

The Word Made Flesh: Christianity and Oral Culture in Anglo-Saxon Verse

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As far as the history of English literature goes, in the beginning was *Cædmon's Hymn*, and *Cædmon's Hymn*, at least as an inaugural event, seems something of a damp squib.¹ Not just because Bede's description of the unexpected inspiration of the apparently Celtic-named putative parent of English verse has so many analogues in the form of similar and sometimes seemingly more miraculous stories (see, for examples, Atherton 2002; Ireland 1987; Lester 1974; O'Donnell 2005:29-60 and 191-202), including a Latin autobiographical account of the "inspiration" of the drunk Symphosius (whose Greek-derived name means "drinking-party animal" or suchlike), supposedly similarly spurred to song at a much earlier North African booze-up of his own, the narrative of which seems to have been known in Anglo-Saxon England at around the same time Cædmon took his fateful walk to commune with the common herd (Orchard forthcoming a). And not just because for many readers there is a lingering sense of disappointment on first acquaintance, since however well-constructed we are increasingly told that *Cædmon's Hymn* may be (Howlett 1974; Conway 1995; but see O'Donnell 2005:179-86), the fact that the repetition of eight so seemingly trite and formulaic epithets for God (seven of them different, however) has seemed to some a tad excessive in a poem of only nine lines (Fry 1974 and 1981; Stanley 1995). Still further factors seem to undermine the iconic status of *Cædmon's Hymn*, including its variant forms and the rumbling (if unlikely) suggestions that it is no more than a back-translation from Bede's somehow superior Latin, at the margins of which it so often appears in the manuscripts (Kiernan 1990; Isaac 1997).

Yet all such features might simply seem to add to what might be considered the appropriately primitive or unpolished aspects of what continues to be customarily described as an inaugural text. Nevertheless, surely the principal and continuing problem with regarding *Cædmon's Hymn* as the beginning of English literature is the uncomfortable fact that it seems so obviously a beginning with a deep past, a hinterland of secular praise-poetry unfortunately unrevered by the Venerable Bede, who in fervently foregrounding Cædmon's bovine *ruminatio* has literally obliterated what seems a sound link to the preliterate, pre-Latinate, pre-Christian past (West 1976; Wieland 1984; Niles 2003). However we assess the "miracle" of *Cædmon's*

¹ The bibliography on *Cædmon's Hymn* is vast; for earlier material (much of it still useful), see Caie 1979. In general, see now O'Donnell 2005, with an accompanying CD-ROM that includes relevant manuscript-images.

Hymn, one striking aspect of Bede's account is the fact that, according to Bede, Cædmon, despite his mature years, leaves the party because he has nothing to sing: the later Old English version (Miller 1890-98:342) adds the detail that he left "for shame" (*for scome*); the implication seems to be that it was expected that adult Anglo-Saxons would carry round in their heads a store of song. So much, indeed, would have connected Cædmon's convivial contemporaries with their monastic co-habitees in holy orders: the requirements of daily devotion, not to mention the then-prevalent method of learning Latin (Lapidge 1982, 2006), would have necessitated not only mass memorization of the Psalms, but also of the works of Christian-Latin poets such as (for example) Juvenius, Caelius Sedulius, and Arator, clear echoes of whose works appear already in the Anglo-Latin poetry of Aldhelm (639-709), the first Anglo-Saxon to compose significant amounts of Latin verse (Orchard 1994a:161-70; Lapidge 2007:178-79, 182, and 185-86), as well as in the poems of Bede himself (Jaeger 1935; Lapidge 1994 and 2007:195-96, 219, 224). Indeed, several scholars have seen in the very structure, theme, and wording of *Cædmon's Hymn* clear signs of Latin literary and liturgical influence (Holsinger 2007; Schrader 1980; Orton 1983; Fritz 1974), and certainly the Latin version of the *Hymn* transmitted by Bede carries evident echoes of the Vulgate Psalms (Orchard 1996:414-15), while the phrasing of Bede's frame-narrative exhibits further biblical parallels that suggest that "Bede regard[ed] Cædmon as Christ's apostle to the English in the matter of vernacular sacred song" (*ibid.*:403).

The purpose of this paper is precisely to address the interface between written and spoken verse in Anglo-Saxon England, verse that is overwhelmingly Christian in tone and intent, drawn from the literate world of Latinate sources, but which nonetheless in its evident echoing of earlier verse, some of which still survives, preserves intact ancient oral traditions of remembered and recycled vernacular song. For if *Cædmon's Hymn*, crowned as the first English poem, seems to share aspects of both Latin and Germanic traditions, other poems throughout the Anglo-Saxon period also exhibit a deep sensitivity both to inherited vernacular poetic lore and to the new demands of imported Latin learning.

One of the oldest pieces of English poetry that has survived without any clearly Christian content is preserved in a very Christian context in a Latin letter by an anonymous Anglo-Saxon cleric writing in the eighth century and apparently encouraging another unknown and seemingly senior colleague not to hesitate to undertake missionary work among the Continental pagans. In, perhaps appropriately, not quite correct Latin, he tells his friend: *memento saxonicum verbum* ("remember the Saxon saying," properly *memento saxonici verbi*) and then switches to Old English to quote two lines of proverbial poetry, presumably from memory, that make his point (Tangl 1955:283 [no. 146]; Dobbie 1942:57; Stanley 1987:121-23):



Oft daedlata dome foreldit,
sigisitha gahuem, suuytithi thi ana.

Often a deed-slack man puts off glory, every chance of winning: for that, he dies alone.

This undated Saxon proverb, seemingly carried round in a clerical memory and expected to be recognized by another brother in Christ, is perhaps even older than *Cædmon's Hymn* (Orchard 2007:219), and was presumably cited to emphasize the ties of blood and tradition that connect

Anglo-Saxons with the Continental Saxons they sought to draw into the Christian fold. The lesson of these two lines is clear: decisive action that leads to success brings fame, and indecisive failure to act leads only to a lonely death.

Such an evidently inherited and apparently commonplace sentiment seems worldly and heroic, and would indeed not be out of place among those expressed by the pagan characters in *Beowulf* itself, where, for example, Hrothgar congratulates the eponymous hero for killing Grendel by saying (*Beowulf* 953b-55a; Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008:34):²



“Þu þe self hafast
dædum gefremed þæt þin [dom] lyfað
awa to aldre.”

“You yourself have brought about by your deeds that your glory will live forever.”

Beowulf himself reflects the same mode of heroic thinking, after Hrothgar has lost his closest retainer, *Æschere*, slain by Grendel’s mother (*Beowulf* 1386-89; Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008:48):



“Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebidan
worolde lifes; wyrce se þe mote
domes ær deaþe; þæt bið drihtguman
unlifgendum æfter selest.”

“Each of us shall experience an end of life in the world: let him who can gain glory before death: that is the best thing afterwards for the noble warrior once he is gone.”

