CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION IN EARLY ENGLISH HOMILIES :

STUDIES ON THE VOCABULARY OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN OLD ENGLISH

WRITINGS AND IN THE <u>ORMULUM</u>

TWO VOLUMES — VOLUME TWO

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRESENTATION OF THE MILES CHRISTI FIGURE IN THE ORMULUM

In the following chapters, I propose to show, through elaborate illustration, the nature and extent of Orm's distinctive word cluster with which the figure of the Miles Christi is presented. The ensuing comparison of the figure in the Ormulum with that evidenced from OE homilies and lives of saints, established in the previous chapters, will seek to demonstrate how, in doctrinal terms, there is a large measure of agreement between the two. Furthermore, I will suggest that through the persistent use of certain words and phrases, Orm relied as heavily as did earlier English writers on the image complex presented in Ad Ephesios VI.11ff, an identification which underlines the force of literary convention in identical and nearly-related genres and, as a consequence, provides a solid basis for the detailed examination of particular emphases in the text of the Ormulum. At the same time, I shall draw attention to the prominence of the related theme of the Christus Miles in Orm's homilies which, when viewed in relation to the predilection of OE writers for this particular aspect of martial imagery, may be said to complement the estimate of Orm's attachment to established emphases in native homily writing and his willingness to exploit such emphases. It is furthermore pertinent to lay stress here on the applicability of the evidence gathered in the latter part of the first chapter. Through selective illustration, I tried to show there that Orm's linguistic formulation of favoured

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imagery was built on conventional elements of OE homiletic expression
and that these elements were invested with a stricter, more rigid,
syntactical identity.   By extension, in the chapters that follow,
attention to Orm's compositional procedures in the elucidation of the
concept of spiritual warfare will show how he, with evident self-
conscious pioneering sense, sought to bring his mutated form of
language – its changed syntax and lexis – into recognizable conformity
with OE homiletic vernacular standards.

In broad terms, this approach highlights the fusion of Latin and
English elements in Orm's work and complements the findings of the
earlier examination of his 'Englishness' expressed directly in his
Dedication (Dickins & Wilson, 11.6–8)[1], and revealed indirectly in his
concern for linguistic and orthographic clarity, in his conscious
manipulation of standard features of OE homiletic idiom, as opposed
to his marked reliance on foreign models both for verse form and
doctrinal content.

Superimposed on these areas of general agreement are the conclusions
which may reasonably be inferred, from the close study of the precise
make-up of Orm's verbal patterns, about the changing identity of the
Miles Christi in his work.   Several avenues of approach have been
considered useful here.   In the first place I claim that, whereas it
was primarily for saints, martyrs and monks that OE writers reserved
this figure, the Ormulum confers on each man the elevated code of
conduct associated with the soldier of God, thus reflecting a signifi-
cant shift in emphasis.   Simultaneously, I will argue that there is
a perceptible modification in the presentation of the Miles Christi in
relation to the force of his martial stance.   Whereas OE homilists
and hagiographers cast their soldiers of God in firmly passive, non-

aggressive roles, there is, in the <u>Ormulum</u>, a tendency to invest the figure with a marked outward-going, offensive nature which shares considerably more ground with the secular, literal basis of the metaphor than was generally observed in the compositional techniques adopted by OE writers.

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

Second, I propose to examine the favoured terminology in the <u>Ormulum</u> and, on the basis of the procedure adopted for the OE corpus, argue that those discriminatory and qualificatory procedures adhered to by OE writers were largely abandoned or ignored by Orm. I will deal with the interaction of the various aspects of his terminology, noting the marked paucity of terms evocative of a defensive attitude, the infrequent spiritual qualification of overtly secular vocabulary and, in general, the tendency for the various elements of his imagistic language to move towards a realization, rather than a redirection, of the secular analogue.

I intend to widen the area of comparison by making use of the descriptions of martial activity in two important works of contemporaneous date to the Ormulum. I will draw upon the relevant entries in the Peterborough Chronicle, treating them, as had been done with the earlier Chronicle texts, as repositories of secular, and essentially neutral, descriptions of military activity, in order to show that Orm's verbal synthesis of the Miles Christi coincides to an appreciable degree with the language most readily associated with conventional battle description in historical prose.

The usefulness and admissibility of this comparative process will then be extended and re-inforced through reference to compatible passages from Laȝamon's Brut which, although less closely related to the Ormulum in terms of dialect and provenance than the Peterborough Chronicle, is nevertheless a valuable source of descriptions of military encounters and similarly displays sustained use of vocabulary common, not only to the Peterborough Chronicle, but also to the Ormulum.[2]

Finally, I shall return to the significance of the virtual absence of oferswiðan in the Ormulum and in all other EME works, and the correspondingly complete application of EME ofercumen, attempting thereby to trace the semantic interaction of these terms and to offer reasons why this most crucial of OE terms in the presentation of the concept of spiritual warfare was universally discarded, while the image of which it had formed an integral part continued, by contrast, to be vigorously exploited.

5.1 The Range of Terminology for Spiritual Combat in the _Ormulum_

Notwithstanding its length and intended comprehensiveness, the _Ormulum_ displays real thematic emphasis, and perhaps nowhere more plainly than in the presentation of the Christian life as a struggle with the devil. Thematically it is instructive to study because sufficient references are available to establish verbal patterns of the several aspects of the theme which are emphasised - verbal patterns which take on the status of systems since they are the work of one author who clearly favours a specific range of vocabulary. Furthermore, such systems, once they have been identified and contrasted with earlier verbal patterns in OE writings, provide the necessary means of assessing, on the one hand Orm's reception of and, on the other, his contribution to a stable and well-established metaphorical complex. As with OE homilists and hagiographers, Orm's consistent reliance on a nucleus of terms for the presentation of the _Miles Christi_ confers on those terms a special identity and invites a consideration of their semantic force in their habitual interaction with each other.

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

One prominent aspect of the range of teaching which Orm offers on man's life conceived of in terms of spiritual combat is the role which

God's angels play. In the Dedication, Orm reviews briefly the most significant events in Christ's ministry within the framework of the seven ways in which man has benefited from it. Speaking of the Ascension and the coming of the Holy Spirit, he says:

> Þe sexte god uss hafeþþ don
> Þe laferrd crist onn erþe,
> Þurrh þatt he stah forr ure god
> Upp inntill heffness blisse,
> 7 sennde siþþenn haliȝ gast
> Till hiss lerninnȝcnihhtess,
> To frofrenn 7 to beldenn hemm
> To stanndenn ȝæn þe defell,
> To ȝifenn hemm god witt inoh
> Off all hiss hallȝhe lare,
> To ȝifenn hemm god lusst, god mahht,
> To þolenn alle wawenn,
> All forr þe lufe off godd, 7 nohht
> Forr erþliȝ loff to winnenn.

<div align="center">(Dedication, 231-44)</div>

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

Several other passages dealing with angelic help establish firmly the martial nucleus of the metaphor. In the first fitt, Orm expounds on Gabriel's visitation to Zachary and the prophecy of the birth of John the Baptist, (Luc. I.5-22). Focusing attention on the reported fact that Zachary took fright at the sight of the angel, Orm introduces this statement[3] on the confrontation of devil and man in the spiritual struggle, and the beneficial effects of angels' assistance:

> Forr ure wrecche kinde iss swillc
> Ðatt itt maȝȝ ben forrfæredd,
> Ȝiff þatt itt ohht færlike seþ
> Þe wlite off ennȝlekinde.
> 7 godess enngell iss full mec,
> 7 milde, 7 soffte, 7 bliþe,
> To beldenn 7 to frofrenn þe,
> Ȝiff he þe seþ forrȝloppnedd.

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Acc defell iss, þatt witt tu wel,
                    Off Ȝrimme 7 niþfull herrte;
                    Forr Ȝiff he seþ þatt mann iss ohht
                    Forrfæredd off hiss sihhþe,
                    He wile himm færenn, Ȝiff he maȜȜ,
                    7 skerrenn mare 7 mare.
                    Ac whas itt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
                    Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste,
                    Þohh þatt he se þe laþe Ȝast,
                    Niss he rihht nohht forrfæredd.

                              (ll. 663-80)

In a later homily on <u>Luc</u>. II. 1-15 in the fifth fitt, Orm derives·

universal significance from the appearance of angels to the watching

shepherds at Bethlehem:

        Itt tacneþþ uss þatt ure Ȝodd. Well offte sendeþþ ennȜless.[4]
        Inn till þiss middell ærd. tatt iss. All full off þessterrnesse:
        Þatt iss off all ᵽ ifell iss; Inn alle kinne sinne.
        Itt tacneþþ ᵽ he sendeþþ hemm; Inn till þiss þessterrnesse.
        To frofrenn þa ᵽ wakenn wel; OnnȜæness laþe Ȝastess.
        7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm; Fra defless swikedomess.
        7 all ᵽ flocc ᵽ hemm iss sett; To Ȝemenn. 7 to Ȝætenn.
        To frofrenn swillke sendeþþ Ȝodd. EnnȜless. 7 hallȜhe sawless.
        7 aȜȜ þeȜȜ cumenn dun till þa; Wiþþ heffness lihht. 7 leme.
        Þatt iss wiþþ witt. 7 Ȝod innsihht; Inn alle kinne þinȜe.
        Forr drihhtin Ȝifeþþ her hiss þeww; Ȝod witt. 7 mahht. 7 wille.
        To stanndenn Ȝæn þe laþe Ȝast. 7 Ȝæn all ᵽ he læreþþ.

                          (ll. 3784-807; as Hall, <u>Selections</u>,
                                                      I. 114)

Once again, prompted by the fear which seized the shepherds at the

sight of the vision, Orm constructs an elaborate statement on devilish

attack in which the martial basis of the metaphor is strikingly evident:

        Forr Ȝodess ennȜell frofreþþ mann; Ȝiff ᵽ he seþ himm færedd.
        Forr Ȝodess ennȜell iss full mec; 7 soffte. 7 milde. 7 bliþe.
        7 defell iss all full off niþ; 7 full off Ȝrammcunndnesse.
        7 full off hete towarrd mann; 7 full off modiȜnesse.
        7 Ȝiff he seþ þe mann forrdredd; He wile himm skerrenn mare.
        7 ræfenn himm hiss rihhte witt; 7 shetenn inn hiss herrte.
        Acc whas itt iss ᵽ wæpnedd iss; Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste;
        Þohh ᵽ he Ȝrisliȝ defell se. Niss he rihht nohht forrfæredd.

                          (ll. 3828-43; as Hall, <u>Selections</u>,
                                                      I. 114)

In this passage, the climax of the devil's attack comes with the statement 7 shetenn inn hiss herrte (3839). In the Glossary (White-Holt, II.516), the editors give as the meaning of shetenn inn the phrase 'to shut up, harden?' and cite OE scyttan as its equivalent, pointing to Ælfric's use of the latter term in his rendition of Latin obserare in his Grammar.[5] But on phonological and orthographic grounds, OE scyttan is unlikely to have given rise to Orm's shetenn,[6] and Hall, in his edition of this extract of the homily, confidently asserted that shetenn 'represents sceotan, meaning to shoot into his heart, to inflict a deadly wound'.[7] Thus this passage displays a brief, unelaborated reference to the image of the arrows of the devil, an image which was often extensively exploited by OE homilists.[8] Further, this is the only example of the allusion in the Ormulum; while the statistic suggests that this element of the metaphor was no longer considered to be worthy of exploitation, it should be noted that Orm introduces the idea in a casual manner, supplying no additional explanatory material or attempting to extend the metaphorical play. Such an allusion, in the work of a homilist obsessed with clarity in all aspects of composition, argues that the significance of the devil's darts was so perfectly understood that the merest verbal reference - as in shetenn inn - was considered adequate for the realization of the intended didacticism.

A measure of support for this view can be derived, first in general terms, from its popularity with OE writers and its conspicuous inclusion, in the phrase omnia tela nequissimi ignea, by St. Paul in Ad Ephesios VI.16; it can also be favourably compared with this comment on Eleusius's illicit infatuation with Juliana at the beginning of the EME prose life of Seinte Iuliene:

As he hefde en-chere bihalden swiðe ʒeorne
hire utnume feire ant freoliche ʒuheðe,
felde him iwundet inwið in his heorte wið þe
flan þe of luue fleoð, swa þet him þuhte
þet ne mahte he nanes-weis wiðute þe lech-
nunge of hire luue libben.

<div align="right">

(d'Ardenne, <u>Seinte Iuliene</u>,
11.33-38)

</div>

Eleusius is clearly portrayed here as the servant of the devil; his 'love' is not merely misplaced, it leads to the persecution of the saint and her martyrdom. The inclusion of the terms <u>iwundet</u> and <u>flan</u> in this extract immediately call to mind the notion of the wounds of sin and the image of the devil's darts as the outward manifestation of man's temptation. Eleusius is besotted with sin, and it is therefore extremely likely that, in this case, the well-established image has been successfully revitalized and accommodated to the prevalent ironic mode. The statement immediately characterises Eleusius as one who is susceptible to moral turpitude, and it seems probable that only in conditions in which the image of the <u>omnia tela nequissimi ignea</u> was capable of almost automatic reception by an audience well versed in conventional religious imagery, could it be so successfully and effectively refashioned.

