewulf could not have written the closing section of the Elene earlier than the first decade of the 9th century. This is entirely in accord with Siever's result, based upon the evidence of phonology, to the effect that Juliana and Elene could not have been written earlier than 750.

Whether or not Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, remains of course undecided by the evidence here adduced, but it would seem not improbable that he was either a member of a circle of Alcuin's friends at York, or at least acquainted with one or more of them.

(1)
Now, says Cook " It seems reasonable to conclude that the doctrine of Cynewulf and Alcuin was first formulated by the

1. Christ(introduction) Ed. Cook 1900.

latter as an independent development based upon pre-existing hints, but that it never obtained the currency which attached to the opinions of the more authoritative Gregory. Hence, though sustained for a time by the personal adherents of Alcuin or by the occidental wing of the Roman Church, it would gradually yield to a more orthodox or more prevalent view and finally disappear altogether. If then this view is definitely presented by two different authors, and so far as we are aware by two only, it is surely reasonable to suppose that these authors are not widely separated in time."

Trautmann contests Cook's statement that Elene was written in the first quarter of the 9th century. He claims that it cannot be proved with any certainty that Cynewulf in the Elene borrowed from Alcuin's de Trinitate and that Elene was therefore written after 803. It is true that both speak of 3 groups which will bear the fire in different ways on the Day of Judgement. But Trautmann points out there are also very great differences. The succession and the names of the three groups are different. In Cynewulf we find

1. Soth-faeste, eadge
2. Synfulle mane, gemengde
3. Awyrgde wom-sceathan lease leod-hatan.

In Alcuin:

1. Impii
2. Sancti
3. Justi

By these it can be shown that Cynewulf did not follow Alcuin.

Carleton F. Brown seems annoyed with Cook's suggestion. He holds that Cynewulf's poetry was written in the second half of the 8th century. "With Cynewulf's dependence on Alcuin out of the way no reason would remain for throwing his poetry into the 9th century. It can be said with certainty that there is nothing in the Elene passage that is inconsistent with the 8th century date."

I maintain that Cook's suggestion is a very valuable one and a very difficult one to refute. Trautmann certainly has not succeeded in doing so. The parallel passages are very striking, and since it is hardly probable that Alcuin should have borrowed from Cynewulf, our poet must have borrowed from Alcuin. The Elene was therefore written during the early years of the ninth century.

To return to the poem itself. In the Elene, Cynewulf uses more freely the saga-phrases of warfare by land and by sea, and in order to do so, he leaves his original behind and invents the course of the battle with the Huns and the expedition to Greece. Stopford Brooke explains that the Elene shows the biography of his soul,-thus:

Troubled in mind on the question of sin, he had lately joined a band of converted sinners and had kept his poetry clear of all the heathen phrases and of all the forms of heroic poetry. But when his soul was at rest, as we leave it in the Christ (which is supposed to have been written before the Elene) his original bardic nature resumed its sway. Certain of God's love, full of faith in the redemption,

he was no longer afraid to use the phrases describing war, and the passion of war which his forefathers had used. He no longer limits inventiveness to sacred things nor does he fear to allow his imagination to play at ease. Heathen ornaments and illustrations are brought to enliven Christian stories.

Elene abounds in the usual motifs of the Saints Legends of which it is a type. The many touches here and there which render the poem essentially Anglo-Saxon serve to give it the vital air of the real world. The poem shows evidence of the consummate skill which the poet employed.

Christ

In the first edition of the Exeter Book published in 1842, Mr. Thorpe, the editor, divided the contents of the first twenty-six leaves into two separate sections or poems and gave to each a title drawn from the subject treated. The editor probably considered the whole a collection of hymns and failed to see the connection of the separate pieces with one another. He followed the scribe who gave each section a capital letter and varies in that only once.

Eleven years later, Dietrich, in an article in the "Zeitschrift fur Deutsches Alterthum" put forth the theory that what Thorpe had published as a series of hymns was a single poem, and proposed the name of "Christ." Both the theory and the name have been accepted since the article was written and three editions have appeared by Grein, Gollancz and Cook. All three editors treat the work as a single poem. Gollancz goes as

far as to entitle the peom an "8th century epic."

Dietrich's argument for the unity of the peom is based chiefly on the thread of thought which he thinks he finds running through the whole. He recognizes the difference of subject-matter in the different parts and makes three divisions of the whole. The three parts are entitled by Gollancz as by Dietrich:

1. On the Nativity - Coming of Christ
2. On the Ascension - Coming of Christ into Glory
3. On the Judgment Day - Second Coming of Christ

Cook in his edition of the "Christ", agrees with Dietrich as to the division of the peom into three parts, but does not see how the second part can be entitled as Coming. "Dietrich would call every part a Coming. For 1 and 3 this is evident, but it verges on the absurd when he declines to call the Ascension a departure from the earth, or a return to Heaven, and designates it an arrival - a coming - into glory."

One section contains the runic signature of Cynewulf and all agree of course that Cynewulf wrote that section. Cremer and Ébert assign the runic passage to section III; Trautmann, Cook and Blackburn to section II.

There are differences in vocabulary between the different peoms. These are to be expected, as Dietrich pointed out, even when the peoms are on kindred themes, or form members of a poetical cycle;- this is illustrated in Spenser's Shepheard's Calendar.

Similarities, on the other hand, while they may indicate common authorship, might quite as well denote

1. Christ (Introduction) Ed. Cook 1900.

deliberate or unconscious imitation, in a period when there was strongly-marked poetical tradition, or when the influence of an individual was a powerful one. It is easier on the whole, to make out a plausible argument for the diversity of authorship than for the identity, especially in a literature in which transition between one member of a poem and another were not in general very definitely marked.

(1)Cook works out sixteen reasons for the unity and common authorship of the three parts of the "Christ":

1. The argument that each has a distinct plan and style is not conclusive against the unity of the poem, e.g. Tennyson's Maud and In Memoriam.
2. So long as we have no other Old English examples of a long poem divided into several members, the capitals, points, etc., which occur at 440, 867 and 665, while they are pretty conclusive as to the intended unity of each of the parts, by no means demonstrate that the several poems do not constitute members of a larger unity.
3. The arguments from the position of the runes seem to favor Sievers's theory that some time must have elapsed between the composition of parts two and three and Cremer's view that 2 may originally have been intended to complete the poem. But this cannot be regarded as conclusive against the assumption that 3 forms part of the whole.
4. The sources of 1 are from the Breviary; so too is Gregory's Homily the most important source of 2 and perhaps also the Ascension hymn, or at least part

(1)A.S.Cook: Christ

of it, since it is found in the Hymns, it may have existed in the Breviary of the period.

5. The secondary source of 2 is a Hymn ascribed to Bede, the chief source of 3 is a hymn first quoted by Bede.
6. Not only is Gregory the author of the principal source of 2 but he forms important subsidiary sources for 3.
7. Part 2 contains allusions to the Nativity: 444, 587, 628, 720, 786, and to the Judgment; 520, 782. part 3 contains referances to the Navity; 1418.
8. Several of the features of Judgment are common to 2 and 3, thus, the great numbers assembled and their dread of the coming sentences, the destruction of beauteous and precious things, progress of the destroying flame, destruction of buildings, shaking of heavens, requital of the wicked.
9. The motive of the Harrowing of Hell is found in every part, one - 25 and 145, two - 558 and 730, three - 1159 ff. Elsewhere it is found in Old English poetry only in the poem of that name and in Genesis-1076, Elene-181.
10. Siever's argument from Mss.440, seems to be borne out by special instances in the "Christ", especially one - 326, and two 512 and 850.
11. Rime is found in two and three, 591-6, 757, 1320, 1481-2. 1496, 1570, 1646. So is etymological or identical alliteration, 592a, 980, 1121, 1395a.
12. Abstract nouns preceeded by "to" occur pretty uniform-

ly through the three parts.

13. There are traces of pleonasm in both one and two, 41, 118, 592.
14. The Trinity is glorified in both one and two, 378 ff. 598a-599, 773-4.
15. The co-eternity of Christ with the Father is emphasized in both one and two, 122, 216, 236ff. 465.
16. There are verbal and material resemblances between the several parts ranging from the occurence of a rare word in an unusual sense, through that of groups of two, three and four words, to the partial identity of two or more lines.

Cook concludes thus, " There is a strong presumption amounting in my judgment to certainty, that the three divisions are by the same author, Cynewulf; that they stand in an organic relation to one another, and that they may thus be fairly regarded as forming in combination a single poem. This of course does not exclude the possibility that the three parts may have been written at different times."

Samuel Moore, like Cook, states that Christ is a literary unit, and that it was composed by Cynewulf. There is unity of subject between parts two and three, the latter developing in greater detail the theme of the Last Judgment. Part three is clearly a continuation of part two. From this it necessarily follows that the Mss. divisions of the poem cannot be accepted as proof of the independence of the three parts; for if part three in spite of the Mss. arrangement is a continuation of part two, so may part two be, in spite of the Mss. arrangement, a

1. Journal of Eng. & Germ. Philology XIV, 550-568.

continuation of part one. The opening lines of part two make an excellent transition between parts one and two, and these lines, if we regard them as the beginning of an independent poem, present a difficulty which they do not present, if we regard them as a transition passage between the two parts. Parallel treatment of the Incarnation and the Ascension are frequently found in the Ascension sermons of the Fathers and that of the material of parts one and two, would have possessed for a poet of Cynewulf's theological learning, a unity which had not been perceived by those who regarded it as too heterogeneous to be the subject of a single poem. " In the emphasis which is laid throughout parts one and two upon the thought of man's hope through Christ of Glory with God in Heaven, such a unity of treatment leads us to believe that parts one and two of Christ are not isolated poems upon the Incarnation and the Ascension, but a literary unit"

(1)
Lawrence Mason discusses the unity of the parts two and three of the Christ. The following are his arguments:-

1. The author of this poem, namely Cynewulf, once intended to end the poem here, with a doxology of 777b-778 based upon the conclusions of his source, (Greg. Hom.Evang. 29, two last sentence.)
2. Then later, (whether the interval was long or short) wishing to affix his signature to his work, he sought material into which to weave his runic cipher, from the unused portion of Greg. 29, two, before the doxology.
3. In this material he found "Redempter noster-tunc in judicium districtior veniet", and other hints

1. Archiv CXXIX 447-449.

of the terrors of Doomsday. These he expanded into a deliberate transition or introduction to Christ 3; whether 3 was then and there conceived and planned, or originally intended, or then actually existed. In these supernumerary lines then, 779-866, added by way of after-thought to his original part two, the poet first signed his name to his work, and secondly, prepared for a third division of his work, and thirdly, attempted to conceal his alterations by writing a second conclusion.

