

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 ONE

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THESIS ABSTRACT

The overriding aim of the thesis is to explore the relationships existing between EME homilies, represented principally by the Ormulum, and OE homiletic material, from the critical standpoint of dominant modes of expression in the articulation of the imaginatively exploited thematic complex of spiritual warfare. Attention is directed to the nature of compositional technique and the method is comparative. Arguments are first advanced which stress the importance of the Ormulum in the development of homiletic writing in the sense that it embodies an attempt to re-create a standardized literary idiom designed to replace the increasingly unserviceable body of prestigious OE material, produced principally by Ælfric. Several important areas in which the work of Ælfric and Orm can be favourably compared are investigated.

The study is then extended by giving a detailed account of the compositional procedures adopted by OE writers in the articulation of the theme of spiritual warfare - the existence of recognizable word clusters, the conscious discrimination in the selection and rejection of terminology - which provides a basis for assessing the nature of Orm's later presentation of this theme. The Ormulum exhibits a heavy reliance on the range of terminology habitually favoured by OE writers, while at the same time effecting marked changes in the metaphorical composition of the image. The comparison highlights the degree to which Orm relied on an inherited mode of thought and expression in his task of refashioning traditional imagistic modes.

ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Anglo-French
AN	Anglo-Norman
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
EETS	Early English Text Society
EME	Early Middle English
LWS	Late West Saxon
MHG	Middle High German
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
ON	Old Norse
SS	Surtees Society

INTRODUCTION

The original stimulus for the present study was provided by Raymond Chambers' essay On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School and by the work of later studies which sought to establish links between literary composition in the Old and Early Middle English periods. The arguments propounded by Chambers and others, though their validity is now recognized, led to conclusions of the most general kind which gave little impression of the various relationships which may be said to exist in the area of compositional technique between literary English produced before and after the Conquest. In this study, I have tried to assess the relationship of EME homilies to their OE antecedents by adopting critical criteria which identify and examine dominant modes of expression in relation to the articulation of major themes and images.

My purpose, in the event, is two-fold. First, I hope to establish a case for the major importance to the development of English homily writing of the Ormulum, a work which, despite its many imperfections, has for too long been largely ignored. Second, I have attempted to compare the linguistic form and function of one major image complex in Old English homilies and lives of saints with its articulation in the Ormulum.

The image is that of the Miles Christi, and of less specific spiritual struggle, and it has been adopted because it holds a place of central importance in Orm's work, and because its various aspects were actively exploited by OE writers. I have thus attempted to describe and evaluate compositional techniques and procedures in writers who share common ground in that their medium of expression is English, and that they contribute to a stable and popular literary genre.

After proposing arguments which seek to interpret the Ormulum as a work which attempts to re-establish a national, standard literary idiom in English, commensurate with the form and content evidenced by Alfric's homiletic output, I hope to be able to extend an appreciation of the significance of the later work by showing how it builds on compositional techniques and lexical features which found favour with OE writers. In this way, I maintain that firm relationships between the OE and the EME homiletic outputs can be made.

The first chapter is intended to confer on the Ormulum a position of importance in early English homily writing which has hitherto been denied. The arguments there put forward are used as the basis on which to mount the more detailed comparative investigation into the similarities and differences to be observed in the articulation of the Miles Christi image in OE writings and in the Ormulum.

Through the use of the concepts of recognizable word clusters of favoured terminology, of conscious selection and rejection of vocabulary in the formation of religious imagery, I have tried to give an understanding of the compositional criteria adopted by OE writers, how pervasive these criteria were and how influential they

can be seen to be in the work of Orm.

The central chapters of the thesis explore in some detail the processes of word selection and of verbal association in OE writings and provide a set of compositional principles to which the material in the Ormulum is then compared. This comparative analysis, in the later chapters, shows how the concept of spiritual warfare in the Ormulum undergoes large-scale changes while relying to an equally large extent on verbal ingredients established and popularized by OE writers.

In the larger view, the cumulative weight of evidence seeks to forge firm links between OE and EME homiletics by showing that a late twelfth century homilist attempted to re-create a standardized form of literary language and, in so doing, inherited from the earlier body of work , modes of thought and expression to a degree which has not been fully realized.

CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE ORMULUM

I.1. The Manuscript: provenance, dialect and date.

Oxford MS Bodleian Junius I. Ff. 11 + 117. Of the nine odd leaves at the beginning of the MS, two are fly-leaves and are blank, save for a runic alphabet preserved on fol. 2r. Ff. 3-9 (numbered in pencil in a modern hand) contain the Dedication, the list of Latin texts, the Preface, followed by a few more Latin texts. The rest of the MS, made up into gatherings, contains the Introduction and the Homilies¹.

Collation: 1¹² wants 4-7, 12. One leaf inserted after 1; four leaves inserted after 2; one leaf inserted after 8. 2⁸ wants 1, 6-8 (?)². Four leaves inserted after 4. 3¹² wants 6, 7; one leaf inserted after 8; one leaf inserted after 9; one leaf inserted after 10. 4¹² wants 4, 5, 9; one leaf inserted after 3; two leaves inserted after 6; seven leaves inserted after 12. 5¹² wants 3-8, 12; one leaf inserted after 1; one leaf inserted after 10. 6¹² wants 2, 6, 7, 11; one leaf inserted after 1; one leaf inserted after 10. 7¹² wants 4, 9, 12; one leaf inserted after 2; one leaf inserted after 11 (but not numbered)³. 8¹⁶. 9¹⁶ wants 8, 9, 15, 16; one leaf inserted after 2. 500 x 200 mm for the complete leaves, descending irregularly to 340 x 180 mm for the smallest. Leaves are numbered 1-118 in top right-hand corner, in pencil. Written throughout, but not consistently, in double columns⁴, numbered in ink from 1-426, and beginning at fol. 10r. Occasional pencil ruling. The binding, 506 x 218 mm is of pasteboard, and is presumably modern. For convenience, I give a description of the 29 inserted leaves, their position and the portions of text they contain⁵.

<u>position</u>	<u>inserted leaf/folio</u>	<u>line numbers</u>
Between 10 and 12	Ins. Ls. I (fol. 11)	289 - 364
12 and 17	Ins. Ls. II (fol. 13)	467 - 536
12 and 17	Ins. Ls. IV (fol. 15r)	537 - 564
12 and 17	Ins. Ls. IV (fol. 15v)	587 - 617
12 and 17	Ins. Ls. V (fol. 16)	618 - 622
12 and 17	Ins. Ls. III (fol. 14)	568 - 586
18 and 20	Ins. Ls. VI (fol. 19)	1036 - 1045
25 and 30	Ins. Ls. VII (fol. 26r)	2335 - 2362
25 and 30	Ins. Ls. VII (fol. 26r-v)	2399 - 2472
25 and 30	Ins. Ls. VIII (fol. 28)	2472 - 2512
25 and 30	Ins. Ls. IX (fol. 27)	2363 - 2398
25 and 30	Ins. Ls. X (fol. 29)	2685 - 2726
36 and 38	Ins. Ls. XI (fol. 37)	4166 - 4193
38 and 40	Ins. Ls. XII (fol. 39)	4554 - 4571
40 and 42	Ins. Ls. XIII (fol. 41)	4774 - 4783
46 and 48	Ins. Ls. XIV (fol. 47)	5776 - 5861
48 and 51	Ins. Ls. XV (fol. 49)	5912 - 5955
48 and 51	Ins. Ls. XVI (fol. 50)	5956 - 5971
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XVII (fol. 56)	6978 - 7061
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XVIII (fol. 57)	7062 - 7143
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XIX (fol. 58)	7144 - 7219
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XX (fol. 59)	7220 - 7318
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XXI (fol. 60)	7318 - 7394
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XXII (fol. 61)	7395 - 7464
55 and 63	Ins. Ls. XXIII (fol. 62)	7471 - 7480
63 and 65	Ins. Ls. XXIV (fol. 64)	7775 - 7783
66 and 68	Ins. Ls. XXV (fol. 67)	8241 - 8264 8269 - 8326

<u>position</u>	<u>inserted leaf/folio</u>	<u>line numbers</u>
between 70 and 72	Ins. Ls. XXVI (fol. 71)	9035 - 9062
77 and 79	Ins. Ls. XXVII (fol. 78)	10291 - 10300
81 and 83	Ins. Ls. XXVIII (fol. 82)	11060 - 11071
107 and 109	Ins. Ls. XXIX (fol. 108)	17206 - 17239

Modern interest in the MS and its text dates from 1659, at which time it was purchased by the Dutch philologist Jan van Vliet. On his death it passed, by auction, into the hands of Junius under the description of 'an old Swedish or Gothic book on the Gospel, written on parchment⁶.' The book was subsequently noticed by Wanley⁷. It was edited for the first time in 1852 by the Rev. R.M. White, the whole being later revised by the Rev. Robert Holt. The White-Holt text remains the only complete printed edition.

In the preface to his edition, White (White-Holt, I. lxiii - lxxv) records the findings of earlier scholars on the question of dialect, provenance and date. On linguistic and palaeographical grounds, unsure though these sometimes may be, the general concensus of opinion among modern commentators is that the Ormulum was written around the year 1200 somewhere in the northern part of the East Midland dialect area⁸. Both Hall⁹ and Bennett & Smithers¹⁰ point out that the large Scandinavian element in Orm's vocabulary lends support to the supposition that it is an East Midland work.

Further, the texts which bear the closest linguistic resemblance to the Ormulum, namely the Peterborough Chronicle, the Genesis and Exodus and the Bestiary, are all of East Midland origin, though probably from the

southern part of that area¹¹. The one dissenting voice, that of H.B. Hinckley, prefers to regard all of the above-named works, including the Ormulum, as early twelfth century products written north of the Humber. His evidence, however, is often unsubstantiated and occasionally erroneous. For example, he maintains that a work containing so few French words as the Ormulum cannot be placed at so late a date as 1200, yet he fails to take into account the fact that the area in which Orm supposedly worked lay in the heart of the Danelaw where one would expect to find a high percentage of Scandinavian words and a correspondingly low count of other foreign elements¹². In claiming a northern origin for the work, he cites Hicke's pronouncements to that effect, made in 1686, without giving adequate consideration to the findings of later scholars. He prefers to regard the Ormulum as having been written between 1130-1140 and, as part of his palaeographical evidence, asserts that Orm's retention of the OE character wynn is indicative of a distinctly archaic character of writing and cannot be supposed to have been prevalent at the turn of the thirteenth century. In fact, just the opposite condition pertains. In her edition of Pe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulienne, d'Ardenne notes of the orthography of language AB that:

The native letters þ, ð, ƿ were still¹³
regularly employed in AB. Actual w occurs
very rarely.

Hinckley's comments do not bear scrutiny well, and while it would be unwise for any commentator to make definite claims for the Ormulum in respect of its dialect and date, the accepted opinion is most consistent with the observable facts, and is thus adopted in the present study¹⁴.

I.2 The Text

The text of the Ormulum is either that of an uncompleted work or the fragment of an originally much more comprehensive programme. From Orm's own words to his brother Walter, in the Dedication, where he says:

Annd forrþi 3errndesst tu þatt icc þiss werre þe
sholde wirrkenn;
Annd icc itt hafe forþedd te, acc all þurrh
Cristess hellpe;
Annd unnc birrþ baþe þannkenn Crist þatt itt iss
brohht till ende

(Dickins & Wilson¹⁵, ll. 12-14; as
White-Holt, Dedication, ll. 23-28)

one would have to conclude that, if once complete, the extant text represents only one sixth or one eighth of the original document¹⁶. In addition, due to the mutilated state of the MS, many of the homilies are incomplete¹⁷. Furthermore, during the author's lifetime, the MS 'received successive deposits of correction - ranging from erasures and alterations made by the scribe in writing the text, to lengthy additions and intricate substitutions¹⁸.'

The corrections and additions to the MS were extensively investigated by Sigurd Holm in his important monograph¹⁹, the greater part of which sets out to identify and assess the significance of contemporary changes and insertions made by the four distinct hands which Holm reckoned were in evidence. In the earlier part, however, he directs his attention to the question of the reliability of the printed edition. From his own consultation of the MS, in association with White's edition, he was quickly able to establish that the latter 'can by no means be said to satisfy the requirements of present day scholarship. There are many

errors, both misreadings and misprints, which may be found on almost every page' (Holm, Corrections, p.ix). He notes the appearance of Kölbing's collation of the text in the year before Holt's revised edition²⁰, and the same critic's assessment of that revised text²¹. Holm's findings, summarized on p.ix of his study, show that Holt, while improving White's text (though he made no use of Kölbing's collation), still left many errors uncorrected; the greatest improvement effected by Holt was the complete revision of the glossary. Holm goes on (Corrections, p.xiii) to criticise this aspect of Holt's work also, and successfully endorses his low opinion of the work as a whole.

Faced with a deficient text and the absence of a new edition, I have verified all quotations from the MS itself and have made use of all of the textual improvements which have appeared since the date of Holt's revision. As stated, the first significant attempt was made by Holm himself, who included in his study a collation of the text (Corrections, pp.xviii-xl) which incorporated Kölbing's earlier work. Though indispensable for the textual and literary critic alike, Holm's collation is both incomplete and, at times, inaccurate. For example, he states (p.xviii), that he ignored an editorial procedure which he might have been expected to include, namely the distinction between the symbols p and ð. Some years later, R.W. Burchfield recognised the 'signal weaknesses and inaccuracies' of Holm's collation and, with the professed aim of substantiating this criticism, published a select list of some of the more important editorial misreadings which Holm had allowed²². Though it was not Burchfield's intention to provide a complete collation of the MS²³, his findings used in conjunction with those of Holm reduce considerably the number of errors in White-Holt, and are to be considered as the basis for the establishment of the text that Orm originally wrote²⁴.

In addition, a small portion of the text now lost has been recovered from Lambeth Palace Library MS 783, a book once owned by van Vliet. The MS contains various transcripts and philological notes compiled both by van Vliet and by Junius, into whose possession the Ormulum MS finally came. Fol. 42-91 of MS Lambeth 783 contain transcripts in van Vliet's hand of material taken from the Ormulum, some of which has been lost since the middle of the seventeenth century. The material was published by N.R. Ker who was able to identify the homilies from which it had originally been taken²⁵. Unfortunately, owing to van Vliet's method of transcription, which often omitted words or lines from a block of verse, much of this additional material is of little help in reconstituting an exact text. Ker does, however, stress the importance of the 'considerable number of new or rare words, copied in an essentially correct form'²⁶. Though it would appear impossible to extend the length of existing fragmentary homilies by the use of these excerpts, it is clear that their consideration in the establishment of some of Orm's verbal systems is admissible²⁷.

In the same article, Ker (p.1) notes that van Vliet had also compiled an alphabetical word list from the Ormulum on fol. 43v-51 of MS Lambeth 783. Owing, probably, to the extremely congested state of this part of the MS, Ker did not print any of the words from the alphabetical list. Quite recently, however, the work on the Lambeth MS relating to the Ormulum was taken up by Robert Burchfield who attempted:

to recover both from the excerpts [pr. by Ker]²⁸
and from the word list all the new or rare words
that van Vliet copied into L [Lambeth MS] from
leaves of MS Junius I which have subsequently
been lost.

Like Ker, Burchfield acknowledges that neither the excerpts nor the word list can be used in the reconstruction of a now lost text; however, van Vliet's alphabetical list is important because it effectively extends the range of Orm's known vocabulary and also provides supporting evidence for the correct identification of dubious word forms which appear only once or twice in MS Junius I.

Finally, I make full use of the various extracts of the Ormulum which have been re-edited from the MS, principally for inclusion in readers and class books. Lines 1-156 of the Dedication were re-edited by Dickins & Wilson for inclusion in their Early Middle English Texts²⁹. The first 106 lines of the Preface together with ll. 15538-15635 of the homilies appear in the reader edited by Zupitza and Schipper³⁰. Matthes, in the part of his study devoted to the question of sources, re-edited ll. 2875-3177³¹. More recently, Bennett & Smithers included ll. 3270-3557 from the homilies in their selection of EME writings³², while an even longer extract, ll. 3662-4009, appears in Hall's useful Selections from Early Middle English³³. Finally, Arthur Napier appended his edition of the History of the Holy Rood Tree with a short essay on the orthography of the Ormulum, in which was included a facsimile of columns 177, 178 of the MS together with their transcription which correspond to ll. 7810-7847 and ll. 7869-7902 of White-Holt³⁴.

The number of re-edited verses in relation to the whole is very small, and it is to be regretted that so few textual studies have appeared in the hundred years since the publication of Holt's inadequately revised edition of White's text. Though, to be sure, many of the errors to be found in White-Holt are due to the omission of superposed letters in the MS, essential to Orm's intricate orthographic system, and to other careless misreadings and misprints, which do not in themselves threaten

to obscure the sense of the words Orm wrote, it has nevertheless been shown that, on occasions, such apparently trivial slips can lead to gross distortion of meaning and thus to a text which is wholly inadequate to serve the needs of modern scholarship³⁵. If the Ormulum is to receive the attention of future commentators, especially in areas of enquiry which have hitherto been virtually ignored, a new edition of the text is a prime necessity.

I.3 Earlier Research

In spite of the extensive bibliography which has been built up over the years since the appearance of White-Holt, scholarly attention to the Ormulum has been confined for the most part to two or three general areas of discussion. First, the linguistic and orthographic peculiarities of the MS have aroused a good deal of interest; the archaeology of the MS has been extensively investigated, with the result that much solid information on the relative chronology of the text and the corrections has been accumulated; somewhat less emphatically, attention has been profitably directed to the question of Orm's sources.

Generally speaking, it is a feature of Ormulum criticism that the work is regarded as being of great linguistic importance, while its appeal to the literary critic is said to be practically non-existent³⁶. While it would be rash to underestimate the significance of the text as one of the very few surviving examples of literary English in the East Midland dialect, and while it would be equally uncritical to overstate the claims for the literary merit of this long, homogeneous, often pedestrian

collection of verse homilies, it is perfectly clear that the prevailing bias among students of EME verse encourages and perpetuates a distorted and one-sided view of the poem. It is my contention that there is ample material in the Ormulum to effect a redressing of the balance.

I.3.1. Orm's Orthographic System

Critical attention to the orthography of the Ormulum has not been wanting. The rules governing Orm's procedures have been firmly identified, and significant work has been done on the function of these procedures within the context of the poem as a whole. In this section, I intend to give an account of the outstanding contributions made to this area of Ormulum scholarship, deriving support therefrom for the particular bent of my own argument which interprets the highly elaborate spelling system as one major exemplification of the normalising, standardising tendencies displayed throughout the text, and which is directly related to Orm's achievement of the re-creation of a standard preaching idiom, similar in its comprehensiveness to the LWS literary language so well exploited by Ælfric.

This aspect of Orm's compositional methods has long attracted the attention of scholars. In 1933, Sisam gave this account of it:

Orm doubles a consonant after a short vowel³⁷,
except when the vowel is in an open syllable:
thus mann: gen. manness; Godd: gen. Godess;
namm 'he took' : but name 'name'.

The identification of the mechanics of Orm's system has rarely been in

dispute; it is in the interpretation of this observation that opinions have differed. Sisam goes on to give a summary of earlier explanations which stressed either (a) that Orm was intent on indicating vowel quantity³⁸, or (b) that he wished to mark the quantity of consonants, or (c) that Orm initially adopted the system in order to indicate the length of consonants but that, having done so, discovered that it came to indicate the quantity of vowels³⁹. All of these explanations confer on Orm the status of phonetician extraordinary to which Sisam is unsympathetic. Working from the basis that, a hundred years before Orm wrote, the scribes of Oxford MSS Bodleian Bodley 340 and 342 had hit upon a means of distinguishing short vowels in open and closed syllables through the application of various accents and macrons, Sisam dismisses the argument that Orm was interested in marking consonant length, since the scribes of the earlier MSS show, themselves, no sign of interest in this.

He continues:

Indeed, it is hard to see how an Englishman reading his own language aloud could attach practical importance to marking the niceties of consonant-length; or why his mind should be directed to it at all as a matter of theory or tradition.

(Sisam, Studies, p.190)

and offers two important pieces of evidence in support of his contention. First, he points out that in the late twelfth century, and for some time after, it was the study of Latin grammar which provided the only means of linguistic investigation and that the standard grammarians, Donatus, Priscian and Isidore, while discussing the length of vowels and syllables, seem to have been indifferent to the length of consonants. This indifference evidently rubbed off on their medieval counterparts.

Second, he rightly stresses Orm's close proximity to the Latin tradition: his use of old-fashioned sources, his choice of a metre based on a Latin type, his imitation of the common and popular name Speculum in the naming of his own work, and asserts that Orm's study and marking of consonant length would be wholly inconsistent with his 'Latinate' approach to the grammar of his own language. He concludes, neatly:

It is not very likely that an author who is otherwise pedantically attached to tradition should strike out this new line without any explanation, in a work which he expected to have some currency.

(Sisam, Studies, pp.190-91)

He then turns his attention to the other half of the traditional phonetic argument by considering whether there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Orm wished to distinguish the quantity of vowels and syllables. Owing to the widespread use of abbreviation marks which took on widely differing values in late OE writings, the use of the traditional macron, recommended for the marking of long vowels, would only have resulted in confusion. The fact that 'there was no clear and familiar way of marking the long vowels' meant that 'Orm generally leaves them unmarked' (Sisam, Studies, p.191).

On the other hand, for the indication of short vowels in closed syllables, a simple method, available to Orm, was already in existence. It was based, not on the addition of accent marks, which were rarely employed in both Latin and English texts over the short vowel, but on one of the main, stable orthographic features of Latin and late OE writings, namely, the association of doubled consonants and short vowels, in which the doubling of the consonant always followed the short vowel and closed the

syllable. Sisam cites Byrhtferth as one late OE writer in whose work such an association is readily apparent and understood (Ibid., loc.cit), thus providing later writers, such as Orm, with a simple and generally consistent method of marking short vowels.

For the indications of short vowels in open syllables, however, Orm's spelling system would break down. He would be prevented from doubling the consonants because such an addition could, on occasions, result in the formation of words entirely different to those intended⁴⁰. In practice, Orm writes words containing short vowels in open syllables with a single consonant, sometimes adding a short sign, eg. bede, and sometimes omitting the accent. Consistency, therefore, was not achieved.

I have dealt at some length with Sisam's excellent account not because I consider it to be crucial to any of the arguments I shall put forward presently, but because the rejection of the phonological basis of Orm's practice allows Sisam to postulate for that practice a function which is intimately connected to Orm's understanding of the difficulties involved in oral preaching; this consideration, to which I shall return, is wholly consistent with the didactic and utilitarian aims of the whole work which, though ably stressed by Sisam and others⁴⁴, is capable of further development.

As suggested, the lynch-pin of Sisam's argument in favour of regarding Orm's doubled consonants as forming part of a pragmatic spelling system designed to facilitate clarity in oral delivery, is that it is wholly consistent with the author's practical objectives. Concerned only with the saving of souls through the dissemination of Holy Writ, he wrote at a time when such an aim was considerably hindered by the often mystifying inconsistencies in the spelling of English, which inevitably resulted in

the incoherent or, at worst, incomprehensible delivery of homilies to the illiterate. I intend to explore the implications of this realization of Orm's in the next section.

First, however, it should be noted that Sisam's thesis in favour of the establishment of a 'working orthography' (Sisam, Studies, p.193), at the expense of a phonetic system has not gone unchallenged. Several years ago, Robert Stevick suggested reasons why Orm should be reconsidered as a more skilful phonetician than Sisam would allow⁴². In the event, his study endorses and extends, rather than refutes, many of Sisam's findings. He states that he considers Sisam's inferences about Orm's practical diactic purposes to be wholly convincing (Stevick, 'Plus Juncture', p.85); he agrees with Sisam's findings in that 'For marking vowel length, the system breaks down because it lacks consistency (Ibid., p.88), yet since 'the constant doubling of consonants was patently inadequate' he 'wonders (why) Orm should have sustained the effort' (Ibid., p.85).

Stevick builds his argument on the foundations laid by Sisam and, concentrating on the aspects of oral delivery, develops a theory in which the doubling of consonants is seen to play an effective role in the correct pronunciation of English to the extent that it would 'produce the distinct diction of deliberate pulpit speech'⁴³. He suggests that Orm:

could have perceived that a correlation in spelling of short vowel and doubled consonant was paralleled by a correlation in speech of prolonged final consonant sound and termination of syllable. The speech characteristic he would have noticed was one of plus (or internal) juncture.

(Plus Juncture', p.86)

Referring again to 'deliberate pulpit speech', he states that 'where distinct diction is of salient interest, open transition - plus juncture -

would correspond to morph boundaries' (Ibid., p.87). Thus, the function of the doubling of consonants was to indicate 'the syllable boundary for dictional clarity' which, at the same time, would 'indicate vowel length in a great many instances' (Ibid., p.87).

For Sisam, the rejection of arguments in favour of accepting the spelling system as one designed to mark either the length of consonants or of vowels (which is endorsed by Stevick) results in the abandonment of the purely phonological approach. Where Sisam is at his weakest - in the rather vague way he speaks of the 'working orthography' - Stevick manages successfully to provide a perfectly plausible explanation by substituting considerations of vowel and consonant length for those of syllable length. Acceptance of his phonological explanation in no way invalidates the general direction in which Sisam was working. Stevick is able to provide a more compact and logically satisfying answer to the interpretation of Orm's spelling system while, at the same time, endorsing and emphasising the salient features of his aims and objectives, the elucidation of which was the most valuable aspect of Sisam's essay.⁴⁴

A measure of indirect support for Stevick's re-affirmation of the phonological basis for Orm's spelling system comes from the investigation of other facets of his orthography. Napier was the first to point out that Orm made use of three different g symbols in order to differentiate various distinct but closely similar sounds. According to Napier, Orm retained OE yogh - ȝ - to distinguish the sound in ȝer (OE ger), and used the continental g to represent the dzh sound, as in Mod. E edge and ME egge; but for the guttural stopped consonant, the so-called hard g, Orm did not merely rely on continental g, as the editors supposed, but introduced the sign ȝ - the barred g - which is peculiar to him and which

clearly reflects the importance which he placed on the accurate identification of the closely related sounds⁴⁵. In addition, Napier stresses that the application of the various g symbols was consistently maintained throughout the work, thus indicating a similar desire for uniformity as was found in the case of the doubling of consonants. Napier also points out (p.71) that Orm consistently used the combination 3h to represent the guttural spirant, as in le3henn (OE leogan), 'to lie', but it was Burchfield who discovered a further refinement in the use of this combination which Napier had overlooked. Burchfield points out that:

In every word like le3henn, that is where the guttural spirant stands in medial position, the h of the 3h combination is superposed above the 3.

Having noted the utmost thoroughness with which this super-position is carried out, Burchfield observes, in contradistinction, that in the only word in the MS in which the combination 3h occurs at the beginning, namely 3ho, 'she', the h stands by the 3 on the line and is not superposed. In Burchfield's opinion, the orthographical distinction between 3(h) and 3h 'represents a phonetic distinction as their respective etymologies in any case would have suggested'⁴⁶. He further suggests that the gradual elimination of the graph eo - replaced by e - is indicative of the completion of the monophthongization of OE eo, and that the change, which first takes place in col. 327⁴⁷, is designed to represent a phonological change⁴⁸.

In view of the fact that these orthographic details have a direct bearing on the correct pronunciation of Orm's language, it is worth considering whether his system of doubled consonants, together with other orthographic features which are consistently applied, does not form part of an attempt

to construct a literary language which, when recited, would never or rarely present doubts as regards pronunciation to the reader. In a later section, I propose to consider these observable facts of orthographic uniformity in relation to Orm's professed aims as a preacher.

I.3.ii Syntax and Vocabulary

Among the studies of the syntax of the Ormulum, the work of Martin Lehnert stands out as one of the most interesting and instructive. Much of the linguistic detail is presented against the background of the historical development of English from OE times up to 1200 and, for this reason, reveals many valuable aspects of Orm's work which are directly relevant to the student of literary history⁴⁹. In particular, the long concluding chapter assesses the nature of Orm's language revealed in the painstaking linguistic analyses which form the bulk of his study.

His approach is more broadly based than that of either Sisam or Stevick and, for this reason, he is able to offer, independently, valuable comments on the significance of Orm's spelling. For example, he emphasises that Orm's language and orthography display a uniformity which stands in marked contrast to much of the earlier extant EME writings which he accurately describes as 'eine dialektisch gefärbte Literatur mit bunter Orthographie'⁵⁰. He resists, however, the temptation to dismiss the Ormulum, thus, as an idiosyncratic production, displaying no affinities with any other writings of similar date⁵¹, by drawing attention to the fact that the texts of the Katherine Group, written in the West

Midlands at the time of the composition of the Ormulum, show evidence of a desire on the part of their authors to foster a kind of new literary language 'mit einer verhältnismässig gutgeregelten Orthographie'⁵². Lehnert also points out that Orm, in contrast to the writers of the texts in language AB, fully manipulated the colloquial language of his time which, despite the comparatively large Scandinavian influence, was largely supplied from OE sources⁵³, and supports this statement by producing examples of vocabulary and stylistic devices which readily call to mind features of OE literary practice⁵⁴.

Different in approach and intention is Palmatier's descriptive syntax of the Ormulum which sets out to describe the poet's 'sets of rules for organising words in phrases, words and phrases in clauses and clauses in clusters'⁵⁵. For the purpose of my study, the most interesting aspects of this structural, synchronic analysis are those which investigate the means through which Orm achieves a high degree of regularity in metre, and which draws attention to the existence of fixed phraseology or to phrases whose variations fall into recognisable patterns.

Palmatier analyses the use of Orm's metrical -e in his chosen portions of the text and shows how the variability in selecting final -e, for example, soþ (Dedication, 221) and soþe (18249), is to be accounted for, not in terms of the identification of case endings, but as a device to ensure the regularity of syllable count⁵⁶.

The availability of the 'non-significant -e ending in order to "justify" his lines'⁵⁷ is paralleled by Orm's use of short and full prepositional forms, as 'options to maintain the position of a word or a phrase in the clause'⁵⁸, as with ʒæn : onʒæn; manġ : amang; till : inntill, etc. Later in his study, Palmatier draws attention to the function of the "To"-infinitive phrase, showing how its fixed or systematically variable

form can be made to pattern with other parts of speech to form 'syntactic frames' which may also be said to have a metric function⁵⁹. I shall return to this aspect of his work in section I.7., which investigates some elements of formulaic language in the Ormulum⁶⁰.

The significant work in the field of Orm's vocabulary has centred on the extent of the influence of French and Scandinavian elements. Several early scholars pronounced quite definitely that the Ormulum contained no French words whatsoever⁶¹. In a series of letters to The Academy on the influence of English and French inflexions, Napier first published a list of words in the Ormulum which he declared were either borrowed from French or influenced by it. There are only eighteen words in his list⁶². The question was taken up two years later by Kluge who wrote with the intention of dispelling the illusion that Orm was relatively untouched by French words. His list contains only five words more than did Napier's, yet he feels confident in asserting that:

die zusammenstellung vielmehr beweist, in wie⁶³
überraschend grossem maassstabe schon um 1200
auch auf verhältnissmässig nördlichen gebieten
der französische einfluss sich geltend gemacht hat.

Kluge does, however, attempt to extend the possible number of words and also the possible areas of influence by drawing attention to the fact that the form of many of the proper nouns in the Ormulum is determined by the influence of French. Kluge overstates, however; later, more reliable surveys indicate how conspicuous the Ormulum is amongst other EME texts in relation to the incidence of words of French origin⁶⁴. It is well known that the contemporary Katherine Group texts contain a much greater proportion of French words, and it is clearly of some importance to gauge the significance of the marked discrepancy in the use of Romance words in the Katherine Group texts and in the Ormulum. Jespersen, I

believe, made the correct deduction when he attributed the high proportion of French words in the texts from the West Midlands to a predilection for the cultivation of what was fashionable in literary activity, a notion which corresponds well with d'Ardenne's remark that 'The language AB, as we have it, was the written idiom of gentle and lettered people, with a knowledge in various degrees of French, written and spoken, and of Latin',⁶⁵.

In contradistinction, the Ormulum is a popular work. It utilizes to the full the spoken language of the East Midland dialect area where it was written and intended for use. If the authors of the Katherine Group texts, as well as providing religious instruction, desired to entertain and make somewhat flattering recognition of their audiences' cultivated taste and knowledge of French, there is certainly no evidence to suggest that these considerations ever coloured Orm's attitude to his work.

While words of Romance origin figure very rarely in the Ormulum, words of Scandinavian descent are a marked feature of it. The details are ably set out by Serjeantson⁶⁶. That Orm's verse should display such a relatively high proportion of Scandinavian terms is to be expected, since the N.E. Midland dialect area lay at the heart of the Danelaw, that part of the country which was dominated by Danish and Norwegian languages and institutions from the end of the ninth century onwards.

But it is not simply through the presence of individual words that Norse influence can be detected; more importantly, there are examples of set phrases, usually alliterative phrases, in the Ormulum, which appear to derive from Norse idiom. E.S. Olszewska, who has investigated this feature, points out, for example, that Orm's falls annd flærd (ll. 7334, 12177, 15366 etc.) is very closely paralleled in that form by

a Norse phrase found predominantly in religious prose⁶⁷. Since it is unlikely that Orm would have chosen to use any word or phrase with which his audience was not completely familiar⁶⁸, the nature of the influence of ON on English in the East Midland area clearly goes beyond the stage of the adoption of individual terms; it would seem that certain elements, at least, of Norse popular idiom, including religious idiom, had been assimilated into the N.E. Midland dialect of the late twelfth century⁶⁹.

I.3.iii The Palaeography of the MS and its interpretation.

The second major area of critical enquiry has concentrated on the 'archaeology' of the MS⁷⁰; it is principally through the efforts of Holm, Matthes and Joan Turville-Petre that many of the difficulties which the MS presents have been identified and largely resolved.

It was stated above that Holm undertook a collation of the text in order to reduce the number of palpable errors he had located in Holt's revised edition. However, Holm's main concern in his monograph was to identify and evaluate the nature of the many corrections and additions to the text which the MS bears. At the outset, he states his agreement with White's findings concerning the handwriting, to the effect that three main hands are distinguishable⁷¹. According to their interpretation, one main hand (hand A) was responsible for the bulk of the work, and is in evidence throughout; a second hand (hand B) has subsequently corrected portions of A's text and has made some additions. Further, a few passages are evidently the work of a third hand, (hand C), while one or more later scribes are said to have been responsible for 'some

arbitrary and inconsistent alterations' (Holm, Corrections p.xv).

Holm further states that hands A and B are contemporaneous and are, on occasions, very difficult to distinguish; on the basis of this observation, he considers that White was often too dogmatic in his ascription of various parts of the text to various hands⁷².

There are three types of alteration in the MS:

(a) A verse or verses have been erased by scraping and replaced by other matter.

(b) Erasure has been effected by drawing a line through the unwanted part(s); in some of these cases, no additions have been made, but usually a verse or verses have been substituted above or below the erased line, at the top or bottom of the column, or in the margin.

(c) Independent of erasure, new text has been added in an available space on the folio or on stumps of parchment which have been inserted.

There are twenty-nine such pieces.

Holm's thorough investigation of those corrections which he ascribes to hand B (who is generally responsible for most of the corrections in the MS) deserves some comment, since he effectively prepared ground for subsequent important developments, made principally by Matthes⁷³. He divides the hand B corrections, found mostly in the marginal insertions, into two main groups, the first of which he interprets as being of a formal character, and the second, bearing on the contents, of a more or less theological character.

In the first group, he includes those cases which seem to him to have a bearing on accident. For example, he notes (Holm, Corrections, pp.2-5) that the first hand used the two forms of the emphatic pronoun self and

and selfenn, in the singular, indiscriminately; the many corrections in hand B show that an attempt at regularization has been made, in that the form self has been restricted to the nominative singular, leaving the form selfenn to operate in oblique cases. Through comparison with late OE and some EME writings, he concludes that the original indiscriminate use of self and selfenn is characteristic of Orm's period and dialect, while the standardization effected by hand B is indicative of a 'purist tendency' (Holm, corrections, p.5) on his part.

Of a formal character, too, are the several corrections bearing on vocabulary which, though harder to interpret, are equally significant. The outstanding example (by virtue of its high frequency and the consistency with which it was effected) is B's rejection of A's use of 3ifferr, 3ifferrnesse and the substitution of gredi3 and related forms. Of the reasons which Holm suggests for the change, the most plausible would seem to be that 3ifferr and its related forms was fast approaching obsolescence and that, in the interests of clarity, one form was adopted throughout⁷⁴.

In the second group of corrections, those having a bearing on the theological content of the work, the most important of Holm's findings is the consistent crossing out of the phrases containing the words boc and þe boc, and their replacement, in hand B, by a variety of phrases such as Latin boc, sop boc, goddspell, as well as by phrases of a different character. The desire to remove mention of the term boc can, for example, result in the alteration of the half-line. Thus:

Forr crist iss i þe boc þurrh stan (hand A; 1.15070)

becomes

Forr iesu crist iss wiss þurrh stan (hand B)

In all, Holm notes the use of the following phrases referring to a book or books: boc, þe boc, sop boc, latin boc, haliz boc and asks what signification they could have had for the author. From his detailed enquiry (Holm, Corrections, pp. 42-49), he concludes that in general, þe boc refers to the Bible, as does the phrase haliz boc; however, the substituted latin boc he sees as a reference to one or more of the Latin commentaries on the Bible which Orm consulted. In relation to the eleven cases of the replacement of þe boc by sop boc, Holm states that in seven instances the substituted text can be taken to indicate Holy Writ, while the remainder clearly allude to Latin commentaries on the Bible. He suggests that the corrections were made by B who, for the sake of orthodoxy, wished to remove any references to the Bible where the material being used did not strictly come from that source. Unfortunately, this guiding principle was not consistently applied, and the apparently random nature of the changes made by B leads Holm to suggest that:

the author was often unable to distinguish between what really stood in the Bible and the additions and expositions of the commentaries he made use of. Another possibility is that O. [ie. Orm], simple as he was, meant by þe boc any authority he happened to have before him when writing his homilies, sometimes the Bible, or the Gospels at least, sometimes Bede or other commentators.

(Holm, Corrections, p.46)

Out of desperation, it seems, Holm resorts to the charge of incompetence; yet, however untenable his opinion may appear, this section of his study effectively raises the question of the nature and identity of Orm's sources, a problem to which Matthes later applied himself with characteristic resourcefulness⁷⁵.

Despite the fact that Holm had insufficient time to conduct a thorough study of the MS, his work provided both the basis and the impetus for the subsequent, wide-ranging study made by Matthes. Holm examined and extended White's earlier findings on the various hands at work in the MS; following Bülbring, he emphasised the scribal change from the use of the graph eo- to e-, a feature which Turville-Petre later described as 'the outstanding point of scribal technique'⁷⁶; he raised the question of the significance of the phrase be boc and related terms; finally, his work is an important contribution to the unravelling of the conditions under which the corrections and insertions were made.

By no means have all of Holm's findings gone unchallenged. The most important contribution to the study of the MS is found in Matthes's book Die Einheitlichkeit des Ormmulum. I propose to describe the development and modifications to Holm's position which Matthes, and others, advocate before returning to consider other significant aspects of Matthes's work.

In his inspection of the handwriting, Matthes compares the first folio of the MS with the last and admits that, because the first leaf is the product of a much firmer hand than the last, the two parts could have been written by different scribes⁷⁷. However, his balanced criticism leads him to assert that:

ist es nicht so, dass man einen einzelnen Punkt bezeichnen könnte, der eine klare Trennung zwischen der Handschrift der ersten Teiles und derjenigen des zweiten Teiles markierte.

(Matthes, Einh., pp. 17-18)

The constant variation between the parts of the text written in a firm hand and those written in a shakier hand is an indication, for him, of

the gradual decline in quality of the same handwriting. He is, however, cautious:

So scheint schon die technische Betrachtung der Handschrift darauf hinzuweisen, dass der ursprüngliche Text trotz Verschiedenheiten im Eindruck von einer Hand geschrieben ist, die ihre Schreibart im Lauf der Zeit änderte.

(Matthes Einh., p.18)

The palaeographical uncertainty which surrounds the script leads Matthes to abandon the rather strict division into hands A, B and C, proposed by White and accepted by Holm, and to leave open the question of identity by distinguishing blocks of text which display variations in script by the terms: type A, type B and type P (ie. type Preface), as well as several other types of less importance.

The state of the handwriting had evidently been troublesome to Matthes who at first argued in favour of uniformity of script (reflected in the title of his book: Einheitlichkeit), yet later reverted, tentatively, to the view proposed initially by White, that the MS was the product of several distinct hands:

doch neige ich in Übereinstimmung mit den Oxforder Bibliothekaren [viz. Dr. Craster] mehr zu der Ansicht, dass verschiedene Hände vorliegen.

(Matthes, Einh., p.230)

He infers, correctly, that the corrections in hand B (or of type B) must have been made by the author or by someone acting in accordance with his wishes: he is inclined to believe that type B script is in Orm's own hand, and that type A belonged to his secretary. (Matthes, Einh., p.231).

Joan Turville-Petre subsequently examined the MS in great detail and suggested that some of Matthes's conclusions were open to question. She accepts Matthes's basic three-fold distinction of scribal types A, B and P and acknowledges the close similarity of types A and B, (Turville-Petre 'Studies', p.4). Matthes thought that most of the inserted leaves were of type P (Einh., p.19) and Turville-Petre confirms that he was substantially correct. On the basis of column division, however, she establishes that type P is a relatively late type of handwriting and suggests that it is a late development of type A, Orm's own hand. In her discussion of the use of the graph eo- ('Studies' pp. 6-13), she demonstrates that the corrections from eo- to e- made by B were gradually adopted by the type A hand, showing that 'the relationship between types A and B appears to be extremely intimate' ('Studies', p.11). However, after a review of the B corrections, following Holm, she concludes that B's function was 'subordinate' ('Studies', p.27) and that he frequently betrayed signs of incomplete understanding.

Thus where Turville-Petre departs radically from Matthes's position is not so much in her contention that types A and B belong to different scribes, nor in her suggestion that type A is Orm's own hand, while type B is that of his secretary, (for Matthes, the identifications should be reversed), but in her belief that there is evidence to show that B worked in some degree independently from A.

In reply, Matthes defends his original position (Einh., pp. 17-18) in favour of seeing a uniformity of script, by selecting several contexts in which the type B corrections occur and which Turville-Petre had used in support of her argument. For example, she maintains that the 'exposition closing formula'⁷⁸ in ll. 2727-30 is incorrectly placed

because 'B was carrying out more or less mechanically, a correction which was not his own idea' ('Studies', p.24). Matthes, however, explains that the insertion was made by B on the basis of a line reference to the place directly following the word clene in l. 2628 and states correctly that this is the proper place for such a formula. Thus, B's alteration was executed correctly, and in full knowledge of the requirements of the text, and the misplaced formula (Matthes re-affirms that it is misplaced as it stands in White-Holt) is the product of an editorial oversight⁷⁹.

Matthes's view that the corrections come from Orm himself is the most acceptable explanation; attempts to link either type A or type B with his brother Walter are at best speculative. Yet the work was undertaken at Walter's bidding (Dickins & Wilson, Dedication ll. 6ff) who was presumably a member of the same Augustinian house to which Orm belonged. It is therefore entirely possible that he exercised some influence in the composition of the work. The obvious inference is that even if script types A and B belong to separate individuals, the corrections were effected in accordance with the author's wishes, if not by the author himself. Orm wrote the Dedication and Preface after the whole work proper had been completed, and it is unlikely that he would have omitted to check the content of his verse before making it available for general instruction⁸⁰. Indeed, the essential uniformity of the text as regards authorial intention is partially conceded by Turville-Petre herself who observes that script B was the work of one who 'was...intimately versed in Orm's thoughts and methods' ('Studies', p.27). The finer points of the palaeographical argument do not substantially militate against the strong probability that the Ormulum is a homogeneous work, the product of one writer displaying his own marked preferences for imagery and

expression, as well as recording the variations and developments in handwriting and subject matter.⁸¹

The wide-ranging nature of Matthes's study was justly praised by C.L.Wrenn who welcomed the attention given to questions of a non-linguistic type, posed by the text.⁸² Matthes begins his book by reporting the discovery that the portion of the text known as the Preface is incorrectly placed in the MS, and that the whole of this section was intended to have been inserted between ll. 156 and 157 of the Dedication, (Einh. pp. viii, 35-37). From the point of view of the ordering of the contents of the Dedication and Preface, the suggestion is entirely plausible. Lines 156-57 of the Dedication, as printed by White-Holt, are:

Godspell onn ennglissh nemnedd iss
God word, 7 god tiþennde

and constitute the beginning of Orm's explanation of the meaning of the word Godspell. By referring to the last lines of the Preface, where Orm promises:

3et wile icc shawenn 3uw, forrwhi
Godspell iss godspell nemnedd,
annd eo icc wile shawenn 3uw,
hu mikell sawle sellþe
annd sawle berrhless unnderrfop
att godspell all þatt lede,
þatt foll3hepp godspell þwerret ut wel
þurh þohht, þurh word, þurh dede.

(Maclean, Reader, Preface, ll. 99-106)

it is clear that what follows should logically fulfil the promise. In fact, not only does the Introduction, which immediately follows in the White-Holt edition, deal with matter unconnected with the word Godspell, it was written at a time when the graph eo- was still in favour and can

thus have no connection with the Preface which was, as has been stated, one of the portions of the text to have been composed last. The most logical position for the contents of the Preface is, therefore, immediately before the beginning of the explanation of Goddspell in the Dedication, l.157. In addition, incidence of misplaced text in the Ormulum is, relatively speaking, not uncommon; the sound probability of Matthes's suggestion has been accepted by most later commentators⁸³.

On the testimony of the author himself, the Ormulum is a homily book which provides instruction on the biblical readings to be found in a massbook:

Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc þa Goddspelless neh alle,
Þatt sinndenn o þe messeþoc inn all þe 3er att messe.
Annd a33 affterr þe Goddspell stannt þatt tatt te Goddspell meneþþ,
Þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe folle off þe33re sawle nede.

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 11.15-18)

Matthes looked in vain for a massbook to which the ordering of Orm's pericopes and homilies would correspond; this fruitless search, together with the findings of the liturgical scholar, Beissel⁸⁴, led him to conclude (Einh. p.26) that such a book did not exist. On the basis of the study of the ordering of the existing pericopes and of the completely conceived plan revealed in the list of Latin pericopes, he decided that Orm's organizing principle was determined exclusively by a chronological stand-point. The Latin texts 1-230 follow, chronologically, the life of Christ, the remainder, that of the Apostles⁸⁵. He observes the existence of transitional passages, serving to link the end of one pericope with the beginning of the following paraphrase, indicating a desire on the part of the author to produce a homogeneous work or a

uniform history (Einh., pp. 26-28); he notes that, as a rule, the paraphrase of one pericope is immediately followed by appropriate expository matter, a pattern common to all writers of exegetical homily. Yet, on some occasions, he finds that two distinct pericopes are fused to produce one paraphrase which is then followed by the exposition of the two texts⁸⁶.

The weight of this evidence leads him to emphasise the apparent discrepancy between, on the one hand, the visible chronological ordering of the text and the resulting uniformity in narration, and on the other, the complete absence in the Dedication and Preface of any mention of a life of Christ or other guiding principle save that of the massbook. After considering as doubtful the possibilities that (a) Orm wished to write a Life of Christ with the exegesis included, retaining a preaching style as a concession to the reader, and that (b) it was Orm's intention to compile a manual of all the material which had to be preached to the people, and the notion of moulding the material into a continuous narration was only a secondary consideration, he suggests that it is most probable that the author was influenced by a literary genre which, though available to him, has not survived to the present day (Einh. p.32).

Coupling the observation that the text corresponds with the chronological sequence of events in the life of Jesus with the fact that the narrative of the paraphrases is taken exclusively from the four Gospels, Matthes concludes that the Ormulum corresponds in some measure to the literary genre known as the Gospel Harmony⁸⁷. The writer of Gospel Harmony endeavours to make the narrative of the four Gospels stand in harmonious relationship; in the narrowest sense, he will combine and reconcile factually all four differing accounts of an event, so as to produce an individual and singular narrative.

The Ormulum, as Matthes goes on to explain, does not conform strictly to the requirements of this genre. In the first place, more time and space is given by Orm to the task of elucidating his paraphrases: he is equally a homilist⁸⁸. Also, after an exhaustive enquiry, he finds that most of the extant pericopes confine themselves to the account given in only one of the four Gospels; only five of the fitts display material derived from two or more Gospel accounts (Einh. p.62). Analysis of these cases shows that in two of the five Orm actively incorporated several Gospel accounts into his paraphrase, adhering properly to the technique demanded by the genre, while in the remaining three cases, only one evangelist is taken to provide the paraphrase narrative and complementary matter from the other Gospels appears only in the course of the expositions (Einh. p.72).

Viewed in these terms, the work is something of a hybrid. It cannot accurately be described merely as a collection of exegetical homilies because it is evident that the author troubled himself to produce a continuous and uniform narrative and because the chronological ordering of the Latin texts points to some more precisely conceived intention than that required of a preacher, like Elfric, who wished to provide instruction for the Sundays and principal feasts of the Church year.

Orm's fluctuation in the method of harmonizing together with certain changes in the earlier fitts indicate, according to Matthes, that the author was led at some point to reconsider the desirability of strict harmonization of the Gospels (Einh., pp. 73, 199-233). He argues persuasively that this reconsideration reflects the importance which the author attached to the necessity of providing clearly understandable and effective preaching materials:

Der Prediger hatte über ein bestimmtes, nicht über ein harmonisiertes Evangelium zu predigen, und der Leser wollte sich an dem bestimmten Sonntagsevangelium erbauen. Ich glaube deshalb, dass der Dichter vor allem diesen Bedürfnissen Rechnung tragen wollte, wenn er sich während des Schreibens dazu entschloss, Harmonisierung in der Paraphrase zu vermeiden.

(Einh., p.74)

In short, then, Orm accommodates the harmonization of the Gospel accounts firmly to the requirements of preaching on pericopes which figured in the liturgical calendar. Matthes is undoubtedly correct in laying emphasis on the practical, didactic function of the Ormulum and on the role of its author as preacher. In section 1.5 below, I propose to examine in detail several of the wider implications of this identification from the standpoints both of the Western Latin and English homiletic traditions.

I.3.iv. The Sources

One of the most satisfying and valuable sections of Matthes's book is his enquiry into the problems connected with the correct identification of Orm's sources, and is the last major aspect of earlier research that I wish to consider⁸⁹.

Interest in the identification of the material Orm had at his disposal dates from the time of White's edition. Though the first to address himself to the problem, White's findings are the product of wide learning and fine judgement and are still of value today. His work is characterized by general caution. In the notes of his edition, he rarely states

that Orm followed a particular author for a given passage; rather, he prints one, often several, parallel passages which bear some resemblance to the matter in Orm's account, mainly from among the writings of Augustine, Bede and Ælfric. Evidence of the influence, direct or indirect, of Augustine and Bede is precisely what one would expect to find in such a conservative and orthodox work of biblical exegesis; White's citation of passages from the Catholic Homilies and his statement (White-Holt, I. lx) that Orm 'borrows copiously' from Ælfric, however, raises the problem of the nature and extent of OE homiletic influence on the Ormulum and poses questions which relate generally to the current notions of the continuity of literary forms and tendencies from OE to EME and ME writings⁹⁰.

Following White, Sarrazin investigated the problem and declared that Bede, and not Augustine, was Orm's main source, supplemented with extracts from Gregory's Homelias in Evangelia, and from the writings of Hegesippus and Isidore⁹¹. His most valuable contribution, which Matthes was quick to appreciate, was his supposition that Orm had not consulted the individual works of these authors but had gained access to relevant extracts through the medium of a florilegium, or book of selected compiled extracts.

This explanation, coupled with Holm's unacceptable account of Orm's use of the phrase þe boc and other related phrases, (quoted above, p.24) drew Matthes's attention to the unsatisfactory state of knowledge of Orm's sources, and led him to suggest that behind the frequent and striking use of the phrase þe boc lay a glossed Bible, specifically the Glossa Ordinaria, erroneously attributed to Walafrid Strabo, and the Glossa Interlinearis of Anselm of Laon⁹². Both Matthes and Beryl Smalley

stress that the two works, printed separately by Migne⁹³, must be seen as a unity. Both compilations often use the same source and, more importantly, in the twelfth century, no distinction was made between them; the whole work, the marginal and interlinear glosses, was referred to as the Glossa. Of special significance for Matthes's enquiry is the fact that the Glossa was a work which emerged gradually over a period of time before becoming standardized; different sections must each have had their own history, compiled by different authors at different dates⁹⁴.

The identification of the Glossa as one of Orm's major sources is Matthes's most significant contribution to the whole question of sources, the validity of which he demonstrates at length, especially in the detailed textual apparatus which he includes in his study (Einh., pp 106-120) From the Ormulum, he selects ll. 2875-3177, comprising the greater part of the fourth fitt, (Einh., p.42) and provides extracts, some of which were suggested earlier by Sarrazin, from the Pseudo-Bede Commentary on Matthew, from Bede's genuine homily on Matth. I. 18-25, from Hrabanus Maurus's Commentary on Matthew and from the relevant portions of the Glossa; these he regards as texts which are either very closely related to Orm's text, or which are reminiscent of certain features of it. Occasionally, he includes other parallels taken from less closely related works⁹⁵.

The results of his survey leave Matthes in no doubt as to the central importance of the Glossa for the study of the Ormulum. A.C. Baugh, however, in his review of Einheitlichkeit, finds the presented evidence less convincing:

Often the glosses offer a significant⁹⁶ parallel, often they do not. It is difficult to say how much of the simpler moralizing is Orm's own. Some of it is possibly not beyond his powers, limited as they seem to have been. Unfortunately, the short section chosen for the demonstration is not sufficient to represent Orm's exposition in general, and the statement that a comparison of the rest of the work yields similar results does not help much, since the passage examined here leaves one uncertain.

Baugh is justified in denying that Matthes's apparatus offers conclusive proof, yet he would seem to dismiss too lightly the further examples which Matthes cites elsewhere in his book. Uncertainty is generated principally by the fact that no reliable text of the Glossa is available. The Glossa Ordinaria, as printed by Migne, is defective⁹⁷, and, as has been indicated, the work was in a state of constant flux even at its time of composition. Matthes endeavours to overcome these difficulties by making reference to an edition of 1481, printed in Strasbourg, and to the text found in the twelfth century, Darmstadt MS, Landesbibliothek, 543, neither of which was used by Migne when he came to edit his text, and which Matthes believes provides a version of the text which stands in closer relationship to the one Orm used than does Migne's⁹⁸. The results of Matthes's textual comparisons (Einh., pp. 106-120) in conjunction with his later comments (Einh., p. 182) make it probable that Orm had access to and use of the Glossa Ordinaria, at the very least. In addition, despite the frequent disagreement over the positioning of subject matter in the Darmstadt MS and the 1481 printed edition, Matthes states, (Einh., p. 180) with conviction that there is ample evidence to point to the fact that Orm also made use of a glossed Bible which was furnished with the Glossa Interlinearis⁹⁹.

In defence of Matthes's position, I offer two fairly long passages from Orm's exposition of Matth. IV, 1-11, on Christ's Temptation in the desert, with parallel extracts from the Glossa Interlinearis, as printed by Migne, and suggest that they constitute reliable sources for Orm's material:

...he wass ledd þurrh haliz gast
7 þurrh hiss a3henn wille
Ut inntill wilde 7 wessteland
To ben þurrh defell fandedd;
Forr þatt he wollde shawenn swa
All mannkinn þurrh hiss bisne
Hu cristess hird - crisstene folle
Birrþ fihhtenn 3æn þe defell,
To winnenn si3e 7 oferrhannd
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.
Crist for ut inntill wessteland
Forrþrihht summ he wass fullhtnedd,
To tacnenn swa þatt cristess þeww,
Forrþrihht summ he beþ fullhtnedd,
Birrþ werelldshipess sellþe flen,
7 flæshess lusst forrwerppenn,
All swa summ wessteland iss all
Forrwarppenn 7 forrlätenn.

(ll. 11413-430)

seems to be based closely on the following:

Baptizatus autem Christus vadit statim
in desertum, ductu Spiritus: quia omnis
fidelis post baptismum debet postponere
mundum, et aut petat corporaliter
eremum, aut vacans a tumultu sæculi,
faciat in mente desertum, et ductu
Spiritus accingatur ad pugnam contra
diabolum.

(Migne PL 162.1270)

A little later in Orm's homily, the significance of the forty days' fast is explored:

Forr þatt te tale off fowerrti3
Full wel bitacnenn sholde
Þatt all þiss middellærd, tatt iss
O fowwre daless dæledd,

Onn æst, o west, o sup, o norrp,
 Birrp lefenn uppo criste,
 7 lufenn crist, 7 drædenn crist,
 7 follþhenn cristess lare
 þatt all þwerret ut bilokenn iss
 I tene bodewordess.
 Swa þatt te manness bodi3 be
 Buhsumm forþ wiþþ þe sawle,
 To cwemenn wel allmahhti3 ḡodd
 Onn alle kinne wise.
 Forr manness bodi3 fe3edd iss
 Off fowwre kinne shaffte,
 Off heffness fir, 7 off þe lifft,
 Off waterr, 7 off erþe.
 7 sawle iss shapenn all off nohht,
 7 hafeþþ þrinne mahhtess;
 Forr sawle onnfop att drihhtin ḡodd
 Innsihht 7 minndi3ness,
 7 wille iss hire þridde mahht
 þurh whatt menn immess 3ernenn,
 Forr sume 3ernenn erþli3 þing,
 7 sume itt all forrwerppenn,
 7 3ernenn hefennlike þing
 To winnenn 7 to brukenn.
 7 ure ḡodd, allmahhti3 ḡodd,
 Iss an ḡodd 7 þre hadess,
 Faderr, 7 sune, 7 hali3 ḡast,
 An ḡodd all unntodaedd.
 Her uss bitacnenn fowwre 7 þre
 þe bodi3 7 te sawle.
 7 ḡodd iss her tacnedd þurh þre,
 Forr ḡodd iss i þre hadess.
 7 3iff þu fe3esst þre wiþþ þre,
 þa findesst tu þar sexe,
 7 3iff þu fowwre dost tarto,
 þa findesst tu þar tene,
 7 fowwre 7 þre wiþþ oþre þre
 Full opennli3 bitacnenn
 þe bodi3, 7 te sawle, 7 ḡodd,
 7 tene bodewordess,
 Forrþi þatt manness bodi3 birrp
 Forrþ wiþþ þe manness sawle
 Rihht lufenn ḡodd, rihht drædenn ḡodd,
 Rihht follþhenn ḡodess lare
 þatt all þwerret ut bilokenn iss
 I tene bodewordess.

(11. 11487-536)

This passage bears a close, though perhaps less definite relationship
 to the following:

Quadragenarius significat totum tempus
 præsentis vitæ, in quo omnes homines
 collecti de quatuor partibus mundi,

decem præceptis armari contra tentationes debent. Unde ex quaternatio et denario sit. Vel quatuor significat omnes illicitos motus corporis, qui proveniunt ex quatuor humoribus, id est quatuor elementis de quibus caro constat, contra quos motus decem præcepta opponi debent. Decem præcepta dividuntur in tria et septem. Tria pertinent ad Deum, septem ad proximum: quia homo ex anima, quæ habet tres vires, et corpore, quo constat ex quatuor elementis.

(Migne, PL. 162, 1271)

The opening passage from the Ormulum, stressing Christ's volition in being led into the waste, is not paralleled in the extract from the Glossa, but is reminiscent in a general way of the teaching provided by Gregory's Homelia XVI in Evangelia, in which Christ's temptation is expounded¹⁰⁰.

In all other respects, however, Orm's passage agrees with the wording of the Latin very closely, allowing for the re-positioning of the martial image at the end of the Latin extract, which Orm inserts at the start of his explanation. Both passages stress that just as Christ resisted the devil after his baptism, so all the faithful should struggle against temptation for all of their lives (i.e. after their baptism); both advocate the abandonment of temporal delights and bodily appetite, and both relate the physical conditions of the desert to the state of mind required of the faithful Christian (though Orm is less confident in rendering the exact equivalent of faciat in mente desertum).

In the second case, both extracts interpret the number forty as betokening the adoption of the Decalogue by all men, that is, from the four corners of the world. Orm suppresses the martial image and the obvious numerical explanation but rejoins the Latin in the citation of the four elements which make up the human body. From the last sentence of the

Latin extract, the tres vires of the soul are interpreted by Orm as the prinne mahhtess, on which he elaborates. Returning to the Latin's association of the number three with God allows Orm to introduce conventional teaching on the Trinity.¹⁰¹ Thence Orm accepts the division of the number seven (which he omits) into four and three, extending and greatly elaborating on the Latin septem ad proximum in such a way as to synthesize the concepts of body, soul and God and thus return to the notion of the Decalogue with which he began.

