CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION IN EARLY ENGLISH HOMILIES:
STUDIES ON THE VOCABULARY OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN OLD ENGLISH WRITINGS AND IN THE ORMULUM

TWO VOLUMES - VOLUME TWO

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRESENTATION OF THE MILES CHRISTI FIGURE IN THE ORMULUM
In the following chapters, I propose to show, through elaborate illustration, the nature and extent of Orm's distinctive word cluster with which the figure of the Miles Christi is presented. The ensuing comparison of the figure in the Ormulum with that evidenced from OE homilies and lives of saints, established in the previous chapters, will seek to demonstrate how, in doctrinal terms, there is a large measure of agreement between the two. Furthermore, I will suggest that through the persistent use of certain words and phrases, Orm relied as heavily as did earlier English writers on the image complex presented in Ad Ephesios VI.1lff, an identification which underlines the force of literary convention in identical and nearly-related genres and, as a consequence, provides a solid basis for the detailed examination of particular emphases in the text of the Ormulum. At the same time, I shall draw attention to the prominence of the related theme of the Christus Miles in Orm's homilies which, when viewed in relation to the predilection of OE writers for this particular aspect of martial imagery, may be said to complement the estimate of Orm's attachment to established emphases in native homily writing and his willingness to exploit such emphases. It is furthermore pertinent to lay stress here on the applicability of the evidence gathered in the latter part of the first chapter. Through selective illustration, I tried to show there that Orm's linguistic formulation of favoured
imagery was built on conventional elements of OE homiletic expression and that these elements were invested with a stricter, more rigid, syntactical identity. By extension, in the chapters that follow, attention to Orm's compositional procedures in the elucidation of the concept of spiritual warfare will show how he, with evident self-conscious pioneering sense, sought to bring his mutated form of language - its changed syntax and lexis - into recognizable conformity with OE homiletic vernacular standards.

In broad terms, this approach highlights the fusion of Latin and English elements in Orm's work and complements the findings of the earlier examination of his 'Englishness' expressed directly in his Dedication (Dickins & Wilson, 11.6-8), and revealed indirectly in his concern for linguistic and orthographic clarity, in his conscious manipulation of standard features of OE homiletic idiom, as opposed to his marked reliance on foreign models both for verse form and doctrinal content.

Superimposed on these areas of general agreement are the conclusions which may reasonably be inferred, from the close study of the precise make-up of Orm's verbal patterns, about the changing identity of the Miles Christi in his work. Several avenues of approach have been considered useful here. In the first place I claim that, whereas it was primarily for saints, martyrs and monks that OE writers reserved this figure, the Ormulum confers on each man the elevated code of conduct associated with the soldier of God, thus reflecting a significant shift in emphasis. Simultaneously, I will argue that there is a perceptible modification in the presentation of the Miles Christi in relation to the force of his martial stance. Whereas OE homilists and hagiographers cast their soldiers of God in firmly passive, non-
aggressive roles, there is, in the *Ormulum*, a tendency to invest the figure with a marked outward-going, offensive nature which shares considerably more ground with the secular, literal basis of the metaphor than was generally observed in the compositional techniques adopted by OE writers.

In support of this development, I intend to focus on two important trends in the metaphorical make-up of the figure in the *Ormulum*. First, I shall draw attention to the subsidiary theme of 'treading down' and show how it is both systematically employed (as all aspects of Orm's treatment of the figure are) and how it is skilfully interwoven into the existing, more conventional lexical characteristics of the *Miles Christi*. From an assessment of its contribution to the other, better known aspects of the image, I then suggest that, on the level of literal meaning, it is the most inappropriate addition to the traditional conception of the soldier of God, and that its presence generates sufficient tension in its metaphorical application as to strengthen, rather than subvert, the literal realization of the meaning of the other significant elements in the image complex.

Second, I propose to examine the favoured terminology in the *Ormulum* and, on the basis of the procedure adopted for the OE corpus, argue that those discriminatory and qualificatory procedures adhered to by OE writers were largely abandoned or ignored by Orm. I will deal with the interaction of the various aspects of his terminology, noting the marked paucity of terms evocative of a defensive attitude, the infrequent spiritual qualification of overtly secular vocabulary and, in general, the tendency for the various elements of his imagistic language to move towards a realization, rather than a redirection, of the secular analogue.
I intend to widen the area of comparison by making use of the descriptions of martial activity in two important works of contemporary date to the *Ormulum*. I will draw upon the relevant entries in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, treating them, as had been done with the earlier Chronicle texts, as repositories of secular, and essentially neutral, descriptions of military activity, in order to show that Orm's verbal synthesis of the *Miles Christi* coincides to an appreciable degree with the language most readily associated with conventional battle description in historical prose.

The usefulness and admissibility of this comparative process will then be extended and re-inforced through reference to compatible passages from La3amon's *Brut* which, although less closely related to the *Ormulum* in terms of dialect and provenance than the *Peterborough Chronicle*, is nevertheless a valuable source of descriptions of military encounters and similarly displays sustained use of vocabulary common, not only to the *Peterborough Chronicle*, but also to the *Ormulum*.

Finally, I shall return to the significance of the virtual absence of *oferswidan* in the *Ormulum* and in all other *EME* works, and the correspondingly complete application of *EME ofercumen*, attempting thereby to trace the semantic interaction of these terms and to offer reasons why this most crucial of *OE* terms in the presentation of the concept of spiritual warfare was universally discarded, while the image of which it had formed an integral part continued, by contrast, to be vigorously exploited.
Notwithstanding its length and intended comprehensiveness, the Ormulum displays real thematic emphasis, and perhaps nowhere more plainly than in the presentation of the Christian life as a struggle with the devil. Thematically it is instructive to study because sufficient references are available to establish verbal patterns of the several aspects of the theme which are emphasised — verbal patterns which take on the status of systems since they are the work of one author who clearly favours a specific range of vocabulary. Furthermore, such systems, once they have been identified and contrasted with earlier verbal patterns in OE writings, provide the necessary means of assessing, on the one hand Orm's reception of and, on the other, his contribution to a stable and well-established metaphorical complex. As with OE homilists and hagiographers, Orm's consistent reliance on a nucleus of terms for the presentation of the *Miles Christi* confers on those terms a special identity and invites a consideration of their semantic force in their habitual interaction with each other.

The best way of indicating the precise range of Orm's favoured terminology is to cite exhaustively the various aspects of the theme which he presents. In the next section, I shall deal with the incidence of the figure of the *Christus Miles*; here I will illustrate other areas covered by the image.

One prominent aspect of the range of teaching which Orm offers on man's life conceived of in terms of spiritual combat is the role which
God's angels play. In the Dedication,Orm reviews briefly the most significant events in Christ's ministry within the framework of the seven ways in which man has benefited from it. Speaking of the Ascension and the coming of the Holy Spirit, he says:

Pe sexte ḡod uss hafepp don
Pe laferrd crist onn erpe,
Furrh ṭatt he stah forr ure ḡod
Upp inntill heffness blisse,
7 sennde sippenn haliʒ cast
Till hiss lerninnzonihtess,
To fofreynn 7 to beldeynn hemm
To stanndeynn 3an Ȝe defell,
To ņifenn hemm ḡod witt inoh
Off all hiss hailʒhe lare,
To ņifenn hemm ḡod lusst, ḡod mahht,
To polenn alle wawenn,
All forr ṭe lufe off ḡodd, 7 nohht
Forr erʒliʒ loff to winnenn.

(Dedication, 231-44)

in which the elements of strength and resistance, comfort, encouragement and the willing acceptance of suffering in God’s name are fused to produce a statement which is conventional in both tone and content.

Several other passages dealing with angelic help establish firmly the martial nucleus of the metaphor. In the first fitt, Orm expounds on Gabriel’s visitation to Zachary and the prophecy of the birth of John the Baptist, (Luc. I.5-22). Focusing attention on the reported fact that Zachary took fright at the sight of the angel, Orm introduces this statement on the confrontation of devil and man in the spiritual struggle, and the beneficial effects of angels’ assistance:

Forr ure wrecche kinde iss swillo
Catt ıt maʒʒ ben forrfɛrrɛdd,
3iff ıtatt ıt ohht ʃawlike sep
Pe ʍite ʃʃ off ennglekinde.
7 ʃoddess enngell iss full mec,
7 milde, 7 sofftə, 7 blişe,
To beldeynn 7 to fofreynn ɻe,
3iff he ɻe ʃeʃ forrɡloppmedd.
Acc defell iss, patt witt tu wel,
Off grimme 7 nip full herrte;
Forr siff he sep Patt mann iss ohht
Forr færredd off hisse siihpe,
He wile himm færrenn, siff he ma33,
7 skerrenn mar 7 mare.
Ac whas itt iss patt wæspnedd iss
Wipp fulle trowwe o criste,
Pohh patt he se pe lape ðæast,
Niss he rihht nohht forrfærred.

(11. 663-80)

In a later homily on Luc. II. 1-15 in the fifth fitt, Orm derives universal significance from the appearance of angels to the watching shepherds at Bethlehem:

Itt tacnep pe patt ure ȝodd. Well offte sendepp enngless.
Inn till piss middall wrd. tatt iss. All full off þeasternesse:
Patt iss off all Þ ifell iss; Inn alle kinne sinnen.
Itt tacnep Þ he sendepp hemm; Inn till piss þeasternesse.
To frofrenn þa Þ wakenn wel; Onnȝawess lape ðæastess.
7 stannenn inn to shiledenn hemm; Fra defless swikedomess.
7 all Þ floco Þ hemm iss sett; To ȝemenn. 7 to ðæstenn.
To frofrenn swillke sendepp ȝodd. Enngless. 7 halliche sawless.
7 a33 þe33 cumenn dun till þa; Wipp heffness lihht. 7 leme.
Patt iss wipp witt. 7 ȝodd innsiht; Inn alle kinne pinæ.
Forr drihhtin sifep þor hisse þeww; ȝodd witt. 7 maht. 7 wille.
To stannenn þan þe lape ðæast. 7 þan all Þ he laþepp.

(11. 3784-807; as Hall, Selections, I. 114)

Once again, prompted by the fear which seized the shepherds at the sight of the vision, Orm constructs an elaborate statement on devilish attack in which the martial basis of the metaphor is strikingly evident:

Forr ȝoddess enngell frofrepp mann; sifp Þ he sep himm færred.
Forr ȝoddess enngell iss full mec; 7 soffe. 7 milde. 7 blipe.
7 defell iss all full off nip; 7 full off Grammcunndnesse.
7 full off hete towardd mann; 7 full off modi3nesse.
7 siff he sep þe mann forrdredd; He wile himm skerrenn mare.
7 rafenn himm hisse rihtes witt; 7 shetenn inn hisse herre.
Acc whas itt iss Þ wæspnedd iss; Wipp fulle trowwe o criste,
Pohh Þ he grisliþ defell se. Niss he riht nokht forrfærred.

(11. 3528-43; as Hall, Selections, I. 114)
In this passage, the climax of the devil's attack comes with the statement *shetenn in hiss herrte* (3839). In the Glossary (White-Holt, II.516), the editors give as the meaning of *shetenn inn* the phrase 'to shut up, harden?' and cite OE *scyttan* as its equivalent, pointing to Alfric's use of the latter term in his rendition of Latin *observerare* in his Grammar. But on phonological and orthographic grounds, OE *scyttan* is unlikely to have given rise to Orm's *shetenn*, and Hall, in his edition of this extract of the homily, confidently asserted that *shetenn* 'represents *sceotan*, meaning to shoot into his heart, to inflict a deadly wound'. Thus this passage displays a brief, unelaborated reference to the image of the arrows of the devil, an image which was often extensively exploited by OE homilists. Further, this is the only example of the allusion in the Ormulum; while the statistic suggests that this element of the metaphor was no longer considered to be worthy of exploitation, it should be noted that Orm introduces the idea in a casual manner, supplying no additional explanatory material or attempting to extend the metaphorical play. Such an allusion, in the work of a homilist obsessed with clarity in all aspects of composition, argues that the significance of the devil's darts was so perfectly understood that the merest verbal reference - as in *shetenn inn* - was considered adequate for the realization of the intended didacticism.

A measure of support for this view can be derived, first in general terms, from its popularity with OE writers and its conspicuous inclusion, in the phrase *omnia tela nequissimi ignea*, by St. Paul in *Ad Ephesios VI.16*; it can also be favourably compared with this comment on Eleusius's illicit infatuation with Juliana at the beginning of the EME prose life of Seinte Iuliene.
Eleusius is clearly portrayed here as the servant of the devil; his 'love' is not merely misplaced, it leads to the persecution of the saint and her martyrdom. The inclusion of the terms iwundet and flan in this extract immediately call to mind the notion of the wounds of sin and the image of the devil's darts as the outward manifestation of man's temptation. Eleusius is besotted with sin, and it is therefore extremely likely that, in this case, the well-established image has been successfully revitalized and accommodated to the prevalent ironic mode. The statement immediately characterises Eleusius as one who is susceptible to moral turpitude, and it seems probable that only in conditions in which the image of the omnia tela nequissimi ignea was capable of almost automatic reception by an audience well versed in conventional religious imagery, could it be so successfully and effectively refashioned.

Traditionally, the image of the darts of the devil is a powerful expression of man's susceptibility to temptation. Transgression of the law of God, as Ælfric had plainly stated, results from man's willingness to comply with illicit desires; temptation is external to man, but his sin, his willingness to be tempted successfully, results from his own internal weakness. The traditional teaching is perfectly understood byOrm. In fitt six, he expounds on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Among them:
Here, the person of the devil is identified with *flæshess lusstess* and the necessity for the willing acceptance of misery and suffering is again stressed.

The basic attributes of the *Miles Christi* in suffering gladly for God are passivity and patience. In common with earlier homilists, *Orm* has a good deal to say on the importance of patience in spiritual combat. A striking instance of the integration of the concept to the martial theme comes in this lengthy appreciation of Mary:

```
Forr 3ho wass god utnumenn113,
7 milde 7 mec 7 blipe,
3a toward godd, 3a toward mann,
Onn alle kinne wise.
7 3ho wass full off sopfasst pild
To polenn 7 to drejenn
Wipp sop mecle33c, wipp witt, wipp skill,
Ille sellpe 7 ilic unnsellpe.
7 tu miht witen Patt 3ho wass
Full wel off pild bifundenn;
Forr niss nan mahht riht god inoh
Biforeenn godess e3hne,
Butt iff itt be jurrh pildess gold
All full wel oferrgilded.
Forr pild birrp ben wipp iwhillc mahht
To beidenn itt 7 strengenn,
Swa patt itt mu3he ben till uss
God wapenn 3am pe defell,
Patt afre 7 afre stannde3pp inn
To screekkenn ure sawless,
To don uss to forrgilltenn uss
3am god o sume wise.

(11.2599-620)
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After stressing the necessity of patience as a prerequisite of suffering, Orm states that it should be regarded as an integral part of all virtue - *iwhillic mahht* -; their association produces a God *wæppenn* in the spiritual fight. This association of *mahht* and *wæppenn*, which may be said to highlight the notion of 'strength, power' inherent in *mahht*, is evidenced a little later in the following homily in a passage which lists the virtues man must necessarily have to defeat the devil:

...godess þéww birrp habbenn her
A33 sopfasst læfe o criste,
7 sopfasst hi3, 7 hope onn himm,
7 sopfasst lufe o bæpe,
O drihhtin 7 onn iwhillic mann
I þohht, i word, i dede.
Forr wha sitt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
Wipp þise þrinne mahhtess,
Þatt illke mann iss stighenn wel
Upp inntill he3he muntess,
7 he ma33 stanndenn wel onn3m
Pe defell wipp swillc wæppenn.

(11.2775-86)

In fitt six, Orm discusses at great length the virtues which are pleasing to God and illustrates the efficacy of patience through reference to Job who, but for the firmness of faith in God, would have despaired:

7 3et bilammp himm operr wa
Þatt mare mihtte himm e33lenn,
3iff þatt he nære wæpnedd wel
Þurrh þild onn3m unnsellōe.

(11.4766-69)

Referring to his bodily suffering, Orm says:

Her wass unnsellēe unnride inch
Till an mann forr to dre3henn;
7 3iff þatt he þurrh sopfasst þild
Wæpnedd full wel ne wäre,
He munnde ben full drer13 mann,
7 serrhfull inn hiss herrte

(11.4784-89)
These verbal elements are slightly refashioned by Orm to produce this repetition of the teaching soon afterwards:

He munnde ben full dreriȝ mann
7 serrhfull inn hiss herrte,
3iff patt he nære wæpnedd wel
Pūrrh sopfaast pildess wæppenn.
Acc he wass wæpnedd wel pūrrh gōdd
Onnʒæness illé unnellje.

(11.4804-09)

Finally, after drawing attention to Job's resolve to accept misery from God as gladly as he did happiness, Orm styles him drihtiness "kemmpe iob (4832)."

Orm dwells on the example of Job and directs its teaching immediately to his audience. The actions of other biblical figures are similarly regarded as exemplary and are invariably cast in martial terms. For instance, Orm explains Gabriel's words to Zachary to the effect that many men will have cause for rejoicing at the birth of John the Baptist, (Luc. I.14):

Forr patt he wass pé firstre mann
Patt brohte word onn erpe,
Patt mannkinn sholde newenn ben
Utlesedd fra pé defell,
7 winnenn heffness kinedom
Pūrrh clene līfess wæppenn.

(11.797-802)

In the homily on the Temptation in the desert, in fitt fifteen, Orm announces the significance of Christ's fast and spiritual struggle even before he begins to treat the pericope systematically. He states that Christ went voluntarily to be tempted:

Forr patt he wollde swawenn swa
All mannkinn pūrrh hiss bīsne
Hu crīstess hirde - crīstene folc
Birrp fīhhtenn ʒon pé defell,
To winnen sige 7 oferrhand,
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.

(11.11417-422)

He elaborates immediately and draws attention to the dangers of the devil's designs:

To shæwenn swa þatt cristess þæw, 
Affterr þatt he bép fullhtnedd, 
Shall hafenn rihtt inch to don 
To stanndenn þæm þæ defell, 
3iff he shall mæ3henn þæmenn himm 
Fæ defless dærne wíless;
Fürr affterr þatt te mann iss shadd 
All ðwerrt ut fra þæ defell 
þurrh fulluhht, 7 þurrh cristenn-dom, 
7 þurrh þæ rihtte læfe, 
þærafterr iss þæ lappe gast 
3ærnfull wipp all hisse mahhte, 
To winnenn efft tatt illke mann 
þurrh þatt he shall himm brinngenn onn 
To don summ hæfedd sinne, 
All hisse pænkkess, all unnnedd, 
All att hisse flæsshess wille.

(11.11441-458)

The admonition which follows is compounded of precisely the same verbal elements:

Us þæ birrde all erpliʒ þing forrsen 
To winnenn it þurrh sinne, 
7 æ33 us þæ birrde ben forrlistt 
Affterr þæ blisse off heffne, 
7 æfre fihhtenn þæm þæ flæsh 
7 þæm þæ flæshess lusstess, 
þæ mihte we þæ lappe gast 
Wippstanndenn 7 wippseggen, 
7 winnenn sige 7 oferrhand 
Off himm wipp cristess hellpe.

(11.11473-482)

In fitt twenty, in the homily on Nicodemus (Ioan. III.1-15, 16-21), Orm constructs a forceful martial image from the exploitation of the etymological meaning of the pharisee's name, relating its significance to the conversion of Israel and, by implication, to the foundation of the Church itself:
Elsewhere, the instruction is more direct, yet based continuously on the concept of the Christian life as spiritual combat. In fitt six, Orm devotes special attention to the series of prayers enclosed in the Pater Noater. In response to the words *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem* (Matth. VI.13; Luc. XI.4), he says:

```
Pe sexte bêde ðatt mann bitt
Upo ðe paterr nossterr
Patt iss, ðatt godd ne þole nohht
Ne þafe lape gastess
To winnenn oferrhannd off uss
Purrh here lape wiless;
Forr whase winnepp oferrhannd
7 sîse off lape gastess,
He shall ben crunedd purrh drihhtin
Inn eche lifess blisse.
```

(11. 5453-63)

in which victory over the devil is said to be rewarded with the crown of everlasting life. The statement is conventional, the terminology a mixture of established and new elements. The crown of glory in OE homilies and lives of saints is announced as the *wuldorbeag*; in the *Ormulum*, the verb *crunedd* fulfills the function. Derived ultimately from Latin *coronare*, the ENE usage of *crunedd* in the *Ormulum*, paralleled by the statement that Christ:
crunede his icorene þe deð dreken,  
occer eni neowcin.

(Mack, Seinte Warharet,  
P.2, 11.20-21).

derives directly from AF corunor. Whereas, however, the incidence  
of French words in the Katherine Group texts is by no means uncommon,  
Orm's crunedd is a rare example of Romance influence.

In the Temptation homily,Orm presents a vivid picture of man's weakness to evil even while in church:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{þatt defell hafepp} & \text{ mahhte} \\
\text{To cumenn inntill} & \text{ godess hus} \\
7 \text{ inntill hall3hedd} & \text{ kirrke,} \\
7 \text{ forrpi birr} & \text{ þe wznedd ben} \\
\text{3en himm e3jwær} & \text{ enn orpe}, \\
\text{To shildenn} & \text{ þe wipp all hiss lap} \\
\text{Þurrh sopfasst hope} & \text{ 7 trówwe}.
\end{align*}
\]

(11.11882-888)

The same piece provides lengthy instruction on the means through which  
Satan both caused Adam to sin and tempted Christ, and how Christ over-  
came his evil by the same means. The focus of Orm's attention is the  
catalogue of vices: gluternesse, ġredi3nesse and modi3nesse:

\[
\begin{align*}
7 \text{ her icc wile shawenn} & \text{ þuw} \\
\text{Whatt gâte he wann eve} & \text{ 7 adam} \\
\text{Þurrh þise prinne wappen,} \\
7 \text{ ec hu crist himm offerroom} \\
\text{Wipp all þatt illonke wappen,} \\
\text{Þurrh gluternesse wass adam} \\
\text{I paradys þurrhwundedd,} \\
\end{align*}
\]

........................................

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Þurrh gluternesse himm offerroom} \\
\text{þe laþe gast inn æte} \\
\end{align*}
\]

........................................

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Þurrh ġredi3nesse wass adam} \\
\text{I paradys þurrhwundedd,} \\
\end{align*}
\]
I witt 7 skill himm oferrcom
Defell þurrh gredi3nesse....

(11.12318-39)

He continues:

7 þurrh þatt adam too 7 et
Swa summ þe defell þerrnde,
Forr þatt he wolle wynnenn witt
Onn3en drihhtiness wille,
þeþþ þurrh himm oferrcom þe fend
Wipp gredi3nesse wassenn.
þurrh modi3nesse wass adam
I paradya þurrhwundedd....

(11.12350-357)

Earlier, in the sixth fitt, Crm, prompted by the complex number
symbolism derived from the letters of the name IESOYS, states that
the second letter betokens the number eight and, on the basis of
this identification, proceeds to relate the opposition of vices and
virtues in a characteristic, extended martial metaphor:

7 tise mahhtess alle inmän
Arn hæfedd mahhtess ehhte,
7 sinndenn wassenn ðod 7 strang
3em hæfedd sinness ehhte,
One may note in passing that though the vices and virtues are presented in military metaphor, Orm's language is restrained and the 'action' is static. Description takes place at a distance, as it were; there is no involvement in the battle such as in the Psycho-machia, and in this respect, Orm's presentation resembles that found in OE homilies where fully developed personification allegory is avoided.

From the evidence of these extracts, certain general similarities in the conception of the Miles Christi and of less stylized spiritual struggle between the Ormulum and OE homilies and lives of saints can be observed. The taking up of spiritual weapons in Orm's homilies is the means by which man resists and overcomes temptation and the promptings of the devil. Some emphasis is laid on the defensive aspect of the Miles Christi, both in his martial stance and in his exercise of patience and passivity; furthermore, Orm lays great stress on the comfort and protection which God's elect receive from angels who take up spiritual arms in God's name. Victory is said to
result as much from standing firm as from fighting, and the soldier of God thereafter receives the crown of eternal life as a reward.

These correspondences are of the most general kind; as I have suggested, the precise make-up of Orm's verbal synthesis reveals the presence of particular emphases which will bear further investigation. Before pointing to the more notable modifications displayed by Orm's metaphorical language, I want to reinforce this preliminary impression of general adherence to the conventional, well-established concept of the Miles Christi by gauging the extent of Orm's reliance on St. Paul's image complex in Ad Ephesios VI.11ff, and by highlighting the prominence of the figure of the Christus Miles.

5.2 The Ormulum and Ad Ephesios VI.11-18

Unlike OE homilists, Orm nowhere gives an ad verbum translation of the extended metaphor in Ad Ephesios VI.11-18, yet there are several indications that his articulation of the theme of spiritual warfare draws firmly on this most popular of sources. The most clearly identifiable borrowing from the Pauline text is manifested in Orm's constant admonition to stand firm against the devil and his temptations, expressed both by the verbal phrase stanndenn onn3enn and by the verb wippstanndenn. The following quotations testify to the pervasiveness of the detail:

7 he ma33 stanndenn wel onn3enn
pe defell wipp swillo wæpenn

(11.2785-86)
The following are essentially synonymous:

\[ \text{pa mihhte we pe lape gast} \]
\[ \text{Wippstanndenn 7 wippsesgenn} \]
\[ (11.11479-480) \]

\[ \text{7 tatt all forr to cwemenn godd} \]
\[ \text{7 defell to wippsesgenn} \]
\[ (11.16142-143) \]
Such phrases immediately call to mind similarly worded admonitions which are a common feature of the teaching surrounding spiritual warfare in OE writings, as in:

\[
\text{Wiostandað þam deofle and he flihð fram eow}
\]

(Thorpe, CH I.604)

\[
\text{þonne sceal se hyrde, þat is se biseceop}
\]
\[
\text{oððe oðer se lareow, wíostándan þam reðan}
\]
\[
\text{wulfe mid lare and mid gebedum.}
\]

(Ibid., 240)

\[
\text{þat ge magon standan ongean deofles}
\]
\[
\text{syrwungum}
\]

(Thorpe, CH II.218)

At the same time, they reproduce exactly the force and content of:

\[
\text{.....ut possitis stare adversus insidias}
\]
\[
\text{diaboli...............Propterea accipite}
\]
\[
\text{armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in}
\]
\[
\text{die malo, et in omnibus perfecti stare.}
\]
\[
\text{State ergo.........}
\]

(Eph. VI.13-14)

So completely is this most emphatic consideration repeated by Orm that it is likely that the image store from the Pauline text influenced the content, though not the form, of his teaching on spiritual warfare.
Other aspects of Orm's favoured terminology lend weight to this identification. In fitt five, which deals with the Nativity, Orm comments on God's reason for sending angels into the world:

\[
\text{Itt taone} \cdot \text{he seunne} \cdot \text{henn; Inn till piz} \cdot \text{pessaterneesse.}
\]
\[
\text{To frofrenn pa} \cdot \text{p wakenn wel; Orn} \cdot \text{sness lape gastess.}
\]
\[
7 \text{ stanndenn inn to shildenn henn; Fra defless swikedomesse.}
\]

(11.3790-95; as Hall, Selections, I.114).

There are several points of immediate relevance in this statement in which attributes of the soldier of God are conferred on angels. First, the reference to the vigilant, those who wakenn wel, echoes this detail of St. Paul's on those who have successfully taken up the gladium spiritus (Eph. VI.17):

\[
\text{et in ipso vigilantes in omni instantia,}
\]
\[
\text{et obsecratone pro omnibus sanctis}
\]

(Ibid., 18)

As I have said, the martial metaphor here is not prompted by the pericope reading directly; scrutiny of the passage as a whole reveals, however, that Orm's line of thought is stimulated by the report in the gospel:

\[
\text{Et pastores erant in regione eadem}
\]
\[
\text{vigilantes, et custodientes vigilias}
\]
\[
\text{noctis super gregem suum}
\]

(Luc. II.8)

The implication that in this extract Orm was prompted by the detail of the watching shepherds - vigilantes - to invoke the martial metaphor in Ad Ephesios which speaks of those who are watching to ward off temptation - vigilantes - should be tempered by the possible influence of those sources which Orm is most likely to have known.
Of them, this comment by Bede is the most appropriate I have been able to locate. After quoting Luc. II.8., he says:

Pulcherrima ratione domino nato pastores uigilant, gregemque suum ab insidiis noctis custodiendo defendunt ut uidelicet etiam per hoc ostendatur illud adesse tempus quod uerus et solus bonus pastor olim promisit, dicens....

and thereafter quotes Ezek. XXXIV. 11-12. Elsewhere, Bede and Alfric andOrm all extract from Luke's words the teaching that priests and bishops are set on earth as spiritual shepherds, but only Orm extends his exegesis to include this image of spiritual combat. If Orm had consulted the relevant portion of Bede's commentary In Lucam for this homily, he may well have been struck by Bede's phrase insidiis noctis and recalled, without much effort, Paul's insidiis diaboli (Eph. VI.11). The likelihood of such an association, whether it be through the common usage of vigilantes or through the suggestive quality of insidiis noctis, is strengthened by the fact that Bede's exposition of Luc. II.8, both in his commentary (incorporated into the Glossa) and in his Nativity homily, clearly approaches, without however touching, the forceful teaching so ably presented by Orm in his martial metaphor.

Nevertheless, even if such influences be allowed, it is probable, to judge from Orm's confident extension of teaching traditionally derived from the gospel narrative, that his selection of material in this context was determined as much by his own association of ideas as by the promptings available to him in written sources. This facet of recollection in composition is reminiscent of some complex aspects of Alfric's literary technique, and while Orm may never have possessed the comprehensive range of his predecessor in this respect, the evidence
of his incorporation of material from Ad Ephesios here argues that the Pauline text was constantly in the forefront ofOrm's thoughts and that he was able to call upon and exploit successfully the various elements of its imagery in context which provided no obvious basis for its smooth reception.

The second point concernsOrm's use of to shildenn. As I shall show, shildenn is not often employed byOrm, but on this occasion, its inclusion with the detail of those who are vigilant strengthens the claim that it is Paul's text which is being drawn upon here since among those spiritual weapons which Paul says the vigilant will necessarily have is the scutum fidei (Eph. VI.16), interpreted here as the act of protection undertaken by angels. Further, that which threatens and which demands protection is said to be the defless swikedomess, which may be thought to reproduce a third element from the Pauline text, namely the insidias diaboli (Ibid., VI.11).

The close proximity and interaction of these details in the extract from the Ormulum coincides not only with the imagistic components on which Paul's metaphor is based, but also - and this cannot be stressed too greatly - with the conventional lexical choices adopted by OE homilists in the vernacularization of the Latin image.

The larger context of this part of his exposition, in my opinion, places the identification beyond doubt. Some dozen lines later, Orm explicitly states how God's faithful benefit from angelic protection, and in so doing, extends the martial metaphor with obvious reference both to the content of the biblical metaphor and to its particular lexical identity in the vernacular:
reverting automatically to the dominant note of resistance to which Paul gives so much emphasis. In addition, thirty lines on, Orm returns to the subject of the fear displayed by the shepherds, and discourses on the comfort that man can derive from angelic intervention. The passage in question, to which I have already referred, contains the distinctive detail that the devil, in his attack on God's faithful servant:

wile himm skerrenn mare.
7 refenn himm hiss rihhte witt; 7 shetenn inn hiss herrte.

And Orm immediately adds:

Acc whas ilt iss ḩ wæmpedd iss. Wipp fulle trowwpe o criste;
Pohh ḩ he grisli3 defell se. Miss he rihht nohht forrfærredd.

(11.3837-39, 3840-43; as Hall, Selections, 114).

The passage from which these extracts are taken is a fairly close reworking of Orm's earlier comments on the appearance of Gabriel to Zachary in the first fitt, quoted above, p. 440. According to Hall, this latter passage is drawn from these words of Bede:

Trementem Zachariam confortat angelus
quia sicut humanae fragilitatis est
spiritalis creaturae visione turbatur
ita angelicae benignitatis est pauentes
de aspectu suo mortales mox blandiendo
solari. At contra daemonicae est
ferocitatis quos sui præsentia territos
senserit ampliori semper horrore concutere
quae nulla melius ratione quam fide
superatur intrepida.

(Hurst, In Lucam, I.206-12)
The two passages from the *Ormulum* (11.661-80 and 3828-43) differ in that the former contains considerably less specific allusion to the image complex in *Ad Ephesios* while the latter, by virtue of the fact that it builds on the previously established statements which draw heavily on the Pauline text, displays the distinctive image of the devil-bowman, expressed in *shetenn inn*. This detail, as I have shown, answers exactly to Paul's *omnia tela nequissimi ignea*, *(Eph. VI.16)*. Bede's exposition contains neither conscious borrowing nor simple verbal reminiscence of the Pauline text; again, it seems, Orm's decision to refer to the darts of the devil was determined by a process of associative suggestion through which Paul's images were automatically invoked in response to the desire to teach by means of the metaphor of spiritual combat.

At the same time, 11.661-80 and 3828-43 of the *Ormulum* both contain the fixed syntactic unit:

