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## THE DEVIL AS A PRINCE CONQUERED, EXILED, BOUND AND DESPOILED: THE EARLY MEDIEVAL REDEMPTION THEORY AND THE FORMULAIC THEME OF EXILE IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

The article studies the figure of the devil in four Old English poems dated from the eighth to the tenth century A.D. *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Elene* and *Juliana* explore the figure of Satan with recourse to shared imagery that goes down to the patristic tradition of early medieval church as well as to the Germanic poetic tradition. The representations of the devil that found their way to Old English poetic compositions are pervasively influenced by the early medieval redemption theories on the one hand. On the other, the poems in questions draw upon the formulaic exile theme that they share with a number of other Old English poems, like *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, to counterpoint their central soteriological themes.

The devil is not only often evoked in Old English poetry, but also constitutes one of the most recurrent heroes in a number of poems written in Anglo-Saxon England. These poems fall into two groups. The first group is made up of the biblical epics, which present Satan's fall and exile from heaven. In this group of poems, Satan is invariably depicted as a hero, if not actually an anti-hero, and the poets who composed these works devoted much attention to characterising Satan in typically heroic terms. The second group is formed by hagiographic poems, especially those belonging to the Cynewulf group. In these poems, Satan is not as important as in the epics and it often appears as a merely structural element in the somewhat Manichean vision of life as a struggle of good and evil that permeates the early Christian Saints' Lives. Despite the fact that in this second group of poems the devil, whose role is, at surface, reduced to sharpening the contrast between temptations of the flesh and the world and Virtues the embodiment of which the saint is, appears to be of lesser importance as a character in his own right, he still bears semblance to the devil found in Anglo-Saxon biblical epics. Both types of religious poetry share their thematic interest in portraying the devil as an exile in essentially similar terms, namely, as a prince, or a king, who has been conquered, spoiled of his possession, alienated from his earlier glory and exiled to hell, where he suffers endless torments bound in fetters.

The present paper considers the role of the devil in four Old English narrative poems, which were composed from the eighth century A.D towards the end of the tenth century, *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*, representing the Old English scriptural verse<sup>1</sup>, as well as *Elene* and *Juliana*, both attributed to Cynewulf and belonging to the genre of Saints' Lives. The portrayal of Satan they present as a king despoiled of his kingdom and treasure, conquered and exiled is first and foremost to be explained in theological terms, as both intertwined themes of exile and bondage, which this article undertakes to analyse, are found in the lore of medieval Christian theologians. This conception of exile is also related to Augustine's conceptions of pilgrimage and exile, which he used for illustrating his ideas on the City of God and the earthly city. This dichotomy had become commonplace by the time the four Old English poems were composed, while the theme of bondage may be accounted for as a literary representation of a belief that Satan was to be bound in hell and not loosed free until the Second Coming. These ideas, perpetuated mainly in early medieval writings which provided the broadest focus on the founding concept of redemption in Christ, also found their way to the popular imagination, especially through *The Gospel of Nichodemus*. What is most significant regarding these representations of the devil, however, is the fact that Old English poetry does not merely borrow these themes from the Latin lore, but, mediating as it does the Latin tradition with recourse to the Germanic poetic tradition of alliterative metre, it elaborates the character of the devil in a way that remains unique to Anglo-Saxon literary culture. The poetry analysed here provides a broader perspective on the theme of exile and bondage originated in the patristic representations. The theme of exile, which has been thoroughly examined by the criticism of Old English poetry, especially in the context of the elegiac poems such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, seems especially conspicuous in the poems subjected to close reading offered in this article. Arguably, the formulaic aesthetic in *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Juliana* and *Elene* was used to explore the potential unity between the Christian thought and vernacular language and tradition.

On the level of characterisation, the primary source for the idea of the devil as a figure of substantial power that he exercises freely is the early Christian Redemption theory known as the abuse-of-power theory. In his influential article, Timothy Fry summarises the theory in the following terms<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These two biblical epics are connected to *Christ and Satan*, another Old English poem found in the same manuscript. This article is limited to a discussion of four poems, in which the devil is one of the protagonist. For an analysis of the character of Satan in the context of the theme of exile see Rafał Boryśławski (2010).

<sup>2</sup> The complex idea of the devil's right and is also discussed R. W. Southern in *The making of the Middle Ages* (1953). By sin – by disobedience to God and obedience to the will of the Devil – man had voluntarily withdrawn himself from the service of God and committed himself to the service of the Devil. It was rather like the act of *diffidatio* in feudal custom by which a man rejected the authority of his overlord and submitted himself to another. Of course, the overlord did not acquiesce in this state of

Briefly, the theory supposes that when Adam and Eve fell into original sin, Satan was permitted to inflict death on them and all mankind and hold them captive in hell. Christ born of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, was not subject to the law of death. Satan, however, was deceived by the human nature of Christ, and, in bringing about His death, abused his power, and lost the souls in hell.