The one doubt raised by Matthes throughout his study concerns the precise make-up of the glossed Bible available to Orm, and the question of whether he possessed a complete gloss. To this question, Matthes can give no definite answer (Einh., p.190), yet, in view of the firm correspondences between the passages from the Glossa Interlinearis and the Ormulum given above, it seems probable that Orm had consulted, on certain occasions at least, a work which contained portions of the Glossa Interlinearis, perhaps even the whole work itself. However, what is true of the extracts from Orm's exposition on Matth. IV. 1-11 cannot be assumed for the rest of the text and, as Matthes has pointed out, the problem will be resolved only through a thorough source study which makes use of a Glossa text more reliable than that printed by Migne.

On the question of other sources, Matthes's work yielded more definite results. He establishes that White-Holt, ll. 255-897, part of the exposition on Luc. I. 5-17; 18-25, derives exclusively from Bede's In Lucam¹⁰² (Einh., p.184). He concludes his detailed study of possible sources by asserting that, together with the commentary In Lucam, several of Bede's genuine homilies can be cited as having been directly employed by Orm. To these texts, a glossed Bible should be added, with

the qualification that the evidence does not permit the definite identification of the exact text to which Orm referred. Further, Matthes thinks it probable that Orm had a Numerarium in his possession, as well as a Bestiary (Einh., pp. 179-98, esp. 190).

On the basis of the close comparison of the other various sources proposed by Sarrazin, Matthes finds little incontrovertible evidence to support the notion that Orm had access to the Pseudo-Bede Commentary on Matthew (Einh., pp. 182-84); further, he argues against the influence of Bede's In Marcum (Einh., p. 186), pointing out that where Bede's commentary agrees with the matter in the Ormulum, equally firm correspondences can be derived from the relevant sections of the Glossa. For example, knowledge of the name of the prison at Macheronnte (l. 19942), where John the Baptist was placed, could have been had from Bede's In Marcum (IV. 29) or from the relevant section of the 1481 Glossa, yet since the name is introduced through reference to pe boc (A text), Matthes thinks it most probable that it was the Glossa which was being consulted at this point.¹⁰³

The last remaining problem of source identification which Matthes discusses relates to the question of Ælfric's influence (Einh., pp. 80-88). Direct Ælfrician influence had been swiftly rejected by Sarrazin whose criteria are, however, severely criticized by Matthes. Sarrazin noted that in the places where Orm agreed with Ælfric, the latter also showed a close resemblance to the relevant works of Bede and Gregory; his method was to choose only those portions of text in which Gregory seemed to have a closer relationship to Orm, and on this basis to reject any possibility of Ælfrician influence.

In response, Matthes singled out Orm's exposition of the Journey of the

Magi from the East and assembled the relevant parallel or reminiscent passages from the following texts: the Pseudo-Bede Commentary on Matthew, Gregory's Homelia X in Evangelia, and from Ælfric's homily for Epiphania Domini in the first series of Catholic Homilies,¹⁰⁴ (Einh.,p.84). His comparison of the texts reveals that two of the distinctive ideas contained in Orm's account find striking parallels in Ælfric's homily, while both Gregory and the Pseudo-Bede are silent. In the first place, the direct identification of Herod with the devil which Orm makes:

Herode king bitacneþþ uss
 Pe laþe gast off helle

(11.6518-19)

is as abruptly stated by Ælfric: Herodes hæfde deofles getacnunge (Thorpe, CH I.108), but is found in the Pseudo-Bede Commentary also. It is, however, in the further elaboration of the identification that the matter is, of the four texts, found only in Orm and Ælfric. Matthes offers 11. 6568-6623 and Thorpe, CH I.108-10 - Herodes hæfde deofles getacnunge.....to Criste gelæt for comparison.

The second notion which Ælfric and Orm share and which is absent from the other two works is that which identifies the shepherds as the Jewish-Christians and the Magi as the Heathen-Faithful who, as the two walls of the Church of the faithful, will be joined together by Christ the Cornerstone. Again, Matthes (Einh.,p.86) offers passages for comparison.

Matthes admits (Ibid.,p.87) that the stylistic affinities of the two English extracts are few, but believes that the two clear parallels constitute enough to show that the acceptance of Ælfric's influence is well-grounded. In view of his later remarks, however, (Einh.pp.137-38; 193-94), it would appear that Matthes does not consider the evidence

strong enough to characterize this influence as direct, even though reference to the Glossa does not provide parallel material for those places where Ælfric stands nearer to Orm than do any of the other Latin texts consulted. In spite of this, Matthes says:

erscheint auch mir direkter Einfluss der Ælfrikschen Homilien nicht sehr wahrscheinlich.

(Einh., p. 193)

and prefers the suggestion that:

sowohl Ælfrik als auch Orrmin aus einer Glossafassung schöpften, welche bei der Erklärung von Matth. II von den von mir verglichenen Fassungen stärker abwich. Doch ist die Frage des direkten Ælfrikschen Einflusses auf das Orrmulum mit diesen Ausführungen keineswegs endgültig entschieden.

(Einh., pp. 193-94)

On the evidence which Matthes presents, it is not possible to conclude with any degree of certainty that Ælfric's influence is discernible here; neither, however, is the suggestion that a common glossed version of Matthew's gospel lies behind the two homilies in any way feasible. Förster made extensive enquiries into the sources for Ælfric's Epiphania Domini and gives no indication that Ælfric ever used such a work.¹⁰⁵ In view of the prevalence, everywhere among homilists and biblical commentators of the Middle Ages, of a common fund of ideas freely circulating, it would be rash to make any claim for Ælfrician influence, direct or indirect, from the fact that both Orm and Ælfric agree, in general terms, in including detail which both Gregory and the Pseudo-Bede omit. The only positive assertion which this evidence permits is that neither Gregory's homily nor the Pseudo-Bede Commentary were consulted by Orm

for this part of his exposition.

There is, however, a further point which can be added in relation to the figure of Christ the Cornerstone, joining together the two walls of the Church of the faithful. In the context cited by Matthes, Orm says:

7 iesu crist tatt drohh till himm
Patt twinne kinne genge,
He wass himm sellf þatt hirnestan
Patt band ta twe33enn wa3hess.

(ll. 6822-25)

In a later homily which deals with Christ's renaming of Simon as Peter and the introduction of the significance of the etymology of the word petrus, meaning 'stone,' Orm again provides the same teaching in characteristically similar terms:

7 crist iss ec þatt hirnestan
Patt bindeþþ twe33enn wa3hess,
Patt iss alls iff I se33de þuss,
Patt bindeþþ twe33enn þede.

(ll. 13358-361)

In the homily Epiphania Domini, from which Matthes quotes, Ælfric writes:

Soðlice se sealm-sceop awrat be Criste,
þæt he is se hyrn-stan þe gefegð þa
twegen weallas togædere.

(Thorpe, CH I.106)

The image of the Cornerstone derives from Ps.117,22:

Lapidem quem reprobauerunt aedificantes
Hic factus est in caput anguli.

The psalmist's verse appears on several occasions in the Gospels and Pauline Epistles; Matthew, for example, incorporated it (Matth. XXI.42)

in his account of the parable of the Wicked Husbandman. In the recently edited Alfrician homily for FERIA VI in Secunda Ebdomada Quadragesimæ¹⁰⁶, in which the homilist expounds on Matth. XXI. 33-46, the term hyrnstan (hyrnstane) appears on four occasions. In a note on the use of the word, Pope cites Thorpe, CH I.106, the Epiphany homily, for comparison, and states that in the dictionaries hyrnstan is recorded only three times, viz., in the Epiphany homily, in a gloss to Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis in Oxford MS Bodleian Digby 146, and in the Ormulum.¹⁰⁷ The occurrence of the term in the homily Pope edits constitutes a fourth case.

The image of Christ as the Cornerstone was frequently expounded by the Fathers of the Church generally, especially by those who exercised most influence over Anglo-Saxon churchmen, who were equally well acquainted with it. Not only does the image figure largely in the Antiphon O Rex Gentium, et desideratum earum, lapisque angularis, which provided the basic source material for the poet of Christ I, in the first of his Advent lyrics,¹⁰⁸ it also received, as verse 22 of Ps. 117, the attention of a relatively large number of glossators.¹⁰⁹ It is, therefore, of some interest to note that hyrnstan is, with one exception in the OE corpus, confined to Alfric's writings and is, statistically, a rare OE word.

Ordinarily, the appearance in the Ormulum of OE religious terminology, even of relatively little-used terms, would not deserve much comment; in this case, however, the available evidence shows that hyrnstan is virtually confined to Alfric's writings, that it had no currency outside his corpus despite the fact that there were numerous occasions on which one might readily expect it to have been employed, and that it was never, excepting only in the Ormulum, used by later religious writers. Under the

conditions, therefore, it is pertinent to ask by what means the word comes to be used by Orm. Ælfric employed hrynstan in two separate homilies dealing with the same biblical matter; in the Ormulum, the word figures in the homily which treats the same pericope as that which Ælfric handled in his Epiphania Domini and later, in a context which, through the etymology of petrus and Christ's announcement of the establishment of the temporal Church, would readily have called the image to mind.

I am not prepared to state that Orm, in this case, was directly influenced by either or both of Ælfric's homilies, since it is naturally not possible to offer conclusive proof. However, the facts surrounding hrynstan make it almost certain that Orm, if not actually in possession of an Ælfrician book, must have known through some other, indirect means of its use in association with the psalmist's verse and subsequent expositions of it in the Gospels. I have raised the point at this stage partly because Matthes's enquiry demanded it, and partly as a prelude to a fuller discussion of the possible sorts of relationship which may have pertained in the case of Orm and his OE predecessors, Ælfric in particular. In section I.5., below, I shall broaden the argument in general terms, suggesting that it should be viewed as a sound basis for the more detailed analyses which are to follow.

Matthes, then, goes some way to endorse White's original suggestion that the Ælfrician corpus has a bearing on the content, if not the style, of some of Orm's homilies. Though rightly cautious, his conception of Einfluss was, perhaps, too narrowly defined and, as I have said, it will be part of my brief to suggest more viable ways of approach.

In all, Matthes's conclusions show, on the whole, that Orm's main sources

were, for his time, a little 'old-fashioned'¹¹⁰. With the exception of the Glossa Interlinearis, which Orm probably knew, the Latin texts he consulted faithfully reproduced mainstream patristic learning; it is likely that Orm considered Bede, for whom he has great respect, as the last of the Fathers of the Church, an opinion which would not have been peculiar to him. At the same time, however, the influence of the interlinear gloss, essentially a twelfth century production, should serve as a reminder that Orm was not totally oblivious to the theological writings of his own age. The matter in the interlinear gloss, attributed to Alselm of Laon is, it must be admitted, traditionalist in nature, yet the fact that Orm was alive to the work of his near contemporaries receives some support from the wholly plausible suggestion by Gerhard Eis that the opening words of the Dedication, in which Orm greets Walter as his brother by virtue of their common parentage, their common membership in the body of Crisstenndom and in the fact that they have both taken canonical orders in an Augustinian house, are based closely on the opening words of St. Bernard's Super Cantica Sermo XXXVI¹¹¹. At the same time, it is evident that Orm displays considerable interest and dexterity in numerology, often taken to quite excessive lengths. Matthes noticed this and postulated the influence of a Numerarium (Einh., p. 195) of undetermined identity. Equally plausible, though equally uncertain, of course, is the suggestion that Orm had access to some of the theological writings of late eleventh and early twelfth century continental theologians, some of whom displayed a marked avidity for, and dexterity in, number symbolism.¹¹² Only a study specifically designed to identify the sources of the Ormulum at every turn will improve on Matthes's work which, in this as in other areas, forms the basis for the continued study of Orm's great work.

I.4 The Literary Contexts of the Ormulum

In the second part of this chapter, I want to make a series of detailed points deriving at once from aspects of the advances already made in the study of the Ormulum, and from my own observations both from the conditions which prevailed in the latest period of OE literary activity and from the text of the Ormulum itself, in order to identify, in more precise terms than have hitherto been proposed, the place of Orm's homilies in the development of this literary genre. I regard this task as an important and necessary introduction to the appreciation of the more exacting arguments which will be put forward in the subsequent chapters.

The traditional stumbling block to any such measured, objective appreciation lies in the widely prevalent, and often tacitly accepted, view that the Ormulum is a highly idiosyncratic yet unoriginal work of one who displays little, if any, relationship to his antecedents and whose work subsequently exercised no influence on later vernacular homiletic writings. No doubt the conservative, undistinguished nature of its theological subject matter, coupled with its bizarre spelling system, for which no precedent can be located, encourage the view that Orm worked in isolation, in a literary vacuum as far as English homily writing was concerned, and that the significance of the work did not outlive its author.¹¹³

Yet the Ormulum is the first major homiletic collection to have been written in English, so far as is known, since the publication of Elfric's two series of Catholic Homilies and the Lives of Saints. From the list of Latin pericopes which precede the work proper, it is clear that Orm took upon himself a huge task, not simply in terms of volume, but also in the comprehensiveness of his plan. All of his expositions

are strictly exegetical, and in this respect he may be seen, unwittingly or otherwise, as extending a homiletic tradition in the vernacular first established as a definitive norm by Ælfric.¹¹⁴ Again, like Ælfric's pieces, Orm's homilies begin with a full translation or paraphrase of the Gospel pericope, after which the exposition is delivered. In short, I shall urge that the major significance of his work lies in the fact that it is Orm's attempt to re-establish a workable, eminently useful, vernacular preaching idiom which would help to fill the gap created by the increasingly unserviceable teaching programme which Ælfric had completed in the early decades of the eleventh century. Rather than regarding Orm as one working in isolation, I suggest that his homiletic collection is an elaborate and well planned response to the ever increasing need for serviceable preaching materials.

I.4.1 The Author, his Milieu and his Audience.

It is necessary, in the first place, to investigate and evaluate what little is known about the author, what his intentions as a preacher were, and for whom he wrote.

Orm was not a monk, but an Augustinian canon, that is, a member of a religious order living the regular, full apostolic life in a community, under the guidance of a rule, while at the same time directing his energies towards, rather than away from, the world. As Dickinson shows, the canons' origins are firmly connected to the Gregorian Reform movement which began in Italy in the mid-eleventh century; their rise to prominence was the powerful expression of the disgust felt for the contemporary worldliness, increasingly prevalent in the Western Church

at that time. In England, the order rose to full stature by the early years of the twelfth century and quickly became the most numerous of the religious orders in the country.¹¹⁵

Unlike the monks, however, for whom the vita contemplativa was the guiding principle of their thoughts and actions, the canons were practical men, serving the needs of often neglected parochial communities. R.W. Southern stresses this practical aspect of their function, and contrasts them with the Cistercians who came into existence only a few years later than the canons:

116

The Augustinian canons aimed in various ways at serving the society around them; the Cistercians fled from it.

One of these ways lay in the emphasis placed upon the canons' pastoral responsibilities, of which preaching to the laity must have formed a part. Contemporary testimony, expressing the official view at least, comes from Pope Paschal II's letter to the community at St. Bartolph's, Colchester, in 1116:

117

The dispensation of the Word of God, the offices of preaching, baptizing and reconciling penitents have always been a function of your office.

Dickinson, too, notes that the inmates of the first-established houses, founded in the late-eleventh century, envisaged considerable pastoral responsibilities; in the early twelfth century, the 'Master' of the Bridlington Dialogue, (the prior of a house noted for its learning and flourishing literary activity), urged that canons should be given leave to absent themselves from their communities if, among several reasons, any of them should be elected to rule a church, and thus take on pastoral duties.¹¹⁸ The same Bridlington Dialogue lays down a number of

fitting pursuits for a regular canon, among which figured:

Verbum Dei coram fratribus legere, exponere,¹¹⁹
predicare.

Although only the brethren are here referred to as the recipients of this preaching activity, the practical bent of the canons' religious functions, their involvement in the religious life of the parishes in which their houses were founded, and their duty, in official terms, to preach, make it likely that provision was made for the laity as well as the brethren.¹²⁰ Addressing himself specifically to the English parish clergy of the twelfth century, of whom so little is known, Dickinson is obliged to concede that there is very little evidence for assuming that regular canons preached with any great frequency at this time, and he cites the Ormulum and the work of Adam the Scot as exceptional cases, referring to the former's testimony as 'doubtful'.¹²¹

Dickinson's judgement here is perhaps tempered by the complete absence of evidence to indicate that Orm's homilies were ever preached, or even that they progressed beyond the 'rough copy' stage of transmission in which they are now found. Nevertheless, the material which Orm made available in his Dedication and Preface, as regards his method, intentions and proposed audience, bears strong testimony.

Orm's accomplishment is clearly and simply stated:

Icc hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh Gōddspelles
hall3he lare,
Affterr þatt little witt þatt me min Drihhtin
hafeþþ lenedd.

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 7-8)

A few lines later, he is more specific:

Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc þa Goddspelless
neh alle,
Þatt sinndenn o þe messeþoc inn all þe 3er att messe.
Annd a33 affterr þe Goddspell stannt þatt tatt te
Goddspell menepþ,
Þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe folc off þe33re sawle
nede;

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 15-18)

Thus the sole purpose for the rendition of the Gospel into English is for sawle nede, for the salvation of all men. This direct and insistent preoccupation with man's spiritual well-being is constantly in the forefront of Orm's thought, as is demonstrated by the 'formula' with which each of the paraphrases is concluded, serving not only to indicate the completion of the paraphrase, but also to stress the tropological nature of the exposition which is to follow. At the end of the paraphrase of Luc. I.5-17; 18-25, which are pericopes for the first fitt, Orm says:

7 her icc wile shawenn 3uw
off þise twa goddspelless
Hu mikell god te33 lærenn 3uw
Off 3ure sawless nede.

(ll. 251-54; cp. ll. 920-21)

On the other occasions on which he treats two Latin texts consecutively and for which there is a complete paraphrase extant, the wording is slightly different:

Her endenn twa goddspelless þuss,
Annd uss birrþ hemm þurrhsekenn
To lokenn whatt te33 lærenn uss
Off ure sawle nede.

(ll. 3490-93; Bennett & Smithers,
Early Middle English Verse and
Prose, ll. 221-24).

It is a set phrase which is repeated verbatim - ll. 1813-16; 7697-7700;
16752-755; 18002-005.

On the more numerous occasions on which only one Latin text is paraphrased, the set phrase is exactly the same:

Her endeþþ nu þiss gōddspell þuss
7 uss birrþ itt þurrhsekenn,
To lokenn whatt itt læreþþ uss
Off ure sawle nede.

(ll. 8391-394)

which is repeated exactly at ll. 8979-82; 9331-34; 10684-687;
11399-11402; 12618-621 (where tæcheþþ replaces læreþþ); 12828-831;
14078-081; 15632-635; 19611-614.¹²²

This stereotyped phrase is varied only by the closely related:

Her endeþþ nu þiss gōddspell þuss
7 icc 3uw wile shawenn
Hu mikell gōd itt læreþþ 3uw
Off 3ure sawless nede.

(ll. 6514-17)

Thus Orm's insistence on the welfare of the soul, stressed in his Dedication, is referred to constantly, in a fixed form, throughout the whole work.¹²³

If his intentions and method of working are clearly stated and readily understood, it is next necessary to ask for whom these homilies were written. Alongside the general references to Ennglissh follc, þe follc, Cristess hallþe þed, Crisstene follc and all Ennglisshe lede (Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, ll. 10, 18, 20, 61, 66) which speak of Orm's concern for the potentially universal audience which ignored the teaching of Christ upon peril of their soul, yet each member of which was capable of securing salvation for himself, there are several other references which provide a much more precise picture.

In the Dedication, again, Orm explains the presence of his own words

among those of the Gospel paraphrases:

Forr whase mot to lawedd follc larspell off Goddspell
tellen,
He mot wel ekenn mani3 word amang Goddspellless
wordess.

(Dickins & Wilson, ll. 28-29)

The lawedd follc are those who have no knowledge of Latin, the unlearned majority of the society who were distinct from the members of the various religious orders. Thus Orm endeavours to provide preaching materials for a popular audience who had no experience of receiving information by any means other than by listening, and his decision to clarify or expand the Gospel text evidently reflects his low but doubtless accurate opinion of their capabilities.

Though there are no consistently employed conventional phrases of address in the Ormulum corresponding to OE men þa leofestan and leofan men, Orm occasionally identifies his audience by naming them specifically. In the exposition on Matth. I. 18-25, in fitt three (Einh., p.42), Orm notes that Joseph behaved with devotion and consideration towards Mary, even though she was pregnant without knowledge of him, and states immediately:

Þærþurh he 3aff 3uw lawedd follc.
Full openlike bisne.
Þatt 3uw birrþ nimenn mikell gom.
To 3emenn 3ure macchess.

(Matthes, Einh., p.107;
White-Holt, ll. 2908-11)

thus confirming his intention, expressed in the Dedication, to preach to a popular audience. It should be noted also that, without referring directly to his audience, Orm occasionally mentions that the lawedd follc at the time of Christ's ministry on earth received spiritual guidance from him and his angels, with the tacit implication that his audience

should identify completely with them and submit as readily to the true knowledge of God as did others before them (ll. 3654-61; 7438-43; 10027-32; 1152-55; 13952ff).

At the same time, it is clear that Orm envisaged an audience comprising additional orders of society. On four occasions in the work, Orm addresses those listening to his expositions as laferrdinn̄gess (ll. 918; 11679; 16328; 18611), referring, it would seem, to a class of men of higher social rank than the læwedd follc. Furthermore, he makes references, in the vocative case to lefe breþre (l. 14312) and to breþre (l. 16342), indicating perhaps that his instruction would equally have been of benefit to his fellow ¹²⁴canons. The mention of the brethren is, however, ambiguous. In the first place, the latter reference at l. 16342 comes only a dozen lines or so after the address to the laferrdinn̄gess, suggesting that the naming of the breþre may only be a statement affirming the fraternity of all men in the Church of Christ. For example, in explaining the pericope verse:

Post hoc descendit Capharnaum ipse, et
mater eius, et fratres eius, et discipuli eius.....

(Ioan. II. 12)

Orm raises the question of the meaning of fratres and says of Christ that:

7 he þe33m nemneþþ swa þurh hiss
Unse33enndli3 ȝodnesse;
Forr þatt he þe33m i cristenndom
To breþre chosenn haffde.
7 alle þa þatt foll3henn rihht
þe cristenndom onn erþe,
þurh clene þohht, þurh clene word,
þurh clene læfe 7 dede,
.....
.....
Sinndenn till ure laferrd crist
Full dere breþre 7 susstress

(ll. 15698-709)

On the other hand, Orm refers to himself as a broþerr (Dedication, ll. 331, 333), evidently in the sense of Augustinian canon, and uses the same term of Walter in a three-fold sense in which is included recognition of his membership of the order and adherence to the rule (Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, ll. 1-5). On balance, it seems entirely possible that Orm envisaged imparting instruction to his fellow canons, either in separate readings or services, or as part of a mixed audience.

On his own testimony, then, the homilies of the Ormulum were written to provide instruction to the mass of illiterate believers in Orm's locality, to the secular lords of the lands on which the majority worked, and possibly to his own Augustinian brethren as well.

What Orm says of the mode of delivery of his work is consistent with the notion that provision was made for these three categories. In the first place, ll. 28-29 of the Dedication, quoted above on p.54, in which reference is made to those who would tellen the Gospel, indicate that the matter was to be delivered orally. The emphasis on recitation is revealed also in the directive:

þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe folle off þe33re
sawle nede

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication 1.18)

Furthermore, Orm refers directly to both audience and preacher in his closing prayer in the Dedication :-

Her bidde þa crisstene menn,
þatt herenn oþerr redenn
þiss boc, hemm bidde ico her þatt te33
Forr me þiss bede biddenn.

(White-Holt, Dedication, ll. 327-30)

Earlier he comments on his purpose on making the Gospels available in English:

Forr itt ma33 hellpenn alle þa þatt bliþelike itt herenn,
Annd lufenn itt, annd foll3henn itt wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word,
wiþþ dede.

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 11.46-47)

and in similar vein:

Forr þatt I wolde bliþeli3 þatt all Ennglissh lede
Wiþþ are sholde lisstenn itt....

(Ibid., 11.66-67)

He is sure that he will have provided the necessary means for salvation 3iff þe33 wilenn herenn itt (Ibid., 1.70).

Finally, it should be noted that Orm considered that he was providing a body of religious instruction for the use of preachers. In the early part of the Dedication, he addresses those who will be responsible for the future dissemination of the Gospel's instruction in terms which stress not only the desirability of providing such teaching for the læwedd follc, but also the care which preachers ought to take in the presentation of the material. I give the passage in full:

Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc amang Goddspelless wordess,
All þurh mesellfenn, mani3 word þe rime swa to fillenn;
Annd þu shallt findenn þatt min word, e33whar þar itt iss
ekedd,
Ma33 hellpenn þa þatt redenn itt to sen annd tunnderrstannenn
All þess te bettere, hu þe33m birrþ þe Goddspell underrstannenn;
Annd forrþi trowwe icc þatt te birrþ wel þolenn mine wordess
E33whar þar þu shallt findenn hemm amang Goddspelless wordess.
Forr whase mot to læwedd follc larspell off Goddspell tellenn,
He mot wel ekenn mani3 word amang Goddspelless wordess.

(Ibid., 11.21-29)

Thus, on the ample authority of Orm's Dedication, and of certain terms

of direct address in the body of the text, the Ormulum is made up of a collection of homilies on the Gospels which is designed to serve the needs of a portion, at least, of the illiterate population through oral delivery, and which caters also to the requirements of preachers who are responsible for its recitation. Among its intended audience are to be counted the laferrdinn̄gess, and possibly the canons who were members of the house to which Orm belonged.

Most of the evidence is clearly stated and can be interpreted without difficulty. It is, however, worth giving brief consideration to the compatibility of this picture to the known facts of the Augustinian canons' activity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England.

In the first place, some confirmation of the view that Orm's references to the breþre and lef breþre point to an audience made up, in whole or in part, of fellow canons, is provided by the advice given in the Bridlington Dialogue to the effect that the explanation and preaching of the word of God before the brethren is a fitting and esteemed activity for a
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canon.

More importantly, perhaps, R.W. Southern, from his study of various cartularies and the observances which pertained to Barnwell Priory in Cambridgeshire, accounts for the success of the Augustinian foundations in these terms:

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They needed the proximity of human habitation and they thrive on the contact which repelled more delicate organisms. They thrive equally in the near neighbourhood of a town or a castle. For the well-to-do townfolk they could provide the amenity of burial-places, memorials and masses for the dead, and schools and confessors of superior standing for the living. For the lords of castles they could provide a staff for the chapel

and clerks for the needs of administration. They were ubiquitously useful. They could live on comparatively little, yet expand into affluence without disgrace. Consequently, there were many who were willing to contribute their crumbs. In return, they satisfied many modest requirements. For the moderate landowner, they provided a religious house where he was received as lord and patron. For the smaller benefactor, they produced a place of burial and masses for his soul.

In the light of these remarks, it is tempting to associate Orm's laferrdingess with the 'lords of the castles' and the 'moderate landowner', or with men like the sherrifs Robert d'Oilly and Picot whom Southern cites as benefactors of Augustinian houses.¹²⁷ In virtually all respects, the information which Orm provides concerning his proposed audiences corresponds well with this quite amply documented historical background which has been traced without recourse to the evidence available from the Ormulum itself. In view of this independent corroboration, it is perhaps worth considering whether the office of preaching should not also be added to the list of services which Southern's findings ascribe to the Augustinian canons.

I.4.ii Orm's Autobiographical Pronouncements

Superficially, the correspondences between what Orm says of his motivation, his method and his intended audiences, and the information derived from independently assessed statements from documents relating to the few Augustinian houses of which something is known, create historical and literary milieux for the Ormulum, and are persuasive enough to suggest that the work may yield additional evidence which would establish more detailed and comprehensive literary relationships for it.

I wish to examine the remaining matter from the Dedication and Preface, some of which purports to be autobiographical, as a first stage in the construction of a firm literary context for the Ormulum; for reasons which will soon become apparent, I have approached this aspect through the enquiry conducted by A.E. Nichols into Ælfric's rhetorical pronouncements in his prefaces.¹²⁸

Nichols argues persuasively that the material in the prefaces to the Catholic Homilies, the Lives of Saints and the Heptateuch is not to be read primarily as an individual authorial account of autobiographical detail, but as the manifestation of rhetorical topoi of well-established pedigree, by the use of which Ælfric announces both his indebtedness to the influence of the western Latin tradition of religious instruction, and also the seriousness with which he invested his own work.

Basing her study partly on Curtius's discussion of 'affected modesty'¹²⁹, Nichols classifies the rhetorical devices in Ælfric's prefaces under two headings. The first, the 'modesty formula', manifests itself in several ways. There is a statement of self deprecation, as in his nostrae despicabilis personae (Thorpe, CH I.3) from the Latin preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies; a statement in which the author compares himself unfavourably with others; the author's acquiescence to the wishes of his benefactor or patron; his hope deriving from the expected praise for his efforts, and, finally, his anxiety lest he should offend his audience through tedious verbosity.¹³⁰

The second category comprises what she calls the 'credentials formula'¹³¹ and includes the following statements: the name of the author and the title given to his work; the authority to speak, which is claimed through reference to the patron or to God himself. Nichols also includes amongst Ælfric's 'credentials formulas' his appeal that his work be

corrected if any unorthodox pronouncements should be found, and the related 'formula' in which later scribes are warned to produce faithful copies of the original.

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The use of these rhetorical devices shows that Ælfric, whose learned reputation was established in his own life-time, consciously conceived of his work, in the first place, as a development directly related to his intellectual heritage handed down by Christian Latin writers, and it demonstrates also the importance which he attached to his own contribution to this broad literary tradition, particularly to the specific genres available in that tradition. In short, he was vitally aware of his mission, both literary and religious.

It is, therefore, of considerable interest to discover that the majority of these numerous 'self conscious' rhetorical devices were known to and used equally by Orm. From the Dedication and Preface to the Ormulum, I offer ample illustration. Orm invokes Walter as his familial, spiritual and canonical brother, yet clearly portrays him equally as the recipient of the work he had 'commissioned':

Icc hafe don swa summ þu badd, annd forþedd te þin wille,
Icc hafe wennd inntill Enngliss̄h Goddspelless hall3he lare

(Dickins & Wilson Dedication, ll. 6-7)

This example of the author's submission to his patron's wishes is extended several lines later:

þu þohhtesst tatt itt mihte wel till mikell frame turrnenn
3iff Enngliss̄h follc, forr lufe off Crist, itt wollde 3erne
lernenn,
Annd foll3henn itt, annd fillenn itt, wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word,
wiþþ dede.
Annd forrþi 3errndesst tu þatt icc þiss werre þe sholde
wirrken;
Annd icc itt hafe forþedd te..... (Ibid., ll. 9-13)

Inserted between the two passages is a statement in which Orm deprecates the worth of his own abilities. He has rendered the teaching of the Gospel into English:

Afterr þatt little witt þatt me min Drihtin
hafaþþ lenedd.

(Ibid., 1.8)

Though no other similar admission occurs in the introductory matter, it should be noted that the phrase is repeated word for word in several places in the body of the homilies themselves.¹³⁴

Of the remaining examples of 'modesty formula' traced in Ælfric's prefaces, Orm nowhere expresses his anxiety at offending his audience through verbosity, neither does he directly compare himself unfavourably with other, more able writers. The expression of hope in anticipation of praise from one's superior is not so clearly exemplified in the Ormulum as in Ælfric's prefaces, but this passage (the sentiment of which is repeated in White-Holt, Dedication, ll. 325-34) may bear some relationship to the concept. Orm is speaking of the Enngliſsh lede for whom his work was undertaken:

Annd 3iff þe33 wilenn herenn itt, annd foll3henn itt wiþþ¹³⁵
dede,
Icc hafe hemm hollpenn unnderr Crist to winnenn þe33re
berhless.
Annd I shall hafenn forr min swinnoc god læn att Godd onn ende.

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, ll.70-73)

where his superior is God himself whose praise will take the form of the ultimate reward.

Turning to the various forms of the 'credentials formula', the material in the Ormulum corresponds in every respect to that located by Nichols in

Alfric's prefaces. Orm names himself as Orrm (Maclean, Preface, 1.2) and as Orrmin (White-Holt, Dedication, ll. 324-25); he gives the title Orrmulum to his work (Maclean, Preface, ll. 1,94) and, on several occasions, claims authority to speak.

The opening words of the Dedication in which he addresses his brother also have references to the re3hellboc (Dickins & Wilson, 1.4), to the kanunnkess had annd lif and to Sannt Awwstin (Ibid., 1.5), references which identify him as a learned religious who associates himself especially with Augustine, the most revered of all Fathers of the Church. On other occasions, it is the help which God has granted him which validates the authority of his work. To his brother, Orm says that the work is now completed, Acc all þurrh Cristess hellpe (Ibid., 1.13).

Fulfilling a similar function are these words addressed to Walter:

Annd unnc birrþ baþe lofenn Gōdd off þatt itt wass bigunnenn
Annd þannkenn Gōdd tatt itt iss brohht till ende, þurrh Hiss
hellpe.

(Ibid., 11.44-45)

Unlike Alfric, Orm does not name his secondary sources, yet throughout the homilies, as has been seen, he refers indirectly to them through such phrases as þe boc and haliz boc, and occasionally cites biblical authority, calling on the written authority of Moses (ll.14656 ff) and the words of Isaiah (1.3084).

Alfric's appeal for correction reflects the ardent desire to avoid heretical or unorthodox statements;¹³⁶ Orm's sentiments are identical.

He addressess Walter:

Annd te bitæche icc off þiss boc, heh wikenn alls itt semeþþ,

All to þurhsekenn ille an ferrs, 'annd to
þurhlokenn offte,
Þatt upponn all þiss boc ne be nan word 3æn
Cristess lare,
Nan word tatt swiþe wel ne be to trowwenn annd
to foll3henn.

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, ll. 33-36)

Finally, I draw attention to Orm's instructions to subsequent scribes who would copy his work. As has been seen, this device in Alfric's prefaces is closely related to his warning to preserve orthodoxy. Similarly, Orm's comment echoes his earlier concern for the preservation of Cristess lare, as well as referring to another important aspect of his production:

Annd whase wilenn shall þiss boc efft operr
siþe writenn,
Himm bidde icc þatt het write riht, swa summ
þiss boc himm tæcheþþ
All þwerret ut affterr þatt itt iss vppo þiss
firrste bisne,
Wipþ all swilic rime alls her iss sett, wipþ
all-se fele wordess;
Annd tatt he loke wel þatt he an bocstaff write
twi33ess,
E33whær þær itt uppo þiss boc iss writenn o þatt
wise.
Loke he wel þatt het write swa, forr he ne ma33
noht elless
Onn Ennglissh writenn riht te word, þatt wite
he wel to soþe.

(Ibid., ll. 48-55)

Orm's admonition is two-fold. He asks that his work be reproduced riht in the sense that no words should be omitted - wipþ all-se fele wordess. In view of his explanation (Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, ll. 21-29) for the addition of his own matter to that of the Gospel, it is clear that his concern lies with the possible departure from orthodoxy which a future scribe might unwittingly effect. At the same time, Orm calls attention to his spelling system, insisting on its retention, thus

indicating the great significance he attached to it.

In terms of the rhetorical devices, the inclusion of the reference to orthography illustrates that although the admonition to later scribes was a motif traditionally applied by writers to their work, it was not accepted uncritically by Orm since he uses it as a vehicle to draw attention to his spelling; he grafts this individual preoccupation of his onto a stereotyped 'formula'.

Recognition of this fact leads me to stress that while the prefatory pronouncements just discussed are standard features of many works of religious instruction written in the early Middle Ages, their content is not to be summarily dismissed as having no relation to fact. ¹³⁷ In the Ormulum, the information they contain, revealing at times the author's principal concerns and emphases, is indispensable in an appreciation of his intentions and achievements. ¹³⁸

I submit, therefore, that it is certain that Orm, in the use of these rhetorical tools, makes a declaration of his firm adherence to the theological and literary traditions of Christian Latin Europe, as exemplified in the writings of the Church Fathers (one of whom was highly esteemed also as the 'founder' of the religious order to which Orm belonged) and later writers, some of whom Orm drew upon directly for material for his homilies. Further, it can be said that Orm considers himself to be actively engaged in contributing to the genre of homily writing and that he had a clear idea of his role in the continuation of this essential work. His reliance on Bede's In Lucam and several of his genuine homilies, on portions of the Glossa and probably on other standard authors, his imitation, in the coining of the word Ormulum, of Speculum, to describe his book of religious instruction, and his choice of a non-native,

syllabic verse metre based on the Latin septenary, all confirm the thoroughly Latinate character of his background.

I.5 Ælfric and Orm and Vernacular Preaching.

At the same time, however, Orm is an English writer, the implications of which fact are not quite so obvious as the statement itself. In this section, I want to draw together several strands of evidence, most of it well-known, in order to give a more precise characterisation of Orm's literary milieu.

Orm's homilies are amongst the earliest post-Conquest writings produced outside the direct influence of their OE predecessors. His choice of verse as a literary medium may suggest that prose composition was no longer desirable because the once popular productions of the tenth and eleventh centuries were regarded as increasingly unserviceable and inappropriate as models for his design. His choice of a Latinate metre indicates, equally, that knowledge of an familiarity with OE poetic forms was wholly inadequate to serve Orm's purpose. Besides, religious instruction in the vernacular had always been conveyed predominantly through the prose medium; OE homilies and related works continued to be copied in the latter half of the eleventh century and through the whole of the twelfth, whereas the history of OE poetry committed to writing ends, excepting only a handful of pieces, in the early years of the eleventh century.

Most scholars are agreed that William the Conqueror's introduction into the country of Norman barons, Norman administrative procedures and Norman bishops hastened the breakdown of the OE literary tradition and that the

surviving EME writings reflect this loss in the various ways their authors tried to overcome the difficulties presented by an absence of instructive models. Only in the West Midlands, it is said, is there any evidence of a body of writers working to sustain, in prose composition, the remnants of this tradition. Chambers was the first to draw attention to the continuation of English prose; the basis of his argument is to show the existence of 'a series of links, sometimes working very thin, but never unbroken'¹⁴¹, and through citing religious treatises like The History of the Holy Rood Tree and the Vices and Virtues, together with a large number of late eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts which preserve both Alfredian and Ælfrician writings, establishes quite conclusively that 'the work of teaching our people in English, though checked, was not stopped' (Chambers, p.xci).

Turning to the texts of the Katherine Group, Chambers notes that both of the manuscripts in which language AB is preserved come from the area in which interest in OE writings was preserved the longest (Chambers, p.xciv), an interest which, it is thought, was fostered by the long episcopate of bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, last of the Saxon bishops. Subsequently, Dorothy Bethurum differentiated between the Katherine Group lives of saints and the other, related texts by showing how the former conform more rigidly to the style of rhythmical prose adopted by Ælfric for his Lives of Saints, and she considers it probable that Ælfric's work provided¹⁴² the model for these later productions.

It is undeniable that Chamber's basic thesis, and Bethurum's claims for the strong influence of Ælfric's writings (which must have been regarded generally as a prestigious model), are soundly based. The evidence for the continuation of a tradition of prose writing from OE to EME times is beyond dispute; yet, concentration on the existence of these West Midland

texts and their strong similarity to OE rhythmical prose writings has tended to obscure some of the less obvious implications which the conditions of their existence (and that of other, related works) suggest.

Chambers cites the Vices and Virtues in the same context as the prose texts from the West Midlands, but fails to make any distinction between them. But the eastern provenance of the Vices and Virtues, of the Lambeth, Cotton Vespasian and Trinity homilies, and of the Peterborough Chronicle points to what Elizabeth Zeeman (Salter) has called 'the gradual shift of emphasis from the West to the East of the country' which highlights 'the increasing use of the language of the East of England as a medium for literature'¹⁴³. This shift of emphasis is symptomatic of a change in the dominant centre of literary production. Zeeman goes on:

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...prose activity was to increase in the East over the next three centuries. Biblical translation is attempted; Walter Hilton, the author of The Cloud of Unknowing, Dame Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe of Lynne, Nicholas Love and John Capgrave all write from Eastern areas and the West is practically silent.

while the influence of the Ancrene Wisse and the treatises Sawles Warde and Hali Meiðhad which, of all the Katherine Group texts, are most akin to it,¹⁴⁵ the three saints' lives of Seinte Marharete, Seinte Iulienne and Seinte Katherine represent, not the beginnings of a new departure in prose composition, but essentially the revival of a dead (or, at least, waning) form. Elfric's restrained and highly effective use of alliteration in his rhythmical prose is the result of his innate understanding of the power of stress and rhythm in spoken language; with the Katherine Group saints' lives, the form lapses into decadence because, especially in the case of Seinte Marharete, the application of alliterative devices is so insistent and over-bearing as to be mechanical. It ceases to be a tool for carefully weighted didactic insistence and becomes the all-

informing principle by which the author worked.

I stress these characteristics, not to deny or cast doubt on the generally held view that the Katherine Group texts derive from a tradition of prose writing in English which goes back to OE times, and which is represented principally by Ælfric's Lives of Saints, but to bring into question the nature of that tradition available to writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The author of the Ancrene Wisse writes in the same literary idiom as that used by the writers of the Katherine Group lives;¹⁴⁶ the language of Oxford MS Bodleian, Bodley 34 and Cambridge MS CCC 402 is identical in grammar and spelling and, though based on living local speech, 'is evidently one that had received anew in the Middle English period some polish and 'standardization'¹⁴⁷ It is, moreover, a language 'preserved by the English gentry impoverished by the Norman Conquest' who 'clung to the English tradition'.¹⁴⁸ Recognition that this was a true literary idiom of great ancestry and not simply a dialect form should not obscure the fact that its existence was, in one sense, contrived and artificial. By this I mean that it represents the desire, on the part of a section of learned and polite society, to preserve a standard literary language of English origin which would compensate for the loss of LWS.

The milieu in which language AB was written was, in part, backward looking. The authors of the saints' lives may be said to reveal antiquarian predilections; they adhere to the form in which Ælfric's lives were written, and they preserve the memory of saints whose lives drew the attention of OE hagiographers. Although there is no evidence to suggest the existence of an OE life of St. Catherine, there are clear OE antecedents to the other two lives; the Katherine Group life of Juliana is paralleled by Cynewulf's Juliana to which it corresponds in many respects, and no less¹⁴⁹

than three versions of the life of Margaret were written by OE hagio-
graphers. Thus the conservative, preservative tendency which d'Ardenne
150 detected in the use of language AB is complemented by this marked
151 interest in saints who were long venerated in the Anglo-Saxon church.

Reversion to the literary accomplishments of the past is, furthermore,
a feature of post-Conquest literary activity in other parts of the
country. Chambers, as has been noted, draws attention to the many manu-
scripts written in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries in which OE
homilies and other religious treatises are preserved, and argues from
their existence that English was still considered useful as a medium of
instruction. Several years later, R.M. Wilson discussed the phenomenon
more fully. In declaring that much of our knowledge of OE prose is
derived from post-Conquest MSS, he notes, for example, that Ælfric's
Grammar was still thought worthy of recopying as late as 1180, that
British Library MS., Cotton Otho A vi, of twelfth century date, is the
only complete copy of Alfred's translation of Boethius's De Consolatione
Philosophiae, and that many of Ælfric's works, including the Interro-
gationes Sigeuulfi Presbyteri, the biblical translations from the OE
Heptateuch and a large proportion of the homilies, are substantially
152 represented in twelfth century MSS. Evidence of original composition
amongst the homilies in British Library MS., Cotton Vespasian D xiv,
153 predominantly an Ælfrician collection, is slight. Most of the material
in the Lambeth, Vespasian and Trinity homily collections is a re-working
of OE materials which were considered useful.

The existence of such MSS reveals, as Chambers rightly pointed out, that
OE homilies and religious treatises continued to be understood and,
presumably, used; it shows also the high esteem in which Ælfric's works,
particularly the biblical translations and homilies, were held by sub-

sequent generations. At the same time, however, it indicates the absence of a climate in which fresh English preaching materials could have been composed. It is hard to determine whether this silence of twelfth century homilists is due solely to the deference shown to Ælfric's writings as prestigious models or, which seems likely, whether other factors like the gradual disappearance of a standard literary language should not also be considered; whatever the precise nature of their relationship, these two demonstrable facts are closely linked to each other.

Furthermore, the contents of some of these MSS, paradoxically it seems, throw doubt on the ability of Ælfric's contemporaries and immediate successors fully to appreciate and comprehend the extent of his achievement. Not only did Ælfric present in a systematic, almost 'official' form a comprehensive teaching programme for laity and clergy alike, he also corrected, by example, the many doctrinal errors he found in earlier English books and effectively established the supreme importance of unswerving adherence to orthodoxy in doctrinal matters. He inveighs against the mycel gedwyld on manegum Engliscum bocum, (Thorpe, CH I.2), refuses to preach on the subject of the Assumption of the Virgin because of the prevalence of apocryphal stories associated with it, and warns specifically of the dangers in using the Visio Pauli (Thorpe CH II.332). Yet, in a MS written shortly after his death, Oxford MS Bodleian, Junius 85 and 86, a translation of the Visio Pauli is inserted alongside several of Ælfric's writings. The most recent critic of Ælfric as homilist comments on the irony of the event, and emphasises the inability of his later adapters to apply the same caution and restraint to his work as Ælfric had originally done.¹⁵⁴ A similar instance is the inclusion of a translation of part of the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew in Oxford MS Bodleian, Bodley 343, of the mid-twelfth century, a mainly

Ælfrician but 'unsystematic collection of homilies and related pieces'
156
which were 'all assembled from pre-Conquest materials'.

Gatch further draws attention to the fact that Ælfric's injunctions to
157
future scribes are frequently not heeded, or are overlooked, and that
the charge of heterodoxy aside, the textual integrity of his writings was
ignored. Of particular interest in this respect are the recent findings
of Malcolm Godden from his study of some OE homilies which were compiled
directly from existing OE pieces. Though these composite homilies are
extant, for the most part, in only one copy and had, thus, a more limited
circulation than the original work of Ælfric and Wulfstan, Godden is
right in stressing, without fear of overstatement, that:

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such homilies can tell us a great deal
about the homiletic tradition in England:
about attitudes towards homiletic form
and content; about the interests of those
who read and plundered the homilies of
Ælfric and Wulfstan; and about the avail-
ability of particular texts in particular
areas, and the form in which they were known.

Godden discusses two composite homilies from Cambridge MS, Univ. Lib.
Ii.4.6, dated by Ker to the middle of the eleventh century, and origin-
ating from a scriptorium at Winchester. Like the MSS discussed by
Gatch, referred to earlier, the Cambridge MS is essentially a collection
of Ælfrician homilies, to which two pieces for Rogationtide have been
added. These two pieces, dealing with Rogationtide themes, are typical
of other anonymous homilies on the same subject in that they make
frequent exhortations to repentance and stress the necessity of prayer,
fasting and the giving of alms.

Godden notes that the compiler made use of at least thirteen OE sources,
mainly from the homilies and Lives of Saints of Ælfric. In the first,
he relied heavily on a long extract from Ælfric's Sermo ad Populum in

Octavis Pentecosten Dicendus, to which he added a general introduction and conclusion, producing, in the event, a homily very different from Ælfric's piece:

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He rejected Ælfric's lengthy explanation of the church year and the liturgy but picked out his discussion of death, the fate of the soul and the Last Judgement, and added to it passages of exhortation to repentance, prayer, fasting and almsgiving, to produce that combination of general exhortation with accounts of death and judgement which is characteristic of the many anonymous homilies in Old English produced for Lent and Rogationtide.

The process of compilation in the case of the second homily in the Cambridge MS is much more involved, drawing as it does on a wider range and number of OE pieces, some of which would not readily suggest themselves - like Ælfric's piece for Dominica XI post Pentecosten (Thorpe CH, I.402-14) from which a single sentence has skilfully been extracted - as repositories for the sort of general admonitory statements which the compiler sought. As Godden remarks:

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The compiler must have had a detailed knowledge of Ælfric's work to be able to abstract such appropriate passages from such inappropriate homilies.

At the same time, his treatment of his sources is conservative and his high esteem of the worth of Ælfric's writings is evident in the care which he took in accurate transcription. Yet, a man so well acquainted with the corpus of his illustrious predecessor must inevitably have been conversant with the form and method of exegetical homilies which account for the greater part of Ælfric's preaching materials. It is thus clear that the compiler intentionally avoided the writing of an exegetical piece, preferring the general, often highly impassioned admonitory statements typical of the majority of pieces extant in the Blickling and Vercelli collections. I refer to Godden again who states:

I do not know of any composite homily which could be described as explanatory or exegetical. Like a number of his contemporaries, the Winchester compiler has picked out from the work of Ælfric and Wulfstan and others appropriate passages of injunction and warning and discarded the rest - the explanation and interpretation and narrative.

and concludes with the important statement that:

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In general, these two Winchester homilies are fairly typical of what was being produced in England in the eleventh century.

The combined weight of this evidence strongly suggests that the practice of writing exegetical homily for the purposes of popular preaching was largely ignored by those who succeeded Ælfric. It is to Ælfric's great credit that he was able to establish vernacular exegetical instruction as the norm, providing for the illiterate the orthodox and doctrinally necessary teaching which Bede had earlier made available in Latin to English priests. Yet, it seems that the practice of exegetical composition was not continued in England, even by those who were intimately acquainted with Ælfric's work and who showed respect for and deference to the validity of that work. Exegetical homilies continued to be copied, of course, but Godden's evidence leads to the conclusion that fresh composition in the exegetical mode virtually ceased with the Ælfrician corpus.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that OE homilies, especially those of Ælfric and Wulfstan, continued to be read until the end of the twelfth century at least and that their existence would have provided the example for the subsequent writing of preaching materials. Evidence from the glosses found in these post-Conquest MSS confirms that their contents were understood, read and studied over a relatively long period of time.

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While Ælfric's homilies are particularly favoured, and while some later compilers of homiletic material strove to make accurate transcriptions from his writings, Ælfric's pleas both for the suppression of heterodoxy and for the faithful transcription of each of his pieces in toto were evidently ignored. The picture painted by the observable facts is confused and thus of greater significance than Chambers had originally imagined.

I would suggest that the evidence is largely consistent with the view that highlights Ælfric's achievements at the expense of his contemporaries and immediate successors. Alone among OE homilists, with the exception of Wulfstan and, doubtless, some others of a small minority, Ælfric is able to discriminate between theologically orthodox and unorthodox source material; ¹⁶⁵ through him, for the first time, is established a comprehensive, learned, eminently useful programme of religious instruction designed to meet the needs of the educated and illiterate, the monks, lay clerics and laity alike. His marked preference for biblical exegesis not only betrays the source of his intellectual stimulus, the patristic tradition which he identified himself with, it also sets a standard of vernacular preaching unmatched in his own ¹⁶⁶ day and subsequently not attempted until Orm began to write. Above all, his work may be seen, as it surely was by those who immediately followed him, as possessing a national, not merely a local, relevance. It was written in, and it continued to be copied in, Late West Saxon which emerged from the status of dialect to be a standard literary idiom suitable for all literary productions. The range of his achievement reflects the breadth of his learning and the extent of his critical powers; it is the fitting climax, in literary terms, of the revival of interest in broad cultural activity which was stimulated by the endeavours of Æthelwold, Oswald and Dunstan ¹⁶⁷ in the mid-tenth century.

Ælfric, therefore, is the dominant literary figure in the early eleventh century and it is thus reasonable to assume that his work, readily available to later scribes, was wholly accepted as authoritative and capable of fulfilling the needs of later preachers and their audiences. If the excellence and thoroughness of Ælfric's work actively discouraged the production of fresh material in the vernacular, it must also be remembered that the majority of English writers who followed him were unlikely to have been either capable or willing to work in accordance with the high standards he set. Exegetical homily virtually ceases, while new compilations recall the earlier tradition of prescriptive sermon writing which Ælfric largely ignored. The ability to discriminate between sources was a faculty which his successors failed to learn, and the power and subtlety of the rhythmical prose which Ælfric gradually developed and which became associated with his Lives of Saints, especially, was also imperfectly understood in later works. If the basic components of the OE literary prose tradition survived into the twelfth century, the real gains, both theological and literary, for which Ælfric was responsible, were either largely ignored or misunderstood. I propose these strictures on the traditionally held view of 'continuity' because I believe they are crucial for any valuable assessment of Orm's achievement, and it is to the Ormulum, with this background in mind, that I now wish to turn.

There are several areas, some more significant than others, where Ælfric and Orm and their works compare favourably. Earlier, I characterised Ælfric's writings as a fitting culmination to a period of general cultural progress ushered in by the monastic reforms of the tenth century and it is useful, in this instance, to dwell briefly on this historical impetus. Gatch makes the point that it is reform of the monasteries and the effect the movement had which marks off the work of Ælfric and Wulfstan from that of their predecessors. He describes the conditions which brought

it about in these terms:

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More than a reform, the English movement was virtually a reintroduction of the regular life in a nation whose church had, in effect if not by intention, been secularized after the Danish raids. Although King Alfred had done much for the revival of learning, his reign had not been propitious for a monastic revival. But in the course of the tenth century, contacts with the new monasticism abroad and growing awareness of the scandalous lack of clerical discipline coalesced and resulted in a movement of major proportions which would profoundly affect all of church life in England.

The 'scandalous lack of clerical discipline' would have had severe repercussions both on the regular monastic life and on the condition of the parish church where services and, especially, the preaching of sermons would undoubtedly have been of irregular occurrence. Though not of the first generation of reformers, Elfric and Wulfstan stand in direct line with their objectives, and in these terms it can be seen that Elfric's teaching programme developed as a practical response to very pressing needs and effectively cured the unhealthy climate which was prevalent and which consisted of a mixture of silence and erroneous - ic geseah and gehyrde mycel gedwyld (Thorpe, CH I.2) - teaching. The range and comprehensiveness of Elfric's corpus accurately reflects the extent of the decline of basic, sound instruction which the reformers sought to remedy.

The social conditions in which Orm undertook his task are very similar. Dickinson, as has been noted, finds very little evidence of popular preaching in the twelfth century. The case of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds, frequently cited as an active preacher in English in the late twelfth century, ought not to be regarded as typical. Yet, in terms similar to those used by Gatch to characterise the tenth century reforms,

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Dickinson speaks of the 'disgust for contemporary worldliness' which triggered off the rise of the Augustinian canons. ¹⁷⁰ If evidence for regular, popular preaching in the twelfth century is scanty, Orm's endeavour can be seen as a vitally important part of the attempt to re-establish it. ¹⁷¹

Like Ælfric, his response is all-embracing. Ælfric's scheme of instruction is encyclopaedic in scope; he wished to cover the chief points of universal history with the Redemption at its centre. The description exactly fits the Ormulum which systematically applies teaching derived from Christ's ministry to sawle nede, which was intended to cover the whole of the gospels, yet which often introduced typologically comparable matter from the Old Testament - the story of Job (ll. 4756-4855), of Abraham's issue (ll. 9815-9932), of Abraham and Isaac, (ll. 14656-14693), the Exodus (ll. 14774-819) etc. It is fair to say that Orm ranges over the territory of the Bible as widely as Ælfric, in his homilies and translations, had done, even though Orm's teaching is often laboriously expressed when compared to Ælfric's lucidity.

There is another area in which comparison is justified. Both homilists, as has been seen, admonish future scribes to preserve the integrity of their work; and although it has been stressed that such statements derive from an older practice of rhetorical embellishment, they reveal something of the authors' own estimate of their work. Only Ælfric and Orm, among early Medieval vernacular preachers confer on their homilies an importance which appears to transcend the confines of their local situation. Both men, through consistency and systematization, set out to produce standard preaching materials. The most obviously observable fact of the Ormulum MS is that its author constantly revised the text in respect of both spelling and subject matter; recent research has

shown precisely the same authorial habits in the case of Ælfric.

Both homilists expressed a concern that orthodox teaching should be preferred, and both create high standards for English homiletics by making available in the language popular instruction in the exegetical mode, more readily associated with patristic and later Latin writers.¹⁷³

Ælfric writes in the Late West Saxon language, a national literary idiom which was the most fitting vehicle for the transmission of his substantial teaching programme; the authoritativeness of his work is matched exactly by the language in which it was disseminated.

The case of the Ormulum, however, is somewhat different. It can be reasonably assumed that Orm and his audience were sufficiently removed from the modified LWS used in the copying of some OE MSS and from the preserved form of the W Midland dialect, stemming from the Vespasian Psalter gloss and the language of the OE homily on St Chad, subsequently moulded into language AB of the Katherine Group and other texts, as to preclude them from consideration in the compilation of his preaching materials. His distance from the remnants of an OE prose tradition obliged him to use verse,¹⁷⁴ and the disappearance of OE literary verse forms demanded that his model be foreign. The commonly accepted view of Orm's isolation from OE literary forms admits of two contrasting interpretations. The opinion which holds sway at present, and to which I am unsympathetic, is adequately expressed by Shepherd, who writes:

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[Orm's] attempt at fulness in content and at standardization in presentation are evidence of what the breakdown of the Anglo-Saxon tradition entailed. The collapse was not so total as this work may suggest, for it reads rather like the composition of a diligent and ingenious missionary in foreign parts struggling to put Scripture for the first time into a barbarous tongue.

Orm's activities demonstrate that when a writer, even one of only moderate literary gifts, deprived of the support of a literary tradition, takes on an extensive piece of composition, he is obliged to confront and solve some problems of form.

On the face of it, there would seem to be little or nothing here which invites argument. Shepherd's characterization of Orm as a 'missionary' is well-judged, suggesting both the necessity of making basic religious instruction available to his audience, and reflecting the extreme care and thoroughness in its composition. Equally, the evidence fully bears out the 'problems of form' and the difficulty they must have posed. The other interpretation, which I argue is admissible is, however, inherent in the open-ended, ambiguous first sentence above, and is further hinted at in the surely untenable proposition of Orm's 'barbarous tongue.'

'Barbarous', in its primary sense, describes those language and peoples which are neither Greek nor Latin; by extension, it means 'foreign' and has, through process of time, come to be synonymous with pejoratives like 'coarse', 'rude.' Orm, however, is a sophisticated English writer and it would be wholly unnecessary to make such an obvious statement were it not for the fact that his English is too readily construed as an idiosyncratic, bizarre idiolect emerging from a milieu of literary obscurity. The main factor responsible in the shaping of this view is Orm's special orthography.

The basis of Orm's language is the written expression of speech forms current in the East Midland dialect area. Within the sphere of his compositional techniques, there are two areas of supreme importance for the realization of Orm's achievement. This achievement, barely stated, is the conscious re-creation of a standard literary idiom, similar in its regularity both to LWS and to language AB,¹⁷⁶ for the dissemination of

religious instruction in the homiletic genre which had previously enjoyed widespread authority, both through the erudition of its principal exponent, Elfric, and through its preservation in a national literary idiom, that of LWS. Acceptance of the proposal that Orm set out to achieve the same measure of didactic effectiveness and linguistic uniformity presupposes his awareness, if only vicariously, of the worth and desirability of such a comprehensive programme, his awareness of its increasing obsolescence and his understanding of the gulf created by its eventual loss.

His high esteem for the achievements of the past is not an isolated phenomenon; the writers of the West Midland texts, the copiers of OE MSS and the scribes of the continuations in the Peterborough Chronicle all sought to preserve literary forms established and popularized in Anglo-Saxon England. The particular conditions prevailing in the West of the country permitted either the preservation of OE literary forms in a language derived from old Mercian prose, as in the case of the Katherine Group texts, or the more innovative construction of new forms of literary expression, exemplified by La3amon's Brut. In the East, too, in the case of the Peterborough Chronicle, OE continues to be used, principally in the annals 1070-1121 which represent a fairly accurate copy of their unknown archetype, while the continuations, divided on palaeographical grounds into two blocks from 1122 to 1131 and from 1132 to 1154 - are important witnesses to the evolution of the language from the Schriftsprache available in the archetype to the form displaying many of the morphological and phonological developments commonly associated with Middle English, and which are well established in the First Continuation.¹⁷⁷

The first of the important areas of reference, mentioned above, for an evaluation of Orm's achievement concerns his systematized orthography.

In this respect, the language of the Peterborough Chronicle Continuations

is of the greatest relevance. As Cecily Clark points out:

The text most relevant to the Chronicle is¹⁷⁸
the Ormulum, tentatively localized in North
Lincolnshire and showing a language in many
ways like a systematization of the usage of
the Final Continuation.

The Final Continuation is an original Peterborough document, composed not long after 1154 and thus, in all probability, close enough in time to the text of the Ormulum to provide important admissible comparative material. Clark's assertion that the Ormulum evidences a systematization of the usage of the Final Continuation will bear investigation since it will demonstrate that Orm's exhaustive and, apparently, overelaborate regularization is firmly based on realization of the inadequacies of current linguistic forms.

For example, as has been noted in the discussion of earlier research, Napier drew attention to the fact that in addition to the retention of OE yogh -3- for guttural and palatal spirants, as in le3henn, and the adoption of the continental letter form g to represent the dzh sound, Orm introduced a barred g in order to distinguish the sound of the guttural stopped consonant, as in Ʒod and ƷoddsPELL. The assumption that this innovation attempts to clarify phonetic value, and that it is a response to confusion prevalent in the language at that time, is borne out by this account of the scribal practice of the annalist of the Final Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle:

Native 3 is replaced, regardless of phonetic¹⁸⁰
value, by Caroline g.....thus, godæs, king,
gear, gyuen, undergaton, flugan and even hegllice.
The scribe does make some unsystematic attempt
to distinguish some of the sounds in this range.