This theory accounts for the (a) singular position of the doxology 777b-778, ninety lines from the end of the poem, (b) for the peculiar variation from Gregory's ordering of the material, (c) for the obviously resumptive character of 779-782a, (d) for the curiously personal tone of 789b-796, (e) for the elaborate treatment of the Doomsday suggestion in Gregory, and for the unusual position of the runes at the end of the second part instead of at the end of the third. "If this hypothesis is accepted, the following deductions can hardly be denied. The moot passage 779-866 belongs to two, Cynewulf is the author of two and three;-so far as two and three are concerned, the unity of Christ is established."

Ebert[1] also believes that the three parts of the Christ form a unit, and that the three parts are by Cynewulf. "Ces trois parties se réunissent en un tout, par le sujet lui-même; arrivée, depart, et retour de Jésus-Christ. Les deux dernières même sont étroitement liées ensemble par le style et la forme, de sorte qu'il n'est pas possible de douter qu'elles ne soient l'ensemble

1. Histoire de La Litterature Anglaise.

d'un seul et même ouvrage, tandis que le lien qui rattache la première à la seconde est bien moins visible et immédiat , du reste, le style poètique en est bien différent."

(1) Blackburn writes, "I cannot help feeling that the difference of subject-matter, form and method of treatment are enough of themselves to prove that the three parts are distinct poems. But for the accident of their standing together in the Mss. no one, I am sure, would have accepted a connection and Dietrich, if he had had access to the Mss., or if Thorpe's edition had given the proper information in regard to the divisions made by the copyist, he would probably have gone no farther than to point out the unity of each part."

The arguments which Blackburn formulates are as follows:-

1. Part one is almost purely lyrical.
2. Part two is a poetical homily.
3. Part three is descriptive.

Part one is almost purely lyrical. It fills little more than five leaves of the Mss. but the beginning is unfortunately missing. It is possible that we only have one-half of it, but it is also possible that but little has been lost. If we take it as it stands, its plan is simple. It is a series of rhapsodies divided into five sections, of which the first and last differ somewhat from the others and seems to form a suitable opening.

1. (a) vv 1-31. A prayer to Christ, the "rejected wall-stone," to come to the repair of the house, and the delivery of captive man.

(b) vv 32-48 A reflection on the mystery of the

1. Anglia XIX 89-98

Incarnation.

(c) vv 49-69. A rhapsody addressed to the Holy Jerusalem, now made glorious by the coming of Christ.

2. (a) vv 90-102 A rhapsody addressed to Mary who is prayed to, to enfold the mystery of the Conception.

(b) vv 103-162. A rhapsody to Christ ending with a prayer that he will come and bring Salvation.

3. (a) vv. 163-212. A dialogue between Mary and Joseph, who is troubled at finding that his wife is with child, but is comforted by Mary's story of the Conception.

(b) vv. 347-376. An ascription of praise to Christ, ending as before, with a prayer for his help.

4. (a) vv.274-346. A rhapsody addressed to Mary, containing as in other cases, references to the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception.

(b) vv. 347-376. An ascription of praise to Christ ending as before with a prayer for his help.

5. (a) vv.377-401. A rhapsody to the Holy Trinity.

(b) vv.402-438. A rhapsody address to Christ not ending with a prayer as in other sections, but with an ascription of praise, because he has come to the help of men.

The same impression of completeness is given to the second part, when it is considered by itself. It is founded on a Homily of Gregory, and the plan and method of treatment are those that we find in the Latin Homilies in favor at the time, and are well illustrated in Aelfric's works drawn from similar sources.

It is the scripture story of the Ascension, much elaborated, as in all the other English poetry from Latin sources. This is followed by an exposition of the spiritual meaning of the various details, with citation of single passages of scripture which the regards as prophecies or types of the Ascension. Then comes the close-- moralizing and hortatory, and the whole ends with a formal ascription of praise. In the poem, one more section is added; a moralizing passage in which the author has inscribed his name. It comes, as in the other works of Cynewulf, after he has finished with his source.

The third part is a poem on the Judgment Day like the other Doomsday poems of the Old English, and may be characterized as"descriptive-lyrical". It is an expansion of the scripture description, A beautiful lyric description of the bliss of the redeemed forms a fitting close, and the end is also marked by the usual Mss. indication.

Now, says Mr. Blackburn, the moralizing passage and the name of Cynewulf settle the authorship of the second part. This leaves the authorship of the other parts uncertain, and if settled at all, must be treated in the same way as the other unsigned works attributed to our poet. The question as to whether Cynewulf also wrote the other two parts can be answered only by a careful comparison of each of his known works.

1. The differences between parts one and two, are but slight - not enough to prove difference of authorship, however.
2. Part three differs from the other two in several important particulars, which strongly suggest

difference of authorship. This point if confirmed by further investigation would of course be a conclusive proof of its correctness. Resemblances in style do not prove identity of authorship.

(1)If we should consider the three parts as forming one poem, the Christ as it's subject and hero, it is certainly strange that the writer chose to treat only events that occurred before or after his death." This argument of Mr. Blackburn's is answered very ably by Mr. Moore. "The intimate co-relation of the three great mysteries of the Incarnation, the Ascension and the Last Judgment, which Latin sermons exhibit, renders groundless Blackburn's objection."

Trautmann opposes Cook's statement that the three parts are one whole poem by the name of Christ, and by Cynewulf.

(2) "Ich kann nun nicht zugeben, dass auch nur einer von diesen 18 punkten einiges gewicht habe; alle sind erwagungen, keiner enthalt eine entscheidende tatsache; Cook selber spricht nur von "probabilities"

(3)Wulfing in his critism of Schwarz's "Cynewulf's anteil am Christ", tells us, "Kommt Schwarz wie nach seinen ubrigen untersuchungen zu demselben ergebnis wie Trautmann; der Christ hat drei selbstandige teile (439 adventleid - 866 himmelfahrt - 1664 junstes gericht), von denen nur der mittle den Cynewulf zum verfasser hat, wahrend die anderer beiden vielleicht alter sind oder in einer sudlicheren mundart geschrieben sind".

(4)Wulfing also gives Binz's decision on the matter. "Binz stimmt in gegensatz zu Cook mit der ansicht Trautmanns,

1.Archiv CXXXI, 311-315.
2.Anglia Mitteilungen XI, 321-329.
3.Anglia Mitteilungen XX 195
4.Ibid 196

Blackburns, Barnaws, Bouranels, Schwarzens und anderer uberein die eine dreiteilung der cridtdichtung annehmen und Cynewulf nur als verfasser der mittelteils gelten lassen."

I agree with Cook in considering this poem a unit, and in ascribing the three parts, therefore, to Cynewulf. The coming of the Lord is the fundamental conception and combines a single mood of mind and spirit of advent with the lesson to be drawn from the Advent. The fundamental conception of each of these poems is high and human. Each deals with the outer and inner life of men who do and dare, and who have sufficient spiritual ground for their actions. For them the intervention of superhumans in human affairs was real.

In the Christ there is a unity of mood, that is more easily felt than formulated, and the poem has this unity. Its one predominating mood is the spirit of the Advent, of the threefold coming of Christ through the Virgin Birth; through the Faith of the Believer; through Final Judgment. Differences of style may be due to copyists. The general tone unity is there.

It is certainly unwise at present to feel that the poem is a unity and that Cynewulf is the author of the three parts, but until more convincing proof is presented to the contrary, it is not improper to regard the three parts of the Christ as a unit and Cynewulf as the author.

Sources of the Christ

1. Cynewulf must have been so thrilled by the sweet and solemn music of the Greater Antiphons af Advent, that he gladly yielded to the impulse to reproduce

them in English, under the form of variation. In so doing, he employed the peculiarly monastic antiphone side by side with those sanctioned by the Church Universal. He abridged, expanded, suppressed or transposed as his genius dictated; freely interpolated matter from other sources when it served his purpose to do so, and welded the whole together by closing with a magnificent doxology to the true God. This he followed by a few resumptive lines in which, returning to the theme of the Advent he alluded to the reward which Christ would bestow upon the righteous at his second appearing. The source is found in the Breviary.

2. Ascension. The principal source is the Ascension sermon of Pope Gregory the Great. A conspicuous link with Part One is established by the section in which the Advent is definitely named, while Part Three is as evidently preluded by the references to the Last Judgment, in the passage which includes the Runes, no less than by the circumstance, that the Ascension is the express of the second coming.

3. Doomsday. For the general organism of the poem, Cynewulf is indebted to the hymn quoted by Bede; for the suggestion of the Sign of the Son of Man, to the vision of Constantine, a passage in Ephraem Syrus or one doubtfully attributed to Augustine; for the mourning of the Universe at the death of Christ, to Gregory; for the bloody sap of the trees to the Apocrypha; for Christ's address to the sinner, to

> Caesarius of Ailes, or more ultimately to Ephraem Syrus; for the Sword of Victory in the hands of the Judge to Prudentius; and for the account of the Joys of the Blessed to Gregory and Augustine. Yet such is Cynewulf's imaginative power and command of language that imitation is nowhere visible; the whole is moulded, or rather fused, into a poem of the greatest moral fervor, intensity and vividness.

(1) "The scenes described are realized with startling clearness, the speeches are majestic, and yet tenderly pathetic but awful; the poet's personal appeals are by no means conventional and the fates of the damned and the blessed are depicted according to the dictates of an unwavering faith."

As I said before, the beginning is missing, but comparitively few verses seem to be missing. The beginning such as we have it is very similar to a Christmas Sermon. "Come, as you came before, and save us; we who are seated in a prison full of iniquities and enlighten us, O Prince, before it is not too late for us." That is the thought at the beginning, and continues to dominate the poem, reappearing again in a still more expressive manner. This thought is the principal one, because the poet himself feels the need of deliverance. Then, after having mentioned the Conception of Mary, who carries out and explains the prophecies; he speaks about the Blessed City of Jerusalem, which was destined to become the Holy City, and the seat chosen by the Kings of Kings. He gives the word to the Jews in the next chapter, and they wish to know from Mary in person, the secret of her miraculous conception.