By contrast, the Christian poet of *Beowulf*, when speaking in his own voice, is somewhat more circumspect in recycling the theme: for him the secular heroic *dom* (“glory”) has become the Christian *dom* (“judgment”) to come. In speaking of the pagan hero Sigemund, it has been argued that the *Beowulf*-poet is deliberately ambiguous (Griffith 1995; Orchard 2003a:105-11), as well he might be, given the incestuous history of his Norse counterpart, Sigmundr (*Beowulf* 884b-87a; Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008:31-32):



Sigemunde gesprong
æfter deaðdæge dom unlytel,
syþðan wiges heard wrym acwealde,
hordes hyrde.

On Sigemund there fell after his death-day no small judgment (or “glory”), after the man keen in battle killed a serpent, the guardian of a hoard.

² The word *dom* is not in the manuscript, but, given the frequency of the alliterative collocation *dæd . . . dom*, the emendation is widely accepted.

Sigemund's actions in slaying a dragon and acquiring its treasure-hoard seem to prefigure those of Beowulf himself, but when it comes to assessing his protagonist, the Christian poet of *Beowulf* is perhaps surprisingly less ambiguous, describing the (literally) doomed efforts of Wiglaf to keep life in his fatally injured lord as follows (*Beowulf* 2855-59; cf. Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008:97 and 258):



Ne meahte he on eorðan, ðeah he uðe wel,
on ðam frumgare feorh gehealdan,
ne ðæs wealdendes wiht oncirran;
wolde dom godes dædum rædan
gumena gehwylcum, swa he nu gen deð.

He could not, much as he wanted to, keep life on earth in that chieftain, nor change anything of He who Rules, but the judgment (*dom*) of God would govern every man's deeds, just as it does now.

From a Christian perspective, it seems, even the greatest of heroes, entitled to the greatest glory, were once and are still subject to the judgment (*dom*) of God.

Yet these deeply connected themes (in Old English, alliteratively so) of “death” (*deap*), “deed” (*dæd*), and “doom” (*dom*)—the last in its twin senses of both “judgment” and “glory”—are also addressed by the Venerable Bede himself in another of the earliest Old English poems extant, namely what is now known as *Bede's Death Song* (Dobbie 1942:107; Smith 1968:42; Stanley 1987:131-33):



Fore thaem neidfaerae naenig uuiurthit
thoncsnotturra, than him tharf sie
to ymbhycggannae aer his hiniongae
huaet his gastae godaes aeththa yflaes
aefter deothdaege doemid uueorthae.

In the face of that needful journey no one turns out to be wiser in thought than that it is necessary for him to ponder before his journey hence as to what may turn out to be the doom on his soul of good or evil after the day of death.

Of the four compounds here (*neidfaerae . . . thoncsnotturra . . . hiniongae . . . deothdaege*), all but the last are restricted to verse, while *neidfaerae* is unique in the extant corpus. The final words of the first and last lines (*uuiurthit . . . uueorthae*) seem to flirt with the notion of *wyrd* (“fate”), and in their grammatical transition of mood from indicative to subjunctive seem likewise to highlight the certain uncertainty of any soul when faced with a final divine assessment of its all too worldly activities (cf. Marsden 2004:167). *Bede's Death Song* exists in more medieval manuscripts than any other poem that has survived from Anglo-Saxon England, including *Cædmon's Hymn* (Schopf 1996; Cavill 2000 and 2002; O'Donnell 2005:78-97), generally appended to Latin texts that circulate thanks to Bede's glory and fame, but there still

remain significant doubts as to whether the poem is Bede's own composition, or one cited from memory. Unlike Cædmon, who, although of advanced age (*proeuctioris aetatis constitutus*) "had learned no songs" (*nil carminum aliquando didicerat*), Bede is described by the Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert as "learned in our songs" (*doctus in nostris carminibus*). Even if it now seems unlikely that this Cuthbert, who went on to become Abbot at Bede's own monastery of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, is the same Cuthbert to whom Bede dedicated his treatise on Latin metrical verse, *De arte metrica* (Whiting 1935:34-35), nonetheless his words on Bede's secular poetic expertise carry considerable weight: whether he recalled old poems or composed new ones of his own, presumably Bede, unlike Cædmon, could have stayed carousing at the party in the unlikely event that he so chose.

In Cuthbert's account, the dying Bede calls to mind the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, and the Canticles, with the vernacular poem slotted into the sequence; as with *Cædmon's Hymn*, we are also given a Latin version, to which the Old English text has been added in more than thirty manuscripts. Cuthbert's description runs as follows (Plummer 1896:I, clxi):



O uere quam beatus uir! Canebat autem sententiam sancti Pauli apostolici dicentis: Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei uiuentis, et multa alia de sancta scriptura, in quibus nos a somno animae exurgere, praecogitando ultimam horam, admonebat. In nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, nonnulla dixit quod ita latine sonat: "ante necessarium exitum prudentior quam opus fuerit nemo existit, ad cogitandum uidelicet antequam hinc proficiscatur anima, quid boni uel mali egerit, qualiter post exitum iudicanda fuerit." Cantebat etiam antiphonas ob nostram consolationem et suam, quarum una est: "O rex gloriae, Domine uirtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes celos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum Patris in nos, Spiritum ueritatis. Alleluia."

O truly what a blessed man! He used to sing the thought of the blessed Apostle Paul saying: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," and many other things from Holy Scripture, in which by drawing attention to our final hour he used to urge us to rouse ourselves from the sleep of the soul. Likewise in our own language, since he was learned in our poems, he spoke some words, and it sounds like this in Latin: "Before the necessary exit no one exists who is wiser than that he needs to ponder, before his soul departs hence, what good or evil it has done, how it will be judged after death." He also used to sing antiphons to console both us and himself, of which one is "O King of Glory, Lord of Might, Who didst this day triumphantly ascend far above all heavens, we beseech Thee leave us not comfortless, but send to us the promise of the Father, even the Spirit of Truth; Hallelujah."

Just as some scholars have used the multiplicity of manuscripts and their textual variants to argue for the role of memory or transitional literacy in the transmission of the Old English version(s) of *Cædmon's Hymn* alongside what are mostly otherwise largely or entirely Latin texts (Jabbour 1969; O'Brien O'Keeffe 1987 and 1990; for a contrary view, see O'Donnell 2005:187-90), so too a similar case can be made with respect to *Bede's Death Song*. Whether Bede composed the *Death Song* himself, or whether he recited it from memory (as the context of Cuthbert's description, alongside memorized snatches of the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, and the Canticles

suggests), one might well think, given its length, circulation, and status, that it would have been a popular poem, although evidence of imitation is thin. A possible echo has been suggested (Plummer 1896:I, clxv, citing a suggestion given to him by York Powell) in the poetic *Solomon and Saturn* dialogue, appropriately enough, where Solomon, representing biblical wisdom, tells the pagan Saturn that (lines 362-63; Dobbie 1942:44):



“Ne mæg mon forildan ænige hwile
ðone deoran sið, ac he hine adreogan sceall.”