(Fry 1951: 529)

It was commonplace in early medieval thought that God was under an obligation to respect the devil's right to rule humanity after the fall of Adam and Eve and that only the devil's injustice (that is killing the innocent Jesus Christ) could free God from this obligation. In his *Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England*, C. W. Marx argues that "the idea that God elected to overcome the Devil with justice characterized much early medieval thinking on the issue of the defeat of the Devil, and implies that the Devil held a right of possession over humanity" (Marx 1995: 2). Such a conception of redemption strongly influenced the representations of the devil as the enemy of mankind. As Rosemary Woolf notes, in the early Middle Ages the devil was held to be an important and threatening figure, because "according to the theory of the 'devil's rights' the nature of Redemption consisted of the defeat of the devil by Christ on the Cross, and in literary treatment the devil was therefore represented more seriously than he was in the Middle Ages, when the 'satisfaction' theory reduced him to a subordinate role."<sup>3</sup>

The problems of Satan's rule over humanity and of redemption as necessitating satisfaction of divine justice find their echo in St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*, which both Timothy Fry and C. W. Marx claim to be the *locus classicus* of the idea (Fry 1951: 530; Marx 1995: 12-13). The Book Thirteen of *De Trinitate* is given to the explication of redemption in largely juristic terms. Augustine insists that the conquest of the devil happened "first by justice and afterwards by power" (*De Trinitate* 13: 15) and states that "the devil "deservedly held those whom he had bound by the condition of death as guilty of sin." As the post-lapsarian human condition was justified in legal terms, the devil "might deservedly loose them through Him who was guilty of no sin" (*De Trinitate* 15: 13).

While *De Trinitate* contained one of the most sophisticated theoretical formulations of the concept, the idea of the devil's rights itself became widespread in the Middle Ages due to the proliferation of the apocryphal Gospel of Nichodemus, in which the idea of the devil holding a legally sanctioned power over

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affairs: it meant war – but still, the rules of *diffidatio* having been observed, the war must be fought according to the rules. So it was in the war between God and the Devil over the soul of Man. God could not fairly use His omnipotence to deprive the Devil of the rights he had acquired over Man by Man's consent: the rule of justice must be observed even in fighting the Devil.... The only hope for Man therefore lay in some breach of the rules by the Devil himself (Southern 1953: 223-224).

<sup>3</sup> The early medieval conception of the devil's rights over mankind earned as a result of the original sin and lost to him as a result of Christ's sacrifice (Marx 1995: 16).

people was perpetuated. In Anglo-Saxon England alone, the manuscript of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary, Saint Omer, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, 202, produced at Saint Bertin around the ninth century, preserved two vernacular Old English texts, the vernacular version of the Gospel of Nicodemus and *Vindicta Salvatoris*, the narrative content of both being informed by our concept. Since they appeared in England not earlier than in the third quarter of the eleventh century (Hall 1996: 36)<sup>4</sup>, they must be necessarily ruled out as sources for Old English poetry. Nevertheless, since *Descensus Christi ad inferos* is a recurrent theme in Old English poetry, on an assumption first made by Thomas D. Hall (1996: 55)<sup>5</sup>, it must be inferred that there must have existed some earlier, perhaps indirect, sources responsible for the textual transmission of the concept, which inspired the material found in the four poems analysed here.

In the Old English rendition of the Gospel of Nicodemus, on Christ entering the scene, the personified Hell warns Satan that “gif se deað hyne ondræt þonne gefoþ he ðe and the byð æfre wa to ecere worulde” [if death fears him, he will take you captive and that there will be woe for you forever] (*Nicodemus* p. 211)<sup>6</sup>. In reply, Satan tries to mitigate Hell's anxiety: “hwæt twynað the oððe hwæt ondrætst ðu the ðone hælend to onfonne...? Ic wille hys deað to the gelædan and he sceal beon underþeod ægðer ge me ge þe” [why do you doubt, and why do you fear to receive the Saviour? I will bring his death to you and he shall be subject both to me and to you] (*Nicodemus* p. 211). Ignorant of Christ's identity as a Person of the Trinity, the devil expected a mortal human being. What is more, Satan and all the devils have always regarded themselves as having humanity in possession: “Eall eorðan myddaneard usðæ wæs symble underþeod oð nu. And eornestlice we ahsiað the hwæt eart þu, þu ðe swa unforht us to eart cumen and þartoecan us wylt fram ateon ealle tha the we gefyrn on beondum heoldon?” [All the earthly world was always subject to us until now. And we ask you earnestly, who are you who have come to us thus unafraid, and moreover here wish to take from us all those whom we long held in bonds] (*Nicodemus* p. 223).

<sup>4</sup> The earliest OE translation of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* is preserved in Cambridge, University Library, li. 2. 11 (CUL li. 2. 11), the codex containing the West Saxon Gospels (Hill 1975: 49). The manuscript was compiled during Leofric's tenure as the Bishop of Canterbury between 1069 and 1072. There are other two Old English recensions. One is found in London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. Xv, pt I, fols 60-86. The other is extant in London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, 87v-100r. The history of textual transmission of the Gospel is discussed by Thomas D. Hall (1996: 36ff).

<sup>5</sup> Hill (1975) takes pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo* clx to be one of the most possible sources (Hill 1975: 55) and argues that it influenced the Old English authors of two Anglo-Saxon sermons, namely Blickling Homily VII and one Latin insular sermon (Hill 1975: 55-56). He concludes that “for Anglo-Saxon authors, it appears quite simply that the *Evangelium Nicodemi* was only possible source for the story of Christ's Harrowing” (Hill 1975: 56).

<sup>6</sup> Henceforth indicated as *Nicodemus* followed by page number. All quotations taken from Cross, J. E. 1996. *Two Old English Apocrypha and their manuscript source*. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 19.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. I use here throughout the parallel Modern English translation that accompanies the Old English text taken from this edition.