The annalist's procedure is reductive and unsystematic; Orm's arrangement is elaborate, systematic and, above all, comprehensive. Moreover,

the untidy state of MS Bodleian Junius I demonstrates the range and thoroughness of Orm's corrections; Burchfield assigns to these corrections "a common principle.....a principle that may provisionally be called the 'elimination of variants'". He further states that:

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by and large, a given word was to have one form throughout the work, and a given sound was always to be represented by the same graph.

As illustration, he notes that of the six variant forms of leafe 'belief', (OE geleafa) presumably available to Orm, he invariably wrote lafe; at the same time, he points to the three different forms - leafe, leue and lafe - of OE leaf, 'permission' used by the scribe of the Chronicle.

The illustration is doubly useful; it shows not only that Orm is consistent in confining himself to one orthographic form of any given term, whereas the scribes show considerable fluctuation, but also that lack of standardization could result in complete distortion of meaning. If, within the same dialect area, two writers could produce the same word form: lafe to denote widely differing concepts, the motivation behind Orm's regularization and elimination of variants can be seen as a response to contemporary linguistic confusion of the highest order.

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Within the annals 1132-1154, comprising the Final Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle and constituting the work of one scribe who composed, rather than copied, there are numerous examples of orthographic variation between identical forms of the same word. Among those I have located, the following are of relevance to Orm's procedures:

helden sa. 1135 (twice), 1140 (twice), 1154.
Also halden, sa. 1140 (three times)

heolden sa. 1137 (twice), 1140 (twice)

ferde sa. 1140 (many occurrences), 1154

feorde sa. 1140 (twice). 1132, 1135. Also fordfeorde, 1140

Lack of discrimination between the use of e and eo may not have resulted
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in phonetic confusion, but the continued presence of redundant forms
cannot have aided clarity, either for scribe or reader, and Orm does not
tolerate them. Having taken the decision at about 1.13000 to abandon
the graph eo in favour of e, he carefully corrected the whole of eo text,
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removing every occurrence.

The most striking component of Orm's orthographic regularization is his
doubling of consonants after short vowels in closed syllables, and the
effect of such an arrangement is to give visual expression to different
sounds in order to remove ambiguity between terms of similar, or possibly
identical, orthography with different meanings. Thus, 'God' in the
Ormulum is always written Godd (gen. Godess), while the adjective 'good'
appears as god (gen, god, gode). The rule, formulated by Burchfield that
'a given word was to have one form throughout the work' is confirmed by
the example of these two very common terms. But in no way can this
practice be said to be typical of Orm's contemporaries.

A measure of Orm's linguistic perception and insistence on clarity can be
gauged from an examination of the same terms in the Final Continuation of
the Chronicle and in the Genesis and Exodus, generally reckoned to display
close linguistic affinity with the Ormulum. In the case of the Chronicle,
'God' is expressed in the form God, sa.1137 (cp. God, sa.1130 (twice),
genitive, Godes, sa.1132. These forms are distinguished in the text from
god, 'good', sa.1137 (several examples), 1140, 1154, only by capitalization;
yet, even this flimsiest of devices breaks down in the face of such phrases
as God man he wes, sa.1135, and God winman scæ was, sa.1140, where the
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adjective starts the sentence.

In the case of the Genesis and Exodus, of which it has been said that:

the spelling is fairly regular and consistent, apart from scribal errors and numerous compromise forms, the latter of which may derive from the present scribe or a predecessor of his.

the absence of uniformity is more apparent. For 'God', the scribe (or his predecessor) wrote godd on one occasion (1.35) - the form consistently employed by Orm - but most often used the form god (11.5.23. 41.64.89. etc) without regular capitalization or indication of vowel length or stress. At the same time, god appears as the adjective 'good' at 11.407.718.939.1153 etc. Yet, on two occasions, the scribe wrote goð for 'God' (11.3979.4132), reproducing exactly the form of the second person singular in the present tense of gon, 'to go', (11.3069.3585). Some of these anomalies are certainly due to scribal error, yet they also show, along with genitive forms, godes (11.104.195.239.403.588 etc) and goddes (1.1241) a vague perception of phonetic uncertainty through irregular orthography which the scribe is unable to resolve.¹⁸⁸

The text of the Genesis and Exodus is either of roughly the same date as that of the Ormulum, or slightly later; its provenance is said, tentatively, to be the southern part of the East Midland dialect area, perhaps around Cambridge.¹⁸⁹ In relation to the Final Continuation of the Chronicle and to the Genesis and Exodus, the Ormulum stands somewhere between in terms of date. While Orm, through orthographic innovation and the 'elimination of variants' strives for regularity, what Burchfield terms¹⁹⁰ 'hyper-correct uniformity', the two other works display word forms which not only differ widely from those adopted by Orm, but which also reveal a widespread internal inconsistency in each of them, taken individually.

The practicality of Orm's orthographic procedures is stressed by Burchfield, who states:

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Most of the devices adopted by Orm can be paralleled in other English manuscripts of the period, but nowhere else is there anything like the uniformity of the Ormulum.

Orm's devices, most of which had been formulated before anything was written down, come in response to the pressing need for clarity which was easily obscured by the numerous linguistic and orthographic alternatives prevalent in his own dialect. Instead of trying to preserve a well-established idiom, as did the writers of the Katherine Group lives of saints, Orm raises his language from the level of dialect, with all its inconsistencies, to that of a new, standardized literary idiom. Alone among EME writers, he provides a literary language which is free from ambiguity and thus available, potentially at least, to a much wider audience than either the Chronicle or the Genesis and Exodus. The comprehensive range of his religious instruction, designed to replace increasingly obsolescent OE materials required, and was given, a correspondingly comprehensive medium of expression; the one demands the other and both are complementary parts of a newly established, serviceable, standard literary idiom.

I.6 Orm's Compositional Methods: the Establishment of Standard Homiletic Phraseology.

The claim, in the first instance, may seem to be a bold one to make.

There is no evidence that the work ever exercised any influence on subsequent writers; ¹⁹² the sole authority for the assumption that the work was completed is the author's (though there is no reason to doubt his testimony), and it is not possible to assume that it ever circulated outside the institution in which it was produced. However, these conditions are

products of historical accident, and it seems clear that the attention given to them in the past has tended to obscure what can reasonably be inferred from the text and from the intentions of its author. Practically every aspect of the Ormulum marks it as untypical of its time,¹⁹³ while at the same time inviting comparison with the very similar body of late OE prose, and especially with Alfric's writings. In terms of homiletic form and content, in terms of regularized language and orthography, in terms of the range of religious instruction made available and the didactic emphasis drawn from that instruction, in terms of the widely differing audiences for which it was intended, the Ormulum conforms to a remarkably high degree with the earlier body of prestigious material. It is thus reasonable to enquire whether there is additional evidence to support the claim for the standard literary idiom of the Ormulum.

In this section, I propose to examine, selectively, some of the recurring homiletic phraseology in the Ormulum. Orm shows remarkable consistency in his use of phrases which are, syntactically and metrically, of a fixed form. Generally speaking, these phrases and longer sense units fall into two categories: those which figured largely in, and which were predominantly associated with, OE homiletics, and those which Orm constructed himself. Of the two, the latter group is by far the more important.

From the former grouping, two types of evidence may be adduced:

- (a) evidence of Orm's use of stereotyped phrases, wholly homiletic in character and of very frequent occurrence in OE homilies as a whole, and
- (b) evidence of Orm's knowledge of rather more distinctive descriptions or characterisations of commonplace religious concepts.

It is to be expected that certain phrases, wholly conventional and of great frequency, should be present in the Ormulum; a writer contributing

to the homiletic genre in English will, in the period under discussion, inherit certain commonplaces most readily associated with that genre as a matter of course. I have detected the following examples. Orm makes frequent use of a variety of closely related phrases to express the praise and glory of God:

to lofe 7 wurrþe (ll. 1141. 1621. 3375)
To lofenn himm 7 wurrþenn (ll. 208. 3485; cp.2252
2760. 3895)
loff 7 wulderr (l. 3379)
To lofenn 7 to þannkenn (l. 3409)
Wurrþshipe, 7 loff, 7 wulderr (l. 3925)
Wurrþshipe 7 eche wulderr (l. 7630; cp.19232)
Wass lofedd a33 7 wurrþedd (l. 8444)

The close association of these particular terms and their application to God is to be accounted for by the widespread practice of OE homilists of making use of various combinations of these terms in the formation of the explicit to their homilies. For comparison, I offer a small selection of the numerous examples available from homilies and related works:

Ðam sy wuldor and lof mid Ðam Ælmihtigum Fæder.

(Thorpe, CH I.44, 102, 364, 476, 556, 606; CH. II.36, 154, etc.)

Him sy lof and wuldor

(Bethurum, Homilies, 122, 127, 166, 168, etc.
Thorpe, CH. I.414, 500; CH. II.240, 286, etc.;
Morris, Blickling Homilies, 53, 65, 137).

Þam is wuldor and wurðmynt

(Thorpe, CH. I.76; CH. II.116, 380, 424, 460, etc.
Pope, Homilies, 368).

Wuldor and wurðmynt
Swylce lof and lif

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(Judgement Day II. ll. 270-71; cp. Morris,
Blickling Homilies, 65, Pope, Homilies, 216)

Wuldor sy ðe and wurðmynt	(<u>Gloria II.</u> 1. 1a)
Gode lof 7 ðanc	(<u>Gloria I.</u> 1. 39b)
Þanc ond lof	(<u>Crist</u> , 1. 612a) ¹⁹⁵
lof 7 wuldor 7 þanc	(Logeman, <u>Minora II.</u> 500) ¹⁹⁶
Sy þe þanc and lof þinre mildse Wuldor and willa	(<u>Lord's Prayer II.</u> 11.58-59)
Wurþmynt and lof	

(Thorpe, CH. I.598; Bethurum, Homilies, 210, 224, 238)

These perfectly conventional endings derive from the translation of stereotyped phrases which closed Latin homilies and which appeared at the end of prayers in the liturgy, as with the phrase cui sit honor et gloria.

Another example of a set phrase which derives from this and other clausulae is the OE a butan ende which is as widespread as the various combinations of lof, wuldor, wurðmynt and þanc, given above. Like the phrases containing these latter terms, OE a butan ende renders the Latin in saecula saeculorum, found ubiquitously in homilies and liturgical texts. For this reason, the OE phrase is commonly found as the closing 'formula' to many homilies, notably to Wulfstan's and those in the Blickling and Vercelli books. It is less common in Ælfric's writings but, because it is an alliterative phrase, it occurs with some regularity in poetic texts.¹⁹⁷ Typical of the use of the phrase in the OE homiletic corpus are these examples:

Him sy lof 7 wuldor aa butan ende, amen.

(Bethurum, Homilies, 122)

Þam Drihtne sy lof & wuldor on
worlda world, a butan ende, on
ecnesse, AMEN.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 137)

an ælmihtig God, a butan ende, AMEN.

(Pope, Homilies, 447)

Although both a butan ende and the phrases of the lof 7 wuldor type
normally function as part of the closing eulogy to a homily, their
obvious attraction for religious poets resulted in the fact that they
became part of the stock of language to which poets and preachers alike
resorted in their compositions. Thus, in the Ormulum, neither of the
types of phrase is found regularly associated with the closing statements
of a homily, or fitt. In fact, only Orm's:

Swa þatt we motenn heffness ġripp
A - butenn ende brukenn.

(ll. 10646-647)

which closes fitt thirteen, conforms to the regular OE homiletic practice.
The range of Orm's phrases of the a butan ende type is:

a butenn ende (Introduction, 21; ll.4022. 10491. 10564)

A butenn ende i blisse (ll.4049. 19324; cp.409. 8764)

æfre a butenn ende (l.2090)

A butenn ende in helle (l.16105)

miccle sellþe 7 sel

.....
.....

A butenn ende brukenn (ll.17896-899)

To dreʒhenn

A butenn ende pine (l.19190)

There are other, less emphatic instances of stereotyped phrases of a

more general exhortatory nature available to Orm. His use of hold 7
trigg 7 trowwe (1.6177) and holde 7 trowwe (1.10174) (cp. trigg annd
trowwe gripp, Maclean, Preface, 69) echoes the OE hold and getywe which
I have traced in:

- 200
- Fowler, Canons, 1.
Bethurum, Homilies, 209.
Skeat, LSS I.28
Napier, Homilies, 119, 300.

The OE phrase is not exclusively associated with homiletic idiom, how-
ever; Wulfstan's apparent fondness for the phrase, indicated in the above
list (though Napier, Homilies, No. lviii is not a genuine Wulfstan piece,
it is made up of a series of extracts from his genuine work) is confirmed
by the presence of an equal number of occurrences of the phrase in
various codes of law, for the most part associated with his name.²⁰¹

The occurrence in the Ormulum on two occasions of the phrase offte 7 lome
(11.2178. 12925) at once calls to mind the OE word pair oft and gelome
which had wide currency in late OE writings, principally in those by
Wulfstan. Of the many examples from his work, I note:

- Bethurum, Homilies, 117, 208, 223, 237, 257, 269.
²⁰²
Jost, Polity, 51, 53, 67, 76, 84, 85, 90, 91, 98, 108,
113, 137.
Liebermann, Gesetze, I.256 (twice), 258, 269, 288, 368, 471.

together with a sprinkling of occurrences from other texts:

- ²⁰³
OE Bede, 224.
Napier, Homilies, 144.
²⁰⁴
Exeter Book Riddle XXXI, 11a.
Poetic Solomon and Saturn, 377b.

Exhortation to Christian Living, 32b

A Prayer, 66b.

Though common in late OE writings, especially in Wulfstan's, who was mainly responsible for its popularity, OE oft 7 gelome does not function as a weighty sense unit, but as an intensifying adverbial phrase. It is thus perfectly suited to Wulfstan's hortatory style where its effect can only properly be assessed in the contexts in which it appears. Orm does not use the phrase systematically to strengthen the force of his admonitions, he does not make use of lome anywhere in his work outside of its pairing with offte, and thus cannot be said to be actively reproducing elements of this hortatory style. The occurrences of offte 7 lome in the Ormulum seem to be chance occurrences, reflecting that the phrase passed into the common fund of language as a fixed syntactic unit, and its availability to Orm should therefore occasion no surprise nor merit any special significance.²⁰⁶

At the same time, however, the phrase possesses a rhythmical aptness for verse. On both occasions Orm uses it to 'fill' the last four syllables of an 'off' verse, and this apparently purely metrical function calls to mind the brief statement in the Dedication concerning one aspect of compositional technique:

Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc amang \bar{G} oddspelles wordess,
All þurh mesellfenn, mani3 word þe rime swa to fillenn;

(Dickins & Wilson, 11.21-22)

If there are grounds for believing that Orm would have considered the phrase offte 7 lome as an example of mani3 word, it follows, as a strong likelihood, that he is here acknowledging the usefulness of harnessing well-established 'formulaic' expressions in filling out measures of verse; it also furnishes important evidence for the probable existence

of other, more complex 'formulaic' tools - compositional devices employed for reasons other than metrical propriety - which will be investigated in the next section.

Similar to offte 7 lome are the appearances in the Ormulum of the phrases onn unnitt annd onn idell (Ibid., 1.41), 7 all unnitt 7 idell (1.4921) and unnitt 7 idell dede (1.15127). Like OE a butan ende, OE idel 7 unnyt is an alliterating word pair; it is, however, distinguished from a butan ende in that it does not function as a mere closing 'formula' but conveys to the contexts in which it is found 'a somewhat didactic (and religious) flavour,'²⁰⁷ generally indicative of moral laxity and unacceptable Christian²⁰⁸ behaviour. It appears in the oldest poetry: Beowulf, 413a, Genesis, 106a,²⁰⁹ and in several prose works: OE Bede, 400; OE Cura Pastoralis, 423, 441; Morris, Blickling Homilies, 223; Napier, Homilies, 260.²¹⁰

In addition, the two terms are intimately associated in the following:

ne hy þær ænig unnyt inne ne on
neaweste ne geþafian; ne idele
spæce, ne idele dæde, ne unnyt
gedryh, ne æfre ænig idel.

(Fowler, Canons, 26)

and

Ne æfre ænig man unnyt lof 7 idel
gylp lufige to swyðe.

(Bethurum, Homilies, 204)

The numerous occurrences of the phrase in the Trinity Homilies²¹¹ suggest that it may have had a much wider currency in OE homilies than my examples show, and indicate that it was known to and employed by post-Conquest

scribes.

The significance of this evidence is not to be overestimated. The presence in the Ormulum of these and other syntactic units associated predominantly with the OE homiletic genre or with more general didactic works shows only that Orm, as a writer of English homilies, was heir to some of the most popular and conventional phrases traditionally associated with that genre, and can in no way be said to be indicative of his more than general indebtedness to that tradition. However, more specific tests show that he was, to a certain extent, able to reproduce elements of typical OE homiletic thought and phraseology, elements which, through dint of repetition and re-copying, may be said to have achieved the status of models for future writers.

One of the most striking examples of such a model may reasonably be claimed in respect of Alfric's preaching on the Trinity. It is no exaggeration to say that, for him, the explanation of the mystery of the Trinity held a special place. In terms of its frequency and its distinctive, loosely similar verbal patterns, this instruction is a hall-mark of Alfric's homiletic output. I give below a list of some of the places in which Alfric expounds, sometimes at great length, on the Trinity:

Sermo de initio Creaturæ, ad Populum,
Quando Volueris. (Thorpe, CH I.10)

Dominica XVII post Pentecosten (Thorpe, CH I. 498-500)

Sermo in Epiphania Domini (Thorpe, CH II.42)

Dominica in Media Quadragesime (Thorpe, CH II.204)

In Letania Maiore. Feria IIII (Thorpe, CH. II.362-64)

One of the Gebedu on Englisc (Thorpe, CH. II.600)

Feria VI in Quarta Ebdomada Quadragesimæ (Pope, Homilies
p.311ff, 11.228-268).

Nativitas Domini Nostri Iesu Christi (Skeat, ISS I.
pp. 12-14, 11.33-81).

Nativitas Domini (Pope, Homilies, 201, 11.85-97)

Letter to Wulfgeat (Assmann, Homilies, I. 11.8-15).

Ælfric's teaching is both insistent and extensive; allowing the reasonable assumption that he was conversant with the contents of earlier English books, it is probable that he responded to what was almost wholly lacking in earlier English homiletic collections. There are several references in the Blickling and Vercelli homilies to the Halgan Drynesse, but no attempt is there made to clarify the obvious paradox presented by the doctrine of three persons in one being. Ælfric's response is typically thorough and clear; in his teachings, it is of interest to note that he invariably reproduces statements compounded of the same or very similar verbal elements, to the extent that it is possible to discern a verbal pattern of relative stability. From the works cited above, I offer the following for consideration:

Se God wunað on Drynnysse untodæledlic,
and on annysse anre Godcundnysse, soðlice
oðer is se Fæder, oðer is se Sunu, oðer
is se Halga Gast; ac þeah-hwæðere ðara
ðreora is an Godcundnys, and gelic wuldor,
and efen-ece mægenðrymnys. Ælmihtig God
is se Fæder, Ælmihtig God is se Sunu,
Ælmihtig God is se Halga Gast; ac þeah-
hwæðere ne sind ðry Ælmihtige Godas, ac
an Ælmihtig God. Dry hi sind on hadum
and on naman, and an on Godcundnysse.

(Thorpe, CH. I.276)

Swa hwar swa heora an bið, þær hi beoð
ealle ðry, æfre an God untodæledlic..
.....
Nis na se Fæder ana Drynnys, oððe se
Sunu Drynnys, oððe se Halga Gast Drynnys,
ac þas ðry hadas sindon an God on anre
Godcundnysse.

(Thorpe, CH I.284)

Witodlice ðære Halgan Drynnysse weorc is
æfre untodæledlic.....
.....Hi ne magon beon togædere
genemne, Fæder, and Sunu, and Halig Gast,
ac hi ne beoð mid ænigum fære fram him
sylfum awar totwæmede.....
.....and þeah-hwæðere on
ægðorum weorce is seo Halige Drynnys wyrrende
untodæledlice.

(Thorpe, CH I. 498-500)

Þær wæs ða seo Halige Drynnys, seo ðe
is an God untodæledlic.....
.....and hi sindon ealle
gelice mihtige, and æfre hi ðry an God
untodæledlic; þry on hadum, and an on
Godcundnysse, and on gecynde...

(Thorpe, CH II. 42)

An God is ealra ðinga Scyppend, on ðrim
hadum ðurhwunigende, þæt is, Fæder, and
his Sunu, and heora begra Gast, ealle
gelic mihtige, and æfre on anre Godcund-
nysse wunigende. Hi ne magon beon togædere
genemne, ac hi ne beoð næfre todælde.

(Ibid., 204)

Eala ðu Halige Drynnys, Fæder and Sunu and
Halig Gast, þu ðe æfre wære, and nu eart,
and æfre bist an Ælmihtig God untodæledlic...

(Ibid., 600)

Heora weorc beoð æfre untodæledlice,
and hi habbað ealle ane godcundnysse,
and ealle an (gecynd and æne mægenþrymm.

(Pope, Homilies, 323, ll. 247-49)

These extracts illustrate one of the two chief emphases in Alfric's
handling of the topic, and in comparing them, it is evident that certain
aspects of the description were first related in a relatively fixed form
and thereafter repeated and re-used by him in subsequent discussions.²¹²
The outstanding elements are these: the indivisibility of the persons
of the Trinity:

untodaledlic (Thorpe, CH I.276; 498-500 (twice);
 Pope, Homilies, 323).
 æfre an God untodaledlic (Thorpe, CH I.284; CH II.42
 (twice)).
 an Ælmihtig God untodaledlic (Thorpe, CH II.600)
 næfre todaledle (Thorpe, CH II.204)
 ne.....totwæmede (Thorpe, CH I.498)

Similarly, there is a marked emphasis on the unity of the Godhead:

anre Godcundnysse (Thorpe, CH I.276 (twice); 284; CH II.42;
 204; Pope, Homilies, 323)

and on the equal might of these persons:

ealle gelice mihtige (Thorpe, CH II.42; 204)

There is the distinctive contrast:

Dry hi sind on hadum and on naman,
 and an on Godcundnysse. (Thorpe, CH I.276, 284;
 CH II.42, 204)

which is extended:

an on Godcundnysse, and on gecynde (Thorpe, CH II.42;
 Pope, Homilies, 323)

By making repeated use of identical or closely similar terms and phrases, Alfric invests his teaching with a relatively fixed form. In effect, he establishes a close relationship between the topic of the Trinity and the small number of terms used to elucidate it; the consistency with which Alfric carried out this task was clearly influential in shaping the choice of description favoured by his contemporaries and successors.

Wulfstan, for example, who had consulted Alfric's De Fide Catholica²¹³ (Thorpe, CH I.274-94) includes, in his own piece of the same title, this reference to the Trinity:

An is ece God, fæder ælmihtig, Ðe gescop
 heofonas 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafta. On

þane we gelyfað 7 on his sunu, urne Drihten
Crist, 7 on þone halgan gast; þæt is eall an
soð Godd, fæder 7 sunu 7 halig gast. Ealle
þa ðry naman befehð an godcund miht, 7 is
untodæled an ece Godd, waldend 7 wyrhta ealra
gesceafta.

(Bethurum, Homilies, 158)

and in his HER ONGYND BE CRISTENDOME, he quotes from this passage in
an extract which includes another of Ælfric's regularly employed details:

...gelyfað huru georne 7 anrædlice beþencað
þæt annes 7 ðryrnes on godcundnesse an is;
þæt is fæder 7 sunu 7 frofergast. Ealle þa
ðry naman befehð an godcund miht 7 is untodæled
an ece God, wealdend 7 wyrhta ealra gesceafta.

(Ibid., 207)

In an anonymous homily preserved in Oxford MS Bodleian Junius 85 and 86,
fol. 25r-40r, written not long after Ælfric's death, is found this short
reference to the Trinity:

Eala, ðu halige Dyrnes, Fæder ond Sunu ond²¹⁴
Halig Gast, ðu ðe æfre wære ond æfre bist,
ond nu eart an Ælmihtig God untodæledlic,
on ðe we gelefað...

Allowing for a very minor adjustment in the word order, this passage
exactly reproduces the text of Ælfric's English prayer (Thorpe, CH II.
600), quoted above, p.96.

The influence of Ælfric's descriptive model is to be seen also in the
late twelfth century Sawles Warde. In the passage in which Liues Luue
relates the glory of heaven to the occupants of the household, comes
this statement:

Swa Ich habbe ofte isehen þe hali þrumnesse,
Feader ant Sune ant Hali Gast, þreo an unto-
dealet.

(Bennett & Smithers, Early Middle English
Verse and Prose, p.256, ll. 263-64)

Neither Wulfstan nor the writers of the homily in Bodleian Junius 85 and 86 and of Sawles Warde attempt to expound the Trinitarian doctrine; yet, the repetitive elements in the Ælfrician extracts, especially the phrase an God untodæledlic and related phrases, serve a clear purpose in the elucidation of the mystery of the Trinity. It is, therefore, likely that the distinctive verbal elements from Ælfric's accounts came to be readily associated with the subject of the Trinity, and were invariably reproduced by later homilists working under the influence, direct or indirect, of his model.

Orm's preaching on the Trinity provides interesting additional evidence of this trend and shows the extent to which his descriptions are shaped according to the pattern of the Ælfrician model. In the exposition of Matthew II.1-12, in the seventh fitt, Orm comments on the significance of the number of gifts which the Magi presented to Christ:

þe33 brohhtenn drihhtin þrinne lac
To don uss tunnderrstanndenn,
þatt ure gōdd is þripell gōdd
In allmahhti3 þrimnesse
Faderr, 7 sune, 7 hali3 gast,
An gōdd all untodæledd,
þatt æfre wass, 7 iss, 7 beþ
Wiþputenn ord 7 ende,
7 all þatt wass, 7 iss, 7 beþ,
He shop, 7 ah, 7 stereþþ.

(ll. 6768-77)

Later, in the exposition of the temptation of Christ, fitt 15, comes this shorter reference to the Trinity:

7 ure gōdd, allmahhti3 gōdd,
Iss an gōdd 7 þre hadess,
Faderr, 7 sune, 7 hali3 gast,
An gōdd all unntodæledd.

(ll. 11515-518)

Earlier, (p.39) I proposed that the passage of which this extract forms

a part, which sets out to explain the significance of the number forty (the number of days Christ fasted in the desert), was derived from a more compressed, but closely similar, passage from the Glossa Interlinearis. If this identification be allowed, it is clear that Orm's stimulus for the subject matter of the above four lines could have come only from the Latin: Tria pertinent ad Deum (Migne, PL. 162, 1271); if, on the other hand, the extract from Augustine's Sermo li, De Concordia Evangelistarum Matthæi et Lucae in Generationibus Domini, suggested by White as a possible source,²¹⁵ be considered as equally relevant, there is, again, no direct verbal parallel to Orm's statement.

The supposition that the verbal form of Orm's evocation is based on an established English model is strengthened by his adherence to the distinctive elements in later descriptions. In fitt 22, on the opening verses of John's gospel, there is a fairly long passage in which Orm presents his only extensive explanation of the subject:

7 godes word wass a wipþ gōdd
An had wipþ all an oþerr,
Forr ure gōdd, - allmahhti3 gōdd
Iss an gōddcunnd þrimnesse,
Faderr, 7 sune, 7 hali3 gast,
þre hadess, all an kinde.
Swa þatt te sune is all an had,
þe faderr all an oþerr,
7 hali3 gast iss ec an had
7 tatt iss all þe þridde.
7 ille an had iss oþerr fra
Toskiledd 7 todæledd;
For ser iss sune, 7 faderr ser,
7 ser iss þe33re baþre
Allmahhti3 gāst, tatt frofre gāst
þatt cumeþþ off hemm baþe;
7 tohh þe33 sinndenn alle þre
An gōdd all unntodæledd.
7 a33 occ a33 iss ille an had
Wipþ oþerr all an kinde,
7 tohh swa þehh iss ille an had
Ser fra þe twe33enn oþre.

(ll. 18641-662)

Earlier in the same homily, commenting on Et Deus erat verbum, Ioan. I.1),
Orm evidently anticipates the imminent explanation of the Trinity by
asserting:

Forr godess word iss godess witt
7 godess a3henn kinde,
7 godess kinde 7 godess witt
Iss soþ godd unntodaedd.

(11. 18533-536)

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As was the case with Ælfric, these passages from the Ormulum show that
Orm adopted a fairly consistent and similar range of phrases which he
applied throughout the work. It is also apparent that his favoured
verbal patterns conform in large measure to those established by Ælfric.
Consider:

Faderr, 7 sune, 7 hali3 gast
An godd all unntodaedd.

(11. 11517-518; 6772-73)

and compare:

Patt iss an
Unnse33eendli3 þrimnesse,
Faderr, 7 sune, 7 hali3 gast,
An godd all unntobrittnedd

(11. 11176-179)

all of which reproduce very closely, in form and verbal content, Ælfrician
phrases of the type an God untodaeddlic quoted above (p.97). In
addition, Orm's mention of an godd, 7 þre hadess (1.11516), an had wipþ
all an operr (1.18642), þre hadess (1.18646), and related phrases, all
call to mind the distinctive elements of the Ælfrician model, as do the
use of phrases all an kinde (1.18646. 18660), godess a3henn kinde
(1.18534) and the reference to an goddcunnd þrimnesse (1.18644).

In all, it is the range of verbal elements, present in Ælfric's accounts and used by Orm, which is impressive. For, whereas the author of the homily isⁿ MS Bodleian Junius 85 and 86, and the writer of Sawles Warde recall only one of the fundamental verbal elements of Ælfric's model, Orm, who shows every sign of reconstructing authoritative preaching materials only tangentially connected to the body of late OE religious prose, recalls several of the outstanding phrases from the Ælfrician description and thus would seem, in this case at least, to be able to re-use a relatively high proportion of the elements of a previously established descriptive model.

This type of evidence is instructive in so far as it reflects the importance for later homilists of Ælfric's authoritative writings. It must not, however, be incautiously urged from such correspondences that his work necessarily served as direct models for later writers; his influence, if it may so be termed, is more likely to have stemmed from the general currency of his oft-repeated and distinctive utterances intimately associated with the homiletic genre, than to have taken the form of direct, conscious imitation. Nevertheless, the few examples given here show significant differences of kind; phrases such as OE lof 7 wuldor and a butan ende are stock expressions of the type which would automatically form part of the verbal resources of any homilist working in this period; Ælfric's teaching on the Trinity is much more distinctive because its verbal structure is fashioned by him. Its configuration is peculiarly Ælfrician and traces of its application in later homiletic collections, such as the Ormulum, raise questions not only of the strength of the lingering influence of common OE homiletic material, but also of the vitality of distinctively Ælfrician modes. I offer a further illustration.

It is well-known that OE homilists and poets frequently portrayed Christ as the Leech, the healer of men's souls, although it is only Ælfric, it seems, who supplies the teaching in a way which effectively elucidates the etymology of OE Hælend, a common epithet for Christ as Saviour.²¹⁷ Typical of the many references to the Christus Medicus in OE homilies are these:

Us is þonne nedþearf þæt we secan þonne
læcedom ure sawle; forþon þe Drihten is
swiðe mildheort...

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 97)

ic myngie & lære.....
þæt he þonne hrædlice gecyrre to þam
selran & to þon soþan læcedome; þonne
magon we us God ælmihtigne mildne habban.

(Ibid., 107)

Similarly, there are, in Ælfric's homilies, references to the soða læce and the goda læce which take no account of the healing metaphor inherent in Hælend.²¹⁸ At the same time, however, there are several examples of the direct association of Hælend with the verb hælan, 'to heal', through which the image of Christ the Leech is conveyed.

Ælfric, in his homily for Octabas et Circumcisio Domini Nostri, (Thorpe, CH I. 90-102), comments on the angel Gabriel's words to Mary related in Luke's gospel:

ecce concipies in utero, et paries filium,
et vocabis nomen eius IESUM.

(Luc. I.31)

words which Ælfric naturally associates with the complementary account given by Matthew:

Pariet autem filium: et vocabis nomen
eius Iesum: ipse enim salvum faciet
populum suum a peccatis eorum.

(Matth. I.21)

by saying:

hi ne dorston nænne oðerne naman Criste
gescyppan þonne se heah-engel him gesette,
ærðan þe he on his modor innoðe geeacnod
ware, þæt is, IESUS, and on urum gereorde,
HÆLEND, forðan ðe he gehælð his folc fram
heora synnum.

(Thorpe, CH. I.94)

Ælfric's explanation is in the main a translation of Matthew's verse,
with the significant addition of Hælend as the onomastic interpretation
of Iesum; the resulting association of hælend and gehælð brings out
the primary meaning of salvum faciet and establishes the healing metaphor.

In his piece for the Annunciatio S. Mariae, he again exposes the etymology
of Hælend:

His nama was Hiesus, þæt is Hælend,
forðan ðe he gehælð ealle ða þe on hine
rihtlice gelyfað.

(Thorpe, CH. I.198)

Thorpe, in his translations of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, was not always
aware of the metaphorical implications of the coupling; in the passage
last quoted, he renders Hælend and gehælð by 'Saviour' and 'save' respect-
ively. Yet, in the later homily for Dominica in Media Quadragesime:
secunda sententia, Ælfric uses exactly the same terms in his explanation
of the name Jesus, derived on this occasion from Hebrew and Latin to
English:

Iesus is Ebreisc nama, þæt is on
Leden 'Saluator' and on Englisc
'Hælend', forðan ðe he gehælð his
folc fram heora synnum. (Thorpe, CH. II.214)

Here, even though the remark is essentially a rendering of Matth. I.21, Thorpe translates Hælend and gehælō by 'healing' and 'heals', respectively.

There is at least one other example of this distinctive association known to me. It comes in one of Alfric's homilies for Fridays in Lent, composed perhaps at an early date.²¹⁹ In his exposition of the miracle at the pool of Bethsaida, Alfric leaves off his immediate source in order to insert this explanation:

Hys) nama is Hælend, for þan þe he gehælp (his folc,
swa swa se eng) el cwæp be him, ær þan þe he acenned
(ware:
He gehælp hys fol)c fram heora synnum.

(Pope, Homilies, 234)

These statements are of interest because the available evidence shows that they are of Alfrician origin; the image of Christ as Saviour, and hence, healer is common in Latin and English writings throughout the Middle Ages, while the direct association of Hælend and gehælan, among English writers is peculiar to Alfric.

Hælend, as an epithet of Christ the Saviour, is much less common in EME than in OE writings; Orm's application of the term to the healing image is thus noteworthy. As with Alfric's homily on the Annunciation of the Virgin, the corresponding piece in the Ormulum has this explanation of Gabriel's words:

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He se33de þatt 3ho shollde ben
Off halig gast wiþþ childe,
7 tatt 3ho godess sune godd
To manne shollde childenn,
7 tatt 3ho shollde nemnenn himm
Iesumm, þatt iss, hælende,
Forr þatt he shollde himm sellf mannkinn
Hælenn off sinnes wunde.

(11. 2211-18)

Here, as in other examples of the coupling of Hælennde and hælenn in the Ormulum, the inclusion of the notion of the wounds of sin makes explicit the significance which Orm attached to Hælennde.

In the following fitt Orm expounds on Luc. II.21 - which relates the circumcision of Jesus and reiterates his name - and in recalling the earlier pronouncements by the angel Gabriel, says:

7 wel þatt enngell se33de whi
He sholde swa ben nemnedd;
He se33de þatt he sholde ben
Iesus bi name nemnedd,
Forr þatt he sholde hiss a3henn follo
Hælenn off sinness wunde;
Forr iesus o ġrickisshe mal
Onn ennglissh iss hælennde.
7 crist iss nemnedd swiþe riht
Hælennde onn ennglissh spæche;
Forr he comm her to læchenn uss
Off all þatt dæþess wunde.

(ll. 4264-75)

After having related briefly that Christ came to redeem man and heal the wound caused by Adam's transgression, he concludes:

7 forrði ma33 þe laferrd crist
Wel nemnedd ben hælennde;
Forr mankinn hæledd wass þurrrh himm
Off sinness grimme wunde.

(ll. 4298-4301)

White, (White-Holt, II.361), makes the plausible suggestion that Orm's etymology of Jesus from Greek is taken from Bede's closely similar explanation in his In Lucam, and while the original impetus for the etymological explanation may have come from the Latin source, differing in part from Ælfric's derivation from Hebrew and Latin, it would be hard to deny some measure of Ælfrician 'influence' in the introduction of the word Hælennde and its correct English interpretation.²²¹

Orm's last example of the association of the two terms comes in his exposition of Ioan. III.1-21, telling of Jesus's meeting with Nicodemus; commenting on the phrase quia non credit in nomine unigeniti Filii Dei, (Ioan. III.18), he says:

Min name.....
 Patt nemnedd iss hælennde
 Patt name patt shall hælenn all
 Patt æfre shall ben hæledd,
 Patt name patt shall berrzhenn all
 Patt æfre shall ben borrhenn.

(ll. 17725-730)

Orm's statement calls to mind the similar explanation given by Ælfric in his homily for Dominica I Post Pentecosten, which treats the same pericope:

Wislice he understod þæs Hælendes wundra,
 and þa micclan mihte þe he on mannum gefremode,
 for ðan þe he gehælde ælcne þe him to com
 fram eallum unhælpum.

(Pope, Homilies, 481-82)

Ælfric's statement, though based on an extract from Bede's homily on Nicodemus (Pope, Homilies, 481) is clearly influenced by his earlier explanations of Hælend, since Bede's remarks provide only the germ of the idea and lack any etymological association.²²²

These passages from Ælfric's homily and from the Ormulum are very similar in that they actively exploit the etymology of Hælend and stress the power of Christ to heal man's soul; the identification of the term and the theme is the more marked in the Ormulum in that Orm twice includes references to the wounds of sin. I can find no exact parallel in Ælfric's writings to this association hælennde and sinness wunde, but the collocation of ðam gastlican læce and sawla wunda in this passage from Ælfric's piece for Dominica III Post Epiphania Domini:

Swa sceal eac se ðe mid heafod-leahtrum
 wiðinnan hreoflig bið cuman to Godes
 sacerde, and geopenian his digelnyse
 ðam gastlican læce, and be his ræde
 and fultume his sawle wunda dædbetende
 gelacnian.

(Thorpe, CH. I.124)

demonstrates the association of healing and wounding. Orm's utterances, containing references to Hælennde, hælenn, sinnes wunde, læchenn, dapess wunde and sinness grimme wunde, effectively reproduce the range of teaching in Ælfric's homilies while at the same time echo the distinctive verbal association of Hælend and gehælð.

As in the case of the evocation of the Trinity, there is nothing in Orm's exploitation of the etymological possibilities of Hælennde which could be construed as providing definite proof of Ælfric's direct influence.

Orm's familiarity with the conventional verbal elements of Ælfric's particular expression of the Trinitarian doctrine, his readiness to exploit the etymological significance of hælennde and to associate it with the concept of the Wounds of Sin, establish good grounds for believing that he worked with linguistic tools favoured by OE homilists to a greater degree than the appearance of such phrases in the Ormulum as a butenn ende and loff 7 wurrþe would initially suggest. There is one important area of reference which furnishes evidence to strengthen this belief, while at the same time displaying Orm's intention to establish a comprehensive, standardized homiletic idiom suitable to his own milieu.

Close reading of the text of the Ormulum reveals that there are many examples of fixed syntactic units which are repeated many times throughout the work. Their mere presence is sufficient to indicate that it was Orm's intention to give currency to particular phrases, corresponding

to particular ideas, and thus to create, out of old materials, a new homiletic idiom. Such an intention is wholly in keeping with the complementary trends in the standardization of orthography and phonology, trends which, as have been seen, occupied much of the homilist's energies.

These fixed syntactic units, as I prefer to call them for the present, may be said to fall into two broad categories: those which correspond to outstanding aspects of doctrinal teaching and which are, therefore, theologically motivated, and those which contain admonitory or explicatory statements through which the audience is addressed or invited to become directly involved in the ensuing doctrinal teaching.

Belonging to this latter group is the block of verses:

Her enndenn twa goddspellless þuss
7 uss birrþ hemm þurhsekenn
To lokenn whatt te³³ lærenn uss
Off ure sawle nede.

(11. 3490-93)

discussed above on pages 52-3. As pointed out there, this set phrase, varying only with the number of pericopes paraphrased in any given *fitt*, not only indicates the closing of the paraphrase and the imminence of the exposition, it also draws the audience's attention firmly to their sawle nede, thus providing brief preparation for the teaching which is about to be delivered. Similarly, the self-deprecating statement:

Aftterr þatt little witt þatt me min Drihhtin
hafepþ lenedd

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 1.8)

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occurs on at least four other occasions throughout the homilies.

When Orm wished to expound a piece of direct speech encountered in one

of the pericopes, it is noticeable that he very often resorted to the phrase:

þatt wass swa summ 3ho se33de þuss
Wipþ all full openn spæche

(11. 2821-22)

which re-appears unchanged (apart from the number and gender of the pronoun) at 11. 2837-38; 9605-06; 9795-96; 10354-355; 11673-674; 12910-911. The same phrase, showing the variation of opennlike for all full openn occurs at 11.2803-04; 10388-389. Similarly, with opennlike retained and alls iff substituting swa summ, Orm uses the phrase at 11.9513-14; 9585-86. Three other examples - 11.17655-656; 17667-668; 17717-718 - show only the slightest syntactical variation.

The device is also made to work in respect of actions or events:

7 tatt wass don alls iff itt tuss
Wipþ openn spæche se33de

(11. 7340-41)

repeated at 11.19245-246 and 19333-334, (cp. 11.18715-716). Occasionally, the second half of the typographic line is given a new form:

Forr þatt wass se33d alls iff he þuss
Wipþ oþre wordess se33de

(11. 13010-011)

which occurs, verbatim, at 11.16222-223; 17471-472; 18484-485; (cp. 11.17096-097; 17156-157).

Belonging to this category also is the set phrase Swa summ þe goddspell kipeþþ which was written throughout by Hand A, and which was replaced by Hand B's equally consistent phrase: þatt witt tu wel to soþe.

For purposes of exhortation, Orm invariably uses a phrase which begins with the words uss birrp, as in:

7 uss birrp þurh þa þrinne lac
Drihtin ġastlike lakenn,
7 uss birrp follþhenn þe33re sloþ
To lefenn uppo criste.

(ll. 6662-65)

which corresponds to, though does not reproduce the form of, phrases of the type: Forþon us is mycole mare nedþearf... (Morris, Blickling Homilies, 99); Nu is mycel need eac eallum Godes bydelum... (Bethurum, Homilies, 117), which are easily recognizable as standard features of OE homiletic phraseology.²²⁴

These phrases in the Ormulum have a fixed form; they have a metric as well as didactic function. Didactically, they are effective, not only because they are often repeated, but also, in some cases at least, because a particular expression of fixed form corresponds to a particular notion or idea. While it is likely that the phrase þatt witt tu wel to soþe, like swa summ þe ġodspell kipeþþ, is most useful to the poet in filling a metrical space, other fixed syntactic units convey weightier matter and highlight Orm's didactic concerns. Thus, for example, there is the phrase which stresses the necessity and indicates the benefits of the practice of truly Christian behaviour:

Hu cristess þeww birrp lakenn crist
ġastlike i ġode þawess.

(ll. 984-85)

With minor variation, according to context, the phrase is repeated many times: ll. 1118-19; 1166-67; 1172-73; 1196-97; 1220-21; 1354-55; 1286-87; 1292-93; 1308-09; 1586-87; 1600-01; 1618-19; 6730-31.

Although most occurrences of the phrase appear in the teaching of the significance of the Jewish Offerings, examples in other contexts show that the phrase could be applied generally.

At the same time, the Ormulum contains examples of fixed syntactic units which correspond to major theological concepts. One striking example of this tendency is supplied by the phrase:

To lesenn mannkinn þurh his dæg
Ut off þe defless walde.

The referent of the phrase, drawing attention to the Crucifixion and the breaking of the devil's power which it effected, is man's redemption from sin. In terms of homiletic intention, the concept is central to Orm's purposes; it is thus not surprising to learn that the poet makes constant reference and allusion to the Redemption, but it is of interest to note that he invariably does so by means of this very phrase. It occurs, unchanged, on over twenty occasions: Dedication, 11.203-04; Preface, (ed. Maclean), 11.63-64; 91-92; Introduction, 11.87-88; Homilies, 11.349-50; 641-42; 6874-75; 8309-10; 9379-80; 11232-33; 10622-623; 11004-005; 14956-957; 16716-717; 17499-500; 19205-206; 19361-362; Moreover, it is used with only minor syntactical variation on several other occasions: 11.699-700; 3600-01; 4280-81; 5294-95; 11282-283; 11573-574; 12682-683; 12894-895; 17042-43.

Less frequently, Orm refers to the redemption by means of a phrase which shows both syntactic variation and lexical substitution, as in:

patt sholde lesenn þurh hiss dæg
Mannkinn ut fra þe defell.

(11.19373-374)

or

To lesenn þurh hiss hall³he dæg
Mannkinn off hellepine. (11.8727-28; cp.12630-631, 15648-649)

Essentially, there is in the Ormulum one distinctive, syntactically stable, phrase through which Orm directs attention to the means by which man's redemption was assured. Though a phrase of this type would have been naturally useful to him, both metrically and didactically, the great frequency with which it was employed points, at the same time, to his wish to associate one important concept, itself inviolable, with a correspondingly stable verbal configuration.

If Christ's voluntary death provided mankind with the opportunity of striving for salvation, previously denied to him, it is vital that he should be aware of the best means with which to accomplish it. Orm's teaching on the requisite elements of the Christian life is various and extensive; yet, it is evident that he effectively encapsulated these essential elements in a fixed syntactic unit of the type under discussion. In fitt 12, in which the significance of the teaching of John the Baptist is expounded, Orm says:

7 þatt tatt cristess þeww iohan
þær se33de till þe lede,
7 all þatt ohht iss wrang 7 crumb
Shall effnedd ben rihhtedd,
þatt se33de he witterli3 forrþi
þatt ta wass cumenn time,
þatt woh 7 sinne shollde ben
Till rihhtwisnesse wharrfedd,
þurh fulluhht 7 þurh crisstenndom,
7 þurh þe rihhte læfe.

(ll. 9651-60)

The form of the two last lines quoted above, in which baptism, Christianity and true belief are brought together as the means by which sinfulness is turned to righteousness, remains unchanged on a very large number of occasions throughout the work. Allowing for the insignificant substitution of Till for þurh in some cases where sense demands such a change, this three-fold configuration appears in the following lines: 7424-25;

8551-52; 8731-32; 9901-02; 10095-096; 11008-009; 11238-239;
11449-450; 12688-689; 13040-041; 13960-961; 15228-229; 15714-715;
16502-503; 16962-963; 17164-165; 17904-905; 18390-391; 18947-948;
18991-992; 19037-038; 19161-162; 19377-378.

Furthermore, there are an equal number of occurrences in which the reference to fulluhht is omitted, leaving the coupling of Crisstendom and rihht lafe in a phrase of similar form. For example, Orm relates that the Baptist undertook:

To fullhtnenn 7 to spellenn
Off \bar{g} odess sune, crist, tatt he
Pa sholde cumenn newenn,
To lesenn mannkinn þurh hiss dæp
Ut of þe defless walde,
7 turrnenn menn till crisstenddom
7 till þe rihhte lafe.

(ll. 8306-12)

Other examples of this slightly reduced resumé of essential Christian behaviour occur in ll. 8484-85; 8543-44; 8561-62; 8575-76; 9391-92; 9647-48; 11575-76; 12864-865; 13016-017; 13092-093; 13156-157; 14094-095; 15756-757; 16464-465; 16874-875; 16994-995; 17198-199; 17320-321; 17354-²²⁵355; 17769-770; 17837-838; 18144-145; 18917-918; 19101-102; 19207-208; 19317-318. (cp. ll. 17301-302; 18168-169; 19175-176; 19199-200).

Before a wider range of such fixed syntactic units in the Ormulum is considered, it should be noted that the various verbal elements with which these phrases are compounded appear frequently in OE homilies and related genres in close, though less concrete, association. Orm's phrase:

To lesenn mannkinn þurh hiss dæp
Ut off þe defless walde.

may be said to have developed from a number of similar statements on the purpose of Christ's ministry, spread widely in the earlier homiletic corpus. Consider these references in the Blickling Homilies:

[God the Father] wolde mid his Suna lichoman
þysne middangeard alysan fram deofles anwalde.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 31)

& þe syxtan dæge Iudeas hine ahengan on rode,
þær he his blod ageat for ure hæle, & us
alesde of deofles þeowdome.

(Ibid., 73)

Uton we ealle wynsumian on Drihten we þe his
ariste mærsiap; forþon þe he his godcundnesse
nan wiht ne gewanode, þa he þone menniscan
lichoman onfeng, & us of deofles anwalde alesde.

(Ibid., 91)

From Alfric's homily for Dominica III in Quadragesima comes the statement:

Deofol is se stranga þe ure Drihten embe spræc,
ðe hæfde eall manncynn on his andwealde þa
ðurh Adames forgægednysse, ac Godes Sunu com,
strengra þonne he, and hine gewylde,
and his wepna him ætbræd and tobræc his searocræftas,
and his herereaf todælde þe he mid his deaðe alysde
þa ða he Adam and Efan and heora ofspring genam.

(Pope, Homilies, 274-75)

In his homily, Dominica Quarta post Pascha, Alfric relates the breaking of the devil's power to the Resurrection:

ac he soðlice aras syððan of ðam deaðe,
to maran wundrunge, gewunnenum sige
of ðam ealdan deofle, (and) alysde us
fram þam ecan deaðe and þæs deofles anwealde.

(Ibid., 345)

and later in the same piece, he speaks of the Scyppend:

further, the phrase riht geleafa is so fundamental a requisite for entry into the body of cristendom that it, by its very nature, is unchangeable. Bethurum has noted that Wulfstan's use of the phrase answers to the Latin fides^m catholicam, implying that the OE phrase, a product of translation, may have acquired something of the fixed nominal status of fulluht and cristendom.²²⁹

The evidence, admittedly highly selective, shows that the general verbal patterns prevalent in OE homilies in expressions which relate to Christ's redemption of man and to the fundamental components of Christian life necessary to achieve that redemption have been used by Orm and given a much more precise syntactic form. The presence in the Ormulum of any or all of these words or phrases is not remarkable; what is noticeable is Orm's tendency to fashion phrases of fixed form and syntax out of elements regularly employed by OE homilists in looser association. In Orm's hands, the material available from earlier homilies has been reworked in such a way as to produce fixed expressions which correspond to fundamental, unchanging concepts essential to the sawle nede. At the same time, Orm's rigid standardisation of verbal elements employed loosely by OE homilists may be said to be indicative of his attempt to introduce uniform expressions into his work, expressions which, through dint of repetition and the very small amount of variation to which they are subjected, form part of the standardised preaching idiom which he sought to create. Burchfield has shown that one result of Orm's orthographic practice was to allow only one form of any given word to correspond to any given concept;²³⁰ on a wider, more complex level, his formation of fixed syntactic units and their equation with specific points of Christian theology exemplifies the same trend.

I began this section on Orm's compositional techniques by locating examples of standard OE homiletic phraseology in the Ormulum, more or less fixed phrases like a butenn ende and loff 7 wulderr, suggesting that their availability to Orm should be regarded as a natural consequence of his decision to write homilies in English. From these superficial correspondences, I then showed how Orm and other writers of the period were sufficiently receptive of OE homiletic descriptive models as to reproduce some of the distinctive verbal patterns from Ælfric's widespread teaching on the Trinity and from the etymological exploitation of OE hælend in association with the image of Christ the healer, or leech.

Subsequently, I proposed arguments for Orm's ability to refashion other distinctive OE homiletic phrases which tended to be used in association with specific concepts, and to produce thereby phrases of fixed syntactic form which he then repeated on many occasions throughout the work. The value of this evidence was, I suggested, two-fold: first, it indicated that some of Orm's verbal tools in their expression of weighty theological concepts were furnished by the popular and prestigious body of OE homiletic material, and second, that their fixed form and great frequency in the Ormulum pointed to a desire on the part of its author to establish more or less 'closed' expressions both corresponding to and reflecting the inviolability of the concepts to which they refer. I maintain that the cumulative weight of this evidence is consistent with the view that the Ormulum displays a distinctive preaching idiom, a homiletic language unique to that work but which, because of its regularity and repetition, was designed to achieve the status of a norm. I now propose to offer what I consider to be the evidence most persuasive of such a conclusion.

I.7 Orm's Compositional Methods: the Formulaic

Character of the Ormulum.

Throughout this study, I have had recourse to characterising the Ormulum as systematic, as displaying regularisation and uniformity in many aspects of its composition. The regularity of the form of the expression:

To lesenn mannkinn þurh his dæp
Ut off þe defless walde

is, through repetition, indicative of the trend. In this particular case, one fixed expression corresponds to one definite idea. Close scrutiny of the Ormulum shows that expressions of fixed syntactic form which occur on more than one occasion are very numerous. Such an observation would lend support to the contention that Orm has attempted to create a distinctive homiletic language; repetition of fixed phrases, especially those referring to significant theological concepts, not only serves to emphasise the meaning of the concept, it also confers an authority on the phrase in question commensurate with the importance of the idea being transmitted. Yet, verbatim repetition is neither the most important nor the most widespread facet of Orm's compositional technique, for detailed analysis of those phrases which occur on more than one occasion shows that they belong, not with each other as repeated phrases, but with a very large number of similar phrases which conform to the same syntactic pattern and which often, but not always, have the same referent. Such expressions are merely part of a system of phrases which obey identical metrical and syntactic patterns. Orm's verse is, in effect, formulaic.

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Since the work of Waldron and Benson, among others, it is now accepted

that lettered poets working in the alliterative mode could and did make use of formulas which Magoun had first characterised as belonging exclusively to oral poetry.²³² Nevertheless, many critics have extensively re-examined Magoun's evidence and thesis, producing in the event a much sharper definition of what a formula might be as well as a more exacting account of its inception, so that a consideration of the most noteworthy contributions to the subject is essential if the characterisation of the Ormulum as formulaic verse is to have any merit or usefulness.

As is well-known, the notion that OE narrative poetry is made up of formulas was first proposed by Magoun, who applied to that verse the methods and general principles elucidated by Parry and Lord in their earlier enquiries into both Homeric language and to the songs of illiterate Yugoslav singers.²³³ Magoun's analysis of ll.1-25 of Beowulf, and of Christ and Satan, ll.512-35 proceeded with the acceptance of Parry's definition of a formula as:

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a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea.

and of the characteristics which Parry claimed in respect of oral verse. According to Parry, Lord and Magoun, all orally composed poetry is totally formulaic in character, a discovery which prompted these early scholars to maintain that the converse relationship was equally true. In Magoun's words:

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the recurrence in a given poem of an appreciable number of formulas or formulaic phrases brands the latter as oral, just as a lack of such repetitions marks a poem as composed in a lettered tradition. Oral poetry, it may safely be said, is composed entirely of formulas, large and small, while lettered poetry is never formulaic, though lettered poets occasionally consciously repeat

patterns of formulas lying on either side of them. Lawrence is led to state, correctly, that the basic element of formulaic language is not the word but the phrasal pattern of a grammatical and metrical value, and he applies the epithet 'grammetrical' to this pattern.²³⁷

In the same year, another important refinement to Magoun's position was offered by D.K. Fry. Like Lawrence, Fry insisted that verbatim repetition was not an essential characteristic of a formula, although such a phrase could be so defined provided it could be seen to form part of a definite system. Referring to the work of O'Neil and Diamond, Fry suggests that reversal in word order in a given configuration, together with variations in gender, number, case, tense, mood, etc., should be allowed in any assessment of whether a particular phrase belongs to a formulaic system.²³⁸

Both Magoun and Creed had maintained that the metrical usefulness of any formula or formulas demanded that they have the same number of stressed positions, or metrical feet;²³⁹ Fry, and Rogers before him,²⁴⁰ had disputed this 'space-filling' requirement on the ground that such a condition would imply that poets used formulas rigidly and unthinkingly. Fry observes that in OE verse, formulaic systems seem to occur in half-line lengths; since there is no one metrical value for the OE verse half-line, it would appear that Magoun's insistence on exact equivalency in stress imposes too narrow constraints on the concept. Finally, Fry offers his own definition of a system in OE verse; it is, he says:

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a group of half-lines, usually loosely related metrically and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements, one a variable word or element of a compound usually supplying the alliteration, and the other a constant word or element of a compound, with approximately the same distribution of non-stressed elements.

That the essence of the formula is not repetition but its systematic origin was clearly realized several years earlier by R.A. Waldron who first applied Magoun's thesis to ME alliterative verse of the fourteenth century in order to locate 'the remains of an oral technique embedded in written literature'²⁴². The importance of Waldron's work is two-fold: in the first place, he succeeds in demonstrating that his chosen poems, for the most part unrhymed romances in the alliterative long line, were:

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written by poets who were familiar with a body of formulas which probably originated in a tradition of oral composition and for readers who still retained a taste for the conventions of an oral style.

and thus, that the presence of formulaic language in an alliterative poem is not sufficient warrant to determine the technique of composition. Second, while Waldron follows Magoun in choosing 25 lines of verse for minute analysis, and in indicating those phrases which are repeated elsewhere, he also introduces the concept of 'rhythmic-syntactic patterns' or 'moulds' which, in their operation, comply to a large extent with the conditions proposed by Fry in his definition of the formulaic system. For example, Waldron quotes the lines:

(Mort. Arth, 138) Thow arte þe lordlyeste lede
 þat euer I one lukyde.
 (W. Pal. 1007) as þe gladdest gom þat euer god
 wrou3ht.

and proposes that they belong to the same system which may be described schematically as:

...the (ADJ)-est (NOUN) that ever....

It is the repetition of the pattern, not of the phrase, which assures the validity of the identification. Moreover, Waldron goes on to show that this particular system was closely related to three others which

three major and one minor stress. The regularity of the pattern has
drawn the severe criticism of extreme monotony;²⁴⁸ however, although
certainly based on syllabic count, it is perhaps too readily assumed
that Orm's verse was heavily accented in recitation. If read in a way
that observes normal speech stress, it is, in fact, far less monotonous
than has been supposed.

In contrast to OE verse and that of the alliterative poems of the later
Middle Ages, the Ormulum differs in two obvious respects: it does not
have to fulfil an alliterative requirement and, second, its strict
syllabic count confers on its verses a regular shape which alliterative
verse, on account of the variability of the number of syllables in both
'on' and 'off' verses, did not possess. F.G. Cassidy, taking up the
challenge of Magoun and the Harvard school, expressed dissatisfaction at
the primary role given to verbal repetition in the identification of a
formula and, drawing on the work of O'Neil and Gattiker, asserted that
OE formulaic language can be categorized as belonging to any one of
twenty-five syntactic frames.²⁴⁹ In claiming a previously unrecognised
freedom for the Anglo-Saxon singer, Cassidy concludes:

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.....all verbal formulas were referable
to archetypal syntactic frames: the verbal
details could change, not only unstressed
elements but even stressed ones as in
formulaic systems, within the steadying
pattern of the syntax. Most fundamental
of all, of course, was the structure of
the poetic line with its two alliteratively
linked halves, each built on a limited
number of established stress patterns. Yet
even here the syntactic frame beneath permitted
the scop to choose among synonyms for alliter-
ation, and to adjust the verse types in
various ways.

As I will demonstrate shortly, the basic principles which underlie this
statement, leaving aside the role of alliteration, can be applied loosely

Kindred Languages, 5 (1936), 50-67. This last mentioned study considerably improves the account and list of alliterating phrases given by James P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: a Survey of Traditions (Manchester:University Press, 1935), pp.257-61.

68. This is especially true because Orm's use of alliteration is random and unsystematic. The constraints imposed on Old English and Middle English alliterative poets resulted in the adoption of unfamiliar or archaic vocabulary on occasions; and while falls 7 flærd may have been regarded as archaic or rhetorically ornamental, its selection was not dictated by considerations of metrical propriety.

69. It is interesting to note that there are quite a few Norse words used by Orm which are otherwise unknown in Middle English; for details, see Serjeantson, History of the Foreign Words, p.84.

70. The term is borrowed from Turville-Petre, 'Studies', p.1.

71. Holm, Corrections, p.xiv; White-Holt, I.lxxvi-lxxvii.

72. Holm, Corrections, p.xvi. White, it should be noted, did not indicate consistently which hand was responsible for which piece of text.

73. Turville-Petre, 'Studies', pp.20-21, accepts the identification of the majority of these corrections and, adopting Holm's numeration, lists them for ease of reference.

74. Holm, Corrections, p.29 thinks it doubtful in view of the 'conservative tendency of B'. However, both words are frequently recorded

in literary usage throughout the period. Instances of 3ifferr in other contemporary EME texts are very rare. Such a substitution would in no way contradict what Holm refers to as the 'conservative tendency'. Rather, it would re-affirm the more significant standardizing and clarifying tendency which the corrector(s) consistently displays. It should also be noted that gredi3 is substituted for 3ifferr on several occasions by Hand A; the substitution is not confined to Hand B. On this last point, see Turville-Petre, 'Studies', p.21. That the substitution has a bearing on the correct (ie., unambiguous) rendition of Latin avaritia and gula, see Matthes, Einheitlichkeit, p.82, fn,5.

