

# Alcuin and Cynewulf: the art and craft of Anglo-Saxon verse

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*Abstract:* The essentially bilingual nature of Anglo-Saxon poetry is explored through the verse of two of the most prolific poets from the period, namely Alcuin and Cynewulf, composing primarily in Latin and Old English, respectively, but each reflecting knowledge and appreciation of verse in both languages. Both Alcuin and Cynewulf are shown to have consciously copied the works of their predecessors, and both in turn had their own verse evidently echoed by contemporary and later poets in both Anglo-Latin and Old English, so much so that they seem to have been the centres of closely identifiable ‘schools’ of verse, active at around the same period, within a decade or two either side of the year 800, and sharing a similar background, attitude, and training. An Appendix considers the authorship and identity of Cynewulf, and suggests that, like Alcuin, he too may be best situated at the interface of orality and literacy in contemporary Northumbria.

*Keywords:* Alcuin, Cynewulf, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Anglo-Latin, literacy, orality, Northumbria.

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Around 60,000 lines of Anglo-Saxon poetry survive, split almost evenly between Latin and Old English, the twin main literary languages of the period. Yet while the modern scholarly study of Old English verse has flourished continuously for over two hundred years, witnessed in hundreds of books and thousands of papers and presentations, there has been far less scrutiny of Anglo-Latin poetry, with several of the current editions of leading poets more than a century old, and comparatively few dedicated studies.<sup>1</sup> This paper seeks to compare and contrast two of the most prolific of those poets whose works have survived, namely Alcuin of York (c. 735–804) and Cynewulf (750 × 850), and whose poetic backgrounds and training, it will be suggested, seem to have been somewhat similar. Alcuin wrote his verse mostly abroad and in Latin (though it seems clear that he had some knowledge of Old English verse),<sup>2</sup> while

<sup>1</sup>There are some notable exceptions, especially Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London, Hambledon, 1996) and *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, Hambledon, 1993), hereafter *ALL* I and II. W. F. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature I. 597–740* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1967). See too R. Dérolez, ‘Anglo-Saxon Literature: “Attic” or “Asiatic”?’ Old English Poetry and its Latin Background’, *English Studies Today*, 2nd ser. (1961), 93–105; M. Lapidge, ‘Aldhelm’s Latin Poetry and Old English Verse’, *Comparative Literature*, 31 (1979), 209–31; M. Lapidge, ‘The Anglo-Latin Background’, in *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*, ed. S. B. Greenfield & D. G. Calder (New York, New York University Press, 1986), 5–37; M. Lapidge, ‘Poeticism in Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin Prose’, in *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose (Proceedings of the British Academy)*, 129; 2005), 321–37; M. Lapidge, ‘Two Notes on the Medieval Hexameter’, in *Ingenio Facilis. Per Giovanni Orlandi (1938–2007)*, ed. P. Chiesa, A. M. Fagnoni & R. E. Guglielmetti (Florence, SISMEL, 2017), 123–47. See too A. Orchard, ‘Latin and the Vernacular Languages: The Creation of a Bilingual Textual Culture’, in *After Rome*, ed. T. Charles-Edwards (*The Short Oxford History of the British Isles*, 1; Oxford, OUP, 2003), 191–219; A. Orchard, ‘Enigma Variations: The Anglo-Saxon Riddle-tradition’, in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O’Brien O’Keefe & A. Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, 284–304.

<sup>2</sup>On Alcuin in general, see S. Allott, *Alcuin of York: his Life and Letters* (York, William Sessions, 1974); E. Dümmler, ‘Zur Lebensgeschichte Alchvins’, *Neues Archiv*, 18 (1892–3), 51–70; D. Bullough, ‘Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology and the Carolingian Age’, in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington, DC, Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 1–69; *idem*, ‘*Aluinus deliciosus Karoli regis*: Alcuin of York and the Shaping of the Early Carolingian Court’, in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein*, ed. L. Fenske, W. Rösener & T. Zotz (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1984), 73–92; D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation. Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, Brill, 2003); Marie-Hélène Jullien & Françoise Perelman (eds), *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi: Auctores Galliae 735–987. Tomus II: Alcuinus* (Turnhout, Brepols, 1999); Mary Garrison, ‘The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne (780–814)’, in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, CUP, 1994), 111–40; Mary Garrison, ‘Alcuin’s World through his Letters and Verse’, (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1995); P. D. Scott, ‘Alcuin as Poet: Rhetoric and Belief in his Latin Verse’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 33 (1964), 233–57; J. del Fattore, ‘Alcuin as a Poet’, *The Classical Bulletin*, 53 (1976–7), 46–8. For more general background, see too G. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin: His Life and Work* (London, C. J. Clay, 1904); E. S. Duckett, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne* (New York, Macmillan, 1951); L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (New York, Cornell University Press, 1953); D. A. Bullough, *The Age of*

Cynewulf wrote only at home and in Old English (though certainly with knowledge of Latin, and specifically of Latin verse).<sup>3</sup> Moreover, both embedded their names in their verse, using different techniques and in different forms, and both readily self-identify as poets.<sup>4</sup> Cynewulf signs himself twice in runes in that spelling, and twice in runes as Cynwulf, while in his poetry Alcuin refers to himself variously as Alcuinus, Alc(h)uine, Albin, Albinus, and Flaccus.<sup>5</sup> The contrast and comparison between these important and influential poets, whom current opinion places at most within half a century of each other (and whose lives may even have overlapped) is, it will be suggested, not simply a question of shared interest but shared impetus, indeed shared training, perhaps coming from the same or similar schools: both echoed the works of previous poets, up to and including their own near-contemporaries, both came up with idiosyncratic phrasing and poetic techniques of their own, which they richly repurposed, and both became in turn models for ready reference and recycling by their students and poetic heirs. In effect, both Alcuin and Cynewulf built on Latin

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*Charlemagne* (London, Elek, 1973); D. A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991).

<sup>3</sup>Several book-length monographs have been published devoted to Cynewulf: S. K. Das, *Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon* (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1942); M.-M. Dubois, *Les éléments latins dans la poésie religieuse de Cynewulf* (Paris, E. Droz, 1943); C. Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* (Lund Studies in English, 17; Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949); D. G. Calder, *Cynewulf* (Twayne's English Authors Series, 327; Boston, MA, Twayne Publishers, 1981); E. R. Anderson, *Cynewulf: Structure, Style and Theme in his Poetry* (Rutherford, NJ, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983); A. H. Olsen, *Speech, Song, and Poetic Craft: the Artistry of the Cynewulf Canon* (New York, Peter Lang, 1984); J. D. Wine, *Figurative Language in Cynewulf: Defining Aspects of a Poetic Style* (Studies in Old Germanic Languages and Literatures; New York, Peter Lang, 1993). Special mention should be made of the important set of collected papers edited by R. E. Bjork, *Cynewulf: Basic Readings* (Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 4; New York and London, Routledge, 1996), and of translations by C. W. Kennedy *The Poems of Cynewulf* (London and New York, George Routledge, 1910); Robert E. Bjork (ed. and trans.), *The Old English Poems of Cynewulf* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 23; Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2013).

<sup>4</sup>For a useful analysis, see Emily Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2014), 27–34. In the closing line of his metrical *Life of Willibrord* (*Carm.* 3.34.83), Alcuin, uniquely spelling his name Alcuine in the Old English style, describes himself using the nonce-compound *carmiger* ('song-bearer') evidently modelled on the fairly common compound *armiger* ('weapon-bearer'; in fact, Alcuin never uses the term in his verse), but perhaps equally modelled on the Old English term *woð-bora* ('speech-bearer'; 'orator'; 'song-bearer'; 'poet'), witnessed some seven times, predominantly in verse (*ChristA* 302b; *Ridd31* 24a; *Ridd80* 9a; *Gifts* 35a; *OrWorld* 2a; *DEdg* 33a; also once in a gloss, glossing *rhetoribus*).

<sup>5</sup>More than 130 poems by Alcuin survive, mostly in E. Dümmler (ed.), *Alcuini Carmina*, ed. MGH PLAC 1 (Berlin, 1880), 160–351, but also scattered through several of his letters, which are compiled in E. Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, MGH, Epist. 4.2 (Berlin, 1895), 1–481. In just under half of those poems, Alcuin names himself, most often as Albinus (thirty-three times), Flaccus (twenty-three times), Alc(h)uinus (eight times); Alc(h)uine (five times; only one of which is Alcuine, in the closing line of his metrical *Life of Willibrord* [*Carm.* 3.34.83], on which see below), and Albin (once, in *Carm.* 38.1).

school-texts and other earlier verse, inserted themselves into those traditions, and became in their own ways exemplars to be emulated, and indeed perhaps mocked and ultimately surpassed by both later and contemporary poets.<sup>6</sup> If Cynewulf and Alcuin cannot be said to exemplify every aspect of the poetry produced in the period, their shared stories are certainly most suggestive.

### Alcuin and earlier Latin verse

Before considering the verse of both Alcuin and Cynewulf in detail, it is enlightening to begin by examining another highly talented and influential poet from the previous generation, namely Bede (*c.* 673–735).<sup>7</sup> In the closing lines of the preface to his metrical life of St Cuthbert (*Vita S. Cudberti metrica* [*VCM*]), a versification in just under 1,000 hexameters of Bede's own earlier prose life, and in a passage without parallel there, Bede asks for inspiration from the Holy Spirit (*VCM praef.* 35–38):<sup>8</sup>

35 Tu, rogo, summe, iuua, donorum Spiritus auctor:  
Te sine nam digne fari tua gratia nescit.  
Flammiumisque soles dare qui noua famina linguis,  
Munera da uerbi linguae tua dona canenti.

[‘Help, I beg you, highest spirit, author of gifts, for without you your grace cannot be spoken of worthily; you are accustomed to give novel speeches to flame-spewing tongues: grant the gifts of the word to a tongue singing your gifts.’]

Here, in a typically self-effacing passage, marked out in a structure of repetition emphasising the notion of poetic inspiration as a series of gifts and providing at the beginning and end of the passage what in Old English poetry is often described as an envelope-pattern (*donorum ... dare ... Munera da ... dona*),<sup>9</sup> Bede principally combines

<sup>6</sup>For evidence of similar deployment of echoes, parallels, and literary borrowings in both Anglo-Latin and Old English poetry, see, for example, A. Orchard, ‘Old English and Latin Poetic Traditions’, in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. C. Saunders (Oxford, Blackwell, 2010), 65–82; A. Orchard, ‘Old English and Anglo-Latin: the Odd Couple’, in *The Blackwell Companion to British Literature, Volume 1: The Medieval Period*, ed. R. DeMaria, Jr, H. Chang & S. Zacher (Oxford, Blackwell, 2014), 273–92.

<sup>7</sup>See in general, M. Lapidge, *Bede the Poet* (Jarrow Lecture, 1993); reprinted in *ALL* I.313–38; M. Lapidge (ed.), *Bede's Latin Poetry* (Oxford, OUP, 2019).

<sup>8</sup>Lapidge, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 192. This work comprehensively replaces the earlier edition by W. Jaeger (ed., *Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (Palaestra 198; Leipzig, Mayer & Müller, 1935).

<sup>9</sup>On the envelope-pattern (sometimes called ring-composition), see A. C. Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935), 9–29; H. P. Battles, ‘The Art of the Scop: Traditional Poetics in the Old English *Genesis A*’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998), 241–305; J. A. Dane, ‘The Notion of Ring

the words of two poetic predecessors; it is perhaps deliberate that the most innovative phrase Bede introduces here should be ‘novel speeches’ (*noua famina*).<sup>10</sup> Otherwise, Bede demonstrates his indebtedness to a widely read school-text author,<sup>11</sup> the Ligurian Arator, whose versification of Acts in more than 2,300 hexameters, the *Historia apostolica* (*Apost.*), was first performed in Rome before Pope Vigilius in 544. The relevant lines from Arator read as follows (*Apost.* 1.226–27; the parallels with Bede are indicated in **bold italics**):<sup>12</sup>

*Spiritus alme*, ueni: *sine te* non diceris umquam;

*Munera da linguae* qui *das* in *munere linguae*.

[‘Come, nourishing spirit: without you, you are never spoken of; you, who grant tongues through your gift: grant gifts to my tongue.’]

In addition to these lines from Arator, Bede deliberately echoes the closing lines of a parallel invocation of the Holy Spirit by Juvenius, a nobly born Spanish priest, who around 330 turned the Gospels into more than 3,200 hexameters in his *Euangeliorum libri quattuor* (*Euang.*),<sup>13</sup> a work that was divided into four books, to mirror the number of the Gospels, and was evidently, like Arator, widely studied in Anglo-Saxon schools (*Euang. praef.* 19–27; the parallels with Bede are highlighted in **bold italics**):<sup>14</sup>

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Composition in Classical and Medieval Studies: a Comment on Critical Method and Illusion’, *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, 94 (1993), 61–7; J. D. Niles, ‘Ring-Composition and the Structure of *Beowulf*’, *PMLA*, 94 (1979), 924–35; *idem*, *Beowulf: The Poem and its Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, MA, 1983), 152–62; W. Parks, ‘Ring Structure and Narrative Embedding in Homer and *Beowulf*’, *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, 89 (1988), 237–51; C. B. Pasternack, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 13, Cambridge, CUP, 1995), 120–46; C. Stévanovitch, ‘Envelope Patterns and the Unity of the Old English *Christ and Satan*’, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 233 (1996), 260–67; *eadem*, ‘Envelope Patterns in *Genesis A and B*’, *Neophilologus* 80 (1996), 465–78; H. W. Tonsfeldt, ‘Ring Structure in *Beowulf*’, *Neophilologus*, 61 (1977), 443–52.

<sup>10</sup>See further P. McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2017), 252–4; M. D. Coker, ‘Voicing the Supernatural in Anglo-Saxon England’ (unpublished DLitt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2019), 21–7.

<sup>11</sup>An invaluable resource for assessing what Classical and Patristic authors were known, cited, and studied in the period is M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, OUP, 2006), especially 274–342 (‘Catalogue of Classical and Patristic Authors and Works Composed before AD 700 and Known in Anglo-Saxon England’).

<sup>12</sup>On Arator in Anglo-Saxon England, see in particular McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, 173–209. Here and throughout I have made free use of the excellent resources offered by P. Mastandrea & Luigi Tessarolo, *PoetriaNova 2: A CD-ROM of Latin Medieval Poetry (650–1250 A.D.), with a Gateway to Classical and Late Antique Texts* (Florence, SISMEL, 2010); still useful is O. Schumann, *Lateinsisches Hexameter-Lexikon: Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*, 6 vols. (Munich, 1979–83).

<sup>13</sup>See, for example, McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, 22–56.

<sup>14</sup>*Juvenii Historia Evangeliorum*, ed. J. Huemer, CSEL 24 (Leipzig, 1891).

- Nam mihi carmen erit Christi uitalia gesta,  
 20 Diuinum populis falsi sine crimine donum.  
 Nec metus, ut mundi rapiant incendia secum  
 Hoc opus; hoc etenim forsán me subtrahet igni  
 Tunc, cum *flammiuoma* discendet nube coruscans  
 Iudex, altithroni genitoris gloria, Christus.  
 25 Ergo age! sanctificus adsit mihi carminis *auctor*  
*Spiritus*, et puro mentem riget amne canentis  
 Dulcis Iordanis, ut Christo *digna* loquamur.

[‘For my song will be of the lifetime deeds of Christ, a divine gift for nations, without the sin of falseness. Nor is there any fear that worldly flames will snatch this work away with it; for perhaps this will keep me from the fire then, when there will descend shining from a flame-spewing cloud Christ the Judge, the Glory of the Father throned on high. Come then, let the Holy Spirit be the author of my song, and moisten the mind of the singer with the stream of the sweet Jordan, so that we may speak what is worthy of Christ.’]

Note that the part echoed specifically by Bede in lines 35–37 above comes towards the end of this passage, after a reference to the fiery flames of Doomsday (*flammiuoma* ... / ... carminis *auctor* / *Spiritus* ... / ... *digna* loquamur), and emphasises the hope that the poet’s worthy song will save him on the dreadful day;<sup>15</sup> it seems likely that Bede also draws the cadence *spiritus auctor* from Juvencus (*Euang.* 1.198 and 2.117). Note too that in echoing both Juvencus and Arator, Bede effectively inserts himself into the developing tradition, something that later poets appear also to have done.

Like Arator and Juvencus, and indeed like his own predecessor, Aldhelm of Malmesbury (c. 639–709), whom Bede echoes often, and who also freely echoes both Arator and Juvencus, Bede himself was to become a model for later generations of Anglo-Latin poets.<sup>16</sup> So much is evident from the opening lines of Alcuin’s longest poem, a composition of some 1,658 hexameters in praise of the bishops, kings, and saints of his native York.<sup>17</sup> Alcuin’s poem is in parts a versification of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (‘Ecclesiastical History of the English People’), which was completed in 731, but also borrows heavily from Bede’s verse (*Carm.* 1.1–7; the parallels with Bede are indicated in *bold italics*):

<sup>15</sup>In his own verse, Cynewulf routinely identifies himself in his role as poet in the context of Doomsday imagery, as discussed in Appendix 2.

<sup>16</sup>On Bede’s extensive use of Aldhelm, see, for example, A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 8; Cambridge, CUP, 1994); *idem*, ‘After Aldhelm: The Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter’, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), 96–133.

<sup>17</sup>Compare P. Godman (ed.), *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (Oxford, OUP, 1982), lxxviii–lxxix.

Christe deus, **summi** virtus, sapientia patris,  
 Vita, salus, hominum factor, renovator, amator,  
 Unica **lingua** dei, **donorum** tu **dator** alme;  
**Munera da** mentis, fragili **da verba** poetae,  
 5 Irrorans stolidum vivaci flumine pectus,  
 Ut mea **lingua** queat de te tua dicere dona:  
**Te sine** nulla valet **dignum** quid dicere **lingua**.

[‘O Christ God, the power and wisdom of the highest Father, life, salvation, maker, redeemer, and lover of mankind, sole voice of God, thou kindly giver of gifts, grant the favours of mind, grant words to a feeble poet, bedewing a dull heart with a living stream, so that my tongue can utter gifts through thee; without thee no tongue can utter anything worthwhile.’]

Naturally, an attentive audience would also recognise an echo of the same couplet of Arator used by Bede and quoted above, given the extensive evidence that Alcuin laid the latter’s verse under heavy contribution in his own works.<sup>18</sup> Alcuin’s opening lines here also evidently echo some verses from another of the most important and influential of the school-text authors, Caelius Sedulius, who around 425–50 versified aspects of the life of Christ over five books and almost 1,800 hexameters, in his so-called ‘Easter song’ (*Carmen paschale* [*CP*]). The verses in question, which appear towards the end of the opening book, read as follows (*CP* 1.312–13; the parallels with Alcuin are indicated in **bold italics**):<sup>19</sup>

At Dominus, uerbum, **uirtus, sapientia, Christus,**  
 Et totum commune **Patris,** de lumine lumen.

[‘But the Lord Christ is the Word, the power, the wisdom and shared wholeness of the Father, light from light.’]

Interwoven with clear echoes of Sedulius and Bede in his opening lines, Alcuin also gestures towards another predecessor whose works he often echoed, namely the Southumbrian Aldhelm, the first among the Germanic peoples, he claims, to compose extensively in Latin verse.<sup>20</sup> Here, Alcuin recycles phrasing both from the beginning of

<sup>18</sup>Note that in line 3 Alcuin uses the term *alme*, which is not in the parallel passage from Bede, but is in the relevant lines from Arator (*Apost.* 1.226). For some partial but very clear evidence, see Godman, *Alcuin*, 144–5.

<sup>19</sup>On Sedulius in Anglo-Saxon England, see McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, 93–123; the words of both Alcuin and Sedulius ultimately go back to Paul’s words in 1 Corinthians, where he speaks of ‘Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God’ (*Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientia* [1Cor 1:24]). Note too that the same lines from Sedulius are evidently echoed again by Alcuin in another poem (*Carm.* 20.8: ‘Omnipotens **patris uirtus, sapientia Christus**’), if he is not simply recalling the opening line of his own poem on York.

<sup>20</sup>See in general M. Lapidge, ‘The Career of Aldhelm’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), 15–69; *idem*, ‘Aldhelm’s Latin Poetry and Old English Verse’, reprinted in *ALL* I.247–69; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, AA 15 (Berlin, 1919); M. Lapidge & M. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*

Aldhelm's longest poem, comprising more than 2,900 hexameters on virginity (*Carmen de uirginitate* [*Virg.*]) and from the preface to Aldhelm's first collection of verse, the so-called riddles (*Aenigmata* [*Aen.*]); in each case Aldhelm, like Alcuin, asks for inspiration (*Virg.* 37–38 and *Aen. praef.* 14–16; the parallels with Alcuin are indicated in **bold italics**):<sup>21</sup>

Sic **patris** et prolis dignetur spiritus **almus**

Auxilium **fragili** clementer dedere seruo:

[‘In this way may the gracious spirit of the Father and the Son deign mercifully to grant aid to a frail servant.’]

Nam mihi uersificum poterit Deus addere carmen

15 Inspirans **stolidae** pia gratis **munera mentI**;

Tangit si **mentem**, mox laudem corda repondunt.

[‘For God can bestow on me verse-inducing song, freely breathing pious gifts into a dull mind; if he touches a mind, soon do hearts reverberate in praise.’]

Aldhelm, like Bede and Alcuin after him, frequently repurposed the verse of Juvenius, Sedulius, and Arator, and was himself often echoed by later poets, including Bede and Alcuin, among others.<sup>22</sup> In the same way, Bede, even in the few lines already cited, influenced not only Alcuin, but a much later Anglo-Latin poet, Wulfstan the Cantor, a monk of Winchester, who in the years between 992 and 996 produced his versification of Lantfred of Winchester's prose ‘translation and miracles of St Swithun’ (*Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*), which was composed c. 975. Wulfstan's ‘metrical account of St Swithun’ (*Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*) is a poem of almost 3,400 lines, comprising both elegiac couplets and more than 3,000 hexameters, so making it the longest extant Anglo-Latin poem.<sup>23</sup> Wulfstan's echoing of Bede's lines cited above (compare Bede, *VCM* 35 ‘Tu, rogo, summe, iuua, **donorum spiritus auctor**’ and Wulfstan, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, *Epistola generalis* 40 ‘expulerit sanctus

(Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 1979); M. Lapidge & J. L. Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 1985); M. Lapidge, ‘Hypallage in the Old English *Exodus*’, *Leeds Studies in English*, 37 (2006), 31–9.

<sup>21</sup> Note that the three lines of the second passage here, from the Preface to the *Aenigmata* begin and end with the same letters (all given here in bold capitals), since they form part of an acrostic–teletic that spells out **ALDHELMVS CECINIT MILLENIS VERSIBVS ODAS** (‘Aldhelm has sung songs in thousands of verses’ [emphasis added]). See further A. Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 69 (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2021), 2–5 and *idem*, *A Commentary on The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, *Supplements to the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2021), 9–14 (hereafter *OEALRT* and *COEALRT*, respectively).

<sup>22</sup> A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*; *idem*, ‘After Aldhelm: the Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter’, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), 96–133.

<sup>23</sup> M. Lapidge (ed. and trans.), *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, Clarendon, 2003).

*donorum spiritus auctor*’) is but one of dozens of examples where Wulfstan borrows from (for example) Bede, Aldhelm, Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator, and Venatius Fortunatus;<sup>24</sup> and, like Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin, as well as many other Anglo-Latin poets, Wulfstan also freely repeats and repurposes his own verse.<sup>25</sup>

### Alcuin and other Anglo-Latin verse

Like Aldhelm and Bede before him, Alcuin likewise appears to have become a model for later poets: we find echoes of even this brief passage in verses by his Frankish student, Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), who went on to become archbishop of Mainz (847–856).<sup>26</sup> Also evidently echoing Alcuin’s opening lines of the York poem are two examples from the final chapter of Aediluulf’s *De abbatibus* (*DA*), a poem around half the length of Alcuin’s (being comprised of 819 lines), and addressed to Ecgberct, bishop of Lindsifarne 803–21.<sup>27</sup> Aediluulf’s *De abbatibus* survives in three manuscripts, two of which also contain Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*,<sup>28</sup> and is divided into a brief preface and twenty-three sections, the first and last of which are in elegiac

<sup>24</sup> Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, 400; on pp. 372–551, there is an extensive analysis of parallels (though this particular parallel is omitted).

<sup>25</sup> Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, 359–63.

<sup>26</sup> Note that Hrabanus is depicted presenting a book, perhaps even poetry, alongside Alcuin, to Archbishop Otgar of Mainz (Hrabanus’ immediate predecessor) in an opening illustration from about 831 in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 652.

<sup>27</sup> For the spelling of the name, see Michael Lapidge, ‘Aediluulf and the School at York’, in *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert. Traube-Gedenkschrift*, ed. A. Lehner & W. Berschin (St Ottilien, EOS Verlag, 1989), 161–78, reprinted in his *ALL* I.381–98. See too D. R. Howlett, ‘The Provenance, Date, and Structure of *De Abbatibus*’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fifth series, 3 (1975), 121–30; H. M. Taylor, ‘The Architectural Interest of Æthelwulf’s *De Abbatibus*’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3 (1974), 163–73; B. J. Snook, ‘Æthilwulf: *gidda gemyndig?*’, *Anglo-Saxon*, 1 (2007), 181–99; E. V. Thornbury, ‘Æthilwulf *poeta*’, in *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. Stephenson & E. V. Thornbury (Toronto, Toronto University Press, 2016), 54–72. On the influence of Alcuin in Anglo-Saxon England, see P. E. Szarmach & F. M. Biggs, ‘Alcuin’, in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. F. M. Biggs, T. D. Hill & P. E. Szarmach, with the assistance of K. Hammond (Binghamton, NY, State University of New York, Binghamton), especially 19–22.

<sup>28</sup> The exemplary work of H. Gneuss & M. Lapidge, *A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014) [G–L], is invaluable for considering the manuscript-background of many of the texts cited here. *DA* appears alongside the *Historia ecclesiastica* in Winchester, Cathedral Library 1 + London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D.iv, vol. ii, fols. 158–66 (G–L 759: s. x/ xi or xi<sup>m</sup>); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163 (G–L 555: s. xi<sup>m</sup>). *DA* appears alongside a dossier on Durham’s history, including the late Old English poem *Durham* as well as Simeon of Durham’s *Historia*: Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1.27 (s. xii). The Winchester and Oxford manuscripts are closely related: see Campbell (ed.), *Æthelwulf: De abbatibus*, ix–xi and xv–xxi.

couplets, with the remaining 773 lines in hexameters.<sup>29</sup> Whether Aediluulf wrote at Bywell (between Hexham and Newcastle) or Crayke (12 miles North of York) is immaterial here: what is striking is that in signing his name in two different forms, namely Old English Aediluulf in the *praefatiuncula* ('short preface') and through a Latin calque in the form *Clarus ... Lupus* ('Famous ... Wolf', for *æþel ... wulf*) towards the end of his poem (from line 796–819 on, in a passage also marked by a change of metre from hexameters to elegiacs) Aediluulf again demonstrates the bilingual nature of Anglo-Saxon verse. It is these very lines, in which Aediluulf names himself through Latin, and which begin the final chapter of *De abbatibus*, that an apparent echo of Alcuin's opening lines on poetic inspiration in his York poem are found (*DA* 23.1–4; the parallels with Alcuin are indicated in **bold italics**):<sup>30</sup>

Haec Lupus, alte pater, *stolido* de *pectore* Clarus  
 Carmina composuit, corpore, mente, rogans,  
 Quatinus indigno Sancti sua *munera* praestent,  
 Et poscant ueniam cum pauido precibus.

[‘Lofty father, the Famous Wolf composed these songs from a simple heart, seeking with mind and body that the saints may offer their gifts to one unworthy, and may ask pardon with their prayers for the one in fear.’]

The lofty father in question is Ecgberct of Lindsifarne, and in this case, the fearful poet directs his pleas for inspiration in the opening lines of his final chapter to the saints. The lines here appear to form a deliberate echo (in another overarching envelope-pattern) of the opening lines of the first chapter of the poem, immediately after the first time Aediluulf and Ecgberct are named, and are indeed addressed directly to the latter (*DA* 1.1–4):

Cum te sancta manus praestantem reddidit Anglis,  
 Haec tibi complacuit rustica dona dare.  
 Rustica sed *stolidis* sudent si *pectora* dictis,  
 Non *stolidum* carmen rustica plectra dabunt.

[‘When the holy hand rendered you distinguished among the English, it seemed pleasing to offer you these unpolished gifts. But if unpolished hearts toil in simple words, unpolished harps will offer a song that is not simple.’]

Such words might perhaps suggest a date closer to Ecgberct's elevation to Lindisfarne, rather than to the end of it (and so potentially in Alcuin's lifetime), as Aediluulf details the history of the monastery under the governance of a succession of six

<sup>29</sup>The standard edition remains that of A. Campbell (ed.), *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1967), on the merits and shortcomings of which see the perceptive review by M. Winterbottom, *Medium Ævum*, 38 (1969), 60–4.

<sup>30</sup>For the ‘*stolido de pectore*’ parallel, see further Appendix 1, at [MNE17], and the note there.

abbots, with the first and last (Eanmund and Wulfsig) separated by two pairs of brothers (first Eorpwine and Aldwine, then Sigbald and Sigwine); certainly, as he celebrates the comparative prosperity and safety of the monastery in his own time, including an apparent allusion to the sacking of Lindisfarne in 793 (*DA* 20.4),<sup>31</sup> Aediluulf identifies individual brethren as fulfilling a range of rather specific roles, namely the Irishman Ultán, the scribe and illuminator (*DA* 8.1–64),<sup>32</sup> Frithugils the benefactor and priest (*DA* 9.1–8), Cuicvine the smith (*DA* 10.1–43), Hyglac the reader (*DA* 16.1–20), and Wynfrith, the keeper of the robes (*DA* 19.1–18). It is in this light that Aediluulf's self-identification as a poet perhaps needs to be seen, the more so since he tells us of another now-lost poem that he had already composed on certain pious Englishmen, including Hyglac (*DA* 16.3–9).

Having established a nexus of connections for the opening lines of Alcuin's York poem, linking back to Aldhelm, Bede, and Sedulius, and forward to Hrabanus and Aediluulf, it is instructive to compare results of a similar analysis of the opening lines of the first chapter of Alcuin's poem of 478 lines, composed *c.* 796, on the life of a distant kinsman, the Northumbrian missionary Willibrord (*c.* 658–739).<sup>33</sup> The poem, like Aediluulf's *De abbatibus*, is topped and tailed with passages in elegiac couplets, with the rest in hexameters, and the opening lines of the first substantive chapter read as follows (Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.1.1–10):

Venerat occiduis quidam de finibus orbis  
Vir uirtute potens, diuino plenus amore,  
Ore sagax et mente uigil, et feruidus actu,  
Ad te temporibus Pippini, Francia felix;  
5 Quem tibi iam genuit fecunda Britannia mater,  
Doctaque nutriuit studiis sed Hibernia sacris,  
Nomine Wilbrordus, meritis uiuacibus almus:  
Qui peregrina petens domini deductus amore,  
Semina perpetuae cupiens caelestia uitae  
10 Spargere, qua rarus fuerat prius accola uerbi.

[‘A certain man powerful in virtue had come from the western shores of the world, filled with divine love, wise in mouth and watchful in mind and vigorous

<sup>31</sup> For Alcuin's poetic account of the Viking raid, see P. Godman (ed. and trans.), *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, Duckworth, 1985), 118–49. Note that Hrabanus Maurus offers his own verse account of the sack of Lindisfarne, which leans heavily on Alcuin's earlier poem: see further Mary Garrison, ‘Alcuin, *Carmen ix* and Hrabanus, *Ad Bonosum*: A Teacher and a Pupil Write Consolation’, in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon (London, Brill, 2001), 63–78.

<sup>32</sup> L. Nees, ‘Ultán the Scribe’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), 127–46.

<sup>33</sup> Dümmler, PLAC 1, 207–20; P. Dräger (ed.), *Alcuin, Vita sancti Willibrordi; Das Leben des heiligen Willibrord* (Trier, Kliemedien, 2008).

in action, to you, blessed Francia, in Pippin's days; and fertile mother Britain had borne him for you, but learned Ireland had nourished him in sacred studies, Willibrord by name, flourishing in lively merits, who drawn by the love of the Lord sought out foreign parts, desiring to spread the heavenly seed of eternal life in the place where before a follower of the Word had been scarce.']

Parallels for this passage underline Alcuin's familiarity with Aldhelm, Bede, and Sedulius, and potentially add the works of Prudentius (*fl. c.* 400),<sup>34</sup> Paulinus of Nola (354–431),<sup>35</sup> Arator, and Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* 530–*c.* 600/609)<sup>36</sup> to the list of possible sources, although the overlapping diction shared by the school-text authors makes precise identification of individual sources sometimes a matter of interpretation.<sup>37</sup> Certainly, however, there is compelling evidence throughout Alcuin's verse-corpus as a whole that he made frequent use of all these authors.<sup>38</sup> This ten-line

<sup>34</sup> See further G. Wieland, 'Prudentius', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, 150–6.

<sup>35</sup> *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina*, ed. W. Hartel, CSEL 30 (Vienna, 1899); see further N. Wright, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 134–51 and 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse: A Postscript', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 392–6; T. W. Mackay, 'Paulinus of Nola', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. F.M. Biggs, T.D. Hill & P. E. Szarmach, with the assistance of K. Hammond (Binghamton, NY, University of New York at Binghamton), 144–5.

<sup>36</sup> R.W. Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 8 (1979), 279–95, incorporating M. Lapidge, 'Appendix: Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', at 287–95.

<sup>37</sup> *Parallels*:

<1>	<i>Venerat occiduis mundi de finibus</i> hostis Christicolae punire greges et <i>finibus orbis</i>	Prudentius, <i>Psych.</i> 1.310 Arator, <i>Apost.</i> 2.928
<2>	Et <i>uirtute potens</i> et criminis inscia Roma Et <i>uirtute potens</i> ? neutrum illo in tempore sensi Qui <i>uirtute potens</i> orientis in axe sepultus Hinc <i>uirtute potens</i> , doctus et inde places "Dilige mente Deum feruenti <i>plenus amore</i> ." <i>Plenus amore</i> dei, dulcis uterque mihi	Prudentius, <i>Symm.</i> 2.1131 Paulinus, <i>Carm.</i> 20.271 Fortunatus, <i>Carm.</i> 2.12.5 Fortunatus, <i>Carm.</i> 9.1.100 Arator, <i>Apost.</i> 1.230 Fortunatus, <i>Carm.</i> 8.2.6
<3>	Cedere <i>mente uigil</i> satis prospexit; et <i>ora</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 1.572
<5>	Egregium Albanum <i>fecunda Britannia</i> profert Quos gerit in gremio <i>fecunda Britannia</i> ciues	Fortunatus, <i>Carm.</i> 8.3.155 Aldhelm, <i>CdV.</i> 878
<7>	Primus abusque chao <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> Enoch	Caelius Sedulius, <i>CP</i> I.103
<9>	Lucida <i>perpetuae</i> qui pandit limina <i>uitae</i> Lucida <i>perpetuae</i> mercantes munera <i>uitae</i> Lucida <i>perpetuae</i> uisuros praemia <i>uitae</i> Pulchraque <i>perpetuae</i> penetrantem limina <i>uitae</i> Ex illo sacri cineres quasi <i>semina uitae</i> Multiplicat populis aeternae <i>semina uitae</i> Per latices intrate pios, ubi <i>semina uitae</i> Fructus ad aeternae florescat <i>semina uitae</i> Aeterno parere Deo, qui <i>semina uitae</i>	Aldhelm, <i>CdV.</i> 571 Aldhelm, <i>CdV.</i> 752 Aldhelm, <i>CdV.</i> 1226 Aldhelm, <i>CdV.</i> 1503 Paulinus, <i>Carm.</i> 19.358 Paulinus, <i>Carm.</i> 27.497 Caelius Sedulius, <i>CP</i> 1.55 Arator, <i>Apost.</i> 2.69 Arator, <i>Apost.</i> 2.186

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, the lists given by Godman, *Alcuin*, 142–54.

passage also offers evidence to underline the methodical use made of Alcuin's verse by Hrabanus, but also adds two further texts, the so-called 'Miracles of Bishop Nynian' (*Miracula Nynie Episcopi* [*MNE*]) and 'Hymn to Bishop Nynian' (*Hymnus Nynie Episcopi* [*HNE*]), both of which were composed in Alcuin's lifetime and sent to him as gifts.<sup>39</sup> Yet perhaps the most characteristic thing about this brief passage is the extent to which Alcuin repeats and repurposes his own verse, with all ten lines echoed elsewhere in his works.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Parallels:*

<2>	<i>Vir uirtute potens</i> ipse Sebastianus Obtulit uenerans feruenti <i>plenus amore</i>	Hrabanus, <i>Carm.</i> 80.8.8 <i>MNE</i> 386
<5>	Florida quem <i>genuit mater</i> sine patre <i>fecunda</i>	<i>HNE</i> 6.1
<7>	Hanc aram <i>meritis</i> semper <i>uiuacibus</i> ornat	Hrabanus, <i>Carm.</i> 42.3.3
<8>	Ac <i>peregrina petens</i> aethera promeruit	Hrabanus, <i>Carm.</i> 68.6

For more on *MNE* and *HNE*, see below.

<sup>40</sup> *Parallels:*

<1>	Qua pagana manus, ueniens a <i>finibus orbis</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 9.195
<2>	<i>Vir uirtute potens</i> , patriae tutator, amator <i>Plenus amore</i> <i>Vir uirtute potens</i> et pietate bonus Inclytus exornet, domini iam <i>plenus amore</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.267 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 54.10 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 58.3.8 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 99.8.2
<3>	<i>Mente sagax</i> , non ore loquax, sed strenuus <i>actu</i> Euborica, simplex allimo, sed <i>feruidus actu</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1405 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1603
<4>	<i>Francia</i> sed <i>felix</i> rapuit, ueneratur, habebat	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 3.33.3
<5>	Nam tunc Romanos <i>fecunda Britannia</i> reges Vt dudum cecini, <i>fecunda Britannia mater</i> Virtutum <i>meritis fecunda Britannia</i> floret	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.22 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 3.33.3 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 10.10
<6>	Qui <i>sacris</i> fuerat <i>studiis</i> imbutus ab annis Et toto <i>studiis</i> seruiuit pectore <i>sacris</i> Floreat in <i>studiis</i> semper ubique <i>sacris</i> Haec <i>studiis</i> floret <i>sacris</i> , theosophica iura Instituit, docuit <i>studiis</i> , <i>nutriuit</i> , amauit	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.843 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1292 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 85.1.24 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 104.6.7 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.24.5
<7>	Spiritus astra petit <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> alta Pontificalis apex <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> aram Haec loca Mauritius <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> ornet Doctores uitae <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> ambo Hanc aram <i>meritis</i> semper <i>uiuacibus</i> ornet Et simul Helenae <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> almae Egregius praesul <i>meritis</i> et moribus <i>almus</i> Hanc aram Paulus <i>meritis uiuacibus</i> ornet Exornat, <i>meritis</i> et praesul Hilarius <i>almus</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 3.28.4 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 89.3.1 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 90.18.1 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 99.2.3 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.4.3 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.11.15 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.24.3 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 110.2.1 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 110.12.2
<8>	Et <i>peregrina petens</i> Scotis iam maxima uitae <i>Qui peregrina petens</i> Christi <i>deductus amore</i> Iam peragrauit ouans, sophiae <i>deductus amore</i> Iusserat hos omnes Christi <i>deductus amore</i> Martyris egregii Naboris <i>deductus amore</i> Virgilius fecit, domini <i>deductus amore</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1015 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1296 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1454 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 68.19 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 102.3 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.24.2

It is important to stress that these frequent repetitions within Alcuin's verse are far from purely formulaic, but evidently often can have deliberate structural effect, and make clear and cogent connections both within and between poems. So, for example, within the metrical *Life of Willibrord*, this passage (*Carm.* 3.1.1–10) is echoed lightly in the middle of the poem (*Carm.* 3.16.1–2; the parallels are with *Carm.* 3.1.1–2) and again at the end, so forming yet another envelope-pattern, where the relevant passage reads as follows (*Carm.* 3.33.1–6):

Nobilis iste fuit magna de gente sacerdos,  
Sed magnis multo nobilior meritis.  
Vt dudum cecini, *fecunda Britannia mater*,  
Patria Scottorum clara magistra fuit.  
5 *Francia* sed *felix* rapuit, ueneratur, habebat,  
Illius atque hodie membra sepulta tenet.