To his amazement, Satan's expectations are thwarted, as it is him who is ultimately bound in fetters: "se wuldorfæsta cyning and ure heofonlica hlaford þa nolde þæra deofla gemaðeles mare habban ac he þone deoffican deað feor nyðer atræd and Satan gegrap and hyne fæste geband and hyne þære helle sealed on angeweald" [the glorious King and our heavenly Lord would have no more talk from the devils, but He trod down devilish death far below, and he seized Satan and bound him fast and delivered him to the power of hell] (*Nicodemus* p. 223).

Three most significant elements may be abstracted from the excerpts quoted above: (1) the devil's claim that humanity is his *æht* "possession"; (2) the devil's claim that he is robbed of his possession; (3a) the devil did not recognise Christ as the Son before His passion on the Cross; (3b) analogically in hagiography, as will be shown below, the devil takes the saint to be a mere mortal or sinner. The situational irony of Satan defeated in his attempt to bind God in fetters is highly reminiscent of St. Augustine's comment from *De Trinitate* that "He [Christ] who was slain by him, rose again. But that is something greater and more profound of comprehension, to see how the devil was conquered when he seemed to have conquered, that is, when Christ was slain" (*De Trinitate* 13: 15). All these elements, as will be shown, can be found in Old English poetry and, although neither Augustine's *De Trinitate* nor The Gospel of Nicodemus are here claimed to be the direct sources for the Old English poets, the similarities between these two texts and Old English poems testify to the appeal that the conception of the devil's rights entertained during the early medieval period.

These theological ideas found their way into Old English religious poetry. More than this, they acquired their distinct Germanic flavour from the Old English formulaic exile imagery. In many Old English poems, the character of Satan appears in the context of exile theme. Both *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* poetic sequences richly reconceptualise the theme of exile, so that it is aligned to the biblical and liturgical context in which these poems functioned. Stanley B. Greenfield, in his article "Formulaic Expression of 'Exile'", identifies four clusters of ideas that constitute the formulaic theme of exile in Anglo-Saxon poetry: (1) status of exile, (2) deprivation, (3) state of mind and (4) movement in or into exile (Greenfield 1989: 126)<sup>7</sup>. He gives an extensive list of formulas shared by

<sup>7</sup> Stanley B. Greenfield (1989) gives an extensive list of formulae shared by many Anglo-Saxon poems. The status of exile is most commonly expressed by formulas like *wineleas wrecca* [a friendless wretch] and *earm anhaga* [a poor solitary one]. Secondly, the figure of exile is conventionally described as destitute and deprived of possessions; "the properties range from the physical ones of gold and land to abstract concepts of comforts and joys." Greenfield finds verbs *bedaelan*, *bescieran*, *bereafian*, *bedreosan*, *benaeman* to be the most common elements of the formulaic inventory for the expressing the exile theme. Thirdly, the exiled figure's state of mind is most usually specified with words like *hean*, *earm*, *geomor* that constitutes compounds associated with the theme. Finally, movement in or into exile falls to five categories: "(1) a sense of direction away from the "homeland" or "beloved"; (2) departure (initiative movement); (3) turning (initiative-continuative movement); (4) endurance of hardships (continuative movement in exile); (5) seeking" (Greenfield 1989: 126-128).

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These clusters of ideas inform the conception of Satan’s character that pervades Old English biblical and hagiographical poetry. The first two poems discussed here belong to the biblical epics found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Junius XI, or the so-called Junius Manuscript. In this poetry, there is a consistent picture of Satan exiled from heaven and bound in hell as punishment for ambition<sup>8</sup>.

The poet presents in *Genesis A* two stages of the devil’s movement into exile. The first stage consists of Satan and his companions’ attempt to establish a competitive angelic *dryht* (the Old English poetic word for retinue) that would rival the *dryht* of the angels of God. Satan, stricken by his pride, competes with God by attempting to build another kingdom in the northern outskirts of the universe. The devil boasts that “he on norð-dæle /ham and heah-setl heofona rices /agan wolde” [he wanted to possess a dwelling and the throne of the kingdom of heaven in the northern parts] (*Genesis A* ll. 32-34)<sup>9</sup>. The poet deftly conflates Satan’s ambition to secede his own kingdom from heaven with the Augustinian conception of sin as the act of the sinner’s turning from God out of his self-love:

<sup>8</sup> Three poems of Junius MS, *Genesis B*, *Genesis A*, and *Christ and Satan* explore the non-scriptural tradition that had grown around the figure of Lucifer/Satan figure in early Christianity. In both *Genesis A* and *B*, the story of creation of angelic orders and the fall of Satan is a major addition to the narrative. As A. N. Doane remarks in his edition of *Genesis A*, the material was “traditionally considered an integral part of the literal meaning of Genesis” (Doane 1978: 225).

<sup>9</sup> Henceforth indicated as *Genesis A* followed by verse number. All quotations are from Krapp, George Phillip. 1931. *The Junius manuscript*. (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.) New York: Columbia University Press. All translation from Old English to modern English are mine.

“hie of sib-lufan /Godes ahwurfon” [they turned away from God’s love] (*Genesis A* ll. 24-25). Although these words seem to depict the devil’s party as adversaries waging war against the Creator, the A-verse *Godes ahwurfon* is an allusion to exile theme as formulated by Greenfield, as the verb *hweorfan* appears in the context of exile’s theme to suggest the subject’s dislocation from the civilised world<sup>10</sup>. The exilic formula based on his verb is a deeply ironic remark on the part of the poet; since Satan’s separation from heavenly *dryht* is self-willed, the formula anticipated Satan’s exile as self-imposed and the fall from heaven as a logical result of his moral lapse. More than this, as the rebellion against the feudal lord causes the rebel’s loss of his lord’s favour, rebellion against the divine authority results in spiritual exile from his grace.