75. See below, p.36-51.

76. Holm, Corrections, pp. 60-65; Karl D. Bulbring, 'Die Schreibung des eo im Orrmulum, Bonner Beitrage zur Anglistik, 17 (1905), 51-82; Turville-Petre, 'Studies', p.2.

77. It is known that the Dedication and Preface were written after the completion of the homilies. See Dickins & Wilson, EME Texts, 11.14-15, and Matthes, Einheitlichkeit, pp.35-37.

78. On this, see Einheitlichkeit, pp.27-28.

79. The argument is fully set out in Heinrich C. Matthes, 'Die Orrmulum-Korrekturen', Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 50 (1951), 183-99; 184. Also, Einheitlichkeit, p.37.

80. Turville-Petre, 'Studies', p.27 observes that corrections at the foot of columns 31 and 32 in the MS 'appear to be written in script P', namely, a late development of Orm's own hand.

90. The seminal work is Raymond W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School, EETS OS 191A (London:Oxford University Press, 1932). Other significant contributions to the subject are listed below.
91. Gregor Sarrazin, 'Über die Quellen des Orrmulum', Englische Studien, 6 (1882), 1-27.
92. On the Glossa and the many problems associated with it, see Beryl Smalley, 'Gilbert Universalis, Bishop of London (1128-34) and the Problem of the Glossa Ordinaria', Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, 7 (1935), 235-62, and 8 (1936), 24-60; Beryl Smalley, 'La Glossa Ordinaria', Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, 9 (1937), 365-400.
93. Jacques-P Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina (Paris:Garnier, 1871-90). The Glossa Ordinaria is edited in vol. 94 under the name of Walafrid Strabo; the interlinear gloss is found in vol. 162, among the works of Anselm of Laon.
94. See Smalley, 'Gilbert Universalis', Recherches, 8 (1936), 24-60; 48ff.
95. The section in Einheitlichkeit which deals with sources is not a source study, per se. As the title plainly states, Matthes draws attention to wichtige Quellenprobleme; his method of proceeding, based on difficulties inherent in the text, for example, in the use of the phrase pe boc, is at once more cautious yet more wide-ranging than that of Sarrazin, with whom he takes issue.

96. Baugh, review of Einheitlichkeit, p.267. Significantly, perhaps, Baugh echoes Holm's earlier view that Orm was something of an incompetent.
97. See Smalley, 'Gilbert Universalis', Recherches, 8 (1936), 24-60; 24.
98. Migne took as the basis of his edition of the Glossa Ordinaria the text 'Ex editione Ducacensi, 1617' which was evidently different from the Biblia cum Glossa printed by Rusch in 1481, and from the text in MS Darmstadt, 543.
99. Though it has been stated that the marginal and interlinear glosses were frequently combined in the early Middle Ages, Baugh, in his review of Einheitlichkeit, p.268, says that the two texts were also often found separately throughout this period.
100. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 76. 1134-38. Gregory's opening words, Dubitari a quibusdam solet a quo spiritu sit Jesus ductus in desertum (1135), provide the rhetorical framework for the emphasis on Christ's exercise of free will.
101. See below, pp.105-14.
102. D. Hurst, ed., Bedae Venerabilis Opera, 2.iii: Opera Exegetica. In Lucae evangelium expositio. In Marci evangelium expositio. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 120 (Turnholti:Brepols, 1960).

103. For the details of the argument relating to A text phrases þe boc and the substitutions in Hand B to the Glossa, see Matthes, Einheitlichkeit, pp. 93-94; 99; 175-78.

104. Bede, In Matthei Evangelium Expositio in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 92.12-131. Gregory, Homelia X in Evangelia, Patrologia Latina, 76.1110-1114. Benjamin Thorpe, ed., The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric, two volumes (London:Ælfric Society, 1844. 1846), I.104-24.

This edition is hereafter referred to in the text and notes as Thorpe CH, followed by volume and page numbers.

105. Max Förster, 'Ueber die Quellen von Ælfrics Exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae', Anglia, 16 (1894), 1-61; para. 59. At the same time, Förster was not able to locate the direct source of 11.131-203 of the homily.

106. John C. Pope, Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, two volumes, EETS 259, 260 (London:Oxford University Press, 1967-68), pp.247-58. This edition is hereafter referred to as Pope, Homilies, followed by page numbers. The word occurs on 11.30, 31, 142 and 148 of this piece.

107. Arthur S. Napier, Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished, Anecdota Oxoniensia, IV, Part XI (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1900), p.41. 1.1546, where angularia...[lapide] is rendered by of hyrnstane.

108. Robert B. Burlin, ed., The Old English Advent: A Typological Commentary (New Haven & London:Yale University Press, 1968) for the text (p.56), and extensive comment on the psalmist's verse (pp.58-66).

The symbol is explored more fully by Gerhart B. Ladner, 'The Symbolism of the Biblical Cornerstone in the Medieval West', Medieval Studies, 4 (1942), 43-60.

109. General details of the Anglo-Saxon glossed Psalters are conveniently set out in Celia & Kenneth Sisam, ed., The Salisbuty Psalter, EETS 242 (London:Oxford University Press, 1959), pp.ix-x.

110. The description is that of Sisam, Studies, p.190.

111. Gerhard Eis, 'Die Quellen für den Eingang des Orrmulums', Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 189 (1952), 24-25.

112. See Geslaus Spicq, Esquisse d'une Histoire de l'Exégèse Latine au Moyen Age (Paris:Vrin, 1944), p.117. Also, Smalley, 'Gilbert Universalis', Recherches, 7 (1935), 253.

113. See, for example, Wilson, Early Middle English Literature, p.173.

114. See below pp.66-86.

115. Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, pp.26-27, 35, 58-59.

116. Southern, Western Society and the Church, pp.241-44, 250.

117. Southern, Western Society and the Church, p.248.

118. Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, pp.58, 120, 219.

119. Quoted by Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, p.193.

120. Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, pp.200, 216.

121. Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, pp.225-31.

Dickinson thinks (p.228) that Orm may have been a member of the Bridlington community, but offers no firm reasons. Notwithstanding the arguments relating to the dialect of the Ormulum, the suggestion is an attractive, though perhaps untenable, one in view of the importance placed on learning and literary activity by Robert, fourth prior of Bridlington. Orm's work would have been a natural result of this milieu.

122. The last of these blocks of text suffers from faulty spelling. It was originally written by Orm and later recopied by a different hand, (Hand C). On this point, see Turville-Petre, 'Studies', p.22 and Matthes, Einheitlichkeit, p.208. On the structural alterations effected by Hand B in relation to these set phrases, see again Matthes, Einheitlichkeit, pp.207-10, and Turville-Petre, 'Studies', pp.21-22.

123. The chief function of the Canons was the cure of souls, as is emphasised by Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, p.216. Southern, Western Society and the Church, p.241, adds that 'the Augustinians sought to revive something that went behind the Rule, behind even the organised church - back to the Bible'.

124. The latter reference, l.16342, is not listed in the White-Holt, Glossary, qv. under broþerr.

125. See above, p. 51, and fn. 119.
126. Southern, Western Society and the Church, pp.248; 245-50.
127. Southern, Western Society and the Church, pp.245-46.
128. Ann E. Nichols, 'Ælfric's Prefaces: Rhetoric and Genre', English Studies, 49 (1968), 215-23.
129. Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (London:Routledge, 1953), pp.83-85.
130. Nichols, 'Ælfric's Prefaces', pp.216-17 cites examples of each of these topoi from Ælfric's works.
131. This is Curtius's 'devotional formula'; see his European Literature, Excursus II, pp.407-13.
132. Examples are again given by Nichols, 'Ælfric's Prefaces', p.218.
133. His firm identification with the tradition of patristic exegesis is shown in his citation of sources for the Catholic Homilies, Thorpe, CH I.1.
134. See 11.4386-87, 5158-59, 6390-91, 10059-60.
135. Orm's gōd lān att Gōdd echoes the typical vocabulary of heavenly reward favoured by OE poets and preachers alike; see, Richard Morris, ed., The Blickling Homilies, EMTS OS 58, 63, 73, reprinted as one

volume (London:Oxford University Press, 1967), pp.41, 123. This edition is hereafter referred to as Morris, Blickling Homilies, followed by page numbers. Rosemary Woolf, ed., Juliana (London: Methuen, 1955), 1.708a (all quotations are taken from this edition). Norman F. Blake, ed., The Phoenix (Manchester:University Press, 1964), 11.386b, 475b (all quotations are taken from this edition). Benno J. Timmer, ed., Judith, 2nd edition, (London:Methuen, 1961), 1.346a. George P. Krapp & Elliot V.K. Dobbie, ed., The Exeter Book, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. III (London:Routledge, 1936), Crist, 11.434b, 473b, 846b, 1361a, 1587b. This edition is abbreviated hereafter to ASPR III.

136. Nichols, 'Ælfric's Prefaces', p.218. She quotes examples from the Latin preface to the second series of Catholic Homilies.

137. Noteworthy in this respect are the many conventional statements included by Anglo-Latin hagiographers in the prologues to their works. Felix, in his life of Guthlac, address Ælfwald, King of the East Angles and recipient of the life, thus: Iussionibus tuis obtemperans, libellum quem de vita patris beatae memoriae Guthlaci componi praecepisti, simplici verborum vimine textum non absque procacitatis inprudencia institui; he refers to those writers qui melius luculentiusve componere valuerunt, and affirms the veracity of his work: prout a dictantibus idoneis testibus....audivi; addendi minuendique modum vitans eadem ortodemia depinxi. See Bertram Colgrave, ed., Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac (Cambridge:University Press, 1956), pp.60, 62, 64; referred to hereafter as Colgrave, Felix.

The opening of the Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo combines an expression of obedience to the author's patron with an admission of

modesty: Praeceptis tuis utinam sancte episcopo Eadfride, et totius familiae tam effectu ualeam parere quam uoto. Est enim mihi et hoc opus arduum, et meae intelligentiae facultas exigua. Like Felix, the author vouches for the authority of his account: Obsecro itaque eos qui lecturi sunt ut fidem dictis adhibeant, neque me quicquam nisi quod compertum et probatum sit, scripsisse, arbitrentur, alioquin tacere quam falsa dicere maluissem.

Similarly, Bede prefaces his Vita Sancti Cuthberti with conventional matter. Addressing Eadfrith and the congregation of monks, he says that he composed the work at their request: uestro rogatu composui; he vouches for the work's authority by saying: nec sine certissima exquisitione rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro scribere, nec tandem ea quae scripseram sine subtili examinatione testium indubiorum passim transcribenda quibusdam dare praesumpsi. After saying that he was guided by the advice of the priest Herefrith in the choice of material, he goes on: atque ad uestrae quoque fraternitatis praesentiam asportare curauit, quatinus uestrae auctoritatis iudicio uel emendarentur falsa, uel probarentur uera esse, quae scripta sunt. Quod cum Domino adiuuante patrarem... See Bertram Colgrave, ed., Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert (Cambridge:University Press, 1940), pp.60, 62, 64 for the anonymous life, and pp.142, 144 for Bede's life.

The general stimulus and, on occasions, the actual phraseology of these pronouncements can be traced to the major hagiographic models available to these writers: the Vita Sancti Martini by Sulpicius Severus, and Athanasius's Vita Antonii in Evagrius's translation, in particular.

138. The impression created by Curtius, European Literature, pp.79-89 that such pronouncements are highly conventional and for the most part devoid of individual bias has recently received constructive criticism

145. The variety of stylistic features displayed in the Katherine Group texts was first investigated by Bethurum, 'The Connection of the Katherine Group', esp. pp.553-57.

146. On the question of the unity of authorship for the group as a whole, see d'Ardenne, Seinte Iulienne, pp. xl-lvii, who discusses the issue thoroughly and notes the most important earlier work on the subject. My distinction between the lives of saints and the other treatises does not necessarily demand an acceptance of the view that the Ancrene Wisse was written by one who was not responsible for the other works. The alliterative prose of the Ancrene Wisse, which avoids most of the worst excesses of the saints' lives, may be seen as the natural outcome of an author who recognised the futility of trying to preserve the full stylistic texture of OE religious prose, and the necessity of creating a new form based partly on those aspects of the older tradition still thought to be useful. On the other hand, the writer(s) responsible for the lives of saints may have felt themselves constrained to adhere closely not only to the thematic ingredients which the genre demanded, but also to the form in which that genre was traditionally written. Much of the argument is conjectural, but the consideration of the demands of genre would explain adequately the observable differences in style between, on the one hand, the lives of saints, and the Ancrene Wisse, Hali Meiöhad and Sawles Warde on the other. With the probable exception of Sawles Warde, none of the texts in the latter group falls into any readily definable genre. The new departures which they, in this sense, represent may have stimulated the writer(s) to establish a proportionately modified style. On these matters generally, see Bethurum, 'The Connection of the Katherine Group', pp.553-54, 556, 561, and the important remarks made by Norman F. Blake,

'Rhythmical Alliteration', Modern Philology, 67 (1969-70), 118-24, esp., 120-21. Blake speaks mainly of poetry, but his thesis has a significant bearing on the conditions affecting the continuation of prose writing in EME.

147. d'Ardenne, Seinte Iuliene, p.xxvii.

148. d'Ardenne, Seinte Iuliene, pp.xxviii-xxix.

149. Despite the assessment by Manfred Görlach, The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary, Leeds Texts and Monographs, NS 6 (Leeds: University Press, 1974), p.145, of the relationships of the 'numerous Latin and vernacular versions', the generally accepted view that both vernacular versions are based on one recension of the vita, similar to that preserved in Oxford MS, Bodleian Bodley 285, fol.163r-165v and printed by d'Ardenne in her edition of Seinte Iuliene, is almost certainly correct. The vita, the work of Bolland himself, in Iohannes Bollandus, Godefridus Henschenius, eds., Acta Sanctorum, Februarius, Tomus II (Antwerp: Jacob Mersius, 1658), pp. 873ff, is generally regarded as the indirect source of both vernacular versions. A comparison of the Acta text, 'ex xi veteribus MSS' with the version in Bodley 285 shows only minor verbal and structural variation; both texts are clearly descended from the same archetype. The presence of what is substantially the Acta text in Bodley 285, dated to the early thirteenth century, suggests that it was this recension which enjoyed some popularity in England during the early Middle Ages. The other versions of the vita, that by Petrus Subdiaconus, printed as Alia Vita in the Acta Sanctorum, Februarius, Tomus II, pp.879-83, and the Martyrium Sanctae Julianae Martyris of Simon Metaphrastes, in Jacques-P. Migne, ed.,

Patrologia Graeca (Paris:Garnier, various years), vol. 114. 1438-51, with Latin translation, differ considerably from the Acta text in narrative sequence and expression, and bear no relationship to the English version. On the contrary views expressed by Oskar Backhaus, Ueber die Quelle der Mittelenglischen Legende von der heiligen Juliane und ihr Verhältnis zu Cynewulfs Juliana (Halle:Kaemmerer, 1899), and by Ernst Brunöhler, Über einige Lateinische, Englische, Französische und Deutsche Fassungen der Julianenlegende (Bonn: 1912), see d'Ardenne, Seinte Iuliane, pp.xxii-xxiv, who shows that both English lives derive from a common Latin exemplar, itself closely related to the text of the Acta version. The identification is accepted by Woolf, Juliana, p.11, and by Daniel G. Calder, 'The Art of Cynewulf's Juliana', Modern Language Quarterly, 34 (1973), 355-71.

150. They are conveniently listed by Neil R. Ker, A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1957), hereafter referred to as Ker, Catalogue, followed by page numbers. Only two of the three lives are now extant.

151. Bede has a lengthy notice of Juliana's martyrdom in his Martyrologium, Migne, Patrologia Latina, 94, 843f, which suggests to Woolf, Juliana, p.12 that 'by the eighth century there was in England a full-length life of Juliana, from which this[Bede's] epitome was made'. On Margaret, see the comments by Frances M. Mack, ed., Seinte Marharete, EETS OS 193 (London:Oxford University Press, 1934), pp.x-xi. A notice of her death is included also in George Herzfeld, An Old English Martyrology, EETS OS 16 (London:Oxford University Press, 1900), pp.114, 116, under the name of Marina.

152. Richard M. Wilson, Sawles Warde, Leeds School of English Texts and Monographs, 3 (Leeds, 1938), pp.vii-x.
153. For details of the English translation of Latin compositions from the twelfth century, see Rima Handley, 'British Museum Cotton Vespasian D xiv', Notes & Queries, NS 21 (1974), 243-50, esp. 249, and Ker, Catalogue, pp.271-77.
154. See Thorpe, CH I.436-52, Alfric's De Assumptione Beatae Mariae, which is a translation of Jerome's Epistola IX ad Paulam et Eustochium, De Assumptione beatae Mariae Virginis in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 30.126-47. An example of what Alfric disapproved of is found in the Assumptio S. Mariae Virginis, homily XIII in Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp.137-59. For the sources of this piece, see Rudolph Willard, 'On Blickling Homily XIII: The Assumption of the Virgin: The Source and the Missing Passages', Review of English Studies, 12 (1936), 1-17, and his 'The Two Accounts of the Assumption in Blickling Homily XIII', Review of English Studies, 14 (1938), 1-19.
155. Gatch, Preaching and Theology, pp.14, 121.
156. Pope, Homilies, p.14. There is another copy of this apocryphal text in Oxford MS Bodleian Hatton 114, fol.201r-12r. The text is a translation of cc.1-12 of the Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium, in Constantinus Tischendorf, ed., Evangelia Apocrypha: adhibitibus Plurimis Codicibus Graecis et Latinis (Lipsiae:Mendelssohn, 1876), pp.53-73. Both vernacular texts are printed by Bruno Assmann, ed., Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, III (Kassel:Wigand, 1889), pp.117-37.

157. Gatch, Preaching and Theology, p.124, cites the case of the piece entitled 'Visions of Departing Souls' printed in Pope, Homilies, pp.770-81, which, having come originally from an unidentified Ælfrician piece, found its way into a homily in the second series of Catholic Homilies.
158. Malcolm R. Godden, 'Old English Composite Homilies from Winchester', Anglo-Saxon England, 4 (1975), 57-65; 57.
159. Ker, Catalogue, pp.31-35.
160. Pope, Homilies, pp.407-52.
161. Godden, 'Composite Homilies', p.58.
162. Godden, 'Composite Homilies', p.64.
163. Godden, 'Composite Homilies', p.65.
164. See the extensive survey by Angus Cameron, 'Middle English in Old English Manuscripts', in Beryl Rowland, ed., Chaucer and Middle English Studies (London:Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp.218-29, esp., pp.224-25. Also Pope, Homilies, pp.185-88 who notes (p.186) that the majority of ME glosses to OE in the MSS he consulted were inserted to ensure continued comprehension of certain OE terms which were becoming unintelligible through gradual obsolescence.
165. Stressed continuously by Gatch, Preaching and Theology, e.g., p.123.

166. Wulfstan produced very few exegetical homilies. The method was not rejected by him; it was simply not germane to his hortatory purposes. Evidence of his familiarity with the mode can be seen in his piece De Dedicacione Ecclesiae in Dorothy Bethurum, ed., The Homilies of Wulfstan (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1952), pp.246-50; hereafter referred to as Bethurum, Homilies, followed by page numbers. Wulfstan's homily is based on Ælfric's In Dedicacione Ecclesiae (Thorpe, CH, II.574-94). There are, of course, a few earlier examples of exegetical homily extant in the Blickling and Vercelli collections, and in other books.

167. It should be noted that to the so-called Benedictine Reform is traced the standardisation of the LWS dialect and the emergence of a national literary language. The case is persuasively argued by Helmut Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', Anglo-Saxon England, 1. (1972), 63-83.

168. Gatch, Preaching and Theology, pp.8-9.

169. Abbot Samson's preaching activities are recorded by Jocelin in his chronicle. See H.E. Butler, ed., The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond Concerning the Acts of Samson, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Edmund, 3rd. imp. (London:Nelson, 1962), p.40. The case of Samson is cited by Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose, p.xciv.

170. Dickinson, The Origin of the Austin Canons, p.26.

171. The appearance, in late twelfth century France, of a series of sixty seven vernacular homilies, penned by Maurice, bishop of Sully,

should serve as another reminder that Orm's work, and the impetus behind it, was not an isolated phenomenon. See Charles A. Robson, Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily (Oxford:Blackwell, 1952). Five of Maurice's pieces, which are exegetical, were translated, somewhat stiffly, into English, and are preserved in Oxford MS Laud Misc.412 and have been printed by Richard Morris, ed., An Old English Miscellany, EETS OS 49 (London:Trübner, 1872). Though somewhat later in date than the Ormulum, they suggest that the need for popular preaching materials was widespread at the time. It is also interesting to consider the various episcopal decrees of the early thirteenth century, stipulating that bishops should appoint suitable men to assist them in the office of preaching. See Durant W. Robertson, Jr., 'The Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England', Speculum, 24 (1949), 376-88; from his citation of these episcopal and conciliar directives, it is clear that the emphasis placed on preaching corresponds in large measure to that expressed by Paschal II in his letter to the Augustinian Canons at Colchester; see above p.50. The climate of official religious opinion coincides exactly with the appearance of the Ormulum.

172. On Ælfric's revision of his early work, see Norman E. Eliason & Peter Clemoes, eds., Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies, British Museum Royal 7 C.xii, ff.1-128, EEMF, 13 (Copenhagen:Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1966), pp. 28-35. Evidence relating to Ælfric's establishment of a coherent punctuation system for the Catholic Homilies is presented by Peter Clemoes, 'Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts', University of Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon Occasional Papers, 1 (Cambridge 1957), and by

C.G. Harlow, 'Punctuation in some Manuscripts of Ælfric', Review of English Studies, 10 (1959), 1-19.

173. Orm, in fact, is more consistent in the application of biblical exegesis techniques than Ælfric, who occasionally prefers to confine himself and his audience to an exposition secundum historiae sensum, as in his Natale Innocentium Infantum (Thorpe, CH, I.76-88), re-ed.

Dorothy Whitelock, Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, 15th revised ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp.69-76; . predictably, however, Ælfric invariably expounds Old Testament matter mid gastlicum andgite. Compare White-Holt, ll.14261, 14280, 19775, etc., and see also ll.6704ff.

174. I echo the traditional view in order to highlight the important qualification that formal distinctions between verse and prose at this time do more to obscure the nature of literary composition than to elucidate it. On the undesirability of making such rigid distinctions, see Blake, 'Rhythmical Alliteration', pp.118-24, and the point made in fn. 140.

175. Shepherd, 'Early Middle English Literature', p.102.

176. See the remarks by Lehnert, Sprachform, pp.176-78, and fn.52.

177. See Cecily Clark, ed., The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154, 2nd edition (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1970), pp.xli-ii, lii-lxiii; xvi-xviii. Hereafter referred to as Clark, Peterborough Chronicle.

178. Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, p.xl.

179. Napier, 'Notes on the Orthography of the Ormulum'. The further refinement to this system, in which initial and medial 3h are distinguished orthographically in order to indicate a phonetic distinction, was noticed by Burchfield, 'Language and Orthography', pp.64-65.
180. Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, p. lxiii.
181. Burchfield, 'Language and Orthography', p.69.
182. The terms occur, respectively, in annals 1097, 1127-30 and 1131. Clark's survey of the text, Peterborough Chronicle, pp. xv-xviii, shows that one scribe was responsible for the last two forms, while the first belongs to one of his predecessors.
183. I can see no reason to doubt that, since lafe was available to Orm as a possible means of expressing OE geleafa, the term was not equally a part of the annalist's word hoard, denoting the same referent.
184. Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, p.xlvi.
185. Burchfield, 'Language and Orthography', p.83, fn.1 notes that of the hundreds of instances of eo up to the break at around 1.13000, Orm failed to erase only three.
186. I do not imply that real confusion of meaning was certain to arise in these particular cases, since syntax and context equally help to determine meaning. In OE, there was a phonetic difference between God and god, adequately conveyed by accent marks, indicative of stress. Orm's orthographic distinction implies that differing phonetic values

were still preserved, yet the absence of such marks (see Sisam, Studies, p.191) shows that the annalist was unable or unwilling to register the divergence.

187. Olof. S. Arngart, ed., The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (MS. CCCC 444), Lund Studies in English, 36 (Lund:Gleerup, 1968), p.13.

Line references in my text are taken from this edition.

188. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus, pp.13-14, notes the irregular doubling of consonants and remarks: 'if, as has been suggested, the writer meant to employ the way of spelling invented by Orm, he did so in a very haphazard manner'. There are many other examples of general haphazard orthography in the work.

189. See Arngart, Genesis and Exodus, pp.45-47, for a brief discussion and relevant bibliographical data.

190. Burchfield, 'Language and Orthography', p.79. It should be noted that Turville-Petre's suggestion that the writing of the Ormulum occupied many years of the author's life, (Turville-Petre, 'Studies', pp.3, 26-27) places the work, in its initial stages at least, much closer in time to the Final Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle than the respective dates of the MSS would suggest.

191. Burchfield, 'Language and Orthography', p.70.

192. Excepting the suggestion that features of the ME Genesis and Exodus are modelled on Orm's devices. See above, n.188. At the same time, it is entirely possible that such a scribe could have arrived

independently at a realization of some aspects of the same system.

193. It should be remembered that the regularizing tendency of Orm's language is paralleled by the contemporary West Midland texts, and the need which Orm felt for the construction of linguistic uniformity was not an isolated phenomenon. Whereas, however, the writers of some of the Katherine Group texts were preservative and backward-looking, Orm was truly innovative. Sisam, Studies, p.190, in discussing Orm's orthography maintains: 'It is not very likely that an author who is otherwise so pedantically attached to tradition should strike out this new line, without any explanation, in a work which he expected to have some currency'. I would suggest that Orm does consciously 'strike out this new line', a procedure which bears witness to his understanding of contemporary linguistic confusion and which, in its scope, confers on his work an authority matched only by the earlier OE prose texts.

194. Elliott, V.K. Dobbie, ed., The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems (London: Routledge, 1942). The sixth volume of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, referred to hereafter as ASPR VI. This edition also contains the texts of the Gloria I, Gloria II, Lord's Prayer II cited in this section.

195. I use the edition in ASPR III, but refer to the earlier work of Albert S. Cook, ed., The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900).

196. Henry Logeman, 'Anglo-Saxonica Minora,' Anglia, 11 (1889), 97-102, and Anglia, 12 (1889), 497-518. In his second article, Logeman prints a series of prayers and confessions from British Library MS Royal 2 B.v, and Cotton Tiberius A.iii. Referred to hereafter as Logeman, Minora I and Minora II, respectively.

197. Some examples are: Juliana, 1.183a; Judith, 1.120; The Phoenix, 11.637a, 651b; Crist, 11.271, 415 (cp.479, 1645, 690, 1514). Pamela Gradon, ed., Cynewulf's Elene (London:Methuen, 1958), 11.801a, 893a.
198. Morris, Blickling Homilies, p.123: mid rihte þam Scyppende lof & wuldor secgean, and Bethurum, Homilies, p.166: A sy lof 7 wuldor fæder 7 suna 7 halgan gaste, are exceptions.
199. Instances of phrases made up from the terms lof, wuldor, wurþmynt and þonc in OE poetry are: Juliana, 1.76, 153; Elene, 11.746-47, 892b; The Phoenix, 11.634-36; The Lord's Prayer III, 1.53 (in ASPR VI). See also, Ida L. Gordon, ed., The Seafarer (London:Methuen, 1960), 11.122-23, where the eulogy, made up of þonc, geweorþade and wuldres closes the poem in the regular homiletic manner.
200. Roger Fowler, ed., Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar, EETS 266 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972); the number refers to the paragraph. Referred to hereafter as Fowler, Canons, followed by paragraph numbers. The phrase is present in both versions of the canon printed by Fowler.
201. Felix Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, 3 vols. in 4 (Halle:Max Niemeyer, 1903-16), IV Eg.16, Cnut 1020.2, I Cnut, 20.i, Swer.1, Ger.18.2. Referred to hereafter as Liebermann, Gesetze.
202. Karl Jost, ed., Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischofen Wulfstans von York, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Berne:Francke, 1959).

203. Thomas Miller, ed., The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, EETS OS 95, 96, 110, 111, reprinted in 2 volumes (London:Oxford University Press, 1963-76). Hereafter referred to as OE Bede, followed by page numbers.
204. In ASPR III, p.196.
205. The three last mentioned poems are all edited in ASPR VI.
206. Its general availability to EME homilists and writers of religious treatises is demonstrated by its occurrence in Sawles Warde, in Bennett & Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose, 1.88, and in the Poema Morale, in Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: First Series, EETS OS, 34 (London:Trubner, 1967-68), 1.47 in the version in Lambeth Palace MS, 487. (This edition referred to hereafter as OE Hom I). For the version in Cambridge MS Trinity B.14.52, see Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century: Second Series, EETS OS 53 (London:Trubner, 1873), 11.47, 329 (referred to hereafter as OE Hom II).
207. Fr. Klaeber, ed., Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, 3rd edition (Boston:D.C. Heath, 1950), fn. 1.413. All quotations from Beowulf are taken from this edition.
208. George P. Krapp, ed., The Junius Manuscript, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol.1 (London:Routledge, 1931); hereafter referred to ASPR I.
209. Henry Sweet, ed., King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, 2 vols., EETS OS 45, 50 (London:Trübner, 1871, repr.

Oxford University Press, 1958). Abbreviated throughout by OE Cura Pastoralis, followed by page numbers.

210. The Larspell is printed in Arthur Napier, ed., Wulfstan : Sammlung der ihm Zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit (Berlin:Weidmannsche, 1883), pp.250-65, referred to hereafter as Napier, Homilies, followed by page numbers. A shorter version in which the phrase is found, is preserved in British Library MS Cotton Faustina A ix., fol.27v-3lv, and in Cambridge MS CCC 302, pp.78-83. Both are twelfth century MSS (Ker, Catalogue, p. xviii), and both preserve the phrase idel 7 unnyt. The text of the Cotton version, collated with that of the Cambridge MS, is printed by Thomas A. Callinson, III, ed., 'An Edition of Previously Unpublished Anglo-Saxon Homilies in CCC 302 and Cotton Faustina A. ix, 'Unpublished Ph.D Thesis (University of Wisconsin, 1973). Another version of the Larspell in which the phrase appears is Vercelli Homily X, as yet unpublished, but available in Celia Sisam, ed., The Vercelli Book, EEMF 19 (Copenhagen:Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1976), fol.69r; referred to hereafter as Sisam, Vercelli Book, following by folio numbers.

211. Morris, OE Hom II, pp. 105, 129, 137, 163, 191, 199, 207. See also, Morris, OE Hom I, p.153. The collocation idel 7 unnyt appears in J.R.R. Tolkien, ed., Ancrene Wisse, EETS 249 (London:Oxford University Press, 1962), fol.20b, l.26 on p.43. Fr. Klaeber, 'Die christlichen Elemente im Beowulf', Anglia, 35 (1911), 468, relates the OE phrase to the coupling of inanis et vacua of Gen. I.1.

212. Alfric's other main concern in his teaching is the identification of the Son as the Wisdom of the Father, and of the Holy Spirit as the

Love and Will of them both. See, Thorp, CH I.280, 500; CH. II. 42, and Walter W. Skeat, ed., Ælfric's Lives of Saints, EETS OS 76, 82, 94, 114, reprinted as 2 volumes (London:Oxford University Press, 1966), I.12 etc. This edition referred to throughout as Skeat LSS, followed by volume and page numbers.

213. See Bethurum, Homilies, p.301.

214. Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, ed., Nuovo Omelie Anglosassone della Rinascenza Benedettina (Firenze:Felice le Monnier, 1977), hom. 1, 11.198-200, on p.21.

215. White-Holt, II.393-94; Migne, Patrologia Latina, 38, 332-54;

353. A comparison of this passage with that from the Glossa shows that Orm's text seems, in some places, to stand closer to Augustine's. I feel, however, in view of the general similarity of the Latin texts, that it is impossible to make any definite pronouncement, although I favour the extract from the Glossa, not least of all because it follows closely a piece from that work which I have shown Orm to have used.

216. It should be noted that Ælfric's corresponding piece on Ioan. I.1-14 (Pope, Homilies, pp.196-216) gives extensive treatment to the Trinity.

217. For details of the image, see Joyce Hill, 'An Investigation based on the Study of Selected Topoi, of Anglo-Saxon Literary Creativity in the Treatment of Christian Concepts, 'Unpublished D.Phil Thesis (York: University of York, 1974), pp.696-707; 748-49. Hill points out, p.748, that in those contexts in which Hælend is employed in poetic

texts, there is no indication that the poets wished to exploit its etymology.

218. For some examples, see Thorpe, CH I.124, 338, 472; CH II. 102; Assmann, Homilies, pp.5-6.

219. Peter Clemons, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in Peter Clemons, ed., The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp.212-47; 221.

220. Iesumm, l.2216, is Kölbing's correction, adopted by Holm, Corrections, p.xxi.

221. The relevant passage is found in In Lucam in Hurst, In Lucae, In Marci Expositio, p.58.

222. This piece of Ælfric is extant in two MSS of the mid-eleventh century, viz., Cambridge, University Library, Ii.4.6, ff.282v-89v, and Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.34, pp.281-95. The copy in the mid twelfth century MS Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 343, ff.4v-6v, was made from a text similar to that in the Trinity MS.

223. See above, p.62 and fn. 134.

224. It should be noted that this phrase from the Ormulum reproduces the impersonal construction favoured by Old English homilists. Although Orm's phrase differs in its verbal composition from the standard Old English exhortation, there is some evidence to show that

his use of uss birrp...descends from identical OE phraseology.

Consider the following statements from Wulfstan's genuine homilies:

Us gebyreð þæt we ælces þinges ure
teoðunge rihtlice Gode betacan.

(Bethurum, Homilies, 233)

þonne eac æfter þisum bið se man
swiðe wel wurðe 7 him gebyrað þæt swiðe
rihte þæt he syððan þicge Cristes
lichaman 7 his blod.

(Ibid., 174)

and gehadedum mannum gebyreð swyðe
rihte þæt hi geornlice understandan.

(Ibid., 175)

Ne byrhð þonne broðor oðrum hwilan, ne
fæder his bearne.

(Ibid., 140)

225. Here the text is partially illegible, owing to a tear in the leaf.

226. Other examples of the use of œowte and þeowdom in this context are: Thorpe, CH I.312; CH II.200. Pope, Homilies, 486. Also, Enid M. Raynes, ed., 'Unpublished Old English Homilies mainly from MSS CCCC 188, Hatton 114, 115 and Junius 121, together with Vercelli IX with Variants from other MSS in Oxford and Cambridge,' Unpublished Oxford University D.Phil Thesis (Oxford, 1955), p.50. Referred to hereafter as Raynes, Homilies, followed by page numbers. In this last cited example, the devil is said to have magn over men. See also, Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp. 65,73,137.

227. Generian fulfils the function of alysan in Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp.88, 97; Raynes, Homilies, p.86; Cambridge MS, CCC 162, In Die Sancto Pasche, p.386.
228. See, for example, Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp.67, 137.
229. D. Bethurum, Homilies, p.307.
230. Burchfield, 'The Language and Orthography', pp. 71-79.
231. Ronald A. Waldron, 'Oral Formulaic Technique and Middle English Alliterative Poetry', Speculum, 32 (1957), 792-804; Larry D. Benson, 'The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 81 (1966), 334-41.
232. Francis P. Magoun Jr., 'The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry', Speculum, 28 (1953), 446-67; see also Francis P. Magoun Jr., 'Bede's Story of Cadmon : The Case History of an Anglo-Saxon Oral Singer', Speculum, 30 (1955), 49-63.
233. Magoun, 'Oral-Formulaic Character', passim; Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press, 1960).
234. Magoun, 'Oral-Formulaic Character', p.449.
235. Magoun, 'Oral-Formulaic Character', pp.446-47.
236. Waldron, 'Oral Formulaic Technique', p.793.

237. Ray F. Lawrence, 'The Formulaic Theory and its Application to English Alliterative Poetry', in Roger Fowler, ed., Essays on Style and Language (London:Routledge, 1966), pp.168-83; 170. The coinage 'grammetrical' is borrowed from Wexler's article in the same volume.
238. Donald K. Fry, 'Old English Formulas and Systems', English Studies, 48 (1967), 193-204; Wayne A. O'Neil, 'Oral Formulaic Structure in Old English Elegiac Poetry', Unpublished University of Wisconsin Ph.D dissertation (Wisconsin, 1960), which I have not consulted. Robert Diamond, 'The Diction of the Signed Poems of Cynewulf', Philological Quarterly, 38 (1959), 228-41.
239. Magoun, 'Oral-Formulaic Character', pp.451, 452-53 and 455 where he speaks of 'Just measures of verse'; see also his 'Bede's Story of Cadmon,', p.54. Robert P. Creed, 'The Singer looks at his Sources', Comparative Literature, 14 (1962), 44-52; 49. Lawrence, 'The Formulaic Theory', p.177, fn.27 makes the cogent point that Creed's written reconstruction of a portion of Beowulf does much to undermine his argument for the oral creation of OE verse.
240. Fry, 'Old English Formulas', p.196. Fry indicates his indebtedness to O'Neil, 'Oral Formulaic Structure', here. H.L. Rogers, 'The Crypto-Psychological Character of the Oral Formula', English Studies, 47 (1966), 89-102.
241. Fry, 'Old English Formulas', p.203.
242. Waldron, 'Oral Formulaic Technique', p.794.

243. Waldron, 'Oral Formulaic Technique', p.800.
244. It is Fry, 'Old English Formulas', p. 202, who speaks of the 'substitution of key words in relation to other key words' as the basis of the formulaic system.
245. Fry, 'Old English Formulas', p.204.
246. See the works cited above, fn. 67.
247. The septenarius can, however, carry end rhyme, as is demonstrated by the Poema Morale, which is the first recorded example of the use of the verse form in English. According to Hall, Selections, II.327, the influence of native prosody is strong here, with the result that the poem's metre adheres to the fifteen syllable count infrequently.
248. For example, Hall, Selections, II.486; Wilson, Early Middle English Literature, p.174. Others could be cited.
249. Frederick G. Cassidy, 'How Free was the Anglo-Saxon Scop', in Jess B. Bessinger & Robert P. Creed, eds., Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Francis P. Magoun, Jr. (London:Allen & Unwin, 1965), pp.75-85.
250. Cassidy, 'How Free was the Anglo-Saxon Scop', p.85.
251. It is perhaps worth bearing in mind, in relation to what will follow, that in statistical terms the Ormulum is about one-third as long as all extant OE verse, and about one-quarter the size of the

verses examined by Waldron, 'Oral Formulaic Technique', p.792, fn.1.

252. Lawrence, 'The Formulaic Theory'; see also his 'Formula and Rhythm in the Wars of Alexander', English Studies, 51 (1970), 97-112.

253. Fry, 'Old English Formulas', p.198.

254. The acceptance of a reversal in word order in formulas was proposed by O'Neil and given prominence by Fry, 'Old English Formulas', p.195.

255. A great proportion of OE homiletic and other didactic works, including codes of law, contain a significantly large number of such repetitive word pairs, either of verbs as with the Ormulum here, or of other parts of speech. For some indication of this phenomenon, see Dorothy Bethurum, 'Stylistic Features of the Old English Laws', Modern Language Review, 27 (1932), 263-79; Sherman M. Kuhn, 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede', Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 46 (1947), 168-76; Oakden, Alliterative Poetry, pp.195-232; Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', Proceedings of the British Academy, 35 (1949), 109-42, and the important selective study of Inna Koskenniemi, Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Early Middle English Prose, Turun Yliopiston Yulkaisu Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Series B, Tom.107 (Turku:Turun Yliopisto, 1968). Blake, 'Rhythmical Alliteration', p.123, has remarked on the incidence of doublets in La3amon's Brut and has pointed out that, though rarely employed by OE poets, these rhetorical devices are common in the prose of Alfric and Wulfstan, and that it was from the continued presence of rhythmical prose in the

twelfth century that La3amon derived these devices. Since the doublets or word pairs are equally characteristic of the Ormulum, it is probable that Orm derived the practice from the examples in twelfth century (or earlier) Old English books, even though he shows little sign of reproducing, systematically, any of the Old English word pairs which became, through repetition and recopying, established as fixed phrases. Nevertheless, the relationship of Orm's repetitive phrases of the type (some of which are paralleled only in Old English poetry), to those found in earlier prose and verse deserves investigation, since the issue effectively brings the claims of oral vs. written transmission to the forefront.

256. For an example of formulas similarly built round a nexus of constant verbal elements, involving substitution, see Waldron, 'Oral Formulaic Technique', p.795.

257. Conforming to this system are formulas in ll.2235-36, 2699-700, 6874-75. 11851-852, 11857-858, 11883-884. This list is by no means complete.

258. The essential association of formulas with specific themes or motifs has been urged by several commentators on oral-formulaic verse, notably by John Finlayson, 'Formulaic Technique in Morte Arthure', Anglia, 81 (1963), 372-93, esp. 375, 383, 385, 390, and by James D. Johnson, 'The Hero on the Beach in the Alliterative Morte Arthure', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 76 (1975), 271-81.

259. Gatch, Preaching and Theology, p.121.

260. See James R. Hulbert, 'A Thirteenth Century English Literary Standard', Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 45 (1946), 411-14, and Alan J. Bliss, 'A Note on Language AB', English and Germanic Studies, 5 (1952-53), 1-6.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FIGURE OF THE MILES CHRISTI IN OLD ENGLISH WRITINGS

The wide-ranging investigation of the previous section has attempted to show the Ormulum in sharper perspective than has hitherto been offered. Orm is heir to both Latin and English literary conventions, and both the nature and emergence of his work provides, in association with the Old English homiletic corpus, the means through which the elucidation of some of the problems concerning continuity and innovation in English homiletic writings can be essayed. Orm is no mere imitator of Old English homiletic conventions; the style of his pieces and their characteristic phraseology, though building on the most distinctive elements of a once prestigious corpus, were evolved by him in response to a variety of pressing needs. If the content of his homilies is often, as White-Holt and Matthes discovered, comparable to typical examples of earlier English homily writing, it is as much to the Latin tradition, common to both, that one should look for ultimate stimulus, than to Old English writings alone.

Nevertheless, the Ormulum is related, if not directly indebted, to the Old English homiletic corpus; as an English writer, contributing to a well-established, popular literary genre, it is to be expected that Orm's work will show signs of familiarity with some of the most striking features inherent in English homily writing. His relatively extensive

reliance on specific words and phrases in his references to the Trinity, words and phrases established and popularized by Ælfric, is indicative, not of conscious imitation, but of the inevitable reception of an authoritative and widespread verbal synthesis to which he and others like him were heir. It is therefore pertinent to enquire into more significant areas of his composition in an attempt to provide a more comprehensive assessment of his relationship to those English literary conventions which were familiar to him.

To this end, I propose to examine, at length, the role, identity and specific verbal expression of one of Orm's most favoured and most useful image complexes, that of the soldier of Christ, and to compare his performance with the conventional modes of expression adopted by Old English homilists and hagiographers. Such a procedure necessitates the description and analysis of the relevant Old English material before consideration is given to the Ormulum.

The choice of the Miles Christi as the focal point of this investigation is by no means fortuitous. Within the text of Orm's homilies, it is the most consistently and elaborately exploited image of man's subjection to evil and of his ability to resist that evil and gain eternal reward. The figure is a major organizing principle around which Orm worked. In the second place, it is particularly useful in this context because, even though it stems originally from the Bible and the Church Fathers, it was eagerly adopted by Old English homilists. Joyce Hill, in her thesis to which I previously referred, considered the incidence of the Miles Christi in OE homilies and saints' lives in relation to its form in the Bible, in Latin homilies and commentaries, in which it was originally received; she made several important points. First, she drew attention to the great popularity of the image complex

and accounted for its frequent and elaborate exploitation partly in terms of its compatibility with a pre-existing secular analogue, that of Germanic martial combat. Thus, not only did English writers possess a rich vocabulary adequate to express the various elements of this religious image, they were also able to exploit the conventional expectations aroused by descriptions of armed combat, since it was a conspicuous, permanent feature of heroic society.¹ Furthermore, its ubiquitous evocation shows it to have been considered a particularly important didactic tool whose effectiveness was assured through the constant utilization of a distinctive range of specific terms. Third, its didactic usefulness resulted in its extension, in English writings, to areas which received less emphasis in the Latin models; particularly relevant is the glorification of the Christus Miles, Christ triumphant, which appears in connection with the crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hell and, in the Blickling Book in particular, with the temptation in the² desert.

I do not intend to investigate the similarities and differences in the presentation of this image in both OE writings and in the Ormulum simply with a view to assessing what Orm may have borrowed, rejected or modified; I suggest that it will be more profitable to investigate what developments an English homilist of the late twelfth century, represented by Orm, introduced into this theme in order to accommodate it to his own particular intention and linguistic background. I shall be concerned, therefore, with the changing identity of the Miles Christi and with the significance of the modification of prominent verbal patterns which are to be observed in the Ormulum in relation to their OE counterparts.

To this end, the methods which I have adopted are, briefly, these: the identification of specific word clusters or favoured verbal patterns of more or less fixed range, and the overall significance of the changes, both in respect of individual terms and in the composition of the word cluster as a whole, to be observed in The Ormulum, using the OE material as a standard of comparison; the introduction of the conscious choice of terminology on the part of OE homilists and hagiographers, the reasons lying behind such discriminatory procedures and the probable explanation accounting for the less consistent application of this trend in the Ormulum, as displayed by his favoured modes of expression. I have conducted these formal linguistic investigations with the careful use of controlled passages, wholly non-religious in character which deal with secular occurrences of martial combat and which, therefore, share common ground in terms of vocabulary, with the articulation of the Miles Christi. Such a procedure is valuable since the differences in verbal elements which go to make up the various descriptions effectively illuminate the intentions of these writers, and indicate to what extent they considered the expected responses to the secular models either to further or thwart their particular didactic ends.

I propose to begin, therefore, by providing a thorough account of the figure of the Miles Christi adopted by OE homilists and hagiographers, the particular identity of the figure and the verbal patterns resorted to with a high degree of consistency, which control and determine that identity. In certain places in what follows, I shall be reproducing some evidence and the significance of that evidence, previously discussed by Joyce Hill. However, our approaches and aims are essentially different, and I therefore consider it necessary to present as full an argument as I can, even at the risk of some repetition of basic concepts.

Fore him englas stondað
gearwe mid gasta wæpnum, beoþ hyra geoca gemyndge,
healdað haligra feorh, witon hyra hyht mid dryhten.

(ASPR. III, 11.886-90)

Thereafter, the efficacy of their presence is revealed in the saint's
mind:

Hine weard biheold
halig of heofonum, se þæt hluttre mod
in þæs gastes god georne trymede.

(11.105b-107)

In Guthlac B, the poet draws attention to the help God gave to his
dying servant:

He his modsefan
wið þam færhagan fæste trymede
feonda gewinna. Næs he forht seþeah,
ne seo adlþracu egle on mode,
ne deaðgedal, ac him dryhtnes lof
born in breostum, brondhat lufu
sigorfæst in sefan, seo him sara gehwylc
symle forswiðede.

(11.959b-66a)

Homilists and hagiographers often lay stress on the support to be
derived from God given strength in the spiritual fight. In 11.88b-90
of Guthlac A, quoted above, the angels are presented as protectors of
Guthlac's soul; elsewhere in the poem, similar statements are made.
Guthlac announces his trust in God's strength:

Ic eom dryhtnes þeow
he mec þurh engel oft afrefreð.

(11.314b-15)

to which the poet immediately adds:

Swa modgade, se wið mongum stod
awreðed weorðlice wuldres cempa
engla mægne.

(11.323-25a)

Similarly, the homilist of Vercelli Homily XIV admonishes his audience to put faith in the gastlice mægen which emboldens and comforts - gebyldað 7 afrefriað - the spirit (Sisam, Vercelli Book, fol., 80r).

The role of angels as bearers of divine protection and help in spiritual combat is clearly exemplified by this statement from the Blickling homily To Sanctæ Michahæles Mæssan:

'Englas beoð to ðegnunge gæstum fram Gode
hider on world sended, to ðam ðe þone
ecean eðel mid mod & mid mægene to Gode
geearniað, þæt him syn on fultume ða þe
wið þam awergdum gastum syngallice feohtan
sceolan'.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 209)

Even with these relatively small number of examples, the nature of the Miles Christi is clear. He or she is one who enters into spiritual combat by taking up spiritual weapons against the devil or impious men; in his refusal to acquiesce to heathendom, he resists the devil's power with the help of God given strength through which his faith is made firm. The willing acceptance of suffering and passivity are the means through which spiritual victory is achieved.

As I shall demonstrate shortly, much of the distinctive imagery with which this figure is invested derives ultimately from the Pauline Epistles to which OE homilists and hagiographers consistently turned. First, however, I want to draw attention to one major aspect of the whole image complex which is given considerably more emphasis in English writings than in the Latin exemplars. I refer to the presentation of Christ as the victorious warrior, the Christus Miles. As mentioned

In another, anonymous, piece on the Harrowing of Hell, preserved in the margin of Cambridge MS CCC 41, pp.295ff, of early eleventh century date, it is said that:

ure Drihten, Hælend Crist, on ðas niht⁵
gewearð, þe nu to niht was. Þæt he of
deaðe aras to midre nihte, and he astahg
nider to helwarum to þan, þæt he wolde þa
helle bereafian, and swa gedyde, and þæt
ealdor deoful oferswiðan.

(p.295)

The guardians of hell's gates, overcome by surprise at Christ's entry, refer to him as a cempa (p.296), and the subjugation of Satan is described in this way:

Da se stranga wið þane stranga geræde,
þa ure Drihten acom and þæt ealdor dioful
geband and træd under his fotum [and] þæs
diofules miht lytlode.

(p.297)

At least three Old English homilies expound Christ's temptation in the desert (Matth. IV.1-11 appears to have been preferred to the account in Luc. IV.1-13) in terms which portray Christ as the victorious warrior in combat with the devil. The most striking of the three illustrations of the application of this image is found in the third Blickling homily for Dominica Prima in Quadra[gesima]. The homilist's chosen emphasis is announced soon after the rendition of the pericope in the statement:

Drihten us manode mid his fæstenne,
& mid eallum his dædum, þæt we sceolan
him þeowian & deofol oferswiþan, & us
ece lif begytan.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 27-29)

Shortly afterwards, the homilist reveals Christ's intention in allowing

The Latin source of this passage is printed above on p.208 in relation to the words of the Blickling homilist. Comparison of the two Old English extracts shows that the image of the Christus Miles is more firmly delineated in the Blickling homily where Gregory's words are used only as a general guide by the homilist; Alfric's rendition is considerably more literal.

However, with less reliance on Gregory, Alfric continues by commenting on how Christ's action is exemplary:

Deofol tiht us to yfele, ac we sceolon
hit onscunian, and ne geniman nane
lustfullunge to ðære tihtinge: gif
þonne ure mod nimð gelustfullunge, þonne
sceole we huru wiðstandan, þæt ðær ne
beo nan geðafung to ðam yfelan weorce...
..... Ungewiss com se
deofol to Criste and ungewiss he eode
aweig; forðan þe se Hælend ne geswutulode
na him his mihte, ac oferdraf hine geðylde-
lice mid halgum gewritum.

(Ibid., 174.176)

The only other example of homiletic teaching on the temptation in the desert comes in a piece preserved in Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 343, fols., 158ff, beginning with the words: Men þa leofestā, we wullæð eow
8
sæggan bi þære halzæ tide. Although not directly indebted to either of the other English pieces, or to Gregory's homily, the Oxford homily has much in common with all three, especially with the third Blickling homily, to which it corresponds closely on occasions. The great similarity in content, thematic emphasis and, to a lesser extent, phraseology, of these homilies is adequate demonstration of the existence of a common fund of ideas and motifs, vouching for the force of literary habit in vernacular texts. Like the other English homilists, the Bodley homilist portrays Christ as victor over the devil through the

State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti loricam iustitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparatione Evangelii pacis: in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: et galeam salutis assumite: et gladium spiritus (quod est verbum Dei) per omnem orationem et obsecrationem orantes omni tempore in spiritu: et in ipso vigilantes in omni instantia, et obsecratione pro omnibus sanctis.

(Eph. VI.10-18)

Before considering the extent to which the various elements of this extended image were utilized by OE homilists, it will be useful to provide some indication of the popularity of the text among Latin and Anglo-Latin hagiographers, since it is in their works, to some extent at least, that the conventions surrounding the articulation of the Miles Christi were made available to the later vernacular writers working in the nearly-related homiletic genre. The following examples show that it was the Pauline texts, especially the long section from Ad Ephesios, which hagiographers consistently quoted from and alluded to in their descriptions of the Milites Christi.

In his Vita S Pauli Primi Eremitæ, Jerome recounts how Anthony, journeying to meet Paul, is stopped by a fearful dwarf which Anthony takes to be a devil:

Nec mora, inter saxosam convallem haud grandem homunculum videt, aduncis naribus, fronte cornibus asperata, cuius extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat. Ad hoc Antonius spectaculum, scutum fidei et loricam spei, ut bonus præliator, arripuit:..

(Migne, PL 23.23)

The scutum fidei and the loricam spei (for loricam iustitiae) are lifted

on one of his parish visits and, preferring to sleep on the floor, carelessly disposes of the straw bedding provided. In this condition, he falls asleep only to be hurriedly awakened by the discovery of a fire fuelled by the straw:

Martinus somno excitus re inopinata, ancipiti periculo et maxime, ut referebat, diabolo insidiante adque urgente praeuentus, tardius quam debuit ad orationis confugit auxilium. Nam erumpere foras cupiens, cum pessulo quem ostio obdiderat diu multumque luctatus, grauissimum circa se sensit incendium, ita ut uestem, qua indutus erat, ignis absumperit. Tandem in se reuersus, non in fuga, sed in Domino sciens esse praesidium, scutum fidei et orationis arripiens mediis flammis totus ad Dominum conuersus incubit. Tum uero diuinitus igne submoto, innoxio sibi orbe flammarum, orabat.

(Fontaine, Sulpice Sévère, I.322)

Here, the verbal elements diabolo insidians and scutum fidei are direct echoes of Ad Ephesios VI.11, 16, while Martin's decision not to flee - non in fuga - reproduces exactly the force of Paul's insistence on the need to resist - resistere, stare, state (Eph. VI.13-14).

The Latin tradition here exemplified was vigorously explored by English writers in both Latin and in the vernacular. The lives written by Jerome and Athanasius (the latter available in Evagrius's translation), together with the influential Vita Sancti Martini of Sulpicius Severus, became models for later hagiographers who were provided not only with a store of rhetorical embellishment, but also with 'source books' for narrative content and structure together with consistently identical examples of the preference shown for certain imagistic complexes in stable and specific contexts.

a trend developed in which the mass of the faithful were exhorted to take up the spiritual struggle in the same terms as had been ascribed previously to the saints. Ælfric's piece, from the second series of Catholic Homiles, is for Dominica in Media Quadragesime: secunda sententia, in which he deals with the struggle of Moses and Joshua to conduct the tribes of Israel into the Promised Land. Joshua is referred to as se sigefæsta cempa (Thorpe, CH. II.214) and although he fought against physical enemies, the basis of his actions is the strength given by God for the realization of a spiritually rewarding goal. Ælfric confers on him this identity because it is his intention to derive orthodox teaching from the Old Dispensation in a way which is applicable to the New; thus Joshua's actions are exemplary and, in terms of Ælfric's typology, his spiritually motivated physical combat can best be imitated, not by the taking up of weapons of war, but rather by placing trust in Godes wæpnunge. In this way is the image applicable to his audience in general. The evocation of Ad Ephesios VI.14-17 in the homily from Cambridge MS CCC 190 is also directed towards faithful Christians in general.

Predominantly in OE writings, the figural representation of the Miles Christi is confined to God's elect; saints, martyrs and monks. On occasions, however, as here, the concept is given a more universal identity. Other complementary illustrations are not numerous, yet they are sufficient to indicate that there was some broadening of the area in which the imagery traditionally associated with the Miles Christi was considered applicable. An instance which is very similar to that in Ælfric's piece for Mid-Lent Sunday is found in the same homilist's Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum in which the Jews are likewise presented as godes gecorenan (Skeat, LSS II.112) engaged in armed conflict, but who nevertheless acted at that time in accordance with God's wishes

CHAPTER THREE

VERBAL INTERACTION AND ASSOCIATION IN THE MILES CHRISTI IMAGE

In the last chapter, through an analysis of a representative range of descriptions of the Miles Christi and of less specific examples of spiritual struggle, I attempted to identify a nucleus of terms which, through processes of repetition and suggestive association, were most frequently selected by homilists and hagiographers in their characterisation of this particular figure. To some elements of this favoured lexical range I gave the status of more or less constant signalling devices; words and phrases like godes cempa, mid gastlicum wæpnum and oferswiðan are of such regular occurrence that they may reasonably be said to form the core around which other elements are built in the construction of a relatively stable lexical identity. Although it is not possible to speak with absolute dogmatism, from the large amount of material scrutinized so far, it is clear that the presence of the phrase mid gastlicum wæpnum, for example, in a given context, is likely to identify that context, for the listener or reader, as one in which the concept of spiritual warfare is to be invoked. On the other hand, the presence of the terms fylstan, trymman, byldan and even cempa (used without a qualificatory adjective), for example, in a given context, would not normally be sufficient to generate emotional and intellectual responses associated with the figure of the Miles Christi, although such terms would, when made to

precisely by the tension generated by the close association of all or any number of the terms. Thus, wiðstod is closely associated with forswiðde because both are identical in function and in syntactic form. To resolve the inherent paradox of being masterful through standing firm is to reveal the nature of the Dryhtnes cempa. Similarly, and as a consequence of this, the meaning of sigorfaest takes on the special qualities indicated by the other terms. Most of these key words, when viewed in isolation or in different contexts, would have the freedom to generate a multiplicity of meanings; only when they are placed in a 'closely knit and articulated lexical sphere' is it found that their semantic areas are 'reciprocally limiting one another'.

Ullmann's theory of linguistic fields, stressing the important interaction of a range of distinctive terms is particularly relevant to the enquiry into the nature and identity of the Miles Christi figure in OE writings because the individual components of the word cluster span a wide spectrum of meanings from the overtly religious to the firmly secular. That there should be an overlapping of terminology in descriptions of both secular and spiritual warfare is not at all surprising since the extended metaphor in Ad Ephesios VI.11ff and other biblical texts is formed, by definition, of the other-than-literal application of the terms armaturam, loricam, scutum, galeam, gladium, etc. Accordingly, many of the terms which figure in the OE evocations of the Miles Christi can often be seen to operate in purely secular descriptions of an activity which commanded a significantly important place in the social structure of the Anglo-Saxons, amply reflected in the literary memorials from Beowulf to the Battle of Maldon. Although the effect of the associations aroused by overtly martial vocabulary

in relation to spiritual warfare is difficult to quantify, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that homilists and hagiographers were often conscious of the possibility that the unrestrained usage of typically secular terminology would bring about an unwanted emphasis in their descriptions of the Miles Christi and would thwart, rather than further, the intended spiritual teaching.

In this chapter, I want to draw attention to the prevalence of terms in evocation of the Miles Christi which also figure largely in descriptions of secular fighting and to suggest several ways in which homilists and hagiographers consciously modified their choice of terminology in order to deflate the strong martial flavour they evidently felt to be present in the battle vocabulary they had at their disposal.

At the outset, it is proper to recall that the spiritual warrior is, in one important aspect, diametrically opposed to his worldly counterpart. St. Martin, as I have noted earlier, encapsulated this essential characteristic in the statement: Christi miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet (Fontaine, Sulpice Sévère, I.260²). The inapplicability of secular weapons to the Miles Christi is clearly stated, often at length, in several OE writings. For example, Guthlac, in his determination to guard his chosen spot, answers the threats of the assembled devils as a warrior of Christ, and in so doing announces that which is the antithesis of conventional heroic behaviour:

No ic eow sweord ongean
mid gebolgne hond oðberan þence,
worulde wapen, ne sceal þes wong gode
þurh blodgyte gebuen weorðan
ac ic minum Criste cweman þence
leofran lace.

(ASPR. III 11.302b-07a)

In the prose corpus, the most explicit, generalised statement comes in Ælfric's piece Qui sunt Oratores, Laboratores, Bellatores appended to his Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum in his Lives of Saints:³

Nu swincō se yrōling eḿbe urne bigleofan.
and se woruld-cempa sceall winnan wið ure fynd
and se godes þeowa sceall symle for us gebiddan.
and fechtan gastlice. wið þa ungesewenlican fynd.
Is nu for-þy mare þære muneca gewinn
wið þa ungesewenlican deofla þe sywriað eḿbe us.
þonne sy þara woruld-manna þe winnað wip ða flæsclican.
and wið þa gesewenlican [gesewenlice] fehtað.
Nu ne sceolon þa woruld-cempan to þam woruld-licum gefehte
þa godes þeowan neadian fram þam gastlican gewinne.
forðan þe him fremað swiðor þæt þa ungesewenlican fynd
beon oferswyðe þonne ða gesewenlican.
and hit bið swyðe derigendlic þæt hi drihtnes þeowdom
forlætan.
and to woruld-gewinne bugan. þe him naht to ne
gebyriað.