[‘That man was a noble priest from a mighty people, but he was much nobler through his mighty merits. As I have sung before, his mother was fertile Britain, and the land of the Irish was his famous teacher, but blessed Francia took him, honoured him, kept him, and today holds his buried bones.’]

Although the level of verbal repetition here may not at first sight seem high, Alcuin explicitly states that this is a recapitulation, prefacing the repetition with the words ‘As I have sung before’ (*Carm.* 3.33.3: ‘Vt dudum cecini’), and mentions Britain, Ireland, and Francia in consecutive lines, just as in the earlier passage Francia, Britain, and Ireland appear in consecutive lines (*Carm.* 3.1.4–6), in the same metrical position in each.

Beyond the metrical *Life of Willibrord*, one might note that there are eleven parallels between the first passage (*Carm.* 3.1.1–10) and Alcuin's York poem, with two of them clustered in a brief passage there (*Carm.* 1.1291–97), celebrating Bede and Abbot Ceolfrith (642–716), while elsewhere in his verse Alcuin concludes a poem celebrating a church built by the Irishman Bishop Virgilius of Salzburg (c. 700–784), by describing Virgilius himself in a passage which has no fewer than four separate parallels with that first describing Willibrord above (*Carm.* 109.24.1–10). One of the verbal parallels that links the opening description of Willibrord (*Carm.* 3.1.3) to the York poem comes in the course of an extensive celebration of the life and works of Alcuin's teacher and

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<9>	Sed <i>peregrina petens</i> Christi iam propter amorem Plurima <i>perpetuae</i> dispersit <i>semina uitae</i> Gentibus ut reliquis praeferrent <i>semina uitae</i> Dum diuina pius caelestis <i>semina uitae</i> Doctrinae populis et <i>spargere semina uitae</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.24.6 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.82 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1011 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 3.16.1 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 109.24.10
<10>	Da spem <i>perpetuae</i> famulo, mitissime, <i>uitae</i> <i>Spargere</i> per multas properauerat <i>accola</i> terras	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 124.7 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 3.16.2

mentor, Ælberht (also known as Æthelberht, archbishop of York 767–78), whom Alcuin describes as ‘clever in mind, not loquacious in speech, but energetic in action’ (*Carm.* 1.1405: ‘Mente sagax, non ore loquax, sed strenuus actu’); in both lines Alcuin appears to draw on Bede’s description of Cuthbert in his metrical *Life of Cuthbert*, where he notes that ‘Cuthbert shines brilliant in mind, in hand, and in mouth’ (Bede, *VCM* 557: ‘Mente manu fulget Cudberctus et ore coruscus’). There are several other occurrences of this ‘thought, word, deed’ triad in Alcuin’s verse, for example in sequences of the form ‘with mind, hand, tongue’ (*mente, manu, lingua* [*Carm.* 41.4 and 48.32]) or ‘with tongue, mind, hand’ (*lingua, mente, manu* [*Carm.* 89.2.6]); the latter appears to have influenced Alcuin’s student, Hrabanus Maurus (*lingua, mente, manu* [*Carm.* 9.11]), who also produced a related sequence of his own: ‘and with mouth, mind, hand’ (*oreque, mente, manu* [*Carm.* 4.3.8 and 19.6]).

In all three original lines, celebrating Cuthbert, Ælberht, and Willibrord in turn, there is the same theme of praising individuals according to ‘thought, word, and deed’, a theme that also appears in Old English, for example twice in *Beowulf* (c. 700),<sup>41</sup> where the Danish King Hrothgar extols Beowulf, telling him ‘You are strong in might and wise in mind, clever in speeches’ (*Beowulf* 1844–45a: ‘Þu eart mægenes strang ond on mode frod, wis word-cwida’), and praises his dead comrade, counsellor, advisor, and fellow-warrior, Æschere, as ‘my close confidant and my counsel-giver, my shoulder-companion’ (*Beowulf* 1325–26a: ‘min run-wita ond min ræd-bora / eaxl-gestealla’). It is certainly striking that Beowulf and Æschere might be praised in terms similar to Cuthbert and Willibrord, and notable that in acknowledging that while Ælberht is a paragon in thought and deed, he was ‘not loquacious in speech’, Alcuin only emphasises the integrity of the theme.

In the same part of the poem where Alcuin praises Ælberht, he gives an excellent indication of his potential poetic sources in the course of a detailed account of Ælberht’s library at York. In the course of a wide-ranging and extensive catalogue, Alcuin lists the names of fourteen poets, by now all familiar, divided helpfully into Anglo-Latin poets (Aldhelm and Bede, line 1547) and Classical poets (Vergil, Statius, and Lucan, line 1554), with no fewer than nine Christian–Latin school-text poets in between (Alcuin, *Carmen* 1.1547 and 1551–4):<sup>42</sup>

1547    Quidquid et Althelmus docuit, quid Beda magister ...  
1551    Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Iuvenus,

<sup>41</sup> On the controversial question of the antiquity of *Beowulf*, see L. Neidorf (ed.), *The Dating of ‘Beowulf’: A Reassessment* (Cambridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2016).

<sup>42</sup> Alcuin gives great prominence to his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, naming them immediately after the chief patristic authorities (*Carm.* 1.1541–46), with a range of other authors known for their works in theology, translation, history, philosophy, and rhetoric appearing in the intervening lines here (*Carm.* 1.1548–50), and with a list of grammarians following the poets (*Carm.* 1.1555–57).

1552 Alcimus et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,  
 1553 Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt,  
 1554 Quae Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et auctor  
 [‘Whatever Aldhelm taught, or Bede the master ... whatever also Sedulius, or  
 Juvencus himself sings; Alcimus Avitus and Prudentius, Prosper of Aquitaine,  
 Paulinus of Nola, Arator, whatever Fortunatus or Lactantius produced, or  
 Vergil, Statius, or the poet Lucan’]

These lines form part of a much longer list that points towards the extraordinary range and diversity of the library of Alcuin’s York, the extent of which we can now map more precisely still, thanks to a growing body of electronic corpora, databases, and other research tools.<sup>43</sup>

This catalogue of poets also tallies closely with a compilation of verse-texts that forms the fourth and final part of Alcuin’s devotional florilegium, *De laude Dei* (‘in praise of God’), which is witnessed in two manuscripts (Bamberg, Stadtbibliothek Misc. Patr. 17 [B. II. 10] [?Bamberg, s. x<sup>ex</sup>], fols 133–57;<sup>44</sup> Escorial, Real Bibliotheca, b. IV. 17 [southern France, s. ix<sup>med</sup>], fols 93–108), although only the so-called ‘Bamberg florilegium’ contains the verse texts that comprise select extracts from familiar school-authors, as follows:<sup>45</sup>

151va–152rb	Caelius Sedulius, <i>Carm. pasch.</i> I.60–102; 282–90; 312–19; 334–63
152rb–152va	Juvencus, <i>Praef.</i> 1–27
152va–152vb	Arator, <i>Ad Vigilium</i> , 11–26; <i>Apost.</i> I.481–84; 1007–17; II.579–83
152vb–153va	Prosper, <i>Epig. praef.</i> 1–8; <i>Epig.</i> 3.1–14; 8.1–6; 12.4–5; 16.3–6; 22.4–5; 30.5–6; 37.1–6; 82.1–2; 97.1–2; 99.5–6; 39.5; <sup>46</sup> 41.1–4; 55.1–6; 56.1–4; 57.1–4; 58.1–2; 64.1–2; 65.1–6; 103.1–6; 104.1–8; 105.1–8

<sup>43</sup> M. Lapidge, ‘Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge & H. Gneuss (Cambridge, CUP), 33–89, updated and reprinted in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M. P. Richards (New York–London, Garland Publishing), 87–167; M. Garrison, ‘The Library of Alcuin’s York’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, CUP, 2011), 633–64.

<sup>44</sup> There is an online facsimile of the so-called ‘Bamberg florilegium’ at <https://zendsbb.digitale-sammlungen.de/db/0000/sbb00000146/images/index.html>; see further R. Constantinescu, ‘Alcuin et les “Libelli Precum” de l’époque carolingienne’, *Revue d’histoire de la spiritualité*, 50 (1974), 17–56.

<sup>45</sup> Compare Lapidge, ‘Aediluulf and the School at York’, 165, who also points out that ‘the final part of the florilegium consists of excerpts from a number of Christian Latin poets: Juvencus, Caelius Sedulius, Arator, Prosper of Aquitaine, Paulinus of Nola, Venantius Fortunatus, Dracontius, Aldhelm, and Bede’.

<sup>46</sup> At this point, a so-far unsourced pentameter (*Ipse sibi summum est perpetuumque bonum*) appears.

153va–154rb	Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Carm.</i> 8.3.1–22; 25–38; 129–78; 393–400
154rb–154va	Bede, <i>Psalm 41 (42)</i> , 1–34; <i>Psalm 122 (123)</i> , 1–12
154va–155rb	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> , <i>Praef.</i> 11–18; <i>CdV</i> 1–16; 32–44; 2815–29; 2871–2900
155rb	Paulinus of Nola, <i>Carm. App.</i> 1.79–90; 97–99; 113–14
155rb–157va	Dracontius, <i>De laudibus Dei</i> II.1–46; 66–97; 101–06; 115–38; 154–62; 208–24; III.1–21; 23–26; 125–7; 530–57; 564–98; 613–19; 625–30; 632–49; 662–77; 720–26

The rubric to Book 1 of the collection in the Bamberg manuscript reads (133va): ‘Incipit liber primus de laude Dei et de confessione orationibusque sanctorum collectus ab Alchonio leuita’ (‘Here begins the first book concerning the praise of God and the confession and prayers of the saints collected by the deacon Alcuin’). Note how eight of the nine poets here overlap with those in the library at York, with the obvious omission, in a compilation in honour of the Christian God, of the three Classical poets Vergil, Statius, and Lucan. The further omission from the Bamberg florilegium of extracts by Avitus, Prudentius, and Lactantius, all noted as sources in the York poem, is balanced by the appearance there of extracts from another named poet, Dracontius (c. 455–c. 505),<sup>47</sup> whose most important work, *De laudibus Dei* ([*Laud. dei*] ‘in praise of God’) has an obvious resonance with the subject-matter of Alcuin’s compilation. There is also clear correspondence here with the texts assumed to have been used by Alcuin and Bede above.<sup>48</sup>

Immediately following the extracts from Dracontius in the Bamberg florilegium are three further verse-texts, all uniquely preserved here, and all with connections directly linking them to Alcuin:

157va–161va	<i>Miracula Nynie episcopi</i>
161vab	<i>Hymnus S. Nynie</i>
161vb–162rb	<i>Rhythmus 75</i>

The *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (‘miracles of Bishop Nynian’) is a poem that describes the life and miracles of Ninian, the 5th-century founder of Candida Casa (‘the white house’) at Whithorn in Galloway,<sup>49</sup> but despite only surviving in a single manuscript,

<sup>47</sup>On the influence of Cyprianus Gallus in Anglo-Saxon England, D. Nodes, ‘Blossius Aemelius Dracontius’, in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, 82–4.

<sup>48</sup>See the arguments above about the sources of Bede, *VCM praef.* 35–8 (Juvenius, *Euang. praef.* 19–27 and Sedulius *Carm. pasch.* 1.312–13) and Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.1–7 (Arator, *Apost.* 1.226–27 and Aldhelm, *Virg.* 37–38).

<sup>49</sup>*Miracula Nynie episcopi*, ed. K. Strecker, MGH PLAC 4.3 (Berlin, 1923), pp. 943–61; K. Strecker, ‘Zu den Quellen für das Leben des Heiligen Ninian’, *Neues Archiv*, 43 (1920–22), 1–26; W. Levison, ‘An Eighth-century poem on St Ninian’, *Antiquity*, 14 (1940), 28–91; W. W. MacQueen, ‘Miracula Nynie

it seems to have been influential, at least in a limited circle: I count thirty-five echoes of the *Miracula Nynie* in Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* (none of which are mentioned by Campbell, Aediluulf's editor), as against thirty-six from all of Alcuin's verse, eighteen of them from the York poem alone.<sup>50</sup> In this context, it is perhaps worth emphasising that, while Alcuin names Lactantius in his list of poets, there are only scant signs that Alcuin echoed him, and none at all from Aldhelm or any of the early Southumbrian poets considered so far, but five in Aediluulf's *De abbatibus*, perhaps suggesting a rather limited circulation in Northumbria at this time.<sup>51</sup>

A large number of suggested sources for Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* are listed in Appendix 1, detailing over 350 parallels from over twenty different poets, although the distribution is far from even: almost half of the suggested parallels come from just four sources, three of which are from Anglo-Latin poets and texts, namely Aldhelm, Alcuin, and the anonymous *Miracula Nynie episcopi*. While some of the suggested parallels are more compelling than others, the overall picture is of an Anglo-Latin poet making confident combined use of multiple sources. In some cases, entire sequences of consecutive lines are clearly emulated, often coming from individually identifiable works.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, there is a strong suggestion that Aediluulf consciously echoed not just authors, but specific texts: of the fifty-eight proposed parallels with Aldhelm, twenty-four come from the 85-line *Carmen ecclesiasticum* 3, compared with seventeen from the 2904 lines of Aldhelm's *De uirginitate*; likewise, half of the entries relating to Alcuin are from the York poem (*Carm.* 1) alone. There is more or less powerful evidence in Appendix 1 to link all fourteen of the poets named by Alcuin in his York poem as sources, as well as all nine of those poets from whose works extracts appear in the Bamberg florilegium. The fact that the best attested of the poets who appear in Appendix 1 but in neither the Bamberg florilegium nor by name in the York poem should be Cyprianus Gallus is perhaps less surprising when it is realised that the name is a modern construct, and that the poems that comprise his so-called

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episcopi', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 4th series, 38 (1959–60), 21–57; J. MacQueen, *St Nynia*, with a translation of the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and *Vita Niniani* by W. MacQueen (Edinburgh, John Donald, 2005). See further A. Orchard, 'Wish you were here: Alcuin's Courtly Verse and the Boys Back Home', in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. S. R. Jones, R. Marks & A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge, York Medieval Press, 2000), 21–43; for a still more nuanced view of the way in which *MNE* makes use of the difficult school-text author Arator, see R. Hillier, 'Dynamic Intertextuality in the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*: remembering Arator's *Historia apostolica*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 44 (2015), 163–79.

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix 1 below ([MNE1–35] and [ALC1–36]).

<sup>51</sup> On the limited influence of Lactantius on Alcuin and in Anglo-Saxon England, see Godman, *Alcuin*, p. lxxviii. The exception, of course, is the Old English poem *The Phoenix*, on which see further below, where the first 380 of its 677 lines are derived from Lactantius.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, [ALD6–13], [CYP1–2, 5–6, and 19–20, and 23–28], [BED10–11], and [PRO2–3].

*Heptateuchos*, a versification of the first seven books of the bible over some 5,550 lines, are anonymous in the manuscripts.<sup>53</sup>

### Metrical patterning in Alcuin's hexameters

The evidently close links between the Northumbrian poetry of Alcuin, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, and Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* at the verbal level can also be witnessed in terms of metrical practice. By far the most common Latin metre employed by Anglo-Latin poets is the heroic hexameter, comprising six metrical feet, each of which is made up either of a dactyl (a long syllable followed by two short ones, and represented as  $\sim\sim$  or **D**) or a spondee (two long syllables, represented as  $--$  or **S**). In theory, there are 64 ( $= 2^6$ ) potential patterns available to poets, but in practice, since the final foot is always disyllabic, comprising either a spondee ( $--$ ) or a trochee ( $\sim-$ ), and the fifth foot is (almost) always a dactyl, Anglo-Latin poets only varied the first four feet and so had 16 ( $= 2^4$ ) patterns, of which the most popular type for Alcuin in the 5,056 hexameters analysed, was two dactyls followed by two spondees (**DDSS**), represented by 948 examples (18.75%), and the least popular its mirror-image, two spondees followed by two dactyls (**SSDD**), represented by just 48 examples (0.95%). In contrast, the most popular type for Aldhelm across his 4,170 hexameters is both different (**DSSS**) and far more frequent, with 1210 examples (29.14%), while if his least favoured type is the same as Alcuin's (**SSDD**), the number (18) and proportion (0.43%) is far less. By focusing on such distribution-patterns, it is possible to build up a metrical profile for individual texts and poets, and while such a profile can be refined by other measures (such as frequency and type of elision and hiatus and the nature and distribution of caesuras and word-divisions), its essential diagnostic utility in even this raw form is apparent, as the following tables and figures demonstrate. The tables are arranged by descending number (#) and percentage (%) of metrical types, using the numerical data from Alcuin to dictate the order.<sup>54</sup> A series of figures based on the relevant percentages makes clear several differences and similarities between individual texts and authors.

Tables 1 and 2 give raw numbers and percentages for the distribution of the sixteen hexameter-types for ten different authors and texts, comprising 11,000 hexameters in total, or about a third of the extant Anglo-Latin poetic corpus. Table 1 focuses on the

<sup>53</sup>See further McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, 57–92. On the influence of Cyprianus Gallus in Anglo-Saxon England, see D. Nodes, 'Cyprianus Gallus', *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, 90–82.

<sup>54</sup>For a detailed analysis of Alcuin's broader metrical practice, see J. Solana Pujalte, 'Análisis Métrico-Prosódico de la Poesía de Alcuino de York' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Seville, 1987).

group of Northumbrian poets and texts considered above, and presumably composing in the period *c.* 780 × *c.* 820, namely Alcuin, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, and Aediluulf's *De abbatibus*, while Table 2 focuses on a parallel group of Southumbrian poets and texts, namely Aldhelm and the *Aenigmata* of Tatwine (*c.* 670–734) and Boniface (*c.* 675–754), presumably composing in the period *c.* 690 × *c.* 740. In the relevant table, the hexameters of both Alcuin and Aldhelm are further subdivided into three groups, on the one hand Alcuin's York poem (*Carmen 1*, here *York*), his poem on Willibrord (*Carmen 3*, here *Will*), and the hexameters in his elegiac couplets (here *E*), and on the other Aldhelm's *Carmen de uirginitate* (*Virg.*), his *Carmina ecclesiastica* (*Carm.*), and his *Aenigmata* (*Aenig.*).

Alcuin's metrical footprint is strikingly uniform (Figure 1), as is that of Aldhelm (Figure 2), with Alcuin's metrical life of Willibrord (here *Will*) and Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* (here *Aenig.*) both slight outliers; note that the *y*-axes are different in scale: if they are made equivalent, the sharp differences in general metrical practice between Alcuin and Aldhelm seems stark indeed (Figure 3). When Aediluulf's *De abbatibus* and the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* are added to Alcuin's profile (Figure 4), there is a little more variation, but the general pattern remains essentially the same, and contrasts sharply with the earlier Southumbrian group comprising Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Boniface, which again exhibits a general internal consistency (Figure 5), so strongly suggesting different schools of Anglo-Latin verse, employing slightly different metrical norms, and presumably teaching different metrical techniques and practices.



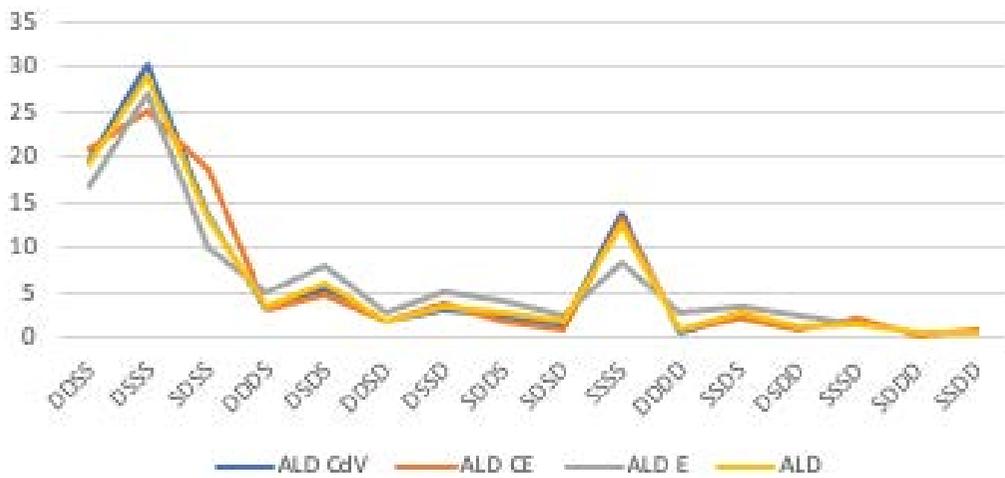
**Figure 1.** The distribution of Alcuin's hexameter types (%).

**Table 1.** The distribution of hexameter types in early Anglo-Latin verse 1: Alcuin, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, and Aediluuif (Northumbrian group: 6,360 hexameters).

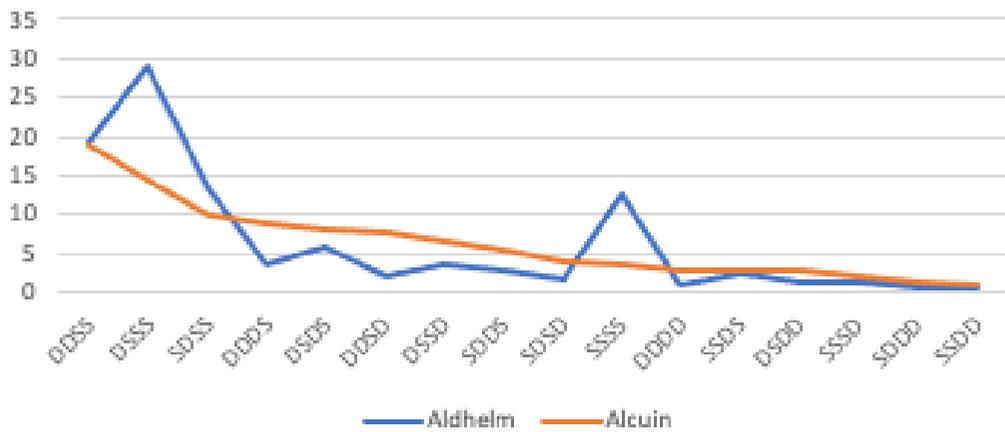
TYPE	Alcuin York #	Alcuin York %	Alcuin Will #	Alcuin Will %	Alcuin Eleg #	Alcuin Eleg %	Alcuin Total #	Alcuin Total %	MNE #	MNE %	Aediluuif DA #	Aediluuif DA %	TYPE
DDSS	310	18.7	67	18.98	236	19.08	948	18.75	105	19.77	157	20.31	DDSS
DSSS	253	15.26	57	16.15	181	14.63	735	14.54	82	15.44	143	18.5	DSSS
SDSS	166	10.01	44	12.46	129	10.43	506	10.01	47	8.85	61	7.89	SDSS
DDDS	134	8.08	28	7.93	117	9.46	445	8.8	54	10.17	96	12.42	DDDS
DSDS	148	8.93	28	7.93	89	7.19	414	8.19	47	8.85	82	10.61	DSDS
DDSD	127	7.66	17	4.82	96	7.76	383	7.58	33	6.21	34	4.4	DDSD
DSSD	112	6.76	25	7.08	87	7.03	331	6.55	32	6.03	27	3.49	DSSD
SDDS	87	5.25	17	4.82	59	4.77	266	5.26	23	4.33	25	3.23	SDDS
SDSD	71	4.28	13	3.68	42	3.4	203	4.02	11	2.07	13	1.68	SDSD
SSSS	57	3.44	10	2.83	30	2.43	176	3.48	29	5.46	44	5.69	SSSS
DDDD	38	2.29	4	1.13	44	3.56	147	2.91	12	2.26	14	1.81	DDDD
SSDS	57	3.44	11	3.12	28	2.26	142	2.81	18	3.9	30	3.88	SSDS
DSDD	44	2.65	13	3.68	29	2.34	135	2.67	13	2.45	22	2.85	DSDD
SSSD	24	1.48	6	1.7	23	1.86	103	2.04	15	2.82	9	1.16	SSSD
SDDD	17	1.03	9	2.55	26	2.1	74	1.46	5	0.94	7	0.91	SDDD
SSDD	13	0.78	4	1.13	21	1.7	48	0.95	5	0.94	9	1.16	SSDD
Total	1658	100.04	353	99.99	1237	100	5056	100.02	531	100.49	773	99.99	Total

**Table 2.** The distribution of hexameter types in early Anglo-Latin verse 2: Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Boniface (Southumbrian group: 4,771 hexameters).

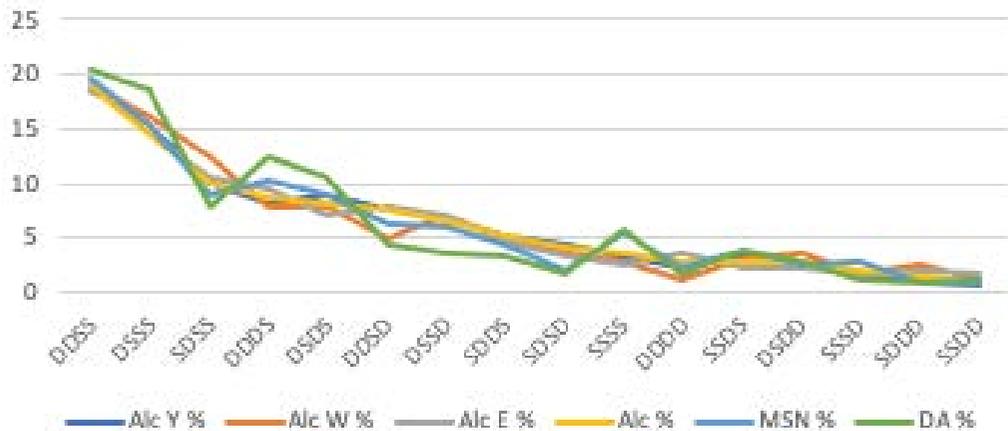
TYPE	Aldhelm <i>Virg.</i> #	Aldhelm <i>Virg.</i> %	Aldhelm <i>Carm.</i> #	Aldhelm <i>Carm.</i> %	Aldhelm <i>Aenig.</i> #	Aldhelm <i>Aenig.</i> %	Aldhelm Total #	Aldhelm Total %	Tatwine <i>Aenig.</i> #	Tatwine <i>Aenig.</i> %	Boniface <i>Aenig.</i> #	Boniface <i>Aenig.</i> %	TYPE
DDSS	576	19.59	89	20.79	133	16.6	798	19.14	20	9.39	61	15.72	DDSS
DSSS	885	30.09	108	25.23	217	27.09	1210	29.02	38	17.84	92	23.71	DSSS
SDSS	391	13.29	79	18.45	80	9.99	550	13.19	19	8.92	37	9.54	SDSS
DDDS	88	2.99	13	3.04	41	5.12	142	3.41	7	3.29	18	4.64	DDDS
DSDS	161	5.47	20	4.67	63	7.87	244	5.85	17	7.98	22	5.67	DSDS
DDSD	51	1.73	7	1.64	22	2.75	80	1.92	10	4.69	13	3.35	DDSD
DSSD	86	2.92	16	3.74	39	4.87	141	3.38	17	7.98	20	5.15	DSSD
SDDS	70	2.38	8	1.87	33	4.12	111	2.66	12	5.63	12	3.09	SDDS
SDSD	46	1.56	3	0.7	19	2.37	68	1.63	5	2.35	5	1.29	SDSD
SSSS	401	13.63	56	13.08	66	8.24	523	12.54	27	12.67	46	11.86	SSSS
DDDD	14	0.48	3	0.7	23	2.87	40	0.96	3	1.41	3	0.77	DDDD
SSDS	74	2.52	9	2.1	26	3.25	109	2.61	15	7.04	32	8.25	SSDS
DSDD	29	0.99	4	0.93	20	2.5	53	1.27	2	0.94	10	2.58	DSDD
SSSD	42	1.43	9	2.1	11	1.37	62	1.49	14	6.57	8	2.06	SSSD
SDDD	16	0.54	1	0.23	4	0.5	21	0.5	4	1.88	4	1.03	SDDD
SSDD	11	0.37	3	0.7	4	0.5	18	0.43	3	1.41	5	1.29	SSDD
Total	2941	99.98	428	99.97	801	100.01	4170	100	213	99.99	388	100	Total



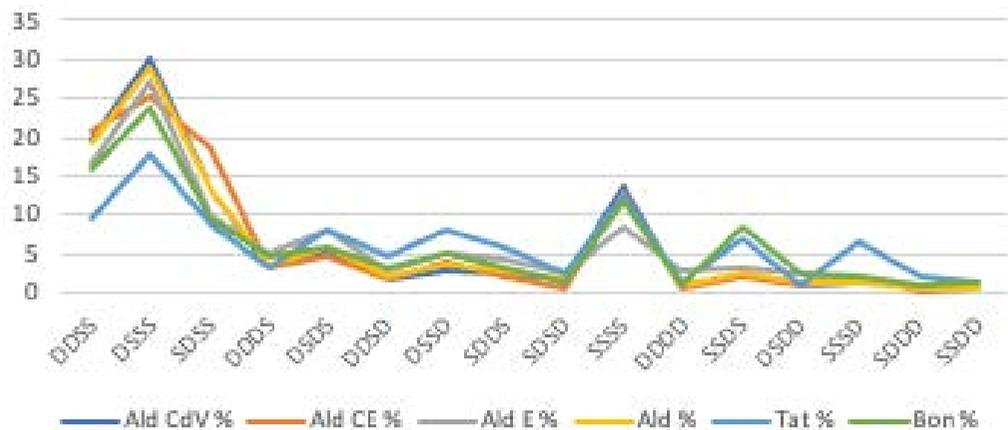
**Figure 2.** The distribution of Aldhelm's hexameter types (%).



**Figure 3.** Adhelm and Alcuin: the distribution of hexameter types (%).



**Figure 4.** Alcuin, Aediluulf, and the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*: the distribution of Northumbrian hexameter types (%).



**Figure 5.** Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Boniface: the distribution of Southumbrian hexameter types (%).

### Alcuin's adonics and Old English verse

Apart from hexameters, Alcuin composed in other metres, namely elegiac couplets, sapphics, and adonics, and it is in the last of these metres that Alcuin appears to mimic the alliterative structure of Old English verse. Adonics are formed from the final two feet of a hexameter, namely a dactyl followed by a spondee or a trochee (so  $\sim\sim | \sim\sim$  or  $\sim\sim | \sim\sim$ ), and, since the metrically dominant *ictus* ('stress' or 'beat') of these feet generally falls on the initial long syllable, they are essentially two-stress verses. As indeed are Old English verses, usually considered as half-lines, with the full lines demonstrating both four positions and structural alliteration, where the first stressed syllable of the second half-line alliterates with one or both of the stressed syllables in

the first half line. Old English also has different rules for alliteration from Latin: in Old English all vowels alliterate, and syllables beginning with *s*- alliterate only with themselves, and do not alliterate with syllables beginning with *st*- or *sp*-. When, contrary to their usual appearance in Latin editions, we rearrange Alcuin's adonics into half-lines (note that his adonics only appear as even numbers of verses), and highlight alliterative patterns, their resemblance to Old English long lines is rather remarkable.<sup>55</sup> In the shorter of these poems, addressed to Gundrada, the cousin of Charlemagne, Alcuin offers a prayer to God (*Carmen* 85.2) that, as I have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere, exhibits structural alliteration very like that of vernacular verse in fourteen of its eighteen 'long lines' (78%), as well as demonstrating other metrical features found more commonly in Old English than in Latin verse.<sup>56</sup>

In the case of Alcuin's only other currently acknowledged poem in adonics (*Carmen* 54), twenty-two out of its thirty 'long lines' demonstrate strict structural alliteration (73%), and all thirty exhibit some kind of alliterative effect, indicated here by **bold** for alliteration linking the two 'half-lines' together, and underlining for interlinear alliterative effects:<sup>57</sup>

Nunc bipedali carmine laudes,  
Credule, dulces, mi tibi nate  
care, canemus. Certo valetō!  
 Semper ubique sit tibi Christus  
 5 pax, via, virtus. Plenus amore  
illius esto, ecce precamur.  
 Te quoque semper protegat ille  
omnibus horis atque momentis;  
 ut tibi nullus ledere possit.  
 10 Curva senectus certe propinquat,  
 signaque vertex candida monstrat,  
 ultima **fata** **forsan** adesse:  
 esto paratus, ecce precamur,  
**ob**uius **ire** **omn**ipotentī,

<sup>55</sup> *Alcuini Carmina*, ed. Dümmler, 303 (*Carm.* 85.2); see too J. D. A. Ogilvy, 'Alcuin's Use of Alliteration', *Modern Language Notes*, 46 (1931), 444–5.

<sup>56</sup> See further A. Orchard, 'Reconstructing *The Ruin*', in (*Inter*)*Texts: Studies in Early Insular Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. H. Scheck & V. Blanton (Tempe, AZ, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 47–70, at 57–60. Note, that in one line of Alcuin's poem (*Carmen* 85.2.7: 'Te cui castum corpore mente'), the word *cui* must be scanned as two short syllables for the metre, against the model of all sixty-six other occurrences of the word in Alcuin's verse, let alone the overwhelming usage of almost every other Latin poet (rare exceptions are found in Martial, *Epig.* 1.105.22, 8.52.3, and 11.72.2; Ausonius, *Ephem.* 15), where the normal scansion is as one long syllable here, 'resolved' into two short syllables, in an apparent echo of the usual Old English practice of resolution, where a short stressed syllable and its unstressed successor equate to the full stress that usually falls on a single long syllable.

<sup>57</sup> *Alcuini Carmina*, ed. Dümmler, 266 (*Carm.* 54).

- 15 **p**ectore gaudens. **P**ax tibi semper,  
 care fidelis, **C**redule nate,  
**p**rimus amore, **a**tque **p**aterno  
**d**isciplulatus **d**ulcis amore.  
 Tuque sophiae scrinea sacrae,  
 20 **a**rca fidei, **e**t tuba vitae  
**p**raeco salutis, **p**rimus in aula.  
 Vox tua **p**lebi **p**andat **O**limpi  
 hostia summa, **l**ucisque templum,  
 laus ubi **C**hristo **p**ersonet alma.  
 25 **H**oc, rogo, **c**armen **o**re **c**aneto,  
**m**ente teneto, **e**t **m**emor esto,  
 obsecro, patris; **s**isque beatus  
**s**emper in aevum. **T**e **c**omitetur  
**g**ratia **C**hristi, **g**loria **c**aeli,  
 30 **p**erpete vita, **p**ax tibi semper.

[‘Now, Credulus (‘devoted one’) son dear to me, for you let us sing sweet praises in two-footed song: fare you truly well! May Christ always and everywhere be to you the peace, the way, the power. Be full of his love, listen, we pray. May he also protect you always, every second, every hour, so that no one can cause you harm. A bowed old age draws clearly near, as a white head shows the signs that the final fate perhaps comes close: be prepared, listen, we pray, to go to face the Almighty rejoicing in heart. Peace to you always, Credulus, dear faithful son, and first in a father’s love, a discipleship sweet in love. And you, a hoard of sacred wisdom, a coffer of faith, a trumpet of life, a preacher of salvation, the foremost in the hall. Your voice reveals the loftiest gateways of heaven to folk, and the temple of light, where holy praise of Christ rings out. Sing this song with your mouth, I pray, keep it in your mind, and, I beg, remember your father; and may you be blessed for ever and ever. May the grace of Christ, the glory of heaven, accompany you in eternal life, peace to you always.’]

Note that the novel nature of the poem is perhaps signalled by the use of the unusual term *bipedalis* (‘two-footed’) in the opening line. In other ways, the poem is typical of Alcuin’s poetic works, especially with regard to repetitions within texts (note that lines 6b and 13b are identical [‘ecce precamur’], as are 15b and 30b [‘pax tibi semper’]), and indeed contains numerous echoes of his verse elsewhere; no fewer than fifteen other ‘half-lines’ have parallels in others of Alcuin’s poems, including one (25b: ‘ore caneto’) shared with the other adonic poem already noted.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, several of these adonics

<sup>58</sup> See further 1b (‘carmine laudes’: *Carm.* 7.2), 4a (‘semper ubique’ occurs thirty times in Alcuin’s verse, at *Carm.* 3.2.3, 3.8.6, 3.34.60, 9.238, 10.16, 11.28, 12.1, 23.32, 25.7, 29.1.2, 37.7, 37.8, 44.26 and 38, 45.6, 46.3, 48.38, 51.2.4, 55.1.12, 57.52, 84.11, 85.1.24, 85.3.17, 89.1.14, 89.8.4, 91.4.3, 99.12.11, 109.18.4, 110.18.9, 113.30), 4b (‘sit tibi Christus’: *Carm.* 9.136, 20.36, 41.5, 48.44, and 112.13), 5b (‘plenus amore’:

can be traced to specific sources among authors that, as we have seen, Alcuin certainly knew, including Vergil, Lucan, Venantius Fortunatus, Juvenius, and Caelius Sedulius.<sup>59</sup>

The intended recipient of this poem is evidently one ‘Credulus’ (‘devoted’, ‘faithful’; note the pun on *fidelis* in line 16), whom Alcuin addresses chiasmatically as a ‘dear son’ (lines 2–3 and 16: *nate / care ... care ... nate*), beloved by his ‘father’ Alcuin (lines 17–18 and 27: *amore ... paterno ... patris*), who also characterises their relationship as one of ‘sweet discipleship’ (line 18: *discipulatus dulcis*), so implying that ‘Credulus’ is a former student. Credulus also appears at the end of a letter from Alcuin (*Epistula* 233, dated 801),<sup>60</sup> addressed to two ‘most dear sons’ (*carissimis filiis*), presumably also former students, and with the equally playful nicknames of ‘Calvinus’ (likely a diminutive of *calvus* [‘bald’]) and ‘Cuculus’ (‘cuckoo’), both whom appear elsewhere in the written record; another letter to Calvinus (*Epistula* 209, dated around the middle of 800), identifies him as a priest and monk of a foundation dedicated to St Stephen (*presbitero ... in cella sancti Stephani*), while Cuculus is also the addressee of a further letter from Arno, Bishop of Salzburg, another of Alcuin’s colleagues and correspondents, as well as of several poems by Alcuin himself (*Carm.* 58–60).<sup>61</sup> The letter to Calvinus and Cuculus urges them to strengthen the resolve of Archbishop Eanbald II of York (c. 796–c. 808), yet another former student (and also the successor of his

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*Carm.* 3.1.2 and 99.8.2), 7b (‘protegat ille’: *Carm.* 47.10), 8a (‘omnibus horis’: *Carm.* 1.858, 3.13.9, 8.11, 27.6, 52.15, 65.4.15, 95.19, 100.2.4, and 109.23.4), 8b (‘atque momentis’: *Carm.* 76.1.15), 21a (‘preco salutis’: *Carm.* 1.1400, 3.12.7, 90.15.4, 106.1.3, and 109.17.3), 22b (‘pandat Olimpi’: *Carm.* 109.2.5), 23a (‘hostia summa’: *Carm.* 117.1.5), 25b (‘ore caneto’: *Carm.* 85.2.27), 26a (‘mente teneto’: *Carm.* 1.1320), 26b (‘memor esto’: *Carm.* 16.3, 20.40, 29.1.4, 48.5, 50.31, 90.10.2, 109.8.2, and 109.11.6), 28b (‘semper in aevum’: *Carm.* 1.104 and 65.4.18), and 29a (‘gratia Christi’: *Carm.* 1.479, 3.31.11, 3.34.51, 28.29, 31.3, 44.33, 47.8, 76.2.11, 83.1.1, 90.1.11, 99.12.12, and 99.15.8).