1. Cook (Introduction) Christ. 1900

Mary reproaches them for their curiosity, but explains to them the miracle;- The fault of Eve was expiated by a daughter of David. After the dialogue, the poet resumes the story, and exalts Jesus Christ as the most brilliant of Stars, the True Sun sent to brighten the World, God engendered by God. He entreats that he descend on the Earth to enlighten Man - his own work. The arrival of Jesus Christ is then announced to the Jews.

Another chapter comes of an altogether dramatic nature - the dialogue is not dominated by any reflections of the poet; it is a dialogue between Mary and Joseph. " Ah, my Joseph"says she,"you wish to leave me, I who love you so much?" And Joseph answers her, "I am very much worn with sorrow, and despoiled of honour, for I have heard through thee many a word of measureless woe and insult." Mary thinks that he is accusing himself, and tries to console him - She cannot find the least fault with which to reproach him. Finally, he reveals to her the cause of his sadness,- it is the pregnancy of Mary. Immediately, she reveals to him the secret,- the visit of the Angel Gabriel. The poet addresses Christ anew in a prayer. Going back to the end of the preceding chapter, he speaks of the descent of Christ through the Father who engendered him when he created the light, "This resplendent joy of all living creatures". The poet again invokes the spiritual arrival of Christ and his protection against the evil spirit. The angels then praise their King, the Christ who had revealed God. The men themselves should thank him in their actions of mercy, since he comes daily to their aid.

Such as the main thread in the first part. This narration has particular characteristics.

It reminds one of the ancient mysteries attached again to the divine service. The poet appears like a teacher who explains the doctrine; he represents at the same time the choir of the parish in the passages where joy resounds in the forms of hymns;--it is a curious mixture of instructive, lyric, and dramatic art.

The second part, the Ascension, starts with an address to"a man of high birth" (mon se maera) to whom this poem is dedicated, and he is invited to explain why the angels did not wear the white garments at the birth of Christ as they did at the ascension. This question, the solution of which comes, later, is used as transition for the poet to describe the ascension itself. But in the sky the angels come toward Christ, bid him welcome in a hymn celebrating the conqueror of Hell. The solution to the above question is given--the angels do not wear white clothes except on the most important holidays--except when Christ, the victorious hero, takes the saved souls away from the devil.

After this explanation come the reflections, which go back to St. Gregory. But here is a point of departure;--the man now delivered from evil can choose for himself either hell or heaven. This is the only connection which makes up for the lack of a solid relationship between the different parts of the Anglo-Saxon poem.

What does not exist in the Latin model is the mention of astronomy; of the art of forging arms; of knowledge in the art of war and navigation--itis in this manner that the Anglo-Sazon betrays himself in the composition of the poem. The poet

ends his meditation with an exhortative address to St. Gregory. He counsels all to search for salvation whole-heartedly, and to aspire with our bodies to the native land where Christ is ascended,- that is why we should subject our foolish desires, and have confidence in God, that he will protect us against the terrible assaults of the devil. Now the poet reminds us of the Last Judgement. The day of vengeance approaches when Christ descends again on the earth. Then the brave will tremble--the poet himself, since he has his name put into the runes. After an appeal to all, that they should think of the last judgement, the poet compares life to a voyage in detail, and then passes to a description of the judgement.

The third part is devoted to a description of the judgement. "The great day of the all-powerful Lord will take by surprise the inhabitants of the earth; He will come suddenly upon the shining creation at the hour of midnight, like a robber, cunning and full of audacity, who surprises without warning, in the shadows of the night, the defenseless heroes drowned in sleep." So they are united on Mt. Sion,-the faithful followers of the Creator, since for them has arrived the day of salvation; from the four corners of the earth the angels noisily blow on the trumpets and the earth trembles. Then awaken all the dead to appear before their Judge. Angels and devils, black and white, mingle indiscriminately. Then the coming of Christ is announced;-it is joyful occasion for the good, and a sad spectacle for the wicked. Then the vast creation resounds; the hottest of all fires leaps up to the moon; and the stars fall

through the air; the sun darkens, and takes on the color of blood, and even the moon falls. The fire, fed by the storm, encircles the earth, just as the waters of the flood did formerly;—the hungry flame devours the multitude:-the mountains melt;—the water itself burns like wax,- she tries angrily to gain possiession of the earth and to swallow all the treasures. However, she consumes at the same time, all the sins of the world.

Now begins the Judgement. Christ, as King of the Angels of the sky, is surrounded by the elect; the angels themselves are terrified,-how much more reason that men should be! The thoughts of their hearts are made known at this time;—the iniquities of the wicked are visible though their new bodies as through a crystal. In sight of the Cross, stained with blood, and in sight of the heavenly host, they are forced to recognize with horror, Him whom they had humiliated and injured;--Him whom Nature itself recognized in the miracles which happened at his death;--Him whom Hell recognized, and released the patriarchs whom He had kept prisoners; Him whom the trees themselves recognized, since He ascended on one of them, and since more than one was stained with bloody teaars, and saw the sap change to blood;

tha wear$ beam monig blodigum tearum

Only those men who are blind, and harder than stone, do not recognize the Saviour.

Then Christ sits on the royal throne, On his right are reunited the pure souls,--the elect; on his left, those who are soiled with sin. The former are as if illuminated by their good deeds-they see the glory which awaits them and also the

punishment which awaits the sinners, "and in their hearts waxeth a winsome joy!" The others see the fire of Hell which is prepared for them. They see also the happiness which awaits the elect and they feel deeply ashamed for their sins which are made evident to all eyes. They should have confessed before and done penance, adds the poet.

Jesus Christ then speaks to them, "Come you, the Blessed of my father, come take possession of the kingdom which was prepared for you since the beginning of the world, because I was hungry and you gave me food." Thus he speaks to the people on the right, in a rapid discourse, on the reward which awaits them. To those on the left, he speaks at length of the punishment which awaits the sinful, and when he passes over the work of the redemption, he pronounces the punishment. "Fare ye now, accursed, by your own wills bereft of angel's joy, unto to eternal fire;--hot and grim, that was prepared of old for Satan and his fellows;--the Fiend and his dark host. He shall sink therein." This he ends and as he waves his sceptre;-the wicked and the devils fall at the same time into the flames.

The poet finishes his work by the exhortation which he had made at the beginning of this part. He paints a picture of the tortures which the wicked will endure in Hell and of the happiness of the blessed in the Sky;--the greatest of joys is that which they feel when the angels and the souls of the blessed meet for the first time and bid each other welcome into the Blessed Land. It is towards this end that men should aspire

when purifying themselves from their sins.

Christ is a poem of superior quality;—it is not a translation but an original. It is the history of Salvation. It is more like a series of hymns than an epic and is filled with choice outbursts of praise. This poem is the weightiest of all the poems written by Cynewulf, because in it he made the greatest struggle to attain artistic unity. The lyrics are outbursts of praise, and in these he reaches his nearest approach to a fine style, and his style is a revelation of his character. In praise and prayer, in mournfulness and exaltation, he was equally passionate. The dramatic dialogue seems to be the first drawing in our literature of the Mystery Play--it may have been recited by different people on the platform and as such may be turned the first English drama.

Cynewulf is the only Anglo-Saxon poet who has these poetic outbursts.

The Fates of the Apostles

Although it was as early as 1840 that Kemble found Cynewulf's name imbedded in the runes, it was not until 1888 that Napier discovered the same runes, although in a different order, in a poem which was known as the "Fates of the Apostles". The poem had been printed formerly under that name but had been incomplete. Napier found that the twenty-seven lines which followed directly in the same Mss., formed the conclusion of the poem, and contained Cynewulf's runic signature. The order of the runes as they appear in the conclusion of the poem is F ᚹ U L ᚳ Y N.

The "Fates of the Apostles", complete, contains one hundred and twenty-two lines, twenty-seven of which are devoted to a personal passage, containing Cynewulf's signature. The poem recounts very briefly the life and death of the twelve apostles. There is no room for imagination except in the personal passage. It is here that he addresses the readers thus "Here may find out the wise in forethinking, whosoever joyeth him in songs, what man it is that wrought this lay."

No immediate source of this poem has been found. Krapp points out in his edition of the "Fates of The Apostles" that while the poem differs slightly from the Martyrology of Bede and the Brevarium Apostolarum, it may very well have been compiled from such Latin lists as these were based upon.

(1)Holthauser expresses the same opinion as Krapp concerning the source of the poem. "Alles was der Dichter von den genannten Aposteln berichtet konnte er sehr wohl dem Brevarium entnehmen. Vielleicht findet sich noch einmal ein Lateinisher Text in dem alle die von der englischen Dichtung gebotenen Zuge vereinigt sind".

The fact that Cynewulf should have devoted twenty-seven lines as a conclusion to a poem of one hundred and twenty-two lines seemed a rather peculiar occurrence. Scholars immediately began to search for some work which might have been written as part of this poem--some work which Cynewulf might have composed as an introduction to the one hundred and twenty-two lines. As a result of the investigations

1. Anglia XXV 386;

critics lighted uponapoem known as the "Andreas", unsigned, and which precedes the "Fates of the Apostles" in the Mss.

CHAPTER 111

POEMS GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO CYNEWULF

Andreas

The Andreas, a poem of 1722 lines, is found in the Vercelli Manuscript. Grimm, who assigned the poem,not to Cynewulf but to Aldhelm,pointed out that the Andreas was based on the Apocrypha legend, a Greek source which must have existed in the Latin also. The author follows the source faithfully for the most part,but has succeeded in giving it a national colour.

The contents of the Andreas are as follows;-Andrew, one of the twelve warriors of the Lord is commanded in a vision that he must journey to the land of the Mermedonians where Matthew lay in prison and deliver him. Having been ferried across the seas by the Almighty God and his two angels in the guise of shipmen,he is left sleeping on the seashore with his followers about him. Awaking,and recognizing by whose divine help he had been brought thither,he repaired to the town near at hand where Matthew lay in prison.

At this point begins that portion of the narrative which deals successively with the freeing of Matthew and the long martyrdom of Andrew by various cruel tortures; his final victory and conversion of the people, and at length his triumphant departure when his former persecutors "brought the stirring warrior unto his ship at the head-lands of the sea and stood upon the sea-strand weeping after him so long as they might behold that Joy of Princes across the seal-path. This poem

is very readable because of the changing incidents, the swift movement and the many images.