(Skeat, LSS. II.122)

In conclusion, Ælfric adds:

Se godes þeowa ne mæg mid woruld-mannum fechtan.
gif he on þam gastlican gefehte. forð-gang habban sceall.
Næs nan halig godes þeowa æfter þæs halendes þrowunga.
þe æfre on gefehte his handa wolde aþfylan.
ac hi for-bæron ehtnysse arleasra cwellera.
and heora lif sealdon mid unscæppignysse.
for godes geleafan. and hi mid gode nu lybbað.
forðan þe hi furþon noldon. ænne fugel acwellan.

(Ibid., 124)

In the above extracts, Ælfric, in his use of language, aims for balance. While recognising the proper function of the soldiers - bellatores - in their defence of the country, he lays equal stress on the role of the monks whose proper function in their service to God - þeowdom - is to struggle with the invisible, spiritual enemies. In terms of the means through which each is to accomplish his duty, the worldly and spiritual soldiers are as far removed from each other as is possible; the warrior

fighters - sceall winnan wið ure fynd - and the monk prays - sceall symle for us gebiddan. Yet, in other respects, there is a rather close correlation in the chosen terminology; each is called a warrior or champion - se woruld-cempa, se godes cempa; each is said to fight - feohtan gastlice, feohtað, and to struggle - sceall winnan (to worulde gewinne) and pam gastlican gewinne. In the case of the two last-mentioned terms, feohtan and gewinn, it is obvious that whereas Ælfric allows these words to stand without qualification in respect of the earthly warrior, he deflates their literal meaning, without entirely removing it, in the case of the Miles Christi through the addition of gastlice and gastlican. Similarly, cempa is applied to both warrior and monk, seemingly as a neutral descriptive term, because it is only with the application of the adjectives woruld and godes that any distinction can be seen to be made.

The precise effect of such qualificatory procedures is to produce a phrase which, in the example of feohtan gastlice, while it tells little of the precise nature of spiritual fighting, nonetheless ensures that those aspects of the activity traditionally aroused by the unaccompanied usage of feohtan will effectively be thwarted. This procedure is simple and obvious; yet, though unremarkable, it illustrates a marked trend on the part of homilists and hagiographers in their use of martial vocabulary. In order to reveal the extent of the controlling principles made to operate in respect of the vocabulary of warfare in the presentation of the Miles Christi, I intend to examine the incidence of the terms which go to make up the previously identified word cluster in both secular and religious contexts, to show in which of these contexts the terms habitually occur and, on the basis of this collected evidence, to suggest that the following compositional

principles were adopted by these writers:

1. OE homilists and hagiographers tend to avoid overtly martial vocabulary in evocations of spiritual warfare.
2. Where such vocabulary does, however, occur, one or both of two things may be observed:
 - (a) terminology chosen for the presentation of the Miles Christi which occurs habitually in secular contexts is limited by and large to such words and phrases which lay stress on the defensive posture of the figure. This may be said to provide a metaphoric-ally sound means of highlighting passivity, resistance and, ultimately, patience, all of which lie at the heart of the concept.
 - (b) terminology chosen for the presentation of the Miles Christi which occurs habitually in secular contexts and which does not invoke a defensive attitude is invariably qualified, either immediately, as in the case of feohtan gastlice (Skeat LSS. II.122), or through a more complex process involving the necessary reconciliation of meaning on an other-than-literal level, as in the case of wiðstod stronglice and sigorfaest in the extract from Guthlac B given at the beginning of this chapter.
3. Implicit in all of the above trends is the conscious choice of terms at the expense of others which, when freed from context, would theoretically have conveyed the required basic meaning.

The following discussion is intended to draw attention to this discriminatory procedure, while at the same time illustrating the constraints laid upon the realization of literal meaning in martial vocabulary.

3.I Cempa, Campian and Related Camp- words.

An example of the tendency to avoid terminology most commonly employed in contexts of secular warfare is provided by the relative incidence of feohtan and campian. OE feohtan is a term central to generalised statements of secular warfare throughout the OE literary period. It abounds in the various MSS of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the OE Orosius and is prominent in the Battle of Maldon. The following extracts from the well-known account of Cynewulf and Cyneheard in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are completely typical of the work as a whole:

4
7 se Cynewulf oft miclum gefeotum feaht
uuip Bretwalum.....
7 hie alle on þone Cyning wærun feohtende
oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon.....
.....
Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oþ hie alle
lægdon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle.....

(Earle & Plummer, Chronicles, sa.755
MS A)

The translator of the OE Orosius makes typical use of vocabulary and phraseology characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the report that:

5
Þæs on oþrum geare Curius se consul
mid Romanum gefeaht wið Sabinan, 7 heora
ungemet ofslog, 7 sige hæfde; be þam
mon mehte witan, þa he 7 þa consulas hie
atellan ne mehton.

(Sweet, OE Orosius, 140)

Again, in the Battle of Maldon, the poet tells of Eadric's eagerness for the imminent battle:

He hæfde god geþanc
 þa hwile þe he mid handum healdan mihte
 bord 7 brad swurd: beot he gelæste
 þa he ætforan his frean fechtan sceolde.

(Gordon, Battle of Maldon, 13b-16)

While fechtan is extremely common in descriptions of secular warfare, in spiritual contexts it is conspicuous through its infrequent appearance. A striking instance of its application to spiritual warfare, in a passage which borrows heavily from the imagery of Ad Ephesios VI.11ff, is found towards the end of Vercelli Homily IV:

Þonne is mycel þearf, men þa leofestan, þæt we
 hæbben þa scyldas þær-ongean, þe Dryhten us
 hæfð ge-sett mid to scyldanne: ærest is an scyld
 wis-dom 7 warscipe 7 fæst-rædnes on godum weorcum
 7 mildheortnesse 7 eað-modnesse scyld 7 ryhtes
 ge-leafan scyld 7 godra worca scild 7 þæs halgan
 gastes sweord, þe men singað 7 almessan 7 fæstnes
 scyld 7 man-þwærnesse 7 bilwitnessse scyld 7 staðul-
 fæstnesse scyld on godum weorcum. 7 þone scyld nimen
 us to wige wið þam awyrgedan deofle, þe lufu hatte.
 Ne mæg þonne nan syn-sceaða þa þurh-sceotan, forþam-
 þe Godes englas bioð mid þam scyldum gewæpnod to
 fechtanne wið þam awirgðum gastum.

(Förster, Homilies, 105-06)

Despite the heavy catalogue of Christian virtues in the first half of the extract, which tend to lessen the force of the terms scyld and sweord (by distorting the powerful pictorial image conveyed by the two terms), the passage as a whole makes a strong appeal to the secular ethos through the unrestrained use of wige, scyldum and gewæpnod to fechtanne. Evocations of spiritual warfare which rely so extensively on typical martial vocabulary are, however, rare. Furthermore, from the representative range of examples given above on pp.197-212, it can be

the translation practices of the OE writers.

The occurrences of campian, gecampian in Bosworth & Toller, Dictionary
 14
 and Supplement characterise the verbs as belonging firmly to contexts
 of spiritual combat. At the same time, there are several instances
 of their suitability to secular contexts, and it is worth considering
 these for a moment. The most obvious secular application of the
 verb I have come across is found in the OE Apollonius of Tyre, extant
 in Cambridge MS CCC 201, of mid eleventh century date. Apollonius,
 after escaping from Antioch, seeks help from the inhabitants of Tarsus,
 a city suffering the vicissitudes of famine. On hearing of their
 difficulties, Apollonius promises to provide the citizens with enough
 wheat to satisfy their hunger, to which Stranguilio replies:

15

Hlaford Apolloni, gif ðu þissere
 hungriġan ceasterwaru gehelpeſt,
 na þæt an þæt we willað þinne fleam
 bediglian, ac eac swilce, gif þe need
 gebirað, we willað campian for ðinre hælo.

(Goolden, Apollonius, 14)

The equivalent Latin passage reads:

Domine Apolloni, si esurienti civitati
 subveneris, non solum fugam tuam
 celabimus sed, si necesse fuerit, pro
 salute tua dimicabimus.

(Ibid., 15)

Another illustration of the use of campian with the meaning of
 physical combat comes in Ælfric's Vita S. Martini Episcopi at the
 point when the saint purposes to abandon physical warfare in the
 emperor's service, and to devote himself to spiritual struggle. At
 the moment when Julian, the emperor, is distributing gifts to his
 soldiers as an inducement to fight, Ælfric says of Martin:

him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to þære gife.
and syððan ne campode mid þam casere forð.
He cwæð þa to þam arleasan. oð þis ic campode þe.
ge-þafa nu þæt ic gode campige heonan-forð.
and under-fo þine gife. se ðe fechte mid ðe
ic eom godes cempa ne mot ic na fehtan.

(Skeat, LSS II. 226)

What is immediately noticeable in this passage is the unrestrained presence of campode on two occasions which refer to military service in Julian's army, and its apparent synonymity with fechte and fehtan; further, the application of campige to spiritual combat calls forth the addition of the explanatory gode in the phrase gode campige. Here, as in the extract from the OE Apollonius of Tyre, the verb campian is permitted to stand unqualified when related to physical warfare; the specifying apparent in Martin's gode campige suggests that the term may have been considered quite colourless, or neutral, and that its successful application to contexts of spiritual overcoming demanded the presence of some modifying word or phrase. Other instances of the application of campian to the figure of the Miles Christi support this suggestion. Consider:

gode compian	<u>Guthlac</u> A, 345a
gode campode	<u>Guthlac</u> A, 643b
to campienne for cristes geleafan	Skeat, <u>LSS</u> I. 126

Ac cristene men sceolan campian wið deofla
mid strangum geleafan. swa swa gelærede compan.

Skeat, LSS I.374

mid gastlican wæpnan campian wið deofol

Fehr, Hirtenbriefe, 140 (para.
200a)

Se ðe wile campian ongean ðam reðan deofle
mid fæstum geleafan and gastlicum wæpnum,
he begyt sige ðurh Godes fylste; ac se ðe
fehtan ne dear mid Godes gewæpnunge ongean
ðone ungesewenlican feond, he bið þonne mid
ðam deofellicum bendum gewyld, and to tintre-
gum gelædd.

(Thorpe, CH. II.402)

In this last extract, from Ælfric's piece for Dominica V. post Pentecosten, there again appears to be a close correlation between campian and fehtan, indicating that it is not so much the presence of campian which of itself shapes the intended spiritual meaning, but more the inclusion of the unmistakably qualificatory phrases of mid fæstum geleafan, gastlicum wæpnum, Godes gewæpnunge, which are applied equally to both verbs.

The suitability of campian to both secular and spiritual contexts is further underlined by these extracts from Ælfric's translation of Basil's Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem:

Da men ðe campiað ðam eorðlican cininge
hi gehyrsumiað æfre eallum his hæsum.
Swa eac ða ðe campiað ðam heofenlican
cininge sceolon gehyrsumian ðam heofon-
licum bebodum.

(OE Hexameron, 34)

which exactly reproduces the pointed contrast of Basil's Latin:

Sicut enim qui militant regi terreno,
omnibus iussis eius oboediunt, sic et
qui militant regi caelesti debent
custodire praecepta caelestia.

(Lehmann, Admonitio, 30-31)

Basil continues by announcing:

Miles terrenus contra hostem visibilem
pergit ad bellum, tecum vero hostis
invisibilis cottidie dimicando non desinit.

(Ibid., 31)

which Ælfric freely interprets as:

Se eorðlica kempa kempað mid his
wæpnum ongean gesewenlice feond. and
ðu scealt campian wið ða ungesewenlican
fynd ðe ne geswicað næfre with [sic] ðe
to campienne ða hwile ðe ðu cucu bist.

(OE Hexameron, 34)

In this latter case, Ælfric supplies campian and to campienne in relation to spiritual struggle, while the Latin is less forthright; at the same time, however, he translates Basil's pergit ad bellum, referring to the secular warrior, by campian. This choice provides an interesting contrast to the translation practice adopted by the glossator of the Liber Scintillarum who rendered Basil's pergit ad bellum literally with the words færð to gefeohte.¹⁶ Further, it is interesting to note that Ælfric responds to Basil's dimicando with his to campienne in a context which obviously evokes spiritual combat; similarly, the translator of the OE Apollonius of Tyre, in an equally clear secular context, renders the Latin pro salute tua dimicabimus with his we willað campian for ðinre hælo (Goolden, Apollonius, 15,14); however, the glossator of the Liber Scintillarum, in response to Basil's dimicando, chooses the firmly secular term, winnende (Rhodes, Lib. Scint., 61).

On the other hand, there would appear to be cases in which the presence of campian in spiritual contexts helps to shape the particular nature of the struggle, and to deflate the expectations aroused by more obvious martial terms. Two interesting examples occur in the OE Dialogues.

oretta (879a). At the end of his suffering, Andrew is said to be a leoflic cempa (1446b). On the other hand, however, the saint is styled as wiges heard (839a); the apostles who are invoked at the beginning of the poem are referred to as cam(p)rædenne (4a) and rofe rincas (9a). The poet describes Matthew and Andrew as cempan coste (1055a). In all, the Andreas poet exhibits a fondness, in his choice of vocabulary, for the Germanic heroic milieu most readily associated with Beowulf and the Battle of Maldon, although he firmly characterises Andrew's martial prowess as the manifestation of patience in the face of suffering.²⁵

Other saints' lives exhibit a more restrained use of terminology characteristic of secular warfare. In Guthlac A, for example, the angels are referred to as gecostan cempan (ASPR III, 1.91a) in their role of ministering spirits - þa þam cyninge þeowað (Ibid., 91b). Guthlac is given the titles of oretta (401a), cempa (180b, 402a), but more often, he is firmly delineated as Cristes cempa (153a), wuldres cempa (324b, 558b, 688b), halig cempa (513b), godes orettan (569b), meotudes cempan (576a), dryhtnes cempa (727b). In Guthlac B, he is also styled as Dryhtnes cempa (901b), and godes cempan (889a).

In Cynewulf's Juliana, those persecuted by the emperor Maximian are Godes cempan (17a); during his confession, the devil speaks to the saint of his efforts to undermine the modigne Metodes cempan (383). Other examples of this tendency to provide immediate qualification to cempa in descriptions of the Miles Christi include:

<u>Pisum Godes cempan</u>	(Thorpe, <u>CH</u> I. 542)
<u>Godes cempan</u>	(Ibid., 592)
<u>ða gecorenan Godes cempan</u>	(Thorpe, <u>CH</u> II. 82)
<u>geleaffullan Godes cempan</u>	(Ibid., 424)
<u>se gastlica cempa</u>	(Ibid., 454)

þone gecorenan Godes cempan	(Ibid., 498)
ðone godes cempan	(Skeat, <u>LSS</u> I. 192)
Se godes cempa	(Ibid., 418)
Þone soðfæstan cempan	(Ibid., 422)
beoð we godes cempan	(Skeat, <u>LSS</u> II. 112)
ic eom godes cempa	(Ibid., 226)
godes cempan	(Ibid., 370)
Dryhtnes cempa	(Blake, <u>Phoenix</u> , 452)
se Godes cempa	(OE Prose <u>Guthlac</u> , 116)
Þas Cristes cempan	(Ibid., 119)
fram Cristes cempum feohtendum	(<u>Vercelli XX</u> , 15.1)
strange deofles cempen ²⁶	(Ibid., 14.6-7)
wesan Godes cempan	(OE <u>Polity</u> , 125)

Among Ælfric's writings, there are a few instances of a firmer appeal to the secular associations aroused by the term, as in:

his geongan cempan	(Thorpe, <u>CH</u> I.82)
se æðela cempa Stephanus	(Ibid., 56)
ðam æðelan cempan	(Thorpe, <u>CH</u> II.142)
swa swa gelærede cempan	(Skeat, <u>LSS</u> I.374)

However, in these and in other cases, the force of the secular analogue is always carefully controlled so as to contribute to the vitality of the spiritual image.

Finally, in relation to these camp- words, I will deal briefly with the incidence of the other nominal forms, gecampe, camphad and campdom. As with cempa, OE camphad was certainly thought suitable to instances of secular fighting, as this pointed remark by the translator of the

Among further secular applications of these terms may be counted the
29
following:

Andreas 1325a

Exeter Riddles, 20.35b. (ASPR III.191)

Judith 200a

30
Exodus 21a

Morris, Blickling Homilies, 221, 225.

Elsewhere, the terms function in descriptions of the struggles encountered by the Milites Christi. Consider this statement by the Blickling homilist on Christ's voluntary sojourn in the desert:

forþon þe he wolde deofol gelapian to
campe wip hine, & Adam gefreolsian of
þam langan wræce.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 29)

In Felix's Vita S. Guthlaci, the saint's rejection of military service in favour of the spiritual struggle is compared to Saul's dramatic conversion on the road to Damascus. Just as Paul was predestined to serve God, so, according to the OE prose translator:

swa þonne þære arwurðan gemynde Guðlac
of þære gedrefednyse þissere worulde
was gelæded to camphade þæs ecan lifes.

(OE Prose Guthlac, 117)

A further example is provided by the OE Dialogues. In a clearly spiritual context, but one in which the figure of the Miles Christi is not invoked, the story of Libertinus is told. This holy man of God, on being stopped by a woman bearing the body of her dead son, and being asked to bring the boy back to life, becomes alarmed with the knowledge that such acts are normally beyond the powers of men, yet disturbed

Other applications of the terms to spiritual contexts are distinctive in that they receive similar qualification as was seen to operate in respect of cempa. In his preparation for martyrdom, Alban is described by Bede as one armed with spiritual weapons - sed accinctus armis militiae spiritualis (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 30) which the OE translator interprets with:

ac he begyrded was mid wapnum þæs
gastlican camphades.

(OE Bede, 36)

and which Alfric, it will be recalled, rendered with:

forðan þe he was ymb-gyrd mid godes wapnum
to þam gastlicum gecampe.

(Skeat, LSS I.416)

To these instances, others may be added:

OE Hexameron, 34

Thorpe, CH I.374, 418

Thorpe, CH II.402, 454

Skeat, LSS I.492

Skeat, LSS II.370

On the basis of this evidence, I would suggest that Hill's view that camp- words undergo some type of semantic specialization in OE writings should be accepted with caution. By way of contrast, and so as to provide a platform for my own summary remarks on the incidence of these terms, I quote a passage from Claude Schneider's very recent study on heroic devaluation in Cynewulf's Juliana, in which he focuses on the poet's use of cempa:

The citations in Bosworth-Toller of how cempa is used in prose and poetry indicate that in nearly every case the word denotes a man who fights (or is prepared to fight) with hand and arms: it has to do with physical rather than spiritual methods. But the Christian of whom the word is used in Juliana 383b is not fighting with hands or arms; as the text explicitly acknowledges, he is using gæstlic gūðreaf, spiritual armour (387a). The word is part of the metaphor [contained in ll.382-409a], and as such, expresses the devil's low view of spiritual conflict. He uses it precisely because he myopically translates and reduces the nature of his Christian opponent into something he himself can understand, failing to acknowledge the spiritual and physically passive nature of the opposition. This is the incongruity we are meant to perceive. And the same is true of the devil's further use of the word, later in the same speech (395b).

Schneider's thesis is that Juliana acts in a way that is completely at variance with the expected actions and behaviour of the Germanic heroic warrior who bears arms, and that Cynewulf emphasises the discrepancy by attributing heroic attitudes only to the devils and their earthly counterparts. Thus, the devil's use of cempan (383b, 395b) is to be seen, within Cynewulf's constructed frame of ironic contrasts, as a term which, because of its overtly heroic associations, is as derogatory as the terms Daraðhæbbende (68a), frumgare (685a), hererinc (189a), hildeþremman (64a) and hildfruma (7a) which he says are "terms of specifically military connotations used exclusively of the heathens".³³ So, where Hill would urge a specialization of meaning, with regard to cempa, to suit predominantly spiritual contexts, Schneider believes that the term possesses heroic connotations which accounts for its choice, serving the device of irony in the poem.

I believe that Schneider's analysis results from a fundamental misconception of the workings of the various verbal elements in Cynewulf's

metaphor. In connection with ll.382-409a of Juliana, from which the quoted passage stems, Schneider refers to the metaphor it contains and asserts that it comes 'from the realm of the battlefield'. It does not. The lines:

Gif ic anigne ellenrofne
 gemete modigne Metodes cempan
 wið flanþraçe, nele feor þonan
 bugan fram beaduwe, ac he bord ongean
 hefeð hygesnottor, haligne scyld,
 gæstlic guðreaf, nele Gode swican,
 ac he, beald in gebede, bidsteal gifeð
 fæste on feðan....

(Woolf, Juliana, 382-89a)

are based firmly on the image complex presented in Ad Ephesios VI.11ff, which I have shown to be the metaphorical stimulus for so many evocations of the Miles Christi in OE writings. The phrases haligne scyld, gæstlic guðreaf may reasonably be said to be interpretative translations of scutum fidei and armaturam Dei (Eph. VI.16, 11), while the detail of the flanþraçe reproduces the content of omnia tela nequissimi ignea (Ibid., 16), and the warrior's defensive attitude, expressed in bidsteal gifeð, mirrors Paul's insistence on resistance - resistere, stare, state (Ibid., 13.14).

A large proportion of Schneider's article is concerned to show that Juliana eschews violent, aggressive action, preferring to meet the devilish attacks with passivity and patience. These virtues, however, are the very means through which Juliana overcomes the devil (521b, 543a); they are also fundamental attributes of the Miles Christi, in which role the saint is clearly portrayed. Yet Schneider fails to acknowledge the presence of this most popular of imagistic devices, and it is this failure which leads to the dubious interpretation of

Cynewulf's use of cempa.

In plain language, the metaphor of the Miles Christi demands, by definition, verbal elements which are characteristic of physical combat; to remove all martial associations is to remove the metaphor itself. As I have stressed, the image of the Miles Christi operates, within the various degrees of effectiveness, by exploiting those elements of military action naturally associated with fighting men. In doctrinal terms, the Miles Christi does not take up arms; all that is pertinent to physical warfare lies at the furthest extreme from the role of the soldier of Christ. In literary terms, however, such a literal abnegation of physical combat would simply cause the metaphor to evaporate.

Therefore, it is not Cynewulf's use of cempan (383b) which deserves attention, but his insertion of the phrase Metodes cempan in a context made up predominantly of images taken from Ad Ephesios. The hypothetical Metodes cempan to which the devil refers, effectively informs the audience of Juliana's identity, an identity which the poet had made clear even at the beginning of the poem where, as a prelude to the persecution of the saint, it is said that the heathens under Maximian ³⁵ gaston Godes cempan (17a).

It is true that cempa, but not campian and other camp- words, is extensively used by the Beowulf poet. A sizeable proportion of the occurrences in OE writings, furthermore, describe fighting men or the actions of their combat. At the same time, phrases of the type Metodes cempan (Woolf, Juliana, 383b) and Godes cempan (Ibid., 17a) are of such regular occurrence in spiritual contexts that there are good reasons for doubting the validity of Schneider's statement that 'in nearly every case the word denotes a man who fights (or is prepared to

fight) with hands and arms'. For while the terms have been seen to be appropriate in both religious and secular contexts, there is a marked trend among homilists and hagiographers to provide verbal qualifiers to them, and I have suggested that this practice is to be explained as a means of re-directing (not nullifying) the secular associations these terms possess. At the same time, I have demonstrated that other, theoretically adequate, terms like feohtan, wiga, wig, beorn, etc., are either passed over in favour of camp- words, or used sparingly.

This is an adequate sketch of the observable facts to be had from the collected evidence, and I would suggest that the predominance of camp- words in evocations of the Miles Christi is to be accounted for by an explanation which lies somewhere between the positions adopted by Hill and Schneider, but which nevertheless concurs more with Hill's theory of semantic specialization than with Schneider's notion of overtly heroic association.

The prominence of camp- words in descriptions of spiritual combat, together with the marked unpopularity of other terms which are reserved almost exclusively for secular contexts suggests to me that OE homilists and hagiographers displayed a preference for OE cempa, campian and, to a lesser extent, the other related terms because, while providing the necessary martial associations on which the metaphor depended, such terms did not generate such violent, heroic overtones as did many of those ignored or largely ignored words and phrases. Thus, camp- words may be said to possess sufficient connotation of physical combat to allow their successful re-orientation in the constitution of the metaphorical complex without, however, creating incongruity which may have arisen through the persistent unqualified use of feohtan or wiga, for example. That cempa, campian and campdom tend to appear in association

with terms which qualify and redirect their stimulus vouches for the strength of secular association which the terms undoubtedly possessed. Similarly, their persistent selection in relation to the figure of the Miles Christi - and force of literary habit is an influencing factor here - demonstrates their suitability to spiritual warfare.

37

3.2 The Defensive Stance of the Miles Christi.

It is noticeable that many terms in the favoured word cluster surrounding the figure of the Miles Christi lay stress on the defensive attitude adopted in the spiritual struggle. Into this category I would place scyld, scyldan, (gescyldan), beorgan, fultum, wiðstandan and, possibly, trymman. The relatively large number of such words, together with their frequent appearance in association with the Miles Christi serves to underline the essentially non-violent stance with which the figure is traditionally invested. The soldier of God does not bear arms; he vanquishes his enemies by standing firm (wiðstandan), defends himself from devilish attack through faith and reliance on divine assistance - fultum. In this way only is victory achieved.

As with the camp- words discussed above, the incidence and popularity of these terms is not uniform; their application to the figure of the Miles Christi displays both conscious selection and rejection of terms and further evidences the concept of verbal qualification examined in relation to cempa, above. In order to bring these aspects to the forefront, I want to give some account of the habitual contexts these terms are found in, and to throw light on their function.

overtly martial vocabulary is either avoided altogether or used sparingly. Now, although OE scyld is the name for a defensive piece of armour and, as such, does not directly invoke notions of aggressive behaviour, it is nevertheless a focal point of attention in descriptions of conventional warfare. Its vivid, pictorial quality seems to have been especially favoured by OE poets.

Beowulf naturally defends himself against the fire-breathing dragon with a specially constructed iron shield, (2570b, 2675b), but in other, less desperate moments in the narrative, the Beowulf poet gives this article of war gear special attention. Beowulf and his small company are described as following the paved path to the entrance of Heorot; before they seat themselves at the benches, the poet reports:

Setton sameþe side scyldas,
 rondas regnhearde wið þæs recedes weal

(11.325-26)

Immediately afterwards, Wulfgar appears and expresses admiration for the splendour of their battle gear, among which figure prominently the plated shields - fætte scyldas (333b). Later, Beowulf expresses his vow not to bear arms against Grendel by specifying sword and shield:

ic þæt þonne forhicge.....

 þæt ic sweord bere oþðe signe scyld
 geolorand to guþe.

(11.435a-38a)

Furthermore, on two occasions, Beowulf is referred to as a shield warrior - scyldwiga, scyldfreca (288a, 1033b).

There is a similar preoccupation displayed by the poet of the Battle of Maldon. In his exhortation to the faithful warriors, Offa stresses

that Godric's treachery has resulted in the disintegration of the shield wall - scyldbunh (242a), (cp. Beowulf, 3118a). Earlier, the poet presents an imposing picture of the advancing Viking force in the lines:

west ofer Pantan
ofer scir wæter scyldas wegon,
lidmen to lande linde bæron.

(11.97b-99)

Later, the poet seems to delight in focusing attention on one of the essential techniques involved in fighting at close quarters:

Sende ða se særinc suþerne gar
þæt gewundod wearð wigena hlaford.
He sceaf þa mid ðam scylde þæt se sceaft toþærst,
7 þæt spere sprengde þæt hit sprang ongean.

(11.134-37)

The prominence of the shield as a piece of war gear seems to have impeded a smooth transition to metaphorical usage since it is very rarely applied to the soldier of God by OE homilists and hagiographers in such a concrete way as is displayed in Ad Ephesios VI.16.⁴² While such considerations may have influenced OE writers in their presentation of the Miles Christi, it should also be borne in mind that in his defensive, passive stance, the soldier of God benefits not from the protection which he himself creates, but from that which is bestowed by God. Accordingly, it is much more common to find the related terms scyldend, scyldnes and the verb scyldan used of divine assistance in this metaphorical complex.

The verb scyldan, abstract noun gescyldnes and the substantive form scyldend are commonly employed in the articulation of the Miles Christi figure as a means of denoting protection which the saint experiences

either as a direct result of divine aid from God or through the agency of angels, or as a result of the strength of his own faith (also God-given) and his consequent ability to withstand temptation.

The precise connotations of such terms in these contexts and their close proximity to other related terms in literary texts is given some clarification by the evidence from the glossed psalters. Although no completely consistent picture emerges from a study of these glosses, there is an observable degree of agreement in the selection of glosses which effectively establishes a close-knit nucleus of terms relating to divine protection.

In the glossed psalters I have consulted, Latin protector is invariably glossed by OE scyldend, in Pss. 17.3, 19, 31; 32.20; 36.39; 58.11; 70.3, 6; 83.10; 113.17, 18, 19; 143.3, in the following: Vespasian, Vitellius, Regius, Canterbury, Bosworth (70.6 only), Junius, Tiberius, ⁴³Arundel, Stowe, Cambridge and Lambeth. Similarly, Latin protectio is rendered by OE scyldnysse in Pss. 17.36; 90.1; 104.39 and 120.5 in all the glossed psalters,⁴⁴ and Latin protegere is invariably translated by OE scyldan in Pss. 16.8; 19.2; 26.5; 30.21; 60.5; 63.3; 90.14.⁴⁵

Latin protector, however, is glossed by OE frofor in Pss. 17.19, 31; 27.7, 8; 32.20; 39.18; 58.12; 70.6; 83.10 and 113B.11 in the Salisbury Psalter, where other glosses have scyldend with some consistency. As I have shown, (n.43, above) the Salisbury Psalter gloss also records two instances of gescyldend in response to Latin protector (pss. 70.3; 143.2) in agreement with common practice. Although it is only in the Salisbury Psalter gloss that frofor and scyldend are closely associated, and despite the fact that it is a late gloss,⁴⁶ (c.1100), there are reasons for supposing that this trend should not be

and frofer stand in close relation to one another; where the Salisbury Psalter glossator reflects the close association of Latin protector and refugium through the use of frofer, the glossators of the Canterbury Psalter do so through the use of scyld. The occurrence of the Latin terms in the psalter reveals their near synonymity as the following instances illustrate:

55
Esto mihi in Deum protectorem
Et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias
Quoniam fortitudo mea et refugium meum es tu;
Et propter nomen tuum deduces me et enutries me.
Educes me de laqueo hoc quem absconderunt mihi
Quoniam tu es protector meus.

(Ps. 30.3-5)

Dominus firmamentum meum, et refugium meum
et liberator meus.
Deus meus adiutor meus, et sperabo in eum
Protector meus et cornu salutis meae, et
susceptor meus.

(Ps. 17.3)

Qui habitat in adiutorio Altissimi
In protectione Dei caeli commorabitur.
Dicet Domino: Susceptor meus es tu et refugium
meum.

(Ps. 90.1-2)

Esto mihi in Deum protectorem
Et in locum munitum, ut salvum me facias
Quoniam firmamentum meum et refugium meum es tu

(Ps. 70.3)

Misericordia mea et refugium meum
Susceptor meus et liberator meus;
Protector meus, et in ipso speravi

(Ps. 143.2)

Notwithstanding the often dubious authority of the Canterbury Psalter gloss and the apparent peculiarity evidenced by the Salisbury Psalter

gloss, the near synonymy of scyld and frofer as displayed by these glosses in the particular context of the Psalms, accurately reflects verbal trends in the Psalms themselves. In the glossed psalters in general, scyldend renders protector and frofer (along with gebeorh, geberg) refugium; the close proximity of the OE terms is amply if not obviously demonstrated there, and it is only in the Canterbury and Salisbury glosses that their close association is given more striking illustration. The apparent reversal in recognised glossatorial procedure - the Canterbury gloss has gescild for refugium where one would expect frofer, and the Salisbury Psalter glossator selects frofer for protector where one would expect scyldend - is not the product of error in transferring glosses from a Roman to a Gallican text (since the readings are identical in this respect), nor can it be said to be due to scribal ignorance. In both cases, the glosses are carried out with a relatively high degree of consistency and collectively they reproduce trends of verbal association common to all glossed psalters.

There are, then strong reasons for accepting the validity of the evidence available in the Canterbury and Salisbury psalter glosses. Both glosses are late in date; it is therefore possible that the rendition of protector by frofer in the Salisbury Psalter, and of refugium by gescild in the Canterbury Psalter is to be accounted for by a shift of meaning in respect of the OE terms. ⁵⁶ But this suggestion should probably be discounted. Frofer regularly glosses Latin consolatio, and although this concept is far removed from that expressed by OE scyld, the fact that frofer also glosses refugium with some regularity suggests that the practice of applying gescild to refugium in the Canterbury Psalter is indicative of interpretative translation. The translation is not incorrect; rather, it is the adventurous expression of meaning inherent

in the close and consistent proximity of protector and refugium in the Psalms.

It is therefore likely that the metaphorical application of scyld- words to contexts of spiritual overcoming carried with it associations also generated by frofer or, to put it more generally, the metaphorical application of frofer and gescyld to Latin protector and refugium in the Psalms reflects a typical verbal pattern, and the emphasis it implies, in the biblical text; as a consequence, the application of scyld- words to contexts of spiritual warfare in literary texts bears the influence of this emphasis and effectively colours the semantic force of the words.

A final point should be made. I said earlier that the metaphorical use of OE scyld in homilies and saints' lives was a rare occurrence. The evidence from the glossed psalters which I have highlighted reveals a persistent application of this very term, used metaphorically. The discrepancy, I would say, is to be explained by the different processes involved in word for word translation and in literary composition. The Salisbury Psalter glossator, although he uses gescyld on several occasions, makes no distinction between that term and the substantive scyldend. The same applies equally to the glossators of the Canterbury Psalter. The lack of discrimination on the part of these two glossators is illustrated at various places in the other glosses I have examined and reflects that word for word translation was a mechanical, unthinking (though not necessarily unintelligent) process. By contrast, the virtual absence of the metaphorical application of scyld and the prevalence of scyldend, scyldnes in literary texts underlines that such discriminatory procedures were exercised in the composition of saints' lives and homilies.

The various glosses of the closely related terms protector (protectio

and protegere and refugium bring together OE scyld, scyldend, scyldnes, frofer and gebeorh, (geberg), as well as other less consistently employed terms. ⁵⁷ Scyldan is prominent in expressions of spiritual warfare, beorgan less so, and as with campian, it holds this position to the relative exclusion of other terms possessing similar primary meanings. Scyldend regularly glosses Latin protector; it also translates Latin defensor in Ps.26.1 of the Vespasian, Paris, Vitellius, Regius, Canterbury, Junius, Arundel, Cambridge and Lambeth psalter glosses. OE gescyldnesse also glosses Latin defensio in ps. 21.20 in the same psalters, with the exception of the Paris Psalter, but with the addition of the Salisbury, Stowe and Tiberius psalters. Further in a gloss to Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis, Latin defenditur is rendered by OE was gesceld.⁵⁸

⁵⁹
Defensionis is rendered by giscildnisse in the Durham Ritual, 117. The very near synonymy of the Latin terms protector and defensor satisfactorily explains the application of the OE term to both. Other texts, however, show a significant variation in the glossing of Latin defensor, defensio and defendere.

In the prayers extant in BL MS Arundel 155, the following glosses⁶⁰ appear:

from the Ante Crucem Domini. Oratio Sancta (alia)

gyfe	þine	7	bewerunge
...gratiam	tuam	ac	defensionem

(Holthausen, 236)

from the Oratio ad Crucem cum Septem Petitionibus:

þ	ðu	me	bewerige
...ut		me	defendas

(Holthausen, 237)

from the Oratio ad Sanctas Virgines:

þu alyse 7 beweardige 7 gescylde
me liberas et defendas et proteges

(Campbell, 108)

from the Oratio de Omnibus Sanctis:

bewera me
defende me

(Campbell, 108)

Similarly, in the hymn O Christe, qui es lux et dies, preserved in
MSS BL Cotton Julius A. vi, Cotton Vespasian D xii and Durham B III.32,
61
the following occur:

(verse 2) bewera us on þissere nihte
defende nos in hac nocte

(verse 5) eala þu ure beweriend
O noster defensor

(verse 6) (eala drihten) þu þe eart beweriend sawle
O domine, qui es defensor amine

The close association of scyldend - beweriend, scyldan - bewerian and
scyldnes - bewerung, as evidenced by the psalter glosses, the prayers
and hymns is complemented by several glosses from the Lambeth Psalter.
Here, Latin protector is most commonly and consistently glossed by OE
scyldend, but there are some exceptions:

protector	58.12	beweriend
protector	83.10	bewerigend
protector	113.18	beweriend
protectorem	30.3	scyldendum 7 on bewerendum
protector	36.39	gescyldnes 7 beweriend

The apparent synonymy of bewerian, beweriend with scyldan, scyldnes,

suggested by the coupling of the terms in the above glosses and by their application to both Latin defensor and protector in the glosses as a whole, raises the question of whether bewerian, bewerlend were considered appropriate in contexts of spiritual battle in literary texts, as scyldan obviously was.

Despite the evidence of the prayers in BL MS Arundel 155, of the hymn in BL MS Cotton Julius A. vi, and of the distinctive Lambeth Psalter glosses, the incidence of bewerian and related terms in religious contexts is rare. Even in the glossed psalters, where such variations are most likely to occur, it is only the Lambeth gloss which exhibits this trend. In saints' lives and homilies, the verbs expressive of defence most consistently applied to spiritual warfare are scyldan and, to a lesser extent, beorgan. Bewerian, on the other hand, is habitually associated with secular warfare and is, as a consequence, rarely employed in descriptions of the Miles Christi or of less specific spiritual struggle. I have located very few examples. In Andreas, it will be recalled, it is said that Andrew and Matthew guarded each other against the terror of hell's punishment with words: helle witu/wordum werede (1052b-53a). Very similar usage is found in this remark made by the Blickling homilist about the Holy Spirit's influence on the apostles:

Se halga Gast hie aghwylc god lærde,
& him aghwylc yfel bewerede...

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 131)

Again, in Alfric's piece entitled Bysne be drymannum and be anum godan men, Macharius gehaten, appended in two MSS to his homily De Auguriis (Skeat LSS. I.364-82), there comes this assurance of the impotence of Satan's evil in the face of the power of God:

ac his miht nis naht wið þære ælmihtigan Crist,
þe us ealle bewerað wið hys wodnyse æfre

62
(Pope, Homilies, 796)

The typical contexts in which bewerian is seen habitually to operate can be illustrated by the following statements. First, in Alfric's Qui sunt Oratores, Laboratores, Bellatores, it will be recalled that the homilist makes a firm distinction between secular and spiritual warriors, and he says this of the former:

bellatores synd þa ðe ure burga healdað.
and urne eard be-weriað wið onwinnendne here

(Skeat, LSS. II.122)

A very similar remark is found in a pseudo-Wulfstan homily, reminiscent of the archbishop's often voiced proscriptive advice concerning the proper function of the orders of a strained social structure:

Oratores syndon gebedmen, þe gode sceolon
þeowian. dages and nihtes for þære cyngc
and for ealne þeodscipe þingian georne...
.....bellatores syndon wígmén,
þe eard sculon werian wiglice mid wæpnon.

(Napier, Homilies, 267;
as Jost, Polity, 56).

The Battle of Maldon dramatically demonstrates the fulfilled duty of such bellatores. In a passage discussed previously in relation to wig- words, the poet praises the English defences of the causeway and reports that two strong-hearted companions stood by Wulfstan:

Ælfere 7 Maccus, modige twegen,
þa noldon æt þam forða fleam gewyrcean,
ac hi fæstlice wið ða fynd weredon
þa hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan moston.

(ll. 80-83)

Later in the poem, when the fortunes of the English forces have waned

considerably, the poet takes obvious pride in stating that Ælfric and his companions defended themselves furiously - cene hi weredon⁶³ (283b).

Just as bewerian is reserved predominantly for secular contexts, and is thus avoided by religious writers, so scyldan is applied habitually to religious contexts, and far outweighs its incidence in descriptions of secular warfare. It is, furthermore, noticeable that when scyldan and scyldnes are used in descriptions of the Miles Christi and of less specialized spiritual struggle, it is to the power of God that this protection is invariably ascribed. To the examples given above (p. 235), I supply further testimony of typical illustration:

Þæt is þonne þæt we sceolan beon
gelærede mid þysse bysene, þonne we
beoþ mid mycclum hungre yfelra geþohta
abigode, þonne sceolan we geornlice
biddan þæt he us gescylde wip þa
þusendlican craftas deofles costunga.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 19)

Ælfric incorporates distinctive elements from Ad Ephesios, VI.11ff in this incident in Cuthbert's spiritual battle:

Cuðberhtus swa-ðeah on oðrum timan
eall-byrnende hus ana ahredde wið
fyres dare, mid halgum benum, and
ðone windes blad aweg fligde, seðe
ær for oft ða ættrigan flan deoflicere
costnunge on him sylfum adwascte, þurh
gescyldnysse soðes Drihtnes.

(Thorpe, CH. II.140)

In his short Sanctorum Septem Dormientium, Ælfric concentrates on the emergence of the soldiers of God after their miraculous sojourn in the cave, and gives these words to one of the seven, Maximianus, in his address to the emperor Theodosius:

'Nu we arison of deaðe, and we lybbað.
Stande nu ðin cynedom on sibbe and on
soðum geleafan, and Crist hine gescylde
wið deofles costnungum'.

(Ibid., 426)

In the OE Bede, in the account of the battle between devils and angels
for the spirit of Furseus, it is said:

Da fliton him on þa wergan gastas, 7
þa mid gelomlicum oncunnißum teoledon,
þæt heo him þone heofonlican weg
forsette 7 fortynde; ne heo hwadre
owiht in þon fromedon, ac þa englas
hine scyldon.

(OE Bede, 212)

which is based on:

...maxima malignorum spirituum certamina,
qui crebis accusationibus inprobi iter
illi caeleste intercludere contendebant,
nec tamen, protegentibus eum angelis,
quicquam proficiebant.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 270)

At the same point in the narrative, Ælfric's version, in his piece for
In Letania Maiore, reads:

Hwæt ða comon ða awirigedan deoflu on
atelicum hiwe ðære sawle togeanes, and
heora an cwæð, Uton forstandan hi foran
mid gefehte. Þa deoflu fechtende scuton
heora fyrenan flan ongean ða sawle, ac
ða deofellican flan wurdon þærrihte
ealle adwæcte þurh ðæs gewæpnodan engles
scyldunge.

(Thorpe, CH. II.336)

For convenience, I give as full a list as possible of the application
of scyldan, (gescyldan), scyldung and scyldnes to firmly spiritual
contexts, in which the act of protection is invariably performed by

God or his angels:

Morris, Blickling Homilies, 47, 51, 141, 225.

OE Cura Pastoralis, 141, 245, 399.

OE Bede, 214, 234, 250.

OE Orosius, 76, 86, 100.

OE Boethius, 133.

OE Heptateuch, 282.

Guthlac A, 242b, 404a, 457b, 556b.

Christ, 761a, 781b.

Daniel, 457b.

64
Genesis, 2172b.

Azarias, 165b.

Andreas, 434a.

Juliana, 214a.

Phoenix, 180b.

Liebermann, Gesetze, I.368.

Incidence of the terms in secular contexts is rare; their marked unsuitability to battle description is further underlined by the fact that several of such instances have nothing to do with military defence. In book II, chapter 5 of the Historia Ecclesiastica, Bede expresses his approval of King Æthelbert's exercise of royal power and draws attention to the laws he had drawn up in respect of ecclesiastical property, and adds:

uolens scilicet tuitionem eis, quos et
quorum doctrinam susceperat, praestare.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 150)

The OE version reads:

Wolde he ðam gescyldnesse gegearwian, þe
he heora lare onfeng.

(OE Bede, 110)

This distinctive legalistic function which the term possesses is seen again in Bede's account of the animosity between Ealdfrith and bishop Wilfrid. Forced to abandon his see again, Wilfrid once more journeys to Rome to plead his cause before the Pope:

ueniensque Roman cum praesentibus
accusatoribus acciperet locum se
defendendi.....

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 524)

This is interpreted by the OE translator with the words:

7 eft of his bysceopscire adrifen was
7 to Rome com; 7 him was lyfnes seald
þæt he him moste scyldan 7 besecgan
on andweardnesse his gesaona.

(OE Bede, 460)⁶⁵

Elsewhere, scyldan is used of bodily protection in the story of the huge water serpent which is attacked by Regulus's army in the OE Orosius. Regulus commands an attack with siege implements on the beast:

Pa het he mid þam palistas, mid þam hie
weallas bræcon, þonne hie on fæstene
fuhton, þæt hiere mon mid þam þwyres on
wurpe. Pa wearð hiere mid anum wierpe an
ribb forod, þæt hio siþþan mægen ne
hæfde hie to gescildanne, ac raðe þæs
hie wearð ofslagen.

(OE Orosius, 174)

The only full, developed description of military combat in which scyldnes occurs which has come to my attention, is that in which Bede tells of

the assistance given by various Roman armies to the British population suffering continuous assaults at the hands of the Picts and Scots. After their second successful intervention, the Romans withdrew their support:

Da gesægdon Romane on an Bryttum þæt hi
no ma ne mihton for heora gescyldnysses swa
gewinnfullicum fyrdum swencte beon.

(OE Bede, 44)

Bede's corresponding statement, showing that scyldnysses renders Latin defensionem, reads:

Tum Romani denuntiauere Brettonibus non
se ultra ob eorum defensionem tam
laboriosis expeditionibus posse fatigari...

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 42)

Immediately afterwards, in a passage which expands slightly on Bede's Latin, the OE Bede gives details of the military strategy which the Romans urged the British to adopt on their own behalf:

7 hi him ða eac to ræde 7 to frofre
fundon, þæt hi gemænelice fæsten
geworhten him to gescyldnesse,
stænene weal rihtre stige fram
eastas oð westas...

(OE Bede, 46)

In this extract, there is no Latin authority for the inclusion of the terms frofre and scyldnesse, and their close association is striking because it precisely echoes the trend displayed in some overtly religious contexts. However, it seems undeniable that the details of military defence in this extract refer exclusively to secular affairs. The presence of the two OE terms may, therefore, be coincidental, yet the possibility remains that the translator, who elsewhere displays

complete familiarity with Bede's moral, didactic emphasis in this essentially ecclesiastical work, was influenced in his translation by the distinctive verbal association conventionally reserved for specifically religious contexts.

66

3.2.11 Beorgan, Gebeorh.

This account in the OE Bede of the help the British received from the Romans is also instructive in illustrating the use of a further term which deserves investigation. The narrative continues with the report that defensive towers were placed along this newly constructed wall:

Swylce eac on þas sæs waroþe to suðdæle
þanon ðe hi sciphære to becom, torras
timbredon to gebeorghe ðæs sæs.

(OE Bede, 46)

The detail echoes the earlier, general statement of Roman assistance in which it is said that they:

lardon þat hi fasten worhtan him to
gebeorge wið heora feondum: 7 swa mid
mycele sige ham foran.

(Ibid., 44)

I have already indicated, through reference to descriptions of spiritual combat and to certain glossatorial practices, that the terms gebeorh, beorgan occasionally express divine protection. Unlike scyldan and related terms, however, there is no clearly observable pattern of distribution of beorgan and related terms. The two examples

of to gebeorge, to gebeorghe given above from the OE Bede indicate that the terms were considered suitable in conventional military description, and this indication is solidly underlined by the significantly large number of compatible instances which I have been able to locate. Beorgan and beorg appear on several occasions in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in accounts of military campaigns.⁶⁷ Moreover, in the extant heroic literature, the terms are prominent. Before Beowulf enters the mere, the poet says that the corslet he puts on had the power to preserve his life - seo ðe bancofan beorgan cuþe (1445); in the ensuing struggle with Grendel's mother, the poet makes clear that the war gear fulfilled its function when tested by the monster's knife:

⁶⁸
 Him on eaxle læg
 breostnet broden: þæt gebearh feore
 wið ord ond wið ecge ingang forstod.

(1547b-49)

In the fight with the dragon, Beowulf's shield is said to provide protection: syclud wel gebearg / lif ond lice (2570b-71a); and in the same context, in contrast to Beowulf's behaviour, the poet says that all but one of his companions flee to the safety of the woods in order to save their lives: ac hy on holt bugon / ealdre burgon⁶⁹ (2598b-99a). In the fragmentary Waldere occur these typically heroic sentiments voiced by Hildegyth in her speech of encouragement to Waldere:

⁷⁰
 Nalles ic ðe, wine min, wordum cide,
 [ð]y ic ðe gesawe æt ðam sweord [p] legan
 ðurh edwitscype aniges monnes
 wig forbugan oððe on weal fleon,
 lice beorgan...

(11.12-16a)

Similarly, the poet of the Battle of Maldon delineates the function

of the warrior's shield in the phrase bord to gebeorge (131a, 245a), and as a prelude to battle, has the Viking messenger announce that Byrhtnoð's force would escape death only on the production of treasure - þu most sendan raðe / beagas wið gebeorge (30b-31a). The poet also reports that Godwin and Godwig deserted the battle, much in the manner of Beowulf's false companions:

ac wendon fram þam wige 7 þone wudu sohton
flugon on þæt fæsten 7 hyre feore burgon

(193-94)

That those statements in which the shield is prominently featured and its function immediately described - Beowulf, 257b, Battle of Maldon, 131a, 245a - appear to have formed an integral part of the literary expression of military activity is re-inforced by these two self-contained half-lines from the Cotton Maxims:

Rand sceal on scylde
fæste fingra gebeorh

(37b-38a)

where the terms are locked in a statement of proverbial wisdom which may be said to have stripped the often elaborate descriptions characteristic of heroic poetry of all context and nuance, leaving only the essential elements.⁷¹

Beyond the realms of spiritual and secular warfare, these terms are used of those who exercise general concern for their personal safety. In the Passio Beati Laurentii Martyris, Alfric presents a bitter exchange of words between Decius the emperor and bishop Sixtus who is imprisoned for refusing to offer to idols:

...Đa was... Sixtus mid his twam diaconum
of Đam cwearterne gelædd, ætforan Đam
casere Decium. He wearð þa gehathyrt ongean
Đone halgan biscop, Đus cweĐende: 'Witodlice
we beorgaĐ Đinre ylde: gehyrsuma urum
bebodum, and geoffra Đam undeaĐlicum godum'.
Se eadiga bicsop him andwyrde: 'Đu earming,
beorh Đe sylfum, and wyrç dædbote for Đæra
halgena blode Đe Đu agute'.

(Thorpe, CH. I.418. 420)

In this extract, beorgaĐ and beorh carry the sense of 'preserve' or
'protect' (rather than 'defend') as it is implied in the phrase, 'have
⁷²
regard for your life'. Another example of a distinct yet related
meaning comes in this descriptive comment of Malcus's approach to
Ephesus after emerging, as one of the seven sleepers, from the cave:

⁷³
....and earhlice eode into [þam] porte.
and beorh him sylfum swiĐe georne. and
þa he com ful neah into [þære] cypinge..

(Skeat LSS. I.518)

Two directives from the Canons of Edgar display the use of beorgan with
the sense of 'to guard against', 'to avoid'. I quote from the text
in Oxford MS Bodleian Junius 121:

And riht is þæt preostas beorgan wiĐ
oferdruncen and hit georne belean oĐrum
mannum.

And riht is þæt preostas wiĐ aþas beorgan
heom georne, and hi eac swyþe forbeodan.

(Fowler, Canons, 58, 60)

This extension of meaning from the more commonly found 'to protect,
to defend' is underlined by the mid thirteenth Latin gloss to the first
instance of beorgan above of caueantur.⁷⁴ Although in these cases it is
clear that priests are seen to have a moral duty to abstain from
excessive drinking and the swearing of false oaths, the verb beorgan is

not expressive of divine protection; rather it functions like a Latin reflexive verb.

All of the above examples have this in common: they refer to some physical object or condition, for example, 'life' or 'body' and the action of protecting (where such meaning is primary) is performed by the verb's referent, again a physical object like the defensive wall in the OE Bede, or like Beowulf's corslet. That the verb possessed no specialized function of announcing spiritual protection is revealed not only by its prevalence in clearly secular contexts (and even in the larger context of a saint's life where, however, the verb's immediate referent does not obviously include the power of divine protection), but also by its appearance in firmly spiritual contexts, functioning in precisely the same way as in those secular contexts, illustrated above.

For example, the opening to Napier XLI, a short piece directed at negligent preachers - negligentibus pastoribus - may be seen as a general admonition of the type represented by the two more specific directives from the Canons of Edgar, given above. It reads:

Ezechiel se witega lǣrð godes bydelas,
þæt hi beorgan heom silfum wið godes yrre.

(Napier, Homilies, 190)

To suffer God's anger is to risk eternal perdition; and although the form of the protection required here differs considerably from that, say, offered by the Roman army to the beleaguered British population (OE Bede, 44.46), the verb beorgan possesses no nuance or semiotic attribute beyond that of its basic semantic range. Similar usages are found in the Blickling homily for Dominica V in Quadragesima. The homilist speaks of good judges, and says:

þa deman beoþ on Godes fultome
aȝhwar, ge þæt hie him selfum
heora synna bebeorgaþ, ge eac oþre
syngiende rihtaþ.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 63)

On the basis of their good example, the congregation is admonished
in similar vein:

forþon us syndon nu to bebeorhgenne
þa mycclan [sic] synna, þæt we þe
eþelcor þa medmycclan gebetan magon.

(Ibid., Loc.cit)

Again, in a general admonitory statement which opens a piece given the
title Visions of Departing Souls, a homilist, who is probably not
Ælfric, writes:

7 uton geswican (æ)fre ælces yfeles, 7
don to gode þone dæl þe we magon; þonne
gebeor(ge) we us sylfum wið ece wite, 7
geearniað us heofena (rice)...

(Pope, Homilies, 775)

In common with these directives to avoid sin and eternal punishment,
there are two instances in Wulfstan's Sermo ad Anglos. Towards the
end of this piece, Wulfstan directs attention to the injury caused by
sin - synleawa - and to the condition of the wretched who are burdened
by it - þysse earman forsyngodan þeode, and passionately exhorts every
man thus:

75

Ac la, on Godes naman, utan don swa us
neod is, beorgan us sylfum swa we geornost
magan, þe las we atgædere ealle forweorðan.

In conclusion, Wulfstan refers directly to the Last Judgement:

7 utan gelome understandan þone miclan
dom þe we ealle to sculon, 7 beorgan
us georne wið þone weallendan bryne helle wites..

(Whitelock, Sermo Lupi, 67)

In both cases, Wulfstan urges a change in man's behaviour; it is for the individual wrongdoer to take steps himself to ensure the salvation of his soul. Although for Wulfstan, man's laws were to be regarded ideally as an earthly expression of God's, the referents of the verbs in these extracts point away from, rather than towards, the concept of divine protection.

There is one other instance in the Sermo ad Anglos of beorgan, and it comes in a context which, despite the overall moral tone, would seem to refer to divine protection from the transgressors of the law, even though it is clear that little distinction is made by Wulfstan between the breakers of earthly and divine law, and the damnation which both shall deserve. In a passage which speaks vividly of the spoliation of churches, of forced marriages, of unlawful slavery and the abuse of freemen, he says:

7 þas we habbað ealle þurh Godes yrre
 bysmor gelome, gechnawe se þe cunne; 7
 se byrst wyrð gemæne, þeh man swa ne
 wene, eallre þysse þeode, butan God beorge.

(Ibid., 53)

It is noticeable that the contexts in which beorgan appears in the fifth Blickling homily, in the Visions of Departing Souls and in the Sermo ad Anglos make no allusion to spiritual combat whatsoever. It could be argued that the force of the secular analogue in the use of beorgan serves to invest these extracts with a metaphorical basis of the type normally associated with the more precise realization of the Miles Christi, yet this seems most unlikely for three reasons. First, the comparison of straightforward secular and religious referents to this term shows that beorgan is not modified in its usage in either of the categories. Even when the term is coupled with the name of

God, as in butan God beorge (Whitelock, Sermo ad Anglos, 53), spiritual protection is not the dominant, at least not the only, referent to which the verb is applied.⁷⁶ Second, all of the above examples show a complete absence of verbal elements typical of, and essential to, the introduction of the theme of spiritual warfare. Third, beorgan is a term of such general application - it is reserved neither for physical nor for spiritual protection - that its appearance in any given context with the primary meaning of 'to protect' can not, in itself, be regarded as significant in terms of the conscious manipulation of vocabulary.

Two final examples will underline the point. In the Christ, as has been seen, beorgan appears in a long metaphor dealing with spiritual protection against the arrows of the devil. The presence of this detail, the two-fold use of gescildap (761a) and gescilde (775a) in relation to God, give sufficient indication of the nature of the struggle. Beorgan appears, significantly, in this statement:

Utan us beorgan þa
þenden we on eorðan eard weardien.

(ASPR III 11.771b-72)

While scildan is reserved for the expression of direct divine protection, beorgan again functions in relation to the individual. To be sure, the direct result of fulfilling this call to protection is eternal salvation. Yet in this process, man must help himself in order to receive God's help, and in that sense the immediate referent of beorgan is not one of divine assistance.

More interesting is Guthlac's spiritual struggle enacted on and around the beorg in Guthlac A. The OE masculine noun beorg means 'a hill, mountain, mound, burial place', etc. It is constantly referred to by

the poet as the scene of spiritual combat, the metaphorical battlefield, over which the saint and devils fight (140a, 148a, 175b, 192a, 209a, 232b, 262b, 329a, 429a, 439a). Although the term is used in its literal sense of 'hill, mountain', it is interwoven into the complex metaphoric fabric of the poem and acts as the focal point for the saint's spiritual development and eventual victory.

The OE neuter noun gebeorg, a derivative of OE beorg, has the primary meaning of 'protection' in the abstract, but its frequent rendition of Latin refugium in the glossed psalters gives the term the more precise meaning of 'a place of refuge'. The metaphorical extension of beorg in Guthlac A to the area of meaning controlled by gebeorg is implicit in the poet's presentation of events and in the constant correlation of topographic detail and spiritual identity. It would, therefore, be not unreasonable to expect a parallel forceful exploitation of beorgan in relation to spiritual protection, since such effective word-play would underline most completely the metaphoric basis of the saint's life. Yet there are only two occasions on which the poet makes use of beorgan. The first comes in the description of how the devils are forced to return the saint to the victory dwelling and, in carrying him, to take care that he should not fall:

Hy hine bæron ond him bryce heoldon,
hofon hine hondum and him hryre burgun.

(ASPR III. 11.729-30)

The other instance, which most nearly complements the metaphor of the beorg, comes in the poet's epilogue on the subject of the righteous who, like Guthlac:

Fæsten lufiað
beorgað him bealonip ond gebedu secað

(808b-809)

In contradistinction, the verb which the poet habitually employs for God's protection is scyldan.

It should be said that no firm argument can reasonably be allowed to stand on the basis of negative evidence, as here. However, the two very different functions fulfilled by beorgan in the poem point to a conclusion suggested by the other evidence previously presented, namely, that beorgan was frequently used, irrespective of context, as a verb (perhaps as the most accessible verb in the lexis) with the meaning of 'to protect, preserve', and that its presence in religious texts, even in contexts where spiritual battle is firmly delineated, as in Guthlac A, makes no obvious contribution to the shaping of didactic emphasis.

3.2.iii Fultum, Fultumiam.

OE fultum has the primary meaning of 'help', 'aid' and 'assistance'. It is prevalent in contexts of both secular and religious warfare; in each, however, when expressing the concept of assistance, whether military or divine, the term corresponds closely with the concept of protection, and in this sense may be said to indicate a defensive attitude. Its familiarity to writers of historical matter is amply demonstrated by the following extracts:

On ðam dagum þe Cirus Persa cyning
 Babylonia abræc, ða was Croesus se
 lipa cyning mid firde gefaren Babylonium
 to fultume; ac þa he wiste þæt he him on
 nanum fultome beon ne mæhte, ond þæt seo
 burg abrocen was, he him hamweard ferde
 to his agnum rice.

(OE Orosius, 74)

Da on ðære unstilnyse onsendon hi
ærendwrecan to Rome mid gewritum 7
wependre bene: him fultumes bædon, 7
him gehetan eaðmode hynnyse 7 singale
underþeodnyse, gif hi him gefultumadon
þæt hi mihton heora fynd oferwinnan.
Da onsendan hi him mycelne here to fultume.

(OE Bede, 44)

Eac on þysum ylcan geare sona uppon
Sancte Michael's massan ferde Eadgar
æpeling mid fyrde þurh þæs cynges
fultum into Scotlande 7 þæt land mid
stranglicum feohte gewann 7 þone cyng
Dufenal ut adræfde..

(Clark, Peterborough Chronicle,
sa.1097)

þa foron forð oþ þe hie comon to Lundenbyrg
ond þa mid þam burgwarum ond þam fultume
þe him westan com foron east to Beafleote.