MS *forildo*

“No one can delay for any time the precious journey, but he has to endure it.”

But the parallel seems slight, and the thought is perhaps too commonplace for a ready identification; if it is a deliberate echo, the Latinate syntax of the original poem has been much simplified. Nonetheless, it is clear that the extent of the influence of the ancient and traditional techniques of Old English verse on even the most pious Christian minds shines through much Anglo-Saxon poetry.

In somewhat the same vein, modern readers of Old English verse have long noted the way in which Christ and his apostles and saints on the one hand, and Satan and his rebellious angels on the other, are equally depicted in language that seems more suitable to the mead-hall than the monastery. Several Old English poems with explicitly Christian themes, for example, and largely derived from identifiable Latin Biblical or hagiographical sources, contain wildly expanded battle-scenes that sometimes have little or no warrant in the original; examples from three different manuscripts include *Judith* (lines 199-241a), from the *Beowulf*-manuscript (see further Griffith 1997:62-70 and 130-34; Orchard 2005:89-92), *Elene* (lines 99-152) from the Vercelli Book (see further Cook 1919:87-88; Orchard 2005:92-97), and *Genesis A* (lines 1960-2095) from the Junius manuscript (see further Doane 1978:295-300; Stévanovitch 1992:571-81; Orchard 1994b:46-53), in each of which cases the respective poets seem to have relished the chance to produce what appears to be traditional poetry perhaps more in tune with the tastes of the pre-Christian past.

Likewise, lavish descriptions of sea-voyages are found in several notably Christian poems, including *Elene* again, where, while the Latin source simply mentions that the eponymous heroine travels to the Holy Land, Cynewulf, the author of *Elene*, offers an extended and (as we shall see) carefully crafted description of a majestic crossing (lines 225-55). Elsewhere in the Vercelli Book, the poet of *Andreas*, who seems to have been familiar with both *Beowulf* and the poetry of Cynewulf (Powell 2002:105-232; Orchard 2003b; Friesen 2008:107-241; Orchard forthcoming b) capitalizes repeatedly on the possibilities offered by his source, and spends a significant proportion of his poem on the sea-voyage that Andreas and his men take to Mermedonia in a ship skippered by Christ himself.

An odder example that testifies further to the native traditional and presumably inherited taste for such purple passages on martial and nautical themes is found in yet another manuscript, in the Exeter Book poem now known as *Guthlac B*, where, after the death of the saint, a follower crosses the fens in a boat to convey the sad news to Guthlac's sister. That this is a set-piece description of what in the source is a simple punt-trip across a flooded fen is clear (Roberts

Panther 49, Riddle 57 5, GuthB 1282]; *foldwong* [also *ChristC 972*]; *sundplega* [also *Phoenix 111*]; *wæghengest* [also *Elene 236*]; *wæterþisa* [also *Whale 50*]). The final half-line here is echoed in *Riddle 32* (line 4: *grindan wið greote*), the solution of which, appropriately enough, is generally given as “ship,” as well as in a passage from *Andreas* that may indeed be echoing more broadly these very lines from *Guthlac B* (lines 422b-425a; Krapp 1905:17; Brooks 1961:14; parallels are highlighted in ***bold italics***):



Mycel is nu gena

lad ofer *lagu*stream, *land* swiðe feorr
to gesecanne. ***Sund*** is geblonden,
grund wið greote.

425

There is still a great journey over the ocean-stream, land very far to seek. The sea is stirred up, the deep with gravel.

The Vercelli scribe in fact wrote *sand* (“sand”) at line 424, although the emendation is commonly accepted; the assonance here (*land . . . sund . . . geblonden grund*) is in any case of a type that can also be found elsewhere in Old English poetry. So, for example, the fine description of Beowulf’s own voyage to Denmark (*Beowulf* 210-28; cf. Orchard 2003a:74-75) contains the surely onomatopoeic phrase *streamas wundon / sund wið sande* (lines 212b-13a: “the tides eddied, the streams against the sand”), and the same combination of sounds echoes throughout the rest of the passage until the sea-voyage is over (*bundenne . . . winde . . . wundenstefna . . . liðende . . . land . . . sund . . . ende*). The parallel is made the more enticing given the clear evidence that the *Andreas*-poet knew *Beowulf*, and apparently imitated it often (Powell 2002:135-67; Friesen 2008:123-43).

The arresting (indeed, some might say overblown) description of a watery journey in *Guthlac B* quoted above shares some of its diction uniquely with Cynewulf’s skillful depiction of an epic sea-voyage in *Elene* that again has no parallel in the putative Latin source, but which appears freely to employ the inherited diction of earlier verse (*Elene* 225-55; Krapp 1932:72-73; Cook 1919:10-11; Gradon 1958:36-37; parallels with other Old English poems extant are given in ***bold italics***):⁵



Ongan þa ofstlice eorla mengu
to flote fisan. Fearoðhengestas
ymb ***geofenes stæð gearwe stodon,***
sælde sæmearas, sunde getenge.
Ða wæs ***orcnæwe*** idese siðfæt,
siððan wæges helm ***werode gesohte***.
Þær ***wlanc manig*** æt ***Wendelsæ***
on stæðe stodon. ***Stundum wræcon***
ofer mearcpaðu, mægen æfter oðrum,

225

230

⁵ For a full list of parallels, see Appendix 1 below.

terms of diction in other ways (Orchard 2003b), and it is no surprise that there should be such an overlap of common language within Cynewulf's four signed poems (*Elene*, *Juliana*, *Christ B*, and *Fates*), nor between Cynewulf's language and that of poems otherwise associated with his formulaic style (especially *Andreas*, *Phoenix*, and *Guthlac B*). It will be noted that both parallels linking this passage to *Guthlac B* are specific to the description of the water-crossing already cited above, and perhaps constitute evidence of direct borrowing (see further Orchard 2003b: 278-87).

At all events, the medial section of this description in *Elene* (lines 237-42) contains five compounds in six lines, all in the a-verse (*fifelwæg . . . brimpisan . . . earhgeblond . . . egstreame . . . merestræte*), and all containing different elements relating to water and the sea; when combined with the two simplex words on the same theme (*yða* and *sæ*) in the same few lines, what appears is effectively a poetic thesaurus of watery words (*-wæg*, *brim-*, *ear-*, *yð-*, *sæ-*, *eg-*, *mere-*). Although only one of these lines in this passage alliterates on *s-* (line 240), in fact, most of the lines in the passage as a whole exhibit a high degree of sibilance, and Cynewulf's customary sensitivity to sound effects is also in evidence, for example, in the assonance in three of the first four lines of the passage of *fear-* / *gear-* / *mear-*. In short, what is striking about this extended description is that Cynewulf seems very deliberately to have chosen to elaborate by various effects a theme that, if it can be matched elsewhere in Old English literature, is again only hinted at in his immediate source.