The Andreas has always been the poem about which, in the Cynewulfian controversies, the bitterest struggle has been waged. On the strength of certain marked similarities in style and diction, the earliest editors of the Andreas assigned the poem to Cynewulf. Then Sweet hazarded an opinion that The Fates of the Apostles was merely an epilogue to the Andreas. "The poem of the Elene is immediately preceded in the manuscript by a work of familiar character relating the adventures of St. Andrew ending like the Elene with an epilogue wherein the poet after briefly alluding to the fates of the other apostles expresses penitence for his sins. "

Kemble says that Cynewulf was probably the author of all the poems contained in the Vercelli book and those likewise which occur in the Exeter. Thorpe subscribed to Kemble's opinion. Dietrich adduced correspondences between Andreas, Juliana, and the Christ. Ten Brink also assigns Andreas to Cynewulf. Hammerich leaves the question undecided.

Wulker denies the Andreas to Cynewulf but he gives no reason. Fritzche follows Wulker, his arguments being drawn from the treatment of the sources, the verse, the vocabulary, and the absence of the runes; on the other hand he conceives Andreas to be a pupil of Cynewulf. Müller follows Fritzche, while Ten Brink, Ebert, and Lefèvre are half inclined to agree.

Holtbuer took the same side. Ramhorst came to an opposite conclusion from Fritzche.

Arnold is persuaded that the Andreas is not by Cynewulf. Sievers adduced a non-Cynewulfian authorship on account of the dative "faeder" (AND.1412) and is followed by Mather and Cremer. Sievers reiterated his opinion in much more emphatic terms in his later article regarded the conclusion, that Andreas is not by Cynewulf, as one of the few certainties established by the researches into the question of the authorship in Old English.

Sarrazin sought once more to vindicate the Andreas for Cynewulf on the ground that the runic passage discovered by Napier is the conclusion of the Fates of the Apostles, and that, in turn, of the Andreas.(1) "Höchst wahrscheinlich ist Fata Apostolarum gar nicht als ein besonderes gedicht, sondern nur als der schluss des Andreas anzusehen; es wäre wenigstens sehr seltsam, wenn der dichter diesen kleinen unbedeutenden nachwerke die fabrikmarke seiner dichterischen werkstatt aufgeprägt, dagegan eine weit umfangreichere und poetisch werkvollere dichtung ohne dieselbe in die welt geschickt hatte. Der Andreas ohne die Fata Apostolarum ist eine dichtung ohne eigentlichen schluss; die Fata Aposolarum für sich allein sind ein epilog ohne ein entsprechendes gedicht; Andreas und Apostolarum bilden ein vollständiges organisches ganzes." The same opinion is enunciated by Gollancz and Trautmann. Brandl characterizes the Andreas as "eher die arbeit eines begabten Nachahmers in anderer englischer mundart"

1. Anglia, Vol.XII. 375-387. 1889.

Fraulein Buttenweiser is convinced that the "Andreas " is not by Cynewulf while Kolbing is as certain of the opposite view.

Dr. Arthur W. Colton, in an unpublished investigation undertaken while he was a graduate student at Yale, discovered some striking correspondences between Andreas and the undoubted poems of Cynewulf. Words and phrases are listed separately and these are divided into four main categories according as the expression occurred in one, two, three or four poems besides the Christ. The ratio of correspondence between the Chrest & Elene was .085; in Juliana .084; Andreas .075; Guthlac and Phoenix .09 each.

Cook says in his edition of the Christ, "I am strongly inclined to assign the Andreas to Cynewulf, though I hesitate to express a positive opinion in the present state of our knowledge, especially against Fritsche's hypothesis of a close imitation. If the view of Sarrazin, Gollancz, and Trautmann were quite convincing, one need not hesitate, but of this I do not feel certain."

In 1925, that is, 25 years after edition of the Christ by Cook, this professor again turns his attention to the Old English Andreas and to the question of the authorship of this fine old epic. He suggests that the poem is the work of the famuus Bishop Acca of Hexham.

Acca, as is well known, was a disciple of St. Wilfrith's, whom he succeeded as Bishop of Hexham in 709,-was expelled from his See in 731 and died in 740. The evidence to be adduced in favour of Acca's authorship is naturally only of a circumstantial nature ...

It is very likely, that the fact that there is some reason to identify the poet Cynewulf with the Bishop of that name, has suggested to Professor Cook the possibility that the author may have been a bishop too. The epic may very well have been witten in Acca's time, and the bishop is one of the men from whom a work of this kind may be expected. The Church at Hexham was dedicated to St. Andrew, and there is some reason to believe that Acca is the founder of St. Andrew's in Scotland; this suggests that the life of St. Andrews would have a special interest for the Bishop. His teacher Wilfrith's career may have provided material for some episodes in Andreas.

All this is very interesting, but Professor Cook should have provided us with better proof in order to establish that Acca was the author of the Andreas. Mr. Krapp remarks thus on the aforementioned suggestion of Cook's; "The admirable scholarship of Professor Cook's discussion of the authorship of the Andreas does not lead to a final answer of this troubled question, not indeed was it expected to do so."

I think it highly probable that Cynewulf wrote the Andreas. It seems strange that the opening lines of the poems should be "Lo! travel-worn, with weary heart, I wrought this lay, made gleaning far and wide!" To begin by telling us of the difficulties of writing a poem which he was about to set forth, is certainly not as usual as if such a statement came after the telling of his story. As a matter of fact, it is exactly what occurs in the Elene where at the end of the legend proper and the beginning of the personal passage, Cynewulf tells us "Thus I have spun my lay with craft of

wôrds and wrought it wondrously aged and nigh unto death by fault of this mouldering house."

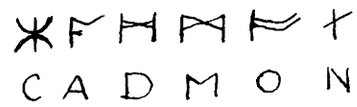
Moreover the statement of the "Fates"seems to carry with it the implication of more thought and labour than would seem to be represented in so short a poem. Many authors are known to have planned works of great length and have given up the scheme only partly executed. This,it seems to me,was the case with Cynewulf. Is it not possible that our poet may have contemplated a gigantic piece of work - that of writing the lives of the twelve apostles - and having completed the Life of St.Andrew tired of the plan? Then again, it is almost universally agreed that much Anglo-Saxon poetry must have been lost during the time of the Dane ravages. Would it be too muchto say that Cynewulf may have written the lives of the other eleven Apostles and that the manuscripts were either destroyed or that they have not yet been discovered?

Until further evidence is provided, it would be unwise to state that Cynewulf was the author of this poem, but I think it not improbable that he was. Also, it is evident, that if with reasonable probability a dependence of the short poem known as the "Fates of the Apostles" upon the Andreas could be assumed,all the difficulties would vanish at once.

The Dream of the Rood

A German man-of-letters, Professor Blum, undertaking a literary pilgrimage of Italy in 1823, found in the old Conventual Library at Vercelli, an ancient half-ruined skin-book in the Wessex dialect of the 10th Century, containing homilies and six poems, some of them of considerable length. The poems appeared, edited by Mr. Thorpe, about 1836 or 1837, in a miscellaneous volume of Old English pieces as Appendix B. to Mr. Cooper's "Report on Feodora". One of these pieces, entitled by Mr. Thorpe "The Holy Rood, a Dream", consisted of three hundred and fourteen lines. In 1842, Mr. Kemble was arrested by certain lines, and on comparison, found that they were identical with the runic inscription of the Ruthwell Cross which he had previously deciphered.

But the author was still a mystery. A daring guess was first made by Mr. Haigh in 1856, when he printed a paper on the "Saxon Cross at Bewcastle", with engraving of several Old English remains and inscriptions, and with another copy of the Ruthwell text. He also announced in his opinion that the Poem of which this inscription is a fragment, must have been written by our great Caedmon. This he supported by the fact that on the right side appeared the following runic letters:



On the left side appeared

Mr. Haigh would date the cross 665. Caedmon, he says was the only one of religious poets worthy of the name of poet, and therefore the author of this inscription. Mr.G.Stephens agrees with Haigh, and also bases his theory on the inscription "Cadmon me fawed". Also because long-epic lines are found in Caedmonian paraphrases therefore the Dream is by Caedmon.

But now we know that Caedmon did not write the poem since:-

1. The date of the runic inscription is about the 10th Century.
2. There is no trace of Caedmon's name on it.

Dietrich on the other hand tried to work out reasons for attributing the poem to Cynewulf.

1. He connects Elene with the Dream of the Rood because the theme of both is the Cross.
2. He calls attention to the similarity in tone between the personal passages in the Juliana Christ and Elene, and certain of the personal passages in the Rood poem.

Whether Cynewulf wrote the poem is dependent on the following general facts:-

1. The very striking phraseological parallels between the undoubted poems of Cynewulf and this poem, can best be explained by common authorship.
2. Cynewulf had written another poem on the cross.
3. The personal passages in Christ and Elene are remarkably similar in tone to certain lines at the beginning and end of the Rood poem.

4. The narrative of the Crucifixion has many parallels to section three of the Christ.

The evidence, Cook thinks, points directly to Cynewulf as the author of the poem under discussion, though the strong probability of the case cannot be raised to certainty. Of the objections which have been raised, the absence of a runic signature, and certain linguistic and metrical differences, the long-epic and Caedmonian lines which Cynewulf uses only now and then in signed poems - are allowed some consideration by Cook, but are not absolute proof against Cynewulfian authorship. Certain it is, that the lexical details cited by Trautmann are far from conclusive in themselves, and as for the surprising number of expanded lines, the singular subject-matter, and the treatment, these should be taken into account.

Unfortunately the extreme shortness of the text, and its exceptional literary character, render it rather unsafe to draw any definite conclusions from syntactical or stylistic peculiarities that may be detected. Yet with all due reservation, it may be observed that the excessive repetition of words, phrases and ideas, is one of the conspicuous features of the poem. Some of these instances may very well be due to the especial artistic design, but on the whole they give us the impression of a mannerism that is practised by Cynewulf, in an uncommonly high degree. There appears also, with extraordinary frequency, the idea of a large attendance or crowd as in the Elene: "gumena threate" 254; "corthru maeste" 274 etc. Also in Christ 494, 511, 549. It seems credible, that the author was haunted, as it were,

by this motive, and went out of his way to sound the favorite note, in the manner of litotes, in a unique "Maeste weorode".