```
Acc whas itt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
Wipp fulle trowwþe ðe crist
```

(11.677-78; 3840-41)

and there can be little doubt that this effective proclamation results from the interpretative translation of:

```
in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere.
```

*(Eph. VI.16)*

The lines:

```
7 shetenn inn hiss herrte.
Acc whas itt iss þæp wæpnedd iss. Wipp fulle trowþe ðe crist
```

(11.3839-41; as Hall, *Selections*, 114).
reproduce both details of Paul's text and integrate them as firmly as Paul had done. In addition to the image in _shetenn inn_, it is likely that Paul's _scutum fidei_ has been here translated interpretatively by Orm into _wæpnedd...wipp fulle trowwbe_. Paul's direct metaphorical application of _scutum_ is modified into the more general _wæpnedd_ while _fidei_ is expanded, but literally so, into _fulle trowwbe_. Such a process of interpretation, leading to a more readily grasped version of the concept is, moreover, precisely what one would expect of a homilist who states:

_Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc amang Godspellless wordess, All þurh mesellfenn mani3 word þe rime swa to fillenn;_  

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 21-22).

Accumulatively, then, the evidence points to firm reliance on _Ad Ephesios_, VI.11-18; further, the pervasive use of Paul's images and the construction of lengthy metaphors of spiritual combat in contexts which do not readily accommodate such matter makes it likely that the verbal identity available in the Pauline text was immediate and complete. Therefore, it is instructive to consider that this correlation of concept and image in the _Ormulum_ is as equally forceful as it had been with Jerome, Gregory, Bede, Alfric and other OE homilists and hagiographers. The comparison acts as a reminder not only of the tenacity of literary habit with regard to Paul's text and the figure of the _Miles Christi_, but also of the marked conservatism and deference to authority which Orm displays in this, as in other facets of his work.

Finally, and by way of emphasising Orm's reliance on the content of Paul's imagery and on its established vernacular identity, I return to the phrases in 11.677-78 (3840-41, etc.) and 3806-07, quoted
above. As I have indicated in an earlier section, both of the above couplets are formulas belonging to distinct and often used formulaic systems. The syntactic patterns to which each of these couplets belong are employed to cover a multiplicity of tasks with regard to meaning, and it seems to me to be significant that Orm should have wished to shape these details from _Ad Ephesios_ into rigid syntactic frames in the light of the function of these formulaic systems in the creation of his distinctive preaching idiom. By force of literary convention, or of didactic effectiveness, or both, the traditional verbal stimulus for the _Miles Christi_ was clearly considered to have central importance to Orm's strategy, and this vitality must be accounted for both in terms of its familiarity to Latin and Anglo-Latin writers, and to OE homilists and hagiographers who exploited Paul's imagery to the full and, in so doing, helped to shape the emphasis and linguistic form which would be adopted by later English writers, like Orm. His proximity to the influence of that linguistic form is supported by the fact that he would have had to make choices of suitable terminology from the established lexis; in so doing, it is evident that his range of favoured terminology coincides well with that selected and adopted by OE writers. I now propose to turn to examine the nature and extent of one of these emphases to which Orm was heir, namely, the figure of the _Christus Miles_.

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5.3 The Figure of the Christus Miles in the Ormulum.

In OE homilies, the events of Christ's life which were considered most amenable to the portrayal of Christ as a spiritual soldier were seen to be the Crucifixion, of which there are many examples, the Harrowing of Hell and, in the case of the Blickling homilist, Áfric, and the writer of the non-Áfrician pieces in Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 343, the Temptation in the desert. Although the Bible, Church Fathers and later writers often interpreted these events as manifestations of spiritual overcoming, it is clear that OE writers frequently expanded their source material freely, building imaginatively on their received stimuli. The extensive treatment given by Orm to the figure of the Christus Miles suggests that while his immediate sources may have comprised traditional matter in Latin texts, like the Glossa, his response to such material was also controlled by the compositional preferences of earlier English homilists.

In the first place, Orm casts Christ in the role of the spiritual soldier in precisely those contexts selectively favoured by OE homilists. Turning first to the Crucifixion, it should be stated that whereas there are numerous, usually brief, references to Christ's death and to the cross itself, there are relatively few elaborate statements in which the theme of spiritual combat is prominent. Typical of Orm's pronouncements on this subject are these verses:

............ he salf hiss aȝhenn lif
Wipp all hiss fulle wille,
To polem dęp o rodetre
Sacclès wippuynn wrihte,
To lesenn mænkynn purrh hiss dęp
Ut off þe defless walde

(Dedication, 199-204)
The statement, of which the last two lines appear on a great number of occasions throughout the work, is devoid of imagery; it is simple and direct, and is meant to lay stress on the overriding importance for man of the opportunity for redemption.

On occasions, however, the cross is presented as the symbol of victory over the devil. The homily in fitt sixteen deals with John I.29-34 in which John the Baptist proclaims Christ as the Lamb of God who comes to cleanse the world of its sins. Orm's exposition begins with an immediate reference to the Crucifixion and to man's subsequent redemption. For this sacrifice, Orm says, we should ever serve Christ as he would wish:

Uss birrp well 3erne stanndenn inn,  
Whil patt tiss lif uss lasstepp,  
To þewtetenn ure laferred crist  
Patt bohtte uss ut off helle,  
Purrh patt he till hiss faderr wass  
Offredd forr uss o rode,  
All alls he ware an lamb to ben  
Offredd drihttin to lake.  
7 tatt wass mikell skill patt crist  
Wass godess lamb þehatenn;  
Forr crist uss 3ifepp millkess drinnch  
Off hiss godspelless lare;  
7 crist uss 3ifepp wulle 7 claþ  
Off he3he 7 hall3he mahhtess,  
To shridenn uss þerwipþ onnþam  
Pe frosst off fakenn trowwþe;  
[7 crist uss 3ifepp here hiss flash  
7 ec hiss blod to fode,  
Forr uss to þifenn strennþe [7] mahht  
To stanndenn þam þe defell.  

(11.12640-659)

Orm's exposition rests on the equation of Christ and the lamb as objects of sacrifice; Christ's sacrifice on the cross is re-enacted every day at mass when the congregation partake of bread and wine. Towards the end of this passage, Orm includes this symbol of the Crucifixion (12656-657) and demonstrates its applicability to all men.
through the use of characteristic imagery derived from Ad Ephesios.
The compounding of the military metaphor with the elaborate allegorical correspondences in this passage results in the presentation of the cross as, among other things, an image of martial defence. A clearer example of this correlation can be seen in a briefer reference to the symbolical significance of the cross in Bisc eighteen. The homily expounds the story of the marriage feast at Cana (John II.1-11) and many of Orm's details of interpretation agree with the scheme set out by Bede in his Homilia post Epiphaniam (Hurst, Homilies, I.14). Among such details common to both pieces are, that the six water vessels used at the feast betoken the six ages of the world, and that, in the second age, the ark which Noah built betokens the Church. The flood is therefore representative of the water of baptism and of the cleansing of sin. Orm's explanation reads:

\[\ldots\text{nowess arrke iss cristess hus}\]
\[7\text{ cristess hall}\times\text{he kirrke,}\]
\[\text{Patt nu to da33 iss full off menn,}\]
\[\text{Of clene }7\text{ off unnclene,}\]
\[\text{Parr hal13 waterr att te funnt}\]
\[\text{Offdrunncetp alle sinness,}\]
\[7\text{ berr3hep cristess clene folloc}\]
\[\text{Purrh rodetrewwess tookenn,}\]
\[\text{All swa summ nowess clene flocc}\]
\[\text{Purrh trewness bord wass borr3henn}\]

(11.14606-615)

The resemblance to this passage from Bede's homily is only partial:

At ueró dum altius aspicere coeperit et
in archa ecclesiam in Noe Christum in
aqua diluente peccatores aquam baptismi
qua peccata diluit in omnibus uel
animalibus quae archa continebat multi-
faram baptizatorum differentiam in
columba quae diluium ramum oliae intulit
in archam unionem spiritus sancti
quo baptizati inbuuntur intellecerit
uinum profecto de aqua factum miratur
quia in ueteris historia facti suam
ablutionem sanctificationem iustificationem prophetari contemplatur.

(Hurst, Homilies, 100)
Orm has nothing to say about the dove which Noah sent from the ark, and his traditional typological exposition of the flood includes a reference to the cross as an object of protection:

7 berr3happ cristess clene follo
Purrh rodetrewwess takenn.

(11.14612-613)

to which Bede does not refer. This specific presentation of the cross as a means of defence calls to mind the image of the vexillum crucis of Latin tradition, which found expression in OE poems and hymns. ToOrm's phrase may be compared Cynewulf's constant allusion to the cross of victory in Elene, expressed on two occasions by the phrase sigores tacen (184b, 1120b). Although Om's phrase is not so explicit as those from Elene and other OE poems, the presentation of the cross as a symbol and the characterisation of its function through berr3happ indicate that some appeal to martial imagery is being made; victory is implicit in this act of defence since it provides man with the opportunity To winnen heffness blisse (14625).

Indisputably, the key passage relating to the crucifixion comes in a long exposition of the gospel narrative which tells of John the Baptist's work in the vicinity of the fortress of Salem (Joan. III.23). Om begins by stating that Melchizedech had formerly dwelt in the town in the function of both king and priest (18104-07). The typological significance of his two-fold position is expressed thus by Om:

Purrh uss dide sannt johan
To sen 7 tunnderretstanndenn,
Patt ure laferrd isu crist
Wass cumenn þa to manne,
To timmbrenn himm þurrh hiss fulluhht
An casstell 3an þe defell,
An crisstnedd follc þatt shollde wel
Purrh riht þod trowwyess wæppenn,
The passage comprises two distinct yet related images presenting Christ, first, as the Priest of priests, and then as the King of kings. In the latter, it is the figure of Christ as the victorious warrior which is forcefully presented. As with the martyrs who followed him, it is Christ's death which ensures victory over the devil. Although there are no obviously heroic associations exploited in this image, comparable to those which inform the metaphorical correspondences of the Dream of the Rood, the protection of Christ as the victorious warrior is both forcefully and skilfully presented. The direct announcement of combat in To fihhtenn, coupled with the descriptive mahhtij and strang inch, infuse the figure with a dynamic aggressiveness which is imaginatively extended by the integration of the 'treading down' image. At the same time, these components are framed within the literal confines of the cross, producing an evocative statement of the cross as spiritual battlefield.
Doctrinally, the defeat of the devil's power which the crucifixion accomplished provides the necessary means for the redemption of mankind, the first prerequisite of which is fulfilled by the sacrament of baptism. As withOrm's exposition of the flood and the ark, the significance of baptism is here presented in a familiar martial metaphor. Orm's use of god trowwipes wæppen and stanndenn ȝen (18115-116) immediately signal the influence of Paul's metaphor in Ad Ephesios; the presentation of baptism as a fortified castle is less familiar and deserves some comment.

It is well-known that Latin writers, Augustine and Gregory in particular, favoured the image of the Christian soul as a fortress assailed by temptation in the form of the darts of the devil. The tradition, represented also by Prudentius's Psychomachia, often produced elaborate allegorical correspondences. In OE writings, the figure is rarely employed, and in its one extended treatment, in Juliana 393b-409a, the allegorical correspondences are not identified through direct statement, but woven implicitly into the poetic texture.

Related to this tradition is the allegory of the body, as guardian of the soul, whose various points of entry are interpreted as the gates of a castle towards which devilish attack is concentrated. In the EME corpus, the most elaborate example of this allegory is found in Sawles Warde, loosely based on a portion of Hugh of St. Victor's De Anima. Once again, allegorical correspondences are fully worked out here, and the presentation of the figure differs not only from Cynewulf's but also from that adopted by Orm. As Powell points out in her discussion of Grosseteste's Chastel d'Amour, the concept of the human soul being wooed by Christ the Bridegroom recalls the well-
known passage in the *Ancrene Wisse* in which Christ is portrayed as both warrior and bridegroom, a passage which may be compared to that of the *Ormulum*.

The particular extract from the *Ancrene Wisse* presents an exemplum followed by a lengthy explanation. It differs markedly from Orm's image (though the latter is very brief) not only in structure but also in content and in stimulus. Whereas Orm equates the act of baptism and its grace with a defensive castle so as to produce a statement of the creation of the Church Militant:

> An crisstnedd follo ðat sholde wel  
> Førh riht ðod trowyjess wapenn  
> Wel stanndenn ðon ðe laþe ðast.  
> (11.18114-116)

the author of the *Ancrene Wisse* is concerned to emphasise the long established bridal imagery surrounding Christ and his wooing of the body of the faithful to form the institution of the Church. The martial aspect of Christ in his work, exemplified by:

> ðes king.....arudde hire of alle hire  
> van. 7 wes him seolf to wundre ituket 7  
> islein on ende.  
> (Tolkien, *Ancrene Wisse*, 199)

has no connection with the traditional imagery surrounding the *Christus Miles* or the *Miles Christi* but:

shows the modifications effected by the new chivalric code and courtly conventions. The king becomes a royal knight, the soul, the highborn lady of romance, who is disposed to receive the polite and passionate advances of the lover with disdain.
The mention of the fortress in the *Ormulum*, though it lacks the detail and precise allegorical correspondence of the Gregorian model, is clearly more closely allied to the complex of the soul besieged by the arrows of the devil than to the 'modifications' adopted by the author of the *Ancrene Wisse*. The distinction is useful in the sense that while Orm is well versed in conventional bridal imagery, introducing it later in the same homily, (18370 ff) in response to *Iohan. III.29*, he nowhere shows any desire to exploit the modifications so well presented by the nearly contemporary author of the *Ancrene Wisse*. Where the latter's work exhibits new departures in both style and content, Orm's response is firmly traditional.

The second context favoured by OE homilists for the glorification of Christ as a *Miles* is the temptation in the desert (*Matth. IV.1-11; Luc. IV.1-13*). In the previous section, I quoted at length from Orm's homily on this pericope, concentrating on those passages describing the devil's success in bringing about the fall of Adam and Eve, as well as on those passages which firmly establish the temptation as exemplary for all men in terms of the necessity of spiritual combat. In common with Ælfric, the *Blickling* homilist and the homilist of Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 343, Orm lays great stress on the figure of the *Christus Miles* in successful combat with the devil. Ælfric's piece, (*Thorpe, CH I. 166-80*) relies chiefly on Gregory's exposition of *Matth. IV.1-11* and is thus rather restrained in the exploitation of martial imagery in comparison to the third *Blickling* homily and to the later piece in Bodley 343. Now although much of the distinctive structure of Orm's homily calls to mind the material put forward by Gregory, Orm's emphasis has considerably more in common with that adopted by the *Blickling* homilist than with that seen in the Gregorian and Ælfrician pieces.
Orm presents the Gregorian equation that Christ overcame the devil by the very means which the latter had previously effected the downfall of Adam and Eve, but far from being content with a simple statement of overcoming,Orm embellishes his account with a sustained, repetitious martial metaphor which I give in full:

Pe defell comm to fandenn crist,  
Swa summ þe littler herrdenn,  
To cunnenn to biswiken himm  
All o þatt illke wise  
Þatt he hiswac þa firsrate twa  
Patt drihhtin shop off erþe.  
Acc iesu crist himm oferrcomm  
All o þatt illke wise,  
Furrh þatt he stod onn3åness himm,  
7 all forrwarrp hiss lare.  
Pa defell comm to wundenn crist  
Purrh gluterrnescess wapenn,  
I þatt he wollde himm brynænn onn  
To makenn brad off staness;  
7 purrh þatt tatt te lafferrd crist  
Wippstod onn3ån hiss wille,  
Swa þatt he nollde makenn brad,  
Swa summ he badd – off staness,  
Parþurrh þe lafferrd oferrcomm  
7 oferrtraddr te defell,  
Rihht swa summ he þe forme mann  
ær oferrcumenn haffde.  
Pe defell comm to wundenn crist  
Purrh gredi3nessess wapenn,  
I þatt he wollde himm brynæenn onn  
To Æernenn affterr ahhte;  
7 purrh þatt tatt te lafferrd crist  
Wippstod onn3ån hiss wille,  
Swa þatt he nollde don hiss rad,  
Ne Æernenn affterr ahhte,  
Parþurrh þe lafferrd oferrcomm  
7 oferrtraddr te defell,  
Rihht swa summ he þe forme mann  
ær oferrcumenn haffde.  
Pe defell comm to wundenn crist  
Purrh modi3nessess wapenn,  
I þatt he badd himm shawenn himm  
Hiss godcunnånessess mahhte,  
Furrh þatt he sholldæ læppenn dun  
Wippætæn off þe tempæle  
Onn idell 7 wippætæn næd,  
7 ails he wollde læ3åkenn.  
7 purrh þatt tatt te lafferrd crist  
Wippstod onn3ån hiss wille,  
Swa þatt he nollde don hiss rad,  
Ne læppenn dun onn idell.
The characterisation of Christ as *newe kempe*, the statement that he *wibbstod* temptation and *oferrcomm* the devil and his weapons create a forceful picture of Christ the warrior, and one which balances the earlier presentation of the devil as warrior, overcoming Adam and Eve through the infliction of spiritual wounds. The considerable attention which *Orm* pays to this portrayal of Christ could be said to be handled with infelicity, yet it provides, in terms of the homily's structure, the necessary illustration to *Orm*'s opening statement that Christ came voluntarily to be tempted:

\[
\text{Forr } \text{patt he wollede } \text{shawenn } \text{swa}
\text{All mannkinn } \text{purrh } \text{hiss } \text{bisne}
\text{Hu cristess hird - crisstene follic}
\text{Birrp fihtenn } \text{3m } \text{be } \text{defell}
\text{To winnenn si3 } \text{oferrhand}
\text{Off himm purrh cristess hellpe.}
\]

\[(11.11417-422)\]

and identifies in the clearest possible terms *Orm*'s overriding didactic concern in relation to this pericope. The theme of spiritual combat permeates the entire piece; in comparison, other matter worthy of exposition is given only peripheral treatment. This compositional
decision stands in contrast to that taken by Gregory, for example, whose particular re-arrangement of the pericope facilitates a discussion of the nature of temptation, which is his principal concern, and which is reproduced to a large extent in Alfric's homily.Orm's piece displays a predilection for insistent martial imagery which is most closely paralleled by the corresponding homily in the Blickling book.Orm may have known Gregory's homily, either in its complete form or in a compilation of the type exemplified by the Glossa; yet if his initial stimulus took such a form (and I have already suggested that some parts of the homily were based on matter derived from the Glossa), it seems equally likely that his compositional emphasis was guided also by the prominence given to the figure of the Christus Miles in earlier English homilies on the Temptation.34

The last remaining context in which OE homilists show a fondness for the presentation of Christ as Miles is that of the Harrowing of Hell.35 References to this event in the Ormulum are naturally rare since no part of the surviving fragment covers gospel narrative which would ordinarily have called for its inclusion.36 However, the Harrowing has an important place in Orm's overall assessment of Christ's life; he includes it as one of the seven benefits which man derives from Christ's ministry on earth, but in purely neutral tones:

Fe ferpe God uss hafsepp don
Pe laferrd crist onn erpe,
Purrh patt hiss hall3he sawle stah
Fra rode dun till helle,
To takenn ut off helle wa
Pa gode sawless alle,
Patt haffdenn owammd himm i piss lif
Purrh sop unnshajpi3nese.

(Dedication, 205-12)

Although I know of no other direct references to the Harrowing in the Ormulum, a good case can be made for believing that Orm made allusion
to it in contexts in which its inclusion would have been typologically appropriate. The first comes towards the end of his temptation homily in a passage in whichOrm explains why no angels came to Christ's assistance in his struggle:

That Orm wished, in this passage, to extend the frame of reference and significance of Christ's successful withstanding of temptation is suggested by the closing lines:

in which, besides the prominent detail of the binding, it is said that mankind is released from the bonds of sin. In the introductory portion of the exposition, Orm declared that Christ's resistance should be regarded as exemplary, providing mankind with the necessary spiritual weapons to avoid temptation (11411-422); he did not assert that Christ effected man's release from sin through this act. Rather, it is the fact that Christ submitted to death on the cross that signals the beginning of the process of man's redemption, a process which is, more-
over, dramatically illustrated by his apocryphal visit to hell and
the rescue of Adam, Eve and the prophets who, though faithful, had to
suffer confinement until Adam's transgression had been expiated. In
this passage, therefore, I suggest that Orm demonstrates his familiarity
with the concept of the Harrowing of Hell, to which he makes allusion
rather than explicit reference.

The Temptation, Crucifixion and Harrowing of Hell are the three events
in Christ's life on which victory over the devil is most clearly demon-
strated. A more strictly typological association may be claimed in
respect of this passage from fitt five. Prompted by the identification
in Luc. II.4 of Bethlehem as the city of David, Orm states that Mary was
of the house of David and expounds its significance through the trad-
tional typological associations of David and Christ, in terms of
martial imagery:

Forr crist wass strang wipp hannad inch
To werrpenn dun þe defell,
7 crist wass æfȑre swilc to sen,
7 a þeþ butenn ende,
þatt gode 3errndenn him to sen,
7 æfȑre shulenn 3ernenn.
7 tiss iss þatt uss openniþ
David þess name taoneþþ;
Forr itt uss taoneþþ strang wipp hannad
7 luﬀsumm onn to lokenn,
7 crist iss þaje - strang wipp hand,
7 luﬀsumm onn to lokenn.
7 crist iss all sə daviiþþ wass
Shephirde, 7 kîng, 7 kompre,
Forr crist iss allre kîngœ kîng,
7 ale shaffte laﬀerrd,
7 daviiþþ kîng sloh goliat,
Hæpene folkkess kempe,
7 crist band uss þe laﬀe 3ast,
All hellewaress streneþþ.

(11.3574-93)

The probable source for Orm's onomastic treatment of David is this
passage from Bede's In Lucam:
Orm follows Bede quite closely in giving the explanation to David's name, then interprets the typological association in a way which recalls not only certain elements of OE homiletic compositional practice, but also these verses from Ps.23, 7-8:

Attollite portas, principes, vestras  
Et elevamini, portae aeternales,  
Et introbit rex gloriae.  
Quis es iste rex gloriae?  
Dominus fortis et potens,  
Dominus potens in praelio.

Since David was reckoned to be the author of the Psalms as well as the slayer of Goliath, the portrayal here of Christ as Miles ensured that the psalm would assume an important place in the typological thinking of the Church Fathers and other writers. AlthoughOrm is not translating or paraphrasing the psalmist's verses, they are nevertheless helpful in unravelling Orm's allusion. In the first place, Orm's reference to alle shaffte laferd effectively summarizes the opening verses of the psalm praising the Lord as creator. Second, the verses quoted above were incorporated into the apocryphal Evangelium Nicodemi, from which the immensely popular account of the Harrowing of Hell was derived.

This rather tenuous link receives, however, substantial support from the fact that virtually all accounts of the Harrowing of Hell, whether
in translation, or in more general, paraphrased versions, make conspicuous use of the detail to which Orm draws attention, namely, the binding of the devil. This distinctive feature in the two passages from the Ormulum (3592, 12548) should be assessed in relation to the following references to the Harrowing in OE writings; I quote first from the several versions of the translation of the Evangelium Nicodemi:

ac he þone deoflican deað feor nyðer
atrad, 7 he satan gegrap. 7 hyne
fæste geband.

(Cambridge MS, Hulme, OE Harrowing of Hell, 506)

Ac he þone deoflican deað feor nifur
atrad 7 he satanas gegrap 7 hyne
fæste gebant.

(Cotton MS, Ibid., 507)

7 he hine gegrap þæ, 7 fæste geband
mid anes draca baclinge, 7 hine þær
helle sealde on anweald to habbene aa
butan ænde.

(Warner, Homilies, 86)

The early eleventh century homily on the Harrowing of Hell preserved in the margin of Cambridge MS, CCC 41, states similarly:

Da se stranga wið þonne stranga
gersæde, þa ure Drihten acorn and
þæt ealdor dioful geband and træd
under his fotum [and] þæs diofuls miht
lytlode.

Related homilies and poems consistently draw attention to this detail. Alfric, in his piece In Dominica Palmarum (which, in the Roman Rite, provides for the whole of Ps. 23 during the opening procession) briefly relates the events of Christ's last days on earth, and places the following description between the burial and the resurrection:
and se godcundnys was on āre
while on helle, and gewrað þone
ealdan deofol.

(Thorpe, CH I.216)

The author of a homily entitled De Descensu Christi ad Infernos in
Oxford MS Bodleian Junius 121, says in his introduction:

Nu wylle we eow gyt secgan hu he to
helle astah and þone deofol geband.

(Raynes, Homilies, 72)

and later in the same piece, the followers of Satan lament their
leader's impotence:

Hwæt is ēoð þe her swa unforht geðo
on ure genœro, and ec ofer þæt urna
ealdor mid bendum gebundenne hæfð?

(Ibid., 77)

Another anonymous homily, in Cambridge MS CCC 162, pp.382-91, entitled
In Die Sancto Pasce, has the following account:

nu todæg Crist eode on helware 7 þæ
isenan forescytteleas he þær tobræc
7 towæðo 7 leviathan þær næfla
ealdorman he geband....

(p.386)

Again, the Blickling homilist, in the piece for Dominica Pascha,
glorifies Christ's visit to hell:

he þæ onsende his þone wuldorðæstan
gast to helle grunde, & þær þone
ealdor ealra þeostra & þær eecan
deæpes geband & gehynde.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 85)

The closing paragraphs of the first Vercelli homily display the same
consistency; the relevant passage reads:

he in helle astah. 7 he þær ealle þa
fæstan carcern gebræc þæs ecæ
deapæs. 7 þæs aldor, þæ ealra deofla
hlaford was 7 ealles yfles fruma,
þæs he þær ure Drihten Crist mid
sarum bendum geband 7 hine in ece
susle ge-sette.

(Förster, Homilies, 43)

Poetic texts reinforce the validity of the association. In the poem on the Harrowing of Hell in the Exeter Book, Christ is said to break down the gates of hell, after which Satan announces defeat with these words: *nu we on bissum bendum bidan;* the accursed spirits have to suffer thereafter the *bitre gebunden under bealuclommum.*

So consistently do the OE translators and homilists give prominence to the detail of the devil's binding (often it is the only detail which is emphasised) that it is hard to resist the plausible suggestion that the presentation of the bound devil was considered to be an effective signalling device, or perhaps more accurately, a form of literary short-hand, identifying not only the precise context of the Harrowing of Hell, but also its overriding didactic significance.

The iconography of the Harrowing of Hell also has a place in this discussion. As far as I am aware, this subject is only rarely encountered in Anglo-Saxon art as a whole. The one important instance of its representation which I have located, however, seems to corroborate not only the detail evidenced by OE writings and by the *Ormulum,* but also serves to lend weight to the typological association of David and Christ which *Orm* develops in relation to spiritual victory. It comes in the pictorial cycle of events taken from the lives of David and of Christ, respectively, in the mid-eleventh century *Tiberius Psalter,* London BL MS
Tiberius C vi, which is the earliest surviving manuscript to contain such a cycle of drawings.

The scenes from the life of David (fols. 8-10) are dominated by the fight and the slaying of Goliath which occupy three drawings on fols. 8v-9. The christological series (fols. 10v-15) opens, significantly, with a representation of the third Temptation (fol. 10v); towards the end of this series, a full-page drawing of the Harrowing of Hell (fol. 14r) shows:

44 a towering figure of Christ trampling upon the bound Hades and stooping down in the Utrecht Psalter manner to deliver the souls from the mouth of hell in the bottom right corner.

The artist of the drawing clearly conveys Satan's subjugation by the prominence given to his fettered hands and feet.

I know of one important later representation in which this detail is reproduced. It comes in the Winchester Psalter, of the mid-twelfth century, in which on fol. 24 there is a full-page representation of the Harrowing of Hell. Christ is depicted holding a cross staff with a banner, rescuing Adam from the mouth of hell. Behind him stands the archangel Michael whose long staff is seen to pierce a devil. In the foreground, the defeated Satan is prostrate and visibly bound.

It is interesting, therefore, to notice the corresponding details in both literary and iconographic sources dealing with this subject. With special reference to the chosen passages from the Ormulum, it is also instructive to consider that the statements that Christ bound the devil come in the contexts, first, of the typology of David and Christ (3592) and later of the Temptation (12548). The pictorial cycle of
drawings in the *Tiberius Psalter* provide not only an important general parallel in the selection of events from the lives of David and of Christ, but also contain specifically the three scenes - the slaying of Goliath, the Temptation and the Harrowing of Hell - which *Orm* synthesises in verse. The nature and extent of this evidence suggests to me that *Orm*’s references to the bound devil point emphatically to the Harrowing of Hell, while the iconographic detail of the trampled devil (reproduced in the OE translations of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*) at the Harrowing, in typological association with David’s slaying of Goliath, and in sequential association with the Temptation and Crucifixion, (fol.13) may be said to reflect a correspondence of ideas which *Orm* fully realized in his application of the treading down motif, as I hope to show in the next chapter.

In relation to the image of the bound devil, it is worth asking whether such a representation is confined to the Harrowing of Hell in Anglo-Saxon art, or whether it is prominent in other contexts. As far as I am able to ascertain, the only other portrayal of a shackled devil in Anglo-Saxon illumination is to be found in the *Junius* manuscript, in the drawing which depicts the original fall of the rebellious angels. The fall of the rebel angels (p.3) is the third full-page drawing in the MS., showing Satan in the mouth of hell, again bound hand and foot. Where this impinges on the present argument is in the possibility that the lines in the *Ormulum* which describe Christ as:

```
................. strang wip þæ hannad inch
To werrpeinn dun þe defell

(11.3574-75)
```

refer not only to the devil’s defeat at the Harrowing, but equally to the earlier instance of subjugation following the rebellion. One reason
for believing that Orm's use of *werrpenn* calls to mind Lucifer's demise is supplied by the identical verbal usage of the poet of *Genesis B* who, in this passage, describes God's anger and just revenge:

\[
\text{Pa wearo se Mhtiga gebolgen,}
\text{hehsta heofones Waldend, wearp hine of } \bar{\text{pan}} \text{ hean stole.}
\]

\[
\text{.........................}
\]

\[
\text{Acwæd hine } \bar{\text{pa}} \text{ fram his hyldo and hine on helle wearp}
\]

*(Genesis B, ll. 299-300, 304, in Sweet, *Reader*, pp. 129-30)*

In addition, the bound devil of the Cadmon MS drawing is encountered in this verbal dramatization of Lucifer's lament:

\[
\text{ac licgað me ymbre irenbenda,}
\text{rideð racentan sal...........}
\]

\[
\text{.........................}
\]

\[
\text{.................Me hafað hringa gespong,}
\text{slighearda sal, siðes amyrred,}
\text{sfyrred me min feðe; } \bar{\text{fet}} \text{ synd gebundene,}
\text{handa gehæfte;........}
\]

*(Ibid., ll. 371-80a)*

where the poet's words provide a fitting description not only of the drawing in the Cadmon MS, but also of the Harrowing of Hell picture in the Tiberius Psalter.

These typological associations range widely; they draw together, as illustrations of divine might and spiritual overcoming, the two occasions on which the devil was confined to hell, the martial prowess of David in his fight with Goliath and its typological equivalent in both the Harrowing of Hell and in the Temptation. Argument has proceeded as much by inference as by observable fact; and while it would be improper to assert that Orm would have expected his audience automatically to have called to mind all the various ramifications of this traditional
image complex, it seems clear that he adopted the detail of the binding of the devil as a means of alluding to the Harrowing of Hell, in the knowledge that his audience would have been thoroughly conversant with its significance. At the same time, while the passage from fitt five illustrates the typological correspondence between the slaying of Goliath and the Harrowing of Hell, reflected in the Tiberius Psalter drawings, it also suggests, even if unconsciously, an implicit association with the imagery surrounding the original fall of Lucifer.

Such correspondences are wholly traditional and were, perhaps, sufficiently well-established to have been prompted by the most casual verbal reference. If it is not possible to gauge the full extent of Orm's intentions in this passage, or the precise effect it would have generated in his audience, the evidence points once again to a marked influence on his composition of specific verbal and, in this case, iconographic trends developed and popularised by OE homilists and poets.

There is one other passage in the Ormulum which presents Christ as a Miles, but which is harder to contextualize. It comes in the same Nativity homily as the previously discussed extract and is developed from the gospel statement that:

\[ Et\ subito\ facta\ est\ cum\ angelo \\\n multitudo\ militiae\ caelestis \\\n laudantium\ Deum. \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots \]

\(\text{(Laeo. II.13)}\)

The multitude of angels signifies, according to Orm:

\textit{Patt crist all enngle pede king. Wass borenn her to manne. Alls iff he am pe lape gast. Wipp here wolde fihhtenn. To winenn adam. 7 hiss kinn; Vt of pe defless walde. 7 setten engless oferr hemm; To 3amenn hemm 7 gastenn. 7 forr to shildenn hemm onn am; Æ defless lape wiless.}

\(\text{(11.3904-13; as Hall, Selections I.115)}\)
Orm's stimulus for this passage may well have been supplied by this comment of Bede on Luc. II.13:

Et bene chorus adueniens angelorum militiae caelestis uocabulum acceptit qui et duci illo potenti in praelio qui ad debellandas aerias potestates apparuit humiliter obsecundat et ipse potestates easdem contrarias ne mortales tantum temptare ualeant quantum uolunt fortiter armis caelestibus proturbat.

(Hurst, In Lucam, I.1302-07)

where the metaphor of spiritual combat, stemming from a consideration of Luke's cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis, accords well, in general terms, withOrm's statement. There are, however, few verbal echoes inOrm's account of Bede's Latin; the form ofOrm's metaphor is dependent on his own established word cluster which he exploits, as has been seen, throughout the whole work.

Through the use of here, fihhtenn, winnenn, Christ is here presented as the leader of a warrior band, engaging in armed conflict. The tone and imagery of the passage compare favourably with this memorable assessment of the Baptist's role on earth, given by the author of Blickling homily XIV:

Eala men þa leofcoston, hu þæt wære weallende spelboda & ungebyldig heretoga, se þe ær þone Halend on þysne middangeard cumendne gescecgan wolde, æþðon þe he þære gyrnelican gegaderunge menniscro gebyrde onfenge; & he ær þam cyninge becom & wæpn geþræp mid to campienne, æþðon þe he to his lichoma [n] lecum becom; & he ær þone fæþan sol[hte], æþðon þe he þæt leocht gesawe; & he swa on þære his gebyrde oferswipde ealle æ þisse menniscan gebyrde.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 165. 167)
At the same time, the portrayal of Christ as the leader of a warrior band calls to mind the institution of the *comitatus* and its complex series of reciprocal and vertical relationships which Old English homilists often exploited imaginatively in dramatized representations of spiritual combat. The casual reference to war booty in this extract from the devil's speech in the seventh Blickling homily presupposes the pervasive influence of *comitatus* imagery as a literary device among Old English homilists:

\[
\text{Gehystu ure aldor? Pis is se ilca pe pu longe for his deape plegodest, & pu us at endestafe mycel here-reaf gehete.}
\]

(Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, 85)

By contrast, Orm's passage displays no such readiness to probe these aspects of *comitatus* imagery. As a social institution, the *comitatus* among Anglo-Saxons was, in all probability, not a vital influence to which direct literary appeal could be made. On the other hand, its usefulness and popularity as a literary device is well-documented, functioning in its various contexts as a supreme ideal to emulate or, as with the reference to war booty in the seventh Blickling homily, as an effective tool of religious irony.

Orm inherited only the vestiges of the heroic ideal; there is no evidence to show that he anywhere considered it to be useful as a didactic device. In the passage given above, the imagery can be linked with earlier examples only in the most tenuous of ways. As a metaphor of spiritual overcoming, it is quite well-developed; as a presentation of Christ as a *comitatus* leader, it is wholly inadequate, and thus serves to show that not all the vigorously exploited aspects of OE homiletic compositional practice were congenial to him in equal measure.
This survey of the popularity of the imagery of the *Miles Christi* and the *Christus Miles* in the *Ormulum* has drawn attention to several important areas in which Orm's compositional emphases display widespread agreement with trends constantly favoured by Old English homilists and hagiographers. While giving proper consideration to the prominence of Orm's immediate Latin sources, I have suggested, also, that in his modes of expression, and in the emphasis placed upon certain distinctive contexts, the imagery of spiritual combat in the *Ormulum* shows the influence of native literary traditions to a significant degree.

The lengthy quotations of relevant material from the *Ormulum* reveal that Orm relies on a hard nucleus of terms in the formation of his metaphorical complex. Furthermore, the insistent recurrence of these readily identifiable terms indicates the presence of a specialized vocabulary, employed systematically throughout the work. I now propose to identify the various components of this verbal system.

Orm does not often refer to those engaged in spiritual combat as warriors, but when he does so, he uses the term *kemmpe*, as in:

- Shephirde, 7 king, 7 kemmpe (3587)
- Heðene folke, kemmpe (3590)
- drihtiness kemmpe iob (4832)
- Patt newe kemmpe (12531)
- hiss dere kemmpe (19902)

The warrior’s action in entering into spiritual combat is expressed consistently by the verb *fihhtenn*.
The spiritual fight is often said to be conducted with various types of weapons:

- God wæppenn ðæn þæt defell (2616)
- þurh clene lifess wæppenn (802)
- þurh soþfasst þildess wæppenn (4807)

............. stanndenn wel ðæn þæt defell wipp swillc wæppenn (2785-86; cp. 12311)

wæppenn God 7 strang (4556)

- ðæn modiñnesses wæppenn (4565; 12509; 12375)
- þurh ðluternnessess wæppenn (12485)
- þurh ðrediñnessess wæppenn (12496; 12355)
- þurh riht God trowwþess wæppenn (18115)

............. to würdenn uss
- þurh þise prinne wæppenn (12308-309; cp. 12315; 12321)

wipp all þæt illéke wæppenn (12323)

Occasionally, as in 11.677, 2781, 3840, 4768, 4806 and 11885, the Miles Christi is said to be wæppnedd. It should be noted also that Orm's mahht can function synonymously with wæppenn, as these passages illustrate:
Forr wha sitt iss þatt wapnedd iss
Wipp þise þinne mahhtess,
Patt illary mann iss stiðenn wel
Upp intill heþhe munntess,
7 he maþ3 stanndenn wel onn3am
Pe defell wipp swille wapenn.

(11. 2781-86)

7 tise mahhtess alle iman
Arrn hæfedd mahhtess ehhte,
7 sinnenn wapenn god 7 strang
3am hæfedd sinness ehhte,
3am gluternessess laþe lasst,
7 3am glancessess hate,
7 3am jittsuŋŋ 7 gredie33c,
3am grimmie33c 7 bræpp,
3am unnulest 7 forrsuwundenne33c,
3am erþli3 kare 7 serr3he,
3am rosing3, 7 3am idell 3ellp
3am modi3nessess wapenn.

(11. 4554-65)

Sin is sometimes accommodated in the metaphor through the application
of the related image of wounding:

þuss cunneþþ he to wundenn uss
þurrh þise þinne wapenn (11. 12308-09)
I paradys þurrhwundadd (11. 12325, 12333, 12357)
þeþ33 tacnenn alle sinness
þatt stiŋŋenn 7 þurrhwundenn all (11. 17442-443)
þurrhwundedd ben þin sawle (1. 7648)
pe defell comm to wundenn crist (11. 12484, 12496, 12508)
þurrh gluternessess wundadd (1. 11774)
Acc ure laferrd crist ne wass
þurrh nan fandinge wundadd (11.11803-804)

Forr þatt he sholde himm sellf mannkinn
Hanenn off sinness wunde (11. 2217-18; cp. 3601,
4269, 4301, 4291-92)

The last cited examples couple the image of the wounds of sin with the
concept of repentance through the explanation of the epithet Hanennde,
and are not incorporated in the martial metaphor.

The defensive stance of the *Miles Christi* is conveyed consistently through the use of *wippstanndenn* and *stanndenn 3am*; the examples given above on pp. 452–54 illustrate the point fully. On the other hand, the shielding metaphor is conspicuous through its rarity in the *Ormulum*.

There are only three instances:

To frofrenn þa þ wakenn wel; Onn3amess laþe ðastess.
7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm.

(11. 3792–94; as Hall, *Selections*, I. 114)

7 forr to shildenn hemm onn3am
Pe defless laþe wiless. (11. 3912–13)

7 forrpbi birrp þe wwpnedd ben
3am himm eþþewr onn erpe,
To shildenn þe wipp all hiss laþ.

(11. 11885–887)

At the same time, I have not come across any instances of the application of the nominal form *shild*, either in spiritual or in secular contexts in the *Ormulum*.

In view of the clear trend displayed by OE homilists, it is perhaps surprising to find an equally firm reliance on the synonymous verb *werenn*, which expresses defence in the martial metaphor in these extracts:

Acc þu mihht werenn þe fra þeþ3am
Purrh rhitte laþe o criste

(11. 1406–07)

Pa birrp þe stanndenn þeþ onn3am
7 werenn cristess þewwess

(11. 5304–05)
To standenn þen þe laȝe ðæst
To werenn hise lammbre

(13328-329)

The notions of protection and comfort, most often ascribed to angels, are occasionally expressed through the use of frofrenn:

7 sennde sippenn halig ðæst
Till hisi lerninggônihhtess,
To frofrenn 7 to beldenn hemm
To standenn þen þe defell.

(Dedication, 235-38)

7 ðòdëss enngel iss full mec,
7 milde, 7 soffe, 7 blipe,
To beldenn 7 to frofrenn þe

(11.667-78)

Itt tacnepp þ he senndeþ þe hemm;
Inntill þiss peasterrenesse.
To frofrenn þ þe wakenn wel;
Onn þisses laȝe ðastess.
7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm........

(11.3790-94; as Hall, Selections, I.114)

Nu ma33 mann underrstanndenn her
Purrh þise sefenn mahhtess
Wipp whillke Ʒifess halig ðast
Her frofreþ cristess þewwess

(11.8805-08)

The announcement of spiritual victory is fulfilled by the terms sýse and oferrhannd which Órn invariably presents as a couplet, as in:

Patt ðiss, patt ðodd ne þole nohht
Ne þafe laȝe ðastess
To winenn oferrhannd off uss
Purrh here laȝe wiless;

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Prominent in these extracts is the verb *winnenn* which Orm uses with the varied meanings of 'to win', 'to obtain', 'to labour' and 'to conquer'. Its inclusion in contexts which display other components from the verbal cluster for spiritual overcoming indicate that Orm's *winnenn* functioned, on occasions, as an integral part of the metaphor:

\[
\text{Patt mankinn shollde newenn ben} \\
\text{Utlesedd fra pe defell} \\
7 \text{winnenn heffness kinedom} \\
\text{Purrh clene lifess wspenn}
\]

(11.799-802)
The verb which is consistently employed to announce that spiritual victory has been achieved is oferrcumenn. Many of the extracts already quoted illustrate its typical application. Others include:

7 all swa wolle winenn crist

Forr þu miht cwemenn swa þin Godd
7 oferrcumenn defell

(11.6274-75)

At the same time, it is important to note that oferrcumenn is occasionally paired with oferrtredenn, as in:

Þærpurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
7 oferrtræd te defell

(11.12492-493; 12504-505; 12520-521)

and this feature underlines the significant contribution made by Orm to the whole theme of spiritual warfare by the incorporation of the 'treading down' image. Elsewhere, it takes the form of offtredenn, thus:
and is similarly expressed on a large number of occasions by the verb tredenn and the verbal phrase tredenn dun. The following illustrations reflect the popularity of the concept in the work as a whole:

Witt shulenn tredenn underrfot annd all
hee wrert ut forrwerrpenn
He dom off all patt lafe flocc, patt iss
jarrh ni3j forrblendedd,

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 37-38)

The coupling of tredenn and cwennekenn in the above example is evidenced in other compatible statements of spiritual victory:
It is on the basis of this systematically exploited terminology, its semantic interaction and the resulting emphases, that I propose to examine the developments in the figure of the Miles Christi in the Ormulum. In the next chapter, I shall discuss the changing identity of the figure and how Orm sought to extend its significance beyond the traditional concept adhered to by both Latin and OE writers alike. The seventh chapter will complement these findings by demonstrating how the shift in emphasis is effected by Orm's conscious choice and manipulation of martial terminology.
Chapter Five  Notes

1. These lines are so interpreted by Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London: Paul Elek, 1976), p. 18.

2. The importance to the *Ormulum* of this essential similarity in the choice of vocabulary between the *Chronicle* and the *Brut* is underlined by the fact that the latter is in verse. Laȝamon's use of alliteration is often inconsistent; his fondness for assonance and rhyme is a further indication of his distance from the metrical propriety evidenced in the 'classical' OE verse line. Yet the exigencies of alliteration, in theory at least, constrain and condition the lexical choices of a poet and constitute a factor which creates a potentially substantial difference between poetry and prose. That such differences are not evidenced in the *Brut* and the *Peterborough Chronicle* with respect to the vocabulary of military strife reinforces the interpretation placed on Orm's lexical choices.

3. Orm's description is based firmly on Bede's *In Lucam*, Hurst, I. 206-12. On the significance of this passage, see below, pp. 458-59.

4. For deviations from Hall's text in this and subsequent passages, see Burchfield, 'Language and Orthography', p. 59, fn.1.


6. Whereas OE *ae* appears in the *Ormulum* as *ah*, 'OE short and long [y], spelt *y*, were unrounded to short and long [i] respectively in the
EMidl and the North', Bennett & Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose, p.xliv. Thus Orm's adoption of OE scyttan would probably have assumed the form shitenn. For the unrounding of OE short and long $e$ to $e$ and $\varepsilon$, see Bennett and Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose, p.xliv.


10. Orm expounds this doctrine clearly in another context; see 11.6810-53. The interpretation of the name of Nicodemus is probably derived from the comment in the Glossa on Ioan. III. 1 in Migne PL 114.366.

11. A good example is supplied by Vercelli Homily XX which is directly based, not on Prudentius, but on Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, cc. 27-34 in Migne PL 101.626-37.

12. Hurst, In Lucam, I.1221-25. This passage was extracted by the compiler of the Glossa (Migne PL.114.249). In his homily In Natiuitate Domini, Bede expounds on Luc. II.8 in a manner similar to that chosen for the commentary in In Lucam: Apte autem satia hoc superna est prouidentia dispositum ut nascente domino pastores in uicina ciuitatis eiusdem uigilaret suosque grezes a timore nocturno uigilando protegerent (ed., Hurst, Homiliae, I.6, p.42). Of Alfric's four Nativity homilies, only the first (Thorpe, CH I.28-44) deals methodically with Luc. II.1-14;
his comments on the watching shepherds seem to be based on those of Bede in his corresponding piece, and similarly make no allusion to spiritual struggle.


14. Hall, Selections II.487-92 provides parallel passages from Bede's In Lucam and from his Nativity homily; the close degree of correspondence suggests, as Hall maintains, that Orm had consulted both of Bede's works, or had access to extracts from both of them.

15. When Bede comes to expound Luc. II.13-14 in In Lucam, I.1295-1328 he builds, from Luke's cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis, a long explanation of the role of angels in spiritual warfare; the prominence given by Bede to this image is clearly reflected in Orm's application of the theme throughout his homily. In this sense, therefore, the context is one in which such imagery is appropriate. At the same time, the claims made of Orm and the Pauline text receive further corroboration from the fact that Bede makes no use of nor allusion to the metaphor in Ad Ephesios whatsoever. Bede's exposition is derived from that of Gregory in his Homelia in Evangelia XXXIV (Migne, PL 76. 1251) and is a conventional statement about spiritual protection provided by God's angels. Given that Bede's text would have supplied Orm with ample material for his teaching on spiritual combat, it is instructive to note that the latter, while accepting the doctrinal emphasis, resorts to the content particular to Ad Ephesios VI.11-18. At the same time, Orm's insistent use of traditionally employed vernacular terminology to express these ideas is equally marked. Also, I note that Bede, in following Gregory, quotes Ps.23.8, an appropriate verse for the
evocation of spiritual combat, but one which seems to have been con-
sidered more applicable to the episode of the Harrowing of Hell.
See André Vaillant, ed., L'Évangile de Nicodème (Paris: Droz, 1968),
p.66; Hulme, OE Gospel of Nicodemus, pp. 504. 506; Warner, Homilies,
p.85.
16. See especially, James E. Cross, 'Alfric - Mainly on Memory and
Creative Method in Two Catholic Homilies', Studia Neophilologica, 41.
17. Hall, Selections, II. 489-90.
18. See above, pp.135-37.
19. See above, pp.204-12.
20. See, for example, Gregory, Homelia XVI in Evangelia in Migne
PL 76. 1134-38; Homiliarum in Ezechielem, II.5 in Migne, PL 76.997-98.
Bede, In Lucam, IV.41-135 (ed., Hurst), pp.232 ff; his homily for
Octava Pentecostes, 11.176-90, in Hurst, Homilies, pp.315-16. Ambrose,
Expositionis in Lucam Libri IV in Migne, PL 15.1697-1709. Hraban Maur,
Commentariorum in Matthaeum Libri VIII in Migne PL 107.779-86.
21. In 11.17441-492, Orm interprets the brazen serpent which Moses
held up in the wilderness (Num. XXI.4-9) typologically in terms of the
wounds of sin and the healing power of Christ's death (cp. Thorpe,
CH II,238-40, and Pope, Homilies, 655-56). Though related to the
imagery of spiritual combat, the theme of the wounds of sin was more
often invoked in connection with repentance and the cleansing of sin.
See, for example, Bede's homily for Octava Pentecostes in Hurst,
Homilies, p.316, 11.203-11. For this trend in OE writings, see Hill,
Anglo-Saxon Creativity, pp.696-707. Elsewhere in his work, Orm couples
the theme of the wounds of sin with a healing metaphor, as in
11.2215-18, 4266-4301.

22. Ll. 14606, 14614, MS: nohes.

Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 34 (1919),
233-57. Surtees Society, Missale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Ebora-

24. The fusion of martial imagery and the sacrament of baptism recalls
Wulfstan's portrayal of the priest at baptism as the soul's shield
(Bethurum, Homilies, 178), quoted above, p.227. In addition to its
function in Elene, the cross as a symbol of victory in spiritual battle
is central to the meaning and structure of the Dream of the Rood which
presents the most extensive evocation of the doctrinal and iconographic
motifs surrounding this figure. See Michael Swanton, ed., The Dream
The implicit merging of Christ's body and the cross into a sustained,
intricate symbol of victory is presented much more prosaically in the
Ancrene Wisse, ed., Tolkien, pp.199-200, where the complex series of
allegorical correspondences sets the description apart from the more
completely metaphorical statements preferred by OE poets and homilists
and by Osm. On the probable influence of Bernard of Clarivaux's
writings on this passage from the Ancrene Wisse, see Geoffrey Shepherd,

25. Melchizedech's priesthood is regarded as prefiguring that of
Christ in Heb. VI.20 - VII.1 ff.

26. See above, n.24, and further, O.D. Macrae-Gibson, 'Christ the
Victor-Vanquished in The Dream of the Rood,' Neuphilologische Mitteil-

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27. In the Latin tradition see, for example, Gregory, Moralia in Job, in Migne, PL 75.521-22. For other references, and a discussion of the patristic background to the allegory, see James F. Doubleday, 'The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry', Anglia, 88 (1970), 503-08, whose concern it is to show how Cynwulf in Juliana 393b-409a, and the poet of Vainglor y (36b-39) make use of the figure developed in the Latin tradition. Gregory also writes elaborately on the opposition of vices and virtues in terms of this allegory in the Cura Pastoralis (Migne, PL 77.46-47), with which may be compared the OE Cura Pastoralis, 156-66.


32. See also, 11.10384-397, for example, where Christ the Bridegroom espouses the Church made clean by Baptism.

33. Homelia XVI in Evangelia in Migne, PL 76.1136.
34. Although I am dealing here more with the question of compositional elements than with linguistic formulations, the semantic suggestiveness of the words selected in the vernacular has a bearing on the emphasis with which the ideas invested. Orm's dependence on the range of vocabulary evocative of spiritual warfare in the vernacular is as marked as his proximity to the Latin tradition from which the doctrinal matter has been drawn.

35. Above, pp.205-06.

36. The Blickling homilist and the anonymous homilist of the piece in Cambridge MS CCC 162 both make reference to the Harrowing in association with the feast of Easter Sunder, (Morris, Blickling Homilies, 83-97; 85. CCC 162, pp.382-91, p.386). Alfric (Thorpe, CH I.216) makes a brief allusion to it in his homily for Palm Sunday.


38. In his homily In Nativitate Domini (Hurst, Homilies, I.6), Bede concentrates on the significance of the name Nazareth, and nowhere shows any concern for David. In his commentary on Luc. II.6-7, Bede develops the Gregorian teaching on Bethlehem and the Bread of Life - Bethlehem namque domus panis interpretatur - based on Gregory's words in his Homelia VIII in Evangelia in Migne, PL 76. 1104, and it is this passage (Hurst, In Lucam, I. 1160-77) which was incorporated into the Glossa (Migne, PL 114.249).


41. Read from a microfilm copy of the MS.

42. The _Descent into Hell_, 11. 61, 65 (cp.68) in _The Exeter Book_, ASPR III, p.220.


44. Temple, _Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts_, p.116.

45. The best facsimile of this drawing is found in Wormald, _An Eleventh Century Psalter_, pl.16. It is reproduced also in David Talbot-Rice, _English Art, 871-1100_ (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1952), pl.83a, and in George Henderson, _Early Medieval_ (Harmonsworth:Penguin, 1972), pl.50.

46. See Francis Wormald, _The Winchester Psalter_ (London:Harvey Miller, 1973), p.25, pl.27. The overall treatment here is quite different to that exemplified in the _Tiberius Psalter_.


48. It is worth noting, in passing, that the precise details in the partial translation of the _Evangelium Nicodemi_ in BL MS Cotton Vespasian D xiv, of _7 faste geband mid anes draca baclinge_ (Warner, _Homilies_, 86) describes the scene at the mouth of hell in exactly the same way as
that presented by the artist of the *Tiberius Psalter*. Together with the bound devil, which I have already remarked upon, the artist places beneath Satan 'a winged dragon with open jaws and a long scaly tail' (Henderson, *Early Medieval*, pp. 86-87). It seems, therefore, that the links between literary and iconographic representations of the Harrowing of Hell in the OE period were strong, and that they may have exercised a considerable influence on later writers likeOrm, especially when it is recognized that the latter was intent, in this and other areas, to exploit the work of earlier homilists and to accommodate it for his own ends.

49. The context is that of the Harrowing of Hell. Other notable examples of the imaginative mingling of this imagery include: Cynewulf's *Juliana*, 671b-95a, *The Dream of the Rood*, 28-47 (and see also, Swanton, *Dream of the Rood*, p. 70).

50. L.8808 MS: *beowwæs* seems to be one of the very few occasions on which Orm failed to excise the *eo*-graph.

51. There is an exception. On two occasions (11.1848, 1884) in the same context, Orm employs *oferrswifenn* to announce the defeat of the devil. On the significance of *oferrswifenn* and its relationship to *oferrswifenn*, see below, pp. 580-91.
CHAPTER SIX

CHANGING ASPECTS IN THE CONCEPT OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN THE ORMULUM (1)
6.1 The Changing Identity of the Miles Christi

In the sense that the Miles Christi in the Ormulum undergoes suffering willingly, that he resists the devil through passive means which ensures his ultimate victory, the figure shares characteristics common to spiritual warriors in the writings of Gregory, Bede and Ælfric. At the same time, the marked presence in the Ormulum of the Christus Miles figure, invoked at the Temptation, Crucifixion and Harrowing of Hell, echoes a compositional trend given great currency by OE homilists and characterises the Ormulum as a collection of homilies stimulated as much by native literary convention as by mainstream orthodoxy made available inOrm's immediate sources. This attachment to the trends and emphases established by Ælfric and other writers is underlined also by the similarity in the range of terminology adopted byOrm for the articulation of the Miles Christi figure. Some attempt has been made to identify the most important elements of the two word clusters, and while certain individual terms fall from usage, or are modified in their usage by the time the Ormulum was written, it is noticeable thatOrm relies rather heavily on a distinctive range of terminology established and popularised by OE writers; it is, therefore, to the continued usefulness of the 'articulated lexical sphere' in the Ormulum that importance should be attached, rather than to the occurrence
of individual terms in the imagistic language in both the Ormulum and the OE homiletic corpus.

In general terms, therefore, Orm's conception of the soldier of Christ differs little from the traditional view propounded by both patristic and OE writers. Yet there are several interesting areas in the text of the Ormulum where substantial modifications to this conventional martial imagery can be seen to operate. For patristic and OE writers alike, the Miles Christi is an historical phenomenon. He is one who followed Christ in the taking up of spiritual arms and who, in imitating Christ, achieved sainthood and martyrdom through the spiritual defeat of the world and its temptations. The Ormulum, however, as Matthes recognized, (Einheitlichkeit, pp.25f), could be described as a life of Christ, since Orm expounds on matter which is confined to gospel narrative, and which therefore does not provide for the glorification of traditionally conceived Milites Christi. Unlike that of Ælfric and the compilers of the Blickling and Vercelli books, Orm's chosen ground excluded, by definition, martyrs and saints. Within the framework of the gospel narrative and the application of typological correspondences there is, to be sure, opportunity for depicting several historical Milites. The most obvious example is that of Christ who is styled kemmpe (3587) in the same context in which David prefigures God's spiritual warriors in his fight with Goliath, Hæpene folkkess kemmpe (3591). Similarly, Job, who most emphatically illustrated the ability to suffer gladly and to resist by keeping faith, is called drihtiness kemmpe iob (4832); Orm also interprets John the Baptist's career as one exemplary of spiritual warfare (11.19900-904), and through the application of the 'treading down' motif, Jacob is said to prefigure those engaged in spiritual combat (11.2247-50).
The figure of Mary is also presented with the imagery which identifies the Miles Christi (11.2559-72).

Such references, though abundant, account only for a small proportion of the evocation of martial imagery in the Ormulum. So frequently and insistently is this theme presented by Orm that it may fairly be said to be an organising principle around which the intended emphases of the work were built. The key to this organising principle lies in the direct application of imagery associated traditionally with historical Milites Christi to the mass of the faithful. Predominantly in OE homilies and lives of saints, Christians were exhorted to lead their lives in accordance with the directives laid down in Paul's Ad Ephesios VI.11-20 through the exemplary intermediary of saint or martyr. In the Ormulum, it is on the basis of Christ's actions alone that the faithful are urged to adopt the identity of the Miles Christi.

A measure of Orm's insistence on the immediacy of Christ's life for the body of the faithful can be gauged from his opening expository remarks on Christ's Temptation. As I have shown, the homily most fully presents the figure of Christ as Miles; Orm dwells at great length on the nature of Christ's victory. However, before he comes to explain the significance of the spiritual battle, he announces to his audience:

Acc 3uw birrp witenn witerrli3
7 sikerrlike trowwenn,
Patt he wass ledd þurrh haliz faest
7 þurrh hiss aȝhenn will
Ut intill wilde 7 wessteland,
To ben þurrh desfell fandedd;
Forr þatt he wollde showwenn swa
All mannkinn þurrh hiss bisne
Hu cristess hird - crisstene follo
Birrp fihtenn ȝem þe desfell,
7 winnen swex 7 oferrhand
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.

(11. 11411-422)
All which follows is therefore directly applicable to *cristene folle*; Orm announces the faithful's involvement in spiritual combat prior to his exemplary exposition of the pericope. The smooth transition from the particular to the general is obtrusive and, for that reason, immediate. The insistence to invest the whole body of the faithful with the identity and the attributes of the traditional, saintly soldier of God is evident throughout the collection.

In the first fitt, for example, Orm expounds the significance of angelic help such as that received by Zachary from Gabriel. Instead of dwelling on the former's misplaced fear at the sight of the angel, Orm turns immediately, through his example, to mankind in general:

```
Forr ure wrecche kinde iss swilla
patt itt ma33 ben forrfæredd,
3iff patt itt ohht famlike sep
pe white off ennglekinda.
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(11. 663-66)

and thereafter develops an image of spiritual warfare directed at his audience, whom he reassures:

```
Acc whas itt iss patt wmpnedd iss
Wipp fulle trowwpe o criste,
Pohn patt he se pe lape ëast,
Niss he rihtt nohht forrfæredd.
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(11. 677-80)

In the second fitt comes *this lengthy appreciation of Mary*:

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Forr 3ho wass ëod utnumennli3,
7 milde 7 mec 7 blipe,
3a towardd ëodd, 3a towardd mann,
Onn alle kinne wise,
7 3ho wass full off sopfæsat ëild
To ëolenn 7 to dre3enn
Wipp sop mecle33c, wipp witt, wipp skill,
Ille sellpe 7 ille unnsellpe.
```
Orm begins by ascribing to Mary the qualities of patience and passive suffering. Concentrating on the necessity for exercising patience in the service of God, the example of Mary is quickly set aside to allow the transition — Swa pātt itt mu3he ben till uss — which equates spiritual warfare directly with his audience.

One of the most striking pieces of evidence for this shift of emphasis is to be found in recognising the strictly limited function of the OE phrase Godes ðeow, and howOrm's corresponding ðodes (or cristess) ðeoww is given considerably wider application. In the main, OE Godes ðeow is a phrase applied only to saints and martyrs and, by extension, to monks and priests. Among the instances of its application to saints (where it is occasionally seen to be closely synonymous to phrases of the type Godes cempa), are the following:

sope Cristes ðeowas (Peter and Paul) (Morris Blickling Homilies, 187)
þinum ðeowe (Matthew) (Ibid., 229)
þinum þeowe (Andrew) (Ibid., 241)
sod godes þeow (Sebastian) (Skeat LSS I.122)
þu, godes þeowa (Mark) (Ibid., 324)
ac eom godes þeowa (Thomas) (Skeat LSS II.414)
On a large number of occasions, the phrase describes monks (who are the successors to martyrs in spiritual combat), and priests, as in:

- micel menigu Godes Æowa (OE Cura Pastoralis, 4)
- Hild seo Cristes þeowa (OE Bede, 332)
- Godes þeowas (Fowler, Canons, 1)
- cristene scoldan Godes læge and Godes þeowas griðian. (Bethurum, Homilies, 268)
- þa Godes þeowas heora tidsangas & heora cyricean mid rihte healdan. (Morris, Blickling Homilies, 47.49)
- þa gelamp after þon þat þes eadiga wer Sanctus Martinus sum mŷnarter getimbrede, & he on ðam manigra Godes þeowa gastlic fêder gewearð. (Ibid., 217)

The usage of the phrase in the Ormulum is, to some extent, compatible; John the Baptist, for example, is referred to as the servant of God on several occasions:

- tatt cristess þeow ðechn
  (11.9651, 10366)

7 forþþi seþde iæsu crist
Till sannt ðechn bapptise, 
Þatt he þær shollde fïllenn swa
All rihhtwisnessess mahhte, 
Þurrh þatt he shollde fullhtnedd ben
Att himm þatt wass hiss shaffte,
Þurrh þatt he shollde lahþhenn himm
Underr hiss þewwess hande
He þatt wass alle shaffte Godd,
Þatt alle shaffte wrohhte.

(11.10754-763)

Þiss iss mi blisse þatt icc amm
Þiss wurrþedd her onn erfe,
Þurrh þiss bridgume, 7 nohht þurrh me,
Ne þurrh min æþhenn mahhte,
þatt icc ma33 þiss bridgume sen,
7 tatt icc ma33 himm cnawenn,
Overwhelmingly, however, it is to the faithful in general that phrases of this type are applied. A good example of the trend is to be seen in this extract from the exposition in fitt five:

In fitt twenty, cristess peww identifies all those who have been baptized:

In the Temptation homily, the phrase is made to operate in a statement which links baptism to spiritual combat:
Far from restricting it to individuals worthy of special veneration, Orm gives the status of Godess ðeowwess to the mass of the faithful:

The identification of both John the Baptist and the mass of the faithful through phrases of the type cristess ðeoww in the Ormulum is indicative of Orm's desire to invest his audience with the spiritual strength hitherto manifested only in God's elect. Whereas OE homilists reserved the status of Godes ðeow to saints, martyrs and their priestly successors, Orm elevates the faithful Christian to the company of the Baptist and to spiritual soldiers in general.

This growth, if it may so be termed, in the number of God's soldiers is wholly compatible with the inauguration of the Church Militant, in which each member is urged to take up arms against the devil, and which is clearly expressed by Orm in this passage:

Patt ure laferrd issu crist
Waes cwenn ða to manne,
To timbrenn himm þurrh hiss fulluhht
An casstell ðæn þe ðefell,
An crisstnedd follo þatt sholdde wel
Þurrh rihht ðod trowwþess wæppenn,
Wel stanndenn ðæn þe læp ðæst.

(11.18110-116)
At the same time, it should be remembered that Orm's characterization of the whole of God's faithful as spiritual soldiers is not without precedent. It is implicit in Paul's words to the Ephesians, in the passage which furnished much of the imagery adopted by OE writers and by Orm alike. More importantly, I have been able to show that while OE homilists were largely content to present traditional Milites Christi by drawing attention to some saintly individual, Alfric and others towards the end of the OE period did make some attempt to apply the image complex of the Miles Christi directly to their audiences, even though this is by no means a marked feature of their writings. In comparison, Orm may be said to combine the all-embracing, direct statement typical of the homiletic genre with the glorification of spiritual combat associated primarily with the saint's life. The poet of Guthlac A introduces his life of the saint with the statement that:

Monge sindon geond middangeard
hadas under heofonum, þa þe in haligra
rim arisað. We þæs ryht magun
êt mehwylcum anra gehyran
gif we halig bebodu healdan willað.

(ASPR III, 11.30-34)

Intermittently in the OE corpus, and manifestly throughout the whole of the Ormulum, what is witnessed is a practical demonstration of the poet's words.

If, in this sense, the particular identity conferred on the Miles Christi in the Ormulum can be interpreted as a realization of a trend partially adopted by OE homilists, it is also necessary to assert that Orm's spiritual warriors display characteristics which differ substantially from those evidenced in OE writings. The figure of the Miles Christi in the Ormulum is not only equated with all the faithful members of the Church, it is also presented in terms which emphasise, rather than
thwart, an aggressive martial stance inherent in the traditional imagery. The first major manifestation of this trend which I want to investigate is contained in the articulation and function of the 'treading down' motif.

6.2 The Treading Down Motif and its Relationship to the Figure of the *Miles Christi*.

There are a number of good reasons for investigating the form and function of the 'treading down' image in the *Ormulum*. For *Orm*, it is associated with a specific function, that of extending the range and effectiveness of his teaching on the Christian life as a spiritual combat. As with other aspects of his martial imagery, the 'treading down' motif is systematically exploited; unlike the image of the arrows of sin, contained in the allusion to the shooting in the heart - *shetenn inn hiss herrte* (3829) - it appears in a relatively fixed form on a number of distinct but related contexts. It is consciously manipulated by *Orm*, and comparison with the representations of the *Miles Christi* in OE writings shows that *Orm* was, as far as the evidence allows one to judge, the first English writer to integrate the motif fully with more common and widespread imagistic modes. In the extracts quoted so far from the *Ormulum*, there are many examples of the application of the motif; in order to give specific illustration to my argument here, I will repeat some of the more notable illustrations.

The action of treading down illicit desire, either by name, or through the person of the devil, is said to have been performed by a variety of both personnages and of virtues. Of the Virgin Mary, *Orm* says:
At the Temptation, through the manifestation of passive resistance to the devil, Orm says of Christ:

7 ḫo wass full off strenności 7 mahht,
To stanndenn ȝan þe defell;
Forr ȝho tradd defell unnderrfot
þwerre ut onn alle wise.

(11.2559-62)

In the closely related Crucifixion scene, where the devil is again vanquished by Christ, Orm includes this striking assessment of the victory:

7 ure laferrd iesu crist
Iss king off alle kingess,
To fihhtenn forr hiss hallȝhe follo
O rode ȝan þe defell,
7 mahhtiȝ king 7 strang inch
Inn hiss goddcunnde kinde,
To tredenn all unnderr hiss fot
þe lape ġastess strenności.

(11.18128-135)

In the Dedication, one of the last written portions of the poem, the image is characteristically urged on all men:

Witt shulenn tredenn unnderrfot annd all þwerre
ut forrwerppenn
Pe dom off all patt lape flocc, patt iss þurrah
nip forrblendedd.

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 37-38)

In the long presentation of the opposition between Vices and Virtues, in fitt six, the 'treading down' image is extensively used in statements.
of victory which are essentially repetitions or close reworkings of each other. For example:

7 be ēu zernfull niht 7 da33
To fol33enn ðødøss wille.
Piss mahhte tredēpp unnderrfot
Jittsunng 7 ērediñnesse.

(11.4694-97)

Of meekness, Orm asserts:

Piss mahhte tredēpp unnderrfot
All Ľrimełele33c 7 brappe,
7 hete 7 nip 7 apperrmod
Itt drifēpp fra þin herrte.

(11.4718-21)

Similarly, he urges all men to cultivate humility, because:

Piss mahhte tredēpp unnderrfot
7 owennkepp i þin herrte
All rosinnng 7 all idel þellp.

(11.4900-02)

Several important points arise from these quotations. First, while the image of treading down is firmly allied to that of spiritual combat, it is not restricted to any one representative of the body of spiritual warriors presented in the poem, neither is it confined to one specific context. I have not been able to trace an immediate source for any of these pronouncements, such as that offered in the first chapter for the extracts from the Temptation homily, and in view of the prominence of the ultimate source material in both the liturgy and in iconographic representations (which I shall deal with presently), it seems possible that no such stimulus would have been necessary. In addition, from Turville-Petre's study of the relative chronology of the various parts of the text, it is clear that the form and function of the motif had
been completely formulated by Orm before he began to write, or at an early stage thereafter.

Of greater moment is the observation that the verbal phrases *tredenn dun, tredenn underrfot* and the verb *oferrtredenn* which appear in the extracts given above, are well integrated into the existing, more traditional material which I have previously identified as having been derived, on the one hand, from the Pauline image of spiritual conquest, and articulated through reliance on vernacular modes of expression. The treading down motif effectively complements and extends the significance of Orm's standard, and in some measure inherited, terminology, as is shown by its interaction with the more familiar terms *strenncpe, 7 mahht, To stanndenn xen (2559-60; 18132-135; 4696), fihhtenn (18130)* and *oferrcomm (12492, 12505, 12521)*.

The widespread application of the image and its amalgamation with key elements in the standard word cluster expressing spiritual overcoming is strong argument that the detail of treading down was consciously adopted by Orm and made to operate in such a way that would extend the range of traditional imagery surrounding the figure of the Miles Christi. This observation, in turn, suggests that the traditional concept of spiritual overcoming was so well established in Orm's time that it was considered desirable to revitalize it in some way which would reinforce the didactic effect of its conventional components. If accepted, this suggestion would underline the previously expressed view that Orm was fully aware of the achievements of past homilists and was intent upon preserving and extending those parts of their work which he considered most useful.

The ultimate source of the image is biblical. Statements of the
treading down of vice or sin, whether applied by Orm to Mary or to all the faithful Christians, derive from the image of Christ treading the Beasts, which is itself taken directly from this verse from the ninthieth psalm:

\[
\text{Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis} \\
\text{Et conculcabis leonem et draconem}
\]

(Ps. 90.13)

Psalm ninety, in liturgical texts, is most firmly associated with the First Sunday in Lent. In the later Roman rite, verses 1-7, 11-16 were recited at the Tractus; at the Introit, verses 15-16; the Graduale comprised verses 11-12 (which figure also in Matth. IV.6), while at the Offertorium and the Communio, provision was made for the recitation of the fourth and fifth verses.

The association of the treading down motif and the figure of the Miles Christi is implicit in the Psalm itself, as these verses make clear:

\[
\text{Scuto circumdabit te veritas eius;} \\
\text{Non timebis a timore nocturno;} \\
\text{A sagitta volante in die,} \\
\text{A negotio perambulante in tenebris,} \\
\text{Ab incursu, et daemonio meridiano.} \\
\text{Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem millia} \\
\text{a dextris tuis;} \\
\text{Ad te autem non approprinquabit.}
\]

(vv. 5-7)

and is further signalled by the epistolary reading, II Ad Corinthios VI. 1-10, in which there occurs this reference to spiritual arms:

\[
\ldots\text{in verbo veritatis, in virtute Dei,} \\
\text{per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris...}
\]

(II Ad Corin. VI. 7)
The gospel pericope for the day is Matth. IV.1-11, on the Temptation in the desert, a text which many writers, both in Latin and in OE, expounded in terms of spiritual struggle. Its appropriateness to the other liturgical texts for the day is shown through the incorporation of vv.11-12 of Psalm 90 in the Matthean account, in the following form:

Et dixit ei: Si Filius Dei es, mitte te dorsum. Scriptum est enim: Quia angelis suis mandavit de te, et in manibus tollent te, ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.

(Matth. IV.6)

Liturgical authority, therefore, drew together the images of spiritual weaponry and the treading down of the beasts in the context of the Temptation, thus providing patristic commentators with the basis for interpreting the verses of Psalm 90 with the figure of the Miles Christi. Eusebius, for example, links the devil's deceptive words with the Temptation and interprets the psalm as showing the subjugation and subsequent adoration of the beasts:

Alio item sensu prophetia videtur mihi vaticinari omnem humanum Salvatoris nostri vitae modum; dico autem primam tentationem; illam item, quam in passione sustinuit; ac, etiam eam, quam post solutionem corporis fecit contra adversarias potestates irruptionem. Et haec quidem prima et praeipsa in psalmo sunt: vulgariori autem more dicatur haec prophetia tentationem in deserto significare, qua tentatus esse a diabolo narratur in Evangelio; secundo vero, quibus angelos ejus corpori ministraisse declaratur, ejus in humana vita conversationem indicat; tertia autem, quibus dicitur, eum super aspidem et basiliscum ambulasse, et conculcasse, leonem et draconem, ipsum post mortem de principibus spiritibus victoriam reportasse narrat.

(Migne, PG 23.1166)
Bede also makes capital from what the devil left unsaid in the gospel account:

Scriptum est enim quod angelis suis mandavit de te ut conservent te et quia in manibus tollent te ne forte offendat ad lapidem sedem tuum. Hoc in nonagesimo psalmo legimus, uerum ibi non de Christo sed de uiro sancto prophetia est. Male ergo interpretatur scripturas diabolus. Certe si uere de salvatore scriptum nouerat, debuerat et illud dicere quod in eodem psalmo contra se sequit: Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. De angelorum auxilio quasi ad infirmum loquitur de sui conculatione quasi tergiuersator tacet.

(Hurst, In Lucam, I.3077-87)

Bede's words here derive directly from Jerome's exposition in his In Mattheum, (Migne, PL 26.32-33). Jerome's explanation was adopted by Smaragdus in his commentary on Matth. IV.1-11, in his Collectiones in Epistola et Evangelia, and also by the complier of the pseudo-Bede commentary In Mattheum. These two texts, together with the passage from Bede's In Lucam, given above, were cited by Max Förster as probable sources for 11.47-152 of Ælfric's homily for Dominica Prima in Quadragesima, which is the portion of the homily in which Ælfric treats the pericope methodically. All three Latin writers agree in drawing the thirteenth verse of Ps.90 into their commentaries as an illustration both of the devil's deceit and of his subjugation.

There are three OE homilies on the Temptation, namely, the Ælfrician piece in the first series of Catholic Homilies, the third Blickling homily, and the other anonymous homily in Oxford MS, Bodleian Bodley 17343, fols., 158-60. In contrast to the prevailing emphasis in those
Latin commentaries most likely to have influenced OE writers, I quote the relevant portions of these works:

Wenn is cop pat se awergda gast
ongan Codex bec trahtian, & pa so
leah; forpon pis nes goewadan be
Criste pat his fot et stane of-
spurne, ah be halgum monnum; forpon
he englas beop ãa halgum mannum on
fultume swa swa soylid.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 29)

Her begann se deofol to reccanne halige
gewritu and he leah mid ãyre race;
forCan ãe he is leas, and man soztstynys
nis on him; ac he is fade ãlcre
leasunge. Nes pat na awritten be Criste
pat he ãa sade, ac was awritten be
halgum mannum; hi behofinã engla fultumes
on ëssum life, pat se deofol hi costnian
ne mote swa swide swa he wolde.

(Thorpe, CH I.170)

On ësne anne godspel we rodap ã deofel
ongan halige bec to reccan, ah he ãa sone
ponne forms cwide leah - swa him ealc lyVe,
7 elc leasunge bilimpã. Nes hit nafr
sunderlice bi Crista iseid ã him secoldon
gles on fultume cumen: ac hit wa
isungen 7 iwritten bi halige man 7 bi
halige sawlen. For ëan ãe englas beoã
heom on fultume her on woerlde; 7 æt
ponne heo of ëisse life faraã, ãonne
cumã heo ãar sona ãam sawle to helpe
7 to burjene 7 heom scyldeã wid hearde
stane, ã is deofel, ã heo nafr æt ãam
ne spurneã;

(Belfour, Homilies, 102)

Before considering the implications of this evidence, I give in full
the corresponding passage from the Ormulum:

7 ëurrh ãat tatt he drohh ãer forp
Pe bokess lace 7 se33de,
Forr writenn iss o boã, ãatt he
Wel hafepp se33d 7 swidedd
Forrlannge till hiss engleped
Off ãe ãatt arrt himm dere,
It seems most probable to me that Orm's explanation is based on that of Bede, given above on p. 518. The content of both passages is consistent with such a view, and strengthened by a number of distinctive verbal parallels. Orm's too... All wrang (11.11925-926) is an accurate rendition of Bede's Male ergo interpretatur, and is considerably closer to the Latin than is the detail that the devil lied - leah - adopted by the OE homilists. Cristess þéoww (11927) answers to de uiro sancto while Orm's reference to davip þe profete (11928) effectively explains Bede's prophetia est. Further, To þæmenn 7 to frofrenn (11933) is an
accurate rendition of De (anglorum) auxilio; Bede's allusion to the weak - quasi ad infirmum is echoed through Orm's burrh flæshæs unntrummnesse (11938), and Bede's exposure of the devil's silence - tacet - is also reproduced in Orm's account in his nollde nohht ... ne meænæn (11.11939-940). Finally, it should be noted that Bede's exposition from In Lucam was incorporated into the Glossa, (Migne, PL 114.254), which Orm is likely to have consulted in the composition of this homily.

To return to the OE texts, it is possible that the three explanations are the result of independent borrowing from, say, the relevant passages in Jerome and Bede; yet it is doubtful whether all three homilists would have independently rendered the Latin Male ergo interpretatur (Hurst, In Lucam, I.3081-82) for example, by asserting that the devil lied - leah. In addition, there is a relatively high degree of verbal correspondence among the OE extracts (especially between Alfric's and that of the Bodley homilist), which makes it likely that all three passages are dependent on one source. That this source is not Bede is further suggested by the improbability of all three homilists independently suppressing the introduction of Ps.90.13.