Traditionally, the image of the darts of the devil is a powerful expression of man's susceptibility to temptation. Transgression of the law of God, as Ælfric had plainly stated, results from man's willingness to comply with illicit desires; temptation is external to man, but his sin, his willingness to be tempted successfully, results from his own internal weakness.[9] The traditional teaching is perfectly understood by Orm. In fitt six, he expounds on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Among them:

Þe ferþe ʒife off haliʒ gast
Iss strenncþe ʒæn þe defell;
Strenncþe to fihhtenn stallwurrliʒ
Onnʒæn þe flæshess lusstess;

(11.5518-21)

and

Strenncþe to þolenn rihht wiþþ skill
Illc sellþe 7 illc unnsellþe,

(11.5528-29)

Here, the person of the devil is identified with flæshess lusstess
and the necessity for the willing acceptance of misery and suffering
is again stressed.

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

Forr ʒho wass god utnumennliʒ,
7 milde 7 mec 7 bliþe,
ʒa towarrd godd, ʒa towarrd mann,
Onn alle kinne wise.
7 ʒho wass full off soþfasst þild
To þolenn 7 to dreʒhenn
Wiþþ soþ mecleʒʒc, wiþþ witt, wiþþ skill,
Illc sellþe 7 illc unnsellþe.
7 tu mihht witenn þatt ʒho wass
Full wel off þild bifundenn;
Forr niss nan mahht rihht god inoh
Biforenn godess eʒhne,
Butt iff itt be þurrh þildess gold
All full wel oferrgildedd.
Forr þild birrþ ben wiþþ iwhillc mahht
To beldenn itt 7 strengenn,
Swa þatt itt muʒhe ben till uss
God wæpenn ʒæn þe defell,
Þatt æfre 7 æfre stanndeþþ inn
To scrennkenn ure sawless,
To don uss to forrgilltenn uss
ʒæn godd o sume wise.

(11.2599-620)

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

> ...ḡodess þeww birrþ habbenn her
> A33 soþfasst læfe o criste,
> 7 soþfasst hi3, 7 hope onn himm,
> 7 soþfasst lufe o baþe,
> O drihhtin 7 onn iwhillc mann
> I þohht, i word, i dede.
> Forr wha sitt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
> Wiþþ þise þrinne mahhtess,
> Þatt illke mann iss sti3henn wel
> Upp inntill he3he munntess,
> 7 he ma33 stanndenn wel onn3æn
> Þe defell wiþþ swillc wæpenn.

<p style="text-align:center">(11.2775-86)</p>

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

> 7 3et bilammp himm oþerr wa
> Þatt mare mihhte himm e33lenn,
> 3iff þatt he nære wæpnedd wel
> Þurrh þild onn3æn unnselloe.

<p style="text-align:center">(11.4766-69)</p>

Referring to his bodily suffering, Orm says:

> Her wass unnsellþe unnride inoh
> Till an mann forr to dre3henn;
> 7 3iff þatt he þurrh soþfasst þild
> Wæpnedd full wel ne wære,
> He munnde ben full dreri3 mann,
> 7 serrhfull inn hiss herrte

<p style="text-align:center">(11.4784-89)</p>

These verbal elements are slightly refashioned by Orm to produce

this repetition of the teaching soon afterwards:

> He munnde ben full dreriʒ mann
> 7 serrhfull inn hiss herrte,
> ʒiff þatt he nære wæpnedd wel
> Þurrh soþfasst þildess wæpenn.
> Acc he wass wæpnedd wel þurrh godd
> Onnʒæness illc unnsellþe.

(11.4804-09)

Finally, after drawing attention to Job's resolve to accept misery

from God as gladly as he did happiness, Orm styles him drihhtiness

kemmpe iob (4832).

Orm dwells on the example of Job and directs its teaching immediately

to his audience.   The actions of other biblical figures are similarly

regarded as exemplary and are invariably cast in martial terms.   For

instance, Orm explains Gabriel's words to Zachary to the effect that

many men will have cause for rejoicing at the birth of John the Baptist,

(Luc. I.14):

> Forr þatt he wass þe firrste mann
> Þatt brohhte word onn erþe,
> Þatt mannkinn shollde newenn ben
> Utlesedd fra þe defell,
> 7 winnenn heffness kinedom
> Þurrh clene lifess wæpenn.

(11.797-802)

In the homily on the Temptation in the desert, in fitt fifteen, Orm

announces the significance of Christ's fast and spiritual struggle

even before he begins to treat the pericope systematically.   He states

that Christ went voluntarily to be tempted:

> Forr þatt he wollde shæwenn swa
> All mannkinn þurrh hiss bisne
> Hu cristess hird - crisstene follc
> Birrþ fihhtenn ʒæn þe defell,

To winnen si3e 7 oferrhannd,
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.

(11.11417-422)

He elaborates immediately and draws attention to the dangers of the

devil's designs:

To shæwenn swa þatt cristess þeww,
Affterr þatt he beþ fullhtnedd,
Shall hafenn rihht inoh to don
To stanndenn 3æn þe defell,
3iff he shall mu3henn 3emenn himm
Fra defless dærne wiless;
Forr affterr þatt te mann iss shadd
All þwerrt ut fra þe defell
þurrh fulluhht, 7 þurrh cristenndom,
7 þurrh þe rihhte læfe,
þæraffterr iss þe laþe ḡast
3errnfull wiþþ all hiss mahhte,
To winnenn efft tatt illke mann
þurrh þatt he shall himm brinngenn onn
To don summ hæfedd sinne,
All hise þannkess, all unnnedd,
All att hiss flæshess wille.

(11.11441-458)

The admonition which follows is compounded of precisely the same

verbal elements:

Uss birrde all erþli3 þinḡ forrsen
To winnenn itt þurrh sinne,
7 a33 uss birrde ben forrlisst
Affterr þe blisse off heffne,
7 æfre fihhtenn 3æn þe flæsh
7 3æn þe flæshess lusstess.
þa mihhte we þe laþe ḡast
Wiþþstanndenn 7 wiþþseggenn,
7 winnenn si3e 7 oferrhannd
Off himm wiþþ cristess hellpe.

(11.11473-482)

In fitt twenty, in the homily on Nicodemus (Ioan. III.1-15, 16-21),

Orm constructs a forceful martial image from the exploitation of the

etymological meaning of the pharisee's name, relating its significance

to the conversion of Israel and, by implication, to the foundation of [10]

the Church itself:

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         7 ec forrþi þatt nicodem
         Onn ennglissh spæche tacneþþ
         Þatt lede þatt iss siȝȝefasst,
         He wass forr to bitacnann
         Þatt lott off issraæle þed
         Þatt turrnedd wass till criste
         Þurrh fulluhht 7 þurrh crisstenndom,
         7 þurrh þe rihhte læfe,
         7 all forrwarrp 7 oferrcomm
         Þurrh oferrhannd 7 siȝe
         All werelldshipess lufe 7 lusst
         7 all erþlike sellþe.
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                    (11. 16956-967)

Elsewhere, the instruction is more direct, yet based continuously on

the concept of the Christian life as spiritual combat.   In fitt six,

Orm devotes special attention to the series of prayers enclosed in

the Pater Noster.   In response to the words Et ne nos inducas in

tentationem (Matth. VI.13; Luc. XI.4), he says:

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         Þe sexte bĕde þatt mann bitt
         Uppo þe paterr nossterr
         Þatt iss, þatt ȝodd ne þole nohht
         Ne þafe laþe ȝastess
         To winnenn oferrhannd off uss
         Þurrh here laþe wiless;
         Forr whase winneþþ oferrhannd
        ·7 siȝe off laþe ȝastess,
         He shall ben crunedd þurrh drihhtin
         Inn eche lifess blisse.
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                    (11. 5453-63)

in which victory over the devil is said to be rewarded with the crown

of everlasting life. The statement is conventional, the terminology

a mixture of established and new elements.   The crown of glory in OE

homilies and lives of saints is announced as the wuldorbeag; in the

Ormulum, the verb crunedd fulfills the function. Derived ultimately

from Latin coronare, the EME usage of crunedd in the Ormulum,

paralleled by the statement that Christ:

crunede his icorene þe deð drehen,
oðer eni neowcin.

derives directly from AF _coruner_.   Whereas, however, the incidence

of French words in the 'Katherine Group texts is by no means uncommon,

Orm's _crunedd_ is a rare example of Romance influence.

In the Temptation homily, Orm presents a vivid picture of man's weak-

ness to evil even while in church:

> þatt defell hafeþþ mahhte
> To cumenn inntill godess hus
> 7 inntill hall3hedd kirrke,
> 7 forrþi birrþ þe wæpnedd ben
> 3æn himm e33whær onn erþe,
> To shildenn þe wiþþ all hiss laþ
> þurrh soþfasst hope 7 trowwþe.

(11.11882-888)

The same piece provides lengthy instruction on the means through which

Satan both caused Adam to sin and tempted Christ, and how Christ over-

came his evil by the same means.   The focus of Orm's attention is the

catalogue of vices: gluterrnesse, gredi3nesse and modi3nesse:

> 7 her icc wile shæwenn 3uw
> Whatt gate he wann eve 7 adam
> þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn,
> 7 ec hu crist himm oferrcom
> Wiþþ all þatt illke wæpenn.
> Þurrh gluterrnesse wass adam
> I paradys þurrhwundedd,
> . . . .
> . . . .
> þurrh gluterrnesse himm oferrcom
> þe laþe gast inn æte
> . . . .
> . . . .
> þurrh gredi3nesse wass adam
> I paradys þurrhwundedd,
> . . . .
> . . . .

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I witt 7 skill himm oferrcom
Defell þurrh ḡredi3nesse....

<div align="right">(11.12318-39)</div>

He continues:

7 þurrh þatt adam toc 7 et
Swa summ þe defell 3errnde,
Forr þatt he wollde winnenn witt
Onn3æn drihhtiness wille,
þærþurrh himm oferrcomm þe fend
Wiþþ ḡredi3nessess wæpenn.
þurrh modi3nesse wass adam
I paradys þurrhwundedd....

<div align="right">(11.12350-357)</div>

. . . .
. . . .
þærþurrh hemm oferrcomm þe fend
Wiþþ modi3nessess wæpenn.
þuss oferrcom þe laþe ḡast
Adam 7 eve baþe,
þurrh ḡluterrnessess laþe lasst,
7 ec þurrh ḡredi3nesse,
7 þurrh þatt laþe modi3le33c
þatt all comm off himm sellfenn.
Forr þurrh þatt þatt te33 tokenn wel
Wiþþ hiss unnfæle lare,
7 didenn ḡladdli3 þatt he badd
Onn3æn drihhtiness wille
þærþurrh hemm oferrcomm þe fend
7 brohhte hemm unnderr sinne.

<div align="right">(11.12374-387)</div>

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

7 tise mahhtess alle imæn
Arrn hæfedd mahhtess ehhte,
7 sinndenn wæpenn ḡod 7 stranḡ
3æn hæfedd sinness ehhte,

<div align="center">450</div>

ȝæn gluterrnessess laþe lasst,
7 ȝæn ȝalnessess hæte,
7 ȝæn ȝittsunnȝ 7 grediȝleȝȝc,
ȝæn ȝrimmeleȝȝc 7 braþþe,
ȝæn unnlusst 7 forrswundennleȝȝc,
ȝæn erþliȝ kare 7 serrȝhe,
ȝæn rosinnȝ, 7 ȝæn idell ȝellp,
ȝæn modiȝnessess wæpenn.
7 aȝȝ iss sett an hæfedd mahht
Onnȝæn an hæfedd sinne,
7 aȝȝ maȝȝ wel an hæfedd mahht
Cwennkenn an hæfedd sinne,
Inn iwhillc mann þatt follȝheþþ rihht
þe mahhte, crist tocweme.
7 whas itt iss þatt follȝheþþ wel
7 filleþþ þise mahhtess,
þatt illke mann shall borrȝhenn ben
þurrh cristess name onn ennde.

(11.4554-75)

One may note in passing that though the vices and virtues are
presented in military metaphor, Orm's language is restrained and the
'action' is static. Description takes place at a distance, as it
were; there is no involvement in the battle such as in the Psycho-
machia, and in this respect, Orm's presentation resembles that found
in OE homilies where fully developed personification allegory is
11
avoided.

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

result as much from standing firm as from fighting, and the soldier

of God thereafter receives the crown of eternal life as a reward.

These correspondences are of the most general kind; as I have

suggested, the precise make-up of Orm's verbal synthesis reveals the

presence of particular emphases which will bear further investigation.

Before pointing to the more notable modifications displayed by Orm's

metaphorical language, I want to reinforce this preliminary impression

of general adherence to the conventional, well-established concept

of the Miles Christi by gauging the extent of Orm's reliance on

St. Paul's image complex in Ad Ephesios VI.11ff, and by highlighting

the prominence of the figure of the Christus Miles.