(Earle & Plummer, Chronicles,
sa. 893 A)

þa after þam þa giet þæs ilcan hærfæstes
gegadorode micel here hine of East Englum
ægþer ge þæs land heres ge þara wicinga þa
hie him to fultume aspanen hæfdon, 7 þohton
þæt hie sceoldon ge wrecan heora teonum, 7
foron to Mældune, 7 ymb sæton þa burg. 7
fuhton þær on, oþ þam burg warum com mara
fultum to utan to helpe, 7 forlet se here þa
burg, 7 for fram; 7 þa foron þa men, after
ut of þære byrig, 7 eac þa þe him utan comon
to fultume, 7 gefliendon þone here 7 ofslogon
hira monig hund, ægþer ge æsc manna ge oþerra.

(Ibid., sa 921 A)

In these illustrative examples, fultum is descriptive either of general military assistance or of a body of armed men whose specific function it is to supply such assistance. A study of fultum and related forms in contexts of spiritual warfare will bring to light the specialized function of the term in phrases in which qualificatory vocabulary is in evidence; furthermore, a study of the larger contexts

in which the term occurs will show not only the existence of a clearly acceptable synonym, but will also, through investigating patterns of verbal association, reveal a nucleus of terms which both extends and complements the complex areas of association inherent in the use of scyldan, in the discussion on pp. 279-98 above.

That the power by which the saint and other Milites Christi overcome the devil is due to the grace of God is constantly stressed by homilists and hagiographers. As Halvorson has shown, fultum and its derivative verb fultumian are prominent in the expression of this divine aid.⁷⁷ The forty martyrs in Ælfric's Natale Sanctorum Quadraginta Militum announce their victory at the moment of their death:

Ure sawl is aħred of grine swa swa spearwa.
Ʒæt grin is tobryt. and we synd alysede.
Ure ealra fultum is on Ðæs drihtnes naman.
seÐe geworhte heofonas and eorÐan.
Ʒa cwædon hi amen. and heora gastas ageafon.
and ferdon swa gemartyrode to þam almihtigan drihtne
þe him ær gefultumode on Ðam frecednyssum.
and hi æfre getrymde oppæt hi him tocomon.

(Skeat, LSS I.254)

The martyrs recite Ps.123, 7-8 in the first four lines of this extract; Ælfric's use of fultum comes in response to the Latin Adiutorium (v.8).

In the prose Guthlac, it is reported that Crowland is uninhabitable, owing to the presence of evil spirits; Guthlac's resolve to remain and resist temptation is directed by divine assistance:

And he þa se eadiga wer GuÐlac forhogode
sona þa costunge þara awerigdra gasta,
and mid heofonlicum fultume gestrangod
wearÐ;....

(OE Prose Guthlac, 114-15)

which translates:

...in qua vir Dei Guthlac contempto
hoste, caelesti auxilio adiutus....

(Colgrave, Felix, 88)

In Ælfric's fourth homily for the feast Nativitas Domini, extant only in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C.v., the God-given strength of Moses opposes and defeats the wordly magic of the magicians responsible for the reprobate behaviour of the Pharaoh. In a passage independent of his immediate sources, the homilist says:

Da deoplican drymen mid heora drycraftu(m)
on Egypta lande þe forlardon Farao
worhton manega tacna ongean Moysen
of þam ylcan antimbre þe God ær gesceop,
oðþæt hi sylfe sædon, o(fersw)yðede æt nextan,
Digitus Dei est hoc,
þæt Godes finger ware Moysen on fultume
7 hi ne mihton na leng Moyse wiðstandan
for þam strangan fingre þe hi gefreddan hiom ongean.

(Pope, Homilies, 207-08)

In the first two extracts above, OE fultum translates Latin adiutorium and auxilium. The two Latin terms are basically synonymous; in their primary senses they express the notions of 'help', 'support', 'assistance'. In classical and later texts, both terms were often used in contexts of military combat. Auxilia, the plural form, could refer to a body of reserve troops, a usage which survives in Mod. E.

Fultum is the regular gloss for Latin auxilium and adiutorium as is demonstrated not only by such translation practices shown above, but also by the performance of glossators in various Anglo-Saxon psalters. Thus, in Pss. 19.3; 21.20 and 48.15, Latin auxilium is rendered by OE fultum in the following psalters: Vespasian, Vitellius, Tiberius, Regius, Junius, Arundel, Canterbury, Salisbury, Lambeth, Stowe and

Cambridge. Latin adiutorium in Pss. 7.11; 37.23; 90.1 (adiutorio); 87.5 (adiutorio), and 69.2 is translated by OE fultum in the same psalters. The Bosworth Psalter gloss has fultum for adiutorium (69.2), as has the metrical paraphrase in the Paris Psalter. Such evidence finds ample support in the translation practices to be observed in literary works. For example, in the OE Orosius, to fultume renders ad auxiliandum (OE Orosius, 74) in a military context; fultum translates auxilium in the OE Soliloquies (Endter, OE Soliloquies, 4).⁷⁸ Similarly, in Vercelli Homily XX, the homilist translates Deo auxiliante with the phrase Gode fultumigendum (Szarmach, Vercelli XX, p.14, l.7 and fn.7), thus preserving not only the original dative construction but also complying with the translation practices of other homilists and glossators.

The second term which Halvorson regards as expressive of divine aid in Alfric's homilies is OE fylst;⁷⁹ incidence of its derivative verb gefylstan and of the substantive fylsta, 'helper' should also be taken into consideration. As with fultum, there are a significant number of instances in which fylst and its derivatives is used in evocations of the figure of the Miles Christi. In the explicit to his Sermo de Memoria Sanctorum, Alfric says:

Nu ge habbað gehyred . hu þas halgan mægnu
oferswyðap ða leahtras . þe deofol besawð on us .
and gif we nellað hi ofer-swiðan . hi besencað us on helle .
We magon þurh godes fylst ða feondlican leahtras
mid gecampe ofer-winnan . gif we cenlice feohtað.

(Skeat, LSS I.362)

Similarly, in his piece for Dominica V Post Pentecosten, in the second series of Catholic Homilies, he teaches that:

Se ðe wile campian ongean ðam reðan deofle mid
fæstum geleafan and gastlicum wæpnum, he begyt
sige ðurh Godes fylste.

(Thorpe, CH II. 402)

Both passages contain elements most readily associated with the figure of the Miles Christi: oferswiðan, gastlicum wæpnum, mid gecampe ofer-winnan; both also contain the phrase ðurh Godes fylste. In both passages, there is a direct causal link between the fylst and the victory; in the first, it is feohtað and ofer-winnan which are dependent on it, and in the second it is, along with the gastlicum wæpnum, the means of achieving sige. That fylst here is acting as a substitute for, or as an alternative to, fultum can be most readily appreciated by suggesting that the phrase itself is modelled on the much more frequent mid Godes fultume, which was popular with poets and preachers alike, as this selective list of occurrences shows:

Morris, Blickling Homilies, 53, 63.

Napier, Homilies, 180, 188, 250.

Bethurum, Homilies, 203.

Thorpe, CH. I.4.

Skeat, LSS. I.242.

Logeman, Minora II, 509.

Cambridge, CCC 162, p.381.

Sisam, Vercelli Book, fol.77r. (Homily XIV).

Alfred's Preface to the OE Cura Pastoralis
in Sweet, Reader, 6.

Pope, Homilies, 199.

Judith, 186a.

The function of fylst as an effective and acceptable component in contexts of spiritual victory is further underlined by Ælfric in his homily on St. Stephen in the first series of Catholic Homilies.

Following Augustine, he seeks to derive spiritual instruction from the reported vision in which Stephen saw Christ standing at the right hand of the Father:

Se eadiga Stephanus geseah Crist standan,
forðan þe he wæs his gefylsta on ðam
gastlicum gefeohte his martyrdomes. Witod-
lice we andettað on urum credan, þæt Drihten
sitt æt his Fæder swiðran. Setl gedafenað
deman, and steall gefylstendum oððe feohtendum.

(Thorpe, CH. I.48)

One final example of the use of fylst will again display its integration in the theme as well as demonstrate its substitution for fultum.

Vercelli Homily XX consists of an extensive treatment of the capital sins. It is heavily indebted to Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, with occasional borrowings from other, more commonplace works, among which figure Isidore's De Ecclesiasticis Officiis. As part of the teachings on seo ælmessylen, the homilist asserts:

80

heo ys unoferwinnendlic weall ymb þa sawle
7 heo framadrifð deoflu 7 englas togelaðað
on fultum 7 heo þurhfearð þone heofon 7 heo
forestepð þone sylleendan on heofonarices
wuldre 7 heo cnyst heofonarices duru 7 heo
awecð englas ongean 7 heo tosomne gecigeð
Dryhten ælmihtigne on fultum þam þe hie
luflice 7 rumodlide dæleð.

(Szarmach, Vercelli XX, 11.48-53)

The whole homily is framed in the familiar terms of the spiritual struggle which is typical of many Latin and English treatments of the Deadly Sins. Immediately before this quoted passage, the homilist asserts that through fasting and almsgiving beoð deofles costunga oferwiðede (Ibid., 11.40-41) which is derived from Isidore's diaboli temptamente vincuntur (Migne, PL. 83.757).

Furthermore, 11.48-53 of Vercelli XX, quoted above, also appear in Vercelli Homily III. Of this latter piece, Szarmach says, 'its con-
fused rendering of the Latin marks it a different and older version'
81
than Vercelli XX. The Latin source corresponding to these OE passages, as printed by Szarmach, reads:

murus inexpubnabilis circa animam, daemones
 expellit, invitat angelos. (Hieron).
 Eleemosyna penetrat coelum, praecedit dantem,
 pulsat januam regni, excitat angelos in
 obviam, Deum convocat in adiutorium.

(Szarmach, Vercelli XX, p.19)

The author of Vercelli XX renders in adiutorium by on fultum; he also includes the same phrase in his englas togelaðað on fultum where the Latin simply reads invitat angelos. The repetition of fultum here in association with the concept of angels exemplifies an associative trend, common in OE poetry and prose, in which angels are invariably regarded as the comforters and protectors of God's faithful, as several of the above-quoted passages confirm.

However, the author of Vercelli Homily III, a piece thought to be older and independent from Vercelli XX, renders the same Latin extract thus:

7 hio is unoferwuniendlic weall ymb þa sawle 7
 þa dioflu framadrifð. 7 hio laðað englas to
 fylste, swa swa Hieronimus cwæð: "Sio ælmesse
 geondfærð þone heofon 7 hio cnyseð heofonarices
 duru". 7 hio awecð þone engel ongeancumende 7
 hio God gecigð to fultume.

(Ibid., p.20; as Förster
Homilies, 69-70).

In common with the writer of Vercelli XX, the OE homilist here translates Latin in adiutorium with to fultume. However, where the writer of Vercelli XX rendered Latin invitat angelos by englas togelaðað on fultum, the homilist of Vercelli III has hio laðað englas to fylste.

I would maintain that these translation practices confirm the suggestion that OE homilists recognised fylst as a ready alternative to fultum. It should be added that since the OE versions are independent, and since there is no precise Latin equivalent for the phrases on fultum and to fylste, the OE writers were moved to make original and similar

additions to their Latin source in response to the concept of the protective role of angels.

Such evidence from homiletic composition and translation can be readily supplemented by the clear picture which emerges from the practice of glossators whose choice of terms re-affirms the interchangeability of fultum and fylst. For example, Auxilii in Ps. 61.8 is glossed by fultumes in the Vespasian Psalter, by fultum in the Junius Psalter and by fultumend in the Canterbury Psalter; however, the same term is rendered by fylstes in the Tiberius, Vitellius, Regius and Arundel psalters. The same variation is apparent with adiuvasset (Ps. 93.17), rendered by gefultumade, (Vespasian and Junius), and gefultumend (Canterbury), but by gefylst, (Vitellius and Arundel and by gefylste in the Regius and Stowe psalters. Gefylstan often appears throughout some psalters, especially the Regius Psalter, as the most common translation of either auxiliare or adiuvare. Furthermore, in the Canterbury Psalter, adiutor occurs twice in Ps. 17.3 and is rendered by the doublets gefylstend 7 fultumend and fultumend 7 gefelstend. Adiutorio (ps. 80.2) is similarly glossed by gefylstan in the Blickling Psalter, (Morris, Blickling Homilies, 257).

One final illustration provides telling confirmation of this glossatorial practice. I draw attention to the marked variation in the rendition of Ps. 69.2 which reads:

Domine deus in adiutorium meum, intende:
domine ad adiuuandum me festina.

As was noticed above, all of the OE psalter glosses (excepting the Blickling gloss) render Latin adiutorium by OE fultum in this verse;⁸² however, the translation practice in relation to adiuuandum is much less

consistent. The following list shows the distribution of fultum and fylst and their derivatives in response to Latin adiuuandum:

to gefultumianne	:	Cambridge Psalter
	:	Junius Psalter
	:	Lambeth Psalter
	:	Arundel Psalter
to gefultumiende	:	Vespasian Psalter
	:	Canterbury Psalter
gefultuma	:	Paris Psalter

but

to gefylstanne	:	Regius Psalter
(to fylstanne)	:	Stowe Psalter
	:	Vitellius Psalter
	:	Tiberius Psalter
	:	Bosworth Psalter
to fylstande	:	Salisbury Psalter

In the elucidation of such evidence, it is perhaps advisable to differentiate between verbal and substantive forms. Thus, for example, Michael Korhammer, in a recent study of monastic hymns in representative English MSS notes that OE fultum, by far the most popular translation of Latin adiutorium and auxilium, occurs on over twenty occasions in the Regius Psalter, against only one example of the synonym fylst. However, the glossator of the same psalter displays a marked fondness for the verb gefylstan (16 occurrences), as opposed to gefultumian which appears only five times. Generally speaking, according to Korhammer, the substantive fultum far outweighs fylst in both glosses and literary texts; the related form gefylsta comes more often, however, especially in the Catholic Homilies and in the Lambeth and Regius psalters, while the verbal form gefylstan was, in some cases, just as common as

gefultumian, though less frequent than helpan which, especially in Ælfric's writings, was predominant. As in the case of gefylstan and fylst, the substantive form help is conspicuous through the paucity of its occurrences when compared to the incidence of gehelpan.⁸³

Korhammer suggests that such discrepancies are to be accounted for in terms of regional, dialectical preferences, including the gradual rise in popularity of some terms at the expense of others. However inconclusive the evidence in this respect seems to be, his brief excursus into the relative popularity of these terms not only provides useful confirmation of the interchangeability of fultum, fylst and their derivatives, it also isolates a further possible alternative in help, gehelpan.

While fultum and fylst share common ground in that they are, on occasions, interchangeable, scrutiny of the contexts in which fultum as an expression of divine aid is invoked, reveals other close associations of a slightly different character. Fultum and fylst are variable terms for the same concept in a number of contexts, notably that of the Miles Christi; within that context, however, it is frequently stated that the acceptance of God's fultum or fylst results in the manifestation of solace or comfort, expressed by OE frofor. The causal relationship between fultum and frofor is well illustrated by a comment of Ælfric in his De Populo Israhel. The homilist relates that Moses, after receiving the tablets of the Decalogue on Sinai, destroyed the golden calf and those responsible for its creation. Thereafter, the continuous grumbling of those who remained provoked the anger of God who sent deadly fire from heaven to consume them. Their eventual petition to Moses results in the abatement of divine wrath:

Das race we secgað eow nu to rihtinge,
þæt nan mann ne sceole ceorian ongean God
mid dystigum anginne, ne his Drihten gremian,
se þe æfre wyle wel þam ðe hit geearniað,
and he ða gefrefrað þe his fultumes biddað.

(Pope, Homilies, 644)

Now, although Ælfric is not speaking directly of the soldier of God's spiritual struggle, divine intervention into men's affairs and the destruction of God's enemies marks the event as one of primary spiritual significance. The thoughts and actions of those who raised the golden calf and who expressed displeasure at the need to obey God are essentially identical to those manifested in the archetypal wicked judges and heathen oppressors who are frequently encountered in lives of saints; Moses's destruction of the false idol is similarly an exact parallel of the actions undertaken by saints and martyrs in defence of the true faith. In this extract, the manifestation of God's help - fultumes - provides comfort - he ða gefrefrað - to those who had previously thought to disregard his commandments. This example is indicative of a trend in more concrete realization of the Miles Christi in which the gift of help is said to provide comfort to those oppressed by temptation or by its personification in devilish form. I give several clear examples of the manifestation of God's comfort in those who take up the spiritual struggle in his name.

Guthlac is one of the most prominent of OE Milites Christi and examples from the two poems assert that, as a soldier of Christ, he received comfort, and that he was able to transmit this God-given gift to others. Faced with the multitude of devils and their temptations, he proclaims his total trust in God and states:

Ic eom dryhtnes þeow,
he mec þurh engel oft afrefreð.
Forðon mec longeþas lyt gegretað,

sorge sealdun, nu mec sawelcund
 hyrde bihealdeð. Is min hyht mid god,
 ne ic me eorðwelan owiht sinne,
 ne me mid mode micles gyrne,
 ac me dogra gehwam dryhten sendeð
 þurh monnes hond mine þearfe.
 Swa modgade, se wið mongum stod,
 aweðed weorðlice wuldres cempa
 engla mægne.

(ASPR. III.11.314b-25a)

Similarly, in Guthlac B, the poet briefly reviews the events of the saint's life before devoting his attention to his death. He writes in this manner of those who came to seek help from Guthlac:

Symle frofre þar
 æt þam godes cempan gearwe fundon,
 helpe ond hæl. Nænig hæleþa is
 þe areccan mæge oþþe rim wite
 ealra þara wundra þe he in worulde her
 þurh dryhtnes giefe dugeþum gefremede.

(Ibid., 888b-93)

In the Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, it will be recalled, Ælfric relates that Peter is called upon to resist the emperor Nero and the magician Simon, and is strengthened in his resolve by these words promising divine assistance:

ic beo mid þe, and ic sende minne
 ðeowan Paulum ðe to frofre, se
 stapð to merigen into Romana-byrig,
 and gyt mid gastlicum gecampe winnað
 ongean ðone dry, and hine awurpað into
 helle grunde: and gyt siððam samod
 to minum rice becumað mid sige martyr-
 domes.

(Thorpe, CH. I.374)

In the above extracts, the divine gift of frofer would seem to have a direct causal relationship to the persons whose actions - se wið mongum stod (Guthlac A, 323b), se stapð....mid gastlicum gecampe (Thorpe, CH. I.374) - readily call to mind the important extended metaphor in

Ad Ephesios VI.10-20, and which therefore stand at the heart of the vernacular presentation of the Miles Christi.

Although the passages from Guthlac A, Guthlac B and the Alfrician homily on St. Stephen do not display the intimate association of frofer and fultum in the same way as was evident from the extract from Alfric's De Populo Israhel, the close proximity of these two terms can be traced through processes of less direct association. In the extract from Guthlac A above, the saint declares that he receives comfort from God through the intermediary of his angel: he mec þurh engel oft afrefreð. Comparable in both context and meaning is this comment on the function of God's angels in Blickling Homily III, which expounds Christ's temptation in the desert:

forþon þe englas beoþ áá halgum
mannum on fultume swa swa scyld

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 29)

Further, the angel's gift of comfort to Guthlac, expressed through the use of afrefreð (315b) is the direct result of the manifestation of the angel's strength - engla mægne (325a). In a more generalised context of spiritual struggle which centres on the opposition between the lovers of strife and the lovers of peace and exemplified by the figures of Job and Antichrist, the translator of the Cura Pastoralis says of the followers of se awirgda Antexrist:

Swa eac se se ðe ða unryhtwisan tosomne
sibbað, he seleð ðare unryhtwisnesse
fultom & mægen, forðam hie magon ða
godan swa micle swiður gewencean swa
hie hiora anmodlicor ehtað.

(OE Cura Pastoralis, 361)

where the doublet fultom & mægen renders Gregory's vires (Migne PL. 77.93). Similarly, the poet of Guthlac B, in the extract given above, equates the saint's gift of comfort, frofre, with help, expressed by helpe. Wulfstan, in the opening paragraph of his Canons of Edgar, speaks of the need for priests to be active in helping each other for the maintenance of God's laws and their continued propagation on earth:

and þæt ælc sy oðrum on fultume
and on helpe ge for Gode ge for worulde.

(Fowler, Canons, 1).

More pointedly, Cynewulf closes his account of the Fates of the Apostles with this prayer:

Nu ic þonne bidde beorn se ðe lufige
þysses giddes begang, þæt he geomrum me
þone halga[n] heap helpe bidde,
friðes ond fultomes;

(ll.88-91a)

These examples of apparent interchangeability of frofer and fultum, though not indicative of strict synonymy, reflect a tendency among OE writers in general to draw both terms, in either verbal or substantive form, into sharp focus in a variety of contexts. There are, for example, several instances of the direct pairing of these terms. In the Blickling homily To Sanctae Michahles Massan which tells of divine intervention in a Christian - Pagan battle, and which therefore approximates to the conditions under which the Miles Christi is seen to act, the Christian citizens of Benevento and Sepontus are threatened with attack. They seek the advice of their bishop who instructs them to fast for three days, to give alms and to recite psalms to the archangel Michael:

to ðam heahengle Michaelæ, swa to ðam
getreowestan mundboran, þæt hie him
frofne & fultomes wilnodan, þæt hie
moston ðara feonda searo beswican &
ofercuman.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 201)

Although these Christians bear arms in their struggle, it is the appearance of the lightning sent from heaven which secures victory for the Christians, presented as the fulfilment of a prophecy:

Ða flugon þa hæðnan leode, & gelice se leg hie
cwylnde, gelice þa Cristenan him mid heora wapnum
hyndon & onsetton, oppæt hie unsofte þo Neapulite
& ofercomon ða hæþnan leode, þa þe lifdon heora
burh healf-cwice, & oferfeollan þa ðe þa frecennesse
& yrmþo genæson. Ða us þa wæs gecyþed Cristenum
leodum, se Godes engel þær cwom on fultum & on frofne.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 203)

So effective is this manifestation of God's power that it results in the conversion of the heathen forces because:

hie ongeaton geornlice þæt þam
Cristenum leodum com Godes engel
on fultume & on frofne.

(Ibid., loc.cit)

A closely related context of spiritual victory against human enemies appears in the OE translation of Gregory's Dialogues. Gregory relates the story of an invading band of Goths who destroy by fire the house of saint Benedict; the saint is trapped in the house, yet because he geheold stranglice 7 fæstlice in ðam regole þæs halgan lifes (Hecht, OE Dialogues, 219) he emerges miraculously unharmed. The young monk, Peter, who has been listening, responds by drawing a comparison between Gregory's story and the experience of Sidrach, Misach and Abdenago (Dan. III.13ff); Gregory, however, asserts that the two cases are

different since, in the latter, the furnace dissolved their bonds while leaving their clothes unharmed. Gregory concludes by saying:

ut uno eodemque tempore in obsequium
iustorum et haberet flamma virtutem
suam ad solacium et non haberet ad
tormentum.

(Moricca, Dialogi, 185)

which is rendered in English as:

swa hit gelamp on þa ylcan tid, þæt
se lig gehæfde his mægn in þara
rihtwisra cnihta þegnunge to heora
frofre 7 fultumo 7 hit habbab ne mihte
to heora wite 7 tintregum.

(Hecht, OE Dialogues, 219)

There are three examples known to me of the strict pairing of these terms in the Catholic Homilies. Although none occurs in an obvious context of spiritual overcoming, they nonetheless provide additional evidence that the pairing of these words was a recognized compositional practice. In his Sermo de Initio Creaturae ad Populum, Quando Volueris, in the first series of Catholic Homilies, Ælfric tells of the creation of Eve and has this to say of Adam:

"Nis na gedafenlic þæt þes man ana beo,
and næbbe nænne fultum: ac uton wyrcean
him gemacan, him to fultume and to frofre."

(Thorpe, CH I. 14)

In the piece for the Annunciatio S. Mariae, Ælfric teaches the significance of the Annunciation and the virgin birth; he explains why Jesus, though not conceived by the union of a woman and an earthly father, was in the care of Joseph. He concludes that Joseph:

was Cristes fostor-fæder and mid his
fultume and frofre on gehwiltum ðingum
him ðenode on ðære menniscnysse.

(Ibid., 196)

Again, in Ælfric's homily for Nativitas Domini in the second series of the Catholic Homilies, the audience is urged to ponder the exalted position of the virgin Mary:

Uton beon eac gemyndige hu micelre
geðincðe sy þæt halige mæden Maria,
Cristes moder: heo is gebletsod ofer
eallum wifhades mannum; heo is seo
heofenlice cwen, and ealra cristenra
manna frofer and fultum.

(Thorpe, CH. II.22)

There is one other example in the Ælfrician corpus; it comes in the Vita S. Martin Episcopi and although it figures in the story of the soldier who renounces his worldly weapons and turns to the monastic life, only to be tempted by the devil to continue his previously acceptable marital practices, it plays no obvious part in Martin's successful attempt to drive temptation from him. Through the devil's instigation, the man approached Martin and asked if he could not continue to live with his wife; Ælfric goes on:

and cwæð þæt hit ne sceolde his munuc-hæde derian
þeah þe he hire frofres and fultumes bruce.

(Skeat, LSS. II.286)

The precise configuration of these phrases - frofre & fultomes, frofer and fultum, etc., suggests that they may have attained the status of fixed syntactical units of the type discussed by McIntosh in relation to Wulfstan's prose. The fact that there are at least eight clear examples of the phrase lends support, in my view, to such a suggestion.

However, there are two instances of the phrase in Beowulf - frofor ond fultum (698a) and frofre ond fultum (1273a) - and the presence of this and similarly constructed phrases in the earliest poetry suggests at the same time that they developed initially, at least, as oral formulas and were subsequently adopted by prose writers working in a lettered tradition. Yet, the weight of evidence does little to substantiate this suggestion. While it may plausibly be argued that frofor ond fultum (Beowulf, 698a) is an oral formula belonging to a system to which fripes ond fultomes, (Brooks, Fates of the Apostles, 91a), for example, also belongs, the question of the lettered origin of such phrases should also be investigated.

By way of complement to the remarks made above on the predominance of phrases of the type frofor ond fultum in prose texts, the following points should be considered. ⁸⁷ OE frofor and fultum is an alliterating word pair of rare occurrence in verse which may be accorded the status of an oral formula by virtue of the fact that similar phrases of the same grammatical configuration can be located. At the same time, the doublet enjoys more popularity in prose texts, and its insistent repetition seems to me to be a factor which militates against its presumed inception in orally composed verse. The doublet idel 7 unnyt is a similar case. As was noted above, this phrase also occurs in the earliest poetry and could equally be said to comply to the demands of a formulaic system. Yet, idel 7 unnyt is, like frofor ond fultum much more widespread in prose texts. Many contributors to the oral-formulaic debate have insisted that verbatim repetition of a phrase is of no consequence in assessing whether that phrase belongs to an oral or a lettered tradition. The significant repetition of OE idel 7 unnyt suggests to me that its popularity is to be accounted for, even in the

earliest poetic texts, as a response to a verbal configuration in a pre-existing written source; Klaeber has suggested, in his discussion of the Christian, and therefore lettered, influences in Beowulf, that the poet's idel ond unnyt (413a) derives directly from the opening words⁸⁸ of the book of Genesis: [Terra autem erat] inanis et vacua (Gen. I.1).

Thus it is possible that, whereas scholars have judiciously discounted the incidence of verbatim repetition of phrases in poetic texts as a determining factor in the identification of oral formulas, the insistent repetition of some phrases in the prose corpus, which also have parallels in the earliest poetry, may be a positive indicator that such phrases are unlikely to have been created in extempore, oral recitation.

Given the similar conditions surrounding the incidence of frofer and fultum, it is at least likely that a comparable biblical source can be located to account adequately for the form of the OE phrase and for the general contexts in which it is called upon. I shall suggest that it is primarily in the Psalms that the initial stimulus for the association of the two terms on the part of OE writers is to be sought. The validity of this connection is strengthened by the recognition that the terms frofer and fultum were frequently associated with each other outside of the confines of the rigid syntactic frame in which they have been seen to operate. I give some of the prominent examples. In Alfred's closing prayer to his translation of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae, he asks for God's mercy:

gestapela min mod to þinum willan.....
gestranga me wið þas deofles
 costnungum;.....gescylde me.....
 þu eart min sceoppend 7 mind alesend,
 min fultum, min frofer, min trewnes
 7 min tohopa: si þe lof 7 wylder.....

(OE Boethius, 149)

where the conventional homiletic si þe lof 7 wylder is mingled with elements which characterise the spiritual struggle and the necessity of obtaining God's help therein. In the Alfredian translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, there is a description of the waning of Northumbrian power after the battle of Nechtansmere and the retreat of bishop Trumwine from Abercorn to Whitby, governed at the time by the abbess Elflad. The English translation reads:

Ah Ða se biscop þider com, mycelne
fultum gereces 7 somod hire lifes
frofre Godes seo wilsume fænne in
him gemette.

(OE Bede, 358)

It is a rather stiff rendition of Bede's:

Sed adueniente illuc episcopo maximum
regendi auxilium, simul et suae uitae
solacium, deuota Deo doctrix inuenit.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 430)

In this case, the OE translator selects fultum and frofre to render Bede's auxilium and solacium, respectively. The trend displayed by the translator accurately reflects the verbal association of his source, and further suggests that the initial stimulus for the OE collocation is to be sought in a body of well-established Latin writings.

A further example comes in the poem Judgement Day II, in a passage which was subsequently incorporated verbatim into an anonymous homily with the rubric:

Her is halwendlic lar and Ðearflice læwedum
mannum, þe þæt læden ne cunnon.

(Napier, Homilies, 134-43)

The poem reads as follows:

þær lehtes ne lecht lytel sperca
earmum ænig, ne þær arfastnes
ne sib ne hopa ne swige gegladað
ne þara wependra worn wihte.
Flyhð frofor aweg; ne bið þær fultum nan
þæt wið þa biteran þing gebeorh mæge fremman.

(ASPR. VI. 11.219-24)

In the glossed psalters, as was the case with fultum, there is a very high degree of consistency in the application of frofer and (a)frefrian. With only one minor exception, Latin consolatio and its derivatives is translated by OE frofer and its derivatives in Pss. 22.4; 68.22; 85.17; 89 93.19; 118.24, 50, 52, 76, 82; 125.1 in all the glossed psalters. The metrical paraphrase in the Paris Psalter similarly displays frefrend, frofrefre, to frofrefre, frefrade and frefriend for consolatio and its derivatives in Pss. 85.20; 118.50, 76, 82 and 134.14, respectively.

This strict translation practice is endorsed by the work of homilists in their writings for which Latin sources have been identified. The homilist for Vercelli Homily XX translates Alcuin's consolationem Scripturam (Migne PL 101.635) by the phrase of haligra gewrita frofrefre (Szarmach, Vercelli XX, 11.120-21). Similarly, in his piece for Dominica Quarta Post Pascha, Ælfric uses this material from Alcuin's Commentaria in Iohannis Evangelium:

spiritalem quippe nondum habentes
interius consolationem, quam per
Spiritus sanctum fuerant habituri

(Migne, PL 100.951)

and writes:

and hi uneaðe mihton his neawiste aberan,
for ðan þe hi næron þa git gefrefrode
þurh þone Halgan Gast, swa swa hi syððan waron.

(Pope, Homilies, 342)

Again, Ælfric's micel frofor in the explicit to his homily for Dominica Post Ascensionem Domini (Pope, Homilies, 389), derives from Bede's magnam consolationis in his homily for the same day.⁹⁰

There is some evidence to suggest that it is familiarity with the Psalms themselves which accounts for this distinctive collocation, and which may be said to provide a written source for its frequent occurrence in literary texts. The glossed psalters provide one clear example of the coupling of fultumian and frefrian. From Ps. 85:17 comes, the statement:

Quoniam tu domine adiuuasti (adiuuisti) me
et consolatus es me

The verbs are glossed in the following manner:

<u>Canterbury</u>	(þu) gefultoma me 7 frefrend is me
<u>Cambridge</u>	þu gefultumdyst me 7 frefriynd eart þu me
<u>Vitellius</u>	þu fultomodest me 7 þu frefrodest me
<u>Regius</u>	þu fultumedost me 7 ðu frefredest me
<u>Bosworth</u>	gefultumedest me 7 þu frefredest me
<u>Junius</u>	gefultumades me 7 afrefriende ware me
<u>Arundel</u>	þu fultomodest me 7 þu frefredest me
<u>Paris</u>	Forþon þu me ware fultum faste, drihten, and me frefredest, frea ðelmihtig
<u>Salisbury</u>	fultumedest me 7 frefrodest me
<u>Vespasian</u>	gefultumades mec 7 froefrende were mec
<u>Stowe</u>	ðu fultomodest me 7 þu frefrodest me
<u>Tiberius</u>	þu fultomedest 7 þu frefrodest me

Of greater significance is the occasional pairing of the nominal forms frofor and fultum. In the earlier investigation of the habitual

glosses to protector, adiutor and refugium, it was pointed out that while gescyld, gescyldend was the most commonly employed gloss for Latin protector, and while geberg, gebeorh appeared extensively in response to Latin refugium, certain glossators, notably the one responsible for the Salisbury Psalter gloss, occasionally adopted frofer to render both Latin protector and refugium. The larger contexts of such practices reveal the following significant examples of this pairing.

First, from the Salisbury Psalter:

- Ps. 32.20 forðan fultum 7 frofer ure is
 quoniam adiutor et protector noster est
- Ps. 39.18 fultum min 7 frofer min
 Adiutor meus et protector meus
- Ps. 93.22 me on frofre
 Et factus est dominus mihi in refugium
- 7 god min on fultume
 et deus meus in adiutorium
- Ps. 113b.11 fultum heora 7 frofer heora is
 adiutor eorum et protector eorum est

Such occurrences are impressive, and are strengthened by the fact that they are not isolated and idiosyncratic choices of the Salisbury glossator. Two other glossators reproduce the same collocation in their selection of frofer for Latin refugium; both come in the rendition of Ps. 93.22:

Vitellius drihten on frofre 7 god min on fultume
 dominus in refugium et deus meus in adiutorium

Arundel drihten on frofor 7 god min on fultum
 dominus in refugium et deus meus in adiutorium

There is one other example of this distinctive pairing known to me which appears as a gloss to Latin devotional material. In the hymn Iesus Refulsit come the following verses:

getyða welwillendne frofer mid singalum fultume
 7 do us rixian mid ðe on heofonan ætbrodene
 fram cwicsusle.

Presta benignum solamen sedulo adiutorio,
 facque nos regnare tecum polo, raptos æ
 tartaro

The uses to which scyld, scyldan, scyldnes, fultum and fultumian are put in the glossed psalters is important because it reveals an intimate association of these terms with the overtly religious frofer and afrefrian. The identification of this nucleus of terms has significance for the figural representation of the Miles Christi since the presence of one or some of these terms in any given context is likely to generate associations ordinarily supplied by the others. To the collocation frofer 7 fultum, it is useful to apply this observation by Michel Bréal in his Essai de Sémantique:

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All fixed expressions have this in common: that the words, by dint of being placed together, react to some degree on each other, and each acquire part of the significance of the other..... It may happen also that one of the two, by itself alone, arouses in the mind of the reader, the idea usually expressed by both.

One might add that in a strictly defined and well-established context, as in the case of spiritual warfare, the use of certain evocative terms is likely to increase the intensity of such extra-textual associations. Thus, it is likely that the appearance of scyldan, scyldnes or fultum in a clear evocation of spiritual combat, will carry with it the associations generated by frofer, itself a term which is frequently used independently in such contexts.

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It is a pattern of thought which is in evidence here, a pattern which may well have become automatic and unconscious, but one which seems

to owe its currency to the enormous popularity of, and reverence for, the Psalms, which is a marked feature of early Medieval Christianity. This instinctive coupling of ideas, which prolonged study of the Psalms would have afforded, was certainly instrumental in guiding OE homilists and hagiographers in their distinctive selection of vocabulary for spiritual combat, and allowed them to colour the meanings of the individual components of their word cluster in sophisticated ways. While a phrase of the type mid Godes fultume⁹⁵ operates in much the same way as one of the type Cristes cempa, it is clear that the phrase frofer 7 fultum (or a passage in which the terms are less formally associated) will not only redirect the secular associations of fultum (as with cempa in Cristes cempa), it will also introduce allied concepts, producing a greater range of associations which take on considerable force by virtue of the fact that they are not openly stated.⁹⁶

It is, then, clear that the identity of those engaged in spiritual warfare in OE homilies and lives of saints is shaped by consciously adopted compositional procedures designed to create a specific metaphoric synthesis. The strength and popularity of the literary expression of conventional warfare was vigorously exploited by religious writers who nevertheless ensured that the full potential of such an expression would be realized only in the metaphorical re-application of terminology ideally suited to martial description.

Thus, since verbal elements redolent of military strife have, by definition, an integral function in the presentation of the Miles Christi, it is not uncommon to find the use of such terms as gewin, gewinnan, wæpn, fultum and cempa; other terms which express more

forcefully the result of physical strife, like feohtan and ofslean are considerably less common. In general, it is the presence of terms such as gewin, fultum, wæpn and cempa, in the habitually selected word cluster, which supply the basis from which metaphoric tension is created. This is achieved both by providing immediate verbal qualifiers to terms ordinarily suggestive of conventional warfare, as in the case of phrases of the type Godes cempan, mid Godes gewæpnungum, gastlice feohtan (phrases which may be considered as fixed signalling devices announcing the evocation of spiritual warfare), and by selecting terms which, since they lay stress on the defensive posture of the spiritual warrior and of his dependence on God-given protection, are capable of arousing allied notions possessing overtly religious nuances. Particularly instructive in this latter case is the close correlation of frofer with fultum and with scyld/scyldan in appropriate contexts. Although I have not tried to subject all of the distinctive terms in the word cluster to this close analysis, a similarly extended treatment of trymman, for example, would add weight to the broad conclusions suggested here.

The terms of greatest significance in the shaping of this image complex are the verbs denoting overcoming. It is the purpose of the next chapter to bring to a conclusion this analysis of the habitually employed word cluster in OE writings by identifying the range of verbs denoting overcoming in the lexis, by indicating to what extent the previously established discriminatory procedures apply to these verbs, and by suggesting why it is that these verbs ultimately control the whole range of intellectual and emotional response generated by the image complex.

1. Stephen Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics, Glasgow University Publications 84, 2nd revised edition (Oxford:Blackwell, 1959), p.157. This organising principle has also been adopted by Göran Kjellmer, Context and Meaning : a Study of Distributional and Semantic Relations in a Group of Middle English Words, Gothenburg Studies in English 22 (Gothenburg:Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971).
2. James E. Cross, 'The Ethic of War in Old English', in Peter Clemoes & Kathleen Hughes, ed., England before the Conquest : Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge:University Press, 1971), pp. 269-82; 280, draws attention to this important pronunciation and to Ælfric's rendition of it (Skeat LSS II.226).
3. Other, equally clear statements on the inadmissibility of violence in the conduct of spiritual struggle are given, through the example of Christ in the temptation in the desert, in Morris, Blickling Homilies, 33 and Thorpe, CH I.174; see also Thorpe, CH II.34, where fighting, expressed by fechtende, is specifically denied the Miles Christi.
4. Unless otherwise stated, quotations from the Chronicle are taken from John Earle & Charles Plummer, eds., Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2 volumes, revised (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1892), referred to hereafter as Earle & Plummer, Chronicles, followed by the year and, where necessary, the MS. Other MS readings have been consulted with the use of the following editions: Benjamin Thorpe, ed., The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, According to the Several Original Authorities, 2 volumes, vol. I : Original Texts, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi

Scriptores, Rolls Series 23 (London:Longman & Green, 1861). I follow the MSS sigla proposed by Thorpe, and now universally adopted; Ernest Classen & F.E. Harmer, eds., An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum Cotton MS., Tiberius B iv (Manchester:University Press, 1926); Arthur H. Smith, ed., The Parker Chronicle (832-900) (London:Methuen, 1935); Harry A. Rositzke, ed., 'The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles', Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, 34 (1940), 1-100; Cecily Clark, ed., The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154, Oxford English Monographs, 2nd edition (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1970), referred to hereafter as Clark, Peterborough Chronicle. Feohtan and feaht occur so abundantly in the Chronicles that extensive illustration is unnecessary. For some of the typical usages, see sa. 449, 743, 753, 890 (MS A); sa. 1052 (C); sa. 1079 (D); sa. 860, 994, 1122 (E).

5. Henry Sweet, ed., King Alfred's Orosius, EETS OS 79 (London: Trübner, 1883), referred to throughout as OE Orosius.

6. All quotations are taken from Eric V. Gordon, ed., The Battle of Maldon (London:Methuen, 1937).

7. Max Förster, ed., Die Vercelli-Homilien, I.VIII. Homilie, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa XII, reprinted (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), cited hereafter as Förster, Homilies, followed by page numbers.

8. The phrase mid fullan wige occurs also in MSS C, D and F in this context.

9. Julius Zupitza, ed., Alfrics Grammatik und Glossar, reprinted with a forward by Helmut Gneuss (Berlin: Weidemannsche, 1966), p. 27, 16. Wig, wiga and related wig- terms are particularly abundant in Beowulf.

10. On the incidence of oretta, oretmeog, see Beowulf, 332a, 363b, 481b, 1532a, 2538b; Judith, 232b (applied to the Assyrians). The Andreas poet uses the term of the saint, but in the phrase eadig oreta (463a) in which the adjective may be said to modify whatever heroic associations the term may have possessed. The phrase itself is a variation on halig cempa (461b).
11. Hill, Anglo-Saxon Creativity, pp. 679-80; 653-55. Henri Logeman, ed., The Rule of S. Benet, EETS OS 90 (London:Trübner, 1888), p. 96. The dominant tendency in the gloss, however, is to equate militare with campian. See, for example, pp. 1, 5, 9.
12. Eugene Manning, 'La Signification de Militare - Militia - Miles dans la Regle de S. Benoit', Revue Benedictine, 72 (1962), 135-38.
13. Paul Lehmann, ed., 'Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad Filium Spirituale', Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, part 7 (1955), 3-63; 30.
14. Joseph Bosworth & T. Northcote Toller, eds., An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary and Supplement, 2 volumes (London:Oxford University Press, 1898-1921). Referred to throughout without further notice.
15. Peter Goolden, ed., The Old English Apollonius of Tyre (London: Oxford University Press, 1958); the Latin and OE texts are printed parallel.
16. Ernest W. Rhodes, ed., Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, EETS OS 93 (London:Trübner, 1889), p.61.

17. Hans Hecht, ed., Bischofs Werferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa V (Leipzig:Wigand, 1900). Referred to throughout as the OE Dialogues.
18. OE campian, gecampian is completely absent from the Chronicles. A clearer notion of the use of the terms in the OE Bede will emerge after the full discussion of OE verbs of overcoming in chapter four, below, where the OE Bede is considered in some detail.
19. George N. Garmonsway, ed., Alfric's Colloquy (London:Methuen, 1939), 1.241.
20. Samuel J. Crawford, ed., The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Alfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis, EETS OS 160 (London:Oxford University Press, 1922); referred to throughout as the OE Heptateuch.
21. The four OE gospel texts are taken from Walter W. Skeat, ed., The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, 4 volumes (Cambridge:University Press, 1871-78). Other occurrences of OE cempa as a translation of Latin miles, referring specifically to Roman soldiers in both of the gospel translations and in the two glosses in Skeat's edition are to be found in: Matth. XXVII. 27; Marc. XV.16; Luc. III.14; Ioan. XIX. 2,23, 24, 32, 34. Alfric similarly renders Matthew's milites in Matth. VIII.9 by cempan (Thorpe CH I.126).
22. Thomas O. Cockayne, ed., Narratiunculæ Anglice Conscriptæ (London:John Smith, 1961), pp. 39-49.
23. The Exeter Maxims, ed., in ASPR III, p.161.

24. With æðelum cempan (Andreas, 230b) compare spela cempa (Beowulf, 1312b), but see also se æðela cempa Stephanus in Thorpe CH I.56.
25. The point is stressed by Stanley B. Greenfield, A Critical History of Old English Literature (New York:University Press, 1965), pp. 104-05.
26. The application of OE cempa to the devilish opponents in spiritual warfare is rare. I have located one other example in the phrase deofla cempan (Christ II, 563b); generally speaking, such phrases are uncharacteristic of OE homilies and lives of saints.
27. All quotations are taken from Bertram Colgrave & R.A.B. Mynors, eds., Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). Referred to hereafter as Colgrave & Mynors, History, followed by page numbers.
28. Complete bibliographical details of all the OE glossed psalters are set out in fn. 38 of this chapter.
29. It should be noted that in the texts here specified, all but the occurrences in the Exeter Riddles refer to battles taken up in the name of God or, in the case of Andreas, 1325a, against him. It is therefore possible that the use of camp- words in these contexts, over and above the demands of alliteration, was determined by a desire to draw attention to the spiritual significance of these events.
30. All quotations are taken from Peter J. Lucas, ed., Exodus (London:Methuen, 1977).
31. All quotations are taken from Umberto Moricca, ed., Gregorii Magni Dialogi (Rome : Tip. del Senato, 1924).

32. Claude Schneider, 'Cynewulf's Devaluation of Heroic Tradition in Juliana', Anglo-Saxon England, 7 (1978), 107-18; 117.
33. Schneider, 'Heroic Tradition', p.117.
34. Schneider, 'Heroic Tradition', p.114.
35. Schneider, 'Heroic Tradition', p.117, fn.2 tends to play down the significance of this occurrence of the term, and strains interpretation by suggesting that it 'may not be devoid of an implied connection with the conception which persecutors of Christians had of their victims'. I imply, in these and in other comments, that phrases of the type Metodes cempan are single, closed sense units which act as fixed signalling devices for the introduction of the imagery surrounding the Miles Christi. The extent of the assimilation of this compositional practice may be gauged, partially at least, by considering certain translation choices adopted by the prose translator of Felix's Vita Sancti Guthlaci. In the eighteenth chapter of the Vita, Felix refers to the saint as vir beatae memoriae Guthlac (Colgrave, Felix, 80), which is rendered quite literally by se eadiga Guthlac (OE Prose Guthlac, 109); in chapter 29 of the Vita, Felix exploits the Pauline image of the darts of the devil and says that temptation was lodged in Christi militis (Colgrave, Felix, 96), translated in OE by þæs Cristes cempan (OE Prose Guthlac, 119). Yet, in the very next sentence in which the saint is styled miles Christi (Colgrave, Felix, 96), the translator selects the phrase se eadiga wer (OE Prose Guthlac, 120) in response, a phrase which is more or less identical to the phrase he had chosen previously to translate vir beatae memoriae Guthlac. The phrases se eadiga wer and þæs Cristes cempan are virtually interchangeable for the OE translator, an observation which neatly underlines the

central importance of phrases of the type Metodes cempan in the articulation of the Miles Christi figure.

36. I am aware that some of these terms - beorn and rinc for example - were occasionally used with the simple referent of 'man', where no obviously martial activity is implied. I have, therefore, confined myself for the most part to contexts in which this activity is clearly in evidence.

37. It is possible that camp- words were considered to be less intensively appropriate to heroic action because they are not native words, but borrowings from late Latin. However, the significance of this fact is by no means completely clear to me, and it would be unwise to stress the point unduly. On the derivation of cempa and campian from Latin campus, campio, see Serjeantson, History of the Foreign Words, pp. 11-18.

38. OE wiðstandað translates Paul's resistere (Eph. VI.13) in the anonymous Sermo in Capite Ieiunu ad Populum in Cambridge MS CCC 190, p.351; Ælfric uses the closely related standan ongean in his translation from Ad Ephesios VI.13 in Thorpe, CH II.218. When Ælfric renders Iacobi IV.7, resiste autem diabolo, et fugit a vobis, he selects wiðstandað (Thorpe, CH I. 604). In the glossed psalters, Latin resistentibus (Ps. 16.8) is rendered by wiðstondendum in the Junius and Vespasian psalters, by wiþstandendum in Vitellius and Arundel, by wiðerstandendum in the Regius Psalter, by wiðstondyndum in the Cambridge Psalter and by wiðercwiðendum 7 agenstandendum in the Lambeth Psalter. All of the OE glossed psalters have been consulted by means of the following editions: Karl Wildhagen, ed., Der Cambridger Psalter, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa VII (Hamburg : Henri Grand, 1910);

Fritz Roeder, ed., 'Der Altenglische Regius-Psalter', Studien zur Englischen Philologie, 18 (1904); Guido Oess, ed., 'Der Altenglische Arundel-Psalter', Anglistische Forschungen, 30 (1910); Eduard Brenner, ed., 'Der Altenglische Junius-Psalter', Anglistische Forschungen, 23 (1908); George P. Krapp, ed., The Paris Psalter and The Metres of Boethius, ASPR V (London:Routledge, 1932); James W. Bright & R.L. Ramsey, ed., Liber Psalmorum : The West Saxon Psalms (Boston : Belle Lettres Series, 1907); Alistair P. Campbell, ed., The Tiberius Psalter (Ottawa:University of Ottawa Press, 1974); Uno Lindelöf, ed., 'Der Lambeth Psalter', Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, 35, 1 (Helsingfors, 1909); Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., The Vespasian Psalter (Michigan : Ann Arbor, 1965); Celia & Kenneth Sisam, eds., The Salisbury Psalter, EETS 242 (London:Oxford University Press, 1959); James L. Rosier, ed., The Vitellius Psalter, Cornell Studies in English 42 (Ithaca:Cornell University Press, 1962); Fred Harsley, ed., Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, EETS OS 92 (London:Trübner, 1889); Uno Lindelöf, ed., 'Die Altenglische Glossen im Bosworth Psalter', Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique à Helsingfors, 5 (1909); Andrew C. Kimmens, ed., An Edition of British Museum MS Stowe 2 : The Stowe Psalter, Princeton University Ph.D Dissertation (Princeton, 1969). The glosses in the Blickling Psalter have been edited by Edmund Brock, and are printed in Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp.251-63.

39. See, for example, the gloss to Latin scutum in Ps. 90.5 (scuto), rendered by OE scyld in all of the glossed psalters.

40. The metaphorical application of OE scyld in the Psalms is not particularly common. There are no occurrences in the Vespasian, Junius, Cambridge or Lambeth psalters. In the Paris Psalter, I have located only one instance, in which protector meus (17.19) is rendered

by min scyld. The same phrase is similarly glossed by scild in the Arundel Psalter in 17.3; there are no other occurrences in this psalter gloss. Again, the Regius Psalter gloss displays only one metaphorical application of scyld, this time in the form of gescyld, corresponding to Latin protector (36.39). There are five instances in the Vitellius Psalter gloss of protector : gescyld (Pss. 17.3; 36.39; 113.17, 18, 19), and four in the Salisbury Psalter gloss : Pss. 26.1; 36.39; 113B.9) where gescyld renders protector, and Ps. 30.3 where the term answers to protectorem. Similarly, the Tiberius Psalter gloss has gescyld (twice) for protector in Pss. 113B.9, 11. Only in the Canterbury Psalter is there a high incidence of this usage where, however, the glosses are of an interesting and unusually varied nature. These glosses are presented and discussed below, pp.283-87.

41. With the exception of those passages, like Juliana, 382ff, in which elements from Ad Ephesios VI.11ff are borrowed and rendered closely.

42. Other notable contexts in which the shield is presented as an indispensable article of the fighting man include: Maxims I, 93b, 129a (the Cotton Maxims in ASPR VI), The Battle of Brunnanburh, 1.19a, ASPR VI p.17; Judith, 204b.

43. The Salisbury Psalter gloss has only two instances of gescyldend as a translation of protector, in Pss. 70.3 and 143.2. Minor variations on this list are: Vitellius, 17.3 - gescyld; 58.12 - stihtend; 113.17, 18, 19 - gescyld (twice) and scyld, respectively. Regius 58.12 - styhtend. Canterbury 36.39 - gescild; 143.2 - gescild. Arundel 17.3 - scild; 58.12 - stithend. Lambeth 113.18 - beweriend. Paris 17.3 - min scyldere; 17.9 - min scyld; 17.31 -

gefriþiend; 30.3 - gefriðiend; 70.2, 5 - þeccend. Bosworth 70.3 - gescylded (probably a scribal error). Tiberius 58.12 - stihtend. Stowe 70.3, 6 - bewerigend, bewewigen (sic); 113B.11 - bewerlend. The Blickling Psalter gloss has gescyldend for protector (70.6) and on gescyldnesse for in protectione (90.1).

44. With the exception of ge(s)cilde for protectionem in Ps. 104.39 in the Canterbury Psalter gloss, and gescylde for protectio (104.39) in the Stowe Psalter. The Lambeth Psalter gloss has scyldnes 7 bewerlend for protector (36.39).

45. Variations are: Ps. 63.3 - bewruge in Vitellius, Regius, Tiberius, Stowe, Canterbury and Blickling glosses, (bewrige in the Salisbury Psalter gloss); Ps. 19.2 - forþecce in the Arundel Psalter gloss (cp. Pss. 70.2, 5 of the Paris Psalter). The Paris Psalter also has: 16.8 - gehyd me; 19.2 - gefriðie þe; 26.5 - me gefriðode.

46. In what follows, I make use of the discussion of the relationship of the Salisbury gloss to the other glossed psalters, and of the notes on the vocabulary of the Salisbury gloss, in C. & S. Sisam, The Salisbury Psalter, pp. 14.-75, esp. 17.28, 35-47, 52ff. The editors, p.14, state that the glossator 'wrote a hand of advanced type, which may be dated c.1100, rather later than earlier', but add, with considerable caution that this date is at best 'conjectural' and that 'any date assigned to the added glosses in K [Salisbury Psalter] must...be liable to a considerable margin of error', (p.42).

47. I have verified that there are no variations between the texts of the Roman and Gallican psalters in respect of the terms protector and refugium. The Roman Psalter has been edited by Robert Weber, ed., Le Psautier Romain : et Les Autres Anciens Psautiers Latins,

Collectanea Biblica Latina X (Rome : Abbaye Saint Jerome, 1953).

48. This gloss of frofer for refugium is not confined, of course, to these two psalter glosses, as the following instances show.

Vitellius: Pss. 30.4; 31.7; 45.2; 58.17; 70.3; 89.1; 90.2, 9; 93.22; 103.18. Arundel: 17.3; 31.7; 58.17; 89.1; 90.2, 9; 93.22; 143.2. Lambeth: 17.2; 30.4; 45.2; 58.17; 70.3; 143.2. Tiberius: 30.4; 31.7; 45.2 (forfr); 58.17 (forfr); 70.3 (forfr uel gener); 89.1; 90.9. Stowe: 30.4; 58.17 (gener 7 frofor).

The Paris, Cambridge, Vespasian and Junius Psalters have no occurrences of frofer in these verses; the last three mentioned reveal the exclusive presence of gebeorg, geberg which, statistically at least, is the most commonly employed gloss for Latin refugium. To the instances in Cambridge, Vespasian and Junius of gebeorg can be added the following: Vitellius, 30.3 - (gebeorges 7) rotnesse (7 generes); 30.4 - frofer (7 gebeorh); 9.10 - gebeorh. Arundel 31.7 - frofor 7 gebeorh; 30.3 - gebeorges; 30.4 - gebeorh; 9.10 - gebeorh. Paris 30.4 - min gebeorh; 45.2 - gebeorh.

49. See C. & S. Sisam, The Salisbury Psalter, p.43. The editors demonstrate, pp. 17.-21, that the scribe of the gloss was not proficient in reading Latin, was prone to making mechanical translations which produced 'nonce' words. Their overall assessment of the gloss is that it is 'the unaltered work of a typically unintelligent scribe', (p.19). However, the gloss frofer for protector is not obviously incorrect; it is carried out with a high degree of consistency and, in relation to the nucleus of terms expressing protection and defence, may reasonably be thought to be either an interpretative translation or a faithful copy of the exemplar. Such a judgement does not, unfortunately, accord well with the scribe's overall performance.

50. OE scyld, scyldend and scyldan gloss protector, protectio and protegere in the Canterbury Psalter gloss in Pss. 16.8; 17.3, 19, 31, 36; 19.2; 26.5; 27.7; 30.3, 5, 21; 32.20; 36.39; 58.12; 60.5; 70.3, 6; 83.10; 90.1, 14; 104.39; 113.17, 18, 19; 120.5; 143.2. In this respect, the Canterbury gloss is as reliable as other, more authoritative, glosses.
51. C. & S. Sisam, The Salisbury Psalter, pp. 57-58.
52. On the corrector's habits, see Harsley, Canterbury Psalter, textual notes on the relevant verses.
53. Harsley, Canterbury Psalter says that -ent 7 frofr was added by the corrector to the original gloss scild. At Ps. 45.2, the Regius gloss reads frofr, which is probably the source of the addition. Again, therefore, the corrector regarded both terms as appropriate and, presumably, complementary.
54. At Ps. 31.7, the Canterbury gloss reads frofr for refugium, and Harsley conjectures that it is an insertion over an erasure. His question mark at the end of the note indicates some doubt, however.
55. Quotations are taken from the Vulgate (Gallican) Psalter. The variant readings in the Roman Psalter for these verses do not extend to the incidence of protector and refugium.
56. This was one factor influencing the performance of the Salisbury Psalter glossator. See C. & S. Sisam, The Salisbury Psalter, p.36.
57. For example, OE gener, paired with frofre in Pss. 30.4; 143.2 in the Lambeth gloss, in 58.17 of the Stowe gloss, and in 70.3 of the Tiberius gloss; paired with gebeorh in the Arundel Psalter (45.2).

Much less common are stithend (Vitellius Psalter, 58.12), forþecce (Arundel Psalter, 19.2) and friðstol (Vitellius Psalter, 17.3).

This latter term and related forms is, however, characteristic of both prose and metrical portions of the Paris Psalter gloss which, not unnaturally, exhibit a wider range of vocabulary than do the glossed psalters proper.

58. Napier, Old English Glosses, p.80. See also, Louis Goossens, ed., The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library, 1650 (Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis) (Brussels:Paleis der Academiën, 1974), p.335.

59. Surtees Society, Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis (London:Nichols, 1840).

60. The prayers are edited by Ferdinand Holthausen, 'Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten', Anglia, 65 (1941), 230-54, and by Jackson J. Campbell, 'Prayers from MS Arundel 155', Anglia, 81 (1963), 82-117, whose work completes Holthausen's edition. The numbers following the editors' names in the text refer to the pages in their articles. In addition to the quoted glosses, Latin defendite is glossed by OE beweriap in the Oratio ad Omnes Sanctos (Campbell, 112). The gloss to Latin defende in the Oratio de Sancto Iohanne Baptista (Campbell, 86) is partially illegible, but is likely to have been bewera.

61. In Helmut Gneuss, ed., Hymnar und Hymnen im Englischen Mittelalter (Tübingen:Niemeyer, 1968), p.278. Gneuss takes the text from British Library MS Cotton Julius A vi as the basis for his edition; variant readings from the other two MSS are supplied. All three are in agreement in respect of the extracts I have given here.

62. See, also, the two occurrences in Napier, Homilies, 191, and the phrase sorgum biwerede in Christ III, 1643b, where it forms part of the conventional description of the joys of heaven.
63. The propriety of bewerian, werian to secular contexts is underlined by these additional instances: Earle & Plummer, Chronicles, sa. 755, 921 (A); 1010, 1016 (E); 1065 (C). Beowulf, 238a, 453b, 541a, 938b, 1205a, 1327a, 1448b, 2529b (cp. 2882b). Scyldan does not occur in the Chronicles, and its one occurrence in Beowulf is, significantly, in the phrase nymðe mec God scylde, 1658b.
64. In George P. Krapp, ed., The Junius Manuscript, ASPR I (London: Routledge, 1931). Cited hereafter as ASPR I.
65. Other instances of the secular and non-martial application of the terms are to be found in the OE Boethius, 45 and in Thomas O. Cockayne, Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England, 3 vols. revised ed. (London:Holland, 1961), I.198, II.238.
66. The parallel should not be pressed. It seems improbable that the translator endeavoured to introduce a marked religious flavour to this particular context merely through the addition of these two terms. At the same time, both frofer and scyldnesse are untypical of straightforward descriptions of secular activity, including military activity, and are, by contrast, distinctive elements in specific evocations of spiritual combat. Their presence here may, then, reflect the translator's wish to invest his work with rhetorical language associated with the homily and the saint's life.
67. See sa. 189 (E); 1006 (C.E.); 1052 (C).
68. Compare Elene, 1346ff, and Andreas, 1538b.

69. See also 1293a, referring to Grendel's mother.
70. In Arne Zettersten, ed., Waldere (Manchester:University Press, 1979).
71. The occurrence of beorgan in the Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum (Skeat LSS II.110) sits in the midst of a context in which events of physical strife are firmly shaped to reveal their spiritual significance. Long sections of the piece are, however, based on the biblical narratives in I & II Machabaeorum. Ælfric's statement that the remnants of Judas's force woldon heom beorgan wið þone breman here is based on the direct speech of liberemus animas nostras modo (I Mach. IX.9), and clearly relates an event whose immediate emphasis lies with the physical, not the spiritual, vicissitudes of warfare. Note that animas refers to the principle of physical life in man; it is not to be confused with the animus, the corresponding spiritual principle. A similar conclusion would seem to apply to the incidence of bearh 7 warenode in the OE Bede, 128, and of Beorh þinum feore in the OE Heptateuch, p.133.
72. This is Thorpe's translation which, I think, neatly encapsulates the intended nuance.
73. Skeat translates, correctly, 'sheltered himself'. The homily is not Ælfric's; see Clemons, 'Chronology', p.219.
74. The gloss was executed by the so-called 'tremulous' Worcester hand, dated by Ker to the second quarter of the thirteenth century in his 'The Date of the "Tremulous" Worcester Hand', Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages, 6 (1937), 28-29. The same hand, significantly, glossed OE warnige (Fowler, Canons, 38) with caueat.