However, it is highly probable that Alfric did consult Bede's exposition on Luc. IV.1-13 for his Temptation homily, and that he would therefore have been aware of the imagery of Ps.90.13 and its applicability to the glorification of the Temptation as a spiritual victory. It is clearly not possible to claim much from this negative evidence. Even though Alfric may well have been conversant with the content of Bede's exposition of Luc. IV.1-13, the absence of any reference to the treading of the beasts in his, and in the other two homilies, could be accounted for plausibly by the fact that these homilists followed closely a source.
from which the detail was missing. Since I have been unable to identify this source, little significances can be attached to the passing over of the treading down motif in the OE pieces.

However, in the wider view, the point is instructive in that it accurately reflects the marked absence of any forceful exploitation of the imagery deriving from Ps.90.13 in the OE corpus as a whole.

In order to demonstrate this absence, and to place in perspective the development in the Ormulum, I propose to examine, briefly, the most pertinent texts from the earlier homiletic corpus.

In addition to Ps.90.13, another biblical passage associates the action of treading down with the subjugation of devils. Luke records the return of the seventy-two chosen disciples to Christ thus:

Reversi sunt autem septuaginta duo
cum gaucho, dicentes: Domine, etiam
daemonia subiiciuntur nobis in
nomine tuo. Et ait illis: Videbam
Satanam sicut fulgur de caelo
cadentem. Ecce dedi vobis potestatem
calcandi supra serpentem, et scorpiones,
et super omnem virtutem inimici: et
nihil vobis nocebit.

(Luc. X.17-19)

In a homily for Dominica Quarta post Pascha, Alfric incorporates Luke's account into his main source, Alcuin's Commentaria in Ioannis Evangelium, and says this:

Dam deofle was gademad þurh ures Drihtnes Ærowunge,
swa þat he him of anam Adames ofspring,
and forgæaf his apostolum þone anweald ofer hine,
þat hi mhton adrafan deoflu of ðam wodum,
and sall þæs deoflea miht hi mhton fortredan,
and se yfelæ ne mihte heom ahwar derian.

(Pope, Homilies, 348)
In characteristic fashion, Alfric silently builds his interpretation of serpentes et scorpionem into his translation. Most noticeable, however, is the fact that while the passage from Luke speaks of the treading down of the devil's power in a way which vividly recalls the form and content of Ps.90.13, Alfric was evidently not disposed to allude to the imagery therein, nor does he make any attempt to develop Luke's words into a statement of spiritual combat and victory.

In the following piece in the Catholic Homilies, for Dominica in Media Quadragesima, which expounds the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand (Ioan. VI.1-13), Alfric teaches that the giving of bread is to be interpreted as the acceptance of divine law. He treats the fact that the multitude sat on the grass allegorically, and says:

\[ \text{Dat gērs getacnode flæsclice gewilnunga, swa swa se witega cwec: "Alc flæsc is gērs, and ðæs flæsces wuldor is swilce wyra blœstm". Nu sceal gehwa, seðe wile sittan at Codes gereorde, and brucan ðære gastlican læré, oftredan ðat gērs and ofsittan, ðat is, ðat he sceal ða flæsclican lustas gewyldan, and his lichaman to Codes þewdome symle gebiån.} \]

(Thorpe, CH I.188)

In this case, the detail of the treading down is used imagistically to denote the suppression of illicit desire, and is strengthened by Alfric's use of gewyldan. But the statement is undeveloped, and the distinct absence of any terminology associated with the figure of the Miles Christi or of less stylized spiritual struggle is to be explained by the homilist's close dependence on his source, Bede's homily In Quadregesima (II.2); the relevant passage reads:

\[ \text{Faenum in quo discumbens turba reficitur concupiscentia carnalis intellegitur quam calcare ac premere debet omnis qui spiritualibus alimentis satiari desiderat;} \]
Omnis enim caro faenum et omnis gloria eius tamquam flos faeni (Isa XL.6).
Discumbat ergo super faenum ut florem faeni conterat, id est castiget corpus suum et servituti subiciat uoluptates carnis edomet luxuriae fluxa restringat quisque panis uiui cupid suavitute refici quisquis supernae gratiae dapibus renouari amat ne infima uelustate deficiat causeat.

(Hurst, Homilies, 197)

There are several other Alfrician examples of the metaphorical use of tredan and related verbs which are totally unconnected to the image complex of the Miles Christi and which remain undeveloped; in all cases, they are closely modelled on Latin source material. Even when Bede, or an anonymous compiler contemporary with him, in another piece, integrates the metaphor into a context which, with the merest of hints, could have been developed into a vivid portrayal of the Miles Christi, as in the In Eadem Solemnitate Omnium Sanctorum, thus:

Sancti isti, quorum hodie mentionem facimus, florentem mundum mentis despectu calcaverunt.

(Migne, PL 94.455)

Alfric's response does not surpass the bounds laid down by the Latin text. Of the ancerstela, Alfric says simply:

Pa on westenum wunigende, woruldlice estas and gesaan mid strecum mode and stibum life fortrödon. Hi forflugon woruld-manna gesihē and herunge, and on waclicum Screafum cibē hullcum lutigende, deorum geferlīhto, to engelicum sprēcum gewunode, on micolum wundrum scinende waorman. Blindum hi forgeafon gesihē, healturn fareld, deafum hlyst, dubburn spraco. Deoflu hi oferswyōdōn and afligōn, and ūa deadan þurh Godes mihto armōdon.

(Thorpe, CH I.544)
It is reasonable to suppose that Alfric here presents the anchorites as *Milites Christi* for they are said to overcome devils—*oferswyðon*—and to have power over death through the acquisition of divine strength—*pwrh Godes mihte*. At the same time, it is noticeable that there is no obvious imagistic relationship between *oferswyðon* and the metaphorical use of *fortradon*, as there clearly is in *Orm*'s pairing of *oferrc~ oferrtradd* (11.12492-493, etc.). The image of spiritual overcoming is itself given little embellishment and Alfric clearly does not exploit the didactic possibilities inherent in the development of the image through the integration of *fortradon* and *oferswyðon*.

A final example worthy of comment is to be found in Alfric's *In Festiuitate Sancti Petri Apostoli; item de Sancto Petro*, in an extended metaphor comparing the world to the sea:

```
Gif òu lufast God, þonne fortretst òu þa 
woruldlican styrunga; gif òu lufast þas 
worulda, heo besencð òa, forðan òe heo ne 
cann aberan hire lufigendæs, ac cann 
beþæcan. Gif òin heorte floteræð on 
ðissere worulde gytsunge, ðódæ on yfelre 
gewilnumne, and þu wylle hi oferswyðan, 
clypa to Cristes fultume. Ne cep òu swa 
swiðe ðisses middaneardæs stylnyse, ac 
asmea ðíne heortan, hwæðer heo on stilnyse 
sy. Hawa þæt se inra wind þe ne towende. 
Micel geselð bið þe, þæt òu on ðíne 
gesalðe ne forfare. Leorna þæt òu cunne 
fortredan ðas worulð: trúa on Crist, and 
gif òu hwilon. dyfæ þurh woruldlicum 
lustfullungum, cwæ ðe ðínum Drihtne, 
"Drihten, ic losige: help min".
```

(Thorpe, CH II.392, 394)

Here, the two-fold use of *fortradan*, coupled with the phrase and *þu wylle oferswyðan* suggests that the treading image has been successfully accommodated into the statement of spiritual overcoming. However, any judgement on Alfric's manipulation of imagery here must take account of
his source material, derived from one of Augustine's sermons, which reads as follows:

Amas Deum; ambulas super mare, sub pedibus est sæculi timor. Amas sæculum, absolvébit te. Amatores suas vorare novit, non portare. Sed cum fluctuat cupiditatem cor tuum, ut vincas tuam cupiditatem, invoca Christi divinitatem......Disce calcare sæculum, memento fidere in Christo.

Both distinctive details are supplied by Augustine's Latin, which Alfric accepts and adopts without elaboration. In general, these homiletic examples reveal that the image of treading down did not receive much attention, was not the focus of imaginative exploitation, and was not linked to any specific context.

There are, in addition, several illustrations of the image in OE lives of saints which will bear scrutiny. In the Passio Sancti Eustachii Martyris Sociorumque Elva, a non-Alfrician piece, the homilist gives this account of God's blessing on Eustace who, after witnessing the vision of the cross between the stag's horns, submits to baptism:

Eadig þu eart þe onfenge þone þweal minre gife and þe ge-cyrodest mid undealdlicynse. and nu þu oferswiþdest deofol and fortæde þone þe þe beswac.

(Skeat LSS II.196)

The direct interdependence here of oferswiþdest and fortæde closely resembles, in both form and intention, Orm's distinctive pairing of oferroom and oferrtradd in his Temptation homily. Yet, as with the homiletic examples, the inclusion of the treading metaphor within the portrait of the Miles Christi is wholly determined by the source which the writer followed; compare:
Beatus es Eustathi, qui accepiisti lavacrum gratiae meæ, et qui induisti te immortalitate. Modo superasti diabolum, modo conculcasti eum, qui te deceperat, modo spoliasti te corruptibilem hominem, et indutus es incorruptibilem permanentem in secula seculorum.

Certain details in other lives of saints are interesting in that they call to mind the image of the treading down of devils, not through verbal similarity, but through incident in the narrative itself. In both extant versions of the OE life of St. Margaret the saint, faced by a devil during her confinement in prison, gains mastery over him by making the sign of the cross in his presence and by holding him prostrate with the aid of her foot. The author of the Passio Sanctae Margaretae Virginis, preserved in London BL MS Cotton Tiberius A iii, fols. 71v-75v, presents the scene thus:

29
Seo halga margareta segræp þa deofol
be þam locce. 7 hine on eorþan awearp.
7 his swþran ege ut astang 7 ealle his
ban heo to bryse. 7 sette hire swþran
fott ofer his swyre.

While the two OE versions are, in all probability, independent rend-
itions of Latin vitae, they are both, with equal probability, derived from different recensions of the same Latin text. This Latin version, which was most influential in Medieval England, is printed by Mombritius, and the relevant passage reads as follows:

32
Tunc sancta Margarita uirgo compræhendit
damonem et per capilos deflexit eum in
terræm: et posuit pedem suum dextrum
super cerucem eius.

This detail is faithfully and unimaginatively repeated in the EME life, preserved in Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 34, and in BL MS Royal 17 A xxvii;
"for ich habbe to help min healent in heouene, 
t te worldes wealdent is ihwer mi warant.  Pah 
pu strong were pa pu weorredest me, he was 
muchale strengre, pe hofde to biwite me". Wið 
pis, pa pudde ha o pe purs feste wið hire fot, 
wio euch-an of peose word.......... 

The EME life of Seinte Iuliena also provides two possible allusions 
to the Miles treading down her foes. During the long confrontation of 
the devil and the saint in the prison cell, the narrator underlines 
Juliana's superiority and victory by describing an incident with marked 
similarities to that previously encountered in the life of Margaret. 
Juliana responds to the half-hearted threats of the devil: 

Ant grap a great raketehe, þet ha wes wið 
ibunden, ant bond bihindan his rug ba twa 
his honden, þet him wrong eah neil ant 
blakede of þe blode; ant duste him ruglunge 
adun riht to þer sorce, ant stondinde o 
þe stecroue, nom hire ahne bondes, ant bigon 
to beaten þen belial of helle. 

(d'Ardenne, Seinte Iuliena, 11.445-51) 

In this case, the detail is missing both from the text collated by 
Bolland for the Acta Sanctorum and from the twelfth century version in 
Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 285, the two texts which were most influential 
in the formation of the life in England. 

The other instance in Seinte Iuliena occurs in one of the saint's long 
eulogies of Christ. Elaborating on the putative source, she is said 
to refer to events which span both the Old and the New Testaments and 
which point to the Christus Miles and thus to her own position; she 
dwells on the flight of the Israelites to the Promised Land: 

....ant feddest ham fowrti þer i þe wilder-
nesse wið heouenliche fode, ant wurpe under 
hare uet hare fan alle.......... 

(Ibid., 11.587-89)
I conclude the textual evidence relating to the vernacular reception of the image of the treading of the beasts by referring to the OE version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* where, in the description of the central event, the Harrowing of Hell, it is said that:

> Ac se wuldoræsta cyning. 7 ure heofenlicca hlaorð þa noide þæra doofla gemægæles mare habban. ac he þone deoflican deað feor nyðor atræd. 7 he satan georap. 7 hyne fæste gebæd. 7 hyne þære helle sealde. on angeweald.

(Hulme; OE *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 506)

Once again, it is clear that the OE translator was guided by the work of the Latin compiler, who says:

> Tunc rex gloriae majestate sua conculcans mortem et comprehendens Satan principem tradidit inferi potestati, et attraxit Adam ad suam claritatem.

(Vaillant, *Evangile de Nicodéme*, 72)

Accurate reflexions of this tradition, linking the image with the *Miles* at the Harrowing of Hell, are demonstrated by at least two anonymous OE homilists which deal exclusively with the event. The first, extant in Cambridge MS CCC 41, to which I have referred in another context, places the detail after the release of Adam and Eve. The homilist relates:

> Da se stranga wið þæne stranga gersæde, þa ure Drihten acom and þæt ealdor diofol gebæd and trad under his fotum [and] þæs diofules miht lytlode.

The final piece provides conclusive proof that the dramatic posture of Christ and Satan at the Harrowing of Hell is a symbolic representation of the figure of *Christus super asnidem*. The writer of a homily with the rubric *De Descensu Christi ad Infernos* in Oxford MS Bodleian
Junius 121, fols. 148b-154b, describes Satan's demise thus:

\[ \text{pa he } \text{pene aeldor ealles wrohtes and } \text{pene ordfruman alices yeles ecere } \text{nyberunga geniherod and mid ecum bendum gebunden hafde, } \text{pa was gefyllde } \text{pat gefyrn worulde be Criste gesungen was and gewitegod: Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconum, } \text{pæt is: Du tredst leon and dracon.} \]

(Reynes, Homilies, 76)

This represents the extent of the textual evidence known to me, from which certain inferences may be made. First, there is no indication that the figure of the Christus super aspidem was ever taken up imaginatively by OE writers; all of the occurrences which I have been able to trace depend, directly or indirectly, entirely on their presence in Latin source books.

Second, in those examples where the treading down image is successfully merged with an announcement of spiritual overcoming, as dictated by the Latin source material, OE writers never allude to the Christus super aspidem, and appear to be unwilling to extend the force of their imagery surrounding the Miles Christi through the integration of this detail.

Third, it is also apparent that if the image deriving from Ps. 90.13 was associated with any specific context in the minds of OE homilists, it was the context of the Harrowing of Hell which, in the popular Evangelium Nicodemi, provided the necessary verbal stimulus.

In contrast, the presentation of the image of treading down in the Ormulum is integrated into the traditional terminology of the Miles Christi in such a way as to add to the overall didactic force of the image complex; further, it is intimately associated with two specific contexts in Christ's life, namely, the Temptation and the Crucifixion and, again in contradistinction to the OE homiletic corpus, the
appreciation of Orm's verbal synthesis is enhanced through an understanding of the iconographic traditions relating to the presentation of the Christus super aspidem. In the early English milieu, it is with the dominant central panel on the north face of the Ruthwell Cross that initial interest has traditionally been shown.

A good deal of interest has been shown both in the style of the individual panels and in the iconographic unity of the cross as a whole. Addressing himself to the latter problem, Meyer Schapiro has argued most convincingly that the panel depicting Christ and the beasts is not to be regarded as a sculptural representation of the Christus super aspidem, but rather of 'Christ with the beasts' in which:

\[ \text{it is not the power over evil which matters so much as the fact that the animals in the desert acknowledged the divinity of Christ.} \]

At about the same time Saxl, in his study of the cross, pursued the problem of the peculiar iconography of the central north face panel and concluded, perhaps with too forthright a judgement, that:

\[ \text{The great central relief, therefore, shows Christ as judge adored by the powers of evil on which he is treading and which have been forced to recognise him in the desert as the Saviour of the world.} \]

which may be said to clarify, if somewhat dubiously, what Schapiro recognized as the 'assimilation' of images.

Saxl goes on to outline the three types of representation which have been categorized in relation to the Christus super aspidem. From his analysis, it is evident that the artist of the Ruthwell Cross panel devised a Northumbrian variant of a widely-used Mediterranean formula.
which appears, for example, as an illustration to Ps.90 in the Utrecht Psalter, and that the Christus Miles type derives from a distinctly different model.

Both Saxl and Schapiro cite interesting examples of the fusion of the Christus Miles and the Christus super aspidem, of which one of the most striking is a painting in the Stuttgart Psalter of the militant Christ standing over the beasts as an illustration to the Temptation in the desert.

The tradition exemplified by the Stuttgart Psalter and other Carolingian books is probably a reflexion of an iconographic style imported from England. Even before the considerable presence of Alcuin at Aachen was helping to shape the foundations of a revitalized 'Romanesque' cultural milieu, Anglo-Saxon missionaries like Boniface and Willibrord had helped to spread not only the word of God but also knowledge of and familiarity with many of the distinctive devices inherent in Hiberno-Saxon art. In time, these essentially insular attributes were re-introduced into England in a modified form.

If the central panel on the Ruthwell Cross can be seen as a specific variant of a widely-known model, an indication of the type of model known to OE artists of the eighth century can be gauged from one panel of the Gnoela-Eldern diptych, thought by Beckwith to be of Northumbrian origin, and by Lasko, employing greater caution, as the work of a continental workshop heavily influenced by Hiberno-Saxon artists.

It seems likely, therefore, as Alexander has suggested, that an Anglo-Saxon model for the scene may have been in existence - and the panel on the Bewcastle Cross provides important support - since the earliest representations on the continent go back to insular prototypes.
Other than the representations cited above, and the Oxford book cover and the cover for the Lorsch Gospels, there are very few early examples of the scene extant in painting or sculpture; only from the beginning of the eleventh century is further evidence available, and some of this is of value for the present discussion.

Saxl gave an outline of the differing types of Christus super aspidem representations, reflecting variations in the iconographic tradition. Alexander, too, reiterates Saxl's findings while, at the same time, listing Anglo-Saxon MS miniatures which depict the scene. These latter, including a painting in the Bury Psalter and one in Oxford MS Bodleian Douce, 296, fol.40, are associated by him with the tradition exemplified by the Utrecht Psalter. Further, in terms of the various types within the iconographic tradition, this particular strain is said to be distinct from that labelled as the Christus Miles type, the one I am most concerned with here.

However, there seem to be good reasons for supposing that a merging of traditions took place in England, allowing for the inclusion of the Christus Miles type within a broad iconographic framework.

In support of this claim, I wish to compare the painting of the Christus super aspidem on fol.40 of the Douce MS with one side of the Alcester-Tau Cross of early eleventh century date and of possible West Midland provenance. The MS painting shows Christ in frontal pose standing on two beasts, a lion and a dragon, with his right leg bent slightly at the knee, thus giving the impression that all he weight is being borne by the beasts. He holds a vertical cross staff in his right hand, the pointed end of which is entering the mouth of one of the beasts. In his left hand, he holds an open book. The beasts,
stylized and frozen in their writhing, each have one leg raised from the border base; their necks and heads are stretched back over their bodies in a posture indicative of subjugation rather than of acknowledge-
ment. This difference in the attitude of the beasts here as compared to their posture on the Ruthwell Cross, together with the symbolic representation of the cross as weapon or military standard, strongly suggests that the artist intended to portray Christ as a Miles.

Turning now to the ivory cross, I notice that the position taken up by Christ is identical to that on the MS painting. The whole of the front part of his body is clearly depicted; there is also the characteristic bending of the right leg at the knee. Both feet rest on the heads of two beasts. In his right hand, he holds a cross staff, the end of which is seen to enter into the body of one of the beasts. Only in the positioning of the beasts is there variation, for the heads of both are firmly trapped on the base, their bodies straining upwards to the right and left. The carver has thus given an impression of greater solidity than the painter, whose beasts are seen to balance on one leg while still supporting the whole weight of Christ. The crucial factor here, however, is to be found on the reverse side of the cross where there is a Crucifixion scene. While the pairing of the two scenes provides ample confirmatory support for the identification of Christ as Miles, it also furnishes an exact iconographic parallel to Orm's verbal synthesis in:

ure laferrd iseu crist
Iss king off alle kingess,
To fihhtenn forr hiss hail3he follo
O rode 3an pe defell,
7 mahti3 king 7 strang inoh
Inn hiss goddcunnde kinde,
To tredenn all underr hiss fot
Pe laje gastess stren-noje.

(11.18128-135)

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This parallel of a particular detail between a verbal and iconographic synthesis is important; enough in itself; yet it seems also to be symptomatic of a whole process of thought and expression. If the suggestion that, in these artistic examples can be seen the gradual assimilation of the figure of the Miles Christi to the precise form of the Christus super aspidem, there is, in effect, evidence for a shift in conception and execution in painting and ivory carving which, in its larger perspective, is an exact replica of the shift which I have been able to trace verbally throughout the Ormulum. What both Crm and some near contemporary artists have achieved in their own ways is the creation of a firm context for the Christus super aspidem.

The association of the treading of the beasts with the Crucifixion is, of course, implicit in the iconographic schemes of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, although certain qualifications need to be made in respect of the evidence they afford. In both cases, the representation of the trampled beasts forms part of an intricate scheme of iconographic association which is not solely dependent on the presence of the 'treading down' motif and the Crucifixion. Also, in the case of the Ruthwell Cross, the representation of Christ in Judgement depicts adoring beasts, distinct from, even though closely related to, the drawing in Oxford MS Bodleian Douce 296, fol.40., and the carved figures on the Alcester-Tau Cross, and is representative of an iconographic tradition different to that of the Christus Miles type. I have suggested that the figure of Christ in the Oxford MS and on the Alcester-Tau Cross is a portrayal of Christ as a warrior; Christ does not only trample on the beasts, as on the Bewcastle Cross, he is also shown to pierce one of the beasts with a lance. The other significant feature of the Alcester-Tau is that, within the overall context of the cross itself - two scenes - the Crucifixion and the treading of the beasts -
have been singled out and placed in dramatic apposition. Iconographically, this trend seems to have been a late development of representations of the Christus super aspidem type.

In OE writings, then, the detail of the treading down of the beasts is not treated in any significant way in the presentation of the image of spiritual combat. The detail, on the authority of the Evangelium Nicodemi, is associated (though by no means on a significantly large number of occasions) with the Harrowing of Hell, but is, again, left undeveloped. The instances of devils being trodden underfoot by Milites Christi in Old and early Middle English lives of saints are hard to interpret, because these hagiographers never allude to the verbal imagery of Ps. 90.13, and thus give no indication of their awareness of its significance.

The martial imagery of the Ormulum stands out because it fuses the imagery derived from Ps. 90.13 with the widely prevalent Pauline synthesis, and does so in a systematic and comprehensive manner, thus providing a clear verbal parallel to significant developments in the iconography of Christ Triumphant which, in England, appears to have coincided, more or less exactly, with the composition of the poem.

The image of the treading down of the beasts is a violent image. On the Alcester-Tau Cross and in the drawing in the Oxford MS, it is linked with the stabbing of the beasts by means of a lance. Similarly, as I have shown, in the Ormulum, tredenn is paired, not only with oferrcomm, but also with cwennkenn, 'to kill', which is equally forceful in its aggressive associations. The apparent rise in popularity in English art of the treading down motif in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, or perhaps, the resurgence of interest which is stimulated, exemplifies the trend which Orm expresses verbally. The two illustrations of this
trend, the verbal and the iconographic, seem, further, to reflect a tendency to revitalize the imagistic components traditionally associated with spiritual combat and to colour the whole thematic complex with a distinctively aggressive and violent attitude.

By way of introduction to the detailed investigation of the make-up of Orm's verbal cluster, I highlight one pertinent example. In speaking of the opposition of Vices and Virtues, and of the power of Virtue to overcome Vice, OE homilists produced statements of this type:

\[\text{Piscum heafod-leahtrum we sceolon symle on wurm ðeawum wićcweđan, and ðurh Gedes fuluccum mid gastlicum ðæpnum ealle oferwinnann}\]

\[\text{.................................} \]

\[\text{We sceolon oferwinnan ærest gifernysse mid gametegunge ætes and wætes;} \]

\[\text{.................................We sceolon oferwinnan woruldlice gytsunge mid cystignysse urea clæman modes...} \]

(Thorpe, Ch II.222)

\[\text{fæsten ys halig þing 7 hit is heofonic weorc} \]

\[\text{7 þurh þæt beoð deoflos costunga oferswícðe.} \]

(Szarmach, 'Vercelli XX', p.9)

\[\text{Dis syndon, men ða leofestan, þa ehta heafodleahtras mid heora herium þe mæghwamlice ongean mancyn winnå. 7 hi synd swice strange deofles cempen ongean mennisc cynn. Þa beod eæelice Godefullumigendum fram Cristes cempum fechtendum urh halige mægnum oferswipad.} \]

(Ibid., 14-15)

In contrast, Orm speaks of the efficacy of mett 7 mæp in these terms:

\[\text{Piss mahhte tredëpp unnderrfot} \]

\[\text{7 cwennkëpp ãluturrnnae} \]

(11.4590-91)
Of purity, he states:

Piss mahhte tredepp unnderrfot
Galnessess lape strennpe.

(11.4636-37)

The difference in expression is quite striking. The passages from Alfric and Vercelli homily XX are characterised by forceful expression, firmly qualified by terminology designed to thwart the full realization of the secular martial associations naturally aroused by w imagePath, winnað and feohtendum. Orm's statements consist of an image of vigorous physical action, complemented by a term which serves to re-inforce, rather than subvert, the aggressive associations which the image naturally conveys.

In the final chapter, I want to draw attention to the markedly different emphasis in the presentation of spiritual warfare evidenced by the Ormulum, by assessing the effects achieved through the interaction of Orm's favoured terminology, and by contrasting these effects with those fashioned by OE homilists and hagiographers, revealed in the detailed studies of chapters three and four, above.
Notes to Chapter Six


2. On Orm's intended audience, see the arguments advanced above, pp. 49-66.

3. The phrase is taken from the text in Cambridge MS CCC 201. In Oxford MS Bodleian Junius 121, the *Canons* open with the phrase *Riht is pleo praostas* (Fowler, *Canons*, 1), which corresponds to *We larað pleo Godes peowas* (Forlwer, *Canons*, 1).

4. For further illustration, see 11, 984, 1565, 1733, 2916, 3535, 3597, 5298, 5497, 5658, 8785, 10726, 11107, 11433.

5. See above, pp.223-31.

6. These lines are repeated verbatim at 12504-507 and 12520-523, in response to the second and third temptations.

7. The application of the image to the strife between Vices and Virtues is exemplified on several occasions in the *Psychomachia* (ed., Thomson), 11. 30-35, 450-53, 586-88. The whole tone of Prudentius's dramatic allegory is foreign to Orm's treatment of the subject, however.

8. White-Holt print *awwermmod* in l.4720, in error. The MS reads *apper(r)mod*, 'bitterness of heart'. Holm, *Corrections*, does not include this correction in his collation; it was first pointed out by Burchfield, 'Two Misreadings', p.38. The line *Itt drifepp fra hin herrte* reappears at 11.4639, 4747, 4851 in similarly worded statements of spiritual overcoming.

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9. By this I mean that the existence of a specific verbal stimulus for any of the extracts given above would be of little help in assessing Orm's compositional procedure because the treading down motif is an integral part of his martial imagery and is imaginatively exploited by him. Its frequent appearances cannot, therefore, be accounted for by assuming that he always followed his written source. As with the distinctive verbal elements derived from Ad Ephesios VI. 11-18, Orm felt confident in the manipulation of the treading down detail and was guided, in this process, by its thematic and didactic appropriateness, and not by the strict authority of his models.

10. Turville-Petre, 'Studies,' pp.13-20. Statements on the treading down of sin or vice occur in the earliest composed parts of the text, as in ll. 2247-50, 2559-63, and in the sections written last, as in Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, ll.37-38. Although many aspects of Orm's work have been seen to undergo modification and refinement as the text progressed, this statement is equally true of other distinctive utterances and imagistic modes favoured by him and ought, therefore, to have a bearing on any consideration of his achievement as a writer, particularly in relation to his attempted re-creation of a stable, comprehensive homiletic idiom. From even a brief study of the chronological divisions of the text, it is certain that much of Orm's recurring phraseology had been formulated to his satisfaction before composition, as it is now known in the MS, began.