5.2   The Ormulum and Ad Ephesios VI.11-18

Unlike OE homilists, Orm nowhere gives an ad verbum translation of

the extended metaphor in Ad Ephesios VI.11-18, yet there are several

indications that his articulation of the theme of spiritual warfare

draws firmly on this most popular of sources.   The most clearly

identifiable borrowing from the Pauline text is manifested in Orm's

constant admonition to stand firm against the devil and his temptations,

expressed both by the verbal phrase stanndenn onn3æn and by the verb

wiþþstanndenn.   The following quotations testify to the pervasiveness

of the detail:

        7 he ma33 stanndenn wel onn3æn
        þe defell wiþþ swillc wæpenn

              (ll.2785-86)

.... we ne stanndenn nohht
Swa summ uss birrde stanndenn
Onnʒæness himm wiþþ haliʒ lif

(11.11469-471; cp.5008-09)

þatt mihht stanndenn æþeliʒ
ʒæn himm 7 ʒæn hiss lare

(11.12534-535)

To stanndenn ʒæn þe defell

(Dedication, 238; Homilies,
2560, 11444, 12659).

To stanndenn ʒæn þe laþe g̅ast.
7 ʒæn all ꝥ he læreþþ.

(11.3806-07; as Hall, Selections,
114).

7 g̅od mann stanndeþþ aʒʒ onnʒæn
Hiss flæshess fule wille

(11.6030-31)

þurrh þatt teʒʒ stanndenn stallwurrþliʒ
ʒæn all þe defless wille

(11.11947-48)

þatt baþe stodenn wel onnʒæn
þe laþe g̅astess wille

(11.12870-871)

The following are essentially synonymous:

þa mihhte we þe laþe g̅ast
Wiþþstanndenn 7 wiþþseggenn

(11.11479-480)

7 tatt all forr to cwemenn g̅odd
7 defell to wiþþstanndenn

(11.16142-143)

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Wiþþstanndesst þurrhutlike wel
                    7 cwennkesst wel 7 cwellesst

                                        (11.6750-51)

                    7 þurrh þatt tatt te laferrd crist
                    Wiþþstod onnᴈæn hiss wille

                                        (11.12488-489; 12500-501;
                                                        12516-517)

Such phrases immediately call to mind similarly worded admonitions

which are a common feature of the teaching surrounding spiritual

warfare in OE writings, as in:

                    Wiðstandað þam deofle and he flihð
                    fram eow

                                        (Thorpe, CH I.604)

                    þonne sceal se hyrde, þæt is se bisceop
                    oððe oðer se lareow, wiðstandan þam reðan
                    wulfe mid lare and mid gebedum.

                                        (Ibid., 240)

                    þæt ge magon standan ongean deofles
                    syrwungum

                                        (Thorpe, CH II.218)

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

                    .....ut possitis stare adversus insidias
                    diaboli................Propterea accipite
                    armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in
                    die malo, et in omnibus perfecti stare.
                    State ergo........

                                        (Eph. VI.13-14)

So completely is this most emphatic consideration repeated by Orm

that it is likely that the image store from the Pauline text influenced

the content, though not the form, of his teaching on spiritual warfare.

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Other aspects of Orm's favoured terminology lend weight to this

identification.   In fitt five, which deals with the Nativity, Orm

comments on God's reason for sending angels into the world:

> Itt tacneþþ þ̄ he senndeþþ hemm; Inn till þiss þessterrnesse.
> To frofrenn þa þ̄ wakenn wel; Onnȝæness laþe ḡastess.
> 7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm; Fra defless swikedomess.

(11.3790-95; as Hall, <u>Selections</u>,
I. 114).

There are several points of immediate relevance in this statement

in which attributes of the soldier of God are conferred on angels.

First, the reference to the vigilant, those who <u>wakenn wel</u>, echoes

this detail of St. Paul's on those who have successfully taken up the

<u>gladium spiritus</u> (<u>Eph</u>. VI.17):

> et in ipso vigilantes in omni instantia,
> et obsecratione pro omnibus sanctis

(<u>Ibid</u>., 18)

As I have said, the martial metaphor here is not prompted by the

pericope reading directly; scrutiny of the passage as a whole

reveals, however, that Orm's line of thought is stimulated by the

report in the gospel:

> Et pastores erant in regione eadem
> vigilantes, et custodientes vigilias
> noctis super gregem suum

(<u>Luc</u>. II.8)

The implication that in this extract Orm was prompted by the detail

of the watching shepherds - <u>vigilantes</u> - to invoke the martial meta-

phor in <u>Ad Ephesios</u> which speaks of those who are watching to ward

off temptation - <u>vigilantes</u> - should be tempered by the possible

influence of those sources which Orm is most likely to have known.

Of them, this comment by Bede is the most appropriate I have been

able to locate.   After quoting Luc. II.8., he says:

> Pulcherrima ratione domino nato pastores [12]
> uigilant, gregemque suum ab insidiis
> noctis custodiendo defendunt ut uidelicet
> etiam per hoc ostendatur illud adesse
> tempus quod uerus et solus bonus pastor
> olim promisit, dicens....

and thereafter quotes Ezech. XXXIV. 11-12.   Elsewhere, Bede and

Ælfric and Orm all extract from Luke's words the teaching that priests

and bishops are set on earth as spiritual shepherds, but only Orm [13]

extends his exegesis to include this image of spiritual combat.   If

Orm had consulted the relevant portion of Bede's commentary In Lucam

for this homily, he may well have been struck by Bede's phrase

insidiis noctis and recalled, without much effort, Paul's insidias

diaboli (Eph. VI.11). [14]   The likelihood of such an association, whether

it be through the common usage of vigilantes or through the suggestive

quality of insidiis noctis, is strengthened by the fact that Bede's

exposition of Luc. II.8, both in his commentary (incorporated into the

Glossa) and in his Nativity homily, clearly approaches, without however

touching, the forceful teaching so ably presented by Orm in his martial

metaphor. [15]

Nevertheless, even if such influences be allowed, it is probable, to

judge from Orm's confident extension of teaching traditionally derived

from the gospel narrative, that his selection of material in this

context was determined as much by his own association of ideas as by

the promptings available to him in written sources.   This facet of

recollection in composition is reminiscent of some complex aspects of

Ælfric's literary technique, and while Orm may never have possessed [16]

the comprehensive range of his predecessor in this respect, the evidence

of his incorporation of material from Ad Ephesios here argues that the Pauline text was constantly in the forefront of Orm's thoughts and that he was able to call upon and exploit successfully the various elements of its imagery in context which provided no obvious basis for its smooth reception.

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

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

The larger context of this part of his exposition, in my opinion, places the identification beyond doubt. Some dozen lines later, Orm explicitly states how God's faithful benefit from angelic protection, and in so doing, extends the martial metaphor with obvious reference both to the content of the biblical metaphor and to its particular lexical identity in the vernacular:

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Forr drihhtin ʒifeþþ her hiss þeww; god witt. 7 mahht. 7 wille.
To stanndenn ʒæn þe laþe gast.   7 ʒæn all þ he læreþþ.

reverting automatically to the dominant note of resistance to which

Paul gives so much emphasis.   In addition, thirty lines on, Orm

returns to the subject of the fear displayed by the shepherds, and

discourses on the comfort that man can derive from angelic inter-·

vention.   The passage in question, to which I have already referred,

contains the distinctive detail that the devil, in his attack on

God's faithful servant:

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

And Orm immediately adds:

      Acc whas itt iss þ wæpnedd iss.   Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste;
      Þohh þ he grisliʒ defell se.   Niss he rihht nohht forrfæredd.

The passage from which these extracts are taken is a fairly close

reworking of Orm's earlier comments on the appearance of Gabriel to[17]

Zachary in the first fitt, quoted above, p. 440.   According to Hall,

this latter passage is drawn from these words of Bede:

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

                         (Hurst, <u>In Lucam</u>, I.206-12)

The two passages from the Ormulum (11.661-80 and 3828-43) differ

in that the former contains considerably less specific allusion to

the image complex in Ad Ephesios while the latter, by virtue of the

fact that it builds on the previously established statements which

draw heavily on the Pauline text, displays the distinctive image of

the devil-bowman, expressed in shetenn inn. This detail, as I have

shown, answers exactly to Paul's omnia tela nequissimi ignea,

(Eph.VI.16). Bede's exposition contains neither conscious borrowing

nor simple verbal reminiscence of the Pauline text; again, it seems,

Orm's decision to refer to the darts of the devil was determined by

a process of associative suggestion through which Paul's images were

automatically invoked in response to the desire to teach by means of

the metaphor of spiritual combat.

At the same time, 11.661-80 and 3828-43 of the Ormulum both contain

the fixed syntactic unit:

> Acc whas itt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
> Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste
>
> (11.677-78; 3840-41)

and there can be little doubt that this effective proclamation

results from the interpretative translation of:

> in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in
> quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi
> ignea extinguere.
>
> (Eph. VI.16)

The lines:

> 7 shetenn inn hiss herrte.
> Acc whas itt iss þ wæpnedd iss.   Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste
>
> (11.3839-41; as Hall, Selections,
> 114).

reproduce both details of Paul's text and integrate them as firmly as Paul had done. In addition to the image in <u>shetenn inn</u>, it is likely that Paul's <u>scutum fidei</u> has been here translated interpretatively by Orm into <u>wæpnedd.....wiþþ fulle trowwþe</u>. Paul's direct metaphorical application of <u>scutum</u> is modified into the more general <u>wæpnedd</u> while <u>fidei</u> is expanded, but literally so, into <u>fulle trowwþe</u>. Such a process of interpretation, leading to a more readily grasped version of the concept is, moreover, precisely what one would expect of a homilist who states:

> Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc amang Goddspelless wordess,
> All þurrh mesellfenn mani3 word þe rime swa to fillenn;

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

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

Finally, and by way of emphasising Orm's reliance on the content of Paul's imagery and on its established vernacular identity, I return to the phrases in 11.677-78 (3840-41, etc.) and 3806-07, quoted

above.   As I have indicated in an earlier section, both of the above

couplets are formulas belonging to distinct and often used formulaic

systems.   The syntactic patterns to which each of these couplets

belong are employed to cover a multiplicity of tasks with regard to

meaning, and it seems to me to be significant that Orm should have

wished to shape these details from Ad Ephesios into rigid syntactic

frames in the light of the function of these formulaic systems in the

creation of his distinctive preaching idiom.   By force of literary

convention, or of didactic effectiveness, or both, the traditional

verbal stimulus for the Miles Christi was clearly considered to have

central importance to Orm's strategy, and this vitality must be

accounted for both in terms of its familiarity to Latin and Anglo-Latin

writers, and to OE homilists and hagiographers who exploited Paul's

imagery to the full and, in so doing, helped to shape the emphasis and

linguistic form which would be adopted by later English writers, like

Orm.   His proximity to the influence of that linguistic form is

supported by the fact that he would have had to make choices of suit-

able terminology from the established lexis;   in so doing, it is

evident that his range of favoured terminology coincides well with

that selected and adopted by OE writers.   I now propose to turn to

examine the nature and extent of one of these emphases to which Orm

was heir, namely, the figure of the Christus Miles.

5.3   The Figure of the Christus Miles in the Ormulum.

In OE homilies, the events of Christ's life which were considered

most amenable to the portrayal of Christ as a spiritual soldier were

seen to be the Crucifixion, of which there are many examples, the

Harrowing of Hell and, in the case of the Blickling homilist, Ælfric,

and the writer of the non-Ælfrician pieces in Oxford MS Bodleian

Bodley 343, the Temptation in the desert.[19]   Although the Bible, Church

Fathers and later writers often interpreted these events as mani-

festations of spiritual overcoming,[20] it is clear that OE writers

frequently expanded their source material freely, building imaginat-

ively on their received stimuli.   The extensive treatment given by

Orm to the figure of the Christus Miles suggests that while his

immediate sources may have comprised traditional matter in Latin texts,

like the Glossa, his response to such material was also controlled

by the compositional preferences of earlier English homilists.

In the first place, Orm casts Christ in the role of the spiritual

soldier in precisely those contexts selectively favoured by OE

homilists.   Turning first to the Crucifixion, it should be stated

that whereas there are numerous, usually brief, references to Christ's

death and to the cross itself, there are relatively few elaborate

statements in which the theme of spiritual combat is prominent.[21]

Typical of Orm's pronouncements on this subject are these verses:


```
.............. he ȝaff hiss aȝhenn lif
Wiþþ all hiss fulle wille,
To þolenn dæþþ o rodetre
Sacclæs wiþþutenn wrihhte,
To lesenn mannkinn þurrh hiss dæþ
Ut off þe defless walde
```

                              (Dedication, 199-204)

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

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

> Uss birrþ well 3erne stanndenn inn,
> Whil þatt tiss lif uss lassteþþ,
> To þewwtenn ure laferrd crist
> Þatt bohhte uss ut off helle,
> Þurrh þatt he till hiss faderr wass
> Offredd forr uss o rode,
> All alls he wære an lamb to ben
> Offredd drihhtin to lake.
> 7 tatt wass mikell skill þatt crist
> Wass godess lamb 3ehatenn;
> Forr crist uss 3ifeþþ millkess drinnch
> Off hiss goddspelless lare;
> 7 crist uss 3ifeþþ wulle 7 claþ
> Off he3he 7 hall3he mahhtess,
> To shridenn uss þærwiþþ onn3æn
> Þe frosst off fakenn trowwþe;
> ⌈7 crist uss 3ifeþþ here hiss flæsh
> ⌊7 ec hiss blod to fode,
> Forr uss to 3ifenn strenncþe [7] mahht
> To stanndenn 3æn þe defell.