Indeed, one might well argue that throughout all of his signed works Cynewulf demonstrates a deep sensitivity to the inherited poetic tradition, and actively seeks opportunities to showcase his talents and perhaps to show off his remembered repertoire of earlier verse. So, for example, the closing lines of *Christ B* represent a considerable elaboration on their immediate source (Hill 1994), and represent an extended simile with its roots in the Latin literary tradition (*Christ B* 850-66; Krapp and Dobbie 1936:26-27; Cook 1900:33; parallels with other Old English poems extant are given in ***bold italics***):⁶



Nu is þon gelicost swa we on laguflode	850
<i>ofer cald wæter ceolum liðan</i>	
geond <i>sidne sæ, sundhengestum,</i>	
flodwudu fergen. Is þæt frecne stream	
yða ofer mæta þe we her on lacað	
geond þas wacan woruld, windge holmas	855
<i>ofer deop gelad. Wæs se drohtað strong</i>	
<i>ærþon we to londe geliden hæfdon</i>	
ofer hreone hrycg. Ða us help bicwom,	
þæt us to <i>hælo hyþe gelædde,</i>	
<i>godes gæstsunu, ond us giefe sealde</i>	860
þæt we oncnawan magun ofer ceoles bord	
hwær we <i>sælan sceolon sundhengestas,</i>	

⁶ For a full list of parallels, see Appendix 2 below. Cynewulf has a similarly ornate wind-simile towards the end of *Elene* (lines 1270b-76a), which seems to gesture towards Book 1 of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

ealde yðmearas, ancrum fæste.

Utan us to þære hyðe *hyht stapelian,*

ða us gerymde *rodera waldend,*

865

halge on heahþu, þa he heofonum astag.

Now it is most like when on the liquid-flood, over the cold water, throughout the wide sea, we journey in ships, ocean-horses, travel flood-wood. The surge is perilous, waves beyond measure, that we ride on here, throughout this frail world, windy swells over the deep water-way. That plight was severe, before we had crossed to land over the rough ridge. Then help came to us, so that there led us to the safety of harbor God's spiritual son, and gave us the grace that we might know beyond the ship's planking where we ought to tether ocean-horses, ancient wave-steeds, secured with anchors. Let us fix our hope on that harbor, holy on high, that the ruler of the firmament opened up for us, when he ascended into the heavens.

This lengthy passage is prompted by the slightest suggestion in the basic source of the whole of *Christ B*, a homily on the Ascension by Gregory the Great (*Homelias in euangelia XXIX*, lines 248-52; Étaix 1999:254):



Quamuis adhuc rerum perturbationibus animus fluctuet, iam tamen spei uestrae anchoram in aeternam patriam figite, intentionem mentis in uera luce solidate. Ecce ad caelum ascendisse Dominum audiuius. Hoc ergo seruemus in meditatione quod credimus.

Although the soul may still waver from the disturbances of things, nonetheless fasten the anchor of your hope on the eternal homeland, and make firm the aspiration of your heart on the true light. Behold, we have heard that the Lord ascended into heaven; let us keep this in contemplation, as we believe it.

While a nautical metaphor is implicit in Gregory's mention of fixing the anchor of one's faith (*spei uestrae anchoram . . . figite*), and may also have been inspired by Gregory's use of the verb *fluctuet* ("may waver"), clearly the Old English goes far beyond its source. The verbs in Gregory's homily move in turn from the third-person (*fluctuet*) through the second (*figite . . . solidate*) to the first (*audiuius . . . seruemus . . . credimus*), but the similarly careful patterning of the Old English, albeit insistently tied to the first-person plural pronouns appropriate to the end of what is, in essence, a versified homily (*we . . . we . . . we . . . us . . . us . . . us . . . we . . . we . . . us . . . us*), suggests something of its own artistry. The structure of the Old English passage likewise shows signs of deliberate planning: verbal echoes and patterns give the first two sentences a very similar structure (*is . . . we on . . . ofer . . . geond; is . . . we . . . on . . . geond . . . ofer*), effectively highlighting the parallels between a perilous voyage "throughout the wide sea" (*geond sidne sæ*, line 852a) and man's equally fraught journey "throughout this frail world" (*geond þas wacan woruld*, line 855a), while the nouns and compounds used to describe the sea-vessels at the beginning and end of the passage (before the final injunction), show similar care in selection and arrangement (*ceolum . . . sundhengestum . . . flodwudu; ceoles . . . sundhengestas . . . yðmearas*); each of the compounds combines terrestrial and marine elements,

the terms *sundhengest* and *flodwudu* are attested only here in extant Old English, and *yðmearh* only appears once elsewhere (*Whale* 49). This is evidently craftsmanship of a high order.

The broader metaphor, which compares the Christian life to a dangerous sea-voyage through this life to the safe haven of heaven and salvation, here alluded to by Gregory and made explicit in *Christ B*, is of course a commonplace of the Christian-Latin tradition, and is also widely attested in Anglo-Latin literature, especially in the letters of Boniface for whom it becomes a key theme (Curtius 1953:128-30; Orchard 2001:20-21). A related metaphor, comparing the difficulties of attempting or completing a literary work to that of bringing a ship safe to harbor, is also a feature of the Latin tradition, and naturally often appears at the beginning or, as here in *Christ B*, at the end of literary compositions: Anglo-Latin authors who conclude poems with this conceit include Aldhelm, in his *Carmen de uirginitate* (the metaphor appears at lines 2801-11; the poem ends at line 2904), and Alcuin, in his poem on the kings, saints, and bishops of York (lines 1649-58). In the case of Alcuin, the verses in question, which, like those quoted above from *Christ B*, constitute the final lines of the poem, read as follows (Godman 1982:134):⁷



Haec ego nauta rudis teneris congesta carinis,	
Per pelagi fluctus et per vada caeca gubernans,	1650
Euboricae ad portum commercia iure reduxi;	
Utpote quae proprium sibi me nutritivum alumnum,	
Imbuit et primis utcumque verenter ab annis.	
Haec idcirco cui propriis de patribus atque	
Regibus et sanctis ruralia carmina scripsi.	1655
Hos pariter sanctos, tetigi quos versibus istis,	
Deprecor ut nostram mundi de gurgite cymbam	
Ad portum vitae meritis precibusque gubernent.	

I, an inexperienced sailor, steering through the ocean's waves and dark channels, have rightly brought cargo packed in a vulnerable ship back to the harbor at York, who fostered me as her own product, and reverently raised me from my earliest years, and therefore it is for her that I have written these crude verses concerning her own bishops, kings, and saints. Likewise it is to those saints, whom I have touched on in these verses, that I pray to steer our vessel by their merits and prayers from the whirlpool of the world to the harbor of life.