This association of OE beorgan and warnian with Latin cauere is instructive in the interpretation of the pair beaeh 7 warenode in the OE Bede, 128.

75. Dorothy Whitelock, ed., Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, 3rd edition (London:Methuen, 1963), p.65.

76. Beorgan is linked directly to God and his angels in an expression of divine protection in Azarias, 159b. The term has a more . . . tenuous relationship to the concept in Azarias, 57b, and in Juliana, 266b.

77. Nelius O. Halvorson, Doctrinal Terms in Ælfric's Homilies, University of Iowa Humanistic Studies 5 (Iowa:University Press, 1932), p.13.

78. Wilhelm Endter, ed., König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa IX, reprint (Darmstadt:Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).

79. Halvorson, Doctrinal Terms, p.13.

80. This extract incorporates Szarmach's corrections to his printed text, set out in his 'Revisions for Vercelli Homily XX'.

81. Szarmach here draws on the study of Joan Turville-Petre, 'Translations of a Lost Penitential Homily', Traditio, 19 (1963), 51-78; 70.

82. Ælfric, in his rendition of this verse in his Natale Sancti Gregorii Martyris (Skeat LSS I. 306-18; 312), has fultume and fultumigenne for adiutorium and adiuuandum, respectively.

83. Michael Korhammer, Die Monastischen Cantica im Mittelalter und ihre Altenglischen Interlinearversionen (Munich:Fink, 1976), pp. 180-82.
84. Those destroyed by God are described as Ōam dyrstigan folce (Pope, Homilies, 644); it is pertinent to add that OE dyrstig, dyrstignys is occasionally employed by Ælfric and other writers to characterise the devil's original sin of rebellion; see Thorpe, CH I. 170, 172 and Logeman, Minora I, 109.
85. The text is taken from Brooks, Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles. Other examples of the presence of help, gehelpan in evocations of spiritual struggle include; Guthlac B, 888-90, 919-23; Belfour, Homilies, 102; Bethurum, Homilies, 128, 136; Andreas, 906-09; Juliana, 718-31 and the paraphrase of Ps.50 in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D vi, edited in Sweet, Reader, 210.
86. McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', p.116, argues that many of Wulfstan's characteristic two-stress phrases are 'small syntactic units' and not merely the sum of two individual parts.
87. See above, pp. 88-94, 123, and fn.255 to chapter one.
88. See above, fn. 211 to chapter one.
89. Exceptions are: Stowe Psalter 118.24 - gepeaht for consilium; Vitellius Psalter, Stowe Psalter 118.76 - offrige for consoletur. This is conceivably a scribal slip for the form refrige which appears in this verse in the Regius, Arundel, Salisbury and Lambeth Psalters.
90. The edition used is that of D. Hurst, ed., Bedae Venerabilis, Homeliarum Evangelii Libri II, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina,

CXXII (Turnholt:Brepols, 1955), referred to hereafter as Hurst, Homilies, followed by homily and/or page numbers. Bede's homily for the Sunday after the Ascension is II.16 in Hurst's edition, and the quotation appears on page 293. For other examples, see Pope, Homilies, 399, 400, and the apparatus at the foot of these pages.

91. The Lambeth Psalter gloss has fylstest for adiuuisti.

92. Gneuss, Hymnar, p.319.

93. Michel Bréal, Essai de Sémantique (Paris:Hachette, 1897), trans. H. Cust (New York, 1900), p.153. Bréal is quoting from Max Bonnet, Le Latin de Gregoire de Tours (Paris:Hachette, 1890), p.255.

94. Such associations range from divine comfort in the most general sense to that experienced by the faithful in heaven. See, The Wanderer, 1.115a.

95. Selected examples are given above, p. 312.

96. While there is hardly sufficient warrant for applying the full force of these considerations to the earliest poetry, the Beowulf poet makes conspicuous use of this collocation on two occasions: frofor ond fultum (698a), frofre ond fultum (1273a). In both cases, it forms part of an authorial comment on Beowulf's defeat of Grendel. In both cases, these attributes are said to complement Beowulf's strength which the poet firmly characterises as being given of God: 696b, 1271b. Since every other occurrence of this collocation is found in an overtly religious context (though not necessarily one of spiritual combat), it seems indisputable that this two-fold, intentional application of

profor ond fultum by the poet is designed to shape the nature of the audience's response to the rivalry of Beowulf and Grendel.

CHAPTER FOUR

OLD ENGLISH VERBS DENOTING OVERCOMING - THE PRIMACY OF OFERSWIÐAN

The processes of discrimination and the incidence of the controlled choice of terminology, outlined in the last chapter, are given their clearest, and perhaps most significant illustration in the case of the verb oferswiðan and other OE verbs denoting overcoming. Earlier I said that, in framing statements of spiritual overcoming, OE poets and preachers invariably selected oferswiðan to fulfil that function; reference to the passages quoted hitherto confirms the marked popularity of the term and thus confers on it a special status worthy of investigation. It is pertinent to ask what alternatives were available in the lexis for OE writers, in what contexts and genres such alternatives were prevalent and whether, therefore, the virtual confinement of oferswiðan to contexts of spiritual overcoming is the product of controlled selection at the expense of other, ostensibly suitable verbs. In this chapter, I want to identify the range of verbs of overcoming available to writers in the OE period and to demonstrate through a study of their distribution that certain specific terms tended to be favoured by writers contributing to stable and popular genres, and to account in some measure for this discriminatory procedure.

The evidence is bulky, statistically at least, and offers no clear-cut conclusions about the process of selection of these verbs. While emphasis is naturally placed on a writer's understanding of appropriate

terminology within a given genre, some attempt has also been made to assess the various terms chronologically, though this can, at best, provide only approximate impressions. I hope, however, to show as fully as possible the range of alternative words and expressions available to a writer presenting the image of the Miles Christi and to indicate thereby that his favoured terms display a conscious limitation of the range of vocabulary which is imposed by the traditional requirements of the genre - saint's life or homily - and which is accepted by him.

The overall picture of the available evidence is not at all easy to interpret. Apart from considerations of genre and relative chronology, translation practices must also be taken into account. In addition, and with particular reference to the Alfredian translations of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and Orosius's Historiae adversum Paganos, it is hard to gauge whether the choice of terminology is in any way indicative of the translators' wish to emphasis the spiritual, moral implications of the narrative, where and when they felt such implications to exist.

Initially, then, it seems proper to begin with an assessment of the non-figurative, non-symbolic or 'neutral' usages of verbs of overcoming, and to take early specimens of their application in OE prose; the Alfredian texts, especially the OE Bede, and OE Orosius and the relevant portions of the Parker Chronicle are particularly amenable. All three texts contain numerous accounts of military campaigns and thus provide a wide range of terms and expressions which denote victory.

The various MSS of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, written at times from the end of the ninth to the middle of the twelfth century, display the following verbs with the meaning of 'to conquer' or 'to overcome':

ofercuman, oferswiban, gegan, gewinnan, ofergan, gegangan and cnyssan, along with the verbal phrases such as sige habban, sige naman and the rather verbose agan walstowe geweald. This list does not exhaust the alternatives available in OE, but nevertheless provides a good indication of its range. I have thought it proper to take into account not only the frequency with which these verbs were used, but also the dates or periods in which they were most favoured.

The verbal phrases sige habban, sige naman and others composed of sige and a similar verb may not strictly be accepted as valid alternatives to, say, ofercuman. Substitution of the latter in places where the verbal phrases occur would involve a complete syntactical rearrangement of the phrase and sentence. At the same time, these phrases do state in a general way that victory has been achieved and are thus distinguished from the more precise terms like oferhergan¹.

Vocabulary typical of the Chronicle is exemplified in the following extracts:

Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan East
 Engle 7 winter setl namon. at Peodforda,
 7 þy wintre Eadmund cyning him wip feaht,
 7 þa Deniscan sige namon, 7 þone cyning
 ofslogon 7 þæt lond all ge eodon;....

(Earle & Plummer, Chronicles, 870(A)).

The scribe of the Peterborough Chronicle repeated the verbs sige naman and ge eodon when he came to copy this annal.

.... 7 þaa ymb .xiiii. niht gefeaht
 Epered cyning 7 Alfred his broður wip
 þone here at Basengum, 7 þær þa
 Deniscan sige namon; 7 þæs ymb .ii.
 monað gefeaht Epered cyning 7 Alfred
 his broður wip þone here at Mere tune,
 7 hie wærun on tuam gefylcium 7 hie
 butu gefliemdon, 7 longe on dæg sige

ahton, 7 þær wearþ micel wæl sliht on
gehwæþere hond; 7 þa Deniscan ahton
wæl stowe gewald; 7 þær wearþ Heahmund
biſc̄ ofslagen, 7 fela godra monna....

(Ibid., 871A))

Again, the identical passage in the Peterborough Chronicle indicates that the verbal phrases were well-known and readily accepted by the scribe.

The following extracts from a later annal in the Peterborough Chronicle highlight less common but equally significant alternatives:

þa on þam ilcan geare com Swegn cyng
of Denmarcan into Humbran; 7 þet land-
folc comen him on gear 7 griðedon wið
hine, wændon þet he sceolde þet land
ofergan. Þa comen into Elig Cristien þa
densce biſcop 7 Osbeorn eorl 7 þa densca
huscarles mid heom; 7 þet engliſce folc of
eall þa feonlandes comen to heom, wændon
þet hi sceoldon winnon eall þet land.....
.....
Syððon geden heom to ſcipe, ferden heom
to Elig; betæhtan þær þa ealla þa gærsume.
Þa denesca menn wændon þet [þa frenisca men
hi sceoldon ofercumen].

(Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, 1070)

The extracts exemplify the use of ofergan, winnan and ofercuman with the general meaning of 'to overcome'; although not strictly synonymous, these verbs, by virtue of the identical clauses in which they appear - wændon þet hi sceoldon followed by the verb - approximate closely to one another and cover a relatively narrow semantic range.

In the Chronicle as a whole, the verbal phrases sige naman, sige agan, etc., appear frequently in the earliest sections of the MSS, but become progressively less common. Since it has been shown that these phrases are equally acceptable to the twelfth century annalists as to those of the Parker Chronicle, this apparent decline in popularity is best

explained in terms of the different subject matter dealt with in the Peterborough Chronicle; the fact that there are fewer reported battles after 1066 until the early years of Stephen's reign is reason enough to account for the relative want of such vocabulary.

Gegan is employed throughout the Chronicle, appearing in the annals for 870(A,E,F), 921(A), 944(A,E), 1066(A) and 1086(E). Oferswipan has only one occurrence, in the introductory material of the Parker Chronicle, in the following passage:

Ær Cristes geflæscnesse .lx. wintra.
Gaius Iulius se Casere ærest Romana
Breten lond gesohte. 7 Brettas mid
gefechte cnysede. 7 hie ofer swiþde,
7 swa þeah ne meahte þær rice gewinnan.

(Earle & Plummer, Chronicles, p.4)

The passage also demonstrates the use of both cnysan and gewinnan with the general meaning of 'to overcome', 'to conquer'. The singularity of occurrence of oferswipan in the Chronicle, and the fact that it comes in the earliest portion of the earliest written MS, suggests that the term was subsequently avoided because it was felt to be inappropriate to the writing of chronicle history.

Similarly, gegangan is used on only one occasion, in the twelfth century preface to the Peterborough Chronicle:

cwædon þa Scottas. we eow magon þeah
hwæðere ræd ge laron. We witan ofer
egland her be easton. Þer ge magon eardian
gif ge willað. 7 gif hwa eow wið stent.
we eow fultumiað. þ ge hit magon ge gangan.

(Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles,
p.3).

It must be observed that this verb is found very infrequently in the

literary corpus with the meaning 'to overcome'; it is in all probability a variant form of the more common gegan, and is so described by Earle, in his Glossary to his edition of the Saxon Chronicles. The three occurrences of gegangan in Beowulf (2416a, 2536a, 3085a) all have the distinct but related meaning of 'to win, to get possession of'; the only similar example of its use as in the Peterborough Chronicle is found in the statement that the Goths wanted Italia ealle gegonan, in l.12 of the first of the Metres of Boethius (ASPR VI,153), which the poet derived from the prose translator's in anwald gerehton (OE Beothius, 7), a phrase which itself is very close in form and meaning to the verbal phrases previously noted as being typical of Chronicle vocabulary.

Ofergan is recorded only three times in the Chronicle: sa., 993(A), 1011(E) and 1070(E). The last instance is undoubtedly of the twelfth century, but the other two belong to the eleventh. The Parker Chronicle entry for 993 was evidently written at Canterbury sometime during the eleventh century, while the entry sa 1011 in MS E, though of the twelfth century, relies on an exemplar of MS A.

Strictly speaking, the verbs gegangan, gegan and ofergan cannot properly be said to be valid alternatives to, say, ofercuman and oferswipan, because their primary meanings carry implications of physical progression, of movement over a disputed area of land, for example. In this respect, they are verbs expressive of a specific action which results in victory; their semantic ranges are too narrow, too well-defined to admit readily of a general statement of overcoming.²

Cnyssan, like oferswipan and gegangan, occurs only once in the Chronicle. Unlike oferswipan, however, cnyssan does not possess a primary meaning

of 'to overcome', but, in this instance, has a developed meaning from its primary sense of 'to press, to toss, to beat against'. Similar to the Chronicle entry are the phrases Romane gecnysede (OE Orosius, 142) which translates detrita est (OE Orosius, 143), and mid gefeohte cnysedan in the same work, (OE Orosius, 96), for which there is apparently no Latin model.

The Chronicle records the use of gefaran on at least two occasions with the meaning of 'to get by going, to conquer', thus approximating closely to the notion of overcoming.

In describing the campaigns of Edward the Elder, the annalist reports that:

þa for he þonan to Snotinga ham 7
ge for þa burg, 7 het hie ge betan
7 ge settan.

(Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles,
922(A))

In the following year, it is said that:

7 het oþre fierd eac of Miercna þeode
þa hwile þe he þær sæt ge faran Mame
ceaster on Norþ hymbrum.....

(Ibid., 923(A))

In the Chronicle, there are seven occurrences of ofercuman, six of which are to be found in obviously military contexts; the one example of an other than military function for this term comes in the twelfth century Peterborough annalist's remark that:

Ac þet ofercom Rome þet ofercumeð
eall weoruld - þet is gold 7 seolure.

(Clark, Peterborough Chronicle, 1123)

Of the six remaining instances, four are particular to the Peterborough annals, one to the bilingual Chronicle, MS Cotton Domitian A viii (MS F), and one to the Parker Chronicle. MSS E and F are twelfth century productions, and the occurrences in MS E (sa., 1066, 1070, 1096, 1123), are all indicative of twelfth century trends in the choice of vocabulary. The same is true of the statement in MS F that:

on þam timan com Angelcynn to ðisum
lande, ge laðode fram Wyratgeorne
cinge, him to helpe his fynd to ouer
cumende.

(Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles,
448(F))

The corresponding annal in the Parker Chronicle has only a loosely approximate statement; in addition, the form of the word in the bilingual Chronicle reflects twelfth century orthographic practice.³

The only other example in the Chronicle comes in MS A, in the poem on The Battle of Brunanburh, which ends with the words:

Engle 7 Seaxe. up becoman.
ofer brad brimu. Brytene sohtan.
wlanca wig smiðas. Weealles ofer coman.
eorlas ar hwate. eard begeataN.

(Ibid., 937)

The distribution of ofercuman in the Chronicle shows, therefore, that the term develops late and by the twelfth century dispossesses earlier alternatives to become a regular choice. The only pre-Conquest occurrence of the term is significantly to be found in a poem which must once have had a separate existence outside the Chronicle. The precise nature of this significances is hard to gauge at present, yet it cannot be without interest that the occurrences of ofercuman in the prose sections of the work are all of twelfth century date, while the

pre-Conquest Chronicle proper has no example of the term.⁴

Gewinnan, like gegan, occurs throughout the Chronicle, but apart from its use in the preface to the Parker Chronicle,⁵ is confined by and large to the late annals: sa., 937(e), 1066(A), 1090(E), 1085(E) and 1137(E). However, the earliest annals display the frequent use of the phrase winnan wið (or occasionally ongean), with the meaning of 'to struggle against, to strive'. It seems, from the extant texts, that the phrase declines in popularity. Winnan wið is last recorded sa., 1067(D); therefore, winnan, without the preposition, is used with the developed meaning of 'to win, to conquer'. In view of the fact that gewinnan occurs in the early part of the Chronicle and in other OE texts of early date with the meaning of 'to win, to conquer', the trend displayed by the Chronicle as a whole may be misleading. Finally, it should be noted that the total absence of oferwinnan from the Chronicle shows that it was not in use in this historiographical context between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.

To sum up, the terms most favoured by pre-Conquest writers of Chronicle history to express military overcoming are: gegan/gegangan, gewinnan and the verbal phrases sige naman, sige habban etc. Both cnyssan and oferswipan occur only once in the Chronicles, and the latter at least may be discounted as a term evidently deemed inappropriate to this particular genre. Ofergan and gefaran are slightly more common. Ofercuman is a twelfth century phenomenon.

The Alfredian text most often associated with the Chronicle is the OE Orosius. Plummer, in his revision of Earle's edition of the Saxon Chronicles, cites many instances of the similarity of diction and phraseology apparent in both works.⁶ Though he concedes, rightly,

that 'some of these phrases are ordinary phrases which any two historical writers might use'⁷, he concludes that 'the total impression is strong that the two works are akin'⁸.

With regard to the verbs of overcoming, however, the translator of the Orosius differs markedly in choice of terminology and the frequency of the chosen terms. It is true also that in this, as in subsequent cases, the special linguistic exigencies and constraints of translation must be taken into account, a factor which is not applicable to the Chronicle texts.

Plummer refers to the Parker annalists and to the translator of the OE Orosius as 'historical writers', yet it is probable that their aims were in some respects dissimilar. It is generally agreed that the earliest recorded annals of the Chronicle report events with a minimum of comment necessary to the communication of basic facts; authorial comment, though it does occasionally appear (for example, sa., 897(A) in which the annalist's tone indicates some personal interpretation of the Danish raids) is generally not in evidence. Emotive vocabulary and the open presentation of biased viewpoints is a feature which creeps in only with the later annals. The annal dealing with the martyrdom of Alfheah, 1012 (C,D,E,F) is instructive here. Though it draws attention unequivocally to the halgan martires mihta (Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles, 1012(E)), there is no evidence that the annalist was willing to enrich his potential passio with emotive vocabulary traditionally associated with the saints' lives.

On the other hand, Orosius wrote his Historiae at the request of Augustine in order to refute the claim that the world's ills had become more pronounced since the birth of Christ. In effect, he sets out to

prove that even though the Christian world has not been free from war, famine and general human misery, such events were of much severer and of greater occurrence in the pre-Christian world.

One prominent feature of the OE translation is the stress laid on the workings of divine vengeance,⁹ and in this respect, the work can be characterised as a religious treatise in a general way, or as an example of sacred history which bears some relationship to the Old Testament. Yet, despite this religious concern of both Orosius and his translator, all of the armed conflicts recounted in the treatise are presented as historical events and it would be hard indeed to see them all as metaphors for the victory of divine will over heathen cruelty. At the same time, however, the vocabulary of overcoming is markedly different from that displayed in the Chronicle.

To be sure, there are numerous occasions on which the vocabulary typical of the Chronicle is employed; thus, mid gefeohte ne gefor (OE Orosius, 30), Latin intravit, (Ibid., 31); micelne sige hæfdon, (Ibid., 70), Latin, bello tulit (Ibid., 71); þonne hie walstowe gewæld ahton, (Ibid., 116); þær deadlicne sige geforan, (Ibid., 122), Latin, vicerunt, (Ibid., 123); þone mæstan dæl þisses middangeardes gegan mehte, (Ibid., 124, Latin, vicerit (Ibid., 125).

Statistically, apart from the verbal phrases, the terms most frequently used are these: oferwinnan, thirty-two occurrences; gegan, ten occurrences; ofercuman, nine occurrences; oferswipan, six occurrences. Gefaran and cnysan both appear twice, while beswican (Ibid., 62, and answering to Latin spoliata) is used once in a relatively rare secondary sense of 'to overthrow'.

Compared to the Chronicle, it can be said that with the exception of

gegan, gefaran and cnyssan and the verbal phrases, which all appear with like frequency, the choice and distribution of the other terms is quite different.

The most popular verb of overcoming in the OE Orosius is oferwinnan, which is never used by any Chronicle annalist. Ofercuman is relatively popular with the Orosius translator, yet within the Chronicle, the term comes only in twelfth century additions and continuations, (the poem on The Battle of Brunnanburh, though part of the Chronicle, I take to have been originally independent). Oferswipan is less well but significantly represented in the OE Orosius, whereas its one occurrence in the earliest section of the earliest Chronicle suggests, as I have said, that the term was generally considered inappropriate to Chronicle history. Ofergan, alone of the Chronicle verbs, is absent from the OE Orosius.

The statement in the Chronicle in which oferswipan occurs is as follows:

Ær Cristes geflæscnesse .lx. wintra.
Gaius Iulius se Casere ærest Romana
Breten lond gesohte. 7 Brettas mid
gefeohte cnysede. 7 hie ofer swiþe,
7 swa þeah ne meahste þær rice gewinnan.

(Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles,
p.4).

10

Plummer rightly states that the annalist followed the relevant entry in the recapitulo to Bede's Historia, which reads:

Anno igitur ante incarnationem dominicam
sexagesimo Gaius Iulius Caesar primus
Romanorum Britannias bello pulsavit et
uicit; nec tamen ibi regnum potuit obtinere.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 560).

Bede's Latin is accurately translated. It is evident that the chronicler chose ofer swiþde (and in view of the range of nearly synonymous terms he subsequently used, it must have been a conscious choice), to render Bede's uicit. Later in this chapter, it will be shown that OE oferswiþan is the verb regularly employed as a translation of Latin uincere, and of Latin superare. The evidence for this practice comes mainly from the glossed psalters and from homilies for which source material can accurately be identified. This evidence, explored in some detail, leads to the conclusion that oferswiþan is a word reserved exclusively for contexts of spiritual overcoming.

What the Alfredian texts appear to show is that this identification may not necessarily have always been true. While the Chronicle annalist evidently selected ofer swiþde in accordance with established procedures in translation, the translator of the Orosius provides more perplexing and contradictory evidence. Of the six occurrences of oferswiþan in his translation, five are related to apparently straightforward military exploits. I have been able to locate source verbs in Orosius's Latin for all but one of these instances of oferswiþan, and on four of these five occasions, the OE verb, in its various conjugated forms, comes in response to Latin uincere and its conjugated forms. In the remaining example, which tells how the Sardinians were defeated by the Roman army - winnan wið Romanum, 7 raþe oferswiðde wæron (OE Orosius, 182), the Latin has oppressi sunt (Ibid., 183). Conversely, in the story of how Julius Caesar was sent by Constantine to subdue Gaul, Orosius, using the same Latin verb, says:

Itaque Julianus oppressas ab hoste Gallias
strenuissime in integrum restituit.

(Ibid., 285)

which is rendered by the translator as:

7 he hrædlice oferwon ealle þe þa on
Gallie wunnon.

(Ibid., 284)

More emphatically, while uincere is translated on four out of five occasions by oferwippan, the translator by no means adopts this identification as fixed. The following list gives some indication of the range of OE verbs used by him to render Latin uincere.

<u>Historiae</u>	OE	<u>Orosius</u>	
victis victoribusque	hie sige hæfden	(Sweet, 70)	
vinci	oferwinnan	(Sweet, 80)	
saepe vicerunt	oft oferwunnen	(Sweet, 94)	
victus est	oferwunnen	(Sweet, 114)	
vicerunt	sige geforan	(Sweet, 122)	
vicerit	gegan mehte	(Sweet, 124)	
vinci	oferwunnen	(Sweet, 128)	
vicit	gewinnan mehte	(Sweet, 130)	
vicit	sige hæfde	(Sweet, 138)	
vicere	hæfdon sige	(Sweet, 160)	
vicerunt	sige hæfden	(Sweet, 162)	
victus	hæfde sige	(Sweet, 198)	
victi sunt	sige hæfde	(Sweet, 204)	
victo	sige hæfde	(Sweet, 206)	
vicit	oferwon	(Sweet, 208)	
victus	sige hæfde	(Sweet, 216)	
vicit	sige hæfdon	(Sweet, 220)	
victus est	oferwunnan	(Sweet, 224)	
victi	ofercom	(Sweet, 228)	
victo	oferwunnen	(Sweet, 228)	
victus	sige hæfde	(Sweet, 228)	
vicere	hæfdon...sige	(Sweet, 232)	

Oferwinnan, which translates vincere more consistently than any other Latin verb, is nevertheless made to translate a large number of Latin verbs and expressions. Apart from the examples above, to which may be added a cluster of instances (OE Orosius, 156) together with the appearance of oferwon in response to Latin devicta (Ibid., 78), oferwinnan and related forms is used to translate the following:

Interfecit	(31)	superati sunt	(205)
caedibus opplevit	(37)	victoriae	(215)
potiti sunt	(95)	compressit	(227)
subacti	(101)	vastantes bello	(277)
expugnare	(133)	domuit	(281)
surreptus est	(281)		

Ofercuman mehten (250) renders superati (251), but ieðelice ofercom translates facile...compescuit (278, 279); ofercome also translates victoriam (126, 127) and fessi (179).

Vincere is the most frequently employed verb of overcoming in Orosius's Latin, but the OE translation is instructive not of fixed translation practice, but of the large number of different verbs and verbal phrases which were available to the translator and which he evidently thought to be acceptable equivalents.

This chaotic situation suggests that it is impossible to make claims for the conscious, controlled choice and precise manipulation of this vocabulary in the OE Orosius. It must be said, however, that the translator's task cannot have been easy. The Latin work is crowded with statements and descriptions of military campaigns and battles, a fact which seems satisfactorily to explain, in part, the large number of verbs used, apparently synonymously, by the translator.¹¹

Something may also be said here of a second factor which is relevant. It is generally agreed that the OE Orosius is the earliest of the Alfredian translations.¹² If there were, at the time of translation (early 890's) a prose tradition available to the translator, it would most likely have been homiletic in character. Arguments by Chambers¹³ and Vleeskruyer¹⁴ satisfactorily establish the probability of such a religious literary tradition, material evidence for which lies exclusively in the homily on Saint Chad and in several of the pieces

preserved in the Blickling and Vercelli books. The only possible evidence for a tradition of historical prose rests with the lost exemplars of the Chronicle.

Now, it has been shown that the OE Orosius, in relation to the vocabulary of overcoming, shares much with the Chronicle while at the same time displaying major trends alien to the writers of Chronicle history. The apparent confusion which the Orosius seems to show in this respect may therefore be the unwilling result of an absence of instructive models. At the same time, it is at least likely that the translator would have been conversant with the accepted modes of composition of religious theme and language such as is to be found in the Blickling and Vercelli collections; his heavy reliance on oferwinnan and, to a certain extent on oferswiþan and ofercuman may, therefore, reflect a desire to impart to his translation some distinctive elements of homiletic rhetoric. The frequent selection of oferwinnan, ofercuman and oferswiþan ensures, in effect, the presence of a quasi-homiletic mode of portentous rhetoric deriving from, and most often associated with, homilies and translations of Old Testament history. The degree to which these terms are selected may, then, reflect equally the strength of the translator's conviction that he was dealing essentially with sacred history, the details of which were often so apparently secular in nature as to be open to possible misinterpretation.

The Historiae adversos Paganos is much less a military than a sacred history. Throughout the Middle Ages, Orosius's work was the standard history text book; it was written, not to provide a comprehensive account of world history, but rather:

to answer the charge that the times in which its author lived were unusually beset with calamities and that this was due to the adoption of Christianity and the neglect of idols.

Orosius has been described, and justly so, as a historian of strong religious bias, his name being linked with those of Cassiodorus, Gildas and Gregory of Tours.¹⁷ There is, in his work, little overt moralizing on Christian virtue and excellence - in which respect he differs markedly from Bede - and it is therefore likely that the translator, constrained by the exigencies of translation, relied heavily on the modifying influence of highly charged terminology typical of homily writing.

The text which naturally suggests itself for fruitful comparison with the OE Orosius is the OE Bede. If Orosius's work can be fairly characterised as sacred history, it is tempting to view the Historia Ecclesiastica as a chronological continuation of the theme presented in the Historiae adversos Paganos; the differences are largely those of emphasis, because the religious and moral fabric of Bede's history is much more heavily delineated and insistently presented.

In the first place, Bede's work is a Historia Ecclesiastica, a history of the Church in England, and while some of the military exploits (especially those in the first book) are related with no obvious religious bias, others like those concerning Oswald (of whom Bede is very fond, and to whom much space is given) are overlaid with a pointed spiritual significance which was perfectly understood by the OE translator. In general, the work is of a pious character. The motive for the emphasis placed on the accounts of missionary work, of the visions of holy men, of saints' lives and, in the case of Alban,

of a passio, is succinctly stated by Bede in his Preface when he says:

Sive enim historia de bonis bona
referat, ad imitandum bonum auditor
sollicitus instigatur; seu mala
commemoret de prauis, nihilominus
religiosus ac pius auditor sive lector
deuitando quod noxium est ac peruersum,
ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae
bona ac Deo digna esse cognouerit,
accenditur.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 2)

The Historia Ecclesiastica is a document designed to lead its readers to the path of salvation as much as Bede's more obviously theological works. Summarizing her study of the OE Bede, Dorothy Whitelock notes that the translator, whose often lengthy and widespread omissions are ably catalogued by her, still 'found room for all the miracle stories except one' and suggests that 'He probably regarded the work as in the first place one of religious edification'.¹⁸

The Historia Ecclesiastica is a composite work in some respects in that several distinct genres are incorporated in it. The opening chapters of the first book, based in part on Orosius, Tertullian and Eutropius, give factual, detailed accounts of military exploits which, together with the topographical description of Britain, provide an introduction to the more important matter which lies at the heart of the work.

The opening of Book I, chapter 3 reads:

Anno autem ab Vrbe condita DCCXCVIII
Claudius imperator ab Augusto quartus,
cupiens utilem reipublicae ostentare
principem, bellum ubique et uictoriam
undecumque quaesivit.

(Ibid., 22)

The English version reads:

Da after þon Claudius se casere, se
was feorþa fram Augusto, eft fyrde
gelædde on Breotone, 7 þar butan
hefegum gefeohte 7 blodgyte mycelne
dæl þæs landes on anweald onfeng.

(OE Bede, 30)

where the style and vocabulary of the passage readily calls to mind the OE Orosius and, to a lesser extent, the Chronicle.

In the passio of Saint Alban (Historia I.7), Bede includes the statement that the saint resisted the heathens accinctus armis militiae spiritalis (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 30), a description which is wholly conventional in Latin saints' lives, as has been shown earlier and which, in common with the conventional statements of hagiographers, is directly based on passages from the Pauline Epistles, notably Ad Ephesios VI. 11ff, Ad Romanos XIII.12 and Ad Corinthios X.4. In his Vita Sancti Cuthberti, Bede speaks of the saint as:

milite Christi, armato galea salutis,
scuto fidei et gladio spiritus quod
est verbum Dei.....

(Colgrave, Two Lives, 214)

The point I am making is simply that the Historia Ecclesiastica is compounded of several different genres, each of which has its own conventional ingredients which Bede naturally adopts. This degree of variety of well-defined genres should prove helpful in assessing the performance of the OE translator of the work.

In terms of the vocabulary of overcoming, the OE Bede appears at first sight to be a more controlled and deliberate translation; the variety of verbs and verbal phrases is smaller than was evident in

the OE Crosius, and Bede's translator is much more consistent in rendering the same Latin verb with the same English one.

The most commonly employed verb of overcoming in the OE Bede is oferwiþan, which occurs on eleven occasions. The nature of these usages will be discussed later. In descriptions of military strife, gegan is used to mean 'to overcome' with some frequency. For example, the greatly shortened account of Julius Caesar's subjection of Britain reads in the English translation as follows:

Was Breotene ealond Romanum uncuð
oððæt Gaius se casere, oðre naman
Iulius, hit mid ferde gesohte 7
geeode syxtygum wintra ær Cristes cyme.

(OE Bede, 30)

The scribe of the Peterborough Chronicle, like the translator of the OE Bede, bases his account on:

Hisdem demonstrantibus Caesar oppidum
Cassobellauni inter duas paludes situm,
obtentu insuper siluarum munitum omnibus-
que rebus confertissimum, tandem graui
pugna cepit.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 22)

It is interpreted by the Chronicler in the following fashion:

se Kasere geeode wel manega heh burh
mid mycelum ge winne. 7 eft ge wat in
to Galwalum.

(Earle & Plummer, Chronicles,
p.5 (E))

Both the Chronicler and the translator render the Latin cepit with geeode, and this translation practice is adhered to throughout the OE Bede. Bede describes Cadwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight thus:

Caedualla regno potitus est Geuissorum,
cepit et insulam Uectam

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 382)

It appears in the OE version as :

After þon þa þe Ceadwala was gemægenad
7 gestrongod on Westseaxna rice, þa geeode
he eac 7 onfeng Wiht þæt ealond,

(OE Bede, 306)

Bede then says that Cædwalla made a vow that if he should conquer the island - si cepisset insulam (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 382) - he would make over one quarter of its wealth to God's service. The corresponding OE phrase is þæt gif he þæt ealond gegan meakte (OE Bede, 306). Similarly, Bede mentions the fact that Pippin, king of the Franks, had overrun the Frisians:

Et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam
expulso inde Rathbedo rege ceperat

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 480)

which is translated as: Onð forðan he niwan geeode þa fyrran Fresan (OE Bede, 414). The only other occurrence of the term appears in a statement that Oswy Scotta of milcum dæle geeode (Ibid., 110), based on Bede's Osuiu.....Pictorum quoque atque Scottorum gentes...maxima ex parte perdomuit (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 150).

There are several examples of only one or two occurrences of terms reminiscent of the vocabulary of the Chronicle and of the OE Orosius. In Capitula XVI of Book I, Bede writes:

Vt Brettones primam de gente Anglorum
uictoriam duce Ambrosio Romano homine
sumserint.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 10)

which appears in English as:

Ðætte Bryttas ærest on Angelǫode sige
genaman; wæs Ambrosius heora heretoga
Romanisc man

(OE Bede, 8)

The expression uictoriam sunsere is again used by Bede in his description of the first battles won by the newly-arrived Saxons. He says:

Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus,
qui ab aquilone ad aciem uenerant,
uictoriam sunsere Saxones.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 50)

which is translated by:

hi sona compedon wið heora gewinnan,
þe hi oft ær norðan onhergedon; 7
Seaxan þa sige geslogan.

(OE Bede, 50)

I note also the similar phrase contained in the statement that the Romans wið heora feondum gefuhtan, 7 sige hæfdan (OE Bede, 44) which, it seems, has no exact Latin equivalent.

Ofercuman, which figured significantly in the OE Orosius is found only once in the OE Bede, again in one of the chapter headings to the first book. Capitula XXXI reads:

Ðætte Æðelfrið Norðanhymbra cyning
Scotta þeode mid gefehte ofercom, 7
hi of Angelǫode gemærum adrof.

(OE Bede, 10)

The Latin, under Capitula XXXIV, has:

Vt Aedilfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum
Scottorum gentes proelio conterens
ab Anglorum finibus expulerit.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 12)

The only other verb of overcoming to figure in the OE Bede is oferwinnan, yet despite its manifest popularity with the translator of Orosius, this term occurs on only two occasions throughout the whole work. As a result of the departure of the Roman legions, the British were increasingly troubled by the invading Picts and Scots. Bede, following Gildas, says:

Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium
Brettones legatos Romam cum epistulis
mittentes, lacrimosis precibus auxilia
flagitabant, subiectionemque continuam,
dummodo hostis imminens longius arceretur,
promittebant.

(Ibid., 40)

The translator interpreted this statement in the following way:

Da on ðære unstillnysse onsendon hi
arendwreca to Rome mid gewritum 7
wependre bene: him fultumes bædon,
7 him gehetan eaðmode hyrnysse 7
singale underþeodnysse, gif hi him
gefultumadon þæt hi mihton heora
fynd oferwinnan.

(OE Bede, 44)

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The military context is clear, and since oferwinnan is much more of an interpretative, than a literal, translation of longius arceretur, it must be assumed that the verb was readily available to the translator. The other occurrence, again in a military context, comes in the statement that the people of the Bructeri were overcome - oferwunnen - by the East Saxons (OE Bede, 420); translating Bede's

expugnatis (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 486) it corresponds exactly to the translation practice to be observed in the contemporary and later glossed psalters and homilies.

On one occasion, the translator of the OE Orosius renders the Latin expugnare by oferwon (OE Orosius, 133.132), but unlike the translator of the OE Bede, he not only relies heavily on oferwinnan but, in so doing, gives it as the translation of no less than twelve different latin verbs.

This is only one of several observable differences in performance between the translators of the OE Orosius and the OE Bede. Both men display a fondness for gegan and oferswipan (though it will later be argued that the semantic function of oferswipan in the OE Bede is, on occasions, more rigorously delineated than in the OE Orosius); the OE Bede has, however, no examples of gefaran or of gewinnan with the sense of 'to overcome'. As well as the absence of cnyssan, it can be seen that there are only a very small number of verbal phrases like sige habban and sige naman, so popular with the translator of the OE Orosius. Further, only two occurrences of oferwinnan and one solitary example of ofercuman have been noted.

Despite these differences, both the OE Bede and the OE Orosius are principally works of religious edification and, in the use of oferswipan, both translators, as will be shown, have attempted to highlight the overriding moral concerns of their authors. I shall argue that the frequent and intentional selection of this verb in ostensibly inappropriate contexts is by no means indicative of confusion or uncertainty in translation; rather, it points to the intentional imposition of biblical and homiletic rhetoric on material which, of itself, and especially in translation, would not be immediately

suggestive of such emphases.

I have dealt at some length with the earliest prose translations in order to demonstrate two main points, the validity of which will be better appreciated in the light of the examination of later works.

First, the investigation highlights an extensive range of verbs and verbal phrases available to poets and preachers alike, from the earliest times of composition in OE prose. I would maintain, therefore, that if a study of different and more stable literary genres, principally saints' lives and homilies, shows on the part of their authors a general avoidance of most or even some of these identified verbs, relying exclusively on two or perhaps three terms, then there is strong evidence for the likelihood that a clear and controlled choice of vocabulary was practised by these writers. The mere fact that they ignore a large number of terms which, though not exactly synonymous to their preferences, may reasonably be thought to convey the required basic meaning, suggests that important reasons lie behind the use of the terms they do choose.

The second point is one that I have not hitherto considered to any great extent, but is one which seems self-evident from the translation practices of the Alfredian translators, namely, that those specific verbs of overcoming which appear more often than others and which thus identify themselves as being the most popular ones available in the literary language, undergo, in the process of time, a specialization in meaning which is directly dependent on the particular context in which they are being used, itself determined by genre.

Evidence is available which shows that the three terms - oferwinnan, ofercuman and oferswiþan could be used synonymously. In Vercelli

Homily XXII, for example, heedless Christians are urged to repent before death - eow se deað ofercume (Förster, Codex, 143.7), a phrase which is repeated later in the same piece (Ibid., 144.6). The first example comes in response to Latin vincere, while the second translates praevenit. Similarly, in an anonymous homily preserved in Cambridge MS CCC 421 and Oxford MS Bodleian Ashmole 328, Christians are urged to deofol and his hete ofercuman (Napier, Homilies, 250). The OE life of Saint Margaret in Cambridge MS CCC 303, of the twelfth century, records several analogous uses of the term.

At the same time, as is to be expected, oferswiban is seen to fulfil the function of denoting spiritual overcoming; it will be argued later that this is its overriding function.

Some of the many examples are:

<u>Juliana</u> ,	521b, 543a
<u>Elene</u> ,	93b, 957a, 1177b
<u>Morris</u> ,	<u>Blickling Homilies</u> , 29, 31 (four occurrences), 33 (three occurrences), 61, 67, 135, 141, 157, 167, 175, 181.
<u>Assmann</u> ,	<u>Homilies</u> , 78, 146, 173, 201, 203
<u>Napier</u> ,	<u>Homilies</u> , 55, 169, 197, 199
<u>Thorpe</u> ,	<u>CH I.</u> 84, 358, 168, 226
<u>Thorpe</u> ,	<u>CH II.</u> 34, 156, 486, 488, 558, 564
<u>Szarmach</u> ,	<u>Vercelli Homily XX</u> , 11.41, 68, 79, 85, 94, 99, 108, 119.
<u>Förster</u> ,	<u>Vercelli Codex</u> , 125

Less emphatically, oferwinnan was evidently considered a suitable term to denote spiritual overcoming in exactly the same way.

Alfric's statement in his piece on St. Stephen that true love oferwann the cruelty of the Jews is a case in point. In the Exameron Anglice,

it is said that Christ with his death ðone deofol oferwann
(Crawford, 71). Among the other examples are:

Skeat, LSS II.112
Napier, Homilies, 141
Assmann, Homilies, 77, 90, 91
Guthlac A, 25a, 152b, 180b.
Christ and Satan,²² 460b.
Logeman, Minora II.512
Bethurum, Homilies, 203
Kentish Psalm 1.156 in Sweet, Reader, 214.

A brief word about the evidence from the glossed psalters and other glossed texts is helpful in underlining the fact that the three terms were, on occasions, considered to be synonymous. In religious texts, oferswiþan is the regular gloss for Latin uincere and/or superare:

OE Dialogues, 18
West Saxon Gospels, Luc. XI.22.²³
OE Cura Pastoralis, 204
OE Heptateuch, 150, 166
Ælfric, Interrogationes,²⁴ 28
Ælfric, Grammar, 28

To this small selection of examples can be added the regular glossatorial practice of the psalms where oferswiþe renders vinco of Ps. 50.6 in the Vitellius, Salisbury, Regius, Lambeth, Arundel, Canterbury and Paris Psalters, as well as in the Kentish Psalm.

Alongside this firm trend, oferswiþan was occasionally employed to

render a variety of terms, as in the following list:

oferswiðde	oppressi sunt	(OE <u>Orosius</u> , 182)
unoferswiðedlice.....oferswiþan invictam		inexpugnabilis..... (OE <u>Boethius</u> , 133-34)
oferswyðap psalters, Ps.48.15	dominabuntur	<u>Arundel</u> and <u>Salisbury</u>
oforswiðrode	praevalui	<u>Lambeth Psalter</u> , Ps.12.5
oferswiþap	obtinebuntur	<u>Stowe Psalter</u> , Ps.48.15
ðu f'sviðes	confundas	<u>Durham Ritual</u> , 50
oferswiðan	evadere	(<u>Fehr</u> , <u>Hirtenbriefe</u> , 214)
unoferswyðed	invincibilem	(OE <u>Prose Guthlac</u> , 123; cp. OE <u>Bede</u> , 50)
oferswiðdon	pugnaturi	Thorpe, <u>CH</u> I.84

The regular English gloss for Latin expugnare is oferwinnan. This is evidenced quite consistently in the psalters. The expression oferwin onwinnende renders expugna inpugnantes of Ps. 34.1 in the Salisbury, Vitellius, Canterbury, Regius, Stowe, Lambeth and Blickling psalters. In addition, oferwunnon translates expugnaverunt of Ps. 128.1 in the following psalters: Stowe, Arundel, Salisbury, Regius and Lambeth; the same rendition is effected in Ps. 108.3 in the Arundel, Stowe, Salisbury, Vitellius, Regius and Lambeth (108.2) psalters. However, oferwinnan is employed in response to Latin vincere on these two occasions:

OE Cura Pastoralis, 205

West Saxon Gospels, Luc XI.22 (CCCC 140).

As stated, oferwinnan and related forms translates Latin vincere and related forms on no less than twelve occasions in the OE Orosius, and the range of Latin verbs covered by oferwinnan in that work has already been indicated.

Ofercuman is more difficult to characterise since it does not occur in the glossed psalters with the meaning of 'to overcome'. A study of its use elsewhere and of its Latin counterparts shows, however, that it was considered to be suitable for a wide range of terms and contexts. Bearing in mind that oferswiþan regularly glosses vincere, the following should be noted:

ofercom	superavit	(OE <u>Orosius</u> , 178)
ofercom	victoriam	(OE <u>Orosius</u> 126)
ofercom	victi	(OE <u>Orosius</u> 228)
ofercumað ure feond	vincimus inimicum	(OE <u>Soliloquies</u> , 7)
se deað ofercume	vincere	(Förster, <u>Codex</u> , 143)

There are other points of note. Whereas the translator of the Orosius rendered oppressi sunt by oferwiðde (OE Orosius, 182), two glosses in the eleventh century BL MS Cotton Cleopatra A iii record :
²⁵
obpressus - ofercumen, and obpressit - ofercom. While in the same MS, ofercom translates obtineuit (Wright & Wülcker, Vocabularies I.459), obtinebuntur in Ps.48.15 is translated by oferwiþan in the Regius and Stowe Psalters. In the glosses in BL MS Harley 3376, of the tenth century, ofercym renders confudit (Wright & Wülcker, Vocabularies, I.209), while the glossator of the Durham Ritual, also of the tenth century, translates confundas by ðv f'sviðes (Durham Ritual, 50).

The translation of Prov. XVI.32 in the OE Cura Pastoralis shows that the Latin dominatur is rendered by ofercym 7 gewylt (OE Cura Pastoralis, 218), while Alfric, in his translation of the same biblical verse merely has gewylt (Thorpe, CH II.544). This suggests to me that gewealdan, probably thought to be synonymous by the OE translator, should be regarded as a verb capable of denoting overcoming in some contexts. Latin dominare is glossed regularly by gewealdan in the psalters; in addition to the embellishment of the OE translator of the Cura Pastoralis, it is worth noting that dominabuntur of Ps.48.15

is translated by oferwiðan in both the Arundel and Salisbury Psalters. It would seem, therefore, that the terms oferwiðan, ofercuman and oferwinnan were readily interchangeable and that they were regarded, to all intents and purposes, as synonymous. Valuable though the evidence of glosses may be in highlighting the range of available terms, it is in many ways more profitable to study the uses of these terms in their literary contexts; such a study, I believe, results in the great probability that each of these three verbs is distinguishable from the others in some respects and that definite trends of usage relating to context can be discerned. It will be evident from the sometimes confusing findings from the glosses that no firm, inalienable barriers existed with regard to these terms; a scrutiny of the contexts in which they occur will, I believe, reveal definite trends in usage which reflect the shades of meaning thought to pertain to the words and will thus facilitate the more precise definition of their lexical functions within the overall spectrum of the concept of overcoming.

I return to the Alfredian texts first, because they show, in many ways, the most uncharacteristic uses of these terms when compared to later writings. I will concentrate initially on oferwiðan.

Of the six occurrences of the verb in the OE Orosius, five come in obviously military contexts, the make-up of which would seem to preclude the possibility of the verb referring to anything but a straightforward victory in armed conflict. The first appearance of the term is found in the description of Sameramis, wife of Ninus, king of Assyria, who was killed in battle by a Scythian arrow. His queen assumed the task of subduing her husband's enemies:

7 hyre þagyt to lytel þuhte þæs anwaldes
ðe se cyningc ær gewunnen hæfde, ac hio
mid wiflice niðe was fechtende on þæt
underiende folc Æthiopiam, 7 eac on Indeas,
þa nan man ne ær ne syððam mid gefehte ne
gefor buton Alexander; hio was wilniende
mid gewinnum þæt hio hy oferswiðe, ða hio
hit ðu(r)hteon ne mihte.

(OE Orosius, 30)

Although in spiritual contexts the action denoted by oferswiþan is not confined to the blessed - (cf. Thorpe CH I 44.26) - there is nothing in this passage to suggest that Ninus's queen wished for anything but an armed victory. The verb itself is qualified by mid gewinnum, and Orosius's opinion of her is consistent with one who was responsible for physical, human misery. Ninus, first of all, perverted the Scythian race to the extent that they were forced to abandon their innocence - unspedgestan (Ibid., 30). His wife subsequently acted with wiflice niðe and with manigfealdon firenlustum. Though sinful, and guilty of perverting innocence, her desired victory is clearly of a physical nature.

The next occurrence comes in a description of the cunning of Philip of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great, in exploiting the military weakness inherent in the Greek city state:

þa badan hie Philippus æst of anre
byrig, þonne of oþerre, þæt hie him
on fultume ware wiþ þa þe him on
wunnon. Þonne he þa oferswiðed hæfde
þe he þonne on winnende was mid þam
folce þe hiene ær fultumes bād, þonne
dyde he him ægþer to gewealdon: swa he
belytegade ealle Crece on his geweald.

(Ibid., 112)

Here, despite the references to duplicity and trickery, the referent of oferswiðed is again that of physical overcoming in armed conflict,

as is indicated by the phrase related to the verb: þe he þonne on
winnende wæs.

In recounting the military campaigns of the Romans and Carthaginians,
Orosius says:

Tarentini, Pyrrhi morte comperta, Cartha-
giniensium auxilia per legatos poscunt.
Conserto praelio, vicere Romani: ubi jam
tunc Carthaginenses, quamvis nondum
hostes adjudicati, vinci tamen a Romanis
se posse senserunt.

(Ibid., 161)

The OE translator has:

After þam þe Tarentine geacsedan þæt
Pirrus dead wæs, þa sendon hie on Affrice
to Cartaginenses after fultume; 7 eft
wið Romanum wunnon; 7 raðe þas þe hie
togædere coman Romane hæfdon sige.
Þær anfundan Cartaginenses þæt hie mon
oferswiþan mehte, þeh hie nan folc ær
mid gefehte oferwinnan ne mehte.

(Ibid., 160)

The context is unequivocally one which dwells on the vicissitudes
of war, and yet, as far as the make-up of the OE extract is concerned,
I notice that Orosius's vicere and vinci are rendered by OE hæfdon
sige and by oferswiþan, respectively, indicating perhaps a desire on
the part of the translator to overlay the purely neutral meaning of
the verbal phrase with some of the extra-textual associations inherent
in oferswiþan. The translator's insistence on this widening of
contextual meaning is reinforced by his selection of oferwinnan as a
synonym for oferswiþan.

Equally devoid of any obvious spiritual referent is the statement
that:

þa þa Titus Mallius, 7 Torcuatus Gaius,
7 Atirius Bubulcus wæron consulas on
Rome, þa ongun(non) Sardinie, swa hie
Pene gelærdon, winnan wið Romanum, 7
raþe oferswiðe wæron.

(OE Orosius, 182)

where the translator has chosen oferswiðe wæron to render Orosius's
subacti et oppressi sunt (Ibid., 183). Later, in the Latin descrip-
tion of Gratian and his elevation to the Imperial throne, it is said
that the emperor appointed Theodosius to help him:

for þon him geþuhte þæt þa þeoda þa
hiora wiðerwinnan wæron wæren to swiðe
gestrongade þæt hie mon leng ne mehte
mid gefeohtum oferswiþan.

(Ibid., 292)

where the means by which the overcoming might not subsequently be
performed are clearly stated - mid gefeohtum.

The only other occurrence of the verb shows a much different function.
The Carthaginians were deluded by devils into believing that they
should sacrifice men to their gods in times of pestilence and to slay
the healthy for all those who remained unhealed. Consequently, their
warlike exploits were rarely successful. They blamed their commanders
and sent them into exile:

Raþe æfter þam hie badon þæt hie mon
to hiora earde forlete, þæt hie mosten
gefandian hweðer hie heora medselða
oferswiþan mehte.

(Ibid., 164)

Despite the overall military context, the referent of oferswiþan is
an intangible concept, that of fortune. The use of the word here,
in fact, negates any martial associations which it has throughout the

rest of the work. The concept is largely an abstract one, and differs from conventional statements of the victory of the Miles Christi precisely because it makes no appeal to a martial milieu and thus does not share the same metaphorical usage. In these extracts, it is clear that Orosius's immediate concern is with the outcome of armed conflict between pagan armies. The inclusion of oferwīpan (and oferwinnan) in these descriptions is therefore not indicative of the translator's wish to impose on these events an overtly spiritual significance; rather, his insistent appeals to the established lexical devices signalling spiritual overcoming in the more stable and widespread genres of homily and saint's life, have the effect of imposing on the events an interpretation which seeks to go beyond the confines of literal statement, and to invest them with the emotive, rhetorical moralizing common to more straightforward didactic writings. In short, the presence of oferwīpan in the OE Orosius is not intended to indicate spiritual subjection of the type brought about by Christ over the devil or by chastity over lustfulness; it nevertheless ensures that a degree of the broad moral significance associated with these special victories is insinuated in the text, which points to the firm religious overview with the text was meant to be read.

Some measure of support for the idea that elements of emotive vocabulary were specifically introduced into apparently 'neutral' or secular contexts can be derived from the translation of the Historia Ecclesiastica. As with the OE Orosius, it seems undeniable that at least three, possibly four of the eleven occurrences of oferwīpan in the OE Bede refer solely to straightforward military victory. One such instance, in Book 4, chapter 12, reports the fate of the

West Saxon kingdom after the death of Cenwalh:

þa fengon aldormen to þam rice þære
þeode, 7 betweoh him todædon, 7 tyn
ger hæfdon.

(OE Bede, 298)

The narrative goes on to say that during the episcopate of Hædde, whom Theodore appointed as bishop of London, these aldormen were forcibly removed from their positions of power which they had illegally acquired, allowing Cædwalla to assume his rightful place.

Bede says:

Cuis episcopatus tempore deuictis
atque amotis subregulis, Caedwalla
suscepit imperium...

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 368)

The OE translation reads:

On þæs biscopes tide wæron oferswiðde
7 geflymde þa aldormen: ond Cædwalla
feng to West-seaxna rice.

(OE Bede, 298)

The presence of oferswiðde could be adequately explained by pointing to the fact that it renders Latin deuictis and thus accords with established translation practice. However, since most of the evidence used to identify this practice is overtly religious in character, it is at least likely that other, extra-textual considerations may have helped shape the translator's choice. A familiarity with the character of king Cenwalh and with Bede's probable estimate of him may be said to have a bearing.

Cenwalh was converted to Christianity by Anna of the East Angles,

which Bede reports earlier in the Historia.²⁶ At the same time, and in the same context, Bede spends some time speaking of his involvement in episcopal administration. Furthermore, Bede refers to him again in the Historia Abbatum as a friend of Benedict biscop, whom Bede so admired. The connection is sufficient ground for inferring that Cenwalh, too, had a place in Bede's affections. To add to his standing as an upholder of the faith and an active influence in its dissemination, the report in the Chronicle²⁸ that he was responsible for the building of the 'Old' minster at Winchester, is of significance. Finally, it should be remembered that in the latter years of his life, Cenwalh was a bitter enemy of the Mercian king Penda, whom Bede reviled as an idolator and as one who, together with the rest of the Mercians Christiani erat nominis ignarus.²⁹

There is reason enough, then, to suppose that the ejection from the throne of a pious convert, an endower of churches and friend of Benedict biscop should trigger an indignant response from the translator to the extent of intimating that the petty kings were not merely overthrown forcibly, but that their removal, and the subsequent ascendancy of Cædwalla, carries with it a lesson in spiritual edification; such a lesson would have been successfully conveyed by the selection of oferswiðe. And it may also be said that the moral culpability of the aldormen is neatly highlighted by Bede's words of praise for Cædwalla who succeeded them. After reigning for two years, Bede says of him:

30

tandem superni regni amore conpunctus
reliquit, eodem adhuc praesule ecclesiam
gubernante.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 368)

A similar case may be made for the same coupling of ofer-swiðe 7 geflymde in the following chapter of the OE Bede. It comes in the account of the dissention which arose between Wilfrid and Ecgrith, an aspect of Northumbrian history about which Bede is less than forthright. After Wilfrid's expulsion and the installation of Bosa and Eata, Bede goes on to record the appointment of Eadhæd as bishop of Lindsey, after Ecgrith had defeated Wulfhere in battle:

Cum quibus et Eadhaed in prouinciam
Lindisfarorum, quam nuperrime rex
Ecgfrid superato in bello et fugato
Uulfhere obtinuerat, ordinatur episcopus.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 370)

The OE version has:

Mid þam was eac Eadhæd in Lindisse
mægðe to biscope gehalgod, þa neowan
Ecgfrið se cyning geeode, þa he ofer-
swiðe 7 geflymde Wulfhere in gefehte.

(OE Bede, 300)

Ecgrith's defeat of Wulfhere is again an event which may readily have been interpreted as one having a significance in the moral as well as the military sphere. Wulfhere was the son of the perfidious Penda and was directly instrumental in reducing the power and
31
influence of Cenwalh. Although praised much later as a destroyer
32
of idols and as the first Christian king of Mercia, his military ambition, especially as directed against Ecgrith, evidently compromised his position as upholder of the faith. The best evidence for this view comes, not from Bede, but from Eddius, in his Vita Sancti Wilfrithi. Wulfhere was a supporter of Wilfrid, a fact which
33
Eddius brings out occasionally, with obvious satisfaction; yet, on the question of Wulfhere's aggression to Ecgrith, Eddius is uncom-

promisingly, and significantly, harsh on this supporter of his hero.

In chapter 20, he contrasts the two kings:

Deinde post hanc victoriam rex Ecgfrithus cum pontifice Dei iustus et sanctus regens- que populos et validus sicut David in contritione hostium, humilis tamen in conspectu Dei apparens et colla tumentium populorum et ferocium regum, audacior a Deo gratias agebat. Nam Wlfharius (sic), rex Merciorum, superbo animo et insatiabili corde omnes australes populos adversus regnum nostrum concitans, non tam ad bellandum quam ad redigendum sub tributo servili animo, non regente Deo, proponebat. Ecgfrithus vero rex Derorum et Bernicorum, animo rigido, mente fideli, consilio senum patriam custodire, ecclesias Dei defendere, episcopo docente, in Deum confisus, sicut Barach et Dabora, cum parili manu hostem superbum invadens, Deo adjuvante, cum parvo exercitu prostravit et, occisis innumeris, regem fugavit regnumque eius sub tributo distribuit, et eo postea quacumque ex causa moriente, plenius aliquod spatium pacifice imperavit.

(Colgrave, Eddius, 42)

The discrepancies between the accounts given by Bede and by Eddius of the animosity shown by Ecgfrith to Wilfrid are well known; ³⁴ it is also generally recognised that Eddius's Vita is blatantly partisan in favour of Wilfrid and of those who helped him. Thus, this severe condemnation of Wulfhere is all the more striking and significant. Clearly, for Eddius, Wulfhere's ambitions were contrary to God's laws and worthy of the greatest censure. Moreover, his equally eloquent praise for Ecgfrith is matched by Bede's openly-expressed fondness ³⁵ for him.

Thus, in the passage from the OE Bede, while it may be said that the OE oferswiðde 7 geflymde accurately renders Bede's superato.....et fugato, there is ample evidence to suppose that the translator's selection of oferswiðde was determined as much by the desire to

impart a moral, spiritual dimension to the event, as by the recognised procedures of translation. Once again, the assertion is strengthened by the fact that it is primarily in overtly religious writings that the equation of oferswipan - superare/vincere is most in evidence.

A firmer but somewhat different instance of the deliberate affectation of biblical-homiletic rhetoric appears in the closing chapter to the first book of the Historia. The immediate context is that of the battle of Degsastan in which Aedan, king of the Scots was defeated by Aelfrið:

Vnde motus eius profectibus Aedan rex
Scottorum, qui Britanniam inhabitant,
uenit contra eum cum immenso et forti
exercitu; sed cum paucis uictus aufugit.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 116)

The English translator has:

Da was for his fromscipe onstyred Aedan
Scotta cyning, þa ðe in Breetone
eardigað; teah hine þa ferd on 7 cwom
mid unmæte weorode 7 stronge wið hine
to gefehte. Ac he hwæðre oferswiðed
mid feawum onweg fleah.

(OE Bede, 92)

In view of the fact that Bede earlier in the chapter draws a comparison between Aelfrið and Saul, king of the Israelites, and quotes Genesis XLIX.27 in support of the English king's military exploits, there are good grounds for supposing that Bede (and his translator) saw in the events described the opportunity for extracting therefrom a moral lesson. It is likely, therefore, that the translator, prompted by Bede's biblical allusion, resorted to vocabulary typical of biblical translation and homily in order to draw attention to what

he considered to be Bede's overriding preoccupation.

The final ambivalent instance of the term in Bede's Historia appears in the phrase unoferswiðendlic weorud, in reference to the united Saxon force invited by Vortigern to act as mercenaries. After successfully disposing of Vortigern's enemies, the Saxons, it is said, were encouraged by the fertility of the land and by the cowardice of the Britons to make a more substantial claim on the land:

7 hi þa sona hider sendon maran
sciphere strengran wighena; 7 was
unoferswiðendlic weorud, þa hi
togadere geþeodde waron.