(11.12640-659)

Orm's exposition rests on the equation of Christ and the lamb as objects of sacrifice; Christ's sacrifice on the cross is re-enacted every day at mass when the congregation partake of bread and wine. Towards the end of this passage, Orm includes this symbol of the Crucifixion (12656-657) and demonstrates its applicability to all men

through the use of characteristic imagery derived from Ad Ephesios.
The compounding of the military metaphor with the elaborate
allegorical correspondences in this passage results in the present-
ation of the cross as, among other things, an image of martial defence.
A clearer example of this correlation can be seen in a briefer
reference to the symbolical significance of the cross in fitt eighteen.
The homily expounds the story of the marriage feast at Cana (Ioan.
II.1-11) and many of Orm's details of interpretation agree with the
scheme set out by Bede in his Homelia post Epiphaniam (Hurst, Homilies,
I.14). Among such details common to both pieces are, that the six
water vessels used at the feast betoken the six ages of the world,
and that, in the second age, the ark which Noah built betokens the
Church. The flood is therefore representative of the water of
baptism and of the cleansing of sin. Orm's explanation reads:

22
....nowess arrke iss cristess hus
⁊ cristess hall3he kirrke,
Þatt nu to da33 iss full off menn,
Off clene ⁊ off unnclene,
Þær hali3 waterr att te funnt
Offdrunnceþþ alle sinness,
⁊ berr3heþþ cristess clene follc
Þurrh rodetrewwess takenn,
All swa summ nowess clene flocc
Þurrh trewwess bord wass borr3henn

(11.14606-615)

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

At uero dum altius aspicere coeperit et
in archa ecclesiam in Noe Christum in
aqua diluente peccatores aquam baptismi
quae peccata diluit in omnibus uel
animalibus quae archa continebat multi-
fariam baptizatorum differentiam in
columba quae diluuium ramum oliuae intulit
in archam unctionem spiritus sancti
quo baptizati inbuuntur intellexerit
uinum profecto de aqua factum miratur
quia in ueteris historia facti suam
ablutionem sanctificationem iustifi-
cationem prophetari contemplatur.

(Hurst, Homilies, 100)

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

> ⁊ berrȝheþþ cristess clene follc
> Þurrh rodetrewwess takenn.

>   (11.14612-613)

to which Bede does not refer. This specific presentation of the · cross as a means of defence calls to mind the image of the vexillum crucis of Latin tradition, which found expression in OE poems and hymns.[23] To Orm's phrase may be compared Cynewulf's constant allusion to the cross of victory in Elene, expressed on two occasions by the phrase sigores tacen (184b, 1120b). Although Orm's phrase is not so explicit as those from Elene and other OE poems, the presentation of the cross as a symbol and the characterisation of its function through berrȝheþþ indicate that some appeal to martial imagery is being made;[24] victory is implicit in this act of defence since it provides man with the opportunity To winnenn heffness blisse (14625).

Indisputably, the key passage relating to the crucifixion comes in a long exposition of the gospel narrative which tells of John the Baptist's work in the vicinity of the fortress of Salem (Ioan. III.23). Orm begins by stating that Melchizedech had formerly dwelt in the town in the function of both king and priest (18104-07). The typological significance of his two-fold position is expressed thus by Orm:[25]

> Þærþurrh uss dide sannt johan
> To sen ⁊ tunnderrstanndenn,
> Þatt ure laferrd iesu crist
> Wass cumenn þa to manne,
> To timmbrenn himm þurrh hiss fulluhht
> An casstell ȝæn þe defell,
> An crisstnedd follc þatt shollde wel
> Þurrh rihht ȝod trowwþess wæpenn,

Wel stanndenn ȝæn þe laþe ḡast,
Þurrh himm þatt shollde baþe
Ben þeȝȝre prest 7 teȝȝre king,
To ḡenḡenn hemm wiþþ beness,
Biforenn heffness kinḡ, 7 ec
Wiþþ ḡoddcunndnessess wæpnenn.
Forr ure laferrd iesu crist
Iss prest off alle prestess,
Hiss follc to þinḡenn wel inoh
Towarrd drihhtin off heffne
Þatt all iss an wiþþ himm, 7 ec
Wiþþ haliȝ ḡast i kinde.
7 ure laferrd iesu crist
Iss kinḡ off alle kinḡess,
To fihhtenn forr hiss hallȝhe follc
O rode ȝæn þe defell,
7 mahhtiȝ king 7 stranḡ inoh
Inn hiss ḡoddcunnde kinde,
To tredenn all unnderr hiss fót
Þe laþe ḡastess strenncþe.

(11.18108-135)

The passage comprises two distinct yet related images presenting

Christ, first, as the Priest of priests, and then as the King of

kings.   In the latter, it is the figure of Christ as the victorious

warrior which is forcefully presented.   As with the martyrs who

followed him, it is Christ's death which ensures victory over the

devil.   Although there are no obviously heroic associations exploited

in this image, comparable to those which inform the metaphorical
26
correspondences of the <u>Dream of the Rood</u>, the protection of Christ as

the victorious warrior is both forcefully and skilfully presented.

The direct announcement of combat in <u>To fihhtenn</u>, coupled with the

descriptive <u>mahhtiȝ</u> and <u>stranḡ inoh</u>, infuse the figure with a dynamic

aggressiveness which is imaginatively extended by the integration of

the 'treading down' image.   At the same time, these components are

framed within the literal confines of the cross, producing an evocative

statement of the cross as spiritual battlefield.

Doctrinally, the defeat of the devil's power which the crucifixion accomplished provides the necessary means for the redemption of mankind, the first prerequisite of which is fulfilled by the sacrament of baptism. As with Orm's exposition of the flood and the ark, the significance of baptism is here presented in a familiar martial metaphor. Orm's use of god trowwþess wæpenn and stanndenn ȝæn (18115-116) immediately signal the influence of Paul's metaphor in Ad Ephesios; the presentation of baptism as a fortified castle·is less familiar and deserves some comment.

It is well-known that Latin writers, Augustine and Gregory in particular, favoured the image of the Christian soul as a fortress assailed by temptation in the form of the darts of the devil. The tradition, represented also by Prudentius's Psychomachia, often produced elaborate allegorical correspondences. In OE writings, the figure is rarely employed[27], and in its one extended treatment, in Juliana 393b-409a, the allegorical correspondences are not identified through direct statement, but woven implicitly into the poetic texture.

Related to this tradition is the allegory of the body, as guardian of the soul, whose various points of entry are interpreted as the gates of a castle towards which devilish attack is concentrated. In the EME corpus, the most elaborate example of this allegory is found in Sawles Warde, loosely based on a portion of Hugh of St. Victor's De Anima. Once again, allegorical correspondences are fully worked out here, and the presentation of the figure differs not only from Cynewulf's but also from that adopted by Orm.[28] As Powell points out in her discussion of Grosseteste's Chastel d'Amour, the concept of the human soul being wooed by Christ the Bridegroom recalls the well-

known passage in the <u>Ancrene Wisse</u> in which Christ is portrayed as
both warrior and bridegroom,[29] a passage which may be compared to that
of the <u>Ormulum</u>.

The particular extract from the <u>Ancrene Wisse</u>[30] presents an <u>exemplum</u>
followed by a lengthy explanation.   It differs markedly from Orm's
image (though the latter is very brief) not only in structure but
also in content and in stimulus.   Whereas Orm equates the act of
baptism and its grace with a defensive castle so as to produce a
statement of the creation of the Church Militant:

> An crisstnedd follc þatt shollde wel
> Þurrh rihht god trowwþess wæpenn
> Wel stanndenn ȝæn þe laþe gast.
>
> (11.18114-116)

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

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

has no connection with the traditional imagery surrounding the
<u>Christus Miles</u> or the <u>Miles Christi</u> but:[31]

> shows the modifications effected by the
> new chivalric code and courtly conventions.
> The king becomes a royal knight, the soul,
> the highborn lady of romance, who is dis-
> posed to receive the polite and passionate
> advances of the lover with disdain.

The mention of the fortress in the Ormulum, though it lacks the detail

and precise allegorical correspondence of the Gregorian model, is

clearly more closely allied to the complex of the soul besieged by the

arrows of the devil than to the 'modifications' adopted by the author

of the Ancrene Wisse. The distinction is useful in the sense that

while Orm is well versed in conventional bridal imagery, introducing

it later in the same homily, (18370 ff) in response to Ioan. III.29,[32]

he nowhere shows any desire to exploit the modifications so well presented

by the nearly contemporary author of the Ancrene Wisse. Where the

latter's work exhibits new departures in both style and content, Orm's

response is firmly traditional.

The second context favoured by OE homilists for the glorification of

Christ as a Miles is the temptation in the desert (Matth. IV.1-11;

Luc. IV.1-13). In the previous section, I quoted at length from Orm's

homily on this pericope, concentrating on those passages describing

the devil's success in bringing about the fall of Adam and Eve, as well

as on those passages which firmly establish the temptation as exemplary

for all men in terms of the necessity of spiritual combat. In common

with Ælfric, the Blickling homilist and the homilist of Oxford MS

Bodleian Bodley 343, Orm lays great stress on the figure of the Christus

Miles in successful combat with the devil. Ælfric's piece, (Thorpe,

CH I. 166-80) relies chiefly on Gregory's exposition of Matth. IV.1-11

and is thus rather restrained in the exploitation of martial imagery in

comparison to the third Blickling homily and to the later piece in

Bodley 343. Now although much of the distinctive structure of Orm's

homily calls to mind the material put forward by Gregory, Orm's emphasis

has considerably more in common with that adopted by the Blickling

homilist than with that seen in the Gregorian and Ælfrician pieces.

Orm presents the Gregorian equation that Christ overcame the devil by

the very means which the latter had previously effected the downfall

of Adam and Eve, but far from being content with a simple statement of

overcoming, Orm embellishes his account with a sustained, repetitious

martial metaphor which I give in full:

> Þe defell comm to fandenn crist,
> Swa summ ʒe littlær herrdenn,
> To cunnenn to biswikenn himm
> All o þatt illke wise
> Þatt he biswac þa firrste twa
> Þatt drihhtin shop off erþe.
> Acc iesu crist himm oferrcomm
> All o þatt illke wise,
> Þurrh þatt he stod onnʒæness himm,
> 7 all forrwarrp hiss lare.
> Þa defell comm to wundenn crist
> Þurrh ḡluterrnessess wæpenn,
> I þatt he wollde himm brinnḡenn onn
> To makenn bræd off staness;
> 7 þurrh þatt tatt te laferrd crist
> Wiþþstod onnʒæn hiss wille,
> Swa þatt he nollde makenn bræd,
> Swa summ he badd - off staness,
> Þærþurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
> 7 oferrtradd te defell,
> Rihht swa summ he þe forrme mann
> Ær oferrcumenn haffde.
> Þe defell comm to wundenn crist
> Þurrh ḡrediʒnessess wæpenn,
> I þatt he wollde himm brinnḡenn onn
> To ʒernenn affterr ahhte;
> 7 þurrh þatt tatt te laferrd crist
> Wiþþstod onnʒæn hiss wille,
> Swa þatt he nollde don hiss ræd,
> Ne ʒernenn affterr ahhte,
> Þærþurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
> 7 oferrtradd te defell,
> Rihht swa summ he þe forrme mann
> Ær oferrcumenn haffde.
> Þe defell comm to wundenn crist
> Þurrh modiʒnessess wæpenn,
> I þatt he badd himm shæwenn himm
> Hiss ḡoddcunndnessess mahhte,
> Þurrh þatt he shollde læpenn dun
> Wiþþutenn off þe temmple
> Onn idell 7 wiþþutenn ned,
> 7 alls he wollde leʒʒkenn.
> 7 þurrh þatt tatt te laferrd crist
> Wiþþstod onnʒæn hiss wille,
> Swa þatt he nollde don hiss ræd,
> Ne læpenn dun onn idell,

Þærþurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
7 oferrtradd te defell,
Rihht swa summ he þe firrste mann
Ær oferrcumenn haffde.
7 affterr þatt te laferrd crist
All oferrcumenn haffde
Þe laþe ḡast wiþþ skill, 7 nohht
Wiþþ nan unnride strenncþe,
Þe defell wennde aweȝȝ anan
Forrshamedd off himm sellfenn,
Off þatt he wass all strenncþelæs
Onnȝæn þatt newe kemmpe,
7 þohhte þatt itt wass soþ ḡodd
Þatt cumenn wass to manne,
Þatt mihhte stanndenn æþeliȝ
Ȝæn himm 7 ȝæn hiss lare.

(11.12474-535)

The characterisation of Christ as newe kemmpe, the statement that he
wiþþstod temptation and oferrcomm the devil and his weapons create a
forceful picture of Christ the warrior, and one which balances the
earlier presentation of the devil as warrior, overcoming Adam and Eve
through the infliction of spiritual wounds. The considerable attention
which Orm pays to this portrayal of Christ could be said to be handled
with infelicity, yet it provides, in terms of the homily's structure,
the necessary illustration to Orm's opening statement that Christ came
voluntarily to be tempted:

Forr þatt he wollde shæwenn swa
All mannkinn þurrh hiss bisne
Hu cristess hird – crisstene follc
Birrþ fihhtenn ȝæn þe defell
To winnenn siȝe 7 oferrhannd
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.