The adversary never realises his dreams, since he is dislocated from heaven to the place of punishment (*Genesis A* ll. 36-38). In *Genesis A*, hell is the place in which Satan and his companions’s suffer from destitution of their former glory. As they endure endless infernal torture, the devils, like other exiles in Old English poetry, are described to be “drema leas” [deprived of joys] (*Genesis A* l. 40). It is notable, however, that many of the patterns that Greenfield describes as essential part of the traditional formulaic stock expressive of exile theme undergo conspicuous reversals. While most of the formulae that Greenfield describes in his essay are passive constructions laying emphasis on the fact that suffering is inflicted as punishment on the essentially passive subject, many of the constructions that introduce the theme of exile in *Genesis A* appear in active voice, with God as the agent. God, for example, “besloh synsceapan sigore and gewælde, / dome and dugeðe, and dreame benam /his feond, friðo and gefean ealle” [took away the enemy of victory and strength and deprived him of glory and retinue; he took away peace and joy from his foe] (*Genesis A* ll. 55-57). Instead of verses of type A with passive construction with either genitive or instrumental nouns, which Greenfield finds central to Old English exilic imagery, there may mainly be found here verses representing Sievers’s B-type like “dreame benam” [he took away [the enemies’] joys] (*Genesis A* ll. 56) and “æðele bescyrede” [separated them from their native land] (*Genesis A* ll. 63). It would appear that the *Genesis A* poet manipulates the traditional stock so that it suits the hexameral theme of the poem’s exordium, which represents God as the Creator of heaven and earth, angels and humans, and as acting benevolently towards the good, while withdrawing his grace from the sinful.

What also seems to be particularly noteworthy is that the quick pace at which the verse sequence progresses is punctuated by a wide range of vocabulary expressing movement downwards counterpointing the devils’ sudden dramatic re-

<sup>10</sup> Stanley B. Greenfield in his article “Spiritual Exile in *Christ I*” suggests that the verb *hwearfian* (as well as its variants) “is a denominative verb used only, in connection with exiles, of a spiritual aberration (Greenfield 1989: 203).

alisation of defeat. To depict Satan's fall from heaven, the poet frequently reaches for the formulaic sub-theme of movement into exile, described by Stanley B. Greenfield (1989), to highlight the sense of defeat suffered by the devilish host.

Sceof þa and scyrede scyppend ure  
oferhidig cyn engla of heofnum,  
wærleas werod. Waldend sende  
laðwendne here on langne sið,  
geomre gastas; æs him gylp forod,  
beot forborsten, and forbigeð þrym,  
wite gewemmed.

Our Creator rejected and shoved the proud progeny of angels out of heaven, the treacherous people. The ruler dispatched them, the loathful company, on a long journey, the sorrowful demons. His boastful pride was quenched, the stubbornness thwarted, his strength humbled, beauty defiled.

(*Genesis A* ll.65-71)

This passage is embellished with exilic formulae in a highly creative way. While in other Old English poems the formulae conveying the movement in or into exile are often introduced by the reference to the exile's sorrow, in *Genesis A*, it is God's anger at the devilish host that is in the focus. What is more, the verbs of movement that come from the traditional stock are interspersed with clauses that emphasising God's agency in expelling Satan and his companions from heaven.

In *Genesis B*, Satan flaunts God's authority with his plans to raise his own kingdom in the west-northern outskirts of heaven. Satan prides himself on having strength comparable to that of God and on having as many faithful retainers: "Hie habbað me to hearran gecorene, rofe rincas" [they, the valiant warriors, appointed me to be their leader] (*Genesis B* ll.285-286)<sup>11</sup>. Like in *Genesis A*, Satan is expelled to hell for his excessive pride.

While the *Genesis A* poet reaches to the theme of exile to dramatise the episode of Satan's fall from grace, the treatment of the same theme in *Genesis B* can be elucidated by recourse to the wider patristic and Old English traditions, which inform the presentation of Satan as an exile and which the latter poet fuses even more intricately. In Old English religious poetry, the theme of exile is explored in two different ways, both of which are analogous to the Augustinian distinction between living by God's standards and by human standards. The first usage of exile signifies the pilgrimage of the City of God on earth, whilst the second usage applies to the existence in sin. In *De Civitate Dei*, Augustine describes Cain and Abel as founders of two communities: "Scripture tells us that Cain founded a city, whereas Abel, as a pilgrim, did not found one. For the City of the saints is

<sup>11</sup> Henceforth indicated as *Genesis B* followed by verse number. All quotations are from Krapp, G.P. 1931. *The Junius manuscript*. (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.) New York: Columbia University Press. All translations from Old English to modern English are mine.

up above, although it produces citizens below, and in their persons the City is on pilgrimage until the time of its kingdom comes" (*De Civitate Dei* 15.1). These two usages find their echo in two realisations of the theme of exile in Old English poetry. The first type of exile is understood as the pilgrimage signifying wilful renunciation of the world, while the second type of exile refers to the existence in banishment from God as eternal punishment.