<sup>59</sup> Compare Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.287 (‘Hic iuuenum chorus, ille senum, qui *carmine laudes*’), 10.770 (‘*Obuius ire* parat. manet imperterritus ille’), and 3.388 (‘Signa tibi dicam, tu condita *mente teneto*’) with lines 1b, 14a, and 26a of Alcuin’s poem; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 7.380 (‘Ludibrium soceri, uester pudor, *ultima fata*’) and 12a; Venantius Fortunatus *Carm.* 5.3.3 (‘Hoc puer exertus celebret, hoc *curua senectus*’) and 10a; Juvenius, *Libri euangeliorum* 2.508 (‘Suscepisse sibi gaudebit *perpete uita*’); Sedulius, *Hymn* 1.17–18 (‘*Hostia summa* Patris, tacitis signata figuris / Quam reserat Christus, *hostia summa* Patris’).

<sup>60</sup> E. Dümmler (ed.), *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, MGH, Epist. 4.2 (Berlin, 1895), 378–9 (Alcuin’s letters are on pp. 1–481). There is only one extant manuscript of this letter, British Library, Harley 208 (s. ix<sup>1</sup>, Saint-Denis, prov. England s. x/xi [prov. York]), fols 61r–v. The manuscript contains no fewer than ninety-one of Alcuin’s letters, as well as three of his poems (*Carm.* 48, 45, and 40), all three of which relate to the sending and receiving of verse. It also contains a scribble in a 10th-century hand in the lower margin of fol. 88r, which appears to paraphrase *Beowulf* 869–71a, alongside a part of the Pater Noster scribbled in the upper margin. See further M. B. Parkes, ‘*Rædan, areccan, smeagan*: How the Anglo-Saxons Read’, *ASE*, 26 (1997), 1–22, at 19; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 229; A. Orchard, ‘The Word Made Flesh: Christianity and Oral Culture in Anglo-Saxon Verse’, *Oral Tradition*, 24 (2009), 293–318, at 309; Thomson, *Communal Creativity*, 256–9.

<sup>61</sup> Dümmler (ed.), *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, 346–9. It is perhaps worth noting that this letter to Calvinus also appears in Harley 208, fols 25v–29r.

beloved Ælberht), to whom Alcuin gives the nickname ‘Simeon’, both in terms of curbing his land-acquisition and his sheltering the enemies of King Eardwulf of Northumbria (who ruled 796–806): Alcuin also questions why the archbishop has so many warriors in his retinue, and assumes that it is out of compassion (‘Et quid ei in comitatu suo tantus numerus militum? De misericordiae causa eos habere uidetur’). Eanbald’s high-handed behaviour, evidently so disappointing to his former teacher, highlights the political role of senior churchmen and their part in protecting rival royal factions, and the fact that they might hold courts and keep retinues every bit as grand as secular lords.<sup>62</sup> At the end of the letter, Alcuin asks to be remembered to Credulus, evidently a nickname for an Anglo-Saxon individual, and therefore a particularly appropriate recipient for a poem in adonics which contains echoes of so many school-text authors and Alcuin’s own verse. In choosing to employ vernacular alliterative patterning in Latin verse, Alcuin was simply following in the footsteps of Aldhelm, Æthilwald, and Boniface, each of whom had attempted a similar kind of experimental alliterative exercise in rhythmical octosyllables over the preceding century.<sup>63</sup>

There remains the intriguing possibility that Alcuin and Credulus may be associated by a further adonic poem; certainly, the table of contents in both manuscripts of the so-called Bamberg florilegium noted above mentions the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* and *Hymnus Nynie episcopi* as the antepenultimate and penultimate items in the poetic Book 4 of the compilation, followed by an entry that reads ‘Albinus Credulus’.<sup>64</sup> The poem in question, which concerns the birth of Christ, comprises twenty-six stanzas, each of six adonics, as laid out in the current edition; when recast into long lines of paired adonics (as indeed they are presented in the Bamberg manuscript), they demonstrate both structural and ornamental alliteration to a similar extent as the other adonics discussed here (the figures given above are 78% and 73%), with again around three-quarters of the ‘long lines’ exhibiting alliteration between the relevant ‘half-lines’.

If these three poems, each of which is associated with Alcuin and composed in Latin adonics but showing clear signs of the patterning of Old English alliterative verse, bear witness to an interpenetration of Latin and vernacular poetry, the same

<sup>62</sup> See D. Whitelock, *The Audience of ‘Beowulf’* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1951), 88.

<sup>63</sup> See further, A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 29–72; B. Miles, ‘The *Carmina Rhythmica* of Æthilwald: Edition, Translation, and Commentary,’ *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), 73–117; A. Orchard, ‘The Earliest Old English Poetics: an Anglo-Latin Perspective’, in *Old English Poetics: Metre, Manuscripts and Style*, ed. R. Burns & R. Pascual (York, ARC–Humanities, forthcoming).

<sup>64</sup> The relevant entries are on folio 133va of the Bamberg manuscript and folio 94r in the Escorial manuscript.

can be said of a number of Latin–Old English macaronic verses, notably the concluding eleven lines of *The Phoenix*, which is contained on folio 65v of the Exeter Book, where alliterating half-lines in Old English and Latin (both containing two-stresses) are regularly paired (*Phoenix*, 667–77; since there are so many scribal issues, I present the manuscript-readings from the Exeter Book [E] in the right-hand margin):<sup>65</sup>

	Hafað us alyfed lucis auctor	a <sup>u</sup> ctor E
	þæt we motun her merueri,	
	god-dædum begietan <i>gaudia in celo</i> ,	
670	þær we motun <i>maxima regna</i>	motum E
	secan ond gesittan <i>sedibus altis</i> ,	
	lifgan in lisse lucis et pacis,	
	agan eardinga almae letitae,	alma leti tię E
	brucan blæd-daga, blandem et mitem	mittem E
675	geseon sigora frean <i>sine fine</i> ,	
	ond him lof singan <i>laude perenni</i> ,	perenne E
	eadge mid englum. Alleluia.	

[‘The author of light has granted us that we may merit here to attain through good deeds joys in heaven, where we may seek the greatest kingdom and sit on lofty thrones, live in the bliss of light and peace, have dwellings of kindly happiness, enjoy glorious days, see the lord of victories calm and kind without end and sing his praise with continuous acclaim, blessed among the angels. Hallelujah.’]

Here, two-stress Latin half-lines alliterate with their Old English pairs; in the penultimate line, indeed, Old English *lof* (‘praise’) is matched with its Latin equivalent *laude* (‘praise’), while the common patristic tag *lucis auctor*, which opens the Latin sequence, has a precise equivalent in Old English verse, where the compound *leoht-fruma* is found thirteen times, always in the formula *lifes leoht-fruma*. It will be noted that four of the Latin half-lines are adonics or (in the case of *sine fine*) represent the bulk of an adonic line, and that two of them have close matches in a single poem of Alcuin’s (while of course also elsewhere), where the adonics in question form the last lines of sapphic stanzas;<sup>66</sup> minor emendations to *gaudia caeli* (‘the joys of heaven’: *Phoenix* 669b) and *iam sine fine* (‘endless from then on’: *Phoenix* 675b) would increase the overlap still further.<sup>67</sup> Also noteworthy, however, is the use of the form *merueri* in

<sup>65</sup> Despite the scribal difficulties, there seems to have been an effort to distinguish letter-forms (especially *a* and *s*) and abbreviations between the Latin and Old English half-lines. See further on this passage from *The Phoenix* the illuminating discussion of Alexandra Reider, ‘The Multilingual English Manuscript Page, c. 950–1300’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2019).

<sup>66</sup> Note that *sedibus altis* and *laude perenni* collocate in Alcuin, *Carm.* 89.28.28 and 40.

<sup>67</sup> Note *gaudia caeli* (Alcuin, *Carm.* 95.17 [also Paulinus, *Carm.* 21.839 and Boniface, *Carm.* 1.10]) and *iam sine fine* (Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.34.72, 15.14, and 76.3.4; the phrase *sine fine* is a commonplace for Alcuin,

line 668b, which is impossible in Latin, where the expected form would be *mereri*, but is presumably coined here to fit the usual two-stress and four-position structure of Old English verse; if three-position verses were permissible, as some critics argue, there would seem no reason to invent such a nonce-form here.<sup>68</sup> Note too that the *Phoenix*-poet is one of a very small number from Anglo-Saxon England (as we have seen, Alcuin and Aediluulf are others) who demonstrates not only knowledge of Lactantius, who is his main source, but also perhaps Dracontius' *De laudibus dei*; Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus' *De origine mundi*; and Flavius Cresconius Corippus' *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*.<sup>69</sup>

### Cynewulf and earlier Latin verse

Now, the *Phoenix* is one of several Old English poems, along with *Andreas*, *Guthlac B*, and the so-called *Physiologus*-poems (*Panther*, *Whale*, and *Partridge*) that are commonly considered 'Cynewulfian', in other words having some kind of relationship to the four signed poems of Cynewulf (*Christ B* and *Juliana* from the Exeter Book, and *Elene* and *The Fates of the Apostles* from the Vercelli Book).<sup>70</sup> Recent studies place Cynewulf in the period 750 × 850,<sup>71</sup> so spanning the period of the verse of Alcuin, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, and Aediluulf, which might all be placed in the period *c.* 780 × *c.* 820. At first glance, the immediate manuscript contexts of the four

with thirty-odd examples).

<sup>68</sup> For the notion of three-position verses, see the contrary views of, for example, E. Weiskott, 'Three-position Verses in *Beowulf*', *Notes and Queries*, 60 (2013), 483–5; R. J. Pascual, 'Three-position Verses and the Metrical Practice of the *Beowulf*-Poet', *SELIM*, 20 (2013–14), 49–79. The odd form *merueri*, which offers four positions, is presumably derived on the model of the third-person perfect poetic form, *meruēre*, which was widely used in Classical and Late Latin verse, and certainly known to and used by Anglo-Latin poets (Aldhelm, *Virg.* 2118; Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.16.10 and 89.15.4; Aediluulf, *DA* 20.8). The usual form of the infinitive, *mereri*, as required here, is used at verse-end by both Bede (*VCM* 410) and Alcuin (*Carm.* 62.4); in the latter case, the full phrase in question is *caelestia regna mereri* ('to deserve the heavenly kingdoms'), and, given the evident problem the Exeter Book scribe had with the Latin, as well as other parallels (Juvenecus, *Euang.* 3.495 [*regna mereri*]; Aldhelm, *Virg.* 760 [*caelorum regna merentes*] and 2815 [*Christi regna merentur*]), it is very tempting to emend *Phoenix* 668b to *regna mereri*.

<sup>69</sup> See E. K. C. Gorst, 'Latin Sources of the Old English *Phoenix*', *Notes and Queries*, 53 (2006), 136–42.

<sup>70</sup> A. Orchard, 'The Originality of *Andreas*', in *Old English Philology: Studies in Honour of R. D. Fulk*, ed. L. Neidorf, R. J. Pascual & T. Shippey (Cambridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 331–70, especially 352–70; H. McK. Bailey, 'Architecture as Authoritative Reader: Splitting Stones in *Andreas* and *Christ III*', *Leeds Studies in English* (2017), 125–43; D. Evans, 'New Judgments on the Originality of *Andreas*: The Case of *Christ III*' (unpublished BA dissertation, University of Oxford, 2019).

<sup>71</sup> The most comprehensive study remains that by R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 351–68; *idem*, 'Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date', in *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, ed., Bjork, 3–21.

signed poems only adds to the confusion. The so-called Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII),<sup>72</sup> contains on fols. 52v–54r the poem now called *The Fates of the Apostles*, with the runic signature **FWULCYN**, and on fols. 121r–133v the poem modern editors have entitled *Elene*, with the runic signature **CYNEWULF**; by contrast, the most diverse of the surviving Old English poetic codices, the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501, s. x<sup>2</sup>, prob. SW England [or Canterbury CC??], prov. Exeter by s. xi<sup>3/4</sup>),<sup>73</sup> contains the poems now known as *Christ B* or *Ascension* (fols. 14r–20v) and *Juliana* (fols. 65v–76r): the former is signed **CYNWULF**, the latter **CYNEWULF**. From his language, it seems evident that Cynewulf is an Anglian, and the balance of linguistic probability, based on rhymes and (in particular) the *e*-spelling of his name found in two of the four runic signatures, has been held by most to make him more likely Mercian than Northumbrian (an argument addressed in Appendix 2), though he certainly seems to share the same educational milieu as the Northumbrian Anglo-Latin poets we have focused on so far.<sup>74</sup>

All of Cynewulf's signed poems (like those of the 'Cynewulfian' penumbra) rely to a greater or lesser extent on Latin sources, and Cynewulf's early education in Latin would unquestionably have relied on the same set of school-texts, mainly in verse, on which (for example) Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, and Aediluulf can all be shown to have relied. In his catalogue in the York-poem, Alcuin names Caelius Sedulius first of the Christian–Latin poets, and certainly the influence of Sedulius on Alcuin's poetry, as on that of Aediluulf and the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, is easily and extensively documented. Elsewhere, I have discussed in detail how towards the beginning of *Christ B*, Cynewulf seems to be consciously echoing the syntax and structure of some lines very close to the end of the final book of Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*, in which Christ exhorts the apostles to go out and spread the Word.<sup>75</sup> In the current context, it is worth briefly rehearsing the passages in question; Sedulius's account reads as follows (*CP* 5.416–21):<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup>For bibliography, see G–L 941; for facsimiles, see Celia Sisam (ed.), *The Vercelli Book* (EEMF 19; London, Allen & Unwin, 1976) and Max Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese con Omelie e Poesie in Lingua Anglosassone* (Rome, 1913). See now S. Zacher & A. Orchard (eds), *New Readings in the Vercelli Book* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009).

<sup>73</sup>For bibliography, see G–L 257; for a facsimile, see R. W. Chambers, M. Förster & Robin Flower (eds), *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (London, Lund Humphries, 1933).

<sup>74</sup>See Appendix 2 for a detailed discussion of the four runic signatures, and further consideration of the identity of Cynewulf.

<sup>75</sup>A. Orchard, 'Both Style and Substance: the Case for Cynewulf', in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. C. Karkov & G. H. Brown (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 2003), 271–305, at 290–1.

<sup>76</sup>C. P. E. Springer (trans.), *Sedulius, 'The Paschal Song and Hymns'* (Atlanta, GA, Society of Biblical Literature, 2013).

Inde sequenda docens, Pacem omnes, inquit, habete,  
 Pacem ferte meam, pacem portate quietam,  
 Pacem per populos monitis dispergite sanctis  
 Et mundum uacuate malis: gentesque uocari  
 420 Finibus e cunctis, latus qua tenditur orbis,  
 Iussis mando meis omnesque in fonte lauari.

[‘Then, teaching what needed to be followed, he said “All of you have peace, bear my peace, carry quiet peace, spread peace throughout the nations with holy advice, and purge the world of wickedness: I command that the nations are summoned from every corner, wherever the broad world extends, and all on my orders be washed in the spring”.’]

Sedulius has Christ combine a fourfold repetition of the word ‘peace’ (*pacem*) with a fivefold injunction, couched in consecutive imperatives (*habete ... ferte ... portate ... dispergite ... uacuate*), with the whole passage amply ornamented with aural effects including alliteration (*pacem portate ... Pacem per populos*), assonance (*uacuate ... uocari*), and rhyme (*uocari ... lauari*). Such artistry expands greatly on its simple biblical source, which does not mention peace, and has only a single imperative,<sup>77</sup> and this evident discrepancy in tone and style is set into still sharper focus when the parallel passage produced by Cynewulf is compared (*Christ B* 481–90; parallels elsewhere in Old English verse highlighted in **bold italics**):<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Matthew 28:19–20 reads as follows: *Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi* [‘Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.’]

<sup>78</sup> Parallels:

<481>	<i>Farað nu geond ealle</i> eorðan sceatas lytesna ofer <i>ealne yrmenne grund</i>	<i>And</i> 332 <i>Jul</i> 10
<482>	<i>geond wid-wegas</i> wundor sceawian <i>geond wid-wegas</i> , wine min Beowulf <i>geond wid-wegas</i> wearnum ealle oððæt him <i>gecyðde</i> cyning ælmihtig / wundor for <i>weorodum</i> þeah ðe he <i>wundra</i> feala <i>weorodum gecyðde</i>	<i>Beo</i> 840 <i>Beo</i> 1704 <i>PPs144:2</i> 41 <i>El</i> 865–66 <i>And</i> 564
<483>	<i>bodiað</i> æfter burgum <i>beorhtne geleafan</i> berað in breostum <i>beorhtne geleafan</i>	<i>And</i> 335 <i>Guth A</i> 798
<484>	þara ðe gefremedon <i>folc under roderum</i>	<i>ChristB</i> 526
<486>	<i>feodan ond fyldon</i> . Hwæþre forð bicwom	<i>ChristB</i> 709
<487>	<i>seow</i> ond sette geond <i>sefan monna</i>	<i>ChristB</i> 663
<488>	þurh his <i>mihta sped</i> monna spræce metodes miltse and his <i>mihta sped</i> meotod <i>mihta sped</i> , Moysesægde of his mægen-þrymme ond þe <i>meahta sped</i>	<i>Gen A</i> 1696 <i>Dan</i> 334 <i>El</i> 366 <i>Christ A</i> 296

- ‘*Farað nu geond ealne yrmenne grund,  
geond wid-wegas, weoredum cyðað,  
bodiað ond bremað beorhtne geleafan,  
ond fulwiað folc under roderum.*
- 485 Hweorfað to hæpnum, hergas breotaþ,  
*fyllað ond feogað,* feondscype dwæscað,  
sibbe sawað on sefan manna  
*þurh meahta sped. Ic* eow mid wunige,  
forð on frofre, ond eow *friðe healde*
- 490 *strengðu stapol-fæstre* on *stowa gehware.*’

[‘Go now throughout all the expansive earth, throughout the wide paths, and make known to the masses, preach and proclaim the glittering faith, and baptise people under the skies. Turn to the heathens, shatter the idols, cast them down and despise them, wipe out enmity, sow peace in men’s hearts, through the abundance of your powers. I shall remain with you henceforth as a comfort, and shall keep you in peace with a steadfast strength in every place.’]

This extraordinary passage appears to be directly inspired by the equivalent lines from Sedulius, and outdoes Sedulius’ fivefold expansion of the single biblically sanctioned imperative (from Matthew 28:19–20) with no fewer than eleven consecutive imperatives, including two sequences of three that both exhibit ‘clashing verbs’, where a finite verb at the end of a b-line is followed immediately over the line-boundary (here marked ‘/’) by another finite verb at the beginning of the following a-line, a pattern heightened here by double alliteration of finite verbs in that a-line (*Farað ... cyðað / bodiað ond bremað ... fulwiað ... Hweorfað ... breotaþ / fyllað ond feogað ... dwæscað ... sawað*). Sedulius’s fourfold invocation of peace is here reduced to two (*sibbe ... friðe*), but since the biblical passage has no such references at all, the link with Sedulius seems secure. The parallel lines from Sedulius occur just seventeen lines from the end of the *Carmen Paschale* as a whole, and is followed by the account of Christ’s Ascension (Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* 5.422–38).

	mægwlite me gelicne. Geaf ic þe eac <i>meahta sped</i>	<i>Christ C</i> 1383
	in middan-geard, hwæpre his <i>meahta sped</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 640
	mona gemetgað <i>ðurh</i> ðinra <i>meahta sped</i>	<i>Met</i> 4 9
	monna cynne, <i>ðurh</i> ðinra <i>mehta sped</i>	<i>Met</i> 4 32
<489>	<i>forð on frofre.</i> Þæs ge fægre sceolon	<i>Christ C</i> 1360
	þam fæstenne; wit þe <i>friðe healdað</i>	<i>Gen A</i> 2530
	ferð-gefeonde! <i>Ic</i> þe <i>friðe healde</i>	<i>And</i> 915
	nis þe to frecne. <i>Ic</i> þe <i>friðe healde</i>	<i>And</i> 1432
	forht ne fæge, ac me <i>friðe healdeð</i>	<i>Guth A</i> 310
<490>	stepeð <i>stronglice stapol-fæst</i> ne mæg	<i>Jul</i> 374
	<i>stapol-fæst</i> styrend in <i>stowa gehwam</i>	<i>And</i> 121

The Ascension is of course the primary focus of *Christ B* (also sometimes called simply *Ascension*), the main sources of which were long ago identified as an Ascension homily by Gregory the Great and a hymn on the same theme by Bede;<sup>79</sup> it is particularly noteworthy here that the pericope for Gregory's homily comes from a quite different Gospel (Mark 16:14–20), where Christ's injunction to the Apostles is somewhat etiolated when compared with what is found in Cynewulf, especially in the rhetorically crafted form rendered by Sedulius.<sup>80</sup> It is as if in *Christ B* Cynewulf is picking up where Sedulius left off, in somewhat the same way that one might argue that in *The Fates of the Apostles*, Cynewulf is continuing the work of Arator in his *Actus apostolorum*; others have similarly argued that Cynewulf deliberately composed *Christ B* as a hinge to link the pre-existing *Christ A* (the *The Advent Lyrics*) and *Christ C* (*Christ in Judgment*),<sup>81</sup> a notion that finds further support below.<sup>82</sup>

This passage from *Christ B* appears to have a particular link to another in the Cynewulfian poem *Andreas*,<sup>83</sup> where Christ again exhorts the apostles (*Andreas* 332–39; parallels elsewhere in Old English verse highlighted in **bold italics**):<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Gregory's *Hom. XXIX* is in *Homiliae in Euangelia*, ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1999), 244–54; for Bede's Ascension hymn, see Lapidge, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 362–72, where it is *Hymnus III*, and is discussed at 126–31.

<sup>80</sup> The relevant part (Mark 16:15) reads very simply as follows: *Et dixit eis: Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae.*

<sup>81</sup> C. Chase, 'God's Presence through Grace as the Theme of Cynewulf's *Christ II* and the Relationship of this Theme to *Christ I* and *Christ III*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3 (1974), 87–101; T. D. Hill, 'Literary History and Old English Poetry: The Case of *Christ I, II, III*', *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. E. Szarmach with the assistance of V. Darrow Oggins (Studies in Medieval Culture 20; Kalamazoo, MI, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), 3–22.

<sup>82</sup> Likewise, *Guthlac B* has a clear relationship with *Guthlac A*, the wording of which it appears to borrow at several points. Cynewulf also seems to borrow the phrasing of *Guthlac A* in his signed poems: see the discussion in Appendix 2.

<sup>83</sup> See in general R. North & M. D. J. Bintley (eds), *Andreas: An Edition* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2016); for a recent tentative argument that Cynewulf also wrote *Andreas*, see L. Neidorf, *et al.*, 'Large-scale Quantitative Profiling of the Old English Verse Tradition', *Nature: Human Behaviour*, 3 (2019), 560–7.

<sup>84</sup> Parallels:

<332>	<i>Farað nu geond ealne</i> yrmenne grund	<i>Christ B</i> 481
<332–34>	cwæð þæt se ælmihtiga <i>eorðan</i> worhte / wlite-beorhtne <i>wang swa wæter bebugeð</i>	<i>Beo</i> 92–93
	<i>ealne wide</i> -ferhþ weras eahtigað / <i>efne swa</i> side <i>swa sæ bebugeð</i>	<i>Beo</i> 1222–23
<333–35>	<i>emne swa wide swa</i> ... / ... innan <i>burgum</i> / <i>stræte</i> stan-fage	<i>And</i> 1234–36
<334>	<i>stan</i> on <i>stræte</i> of stede-wange	<i>And</i> 774
<335>	<i>bodiað</i> ond bremað <i>beorhtne geleafan</i>	<i>Christ B</i> 483
<336>	<i>Ic eow</i> mid wunige / forð on frofre, ond <i>eow friðe healde</i>	<i>Christ B</i> 489b–90
	ferð-gefeonde <i>ic</i> þe <i>friðe healde</i>	<i>And</i> 915
	nis þe to frecne <i>ic</i> þe <i>friðe healde</i>	<i>And</i> 1432

‘*Farað nu geond ealle eorðan* sceatas  
*emne swa wide swa wæter bebugeð,*  
 oððe stede-*wangas stræte* gelicgaþ.  
 335 *Bodiað* æfter *burgum beorhtne geleafan*  
 ofer foldan fæðm. *Ic eow freoðo healde.*’

[‘Go now throughout all the corners of the earth, even as widely as the water encircles, or the plains describe a path. Preach throughout the towns the glittering faith, across the bosom of the earth; I shall keep you safe.’]

Note that, while in these lines the *Andreas*-poet seems clearly to be consciously echoing the parallel passage from *Christ B*, the lines borrowed from Cynewulf are interleaved with some that also appear to borrow from and conflate two passages from *Beowulf*, in a manner that is evident throughout *Andreas*, which evidently relies on a range of borrowings from earlier works, notably the signed poems of Cynewulf, *Beowulf*, *Guthlac A*, *Guthlac B*, and *Christ C*, but also exhibits overlapping diction with several other poems, such as the *Phoenix*, the *Whale*, and *Juliana*, where the direction of borrowing is at present less clear-cut.<sup>85</sup> What is also apparent in the present passage from *Andreas*, however, is that in its combination of lines from both Cynewulf and *Beowulf*, the *Andreas*-poet has departed from the lines of Caelius Sedulius that apparently inspired Cynewulf in crafting the passage in *Christ B*.

Nor is this the only passage from *Christ B* that appears in its carefully choreographed structure and style to have been influenced by Sedulius; in a *tour de force* outlining the ranges of choices given to man by Christ, Cynewulf presents a clear set of parallels and employs copious anaphora, here given in *bold italics*, and grammatical end-rhyme or homoeoteleuton, here highlighted by **bold double-underlining** (*Christ B* 586–603):

Hwæt, we nu gehyrdan hu þæt hælu-bearn  
 þurh his hyder-cyme hals eft forgeaf,  
 gefreode ond gefreoþade folc under wolcnum,  
 mære meotudes sunu, þæt nu monna gehwylc  
 590 cwic þendan her wunað, geceosan mot  
*swa helle hienþu swa heofones mærþu,*  
*swa þæt leohte leoht swa ða laþan niht,*  
*swa þrymmes þræce swa þystra wræce,*  
*swa mid dryhten dream swa mid deoflum hream,*  
 595 *swa wite mid wrapum swa wuldor mid arum,*  
*swa lif swa deað, swa him leofre bið*  
 to gefremmanne, þenden flæsc ond gæst  
 wuniað in worulde. Wuldor þæs age  
 þrynysse þrym, þonc butan ende.

<sup>85</sup> See Orchard, ‘The Originality of *Andreas*’.

600    Ðæt is þæs wyrðe    þætte wer-þeode  
           secgen dryhtne þonc    duguða gehwylcere  
           þe us sið ond ær    simle gefremede  
           þurh monigfealdra    mæгна geryno.

[‘Listen! We have now heard how that child of salvation gave back health through his coming hither, freed and supported folk under the skies, the famed son of the creator, so that now everyone alive living here may choose as much the humiliation of hell as the glory of heaven, the lightsome light as the hateful night, the force of might as the exile of darkness, joy with the lord as sorrow among devils, punishment with foes as glory with benefits, life as death, as each is dearer to him to achieve while flesh and spirit abide in the world. For this may the might of the Trinity have glory, thanks without end. It is fitting that nations say thanks to the lord, for each of the advantages which he has continually done us early and late through the mystery of his manifold powers.’]

This passage has been analysed and justly praised many times, most eloquently by Peter Clemons, who cites it as an example of how Cynewulf ‘uses rhythm to create outward pattern’.<sup>86</sup> That the passage is a set-piece seems clear from the fact that so many rhetorical techniques are combined here. The passage begins with a pair of lines highlighted through continued alliteration on *h-*, a paronomastic verbal doublet (*gefneode ond gefneopade*) that itself forms the climax of an alliterative *tricolon abundans* consisting of three finite verbs (*forgeaf gefneode ond gefneopade*),<sup>87</sup> rhyme (*folc under wolcnum*), and perhaps also by paronomasia, if some aural connection between *hælu-* and *hals* is intended). Here too, close parallels of phrasing seem to connect this passage not only with the rest of the poem, but with others of the signed texts. There seems a clear echo of the lines here describing the choice to be made by all sinful mankind (*ChristB* 596–7a: ‘swa lif swa deað, swa him leofre bið / to gefremmanne’) in the specific threat made by Elene to the beleaguered Judas (*El* 606–7a: ‘swa lif swa deað, swa þe leofre bið / to geceosanne’), as well as in the grim offer made to the pagan suitor Heliseus by Juliana’s father (*Jul* 87–88: ‘Dem þu hi to deaþe, gif þe gedafen þince, / swa to life læt, swa þe leofre sy’), and also the use of two characteristic pieces of Cynewulfian word-play: the alliteration of the etymologically distinct terms *wer-þeode* (‘nations’) and *wyrðe* (‘fitting’, ‘worthy’) found here in line 600 is echoed in both *Fates* (‘wide geweorðod ofer wer-þeoda’, *Fates* 15) and *Juliana* (‘wid ond weorðlic ofer wer-þeode’, *Jul* 9; ‘he is þæs wyrðe, þæt hine wer-þeode’, *Jul* 643), while a further phrase encapsulating the ‘might of the Trinity’ (*þrynysse þrym*, *ChristB* 599a) is found

<sup>86</sup> P. Clemons, *Rhythm and Cosmic Order in Old English Christian Literature* (Cambridge, CUP, 1970), 11–12; see too his ‘Cynewulf’s Image of the Ascension’, in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemons & K. Hughes (Cambridge, CUP, 1971), 293–304.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. earlier *ChristB* 482b–483 (*cyðað bodiað ond bremað*) and 485b–486 (*breotaþ fyllað ond feogað*).

in various forms in a further five poems, two of which are signed by Cynewulf (*El* 177a and *Jul* 726 [‘þonne seo þrynis þrym-sittende’]), and three of which have other Cynewulfian connections (*And* 1685 [‘in þrinnesse þrymme wealdeð’]; *Guth A* 646a; *Jud* 86a).<sup>88</sup>

Cynewulf’s model for this passage, which again has no close parallel in the main sources for *Christ B*, appears to be a very similarly structured episode near the beginning of Book 4 of the *Carmen paschale*, where Sedulius compares wealth on earth and in heaven, culminating (like Cynewulf) with a life-or-death contrast (*CP* 4.19–30; as above, anaphora is given in ***bold italics***, and grammatical end-rhyme or homoeoteleuton is highlighted by **bold double-underlining**):

- Nam proprias bene tractat opes caeloque recondi  
 20 Thesauros uult ille suos, ubi quidquid habetur  
***Non*** mordax aerugo vorat, ***non*** tinea sulcat,  
***Nec*** male defossu[m] famulatur furibus aurum,  
 Ieiunis qui ferre cibum, sitientibus haustu[m],  
 Hospitibus tectu[m], nudis largitur amictu[m],  
 25 Solatur nexos in carcere, perfouet aegros,  
 Atque aliis largus, sibi tantum constat egenus.  
***Nec*** dubie in caelum substantia[m] peruenit illa  
***Quae*** Christo conlata datur sub paupere forma  
***Quae*** damnis augmenta capit, ***quae*** spargitur ut sit  
 30 ***Quae*** perit ut maneat, ***quae*** vitam mortua praestat.

[‘For that man treats his own wealth well and wants his treasure-hoards to be piled up in heaven, where whatever is held corroding rust does not devour, worm does not burrow, nor is buried gold badly served by thieves, but the one who provides food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, a roof to guests, clothing to the naked, comforts those confined in prison, looks after the sick, and although generous to others is mean-spirited to himself alone. Without doubt that substance pervades in heaven which, conferred on Christ, is given under a poor form, which grants gains to losses, which is scattered so that it may be, which perishes that it may remain, which, when dead, offers life.’]

It is intriguing to note that another clearly Cynewulfian poem, the *Phoenix*, also includes two passages that, like the one in *Christ B*, employs a powerful combination of anaphora, rhyme, and double alliteration (*Phoenix* 11–27 and 50–64a), greatly

<sup>88</sup> On the connection between these poems and Cynewulf, see further below. In a similar vein, one might note the distribution of the phrase ‘might of all mights’ or ‘power of all powers’ (*eal[l]ra þrymma þrym*) found in two of the signed poems (*El* 483a and *Christ B* 726a), as well as in two further poems with Cynewulfian connections (*GuthB* 1103a and *Phoen* 628a).

augmenting its Latin source, Lactantius, at both points (*De aue phoenice* 2–8 and 15–25).<sup>89</sup>

In broader terms, the best parallel for such a rhyming and rhetorical *tour de force* on a homiletic theme as is found here in *Christ B* is the reflexive and self-referential passage in *Elene* that immediately precedes the runic signature (*El* 1236–56a).<sup>90</sup>

	Þus ic frod ond fus þurh þæt fæcne hus	
	word-cræftum wæf ond wundrum læs,	cræft V
	þragum þreodude ond geþanc reodode	
	nihtes nearwe. Nysse ic gearwe	
1240	be ðære rode riht ær me rumran geþeaht	rode <i>not in V</i>
	þurh ða mæran miht on modes þeaht	
	wisdom onwreah. Ic wæs weorcum fah	
	synnum asæled, sorgum gewæled,	
	bitrum gebunden, bisgum beþrunge,	be'sgum V
1245	ær me lare onlag þurh leohtne had	
	gamelum to geoce, gife unscynde	
	mægen-cyning amæt ond on gemynd begeat,	
	torht ontynde, tidum gerymde,	
	ban-cofan onband, breost-locan onwand,	
1250	leoðu-cræft onleac. Þæs ic lustum breac,	
	willum in worlde. Ic þæs wuldres treowes	
	oft, nales æne, hæfde ingemynd	
	ær ic þæt wundor onwripen hæfde	
	ymb þone beorhtan beam, swa ic on bocum fand,	
1255	wyrda gangum, on gewritum cyðan	
	be ðam sige-beacne.	

[‘Thus I, a veteran eager for the end from that traitorous abode, wove with word-skill and wondrously gleaned, pondered for periods and sifted my thoughts in the narrows of the night. I did not fully recognise the dues of the Cross, before wisdom revealed an ampler understanding through exalted might in my mind’s thinking. I was stained by deeds, shackled by sins, afflicted by sorrows, bound by bitternesses, wound round with worries, before the King of Might bestowed teaching on me in a dazzling manner as aid to an old man, meted out an unspoilt gift and poured it into my mind, disclosed brilliance, amplified it sometimes, unbound my body, unwound my chest-enclosure, unlocked poetic craft. I have made use of that happily, willingly in the world. Often, not once, had I inner

<sup>89</sup> See further J. Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity: Latin Rhetoric in Old English Poetry* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008), 43–7.

<sup>90</sup> On *Elene* in general, see J. Gardner, ‘Cynewulf’s *Elene*: Sources and Structure’, *Neophilologus*, 54 (1970) 65–76; R. DiNapoli, ‘Poesis and Authority: Traces of an Anglo-Saxon *agon* in Cynewulf’s *Elene*’, *Neophilologus*, 82 (1998), 619–30; H. McK. Bailey, ‘Memory, Sight and Love in Cynewulf’s *Elene*’, *English Studies*, 97 (2016), 577–93.

remembrance of the tree of glory, before I had uncovered that miracle about that bright tree, as I found in books, in the course of events, revealed in writings about that symbol of victory.’]

The rhyming passage from *Christ B* is bounded by two inclusive first-person plural references to ‘we’ and ‘us’ (*we ... us* [*ChristB* 586a and 602a]), opening with a traditional invocation that, uniquely in the extant corpus, refers to an immediate present (*nu*): ‘Listen! We have now heard’ (*Hwat, we nu gehyrdan* [*ChristB* 586a]). If the passage from *Christ B* is very much set in the moment, in stark contrast, the corresponding rhyming passage from *Elene* makes threefold reference to a period ‘before’ or ‘previously’ (*ær* [*El* 1240b, 1245a, and 1253a]), and contains no fewer than nine first-person singular references to ‘I’, ‘me’ (*ic ... me* [*El* 1236a, 1239b, 1240b, 1242b, 1245a, 1250b, 1251b, 1253a, and 1254b]). As with the rhyming passage from *Christ B*, these verses too contain clear echoes not only with the rest of *Elene*, but with the other signed poems. So, for example, the phrase about ‘the dues of the cross’ (*be ðære rode riht* [*El* 1240a]) is echoed twice earlier in the poem (*be ðære rode riht* [*El* 601] and *rode ... ryhte* [*El* 1074]), that about ‘the tree of glory’ (*wuldres treowes* [*El* 1251b]) three times (*wuldres treo* [*El* 89a, 827b, and 866b]), and even the phrases about how ‘wisdom revealed’ the truth (*wisdom onwreah* [*El* 1242a]) and it was ‘made known in writings’ (*on gewritum cyðan* [*El* 1255b]) are both foreshadowed earlier in *Elene* (*wisdom onwreon* [*El* 674a] and *on gewritum cyðed* [*El* 826b]). Likewise, the phrases ‘appled gold’ (*æplede gold* [*El* 1259a]) and ‘shackled by sins’ (*synnum asæled* [*El* 1243a]) can be matched outside *Elene* elsewhere among the four signed poems (*æpplede gold* [*Jul* 688a] and *synnum gesæled* [*ChristB* 736a]).