(11.11417-422)

and identifies in the clearest possible terms Orm's overriding didactic
concern in relation to this pericope. The theme of spiritual combat
permeates the entire piece; in comparison, other matter worthy of
exposition is given only peripheral treatment. This compositional

decision stands in contrast to that taken by Gregory, for example, whose particular re-arrangement of the pericope facilitates a discussion of the nature of temptation, which is his principal concern, and which is reproduced to a large extent in Ælfric's homily. Orm's piece displays a predilection for insistent martial imagery which is most closely paralleled by the corresponding homily in the Blickling book. Orm may have known Gregory's homily, either in its complete form or in a compilation of the type exemplified by the Glossa; yet if his initial stimulus took such a form (and I have already suggested that some parts of the homily were based on matter derived from the Glossa), it seems equally likely that his compositional emphasis was guided also by the prominence given to the figure of the Christus Miles in earlier English homilies on the Temptation.[34]

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

> Þe ferþe god uss hafeþþ don
> Þe laferrd crist onn erþe,
> Þurrh þatt hiss hallȝhe sawle stah
> Fra rode dun till helle,
> To takenn ut off helle wa
> Þa gode sawless alle,
> Þatt haffdenn cwemmd himm i þiss lif
> Þurrh soþ unnshaþiȝnesse.
>
> (Dedication, 205-12)

Although I know of no other direct references to the Harrowing in the Ormulum, a good case can be made for believing that Orm made allusion

to it in contexts in which its inclusion would have been typologically
appropriate.³⁷   The first comes towards the end of his temptation homily

in a passage in which Orm explains why no angels came to Christ's

assistance in his struggle:

> Þatt godess enngless nærenn nohht
> Abutenn ure laferrd
> In all þatt time þatt he wass
> Inn orresst ʒæn þe defell,
> Þatt wass, all alls hiss wille wass,
> Forr þatt he wollde shæwenn,
> Þatt himm nass rihht nan ned till hemm
> To fihhtenn ʒæn þe defell,
> Forr þatt he mihhte himm sellf inoh
> Wiþþutenn enngless hellpe
> All þwerrt ut oferrcumenn himm,
> To brinngenn himm to grunde,
> 7 bindenn himm, 7 lesenn ut
> Mannkinn off hise bandess.

                        (11.12536-549)

That Orm wished, in this passage, to extend the frame of reference and

significance of Christ's successful withstanding of temptation is

suggested by the closing lines:

> To brinngenn himm to grunde,
> 7 bindenn himm, 7 lesenn ut
> Mannkinn off hise bandess

                        (12547-549)

in which, besides the prominent detail of the binding, it is said that

mankind is released from the bonds of sin.   In the introductory portion

of the exposition, Orm declared that Christ's resistance should be

regarded as exemplary, providing mankind with the necessary spiritual

weapons to avoid temptation (11411-422);   he did not assert that Christ

effected man's release from sin through this act.   Rather, it is the

fact that Christ submitted to death on the cross that signals the

beginning of the process of man's redemption, a process which is, more-

over, dramatically illustrated by his apocryphal visit to hell and the rescue of Adam, Eve and the prophets who, though faithful, had to suffer confinement until Adam's transgression had been expiated. In this passage, therefore, I suggest that Orm demonstrates his familiarity with the concept of the Harrowing of Hell, to which he mades allusion rather than explicit reference.

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

> Forr crist wass strang wiþþ hannd inoh
> To werrþenn dun þe defell,
> 7 crist wass æfre swillc to sen,
> 7 a beþ butenn ende,
> þatt gode ʒerrndenn himm to sen,
> 7 æfre shulenn ʒernenn.
> 7 tiss iss ðatt uss opennliʒ
> Daviþess name tacneþþ;
> Forr itt uss tacneþþ strang wiþþ hannd
> 7 luffsumm onn to lokenn,
> 7 crist iss baþe - strang wiþþ hand,
> 7 luffsumm onn to lokenn.
> 7 crist iss all se daviþþ wass
> Shephirde, 7 king, 7 kemmpe,
> Forr crist iss allre kinge king,
> 7 alle shaffte laferrd.
> 7 daviþþ king sloh goliat,
> Hæþene follkess kemmpe,
> 7 crist band uss þe laþe gast,
> All hellewaress strenncþe.

(11.3574-93)

The probable source for Orm's onomastic treatment of David is this passage from Bede's In Lucam:

Dauid quippe manu fortis siue desiderabilis
interpretatur nomen quidem inde mutuans quod
et gigantem fortiter strauerit et pulcher
aspectu decoraque facie fuerit sed altiori
mysterio illum de sua domo ac familia
nasciturum praefigurans qui singulariter
mundi principem debellaret speciosus forma
prae filiis hominum et ipse in Bethleem natus
et intellectualium pastor ouium, hoc est
simplicium rector animarum.

(Hurst, In Lucam, I.1133-39)

Orm follows Bede quite closely in giving the explanation to David's
name,[38] then interprets the typological association in a way which recalls

not only certain elements of OE homiletic compositional practice, but

also these verses from Ps.23, 7-8:

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

Since David was reckoned to be the author of the Psalms as well as the

slayer of Goliath, the portrayal here of Christ as Miles ensured that

the psalm would assume an important place in the typological thinking

of the Church Fathers and other writers. Although Orm is not trans-

lating or paraphrasing the psalmist's verses, they are nevertheless

helpful in unravelling Orm's allusion. In the first place, Orm's

reference to alle shaffte laferrd effectively summarizes the opening

verses of the psalm praising the Lord as creator. Second, the verses

quoted above were incorporated into the apocryphal Evangelium Nicodemi,[39]

from which the immensely popular account of the Harrowing of Hell was

derived.

This rather tenuous link receives, however, substantial support from

the fact that virtually all accounts of the Harrowing of Hell, whether

in translation, or in more general, paraphrased versions, make conspicuous use of the detail to which Orm draws attention, namely, the binding of the devil. This distinctive feature in the two passages from the Ormulum (3592, 12548) should be assessed in relation to the following references to the Harrowing in OE writings; I quote first from the several versions of the translation of the Evangelium Nicodemi:

> ac he þone deoflican deað feor nyðer
> atræd, 7 he satan gegrap. 7 hyne
> fæste geband.
>
> (Cambridge MS, Hulme, OE Harrowing of Hell, 506)

> Ac he þone deoflican deað feorr niþer
> atræd 7 he satanas gegrap 7 hyne
> fæste gebant.
>
> (Cotton MS, Ibid., 507)

> 7 he hine gegrap þa, 7 fæste geband
> mid anes draca bæclinge, 7 hine þær
> helle sealde on anweald to habbene aa
> butan ænde.
>
> (Warner, Homilies, 86)

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

> Ða se stranga wið þæne stranga[40]
> geræsde, þa ure Drihten acom and
> þæt ealdor dioful geband and træd
> under his fotum [and] þæs diofules miht
> lytlode.

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

476

and seo godcundnys wæs on ðære
hwile on helle, and gewrað þone
ealdan deofol.

(Thorpe, CH I.216)

The author of a homily entitled De Descensu Christi ad Infernos in

Oxford MS Bodleian Junius 121, says in his introduction:

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

(Raynes, Homilies, 72)

and later in the same piece, the followers of Satan lament their

leader's impotence:

Hwæt is ðes þe her swa unforht gæð
on ure genæro, and ec ofer þæt urne
ealdor mid bendum gebundenne hæfð?

(Ibid., 77)

Another anonymous homily, in Cambridge MS CCC 162, pp.382-91, entitled

In Die Sancto Pasce, has the following account:

41
nu todæg Crist eode on helware 7 þa
isenan forescyttelsas he þær tobræc
7 toweard 7 leviathan þæra deofla
ealdorman he geband....

(p.386)

Again, the Blickling homilist, in the piece for Dominica Pascha,

glorifies Christ's visit to hell:

he þa onsende his þone wuldorfæstan
gast to helle grunde, & þær þone
ealdor ealra þeostra & þæs ecean
deaþes geband & gehynde.

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 85)

The closing paragraphs of the first Vercelli homily display the same

consistency; the relevant passage reads:

> he in helle astah. 7 he þær ealle þa
> fæstan carcern gebræc þæs ecan
> deaþes. 7 þæne aldor, þe ealra deofla
> hlaford wæs 7 ealles yfles fruma,
> þæne he þær ure Drihten Crist mid
> sarum bendum geband 7 hine in ece
> susle ge-sette.

(Förster, *Homilies*, 43)

Poetic texts reinforce the validity of the association. In the poem

on the Harrowing of Hell in the <u>Exeter Book</u>, Christ is said to break

down the gates of hell, after which Satan announces defeat with these

words: <u>nu we on þissum bendum bidan</u>; the accursed spirits have to

suffer thereafter the <u>bitre gebunden under bealuclommum</u>.[42]

So consistently do the OE translators and homilists give prominence to

the detail of the devil's binding (often it is the only detail which

is emphasised) that it is hard to resist the plausible suggestion that

the presentation of the bound devil was considered to be an effective

signalling device, or perhaps more accurately, a form of literary short-

hand, identifying not only the precise context of the Harrowing of Hell,

but also its overriding didactic significance.

The iconography of the Harrowing of Hell also has a place in this dis-

cussion. As far as I am aware, this subject is only rarely encountered

in Anglo-Saxon art as a whole. The one important instance of its

representation which I have located, however, seems to corroborate not

only the detail evidenced by OE writings and by the <u>Ormulum</u>, but also

serves to lend weight to the typological association of David and Christ

which Orm develops in relation to spiritual victory. It comes in the

pictorial cycle of events taken from the lives of David and of Christ,

respectively, in the mid-eleventh century <u>Tiberius Psalter</u>, London BL MS

Tiberius C vi, which is the earliest surviving manuscript to contain such a cycle of drawings.[43]

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

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

The artist of the drawing clearly conveys Satan's subjugation by the prominence given to his fettered hands and feet.[45]

I know of one important later representation in which this detail is reproduced. It comes in the Winchester Psalter,[46] of the mid-twelfth century, in which on fol.24 there is a full-page representation of the Harrowing of Hell. Christ is depicted holding a cross staff with a banner, rescuing Adam from the mouth of hell. Behind him stands the archangel Michael whose long staff is seen to pierce a devil. In the foreground, the defeated Satan is prostrate and visibly bound.

It is interesting, therefore, to notice the corresponding details in both literary and iconographic sources dealing with this subject. With special reference to the chosen passages from the Ormulum, it is also instructive to consider that the statements that Christ bound the devil come in the contexts, first, of the typology of David and Christ (3592) and later of the Temptation (12548). The pictorial cycle of

drawings in the Tiberius Psalter provide not only an important general

parallel in the selection of events from the lives of David and of

Christ, but also contain specifically the three scenes - the slaying of

Goliath, the Temptation and the Harrowing of Hell - which Orm syn-

thesises in verse.   The nature and extent of this evidence suggests to

me that Orm's references to the bound devil point emphatically to the

Harrowing of Hell, while the iconographic detail of the trampled devil

(reproduced in the OE translations of the Evangelium Nicodemi) at the

Harrowing, in typological association with David's slaying of Goliath,

and in sequential association with the Temptation and Crucifixion,

(fol.13) may be said to reflect a correspondence of ideas which Orm

fully realized in his application of the treading down motif, as I hope

to show in the next chapter.

In relation to the image of the bound devil, it is worth asking whether

such a representation is confined to the Harrowing of Hell in Anglo-

Saxon art, or whether it is prominent in other contexts.   As far as I

am able to ascertain, the only other portrayal of a shackled devil in

Anglo-Saxon illumination is to be found in the Junius manuscript, in

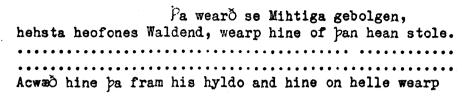the drawing which depicts the original fall of the rebellious angels.

The fall of the rebel angels (p.3) is the third full-page drawing in

the MS., showing Satan in the mouth of hell, again bound hand and foot.[47]

Where this impinges on the present argument is in the possibility that

the lines in the Ormulum which describe Christ as:

                 .... strang wiþþ hannd inoh
          To werrpenn dun þe defell

                                        (11.3574-75)

refer not only to the devil's defeat at the Harrowing, but equally to

the earlier instance of subjugation following the rebellion.   One reason

for believing that Orm's use of <u>werrpenn</u> calls to mind Lucifer's demise

is supplied by the identical verbal usage of the poet of <u>Genesis B</u> who,

in this passage, describes God's anger and just revenge:

> Þa wearð se Mihtiga gebolgen,
> hehsta heofones Waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole.
> ....
> ....
> Acwæð hine þa fram his hyldo and hine on helle wearp

<div align="right">(<u>Genesis B</u>, ll. 299-300, 304, in
Sweet, <u>Reader</u>, pp. 129-30)</div>

In addition, the bound devil of the Cædmon MS drawing is encountered

in this verbal dramatization of Lucifer's lament:

> ac licgað me ymbe irenbenda,
> rideð racentan sal.........
> ....
> ....Me hafað hringa gespong,
> sliðhearda sal, siðes amyrred,
> afyrred me min feðe; fet synd gebundene,
> handa gehæfte;.......
> <div align="center">(Ibid., ll. 371-80a)</div>

where the poet's words provide a fitting description not only of the

drawing in the Cædmon MS, but also of the Harrowing of Hell picture in

the <u>Tiberius Psalter</u>.[48]

These typological associations range widely; they draw together, as

illustrations of divine might and spiritual overcoming, the two occasions

on which the devil was confined to hell, the martial prowess of David

in his fight with Goliath and its typological equivalent in both the

Harrowing of Hell and in the Temptation. Argument has proceeded as

much by inference as by observable fact; and while it would be improper

to assert that Orm would have expected his audience automatically to

have called to mind all the various ramifications of this traditional

image complex, it seems clear that he adopted the detail of the binding of the devil as a means of alluding to the Harrowing of Hell, in the knowledge that his audience would have been thoroughly conversant with its significance. At the same time, while the passage from fitt five illustrates the typological correspondence between the slaying of Goliath and the Harrowing of Hell, reflected in the Tiberius Psalter drawings, it also suggests, even if unconsciously, an implicit assoc-iation with the imagery surrounding the original fall of Lucifer.