The first idea of exile is present in Old English elegies, which are the *loci classici* of exile theme in Old English literature. The speaker in *The Wanderer* self-fashions himself as "eðle biðæled" [deprived of homeland] and "freomæg-gum feor" [far from friends] (*The Wanderer* l. 20; l. 21)<sup>12</sup>. Although in the earlier part of the poem the exile figure seeks an earthly companion, ([ic] sohte seledreorig sinces bryttan /hwær ic feor oþþe neah findan meahte /þone þe in meoduhealle mine wise /oþþe mec freodnleasne frefran wolde [distressed at the loss of the hall, I longed for a place, whether far or near, where I could find a treasure-dispenser who would lead me into a mead-hall or comfort me, bereft of friends], *The Wanderer* ll. 25-28), in the closing lines of it, he seeks "frofre to fæder on heofonum" [comfort from the father in heaven] (*The Wanderer* l. 115). The speaker's state of mind is characterised by longing for eternal joy rather than sorrow resulting from depravation and lack of possessions.

Like the authors of both lyrical poems, the composer of *Genesis B* engages in a rhetorical manipulation of exile theme that fits the overarching religious theme, describing as he does the existence in sin in terms of exile theme. However, what throws *Genesis B* into a sharp relief against other Anglo-Saxon elegiac poetry is the fact that the idea of exile in this poem is an exact inversion of how it is realised in elegies. In contrast to other exiles in Old English poetry, the devils in *Genesis B* are not exactly like the *anhagan* [solitary ones] found in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. Hell in this poem is a crowded world depicted as an anti-city in relation to God's heavenly kingdom. Satan is never separated from his companions, nor are the devils dispersed in hell, although the poet insists that each devil is inflicted pain from a separate flame. In fact, the other devils, especially the tempter whom Satan sends with a mission to instigate Adam and Eve's disobedience in *Genesis B*, accept Satan as their lord and obey his orders. The society of the fallen angels is thus an inversion of the society of the angels blessed in heaven. Satan is an anti-king, the exact inversion, or a parody, of a ruler, whose ideal is represented by God himself in the poem. "Se ofermoda cyn-ing" [the proud king] (*Genesis B* l.338) is from now on called Satan, the enemy, by God, who "het hine þære sweartan helle grundes gyman" [gave him dark hell for governance] (*Genesis B* ll. 345-346).

While *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* explore the theme of exile to depict the human life in Augustinian terms as a pilgrimage to the *dryht* of heaven, the

<sup>12</sup> All the quotations from *The Wanderer* come from Klinck (2001 [1992]).

*Genesis B* poet draws on this formulaic convention to magnify the tropological meaning of the fall as God's withdrawal of grace resulting from the devils' sin. The entire society of the fallen angels suffers from the exilic condition is the exact opposite of the heavenly *dryht* that is depicted at the end of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* as a promise for the audience. While the exile theme in these two lyrical poems inculcates a sense of longing for God and heaven in the audience, the *Genesis B* poet increases a feeling of alienation from heaven and deprivation of the joys and blessing associated with paradise.

Another important addition to the theme of exile in *Genesis B* is the bondage theme. The formulae expressing the idea of bondage foreshadow, by way of typology, the Harrowing of Hell and the final confinement of Satan in hell<sup>13</sup>. The intertwined formulaic themes of bondage and exile in *Genesis B* reflect the soteriological doctrine of the poem.<sup>14</sup> as A. N. Doane points out, the *Genesis B* poet juxtaposes the historical time with the liturgical time, as "the Fall of the Angels took place once and for all, long ago. The binding of Satan takes place again and again in the cycle of the Church year and in the sacraments, each time sin is conquered or covered" (Doane 1991: 136). A. N. Doane argues for the influence of *Descensus* tradition on the poem and claims that Satan powerlessness is the overarching theme of this presentation.<sup>15</sup>

The lament of Satan, who suffers chained in hell, fuses the formulae typical of the exile theme with the imagery of bondage that is used throughout the poem to depict Satan's exilic sojourn in hell:

licgað me ymbe irenbenda,  
 ridedð racentan sal. Ic eom rices leas;  
 habbað me swa hearde helle clommas,  
 fæste befangen.

Around me lay fetters of iron and the bond of chains oppresses me. I am deprived of my kingdom, as the hard fetters of hell have taken a fast hold of me.

(*Genesis B* ll. 371-374)

The A-verses that end the three half-lines provide a sharp contrast to the preceding irregular hypermetric lines and form a conspicuous rhythmic pattern that forges a

<sup>13</sup> Woolf sensed the possible influence of Northern mythology that shaped the conception of the devil in *Genesis B*, as she discovered a number of correspondences to the malignant Scandinavian god Loki.

<sup>14</sup> Firstly, God is once termed "Nergend" (*Genesis B* 1.535), which is a typological reference the Son's redemptive role of the Saviour. What is more, according to John Vickrey, the vision of the throne of God opened to Eve and Adam after their transgression bears a strong resemblance to the visions of Judgement Day (Vickrey 1969: 86).

<sup>15</sup> "The enchained Satan of the Descent motif shows us Satan as he is now, after the Incarnation and Resurrection, rather than an illusory Satan of power" (Doane 1991: 137). Doane shows that the enchainment theme provides for the poem's structural unity: "the combination of *Fall*, *Descent*, and *Last Judgement* which the enchainment puts us in mind of, provides an insight to the fundamental stance of the poem as a whole" (Doane 1991: 137).

strong link between the exile theme and the imagery of bondage<sup>16</sup>. While the phrase “rices leas” [deprived of kingdom/power] looks backwards to the imagery of exile, the two A-verses, “ic eom rices leas” [I am destitute of kingdom/power] and “helleclommas” [hell-fetters] anticipate the imagery of bondage and the reference to “helledora” [the gates of hell] (*Genesis B* ll. 380). The poet conflates the theme of grace lost by sin with the theme of bondage to explore the anagogical sense of the fall.