11. Though I believe this to be a permissible speculation, it should be said that Orm's performance here exemplifies a typical trend of medieval exegesis in which all available components were brought into synthesis for didactic ends. It is, in effect, an additional auctoritas for Orm, a further means of stressing his orthodoxy of idea and expression.


14. Quoted by Robert T. Farrell, 'The Archer and Associated Figures on the Ruthwell Cross - a Reconsideration', British Archaeological Reports, 46 (1978), 96-117; 107. Farrell, p.116, fn.30, points out that Bede is following Jerome, In Mattheum (Migne, PL 26.32-34). In contradistinction, Augustine in his Enarratio in Psalmo XC (Migne PL 37.1168) interprets verse 13 in terms of the victorious body of the Church, which is ever on her guard against the cunning of the devil.

15. In Migne, PL 102.127 and PL 92.19f, respectively.


17. Belfour, Homilies, 96-106. This, like all other pieces in the MS, was 'assembled from pre-Conquest materials', Pope, Homilies, 14.

18. Gregory, Homeliae XVI in Evangelia (Migne, PL 76.1134-38) is, as has been said, Alfric's principal source. It was consulted also by the Blickling homilist for the latter portion of his piece (Morris, Blickling Homilies, 33.2 - 39.7) and probably exerted an influence on
the Bodley homilist (see Pope, *Homilies*, 16). Alone among the Latin authorities I have consulted — Eusebius, Augustine, Jerome, Bede and Smaragdus — Gregory omits to mention the devil's deception and makes no allusion to Ps. 90.13.


20. On *Ioan. XVI.* 5-14, in Migne, PL 100. 950-54.

21. Luke's *calcandi* naturally recalls *concubilas* (Ps.90.13). Similarly, the characterization of the devilish powers as *serpentes* in *Luc. X.*19 corresponds exactly to the psalmist's reference to *basiliscum*, a correspondence which is stated by Augustine, for example, in his *Enarratio in Psalmo XC* : *Rex est serpentium basiliscus, sicut diabolus rex est daemoniorum* (Migne, PL 37.1168).

22. Compare Alfric's statement that *Crist on Bære hwile to helte gewende, and bone deofol gewylde* in his *Sermo de Initio Creaturae*, in Thorpe, CH I. 26.28, and see above, pp. 380.425.

23. See, for example, Alfric's *Dominica in Sexagesima* on the parable of the sower (*Luc. VIII.* 4-15), in Thorpe, CH II. 88-98; 90, and his source in Bede *In Lucam* (ed., Hurst), pp. 173-77; 174.


28. The action of Margaret and Juliana brings to mind the typological paralle with Mary (as the Second Eve) in relation to God's prophetic words in Eden:

\[
\text{Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem,}
\text{Et semen tuum et semen illius:}
\text{Ipse contuerit caput tuum,}
\text{Et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius.}
\]

(Gen. III.15)

Furthermore, the linking of these words with those of the ninetieth psalm is forcefully presented by Bede, *Quaestiones in Genesis* in Migne, PL 93.232-33.


34. See above, p.221 and fn.13 to chapter two.


36. It is worth noting that the full-page representation of the Harrowing of Hell in the *Tiberius Psalter* (fol.14) depicts Christ standing on the bound devil. It seems undeniable that the artist's composition was influenced by the description in the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. It should be borne in mind, however, that in iconographic terms, the *Tiberius* Christ bears no relationship to the artistic tradition of the *Christus super aspidem*.


38. Saxl, 'The Ruthwell Cross', p.2. I take the burden of his argument to be this: that the beasts in the desert (representative of the powers of evil), having been forcefully subdued by Christ, recognize his superiority thereafter. Yet this is not sufficient warrant for the assertion that the beasts actively adore Christ which, in doctrinal terms, is without foundation.


49. See, generally, the comments by Swanton, *The Dream of the Rood*, p.50; more particularly, St. Peter's address to the risen Christ, *bu oferswikdest deap* in Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, 157. For similar statements, see Thorpe, CH I.168; Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, 67; Cambridge MS CCC 162, pp.433-34; Raynes, *Homilies*, 85.

50. A mid-twelfth century English ivory plaque, now in the Museo Nazionale in Florence is a further artistic parallel toOrm's verbal synthesis. On it, Christ stands on two beasts who have been given the same posture as those on the Alcester-Tau Cross. The cross staff, though now missing, was once an integral part of the design, since Christ's right hand is shaped in the form of an open fist, bent at the wrist, indicating that the vertical staff would have pierced the beast's neck. But the surrounding inscription, which reads: *Rex Deos est et Homo qvea simplex signat imago qvo mors est strata serpente leone notata*, clearly refers to Christ's death as being comparable to his trampling of the lion and serpent.
This plaque, furthermore, formed part of a diptych, the other side of which shows St. Michael standing on a large, open-mouthed devil who is transfixed by the angel's spear. The inscription in the border reads: Svb fidei scvto Michael stans corpore tvto hostem et sternit pede calcat cvspide pvngit, which clearly alludes not only to the treading of the beasts, as expressed in Ps. 90.13, but is also influenced by the Pauline metaphor of spiritual victory in Ad Ephesios VI.11-18, through the conspicuous mention of the fidei scvto and, possibly, through the reference to Michael's posture, expressed by stans. This striking fusion of imagery exactly mirrors the dominant trend in Orm's presentation of certain aspects of spiritual combat. On the diptych, see Beckwith, Ivory Carvings, p.136. pl.85, 86.

51. There is a possible iconographic parallel to this description in the sculpture on a late Anglo-Saxon cross from Burton-in-Kendal, which shows an empty cross, flanked by two figures; in the panel immediately below, 'we have Christ in Resurrection or the Descent into Hell, symbolized by the serpent trodden underfoot', William G. Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age (London:Faber & Gwyer, 1927), p.163; fig.195. The cross is noticed by Swanton, Dream of the Rood, p.77, fn.4. In view of the detail from the Evaneelium Nicodemi and its OE translations, it appears likely that the artist of the cross had the Harrowing of Hell in mind.

52. This digression into artistic representations of the Christus super aspidem raises a further set of questions which impinge on the claims made for Orm's self-identification with vernacular tradition. Even though it can be shown that the Ormulum exhibits a verbal synthesis of Crucifixion and the treading down of evil, corresponding in detail and emphasis to contemporary representations on ivory carvings, there
is no evidence to suggest that such representations were not as widespread in Carolingian (and later) centres as they were in English. Similarly, the particular iconographic configuration depicted on the Alcester-Tau Cross may have equally pertinent Continental parallels, or may derive from emphases emanating from the Continent. The stimulus, therefore, for Orm's striking representation of the Crucifixion in 11.18128-135 may well be the reflexion, in part, of a generally European preoccupation from which no evidence for Orm's 'Englishness', exemplified in other facets of his work, can be adduced.

53. The application of the treading down motif to Vices and Virtues has an exact iconographic parallel in scenes on a late twelfth century font at Stanton Fitzwarren, ornamented with ten arched panels in each of which an armed figure (of which eight represent Virtues) is trampling on a crouching representation of the corresponding Vice. See Francis Bond, Fonts and Font Covers (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), pp. 179, 181; pl. 174. The font may also be said to reflect the marked trend in the Ormulum to invest the conventional imagery of spiritual combat with a more positive, violent attitude that it had hitherto not possessed.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CHANGING ASPECTS IN THE CONCEPT OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN THE ORMULUM (2)
7.1 The Effects of Orm's Verbal Synthesis.

The importance of the treading down motif in the *Ormulum* with regard to the imagery of spiritual combat is two-fold. First, its systematic and consistent exploitation, its integration with traditional imagistic components derived from Paul's *Ad Ephesios*, characterizes it as a significant extension to the conventional bounds of this theme, serving to revitalize it and to add new impetus to the force of its didacticism. Second, the robust and provocative action which it conveys is instrumental in modifying the emphasis of the traditional imagery with which it is integrated. Literally, it evokes a notion of strong physical superiority and naturally complements the marked lack of restraint which is placed on the other, integrated components in the whole image complex which, as a whole, tends towards the realization of the inherent secular meaning of its verbal elements.

Through an analysis of the semantic interaction of terminology in Orm's word cluster, and through an appraisal of the compatibility of his chosen terminology to that most readily employed by writers of secular, historical and quasi-historical matter, it is my intention to reveal the extent of this development in the metaphorical presentation of the language of spiritual combat.

In my discussion of the metaphorical shaping of martial terminology in OE homilies and lives of saints, two important principles emerged.
First, with specific reference to phrases of the type Godes cempa, it became apparent that the metaphor of spiritual warfare is built on the foundation of terminology which, in less strictly regulated contexts, would realize its primary meaning, evocative of physical strife.

Second, a study both of the make-up of individual phrases and of the careful composition of often lengthy passages revealed the presence of discriminatory compositional techniques which aimed at harnessing the overt secular meaning of many of the chosen terms and, in various ways, at redirecting this meaning onto a spiritual plane.

I have stressed that these compositional techniques were not intended to abnegate literal meaning; their function was to challenge expectation and to allow a resolution of paradox only through the adoption of an other-than-literally assessment of the various statements.

These general principles were confirmed in an analysis of the degree to which terms were accepted or rejected by writers presenting the figure of the Miles Christi and related metaphors. In the case of OE cempa, it was found that while the term frequently denoted secular fighting men in texts of widely differing genres and dates, it was, at the same time, particularly favoured by homilists and hagiographers in descriptions of Milites Christi, predominantly in phrases of the type Godes cempa. In view of the marked popularity of the term with OE homilists and their distinctive treatment of it, it should prove instructive to investigate the function of kempe in the Ormulum and in other EME texts.
There are, as I have said, five occurrences of kempe in the Ormulum. In three of these, the term appears in a phrase containing a qualification adjective:

Hæpene fólkess kempe (1.3590)
drihtiness kempe iob (1.4832)
hiss dere kempe (1.19902)

In the two remaining examples, no such verbal restraint is evident:

Shephirde 7 king 7 kempe (1.3587)
Onõmen ðatt newe kempe (1.12531)

Initially, then, it appears that Orm's kempe, like OE cemma, was considered to have conveyed sufficient association of secular fighting as to warrant the immediate intrusion of a suitable qualification term. Yet, over and above the fact that such a small number of examples could hardly constitute an adequate basis for a reliable assessment, other more substantial evidence from the Ormulum would require that this view be modified. On a relatively large number of occasions throughout the homilies, Orm speaks of the Roman soldiers garrisoned in Judea under the command of Herod and Archelaus. One such important passage comes towards the end of fitt twelve (on Luc. III.1-18; Matth. 1-10) in which Orm speaks of the soldiers' function:

Þe cnihhtess wereann wþpnedd folc,
To fihhtenn forr þe lede,
To wereann hemm wipp wîþþþed
Þatt wollde hemm oferrganþenn.

(11.10225-228)
Leaving aside for the moment the significance of the presence of the terms *wæpnedd*, *fihhtenn* and *werenn*, what is noticeable is that the soldiers are called *cnihtes*. Furthermore, Crm employs this term, and this term alone, throughout the homiletic collection when he speaks of secular fighting men. Such a rigid distinction in the naming of secular (*cniht*) and spiritual (*kempe*) warriors implies that Crm considered *kempe* suitable only for the latter group, irrespective of whether they were God's or the devil's champions. It follows from this that EME *kempe* had developed a specialized meaning evocative of spiritual combat; such a development could plausibly be accounted for by suggesting that the almost immediate association of spiritual warrior and *cempa* in OE writings resulted in an eventual diminishing of the force of the term's secular appeal. Whereas, therefore, OE homilists and hagiographers intentionally selected *cempa* in order to make use of its martial associations Crm, ironically it seems, adopted *kempe* because such secular appeal had effectively disappeared.

In compatible EME texts, some measure of support for this distinction can be adduced. In the Katherine Group life of *Seinte Iuliene*, the saint praises Christ as a victorious warrior, thus:

> He kempe king, haued to-dei. ouercummen helles bule, Belial, baldest of alle.

(d'Ardenne, *Seinte Iuliene*, 525-26)

Earlier, the appearance of the devil to Juliana in prison was announced in this way:

> As ha þæos bone hefde ibeden, com a kempe of helle on englene heowe...

(Ibid., 309-10)
Consistent also withOrm's usage is the author's selection of cniht. Juliana's superiority is manifested, in part, through her ability to force the devil to confess his crimes, amongst which figures the prompting of the soldier to thrust a spear in Christ's side:

\[
\text{Ant ich made de cniht to purlin godes side wi}\bar{o} \text{ scarme spores ord.}
\]

(Ibid., 375-77)

which clearly corresponds to the Latin:

\[
\text{Ego sum qui [fece] militem lancea perforare latus filii dei.}
\]

(Ibid., p.34, 135-36)

Later in the narrative, the author gives an account of the saint's torture on the wheel which includes the statement that Eleusius:

\[
\text{dude on eicher half hire fowre of hise cnihte forte turnen pet hweol...}
\]

(Ibid., 554-56)

which similarly derives from this detail in the vita:

\[
\text{ut staret rota in medio duarum columnnarum & quatuor milites de una parte.}
\]

(Ibid., p.50, 218-19)

In general, instances of the designation of secular fighting men by cniht in post-Conquest texts are widespread; its prominence in this respect suggests that cniht came to assume the function previously fulfilled by OE compa.

At the same time, however, there are notable instances in EME texts of the application of cniht and the related cnihtacipe to contexts of
unequivocal spiritual combat. In a very short anonymous homily in BL MS Cotton Vespasian A xxii, which has the rubric Induitis Uos Armaturam Dei, the homilist explains that man's three enemies are the devil, the world and the flesh, and outlines the need for spiritual combat:

\[\text{Pas pri fhteo agen elcen ileafful man als longe se we idese westen of pesser woruld wandris. als prie roafers. } \text{Per for sede se hali iob. Milicia est uita hominis super terram. } \text{Cnihtscipe is mannes lif upen eorðe.} \]

(Morris, OE Homilies I, 243)

Compatible to this usage is a reference in the seventh part of the Ancrene Wisse to Christ the warrior at the Crucifixion; it comes towards the end of the long passage which explores the imagery of the soldier's shield:

\[\text{Efter kene cnihtes deaþ. me hongeþ hehe ichirche his scheld on his mungunge. alswa is } \text{pis scheld. } \text{fis } \text{pe crucifix. ichirche i set i swuch stude: } \text{per me hit sonest seo. forte pchen } \text{per bi o iesu cristes cnihtscipe } \text{he dude o rode.} \]

(Tolkien, Ancrene Wisse, 200)

Further, in the Katherine Group life of Saint Katherine, the hagiographer narrates the fate of the slain bodies of the newly converted martyrs:

\[\text{Comen cristene a niht 7 nomen hare bodies, 7 biburieden ham deorliche, as hit deh drihtines cnihtes.} \]

In the nearly contemporary Genesias and Exodua, the narrator makes this pointed comment on Lucifer's fall:
Again, in the late thirteenth century life of St. Ypolyt in the early South English Legendary, preserved in Oxford MS Bodleian Laud Misc 108 the saint, in the manner of St. Martin and of Guthlac, delivers this characteristic statement to the heathen emperor:

'Sir Aumperour', quath [his] holie man; 'for nought pou 'spert so;
For a newe knyght ich am bi-come: newe batayle to do;
Godes knyght of heouene ich am; and al mi wille so is.
Dat ich in his batayle be: sone i-martred, i-wis'.

Finally, Laamon refers to St. Augustine of Rome as God's soldier in his endeavour to convert the citizens of Dorchester, and styles him his cnihten, (Brook & Leslie, Brut, 14790).

Thus, while EME cniht has the primary function of denoting a secular fighting man, and EME kempe, that of identifying spiritual soldiers, there is, in the application of cniht to contexts of spiritual warfare, some evidence that the two terms were considered to be interchangeable in any given context. The suitability of cniht for both spiritual and secular contexts is complemented by the application of kempe to physical fighting men.

The identification of the Miles Christi by cniht is not a marked feature of EME religious imagery. The instances I have located are far outweighed by the more numerous applications of kempe; only in later ME texts, it seems, is cniht given more prominence in such contexts. Even more uncharacteristic is the use of kempe in descriptions of secular fighting men, because it seems to be virtually confined to one text - the Brut.
La3amon makes use of *oniht* roughly twice as often as he does *kempe*; the occurrences of the latter term are sufficiently numerous, however, as to warrant some attention. In the *Brut*, *kempe* invariably describes a fighting man, as the following quotations illustrate:

Caligula

Longe a dai lestc Ðat feht. Þer feol moni god oniht.  
Corineus com quecchen. 7 to him-seolfe queð.  
Cuð nu þine strengða. 7 þina stepe main.

Otho

Long ilaste þat fijt. þar fulle mani god oniht.  
Corineus com sceeky. and seide to him-seolue.  
Awac Corineus Nere þou icore kempe  
Cuþ nou þine strengþe. and þine mochle mihte.

(Brock & Leslie, *Brut*, 769-72)

From the same context:

Caligula

Brutun 7 his kempan. heo driuen into þan castle.  
7 in þera ilke uore. heo fælden of his i-ueren.  
7 æl dai heo ramden. 7 redesen to þan castle.

Otho

Brutus and his kempes. hii drive in-to þan castle.  
and in þan ilke foer. hii fu[1]de of hire veres.  
and alle dai hii remden and redesen to þan castle.

(Ibid., 11.839-41)

In the account of king Belin’s progress towards Rome and its subsequent siege, comes this description:

Caligula

Belin heom to leop. bi-foren 7 bi-hinden.  
Þeo onihtes weoren unwepned. þa þe wane heom wes þæueðc.  
heo wenden to boon sikere. þoo Belin heom on sohte.  
Ne nomen heo nonne oniht quic. ah alle heo heam aqualden.  
for nauede Belin man onihta. þet he nas þere god kimppe.  
ne neauere nenne herd-swein. þat he ne fahte ale þein.
From the context it is clear here that *kimmpe* designates a fighting man, and that the composition of 1.2823 shows the virtual synonymy of *cniht* and *kimmpe*, which is endorsed by the Otho reviser.

In a later passage, La3amon relates what Vortigern learned of the arrival of Hengest and Horsa:

*Caligula*

Vnder þan comen tiðende. to Vortiger þan kinge. 
þat ouer see weren icumen. swiðe selliche gomen. 
inne þere Temese. to londe heo weren icumen. 
þreo scipen gode. komen mid þan flode. 
þreo hundred cnihten. also hit were kinges. 
wið-uten þan scipen-mommen. þe were þer wið-innen.

*Otho*

Vnder þan com tydinge. to Vortiger þan kinge. 
þat ouer see weren icome. swiþe selliche gomen. 
........................................
þreo sipes gode i-come were mid þan flode 
þar-on þeo hundred cnihtes. also hit were kempe.

........................................

(Ibid., 11.6879-84)

Here again, the Otho scribe's substitution of *kinges* with *kempe* in 1.6883 serves only to underline the synonymity of *cnihtes* and *kempe*.

It is noticeable that *kempe* appears predominantly in the work of authors who may be said to have effected what amounts to a return to 'English' sources in various ways. I have already called attention to the backward-looking tendency of the writers of the Katherine Group.
lives of saints who, if occasionally excessively influenced by the form of Alfrician hagiography, would equally have been susceptible to the adoption of some part, at least, of the traditional lexis. La3amon's Brut also shows antiquarian and archaizing tendencies both in spelling and diction; in relation to both the First Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle and the exemplar used by the scribe of the Caligula Brut, Eric Stanley has suggested that

the attempt to imitate the Schriftsprache may have been the result of a deliberate wish to connect the new piece of English writing with the glory felt to belong to the traditions of England, to make it seem the latest link in a chain connecting the newest age with the achievements of English greatness before the Conquest.

It is difficult to assess to what extent this tendency is relevant to the frequent use of kempe in the Brut to denote the secular fighting man, since the Otho scribe's revisions only rarely extend to the suppression of the terms; the excision of passages in the Otho MS where the corresponding portions of the Caligula Brut display the use of kempe were probably effected for reasons other than those relating to the presence of the term. Since both MSS are now thought to be of roughly the same date, the retention of kempe in the Otho MS argues that the term was not considered to be an example of archaic usage, but a natural component of poetic language of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The virtual confinement to the Brut of kempe in a secular sense may therefore be an accidental phenomenon, throwing unnecessary doubt on the term's applicability to secular contexts in EME texts in general.

Notwithstanding Orm's distinction between kempe and cnihht, the weight of evidence, deriving both from OE hagiographic and homiletic
practice, and from Layamon's choice of vocabulary and other less emphatic instances of the term's secular usage, suggests that EME kempe, while it was favoured by writers presenting the figure of the Miles Christi, continued to function as a term expressive of secular warfare, and that its choice as a noun describing the soldier of Christ was determined as much by traditional literary practice as by its sustained usefulness in calling to mind distinctly non-spiritual modes of combat.

7.1.ii  Fihhtenn

Unlike OE homilists and hagiographers, the verb most consistently employed by Orm to describe the spiritual soldier's engagement in battle is fihhtenn. A marked feature of the OE evocations of spiritual warfare was the conscious avoidance of this term. The ubiquity of fæohtan, the most general and most readily available term in the lexis to denote armed struggle, in the Chronicle, the OE Orosius, the OE Bede and other texts dealing predominantly with secular warfare, was evidently influential in determining the choice of vocabulary in contexts of spiritual warfare. As a term indicative of overt martial activity, OE fæohtan was passed over, with a high degree of consistency, in favour of OE campian. There is no equivalent in the Ormulum to OE campian: the function of that term is fulfilled by his fihhtenn.

As with the OE corpus, the incidence of EME fihsten and related forms to contexts of secular struggle is widespread. The following illustrations are representative of the term's primary function:

558
And þi ilcan geare se cyng Willem gefeahht togeanes his sunu Rotbeardes wiðutan Norman-dige be anum castele, Gerborneð hadde. 7 Se cyng Willem wearð þær gewundod 7 his hors ofslagen þe he on sat, 7 eac his sunu Willem wearð þær gewundod 7 fela manna ofslagene.

(Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, 1079)

Pa comen hem togeanes þes kinges cnihtes of ealla þa casteles ða þærabutan wæron 7 fuhton wið hem 7 afilenden hem 7 namen þone eorl Waleram 7 Hugo Gerueises sunu 7 Hugo of Mundford 7 fif 7 twenti oðre cnihtes 7 brohton hem to þone kinge.

(Ibid., 1124)

On þis gœr com Davíd king of Scotland mid ormete fœrd to þis land; wolde winnan þis land. 7 Him com togeanes Willem eorl of Albamar, þe þe king adde beteht Euerwic, 7 t[e] other mœn men mid fan men; 7 fuhten wið heom, 7 flœnden þe king æth te Standard, 7 sloghen suithe micel of his genge.

(Ibid., 1138)

From the Caligula MS of Læamon's Brut, the following usages are also typical:

Nu þohete Iulius Cezar. ah þer he wes to vn-war; he þohete swa forð teon. after þere Temese; rouwen swa longe. þat he come to Londen; 7 þer heo wolden up faren. 7 fehten wið Bruttes:

(Brook & Leslie, Brut, 3894-97)

Pa seide þe King Basian. Ar ih wulle dad beon; Wið-innen seouen nihtæ. heo comen to þan fihte; biforen þere burh Euerwic. þat feht wes swiðe storlic; Pa heo scolden bezat fehten. þa flœn al þa Pohetes; 7 heo Basian þe king mid alle biœrdæn.

(Ibid., 11.5308-312)

[his] iherden ArCUR; aœelest kings:
7 nom his ane ferde. 7 þider-ward fusden:
7 funde þene king Gillomar; þe icumen wes to londe þar.
Arður him faht wið; 7 holde him 3iuen na grið.
7 feolde Irisce men; feond-līc he to gru[n]den.

(Ibid., 11.10887-891)

In the Ormulum, fihhtenn is given a secular referent on two occasions; once in a passage already quoted, in which Herod's soldiers are described as armed men To fihhtenn forr be lede (1.10226), and earlier, in the account of Herod's funeral, where it is said:

7 swa mann barr þatt fule lic
Till þur he bedenn haffde.'
7 hise onhhtes alle imen
Forp þedenn wripp þe bare,
Wipp here wæpenn alle bun,
Swa summ þe33 sholldenn fihhtenn.

(11.8183-88)

It is clear, therefore, that these phrases stand with others like To fihhtenn forr hiss halLhe folclo and To fihhtenn Anntescrēt onn3n (11.18130.8609) in the Ormulum, and that Orm makes no distinction between spiritual and secular combat in his choice of verb to denote struggle.

Not only does Orm's selection of fihhtenn in contexts of spiritual combat differ markedly from OE homiletic and hagiographic practice, the phrases, also, in which the term occurs betray no intention on his part to introduce qualificatory words or phrases which would have impeded the term's inherent secular meaning. OE feohtan is a rarity in evocations of spiritual warfare in OE homilies; when it is employed, its overt secular appeal is invariably thwarted by its insertion in phrases of the type gastlice feohtan (Thorpe, CH II.216). In contrast, in Orm's phrasing of spiritual fighting, such qualificatory terminology is conspicuously absent, as in:
In such cases, of course, the nature of the struggle is never left in doubt; the specification of the Christians' opponents as the devil, the flesh and Antichrist confer an automatic spiritual identity on the struggle. It should be noted, however, that this identification is achieved through reliance on the overall context - for example, that of Christ's Temptation - and through supplying an overtly spiritual referent to *fīhtenn*. The force of the resulting metaphor rests on the interdependence of *fīhtenn* and, say, *defell* in 1.11419. These spiritual referents do not qualify the verb or serve to thwart its secular meaning in the same way as *gāstlice* in Ælfric's *gāstlice fehtan* does; the absence of similar qualificatory terminology, together with the particular syntactic form of the phrases quoted above, ensure the free play of the physical, literal meaning of *fīhtenn*, and the metaphoric tension created by the phrases as a whole is a result of the very incongruity of the verb in such obviously spiritual contexts. Orm's method is, in this particular, virtually opposite to that adopted by OE homilists.
This more marked exploitation of secular nuance in Orm's martial vocabulary is underlined by two other phrases in which fihhtenn figures prominently. In the Nativity homily, as has previously been noticed, it is said that Christ was made man:

Alls iff he ʒam þe lape ʒast
Wiþþ þere wollede fihhtenn

(11.3906-07)

where Orm alludes to the figure of Christ as war leader, commanding a body of fighting men. In a later piece, Orm preaches on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, of which the fourth is said to be:

Strennþe to fihhtenn stælwurλiþ
Ornþam þe flæþhæþ lusstæþ

(11.5519-20)

In these two extracts, despite the references to þe lape ʒast and to þe flæþhæþ lusstæþ, the inclusion of the phrase wipþ þere and of stælwurλiþ serve to reinforce, rather than detract from, the fundamentally secular force of fihhtenn.

7.1.iii Wæppen

Much the same tendency is apparent in Orm's use of wæppen. Most commonly in OE homilies, expressions of spiritual arming take the form of mid gastlicum wæppun (Skeat, LSS II.112; Thorpe, CH II.218, 402), mid Godes wæppunse (Thorpe, CH II.218; Skeat, LSS I.416). A closer correspondence to the Pauline model occasionally produced phrases of the type mid þam wæppun ryhtwianesse (OE Cura Pastoralia, 83), mid
rihtwisnyse byrnan (Thorpe, CH II.218), Cristes byrnan (Skeat, LSS I.132), mid lechtes wæppun (Thorpe, CH I.604; Skeat, LSS II.370).

Very similar to this latter group are some of Orm's characteristic phrases which reproduce fully the allegorical force of Paul's utterances in Ad Ephesios. These include: þurrh clene lifess wæppen (1.302), þurrh swopfæst beldess wæppen (1.4807), þæn modiannessess wæppen (11.4565, 12509, 12375), þurrh þodiannessess wæppen (11.12496, 12355) and þurrh rihtt ðod trowwless wæppen (1.18115).