Almost simultaneously with Cook's edition of the Dream of the Rood, there appeared in a paper by Professor Brandl, in which an entirely new view of the origin and significance of the poem was set forth. Brandl would assign "The Dream of the Rood" to the beginning of the 8th Century, partly on linguistic and literary grounds, and partly in consideration of the probable purpose of the composition. The poem, he holds, should not be looked upon as a religious lyric of the subjective order, but rather as a poetic sermon or lesson, written with a practical liturgic end in view. He shows that in the year 701, a particle of the true cross was found in Rome - an event which occurred during Abbot Coelfrith's stay in the city, and was duly recorded by Bede in his "De sex aetatibus saeculi" - and the result was that the festival of the "Exhaltation of the Cross" was established in the Western Church. As there is no notice in Anglo-Saxon history, of any other impetus given to adoration of the Cross, it appears to Brandl reasonable to regard our poem as a conscious effort to stimulate a devotion to the glorious Cross of Christ, and especially to interpret to the English people, the new religious festival.

This new theory is attractive by reasons of its originality, still there remains room for doubt. There may be nothing in the language of the poem that betrays a very early date and "the argument derived from the use of the definite article can hardly be called conclusive. Nor can the mention of the "sorhleoth" sung after the death of the Saviour

be claimed positively as an archaic feature comparable to the tale of the funeral rites of Beowulf. It does not seem that a dirge is meant by the phrase "ongunnon him the sorgleoth galan" (67) any more than the Beowulf "Seorhleoth gaeleth an aefter anum". But the expression is in all likehood merely a filler, mere picturesque term for the simple idea of lamentation". (Sievers).

As regards the liturgic tendency discovered by Brandl, it is interesting to compare with his conception, the following statement of Cook's: "All other literary influences which may have actuated him, must be reckoned as inconsiderable, in comparison with the effects produced upon him by the circumstances of his time, and perhaps especially the iconoclastic controversy, in which Charlemagne was involved, and no doubt Alcuin also. The exception made in favor of the Cross musthave done much to stimulate the worship of the symbol, since the tendency to worship some visible symbol was too strong to be repressed. North of the Alps the disposition to venerate the cross certainly received a powerful impetus about this time as is shown by the poems for instance, of Alcuin and Maurus."

It may be mentioned, that in Elene also, the observance of a festival relating to the Cross, is enjoined in fact, in explicit words. (1229).

Whether the date 700 or 800 comes nearer the truth we will not attempt to decide. A more accurate and detailed knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon Church would be more helpful than everything else in solving the problem .

Ten Brink would assign the Dream of the Rood to Cynewulf, and makes the composition of the poem a vital turning-point in the poet's life. " A new phase of Cynewulf's life and writing was due to a remarkable event--of a kind not rare in the fancy of medieval minds. The poet had grown older -- a sad fate had robbed him of his friends and patrons. Poor and isolated, he began to give himself up to melancholy and a gloomy view of life. His conscience reproached him with the frivolity of other days, with wordly thought and endeavour. Then was vouchsafed to him a marvellous vision, due probably to the poet's study of a certain group of Christian Latin poems, but had true impress of subjective experience. He immortalized the vision in a poem of an utterance to an irrepressible emotion, but still exhibiting the delicate lines of a beautifully designed composition. With a light heart, Cynewulf prayed to the Holy Rood. He had found peace and happiness again--his thoughts are now directed from that hour to the hereafter. His later poems mainly develop theses already treated in that poem, on the apparition of the Cross."

Stopford Brooke also assigns the dream to Cynewulf. He draws our attention to the fact that the poem bears resemblance to the conclusion of the Elene. Also, the spirit of the verse, full at first of pathetic individuality, and then marked by his rushing and exultant manner when he is engaged in hope or praise, is all like Cynewulf's, and not like any other Anglo-Saxon poet. Also, Mr. Brooke is equally impressed with the extreme unlikeness of the closing part of the poem to the dream part, which is extremely like the work of Cynewulf--to the way in which

1. Early English Literature.

he thought and felt. The introduction also, is in Cynewulf's veritable manner, and the close is written in the Cynewulfian short-epic line. Only the middle part is in the long-line. Now Mr. Brooke suggests that Cynewulf may have picked up an older poem of the Caedmonian School and doctored it up, adding to the poem, and changing the mode of presentation, that is, made it into a dream.

Georg Herzfeld does not agree with Cook in attributing the Dream to Cynewulf.(1)"Ich bin nicht in der lage Cook zuzustimmen in der Verfassfrage." He can find no similarity between the Elene and the Dream. There is a great difference, on the other hand, between the author of the Elene and the author of the Dream of the Rood. Cynewulf tells us in the Elene "swa ic on bocum fand wyrda gangum on gewritum cythan," so that our poet did not write through inspiration only but also through the study of books. It can also be shown, he avers, that the Dream must be older than the Elene. Sievers has shown that the i and x used in the Dream were not used at the time of Cynewulf, which, all agree, is the middle of the 8th century.

The Dream of the Rood is claimed by the majority of critics and scholars to be Cynewulf's. It is the choicest blossom of Old English poetry. A resemblance has been detected between the reference to the Cross in the concluding portion of the Elene and the subject and treatment of the poem.

1.Archiv CVI 389-390.

Although references to the cross are frequent in prose and verse, yet the two poems have much in common,--character of intimate self-revelation; elegaic tone of the reflections on the transitoriness of life and the sinfullness of man; the phraseology and syntactical structure are alike to a marvellous degree, which makes the Cynewulfian authorship extremely probable.

Perhaps some light may be thrown on the question of Cynewulf's authorship of the Dream poem through a consideration of the runic inscription on the Ruthwell Cross. Is it possible that the man who transcribed the poems of Cynewulf into the West-Saxon also put up that Cross in memory of our poet?--that, while studying in the north he had come into contact with the Cynewulf poems, and having admired them, had transcribed them into his own dialect and had put up the Cross as a tribute. Why should that particular poem, which is so like all the other work of Cynewulf, be inscribed in runic letters unless it was intended to be a monument to the poet who had modestly signed his poems in runic letters? The Dream of the Rood is worthy of Cynewulf, and in certain respects is strikingly suggestive of the Elene and of parts of the Christ; there are, too, certain correspondences of phraseology; but nothing has yet been alledged which forces us to conclude that Cynewulf was its author.

I think that I may best end my remarks on the subject of the authorship of the Dream of the Rood by quoting Professor Cook: "Making all due allowance for the weakness of certain arguments both pro & con, the balance of probability seems to

incline decidedly in favour of Cynewulfian authorship."

The Phoenix

The Phoenix is another poem found in the Exeter Book and consists of 677 lines. Although unsigned, yet it has been assigned to Cynewulf because of its simple beauty.. Beginning with Kemble in 1840, and followed by Thorpe, many scholars have attributed the Phoenix to Cynewulf,—among them Sweet, Dietrich, Ten Brink, Grein, Hammerich, Holtbauer, Brooke, Cook and Trautmann. Those who deny Cynewulfian authorship are, Wulker, Sievers, Cremer, and Brandl.

Since it contains no runic passage embodying the name of the author, the ascription of it to Cynewulf rests upon identities of, or similarities to, diction, subject, or general treatment, with the undoubted works of Cynewulf, or with such as are ascribed to him by practically universal consent.

The chief arguments against attributing this poem to our poet are as follows;

1. The absence of a runic signature

2. The necessity of admitting inflectional forms not found in the acknowledged poems. The resemblances of word phrase and idea extend in varying degrees through practically the whole body of Old English religious poetry.

3. Those who have attempted by metrical tests to find

evidence for or against the theory of Cynewulfian authorship of this poem, have been forced to decide against that theory. Cremer, in 1888, found few correspondences in metrical usage between the Phoenix and the authentic poems of Cynewulf, and on that ground did not favour the view that this poem might be assigned to him. Mather, on metrical grounds, also denies the poem to Cynewulf.

The main reasons cited for attributing the poem to Cynewulf are as follows;

1. The theme of the Phoenix would have been congenial to Cynewulf, and his reading must have included Lanctantius .

2. The verbal parallels, and similarities of thought, are striking, and the percentage in Dr. Colton's table agrees remarkably with that of Juliana and Elene.

Cook states that in respect to predominance of color, flowers, fragrance and music, of books, trees, groves and plains, the Phoenix excels the undoubted poems, but against this must be set Cynewulf's impressibility;-the fact that his vocabulary and imagery change to some extent with his mood, and with the original upon which he is working. When he is paraphrasing long didactic speeches, he is another man, than when he is telling a stirring tale, or reproducing the spirit of the poem, full of sublime sentiment and magnificent appeals to the imagination. There is, therefore,

no "a priori" ground for assuming that the Phoenix cannot be by Cynewulf.

There is no doubt that much of the sentiment is demonstrably Cynewulfian; the correspondences in phraseology indicate the hand of a master, so inwoven are they into the tissue of the style; and the doxology (lines 615-29) would of itself almost persuade the critic to believe in Cynewulfian authorship,--so similar is it in tone to those of the Elene and the Christ. It cannot be said that the question is decided, but I believe that scholars will end by assigning the Phoenix to Cynewulf. If it is not by Cynewulf we can hardly say more than that the writer must have been a monk or an ecclesiastic apparently under the influence of the Cynewulfian poetry and likely to have lived either within the period of Cynewulf's activity (750-800) or soon after."

The source of the Anglo-Saxon "Phoenix" is the Latin poem of Lanctantius, upon the Happy Land, and the Phoenix, who dwells there. The Anglo-Saxon poem opens with a description of this land of joy and delight." That plain is full of beauty blessed with joys, with the fairest fragrance of the earth; single in its loveliness. Here dwells the Phoenix, for a thousand years he does not taste of death. A day's life of the bird is traced. In the early morning "black night creepeth wanly away; then strong of flight strong in his pinions, beneath the sky, the fowl gazeth eagerly upon the mountain-stream, over the water, when the gleam of Heaven

may come up, gliding from the east over the spacious sea." The Phoenix bathes in the sea-cold springs and the sound of its singing during the day is "sweeter than all song craft. After a thousand years, accompanied by a retinue of all other birds the Phoenix journeys to the Syrain land where it builds the funeral pyre and is consumed. But from the ashes creeps a worm and from the worm evolves an eaglet, and from the eaglet, a Phoenix again, as before, which, returning to its native grove, buries the relics of its former body. So the blessed fowl, after his time of death cometh unto his old abode, his beauteous home."