The extant Old English poetry was under the influence of the Christian theology, which seems to have had a particular impact on the exilic sub-theme of destitution. In the other Christian poems that explore the theme of exile, notably *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, the wealth from which the exiles are cut off is charged with tropological significance, as their destitution indicates that they have turned away from transitory values, and anagogical significance, as it makes it evident that they seek admittance to the heavenly *dryht*. In *Genesis B* (as well as in *Genesis A*), however, Satan’s destitution from heaven signifies, by way of tropology, his changed ontological status from the angel of light to the devil and enemy, the change that signifies his moral lapse. Also, the imagery of binding foreshadows the ultimate binding of the devil on the Judgment Day and represents the anagogical meaning of Satan’s representation as an exile<sup>17</sup>.

*Elene*, ascribed to Cynewulf on account of his runic signature appended to its closing section, is based on the *Inventio Crucis* legend. Despite its modern editorial title, it is not Elene, Emperor Constantine’s mother, but Judas who is the protagonist of the poem, the poem’s action being primarily concerned with his conversion. After his prompt conversion to Christianity that followed his victory over pagan enemies, Constantine dispatches his mother to Jerusalem with a mission to find the relic of the holy cross. When she confronts the Jews, a man called Judas turns out to be the only one among the Jews who preserves the memory of Crucifixion. He is unwilling to reveal the place where the cross has been lying buried for many generations. Under the threat of starvation, he converts and helps Elene uncover the cross.

When the True Cross is discovered, the devil makes a sudden appearance and approaches Judas<sup>18</sup> with a lamentation. He claims that Judas has come to forfeit his rightful possession.

<sup>16</sup> The connection between the exile theme and the imagery of bondage is analysed by Thomas Rendal in his article “Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Poetry” (1974). Rendal locates the *Descensus* tradition as the source for the metaphorical language of bondage that permeates the representation of sinner-exiles in Anglo-Saxon poetry. His discussion is devoted to the *Advent*, *Exodus* and *Andreas*. However, he also finds a connection between the imagery of bondage and the soteriological doctrines in these poems.

<sup>17</sup> In contrast to heaven, however, hell is a place of confinement. As in other Old English poems, especially *Juliana* and *Elene* discussed below, hell is a narrow place: “ænga styde” (l. 356).

<sup>18</sup> Jackson J. Campbell notes the irony of Judas’ name is heightened in the scene that show his flitting with the Devil by Christological parallels, since “one Judas gave hope to the devil and this Judas takes it away” (Campbell 2001 [1972]: 243).

Hwæt is þis, la, manna, þe minne eft  
 þurh fyrngflit folgaþ wyrdeð,  
 iceð ealdne nið, æhta strudeð?  
 þis is singal sacu. Sawla ne moton  
 manfremmende in minum leng  
 æhtum wunigan. Nu cwom elþeodig,  
 þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,  
 hafað mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,  
 feohgestreona. Nis dæt fæger sið.  
 Feala me se hælend hearma gefremede,  
 niða nearolicra, se ðe in Nazareð  
 afede was.<sup>19</sup>

Who is this man? He has revived the old enmity and has come to destroy my retinue and is depriving me of my possessions. There is an ever-ending war. *The evil-disposed souls will not for long remain in my custody.* A stranger has come; I accounted him adamant in sin. But he has deprived me of all my rights and treasures. It is not the first time that the Saviour, raised in Nazareth, has done harm to me.

(*Elene* ll.902-910)

The theme of devil's rights is already implied in the source and the devil's cry "Quis iterum hic est, qui non permittit me suscipere animas meorum? O Jesu Nazaree: omnes traxisti as te" [Who is it that will not allow me to receive my souls for the second time?. O Jesus of Nazereth, You have drawn all to Yourself] (*Acta Cyriaci*), but in *Elene* it is reinforced and amplified. The devil at first found Judas a mere sinner to be tempted and lured into sin. The devil approaches Judas, who in his spiritual defiance, imitates Christ as *Miles Christi*.

The influence of *The Gospel of Nichodemus* tradition on *Elene* was already noted by Earl R. Anderson, who concentrates in his analysis on the following three similarities: "the devil's observation of Jesus during his ministry on earth, the binding of the devil, and the devil's rights theory" (Anderson 1983: 138). It should be noted here that the devil's self-representation contains some echoes of the exile theme and that the reminiscences of the native poetic tradition contribute to the poem's imaginative representation of the devil in a way that evokes the biblical poems discussed before. The theme that the poem takes from *Descensus* tradition, which reflects Augustinian theory of redemption, is the transfer of rule over humanity from the devil to Christ. The theme is explored in the poem with recourse to the metaphor of spoliation of enemy and the Cynewulf's frequent paronomasia of *rod* 'cross' and *rodor* 'heaven' and, finally, Cynewulf's formulaic diction that often relies on exile and bondage theme.