At the same time, there are a number of phrases in the Ormulum in which the nature of the weapon is either left unspecified, as in:

\[
\text{stanndenn wel onnænn}
\]
\[
\text{Pe defell wipp swillic wæppen}
\]

(11.2785-86; 12311)

to wundenn uss

\[
\text{þurrh þise prinne wæppen}
\]

(11.12308-309; 12315; 12321)

wipp all patt illke wæppen

(1.12323)

or in which the excellent qualities of the weapon itself are stressed. In this latter group figure the following: Þæn wæppen ðæn ðe defell (1.2616), wæppen ðæn ðæn stræn (1.4556), and the descriptions of Job as one who was wæppnedd wel (11.4768, 4806) and wæppnedd full wel (1.4787).

Whereas, therefore, OE homilists were eager to superimpose qualificatory adjectives and adverbs on those elements of martial vocabulary which most readily associated with the secular model (elements which they avoided for the most part) - as in the case of feohtan and wæppn, wæppnun - Orm's metaphorical language not only relies to a large extent on such terms, it also tends towards the realization, rather than the deflation, of their primary secular meanings.
The consistency with which this shifting emphasis is maintained throughout the *Ormulum* gains support, also, from the nature and frequency of vocabulary which invests the *Miles* with a defensive role. I showed earlier that OE homilists and hagiographers exploited a 'defensive' vocabulary which was both extensive and well-developed. In contradistinction, this aspect of the image in the *Ormulum* (and in other EME texts) has two outstanding characteristics: it is relatively undeveloped in the sense that very little emphasis is placed on this posture, and the frequency of 'defensive' vocabulary is thus small. Furthermore, such terminology indicative of a defensive stance is as applicable and appropriate to secular as to spiritual evocations of battle.

The two verbs with the meaning 'to defend' used byOrm are *shildenn* and *werenn* (11.1394, 3912, 11887) and *(11.1406, 5305, 13329).* Numerically, the small number of occurrences of these terms (in a work in which the theme of spiritual combat is constantly in evidence) is consistent with the view that this aspect of the theme was not congenial to Orm's overall scheme. Also, it is worth noting that, as far as the extant text allows one to judge, Orm relied equally on *werenn* as on *shildenn* to evoke this defensive stance. OE *scyldan* is a term reserved almost exclusively for overtly spiritual contexts and is, thus, the product of conscious selection. In compatible EME texts, the term is seen to retain this function. From the *Cursor Mundi*:

15
Seth was of his errand fain
And sure com til his fader again.
"Sun", he said, "has þou sped oght,
Or has þou ani mercy brough't?"
"Sir, Cherubin, þe hali angel"
pat es yatward, þe gretes wel,
Sais it sal negh þe warlds end,
Ar þat cile þe may be send,
Thoro birth of a blissful child
þat sal fra ham þe warld schild.

From the *Ancrene Wisse*:

Þis scheld is i þeuen us æsein alle
temptations. as Ieromie witneð:
Dabis scutum cordis laborem tuum,
nawt ane þis scheld ne schilt us from
alle uuales: ah deð þat mare. crúneð
us in heouene. Scuto bonæ voluntatis.

(Tolkien, *Ancrene Wisse*, 199)

The homilist of the piece for *Dominica Tertia in Adventu* in Cambridge
MS B.14.52 prays on behalf of all men against the wiles of the devil:

crist us þarwið sildæ. and healde us
rihte bileue. and elch man þe hit
haveð. and geue hine þo þe hit haveð
nochth.

(Morris, *OE Homilies II*, 11)

The presence of *shildenn* in the *Ormulum* corresponds well with these
occurrences. On the other hand, *Orm's* selection of *werenn* in the
following phrases:

Acc þu miþht werenn þe fra þe3m
Purrh rhíht læfe o criste

(11.1406-07)

Þa birrp þe stanndenn þæþ onn3m
7 werenn críste þæþ þeowess

(11.5304-05)

To stanndenn þæþ þe læfe ðæst
To werenn hiss lammbræ

(11.13328-329)

demonstrates his willingness to intrude into his evocation of spiritual
warfare terminology which is typical of secular military strife.

In addition to the habitual contexts in which OE \textit{werian}, \textit{bewerian}
are found, the following should be considered:

\begin{verbatim}
Ps is herden suggen Androgous. 7 he answerede þus:
While hit wes iseid. inne soo spelle.
þat moni mon deð muchel vuel. al his vnteanes.
Swa ich moht nu neode. for muchere neode.
þæ mon þeþoleð þat me hine wule for-don. þat ich telle
vnwis-don.
þæ while he ðæ þurh æni craðt. i compe hine werien.

(Brook & Leslie, Brut, 11.4128-33)
\end{verbatim}

Ofte heo letten grund-hat læd. gliden heom an heore
hæf
stockes 7 stanes. 7 strales hale.
and swiðe wel heo wuredon. þa walles of Rome.

(Ibid., 11.2839-41)

\begin{verbatim}
Arður isah Colgrim. climben to munten.
buþen to þan hulle. þa ouer Baben stondeð.
7 Badulf beh him after. mid seoue þusend snihtes.
heo þoten i þan hulle. hæslíche at-standen.
weorien heom mid wepnen. 7 Arð(ur) awammen.

(Ibid., 11.10619-623)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Donne bead man calle witan to cyngæ. 7
man þonne radan scold he man þiane eard
werian sceolde.

(Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles,
as 1010 E)
\end{verbatim}

As with his selection of \textit{fihhtenn} and \textit{wæppen}, therefore, Orm’s
reliance on \textit{werenn} to denote the concept of spiritual defence repro-
duces the force of similar statements in representative and typical
secular analogues.

If, in the persistent and unqualified use of the terms \textit{werenn}, \textit{fihhtenn}
and \textit{wæppen}, Orm appears to have abandoned, consciously or otherwise,
the formal discriminatory procedures which guided OE homilists and
hagiographers, his retention of OE acyldan in the form shildenn probably reflects the influence of previously established compositional practices. The point is made more cogently through reference to the first occurrence of shildenn in this passage on the significance of the angelic presence at the Nativity:

Itt tacnepp patt he soneodepp hemm
Inntill piss pessternnesse
To frofrenn þa patt wakens wel
Onn3meness lake gastess
7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm.

(11.3790-94)

where the close proximity of, and firm causal relationship between, the terms frofrenn and shildenn reproduces exactly the force of verbal association which, I have argued, is present in the make-up of the word cluster in typical OE evocations of the image. Furthermore, on the analogy of the associative trends in OE writings, it is possible (though not demonstrable) that Orm's placement of frofrenn in certain contexts was sufficiently provocative as to arouse notions inherent in shildenn, as in:

To frofrenn 7 to beldenn hemm
To stanndenn þam þe defoll

(Dedication, 11.237-38)

To beldenn 7 to frofrenn þe

.................................

Acc whas itt iss þatt wapnedd iss
Wipp fulle troww þe o criote

(11.669-78)

In addition, these extracts reveal the presence of the collocation To frofrenn 7 to beldenn which re-appears, either in infinitive or in conjugated forms, in 11.662, 1780, 2746-47, 3345 and 3818. The
qualities of comfort and encouragement are said to come either from God or from his angels; the form, context and partial repetition in the phrase immediately calls to mind the OE collocation of *froffern* to whichOrm's phrase seems to correspond closely. As with *froffern*, Orm's phrase compares favourably with this extract from the *Brut*:

\[\text{ah Androgeus, gr awoc. 7 ut of wude wende.}\]
\[\text{7 al pat folc þe he lóðde. lude hit græðde.}\]
\[\text{bleowen here bemen. belden heore beornes.}\]
\[\text{7 hecm toward wenden. on cuere-ælchen ende.}\]
\[\text{Pis ihere þe king. Cassibelaune.}\]
\[\text{ihere þe þene mculene dræm. 7 þene dune mcycle.}\]
\[\text{he seide forð-rihtes. Wepneð eow cnıhtes.}\]

(Brook & Leslie, Brut, 11.4305-11)

which itself seeks to revivify the ethos upheld by these words of Offa at the battle of Maldon:

\[\text{Nu ure þeoden lið}\]
\[\text{eorl on eorða, us is callum þearf}\]
\[\text{þæt ure aghwylec operne býlde}\]
\[\text{wigan to wige, þa hwile þe he wæpna mæg}\]
\[\text{habban 7 healdan.}\]

(Gordon, Battle of Maldon, 11.232b-36a)

The force of the coupling of *froffern* with *beldenn* in the *Ormulum* can also be gauged by observing that the latter term is occasionally paired with *strengeðenn*, when the resulting word pair is inserted into an evocation of spiritual struggle, the interaction of terminology.
produces a typically aggressive statement. Consider:

Forr pild birrp ben wipp iwhillo mahht
To beldenn itt 7 strenenn,
Swa patt itt mu3he ben till uss
God wapenn 3en be defeill.

(11.2613-16)

in which the cumulative force of mahht, beldenn, strenenn and the phrase God wapenn (stressing that the weapon is an excellent one, and not divinely inspired) confer on the virtue of patience a positive, violent identity which is seemingly at variance with the passivity which informs it.

Finally, attention should be drawn again to the most regularly emphasised component of the defensive posture — the ability of the Miles to stand firm, expressed by Orm by wippstanndenn and the phrase stanndenn onn3en. As pointed out earlier, this detail is conferred with great frequency on the Miles Christi, who may thus be thought of as displaying the conventional attributes of passivity and cheerful suffering in order to achieve victory. On occasions, however, Orm’s verbal synthesis places great stress on this interpretation of the metaphorical complex. The following extracts achieve the necessary metaphorical tension by contradicting the basic literal sense conveyed by the concept expressed in stanndenn 3en:

7 3ho wass full of strenncpe 7 mahht
To stanndenn 3en be defeill;
Forr 3ho tradd defeill wunderrfot.

(11.2559-61)

Forr par iss sett an operr fers
Patt spekepp off be defeill,
Patt godess pewwess gan onn himm
7 tredenn himm wipp foto,
Burh patt te33 stanndenn stallwurrpl13
3en all be defless wille.

(11.11943-948)
The dominant metaphorical mode adopted by OE homilists takes the form of subverting and redirecting literal meaning in such a way that the resolution of paradox can only be achieved by transferring literal meaning to spiritual intention. The process is often subtle, sophisticated, even cerebral. In contrast, the compositional trends displayed in the Ormulum may be said to be the product of a less sophisticated, untutored mind. In the above examples, literal meaning is not modified so much as contradicted and replaced by a second literal proposition which serves only to intensify the overtly aggressive, violent attitudes through which the Milites Christi in the Ormulum are consistently presented.

Generally speaking, therefore, it can be said that the defensive posture of those engaged in spiritual warfare in the Ormulum is little stressed; where such postures are evoked, furthermore, the particular verbal synthesis employed tends to undermine the defensive stance by throwing the weight of attention onto the potential or actual retaliation through which victory must be achieved. In terms of the lexical identity conferred on the Miles Christi, this procedure results predominantly in the realization of the literal, secular bases of the metaphor.
Sufficient prominence has now been given to the detail of the treading down of enemies to show that its assimilation in the metaphor of spiritual struggle significantly modifies the traditional emphasis by proposing that spiritual victory comes about through the matching of force with force, by entering into conflict as keenly as devilish enemies. Other aspects of Orm's chosen word cluster support this changed emphasis, such as the unqualified use of *fihhtenn* and *wæppenn*. In this section, I want to identify other compatible components in the 'lexical sphere' and to show how and with what effect they operate.

*Winnenn* is a commonly employed verb in the *Ormulum*; very often, it carries the sense of 'to gain, to get possession of', as in the phrases *To winnenn heffness blisse*, *To winnenn cristess are*, which abound in contexts in which spiritual struggle is not evoked and in which, therefore, *winnenn* cannot be said to have been used with the intention of exploiting the term's natural secular appropriation.

At the same time, however, the secular, military nuances of *winnen* were appropriated by Orm and made to interact with and extend the force of other compatible terms. In the following extracts, *winnenn* has the sense of 'to get by fighting, to win dominance over'. John the Baptist was:

```
þe firrste mann
Patt brohtes word onn erfe,
Patt manneke sholdde nowonn ben
Utlesedd fra þe defell,
7 winnenn heffnes kinedom
Purrh cleene lifess wæppenn.
```

(11.797-802)
Essentially in these passages, it is the firm causal link established between winnenn and *wmpenn* which shapes the semantic range of the verb. Through its interaction with other terms, this semantic range of *winnenn* is more firmly delineated. Consider this passage from the exposition of the prayers in the *Pater Noster*:

\[(11.12308-323)\]

In this case, it is the pointed repetition of *oferrhand* and the pairing of *oferrhand* and *si3e* which help shape the particular emphasis imparted by the use of *winnenn* and which together characterize the spiritual victory as one which is actively fought for and achieved.

The point is underlined by other contexts in which the distinctive pairing of *oferrhand* and *si3e* is integrated into statement of spiritual
overcoming. Christ submitted to temptation, it is said:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Forr } \text{hatt he wolde shawnen swa } \\
\text{All mankin } \text{purh hiss bisne } \\
\text{Hu cristess hird - cristenne folco } \\
\text{Birrp fihhtenn } \text{ze } \text{fe defell, } \\
\text{To winnen } \text{size } \text{7 oferrhannd } \\
\text{Off himm } \text{purh cristess hellpe. }
\end{align*}
\]

(11.11417-422)

The spiritual lesson for mankind is clear:

\[
\begin{align*}
7 \text{ a33 uss birrde ben forrlisst } \\
\text{Aftrer } \text{pe blisse off heffe, } \\
7 \text{ ftre fihhtenn } \text{ze } \text{fe flash } \\
7 \text{ ze } \text{fe flasheless luastess. } \\
\text{Pa mihtte we } \text{pe lape } \text{fast } \\
\text{Wipt}{\text{stannend }7 \text{ wipt}{\text{gennen, } } \\
7 \text{ winnen } \text{size } \text{7 oferrhannd } \\
\text{Off himm wipt } \text{cristess hellpe. }
\end{align*}
\]

(11.11475-482)

In this last extract, Orm's method corresponds closely to that adopted by OE writers since the paradox which is presented is that of gaining victory through standing firm. Yet, at the same time, the cumulative effect of the chosen terms creates a statement in every way commensurate with conventional battle description. In addition to the presence of winnen, size and fihhtenn, the semantic force of oferrhannd should not be passed over. EME oferrhannd is a Scandinavian loan-word, and like many other terms in this category, it relates to the activities of warfare. Other instances of the term in EME writings are rare; the two that I have been able to locate appear in contexts descriptive of secular warfare. First, from the Brut:

\[
\begin{align*}
7 \text{ heo to-gadere comen. vppen } \text{ane watere. } \\
\text{pat water hatte } \text{Stoure. pat feiht was swiOe sturne. } \\
\text{inne Dorssete. Lorin } \text{dæb } \text{bolede. } \\
\text{on arwe him com to heorte. pat he adun halde. } \\
\text{bor he wes feie. 7 muchel of his ferde.}
\end{align*}
\]
From the later Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester comes this assessment of earl Cole's fighting prowess:

\[\text{From the later Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester comes this assessment of earl Cole's fighting prowess:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Per wex a gret worre, } & \text{ & pat hii smite bataile,} \\
\text{& } & \text{ & pe erl cole slou } \text{pen king, & } \text{po he adde pun ouer hond.} \\
\text{King he let him crown, here of } & \text{his lond.}
\end{align*}
\]

The only other occurrence of the doublet oferrhannd 7 si3e in the Ormulum appears in this explanation of the name of Nicodemus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{7 ec forrpi } & \text{patt nicodem} \\
\text{Onn ennglissh } & \text{speche taonej} \\
\text{Patt lede } & \text{patt iss si33efast,} \\
\text{He wass forr to bitacnenn} \\
\text{Patt lott off issramle } & \text{ped} \\
\text{Patt turnedd wass till criste} \\
\text{Purrh fulluhht } & \text{7 purrh criestennndom,} \\
\text{7 purrh } & \text{pe rihte lufe,} \\
\text{7 all forrwarrp } & \text{7 oferrcomn} \\
\text{Purrh oferrhannd } & \text{7 si3e} \\
\text{All wereldshipess lufe } & \text{7 lusst} \\
\text{7 all erplike sellpe.}
\end{align*}
\]

(11.16956-967)

As with winnenn, fihhtenn, wi3hstanndenn, the word pair is also given a firm causal link with oferrcumenn, and is thus seen to be an important component inOrm's adopted lexical sphere.

The marked tendency in the Ormulum to reproduce, in statements of spiritual overcoming, a wide range of vocabulary found to be equally congenial to straightforward accounts of secular strife is further underlined by the verbal ingredients in one passage in which fihhtenn and oferrcumenn interact. It comes from the homily on the Temptation:
The presence of orresst to describe the contest between Christ and
the devil calls for some comment. Like oferrhannd, orresst is a
Scandinavian loan-word, and is similarly a part of the imported word
store which relates to warfare. Stratmann's Middle English Dictionary
and the OED cite only two occurrences of the term; this is one, and
the other, from the Peterborough Chronicle, appears in this passage:

And on Octabas Epyphanie was se cyng
7 ealle his witan on Searbyrig. þær
beteah Gosfrei Bainard Willem of Ou,
þes cynges þæg, þet he heafde
gœben on þes cynges swicdome, 7 hit
him on gefeah 7 hine on orreste ofercom.

(Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, sa 1096)

In a note, the editor draws attention to the annalists use of orresst
and interprets it as a reference to a 'judicial duel'. (Ibid., p.83). The legalistic sense which the term evidently possessed may account,
in part, for the paucity of occurrences. On the other hand, it should
not obscure the fact that what is being referred to is supervised hand
to hand fighting. Clark cites Doris Stenton's English Justice as
authority for maintaining that trial by battle was a Norman innovation,
and Stenton, in turn, refers to this extract from the laws promulgated
by William I:
Decretum est etiam ibi, ut, si Francigena appellauerit Anglum de perjurio aut mordro furto homicidio, rán, quod Angli dicunt apertam rapinam, que negari non potest, Anglus se defendut per quod melius uoluerit aut iudicio fori aut duello

(Liebemann, Gesetze, I.487)

The inference to be drawn from these extracts is that EME orreste adequately covers the meaning intended by Latin duellum. But orreste was not the only term deemed appropriate for such a translation.

Two glosses in BL MS Cotton Tiberius A iii, of eleventh century date, give gefehte as a translation for duelli (Wright & Weurcker, Vocabularies, I.388, 532). The reliability of such lexical choice is supported, furthermore, by the form in which the statement in the Chronicle is made: 7 hit him on gefeaht 7 hine on orreste ofercom. It consists of two clauses almost identical in syntax which leads to the inference that the phrases on gefeaht and on orreste are, if not synonymous, at least complementary, and that the intended sense of orreste is determined in large measure by that provided by gefeaht.

It should also be noted that the collocation of terms gefeaht, orreste and ofercom in the Chronicle account of trial by battle is reproduced exactly by Orm in his assessment of Christ's victory over the devil at the Temptation (orresst, 1.12539, To fihhtenn, 1.12543, oferrcumenn, 1.12546). In terms of the language which Orm has chosen, therefore, it is the secular analogue of fighting with weapons at close quarters which is invoked in the assessment of spiritual overcoming.

Finally, I want to draw attention to some usages of cwellenn (OE cwellan), 'to kill, destroy' in the Ormulum, to show its occasional assimilation into the metaphor of spiritual overcoming, and to assess its function therein. OE cwellan and EME cwollen, acw(cu)allen are terms of very
frequent occurrence which are invariably used to state that a person has been put to death or has, in some other way, lost his life. The suitability of the term to describe events which take place on the battlefield can be inferred from its many occurrences in the Brut.

Among them figure:

for mid ure wepnen heora kun, we aqueald habbeð.
mid ure honden. monie þusende.

(Brook & Leslie, Brut, 11.489-90).

Ne nomen heo nonne cniht quic. ah alle heo heom aqualden.
for nauede Belin man oniht. þat he nas þere god kimppe.
ne nesere nenne herd-swein. þat he ne fahte alse þeain.
ne nauer nenne hird-cnauæ. þat he nas wod on his laxe.
þat fæht bi-gon at mid-niht...

(Ibid., 11.2822-26)

The Peterborough Chronicle annalist uses it on one occasion to describe the effects of a natural disaster:

7 swa mycal ungelimp on wæderunge swa
man naht ægelice gebærcæan ne mæg –
swa stor þanring 7 lægt wes swa þet hit
acwealde manige men.

(Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, sa, 1085)

Orm uses the term most often when speaking of Herod’s intention to kill the child Jesus, and of Christ’s death on the cross. In these and other occurrences from contemporary ENE texts, the term is restricted to statements of the taking of human life. Even in the case of the Crucifixion, it is the death of Christ as man which is alluded to, as this explanation from the Ormulum makes clear:

Mann mihhte himm fon 7 pinonn
Wipp hat 7 kald, wipp nesshe 7 harrd,
Wipp pine off þrisit 7 hunngerr,
7 cwellenn himm mann mihhto wel
Inn ure mennissonesse.

(11.3733-37)
The inapplicability of the concept denoted by *cwellenn* to spiritual beings is immediately stated in plain terms by Orm:

...mann ne ma33 nohht enngell sen
Ne takenn himm ne bindenn,
Ne pinenn himm, ne cwellen himm,
Forr he ne de33pp næfre.

(11.3740-43)

It is therefore interesting to observe that *cwellenn* is incorporated by Orm on occasions into contexts dealing with spiritual overcoming and with spiritual death. In other words, the term is given an arresting metaphorical function, as in these verses taken from Orm's exposition of the ninth commandment:

Pe ni3hennde wass sett purrh godd
Acc all forr pins nede,
Fatt tu nan operr manns wif
Ne 3erne nohht to neh3hen
Wipp unclænnnessess fule lusst,
To filenn swa 3unno baje;
Forr bape giltenn grimmeli3,
3iff itt 3unnc baje likepp;
7 bape shadenn swa fra godd,
7 cwellen 3unnkerr sawless.

(11.4488-97)

Again, the exploitation of the basic meaning of *cwellenn* is similarly evidenced by another reference to spiritual life and death:

7 3iff fatt tu pin flæhhess will
7 hire fule lusstess
Wippstænndesst purrhutlike wel
7 owennkesst wel 7 owellesst,
Pa slast tu swa pin a3henn flash
7 hire fule wille.

(11.6748-53)

in which the presence of *wippstænndesst* and *owennkesst* (occasionally coupled with the phrase *tredenn dun*) effectively call to mind other,
more regularly used terms in evocations of spiritual combat.

Perhaps the most striking application of *cwellenn* to such contexts is to be found in Orm's interpretation of the name of the archangel Michael:

\[\text{Patt name wass sett purrh godd,} \\
\text{Forr patt he sholldhe fihhtenn} \\
\text{Onn} \text{an drake 7 cwellenn himm} \\
\text{Purrh hefenlike mahhto;} \\
\text{7 tatt wass den forr patt itt uss} \\
\text{Full wel bitachenn sholldhe,} \\
\text{Patt godess sune sholldhe wel} \\
\text{Pe defell oferrswifenn.} \]

(11.1841-48)

The typological association of Michael's overpowering of the dragon and Christ's victory over the devil is based ultimately on *Apocalypsis* XII.4ff:

\[\text{et draco stetit ante mulierem, quae} \\
\text{erat partitura: ut cum peperisset,} \\
\text{filium eius devorare..................} \\
\text{.................................} \\
\text{Et factum est praelium magnum in} \\
\text{caelo: Michael et angeli eius praelia-} \\
\text{bantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat,} \\
\text{et angelis eius........................} \\
\text{Et proiectus est draco ille magnus,} \\
\text{serpens antiquus, qui vocatur} \\
\text{diabolus, et Satanas, qui seducit} \\
\text{universum orbem....................} \\
\text{Et ipsi vicerunt eum propter} \\
\text{sanguinem Agni.} \]

(*Apoc. XII.4, 7, 9, 11*)

The defeat of the dragon is thus the first defeat of Satan and is typologically linked to the Temptation, Crucifixion and Harrowing of Hell, the three principal occasions on which Christ in his lifetime was victorious over the devil. The encounter as presented in the *Ormulum* is therefore a spiritual contest - the antagonists are spiritual
beings. The intrusion of *cwellenn* into this context serves once again to modify the traditionally accepted nature of spiritual warfare by making a substantial appeal, through the selection of appropriate terminology, to a secular, physical analogue.

Thus, the trends inherent in Orm's disposition of vocabulary redolent of defence are fully realized in the more sustained emphasis on the vigorous retaliatory role of the *Miles Christi*. Both through the consistent selection of individual terms (many of which are evidenced in compatible OE texts) and in the patterns of interaction established for the range of terminology as a whole, the dominant metaphoric mode is revealed as one which tends to realize, rather than subvert, the potential of the secular model.

7.4 OE *Oferwiban* and EME *Ofercumen*

The trends established so far for Orm's lexical choices in the presentation of the *Miles Christi* figure, and the modifications with which the figure is thus invested, are fully endorsed by a study of the small number of verbs denoting overcoming in the *Ormulum* and in other EME writings. It is as well to recall here the conclusions deduced from the discussion of OE verbs denoting overcoming in chapter four. Of the numerous verbs which could be said to express adequately the concept of overcoming, it is *ofernwiban* which is most consistently selected to fulfil that function in spiritual contexts. Several other terms, notably *ofercuman*, *oferwinnan* and *oferdrisan* were evidently
deemed appropriate in these contexts, yet were passed over, consistently, in favour of oferswihan. The primacy of oferswihan was accounted for in terms of its effectiveness in that, of all the terms chosen in any given evocation of spiritual warfare, it alone was possessed of the precise semantic range with which to reveal the nature of spiritual overcoming. In short, it is because the concept conveyed by oferswihan was so inappropriate to military contexts that it commanded such a central place in conventional verbal synthesis.

In EME homilies and saints' lives, the theme of spiritual warfare and the figure of the Miles Christi continue to be vigorously exploited; the mode of expression, while incorporating much of the imagistic content in Paul's Ad Ephesios, betrays, in its range of favoured terms, a generally high degree of compatibility to the 'articulated lexical sphere' common to established compositional practices in OE writings. It is thus of interest to observe that OE oferswihan in the EME form of ofer(oer)swilen is not evidenced by any surviving texts. The verb which is seen to operate in contexts of spiritual overcoming in EME writings (where OE texts would normally have had oferswihan) is ofercumen. In view of the importance claimed for oferswihan in evocations of spiritual warfare, the apparent fulfillment of the term's function by EME ofercumen deserves some comment.

There is an observable process of substitution of ofercumen for oferswihan, evidenced mainly by twelfth century copies of OE texts. On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to say that oferswihan is no longer deemed appropriate in evocations of spiritual warfare after about 1150, and that the rejection of the term was effected by lexical discrimination which has an importance for the assessment of
the function of ofercuman in OE religious writings.

In representative OE texts, it has been shown that oferswipan and ofercuman occasionally fulfil the same function in contexts of spiritual combat. Other instances can be adduced. In the late ninth century translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, Latin *dominabuntur*, quoted from *Proverbia XVI.32*, is translated by the word pair *ofercyma 7 gewylt* (OE *Cura Pastoralis*, 218); at the same time, it is instructive to recall that Latin *dominabuntur* of Ps.48.15 is glossed by OE *oferswipan* in the Salisbury Psalter gloss, dated roughly to 1100. The close proximity of meaning of the two terms is likewise highlighted by this extract from Vercelli Homily XV which deals with the apocryphal battle between angels and devils immediately prior to the Last Judgement:

7 þonne ða englas ofer-swipað ða
werigdan gastas 7 his þonne mid
ale ofer-cumao.

*(Forster, Codex, 125)*

where the homilist's source (as printed by Förster) furnishes no strictly compatible phrase. The several English translations of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* are, again, equally instructive. Christ's Harrowing of Hell forces the devils to recognize their impotence, announced by them with the words *Vicit sumus a te* (Vaillant, *Évangile de Nicodème*, 69). The late eleventh century OE translation in Cambridge MS Univ. Lib. II.ii.11 responds with: *We sindon fram þe oferswyða* (Hulme, OE *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 504); the text in BL MS Cotton Vitellius A xiv is a twelfth century copy of the Cambridge text, or of one similar to it, and the corresponding passage reads: *We sindon fram þe oferswyða* (Ibid., 505). Comparison with the independent version in the early twelfth century BL MS Cotton Vespasian D xiv reveals a significant
addition. Latin Victi sumus a te is there translated by nu we synden ealle oferswídene and ofercumene. (Warner, Homilies, 86).