If the first six lines here clearly refer to the notion of bringing a literary work to a successful conclusion, the last three lines take a more personal turn, and in that sense bring Alcuin's lengthy poem to the same highly self-focused finish as that of Cynewulf.

At all events, it is certain that the closing lines of Cynewulf's *Christ B* cited above dealing with the anchor of hope and the sea of this world (850-66) have close verbal parallels not only with the rest of this work, but with the other signed poems of Cynewulf in general. Whole

⁷ Asser uses the same metaphor in his *De gestis Ælfredi* (chapter 21), as well as a related one describing Alfred steering the kingdom through difficult times (chapter 91); cf. Keynes and Lapidge 1983:74, 101, and 239; Stevenson 1904:218-19.

lines in this passage are repeated with little or no variation: the verse concerning God's spiritual son ("godes gæstsunu ond us giefe sealde," *Christ B* 860) reappears verbatim elsewhere in the poem (*Christ B* 660; cf. *Elene* 182); the line describing the Ascension itself ("haliges hyhtplega þa he to heofonum astag," *Christ B* 737) appears earlier in a slightly variant form (*Christ B* 866; cf. *Elene* 188); and the verse describing the safe sea-crossing ("ærþon we to londe geliden hæfdon," *Christ B* 857) is matched with only a change of pronoun in *Juliana* (*Juliana* 677; cf. *Elene* 249). While a phrase such as "ruler of the firmament" (*rodera waldend*, *Christ B* 865b)⁸ is also found in both in *Elene* (lines 206b, 482b, and 1066b) and *Juliana* (line 305b), it is a commonplace widely attested elsewhere in extant Old English.⁹ Much less broadly scattered is the phrase "holy on high" (*halge on heahþu*, *Christ B* 866a), which, in the form "holy from on high" (*halig of heahðu*) appears elsewhere in *Christ B* as well as in both *Elene* and *Juliana* (*Christ B* 760a and 789a; *Elene* 1086a; *Juliana* 263a). Outside the four signed poems of Cynewulf, the phrase is attested only in *Andreas* and *Guthlac B*, both poems with close connections to Cynewulf's corpus (*Andreas* 873a and 1144a; *Guthlac B* 938a and 1088a), as we have seen. Even the key phrase about "fixing one's hope" on Christ (*hyht stapelian*, *Christ B* 864b) can be matched elsewhere in both of the longer signed poems (*Juliana* 437b; cf. *Elene* 795), albeit that the general homiletic sense is also echoed elsewhere, most famously in the closing lines of *The Seafarer* (lines 117-24; Krapp and Dobbie 1936:146-47; Gordon 1960:48):



Uton we hycgan hwær we ham agen,
 ond þonne geþencan hu we þider cumen,
 ond we þonne eac tilien, þæt we to moten
 in þa ecan eadignesse,
 þær is lif gelong in lufan dryhtnes,
 hyht in heofonum. Þæs sy þam halgan þonc,
 þæt he usic geweorþade, wuldres ealdor,
 ece dryhten, in ealle tid. Amen.

[MS se for second we]

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Let us consider where we have a home and then think how we may arrive there, and then we may strive that we are allowed to enter the eternal blessedness, where there is life derived from the love of the Lord, hope in heaven. For that let there be thanks to the holy one, because he has honored us, the prince of glory, eternal lord, forevermore. Amen.

The insistent use of the first-person plural here (five times in the first three lines) matches the similar accumulation in the parallel passage from *Christ B*. At any rate, in the expansive and imaginative treatment of relatively commonplace classical and patristic Latin themes, we can see

⁸ All these lines from *Elene* and *Juliana* are further linked by alliteration with (*on*) *rode* in the a-line; see further above.

⁹ The same phrase is found in *Az* 11; *ChristC* 1220; *Dan* 290; *GenA* 1203, 1253, 2406, 2756; *KiPs* 92; *MEp* 9; *Met10* 30. In none of these cases, however, is it linked by alliteration with (*on*) *rode*, unlike the examples cited from *Elene* and *Juliana*.

the extent to which the author of both *Elene* and *Christ B* produced dense and self-contained passages that elaborate considerably on their putative sources and analogues.

If we move beyond consideration of how Cynewulf repeats his own diction throughout the four signed poems, the full tally of parallel phrasing from these closing lines of *Christ B* offers almost the same set of poems recurring as in the similar list from the parallel passage from *Elene* considered above: *Andreas* (10×); *Elene* (5×); *Christ B* (5×); *Juliana* (4×); *Guthlac B* (3×); *Beowulf* (2×); *Fates* (2×); *Daniel* (2×); *Psalms 106* (2×). The exception to the previous pattern here is clearly what looks like a double echo of this passage from *Christ B* in the Old English *Metrical Psalms*. It is worth quoting first the Latin Vulgate original of the relevant passage (Psalm 106:23-30):

qui descendunt in mare navibus facientes opus in aquis multis
 ipsi viderunt opera Domini et mirabilia eius in profundo
 dixit et surrexit ventus tempestatis et elevavit gurgites eius
 ascendunt in caelum et descendunt in abyssos anima eorum in afflictione consumitur
 obstipuerunt et intremuerunt quasi ebrius et universa sapientia eorum absorta est
 clamabunt autem ad Dominum in tribulatione sua et de angustia educet eos
 statuet turbinem in tranquillitatem et silebunt fluctus eius
 laetabuntur quoniam quieverunt et deducet eos ad portum quem voluerunt

They that go down to the sea in ships, doing business in the great waters: these have seen the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. He said the word, and there arose a storm of wind: and the waves thereof were lifted up. They mount up to the heavens, and they go down to the depths: their soul pined away with evils. They were troubled, and reeled like a drunken man; and all their wisdom was swallowed up. And they cried to the Lord in their affliction: and he brought them out of their distresses. And he turned the storm into a breeze: and its waves were still. And they rejoiced because they were still: and he brought them to the haven which they wished for.