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

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

> Et subito facta est cum angelo
> multitudo militiae caelestis
> laudantium Deum.......

(Luc. II.13)

The multitude of angels signifies, according to Orm:

> Þatt crist all enngle þede king.   Wass borenn her to manne.
> Alls iff he ȝæn þe laþe ȝast.   Wiþþ here wollde fihhtenn.
> To winnenn adam.   7 hiss kinn;   Vt off þe defless walde.
> 7 settenn enngless oferr hemm;   To ȝæmenn hemm 7 ȝætenn.
> 7 forr to shildenn hemm onn ȝæn;   Ðe defless laþe wiless.

(ll.3904-13;   as Hall, Selections I.115)

Orm's stimulus for this passage may well have been supplied by this comment of Bede on _Luc._ II.13:

> Et bene chorus adueniens angelorum
> militiae caelestis uocabulum accepit
> qui et duci illo potenti in praelio
> qui <u>ad debellandas aerias potestates</u>
> apparuit humiliter obsecundat et ipse
> potestates easdem contrarias ne mortales
> tantum temptare ualeant quantum uolunt
> fortiter armis caelestibus proturbat.
>
> (Hurst, <u>In Lucam</u>, I.1302-07)

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

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

> Eala men þa leofoston, hu þæt wæs
> weallende spelboda & ungeþyldig
> heretoga, se þe ær þone Hælend on
> þysne middangeard cumendne gesecgean
> wolde, ærþon þe he þære gerynelican
> gegaderunge menniscre gebyrde onfenge;
> & 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 leoht gesawe; & he swa on þære
> his gebyrde oferswiþde ealle æ þisse
> menniscan gebyrde.
>
> (Morris, <u>Blickling Homilies</u>, 165. 167)

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

> Gehyrstu ure aldor? Þis is se ilca þe [49]
> þu longe for his deaþe plegodest, & þu
> us æt endestæfe mycel here-reaf gehete.

(Morris, _Blickling Homilies_, 85)

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

Orm inherited only the vestiges of the heroic ideal; there is no evidence to show that he anywhere considered it to be useful as a didactic device. In the passage given above, the imagery can be linked with earlier examples only in the most tenuous of ways. As a metaphor of spiritual overcoming, it is quite well-developed; as a presentation of Christ as a _comitatus_ leader, it is wholly inadequate, and thus serves to show that not all the vigorously exploited aspects of OE homiletic compositional practice were congenial to him in equal measure.

This survey of the popularity of the imagery of the <u>Miles Christi</u> and the <u>Christus Miles</u> in the <u>Ormulum</u> has drawn attention to several important areas in which Orm's compositional emphases display widespread agreement with trends constantly favoured by Old English homilists and hagiographers. While giving proper consideration to the prominence of Orm's immediate Latin sources, I have suggested, also, that in his modes of expression, and in the emphasis placed upon certain distinctive contexts, the imagery of spiritual combat in the <u>Ormulum</u> shows the influence of native literary traditions to a significant degree.

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

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

Shephirde, 7 kin̄g, 7 kemmpe	(3587)
Hæþene follkess kemmpe	(3590)
drihhtiness kemmpe iob	(4832)
Þatt newe kemmpe	(12531)
hiss dere kemmpe	(19902)

The warrior's action in entering into spiritual combat is expressed consistently by the verb <u>fihhtenn</u>:

Forr þatt he shollde fihhtenn
Onnꝫæn an drake.....   (1842-43)

Wiþþ here wollde fihhtenn   .   (3907)

               crisstene follc
Birrþ fihhtenn ꝫæn þe defell   (11419-420)

7 æfre fihhtenn ꝫæn þe flæsh   (11477)

Strenncþe to fihhtenn stallwurrliꝫ   (5520)

To fihhtenn anntecrist onnꝫæn   (8609)

To fihhtenn ꝫæn þe defell   (12543, 19964)

To fihhtenn forr hiss hallꝫhe follc   (18130)

The spiritual fight is often said to be conducted with various types

of weapons:

    Ḡod wæpenn ꝫæn þe defell   ·   (2616)   .

þurrh clene lifess wæpenn   (802)

þurrh soþfasst þildess wæpenn   (4807)

.... stanndenn wel onnꝫæn
þe defell wiþþ swillc wæpenn   (2785-86; cp. 12311)

wæpenn ḡod 7 stranḡ   (4556)

ꝫæn modiꝫnessess wæpenn   (4565; 12509; 12375)

þurrh ḡluterrnessess wæpenn   (12485)

þurrh ḡrediꝫnessess wæpenn   (12496; 12355)

þurrh rihht ḡod trowwþess wæpenn   (18115)

.... to wundenn uss .
þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn   (;2308-309; cp. 12315;
                                                      12321)

wiþþ all þatt illke wæpenn   (12323)

Occasionally, as in 11.677, 2781, 3840, 4768, 4806 and 11885, the Miles

Christi is said to be wæpnedd. It should be noted also that Orm's

mahht can function synonymously with wæpenn, as these passages illustrate:

Forr wha sitt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
Wiþþ þise þrinne mahhtess,
Þatt illke mann iss stiȝhenn wel
Upp inntill heȝhe munntess,
⁊ he maȝȝ stanndenn wel' onnȝæn
Þe defell wiþþ swillc wæpenn.

<center>(ll. 2781-86)</center>

⁊ tise mahhtess alle imæn
Arrn hæfedd mahhtess ehhte,
⁊ sinndenn wæpenn god ⁊ strang
ȝæn hæfedd sinness ehhte,
ȝæn ȝluterrnessess laþe lasst,
⁊ ȝæn ȝalnessess hæte,
⁊ ȝæn ȝittsunnȝ ⁊ grediȝleȝȝc,
ȝæn grimmeleȝȝc ⁊ braþþe,
ȝæn unnlusst ⁊ forrswundennleȝȝc,
ȝæn erþliȝ kare ⁊ serrȝhe,
ȝæn rosinnȝ, ⁊ ȝæn idell ȝellp
ȝæn modiȝnessess wæpenn.

<center>(ll. 4554-65)</center>

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

þuss cunneþþ he to wundenn uss
þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn   (ll. 12308-09)

I paradys þurrhwundedd   (ll. 12325, 12333, 12357)

þeȝȝ tacnenn alle sinness
þatt stingenn ⁊ þurrhwundenn all (ll. 17442-443)

þurrhwundedd ben þin sawle   (l. 7648)

þe defell comm to wundenn crist (ll. 12484, 12496, 12508)

þurrh ȝluterrnessess wundedd   (l. 11774)

Acc ure laferrd crist ne wass
þurrh nan fandinge wundedd   (ll.11803-804)

Forr þatt he shollde himm sellf mannkinn
Hælenn off sinness wunde
                                  (ll. 2217-18; cp. 3601,
                                   4269, 4301, 4291-92)

The last cited examples couple the image of the wounds of sin with the concept of repentance through the explanation of the epithet Hælennde,

<center>487</center>

and are not incorporated in the martial metaphor.

The defensive stance of the Miles Christi is conveyed consistently through the use of wiþþstanndenn and stanndenn ȝæn; the examples given above on pp.452-54 illustrate the point fully. On the other hand, the shielding metaphor is conspicuous through its rarity in the Ormulum. There are only three instances:

> To frofrenn þa þ wakenn wel; Onnȝæness laþe ȝastess.
> 7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm.
>
> (11. 3792-94; as Hall, Selections, I. 114)

> 7 forr to shildenn hemm onnȝæn
> Þe defless laþe wiless.
>   (11. 3912-13)

> 7 forrþi birrþ þe wæpnedd ben
> ȝæn himm eȝȝwhær onn erþe,
> To shildenn þe wiþþ all hiss laþ.
>   (11. 11885-887)

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

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

> Acc þu mihht werenn þe fra þeȝȝm
> Þurrh rihhte læfe o criste
>   (11. 1406-07)

> Þa birrþ þe stanndenn þær onnȝæn
> 7 werenn cristess þewwess
>   (11. 5304-05)

To stanndenn ȝæn þe laþe gast
To werenn hise lammbre

(13328-329)

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

7 sennde siþþenn haliȝ gast
Till hiss lerninngcnihhtess,
To frofrenn 7 to beldenn hemm
To stanndenn ȝæn þe defell.

(Dedication, 235-38)

7 godess enngel iss full mec,
7 milde, 7 soffte, 7 bliþe,
To beldenn 7 to frofrenn þe
....
....
Acc whas itt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste

(11.667-78)

Itt tacneþþ þ he senndeþþ hemm;
Inntill þiss þessterrnesse.
To frofrenn þa þ wakenn wel;
Onnȝæness laþe gastess.
7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm..........

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

50
Nu maȝȝ mann unnderrstanndenn her
Þurrh þise sefenn mahhtess
Wiþþ whillke ȝifess haliȝ gast
Her frofreþþ cristess þewwess

(11.8805-08)

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

Þatt iss, þatt godd ne þole nohht
Ne þafe laþe gastess
To winnenn oferrhannd off uss
Þurrh here laþe wiless;

Forr whase winneþþ oferrhannd
7 siȝe off laþe gastess
He shall ben crunedd þurrh drihhtin
Inn eche lifess blisse

(11.5456-63)

.... crisstene follc
Birrþ fihhtenn ȝæn þe defell
To winnenn siȝe 7 oferrhannd
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe

(11.11419-422)

Þa mihhte we þe laþe ḡast
Wiþþstanndenn 7 wiþþseggenn
7 winnenn siȝe 7 oferrhannd
Off himm wiþþ cristess hellpe

(11.11479-482)

7 ec forrþi þatt nicodem
Onn ennḡlissh spæche tacneþþ
Þatt lede þatt iss siȝȝefasst
....
....
7 all forrwarrp 7 oferrcomm
Þurrh oferrhannd 7 siȝe
All werelldshipess lufe 7 lusst
7 all erþlike sellþe.

(11.16956-967)

Prominent in these extracts is the verb <u>winnenn</u> which Orm uses with

the varied meanings of 'to win', 'to obtain', 'to labour' and 'to

conquer'. Its inclusion in contexts which display other components

from the verbal cluster for spiritual overcoming indicate that Orm's

<u>winnenn</u> functioned, on occasions, as an integral part of the metaphor:

Þatt mannkinn shollde newenn ben
Utlesedd fra þe defell
7 winnenn heffness kinedom
Þurrh clene lifess wæpenn

(11.799-802)

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7 tuss he wile winnenn uss
Till himm wiþþ swillke wæpenn,
All alls he wann eve 7 adam
I paradisess riche;
7 all swa wollde winnenn crist
Þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn
. . . .
. . . .
7 her icc wile shæwenn 3uw
Whatt gate he wann hemm baþe,
Whatt gate he wann eve 7 adam
Þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn
7 ec he crist himm oferrcomm
Wiþþ all þatt illke wæpenn.

                                        (11.12310-323)

The verb which is consistently employed to announce that spiritual
                                        51
victory has been achieved is <u>oferrcumenn</u>.   Many of the extracts

already quoted illustrate its typical application.   Others include:

Forr þu mihht cwemenn swa þin godd
7 oferrcumenn defell

                                        (11.6274-75)

7 all allswa ma33 cristess þeww
Wel oferrcumenn defell

                                        (11.12370-471)

At the same time, it is important to note that <u>oferrcumenn</u> is

occasionally paired with <u>oferrtredenn</u>, as in:

Þærþurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
7 oferrtradd te defell

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

and this feature underlines the significant contribution made by Orm

to the whole theme of spiritual warfare by the incorporation of the

'treading down' image.   Elsewhere, it takes the form of <u>offtredenn</u>,

thus:

7 forrþi birrþ uss allre firrst
Offtredenn gluterrnesse,
Swa þatt we muȝhenn habbenn mahht
To cwemenn oþre sinness.