### Cynewulf and Old English verse

The notion that Cynewulf ‘pondered for periods’ (*þragum þreodude* [*El* 1238a]) also has a particular resonance beyond this rhyming passage from *Elene*, since in extant Old English verse the highly unusual verb-form is matched outside *Elene* only in *Fates*, in the course of an opening passage that has numerous parallels not only with the other signed poems of Cynewulf, but with both *Beowulf* and *Andreas* (*Fates* 1–22).<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Parallels:

<3>	<i>hu</i> ða æþelingas <i>ellen</i> fremedon andlongne eorl <i>ellen cyðan</i>	<i>Beo</i> 3 <i>Beo</i> 2695
<4–8>	<i>twelfe</i> under tunglum <i>tireadige</i> hæleð, þeodnes þegnas . No hira þrym alæg ... / ... swa him <i>dryhten</i> sylf	<i>And</i> 2–5
<6>	Beowulf was breme (blæd <i>wide sprang</i> ) heofona heahcýning, <i>hlyt</i> getæhte	<i>Beo</i> 18 <i>And</i> 6

- Hwæt. Ic þysne sang sið-geomor fand WÆT *with space for initial V*  
 on seocum sefan, samnode wide  
 hu þa æðelingas ellen cyðdon,  
 torhte ond tir-eadige. Twelfe wæron, woron *V*  
 5 dædum dom-fæste, dryhtne gecorene,  
 leofe on life. Lof wide sprang,  
 miht ond mærdō, ofer middan-geard,  
 þeodnes þegna, þrym unlytel.  
 Halgan heape hlyt wisode  
 10 þær hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon,  
 reccan fore rincum. Sume on Rome-byrig,  
 frame, fyrd-hwate, feorh ofgefon  
 þurg Nerones nearwe searwe, neawe *V*  
 Petrus ond Paulus. Is se apostol-had  
 15 wide geweorðod ofer wer-þeoda.  
 Swylce Andreas in Achagia  
 for Egias aldre ge-neðde.  
 Ne þreodode he fore þrymme ðeod-cyninges, þreodode <sup>he</sup> *V*  
 æniges on eorðan, ac him ece geceas  
 20 langsumre lif, leoht unhwilen,  
 syþþan hilde-heard, heriges byrhtme,  
 æfter guð-plegan gealgan þehte.

- |         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| <8>     | þeodnes ðegna; ac hig him geþingo budon  | <i>Beo</i> 1085   |
| <9>     | þone <i>halgan heap</i> helpe bidde  | <i>Fates</i> 90   |
| <10>    | Ongan þa <i>dryhtnes æ</i> dæges ond nihtes<br>dædum gedwolene þa þe <i>dryhtnes æ</i><br>ða ðe <i>dryhtnes a deman</i> cuðon      | <i>El</i> 198<br><i>Jul</i> 13<br><i>And</i> 1194                 |
| <12>    | <i>þær ic dryhtnes æ deman</i> sceolde<br><i>frome fyrdhwate</i> feowertyne  | <i>And</i> 1403<br><i>Beo</i> 1641                                |
| <12>    | <i>frome, fyrdhwate</i> , freode ne woldon   | <i>Beo</i> 2476   |
| <15>    | <i>wide geweorðod</i> , wisdom heold<br><i>wid ond weorðlic ofer wer-þeode</i><br>he is þæs <i>wyrðe</i> þæt hine <i>wer-þeode</i> | <i>And</i> 8<br><i>Beo</i> 1959<br><i>Jul</i> 9<br><i>Jul</i> 643 |
| <16–22> | <i>Neþde ic nearo-bregdum ... Neron ... Petrus ond Paulus ...</i><br><i>Swylce ic Egias ... Andreas ... galgan</i>                 | <i>Jul</i> 302–10a  |
| <17>    | under yða gewin <i>aldre geneþan</i><br>eorlscipe efnde, <i>ealdre geneðde</i><br>to þam anhagan <i>aldre geneðan</i>              | <i>Beo</i> 1469<br><i>Beo</i> 2133<br><i>And</i> 1351             |
| <18>    | þragum þreodude ond geþanc reodode   | <i>El</i> 1238  |
| <21>    | hwær ahangen wæs <i>heriges beorhtme</i><br>Ahleoþon <i>hildfrome heriges brehtme</i>  | <i>El</i> 205<br><i>And</i> 1202                                  |
| <22>    | <i>æfter guð-plegan</i> nu ge geara cunnon   | <i>ChristB</i> 573  |

[‘Listen. Journey-weary, I contrived this song in my sickened spirit, compiled widely how those nobles made known their boldness, bright and glorious. Twelve of them there were, glory-firm in deeds, chosen by the lord, beloved in life. Their praise spread widely, the power and the fame of the lord’s retainers, no little glory, across middle-earth. Their lot guided that holy troop to where they had to proclaim the law of the lord, declaim it in the presence of warriors. Some in the city of Rome, bold, battle-brave, gave up their lives through Nero’s intransigent scheming, Peter and Paul. The apostleship is widely venerated among nations. Likewise, Andreas in Achaea risked his life before Ægias. He did not ponder before the might of any mighty king on earth, but chose an eternal and long-lasting life, light without end, once the battle-bold one, to the tumult of the crowd, after battle-play stretched out on the cross.’]

The characteristic Cynewulfian word-play on *geweorðod ... wer-þeoda* (*Fates* 15), shared with *Juliana* (*Jul* 9 and 643), has already been discussed, but the connections between this passage from *Fates* and *Juliana* apparently go much deeper, to judge from the lines where the devil tells Juliana about his machinations (*Jul* 302–11a; parallels with the passage from *Fates* highlighted in ***bold italics***):

*Nepde ic nearo-bregdum þær ic Neron bisweac,*  
 þæt he acwellan het Cristes þegnas,  
***Petrus ond Paulus.*** Pilatus ær  
 305 on rode aheng rodera waldend,  
 meotud mehtigne minum larum.  
*Swylce ic Egias* eac gelærde  
 þæt he unsnytrum *Andreas* het  
 ahon haligne on heanne beam,  
 310 þæt he of ***galgan*** his gæst onsende  
 in wuldres wlite.

[‘I dared some intransigent wiles when I seduced Nero so that he ordered Christ’s thegns, Peter and Paul, to be killed. Pilate previously had hanged on a cross the ruler of the heavens, the mighty creator, on my advice. Likewise, I also instructed Ægias so that in his folly he ordered holy Andrew hanged on a high beam, so that he sent his spirit forth into the splendour of heaven.’]

Again, one might stress the extent to which this passage shares a raft of parallel phrases not only with the rest of *Juliana*, but also with *Elene* and *Christ B*;<sup>92</sup> the pun

<sup>92</sup>So, for example, one might compare the line ‘*ahon haligne on heanne beam*’ (*Jul* 309), which can be paralleled earlier in the poem (‘*ahon ond ahebban on heanne beam*’ [*Jul* 228]), as well as elsewhere (‘*þurh hete hengon on heanne beam*’ [*El* 424]; cf. *heanne beam* [*ChristB* 678b]). Likewise, the line ‘*þæt he of galgan his gæst onsende*’ (*Jul* 310) can be matched in ‘*on galgan his gast onsende*’ (*El* 480). Other parallels include the phrases *Cristes þegnas* (‘Christ’s thegns’ [*Jul* 299 and 303]) and various versions of the phrase *rodera waldend* [‘ruler of the heavens’ [*ChristB* 865; *El* 206b, 482b, and 1066b]).

found here in line 305 (*rode ... rodera*) is certainly found in both other signed poems.<sup>93</sup> In the case of *Juliana*, of course, we are able to compare the Old English rendering with the Latin original, the closest version of which has been identified by Michael Lapidge,<sup>94</sup> which reads ‘Ego sum qui ad *Nironem* imperatorem aggressus sum ut *Petrum* crucifigeret et *Paulum* decapitaret ... Ego sum qui *Andream* feci tradi in regione Patras’ (‘I am the one who approached the Emperor Nero so that he crucified Peter and decapitated Paul ... I am the one who had Andreas betrayed in the region of Patras’). It will be clear that, while the names of the four main protagonists (Nero, Peter, Paul, and Andrew) occur in the same order, that of the fifth proper noun (the governor Egias in *Juliana*, the city Patras that he governed in the putative source) is both different and appears in a dissimilar position; likewise, the fact that Andrew was crucified, common to both *Juliana* and *Fates*, is elided in the Latin source, while both passages also share not only the characteristic Cynewulfian play on Nero’s name in Old English (impossible to replicate in Latin), but the relatively rare verb-form *neþde*, which appears in *Fates* as *geneðde*, and outside these two poems is restricted to *Beowulf* and *Judith*, both of which have been argued to have Cynewulfian connections, in that Cynewulf appears to have borrowed from the former and been borrowed from in the latter.<sup>95</sup> Simply to ascribe all these rather striking and specific similarities linking these passages from *Juliana* and *Fates* to a rather hazily-delineated wider shared poetic heritage might appear to strain credulity, given that both contain runic signatures as well as a number of other parallels at the levels of both the compound and the half-line.<sup>96</sup> Such an appeal to a common and ultimately oral tradition seems weaker still

<sup>93</sup> Cf. *El* 147, 206, 482, 624, 631, 855, 886, 918, 1022, 1066, 1074a, and 1234a; *ChristB* 727.

<sup>94</sup> See further M. Lapidge, ‘Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*’, in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr*, ed. M. Amodio & K. O’Brien O’Keeffe (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2003), 147–71.

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, A. Orchard, ‘Computing Cynewulf: the *Judith*-Connection’, in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, and Readers*, ed. J. Mann & M. Nolan (Notre Dame, IL, University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 75–106. For the further argument that the *Judith*-poet also borrowed directly from *Genesis A*, see A. Orchard, ‘Multiplication, Intoxication, and Fornication: The Burgeoning Text of *Genesis A*’, in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. J. Roberts & A. Minnis (Turnhout, Brepols, 2007), 333–54, especially 348–54; *idem*, ‘Beyond Books: The Confluence of Influence and the Old English *Judith*’, in *John Miles Foley’s World of Oralities: Text, Tradition, and Contemporary Oral Theory*, ed. Mark Amodio (York, ARC–Humanities, forthcoming). For the broader context, see A. Orchard, ‘Old English and Anglo-Latin: the Odd Couple’, in *The Blackwell Companion to British Literature, volume I: The Medieval Period*, ed. Robert DeMaria, Jr, Hesook Chang & Samantha Zacher (Chichester, Wiley–Blackwell, 2014), 273–92; *idem*, ‘Earliest Old English Poetics’.

<sup>96</sup> Apart from the shared compounds *hyge-blind* (*Fates* 46a; *Jul* 61a), *hæðen-gild* (*Fates* 47a; cf. *hæpen-gield* [*Jul* 22b]), and *wundor-craft* (*Fates* 55b; *Jul* 575b), for example, the two poems share the half-lines *sipe gesohte* (*Fates* 32a; *Jul* 452a) and *beorhtne bold-welan* (*Fates* 33a; *Jul* 503a).

when measured against the very similar patterns of obvious borrowing in contemporary Anglo-Latin verse, as we have seen, and surely invites renewed consideration of how Cynewulf may have engaged in direct literary borrowing, just as later poets appear to have particularly plundered his works.

In terms of specific links between Cynewulf's *Elene* and *Beowulf*, for example, it has been argued that the description of how in the former the defeated Huns flee from Constantine and fail to come home, while Constantine himself returns home exulting in booty, borrows from two distinct passages in the latter (*Elene* 141b–43 and 148–50a; parallels highlighted in **bold italics**):<sup>97</sup>

Heap wæs gescyrded,  
*laðra lind*-wered. *Lythwon becwom*  
Huna herges ***ham eft*** þanon.

\* \* \*

***Gewat*** þa heriga helm ***ham eft*** þanon,  
***huðe hremig***, (hild wæs gesceaden),  
150 wigge geweorðod.

[‘The gathering was annihilated, the shield-troop of the hated ones. Only a small part of the force of the Huns made it back home from there ... The protector of forces made it back home from there, exulting in booty (the battle was settled), enhanced by war.’]

Note how the parallel from *Judith* is closer to *Elene* than to *Beowulf*, again strengthening the case for the putative debt of *Judith* to *Elene* already discussed. The repetition in *Elene* of the half-line *ham eft þanon* within the space of the few lines (*Elene* 143b and 148b) obviously links the two dramatically different homecomings of the Huns and Constantine, and so it is intriguing that the parallel passages in *Beowulf* should also be linked, in this case by the number thirty: in the first, there is a description of how the Hetware, who are allied to the Frisians, flee from Beowulf, who has carried off thirty suits of armour as booty, while in the second we learn how Grendel heads home from Heorot, having snatched thirty thegns from their beds as gruesome booty.

<sup>97</sup>Parallels:

<142–43>	Nealles Hetware <b><i>hremge</i></b> þorfton feðe-wiges, þe him foran ongean <b><i>linde</i></b> bæron; <b><i>lyt eft becwom</i></b> fram þam hild-frecan <b><i>hames</i></b> niosan <b><i>laðan</i></b> cynnes. <b><i>Lyt-hwon becom</i></b> cwicera tō cyððe	<i>Beowulf</i> 2363–66  <i>Jud</i> 310–11a
<148–49a>	þanon <b><i>eft gewat</i></b> <b><i>huðe hremig</i></b> to <b><i>ham</i></b> faran, mid þære wæl-fylle wica neosan	<i>Beowulf</i> 123b–125

Such associative links between the passages in *Beowulf* may have encouraged Cynewulf to make the connection in his own combination of phrases. Other passages in *Beowulf* appear to have been echoed by Cynewulf in *Elene*, such as where Beowulf's condemnation of Unferth for fratricide has two parallels in *Elene*, both in the context of the condemnation of the Jews for deicide,<sup>98</sup> or where Wealhtheow's thanks for Beowulf's defeat of Grendel are echoed by Elene's after the finding of the True Cross and the conversion of Judas.<sup>99</sup> I have discussed other apparent links between *Beowulf* and *Elene* elsewhere, but the evidently overlapping diction highlighted here suggest that Cynewulf may be consciously echoing *Beowulf* in both *Fates* and *Elene*.<sup>100</sup>

If *Beowulf* seems one likely source for Cynewulf, two others are *Christ A* (also known as *The Advent Lyrics*) and *Christ C* (also known as *Christ in Judgment*), both from the Exeter Book; it has been argued that Cynewulf deliberately composed *Christ B* (also known as *Ascension*, and which intervenes in the Exeter Book) as a hinge to link both poems, and there are echoes of both not only in *Christ B*, but in the other signed poems.<sup>101</sup> One such echo is found in the first description in *Christ B* of Christ enthroned (*Christ B* 551–57; parallels highlighted in ***bold italics***):

<sup>98</sup> Compare 'þæs þu ***in helle scealt / werhðo dreogan***' (*Beo* 588b–589a: 'for that you shall suffer damnation in hell') and both 'Þæs hie ***in hynðum sculon / to widan feore wergðu dreogan***!' (*El* 210b–211: 'For that they have to endure condemnation in humiliation for ever!') and 'ond þær awa ***scealt, / wiðer-hycgende, wergðu dreogan, / ymðu butan ende***' (*El* 950b–952a: 'and there, thinking otherwise, have to always endure condemnation, miseries without end').

<sup>99</sup> Compare '***Gode*** þancode / wīs-fæst wordum þæs ðe ***hire se willa gelamp***' (*Beo* 625b–626: 'she, wise in words, thanked God that her wish had come to pass') and '***Gode*** þancode, / wuldor-cyninge, þæs ***hire se willa gelamp***' (*El* 961b–962: 'she thanked God, the glory-king, that her wish had come to pass').

<sup>100</sup> One might further, for example, compare the beginning of the messenger's speech announcing Beowulf's death (*Beo* 2900b–2902a: 'Nū is wil-geofa Wedra leoda, / dryhten Geata deað-bedde ***fæst, / wunað wæl-reste*** wyrmes dædum' ['Now is the joy-giver of the people of the Weders, the lord of the Geats, fast-fixed on his death-bed; he occupies a murderous resting-place through the deeds of the serpent']), with the statement immediately before the speech of Judas that he did not know where the True Cross lay (*Elene* 720b–723a: 'hwær sio halige rod, / þurh feondes searu foldan getyned, / lange legere ***fæst*** leodum dyrne / ***wunode wæl-reste*** ['where that holy cross, hidden in the ground through the cunning of the enemy, enclosed in the ground, long held lying fast, hidden from folk occupies a murderous resting-place']). There is a further relevant parallel in *Guthlac B*, where in his final speech, the saint describes how his fatally sick body must 'occupy a murderous resting-place, fast-fixed on the bed where I lie' (*Guth B* 1032b–1033a [***leger-bedde fæst / wunian wæl-ræste***]; compare 1368a [***wunað wal-ræste***]); the phrasing here seems to echo both *Beowulf* and *Elene*, and of course *Guthlac B* 'Cynewulfian', if not in fact an unsigned poem (the end, where the signature might appear, is missing). See further, G. Sarrazin, 'Beowulf und Kynewulf', *Anglia*, 3 (1886), 515–50; *idem*, *Beowulf-Studien* (Berlin, 1888), 108–36; C. Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* (Lund Studies in English, 17; Lund, Gleerup, 1949; repr. New York, Haskell House, 1967), 239–51. These and other parallels are discussed in detail in my edition and translation of *Beowulf* (forthcoming).

<sup>101</sup> See further Chase, 'God's Presence through Grace'.

Wel þæt gedafenað  
 þæt to þære blisse, beorhte gewerede,  
 in þæs þeodnes burg þegnas cwoman,  
*weorud wlite-scyne.* Gesegon wilcuman  
 555 *on heah-setle heofones waldend,*  
*folca* feorh-giefan, frætsum ealles waldend  
 middan-geardes ond *mægen*-þrymmes.

[‘It is well fitting that to that bliss, brightly arrayed, thegns came into the city of that ruler, a beauty-bright band; they saw, welcome, the ruler of heaven on a high throne, life-giver of nations, in splendour the ruler of all the world and the power of might.’]

This passage contains an evident echo of the final lines of *Christ C*, which speaks of the blessed as ‘the most beauty-bright of bands’ on Doomsday (*Christ C* 1662b–1664; parallels highlighted in *bold italics*):

ac þær cyninges giefe  
 awo brucað eadigra gedryht,  
*weoruda wlite-scynast,* wuldres mid dryhten.  
 [‘but there the host of the blessed, the most beauty-bright of bands will enjoy for ever the grace of the king, glory with the lord.’]

Cynewulf’s description of Christ enthroned combines the final line of *Christ C* with another description of Christ seated in majesty, again on Doomsday, from earlier in the poem (*Christ C* 1216–20; parallels highlighted in *bold italics*):

þonne Crist siteð on his cyne-stole,  
*on heah-setle, heofon-mægna* God,  
 Fæder ælmihtig. *Folca* gehwylcum  
 scyppend scinende scrifeð bi gewyrhtum,  
 1220 eall æfter ryhte rodera *waldend.*

[‘when Christ sits on his royal throne, on his lofty seat, God of the heavenly powers, Father almighty. The shining creator, the ruler of the heavens, will pass sentence on every one of the nations according to their deeds, all in accord with what is right.’]

Cynewulf echoes both of these passages elsewhere in his works, for example when, right at the end of *Juliana*, in a passage about Doomsday, he describes the dismal scene (*Juliana* 726–29a; parallels highlighted in *bold italics*):

þonne seo þrynis þrym-*sittende*  
 in annesse ælda cynne  
 þurh þa sciran gesceaft *scrifeð bi gewyrhtum*  
 meorde monna gehwam.

[‘when the Trinity, sitting in glory in oneness, will pass sentence on the human race according to their deeds, the recompense for everyone’.]

Likewise, earlier in *Christ B*, Cynewulf speaks of how a band of angels appears (*Christ B* 492b–494a):

Heofon-engla þreat,  
*weorud wlite-scyne, wuldres* aras,  
cwomun on corðre.

[‘A troop of heavenly angels, a beauty-bright band, messengers of glory, came in a group.’]

Here, Cynewulf evidently echoes the last line of *Christ C*, while combining that with a further echo of another half-line from *Christ C* (927b: *heofon-engla þreat*).

In a similar fashion, Cynewulf seems to have been drawn to echo and expand upon another of the Doomsday references in *Christ C* in a passage in *Elene* that again follows closely after his runic signature and which explicitly describes Doomsday. The relevant section of *Christ C* reads as follows (*Christ C* 1365–69; parallels highlighted in **bold italics**):

1365 Ne þurfon hi þonne to meotude miltse gewenan,  
lifes ne lissa, ac **þær** lean cumað  
werum bi gewyrhtum worda ond **dæda**,  
**reord-berendum**; sceolon þone **ryhtan dom**  
anne geæfnan, egsan fulne.

[‘They need not then expect mercy from God, nor joys of life; but there rewards come to speech-bearers according to their accomplishments of words and of deeds: they must endure the only just judgement, one full of terror.’]

The corresponding passage from *Elene*, which has no warrant in the Latin source and follows soon after the runic signature (1256b–1276a), echoes many of the same elements in the same sequence (1281b–1286):

Sceall æghwylc ðær  
**reord-berendra riht** gehyran  
**dæda** gehwylcra þurh þæs **deman** muð,  
**ond worda** swa same wed gesyllan,  
1285 eallra unsnyttro ær gespreccenra,  
þristra geþonca.

[‘Each man there shall hear the truth about each one of his deeds and likewise of his words from the Judge’s mouth, and will pay the penalty for all things formerly spoken in foolishness, for hidden thoughts.’]

We might note how in evidently echoing the words of *Christ C*, Cynewulf has altered what was a reference to judgement of words and deeds to one of the familiar homiletic

triad of ‘thought, word, and deed’, a trope he uses widely elsewhere, but which is absent entirely from *Christ C*.<sup>102</sup> In such ways it is clear that Cynewulf does not simply adopt, but adapt.

In a similar vein, a passage that follows close on the runic signature of *Christ B* (comprising *Christ B* 797–807a) again seems clearly indebted to *Christ C* (*Christ B* 827b–37; parallels indicated by **bold italics**):<sup>103</sup>

Beorht cyning leanað  
 þæs þe hy on eorþan eargum dædum  
 lifdon **leahtrum fa.** Þæs hi longe sculon  
 830 ferð-werige onfon **in fyr-baðe,**  
 wælmum biwrecene, wraplic ondlean,  
 þonne **mæгна cyning on gemot cymeð,**  
 þrymma mæste. Peod-egsa **bið**  
**hlud gehyred bi heofon-woman,**  
 835 cwaniendra **cirm, cerge** reotað  
**fore onsyne eces deman,**  
 þa þe hyra weorcum wace truwiað.

[‘The bright king rewards how they lived on earth in deeds of wickedness, guilty with transgressions. For that they must long receive a fierce pay-back in a bath of fire, surrounded with surges, when the king of powers comes to the meeting with the greatest of hosts. Mighty terror shall be heard loud in the heaven-tumult, the screaming of them that wail; full of care they shall lament before the face of the eternal judge, they who in their works have shown feeble faith.’]

<sup>102</sup> See further P. Sims-Williams, ‘Thought, Word, and Deed: an Irish Triad’, *Ériu*, 29 (1978), 78–111; see too my *Critical Companion to ‘Beowulf’* (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2005), 215 and 255.

<sup>103</sup> Parallels:

<829>	þær hi <b>leahtrum fa</b> lege gebundne	<i>Christ C</i> 1538
<830>	þone fæggran gefean, ond <b>on fyr-baðe</b> flodas afysde, þonne <b>on fyr-baðe</b> æfter <b>fyr-baðe</b> . Swa ða fore-gengan	<i>El</i> 948 <i>Christ C</i> 985 <i>Phoen</i> 437
<832>	þær <b>monig beoð on gemot læded</b> Ðonne <b>monge beoð on gemot læded</b> meðel-hegende, <b>on gemot cuman</b>	<i>Christ B</i> 795 <i>Phoen</i> 491 <i>El</i> 279
<832–33>	<b>mægen-cyninga</b> meotod, <b>on gemot cuman,</b> Prym-fæst þeoden. <b>Bið</b> þær his þegna eac	<i>Christ C</i> 942–43
<834>	<b>hlud gehered,</b> þonne hælend cymeð <b>hlud gehyred. Heofon-engla</b> þreat <b>hlud gehyred heofon-byman</b> stefn	<i>Sat</i> 606 <i>Christ B</i> 492 <i>Christ C</i> 948
<834–35>	Ðær <b>bið cirm</b> ond <b>cearu,</b> ond cwicra gewin, gehreow ond <b>hlud wop bi heofon-woman,</b>	<i>Christ C</i> 997–99
<836>	<b>fore onsyne eces deman</b> <b>fore onsyne eces deman</b> <b>fore onsyne eces deman</b> <b>fore onsyne eces deman</b>	<i>El</i> 745 <i>Christ B</i> 796 <i>Guth A</i> 783 <i>Guth B</i> 1188

The specific and largely unique parallels between this passage and *Christ C* 1538, 942–43, 948, and 997–98 demonstrate the depth of the debt; the fact that the other parallels again relate to *Elene*, the *Phoenix*, and *Guthlac B*, as well as to elsewhere in *Christ B* (the two parallels from the non-Cynewulfian poems *Christ and Satan* and *Guthlac A* can be fully matched in these Cynewulfian texts), again underlines the tightness of the connections that link all these texts. In particular, one might note here how lines 832 and 836 here are echoed by lines 795–96 earlier in *Christ B*, which immediately precede the runic signature. Once again, the Doomsday context brackets and infuses Cynewulf’s presentation of his own name.

In the first of the passages in question, just before signing his name in runes, Cynewulf looks back to Christ’s Advent and forward to his Judgement (*Christ B* 785b–96; parallels indicated by **bold italics**):<sup>104</sup>

785                    *Us secgað bec*  
                   hu **æt ærestan** ead-mod astag  
                   in middan-geard mæгна gold-hord,  
                   in fæmnan **fæðm** **freo-bearn godes,**  
                   **halig of heahþu.** Huru ic wene me  
 790 ond eac **ondræde** **dom** ðy reþran,  
                   **ðonne eft cymeð** **engla þeoden,**  
                   þe ic ne heold teala þæt me hælend min

<sup>104</sup> Parallels:

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| <785> | [ <i>us secgað bec</i> COMMONPLACE: see <i>Gen A</i> 227, 969, and 1723;<br><i>Guth B</i> 878; <i>Brun</i> 68; <i>LPrI</i> 20]   |   |
| <786> | æt ærestan þurh þæs engles word<br>alwalda god. Þæt æt ærestan<br>hu þu æt ærestan yfle gehogdes   | <i>Christ B</i> 823<br><i>Christ C</i> 1190<br><i>Christ C</i> 1397                                     |
| <788> | <b>freo-bearn fæðmum</b> beþeahte under þam<br>And us befæðman wile <b>freo-bearn godes</b><br>þe him beforan fremede <b>freo-bearn godes</b>  | <i>Dan</i> 238<br><i>Sat</i> 288<br><i>Christ B</i> 643   |
| <789> | <b>halig of heahðu,</b> hider onsendeð<br><b>halge on heahþu,</b> þa he heofonum astag<br><b>halig of heahþu.</b> Hreþer innan born<br><b>halig on heahþu.</b> Þær min hyht myneð<br><b>halig of heahþu.</b> Þe sind heardlicu | <i>Christ B</i> 760<br><i>Christ B</i> 866<br><i>Guth B</i> 938<br><i>Guth B</i> 1088<br><i>Jul</i> 263 |
| <790> | Næfre ic me <b>ondræde</b> <b>domas</b> þine<br>Ne <b>ondræde</b> ic me <b>domas</b> þine<br>þæt ic me <b>ondræde</b> <b>domas</b> ðine<br>Ic <b>ondræde</b> me eac <b>dom</b> þone miclan                                     | <i>Jul</i> 134<br><i>Jul</i> 210<br><i>PPs118:1 2</i><br><i>JDayII</i> 15                               |
| <791> | [ <i>engla þeoden</i> COMMONPLACE: see <i>Gen A</i> 2643; <i>Ex</i> 432; <i>Sat</i> 386;<br><i>And</i> 290, 900, and 1007; <i>El</i> 487, 776, and 857; <i>Christ A</i> 332; <i>Pan</i> 63;<br><i>Mald</i> 178; <i>Capt</i> 1] |   |
| <795> | Bið nu eorneste þonne <b>eft cymeð</b><br>Ðonne <b>monge beoð</b> <b>on gemot laded</b>  | <i>Christ B</i> 824<br><i>Phoen</i> 491   |

on bocum bibead. Ic þæs brogan sceal  
 geseon syn-wræce, þæt þe ic soð talge,  
 795 þær *monig beoð on gemot laeded*  
*fore onsyne eces deman.*

[‘Books tell us how at the beginning there descended into middle-earth, into a woman’s womb, humble at heart, the gold-hoard of virtues, God’s noble son, holy from on high. Truly I expect for myself, and also dread, a judgement all the harsher, when the prince of angels comes again, because I have not kept well what my saviour commanded me in books. For that reason, I shall have to gaze on terror, sin-torment, as I reckon true, where many will be led to a meeting before the face of the eternal judge.’]

After the runic signature (comprising lines 797–807a) and some more descriptions of what to expect at Doomsday, we return to the same twin theme of Christ’s Advent and Judgement, which broadly echoes *Christ B* 785b–96, and uses many of the same words (*Christ B* 820b–825a; parallels indicated by *bold italics*):

820 Scyle gumena gehwylc  
 on his gear-dagum georne biþencan  
 þæt us milde bicwom mehta waldend  
*æt ærestan* þurh þæs *engles* word.  
 Bið nu eorneste *þonne eft cymeð*,  
 825 *reðe* ond ryht-wis.

[‘Every man should carefully consider during the days of his life that the wielder of powers came to us meekly in the beginning, through the angel’s word; now he will be in earnest, when he comes again, harsh and righteous.’]

One might note the matching sequences ‘æt ærestan ... reþran ðonne eft cymeð engla’ and ‘æt ærestan ... engles ... þonne eft cymeð reðe’ that link these passages, which have been held to highlight the central role that *Christ B* plays in linking *Christ A* (on Advent) and *Christ C* (on Doomsday);<sup>105</sup> in choosing to situate these passages on either side of his own runic signature, Cynewulf positions himself very carefully as a central player in the unfolding divine drama.

Yet compared with the copious evidence that Cynewulf consciously echoed *Christ C* throughout his poetry, and that indeed *Christ C* seems to have been a favourite for those who imitated Cynewulf’s own works, notably the poet of *Andreas*,<sup>106</sup> the number of parallels linking *Christ A* with Cynewulf’s signed poems is rather slim. However, the fifth of the so-called ‘Advent Lyrics’ that make up *Christ A* addresses one Earendel, ‘Daybreak’, and begins as follows (*Christ A* 104–8):

<sup>105</sup> See further Chase, ‘God’s Presence through Grace’; Liuzza, ‘The Old English *Christ* and *Guthlac*’.

<sup>106</sup> See, for example, Bailey, ‘Architecture as Authoritative Reader’; Evans, ‘New Judgments’.

Eala Earendel, engla beorhtast,  
 105 ofer middan-geard monnum sended,  
 ond soð-fæsta sunnan leoma,  
 torht ofer tunglas, þu tida gehwane  
 of sylfum þe symle inlihtes!

[‘O Earendel, brightest of angels, sent to men across the world, and the righteous radiance of the sun, brilliant beyond the stars; you at every hour from your own self always shine.’]

The lyric as a whole is twenty-six lines long (*Christ A* 104–29), and is a version of the Latin ‘O-antiphon’ that forms part of the Christmas liturgy, which reads as follows:

‘O Oriens, splendor lucis aeternae,  
 et sol justitiae:  
 veni, et illumina sedentes in tenebris,  
 et umbra mortis.

[‘O Daybreak, splendour of eternal light, sun of justice: come, shine on those who dwell in darkness and the shadow of death.’]

Cynewulf seems to have echoed the vernacular lyric in describing both Christ and his Church (*Christ B* 696–701a; parallels indicated by ***bold italics***):

He is se ***soð-fæsta sunnan leoma,***  
***englum*** ond eorðwarum æþele scima.  
***Ofer middan-geard*** mona lixeð,  
 gæstlic ***tungol,*** swa seo godes circe  
 700 þurh gesomninga soðes ond ryhtes  
 beorhte bliceð.

[‘He is the righteous radiance of the sun, a noble gleam for angels and for earth’s inhabitants. Across the world the moon shines, a spiritual star; just so the church of God shines brightly through a continuance of truth and right.’]

Note again how the shared elements appear largely but not specifically in the same order, as if Cynewulf were recalling the relevant lines of *Christ A* from memory. A similar impression is gained from a brief passage in Cynewulf’s *Elene*, describing how Christ rose from the dead (*Elene* 485–89a; parallels indicated by ***bold italics***):

485                    ond þa þy þriddan dæg  
 ealles leohtes leoht lifgende aras,  
 ðeoden ***engla,*** ond his þegnum hine,  
***soð sigora frea,*** seolfne geywde,  
 beorht on blæde.

[‘And then on the third day the light of all light rose up alive, the ruler of angels, and revealed himself to his disciples, true governor of victories, shining in splendour.’]

The phrase *sigora frea* ('governor of victories') is found in a by-now familiar catalogue of poems, including Cynewulf's *Juliana* (line 361a: 'wiðsoce sigora frean') and the Cynewulfian *Andreas* (line 714a: 'geseh sigora frean'), *Guthlac B* (line 1080a: 'geseon sigora frean'), and the *Phoenix* (line 675a, the antepenultimate line: 'geseon sigora frean'); note the close parallels in these last three poems. Beyond this tight group of texts, the collocation *sigora frea* appears only in the *Coronation of Edgar* (line 15b: 'swa neah wæs sigora frean'), and in *Christ A* 404a, in the form 'soð sigores frea' ('true governor of victory') that is in fact the closest to what is found in *Elene*; the relevant passage reads as follows (*Christ A* 403–05; parallels indicated by **bold italics**):

'Halig eart þu, halig, heah-**engla** brego,  
**soð sigores frea**, simle þu bist halig,  
 405 dryhtna dryhten!'

['You are holy, holy, prince of archangels, true governor of victory; you are forever holy, lord of lords.']

The final half-line here, *dryhtna dryhten* ('lord of lords') also appears in Cynewulf's *Elene* 371a and *Juliana* 594a, as well as in the Cynewulfian *Andreas* 874a and 1151a, and the *Whale* 83a; once again, in other words, the same roster of poems appears that has recurred throughout this analysis, with three non-Cynewulfian occurrences at *Genesis A* 2255a, *Genesis B* 638a, and *Paris Psalter* 135:3 2a representing the whole of the rest of the corpus.

### Alcuin and Cynewulf: parallels in poetic practice

It seems likely, then, that *Christ A* can be added to *Christ C* and to *Beowulf* and Caelius Sedulius, as well as *Guthlac A*,<sup>107</sup> as suggested sources for Cynewulf, just as Cynewulf in turn became a direct source for later poets, most demonstrably that of *Andreas*, as well of as other poems with which *Andreas* can be shown to have had a direct connection, notably the *Phoenix*, the *Panther*, and the *Whale*.<sup>108</sup> It will be clear from all of the above that an extensive nexus of verbal connections links Cynewulf's four signed poems not only to each other, and to a well-defined group of Cynewulfian texts, but to a range of poetic sources and models, for example Caelius Sedulius in

<sup>107</sup> On other parallels with *Guthlac A*, see Appendix 2.

<sup>108</sup> The background is discussed in Orchard, 'Originality of *Andreas*'; and in a ground-breaking work, A. M. Powell, 'Verbal Parallels in *Andreas* and its Relationship to *Beowulf* and Cynewulf' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2002), highlighted 89 uniquely shared parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* and 149 parallels between *Andreas* and Cynewulf.

Latin and *Beowulf*, *Christ A*, and *Christ C* in Old English; a similarly extensive chain of association connects later poems, notably *Andreas*, but also, for example, the *Phoenix*, specifically with the four signed poems of Cynewulf and (in the case of *Andreas*) with others of Cynewulf's evident sources, notably *Beowulf* and *Christ C*.<sup>109</sup> The same kind of complex chains of association through time have been shown to link a limited group of Northumbrian poets (Alcuin, Aediluulf, and the author or authors of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*) composing in Latin over a brief period, perhaps between *c.* 780 and *c.* 820, and together these chains serve to associate the poetic worlds of those at the centre of such an extended nexus of connections, namely Cynewulf and Alcuin: while they may compose verse in different languages, each is demonstrably familiar with poetry in both Latin and Old English, so suggesting that the two traditions might well (indeed, best) be read together.

Now, parallels between Alcuin and Cynewulf have certainly been noted before, mostly with the aim of demonstrating the debt of the latter to the former; such is the usual direction of borrowing assumed between Latin and Old English.<sup>110</sup> The extended simile at the end of *Christ B*, for example, comparing human life to being buffeted on a storm-tossed sea (*Christ B* 850–866), represents a huge expansion on the main source, but has parallels not only at the end of Alcuin's York poem (*Carm.* 1.1649–58), but also towards the end of Aldhelm's verse *De uirginitate* (*Virg.* 2801–11).<sup>111</sup> Likewise, the wind-simile that concludes the runic passage in *Elene* (*El* 1271b–1276a) has parallels with the opening book of Vergil, another of Alcuin's stated sources, while the torch-imagery with which the same runic passages commences also has parallels in Alcuin's work, but in phrasing where Alcuin is also relying on earlier material.<sup>112</sup> It therefore seems abundantly clear from the analysis above that there were communities of educated, literate, and Latinate poets, composing in both Anglo-Latin and Old English, who read, recalled, recycled, and repurposed each others' works, adding idiosyncratic phrasing of their own that was itself repeated both freely and frequently, in ways that the blinkered and restrictive application of oral-formulaic theory simply cannot capture, and may indeed have inadvertently helped conceal for years.<sup>113</sup> In short, there seems much merit and still more profit in reading Alcuin and Cynewulf as twin practitioners of the art and craft of Anglo-Saxon verse, and perhaps

<sup>109</sup> For *Beowulf*, see the preceding note; for *Christ C*, see Evans, 'New Judgments'.

<sup>110</sup> See, for example, A. S. Cook, 'The Date of the Old English *Elene*', *Anglia*, 15 (1892), 9–20; but see the rejoinder by Carleton F. Brown, 'Cynewulf and Alcuin', *PMLA*, 18 (1903), 308–34.

<sup>111</sup> T. D. Hill, 'The Anchor of Hope and the Sea of this World: *Christ II*, 850–66', *English Studies*, 75 (1994), 289–92; Orchard, 'The Word Made Flesh', 302–7.

<sup>112</sup> T. D. Hill, 'The Failing Torch: the Old English *Elene* 1256–59', *Notes and Queries*, 52 (2005), 155–60.