The subject-matter of this Psalm is self-evidently related to that of the parallel passage from *Christ B*, and it seems innately likely that a literate and Latinate Christian author such as Cynewulf, who presumably had a close familiarity with the Psalms, would have chosen to echo the thoughts expressed here. What is more intriguing is the specific parallels between these closing lines of Cynewulf's poem and the Old English metrical rendering of this Psalm (*Paris Psalter 106 22-29*; Krapp 1932:88-89; the parallels with *Christ B* are given in **bold italics**):



- 22 Ða þe sæ seceað, mid scipe liðað,
 wyrceað weorc mænig on wæterðyrpum.
 23 Hi drihtnes weorc digul gesawon
 and his wundra wearn on wætergrundum.
 24 Gif he sylfa cwyð, sona ætstandað [MS æt standeð]
 ystige gastas ofer egewylmum,
 beoð heora yþa up astigene.
 25 Ða to **heofenum** up **heah astigað**,

- nyþer gefeallað under neowulne grund;
oft þa on yfele eft aþindað.
- 26 Gedrefede þa deope syndan,
hearde onhrerede her anlicast,
hu druncen hwylc gedwæs spyrige;
ealle heora snytru beoð yfele forglandred. [MS for gledred]
- 27 Hi on costunge cleopedan to drihtne,
and he hi of earfeðum eallum alysde.
- 28 He yste mæg eaðe oncyrran,
þæt him windes hweoðu weorðeð smylte, [MS hi]
and þa yðe eft swygiað,
bliþe weorðað, þa þe brimu weþað.
- 29 And he hi on *hælo hyþe gelædde*,
swa he hira willan wyste fyrmest,
and he hig of earfoðum eallum alysde.

Those who seek the sea, travel on ships, they work many works in the rush of waters.
They have seen the secret works of the Lord, and the multitude of his wonders in the watery depths.
If he himself speaks, straightaway there stand up stormy spirits over terrifying surges, the waves of which are raised up.
Then they rise up high to the heavens, fall back down to the hidden depths; often they fall away into evil.
Then they are deeply disturbed, sorely stirred up, here just as any drunken fool would weave his way; all their sense has been evilly swallowed up.
In their trials they called out to the Lord, and he set them free from all their hardships.
He can easily turn the storm, so that for him the wind's gusts grow calm, and the waves are silent again; they grow benign, that settle the waters.
And he led them to the safety of harbor, just as he knew was their most fervent wish, and he set them free from all their hardships.

If Cynewulf were indeed citing the Psalms from the Old English metrical version, which seems to be a product of the mid-tenth century, we would have a more secure basis for dating his works than has been available thus far. The topic clearly deserves a closer look, especially in view of other evidence that the *Metrical Psalms* were well known, at least in later Anglo-Saxon England.

We noted above the extent to which generations of Anglo-Saxons in holy orders would have internalized through constant repetition over many years the Latin texts of the Psalms, so it is perhaps no surprise that the Old English poetic version offers some of the best evidence for the circulation, quotation, and imitation of vernacular verse from the Anglo-Saxon period. The *Metrical Psalms* that are mainly preserved in the so-called "Paris Psalter" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 8824) certainly seem to have been widely known, at least in later Anglo-Saxon England. This metrical rendering of Psalms 51-150 is generally supposed to have been done in the mid-tenth century, though the dating is far from secure, and at least four

separate reflexes of parts of the text survive (Sisam and Sisam 1958). Three lines from Psalm 117.22 are quoted in the *Menologium* (lines 60-62), with slight variants from the Paris Psalter text (Toswell 1993), while a very close version to that found in the Paris manuscript supplies what seems a lacuna in the main exemplar of the so-called “Eadwine Psalter” (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1 [987]), a mid-twelfth-century manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury, as a gloss from Psalm 90.15 (*eripiam*) to 95.2 (*nomen*), omitting 92.1-2 (Gibson 1992:31). The fact that this gloss, which appears to share with the Paris Psalter a common ancestor that appears to be “a copy of great authority” (Baker 1984:271), is in a slightly different hand to what immediately precedes and follows “suggests that the glossator’s immediate exemplar was defective at this point, and that the gap in the O[ld] E[nglish] translation was supplied later from another manuscript” (Ker 1990:136 [no. 91]).

While the closeness of the two versions of Psalms 90.15-95.2 in the Paris and Eadwine Psalters suggests an ultimately shared written tradition, with the scribe of the Eadwine Psalter at this point evidently a less careful copyist at several points (Baker 1984), Patrick O’Neill has discovered a further place in the latter manuscript, in the rendering of the last of the seven Penitential Psalms, which were recited widely among the devout from the late tenth century on, where another scribe has copied in a further passage from the *Metrical Psalms* corresponding to what we find in the Paris Psalter, as an alternative to the existing Old English gloss (at Psalm 142.9; O’Neill 1988; the text here follows the *Paris Psalter*, as in Krapp 1932:140):



Do me wegas wise, þæt ic wite gearwe
on hwylcne ic gange gleawe mode;
nu ic to drihtnes dome wille
mine sawle settan geornast.

Make the paths known to me, so that I know clearly on which I walk with a knowing mind; now I
will most eagerly set my soul to the glory of the Lord.

The Vulgate reads: “fac mihi viam in qua ambulo quoniam ad te levavi animam meam” (“Make the way known to me, wherein I should walk: for I have lifted up my soul to thee”). Parallels to the phrasing of the Old English here can be found elsewhere in extant verse, particularly elsewhere in the *Metrical Psalms* themselves (Diamond 1963).¹⁰ Given the fact that the manuscript at this point contains a viable (if unpoetic) rendering of the Latin text (albeit in an emended form), it seems likely that the scribe added in this extract from the *Metrical Psalms* from memory.

A further manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, written at Worcester around 1075, has a prose version of a Benedictine Office associated with Wulfstan, and was likely composed in the early eleventh century (Ure 1957). Where appropriate, this text gives Old English verse versions of the Psalms that (when they can be compared directly) match closely what is found in the Paris Psalter; the fact that the Junius text also contains poetic renderings of psalms from the earlier part of the sequence (namely Psalms 1-50) not represented in the Paris

¹⁰ For line 1, cf. *PPs102,7 1*; *PPs118*, 26 1.

Psalter suggests that there once existed a complete cycle of *Metrical Psalms* in Old English for which the Paris Psalter is the best witness (*ibid.*:17-19). And once again there seems good evidence from the end of the period, as at the beginning, that generations of Anglo-Saxons did indeed carry songs in their heads to be recalled and recycled as appropriate; and if the secular heroic tradition was ultimately eclipsed by the literate and Latinate world of Christian learning, the old words and themes were never entirely erased from memory.