The Anglo-Saxon poet follows his original closely, but the legend is here plainly tinged by the Christian spirit, and is modelled in accordance with a Christian symbolism. To the exposition of the myth, the poet adds what is wanting in the original--the application to the chosen servants of the Lord, and then to Christ, the Risen, himself. Here are two allegories;

1. Life of the Saints

2. Christ who after the Judgement flies through the air attended by all the worshipping souls like birds, and each soul becomes a Phoenix, and dwells for ever young, where joy never changes, praising God in the City of Life. He makes Christ the Phoenix who passes through the fire of death to glorious life.

Trautmann avers that the poem, by comparison of vocabulary, although unsigned, may be attributed to Cynewulf, because of the Cynewulfian characteristics. He gives a list of correspondences in phrase between Phoenix and the other Cynewulfian poems.

The weight of critical opinion leans toward the probability of Cynewulf's having written Phoenix, and between Christ and the Elene. I think that scholarly opinion will conclude by attributing the Phoenix to Cynewulf.

CHAPTER IV

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO CYNEWULF ON INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE

Guthlac A & B

Guthlac certainly consists of two parts composed by two authors. Stopford Brooke remarks that there is scarcely any critic who holds that Cynewulf didn't have a hand in it, and that the second part is almost unanimously alloted to him. As the conclusion is missing, Mr. Brooke declares that Cynewulf's runic signature must have formed part of this lost conclusion. We may attribute only the second part to Cynewulf, he continues, and those who think he wrote the whole, think also for the most part that there was a long interval between the composition of the first and the second parts, known as Guthlac A & B. The style and poetic power of the first, are very inferior to those of the second part. The first part differs considerably from Felix's Life of Guthlac, and the second follows it closely. "It is most probable that Cynewulf, at the beginning of his Christian life, while his imagination was yet hampered by his natural avoidance of all profane poetry, wrote the first part of Guthlac from oral tradition, and then, much later in life, when his imagination was delivered by the peace in his soul, he took up his old work again and added to the Life of Guthlac an

end with a special account of the hermit's death.

Thus we see that Brooke, just as Kemble, Thorpe, Dietrich, Grein, Reiger, Sweet, Ten Brink, Lefevre, and D'Ham, assigns the two parts of Guthlac to Cynewulf.

Thomas Arnold on the other hand can see no reason for assigning Guthlac to our poet.

Mather says[1] "There is no strong reason for excluding Guthlac B from Cynewulf, but the evidence in favor is not wholly convincing. Guthlac A. is certainly not by Cynewulf, and is certainly not by the author of Guthlac B." This view has been supported by Charitius, Cremer, Wulker, Trautmann, Cramer, Brandly, Ebert and Cook .

While the ratio according to Dr. Colton with Guthlac A is .078, that with Guthlac B mounts to .113, while if only the first five hundred lines of Guthlac A be taken into consideration, it falls to .058.

The ascription of at least Guthlac B to Cynewulf, is therefore practically universal, and the best authorities believe, that in this case, it must have preceded Juliana.

Some time ago, Mr. Gollancz prefixed the lines printed at the end of Christ at the beginning of Guthlac in his last edition of that poem but this procedure met with scant approval. The difficulty lies in that the poetry following the Christ is of much poorer quality. There is

1. Mod. Lang. Notes VII. 193ff.

also a difference in thoughtfulness and experience of life.

Guthlac deals with the life of an English hermit, Saint Guthlac of the Fens, nearly contemporary with Cynewulf himself. The main source of the poem was a Latin Life of the Saint, by Felix of Croyland. Guthlac was born of noble parents, distinguished at birth by a supernatural portent. He led a reckless life as a youth, but when he became older, he entered a monastery. Later he withdrew with two chosen companions to the island of Croyland in the Fens, where he lived asa hermit. Here he remained until his death which occurred in 714.

In his place of retirement, Guthlac was repeatedly tried by temptation, but received the strength to overcome these trials. He was often visited by St. Bartholomew, and the very birds and beasts of the woods became his friends. The Anglo-Saxon poem is a quaint and lovely passage, pictures his relations with these wild things of the forest. "The tribe of forest birds, with their notes proclaimed the coming of the holy man into his home. Oft he held out food for them and they were wont to fly in hunger, crowd about his hand in great desire, rejoicing in his succour. So that kindly soul, severed from the delights of mankind, served the Lord, having joy in wild things, after he forsook the world."

Guthlac's fame spread, and many men came for counsel and advice. On his deathbed, Guthlac sent his devoted attendant Beccel to his sister Pega, whom he had not seen in years, with

direction for his burial, and a promise of their union in Heaven. Upon the burial-place of Guthlac was later founded the Abbey of Croyland.

There exists what is now known as Guthlac A and Guthlac B. The A section of the poem extends over 1-790, the section B, 791-end. In comparing this poem with the authentic work of Cynewulf the majority of critics have been willing to acknowledge with some degree of probability that the second section, that is, Guthlac's death, may be Cynewulf's.

The difference in style between Guthlac A & B is easily detected by a reader. The author of the B. section has more control of his material, more skill in the selection of those points, in his narrative which he may stress to advantage, and more dramatic feeling than we find in the first 790 lines. In those lines portraying the death of Guthlac, we feel the poetic sincerity and pleasing gentleness of phrase, which one comes to associate with the typically Cynewulfian passages in the signed poems. Yet if this poem may be Cynewulf's, it shows beyond doubt a prentice hand.

Meanwhile the general consensus of opinion attributes Guthlac's Death to our poet.

PHYSIOLOGUS

The most peculiar products of Old Christian literature were those in which the frequent attribution of a symbolism was chiefly derived from the animal kingdom.

Christian imagination had seized eagerly upon antique, and especially Greek tales, in which both fabulous creatures, and familiar animals with fabulous qualities were the heroes. This was carried further and given a deep mystical sense,--and application to the mysteries of religious faith. Animal symbolism played an important part in the art of the earlier Christian period, and often appeared in the works of the Fathers and of Old Christian poets and writers, and often as independent poems. In these, certain qualities--"Natures"--of a series of animals, were depicted and interpreted--this was called a Physidogus in the fifth century, which the papal decree of 496, proscribes as heretical, a work of this kind. The work was attributed to St. Ambrose.

The Old English Physiologus consists of three poems contained in the Exeter book. A standard Physiologus consists of 49 chapters, but here are only three--The Panther, Whale and Partridge. Perhpas it was intended to be a complete Physilogus by the writer. The earliest Physidogus was in Greek which existed in a Latin translation and this was probably the source which the Old English poet used.

The poems are unsigned, but Dietrich believed Cynewulf to be the author, and assigned this from similarity of diction and general likeness in conception and treatment. Sokall goes into the subject much more fully. He says that the whole vocabulary of the Physiologus belongs to that of the Phoenix also, and likewise affirms a close relationship.

between the Christ and Physiologus. Those who oppose this view are Lefevre, Wulker, Kolbing, Brandl, Mann and Swanz. Trautmann thinks that the Physiologus may be ascribed to Cynewulf with some probability.

Stopford Brooke states,[1] "I think it is probable that these three small poems which a literary connection has led me to link onto the Phoenix, were collected together if not actually made at York, during the time when its great school was flourishing which was in full career during the whole time in which we suppose Cynewulf was writing, and what he wrote was probably read at the central seat of Northumbrian learning."

I should associate myself with Cook, who in turn follows Sokall and Dietrich. If the Physiologus is not by Cynewulf it must be by some disciple or close imitator; if by him it is probably one of his later productions. As for the date, it is generally agreed to be that of Cynewulf's period, that is, the second half of the 8th century.

The Riddles.

The Riddles appear in the Exeter Book. They are divided into three groups. The author of this collection is unknown, but the riddles have been attributed to Cynewulf, the reasons being;

1. He was the kind of person to take pleasure in the writing of enigmas.

1. History of Early English Literature.

2. Two of his undoubted poems are in the Exeter Book.

3. Leo's treatise of 1857 tried to prove that the name of Cynewulf was concealed in a charade in the first riddle, and it therefore followed that Cynewulf was the author of the whole collection. This was universally accepted for a long time.

It is over the first riddle that the bitterest controversy of the Cynewulf question has been waged. Leo makes it a charade embodying the name of Cynewulf thus;

1. cyne may be presented indifferently by cene, coen, and cen but never by itself.

2. coen, regarded as a Northumbrian word, must represent cwen.

3. Eadwacer, a noun represented in Continental History by Odoacer and found in the later period of Old English History must here stand for the vowel "e", and besides must be represented as the child of the coen and Wulf.

4. "Island" must mean syllable, and bog must mean what parts one syllable from another.

5. Waelr eowe-fierce- must mean cene, bold; wude, wood, must mean cen, pine-torch, assumed to be split wood.

In Leo's treatise, no.1 shows that the relation between the two elements of the name varies according to the meaning attributed to each, but that the sense will be clear as soon

as you put the two words together.

No. 2 declares that cene means waelre owe, is in one syllable, and wulf in another, but that you will understand them when they meet because, when they do they will be sure to fight, and the difference between them will thus become evident. The reader should overlook in his acceptance of this, that the cruel ones have all the time been on the island of the wolf.

No. 3 makes known that the person in whose mouth it is put, is a queen, or at least, a woman, and that therefore she is to be called cwen, which we must easily represent as coen, since we are dealing with the Northumbrian dialect. But no. 3 also reveals to us that "e" joins wulf to cen, since a wolf carries something to the wood and this something is apparently Eadwacer,who as we have seen,stands for "e".

No. 4,we are reminded, that since cen and coen are after all diverse in sound, it cannot be difficult to sever them.

So, he concluded, the solution is Cynewulf, and this was accepted by all scholars and critics with the exception of Rieger for twenty years.

We may now go on to Dietrich who interpreted the last riddle as the "Wandering Minstrel" and that, must refer to Cynewulf. Also, that riddle 90, in Latin, in which the word "lupus" occurs a few times, must refer to the same poet.