<sup>113</sup> See further, for example, J. Kail, 'Über die Parallelstellen in der angelsächsischen Poesie', *Anglia*, 12 (1889), 21–40; G. Sarrazin, 'Parallelstellen in altenglischer Dichtung', *Anglia*, 14 (1892), 186–92; C. Schaar, 'On a New Theory of Old English Poetry', *Neophilologus*, 40 (1956), 301–5.

as representatives of a much wider shared tradition. Such a bilingual approach is undoubtedly more challenging, but seeking to meet that challenge will unquestionably reap more rewards than the current narrow focus offers; as the poet of *Wulf and Eadwacer* sadly concludes:<sup>114</sup>

*Þæt mon eaþe tosliteð, þætte næfre gesomnad wæs:  
uncer giedd geador.*

[‘It’s easy to tear apart what was never made whole: the twin song of the two of us together’]

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APPENDIX 1  
Some suggested sources for  
*Aediluulf, De abbatibus*

**Aldhelm**

[see too footnotes 1, 16, 22, 29, 34, 41, and 49]

- |         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| [ALD1]  | Donec conuersus <i>cellam</i> migravit <i>in almam</i><br>Cumque pater famulos <i>cellam</i> congressit <i>in almam</i>   | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.13<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 4.14  |
| [ALD2]  | Inde <i>petit superas meritis splendidibus arces</i><br>Atque <i>petas superas meritis splendidibus arces</i>   | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.14<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> praef. 3  |
| [ALD3]  | Caelicolis iunctus <i>laetatur sorte superna</i><br>Quem Deus electum signauit <i>sorte superna</i><br>Ingreditur felix, <i>laetatus sorte superna</i>  | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.16<br>Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 5.4<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.39                                |
| [ALD4]  | Et simul ecclesia <i>laetatur clerus in urbe</i><br>Cum celebrare suis <i>laetetur clerus in urbe</i><br>Per cellam monachi; <i>laetatur clerus in urbe</i>   | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.27<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.33<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.13                               |
| [ALD5]  | <i>Et reciproca</i> Deo <i>modulemur carmina</i> Christo<br><i>Et reciproca</i> suo <i>modulantur carmina</i> Regi  | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.43<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.19   |
| [ALD6]  | <i>Dulcibus antiphonae</i> pulsent <i>concentibus</i> aures<br><i>Dulcisona antiphonae</i> modulantur carmina fusae   | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.46<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.26   |
| [ALD7]  | <i>Classibus et geminis psalmorum concrepet oda</i><br><i>Classibus in geminis</i> subter testudine templi<br>Fratribus immixtus <i>Psalmorum concinat odas</i><br>Hymnos ac <i>psalmos</i> crebris <i>concentibus odat</i> | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.47<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.24<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.25<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.15 |
| [ALD8]  | Ymnistae crebro <i>uox articulata resultet</i><br>Ast lector, melos <i>uoce articulata resultans</i>  | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.48<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.27   |
| [ALD9]  | Et celsum <i>quatiat clamoso carmine</i> culmen<br>Atque domum <i>quatitans clamoso carmine</i> complent  | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.49<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.34   |
| [ALD10] | <i>Fratres concordii</i> laudemus uoce Tonantem<br><i>Fratres concordii</i> comitantur carmine patrem   | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.50<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.30   |
| [ALD11] | <i>Cantibus</i> et <i>crebris</i> conclamet turba sororum<br><i>Cantibus</i> in <i>crebris</i> comunt et uoce sacellum  | Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.51<br>Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.21   |

- [ALD12]<sup>115</sup> Congrua promamus *subter testudine templi* Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.53  
 Classibus in geminis *subter testudine templi* Aediluulf, *DA* 15.24  
 Sic tremulas uibrant *subter testudine templi* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.30
- [ALD13] Vnusquisque nouum *comat* cum *uoce sacellum* Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.57  
 Cantibus in crebris *comunt* et *uoce sacellum* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.21
- [ALD14] Istam nempe *diem*, qua *templi festa coruscant* Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.59  
 Vel quacumque *die*, cum *templi festa coruscant* Aediluulf, *DA* 14.35
- [ALD15] *Quam sol per uitreas illustret* forte fenestras Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.67  
*Quam sol per uitreas illustrans* candidus oras Aediluulf, *DA* 20.25
- [ALD16] *Limpida quadrato diffundens lumina templo* Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.68  
*Limpida* praenitido *diffundit lumina templo* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.26  
*Limpida* qui tribuant *quadrato lumina templo* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.36
- [ALD17]<sup>116</sup> *Plurima* basilicae *sunt ornamenta* recentis Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.69  
*Plurima* cum sancti *sunt ornamenta* delubri Aediluulf, *DA* 20.27
- [ALD18] *Aurea* contortis *flauescunt* pallia filis Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.70  
*Aurea* dum *fuluis flauescit* bulla metallis Aldhelm, *enigm.* 55.5  
*Aurea* cum gemmis *flauescit* lamina *fuluis* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.34
- [ALD19] *Aureus* atque *calix gemmis fulgescit opertus* Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.72  
*Aurea* flammigeris praestat crepundia *gemmis* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 188  
*Aurea gemmatae* linquens crepundia *pompae* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 1801  
*Aurea* purpureis calcant crepundia *gemmis* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 2365  
*Aureus* ille *calix gemmis splendescit opertus* Aediluulf, *DA* 14.19  
*Aureus* ille *calix*, tetigi quem carmine dudum Aediluulf, *DA* 20.53  
*Aurea* cum *gemmis flauescit* lamina *fuluis* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.34  
 Haec rutilo ex *auro gemmisque* nitescit opimis Aediluulf, *DA* 22.47
- [ALD20] *Vt caelum rutilat stellis* ardentibus aptum Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.73  
*Vt caelum rutilat stellis* fulgentibus omne Aediluulf, *DA* 20.29
- [ALD21] *Ac lata argento constat fabricata patena* Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.74  
 Aut potius putidis *constat fabricata* capellis Aldhelm, *enigm.* 61.3  
*Argentique* nitens *constat fabricatus* in altis Aediluulf, *DA* 14.20  
*Ac lata argento* pulcre *fabricata patena* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.54

<sup>115</sup>Note too Vergil, *Aen.* 1.505 ('Tum foribus diuae, media *testudine templi*'); Cyprianus Gallus, *Num.* 56 ('Quem capit e media pronus *testudine templi*') and *Iud.* 710 ('Adstantis longe media *testudine templi*'); Sedulius, *CP* 4.233 ('Dumque sui media residens *testudine templi*'); Aldhelm, *Carm.* 4.6.2 ('Seruat sacratum sarta *testudine templum*').

<sup>116</sup>Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.1221 ('*Plurima* nam titulis *sanctae ornamenta* uenustis') and *Carm.* 89.1.5 ('*Plurima* praesenti domui *ornamenta* ministrans').

[ALD22] <sup>117</sup>	Quae diuina gerunt <i>nostrae medicamina uitae</i> Munera, quae <i>nostrae</i> seruant <i>medicamina uitae</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.75 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.57
[ALD23]	Hic crucis ex auro <i>splendescit lamina fuluo</i> <i>Aurea</i> cum gemmis <i>flauescit lamina fuluis</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.77 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.34
[ALD24]	Hic quoque turibulum <i>capitellis undique cinctum</i> Omnibus his rutilo <i>capitellis undique cinctum</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 3.79 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.69
[ALD25]	Quod binis constat descriptum <i>rite libellis</i> Poscens ut monachos formaret <i>rite libellis</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 4.1.5 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.4
[ALD26]	Nonne magum merito geminis <i>fraudaui ocellis</i> Spiritus atque pios, carnis <i>fraudatus ocellis</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 4.2.16 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 16.14
[ALD27]	<i>Hanc aedem Domini</i> de summo seruat Olimpo <i>Hanc aedem Domini</i> ; medio sub aggere mensam	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 4.7.3 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.34
[ALD28]	Poplitibus <i>flexis tundens pauimenta sacelli</i> Omnes ast sancti medii <i>pauimenta sacelli</i> Ac genibus <i>flexis tundit pauimenta sacelli</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Carm.</i> 4.7.10 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.11 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.25
[ALD29]	Aut abstrusa Dei <i>gnaro cognoscere</i> sensu Quae si quis cupiat cum <i>gnaro noscere</i> corde	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 75 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 16.6
[ALD30] <sup>118</sup>	Lurida <i>linquentes</i> spurcae <i>consortia carnis</i> Illic uirginibus, qui <i>linquunt</i> lurida <i>carnis</i> Tempore tum plenus <i>linquit consortia carnis</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 94 Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 2893 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 12.3
[ALD31]	Amplius aut certe <i>flauescant</i> petala <i>fulua</i> Aurea cum gemmis <i>flauescit lamina fuluis</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 208 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.34
[ALD32]	Aedificet plantetque restaurans <i>sceptra polorum</i> Sancta supernorum conscendens <i>sceptra polorum</i>	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 317 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> praef. 5
[ALD33]	Vt <i>genibus flexis</i> et curuo poplite plebes Vt <i>genibus flexis</i> et curuo poplite patrem Hunc <i>genibus flexis</i> rogitat pietate modesta Ast pueri <i>genibus flexis</i> pietate uicissim Ac <i>genibus flexis</i> tundit pauimenta sacelli	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 375 Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 1513 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.19 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.26 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.25
[ALD34]	Plures conuertens <i>sacro sermone</i> cateruas Promere nunc nitor <i>sacrum sermone</i> Iohannem Quamplures cunctos <i>sacris sermonibus</i> ornat	Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 408 Aldhelm, <i>Virg.</i> 460 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 4.15

<sup>117</sup>Note too Avitus, *Carm.* 3.22 ('Materiamque ipsam faciat *medicamina uitae*').

<sup>118</sup>Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.678 ('Ex quo pontificis *linquens* ergastula *carnis*') and 3.28.3 ('Hic quia pontificis *linquens* ergastula *carnis*'); *MNE* 423 ('Aspice monstrantem uestrae *consortia carnis*').

- [ALD35] Ni medicus mundi, proles *generata Tonantis* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 420  
Vel qua celsithronum meruit *generare Tonantem* Aediluulf, *DA* 14.34
- [ALD36] *Imperiis procerum* qui Christi dogmata dempsit Aldhelm, *Virg.* 480  
*Imperio procerum* saeculi, nec subdidit imos Aediluulf, *DA* 20.5
- [ALD37] Denique post mortem *sacratīs* ossibus *ornat* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 521  
Quamplures cunctos *sacris* sermonibus *ornat* Aediluulf, *DA* 4.15
- [ALD38] *Tempore quo clarus* fulsit regnator in orbe Aldhelm, *Virg.* 539  
*Tempore quo* lector praeclarus gaudia digna Aediluulf, *DA* 16.1
- [ALD39]<sup>119</sup> *Laudantes dominum* coeperunt *reddere grates* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 591  
Ast olli Christo coeperunt *reddere grates* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 1603  
Si quid in his cartis te dignum, *reddere grates* Aediluulf, *DA* 1.13  
Nocte dieque simul non cesso *reddere grates* Aediluulf, *DA* 6.45  
*Laudantes dominum* caeli per saecula cuncta Aediluulf, *DA* 22.102
- [ALD40] Sed tamen hanc sociam sanctam *seruare memento* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 1281  
Pectore quin uitam casto *seruare memento* Aediluulf, *DA* 6.14  
Hostibus aduersis pauidum *seruare memento* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.40
- [ALD41] Dum cruor *insontis* cum sontis *sanguine fuso* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 1840  
Et *mundi* maculas purgarat *sanguine fuso* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 2761  
*Insontem mundum* fecit de *sanguine fuso* Aediluulf, *DA* 4.28
- [ALD42] Sicque poli pariter scandebant *sidera sancti* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 1881  
E caelo superi, portantque ad *sidera sanctas* Aediluulf, *DA* 6.68
- [ALD43] Flammeus aspectu, niueo *candore coruscus* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 2369  
Ast domus interior nimio *candore coruscans* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.21
- [ALD44] Praemia sumpturus cum caeli *coetibus almīs* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 2442  
*Coetibus* ingrediens almīs se immiscuit *almus* Aediluulf, *DA* 8.12
- [ALD45] Vt dominum *proprīis* aequaret *uiribus audax* Aldhelm, *Virg.* 2740  
Armipotens nimium, *proprīis* in *uiribus audax* Aediluulf, *DA* 2.9
- [ALD46] Arce poli, genitor, *seruas qui* saecula *cuncta* Aldhelm, *Aenig.* praef. 35  
Atque Petro pariter, *seruat qui* examina *cuncta* Aediluulf, *DA* 4.11
- [ALD47]<sup>120</sup> Raucisonis numquam *modulabor carmina rostris* Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 22.2  
Terga uerenda nitent; *modulantes carmina rostris* Aediluulf, *DA* 8.32

<sup>119</sup>Note too *HNE* 24.2 ('*Laudantes dominum* alma quiete boni').

<sup>120</sup>Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 58.12 ('In tectis, *modulans* rutilo bona *carmina rostro*').

- [ALD48] Affero compertum *medicans cataplasma salutis*  
Cumque suis *medicans* frater *cataplasma salutis* Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 47.8  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.71
- [ALD49] *Cetera* ceu properant caelorum *lumina* ponto  
*Cetera* per templum numeret quis *lumina* cuncta Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 53.4  
Aediluulf, *DA* 14.16
- [ALD50] Ecce larem, laticem quoque gesto in *uiscere uentris*  
Membra dicata sui tenuit sub *uiscere uentris* Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 54.3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.50
- [ALD51] *Occiduas* mundi complector cardine *partes*  
*Occidua* nitidi splendent in *parte* ministri Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 58.2  
*Occiduas* tandem *partes* properamus euntes Aediluulf, *DA* 14.9  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.74
- [ALD52] *Imperio* patris contemnens *subdere* colla  
*Imperio* procerum saeculi, nec *subdidit* imos Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 63.5  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.5
- [ALD53]<sup>121</sup> *Noctibus in furuis* caecas lustrabo latebras Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 65.2  
*Noctibus in furuis* tempus sapienter et horas Aediluulf, *DA* 7.16  
*Noctibus in furuis* fratrum pausante caterua Aediluulf, *DA* 18.14
- [ALD54] *Insidiis* tacite *dispono* scandala mortis Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 65.5  
*Insidias* multas *disponit*, factio frendens Aediluulf, *DA* 6.54
- [ALD55] *Omnia* membra mihi *plasmauit corporis* auctor Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 72.1  
*Omnipotens* genitor, *plasmata* qui *corpora* cuncta Aediluulf, *DA* 3.9
- [ALD56] Et tamen *astrifero* procedens *agmine* stipor Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 86.3  
Nec semel *astrigeris* sonuerunt *agmina* dictis Aediluulf, *DA* 21.30
- [ALD57] Nec ratibus pontum sulcabam *tramite flexo*  
Collis non magnus decliuo *tramite flexus* Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 92.6  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.20
- [ALD58] *Pandere* quae poterit *gnarus* uix ore magister Aldhelm, *Aenig.* 100.81  
Pectore de *gnaro pandit* salutaria dicta Aediluulf, *DA* 5.10

## Cyprianus Gallus

[see too footnotes 1 and 24–25]

- [CYP1] Aeris erat moris ferrumque *incude subactum*  
Diuersisque modis sapiens *incude subactum* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 189  
Aediluulf, *DA* 10.3
- [CYP2]<sup>122</sup> Diuersis formare modis *stridente camino*  
Malleus in ferrum peditat *stridente camino* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 190  
Aediluulf, *DA* 10.4

<sup>121</sup> Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 61.11 (*'Noctibus in furuis* nusquam cessauit ab odis').<sup>122</sup> Note too Fortunatus, *Mart.* 4.610 (*'Qualiter effugiam flamma stridente caminum'*).

- [CYP3] Enochum is deinde creat, *cui candida corda*  
Dux uenerandus erat, fecit *cui candida corda* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 194  
Aediluulf, *DA* 3.8
- [CYP4] Vt, quidquid uiuit, tumidis *mergatur in undis*.  
Congestaeque simul Rubra *merguntur in unda*  
Currat, et haec sitiens se algosis *mergat in undis*  
Praedictas quaerens iam nunc se *mergat in undas* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 281  
Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 337  
Aediluulf, *DA* 16.7  
Aediluulf, *DA* 16.20
- [CYP5] *Atque memor uoti* adolet dum altaria flammis  
*Atque memor uoti* monstret sint quae loca digna Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 326  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.6
- [CYP6] Hostia digna fuit, mites dum *gignit odores*  
Diximus ut dudum, Petro quae *gignit odores* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 327  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.35
- [CYP7] *Praecipitique fuga* frondosis montibus abdunt  
*Praecipitique fuga* trepida condetur in urbe  
*Praecipitique fuga* repetunt sua castra ducem  
*Praecipitesque fugam* nigrae sumpsere phalanges Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 479  
Cyprianus Gallus, *Lev.* 275  
Cyprianus Gallus, *Ios.* 179  
Aediluulf, *DA* 13.22
- [CYP8] Ecce autem prima *sub tempora noctis* opacae  
Viderat hunc quidam tetrae *sub tempora noctis*  
Versibus. Hanc dudum nigrae *sub tempora noctis* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 534  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.6  
Aediluulf, *DA* 21.4
- [CYP9] Compositos *fratrem* nitentem sumere *pastus*  
Cumque die media *fratres* iam quaerere *pastum* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 811  
Aediluulf, *DA* 18.23
- [CYP10] Qui femur astrictum *rigido munimine fulcit*  
Officium seruat *rigido munimine fultus* Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1050  
Aediluulf, *DA* 19.7
- [CYP11] *Grandia dona ferens* rapta pro coniuge uati  
*Grandia dona ferens* cessabat reddere Christo Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1074  
Aediluulf, *DA* 19.9
- [CYP12] *Hunc pater ex toto complectens* stirpe natorum  
*Hunc pater ex toto complectens* pectore fidum Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1124  
Aediluulf, *DA* 19.4
- [CYP13] *Fratribus admixtum* sese uincire maniplos  
*Fratribus immixtus* Psalmorum concinat odas Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1130  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.25
- [CYP14] Maioremque animum forma *coniungere natae*  
Irrita uota gerens, copulam *coniungere natis* Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 111  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.45
- [CYP15] *Haec ubi detonuit* dominus, fiducia uatem  
*Haec ubi detonuit*, dominus conscendere collem  
*Haec ubi detonuit* conuersis uultibus anguem Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 164  
Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 1034  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.56
- [CYP16]<sup>123</sup> *Nobilis eloquio* sensuque ad uerba rotundo.  
*Nobilis eloquio*, et cunctis uenerandus in actis Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 211  
Aediluulf, *DA* 12.2

<sup>123</sup> Note too Avitus, *Carm. app.* 11.25 ('*Nobilis eloquiis* et stemmate nobilis alto').

[CYP17]	Quam iusti <i>mensura cibi</i> est, quae sufficit uno Cum <i>mensura cibi</i> totum quod sufficit ambit	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 624 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.31
[CYP18]	Lamina <i>conspicui praeuelat ductilis auri</i> Atque hos <i>conspicui praeuelat ductilis auri</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1073 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.43
[CYP19]	Multaque praeterea <i>rerum commenta nouarum</i> Hic tamen haec placuit <i>rerum commenta nouare</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1082 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.50
[CYP20]	<i>Mirificis sunt facta modis, quae</i> dicere qui uult <i>Mirificis sunt facta modis quae</i> laudibus ornet	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1083 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.51
[CYP21]	Chrysolithus quartus, <i>berillo annexus</i> onychnus Sapphirus hic solium, <i>berilloque adnexus</i> in ante	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1103 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.78
[CYP22] <sup>124</sup>	Pendeat ut lychnus semper <i>laquearibus altis</i> Pendeat ante tholum lychnus <i>laquearibus altis</i> Ascendit caeli, insonuit <i>laquearibus altis</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1115 Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Lev.</i> 223 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.17
[CYP23]	Incautas <i>mentes fallaci</i> cluderet <i>astu</i> Reddere, ne <i>mentes fallax</i> eluderet <i>astu</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1309 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.16
[CYP24]	<i>Triuerat hic</i> uates, <i>nullamque adsumperat escam</i> <i>Triuerat hic</i> soles, <i>nullamque assumperat escam</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1312 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.11
[CYP25]	<i>Ieiunum referens</i> ad castra ingentia <i>pectus</i> <i>Ieiunum referens</i> uolitanti lumine <i>pectus</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1313 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.12
[CYP26]	Nescius at uates <i>subitae uirtutis honorem</i> Incautas hostis. <i>Subitae uirtutis honore</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1317 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.17
[CYP27]	<i>Sacrato</i> fulsisse sibi, <i>formidine plebis</i> Saepius ipse fugit, <i>sacrae formidine plebis</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1318 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.18
[CYP28]	Ilicet exhibitis <i>populo certante</i> metallis Bella nefanda sinunt <i>populo certante</i> fideli	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Exodus</i> 1323 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.19
[CYP29]	<i>Optima siderei</i> laturus commoda <i>doni</i> <i>Optima siderei</i> spargebant semina <i>doni</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Lev.</i> 107 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.9
[CYP30] <sup>125</sup>	Consuetoque dehinc plebis <i>celebratur honore</i> Exstitit, in populis summo <i>celebratus honore</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Num.</i> 317 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 3.6
[CYP31]	At Iudaea phalanx <i>promissa ad praemia tendens</i> Actibus e saeculi, <i>promissa ad praemia tendit</i>	Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Num.</i> 318 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 3.3

<sup>124</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 19.412 ('At medio in spatio fixi *laquearibus altis*').

<sup>125</sup>Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 69.150 ('Sanctus euangelii hinc *caelebratur honor*').

- [CYP32] *Talia dum memorat*: O semper laude ferendi  
*Talia dum memorat*: Qua te de parte praesentas?  
*Talia dum memorans* uatis iam nuntius infit  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Num.* 343  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Ios.* 127  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 7.1
- [CYP33]<sup>126</sup> *Talia* sed postquam dimissus *nuntius infit*  
*Talia* dum memorans uatis iam *nuntius infit*  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Num.* 592  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 7.1
- [CYP34] Quo *nox fusca uenit*, quo candent sidera cursu  
 Cum *nox fusca uenit*, cum abscondent sidera lucem  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Deut.* 23  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 20.17
- [CYP35] *Signifer est* dominus, celeri formidine missa  
*Signifer est* Acharus, Carmeli filius Ambri  
*Signifer est* clarus, subiectos uocibus hortans  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Deut.* 46  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Ios.* 173  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 13.27
- [CYP36] Quos *lex una tenet*, dominus quos exhibet unus  
 Quem *lex una tenet* gaudenti in corde uoluntas  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Deut.* 59  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 20.14
- [CYP37] O domine, immensam *dignatus linquere sedem*  
 Germano meruit *condigno linquere sedem*  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Ios.* 135  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 13.24
- [CYP38] Idola cum rigidis *formauit* mortua *saxis*  
 Namque rotunda suis *formabat* moenia *saxis*  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Ios.* 503  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 22.22
- [CYP39] Abstulit et regem *pauidum seruire* coegit  
 Hostibus aduersis *pauidum seruare* memento  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Iud.* 151  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 22.40
- [CYP40]<sup>127</sup> Matribus et *numeri damnum* pensaret in uno  
 In *numero damnum* gregibus desumere nescit  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Iud.* 495  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 15.22
- [CYP41]<sup>128</sup> *Auxilium sperare* dei, qui semine nullo  
*Auxilium sperans* noster se uertit ocellus  
 Cyprianus Gallus, *Iud.* 631  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 21.20

## Alcuin

[see too footnotes 2, 4, 6–7, 11, 30, 44, 55, and 57]

- [ALC1] *Nuntius his dictis* subito discessit ab illo  
*Nuntius his dictis* trusit per caerula puppim  
 Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.107  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 6.28
- [ALC2] Pauperibus *largus, parcus sibi*, diues *in omnes*  
*Largus* erat miseris, nimium *sibi parcus in omni*  
 Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.269  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 13.9

<sup>126</sup>Note too Juvenecus, *Euang.* 1.57 ('Ad quam tranquillum sermonem *nuntius infit*') and *MNE* 431 ('Promeruit letus. Nitidus tum *nuncius infit*').

<sup>127</sup>Note too Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.126 ('Matribus et numeri damnum Proserpina pensat'), which is the likely source for Cyprianus.

<sup>128</sup>Note too Lucan, *Phars.* 5.523 ('*Auxilium sperare* casae? Sic fatus ab alto'); Marius Victor, *Aleth.* 2.37 ('*Auxilium sperare* patris: prostratus uterque') seems a less likely possibility.

[ALC3]	<i>Post quem</i> non habuit <i>praeclara</i> Britannia talem <i>Post quem</i> germanus <i>praemitis</i> regmina cellae	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.233 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.1
[ALC4]	Quod prius ipse <i>deo</i> statuit <i>sub nomine Petri</i> Mensa <i>sacrata Deo</i> magno <i>sub nomine Petri</i> Quae <i>sacrata Deo</i> fulges <i>sub nomine Petri</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.307 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.10 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.2
[ALC5]	Sanctae si fidei uirtus <i>comitatur eosdem</i> Cooperat, et laetus pariter <i>comitatus eosdem</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.377 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.16
[ALC6]	Nec solum populos animae <i>de morte maligna</i> Offert qui mundum soluit <i>de morte maligna</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.584 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.27
[ALC7]	Atque manens <i>monachus</i> primaeuo tempore <i>clarus</i> Nec minus et <i>monachos</i> prae miro munere <i>claros</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.649 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 1.11
[ALC8]	Sed referente illo cognouit <i>tempora frater</i> Mittit; Inoffensis pedibus tua <i>tempora frater</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.831 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.13
[ALC9]	Ductor et ille mihi meditantis <i>talia dixit</i> Presbyter interea uenerandus <i>talia dixit</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.918 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.97
[ALC10]	Dux erat ille meus <i>ueniens cum luce</i> repente Omnia quid memorem? <i>ueniunt cum luce</i> ministri Iam chorus e caelo <i>ueniens cum luce</i> coruscus	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.955 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.67 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.33
[ALC11]	Actibus <i>instituens</i> , uerbis quoscumque <i>docebat</i> Talibus <i>instituens docuit</i> cum ductor ouile	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1017 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 4.24
[ALC12]	<i>Inque modum mirum</i> toto de corpore tota <i>Inque modum mirum</i> dispersae ad praemia certa	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1131 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.6
[ALC13]	Quassato, <i>cunctis</i> iacuit iam <i>sensibus</i> expers Corpore, mente, manu, <i>cunctis</i> et <i>sensibus</i> una Actibus et uerbis et <i>cunctis sensibus</i> almi Corpore, mente, manu, et <i>cunctis</i> cum <i>sensibus</i> una	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1192 Aediluulf, <i>DA praef.</i> 11 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 7.9 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.10
[ALC14] <sup>129</sup>	<i>Presbyter egregius</i> successit iure Iohanni <i>Presbyter egregius</i> , toto sub pectore plenus <i>Presbyter egregius</i> ualde et uenerabilis abba <i>Presbyter egregius</i> necnon Gislarius urnam <i>Presbyter egregius</i> , uitae studiosus amator	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1215 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 26.30 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 92.2.1 Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 110.4.7 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.2
[ALC15]	Hic pastoralis posuit dum <i>pondera curae</i> Nec si terrestris dispenset <i>pondera curae</i>	Alcuin, <i>Carm.</i> 1.1247 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 19.8

<sup>129</sup>Note too *MNE* 374 ('*Presbiter egregius* uenerando nomine Plecgils').

- [ALC16]      *Mente sagax, non ore loquax, sed strenuus actu*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.1404  
*Moribus egregius, et in omni strenuus actu*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.24.2  
*Gestis et uerbis et omni strenuus actu*      Aediluulf, *DA* 2.5  
*Sensibus et prudens, et cuncto strenuus actu*      Aediluulf, *DA* 13.3
- [ALC17]<sup>130</sup>      *Insistit precibus Christi genitricis in aula*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.1605  
*Quem dedit ille pius magnae genitricis ad aulam*      Aediluulf, *DA* 14.21
- [ALC18]      *Et cum luce simul uenit uir uestibus albis*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.1607  
*Talibus exornata bonis, in uestibus albis*      Aediluulf, *DA* 7.20  
*Higlac, indutus nimium qui uestibus albis*      Aediluulf, *DA* 22.65
- [ALC19]      *Pontificalis apex meritis* archique sacerdos      Alcuin, *Carm.* 2.1  
*Pontificalis apex meritis* uiuacibus aram      Alcuin, *Carm.* 89.3.1  
*Pontificalis apex meritorum* munere clarus      Aediluulf, *DA* 5.1
- [ALC20]      *Non tamen hos sperni iussit lex sancta tonantis*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 3 *praef.* 21  
*In te temporibus certis laus sancta tonantis*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 23.15  
*Quis possint sisti sacraria sancta Tonanti*      Aediluulf, *DA* 6.7
- [ALC21]      *Psalmodiis, ymnis, magno cum laudis honore*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.25.2  
*Psalmis atque hymnis laudantes* rite Tonantem      Aediluulf, *DA* 20.20
- [ALC22]      *Sarcophagum breuius fuerat sed corpore patris*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.25.3  
*Ossa sacrata pii promuntur corpora patris*      Aediluulf, *DA* 8.26
- [ALC23]      *Quae prius alterius languens portatur ab ulnis*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 3.30.14  
*Aufert inde, pium munusque apportat in ulnis*      Aediluulf, *DA* 8.51
- [ALC24]      *Alchuine dicor ego, uestro deuotus amori*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 10.21  
*Omnia mellifluo Christi deuotus amore*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 89.1.15  
*Rex Carolus Christi magno deuotus amore*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 107.2.1  
*Cuius eram uiuus semper deuotus amore*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 113.11  
*Militiam sterilem magno deuotus amore*      Aediluulf, *DA* 3.11
- [ALC25]      *Viuerе cum Christo* perpes in arce poli      Alcuin, *Carm.* 69.20  
*Viuerе iam Christo* sensu praediscit acuto      Aediluulf, *DA* 11.68
- [ALC26]      *Omnia fluxa fluunt saeculorum gaudia longe*      Alcuin, *Carm.* 76.1.11  
*Sentiet, in Domino sumunt sed gaudia longa*      Aediluulf, *DA* 22.101
- [ALC27]      *Auribus ille* tuis male friuola falsa sonabit      Alcuin, *Carm.* 78.8  
*Auribus ille* libens hausit, quae ructat ab alto      Aediluulf, *DA* 5.12  
*Aureus ille* calix gemmis splendescit opertus      Aediluulf, *DA* 14.19  
*Aureus ille* calix, tetigi quem carmine dudum      Aediluulf, *DA* 20.53

<sup>130</sup> Note too Aldhelm, *Carm.* 2.4 ('Hac celebratur honor sacrae *genitricis in aula*').

- [ALC28]<sup>131</sup> Atque creatorem laudet *sine fine benignum* Alcuin, *Carm.* 85.1.35  
Mens requiem capiat semper *sine fine benigne* Aediluulf, *DA* 1.21
- [ALC29] *Vir* pietate potens, *humilis*que, *modestus*, honestus Alcuin, *Carm.* 88.1.3  
*Vir* fuit hic *humilis* uerbis, factisque *modestus* Aediluulf, *DA* 18.7
- [ALC30] Sanus adesto potens, toto *sine fine ualeto* Alcuin, *Carm.* 7.35  
O uos pastores, patres, *sine fine ualete* Alcuin, *Carm.* 10.22  
Vos pariter, patres, semper *sine fine ualete* Alcuin, *Carm.* 21.37  
Gens bona Gothorum semper *sine fine ualeto* Alcuin, *Carm.* 24.1  
Sanctorum precibus semper *sine fine ualeto* Alcuin, *Carm.* 52.23  
Sanctorum precibus semper *sine fine ualeto* Alcuin, *Carm.* 55.3.5  
Omnia tempus habent, caritas *sine fine ualeto* Alcuin, *Carm.* 56.1.3  
Posco; tuum memorans Flaccum, *sine fine ualeto!* Alcuin, *Carm.* 72.12  
Alchuine dicor ego, iam uos *sine fine ualete* Alcuin, *Carm.* 109.15.22  
Iam Dominum colitans celsum *sine fine ualeto* Aediluulf, *DA* praef. 12
- [ALC31]<sup>132</sup> Iudiciis iusti, humiles *pietate modestas* Alcuin, *Carm.* 10.14  
Hunc genibus flexis rogitat *pietate modesta* Aediluulf, *DA* 11.19  
Pastor ouile bonus sumpsit *pietate modesta* Aediluulf, *DA* 18.13
- [ALC32] Praesuli Germano magna est haec *ara dicata* Alcuin, *Carm.* 89.23,1  
*Ara dicata* tibi micat haec, baptista Iohannes Alcuin, *Carm.* 90.10.1  
Omnibus haec praesens *ara dicata* micat Alcuin, *Carm.* 99.21.2  
Perpetui regis, sibimet haec *ara dicata* est Alcuin, *Carm.* 103.2.3  
*Ara dicata* tibi micat haec, baptista Iohannes Alcuin, *Carm.* 109.8.1  
Nomine namque tuo quoniam haec *ara dicata* est Alcuin, *Carm.* 109.16.3  
Virginibus sacris praesens haec *ara dicata* est Alcuin, *Carm.* 110.16.1  
*Ara dicata* Deo mittebat munera summa Aediluulf, *DA* 22.45
- [ALC33] Est opus egregium *sacros* iam *scribere libros* Alcuin, *Carm.* 94.11  
Fodere quam uites melius est *scribere libros* Alcuin, *Carm.* 94.13  
Quidam praecipiant *sacros scribere libros* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.40
- [ALC34] Qui conuertit aquas *mirandi* in *uina saporis* Alcuin, *Carm.* 105.4.6  
Ast ubi perceperam *mirandi uina saporis* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.95
- [ALC35]<sup>133</sup> *Crux* benedicta *nitet*, dominus qua carne pependit Alcuin, *Carm.* 114.1.3  
*Crux* ueneranda *nitens* praelcelso stipite surgit Aediluulf, *DA* 22.32
- [ALC36] Quos *uitae ad palmam* mors pretiosa uocat Alcuin, *Carm.* 114.4.4  
Quos *uitae ad palmam* mors pretiosa uocat Alcuin, *Carm.* 114.6.4  
Si *uitae ad palmam* certant properare fideles Aediluulf, *DA* 14.15

<sup>131</sup> Note too Fortunatus, *Carm.* 4.7.11 ('Forma uenusta, decens, animus *sine fine benignus*').

<sup>132</sup> Note too Dracontius, *Laud. dei* 3.561 ('Seruorum dominique manet *pietate modesta*').

<sup>133</sup> Note too Fortunatus, *Carm.* 2.1.1 ('*Crux benedicta nitet, dominus qua carne pependit*'), which is certainly the source for Alcuin here.

*Miracula Nynie episcopi*

[see too footnotes 4–5, 12, 15, 20, 29, and 36]

[MNE1]	<i>Tempore completo</i> celi de culmine Christus <i>Tempore completo</i> gelidantia membra relinquit <i>Tempore completo</i> praedictus corpora pastor	<i>MNE</i> 2 <i>MNE</i> 266 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 17.9
[MNE2]	Venerat et <i>castae</i> matris <i>de corpore</i> carnem <i>Spiritus</i> atque sacer <i>casto de corpore</i> tractus <i>Spiritus</i> astra petit <i>casto de corpore</i> latus Crimina cuncta pius <i>casto de corpore</i> pellit Atque animam <i>casto castam de corpore</i> sumunt	<i>MNE</i> 3 <i>MNE</i> 267 <i>HNE</i> 18.1 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.8 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.35
[MNE3]	E quibus <i>enituit praeclarus</i> doctor in orbe Presbyter <i>enituit praeclaris</i> actibus almus	<i>MNE</i> 17 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 19.3
[MNE4]	Qui tum forte sacer <i>ueterum munimenta</i> priorum Instituitque novos, <i>ueterum munimenta</i> reuoluens	<i>MNE</i> 40 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 5.19
[MNE5] <sup>134</sup>	Rex etiam Christus <i>magno redimiuit honore</i> Post mortem corpus <i>claro redimiuit honore</i> Xristus in aula poli <i>claro redimiuit honore</i> Atque suis <i>clarum magno redimiuit honore</i>	<i>MNE</i> 51 <i>MNE</i> 456 <i>HNE</i> 21.1 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.7
[MNE6]	<i>Quatenus</i> deuicto <i>instantis</i> discrimine <i>belli</i> <i>Quatinus</i> exhausto <i>instantis</i> certamine <i>belli</i>	<i>MNE</i> 60 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.15
[MNE7]	Quae tibi digna canam, <i>praesul uenerandus</i> in orbe Paret et obsequitur <i>praesul uenerandus</i> , euntem	<i>MNE</i> 62 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.8
[MNE8] <sup>135</sup>	Quae nunc eximio <i>monachorum</i> examine <i>pollent</i> Talibus aucta uiris <i>monachorum</i> gaudia <i>pollent</i>	<i>MNE</i> 73 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 9.7
[MNE9] <sup>136</sup>	Vere <i>Christicole seruant monastica iura</i> Presbyter ille fuit, statuens <i>monastica iura</i>	<i>MNE</i> 74 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 5.18
[MNE10]	Haec domus est domini, quam plures <i>uisere certant</i> Moribus ex solitis post hymnos <i>uisere certant</i>	<i>MNE</i> 92 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.5
[MNE11]	Dona nouella ferens <i>dominum uisitare</i> memento Ille sed immitis <i>dominam uisitare</i> iubebat	<i>MNE</i> 136 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.28

<sup>134</sup>Note too Juvencus, *Euang.* 4.189 ('Illum maiori famulum *redimibit honore*'), Paulinus of Nola, *carm.* 15.360 ('Immarcescibilis *redimiuit honore coronae*'), and *MNE* 186 ('Hunc semper pulchre *redimiuit honore coronae*'), with *MNE* doubtless borrowing from Paulinus here.

<sup>135</sup>Note too Bede, *VCM* 98 ('*Eximio* iam tunc *monachorum* examine *pollens*'), which is the likely source of *MNE* here.

<sup>136</sup>Note too Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.7 ('Qua nunc *Christicolae seruant monastica iura*'), which is the likely source of *MNE* here.

[MNE12] <sup>137</sup>	Quod rex prospiciens <i>laudes gratesque rependit</i> Et <i>domino</i> pariter <i>laudes gratesque rependit</i> In caelos <i>domino laudes gratesque rependi</i>	<i>MNE</i> 148 <i>MNE</i> 182 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.96
[MNE13]	<i>Presbiter interea</i> baptistae munere functus <i>Presbyter interea</i> uenerandus talia dixit	<i>MNE</i> 150 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.97
[MNE14]	Splendida <i>dum proceris</i> fluitabant dogmate dicta Nam tibi <i>dum proceres</i> proprio de sanguine signant	<i>MNE</i> 154 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 1.5
[MNE15]	<i>Presbiter</i> , at senior petito silentio <i>dixit</i> <i>Presbyter</i> interea uenerandus talia <i>dixit</i>	<i>MNE</i> 162 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.97
[MNE16] <sup>138</sup>	At tener extimplo <i>cunctis mirantibus</i> infans Peruenit ad corpus, <i>cunctis mirantibus</i> illum	<i>MNE</i> 166 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.66
[MNE17] <sup>139</sup>	Intonuit <i>stolido</i> doctis <i>de pectore</i> uerbis Rustica sed <i>stolidis</i> sudent si <i>pectora</i> dictis Haec Lupus, alte pater, <i>stolido de pectore</i> Clarus	<i>MNE</i> 167 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 1.3 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 23.1
[MNE18] <sup>140</sup>	At castus membris <i>pura</i> sub <i>mente sacerdos</i> Presbyter atque Deo <i>pura</i> cum <i>mente sacerdos</i> Hoc templum ingrediens dum <i>pura mente sacerdos</i>	<i>MNE</i> 177 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 9.2 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.25
[MNE19] <sup>141</sup>	<i>Mentis in excessu</i> transcendit nubila caeli <i>Mentis in excessu</i> , quidam confessor in Anglis	<i>MNE</i> 213 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 16.18
[MNE20]	Inuenit et cunctos trepidantes <i>lingere terram</i> Vir, pavidusque ruens confestim <i>lingere terram</i>	<i>MNE</i> 235 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.51
[MNE21]	<i>Talia dum multis</i> mirandus <i>gesserat annis</i> <i>Talia dum</i> sanctus quam <i>multis gesserat annis</i>	<i>MNE</i> 250 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.29
[MNE22]	Corpus itaque sacri <i>cineres uisitare satagunt</i> Quem matris gremio quondam <i>uisitare satagunt</i> Hunc domini seruus ueniens <i>uisitare satagit</i> Vocibus aurigeris <i>cineres uitare satagit</i>	<i>MNE</i> 295 <i>MNE</i> 411 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 5.7 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.32

<sup>137</sup>Note too Eugenius of Toledo *Carm.* 99.1 ('Immensas *domino laudes gratesque rependi*').