Anderson observes that the devil's complaint "uses the metaphor of the harrowing of hell as a spoliation of retainers after a conflict and alludes to the cap-

<sup>19</sup> Henceforth indicated as *Elene* followed by verse number. All quotations are from Gradon, P.O.E. 1958. Cynewulf's *Elene*. (Methuen's Old English Library. London. All translations from Old English to modern English are mine.

tive souls as *aeht*, [possessions] (Anderson 1983: 144). The idea of the devil as a despoiled prince links him intertextually to other typical representations of Satan defeated by God and his displacement from heaven to hell. The devil's perversity in *Elene*, as well as in the poem's discussed earlier, is a mimetic performance.<sup>20</sup> In line with the Anglo-Saxon poetic hexameral tradition, *Elene* depicts the devil's self-fashioning as rival king, who wills to displace God from his kingship over the universe. The devil is depicted in ironic terms throughout the poem. Cynewulf uses compounds that on the one hand are based on the traditional formulaic idea of *frea* [lord] and *brytta* [lord/giver] and yet is careful to distinguish the devil's lordship (now lost to him) from Christ's kingship. The devil is "manfrea" [the ruler of crime], while Christ is "myhtiga cyning" [the mighty king] (*Elene* l. 941). The devil is also described as "synne bryttan" [the distributor of sins] (*Elene* l. 957; *bryttan* being the accusative form of *brytta*). More than this, the middle earth is described as the kingdom of Christ. The devil describes Christ not as a saviour, but as a competing king: "Is his rice brad ofer middangeard. Min is geswiðrod ræd under roderum. Ic þa rode ne þearf hleahtre herigeam" [His kingdom is broad on the surface of the middle-earth, while my authority is shrinking. I feel no urge to praise the cross with exultation] (*Elene* ll 916-919). To Cynewulf's audiences, the verses must have suggested a powerful intertextual correspondence to other formulaic representation of Satan as a defeated lord.

Apart from this, these verses contain an intratextual references to the paronomasia in *Elene*'s statement "þu me, eorla hleo, þone æðelan beam, rode rodera cininges ryhte getehtesð" [you, the protector of princes, have revealed to me the noble wood, the cross of the king of heavens] (*Elene* ll. 1073-1074) and blessing that comes before the word *finit* in the manuscript that "sie þara manna gehwam behliden helle duru... þe on gemynd nime ... rode under roderum" [may the doors of hell be closed to those, who keep the memory of the cross under the firmament] (*Elene* ll. 1228-1234).<sup>21</sup> In the poem, the middle-earth is depicted as the place of contention between *Ecclesia* and the devil. As the devil threatens to establish another pagan Augustus on the Roman throne to follow Constantine.<sup>22</sup> Historically, the Emperor Julian the Apostate is meant here. Typologically, Julian is to play the role of *hostis antiquus* opposed to *Ecclesia Militans*, who is

<sup>20</sup> As A.N. Doane notices about Satan in *Genesis B*, Satan does not want to replace God, but become like Him and "his deepest thought of glory is but a secondary and mimetic dependency of God" (Doane 1991: 120). Doane identifies two themes that govern the action of *Genesis B*: "the real weakness of evil, its inability to do anything without God, and the self-delusion of mistaking any power one has one's own" (Doane 1991: 120).

<sup>21</sup> The phonological similarity of *rod* "cross" and *rodor* [heaven/firmament] is studied by Earl R. Anderson in *Cynewulf: Structure, Style, and Theme in His poetry* (Anderson 1983: 106).

<sup>22</sup> As Anderson notes, Cynewulf introduces the theme of Christus Augustus in *Elene* (Anderson 1983: 137).

symbolically represented in the poem by Elene.: “ic awecce wið ðe [referring to Judas] oðerne cyning, se ehteð thin, ond he forlæteð lare þine ond man-þeawum minum folgaþ” [I will awake another king, who will forsake your teachings, following my evil habits instead] (*Elene* ll. 926-929).

Another vernacular addition made to the source is the allusion to the devil’s exilic sojourn in hell. As in *Genesis B*, the devil is fettered and confined in hell imagined as narrow and constricted place. The devil laments that “se Hælend me in þam engan ham oft getynde, geomrum to sorge” [the Saviour have often enclosed me inside the constricted house again, as a sorrow to the sad ones] (ll. 919-921). Hell is also described as *anga* in *Genesis B*. The *enga ham* is the place of torment, where punishment is meted out to *geomrum to sorge*. Greenfield identifies the adjective *geomor* as one of those conventionally used to indicate the exilic figure’s state of mind.

In *Juliana*, another poem that is ascribed to Cynewulf, is found a complex and imaginative exploration of Germanic heroic code. It has been noted that Cynewulf uses the heroic formulaic language to define the pagan world of Juliana’s adversaries (Schneider 1978: 107). In fact, the heroic form of the poem also underscores the theme of *Miles Christi*, as the poem’s protagonist, St. Juliana of Nicomedia, is described as “metodes cempan” (*Juliana* l. 383). The nameless devil, who approaches the imprisoned Juliana in the central part of the poem, is Satan’s messenger disguised as an angel of light. Satan himself in the poem is invariably described as king. His kingship, however, is clothed in ironic terms. The devil calls Satan his father and “hell-warena cyning”<sup>23</sup> [the king of hell-dwellers] (*Juliana* l. 321). Satan is described as a lord, but the text heightens the ironic discrepancy between Christ, whom Juliana has earlier described with a polyptoton as “cyninga cyning” (*Juliana* l. 289), and the ruler of hell, whom the devil describes as not mild to his subjects at all (“ne biþ us frea milde” [he is not a mild lord] *Juliana* l. 327). In Old English poetry, a good ruler is invariably called mild, as is Moses in the biblical poem *Exodus* extant in Junius Manuscript and the eponymous hero of *Beowulf* at the closing section of the poem. Satan is “egesful ealdor” [a terrifying king] as are many kings in Anglo-Saxon poetry. However, Scyld Scefing in *Beowulf* is terrifying to people other than his own. In *Juliana*, the devil comes across as a comic figure and a pawn afraid of his own lord. His lord, the king of hell, implicitly Satan, is termed “morþres man-frea” [the evil-lord of murder] (*Juliana* l. 546). In the poem, the imagery of royal power is applied to Satan, while exile imagery characterises the devil dispatched by him to torment Juliana. The devil describes himself as “earmne” [wretched] (*Juliana* l. 364). Although the immediate context of the word is not thematically

<sup>23</sup> Henceforth indicated as *Juliana* followed by verse number. All quotations are from Krapp, G.P. 1931. *The Junius manuscript*. (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.) New York: Columbia University Press. All translations from Old English to modern English are mine.

linked to exile, the word is frequently in Old English poetry to suggest the exilic figure's state of mind.