The trend displayed here is fully realized in other instances of twelfth century lexical choice. Ælfric's homily on Ioan. XVI.16-22, preserved in Cambridge MS Trinity B 15.34 offers instruction on the institution of the Church as the Bride of Christ, and states its efficacy in suppressing sin in this passage:

...heo sfre sceal winnan wið ba unpəeawas
and wið ba heafodleahtres her on þissum life.
Ao þonne heo oferwínða þa gewitendlican geawinc
and þa leahtras ofercymð þurh Cristes sylfes fultum,
þonne ne gemunð heo hire modes biternysse,
gif heo þa gastlican cild gode acennan mag.

(Assmann, Homilies, 76-77)

Oferwínða, in the phrase þonne heo oferwínða, is the term Ælfric originally selected; Assmann's apparatus shows, however, that the element -winð had been partially erased by a twelfth or thirteenth century reviser and replaced by -cumæ. Like oferswípan, oferwínan was often selected by OE writers to denote the concept of spiritual overcoming and, as with oferswípan, it has here been rejected by the later reviser and replaced by ofercumæ.

The best evidence for the substitution of ofercumæn for oferswípan is found in another Ælfrician piece. The Sermo de Memoria Sanctorum (Skeat, LSS I.336-62) is extant in three MSS: Cotton Julius E vii, of the eleventh century, which Skeat used as the basis of his edition of the Lives of Saints; Cambridge MS CCC 303, of early twelfth century date, and Cambridge MS Univ. Lib. II.1.33, of slightly later date.

Part of the text printed by Skeat (11.267-381) is incorporated into a composite piece entitled Do Coto Vitiis et de Duodecim Abusivis Gradum in Cambridge MS CCC 178 of the early eleventh century. This text is
printed by Morris, OE Homilies, Appendix II. Among the later copies of this piece, the most interesting appears in Lambeth Palace MS 487, written in the late twelfth century. It is clear both from the composite nature of the homily and from the fact that the Lambeth version is virtually identical to the homily in MS COCC 178, that the Lambeth scribe had access to an already complete compilation such as is found in MS COCC 178.

The early stage of construction of this piece is found in this Cambridge MS where the Ælfrician borrowings are transcribed without omission, addition or modification. The extracted portion of Sermo de Memoria Sanctorum deals with the eight deadly sins and how they can be suppressed. The Ælfrician statements I want to draw attention to are these:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Nu syndon eahta heafod-magnu. } \text{C}a \text{ magan ofer-swidan } \\
&\text{pas fore-sadan deoflu.} \\
&\text{ponne mag he oferswidan swa } \text{C}a \text{ gyfernysse} \\
&\text{(Ibid., 1.320)} \\
&\text{ponne bi} \text{o ofer-swyed swa eac seo galnyss} \\
&\text{(Ibid., 1.325)} \\
&\text{we sceolan mid gedylde oferswyden } \text{paet yrre} \\
&\text{(Ibid., 1.344)} \\
&\text{ponne bi} \text{o seo unrotnysse} \\
&\text{mid ealle ofer-swyed mid urum gedylde} \\
&\text{(Ibid., 11.354-55)} \\
&\text{ponne mage we ofer-swyden } \text{ja asolcennyse swa} \\
&\text{(Ibid., 1.359)} \\
&\text{Nu ge habba} \text{d gehyred. hu } \text{pas halgan magnu} \\
&\text{oferswy} \text{den } \text{C}a \text{ leahtras. } \text{ja deofol besw} \text{Od on us,} \\
&\text{and } \text{gif we sella} \text{d hi ofer-swidan. hi besenca} \text{d us on helle.} \\
&\text{We magon } \text{purh godes fylst } \text{C}a \text{ feondlican leahtras} \\
&\text{mid gecampe ofer-winnan. } \text{gif we cenlice feocha} \text{d.} \\
&\text{(Ibid., 11.375-79)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the Lambeth homily, the corresponding statements appear as follows:
It is clear, then, that on eight occasions on which the Lambeth scribe met with *oferswipan*, he substituted *ouercumen*; he also rejected *oferwinnan* in favour of *ouercumen*. This lengthy and consistent insight into late twelfth century lexical practice wholly endorses the trend displayed in the texts discussed earlier. The very close correspondence between the OE terms *oferswipan* and *oferouman*, together with the disappearance of *oferswipan* in EME writings and its attendant replacement by *ouercumen* may be said to be indicative of a process of semantic transfer in which the precise semantic range and effectiveness generated by *oferswipan* was successfully adopted by OE *oferouman* and thereafter perpetuated by EME *ouercumen*. Such a suggestion would be tenable if it were demonstrable that EME *ouercumen* was as rigorously reserved for contexts of spiritual overcoming as OE *oferswipan* (and, for the most part, OE *oferouman* had been). In fact, precisely the opposite condition pertains. While EME *ouercumen* is virtually the only verb consistently selected to express the concept of spiritual overcoming, it is equally widespread in, and therefore typical of, contemporary conventional battle description.
In common with the Ormulum, the following texts display the appropriation of *ouercumen* to denote spiritual victory:

- **Saint Katherine**, 11. 132, 418, 560, 803, 959, 967, 1125, 1231.
- **Seinte Marharet**, 2.7; 4.4; 16.19; 22.30; 26.18; 30.19; 32.28, 30; 36.12.
- **Seinte Iuliene**, 1.525.
- **Genesis & Exodus**, 1.2108.
- **Belfour, Homilies**, 102.
- **Morris, OE Homilies II**, 193.

In judging the effects of such usages, it should be noted that EME *ouercumen* was considered to be entirely appropriate to descriptions of conventional warfare. Examples of the term's application to these contexts include:

- **Brut**, 11. 2761, 5626, 5854, 6368, 8220, 13629, etc.
- **Saint Katherine**, 1.15.
- **Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles** sa. 448 (F).
- **Clark, Peterborough Chronicle**, sa. 1070, 1096.
- **Owl & Nightingale**, 1.1198.

On the basis of this evidence, it must be said that EME *ouercumen* acquired a much wider range of meaning than its OE antecedent possessed; its selection for statements of spiritual overcoming cannot, therefore, be based on considerations which previously had determined the primacy of *oferswikan* in OE writings. As with many other elements of Orm's chosen 'lexical sphere', *oferswicenn* has two outstanding characteristics: it is consistently appropriated for statements of spiritual overcoming and, in contemporary historical and pseudo-historical
writings, it has a prominent place in descriptions of straightforward military victory. In the selection of individual terms and in their collective interaction within the articulated lexical sphere, the lexical identity ofOrm's *Milites Christi* is greatly influenced by that of their secular counterparts, in a way studiously avoided by OE writers.

Given the centrality of OE *offerswipan* to statements of spiritual victory, and the numerous examples of its application, it is worth asking how such an indispensable term could have disappeared so abruptly from literary language. The most straightforward explanation would maintain that, during a period of accelerated linguistic change, a period of apparent decline in literary production in the vernacular which also witnessed the marked influence of AN language and genre, some terms - especially those with specialized semantic functions - would inevitably have been discarded because they were no longer fully understood. Such an explanation, in conjunction with the caveat that many EME texts have not survived to the present day, may be thought to account adequately for the total absence of *offerswipan*.

On the other hand, some consideration should be given to the suggestion that *offerswipan* was intentionally discarded because it was recognized to be wholly inappropriate to EME writers in their presentation of the theme of spiritual warfare. OE *offerswipan*, though a very common term, possessed a distinctive and highly specialized meaning. It was considered to be effective in the established OE conception of spiritual warfare because it actively repudiated the controlled martial analogies generated by other frequently employed terms in the chosen word cluster. OE *offerswipan*, it may fairly be said, had the capacity (an no other
verb had) of encapsulating neatly the range of nuance conveyed by phrases of the type: *mid gastlican wapnum, þæs byrnan ryhtwianyses*. In short, it brought to realization the potential meaning of the formal qualification imposed on terms possessing natural martial associations. OE *oferswihan* was, then, wholly appropriate to, and compatible with, the tendency expressed by other terms and phrases conventionally invoked in descriptions of spiritual combat. For precisely this reason, therefore, it must be assumed to have been, equally inappropriate to a word cluster made up predominantly of markedly unqualified terms like *fihhtenn, wapenn, winnen, sīze, oferrhannd* and *tredenn dun*. The tendency expressed by these terms corresponds firmly with notions inherent in secular martial activity, and thus demanded a complementary verb denoting overcoming. *Oferswihan* could not have been that verb, and these considerations may, partially at least, have a bearing on the absence of the term from *EME* literary language.

Finally, in connection with *oferswihan* and *oferrcumenn*, I want to draw attention to two short passages in the *Ormulum* which may prove to be of particular importance for the present discussion. The passages both form part of the same context in which Orm expounds on the significance of the names Michael, Raphael and Gabriel. Of Michael he says:

Forr michael bitacnepp uss,
Afterr þatt icc ma33 sessenn,
Whilco iss wipp godd all efennlic
Onn alle kinne mahhte,
Miss nani þing þatt mu3he ben
Wipp godd off efenn mahhte;
Þatt name wass himm sett þurrh godd,
Forr þatt he shollde fihhtonn
Onn3enn an drake 7 swollenn himm
Þurrh hefennlike mahhte,
The passages highlight the verb *oferrswifenn* in statements announcing the defeat of the devil. The term is otherwise unrecorded.

White-Holt gloss the term 'to overpower, to subdue', on the partial analogy of MHG *swieiban*, ON *svofja* and Frankish *swheibon* oka. *OED*, on the other hand, derives the term from the conjunction of the intensifying prefix *ofer-* with OE *swifan*, 'to resolve, to sweep, wend; intervene', cognate with ON *svifja*. The contexts clearly demand that the term should possess the meaning 'to overcome, to overpower', as suggested both by White-Holt and by *OED*. Of the cognates, ON *svifa* and OE *swifan* seem most appropriate both in orthographic form and potential suitability to meaning, yet only with difficulty does the conjunction of the prefix *ofer-* with either ON *svifa* or OE *swifan* produce a term possessed of the meaning the contexts demand. If *Orm's oferrswifenn* is a coining based on the application of *ofer-* to *swifan* / *svifa*, the meaning 'to overcome, to overpower', could only
be deduced from it by a purely metaphorical interpretation which is, for
the most part, highly uncharacteristic of Orm's compositional method.
In general, he selects vocabulary for the evocation of spiritual combat
which possesses both visual and violent appeal.

In terms of both form and context, *oferrwifenn* corresponds most
obviously with OE *oferswiban*, yet I have come across no evidence which
would account for the distinctive orthographic change from *p* to *f*.
Orm's particular interest in orthography and phonology would make unlikely an error of this kind, as the exact repetition of the word in 1.1884 in any case suggests.

The terms appear in the earliest composed portion of the text. They are used in the same context to denote the same concept and are thereafter abandoned by Orm. They represent, moreover, the first occasion in the work when a verb evocative of spiritual overcoming was required. It is thus plausible to assert that the term was not congenial to Orm's strategy and that it was replaced thereafter by *oferrcumenn*. Latin source material from which Orm may well have derived these onomastic interpretations is of no help in gauging his intentions with respect to the use of the term. The only other plausible explanation I can offer is that Orm, on the first occasion on which he wished to make a statement of spiritual overcoming, resorted to a term which he knew to have been automatically associated with concept previously, and, in reproducing it, spelt it incorrectly.

This speculation has severe shortcomings, and I would not wish to press the interpretation any further on the basis of the available evidence. Yet there seem to be good reasons both for doubting the accuracy of the proposed OE and ON cognates in the construction of *oferrwifenn* and for
supposing there to be a firm connection between OE oferswiban and oferrswifenn. If Orm's term is indeed derived from oferswiban, its firm rejection by Orm after 1183 can only add weight to the generally proposed argument that the OE verb was consciously discarded by EME writers because it evoked associations which were incompatible with the general tenor of the theme of spiritual combat in their writings.

In this chapter, I have tried to apply the same critical criteria to Orm's habitual lexical choices in the presentation of spiritual warfare as those adopted for the OE material. In common with other EME writers, Orm exploits language which is equally suited to forthright secular description as to spiritual evocation, and in this respect, his performance differs markedly from that evidenced by OE writers. Whereas these latter either avoided vocabulary redolent of physical strife or imposed firm and immediate qualification in their sparing use of such terms Orm, together with other EME writers, cannot be said to have adopted or evolved for himself a specialized range of terminology particularly suited to the theme. Both in the selection of individual terms, in their identifiable range, and in their interaction, Orm's chosen lexical sphere corresponds closely to that deemed appropriate by Chronical writers for descriptions of military strife and is, furthermore, consistently denied any qualificatory terminology. There is, thus, a resultant shift in the metaphorical workings of the image; whereas the lexical identity of the Miles Christi in OE writings was consciously distanced from his secular counterpart, in the Ormulum the trend is reversed. Without the controlling influence of general context, and above all of genre, the spiritual warrior, in the Ormulum is virtually indistinguishable from the secular fighting man.
Chapter Seven

Notes

1. See 11. 8101, 8185, 9308, 10196, 10209, 19928.

2. The text in *Acta Sanctorum* has *compunxi* for *feci*. Cynewulf, it will be remembered, used *se compa* (*Juliana*, 290b) in precisely the same context in his life.


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7. See Kurath & Kuhn, *Middle English Dictionary*, *kniht* (kni3t), 2c.


10. Eric G. Stanley, *Laȝamon's Antiquarian Sentiments*, *Medium Aevum*, 38 (1969), 23-37. Stanley notes (p.29) that the revisions in the Otho MS are probably determined by the fact that the scribe 'was out of sympathy with the antiquarian modulation of the poet'. Since the occurrences of *kempe* in the Caligula MS are only rarely excised by the reviser, however, it seems at least doubtful whether the term was considered by him to be as obtrusive as the instances of archaistic spelling and rhetorical ornament to which his attention was principally drawn.
11. Stanley, 'La3amon's Antiquarian Sentiments', p.29.

12. See above, pp.486-87.


15. The occurrence at 1.3912 is not recorded by White-Holt in their glossary.


17. Compatible instances are evidenced in Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles, sa 1016 (E); Morris, Cursor Mundi, 1.14; Arngart, Proverbs of Alfred, 1.85; Arngart, Genesis and Exodus, 1.1272.

18. I know of only one exact OE equivalent to Orm's word pair. It appears in Vercelli Homily XIV in the form gebyldaþ 7 afrefriað; see Sisam, Vercelli Book, fol.80r.

19. Additional instances of byldan and related forms in secular contexts include: Gordon, Battle of Maldon, 78a, 169b, 209a, 311a, 320b; Beowulf, 1094b, 2177a; Cotton Maxima in Sweet, Reader, p.174, 1.15. Appropriation of byldan, beald, bealdlice to contexts of spiritual overcoming include: Thorpe, CH I.52, CH II.494; Morris, Blickling Homilies, 179; Juliana, 388a, 519a; Phoenix, 459a; Elene, 1038a.

20. The contrast is presented in the same form on two further occasions: 11.12500-507, 12516-523.

22. See, Jespersen, Growth and Structure, p.67; Erik Brate, 'Nordische Lehnwörter im Ormulum', Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Halle), 10 (1885), 1-80; 52.


24. In addition to the works cited above in fn.22, see Erik Björkman, Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English, 2 vols. (Halle:Niemeyer, 1900-02), p.218.


27. The secular basis of the contest is stressed by Stanley, Owl and Nightingale, p.29.

28. Other occurrences include 11.4165, 4904, 5252, 6119, 8029, 8035, 8759, 11591, 13788.

30. See the examples given above, pp. 492-93.

31. The inapplicability of the term, used literally, in this context is underlined by Apoc. XII. 12-13, in which Satan's expulsion from heaven is presented as the prelude to the introduction of evil in the world, and hence to the necessity of the Incarnation and Passion.

32. The Canterbury Psalter gloss (c.1150), in the uncorrected portion not dependent on the Regius Psalter gloss, preserves the following forms: oferswiðæ: uindicabor (117.2), oferswiðæ: uincan (Cant. Abbacuc, 19), oferswiðedum: deuicto (Te Deum, 17). Excepting the various copies of OE material, I can find no later, independent usages of the term.

33. See the examples given above, pp. 419-20.

34. On the dating, see Pope, Homilies, 79; Ker, Catalogue, 130.

35. Further evidence of this trend is observable in Skeat, LSS, II. 439, fn. to 1.214; 440, fn. to 1.232. See also, Ker, Catalogue, 23.

36. There is, however, in Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 180 (first half of the twelfth century) an instance of the form swiðæ to render the exemplar's swife (OE Boethius, 14). Perhaps further work on twelfth century calligraphy will reveal the incidence of the reverse form of this error.

37. The obvious analogy is that between the sole occurrence of ofer swiðæ in the Chronicle (Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles, p.4), and the singularity of occurrence of oferoom in the OE Bode, 10.
38. Jerome, Commentariorum in Danielem, cap. VIII, has Gabriel enim in linguam nostram vertitur fortitudo, vel robustus Dei. Unde et eo tempore quo erat Dominus nasciturus, et indicaturus bellum daemonibus, et triumphaturus de mundo (Migne, PL 25, 538). From Gregory's Homelia XXXIV in Evangelia come the following statements: Unde et ille antiquus hostis, qui Deo esse per superbiam similis concupivit, dicens: [quotation of Isa. XIV.13-14], dum in fine mundi in sua virtute relinquetur extremo supplicio preimendus, cum Michael archangelo præliaturus esse perhibetur....Ad Mariam quoque Gabriel mittitur, qui Dei fortitudo nominatur. Illum quippe nuntiare veniebat, qui ad debellandas aeræas potestates humilis apparere dignatus est....Per Dei ergo fortitudinem nuntiandum erat, qui virtutem Dominus, et potens in prælio, contra potestates aeræas ad bella veniebat (Migne, PL 76.1251). Later expositions, like that of Raban Maur, Homelia XXXI: In Festivitate Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, in Migne PL 110.59, and of Hugh of St. Victor, De Claustro Anima, Book IV (Migne PL 176, 1164), are firmly based on the Gregorian model. The statements which seem to approximate most closely to Orm's wording are those contained in: indicaturus bellum daemonibus, et triumphaturus de mundo (Jerome), and qui ad debellandas aeræas potestates....potens in prælio, contra potestates aeræas ad bella veniebat (Gregory), in which Orm's oferrewifenn would correspond to debellandas and ad bella veniebat. Bede's explanation, incorporated into the Glossa, similarly has: Gabriel fortitudo Dei, quia illum nuntiat qui ad debellandum diabolum veniebat (Migne, PL 114. 246).
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
My intention in this essay has been to examine some aspects of compositional procedure in Old and early Middle English homilies and lives of saints. I have selected the *Ormulum* as the focus of attention for several reasons. First, in areas other than those which are broadly linguistically based — orthography, phonology and syntax — it has been largely ignored. Second, the work clearly holds a position of central importance in the early development of English homily writing; it is the first major collection of exegetical homilies extant to have been written since the publication of *Alfric's* works, with which it compares most favourably in terms of proposed audience, general didactic method and authorial intention.

The preliminary study of the *Ormulum* sought to interpret some aspects of the poem's composition in the light of this background. A consideration of Orm's distinctive orthography, his constantly-manifested desire for uniformity of expression, both in spelling and in vocabulary led, through selective contrast with contemporary texts of roughly similar locality, to the proposition that Orm's language represents an attempt to establish a formal, standard literary idiom noticeably freed from the linguistic inconsistencies, potential or real, exemplified in the other EME texts. Furthermore, a more exacting analysis of some major components of Orm's homilotic phraseology revealed, not only that much of his language is highly formulaic (and thus integral to the formation of a distinctive, regularized idiom), but also that some of his characteristic, oft-repeated utterances derive from the rigidly controlled syntactic arrangement of elements consistently employed in looser configurations by OE homilists.

This evidence, though selective, is sufficiently persuasive for it to be said that there is a demonstrable continuum from OE to EME homiletics.
in the fundamental area of compositional procedure and technique. Orm did not merely make use of elements of standard OE homiletic phraseology (elements which one would expect to have been available to him as a matter of course), he worked in a literary milieu which was conducive to a sophisticated re-handling of more complex elements of OE homiletic idiom, revitalizing them at a time when OE writings would have been increasingly regarded as obsolescent and, in effect, re-establishing their worth and identity. In this respect, therefore, it is possible to say that Orm's standardized homiletic idiom was constructed with a view to replacing the prestigious but unserviceable teaching programme established by Alfric, and that even if Alfric's work had not been known directly to Orm, the latter would have been aware of the worth of his predecessor's achievement.

Cumulatively, then, the evidence accords the Ormulum an important and interesting place in the development of homily writing from OE times to the thirteenth century, and it was the main emphasis of the essay to extend the examination of this relationship through a consideration of the various compositional techniques adopted by OE writers and by Orm in the presentation of the theme of spiritual warfare. The decision to select this particular theme was determined largely by the fact that in the Ormulum it is the most frequently exploited literary and didactic device and thus one through which major trends in Orm's compositional methods may be gauged.

Having established, in the first chapter, Orm's reliance on and contribution to, vernacular modes of expression in homily writing, the theme of spiritual warfare was considered to be the most appropriate vehicle through which a comparison of dominant compositional tendencies in OE and ME homilies could be effected. In other words, while
emphasis was placed largely on the text of the *Ormulum*, the opportunity was also taken to compare Orm's performance with that of his near contemporaries working in nearly-related genres. Notwithstanding the fragmentary and random nature of survivals from EME, many of the trends evidenced by Orm's favoured lexical choices found corroboration in the Katherine Group texts, in particular. It is thus reasonable to infer that Orm's treatment of well-established religious imagery is not individualistic and idiosyncratic, but typical of EME homiletic composition. The *Ormulum*, therefore, has a further significance for literary historians in that it may be deemed representative, in certain particular respects, of EME homily writing (most of which is now lost) which was attached both to the constantly influential, orthodox Latin tradition and also to the particular developments established in a prestigious body of vernacular material.

It was, then, with a view to assessing the major shifts in the articulation of the theme of spiritual warfare in early English vernacular homilies in general that the lengthy appreciation of expressive modes in composition was undertaken. Broadly speaking, the findings from this part of the investigation may be summarized as follows: the vocabulary of spiritual warfare selected by OE homilists was subject to marked discrimination and qualification. Overt martial or heroic vocabulary was considered inimical to the theme of spiritual warfare and was thus largely ignored. Since, however, the image complex demands, by definition, verbal elements redolent of physical strife, use was occasionally made of appropriate terminology; at the same time, the semantic force of terms typical of secular martial description was intentionally thwarted by the use of controlled, qualificatory vocabulary, the presence of which had the effect of shaping the metaphorico
basis of the image by demanding the resolution of literal elements only on an other-than-literal plane. These carefully judged constraints were found to be present both in the force of individual terms and in the overall interaction of terminology in the identifiable lexical sphere habitually adopted. In contrast, it was equally noticeable that in the work of homilists and hagiographers, there is a conspicuous absence of such qualificatory, constraining procedures. In the Ormulum and other compatible texts, the language of spiritual warfare was seen to be very similar, both in form and emphasis, to that naturally appropriated by both poets and prose writers of Chronicle history.

The cumulative weight of such evidence leads to the conclusion that EMB writers, only vestigially attached to the literary exploitation of the heroic ethos in OE writings, brought about a significant shift in the metaphoric basis of the image. The analogy of the spiritual warrior to his secular counterpart is no longer qualified and thwarted; it is actively pursued. Yet, it may fairly be said, the theological reality of spiritual warfare remained constant throughout the early Middle Ages; since Orm's evocation of the theme alludes strongly to the secular analogue, it must be said that this analogy was no longer deemed to be wholly inappropriate in that the particular notional reverberations generated by the reliance on the terminology of secular warfare were not thought to be sufficiently intrusive as to challenge the accepted doctrine of the theme.

If, therefore, the language of spiritual warfare in the Ormulum and other texts is indistinguishable from that naturally resorted to by writers describing, say, Arthur's victory at Mount Badon, or Harold's
at Stamford Bridge, then the essential distinction between the two
modes of behaviour must have been largely determined by general
context and genre. It is, therefore, as if a contribution to the
homiletic or hagiographic genre was, in itself, sufficient to shape
the intended audience response.

At the same time, it is worth considering whether this blurring of
identities between secular and spiritual warriors arose, in some way,
as a result of the sharp new turn given to the concept of Militia
Christi in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, principally
through the reforming zeal of Pope Gregory VII. Carl Erdmann, writing
on the origin of ideas which helped shape the Crusading ideal, says of
Gregory that "Christ's war [bellum Christi]" for him was effective
ecclesiastical activity in the world, as contrasted to monastic
seclusion.1 A later commentator has also drawn attention to the Pope's
concept of Christian warfare and his view of the role of Christian
laymen, and states that the traditional metaphor, stemming from Ad
Ephesios and other Pauline texts, 'shades into literal reality' in the
letters of the Pope. Gregory's support for the re-alignment of the
concept of Militia Christi to secular warriors of the world constituted
an abrupt and, as it turned out, influential challenge to traditional
eleventh century spirituality:

The Church is the 'Christian legion', within2 which the laity is 'the order of fighters
[ordo pugnatorum]; they exist solely to
suppress the enemies of the Church and all
elements which tend to subvert right Christian
order. The word of St. Paul, 'No man that
warreth for God entangleth himself with the
affairs of this world,' has been turned
upsidedown.

Of course, Gregory's aims were largely political, and extended as far
as the granting of absolution to those of his warriors who, in defence of his position, were responsible for the death of his enemies. Seen in these terms, it is highly improbable that Gregory's pronouncements could have exercised any direct influence over the literary performance of EME homilists and hagiographers who, for the most part, sought to uphold and perpetuate the traditional view of spiritual warfare. Yet the language employed by Orm and others in evocations of spiritual warfare accurately reflects the dominant tendency in Gregory's new application of terms like Militia Christi, and the two phenomena, in linguistic terms, are probably related. The issue strikes me as both interesting and complex, yet beyond the bounds of this study; I draw attention to it here as a suggestion for possible further enquiry.

The last point I want to make again concerns the dominant linguistic habits of Orm and other writers, and is intended to balance the impression created by the possible influence of the changing concept of Militia Christi, outlined above. Although Orm and the writers of the W. Midland texts were not unaware of or unreceptive to the influence of contemporary thought and writings, the linguistic milieu in which they worked was shaped largely by reference to the achievements of the past. I have had occasion to refer to the backward-looking, preservative tendencies of EME writers more than once. The tendency is, I think, particularly marked in the Ormulum, and seems to me to be intimately connected to a process in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries which may be termed one of a 'return to English sources'. The arguments put forward relating to Orm's standardized homiletic idiom, his realization of the worth of Alfric's literary achievement, are fully complemented by ascribing this renewed interest in past achievements to the sustained recopying and consultation of English books which evidently served as authoritative models not only for the structure and content of some EME
writings (like the Katherine Group lives of saints), but also for the dominant linguistic categories in which literary production in the vernacular was undertaken. In this respect, the Ormulum holds a distinctive place in thatOrm's lexical choices appear to have been determined by a desire to revitalize the former glory of homiletic idiom and to integrate it into his own language. In this sense, Orm strove, in his own way - as had La3amon - 'to connect the new piece of English writing with the glory felt to belong to the traditions of England, to make it seem the latest link in a chain connecting the newest age with the achievements of English greatness before the Conquest'.

This remark has been made of the Brut, but is equally applicable to the Ormulum; it establishes for it an important and recognizable place, not only in the development of vernacular homily writing, but also in the larger perspective of vernacular literary activity in the early Middle English period.
Summary and Conclusions

Notes


3. It is noticeable that the Katherine Group writers supplemented the received range of terminology for spiritual warfare with borrowings from OF, exemplified in the incidence of weorr, weorrin (OF werre, guerreier) in the lives of Seinte Iulien and Marharete.Orm's borrowings from non-English sources, oferhannand and orresst, seem to me to be of a different order since these ON terms must have been amongst the earliest Scandinavian borrowings (see Jespersen, Growth and Structure, p.67). Their presence in the Ormulum does not constitute a movement beyond the confines ofOrm's habitual lexis, as the appropriation of OF terms in the W. Midland texts evidently does.

4. Stanley, 'Laȝamon's Antiquarian Sentiments,' p.27.
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