<sup>138</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 18.433 ('Ingrediturque sacras *cunctis mirantibus* aedes') and Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus*, 618 ('Castrorumque situm *cunctis mirantibus* implet').

<sup>139</sup>Note too Cyprianus Gallus, *Lev.* 11 ('Esse sibi licitum *stolido* dum *pectore* credunt'), as well as the discussion above concerning Alcuin, *Carm.* 1.1–7; in that case, it is possible that Alcuin's lines have influenced both Aediluulf and the *MNE*.

<sup>140</sup>Note too Vergil, *Aen.* 12.169 ('Procedunt castris, *puraque* in ueste *sacerdos*').

<sup>141</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 16.164 ('*Mentis in excessu* diuino facta paratu').

[MNE23]	Qui sacris pedibus uariata <i>membra tetendens</i> Saepius in precibus domino pia <i>membra tetendit</i>	<i>MNE</i> 328 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.8
[MNE24]	Sed precor <i>obsecrans summi per regna tonantis</i> Praecipit <i>obsecrans summi per regna tonantis</i>	<i>MNE</i> 355 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.11
[MNE25]	Incipit et laudem <i>domino modularē</i> per orbem Immensum, <i>domino modulans</i> quod carmina ructat	<i>MNE</i> 373 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.12
[MNE26] <sup>142</sup>	Presbiter egregius <i>uenerando nomine</i> Plecgils Ex his ergo fuit <i>uenerandus nomine</i> pastor	<i>MNE</i> 374 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 3.1
[MNE27] <sup>143</sup>	Continuosque dies <i>uenerans altaria donis</i> Cerea, flammigeris <i>uenerans altaria donis</i>	<i>MNE</i> 387 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.72
[MNE28]	Presbiter <i>inde pius</i> celesti munere fretus Perficit <i>inde pius</i> perpulcri culmina templi	<i>MNE</i> 436 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.31
[MNE29]	Et famis in paenis <i>tribuit solamina panis</i> Ast alius miseris <i>tribuens solamina panis</i>	<i>MNE</i> 475 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 7.18
[MNE30]	<i>Vir fuit hic</i> felix, qui nulli nocuit umquam <i>Vir fuit hic</i> humilis uerbis, factisque modestus	<i>MNE</i> 481 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.7
[MNE31] <sup>144</sup>	<i>Actibus et uerbis</i> confessor dignus in orbe <i>Actibus et uerbis</i> et cunctis sensibus almi	<i>MNE</i> 486 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 7.9
[MNE32]	Eius et eloquio lectorum <i>corda uirescunt</i> Talibus aucta bonis monachorum <i>corda uirescunt</i>	<i>MNE</i> 495 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 7.7
[MNE33] <sup>145</sup>	Surrexit sospes saltans per <i>marmora templi</i> Ast alius genibus tundendo <i>marmora templi</i> Pondere quae sancti permansit <i>marmora templi</i>	<i>MNE</i> 322 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 7.12 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.25
[MNE34]	Cumque per innumeras <i>celebraret talia</i> gesta Annos quamplures <i>celebraret talia</i> facta	<i>MNE</i> 501 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.19
[MNE35] <sup>146</sup>	Nunc Christum laudat <i>sacris concentibus</i> illic Nocturnas fratres <i>sacris concentibus</i> hymnos	<i>MNE</i> 504 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.16

<sup>142</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 22.39 ('Legifer antiquo *uenerando nomine* Moyses').

<sup>143</sup>An alternative source is Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.65 ('Et *ueneranda* piis flagrant *altaria donis*'), which may have inspired *MNE* 387; see too Aediluulf, *DA* 9.3 ('Munera mira parat: fumant *altaria donis*'), but note the much closer parallel for this line at Lucretius [3] below.

<sup>144</sup>Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 62.68 ('*Actibus* aut *uerbis* nolito adsuescere prauis').

<sup>145</sup>Note too Vergil, *Aen.* 4.457 ('Praeterea fuit in tectis de *marmore templum*') and 6.69 ('Tum Phoebos et Triviae solido de *marmore templum*').

<sup>146</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 9.20 ('Quo miseri nunc ore *sacros cantabimus hymnos*?').

## Juvencus

[see too footnotes 12, 20, 37, 39, 42, and 60]

[JUV1]	<i>Nuntius</i> et soli iussas <i>perferre loquellas</i> <i>Nuntius</i> , ad patrem patris <i>perferre loquelas</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.12 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.40
[JUV2]	Nuntius abscedens <i>uacuis se condidit auris</i> Degrediens templo <i>uacuis se condidit auris</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.79 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.37
[JUV3]	Illustrare <i>domum quam mater numinis alti</i> Haec est illa <i>domus quam Mater Numinis alti</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.89 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.4
[JUV4]	Immensi <i>Domino</i> mundi. Vix <i>gaudia tanta</i> Haec loca per <i>Dominum</i> meruerunt <i>gaudia tanta</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.97 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.58
[JUV5]	Gloria supremum <i>comitatur</i> debita <i>patrem</i> Fratres concordi <i>comitantur</i> carmine <i>patrem</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.173 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.30
[JUV6]	Femineam sancto <i>complet</i> spiramine <i>mentem</i> Fratres, atque suae <i>complent</i> sollemnia <i>mentis</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.215 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.6
[JUV7]	Tunc epulas demum <i>monuit conquirere corpus</i> Cumque epulas cupiens <i>monuit conquirere corpus</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.373 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.30
[JUV8]	Reddebat prope <i>miranda ad gaudia</i> sanos Surgere mox iussit <i>miranda ad gaudia</i> patris Concinuunt pulcre <i>miranda ad gaudia</i> cunctis Olfactum dulcem <i>miranda ad gaudia</i> cunctis	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.444 Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 2.407 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.33 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.9
[JUV9]	Dentibus horrendum <i>stridens fletumque</i> frequentans Dentibus his <i>stridor</i> semper <i>fletusque perennis</i> In tenebras, quo <i>stridor</i> erit <i>fletusque perennis</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 1.759 Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 3.14 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.64
[JUV10]	Ille ubi percepit <i>uenerandi dona</i> saporis Hauserat et manibus <i>uenerandi dona</i> liquoris	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 2.146 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.93
[JUV11] <sup>147</sup>	Nam rursus sitiet; sed nostri <i>dona liquoris</i> Hauserat et manibus uenerandi <i>dona liquoris</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 2.267 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.93
[JUV12]	Discipuli interea rogitabant, <i>sumeret escas</i> Vt uicibus geminis lyricas <i>consumeret escas</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 2.302 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.20
[JUV13] <sup>148</sup>	Sabbata profanent templo sine <i>crimine uates</i> Quatinus hic trepido dimittat <i>crimina uati</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 2.576 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 23.19

<sup>147</sup>Note too Arator, *Apost.* 1.1040 ('Morte premi qua uita redit, noua *dona liquoris*').<sup>148</sup>Note too Aldhelm, *Virg.* 949 ('Et temerare student insontem *crimine uatem*') and 1020 ('Insimulare studet stuprorum *crimine uatem*').

[JUV14]	Progreditur <i>templo</i> terrarum lumen Iesus Egreditur <i>templo</i> , cuius praecelsa notantes Degrediens <i>templo</i> uacuis se condidit auris	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 2.733 Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 4.86 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.37
[JUV15]	Caelestesque illum fremitu <i>comitante ministri</i> Candidus interius, pauido <i>comitante ministro</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 3.312 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.18
[JUV16]	<i>Oppresso tacuit non puri pectoris ore</i> <i>Obstruso tacuit non laeti pectoris ore</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 3.767 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.50
[JUV17]	Talia dicentem confestim <i>factio frendens</i> Insidias multas disponit, <i>factio frendens</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 4.1 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.54
[JUV18]	Officio mundumque implebunt <i>talia facta</i> Annos quamplures celebraret <i>talia facta</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 4.421 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.19
[JUV19]	Gratis sanctificat uerbis <i>potumque ministrat</i> Sacrificansque piis precibus <i>potumque ministrat</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 4.450 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.94
[JUV20] <sup>149</sup>	Exin cantato sanctis <i>concentibus hymno</i> Nocturnas fratres sacris <i>concentibus hymnos</i>	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 4.457 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.16
[JUV21]	Quod <i>crucis in ligno</i> scelerata insania fixit Qui <i>crucis in ligno</i> mundum de morte redemit	Juvencus, <i>Euang.</i> 4.755 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.39

## Bede

[see too footnote 21]

[BED1]	<i>Celsithronum</i> didicit precibus pulsare <i>tonantem</i> Vel qua <i>celsithronum</i> meruit generare <i>Tonantem</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 96 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.34
[BED2]	Glorificatque Deum, <i>firmet qui uota suorum</i> Rectori summo, <i>firmat qui uota suorum</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 119 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 6.46
[BED3] <sup>150</sup>	Et doctrina nitet <i>memori narranda relatu</i> Insuper arripiens <i>memori narranda relatu</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 143 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 5.15
[BED4]	<i>Lilia</i> nec candent nec sic <i>rosa</i> fulgida <i>fragrat</i> Namque <i>rosae</i> rutilant per totum et <i>lilia fragrant</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 208 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.11
[BED5] <sup>151</sup>	Se poscit <i>Domino prece</i> commendare <i>profusa</i> Et iugibus uotis <i>precibusque</i> instare <i>profusis</i> Se <i>precibus</i> cupiunt <i>Domino mandare profusis</i> Me quoque nunc <i>precibus Domino mandare profusis</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 239 Bede, Hymn. 2.91 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.22 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 23.17

<sup>149</sup> Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 9.20 ('Quo miseri nunc ore *sacros cantabimus hymnos?*').<sup>150</sup> Note too *MNE* 282 ('Hinc canere incipiam breui *narranda relatu*').<sup>151</sup> Note too Juvencus, *Euang.* 2.12 ('Discipulis puppim. *Precibus* tum scriba *profusis*') and 2.333 ('Aduolat et *precibus* subolis pro sorte *profusis*').

[BED6]	<i>Curre, rogo</i> , et Dominus misit quae munera <i>defer</i> <i>Curre rogoque</i> patris memorare <i>afferre</i> lacertum	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 306 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.44
[BED7]	Virtus, missilibus firmavit <i>moenia saxis</i> Namque rotunda suis formabat <i>moenia saxis</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 402 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.22
[BED8]	Quique <i>suis cupiens</i> uictum <i>conquirere palmis</i> Aestuauit, atque <i>suum</i> quaestum <i>conquirere palmis</i> Cumque epulas <i>cupiens</i> monuit <i>conquirere</i> corpus	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 413 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.12 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.30
[BED9]	<i>Fama citat</i> multos uatis pia <i>quaerere dicta</i> <i>Fama citat</i> plures perfectam ducere uitam Talibus hanc rogicans studebam <i>quaerere dictis</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 462 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.1 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.51
[BED10] <sup>152</sup>	<i>Pictorum infesto dum</i> concidit <i>Ecgfridus ense</i> <i>Ecgfridus infesto Pictorum dum</i> cadit ense	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 546 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 2.1
[BED11]	<i>Et nothus</i> in regni frater successit honorem <i>En nothus</i> Anglorum germanus regmina sumpsit	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 547 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 2.2
[BED12]	<i>Aurea dulcisonis</i> remeabat ad astra triumphis <i>Aurea dulcisonae</i> restaurat munera mentis	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 668 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.37
[BED13]	Qua nemo latebras clausi uel <i>noscere cordis</i> Quae si quis cupiat cum gnaro <i>noscere corde</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 703 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 16.6
[BED14]	Sed <i>locus</i> ob homines exstat uenerabilis <i>almus</i> Hic <i>locus</i> ut Christo semper memorabilis <i>almo</i>	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 754 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 23.7
[BED15]	<i>Talibus</i> adtoniti lacrimant <i>rogitantque</i> gementes <i>Talibus</i> hanc <i>rogicans</i> studebam quaerere dictis	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 757 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.51
[BED16]	Pandere nec laetis <i>caeli concentibus</i> aures Qui modulis culmen <i>caeli concentibus</i> ornant	Bede, <i>VCM</i> 928 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.10
[BED17]	<i>Florigeroque nitent</i> ueluti uernantia sexto <i>Florigerisque nitent</i> per tempora cuncta manipulis	Bede, <i>Hymn.</i> 2.36 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 4.13
[BED18]	Sed maestum <i>salsis</i> faciem perfundite <i>guttis</i> Fontibus e calidis <i>salsae</i> decurrere <i>guttae</i>	Bede, <i>Die iud.</i> 17 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.27
[BED19]	Laudate <i>altithronum</i> , pueri, laudate <i>tonantem</i> De quibus <i>altithrono</i> spirabant thura <i>Tonanti</i>	Bede, <i>Psalms</i> 122.1 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.71

<sup>152</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 16.90 (*'Infestos* utcumque timens uitauerat *enses'*), which may be Bede's model here.

## Venantius Fortunatus

[see too footnotes 8, 17, 19, and 52]

- [VFO1] Et candunt *rutilis lilia* mixta *rosis* Fortunatus, *Carm.* 2.9.24  
Namque *rosae rutilant* per totum et *lilia* fragrant Aediluulf, *DA* 22.11
- [VFO2] Aut, cui uita nitet, *gaudia* longa *capit* Fortunatus, *Carm.* 4.26.86  
Iam Domino placidus *gaudia* magna *capis* Aediluulf, *DA* 1.6
- [VFO3] *Officiis uenerande* sacris, *pietatis* alumne Fortunatus, *Carm.* 5.12.3  
*Officiis uenerande* sacris, *pietatis* alumne Fortunatus, *Carm.* 9.8.3  
*Officio uenerare pio* sic cernitur almam Aediluulf, *DA* 22.62
- [VFO4] *Excludar portis* tristis alumna tuis? Fortunatus, *Carm.* 6.5.98  
*Exclusi portis* calefacta illudere ponunt Aediluulf, *DA* 15.9
- [VFO5] *Seruitio domini* subdenda est ad iuga ceruix Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.3.75  
*Seruitium Domini* miles praefatus inibat Aediluulf, *DA* 4.2
- [VFO6] Per paradisiacas *epulas cupit* esse coheres Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.3.115  
Quem studiose *epulis cupiat* sollemnia sancta Aediluulf, *DA* 15.32  
Cumque *epulas cupiens* monuit conquirere corpus Aediluulf, *DA* 18.30
- [VFO7]<sup>153</sup> Et stabilis solidum *montis in arce* gradum Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.3.122  
*Montis in arce*, piae monstrant cenacula nuptae Aediluulf, *DA* 11.33
- [VFO8] *Intrant sidereo* uernantes lumine portas Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.3.177  
*Intrant sideream* meritorum gressibus urbem Fortunatus, *Mart.* 3.518  
*Intrant siderea* candentem luce delubrum Aediluulf, *DA* 21.14
- [VFO9] Et quia me uiuens *carnali lumine* quondam Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.3.219  
Inspicis aeriam *carnali lumine* Theclam Fortunatus, *Mart.* 3.457  
Cernere me fateor *carnali lumine* numquam Aediluulf, *DA* 6.17
- [VFO10] Limina sardonichum *uariato lumine* florent Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.4.19  
Ast alia ex auro *uariato lumine* uibrant Aediluulf, *DA* 22.87
- [VFO11]<sup>154</sup> Hic seruant domino *corpore, mente fidem* Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.4.24  
Vt puram capiant *corpore, mente, fidem* Aediluulf, *DA* 23.6
- [VFO12] Non fuit in uacuum sic te *uocitare parentes* Fortunatus, *Carm.* 9.1.29  
Vulfsig, quem prisci cupiunt *uocitare parentes* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.80
- [VFO13] Prospera sint regum, populorum *gaudia crescant* Fortunatus, *Carm.* 10.8.29  
His formata bonis monachorum *gaudia crescant* Aediluulf, *DA* 18.33

<sup>153</sup> Note too Juvencus., *Euang.* 2.279 ('Sed nostri istius uenerandum *montis in arce*').<sup>154</sup> Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 21.339 ('Simus ut uniti *corpore mente fide*').

- [VFO14] Custodesque gregi caelestis *contulit agnus*  
Agnos atque pios permiti *contulit agno* Fortunatus, *Carm.* 10.13.3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 4.26
- [VFO15] Et quae rura ferunt, hic *rustica dona* ministro  
Haec tibi complacuit *rustica dona* dare Fortunatus, *Carm.* 11.13.3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 1.2
- [VFO16] Nec tamen educi posset de *limine cellae*  
Cordibus in fratrum; segetes per *limina cellae* Fortunatus, *Mart.* 1.203  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.10
- [VFO17] *Tandem promeruit* fieri conuiuia beati  
*Tandem promeruit*, cuncto cessante labore Fortunatus, *Mart.* 2.66  
Aediluulf, *DA* 10.30
- [VFO18] *Corpora deseruit* membratim tabes acerba  
*Corpora deseruit*, nitidis comitatus ut ipse Fortunatus, *Mart.* 4.476  
Aediluulf, *DA* 18.37
- [VFO19] Cum daret arte *melos uox* lyra chorda chorus  
Ast lector, *melos uoce* articulata resultans Fortunatus, *Carm. spur.* 1.22  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.27

## Vergil

[see too footnotes 1, 26, 31, and 58–59]

- [VER1]<sup>155</sup> *At domus interior* regali splendida luxu  
*At domus interior* gemitu miseroque tumultu  
*Ast domus interior* nimio candore coruscans Vergil, *Aen.* 1.637  
Vergil, *Aen.* 2.486  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.21
- [VER2] At Venus Ascanio placidam per *membra quietem*  
Contigerat, placida *laxabant membra quiete*  
Apponunt signum sacratae *membra quieti*  
Algida post hymnos *laxassem membra quieti* Vergil, *Aen.* 1.691  
Vergil, *Aen.* 5.836  
Aediluulf, *DA* 17.13  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.2
- [VER3]<sup>156</sup> Intenditque locum sertis et *fronde coronat*  
Peruolat; hunc spinae spissa cum *fronde coronant*  
Porticus in medio, sancti quam *fronde coronant* Vergil, *Aen.* 4.506  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.22  
Aediluulf, *DA* 14.7
- [VER4]<sup>157</sup> Longaeui palmas nequiquam *ad sidera tendunt*  
Et duplicis cum uoce *manus ad sidera tendit*  
Magnificas laudes, *manibusque ad sidera tensis* Vergil, *Aen.* 5.256  
Vergil, *Aen.* 10.667  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.61

<sup>155</sup>Note too Prudentius, *Psych.* 1.868 (*‘At domus interior septem subnixa columnis’*), Corippus, *Iust.* 1.97 (*‘Est domus interior tectorum in parte superna’*), and Aldhelm, *Carm.* 3.66 (*‘Haec domus interius resplendet luce serena’*).

<sup>156</sup>Note too Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 1.118 (*‘Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam’*), Juvenius, *Euang.* 3.637 (*‘Quaque iter est Christo, subnexa fronde coronant’*), and Corippus, *Iust.* 4.77 (*‘Exornantque locos, et festa fronde coronant’*) and 4.207 (*‘Ornatas nexis diuersa ex fronde coronis’*).

<sup>157</sup>Note too Avitus, *Carm.* 5.125 (*‘Attollunt animos palmasque ad sidera tendunt’*) and Alcuin, *Carm.* 85.1.13 (*‘Corporis utque oculus uisus ad sidera tendit’*).

[VER5]	Audet <i>adire uirum</i> manibusque inducere caestus Iussit <i>adire uirum</i> , donec iam crimina cuncta	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 5.379 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.54
[VER6] <sup>158</sup>	<i>Sume pater</i> ; nam te uoluit rex magnus Olympi <i>Sume, pater</i> , placidus modulantis uota poetae	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 5.533 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> praef. 1
[VER7] <sup>159</sup>	Auxilioque uocare deos et <i>tendere palmas</i> Ad caelum <i>tendit palmas</i> et corpore inhaeret Redde meis. uicisti et uictum <i>tendere palmas</i> Sanctas in precibus non cessat <i>tendere palmas</i>	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 5.686 Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 10.845 Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 12.936 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 7.11
[VER8] <sup>160</sup>	Si fratrem Pollux alterna <i>morte redemit</i> Qui crucis in ligno mundum de <i>morte redemit</i>	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 6.121 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.39
[VER9] <sup>161</sup>	Donec longa dies <i>perfecto temporis</i> orbe Cumque Deo electus, <i>perfecto tempore</i> plenus	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 6.745 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.18
[VER10]	Insignem <i>gemmis</i> ; tum fumida lumine <i>fuluo</i> Aurea cum <i>gemmis</i> flauescit lamina <i>fuluis</i>	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 7.76 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.34
[VER11]	Ceu quondam torto <i>uolitans</i> sub <i>uerbere</i> turbo Malleus, et uacuas <i>uolitans</i> cum <i>uerberat</i> auras	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 7.378 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.27
[VER12] <sup>162</sup>	Et matutini uolucrum sub <i>culmine cantus</i> Tales concinuunt: quatitans ad <i>culmina cantus</i>	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 8.456 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.16
[VER13]	Ascanius <i>meriti</i> tanti <i>non</i> immemor <i>umquam</i> Quod sine nos <i>meritis</i> tribuit <i>non</i> hostibus <i>umquam</i>	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 9.256 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.4
[VER14]	<i>Tempore</i> cum ferro caelestia <i>corpora</i> demens <i>Tempore</i> nonnullo iacuit, sua <i>corpora</i> morbus <i>Tempore</i> cui quodam languor dum <i>corpora</i> uexat <i>Tempore</i> completo praedictus <i>corpora</i> pastor	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 11.276 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.40 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.3 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 17.9
[VER15]	Conspectu in medio procerum. tum <i>rite sacratas</i> Iam precibus fuis commendant <i>rite sacratis</i>	Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> 12.213 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 12.8

<sup>158</sup>Note too Sedulius, hymn. 1.15–16 (*'Sume, pater, populos pro nati uulnere cunctos / Cum tradis Christum, sume, pater, populos'*).

<sup>159</sup>Note too Lucan, *Phars.* 4.176 (*'Miles, in amplexu effusas tendere palmas'*), Prudentius, *Apoth.* 1.861 (*'Claudere flexibiles patulam seu tendere palmam?'*), and Corippus, *Iust.* 4.69 (*'Posset ut exertas ad munera tendere palmas'*).

<sup>160</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 31.68 (*'Pertulit et carum morte redemit opus'*).

<sup>161</sup>Note too Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 18.72 (*'Felicem, donec perfectae tempora uitae'*) and Avitus, *Carm.* 5.238 (*'Sumite mansuetum perfecti temporis agnum'*).

<sup>162</sup>Note too Corippus, *Iust.* 1.198 (*'Omnia gallorum strepuerunt culmina cantu'*).

- [VER16] Te quoque, magna Pales, et te *memorande canemus*  
Hic tamen haec paucis liceat *memorare canendo* Vergil, *Georg.* 3.1  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.28
- [VER17] Vix defessa senem *passus componere* membra  
Degrediens mundo *passus componit* in aruis Vergil, *Georg.* 4.438  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.4
- [VER18] Nunc tremere *instantis belli certamina* dicit  
Quatinus exhausto *instantis certamine belli* Vergil, *App. Ciris* 358  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.15

**Paulinus of Nola**

[see too footnotes 10, 20, 24, 27–28, 32, 35, 38, 40, and 46–47]

- [PNO1] Iudicis hoc quoque nos iterum *tibi munere donet*  
Mundos, quos Dominus magno *tibi munere donat* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 14.132  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.18
- [PNO2]<sup>163</sup> Perfectamque tibi lactantes *condere laudem*  
Atque Deo studeant condignam *condere laudem* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 15.37  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.3
- [PNO3] *Militiae sterilem* tolerans, qua Caesaris armis  
*Militiam sterilem* magno deuotus amore Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 15.100  
Aediluulf, *DA* 3.11
- [PNO4] *Callibus ignotis* directus iussa petebat  
*Callibus ignotis* peditans comitatus adiui Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 15.270  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.7
- [PNO5] Rore poli natum et terrae *benedixit opimo*  
Fulserat; hic manibus memet *benedixit opimis* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 15.357  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.66
- [PNO6] *In domino Christo* sum deditus; hunc etiam oris  
*In Domino Christo* prosperitate pia Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 16.12  
Aediluulf, *DA* 1.22
- [PNO7]<sup>164</sup> Illa canens domino: *media* si noctis *in umbra*  
Tum frater quidam, *media* cum mortis *in umbra* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 16.152  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.39
- [PNO8] Vt uibrent tremulas *funalia pendula flammis*  
Ordinibus uariis *funalia pendula flammis* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 18.37  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.31
- [PNO9] *Ostia laxato* stridentia *cardine* soluit  
*Ostia laxato* patuerunt *cardine* clausa Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 18.412  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.17
- [PNO10] Nec minor occiduis effulsit *gratia terris*  
Praemites, statuit celestis *gratia terris* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 19.152  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.36

<sup>163</sup>Note too Aldhelm, *Virg.* 1710 ('Porro Caeciliae uiuacem *condere laudem*').

<sup>164</sup>Note too Statius, *Theb.* 5.64 ('Fertur. Erant certe, *media* quae *noctis in umbra*'), which may be the model for Paulinus here.

- [PNO11] Corporeum *statuit caelesti* in sede tropaeum  
Praemites, *statuit celestis* gratia terris Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 19.654  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.36
- [PNO12] Insignem *cunctis per tempora* tota diebus  
Nocte dieque simul *cunctae per tempora* uitae Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 26.20  
Aediluulf, *DA* praef. 7  
Deseruit, famulans *cunctae per tempora* uitae  
Aediluulf, *DA* 3.12  
Quatenus haec nulli *cunctae per tempora* uitae  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.12
- [PNO13] Ipse manens in se media *pietate uicissim*  
Ast pueri genibus flexis *pietate uicissim* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 27.85  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.26
- [PNO14] Sed quoniam lateri *meus* assidet *ipse magister*  
Dic, qua parte manet quondam *meus ille magister* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 27.243  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.52
- [PNO15]<sup>165</sup> *Viure post mortem* uero fateamur Iesum Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 27.419  
*Viure post mortem* nullus ut ambigeret Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 31.150  
*Viure post mortem*: mortis sed uersus ab oris  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.67
- [PNO16] *Inter quae et modicis uariatur* gratia cellis Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 28.15  
*Inter quas modicae uariantur* in ordine cellae  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.27
- [PNO17] *Marmore mirum* oculis aperit, spatiantibus artat Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 28.43  
*Marmore praemiram* monstrant spectantibus aulam  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.29

## Caelius Sedulius

[see too footnotes 1 and 44]

- [SED1] Cerea *gemmais flauescunt* mella canistris Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. pasch. praef.* 13  
Aurea cum *gemmais flauescit* lamina fuluis  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.34
- [SED2] Cur ego, Dauitidis assuetus *cantibus odas* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. pasch.* 1.23  
Officium praestare piis, et *cantibus odas*  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.36
- [SED3] Laetificata seges *spinis mundatur ademptis* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. pasch.* 1.57  
Ac mentes hominem *spinis permundat ademptis*  
Aediluulf, *DA* 3.10
- [SED4] *Pastor ouile bonus*, qua uellere praeuius albo Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. pasch.* 1.83  
*Pastorisque boni* uernantia uota uirescunt  
Aediluulf, *DA* 9.8  
*Pastor ouile bonus* sumpsit pietate modesta  
Aediluulf, *DA* 18.13
- [SED5] Te duce difficilis non est uia; *subditur omnīs* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. pasch.* 1.85  
Vt decuit, coluit; uacuis sed *subdidit omnem*  
Aediluulf, *DA* 2.11
- [SED6] Ex quibus audaci *perstringere pauca relatu* Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. pasch.* 1.96  
De quo iam dudum *perstrinxi pauca relatu*  
Aediluulf, *DA* 16.3

<sup>165</sup> Note too Avitus, *Carm.* 3.58 ('*Viure post mortem* poenaque ardere perenni').

- [SED7] *Diuersisque modis* par est uesania cunctis  
*Diuersisque modis* sapiens incude subactum  
*Diuersisque modis* agitabant turbida flabra  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 1.333  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 10.3  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 11.8
- [SED8] *Nec solus meritam* praesumptor senserat iram  
*Nec solus meruit* parmam captasse supernam  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 2.4  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 4.7
- [SED9] Ecce Dei *ueniens peccatum tollere mundi*  
 Qui *ueniens* sontis *peccatum tollere mundi*  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 2.149  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 4.27
- [SED10] *Incipietque pius* decies millena talenta  
*Incipiuntque pii* sese praecurrere Christo  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 2.273  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 7.8
- [SED11] Et uasti premit arua freti, *glaucisque fluentis*  
 Vndae que *glaucis* cupiunt crispere *fluentis*  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 3.227  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 5.3
- [SED12] Dumque *medens aegrum* refouet uirtute tumultum  
 At *medens aegrum* curat uirtute superna  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 3.257  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 8.53
- [SED13] Hinc repetita sacri *gradiens per moenia templi*  
 Eadfridus hinc *gradiens per* uasti *moenia templi*  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 4.40  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 22.67
- [SED14] Cum Domino potuere magis sua *lintea tolli*  
 Laetus et inde uolans rectorem ad *lintea tollit*  
 Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 5.347  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 8.56
- [SED15] *Crimina cuncta* suis terrenus contulit auctor  
*Crimina cuncta* pius casto de corpore pellit  
 Sedulius, *Hymn.* 1.77  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 10.8

#### Arator

[see too footnote 33]

- [ARA1] *Ingrediensque* polum carnis *comitante* tropaeo  
*Ingreditur* genitor natis *comitantibus* albis  
 Arator, *Apost.* 1.39  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 11.34
- [ARA2]<sup>166</sup> Quae *super astra manens* caelestis et alta uocatur  
 Iam *super astra manet*, Dominum per saecula laudans  
 Arator, *Apost.* 1.501  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 8.64
- [ARA3] Mouit ad ista furor? Domini quod *gratia donat*  
 Non propria de parte geri quod *gratia donat*  
 Hunc Deus in uita meritorum *gratia donat*  
 Arator, *Apost.* 1.635  
 Arator, *Apost.* 2.501  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 10.6
- [ARA4] Ire foras flexoque genu fit *pronior aruis*  
 Ast ego praetrepidus faciem cum *pronior aruis*  
 Arator, *Apost.* 1.823  
 Aediluulf, *DA* 22.38

<sup>166</sup>Note too Fortunatus, *Carm.* 4.2.6 ('Nobilior gestis nunc *super astra manet*').

- [ARA5] Dixit in oris opus. Quem mox *sacrauit euntem*  
Ille, leuata manu, dictis *sacrauit euntem* Arator, *Apost.* 2.3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.83
- [ARA6] Quo monitore piae tendunt *ad sidera mentes*  
Rexit, et accendit sacratam *ad sidera mentem* Arator, *Apost.* 2.161  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.10
- [ARA7] Lanigero *damnosa gregi*, quos liberat Agnus  
In numero *damnum gregibus* desumere nescit Arator, *Apost.* 2.196  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.22
- [ARA8] In somnis haec uisus ait: *Miserere, precamur*  
Obsecrant, Mater, nobis *miserere, precamur* Arator, *Apost.* 2.314  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.39  
Perque Dei nomen, rogitant, *Miserere, precamur*  
Inserui, rogitans Christum, *Miserere, precamur* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.39
- [ARA9] O miseranda manus! Cui tu *praestare laboras*  
Haec tuo nam cupio requiem *praestare labori* Arator, *Apost.* 2.719  
Aediluulf, *DA* 1.17
- [ARA10] Commissos lustrate greges, quia *dente rapaci*  
Vt lupus ille ferus subiectos *dente rapaci* Arator, *Apost.* 2.855  
Aediluulf, *DA* 4.20
- [ARA11] Est ibi culpa fides, quam tunc in *laudibus ornat*  
Mirificis sunt facta modis quae *laudibus ornet* Arator, *Apost.* 2.1028  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.51  
Gaudet, et aeternis donantem *laudibus ornat* Aediluulf, *DA* 20.59

#### Lucan

[see too footnotes 14 and 45]

- [LUC1] *Bella nefanda* parat suetus ciuilibus armis  
*Bella nefanda* dabunt praemia magna suis  
*Bella nefanda* sinunt populo certante fideli Lucan, *Phars.* 1.325  
Alcuin, *Carm.* 9.222  
Aediluulf, *DA* 13.19
- [LUC2] Quaque sub Herculeo sacratus *numine portus*  
Rectoris, caelos terras qui et *numine portat* Lucan, *Phars.* 1.405  
Aediluulf, *DA* 7.23
- [LUC3]<sup>167</sup> Mors media est. certe populi, *quos despicit arctos*  
Aether non totam mergi tamen *aspicit Arcton* Lucan, *Phars.* 1.458  
Lucan, *Phars.* 3.251  
Conuersti ad culmen cellae *quae respicit Arcton* Aediluulf, *DA* 22.85
- [LUC4] Tum questus tenuere suos, *magnusque per omnis*  
Dapsilis hic nimium minimis *magnisque per omnem* Lucan, *Phars.* 2.20  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.3
- [LUC5] *Creditur ut* captae rapturus moenia Romae  
*Creditur ut* laetus meruisset uisere compta Lucan, *Phars.* 3.99  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.74
- [LUC6] *In melius mutare* locum. coit area belli  
*In melius mutat*, non mutans gaudia uitae Lucan, *Phars.* 6.60  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.21

<sup>167</sup>Note too Claudian, *Carm.* 15.511 ('Plana solo, ratibus clemens; *quae respicit Arcton*').

- [LUC7] Hoc solamen erat, quod uoti *turba nefandi*  
*Turba nefanda* feris, semper confisa sub armis Lucan, *Phars.* 7.181  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.50
- [LUC8] Aequeorea restinguit aqua *congestaque in unum*  
Ecclesiam uocitans mitis *congessit in unam* Lucan, *Phars.* 8.788  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.44
- [LUC9] Abstulit? Haec fatur; quem contra *talia frater*  
Tempore qui longo gessit dum *talia frater* Lucan, *Phars.* 9.125  
Aediluulf, *DA* 19.16
- [LUC10] Quin agite et magna *meritum* cum caede *parate*  
Liquerat, et requiem *meritis* factisque *paratam* Lucan, *Phars.* 9.282  
Aediluulf, *DA* 17.10
- [LUC11] Rectior, aut Aries donat sua *tempora Librae*  
Quo sol consurgens trutinantis *tempora Librae* Lucan, *Phars.* 9.534  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.21

## Corippus

[see too footnotes 41–42, 45, and 48]

- [COR1] Pastorum *ecce uenit* fugiens e uallibus *agmen*  
*Ecce* repente *uenit* miris cum cantibus *agmen* Corippus, *Ioh.* 2.173  
Aediluulf, *DA* 21.11
- [COR2] *Gaudebat* miseranda nouis ornata *coronis*  
*Gaudebatque* suo capiti portare *coronam* Corippus, *Ioh.* 3.69  
Aediluulf, *DA* 4.3
- [COR3] Atque salus patriae, nimios ne *sperne labores*  
Tu, pater, haec recitans nostros non *sperne labores* Corippus, *Ioh.* 6.329  
Aediluulf, *DA* 23.13
- [COR4] *Campus* et aduersi rubuerunt *floribus* agri  
*Campus* erat latus, pulcris qui *floribus* offert Corippus, *Ioh.* 6.353  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.8
- [COR5] Purpura picta dabat *uario permixta colore*  
Inclita, sed uario comptim *permixta colore*  
Contingunt: pariter *uario permixta colore* Corippus, *Ioh.* 8.190  
Aediluulf, *DA* 7.21  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.31
- [COR6] Tu *decus imperii* lumen *uirtusque* Latini  
Cui *decus, imperium, uirtus*, sapientia perpes Corippus, *Iust.* 1.149  
Aediluulf, *DA* 23.21
- [COR7] Discreta ratione uocans, *properare fideles*  
Si uitae ad palmam certant *properare fideles* Corippus, *Iust.* 1.224  
Aediluulf, *DA* 14.15
- [COR8] *Aurea* purpureis apponunt fercula *mensis*  
*Aurea* mirificaie portabant munera *mensae* Corippus, *Iust.* 3.111  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.31
- [COR9] Et laeua *dextraque* acies *astare uideres*  
A *dextris* Virgo et Genitrix *adstare uidetur* Corippus, *Iust.* 3.177  
Aediluulf, *DA* 7.22
- [COR10] *Atque deo grates* solita pietate peregit  
Eanmund, *atque Deo grates* ad sidera reddit  
*Atque Deo grates* reddit pro munere tanto Corippus, *Iust.* 4.314  
Aediluulf, *DA* 7.3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.57

## Staius

[see too footnote 50]

[STA1]	Proicit ignotaeque acclinis <i>postibus aulae</i> Improuisus adest, iam illinc a <i>postibus aulae</i> Ast ego post omnes conclusis <i>postibus aulam</i>	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 1.388 Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 3.347 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.8
[STA2]	Exceptamque hiemem cornu <i>perfuderat omni</i> Qui sonitans mundum dudum <i>perfuderat omnem</i>	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 2.144 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.42
[STA3]	Dicta dies aderat. Cadit ingens <i>rite Tonanti</i> Psalmis atque hymnis laudantes <i>rite Tonantem</i>	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 4.13 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.20
[STA4]	<i>Tempus erat</i> , medii cum solem in culmina mundi <i>Tempus erat</i> , iunctos cum iam soror ignea Phoebi <i>Tempus erat</i> , cum te geminae suffragia terrae <i>Tempus erat</i> , caeli cum torrentissimus axis <i>Tempus erat</i> noctis, lucem cum praedicat ales	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 4.680 Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 8.271 Staius, <i>Silu.</i> 2.2.133 Staius, <i>Silu.</i> 3.1.52 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.1
[STA5]	<i>Talia cernenti</i> mihi quantus in ossibus horror <i>Talia cernenti</i> mitis subit alta Dianae <i>Talia</i> dum <i>cernens</i> stupido de corde rimarem	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 5.164 Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 9.712 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.35
[STA6]	Vtile, quo <i>geminis</i> Niobe <i>consumpta</i> pharetris Vt uicibus <i>geminis</i> lyricas <i>consumeret</i> escas	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 6.124 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 18.20
[STA7]	<i>Sentit</i> adesse deam, tacitus <i>sed gaudia</i> celat <i>Sentiet</i> , in Domino sumunt <i>sed gaudia</i> longa	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 10.285 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.101
[STA8] <sup>168</sup>	Multifidam quercum flagranti <i>lumine uibrat</i> Sedibus e summis, radianti <i>lumine uibrans</i> Ast alia ex auro uariato <i>lumine uibrant</i>	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 10.843 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.41 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.87
[STA9]	Sternar et <i>immitis domini</i> uestigia quaeram? Ille sed <i>immitis dominam</i> uisitare iubebat	Staius, <i>Theb.</i> 11.689 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.28

## Prosper of Aquitaine

[PRO1]	Inter quos laqueos currentem <i>ad gaudia uera</i> Nocte dieque simul seruare; <i>ad gaudia uera</i> Quae temploque polo rutilant per <i>gaudia uera</i> ?	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 17.7 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 10.11 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 14.17
[PRO2]	Rectorum <i>est</i> aduersa pati, et <i>tolerare modeste</i> Aduersum <i>est</i> quicquid moneo <i>tolerare modeste</i>	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 35.3 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 1.19

<sup>168</sup> Note too Dracontius, *Laud. dei* 3.697 ('Inde duces oculi gemmato *lumine uibrant*') and *Romul.* 10.229 ('Permixto pallore rubens, non *lumina uibrat*').