As Satan's kingship is the inversion of Christ's kingship, so is the society of the devil an inverted image of the *Civitas Dei*. Exile theme is approached by the poet not just to give a poignant portrait of the devils and sinners' existence in hell, but, first and foremost, to render the hell a topological representation of an earthly community given to the perpetuation of transitory material values. Satan's longing for treasure is juxtaposed to the renunciation of material values that characterises the monastic community, which was most probably the target audience of the poem. While the devil is named "wraecca wærleas" [faithless exile] (*Juliana* l. 351), Juliana rejects the advances of the pagan Heliseus and despises his wealth.

The prison, into which Juliana is thrown, gathers contrasting ideas of exile and pilgrimage mentioned in the context of *Genesis B*. For the devil, the prison is the place, where he has to acknowledge his spiritual destitution and the inexorable fate of the spiritual exile. For Juliana, it is a place, where she makes the ultimate statement of her renunciation of the worldly values. The devil is exiled from heaven, to where Juliana is on pilgrimage. Juliana's elective exile from the earthly *dryht* represented in the poem by her father Africanus and the betrothed Heliseus.

Certain parallels between the central part of the poem and the Harrowing tradition can be listed. Hell, Satan's kingdom, is a narrow and constricted dwelling, "engan ham" (*Juliana* l. 322, the adjective here has the dative singular ending). The prison, in which Juliana confronts the devil, is described as *enge* [narrow] as well; Heliseus orders "Iulianan of þam engan hofe gelaedan" [to lead Juliana out of the constricted prison] (*Juliana* ll. 531-532). What is more, the devil hopes she is another mortal to be converted from God. Most importantly, the devil says that Juliana, defeating him, has defeated Satan himself: "þu oferswīpdest þone snotrestan under hlin-scuān hel-warena cyning in feonda byrig; þæt is faeder user, morþres man-frea" [you overcame the wisest king of hell-dwellers in the prison] (*Juliana* ll. 543-546). The prison in which Juliana's spiritual warfare took place is here called "feonda byring" [the borough of enemies], that is hell. The fact that the devil calls Satan "morþres man-frea" [the evil-lord of murder] (*Juliana* l. 546) sharply juxtaposes Satan's role of the tempter to the redemptive and life-giving role played by Christ.

The final parallel with the Harrowing imagery is the theme of bondage. Like in *Genesis B*, the juxtaposition of exile and pilgrimage is reinforced by the iconography of binding strongly associated with the characterisation of the devil in the poem. This theme is of typological significance in *Juliana*, who binds the devil with fetters, as it renders saint into a type of Christ. Both Juliana and the devil are imitators of Christ; while Juliana imitates Him as his type, the devil's imitation consists in his existence in a parody of heavenly *dryht*. .

In Anglo-Saxon England, this ironic treatment of the devil was possible through imaginative refurbishing of the ancient formulaic stock of poetic formulas. The present analysis studied the language of Anglo-Saxon poetry as far from fossilised. On the contrary, it appears that poets carefully adopted the repetitive and conventional themes to express novel cultural values. Although formulae seem to dominate over expression to an extent that might reflect the waning of Old English poetry brought about the advent of Christianity, the opposite must be stated in line with the close reading of Anglo-Saxon poetry offered here. The characterisation of the devil in Old English poetry reflects the attitude towards the vernacular language and it seems that the poetic works analysed here bear witness to the Old English poetic *koine* in the making.

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During the early 13th century, romances were increasingly written as prose. In later romances, particularly those of French origin, there is a marked tendency to emphasize themes of courtly love, such as faithfulness in adversity. The tales combine elements of the Old Testament with the birth of Merlin, whose magical origins are consistent with those told by Robert de Boron (Merlin as the son of a devil and a human mother who repents her sins and is baptized). The Vulgate Cycle was revised in the 13th century, much was left out and much was added. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight was written in Middle English in the late 14th-century and is one of the best known Arthurian stories. The Roman de la Rose is a medieval French poem styled as an allegorical dream vision. The Exiled Prince is downloadable content for Dragon Age II, included in the signature edition or available separately from the Xbox Live Marketplace, PlayStation Network, and BioWare's site for the PC. It can be played at any time after reaching Kirkwall in the main campaign. Adventure alongside Sebastian Vael, an archer of noble birth, as he seeks revenge for the brutal murder of his family. Aid him in his quest and direct his righteous wrath on your enemies. Sebastian is a full companion character

The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of "Exile" in Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Article. Apr 1955. between the female body and the body politic. In its questioning of Spain's official history, it joins similar scholarship published the same year: Barbara Fuchs's Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain, and Daniela Flesler's The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration. In its chronological scope and its intended readership, however, it is significantly more ambitious.