It is a paradox that while we can never hear again the ancient poetry of the inherited native Anglo-Saxon oral tradition, it is precisely the imported literate Christian and Latinate culture that eventually displaced it that (to switch more appropriately to a visual metaphor) allows us a glimpse of what was. Christian Anglo-Saxons also remembered verse, and apparently made and remade new poems in the mirror of that recollection, as well as passing on the old songs. Perhaps most tantalizing in this regard is an intriguing if largely ignored pen-trial in the lower margin of folio 88 of London, British Library, Harley 208 (Ker 1990:304), which reads “hwæt ic eall feala ealde sæge” (“Listen, I [have heard?] very many ancient tales”), a line that echoes the description in *Beowulf* of Hrothgar’s scop recalling old stories (presumably including earlier verses) on the way back from the monster-mere (lines 869-70a: “se ð e *ealfela ealdgesegena* / worn gemunde” [“he who remembered a great multitude of ancient tales”]).¹¹ This pen-trial, which is in the same hand as that which also writes as further scribbles an alphabet and a *Pater noster* on the preceding folios, seems to be recording a remembered snatch of text. What is at issue is whether this pen-trial represents further evidence that *Beowulf* was known and remembered in Anglo-Saxon England, to go with that from *Andreas* already noted, or whether, as Jeff Opland has argued, the phrase in question represents the opening of a now-lost poem that happens to share the same formula as appears in *Beowulf* (1980:186). Without more texts to be recovered or inferred, we can never really know. But evidence like that presented above surely sheds occasional light on what is, after all, a scenario innately likely in any event, namely that untold numbers of Anglo-Saxons must have carried in their heads songs both Latin and vernacular, Christian and secular, learned and lay, new and unknowably ancient. Most of those songs are inevitably lost to us now, alas: those winged words have long flown. But thanks to a culture of writing imported, promoted, and encouraged in Anglo-Saxon England by the natural needs of Christianity as a religion of the book we can, even now, sometimes get a sense of all that oral and aural and memorial activity that must have been, and move cautiously beyond the inscribed pages of medieval manuscripts and modern printed texts, and, like the Anglo-Saxons themselves, occasionally hear distant echoes of faraway voices, recording faraway strains.¹²

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¹¹ Ker dates the scribble “s. x/xi (?)” (the same date he puts on the *Beowulf*-manuscript itself); the main text of Harley 208 was written on the continent in the ninth century, and at this point contains a selection of Alcuin’s letters. I am grateful to Michael Fox for drawing this reference to my attention.

¹² My thanks to Paul Weller, Samantha Zacher, and Chris Jones, without all of whose winged and sometimes stinging words this paper would never have been finished.

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Wieland 1984

Gernot Wieland. "Cædmon, the Clean Animal." *American Benedictine Review*, 35:194-203.**Appendix 1: Parallels for Elene 225-55**

<226>	ongan hine þa <i>fysan</i> ond <i>to flote</i> gyrwan	<i>And</i> 1698
<227>	on <i>geofones staðe</i> golde geweorðod godes ærendu <i>gearwe stodun</i> ge þe on godes huse <i>gearwe standað</i>	<i>Ex</i> 581 <i>Guth A</i> 724 <i>PPs</i> 133,2 1
<228>	<i>sælde sægrundas</i> suðwind fornam <i>sæwudu sældon</i> syrcan hyrsedon	<i>Ex</i> 289 <i>Beo</i> 226
<229>	attor ælfæle þær <i>orcname</i> wearð	<i>And</i> 770
<230> þ	æt he þone widflogan <i>weorode gesohte</i>	<i>Beo</i> 2346
<231>	on þinne wlite wliton <i>wlance monige</i> ymb þæs wifes wlite <i>wlonce monige</i> and eft <i>Wendelsæ</i> wide rice <i>on Wendelsæ</i> wigendra scola	<i>Gen A</i> 1825 <i>Gen A</i> 1848 <i>Gen A</i> 2211 <i>Met</i> 26 31
<232>	wat ic ðonne gif ðu gewitest <i>on Wendelsæ</i>	<i>MSol</i> 204
<233>	stopon stiðhidige <i>stundum wræcon</i>	<i>El</i> 121
<235>	<i>ofer mearcþaðu</i> þæt he on Mambre becom <i>byrnwiggendra</i> beboden hæfde ne he <i>byrnwigend</i> to þam burggeatum bealde <i>byrnwiggende</i> þær wæron bollan steape to ðam orlege <i>ordum ond bordum</i> bogan wæron bysige <i>bord ord</i> onfeng	<i>And</i> 788 <i>El</i> 224 <i>Res</i> 156 <i>Jud</i> 17 <i>And</i> 1205 <i>Mald</i> 110
<236>	<i>werum ond wifum</i>	[COMMONPLACE]
<238>	<i>wæghengest</i> wræc <i>wæterþisa</i> for ymb <i>brontne</i> ford <i>brimliðende</i> bogan wæron bysige <i>bord ord onfeng</i>	<i>Guth B</i> 1329 <i>Beo</i> 568 <i>Mald</i> 110
<239>	<i>ofer eargeblond</i> ellendne wearod <i>ofer argeblond</i> Andreas þa git	<i>Met</i> 8 30 <i>And</i> 383
þ	æra þe mid Anlafe <i>ofer æra gebland</i>	<i>Brun</i> 26
<240>	<i>ne hyrde ic</i> cymlicor ceol gegyrwan on sefan sende <i>ne hyrde ic</i> snotorlicor Gregorius <i>ne hyrde ic</i> guman a fyrn <i>sið ne ær</i>	<i>Beo</i> 38 <i>Beo</i> 1842 <i>Men</i> 101
<241>	eorlas ymb æðeling <i>egstreame</i> neah eaforum <i>egstream</i> eft gecyrred on þa eðelturf <i>idesa lædan</i>	[COMMONPLACE] <i>El</i> 66 <i>Gen A</i> 1415 <i>Gen A</i> 1774
þ	e þus <i>brontne</i> ceol /ofer <i>lagustræte lædan</i> cwomon ne <i>on egstreamum</i> earmran mannon Heliseus <i>ehstream</i> sohte ofer sine yðe gan <i>eahstream</i> ne dorste	<i>Beo</i> 239b-240 <i>Beo</i> 577 <i>Jul</i> 673 <i>Christ C</i> 1167
<242>	mæton <i>merestræta</i> mundum brugdon	<i>Beo</i> 514
<243>	urigfeðra earn <i>sið beheold</i> se sceal þære sunnan <i>sið behealdan</i> <i>sið bihealdan</i> hwonne swegles tapur	<i>El</i> 111 <i>Phoen</i> 90 <i>Phoen</i> 114
<244>	<i>breacan ofer bæðweg</i> hafa bletsunge <i>brecað ofer bæðweg</i> brimhengestum blac <i>ofer burgsalo</i> <i>brimwudu</i> scynde	<i>And</i> 223 <i>And</i> 513 <i>Guth B</i> 1331
<245>	snellic <i>sæmearh</i> snude bewunden	<i>And</i> 267
<246>	hu ðu <i>wægflotan</i> wære bestemdon	<i>And</i> 487
<247>	secggas ymb sigecwen <i>siðes</i> gefysde <i>collenferhðe</i> swa him sio <i>cwen</i> bead	<i>El</i> 260 <i>El</i> 378