[PRO3]	<i>Nec querula in quoquam</i> uoce <i>mouere</i> Deum <i>Nec querula in quoquam</i> corde <i>mouere</i> tua	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 35.4 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 1.20
[PRO4]	Cum mens carnalis, <i>nimum</i> dominante <i>tyranno</i> Anglorum proceres <i>nimum</i> trucidante <i>tyranno</i>	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 53.7 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 4.1
[PRO5]	Virtutum gradibus <i>scandite lucis iter</i> Hic mirare legens <i>scandere lucis iter</i>	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 69.2 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 1.12
[PRO6]	Si properent <i>sontes peccati</i> abrumpere nodos Qui ueniens <i>sontis peccatum</i> tollere mundi	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 73.7 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 4.27
[PRO7]	In Deitate gradus, mensura et <i>tempora non sunt</i> Hic tribui poscis, ueniae quo <i>tempora non sunt?</i>	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 103.1 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.25
[PRO8]	Et praegustata <i>superi dulcedine roris</i> Quam laete surgunt <i>superi dulcedine roris</i>	Prosper, <i>Epig.</i> 103.9 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 20.11

#### Dracontius

[see too footnotes 18 and 54]

[DRA1]	<i>Nigra</i> tenebrarum corrumpere <i>tempora noctis</i> Versibus. Hanc dudum <i>nigrae</i> sub <i>tempora noctis</i>	Dracontius, <i>Laud. dei</i> 1.212 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 21.4
[DRA2] <sup>169</sup>	Et seruatus abit <i>uitae melioris amator</i> Et securus erit <i>uitae melioris amator</i> Presbyter egregius, <i>uitae</i> studiosus <i>amator</i>	Dracontius, <i>Laud. dei</i> 2.432 Dracontius, <i>Laud. dei</i> 3.96 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 13.2
[DRA3]	<i>Iudicioque suo ueniae</i> subtractus abiuit <i>Iudicioque suo ueniam</i> uel sumere poenam	Dracontius, <i>Laud. dei</i> 2.570 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.29
[DRA4] <sup>170</sup>	<i>Confectus senio</i> membrisque trementibus aeuo Tandem <i>confectus senio</i> sua tempora scriptor	Dracontius, <i>Laud. dei</i> 2.626 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 8.20
[DRA5] <sup>171</sup>	<i>Pauperibus miseris</i> quod trux alimenta negabat <i>Pauperibus miseris</i> , <i>nimum</i> qui frigida membra	Dracontius, <i>Laud. dei</i> 3.74 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 15.8
[DRA6]	Troilus ad laeuam <i>pauido comitante</i> Polite Coniugis ast pueri, <i>pauido comitante</i> marito Candidus interius, <i>pauido comitante</i> ministro	Dracontius, <i>Romul.</i> 8.84 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.30 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 22.18
[DRA7]	Corpora sol reficit radiis et <i>corpora uexat</i> Tempore cui quodam languor dum <i>corpora uexat</i>	Dracontius, <i>Satisf.</i> 85 Aediluulf, <i>DA</i> 11.3

<sup>169</sup> Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 99.22.3 ('Iustitiae cultor, *uitae melioris amator*').

<sup>170</sup> Note too Claudian, *Carm.* 15.446 ('*Confectus senio*, morbis stuprisque solutus').

<sup>171</sup> Note too Alcuin, *Carm.* 35.10 ('*Pauperibus, miseris* omnibus esto pater').

## Lactantius

- [LAC1] Hic genus arboreum procero *stipite surgens*  
Crux ueneranda nitens praecelso *stipite surgit* Lactantius, *Phoen.* 29  
Aediluulf, *DA* 22.32
- [LAC2] *Paret et obsequitur* Phoebos memoranda satelles  
*Paret et obsequitur* praesul uenerandus, euntem Lactantius, *Phoen.* 33  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.8
- [LAC3] Tunc inter uarios *animam commendat* odores  
Illius atque *animam commendat* maxime Christo Lactantius, *Phoen.* 93  
Alcuin, *Carm.* 101.1.11  
Nunc, fratres, *animam* precibus *commendate* Christo Alcuin, *Carm.* 113.29  
Incipit, atque *animam* Domino *commendat* in astra Aediluulf, *DA* 10.39
- [LAC4] Hoc caput, hoc ceruix summaque *terga nitent*  
*Terga* uerenda *nitent*; modulantes carmina rostris Lactantius, *Phoen.* 130  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.32
- [LAC5] Aptata est toto *capiti* radiata *corona*  
Gaudebatque suo *capiti* portare *coronam* Lactantius, *Phoen.* 139  
Aediluulf, *DA* 4.3
- [LAC6] Alituum stipata *choro uolat* illa per altum  
Cumque *choro uolitans* superas penetrauit in arces Lactantius, *Phoen.* 157  
Aediluulf, *DA* 10.37

## Symphosius

- [SYM1] Annua Saturni dum tempora *festas redirent*  
Dum ueneranda Dei sanctorum *festas redirent* Symphosius, *Aenig.* Praef. 3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 15.23
- [SYM2] Vna tamen *facies* plures habet ore *figuras*  
Caelatas *faciem* praetendunt apte *figuras* Symphosius, *Aenig.* 3.3  
Aediluulf, *DA* 20.55
- [SYM3] Vnda fui quondam, quod me cito *credo futuram*  
Vatis adhuc modulans tandem iam *credo futurum* Symphosius, *Aenig.* 10.1  
Aediluulf, *DA* 17.7
- [SYM4] Dentibus innumeris sum *toto corpore plena*  
Vestibus aurigeris in *toto corpore plena* Symphosius, *Aenig.* 60.1  
Aediluulf, *DA* 11.42

## Lucretius

[see too footnotes 42 and 60]

- [LCR1] Nam cum caecigeni, solis qui *lumina numquam*  
Cernere me fateor carnali *lumine numquam* Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 2.741  
Aediluulf, *DA* 6.17
- [LCR2]<sup>172</sup> Grandinis in magnis sonitum dat *nubibus alte*  
Tum uolucres modulatae immiscent se *nubibus altis* Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 6.157  
Aediluulf, *DA* 8.60

<sup>172</sup>Note too Vergil, *App. Ciris* 195 ('Gaudete o celeres, subnissae *nubibus altis*').

- [LCR3]<sup>173</sup> Cornices, non cum *fumant altaria donis* Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 6.752  
 Munera mira parat: *fumant altaria donis* Aediluulf, *DA* 9.3

**Avitus**

[see too footnotes 3, 9, 43, 47, and 51]

- [AVI1] Haedis disparibus *diuersa in parte locatis* Avitus, *Carm.* 3.47  
 Diuitiae crescunt *diuersa in parte locorum* Aediluulf, *DA* 15.19
- [AVI2] Pinguia decipient mentito *germine culta* Avitus, *Carm.* 3.164  
 Ac segetes spisso cumulantur *germine cultae* Aediluulf, *DA* 15.20

**Ennius**

- [ENN1]<sup>174</sup> Qui *caelum* uersat *stellis fulgentibus* aptum Ennius, *Ann.* 27  
*Caelum* prospexit *stellis fulgentibus* aptum Ennius, *Ann.* 145  
 Vt *caelum* rutilat *stellis fulgentibus* omne Aediluulf, *DA* 20.29

**Claudian**

[see too footnotes 13, 53, and 56]

**Eugenius of Toledo**

[see too footnote 23]

**Marius Victor**

[see too footnote 14]

**Prudentius**

[see too footnotes 41 and 45]

<sup>173</sup>Note too Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.43 ('Bis senos cui nostra dies *altaria fumant*').

<sup>174</sup>Note too Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 6.357 ('Autumnoque magis *stellis fulgentibus* apta') and Juvenecus, *Euang.* 1.230 ('Progenitum: sese *stella fulgentis* ab ortu').

## APPENDIX 2

# The runic signatures and the authorship and identity of Cynewulf

It has often been noted that in the four runic signatures bearing his name in two separate forms, Cynewulf uses four distinct techniques.<sup>175</sup> In *Christ B* 797–807a (on fol. 19v7–13 of the Exeter Book), the runes comprising the form **CYNWULF** cover ten-and-a-half lines (clearly bounded by the repetition *Þonne ... Þonne*), with the initial rune separated from the next two, which in turn are separated from the final four (**WULF**) each of which appears singly over four lines. In *Juliana* 704–08 (on fol. 76r5–7 of the Exeter Book), the runic signature is the most compressed, with the eight runes giving the poet's name in the form **CYNEWULF** split into three groups with single lines intervening, and with the first and last group preceded and followed respectively by a half-line (**CYN**; **EWU**; **LF**); the first two of these groups spell out recognisable words, while the last is more enigmatic, as discussed below. In *Elene* 1257b–1269 (on fol. 133r3–9 of the Vercelli Book), the poet spells his name with eight runes (**CYNEWULF**), seven of which appear as the head-stave of the b-line, dictating the alliteration (the exception is **N** in 1260a). In *Fates* 98–104 (on fol. 54r2–7 of the Vercelli Book), the signature comprises seven runes (**FWULCYN**) spread across seven lines, with a single line intervening after the first (**F**), so really the final rune, with two runes (**CY**) in line 103a. It is notable that the effect of the patterning in each case is to emphasise the integrity of the **CYN**-grouping, an effect highlighted by the alliteration of the word *cyning* ('king') with the first rune (k [C]) and first group of runes (**CYN**) in both *Christ B* (797) and *Juliana* (704). In terms of the complexity of visual and verbal challenges being set by the runic passages, the simplest is arguably that in

<sup>175</sup> For excellent recent overviews of the issue of the runic signatures, see T. Birkett, *Reading the Runes in Old English and Old Norse Poetry* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2017), 285–306; J. D. Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 13; Turnhout, Brepols, 2006), 290–304. See too J. Hamilton Clements, 'Reading Writing and Resurrection: Cynewulf's Runes as a Figure of the Body', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 43 (2014), 133–54. Still extremely useful are the accounts of M. Trautmann, 'Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter: Untersuchungen über seine Werke und sein Leben', *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, 1 (1898), 1–123 (at 51–62); A. S. Cook (ed.), *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Boston, MA, 1909), 151–62; R. W. V. Elliott, 'Cynewulf's Runes in *Christ II* and *Elene*' and 'Cynewulf's Runes in *Juliana* and *The Fates of the Apostles*', *English Studies*, 34 (1953), 49–57 and 193–204, reprinted in Bjork, *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, 323–45; D. W. Frese, 'The Art of Cynewulf's Runic Signatures', in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation*, ed. L. E. Nicholson & D. W. Frese (Notre Dame, IN, Notre Dame University Press, 1975), 312–34, reprinted in Bjork, *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, 231–47 and 293–307; R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 1999), 191–7.

*Christ B* and the most difficult in *Fates*; I argue elsewhere that the precise order of difficulty may also reflect the order of composition, and is as given here.<sup>176</sup>

Now, it has been suggested above that in *Christ B*, in particular, Cynewulf specifically models himself on Caelius Sedulius in at least two ways.<sup>177</sup> First, in going beyond his main source (an Ascension homily by Gregory the Great), towards the beginning of his poem, Cynewulf echoes the careful reworking of Christ's injunction to the Apostles (based on a different gospel than Gregory uses) that Sedulius places towards the end of the fifth and final book of the *Carmen paschale*, so situating himself as squarely in the Latin tradition as he does in the Old English, by composing *Christ B* as a hinge between the pre-existing *Christ A* and *Christ B*. Second, in a passage again without direct warrant in his main source, Cynewulf appears to echo a distinctively patterned passage in Sedulius from the fourth book of the *Carmen paschale*, employing a combination of intralinear rhyme and anaphora; similarly structured passages in *Elene* and the Cynewulfian *Phoenix*, neither of which has much warrant in their respective sources, may indeed have been based on the one in *Christ B*. There may, moreover, be a third way in which Cynewulf may have been inspired by his study of Sedulius, and that could be in the very method by which he signs his name.

Scholars have occasionally speculated as to what might have given Cynewulf the impetus to inscribe his name in runes at the end of his poems, although there have also been suggestions that Cynewulf only wrote the passages containing the runic signatures, and appended them to pre-existing poems, a notion severely undercut by the many specific parallels between the signed poems already noted.<sup>178</sup> Perhaps the most plausible potential models for Cynewulf's signatures are Latin acrostics (where the first letter of each line spells out a message) and acrostic–telestics (where the first and last letters of each line spell out a message) of the type that the West-Saxon Aldhelm appended to both his *Aenigmata* (where the first and last letters of each line

<sup>176</sup>A. Orchard, *Cynewulf and the Crafting of Old English Verse* (forthcoming). In the course of two appendixes I give first a list of some 295 parallels within each of the four signed poems, and then a further catalogue of no fewer than 227 parallels that link the four signed poems; it is on the basis of the latter that I measure the extent to which shared phrasing can be matched (or not) when measured against putative Latin sources that a comparative chronology is established.

<sup>177</sup>See above, 'Cynewulf and Earlier Latin Verse'.

<sup>178</sup>E. G. Stanley, *A Collection of Papers with Emphasis on Old English Literature* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987), 26–8. For other doubts about Cynewulf's authorship, and indeed about the usefulness and value of considering authorship in a medieval context as an issue at all, see, for example, J. A. Stodnick, 'Cynewulf as Author: Medieval Reality or Modern Myth?', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79:3 (1997): 25–39; T. Birkett, 'Runes and *revelatio*: Cynewulf's Signatures Reconsidered', *Review of English Studies*, 65:272 (2014), 771–89, speaks of 'the Cynewulf persona' (771), and in his *Reading the Runes*, 287 (n. 3), suggests that the term "'the Cynewulf poet" might be preferable to "Cynewulf" because it is less easily put to the service of autobiographical fantasies'.

of the verse *Preface* spells out a hexameter reading **ALDHELMVS CECINIT MILLENIS VERSIBVS ODAS** [‘Aldhelm has sung songs in thousands of verses’] and his *Carmen de uirginitate* (the verse *Preface* to which has an acrostic that reads **METRICA TIRONES NUNC PROMANT CARMINA CASTOS** [‘now metrical verses proclaim chaste recruits’] and a telestic that reads **SOTSAC ANIMRAC TNAMORP CNVN SENORIT ACIRTEM**, which is to say the same verse backwards).<sup>179</sup> Aldhelm’s use of the acrostic–telestic device seems itself likely influenced by the same technique employed by the authors of two poems frequently appended to the *Carmen paschale* of Caelius Sedulius, a school-text author whose poetic works Aldhelm knew well.<sup>180</sup>

The authors of these poems are often given as the otherwise unknown Bellesarius Scholasticus and Liberatus Scholasticus, and the acrostic–telestic attributed to the first of these is particularly notable for its clear echoes of the opening lines of the first book of the *Carmen paschale* itself. Bellesarius’s poem reads as follows (with the intra-linear word-spacing tweaked to emphasise the acrostic–telestic, emphasized in **BOLD CAPS**, and parallels with the beginning of the *Carmen paschale* given in *bold italics*):

Sedulius Christi miracula uersibus eden**S**  
 Emicat, inuitans paruae ad *solemnia mensaE*  
*Dignum conuiuiam*: non hunc, qui carperet illu**D**  
 Vix quod *nobilium* triplici fert aula parat**V**  
 5 Laetum quod ponit sub aurea tecta tribuna**L**  
 In quo *gemmiferi* totque *aurea uasa canistrI*  
 Viuida pro *modico* portent sibi prandia uict**V**  
 Sed quod *holus* uile producit *pauperis hortuS*  
 At post delicias properant qui sumere *magna*  
 10 Nituntur paruum miserorum spernere germe**N**  
 Tutum quod nihil est, dum nil cum uentre tumesci**T**  
 Insidias membris mouens *animaeque* ludent**I**  
 Si tamen his *dapibus* uesci dignantur egeni**S**  
 Temnat *diuitias* animus paucisque quiesca**T**  
 15 Exemplo adsumptus Domini, qui milia quinqu**E**  
 Semotis cunctis modicis saturauit ab esci**S**

[‘Sedulius dazzles, bringing forth the miracles of Christ in verse, calling a worthy guest to the celebrations of a small table; not that one who would barely accept

<sup>179</sup> On the use of acrostics in Anglo-Latin literature, see, for example, R. Gallagher, ‘Latin Acrostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon England: Re-Assessing the Contribution of John the Old Saxon’, *Medium Aevum*, 86, 249–74, and A. Orchard, ‘*Lege feliciter, scribe feliciter*: the Originality of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*’, in *Guthlac of Crowland: Celebrating 1300 Years*, ed. J. Roberts & A. Thacker (Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2019), 25–54, especially 49–54.

<sup>180</sup> Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 163–6.

what a hall of noblemen offers in threefold provision, what a tribunal sets up beneath golden ceilings, in which bejewelled baskets and an equal number of golden vessels bring stunning meals in place of modest sustenance, but rather the mean greens of a pauper's smallholding. But after their delights, those who hasten to accept great things take pains to disdain the small produce of the poor; not a thing that is safe, since what is really nothing swells alongside their guts, setting traps for the body and soul of the playful. But if they deign to be nourished by these poor victuals, let their mind spurn riches and stay serene with slim pickings, having adopted the example of the Lord, who satisfied five thousand with modest food when everyone was in the wilderness.']

These sixteen hexameters divide easily into two, with the break coming conveniently after the acrostic–telestic names **SEDVLIVS**, and are clearly modelled after the first sixteen lines of the *Carmen paschale* itself (Sedulius, *CP* 1.1–16; parallels with the acrostic–telestic in *bold italics*):

- Paschales quicumque *dapes conuiuia* requiris,  
*Dignatus* nostris accubitare toris,  
 Pone supercilium si te cognoscis amicum,  
 Nec quaeras opus hic codicis artificis:  
 5 Sed *modicae* contentus adi *sollemnia mensae*  
 Plusque libens *animo* quam satiare cibo.  
 Aut si *magnarum* caperis dulcedine rerum  
*Diuitias*que magis deliciosus amas,  
*Nobilium* nitidis doctorum uescere cenis,  
 10 Quorum multiplices nec numerantur opes.  
 Illic inuenies quidquid mare nutrit edendum,  
 Quidquid terra creat, quidquid ad astra uolat.  
 Cerea *gemmatis* flauescunt mella *canistris*  
 Collucentque suis *aurea uasa* fauis.  
 15 At nos exiguum de *paupere* carpsimus *horto*,  
 Rubra quod appositum testa ministrat, *holus*.

[‘Whichever of you seeks Easter food as a guest, deign to recline on our couches; drop your arrogance, if you recognise yourself as its friend, and don’t seek here the work of a well wrought book: but come content to the celebrations of a modest table, and happily be satisfied more in your mind than in food. Or if you are taken with the delight of great things, and love delicious riches more, go eat at the glittering feasts of noble teachers, whose numerous advantages are unnumbered. There you will find to eat whatever the sea feeds, whatever the land produces, whatever flies to the skies. Waxen honey will glow yellow in bejewelled baskets, and golden vessels likewise shine with their honeycombs. But we have taken the scanty greens from a pauper’s garden, as served on red earthenware.']

Just as Bellesarius’s poem has the acrostic–telestic **SEDVLIVS ANTISTES**, and indeed opens with the name *Sedulius*, so too does that of Liberatus Scholasticus

(its opening line is ‘Sedulius domini per culta noualia pergenS’, and the same acrostic–teletic **SEDLIVS ANTISTES** is evident), although it does not contain any obvious echoes of the *Carmen paschale*. By my count, no fewer than forty-six manuscripts containing all or part of the *Carmen paschale* contain one or both of these poems, both with and without attributions, including six written or owned in England up to 1100.<sup>181</sup> In five of these six manuscripts (and indeed in thirty-nine of the forty-six manuscripts in total), it is notable that the verses on **SEDLIVS ANTISTES** come *after* the *Carmen paschale*, so perhaps providing the inspiration to Cynewulf to sign his own name in runes at the end of his own works.<sup>182</sup> Those who have argued that Cynewulf simply attached his runic signatures to pre-existing poems might find this model attractive, but then have to account for the extensive parallels that link the signatures not only to each other, as demonstrated below, but each to the other signed poems, as has been consistently shown throughout this study.<sup>183</sup>

Given that Cynewulf seems to have echoed Sedulius in at least two ways in *Christ B*, it may be that it was in *Christ B* that he first employed his distinctive runic signature; certainly, the technique employed there seems simpler than that sometimes employed elsewhere. The runic passage in *Christ B* reads in full as follows (*Christ B* 789b–814):

<sup>181</sup>The forty-six manuscripts in question are described in detail by Carl P. E. Springer, *The Manuscripts of Sedulius: A Provisional Handlist* (Philadelphia, 1995), 32, 38–39, 41, 43, 45, 48–9, 53–5, 57, 60, 64–5, 67, 71, 74, 76, 79, 81, 83–8, 90–1, 95–6, 102, 104–6, 111–12, 159, 191, and 193; the six Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing both the *Carmen Paschale* (often alongside other material associated with Caelius Sedulius) and the acrostic–teletic poems are as follows: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35, s. xi<sup>med</sup>, provenance St Augustine’s, Canterbury (?), fols 53r–84r [Liberatus followed by Bellesarius appear on fols 84r–v]; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 18. 7. 7, s. x<sup>ex</sup>, fols 1v–40v [Liberatus followed by Bellesarius appear on fol. 1r]; Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Mbr. I. 75, s. viii<sup>ex</sup>, fols 1v–25r [Bellesarius alone appears on 23r in a later hand (s. ix<sup>in</sup>)]; London, British Library, Royal 15 B. XIX, s. x<sup>ex</sup>, Christ Church, Canterbury, fols 1r–34v [Liberatus followed by Bellesarius appear on fols 34v–35r]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8092, s. xi<sup>24</sup>, fols 1r–37v [Liberatus followed by Bellesarius appear on fols 37v–38r]; Paris, Bibliothèque se Saint-Geneviève, 2410, s. x<sup>ex</sup>–xi<sup>in</sup>, Canterbury, probably St Augustine’s, fols 122r–169v [Liberatus followed by Bellesarius appear on fols 169v–170r]. See further Springer, *Handlist*, 43, 48, 55, 65, 79, and 91; see too Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014), nos 12, 253, 491, 829.6, 890, and 903.

<sup>182</sup>In three manuscripts, Liberatus appears before the *Carmen Paschale*, and Bellesarius after: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus M.17. 4 (126), s. ix<sup>in</sup>, fols 1r–41r [Liberatus appears on fol. 5r; Bellesarius appears on fol. 41r]; Bruges, Stedelijke Bibliotheek 168, s. xii/xiii, fols 24r–54r [Liberatus appears on fol. 26r; Bellesarius appears on fol. 52r]; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18628, s. x<sup>2</sup>, fols 17r–70r [Liberatus appears on fol. 16r; Bellesarius appears on fol. 70v]; see Springer, *Handlist*, pp. 32, 39, and 71. In Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 2078, s. ix<sup>14</sup>, 79v–80r [only the Bellesarius and Liberatus poems appear, in that order]; see Springer, *Handlist*, 193.

<sup>183</sup>See further n. 3 above.

Huru ic wene me

790 ond eac ondræde dom ðy reþran,  
 ðonne eft cymeð engla þeoden,  
 þe ic ne heold teala þæt me hælend min  
 on bocum bibeað. Ic þæs brogan sceal  
 geseon syn-wræce, þæt þe ic soð talge,  
 795 þær monig beoð on gemot læded  
 fore onsyne eces deman.  
 Þonne ·k· cwacað, gehyreð cyning mæðlan,  
 rodera ryhtend, sprecan reþe word  
 þam þe him ær in worulde wace hyrdon,  
 800 þendan ·l· ond t· yþast meahtan  
 frofre findan. Þær sceal forht monig  
 on þam wong-stede werig bidan  
 hwæt him æfter dædum deman wille  
 wraþra wita. Biþ se ·f· scæcen  
 805 eorþan frætwa. ·n· wæs longe  
 ·f·-flodum bilocen, lif-wynna dæl,  
 ·þ· on foldan.

Þonne frætwe sculon

byrnan on bæle; blac rasetteð  
 recen reada leg, reþe scriþeð  
 810 geond woruld wide. Wongas hreosað,  
 burg-stede berstað. Brond bið on tyhte,  
 æleð eald-gestreon unmurnlice,  
 gæsta gifrast, þæt geo guman heoldan,  
 þenden him on eorþan onmedla wæs.

[‘Truly I expect, and also fear, a judgement the harsher, when the prince of angels comes again, since I have not kept well what my saviour commanded me in books. For that I must look on terror, punishment for sin, as I reckon it true, where many shall be led in an assembly before the face of the eternal judge. Then “C” will tremble: he hears the king intone, the ruler of heavens speak harsh words to those who obeyed him weakly in the world before, when “Y” and “Necessity” could most easily find comfort. There must many a frightened one await, accursed, what he will judge for them of dire punishments according to their deeds. The “Joy” of earth’s trappings will be departed. For “U” [‘us?’] the portion of life’s joys was for a long time enclosed in “Liquid”-waters, our “Wealth” on the earth, when trappings have to burn on the pyre; bright will rage the brisk red flame; harshly will it sweep widely through the world. The plains will sink, the cities split apart: fire will be on the move, the greediest of spirits consume without mercy the ancient treasures which men once held while their pomp was on earth.]

The precise meaning of the three runes C, Y, and U is uncertain, both here and throughout the four signatures: the traditional meanings ‘torch’ (*cen*), ‘aurochs’ (*ur*), and ‘horn’ or ‘bow’ (*yr*) that can be derived from the Old English *Rune Poem* cannot easily be introduced in this passage.<sup>184</sup> Indeed, it may be the very fact that the runic forms of the first two letters of his name are so unusual as simple nouns, appearing only as runes, that inspired him to use them in place of the Latin acrostic form that would be visually indistinct in Old English verse, where individual lines are run over in manuscript, and not delineated, in the way that Latin verse is. Apart from sharing a close correspondence of general theme with the runic passage in *Juliana* elsewhere in the Exeter Book, namely appropriate anxiety over Doomsday, one line pertaining directly to that theme is echoed verbatim: in both cases folk shall fearfully ‘await what [God] will judge for them according to their deeds (‘*bidan [bidað] / hwæt him æfter dædum deman wille*’, *ChristB* 802b–803 [*Jul* 706b–707]). Another whole-verse repetition, describing how mankind will be led ‘before the face of the eternal judge’, links this passage not only with an earlier section of *Christ B*, but also with *Elene* (*fore onsyne eces deman*, *ChristB* 796; *El* 745);<sup>185</sup> the alliterative pairing of the ƿ-rune with the commonplace compound *lif-wynn* (‘life-joy’, *ChristB* 806b) likewise links this section with the parallel runic passage in *Elene* (*El* 1268). Other verbal parallels connect the runic section of *Christ B* with both *Elene* and *Juliana*,<sup>186</sup> as well as with the rest of *Christ B* itself.<sup>187</sup> Further features that link together all four passages containing runic signatures are found here in the dense passage containing the last four runes (*ChristB* 804b–807), which exhibits the same kind of close repetition of verbal elements usually known as *polyptoton* (*frætwa ... frætwe; ·ƿ· ... lif-wynna*)<sup>188</sup> that was evident in the runic passages of both *Juliana* (*Jul* 715b–717) and *Elene* (*El* 1264–6), as well as a potential anagrammatic pun on the roots *flo-* (‘waters’, *ChristB* 806a) and *fold-* (‘land’, *ChristB* 807a) of the type enshrined in the runic passage of *Fates*. Certainly, the sections containing the four runic signatures share a good deal in terms

<sup>184</sup> On the Old English *Rune Poem*, see M. Halshall, *The Old English Rune Poem: A Critical Edition* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1981); *OEALRT*, 420–35 and *COEALRT*, 489–501.

<sup>185</sup> The same line also appears in *GuthA* 783 and *GuthB* 1188.

<sup>186</sup> So, for example, it is tempting to connect *engla þeoden* (*ChristB* 791b) with the reversed phrase *þeoden engla* (*El* 487a, *El* 776a, and *El* 857b); likewise, the alliterative pairing *ondræde dom* (*ChristB* 790) can be matched by the evidently formulaic phrase ‘ic me ondræde domas þine’ (*Jul* 134), also witnessed as ‘ondræde ic me domas þine’ (*Jul* 210). Immediately preceding the passage quoted is the formulaic half-line *halig of heahðu* (*ChristB* 789a), variants of which are found not only in *Juliana* and *Elene* (*El* 1086a; *Jul* 263a and 560), but elsewhere in *Christ B* (*ChristB* 760a and 866a); see further the note following. Likewise, immediately following the runic passage of *Christ B* is a line (‘forþon ic leofra ... læran wille’, *ChristB* 815) which can be matched in *Juliana* (‘forþon ic leof ... læran wille’, *Jul* 647).

<sup>187</sup> Cf. ‘þonne eft cymeð’ (*ChristB* 791a and 824b) and ‘þenden ... on eorþan’ (*ChristB* 814a and 772a); see too the preceding note.

<sup>188</sup> Since the sense of the runic ·ƿ· is not in doubt, it clearly seems to partake in the polyptoton.

of vocabulary, style, and theme: the term *onmedla* ('pomp'), for example, is only attested here in *Christ B* and *Elene* (*ChristB* 814b and *El* 1265a).<sup>189</sup>

Later in the Exeter Book, the runic passage in *Juliana* is likewise self-contained, albeit somewhat longer (*Jul* 695b–718a):

695                                    Is me þearf micel  
          þæt seo halge me    helpe gefremme,  
          þonne me gedælað    deorast ealra,  
          sibbe toslitað    sin-hiwan tu,  
          micle mod-lufan.    Min sceal of lice  
 700 sawul on sið-fæt,    nat ic sylfa hwider,  
          eardes uncyðgu;    of sceal ic þissum,    uncyðþu *E*  
          secan oþerne    ær-gewyrhtum,  
          gongan iu-dædum.    Geomor hweorfeð  
          ·k·l· ond ·t·    Cyning biþ reþe,  
 705 sigora syllend,    þonne synnum fah  
          ·M·P· ond ·n·    acle bidað  
          hwæt him æfter dædum    deman wille  
          lifes to leane.    ·f·þ· beofað,  
          seomað sorg-cearig.    Sar eal gemon,  
 710 synna wunde,    þe ic siþ oþþe ær                    710  
          geworhte in worulde.    þæt ic wopig sceal  
          tearum mænan.    Wæs an tid to læt  
          þæt ic yfel-dæda    ær gescomede,  
          þenden gæst ond lic    geador siþedan  
 715 onsund on earde.    Þonne arna biþearf, 715  
          þæt me seo halge    wið þone hyhstan cyning  
          geþingige.    Mec þæs þearf monaþ,  
          micel modes sorg.

[‘For me there is a great need that the saintly lady give me help, when those dearest of all to me part, the wedded couple split asunder their relationship, their great love of heart. My soul must travel away from my body on a journey I know not where, unknowing of its dwelling-place. I must travel from this, go seek another (dwelling-place) with my former works and previous deeds. Sadly the “HUMAN RACE” will turn away. The king will be harsh, the giver of victories, when stained with sins the “SHEEP” will await in terror what he will adjudge for them after their deeds as a repayment for their life. The “BODY”

<sup>189</sup> Of more common words and ideas shared by the runic passages, one notes an emphasis on the ‘trappings’ of this world (*frætwe*, *ChristB* 805a and 807b; *El* 1270b; *Fates* 102a), and in particular the terms shared by the Vercelli Book signatures on the one hand and the Exeter Book signatures on the other: ‘narrowness’ (*nearu-*, *El* 120b and 1275a; *Fates* 104a) predominates in the former, ‘wrath’ (*reþ-*, *ChristB* 790b and 808b; *Juliana* 704b) and ‘judgement’ (*dem-ldom-*, *ChristB* 790b, 796b and 803b; *Jul* 707b) in the latter. One notes in passing that both manuscripts witness both spellings of Cyn(e)wulf’s name.

will tremble and linger sad and full of care. It will remember all the sorrow, the wounds of sin which I early or late did in the world; that shall I weeping recall with tears. I was too slack at the proper time to have felt shame before for my wicked deeds, when body and soul journeyed together, entire in their dwelling-place. Then shall I need favours, that the saintly lady may intercede for me with the highest king. Necessity, great sorrow of mind, urges that on me.']

The passage is bounded by a double envelope-pattern chiasmically arranged: it begins by stressing how the author will need the intercession of Juliana when his body and soul separate and go on different journeys (*Jul* 695b–700a), and ends by lamenting his wicked deeds while body and soul journeyed together, with the result that he will need the intercession of Juliana (*Jul* 714–17a). Necessity is stressed by its repetition at the beginning (*bearf*, *Jul* 695b) and twice at the end of the passage (*bibearf* ... *bearf* [*Jul* 715b and 717b]); and if the use of an envelope-pattern to delimit the runic signature is reminiscent of the same technique in *Fates*, the close repetition of (-)*bearf* at the end of the passage is equally reminiscent of the same technique in the runic signature of *Elene*, as we will see.<sup>190</sup> What distinguishes the runic passage in *Juliana* is the use of a different method for spelling out the name, through the use of clustered runes that apparently spell out or signify three key words (if indeed they can be interpreted correctly), and the change of theme: while the runic passages in both *Fates* and *Elene* focus on the transitory nature of earthly things, the one on *Juliana* focuses firmly on Doomsday.

A partial parallel for the use of runes to spell out solutions (or parts of solutions) is found in Exeter Book *Riddles* 19 and 75 (although there the solutions are mostly spelt backwards), but while the first cluster of runes (·k·l· ond ·t·, *Jul* 704a), spelling **CYN** ('race', 'kind', 'people'), fits the context and is supported by paronomasia or punning on the first element of the word *cyning* ('king') that follows, the other two groups of runes have proved more problematic to interpret. The notion that the second cluster of runes (·M·P· ond n, *Jul* 706a), spelling **EWU**, can mean 'ewe(s)', and therefore stand for sheep trembling at the Day of Judgement, as again would fit the context, is called into question by the fact that this would offer the only one of fifteen occurrences of the word *eowu*, *eow* ('ewe') to witness such a spelling, which is sometimes described as specifically Northumbrian.<sup>191</sup> Still more enigmatic is the final cluster of runes (·f·P·, *Jul* 708b), spelling **LF**, presumably a compound noun. In fact, there are only two such that appear elsewhere in *Juliana*, namely *lagu-flod* ('streaming flood', *Jul* 674b), a poetic commonplace which seems entirely inappropriate in this context, and the much rarer *lam-fæt* ('clay vessel', *Jul* 578a), which outside *Juliana* is only

<sup>190</sup> Note the sequence *gearum* ... *geara* ... *geardagas*; *geoguð* ... *geoguðhades* (*El* 1264–66).

<sup>191</sup> Elliot, 'Cynewulf's Runes', 300–1; see too Lass, 'Cyn(e)wulf Revisited', 23.

attested in *Soul and Body I* (*Soul I* 131a).<sup>192</sup> Its earlier use in *Juliana* is entirely literal, a description of the container filled with molten lead in which Juliana is to be tortured, translating the Latin *olla* ('earthenware vessel') of the source.<sup>193</sup> In *Soul and Body I*, however, the compound has acquired the perfectly logical (to Christian sensibilities) metaphorical sense 'body', and such a meaning would fit well the context of the runic passage in *Juliana*, where a body at Doomsday might well be expected to 'tremble and linger sad and full of care'. Certainly, if we cast a net further and look for *lff*-compounds elsewhere in the four signed poems, the list is distinctly thin, and again none seem suitable for the context in *Juliana*: *lagu-fæsten* ('watery fastness', *El* 249a and 1016a), *lagu-flod* ('streaming flood', *ChristB* 806a [with the ƿ-rune] and 850b), *leod-fruma* ('people's chief', *El* 191b), and *lif-fruma* ('source of life', 'God', *ChristB* 504a and 656b; *El* 335b). Outside the four signed poems, but remaining within the Cynewulfian sphere, *Guthlac B* bears witness to another *lff*-compound suitable for the context in *Juliana*: *lic-fæt* ('body-vessel', *GuthB* 1090a and 1369a), which seems a more literal form of *lam-fæt*.

Likewise, *Elene* is a poem in which Cynewulf exercises considerable verbal ingenuity, and often offers multiple meanings based on word-play, and the runic signature is no exception (1256b–1276a):<sup>194</sup>

A wæs secg oððæt  
 cnyssed cear-welmum, ·k· drusende,  
 þeah he in medo-healle maðmas þege,  
 æplede gold. ·h· gnornode  
 1260 ·t· gefera, nearu-sorge dreah,  
 enge rune, þær him ·l· fore  
 mil-paðas mæt, modig þrægde  
 wirum gewlenced. ·P· is geswiðrad,  
 gomen æfter gearum, geogoð is gecyrrad,  
 1265 ald onmedla. ·n· wæs geara  
 geogoð-hādes glæm. Nū synt gear-dagas  
 æfter fyrst-mearce forð gewitene,  
 lif-wynne geliden, swa ·f· toglideð,  
 flodas gefysde. ·P· æghwam bið  
 1270 læne under lyfte; landes frætwe  
 gewitaþ under wolcnum winde geliccost,  
 þonne he for hæleðum hlud astigeð,

<sup>192</sup>H. E. Jagger, 'Body, Text, and Self in Old English Verse: A Study of "Beowulfian" and "Cynewulfian" Rhetoric' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2002), 194–5.

<sup>193</sup>On the relationship of *Juliana* to its Latin source, see above, 'Cynewulf and Old English Verse'.

<sup>194</sup>For an elegant and eloquent analysis, see S. Zacher, 'Cynewulf at the Interface of Literacy and Orality: the Evidence of the Puns in *Elene*', *Oral Tradition*, 17:2 (2002), 346–87.

wæðeð be wolcnum, wedende færeð  
 ond eft semninga swige gewyrðeð,  
 1275 in ned-cleofan nearwe geheaðrod,  
 þream forþrycced.

[‘Always was a man till then buffeted with surgings of care, a failing “Torch”, even though in the mead-hall he received treasures, appled gold. “Bow” mourned, his companion in “Need”, endured constraining sorrow, a narrow secret, where before the “Horse” had measured out the mile-paths, galloped proud, decked with wire threads. “Joy” is diminished, pleasure after the years; youth is turned, old glory; “Ours” was once the flash of youthfulness; now those former days have passed away after the passage of time, life-joy gone away, as “Liquid” slips away, the driven waters. “Wealth” is transitory under the sky to everyone; the trappings of the land disappear under the clouds, most like the wind when it rises up loud before men, wanders around the skies, travels raging, and suddenly again falls still, narrowly constrained in needful enclosure, forcibly repressed.’]<sup>195</sup>

The opening lines of the runic signature turn on the image of man being likened to a failing torch (the primary signification of the *l*-rune), a notion that, as Hill indicates, is also found in the early medieval Latin riddle and proverb tradition, including a passage in Alcuin’s *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino*, in which the young prince Pippin (P.) and Alcuin (here Albinus [A.]) have the following exchange:

P. Cui similis est homo? A. Pomo.  
 P. Quomodo positus est homo? A. Vt lucerna in uento.  
 [‘P: “What is man like?” A: “An apple.” P: “How is man placed?” A: “Like a torch in the wind.”’]