In his first article, Dietrich was inclined to think that the first series (1-60) was by Cynewulf, the second series by other hand or hands; but perhaps the collector of the problems of the latter group had before him a source which contained single riddles of Cynewulf. In the second article he modified his view and claimed not only that all the riddles were from one hand but that that hand was Cynewulf's. He assigned also, somewhat doubtfully, the 1st series to the youth of the poet and to his beginnings in riddle poetry; the second to his later period. The signs of a young poet in the 1st group are;

1. Mistakes in translation

2. Very youthful cadence of the verse

3. Obscene pieces which he conjectures to be the very poems regretted by Cynewulf in his supposed retraction. These arguments are untenable because:

1. We have no opportunity to compare the translations of the first to those of the second series, as it is only in the earlier group that we have very close translations of Latin enigmas.

2. Such a subjective estimate of verse—values, so far removed from us, can carry no weight.

3. Obscene problems meet us at the threshold of the second series.

Dietrich then tries to sustain the ascription to Cynewulf by a comparison of the thoughts and expressions of these poems with those of Cynewulf's works, but Holthaus assumed that the relation of the various riddles among them-

selves and to the poems of Cynewulf must be maintained on more convincing ground than Dietrich's article, and that the larger number of his paralleds are drawn from a text of doubtful authorship.

Dietrich attributed the whole collection to our poet who now became a wandering minstrel, and light thrown on the lines of Elene 1259-60.

"theah he in meoduhealle mathmas thege
aeplede gold."

Rieger was the first to formulate weighty objections to Leo's solution. But he had no other rendering to propose.

In an essay of 1883, Trautmann rejected Leo's and Dietrich's answers to the first and last riddles, proposing for both the solution "riddle". The new interpretation found less favour than the old, but there were not wanting scholars who followed Trautmann in discarding Leo's supposed proof of Cynewulfian authorship.

In 1891, Sievers calls Leo's interpretation impossible and approves of its overthrow by Trautmann. That Leo in 1857 could suppose that the poet would reveal the first two syllables of his name by means of the adjective coene, cene and the nouns cen, and coen, is possible for the existing knowledge of Old English but incomprehensible in view of the knowledge of Old English which exists nowadays.

Then he adduces these points:

1. Cynewulf must have the first syllable short
2. Coenewulf is inadmissible; the first syllable being long, the form must be Coenwulf.
3. In early Northumbrian there would be no possible interchange of cyne, coene, cen and cwen, besides in early Northumbrian there is no such loss of "w" as occasionally takes place in late Northumbrian. Sievers date also, is earlier than the time of Cynewulf. How, concludes Sievers, could a bearer of a riddle be expected to guess Cyni when there were set before coeni, cwen and cen?

In Madert's Monograph " Die Sprache der Altenglischen Ratsel der Exeterbuches und die Cynewulf frage"(Marburg 1900) the final blow was dealt to the theory of the Cynewulfian authorship of the Riddles. Madert takes direct issue with Herzfield and shows that the Riddles have little in common with the poems of Cynewulf. He rightly believes that no comparison can be instituted between the varying use of sources in the Riddles, and Cynewulf's adherence to one text. In style and word use, the Riddles bear no closer resemblance to the undisputed works of Cynewulf than to many other Anglo-Saxon poems. Among the phrases cited by Herzfield as common to the riddles and Cynewulf, there is hardly one that does not appear elsewhere, and are commonplaces of poetry. On account of the many

noteworthy differences between the speech of the problems and that of Cynewulf, he reaches the conclusion, not only that these poems are not the work of our poet, but that they are the products of an earlier period, probably the beginning of the 8th century. Evidence of metre style and language speaks certainly against the theory of Cynewulfian authorship.

(1)In 1910, Mr. Tupper offers a new solution to the so-called first riddle, " The first riddle certainly has the lyrical monologue but also the stamp of Cynewulf's cipher. Leo's interpretation of the poem was doubly at fault; it was far-fetched and fanciful, marked too, by a total ignorance of riddle methods; also, as Sievers says, it was linguistically impossible, since cyne, coene, cen and cwaen could not interchange. But there may be another solution. The poem, whether by coincidence or no, (and the chances are enormous against a merely accidental concourse of so many elements) may easily be read as a cryptagram like the runic rime of guthmundr(supra), combining acrostic and charade. Both were very popular at this time. Both enigmatic modes were to Cynewulf familiar. He uses the acrostic in Christ, Elene and the Fates. He employs the charade in Juliana, and then perhaps we can accept Erlemann's solution of riddle no. 90."

Leod-Cyn Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife;-
lac-Feoh(F)
hy-cyn;hine,he-Wulf Willath hy hine athecgan,gif he on threat
cymeth, threat-Nyd(N)
Ungelic is us.

Wulf ic-Cyn(?) Wulf is on iege ic on otherre;

faest is thaet eglond fenne biworpen;eg-ea-
Lagu(L)

1.Mod. Lang. Notes XXV 235-241.

Sindon waelreowe weras thaer on ige;waelreowe-Cene(C)(?)

Cyn Wulf Willath hy hine athecgan,gif he on threat cymeth.Nyd(N)

Ungelic is us.

Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum hogode;

ren-Lagu(?) thonne hit was renig weder ond ic reotugu saet,

beaducafa-Cene-(C) thonne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde:bog-boga-Yr(Y

waes me wyn to thon,waes me hwaedre eac lath

(Min)wulf,min wulf,wena me thine wyn-wen-(W)

seoce gedydon, thine seldcymas

Murnende mod,nales meteliste

hwelp-Cyn(?)Wulf Gehyrest thu, Eadwacer? Uncerne earne hwelp; uncerne-Ur(U)

Bireth wulf to wuda.

thaet mon eathe tosliteth thaette naefre gesomnad waes

uncer giedd geador

Cynewulf follows in the"Fates" the order F W U L C Y N; here he prefers F N L C Y W U. To this cryptic purpose Cynewulf chose a form of poetic expression common to his day, lyrical monologue, and wore his name into a little story of a woman's love which may or may not have been familiar to his hearers, but it is evident in the opening lines, in the frequent references to Wolf, in the constant selection of words and even motifs adapted to the charade and acrostic, in the riddling close the enigma has gained at the expense of the lay. Viewed merely as a lyrical monologue the poem is enveloped in obscurities which are in striking contrast to the simplicity of other compositions of this sort and which seems to suggest hidden meanings. Regarded as

logogriph, the verses are easy to interpret, since the hint of Cyn given in the first word of the poem is reinforced by the mention of Wulf in every division and since both syllables are immediately brought together in keyline line 2- by hine --cyn wulf. To assign the riddles to an earlier date than Cynewulf is ridiculous, says Tupper. His name is written large in the very first riddle of them all (just as Aldhelm wrote his in the introductory acrostic to his) and appears again towards the close.

The solution of the riddles toward the close of the collection was formulated by Erleman in 1903 and is as far-fetched as Leo's, Tupper's and Dietrich's. Riddle No. 90 is the exception of the collection because it is composed in the Latin language. People have therefore given it special attention and Erlemann has worked the name of Cynewulf out of it.

Mirum videtur mihi;lupus ab agno tenetur;wulf;5-8-lupus ab agno;ewu-4-6
obcurrit agnus et capit viscera lupi
Dum starem et mirarem,vidi gloriam magnam;
duo lupi stantes et tertium tribul(antes)
1111 pedes habebant septem oc(c)ulis videbant-supposed to conceal the seven letters of Cynewulf.
CYN(E)WULF lupus-wulf-5-8
1234 5678 ab agno-ewu-4,5&6,tenetur
obcurrit agnus-the three letters ewu-4-6 run towardWulf-5-8
et capit viscera lupi-w&u taken in wulf
dum starem et mirarem-shows that the charade continues
duo lupi stantes; two(letters) of Wolfe,l&f,stay and don't eat ewu.
The Poet's name is in Juliana given in the same division
CYN EWU LF

(1)"Gut stimmt ferner die Spielerei in dem lateinischen Ratsel zu einem jungen Scholaren, der eben seines muhsam erworbenen Wissens,der Kenntnis der lateinischen Sprache froh geworden ist. Einen jungen übermütigen Scholaren,der mancherlei Wissen,wenig Wurde und noch viel derbe Sinnlichkeit hat,kam ich mir am ehesten als ihren Urhaber denken. Die Rätsel das Jugendwerk Cynewulf's.Dazu stimmt dann auch die oben erschlossene Abfassungszeit ea.740. Cynewulf war damals ea 20 Jahre alt und hatte vielleicht gerade seinen geistlich-gelehrten Unterricht hinter sich."

Mr. Bradley is quite consistent in what he says about Mr. Erlemann's theory. According to Mr. Erlemann the meaning of the first two lines is, that the letters of the name contain the word"ewu"(ewe) and "wulf", but that ewu can only be obtained by taking the bowels out of wulf(the letters wu). Now if the riddle had had the word "ovis" in place of agnus this interpretation would have had some plausibility. Medieval riddles abound in fanciful conceits and Cynewulf was undoubtedly the kind of person from whom strange fancies might be expected. But it is really too great a demand on our credulity to ask us to believe that even Cynewulf could expect his hearers to guess that "male lamb" meant"female sheep" or to accept the substitution as a reasonable enigmatic device when the explanation was given them. If this be the meaning of the riddle,the only parallel I can find is the fabled rustic epitaph in which Wm. Woodcock was called Woodhen for the sake of rhyme.

1.Archiv CXI, 49-64.

Yet Erlemann himself is of the opinion that Cynewulf did not write the Riddles. The only inference he draws from his supposed discovery is that he was probably the collector or the editor of the Riddles. Brandl, while he accepts Erlemann's solution of Riddle no.90 is so far from being desirous of proving that Cynewulf wrote the Riddles that he is actually arguing that the Cynewulf of this enigma may have been a different person from the poet of Elene, and that even supposing him to have been the same person, the Riddle may be not his own work but that of some admirer. The suggestion that there lived two Cynewulfs, each of whom took delight in riddling on his own name, or that the charade on Cynewulf's name was put in by some admirer are equally far-fetched.

In 1909, Mr. Tupper stated, "the first Riddle is unquestionably a lyrical monologue." When he published his article in 1910, Mr. Tupper called the first Riddle a lyrical monologue containing the name of Cynewulf, and attempted to reconcile, it seems to me, the theories of Leo, who holds it to be a Riddle, and that of Bradley, who in 1888 came to the conclusion that the so-called Riddle was not a Riddle at all but a poem of lament, something in a way analogous to the "Wife's Complaint." The poem is certainly enigmatical enough, but its obscurity may be due to the absence of context and in part also to the monodramatic form. It seems to me quite as intelligible as "The Banished Wife's Complaint" or even as some of the poems in Mr. Browning's "Dramatic Personae". The speaker, it should be premised is a woman

as shown by the grammar. Apparently she is a captive in a foreign land. Wulf is her lover and an outlaw, and Eadwacer (I suspect, though I am not certain, is her tyrant husband.) Whether the subject of the poem be drawn from history or from Teutonic legend, or whether it be purely the invention of the poet, there seems to be no evidence to determine.