	<i>collenferhðe</i> <i>cwen</i> weorces <i>gefeah</i>	<i>El</i> 848
þ	a in ceol stigon <i>collenfyrrhðe</i>	<i>And</i> 349
	cempa <i>collenferhð</i> cyning wyrðude	<i>And</i> 538
	cleopode þa <i>collenferhð</i> cearegan reorde	<i>And</i> 1108
	cene <i>collenferð</i> carcern ageaf	<i>And</i> 1578
	cuma <i>collenferhð</i> ceoles neosan	<i>Beo</i> 1806
	hwæðer <i>collenferð</i> cwicne gemette	<i>Beo</i> 2785
	syððan <i>collenferð</i> cyninges broðor	<i>Fates</i> 54
	oðþæt hie becomon <i>collenferhðe</i>	<i>Jud</i> 134
	oþþæt <i>collenferð</i> cunne gearwe	<i>Wan</i> 71
	<i>collenferþe</i> ceolas stondað	<i>Whale</i> 17
<248> þ	ær æt <i>hyðe</i> stod <i>hringedstefna</i>	<i>Beo</i> 32
	hladen herewædum <i>hringedstefna</i>	<i>Beo</i> 1897
	<i>hringedstefnan</i> holm storme weol	<i>Beo</i> 1131
<249>	<i>ofer lagufæsten</i> leofspell manig	<i>El</i> 1016
	ærþon we to lande <i>geliden hæfdon</i>	<i>Christ B</i> 857
	ærþon hy to lande <i>geliden hæfdon</i>	<i>Jul</i> 677
	<i>lid</i> to lande <i>ofer lagufæsten</i>	<i>And</i> 398
<250>	<i>on Creca land caseres</i> bodan	<i>El</i> 262
	<i>on Creca land</i> hie se <i>casere</i> heht	<i>El</i> 998
<251>	<i>sæfaroda sand</i> geond sealtne wæg	<i>Dan</i> 322
<252>	on <i>ancra fest</i> eoforlic scionon	<i>Beo</i> 303
	<i>ealde yðmearas ancrum fæste</i>	<i>Christ B</i> 863
<253>	<i>bad</i> bolgenmod beadwa <i>geþinges</i>	<i>Beo</i> 709
<254>	geatolic <i>guðcwen</i> golde gehyrsted	<i>El</i> 331
	glædmod eode <i>gumena þreate</i>	<i>El</i> 1095
	galferhð <i>gumena ðreate</i>	<i>Jud</i> 62
<255>	<i>ofer eastwegas</i> aras brohton	<i>El</i> 995
þ	onne he oðer lif <i>eft geseceð</i>	<i>Sat</i> 211
	of þære eorðan scealt <i>eft gesecan</i>	<i>Christ B</i> 626
	oþþe þec ungearo <i>eft gesecað</i>	<i>Guth A</i> 281
	agenne eard <i>eft geseceð</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 264
	Israela cyn on <i>eastwegas</i>	<i>Dan</i> 69
þ	onan yþast mæg on <i>eastwegum</i>	<i>Phoen</i> 113

Appendix 2: Parallels for Christ B 850-66

<851>	<i>ofer cald wæter</i> cuðe sindon	<i>And</i> 201
	<i>ceol</i> gestigan ond on <i>cald wæter</i>	<i>And</i> 222
	on <i>cald wæter ceolum</i> lacað	<i>And</i> 253
	hwanon comon ge <i>ceolum liðan</i>	<i>And</i> 256
	<i>ceole liðan</i> cuð wæs sona	<i>Met</i> 26 60
	ongan ceallian þa <i>ofer cald wæter</i>	<i>Mald</i> 91
<852>	hwær we sælan sceolon <i>sundhengestas</i>	<i>Christ B</i> 862
	<i>ofer sidne sæ</i> swegles leoma	<i>Phoen</i> 103
	on <i>sidne sæ</i> ymb <i>sund</i> flite	<i>Beo</i> 507
	and <i>sidne sæ</i> samed ætgædere	<i>PPs</i> 145,5 61
<856>	hu mæg ic dryhten min <i>ofer deop gelad</i>	<i>And</i> 190
	drync to dugoðe is <i>se drohtað strang</i>	<i>And</i> 313
	of dæge on dæg <i>drohtaþ strengra</i>	<i>And</i> 1385
	<i>ofer deop gelad</i> dægredwoma	<i>Guth B</i> 1292
	<i>ofer deop</i> gedreag <i>drohtað</i> bete	<i>Rid</i> 6 10
<857>	<i>ofer lagofæsten geliden hæfdon</i>	<i>El</i> 249
	<i>ærþon</i> hy to lande <i>geliden hæfdon</i>	<i>Jul</i> 677
<859>	and he hi on <i>hælo hyþe gelædde</i>	<i>PPs</i> 106,29 1
	<i>hælo hyðe</i> ðam ðe hie lufað	<i>MSol</i> 246

<860>	<i>godes gæstsunu ond us giefe sealde</i>	<i>Christ B 660</i>
	<i>gasta</i> hyrde ðe him <i>gife sealde</i>	<i>Dan 199</i>
	ongyt georne hwa þa <i>gyfe sealed</i>	<i>Dan 420</i>
	geomre <i>gastas</i> ond him <i>gife sealde</i>	<i>El 182</i>
	<i>gæstum</i> gearwað ond him <i>giefe sealde</i>	<i>Guth A 100</i>
<862>	<i>sælde</i> sæmearas <i>sunde</i> getenge	<i>El 228</i>
<863>	eorlas ond <i>yōmearas</i> he hafað oþre gecynd	<i>Whale 49</i>
	on <i>ancre fæst</i> eoforlic scionon	<i>Beo 303</i>
	<i>ald yōhofu oncrum fæste</i> [MS yð liofu]	<i>El 252</i>
<864>	hellwarena cyning <i>hyht stapelie</i>	<i>Jul 437</i>
<865>	<i>rodera waldend</i>	[COMMONPLACE]
<866>	<i>haliges</i> hyhtplega þa he to <i>heofonum astag</i>	<i>Christ B 737</i>
	<i>halig</i> of <i>heahðu</i> hider onsendeð	<i>Christ B 760</i>
	<i>halig</i> of <i>heahþu</i> huru ic wene me	<i>Christ B 789</i>
	herede on <i>hehðu</i> <i>heofon</i> cyninges þrym	<i>And 998</i>
	hæleða cynnes ond to <i>heofonum astah</i>	<i>El 188</i>
	<i>halig</i> of <i>heahþu</i> hreþer innan born	<i>Guth B 938</i>
	<i>halig on heahþu</i> þær min hyht myneð	<i>Guth B 1088</i>
	<i>halig</i> of <i>heahþu</i> þe sind heardlicu	<i>Jul 263</i>
	heredon on <i>heahþu</i> ond his <i>halig</i> word	<i>Jul 560</i>
þ	æt æfre mæge <i>heofona heahþu</i> gereccan	<i>JDayI 31</i>
þ	ara þe wile <i>heofona heahþu gestigan</i>	<i>JDayI 97</i>
	þa to <i>heofenum</i> up <i>heah astigað</i>	<i>PPs106,25 1</i>