It is interesting to note that other versions, fully documented by Hill, telescope these two questions and simply compare man’s life (or that of a specifically young man) to a torch or a candle in the wind; but importantly Alcuin also compares man to an apple (presumably because both ripen and rot, as a later gloss adds, but perhaps simply for the apparent rhyme),<sup>196</sup> just as Cynewulf here seems to play on the notion of ‘appled gold’ (*aplede gold*, line 1259a),<sup>197</sup> treasures that a man in the mead-hall ‘might receive’ (*þege*, line 1258b). It is perhaps relevant to note that the word *þege* can also mean ‘might taste’, since to Christian ears the notion that tasting apples might signify a falling world would have been deeply ingrained; at all events, it is noteworthy that on

<sup>195</sup> A. Orchard, ‘Not What it Was: The World of Old English Elegy’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. K. Weisman (Oxford, OUP, 2010), 101–17, at 110–11.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Daly & Suchier, *Altercatio Hadriani*, 138. See now *OEALRT*, 228–65 and *COEALRT*, 266–89 (the passage in question is at ALC D7).

<sup>197</sup> On the meaning of ‘appled gold’, see A. Breeze, ‘Æpplede gold in *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *The Phoenix*’, *Notes and Queries*, 44 (1997), 452–53.

both the other occasions in surviving Old English verse where the phrase *æp(p)lede gold* appears, one in a signed poem by Cynewulf (*Jul* 688a), the other in a poem likely influenced by Cynewulf (*Phoen* 505b–506b), it is likewise prefaced, as here, by a form of the verb *þicgan* (‘receive’, ‘taste’).

The shortest of the passages exhibiting Cynewulf’s runic ‘signature’ is found in an evidently self-contained, if rather damaged, section of the Vercelli Book (*Fates* 96–106).<sup>198</sup>

Her mæg findan fore-þances gleaw,  
 se ðe hine lysteð lēoð-giddunga,  
 hwa þas fitte fegde. ·ƿ· þær on ende standeþ,  
 eorlas þæs on eorðan brūcaþ. Ne moton hie awa ætsomne,  
 100 woruld-wunigende; ·ƿ· sceal ge-drēosan,  
 ·n· on eðle, æfter to-hreosan  
 læne līces frætewa, efne swa ·t· to-glīdeð.  
 Þonne ·k· ond ·l· cræftes neosað  
 nihtes nearowe, on him ·t· ligedð,  
 105 cyninges þeodom. Nu ðu cunnon miht  
 hwa on þam wordum wæs werum oncyðig.

[‘Here one wise in forethought who takes joy in riddling verses can discover who composed this poem. There “Wealth” stands last, that folk enjoy on earth; they cannot be with it always, those dwelling in the world. “Joy” must fail, “Ours” in our homeland, afterwards pale, the transitory trappings of the body, just as “Liquid” slips away, when “C” and “Y” ply their skill in the narrows of the night, “necessity” weighs upon them, the service of a king. Now you are able to know who has been revealed to men in those words.’]

The passage begins at the head of 54r of the Vercelli Book, and is evidently bounded by an envelope-pattern describing how a discerning individual can find out ‘who composed this poem [and] who has been revealed to men in those words’ (‘hwa þas fitte fegde ... hwa on þam wordum wæs werum oncyðig’). The theme of earthly transience is one that is repeated throughout the runic passages in the signed poems, and is underlined here by the end-rhyme in lines 101–02 on *gedreosan* ... *tohreosan* (here translated ‘fail ...pale’). Since the runes in question actually spell **FWULCYN**, the discerning individual would presumably have to appreciate not only that the runes were significant in themselves, but that our author was employing an anagram, somewhat along the lines of the similarly scrambled runic ‘solution’ to Exeter Book *Riddle* 24, where the runes spell **GÆROHI** (lines 7b–9a), but the presumed solution is *higora*

<sup>198</sup> Robert C. Rice, ‘The Penitential Motif in Cynewulf’s *Fates of the Apostles* and in his Epilogues’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 105–20.

(‘jay’).<sup>199</sup> Certainly, we are told in *Fates* that ‘Wealth’ (*feoh*, the F-rune) ‘stands last’ (*Fates* 98b), so offering at once a practical clue and a homiletic commonplace.

A similar creative use of an anagram informs the opening lines of another of the signed poems, namely *Christ B*, 440–49a:

440 Nu ðu geornlice gæst-gerynum,  
 mon se mæra, mod-cræfte sec  
 þurh sefan snyttro, þæt þu soð wite  
 hu þæt geeode, þā se æl-mihtiga  
 acenned wearð þurh clænne had,  
 445 siþþan he Marian, mægða weolman,  
 mærrre meowlan, mund-heals geceas,  
 þæt þær in hwitum hræglum gewerede  
 englas ne oðeowdun, þa se æþeling cwom,  
 beorn in Betlem.

[‘Now, famed man, readily seek by spiritual mysteries, through the wisdom of your intellect, with skill of mind, so that you may truly know how it came to pass that the almighty was born in a clean fashion, once he chose the clean protection of Mary, famed woman, paragon of virgins, so that there arrayed in white clothes the angels did not appear, when the prince came, a warrior into Bethlehem.’]

As in the runic passage in *Fates*, an individual is invited to use his intellect to fathom (in this case) ‘spiritual mysteries’ (*gæst-gerynum*), one of which is highlighted in the lines on Mary (lines 445–6), which are suitably embellished with continued alliteration on ‘m’, an aural pun on Mary’s name (*Marian ... mærrre*), and an anagram employing two words (*weolman ... meowlan*) neither of which is found elsewhere in the signed poems.<sup>200</sup>

Returning to the runic passage of *Fates*, it is notable that 102b (‘efne swa ·f· toglideð’) is closely echoed in 1268b (‘swa ·f· toglideð’) of the corresponding runic passage of *Elene*. One notes that, although both runic passages occur in the same manuscript and share a half-line, both the strategy for spelling the name (a single rune per line in *Elene*, read in sequence, as opposed to the scrambled form in *Fates*, and the

<sup>199</sup> A similar strategy is employed in part with regard to the multiple solution to Exeter Book *Riddle* 17 [19] (‘Light Warship’), as well as in *Riddle* 40 [42] (‘Cock and Hen’). See further *OEALRT*, 322–3 and 360–1, and *OEALRT*, 367–70 and 412–14.

<sup>200</sup> An analogue for this kind of word-scrambling is found in the so-called *scinderatio fonorum* technique catalogued by the bizarre 7th-century Hiberno-Latin author Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, who devotes an entire section of his *Epitomae* to the subject [see B. Löfstedt (ed.), *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus: Opera Omnia* (Munich, De Gruyter, 2013)]; cf. Vivien Law, *Wisdom, Authority and Grammar in the Seventh Century: Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Cambridge, CUP, 1995), 83–8. The possibility of Cynewulf being directly influenced by Virgilius Maro Grammaticus seems remote.

pairing of runes in 103a) and the name itself (CYNWULF in *Fates*, CYNEWULF in *Elene*) are different. The generally elegiac and personal sentiments, however, remain the same, and alongside the shared half-line linking the two passages one might also compare the plight on the one hand of ‘the transitory trappings of the body’ (‘læne lices frætewa’, *Fates* 102a) with the description of the equally ‘transitory’ nature in this sublunary world of both ‘wealth’ and ‘the trappings of the land’ (‘ $\Psi$ · æghwam bið / læne under lyfte; landes frætwe / gewitaþ under wolcnum’, *El* 1269b–71a [emphasis added]). The use in *Fates* 98a of the term *fitt*, which means both ‘poem and ‘part of poem’, might be held to signify that Cynewulf is laying claim to authorship only of the part of the poem immediately containing his name, which indeed contains few parallels to the rest of *Fates*. The case with regard to the runic passage in *Elene*, however, is quite different: there are several clear verbal parallels with the rest of the poem.<sup>201</sup> One might go further, and point out that the compound *ned-cleofa* (‘needful enclosure’, *El* 1275a) is in extant Old English witnessed only three times: in this runic passage, earlier in the same poem (*nyd-cleofan*, *Elene* 711a), and in *Juliana*, another of the signed poems (*nyd-clafan*, *Jul* 240a). Certainly, other phrases in the runic passage of *Elene* can also be echoed in *Juliana*,<sup>202</sup> so testifying further to the unity of diction that seems to link all four of the signed poems. In the context of the scrambled form of the name in the runic signature and the apparent play on the anagram *weolman ... meowlan* with respect to Mary in *ChristB* 445–6, it is intriguing to note in this runic passage in *Elene* that three lines (*El* 1264–6) evidently playing on the contrast of youth and age, and the passing of time (*gearum ... geara ... geardagas; geoguð ... geoguðhades*) should include an evidently visual and quasi-anagrammatic pun where immediately following the phrase ‘youth is changed’ (or ‘youth is turned’ [‘geogoð is gecyrred’, *El* 1264b]), the word for ‘old’ (*ald*) is itself immediately followed by a word whose final three letters represent the same word in reverse (*onmedla*, *El* 1265a).<sup>203</sup> The runic passage in *Elene* seems overall far more dynamic than that in *Fates*, concluding with an extensive simile likening wealth to a raging wind (*El* 1271b–1276a) ultimately

<sup>201</sup> So, for example, one might compare the phrase æfter *fyrstmeorce* in *El* 1267a with line 1033 (‘æfter *fyrstmeorce* fulwihtes bæð’ [emphasis added]; cf. further line 490 (‘onfeng æfter *fyrste* fulwihtes bæð’ [emphasis added]). A still better set of parallels links *El* 1260–1a (‘ $\cdot\ddot{t}$ · gefera, *nearusorge* dreah, / *enge* rune [emphasis added], and recall that the N-rune signifies *neod* (‘need’)) and 1275 (‘in *ned-cleofan* *nearwe* geheaðrod’ [emphasis added]) with *El* 711–12a (‘þæt hine man of *nearwe* ond of *nyd-cleofan*, / fram þam *engan* hofe’ [emphasis added]). Note that the compound *nyd-cleofa* only appears in these two places in *Elene* and in *Juliana* 240a; it may be Cynewulf’s own coinage. For another Cynewulfian formula limited to *Elene* and *Juliana*, see C. D. Wright, ‘An Old English Formulaic System and its Contexts in Cynewulf’s Poetry’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 40 (2011), 151–74.

<sup>202</sup> Compare *El* 1259a (æplede *gold*) and *Jul* 688a (æpplede *gold*); *El* 1276a (þream *forþrycced*) and *Jul* 520a (þream *forþrycte*). On the phrase æpplede *gold*, which also appears in *Phoen* 506b, see n. 23 above.

<sup>203</sup> One notes in passing that the remaining letters of *onmedla* form the sequence *on me* (‘in me’).

silenced and constrained in a manner that recalls the storms of Aeolus similarly quelled in the opening book of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a work that was undoubtedly read in pre-Conquest England, and certainly by (for example) Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin.<sup>204</sup>

Given the overwhelming evidence that all four of the signed poems are closely linked by shared diction both within and beyond the runic signatures, it seems clear that Cynewulf, like Alcuin, Bede, and Aldhelm, can be said to have an identifiable individual voice. But can it be identified beyond the four signed poems? The notion that Cynewulf may have also composed *Guthlac B*, in particular, has much to commend it, and has been mooted many times: physical damage to the Exeter Book means that there is a lacuna at the end of *Guthlac B*, where any runic signature might have been expected.<sup>205</sup> There is, moreover, the possibility that, just as Cynewulf seems to have composed *Christ B* as a hinge between the pre-existing *Christ A* and *Christ C*, so forming the initial sequence of three poems in the Exeter Book, so too he might have composed *Guthlac B* (which focuses on the death of the saint) as a conclusion to a pre-existing *Guthlac A*; both poems follow in directly from the *Christ*-sequence in the manuscript. Certainly, there are parallels of phrasing that link both *Guthlac*-poems, and it will be noted that those parallels which are found outside the two *Guthlac*-poems occur in a familiar set of other texts, notably *Andreas* and the *Phoenix*.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>204</sup> See, for example, N. Wright, 'Bede and Vergil', *Romanobarbarica*, 6 (1981), 361–79; A. Orchard, 'Anglo-Saxon Literature', in *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Thomas & J. Ziolkowski (Cambridge, MA, Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 78–9. There are also parallels to be found in the opening riddle of the Exeter Book, on which see further Orchard, *Riddle Tradition and Riddle Tradition: Notes and Commentary*.

<sup>205</sup> See further Fulke, 'Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date', 5; Note that Bjork, *Old English Poems of Cynewulf*, 34–75, includes *Guthlac B*.

<sup>206</sup> Parallels [parallels shared with other poems are signaled by an asterisk]:

[GG1]	<i>fusne on forð-weg</i> to <i>fæder</i> eðle	<i>GuthA</i> 801
	<i>fus on forð-weg</i> nolde <i>fæder</i> engla	<i>GuthB</i> 945
[GG2*]	<i>fæger ond gefealic</i> in <i>fæder</i> wuldre	<i>GuthA</i> 657
	<i>fæger ond gefealic</i> <i>fæder</i> wæs acenned	<i>GuthB</i> 825
	<i>fæger ond gefealic</i> fugles tacen	<i>Phoen</i> 510
[GG3]	snude gesecgan þæt ge <i>him sara gehwylc</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 704–5
	hondum <i>gehælde</i> <i>ond him</i> hearsume	
	<i>sigor-fæst</i> in sefan seo <i>him sara gehwylc</i>	
	symle forswiðde næs <i>him sorg</i> -cearu	<i>GuthB</i> 965
	<i>sigor-fæst</i> gesohte <i>ond me sara gehwylc</i>	
	<i>gehælde</i> hygesorge <i>ond me</i> in hreþre beleac	<i>GuthB</i> 1244
[GG4]	swa wæs <i>Guðlaces</i> <i>gæst gelæded</i>	
	<i>engla</i> fæðmum in <i>up</i> -rodor	<i>GuthA</i> 781–2
	þa wæs <i>Guðlaces</i> <i>gæst gelæded</i>	
	eadig on <i>up</i> -weg <i>englas</i> feredun	<i>GuthB</i> 1305–6
[GG5*]	<i>wæron hy reowe</i> to <i>ræsanne</i>	
	<i>gifrum grapum</i> no <i>god</i> wolde	<i>GuthA</i> 406–7
	<i>ricra</i> ne heanra ac hine <i>ræseð</i> on	

In the Exeter Book, of course, the *Guthlac*-poems are followed first by *Azarias* (also known as the *Three Youths Fragment*, and which itself has a close relationship with an earlier poem, namely *Daniel* in the Junius manuscript) and then by the *Phoenix*, which is followed by Cynewulf's *Juliana*;<sup>207</sup> this triad of poems are themselves all linked by the notion of being tested by fire. As discussed above, the *Phoenix* is widely thought of as a Cynewulfian poem, and so it is striking that a handful of parallels in each case link both *Guthlac* poems to the *Phoenix*.<sup>208</sup> While for the first 340

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	<i>gifrum grapum</i> swa wæs Guðlace	<i>GuthB</i> 996–7
	<i>hie wæron reowe ræsdon</i> on sona	
	<i>gifrum grapum</i> hine <i>god</i> forstod	<i>And</i> 1334–5
[GG6]	ac mid <i>scome</i> scyldum <i>scofene wurdon</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 633
	<i>scomum</i> scudende <i>scofene wurdon</i>	<i>GuthB</i> 856
[GG7]	æt <i>þam ytmestan ende</i> ne scode	<i>GuthA</i> 443
	<i>þam ytemestan ende</i> -dogor	<i>GuthB</i> 1167

Here and in the following lists of parallels, comparison might usefully be made with the similar lists provided in Orchard, 'Originality of *Andreas*', 358–70.

<sup>207</sup> On *Azarias* and *Daniel*, see P. G. Remley, 'Daniel, the Three Youths Fragment, and the Transmission of Old English Verse', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 31 (2002), 81–140.

<sup>208</sup> Parallels:

[GAP1]	ealdað <i>eorþan blæd æþela</i> gehwylcre	<i>GuthA</i> 43
	ond þam <i>æþelestum eorþan bledum</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 207
[GAP2]	<i>synnum asundrad</i> sceolde he sares þa gen	<i>GuthA</i> 515
	<i>synnum asundrad</i> sumes onlice	<i>Phoen</i> 242
[GAP3]	agan mid englum <i>in þam uplican</i>	
	<i>rodera rice</i> þær <i>is ryht cyning</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 681–2
	<i>in þam uplican</i> eðle gestrynaþ	<i>Phoen</i> 392
	ar ond onwald <i>in þam uplican</i>	
	<i>rodera rice</i> he <i>is on ryht cyning</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 663–4
[GAP4]	monge mæg-wlitas <i>meaglum reordum</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 734
	mærað modigne <i>meaglum reordum</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 338
[GAP5]	fæger <i>fugla</i> reord <i>folde geblowen</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 743
	aflyhð <i>fugla</i> wyn <i>foldan geblowene</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 155
[GBP1]	on <i>neorxna-wong</i> þær <i>him nænges wæs</i>	<i>GuthB</i> 827
	nemnað <i>neorxna-wong</i> þær <i>him nænges wæs</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 397
[GBP2]	<i>ne lifes lyre</i> <i>ne lices hryre</i>	
	<i>ne dreames dryre</i> <i>ne</i> deaðes cyme	<i>GuthB</i> 829–30
	<i>æfter lices hryre</i> lean unhwilen	<i>GuthB</i> 1093
	<i>ne hægles hryre</i> <i>ne</i> hrimes <i>dryre</i>	
	<i>ne</i> sunnan hætu <i>ne</i> sin-caldu	<i>Phoen</i> 16–17
	<i>ne lifes lyre</i> <i>ne</i> laþes cyme	
	<i>ne</i> synn <i>ne</i> sacu <i>ne</i> sar-wracu	<i>Phoen</i> 53–4
	<i>æfter lices hryre</i> lif eft onfeng	<i>Phoen</i> 645
[GBP3]	<i>bittor</i> bæde-weg þæs þa byre <i>sipþan</i>	
	grimme <i>onguldon</i> <i>gaful</i> -rædenne	<i>GuthB</i> 985–6
	<i>bittre</i> bealo-sorge þæs þa byre <i>sipþan</i>	
	gyrne <i>onguldon</i> þe hi þæt <i>gyfl</i> þegun	<i>Phoen</i> 409–10

lines at least, the *Phoenix* has a much closer relationship to a known Latin source, in this case the *De aue phoenice* attributed to Lactantius, it is notable that the parallels with the *Guthlac*-poems are distributed throughout the 677 lines of the poem as a whole, so demonstrating the skill and originality of what is widely acknowledged as a highly successful adaptation and reworking of its source.<sup>209</sup>

Beyond the tissue of verbal connections that link the two *Guthlac*-poems not only to each other, but to such evidently Cynewulfian poems as *Andreas* and the *Phoenix*, there is a larger set of parallels to connect both to all four of the signed poems of Cynewulf himself. In the case of *Guthlac A*, here seen as a putative source, the potential parallels are as follows:

[GAC1]	lærað ond læstað <b>ond his lof rærað</b> oferwinnað þa awyrgdan <b>gæstas</b> bigytað him wuldres ræste	<i>GuthA</i> 24–5
	lufast ond gelyfest <b>ond his lof rærest</b> ongietest <b>gæsta</b> hleo ic beo gearo sona	<i>Jul</i> 48–9
[GAC2]	<b>lufiað mid lacum</b> þa þe læs agun <b>lufige mid lacum</b> þone þe leoht gescop	<i>GuthA</i> 79 <i>Jul</i> 111
[GAC3]	boldes bidað oft him <b>brogan to</b> <b>laðne gelædeð</b> se þe him <b>lifes ofonn</b> in gebed-stowe swa ic <b>brogan to</b> <b>laðne gelæde</b> þam þe ic <b>lifes ofonn</b>	<i>GuthA</i> 84–5 <i>Jul</i> 376–7
[GAC4]	gierelan gielplices him <b>wæs godes egsa</b> <b>mara in gemyndum</b> þonne he menniscum geong on gæste hire <b>wæs godes egsa</b> <b>mara in gemyndum</b> þonne eall <b>þæt</b> maþþum-gesteald	<i>GuthA</i> 167–8 <i>Jul</i> 35–6
[GAC5]	<b>feonda fore-sprecan</b> firenum gulpon <b>feonda fore-sprecan</b> fyrnum teagum	<i>GuthA</i> 265 <i>ChristB</i> 733
[GAC6]	he hine <b>scilde wið sceðþendra</b> <b>eglum</b> onfengum earmra gæsta þa us <b>gescildað wið sceþþendra</b> <b>eglum</b> earh-farum þi læs unholdan	<i>GuthA</i> 404 <i>ChristB</i> 761
[GAC7]	<b>under</b> haligra <b>hyrda gewealdum</b> <b>under</b> hæþenra <b>hyrda gewealdum</b>	<i>GuthA</i> 415 <i>ChristB</i> 705
[GBP4]	<b>wiga wæl-gifre</b> hine wunade mid <b>wiga wæl-gifre</b> wæpnum geþryþed	<i>GuthB</i> 999 <i>Phoen</i> 486
[GBP5]	<b>geseon sigora frean</b> min þæt swæse bearn <b>geseon sigora frean</b> sine fine	<i>GuthB</i> 1080 <i>Phoen</i> 675

<sup>209</sup> See further Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*, 35–70.

[GAC8]	þæs þe hy him <i>to teonan</i> þurhtogen <i>hæfdon</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 426
	hwæt þu <i>to teonan</i> þurhtogen <i>hæbbe</i>	<i>Jul</i> 458
[GAC9]	þæt <i>ge blindnesse bote</i> fundon	<i>GuthA</i> 628
	fram <i>blindnesse bote</i> gefremede	<i>El</i> 299
	ða <i>ge blindnesse bote</i> forsegon	<i>El</i> 389
[GAC10]	<i>þurh monigfealdra mæгна gerynu</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 644
	<i>þurh monigfealdra mæгна geryno</i>	<i>ChristB</i> 603
[GAC11]	let his <i>ben</i> cuman <i>in</i> þa <i>beorhtan gesceaft</i>	<i>GuthA</i> 777
	sendan usse <i>bene</i> on þa <i>beorhtan gesceaft</i>	<i>Fates</i> 116
	þine <i>bene</i> onsend <i>in</i> ða <i>beorhtan gesceaft</i>	<i>El</i> 1088

Each of these parallels deserves the kind of individual attention for which there is no space here; suffice it to say that just as has been clear in the case of *Beowulf* (which Cynewulf echoed more in *Elene* and *Fates* than in his other works) and *Christ C* (which Cynewulf echoed more often in *Christ C* than in the other signed poems), so here it is in *Juliana* that the clearest echoes of *Guthlac A* can be found. In the case of *Guthlac B*, by contrast, the parallels that link that poem to the signed poems are far less focused on any one specific text, as follows:

[GBC1]	<i>deopra firena</i> þurh <i>deaðes</i> cwealm	<i>GuthB</i> 858
	<i>deopra firena</i> <i>deað</i> in geþrong	<i>GuthB</i> 863
	<i>deopra firena</i> þurh þæs domes fyr	<i>El</i> 1314
[GBC2]	hwilum <i>wedende swa wilde deor</i>	<i>GuthB</i> 907
	<i>wedde</i> on gewitte <i>swa wilde deor</i>	<i>Jul</i> 597
[GBC3]	hwilum him to honda <i>hungre geþreatad</i>	<i>GuthB</i> 916
	under hearm-locan <i>hungre geþreatod</i>	<i>El</i> 695
[GBC4]	halig of heahþu <i>hreþer innan born</i>	<i>GuthB</i> 938
	<i>hat</i> ond heoro-grim <i>hreþer innan weol</i>	
	<i>born</i> ban-locan bryþen wæs ongunnen	<i>GuthB</i> 979–80
	<i>hat</i> æt heortan <i>hreðer innan weoll</i>	
	<i>beorn</i> breost-sefa bidon ealle þær	<i>ChristB</i> 539–40
[GBC5]	heard ond hyge-rof <i>hyht wæs geniwad</i>	
	<i>blis in</i> breostum wæs se ban-cofa	<i>GuthB</i> 953–4
	<i>haligra</i> helm <i>hyht wæs geniwad</i>	
	<i>blis in</i> burgum þurh þæs beornes cyme	<i>ChristB</i> 529–30
	ða wearð þære <i>halgan hyht geniwad</i>	<i>Jul</i> 607
[GBC6]	ne swa <i>deoplice dryhtnes geryne</i>	
	<i>þurh</i> menniscne muð <i>areccan</i>	<i>GuthB</i> 1121–2
	þa ðe <i>deoplicost dryhtnes geryno</i>	

	<i>þurh</i> rihte æ <i>reccan</i> cuðon	<i>El</i> 280–1
[GBC7]	<i>flacor flan-þracu</i> feorh-hord onleac	<i>GuthB</i> 1144
	<i>flacor flan-geweorc</i> sum mæg fromlice	<i>ChristB</i> 676
[GBC8]	<i>ða</i> wearð <i>mod</i> -geþanc <i>miclum</i> gebisgad	
	<i>þream forþrycced þurh</i> þæs þeodnes word	<i>GuthB</i> 1197–8
	<i>þa</i> wæs <i>mod</i> -gemynd <i>myclum geblissod</i>	
	hige onhyrded <i>þurh</i> þæt halige treo	<i>El</i> 839–40
	on <i>mod</i> -sefan <i>miclum geblissod</i>	<i>El</i> 875
	<i>þream forþrycced</i>	<i>El</i> 1276
	<i>þream forþrycte</i> ær þu nu þa	<i>Jul</i> 520
	ond þæs mægdnes <i>mod miclum geblissad</i>	<i>Jul</i> 608
[GBC9]	sige-leoð sungon <i>sweg</i> wæs <i>on lyfte</i>	
	<i>gehyred</i> under <i>heofonum</i> haligra dream	<i>GuthB</i> 1315
	<i>ða</i> wearð semninga <i>sweg on lyfte</i>	
	hlud <i>gehyred heofon</i> -engla <i>þreat</i>	<i>ChristB</i> 491
[GBC10]	siðfæt minne <i>ic sceal</i> sarig-ferð	
	<i>hean-mod hweorfan</i> hyge drusendne	<i>GuthB</i> 1379–80
	fæste on feðan <i>ic sceal</i> feor þonan	
	<i>hean-mod hweorfan</i> hroþra bidæled	<i>Jul</i> 390–1

Such parallels strongly resemble the kinds of shared phrasing between the four signed poems that we have already witnessed above, and though they perhaps cannot without further evidence constitute conclusive proof of Cynewulf's authorship of *Guthlac B*, they once again offer a strong indication of the individuality of Cynewulf's idiosyncratic style.

But if it is clear that Cynewulf has an individual voice, can he be identified any further? Fulk, while acknowledging the slightness of some of the rhyme-evidence that favours Mercia over Northumbria, relies on the restitution of perfect rhymes, even though, as he says himself, there are differences in vowel quality and quantity;<sup>210</sup> Nonetheless, if Cynewulf was a Mercian, we do have a Mercian candidate: a priest called Cynewulf witnesses the proceedings of the Council held at Clofesho in 803, right in the middle of our potential period, although nothing more is known of him. Fulk (and Sisam before him, in his magisterial Gollancz Lecture of 1933) notes that a much greater weight of evidence in favour of Mercia stems from the fact that *Cyn*- and *Cyni*-spellings co-exist in Northumbrian texts, where Mercians used *Cyne*-spellings; there are many *Cyni*-spellings in the Lindisfarne *Liber Vitae*, for example, and

<sup>210</sup> Fulk, 'Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date', 31–3.

not a single one with *-e*.<sup>211</sup> In this context, it seems somewhat ironic that of the two signatures where Cynewulf uses the *-e*-spelling of his name, the one in *Juliana* comes in the context of a recognisable word **EWU** ('sheep') that in this form represents a specifically Northumbrian spelling,<sup>212</sup> while in *Elene* the **E**-rune ('horse') appears after a half-line, *enge rune* (*El* 1261a, 'narrow secret', literally 'narrow rune'), with which it is linked by structural alliteration. Since the narrowest of all runes is **l**, representing **I** (**ī** ['ice']) it is intriguing that this half-line should appear at the precise place in the **CYN-WULF** sequence to suggest **CYNIWULF**, and therefore reopen the possibility that Cynewulf might be Northumbrian, employing the alternative (Mercian) spelling of his name in *Juliana* to facilitate the idea of the frightened sheep (**EWU**) of Doomsday, and in *Elene* to highlight the noble accoutrements and high status that a horse (runic **E**) inevitably implies.

The idea that the poet Cynewulf might be identified with Bishop Cyniuulf of Lindisfarne (who died 782/3), was first raised long ago, but abandoned for lack of compelling evidence.<sup>213</sup> If Cynewulf the poet were indeed Bishop Cyniuulf of Lindisfarne, that might also explain why the acrostic–telestics reading **SEDLIVS ANTISTES** might have provided him with the inspiration for the runic signatures, since while the Classical Latin term *antistes* can carry the sense 'master', 'principal', 'virtuoso', which is presumably what is intended in the acrostic–telestics, in post-Classical Latin, and certainly throughout the period, the word was routinely used in the sense 'bishop', 'archbishop', or 'high priest'.<sup>214</sup> Yet more may be gained from identifying Cynewulf the poet with Bishop Cyniuulf of Lindisfarne than simply establishing a chronology for the four signed poems, and by extension *termini* for the dates of the poems from which Cynewulf can be shown to have borrowed, and those which borrowed from the signed poems. The known details of Bishop Cyniuulf's life are best narrated in the earliest parts of the *Historia regum* preserved by Symeon of Durham, but in fact written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey *c.* 1000.<sup>215</sup> There, a series of

<sup>211</sup> R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter*, 351–68. K. Sisam, 'Cynewulf and his Poetry', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 18 (1932), 303–31, reprinted in his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1953), 1–28. I am grateful to Patrick Stiles for pointing out to me the distinctively Mercian nature of the word *spald* ('spittle'), found at *Elene* 300b; see P. O. E. Gradon (ed.), *Elene* (London, Methuen, 1958), 14.

<sup>212</sup> Elliot, 'Cynewulf's Runes', 300–1; see too Lass, 'Cyn(e)wulf Revisited', 23.

<sup>213</sup> Trautmann, 'Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter'; see too the reviews by F. A. Blackburn, *American Journal of Theology*, 3 (1899), 791–2, and A. S. Cook, *JEGP*, 3 (1900), 374–5.

<sup>214</sup> See, for example, *Database of Latin Dictionaries* (online) (Turnhout, Brepolis, 2014–) <http://clt.brepolis.net/dld/Default.aspx>; cf. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (online) (Turnhout, Brepolis, 2015–) <http://www.brepolis.net>, where citations are given from Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin, amongst others.

<sup>215</sup> See M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', *ASE*, 10 (1981), 97–122 (repr. *ALL* II.317–42); T. Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi*

entries for the years 740, 750, 780, and 783 begin by describing how Cyniuulf acceded to the bishopric, and end with his death at what must have been an advanced age after a very long and distinguished career, including forty years as bishop, while the two intervening entries are rather less conventional, saying that in 750 Cynewulf spent a period of imprisonment on royal authority, and in 780 (presumably after an intervening release and reconciliation) resigned his bishopric some three years before he died.<sup>216</sup> The first reference to Cyniuulf names him as successor to Aedeluuwald, bishop of Lindisfarne (the term given is *Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae antistes*: one notes the term used for ‘bishop’ here), whom some have identified with the Bishop Ædeluuwald who wrote a rhythmical ‘poem’ copied on fol. 21r of the Book of Cerne that is structured around an acrostic reading **AEDELVALD EPISCOPVS** (note that the eighteen-line acrostic is split evenly in two, perhaps in another echo of the sixteen-line acrostic–telestics **SEDVLIVS ANTISTES** discussed above). The entry for 780 names Hygbald as Cyniuulf’s successor, but declines to give details of how Cyniuulf spent the final three years of his life when ‘freed from worldly cares’ (*relictis saecularibus curis*); Hygbald was in turn succeeded in 803 by Ecgberht, to whom Aediluulf dedicated the *De abbatibus*.

But it is the entry for 750, when Bishop Cyniuulf was ten years into his forty-year episcopate, that is perhaps the most intriguing, and reads as follows (III.8):

Eadberht rex Cyniuulfum episcopum in urbem Bebban captiuum adduxerat, basilicamque beati Petri obsidere fecit in Lindisfarnea. Offa filius Alfridi quoque ad reliquias Sancti Cuthberti pontificis innocens coactitie accurrebat, pene defunctus fame de ecclesia sine armis abstractus est.

[‘King Eadberht took Bishop Cyniuulf as a prisoner to Bamburgh, and had St Peter’s church in Lindisfarne besieged. Offa, the son of Aldfrith, although innocent, was forced to run to the relics of the sainted Bishop Cuthbert, and, almost dead of hunger, was dragged defenceless from the church.’]

These rather matter-of-fact lines describe how King Eadberht of Northumbria (737/738–758), the brother of Archbishop Ecgberht of York (732–766), took Bishop Cyniuulf as his captive to Bamburgh, and besieged the church at Lindisfarne. Eadberht’s objective was evidently Offa, who was dragged starving away from the relics of Saint Cuthbert, having presumably sought sanctuary with Bishop Cyniuulf’s

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*Opera Omnia*, Rolls Series, 2 vols (London, 1885), ii. 1–283, with the Byrhtferthian *Historia regum* at 3–91. I am grateful to Michael Lapidge for giving me access to a new edition, D. Rollason & M. Lapidge (eds), *Symeon of Durham: ‘Historia de regibus Anglorum et Dacorum’ Incorporating Byrhtferth of Ramsey, ‘Historia regum’* (Oxford Medieval Texts; Oxford, OUP, forthcoming).

<sup>216</sup>S. Keynes, ‘Appendix II: Archbishops and Bishops, 597–1066’, in *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, et al. (Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 539–66, notes that Cynewulf of Lindisfarne was consecrated 737 or 740, resigned 779 or 780, and died in 782 or 783 (p. 564).

blessing at Lindisfarne; one is perhaps inevitably reminded of how Alcuin sought to rebuke Archbishop Eanbald II for interfering in Northumbrian royal politics by sheltering the king's enemies, and for keeping a large retinue of warriors.<sup>217</sup>

Offa, clearly described as 'innocent' (*innocens*), who is heard of no more, and was presumably killed, was a son of the celebrated King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704/05), and his abduction from Lindisfarne appears to have been an attempt by Eadberht to extinguish a rival dynasty. Whether or not Eadberht later repented of his brutality, he abdicated in 758 in favour of his son Oswulf, and retired to the monastery attached to the cathedral at York (his brother's see), where he died a decade later. Oswulf was less fortunate, being murdered within a year by members of his own household. Bishop Cyniuulf clearly moved in exalted and powerful circles, and was a first-hand witness to (and indeed participant in) the dynastic struggles for the Northumbrian throne; indeed, it was to Lindisfarne that King Ceolwulf of Northumbria retired on giving up the throne in 737, and where he died in 765 when Cyniuulf, evidently returned to power after the unpleasantness of 750, was still bishop.

It is clear throughout his four runic signatures that Cynewulf, who in *Fates* in particular appears crippled by age, seems to have enjoyed some wealth and status in the course of a long life, to judge by the repeated references to the trappings thereby implied, and the easy dealings with men of rank might well of course be no more than a reflection of the immense imagination of a gifted poet. But it is nonetheless tempting to read echoes of Bishop Cyniuulf's traumatic experiences in the texts, albeit conclusive proof of the identity of poet and bishop is ultimately lacking. Yet it has been noted that in *Elene*, not only does Cynewulf seem to self-identify with Judas,<sup>218</sup> whose conversion leads to him becoming a bishop, but that a brief passage in the source describing how Judas was starved into submission by being placed for seven days in a 'dry pit' (*lacum siccum*) is dramatically expanded into an ornate passage of some thirty lines (*Elene* 685–715).<sup>219</sup> Within that passage, while there is mention of the dry pit (693a: *drygne seað*), the emphasis is rather upon physical imprisonment in three successive half-lines (695a, 696a, and 697a: *under hearm-locan ... clomnum beclungen ... sarum besylced*), with hunger likewise highlighted three times (687b, 695b, and 698a: *hungre ... hungre ... meteleas*), and a curious insistence that Judas was

<sup>217</sup> See above, 'Alcuin's Adonics and Old English Verse'.

<sup>218</sup> D. G. Calder, 'Strife, Revelation, and Conversion: the Thematic Structure of *Elene*', *English Studies*, 53 (1972), 201–10; P. Clemons, 'King Alfred's Debt to Vernacular Poetry: the Evidence of *ellen* and *craft*', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. M. Korhammer (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 1992), 213–38, at 236–7; Coker, 'Voicing the Supernatural', 34–41.

<sup>219</sup> See, for example, D. Thomas, 'Literal and Spiritual Depths: Re-thinking the "drygne seað" of *Elene*', *Quaestio Insularis*, 10 (2009), 27–44, and the references given there.

‘without a retinue’ (693b: *duguða leas*). Certainly, Cynewulf’s lines on the torments of the starved, abandoned, and imprisoned Judas might well seem applicable to Offa’s sorry plight, and indeed his own, when they were both surrounded by royal troops at Lindisfarne. But such romantic notions may well be deemed too much.

Yet identifying Cynewulf with Cyniuulf of Lindisfarne would simply set him squarely within an impressive sequence of no fewer than twelve or thirteen other Anglo-Saxon (arch-)bishop–poets whose names we know, comprising the following: Theodore of Canterbury (died 690); Haeddi of Winchester (676–c. 705); Aldhelm of Malmesbury (acceded 705/706; died 710); Tatwine of Canterbury (died 734); Cuthbert of Hereford and Canterbury (died 740); Boniface of Mainz (died 755); Milred of Worcester (died 775); Koaena of York (died 780);<sup>220</sup> Lull of Mainz (died 787); Ædeluuald of Mercia or Northumbria (viii/ix);<sup>221</sup> Cenwald of Worcester (died 958); Æthelwold of Winchester (born 904 × 909; bishop 963–984); and Dunstan of Worcester, London, and Canterbury (born c. 909; bishop died 988). One might note the heavy clustering of such known (arch-)bishop–poets in the 8th century, where Cynewulf, with all the parallels between his poetic practice and that of Alcuin, seems to fit best.

At all events, it will be evident that all four signed poems have much more in common than the signatures themselves, and seem to bear the marks of a single mind at work and play. Like Alcuin, he used slightly variant forms of his name in his works, but Cynewulf clearly establishes himself as a name to rank alongside those of all the other Anglo-Saxon authors we can identify who individually and collectively reinterpreted their inherited traditions, native and imported, vernacular and Latin, secular and Christian, oral and literary, in a striking range of idiosyncratic and highly individual styles, that each of them strove, collectively and individually, to make their own.

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<sup>220</sup> M. Lapidge, review of W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 461–6, at 465.

<sup>221</sup> This may be the Ædeluuald of Lindisfarne discussed above, Cyniuulf’s immediate predecessor.