(OE Bede, 50)

which renders the latter part of this extract from Bede's Latin:

Quod ubi domi nuntiatum est, simul
et insulae fertilitas ac segnitia
Brettonum, mittitur confestim illo
classis prolixior, armatorum ferens
manum fortiorem, quae praemissae
adiuncta cohorti in inuincibilem
fecit exercitum.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 50)

The translation of inuincibilem by unoferswiðendlic suggests that, in this case also, there is an inherent moral significance to the events of the Adventus Saxonum which the translator wished to underline, once again, by resorting to terminology appropriate to biblical and homiletic rhetoric. Most of the evidence which points to this interpretation is supplied by Bede himself in the closing lines of the preceding chapter in which, after cataloguing the spiritual degeneracy of the British clergy, he interprets their change in fortune as resulting from the intervention of divine retribution:

Interea subito corruptae mentis homines acerua pestis corripuit, quae in breui tantam eius multitudinem strauit, ut ne sepeliendis quidem mortuis uiui sufficerent; sed ne morte quidem suorum nec timore mortis hi, qui supererant, a morte animae, qua peccando sternebantur, recouari poterant. Vnde non multo post acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est: initum namque est consilium quid agendum, ubi quaerendum esset praesidium ad euitandas uel repellendas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium inruptiones, placuitque omnibus cum suo rege Uurtigerno ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium uocarent. Quod Domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut ueniret contra improbos malum, sicut euidentius rerum exitus probauit.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 48)

The idea is taken from Gildas's Liber Querulus de Excidio Britanniae, which consists largely of 'a tirade against the sins of his country-
37
men'; it remained popular throughout the period as a strong didactic
38
device in the work of Alcuin and Wulfstan.

This presumed response of the translator to the expansively stated overriding moral significance of the Adventus Saxonum may be taken as a factor which supports the earlier interpretation placed on the performance of the translator of the Orosius, in respect of oferswipan. Orosius's Historiae is filled with reminders of God's just vengeance carried out through the extreme physical strife enacted by the pagans. In both the Orosius and Bede's Historia, the subject matter of the events described is, of itself, in no way amenable to the smooth transference of significance from plain military to overtly spiritual; it seems most likely, therefore, that in such cases where the notion of divine retribution is a controlling factor over the whole, rather than of the parts, the selection of oferswipan is determined by a

desire to emphasise that latent moral stance of the authors,
necessarily obscured at times by the nature of their subject matter
and the mode of its presentation.³⁹

The remaining occurrences of oferswipan in the OE Bede are considerably more straightforward; of those to be discussed, several illustrate an important sense in which the term was deemed appropriate. As with the example in the OE Orosius, there are instances in the OE Bede of the application of oferswipan, with the meaning of 'to overcome' in contexts which do not rely on a military analogue as the basis for the term's metaphorical usage. Such an instance comes in Bede's account of the Conversion of Kent; in commenting on Æpelbert's initial caution and reserve in receiving the newly-arrived Augustine, Bede says of the Kentish king:

Cauerat enim ne in aliquam domum ad se
introirent, uetere usus augurio, ne
superuentu suo, siquid maleficae artis
habuissent, eum superando deciperent.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 74)

It is translated as:

Warnode he him þy læs hie on hwylc
hus to him ineodan; breac ealdre
healsunge, gif hie hwylcne drycraeft
hæfdon þæt hi hine oferswiðan 7
beswican sceolden.

(OE Bede, 58)

It is the power of the new religious doctrine which concerned Æpelbert, and the inclusion of oferswipan as a rendition of superando is wholly appropriate and unambiguous.

Another example of this usage is evidenced by the translation of the long chapter at the beginning of Book 2 of the Historia, written in

praise of Pope Gregory. Towards the end of the chapter, Bede gives the text of the pope's epitaph, which includes the statement that he assuaged the hunger of the poor: Esuriem dapibus superavit (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 132), which appears in the OE version as: Earmra hungur he oferswiðe mid mettum (OE Bede, 94).

Similar in usage is this occurrence of the term in the description of the efforts of the Northumbrian clergy to persuade Cuthbert to relinquish his eremetical way of life on Farne and to accept the bishopric. Bede says:

Quo dum perueniret, quamuis multum
renitens, unanima cunctorum uoluntate
superatur atque ad suscipiendum
episcopatus officium collum submittere
compellitur.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 436.438)

The OE translation has:

Mid þy he ða þyder com, þeah þe he
swiðe wiðwinnende ware. mid anmode
willan heora ealra he was oferswiðed
7 geneded to onfonne þa ðegnunge
biscophades.

(OE Bede, 368)

An account of one of the miracles attributable to John of Beverley concerned the request of a number of young men that the bishop might give them leave to race their horses:

Da wiðsoc he se bisscop ærest 7
cwæð. þæt ðæt idel 7 unnyt ware,
þæt hio bædon 7 wilnedon. Ac ða
æt nihstan mid anmode willan
monigra þæt he was oferswiðed.

(OE Bede, 400)

The last sentence comes in response to Bede's remark:

sed ad ultimum multorum unanima
intentione deuictus.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 466)

Finally in this category there is the notice, in the last chapter of the work, of Bede's Martyrology:

in quo omnes, quos inuenire potui,
non solum qua die uerum etiam quo
genere certaminis uel sub quo
iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter
adnotare studui.

(Ibid., 570)

The latter part of the passage is accurately translated with: under hwilcum deman hie middangeard oferswiðden (OE Bede, 484).

Two occurrences remain to be discussed. The third book of Bede's Historia opens with an account of the lapse into apostasy of the Northumbrian kings Osric and Eanfrith, and of the tyrannous rule of Cædwalla, king of the Britons. On account of the wicked deeds of these kings - regum perfidiorum - (Colgrave & Mynors, History, 214), Bede says that it has been universally agreed that the year of godless rule should be abolished from memory and assigned to the reign of Oswald, the uiri Deo (Ibid., 214). What follows in Bede's history is an account of Oswald's victory at Heavenfield and the miracles reported there as a result of the king's piety. His actions not only reverse the apostasy practised by his royal predecessors but also proclaim the unconquerable power of God in man.

Oswald is a saintly man, and in many respects, the account of his life corresponds well with what one would expect from a vita proper. It

is in this overall context that the events at Heavenfield are to be assessed. The major elements in the victory, given due prominence by Bede, are the raising of the cross and the prayers before engaging the enemy. Oswald is reported to have said:

"Flectamus omnes genua, et Deum omnipotentem, uiuum ac uerum in commune deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat; scit enim ipse quia iusta pro salute gentis nostrae bella suscepimus".

(Ibid., 214)

Bede continues:

Fecerunt omnes ut iusserat, et sic incipiente diluculo in hostem progressi, iuxta meritum suae fidei uictoria potiti sunt.

(Ibid., 214)

Immediately afterwards, Bede directs the reader's attention to the miraculous powers with which the spot was endowed as a result of the victory. Several interesting points emerge here. First, Oswald's prayer speaks openly of a iusta... bella, a just war which is undertaken for the safety - pro salute - of the nation. In view of Bede's great stress on apostasy and perfidious kings, I would suggest that salute was intended to convey as much the notion of spiritual salvation as of the more immediately obvious notion of physical safety.

In addition, no details of the battle are given; indeed, the victory is gained as a reward for the maintenance of true faith: iuxta meritum suae fidei. Finally, Bede leaves no doubt as to the nature of the victory when, in returning to the erection of the cross, a well-established metaphor for spiritual victory, he comments on the significance of the place name:

Vocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum
Hefenfeld, quod dici potest latine
Caelestis Campus, quod certo utique
praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen
accepit; significans nimirum, quod
ibidem caeleste erigendum tropeum,
caelestis inchoanda uictoria, caelestia
usque hodie forent miracula celebranda.

(Ibid., 216)

Thus is Oswald's victory seen principally in terms of the fulfilment of a divine plan.

In the OE version, Oswald is mid Cristes geleafan getrymede; Cadwalla is the manfullan Bretta cyning (OE Bede, 154). The account of the battle is given thus:

7 sona on morne, swa hit dagian ongan,
þæt he for on þone here þe him
togenes gesomnad was, 7 æfter ge-
earnunge his geleafan þæt heo heora
feond oferswiðdon 7 sige ahton.

(Ibid., 154.156)

Comparing the phrase oferswiðdon 7 sige ahton to Bede's corresponding uictoria potiti sunt, it will be noticed that the English translator's sige ahton accurately renders the whole of the Latin phrase. OE oferswiðdon is, in terms of literal translation, redundant. It is well known that the Alfredian translators, especially the translator of the OE Bede, were fond of rendering one Latin term by two or more English ones. ⁴⁰ Speaking of the OE Bede, ⁴¹ Koskenniemi notes that word pairs are frequently used when moral or educational matters form the subject. Since sige ahton covers all the intended literal sense of uictoria potiti sunt, the inclusion of oferswiðdon cannot be accounted for in terms of clarity; it cannot, therefore, have been used as a synonym. I would suggest that the translators included oferswiðdon because, from his understanding of Bede's spiritual

emphasis, throughout the account, he wished to indicate that the physical victory on the battlefield is of value to the reader only in terms of its spiritual significance and, in this case, oferswiðon probably has a spiritual referent.

The final example occurs in the passio of St. Alban in the first book of the Historia Ecclesiastica. The story is similar to that of Oswald not only in the fact that both are men of God, but also in that the theme of Christian truth in opposition to heathen perversion is again the principal emphasis. As has been seen, Bede (and his source) identifies the saint as a Miles Christi through the imagery of the Pauline Epistles. Alban refutes the heathen persecutor verbally by saying that only the torments of hell await those who sacrifice to heathen gods. With characteristic wrath, the impious judge orders that he be tortured and scourged, thinking thereby to weaken the saint's courage and resolve. Bede continues:

Qui cum tormentis afficeretur acerrimis,
patienter haec pro Domino, immo gaudenter
ferebat. At ubi iudex illum tormentis
superari uel a cultu Christianae religionis
reuocari non posse persensit, capite eum
plecti iussit.

(Colgrave & Mynors, History, 30)

The passage is translated as follows:

Ða he ða mid grimnum swinglum 7
tintregum waced was, 7 he ealle
þa witu, ðe him man dyde, geþyldelice
7 gefeonde for Drihtne abær 7 aræfnde.
Þa se dema þæt ða oncneow 7 þa ongæt,
þæt he hine mid tintregum 7 mid swinglan
oferswiðan ne mihte, ne from þam bigonge
ðære cristenan æfestnysse acyrran, þa
het he hine heafde beceorfan.

(OE Bede, 36.38)

The sense of this passage is, I think, fairly clear. The heathen ordered Alban's execution because he was unable to weaken the saint's resolution to adhere to the Christian faith by torture. In other words, the physical expedient of torture was powerless in the face of spiritual conviction. The implication of the phrase mid swinglan oferswiðan ne mihte, therefore, is that the particular type of overcoming specified by oferswiðan could not, on this or any other occasion, be effected by swinglan or by any other physical means. So the negation conveyed by ne mihte is implicit in the choice of oferswiðan in the context of swinglan. In this case, the verb seems not to rest on its allusion to military victory for its force; rather, it is in the complete repudiation of these allusions that the phrase may be seen to be so appropriate.

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There are, from the evidence of the OE Orosius and the OE Bede, two closely related areas of meaning which are fulfilled by oferswiðan. In the first place, it can lend to the fact of a victory through armed struggle the notion that the victory should be regarded as possessing a moral significance coexistent with its statement of physical superiority; second, it announces that the nature of the victory which is presented is wholly of a spiritual kind. It is predominantly in this latter category that oferswiðan operates in the extant texts.

This second category, however, sub-divides. In such statements as:

Earmra hungur he oferswiðode mid mettum (OE Bede, 94)

He was oferswiðed 7 geneded to onfonne
þa ðegnunge biscophades (Ibid., 368)

Ac ða æt nihstan mid anmode willan
monigra þæt he was oferswiðed (Ibid., 400)

Þæt hie mosten gefandian hweðer hie
heora medselða oferswiðan mehte (OE Orosius, 164)

Mod E 'overcome' is an inappropriate translation, since the conflict in these cases is wholly intangible (a fact often noted by Miller and Sweet). Cuthbert, for example, is only 'overcome' - oferswiðed - in the sense that he is persuaded to change his mind and, what is equally significant, the idea he is persuaded to relinquish, that of remaining on Farne as a hermit, and the idea which he is urged to adopt - the acceptance of the bishopric - are both praiseworthy activities; it seems inappropriate to characterize the nature of such an opposition by Mod E 'overcome'.

There are, then, some instances in which oferswiþan with a spiritual referent - spiritual in the most general sense - may have been employed in a way which intentionally thwarts (OE Bede, 156), or merely subdues the firm martial associations so consistently exploited in other contexts.

All other occurrences of the term in the OE corpus that I have been able to locate have a predominantly spiritual function.

The vast majority of these occurrences are unambiguously spiritual. The evidence from the OE Orosius and the OE Bede, in which oferswiþan was seen to function as a means of pointing to the moral significance inherent in a military event, suggests that the term, throughout its recorded history, was at all times considered effective and appropriate in spiritual contexts. One can point to this passage from Hroðgar's admonitory discourse to Beowulf:

eft sona bið
 þæt þec adl oððe ecg eafopes getwafeð,
 oððe fyres feng, oððe flodes wylm,
 oððe gripe meces, oððe gares fliht,
 oððe atol ylðo; oððe eagna bearhtm
 forsiteð ond forsworceð; semninga bið,
 þæt ðec, dryhtguma, deað oferswyðeð.

(ll. 1762b-68)

and to these words in praise of Christ spoken by St. Peter in the Assumptio S. Mariae Uirginis in the Blickling book: þu eallum oferhydigum eahmodnesse forgifest & oferswiþest deap (Morris, Blickling Homilies, 141). The subjects of the verb in both extracts are reversed, yet the function of oferswiþan remains the same. Towards the end of the OE literary period, Alfric praises Christ when speaking of the Crucifixion: for þan þe he oferswiðde þone sylfan deað (Pope, Homilies, 345). The similarity of these statements, spanning the whole of the literary period, suggests that oferswiþan was readily employed in contexts of spiritual overcoming, and was largely reserved for such contexts.

Oferswiþan is not the only verb denoting overcoming to be used in spiritual contexts, but it is the predominant one. Its marked popularity over ofercuman and oferwinnan must be explained in terms of effectiveness. Oferswiþan, it may be said, invokes a picture commensurate with a physical victory in order to repudiate it and so point automatically to the essence of the spiritual counterpart. Consider this portion from the Blickling homily on the Temptation of Christ:

& forþon ic þe ne fylge, forþon on
 þyssum þrim þu eart oferswiþed.
 Þas cypnesse Drihten nam of þisse
 wisan. Wel geheowede Daid þæt,
 þa he wolde wiþ Goliap gefeohtan,
 þa nam he fif stanas on his herde-
 belig, & þeah-hweþere mid anum he
 þone gigant ofwearp; swa Crist
 oferswiþde þæt deofol mid þisse
 cypnesse.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 31)

The death of Goliath and the defeat of the devil at the Temptation is a well-known typological parallel, displayed in both written and pictorial sources. Here the homilist relies on the physical force

of the David story - gefeohtan, ofwearp - in order to indicate the complete subjugation of the devil. Yet the terms of reference are reversed. Instead of stanas, there is cypnesse; gefeohtan and ofwearp are seen to be analogous to oferswiþan in terms of the typological association. Yet this can only be effectively achieved if, in the process of assimilating the meaning of ofwearp, oferswiþan blocks its strong physical sense in order to reveal the precise nature of the spiritual victory. Spiritual overcoming is not only the opposite of physical overcoming, it is equally its negative, or its negation. In literary terms, this is indicated by using a term which will at the same time assimilate and reshape metaphorically the expectations of the original term, used literally.

I have shown, through selective readings from glosses, that oferswiþan and oferwinnan were occasionally regarded as synonymous in that both could be seen to fulfil exactly the same spiritual function in identical contexts. Oferwinnan is, however, much less commonly employed as a verb of spiritual overcoming than is oferswiþan. At the same time, and unlike oferswiþan, oferwinnan evidently retained its function in physical contexts throughout the whole span of its recorded use. Both terms, as I have shown, are present in the OE Orosius to denote victory in battle. Subsequently, oferswiþan loses this function entirely; not so oferwinnan. In his homily for Dominica XI Post Pentecosten, Alfric recounts a small piece of Roman history:

Uespasianus hatte se casere, ðe on ðam
 dagum geweold ealles middangeardes
 cynedomes. Se asende his sunu Titum to
 oferwinnenne ðe earman Iudeiscan.

(Thorpe CH I.402)

Again, it may be said that the whole meaning of the sentence is not entirely unambiguous. The Jews are referred to as earman; in the preceding paragraph, Ælfric makes it clear that the destruction of Jerusalem was an act ordained by God in vengeance for their crimes, not least of which was the slaying of his son (Thorpe, CH I.402, 11.23-26). Further, the Jews are unrepentent of their crimes, and this Ælfric stresses. At the same time, however, the destruction of the city by Titus is an historical fact; Ælfric refers to the overthrow by toworpnese (Ibid., 1.6). I would suggest that the dominant function of the term is secular, in referring to an overcoming effected by the might of the Roman army, even though this action may have had, for the homilist, wider moral implications. The distinction is, I believe, valid and I shall return to develop it presently.

Again, in Ælfric's piece for Dominica III Post Pentecosten, the homilist introduces, uncharacteristically for him, a secular simile in order to emphasise a spiritual truth. Ælfric is preaching on the subject of the lost sheep (Luc. XV.3ff) and, echoing the words of Christ, says:

Mare bliss bið on heofonum be ðam
gecyrredum synfullum, ðurh swilce
drohtnunga, þonne sy be ðam asolcenum
þe truwað be him sylfum þæt he lytle
and feawa gyltas gefremode, and eac
hwonlice carað ymbe Godes beboda and
his sawle ðearfe.

(Thorpe, CH I.340.342)

And in order to clarify this possible paradox in his audience he immediately adds:

Maran lufe nimð se heretoga on gefehte
to ðam cempa, þe æfter fleame his
wiðerwinnan ðegenlice oferwinð, þonne to
ðam þe mid fleame ne ætwand, ne ðeah on
nanum gecampe naht ðegenlices ne gefremode.

(Ibid., 342)

At the other extreme, there are several examples of the use of the term in purely spiritual contexts. I have already pointed to the statement in the Exameron Anglice that through his Crucifixion Christ oferwann the devil (Crawford, 71). A similar, though less emphatic metaphorical usage can be discerned in the closing statements of Ch. XXX of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis. Summing up his teaching on the directive that the foolish are to be admonished in one way and the wise in another, he says:

Et rursum: mementote praepositorum
vestrorum qui vobis locuti sunt verbum
Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis,
imitamini fidem (Hebr. XXII.7): quatenus et
illos victrix ratio frangeret, et istos ad
majora conscendere imitatio blanda suaderet.

(Migne, PL 77. 57)

The OE version reads:

Ond eft cuxð Paulus: Gemunað eowerra
foregengena ðara ðe eow bodedon Godes
word, & behealdað hiera lif & hiera
forðsið, & gongað on ðone geleafan.
Forðon he ðus cuxð ðæt he ða lot-
wrenceas oferwunne & oferreahte; &
eac ða medwiisan to maran anglenne
mid ðære liðelican bisnunga gespone.

(OE Cura Pastoralis, 205)

Here, the force of Gregory's victrix is modified to some degree by the coupling of oferreahte and oferwunne. Later in the same work, however, comes a statement of considerable power by virtue of the fact that it makes full appeal to a secular model. Gregory urges:

Gladium quippe super femur ponere, est
praedicationis studium voluptatibus
carnis anteferre: ut cum sancta quis
studet dicere, curet necesse est
illicitas suggestiones edomare.

(Migne, PL 77.97)

which is translated by:

Dæt is, ðonne ðæt mon his sweord doo
ofer his hype, ðæt mon ða geornfulnesse
his lare læte furður ðonne his flæscas
lustas, & ðæs gieme ðæt he un[a] liefede
lustas & lare atemige & oferwinne, ðonne
he wilnað ðæt he haligdom lære.

(OE Cura Pastoralis, 383)

The application of the martial imagery to the suppression of illicit
desire calls to mind the many statements in which the eight deadly
sins are opposed and overcome by their corresponding vices. As in
the case above, the opposition is conceived of in military terms,
though the contest is static and stylized, rather than dramatic. In
many of these extended accounts of the opposition of the vices and
virtues, oferwipan is the favoured verb of overcoming, and oferwunne
here has essentially the same function. Another of Ælfric's dis-
courses, however, on the same subject, in his homily for Midlent
Sunday (Thorpe, CH II.218ff) shows an identical use of oferwinnan.
It may be added that one scribe who glossed Prudentius's Psychomachia
rendered the phrase deuictis hostibus by oferwunnenum feondum.

Towards the end of the long opening prayer in the Alfredian translation
of the Soliloquies, Alfred effectively matches Augustine's military
allusion to the struggle necessary to remain on the narrow way which
leads to Christ. The Latin nihilque mihi repugnare facias tendenti
ad te is rendered by: and ne læt me nanwiht oferwinnan on þis wege
(OE Soliloquies, 14). In Ælfric's passio of St. Stephen, the homilist

places the term at the centre of his eulogy of the saint as Miles. Stephen's willing acceptance of death and his prayer that Saul be forgiven for his act provides Alfric with a powerful appraisal of the merits of true love existing between God and his Milites:

Seo soðe lufu oferwann ðæra Iudeiscra
reðnysses on Stephane, and seo ylce
lufu oferwreah synna micelnysse on
Paule.....þurh þa soðan lufe
was þes halga martyr swa gebyld þæt
he bealdlice ðæra Iudeiscra ungeleaf-
fulnysse ðreade, and he orsorgh betwux
ðam greatum hagolstanum þurhwunode:
and he for ðam stænedum welwillende
gebæd, and þær to-eacan ða heofonlican
healle cucu and gewuldorbeagod inn-ferde.

(Thorpe, CH I.52)

One of the most prominent examples of the application of oferwinnan to the figure of the Miles Christi, and one which gives dramatic impetus to its role, is to be found in Guthlac A. The introductory description of the joys of heaven promises eternal bliss for the faithful:

þider soðfæstra sawla motun
cuman æfter cwealme, þa þe her Cristes æ
lærað ond læstað, ond his lof rærað;
oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gæstas, bigytað him wuldres reste

(ASPR III. 11.22-25)

The true meaning of the Miles is here forcefully brought out by the juxtaposition of oferwinnað with Cristes æ/lærað ond læstað and with lof rærað. The intended paradox lies in the fact that the overcoming is a direct result of the teaching and following of Christ's commands and the expression of his praise. In relating Guthlac's choice of refuge, the poet gives a dramatic external dimension to the saint's inner struggle:

Was seo londes stow
bimiþen fore monnum, oþþæt meotud onwrah
beorg on bearwe, þa se bytla cwom
se þær haligne ham arærde,
nales þy he giemde þurh gitsunga
lænes lifwelan, ac þæt lond gode
fægre gefreopode, siþþan feond oferwon
Cristes cempa. He gecostad wearð
in gemyndigra monna tidum.

(Ibid., ll.146b-54)

Immediately, the poet again announces that the saint dryhtnes lof/
reahte ond rærde (Ibid., ll.159-60), and proceeds to elaborate on the
nature of the temptation, amplifying the statement that Guthlac cared
not for lænes lifwelan:

he his lichoman
wynna forwyrnde ond woruldblissa,
seftra setla ond symbeldaga,
swylce eac idelra eagena wynna,
gierelan gielplices.

(Ibid., ll.163b-67a)

The imagery of the martial defeat is taken up again. In his heart,
he bore heofoncunde hyht (l.171); he was the blessed warrior, bold
in the fight:

eadig oretta, ondwiges heard.
Gyrede hine georne mid gastlicum
wæpnum X X X wong bletsade,
him to ætstalle ærest arærde,
Cristes rode, þær se cempa oferwon
frecnessa fela.

(Ibid., ll.176-81a)

The occurrences in Guthlac, Christ and Satan, in the Alfredian
Soliloquies and Cura Pastoralis are relatively early in date. This
chronological distinction seems important since it tends to modify
the impression that oferwinnan was predominantly held to be synonymous
with oferswiþan throughout the literary period. Though instances of

this synonymy cannot be denied, a scrutiny of the overall later use of the term reveals that a more specific meaning than has hitherto been considered may have been conferred upon it. As in the case of the Ælfrician statement that the Emperor Vespasian sent his son Titus to oferwinnenne ða earman Iudeiscan (Thorpe, CH I.402), many other examples can be cited in which the term is seen to operate in contexts which describe actual military encounters but which, at the same time, are indicative of, or prefigure, more important spiritual victories. This is particularly true of the presentation of various parts of Old Testament history.

In his treatise De Veteri Testamento & Novo, Ælfric speaks of Judith as the wudewe þe oferwan holofernen ðone syriscan ealdormon (Assmann, Homilies, 90). The poet who treated the same story, and who presented Judith's exploits as physical enactments of divine will, similarly resorts to the same term. Of the Hebrew army, it is at first said:

Him feng Dryhten God
fægre on fultum, Frea ælmihtig

(ll. 299b-300)

in their final conflict with the Assyrians who are identified with equal clarity as the hateful race - laðan cynnes (l.310a). Victory is then announced:

Hæfdon domlice
on ðam folcstede fynd oferwunnen
eðelweardas, ealdhettende
swyrdum aswefede. Hie on swaðe reston,
(cw)icera cynna.

(ll. 318b-23a)

Like the Miles Christi, Judith is instrumental in demonstrating the

superiority of right belief in God over heathen religion, but unlike her saintly counterpart, she enters into a real battle. Where Judith prefigures the eventual spiritual victory of all men, the Miles Christi embodies and exemplifies it within his own being.

Again in the De Veteri Testamento & Novi, Ælfric refers to Judas Machabeus as þe mæra godes cempa (Assmann, Homilies, 90-91), in his synopsis of the two biblical books which he characterises simply by saying that the Machabees:

wunnon mid wæpnum þa swiðe wið
ðone hæðene here

(Ibid., 90)

Finally Judas:

oferwan his feond, 7 beð for þi isette
his sigefesta dæda on ðam bocum on
bibliothecan gode to wurðmynte.

(Ibid., 91)

Ælfric deals at great length with the history of the Machabees in the Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum (Skeat LSS II.66-124). Through statements such as hi anrædlice fuhton and afligdon ða hæðenan (Ibid., 82), and

and iudas ða afligde þone fore-sædan seron
and his here samod mid swyðlicre bylde.
and þær wurdon ofslagene eahta hund wera.
and ða oðre ætflugon to philistea lande

(Ibid., 86)

Hi [bleowon] þa heora byman and bealdlice fuhton.
oð þæt þa hæðenan flugon. to fyrlenum landum

(Ibid., 90)

much of the military action described calls to mind the language typical of the Chronicle and the OE Orosius. For although Ælfric presents the narrative as a passio in which Judas's forces are victorious through God-given help, he is by no means intent on allegorizing this portion of Old Testament history: the basis of literal truth is assiduously kept in order that it may instruct, typologically, the followers of Christ whose life and death fulfilled spiritually the actual events of Old Testament history. Ælfric's use of oferwinnan throughout this piece is thus particularly instructive. To me it seems to agree in all respects to the word's function which was identified in the earlier extracts given above.

Seron, the Assyrian leader defeated by Judas, proclaimed his heathen pride to his people by saying:

Ic wille wyrcan me naman and ofer-winnan
and þa ðe him mid synd þe forsawon ðone cyning

(Skeat LSS II.86)

Seron's motive, wyrcaþ me naman, is sufficient to suggest that the opposition of religious belief lies at the heart of the conflict, but the statement that se siges bið symle of heofonum (Ibid., 86), indicates the metaphorical implications of the battle.

Antiochus, whose story is related in I Mach VI.1-VII.4, is presented as a despoiler of God's temple. It is said that he went to the Persian people and wolde þær ofer-winnan sume welig burh (Ibid., 102). Driven out to Babylon, he is told hu iudas ofer-feaht his fynd mid wæpnum (Ibid., 102). Subsequently, Antiochus incurred the wrath of God - him god gram was (Ibid., 102) and was, like Grendel and a host of other reprobates, confined in eternal punishment - earde to þam ecan witu (Ibid., 102).

Although prominence is given to the historical aspects of these encounters, I would suggest that one of the ways in which Ælfric overlays his secular descriptions with pointers to an overall spiritual significance is by his use of oferwinnan; oferfeohtan will receive attention in due course.

The validity of these remarks is strengthened, I believe, by a lengthy passage after the report of Judas's death in which Ælfric seeks to make plain the spiritual application of his material. He praises . Judas as a pre-Christian Miles Christi:

and he is eall swa halig on ðære ealdan gecyðnisse .
swa swa godes gecorenan on ðære godspelbodunge .
forðan þe he æfre wan for willan þæs ælmihtigan

(Ibid., 112)

indicating thereby that the significance of Judas's exploits is to be discovered through their typological association. This typological association, linking quasi-spiritual / military conflict to the passive stance of the Christian, linking Judas to the true Miles Christi is most elaborately expressed by Ælfric in this long passage:

On þam dagum was alyfed to alegenne his fynd.
and swiþost ða hæðenan þe him hetole wæron.
and se was godes ðegen þe ða swiðost feaht
wið heora onwinnendan to wære heora [leoda] .
ac crist on his tocyme us cydde oðre ðincg .
and het us healdan sibbe . and soðfæstnysse æfre .
and we sceolon winnan wið þa wælhreowan fynd .
þæt synd ða ungesewenlican . and þa swicolan deofla
þe willað ofslean ure sawla mid leahtrum .
wið ða we sceolon winnan mid gastlicum wæpnum .
and biddan us gescyldnysse simle æt criste .
þæt we moton ofer-winnan þa wælhreowan leahtras .
and þæs deofles tihtinge . þæt he us derian ne mæge .
Þonne beoð we godes cempa on ðam gastlican gefeohte .
gif we ðone deofol forseop þurh soðne geleafan .
and þa heafod-leahtras þurh gehealtsumnysse .
and gif we godes willan mid weorcum gefremmað .
Þæt ealde godes folc sceolde feohtan þa mid wæpnum .
and heora gewinn hæde haligra manna getacnunge .
þe to-dræfað þa leahtras and deofla heom fram
on ðære niwan gecyðnisse þe crist sylf astealde.

(Skeat, LSS II.112)

Ælfric's intention to show that Judas's laudatory actions prefigure those of godes cempan on ðam gastlican gefeohte is self evident, yet it must be said that his retention of oferwinnan in this purely spiritual context may be seen as one of the means by which the parallel is effected. A similar example of the typological interpretation of Old Testament events occurs in Ælfric's homily for Dominica in Media Quadragesime (Thorpe CH II.212-24). The latter part of this piece, bearing the rubric Secunda Sententia De Hoc Ipso, tells the story of the fall of Jericho and indicates how Joshua was a type of Christ (Ibid., 214). In terms reminiscent of those in the passage quoted at length from the Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum, Ælfric again admonishes and instructs on the correct interpretation of Old Testament history:

Hit was alyfed on ðære ealdan æ þæt
 gehwa moste his feond ofslean, swa swa
 Crist sylf to his leorning-cnihtum
 cwæð, "Ge gehyrdon hwæt gecweden was
 ðam ealdum mannum on Moyses æ: Lufa
 ðinne nextan, and hata ðinne feond. Ic
 soðlice eow secge, Lufiað eowere fynd,
 doð þam tela ðe eow hatiað....

(Ibid., 216)

He then reiterates that Christ eft awende to gastlicum ðingum on his andwerdnyse (Ibid., 216) and, prompted by the narratives of Joshua's military exploits, he proceeds, as was the case with Judas, to relate the significances of these actions in the New dispensation; he begins with a long translation from Ad Ephesios VI.11ff:

Cristene man sceolon gastlice feohtan
 ongean leahtrum, swa swa Paulus, ðeoda
 lareow, ús tahte ðisum wordum, "Ymbscryðað
 eow mid Godes wæpnunge, þæt ge magon standan
 ongean deofles syrwingum; forðan ðe ús nis
 nan gecamp ongean flæsc and blóð ac togeanes
 deofellicum ealdrum and gastlicum yfelnyssum.

Standað eornostlice mid begyrdum lendum on soðfæstnysee, and ymbscrydde mid rihtwisnysee byrnan; and nymað þæs geleafan scyld, and ðæs hihtes helm, and þæs Halgan Gastes swurd, þæt is, Godes word". Mid þisum gastlicum wæpnum we sceolon on gean ðam awyrigedum gastum, þurh Godes mihte, stranglice feohtan, gif we willað sigefæste to ðam behátenan earde heofenan rices becuman.

Witodlice Iosue and Israhela folc oferwunnon seofon ðeoda: eahtoðe wæs Pharao, ðe ær mid his leode adranc; and hí siððan sigefæste þone behátenan eard him betwynan dældon. Swa sceolon eac cristene men ða eahta heafodleahtras mid heora werodum ealle oferwinnan, gif hi afre sceolon to ðam eðele becuman, ðe him on frymðe se Heofenlica Fæder gemynte, gif hi his bebodum bliðelice gehyrsumiað. Se forma heafod-leahter is gyferynys, se oðer is galnys, ðrydda gytsung, feorða weamet, fifta unrotnys, sixta asolcennys oððe æmelnys; seofða ydel gylp, eahteða mó-dignys. Þas eahta heafod-leahtras fordoð and geniðeriað þa unwaran into helle-wite. Hit is gecweden þæt se ealda Israhel oferwánn seofon ðeoda, eahteðe wæs Pharao, ac hí oferwunnon micele má þonne ðær genamode wæron; swa eac ælc ðyssera heafod-leahtra hæfð micelne team, ac gif we ða modru acwellað, þonne beoð heora bearn ealle adyde.

(Ibid., 216.218)

The introduction of this well-established image particular to the Miles Christi provides the perfect vehicle for the subsequent association of the seven nations with the chief sins; and once again, the lesson to be derived from the external overcoming in Joshua's actions is given greater emphasis through the retention of the verb oferwinnan in relation to the internal struggle each man has with his vices and temptations.

Of the three principal verbs of overcoming, oferwinnan is the one closest, in etymology, to the verbs winnan, gewinnan which function most readily in secular contexts. Of itself, it is the verb most suggestive of military action, and thus most suited to this particular function which, I believe, the evidence indicates. Though there are

numerous examples of its use in purely secular and purely spiritual contexts, the Alfrician texts in particular suggest that it was thought to be most applicable to contexts of physical, martial conflict in which an overriding spiritual significance was present.

In the whole of Alfric's works, the homilist's preference for indicating spiritual victory of the Miles Christi by oferswipan can be noticed, though he does, occasionally, chose oferwinnan. On the other hand, in the treatment of Old Testament history, oferswipan is largely avoided; preference is certainly given to oferwinnan, and on occasions, other terms like winnan itself, gegan and oferfechtan appear.

The three occurrences of oferwinnan in Guthlac A seem to call for some comment. The poem is generally agreed to have been composed at or shortly after the saint's death in the early decades of the eighth century. It is also generally accepted that Guthlac is the most ostensibly martial of OE ⁴⁸ saints. Without denying the poetic subtlety of the piece it is, I believe, admissible to assert that, because of the heavy reliance on a wide range of military terms, the poet's method is more completely metaphorical than that exemplified ⁴⁹ by later homiletic practice.

This cannot, I think completely account for the Guthlac poet's choice of oferwinnan, since later saints' lives, in both poetry and prose, display the same synthesis of action and meaning. In lives of saints in general, the moral significance of the saint's actions is not stated, as such; rather, it is assumed and conveyed within the narrative itself. The homilist who adheres to the dictates of the genre and who elects to write a saint's life, as Alfric did in his

Passio Beati Stephani Protomartyris, is obliged to shape his material into the established form of the exegetical discourse. Thus, in the Ælfrician piece, the homilist begins characteristically with: We rædað on ðære bec þe is gehaten Actus Apostolorum (Thorpe CH I.44), and proceeds to relate the biblical story of the martyrdom. This completed, Ælfric turns to the task of elucidating and opens his second movement with an equally characteristic reference to patristic, exegetical authority: Se wisa Augustinus spræc ymbe ðas rædinge (Ibid., 48). The result, when compared to the saint's life proper, is an almost total absence of the dynamism and tension created in the latter through the simultaneous presentation of fact and significance. What the saint's life synthesizes in a dramatic story, the homily analyses in static exposition.

The third of the major verbs of overcoming, ofercuman, is considerably more difficult to characterize with precision than were oferswipan and oferwinnan. Where definite trends in usage have been located for these latter, and especially for oferswipan, the evidence in the case of ofercuman suggests that no such specialized function was ever conferred on the word. Throughout the following discussion, it must be borne in mind that of all the OE verbs of overcoming so far identified, ofercuman is the term which emerges in a position of predominance in all literary works composed, roughly, after 1150. It has already been established that ofercuman in the Chronicle is of exclusive twelfth century occurrence. There it operates in purely secular contexts. In markedly different works of contemporary date, such as the lives of saints in the Katherine Group, the Ancrene Wisse and the Ormulum, (closest of all the texts to the language of the Peterborough Chronicle) ouercumen/ofercuman appears exclusively to denote spiritual overcoming.

In relation to the evidence supplied by the OE corpus, this wide field of application is not surprising. In addition to the examples of ofercuman in secular contexts in the OE Orosius and the OE Bede and in the closing section of the Battle of Brunnanburh, the statement by the poet of Deor on Eormanric's royal power and court:

51
Sæt secg monig sorgum gebunden,
wean on wenan wyscete geneahhte
þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen wære

further evidences the term's applicability in secular contexts.

Yet the impression created by these instances is, in my view, misleading. An overall review of all the instances of ofercuman which I can locate shows that, up until the twelfth century, the term is reserved predominantly for spiritual contexts. The bulk of the evidence which would lead one to assume that ofercuman was considered appropriate in all contexts comes from the OE Orosius. However, as I have suggested, the inclusion of vocabulary appropriate to sacred history and homily writing in the work is the product of a conscious desire to overlay the immediately recognisable military detail with a complementary moral dimension.

The solitary occurrence of ofercuman in the OE Bede strikes me as being similar in nature to the single appearance of oferswipan in the Chronicle. I suggested that the latter was generally considered to be unsuitable for Chronicle history on the basis of its strict avoidance throughout the entire work after it had been employed once in the earliest part of the earliest Chronicle, and I would submit that much the same inference can be drawn from the OE Bede translator's selection of ofercom in the heading for Capitula XXXI of Book I, at a stage in the text when the translation proper had not been begun.

On balance, then, it would seem that OE ofercuman was invested with a predominantly spiritual function. As was the case with oferwinnan, some of the occurrences are sufficiently ambiguous as to warrant further comment. In Judith's battle against the Assyrians, the poet states:

Mundum brugdon
scealcas of sceaðum scirmæled swyrd
ecgum gecoste, slogon eornoste
Assiria oretmæcgas,
niðhycgende, nanne ne sparedon
þæs herefolces, hea(n)e ne rice
cwicera manna þe hie ofercuman mihton.

(11.229b-35)

As with the later statement that the Hebrews had their fynd oferwunnen (1.319), I would suggest that the overall context of the conflict, in which Judith is presented as the instrument of divine will against the heathens - niðhycgende - makes it likely that ofercuman is selected with a view to reinforcing the larger spiritual significance of the victory.

Into this category of meaning, I would include the statements in the following:

Exodus, 21
Assmann, Homilies, 114
Pope, Homilies, 649
Morris, Blickling Homilies, 201
Napier, Homilies, 181

In the last cited piece, a purely secular referent for the verb is equally plausible, since it forms part of the law code designated ⁵²VIIIA Æthelred. It may also be the case that the three occurrences of ofercuman in Beowulf are to be seen as verbs which, while referring directly to physical overcoming, indicate that a larger spiritual

significance is to be sought in the context. As I argued earlier, both the immediate and the larger contexts of these examples in Beowulf almost force the audience into accepting that Grendel's defeat has a significance of a magnitude greater than the literal events would ordinarily suggest.⁵³

There is, then, in my view, sufficient evidence to allow the assertion that the three terms commanded a semantic range which was, on occasions, identical. As further proof, I select three statements by different authors writing on the subjugation of temptation. Alfric, in his homily on Ioan. XVI.16-22, speaks of the faithful congregation as Christ's bride, saying that it will ever strive against the heafodleahtras of this life:

Ac þonne heo oferwinð þa gewitendlican geswinc
and þa leahtras ofercymð þurh Cristes sylfes fultum,
þonne ne gemunð heo hire modes biternysse.

(Assmann, Homilies, 77)

The scribe of Vercelli Homily III plainly asserts that through fasting is diofles costung oferswiðeð (Förster, Homilies, 63). The Guthlac poet announces the saint's success in repelling the first assault of the devils:

Was seo æreste earmra gæsta
costung ofercumen

(ASPR III, 11.437-38a)

A good deal of attention has so far been paid to the three verbs oferswipan, ofercuman and oferwinnan because of their high frequency and apparent synonymy. At the same time, it has been stated that OE writers dealing with the theme of the Miles Christi tended to reserve the task of indicating the nature of this spiritual victory

to these verbs, thus consciously excluding other terms like gegan, gewinnan, sige agan, gefaran, ofergan and so on, which have been identified as being predominant in secular contexts.

While I shall return to the three principal verbs with a view to clarifying as much as possible the process through which two of the terms disappear from the literary language, I would now like to suggest that the possible range of alternatives can effectively be extended by drawing attention to several terms which, though coming in saints' lives, are of such infrequent and random occurrence, that they may safely be categorized with the other verbs, gegan, etc., as terms which, though possessing the appropriate basic meaning, were generally neglected in descriptions of the Miles Christi.

The first of these terms may be seen in this passage proclaiming Guthlac's superiority over the tempting devils:

Ne mostun hy Guðlaces gaste sceþpan,
ne þurh sarslege sawle gedælan
wið lichoman, ac hy ligesearwum
ahofun hearmstafas, hleahtor alegdon
sorge seofedon, þa hi swiðra oferstag
weard on wonge.

(ASPR III, 11.226-231b)

OE oferstigan is the ordinary gloss for Latin transcendere, and is so noted in BT Dictionary. As such, its primary meaning is related yet distinct from the concept of overcoming. An example of its use with the meaning of 'to surpass' comes in the Blickling homily Seo Gebyrd S . Johannes þæs Fulwihteres in a phrase in which the homilist praises the virgin birth. He says of Mary:

hie þære an his gebyrde oforstag ealle
æ þisse menniscan gecynde

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 163)

The proximity of this sense to that of overcoming is, however, made clear when this phrase is compared to an almost identical sentence in the same homily. Speaking of the Baptist, it is said:

he ær to þam cyninge becom & wæpn gegrap
mid to campienne, ærþon þe he to his
lichoma[n] leomum become: & he ær þone feþan
so[hte] ærþon þe he þæt lechte gesawe; & he
swa on þære his gebyrde oferswiþde ealle æ
þisse menniscan gebyrde.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 165.167)

Two other occurrences of oferstigan with the meaning of 'to overcome' are known to me. In the tenth century gloss in BL MS Harley 3376, superat is translated by oferstihþ (Wright & Wulcker, Vocabularies I.234). In the poetic Solomon and Saturn, the former successfully replies to the other's riddle with these words on the subject of age:

54
Beam heo abreoteð and bebriceð telgum,
astyreð standendne stefn on siðe,
afilleð hine on foldan; friteð after ðam
wildne fugol. Heo oferwigeð wulf,
hioferbideð stanas, heo oferstigeð style

(ASPR VI, 11.296-300)

The only other occurrence of this term known to me is to be found in the EME Sainte Iulienne, in a passage in which the devil tells the saint how he and his fellows instigate sin. He says:

55
Ant ha unstrenged þer-wið, ant we
strenged þer-wið on ham, ant ouerstiheð
ham al, ear ha least wenen.

(d'Ardenne, Sainte Iulienne,
11.317-18, Royal MS).

The extract from Solomon and Saturn also reveals that oferwigan,
56
which Kemble translated as 'subdues in fight', is to be included among the range of possible terms. I can find no other examples of

oferwigan in the OE corpus; it may possibly be an original coining on the part of the poet. Related to OE wiga, wig and wigan, it corresponds to a common practice of word formation to which, in the group I have discussed, oferwinnan most closely approximates.

A second supplementary term more firmly connected to contexts of spiritual mastery is oferdrifan. I have located six occurrences, five of which are particular to Alfric's writings. The homilist introduces his piece Eodem Die Natale Sancte Eugenie Uirginis (Skeat LSS I.24ff) with the statement that she: þurh martyr-dom þisne middan-eard ofer-swað (Ibid., 24). In order to achieve this Eugenia, as a Miles Christi, is required to refute a false accusation made by the wicked Melantia in respect of her virginity. Alfric says:

Da cwæð eugenia. þæt heo eaþe mihte
þæs forlyres un-hlisan hi beladian.
and melantian onsage mid soðe ofer-drifan

(Ibid., 36)

Similar in usage is Alfric's statement on Christ's mastery of the devil in the Temptation in the desert:

Ungewiss com se deofol to Criste, and
ungewiss he eode aweig; forðan þe se
Hælend ne geswutelode na him his mihte,
ac oferdraf hine geöyldelice mid halgum
gewritum.

(Thorpe CH I.176)

Again, Alfric, in his homily for Nativitas Domini which deals with the opening of John's gospel and which is extant only in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C v, states:

Sume gedwolmen dweledon on geleafan
7 noldon gelyfan þæt þæs lyfigendan Godes Sunu
wære æ(f)re mid him butan anginne;
ac se godspellere oferdrifð þyllice gedwolan
þus awritende: On anginne was Word....

(Pope, Homilies, 203-04)

The fourth line of the extract translates Quorum destruens errorem,
57
subiungit. A similar function is given to the word in another of
58
Ælfric's homilies.

The last Ælfrician example comes in the piece Cathedra Sancti Petri
(Skeat LSS I.218-38), in which it is related that:

Marcellus was gehaten. sum mære godes þegn.
se folgode symone þam sceand-lican dry.
oðþæt se eadiga petrus. þone arleasan ofer-draf.

(Ibid., 232)

Skeat translates "until the blessed Peter drove away the impious man",
yet it seems more likely from the spiritual affinities of the two -
eadiga, arleasan - that what is also implied is that Simon's evil
counsel was overcome by the spiritual truth embodied in Peter.

The last example I have located appears in the late eleventh century
copy of the OE Evangelium Nicodemi, preserved in Cambridge MS Univ.
Lib. II.ii.11. As Christ comes to deliver the faithful from hell,
the devils lament:

We syndon fram þe oferswyðde. Ac we asciað
þe hwæt eart þu, þu ðe butan ælcon geflyte.
7 butan ælcere geweminge myd þynum mægen
þrymme hæfst ure myhte genyðerod. Oððe hwæt
eart þu swa mycel. 7 eac swa lytel. 7 swa
nyðerlic. 7 eft up swa heah. 7 swa wunderlic
on anes mannes hywe us to oferdryfenne.

(Hulme, OE Gospel of Nicodemus,
504-506).

The corresponding verb in the version extant in BL MS Cotton Vitellius
A xv is oferwinnan (Ibid., 507); the later version in BL MS Cotton
Vespasian D xiv records ofercumen in this place (Warner, Homilies, 86).

The closing lines of Guthlac A contain a long statement in praise of

God's chosen warrior and highlight the existence of a further term appropriate to contexts of overcoming:

þæt beoð husulwearas,
cempan gecorene, Criste leofe,
berað in breostum beorhtne geleafan,
haligne hyht, heortan clæne
weorðiað waldend, habbað wisne gepoht
fusne on forðweg to fader eðle
gearwaf gastes hus, ond mid gleawnesse
feond oferfehtað ond firenlustas
forberað in breostum

(ASPR III 11.796a-804a)

Viewing the poet's performance as a whole, oferfehtað corresponds most closely to the three appearances of oferwinnan; both terms are composed of the prefix ofer- to which is added a straightforward military term. This proximity is paralleled by Ælfric's selection of the term in his Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum in which, as I have shown, oferwinnan figures prominently. Alongside the statement attributed to Seron: ic wille wyrcan me naman and oferwinnan iudan (Skeat LSS II.86) can be placed the statement that Lysias gathered together a huge army and wolde ofer-fechtan þæt iudiesce folc (Ibid., 90), which corresponds to the Latin debellaret of I Mach. IV.28. Later, Ælfric says that Judas fought against the heathens and ofer-feaht and aflymde hi æfre (Ibid., 92). Again, it is related how Judas, in cleansing the temple of God, ofer-feaht his fynd mid wæpnum (Ibid., 102).

In addition, it should be noted that the poet of Christ and Satan, in relation to the harrowing of hell, states that hæfde drihten seolf/ feond oferfohten (ASPR I. 11.402b-403a). In the nearly contemporary Vespasian Psalter gloss, debellant of Ps.55.4 is rendered by oferfehtað, an identification which, as was seen above, Ælfric repeats in his Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum. In the early eleventh century gloss of

the Cambridge Psalter, expugnaverunt (Ps.128.2) is rendered by ofyrfuhton; the marked trend of the glossed psalters as a whole is to translate expugnare by oferwinnan, as previously indicated. The Cambridge and Junius psalters, and to a lesser degree, the Arundel Psalter, are distinguished from the other glossed psalters in that they regularly employ oferfehtan and related forms to translate expugnare and bellare and related forms. For the Cambridge and Junius psalters, this is true of pss.55.3; 34.1; 108.2; 119.6 and 128.1; in the Arundel Psalter, in pss.55.3 and 34.1.

The close association of oferfehtan and oferwinnan is demonstrated in this final example from Ælfric's homily In Natale Sanctorum Martirum. On the subject of patience, Ælfric first translates Prov. XVI.32:

Eft cwæð Salomon: 'Selre is se geðyldiga
 wer þonne se stranga, and se ðe his mod
 gewylt is betera ðonne se ðe burh oferwinð'.
 Mare sige bið, þæt se man hine sylfne ðurh
 geðyld gewylde, ðonne he wiðutan him burga
 oferfehte.

(Thorpe, CH II.544)

A further verb of overcoming, of far less significance than either oferfehtan or oferdrifan, is apparent in this extract from Unferth's taunting remarks to Beowulf concerning his swimming contest with Breca:

Git on wateres æht
 seofon niht swuncon; he þe æt sunde oferflat
 hæfde mare magen.

(ll. 516a-18b)

The only other similar use of the term, so far as I know, comes in the OE Orosius translator's word pair: to oferflitanne 7 to amansum-ianne, answering to Latin deprehensum (OE Orosius, 284.285). Yet

the term is important in as much as it again exemplifies the process of word formation which involves the addition of the prefix to an already established verb. Related to oferflitan are flit and flitan, both of which are considerably more common than the compound verb.

I have located the following OE verbs which adequately express the concept of overcoming in the contexts in which they have been located: oferswipan, ofercuman, oferwinnan, oferdrifan, oferfeohtan, oferwigan, oferflitan, (oferstigan), gewealdan, gewinnan, cnyssan, (gegan, gagangan, gefaran), and the verbal phrases sige habban, sige
59
slogan, etc. With very few exceptions, the task of indicating a purely spiritual victory is reserved for the first three terms.

Furthermore, the verbs oferfeohtan and oferdrifan have been noted in statements of spiritual overcoming; Ælfric, in particular, makes use of oferdrifan on five occasions. Oferdrifan is interesting because, despite its relative scarcity, it would seem to have been reserved exclusively for contexts of spiritual victory. It is thus all the more significant that in the vast majority of such contexts, it should have been passed over in favour of the three principal verbs. Thus, OE writers, while naturally rejecting those terms like gegan, gefaran, ofergan, oferflitan, etc., which were considered to be most appropriate to straightforward military contexts, also tended to avoid other terms, evidently deemed adequate in spiritual contexts, in favour of either oferswipan, ofercuman and oferwinnan.

The most obvious conclusion to be reached from a consideration of this evidence is that OE writers, in their presentation of the figure of the Miles Christi and of less stylized spiritual struggle, consistently made conscious and controlled choices in vocabulary with respect to statements of overcoming. I suggested earlier that the

effectiveness of this popular and forceful image is to be accounted for largely by the tension created in the particular statement in which victory is signalled; literal meaning is thwarted and expectation upturned.

It is therefore likely that the articulation of the concept of overcoming is the single most significant factor in the composition of the image, and that the study of the three principal vehicles by which this notion is expressed brings one very close to an awareness of authorial choice, and of how significant these choices were. At the same time, while the force of literary habit cannot be underestimated, and while it would be proper to concede that some writers may have operated uncritically in simply adopting the main elements of a relatively fixed word group, the long survival and consistent application of this group of terms is indicative of its persistent vitality as a literary device for writers working at different times and in different but nearly related genres.

Lastly, I have shown that of the three principal verbs of overcoming used by OE writers, it is oferswipan which occupies the position of primacy; statistically, it is favoured much more regularly than either ofercuman or oferwinnan.⁶⁰ I have also argued that its pre-eminence must be accounted for in terms of its effectiveness. This effectiveness can, I believe, be precisely defined.

It is a feature of oferswipan that it was considered to be as appropriate in contexts which did not rely on the force of a secular,⁶¹ martial analogue, as in those overtly spiritual contexts in which it functioned to thwart and redirect literal meaning. Since oferswipan is so inappropriate to secular, martial contexts, it is clear that its almost automatic selection to denote spiritual struggle and

victory is determined by its inherent ability to subvert, of itself,
62
any martial associations which may be present. Further, recalling
Ullmann's theory of linguistic fields, in which it is said that
stable elements in a recognisable word-cluster interact in such a
63
way as to determine the semantic range of each element, it is equally
clear that the position of primacy accorded to oferswipan was deter-
mined by the fact that its particular semantic range was sufficient
to negate the martial associations of all other terms brought into
conjunction with it. It is the peculiar feature of oferswipan that
it, alone, defines the true nature of spiritual overcoming, and it
is, for this reason, the most effectively employed verb of overcoming
in spiritual contexts and one, therefore, which assumes an importance
in the word-cluster not matched by any of the other words and phrases
there present.

Therefore, it is of some importance to note that the term disappears
completely from literary language after about 1200; its function
is thereafter fulfilled by EME ofercumen, ouercumen. In the last
chapter of this study, I propose to examine the relationship of
oferswipan and ofercumen, and thereby, to suggest reasons why such a
key term should have been so emphatically discarded. This consider-
ation naturally has a bearing on the changing concept of the whole
theme which is best approached by an assessment of the favoured
linguistic devices in the Ormulum, to which I now return.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. As in sa., 676(E), 796(A), 832(A), 905(A), 969(E), 1091.
2. See Bertil Weman, Old English Semantic Analysis and Theory, with Special Reference to Verbs denoting Locomotion, Lund Studies in English I (Lund : Lindstedts, 1933), pp.27-29; 77-109, esp. 102, 106-07.
3. See, for example, d'Ardenne, Seinte Iuliane, 1.525.
4. Greenfield, Critical History, pp.40, 45, describes the poem as an insertion. With regard to the late appearance in the Chronicle of ofercuman, there is no evidence, either from Clark, Peterborough Chronicle or from Serjeantson, History of the Foreign Words, to suggest that this could be accounted for by the late influence of a Scandinavian loan word.
5. See above, p. 357.
6. Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles II. cvi-cvii.
7. Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles II. cviii.
8. Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles, II. cviii.
9. OE Crosius, pp. 162, 164, 256, 258, 268, 274, 288.
10. Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles, II.7
11. Even, so, it is unlikely that the translator would have felt entitled to resort to terms possessing an utterly inappropriate reverberation.

12. Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles II. cviii, cites the weight of evidence and opinion. For a concurring recent assessment, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign', in Eric Stanley, ed., Continuations and Beginnings (London:Nelson, 1966), p.67-103; 74.
13. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose, pp. lxff.
14. Rudolf Vleeskruyer, ed., The Life of Saint Chad : An Old English Homily (Amsterdam:North Holland Publishing Co., 1953), pp.19-22; 55-62.
15. Oferwinnan is absent from the Blickling Homilies. It appears in the earlier Blickling Psalter gloss in Pss. 34.1 and 55.3. Its applicability to Old Testament history is attested by these occurrences in the OE Heptateuch:Genesis XIV.20; Exodus I.10; Deuteronomium XX.10; Iosue X.4. Some of its occurrences in Alfredian prose are: OE Cura Pastoralis, 205; OE Soliloquies, 14; Metr. Boet, 25, 72a in ASPR VI.192.
16. Janet Bately, 'The Classical Additions in the Old English Orosius', in Peter Clemons and Kathleen Hughes, eds., England Before the Conquest : Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge:University Press, 1971), pp.237-51; 237.
17. By Margaret Goldsmith, The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf (London: Athlone, 1970), p.38.
18. Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', Proceedings of the British Academy, 48 (1962), 57-90; 75.
19. But, see further, below, pp. 392-94.
20. Assmann, Homilies, pp. 170,4; 175, 189; 176, 235.

21. Samuel J. Crawford, ed., Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron, Bibliothek der angelsächsische Prosa X (Hamburg: Henri Grand, 1921). Referred to as the OE Hexermeron.
22. All quotations are taken from Robert E. Finnegan, ed., Christ and Satan (Ontario:Wilfrid Laurier, 1977).
23. In all MSS except Cambridge CCC 140 which, significantly, has oferwinð. See below, p. 380.
24. George E. MacLean, ed., 'Elfric's Version of Alcuin's Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesim', Anglia 6 (1883), 425-73, and 7 (1884), 1-59. The text is printed in the later volume.
25. Thomas Wright & Richard P. Wülcker, eds., Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, 2 vols., 2nd. ed. (London, 1902), II. 65, 34, 35.
26. Colgrave & Mynors, History, Bk. III. ch.7.
27. Charles Plummer, ed., Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica, 2 vols. (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1896), I.367, in ch.4 of the Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda.
28. Earle & Plummer, Saxon Chronicles sa., 643(A)
29. Colgrave & Mynors, History, Book II, ch.20.
30. On Bede's ambiguous response to Cadwalla's reign, see Cross, 'Ethic of War', p.277.
31. Frank M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1943), p.67.
32. By Florence of Worcester. See Plummer, Bedae Opera, II.344.

33. Bertram Colgrave, ed., The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus (Cambridge:University Press, 1927), ch.14. Cited hereafter as Colgrave, Eddius, followed by page numbers.
34. Plummer, Bedae Opera, II.315-16, 325.
35. Ibid., Hist. Abb., ch. I.
36. Bede's forthright introduction of Old Testament history is, of itself, indicative of the major guiding principle lying behind the narrative.
37. Whitelock, Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, p.66, note to l.184.
38. See Arthur W. Haddan & W. Stubbs, eds., Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 3 vols. (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1871), III. 476; cited by Plummer, Bedae Opera, II.36. Also, Whitelock, Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, ll.183ff and notes.
39. The same is true in respect of ofercuman and oferwinnan as is witnessed by Blickling Homily XVII in Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp. 197-211, and by Skeat LSS II.112ff.
40. Kuhn, 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede', passim.
41. Koskenniemi, Repetitive Word Pairs, p.40.
42. The instances of the term in Herzfeld, Old English Martyrology, pp. 64. 68, seem to me to be of a similar nature.
43. BT Dictionary and Supplement is by no means exhaustive in its list of occurrences.

44. Of particular relevance are: Alcuin, Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis in Migne, PL 101. 633-37; Vercelli Homily XX; Prudentius, Psychomachia in H[.....] J. Thomson, ed. Prudentius, 2 vols. (London : Heinemann, 1949), I.274-342.
45. See Ælfric's De Octo Vitiis in Morris, OE Homilies I, pp. 296-98, and his second letter to Archbishop Wulfstan in Fehr, Hirtenbriefe, pp. 204ff.
46. In Julius Zupitza, 'Englisches aus Prudentiushandschriften,' Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur, 20 (1876), 36-45; 36.
47. See John P. Hermann, 'The Theme of Spiritual Warfare in the Old English Judith,' Philological Quarterly, 55 (1976), 1-9.
48. Greenfield, Critical History, pp.118-19, makes some general remarks to this effect, but characterizes the poem, unfairly I think, as 'unsophisticated.'
49. See Laurence K. Shook, 'The Burial Mound in Guthlac A,' Modern Philology, 58 (1960), 1-10; Karl P. Wentersdorf, 'Guthlac A: the Battle for the Beorg,' Neophilologus, 62 (1978), 135-42.
50. With the sole exception of the use of ouerstiheð in Seinte Iuliene, 1.318 (Royal MS.).
51. Kemp Malone, ed., Deor (London : Methuen, 1933), 11.24-26.
52. See Ker, Catalogue, p.534.
53. See above, fn.96 to chapter 3.
54. Also available in Robert J. Menner ed., The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn (London : Oxford University Press, 1941).

55. At the same time, oferstigan, like the verbs ofergan, gegan (gegangan), conveys a strong sense of physical progression, as in the surmounting of an obstacle. Therefore, it may be proper to reject oferstigan from consideration on the same grounds as were applied in the cases of the other verbs. See above, p. 358, and note 2 of this chapter.

56. John M. Kemble, ed., The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus (London:Ælfric Society, 1848), p.163.

57. Hurst, Homilies I.8 p.53.

58. Ælfric's piece for Dominica X Post Pentecosten in Pope Homilies, 547-59; 556.

59. Bracketed verbs are those which may not strictly be admitted, for reasons already discussed.

60. See above, pp. 402-03.

61. See the examples quoted above, p. 400.

62. Seen clearly in the case of Alban, in the OE Bede, discussed above, pp.398-9, and in the short notices in the OE Martyrology, pp. 64.68.

63. Quoted above, p.245.