(11649-652; cp. 11659-662)

and is similarly expressed on a large number of occasions by the verb
tredenn and the verbal phrase tredenn dun.   The following illustrations
reflect the popularity of the concept in the work as a whole:

Witt shulenn tredenn unnderrfot annd all
                      þwerrt ut forrwerrpenn
Þe dom off all þatt laþe flocc, þatt iss
                      þurrh niþ forrblendedd,

(Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 37-38)

7 ȝho wass full off strenncþe 7 mahht
To stanndenn ȝæn þe defell;
Forr ȝho tradd defell unnderrfot

(11.2559-61)

7 aȝȝ to tredenn unnderrfot
All whattse iss woh 7 sinne

(5686-87)

7 mahhtiȝ king 7 strang inoh
Inn hiss goddcunnde kinde,
To tredenn all unnderr hiss fot
þe laþe gastess strenncþe.

(18132-135)

þiss mahht tredeþþ unnderrfot
7 cwennkeþþ gluterrnesse.

(4590-91; cp. 4636, 4696,
4718, 4744, 4850).

The coupling of tredeþþ and cwennkeþþ in the above example is evidenced
in other compatible statements of spiritual victory:

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Forr iacob tacneþþ alle þa,
Þatt tredenn dun 7 cwennkenn
All þatt tatt iss onnӡænness ӡodd
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                                    (11.2247-49)


```
7 illc an ifell wille
Be tredenn dun þurrh lufe off ӡodd
7 cwennkedd i þin herrte
```

                                    (11.4415-17; 5727-29)

It is on the basis of this systematically exploited terminology, its

semantic interaction and the resulting emphases, that I propose to

examine the developments in the figure of the _Miles Christi_ in the

Ormulum.   In the next chapter, I shall discuss the changing identity

of the figure and how Orm sought to extend its significance beyond the

traditional concept adhered to by both Latin and OE writers alike.

The seventh chapter will complement these findings by demonstrating how

the shift in emphasis is effected by Orm's conscious choice and man-

ipulation of martial terminology.

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

2.   The importance to the _Ormulum_ of this essential similarity in the choice of vocabulary between the _Chronicle_ and the _Brut_ is under- lined by the fact that the latter is in verse.   La3amon's use of alliteration is often inconsistent; his fondness for assonance and rhyme is a further indication of his distance from the metrical propriety evidenced in the 'classical' OE verse line.   Yet the exigencies of alliteration, in theory at least, constrain and con- dition the lexical choices of a poet and constitute a factor which creates a potentially substantial difference between poetry and prose. That such differences are not evidenced in the _Brut_ and the _Peterborough Chronicle_ with respect to the vocabulary of military strife reinforces the interpretation placed on Orm's lexical choices.

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

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

5.   Zupitza, _Ælfrics Grammar_, p.220.

6.   Whereas OE _sc_ appears in the _Ormulum_ as _sh_, 'OE short and long [y], spelt _y_, were unrounded to short and long [i] respectively in the

EMidl and the North', Bennett & Smithers, <u>Early Middle English Verse</u>
<u>and Prose</u>, p.xliv.   Thus Orm's adoption of OE <u>scyttan</u> would probably
have assumed the form <u>shitenn</u>.   For the unrounding of OE short and
long <u>eo</u> to <u>e</u> and <u>ē</u>, see Bennett and Smithers, <u>Early Middle English</u>
<u>Verse and Prose</u>, p.xliv.

7.   Hall, <u>Selections</u> II. 490.

8.   On this image, see Eric Stanley, 'Old English Poetic Diction and
the Interpretation of <u>The Wanderer</u>, <u>The Seafarer</u> and <u>The Penitent's</u>
<u>Prayer</u>', <u>Anglia</u>, 73 (1955), 413-66.

9.   See Thorpe <u>CH</u> I.170, and Gregory, <u>Homelia XVI in Evangelia</u> in
Migne <u>PL</u> 76.1135.

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

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

12.   Hurst, <u>In Lucam</u>, I.1221-25.   This passage was extracted by the
compiler of the <u>Glossa</u> (Migne <u>PL</u>.114.249).   In his homily <u>In Natiuitate</u>
<u>Domini</u>, Bede expounds on <u>Luc</u>. II.8 in a manner similar to that chosen
for the commentary in <u>In Lucam</u> : <u>Apte autem satis hoc superna est</u>
<u>prouidentia dispositum ut nascente domino pastores in uicina ciuitatis</u>
<u>eiusdem uigilaret suosque greges a timore nocturno uigilando protegerent</u>
(ed., Hurst, <u>Homilies</u>, I.6, p.42).   Of Ælfric's four Nativity homilies,
only the first (Thorpe, <u>CH</u> I.28-44) deals methodically with <u>Luc</u>. II.1-14;

his comments on the watching shepherds seem to be based on those of Bede in his corresponding piece, and similarly make no allusion to spiritual struggle.

13.   Hurst, Homilies, I.6 p.42, 11.210 ff; Thorpe, CH I.36; Ormulum, 11.3752-69.

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

15.   When Bede comes to expound Luc. II.13-14 in In Lucam, I.1295-1328 he builds, from Luke's cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis, a long explanation of the role of angels in spiritual warfare; the prominence given by Bede to this image is clearly reflected in Orm's application of the theme throughout his homily. In this sense, therefore, the context is one in which such imagery is appropriate. At the same time, the claims made of Orm and the Pauline text receive further corroboration from the fact that Bede makes no use of nor allusion to the metaphor in Ad Ephesios whatsoever. Bede's exposition is derived from that of Gregory in his Homelia in Evangelia XXXIV (Migne, PL 76. 1251) and is a conventional statement about spiritual protection provided by God's angels. Given that Bede's text would have supplied Orm with ample material for his teaching on spiritual combat, it is instructive to note that the latter, while accepting the doctrinal emphasis,resorts to the content particular to Ad Ephesios VI.11-18. At the same time, Orm's insistent use of traditionally employed vernacular terminology to express these ideas is equally marked. Also, I note that Bede, in following Gregory, quotes Ps.23.8, an appropriate verse for the

evocation of spiritual combat, but one which seems to have been considered more applicable to the episode of the Harrowing of Hell. See André Vaillant, ed., L'Évangile de Nicodème (Paris:Droz, 1968), p.66; Hulme, OE Gospel of Nicodemus, pp. 504. 506; Warner, Homilies, p.85.

16.   See especially, James E. Cross, 'Ælfric – Mainly on Memory and Creative Method in Two Catholic Homilies', Studia Neophilologica, 41. (1969), 135-55.

17.   Hall, Selections, II. 489-90.

18.   See above, pp.135-37.

19.   See above, pp.204-12.

20.   See, for example, Gregory, Homelia XVI in Evangelia in Migne PL 76. 1134-38; Homeliarum in Ezechielem, II.5 in Migne, PL 76.997-98. Bede, In Lucam, IV.41-135 (ed., Hurst), pp.232 ff; his homily for Octava Pentecostes, 11.176-90, in Hurst, Homilies, pp.315-16.   Ambrose, Expositionis in Lucam Libri IV in Migne, PL 15.1697-1709.   Hraban Maur, Commentariorum in Matthaeum Libri VIII in Migne PL 107.779-86.

21.   In 11.17441-492, Orm interprets the brazen serpent which Moses held up in the wilderness (Num. XXI.4-9) typologically in terms of the wounds of sin and the healing power of Christ's death (cp. Thorpe, CH II.238-40, and Pope, Homilies, 655-56).   Though related to the imagery of spiritual combat, the theme of the wounds of sin was more often invoked in connection with repentance and the cleansing of sin. See, for example, Bede's homily for Octava Pentecostes in Hurst, Homilies, p.316, 11.203-11.   For this trend in OE writings, see Hill, Anglo-Saxon Creativity, pp.696-707.   Elsewhere in his work, Orm couples

the theme of the wounds of sin with a healing metaphor, as in

ll.2215-18, 4266-4301.

22.   Ll. 14606, 14614, MS : noþess.

23.   Howard R. Patch, 'Liturgical Influence in the Dream of the Rood',

Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 34 (1919),

233-57.   Surtees Society, Missale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Ebora-

censis, 2 vols. (SS. 59, 60)(Durham:Andrews, 1874), II.102-03.

24.   The fusion of martial imagery and the sacrament of baptism recalls

Wulfstan's portrayal of the priest at baptism as the soul's shield

(Bethurum, Homilies, 178), quoted above, p.227.   In addition to its

function in Elene, the cross as a symbol of victory in spiritual battle

is central to the meaning and structure of the Dream of the Rood which

presents the most extensive evocation of the doctrinal and iconographic

motifs surrounding this figure.   See Michael Swanton, ed., The Dream

of the Rood (Manchester:University Press, 1970), ll.6, 13, 117-21, 150.

The implicit merging of Christ's body and the cross into a sustained,

intricate symbol of victory is presented much more prosaically in the

Ancrene Wisse, ed., Tolkien, pp.199-200, where the complex series of

allegorical correspondences sets the description apart from the more

completely metaphorical statements preferred by OE poets and homilists

and by Orm.   On the probable influence of Bernard of Clarivaux's

writings on this passage from the Ancrene Wisse, see Geoffrey Shepherd,

ed., Ancrene Wisse, Parts Six and Seven (London:Nelson, 1967), p.57.

25.   Melchizedech's priesthood is regarded as prefiguring that of

Christ in Heb. VI.20 - VII.1 ff.

26.   See above, n.24, and further, O.D. Macrae-Gibson, 'Christ the

Victor-Vanquished in The Dream of the Rood,' Neuphilologische Mitteil-

ungen, 70 (1969), 667-72; Neil D. Isaacs, _Structural Principles in Old English Poetry_ (Knoxville:University of Tennessee Press, 1968), pp.3-18.

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

28.   On the image of the body as fortified castle, see C.L. Powell, 'The Castle of the Body', _Studies in Philology_, 16 (1919), 197-205; Roberta D. Cornelius, _The Figurative Castle: A Study in the Medieval Allegory of the Edifice, with Especial Reference to Religious Writings_ (Pennsylvania:Bryn Mawr College, 1930).

29.   Powell, 'The Castle and the Body', p.198.

30.   Tolkien, _Ancrene Wisse_, pp.198-200.

31.   Shepherd, _Ancrene Wisse_, p.55.

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

33.   _Homelia XVI in Evangelia_ in Migne, _PL_ 76.1136.

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

35. Above, pp.205-06.

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

37. Orm's constant attention to typological explanation is stressed by Paul M. Pickrel, 'Religious Allegory in Medieval England : An Introductory Study based on the Vernacular Sermon before 1200', Unpublished Ph.D Thesis (Yale, 1944), p.62.

38. In his homily _In Natiuitate Domini_ (Hurst, _Homilies_, I.6), Bede concentrates on the significance of the name Nazareth, and nowhere shows any concern for David. In his commentary on _Luc_. II.6-7, Bede develops the Gregorian teaching on Bethlehem and the Bread of Life - _Bethleem namque domus panis interpretatur_ - based on Gregory's words in his _Homelia VIII in Evangelia_ in Migne, _PL_ 76. 1104, and it is this passage (Hurst, _In Lucam_, I. 1160-77) which was incorporated into the _Glossa_ (Migne, _PL_ 114.249).

39. Vaillant, _Évangile de Nicodème_, p.66.

40.   Hulme, 'The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus', _Modern Philology_, 1, (1904), 33.

41.   Read from a microfilm copy of the MS.

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

43.   Elzbieta Temple, _Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066_, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol.2 (London:Harvey Miller, 1976), pp.115-17; 115.   The fullest study is that of Francis Wormald, _An Eleventh Century Psalter with Pictures_, Walpole Society 38 (1962), 1-13; pl. 1-30.

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

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

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

47.   Reproduced in Talbot-Rice, _English Art_, pl.68 and in Jonathan J.G. Alexander, _Anglo-Saxon Illumination in Oxford Libraries_, Bodelian Picture Books, special series No.1 (Oxford:Bodleian Library, 1970), pl.15.

48.   It is worth noting, in passing, that the precise details in the partial translation of the _Evangelium Nicodemi_ in BL MS Cotton Vespasian D xiv, of _7 fæste geband mid anes draca bæclinge_ (Warner, _Homilies_, 86) describes the scene at the mouth of hell in exactly the same way as

that presented by the artist of the _Tiberius Psalter_. Together with

the bound devil, which I have already remarked upon, the artist places

beneath Satan 'a winged dragon with open jaws and a long scaly tail'

(Henderson, _Early Medieval_, pp.86-87). It seems, therefore, that the

links between literary and iconographic representations of the Harrowing

of Hell in the OE period were strong, and that they may have exercised

a considerable influence on later writers like Orm, especially when it

is recognized that the latter was intent, in this and other areas, to

exploit the work of earlier homilists and to accommodate it for his own

ends.

49. The context is that of the Harrowing of Hell. Other notable

examples of the imaginative mingling of this imagery include: Cynewulf's

Juliana, 671b-95a, _The Dream of the Rood_, 28-47 (and see also, Swanton,

Dream of the Rood, p.70).

50. L.8808 MS: _þeowwess_ seems to be one of the very few occasions

on which Orm failed to excise the _eo-_ graph.

51. There is an exception. On two occasions (ll.1848, 1884) in

the same context, Orm employs _oferrswifenn_ to announce the defeat of

the devil. On the significance of _oferrswifenn_ and its relationship

to _oferrcumenn_, see below, pp. 580-91.