This opinion has found wide acceptance and is almost certainly correct. Upon this hypothesis Lawrence and Schofield built up their interesting and ingenious theory that the first Riddle is of Norse Origin and is connected with the Volsung Saga, while Imelmann claims that the lyric belongs to the Odoacer story.

Mr. Lawrence writes(1) "the theory which I wish to present is that the so-called first Riddle of Cynewulf is a translation from the Old Norse. The first Riddle so-called shows the influence of Old Norse in strophic structure, refrain and language. Probably was originally written in Norse and later translated into Anglo-Saxon. Some might contend that it was produced by a Norseman writing Anglo-Saxon and showing traces of his mother-tongue in his work, but this is unlikely. Peculiarities of the poem become perfectly natural on the theory that it is a close translation. It is not possible to dogmatize on the matter, for absolute proof that the poem is a translation can at present not be offered. In any case the lines are clearly connected with Scandinavian and must have been composed by a man whose mother-tongue was Old Norse."

(1) Mod. Lang. Assn. xvii. 247-261.

Mr. Schofield carries on the work started by Mr. Lawrence, and traces the poem to Signy's Lament, an ancient Norse lay of the Volsung's. Sigmund and Volsung was also head of the Wolfings and therefore called Wolf. Sigmunds ancestor Sigi, was called Wolf, that is, outlawed according to the Saga, because he murdered a thrall and could not remain at home with his father. The words, "ulfr"and "vargr" meaning wolf, were both used in Old Norse as a designation of an outlaw, and among the Anglo-Saxons, when a man was proclaimed an outlaw he was called "wolf's head" (Middle English Tale of Gamelyn ed.Skeat. 11 .700) The term of Wolf was suitable to Sigmund, then, from his outlawed condition. He concludes that an Old Norse poem may perhaps have been one of the ancient lays used in the later form by the compiler of Volsungasaga in England in the 8th century, when it was translated into Anglo-Saxon verse.

Gustav Budjuhn remarks thus on the question of the so-called first Riddle "Ich halte"Leodum is minum" fur einer dislog zwischen einem mann und einer frau deren beider namen nicht genaant sind." The man begins the conversation and speaks of his people, and the way in which he does so betrays the fact that he is an exile. The woman speaks of her lover Wulf who is in a strange land.

The conclusion of the whole matter is accordingly this--Cynewulf's name is not found in the First Riddle which in all probability is not a Riddle at all. Hence there is no ground for assuming that either Riddle 86 or 90 is intended to denote Cynewulf. There is therefore nothing in any of

the Riddles to indicate that Cynewulf was a wandering minstrel. Finally, the Riddles, on the best authority probably antedate Cynewulf.

Beowulf

Beowulf, lines 1724-68, together with the opening part of Hrothgar's congratulatory speech to Beowulf lines 1700-9, was assigned to the final interpolator of that poem by Mullenhof as far back as 1869. In 1892, Sarrazin pointed out the parallels between Hrothgar's address to Beowulf (Beowulf 1724-68) and certain portions of the Christ of Cynewulf, viz:

1. ll. 659-82 describing the gifts conferred by God.

2. 683-5 containing a warning against the excessive pride engendered by the abundance of sin inflicted by the devil and his servants. Mr. Sarrazin concludes thus, "Wer nun noch berucksichtigt dass drei gedanken (Gifts of God to men, dangers of pride and the warning against the wounds inflicted by the darts of the Evil One.) wird zugeben mussen dass diese combination von ubereinstimmungen nicht zufallig sein kann, dass vielmehr die eine dichtung durch die andere beeinflusst sein muss."

Sarrazin, as is well known, held that the Christ or at any rate Part II of it, was earlier in date than Beowulf, and was therefore able to account for the similarities in question by the theory that the Cynewulfian lines were more or less consciously present to the mind of the author of Beowulf. But as Sarrazin's opinion on the relative dates of Beowulf and

the Christ has not met with general approval, his explanation of the parallelisms cannot be accepted.

The question has, however, been recently reopened by Professor Klaeber in his edition of the Beowulf. Mr. Klaeber's view is a s follows: "That the famous Cynewulf was acquainted with Beowulf is to be inferred from the character of certain parallel passages occurring especially in Elene and in the short Fates of the Apostle. The case will be strengthened if we include in the list of his poems--as seems quite reasonable--all of Christ and Guthlac B, perhaps also Guthlac A. In Christ 111 (1550) we come across the phrase "sawele weard" which by its explanatory variation, "life's wisdom" (1551) helps us to understand the real force of the analagous expression Beowulf 1741F., "se weard--sawele hyrde." That the extended enumeration (Beow 1763FF) is entirely in the manner of Cynewulf should not be overlooked in this connection. Such being the case we can hardly refuse acceptance to the most natural explanation that offers, viz: that Cynewulf's own hand is to be detected in portions of the homiletic passage in Beowulf. This does not mean, of course, that we should regard Cynewulf as the redactor of Beowulf, but it is entirely possible, and more than that, that Cynewulf was sufficiently interested in this speech of Hrothgar's to alter and interpolate it in accordance with his views and literary predilections."

It is to these remarks that Mr. Cook replied in his pamphlet entitled "Cynewulf's part in our Beowulf."

Professor Cook, (following Dietrich) points out that Cynewulf was chiefly indebted to the Bible and to Gregory the Great for the passages under consideration and asks "What additions to his fame could he (Cynewulf) expect from an anonymous contribution to a poem, which as it lay before him, may already have been in existence, with a reputation of its own, for half or three quarters of a century? Is there any evidence, or indeed any presumption--that he was to that extent infatuated with a detail of hiw own work for the matter of which he was indebted, in the eyes of his peers, to another, and that other perhaps the most familiar of all writers outside the Bible?

I believe that sufficient evidence has been adduced to warrant our concluding, that it is unnecessary to assume that Cynewulf had any share in the authorship of Hrothgar's address to Beowulf. But his case is even stronger than appears in the pamphlet. Extremely close parallels with the passages in Beowulf and the Christ under discussion are to be found in three other Old English poems--namely. The Gifts of Men, 1-7, 18-25; the Disposition of Men 9-12,21-27; and The Fates of Men. These present resemblances are as close or even closer to the relevant portions off the Christ, as Hrothgar's speech to Beowulf.

We should, therefore, assume, that the author of Beowulf, Cynewulf, and the writer or writers of othe other three poems, had all read the Bible and studied to profit the very popular homiletic writing of Gregory the Great, and that they blended suggestions got from these sources with

ideas more peculiarly their own.

Finally, Sarrazin's suggestion that Cynewulf wrote Beowulf is so far from conservative as to be hardly worth challenging.

The Harrowing of Hell

Of the other poems attributed to Cynewulf, I shall make brief mention of "Harrowing of Hell" and the "Gnomic Verses." At one time there was a tendency to attribute all the floating Anglo-Saxon poetry to Cynewulf, and these poems also. But it is almost universally established at the present time that our poet was not the author of the poems I am about to discuss briefly.

It must be admitted that the motif of the Harrowing of Hell is not an unpleasing one to Cynewulf, and certain slight parallels, parallels in the main inherent in the subject, could be drawn between that poem and certain passages in the authentic poems. It may be said, however, that in the case of the poem the evidence or likelihood in favour of Cynewulf's hand is not strong enough to warrant consideration.

The Gnomic Verses

An argument against the ascription to Cynewulf of the Exeter gnomes seems almost superfluous. Blanche C. Williams has settled that question very ably when she says that there is no good reason for assuming that he is the author if there were no reasons for the contrary. Weaving a literary fabric from odds and ends of sententious material is hardly worthy of the name of authorship, and if it is, it is not the kind of work Cynewulf has left in his

signed pieces. If its crudness is due to a stilted copy-book purpose as Sievers suggested, there is no proof that Cynewulf ever wrote copy-books. The involution of the runes is done with skill and subtlety, the mortising of these gnomes by a prentice hand.

If in the forms no definite peculiarities occur that are to be labelled non-West-Saxon, we may conclude that, though written elsewhere at an early date, had so long been domiciled in West Saxon as to have lost the mark of original craftsmanship, or that they were written primarily at whatever time in the dialect. An examination of the language reveals regular West-Saxon characteristics. A few instances which suggest Northern dialect are found in Southern poetry and their presence, therefore counts for little in determining provenience. All signs point to West-Saxon as the home for the gnome collector. It may not be too wild a flight to ascribe the authorship to Alfred.

Since these gnomic verses do not contain the signature of Cynewulf, and since there is no other reason for attributing the gnomes to our poet, I see no point in doing so. Perhaps as Miss Williams suggests, Alfred was the author, but that is not what we are interested in at present. It suffices to say for our immediate purpose that Cynewulf was not the author of the Exeter Gnomic Verses.

CONCLUSION:

If my inferences from the evidence presented in the preceding chapters have been just, the cumulation of proof makes certain conclusions inevitable.
In the first place, it is clear that a certain poet by the name of Cynewulf or Cynwulf did exist towards the middle of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. As yet there does not exist sufficient evidence to enable us to say with certainty where his home was. Nor can we identify him with any known Cynewulf of his time. This has not been proved perhaps for all time nor beyond question but with as high degree of certainty as can reasonably be expected in the solution of such a problem.

It has been shown, in the second place that the poems,namely St. Juliana, Elene, Christ and Andreas were written by Cynewulf since he signed them with his name concealed in runes.

I have tried to show, in the third place, that the three poems namely, The Dream of the Rood, The Fates of the Apostles,and the Phoenix, were probably written by Cynewulf, although they are unsigned.This cannot as yet be proved with certainty but by comparison of vocabulary and affinity of subject-matter this conclusion is the generally accepted one.

In the fourth place, it is absolutely impossible to attribute Guthlac A&B, The Riddles, Physiologus, Beowulf, The Harrowing of Hell, and the Gnomic Verses to Cynewulf.

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