CHAPTER SIX

CHANGING ASPECTS IN THE CONCEPT OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN THE ORMULUM (1)

6.1   The Changing Identity of the <u>Miles Christi</u>

In the sense that the <u>Miles Christi</u> in the <u>Ormulum</u> undergoes suffering

willingly, that he resists the devil through passive means which

ensures his ultimate victory, the figure shares characteristics

common to spiritual warriors in the writings of Gregory, Bede and

Ælfric.   At the same time, the marked presence in the <u>Ormulum</u> of the

<u>Christus Miles</u> figure, invoked at the Temptation, Crucifixion and

Harrowing of Hell, echoes a compositional trend given great currency

by OE homilists and characterises the <u>Ormulum</u> as a collection of

homilies stimulated as much by native literary convention as by main-

stream orthodoxy made available in Orm's immediate sources.   This

attachment to the trends and emphases established by Ælfric and other

writers is underlined also by the similarity in the range of terminology

adopted by Orm for the articulation of the <u>Miles Christi</u> figure.   Some

attempt has been made to identify the most important elements of the

two word clusters, and while certain individual terms fall from usage,

or are modified in their usage by the time the <u>Ormulum</u> was written, it

is noticeable that Orm relies rather heavily on a distinctive <u>range</u> of

terminology established and popularised by OE writers; it is, therefore,

to the continued usefulness of the 'articulated lexical sphere[1]' in the

<u>Ormulum</u> that importance should be attached, rather than to the occurrence

of individual terms in the imagistic language in both the _Ormulum_ and the OE homiletic corpus.

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

The figure of Mary is also presented with the imagery which identifies the Miles Christi (ll.2559-72).

Such references, though abundant, account only for a small proportion of the evocation of martial imagery in the Ormulum. So frequently and insistently is this theme presented by Orm that it may fairly be said to be an organising principle around which the intended emphases of the work were built. The key to this organising principle lies in the direct application of imagery associated traditionally with historical Milites Christi to the mass of the faithful.[2] Predominantly in OE homilies and lives of saints, Christians were exhorted to lead their lives in accordance with the directives laid down in Paul's Ad Ephesios VI.11-20 through the exemplary intermediary of saint or martyr. In the Ormulum, it is on the basis of Christ's actions alone that the faithful are urged to adopt the identity of the Miles Christi.

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

Acc ʒuw birrþ witenn witerrliʒ
7 sikerrlike trowwenn,
Þatt he wass ledd þurrh haliʒ gast
7 þurrh hiss aʒhenn wille
Ut inntill wilde 7 wessteland,
To ben þurrh defell fandedd;
Forr þatt he wollde shæwenn swa
All mannkinn þurrh hiss bisne
Hu cristess hird – crisstene follc
Birrþ fihhtenn ʒæn þe defell,
7 winnenn siʒe 7 oferrhannd
Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.

(ll. 11411-422)

All which follows is therefore directly applicable to <u>crisstene follc</u>;
Orm announces the faithful's involvement in spiritual combat prior to
his exemplary exposition of the pericope.   The smooth transition from
the particular to the general is obtrusive and, for that reason,
immediate.   The insistence to invest the whole body of the faithful
with the identity and the attributes of the traditional, saintly
soldier of God is evident throughout the collection.

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

> Forr ure wrecche kinde iss swillc
> þatt itt ma33 ben forrfæredd,
> 3iff þatt itt ohht færlike seþ
> þe wlite off ennḡlekinde.

(11. 663-66)

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

> Acc whas itt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
> Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste,
> Þohh þatt he se þe laþe ḡast,
> Niss he rihht nohht forrfæredd.

(11. 677-80)

In the second fitt comes this lengthy appreciation of Mary:

> Forr 3ho wass ḡod utnumennli3,
> 7 milde 7 mec 7 bliþe,
> 3a towarrd ḡodd, 3a towarrd mann,
> Onn alle kinne wise.
> 7 3ho wass full off soþfasst þild
> To þolenn 7 to dre3henn
> Wiþþ soþ mecle33c, wiþþ witt, wiþþ skill,
> Illc sellþe 7 illc unnsellþe.

7 tu mihht witenn þatt ȝho wass
Full wel off þild bifundenn;
Forr niss nan mahht rihht god inoh
Biforenn godess eȝhne,
Butt iff itt be þurrh þildess gold
All full wel oferrgildedd.
Forr þild birrþ ben wiþþ iwhillc mahht
To beldenn itt 7 strenngenn,
Swa þatt itt muȝhe ben till uss
God wæpenn ȝæn þe defell,
Þatt æfre 7 æfre stanndeþþ inn
To scrennkenn ure sawless,
To don uss to forrgilltenn uss
ȝæn godd o sume wise.

.   (ll. 2599-620)

Orm begins by ascribing to Mary the qualities of patience and passive

suffering.   Concentrating on the necessity for exercising patience

in the service of God, the example of Mary is quickly set aside to

allow the transition - Swa þatt itt muȝhe ben till uss - which equates

spiritual warfare directly with his audience.

One of the most striking pieces of evidence for this shift of emphasis

is to be found in recognising the strictly limited function of the OE

phrase Godes þeow, and how Orm's corresponding godess (or cristess)

þeww is given considerably wider application.   In the main, OE Godes

þeow is a phrase applied only to saints and martyrs and, by extension,

to monks and priests.   Among the instances of its application to

saints (where it is occasionally seen to be closely synonymous to

phrases of the type Godes cempa), are the following:

soþe Cristes þeowas	(Peter and Paul)	(Morris Blickling Homilies, 187)
þinum ðeowe	(Matthew)	(Ibid., 229)
þinum þeowe	(Andrew)	(Ibid., 241)
soð godes þeow	(Sebastian)	(Skeat LSS I.122)
þu, godes þeowa	(Mark)	(Ibid., 324)
ac eom godes þeowa	(Thomas)	(Skeat LSS II.414)

On a large number of occasions, the phrase describes monks (who are

the successors to martyrs in spiritual combat), and priests, as in:

micel menigu Godes ðeowa   (OE <u>Cura Pastoralis</u>, 4)

Hild seo Cristes þeowa   (OE <u>Bede</u>, 332)

Godes þeowas³   (Fowler, <u>Canons</u>, 1)

cristene scoldan Godes laȝe
and Godes þeowas griðian.   (Bethurum, <u>Homilies</u>, 268)

þa Godes þeowas heora tidsangas & heora
cyricean mid rihte healdan.
    (Morris, <u>Blickling Homilies</u>,
                   47.49)

þa gelamp æfter þon þæt þes eadiga wer
Sanctus Martinus sum mynster getimbrede,
& he on ðæm manigra Godes þeowa gastlic
fæder gewearð.
    (Ibid., 217)

The usage of the phrase in the <u>Ormulum</u> is, to some extent, compatible;

John the Baptist, for example, is referred to as the servant of God

on several occasions:

tatt cristess þeww iohan

        (11.9651, 10366)

7 forrþi seȝȝde iesu crist
Till sannt iohan bapptisste,
Þatt he þær shollde fillenn swa
All rihhtwisnessess mahhte,
Þurrh þatt he shollde fullhtnedd ben
Att himm þatt wass hiss shaffte,
Þurrh þatt he shollde lahȝhenn himm
Unnderr hiss þewwess hande
He þatt wass alle shaffte ḡodd,
Þatt alle shaffte wrohhte.

        (11.10754-763)

Þiss iss mi blisse þatt icc amm
Þuss wurrþedd her onn erþe,
Þurrh þiss bridḡume, 7 nohht þurrh me,
Ne þurrh min aȝhenn mahhte,
þatt icc maȝȝ þiss bridḡume sen,
7 tatt icc maȝȝ himm cnawenn,

  7 tatt icc wurrþenn amm hiss þeww,
  7 tatt icc maȝȝ himm cwemenn.

<div align="right">(11.18468-475)</div>

Overwhelmingly, however, it is to the faithful in general that phrases

of this type are applied. A good example of the trend is to be seen

in this extract from the exposition in fitt five:

  7 tatt te laffdiȝ marȝe warrþ
  I nazaræþ wiþþ childe,
  7 tatt ȝho comm off galileow
  Till beþþleamess chesstre,
  Þatt time þatt ȝho iesu crist
  To manne shollde childenn,
  Þatt iss nu filledd illke daȝȝ
  Þurrh iesu cristess þewwess.
  Forr nazaræþ onn ennglissh iss
  Alls iff þu nemmne blosstme,
  7 galileow bitacneþþ wheol,
  Swa summ soþ boc uss kiþeþþ,
  7 beþþleam tacneþþ þatt hus
  Þatt lifess bræd iss inne,
  7 godess þewwess blomenn aȝȝ
  Inn alle gode þæwess,
  Her i þiss middellærdess lif
  Þatt þurrh þe wheol iss tacnedd.

<div align="right">(11.3622-39)</div>

In fitt twenty, <u>cristess þeww</u> identifies all those who have been

baptized:

  7 tatt tatt nicodem ȝaff þuss
  Anndswere till þe laferrd,
  Hu maȝȝ ald mann ben borenn her
  Efftsoness off hiss moderr,
  Þatt doþ uss tunnderrstanndenn wel
  Þatt he wass ȝet unnlæredd
  Off þatt, tatt iesu cristess þeww
  Birrþ borenn ben efftsoness
  Off haliȝ gast, þurrh haliȝ funnt
  O godess name fullhtnedd.

<div align="right">(11.17112-121)</div>

In the Temptation homily, the phrase is made to operate in a statement

which links baptism to spiritual combat:

```
7 crist comm inntill wessteland
To ben þurrh defell fandedd,
To shæwenn swa þatt cristess þeww,
Affterr þatt he beþ fullhtnedd,
Shall hafenn rihht inoh to don
To stanndenn ӡæn þe defell.
```

<div align="center">(ll.11439-444)</div>

Far from restricting it to individuals worthy of special veneration,

Orm gives the status of ӡodess þewwess to the mass of the faithful:

```
                                          4
7 all þatt ahhte off erþliӡ þing
Þatt ӡodess þewwess haffdenn
7 hafenn i þiss middell ærd
Iss all skir fra þe defell.
```

<div align="center">(ll.12191-194)</div>

The identification of both John the Baptist and the mass of the faithful

through phrases of the type cristess þeww in the Ormulum is indicative

of Orm's desire to invest his audience with the spiritual strength

hitherto manifested only in God's elect.   Whereas OE homilists reserved

the status of Godes þeow to saints, martyrs and their priestly successors,

Orm elevates the faithful Christian to the company of the Baptist and

to spiritual soldiers in general.

This growth, if it may so be termed, in the number of God's soldiers

is wholly compatible with the inauguration of the Church Militant, in

which each member is urged to take up arms against the devil, and which

is clearly expressed by Orm in this passage:

```
Þatt ure laferrd iesu crist
Wass cumenn þa to manne,
To timmbrenn himm þurrh hiss fulluhht
An casstell ӡæn þe defell,
An crisstnedd follc þatt shollde wel
Þurrh rihht ӡod trowwþess wæpenn,
Wel stanndenn ӡæn þe laþe ӡast.
```

<div align="center">(ll.18110-116)</div>

At the same time, it should be remembered that Orm's characterization of the whole of God's faithful as spiritual soldiers is not without precedent. It is implicit in Paul's words to the Ephesians, in the passage which furnished much of the imagery adopted by OE writers and by Orm alike. More importantly, I have been able to show that while OE homilists were largely content to present traditional Milites Christi by drawing attention to some saintly individual, Ælfric and others towards the end of the OE period did make some attempt to apply the image complex of the Miles Christi directly to their audiences, even though this is by no means a marked feature of their writings.[5] In comparison, Orm may be said to combine the all-embracing, direct statement typical of the homiletic genre with the glorification of spiritual combat associated primarily with the saint's life. The poet of Guthlac A introduces his life of the saint with the statement that:

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

(ASPR III, 11.30-34)

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

If, in this sense, the particular identity conferred on the Miles Christi in the Ormulum can be interpreted as a realization of a trend partially adopted by OE homilists, it is also necessary to assert that Orm's spiritual warriors display characteristics which differ substantially from those evidenced in OE writings. The figure of the Miles Christi in the Ormulum is not only equated with all the faithful members of the Church, it is also presented in terms which emphasise, rather than

thwart, an aggressive martial stance inherent in the traditional

imagery.   The first major manifestation of this trend which I want

to investigate is contained in the articulation and function of the

'treading down' motif.

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

There are a number of good reasons for investigating the form and

function of the 'treading down' image in the Ormulum.   For Orm, it

is associated with a specific function, that of extending the range

and effectiveness of his teaching on the Christian life as a spiritual

combat.   As with other aspects of his martial imagery, the 'treading

down' motif is systematically exploited; unlike the image of the

arrows of sin, contained in the allusion to the shooting in the heart –

shetenn inn hiss herrte (3829) – it appears in a relatively fixed form

on a number of distinct but related contexts.   It is consciously

manipulated by Orm, and comparison with the representations of the

Miles Christi in OE writings shows that Orm was, as far as the evidence

allows one to judge, the first English writer to integrate the motif

fully with more common and widespread imagistic modes.   In the extracts

quoted so far from the Ormulum, there are many examples of the applic-

ation of the motif; in order to give specific illustration to my

argument here, I will repeat some of the more notable illustrations.

The action of treading down illicit desire, either by name, or through

the person of the devil, is said to have been performed by a variety

of both personnages and of virtues.   Of the Virgin Mary, Orm says:

    7 ʒho wass full off strenncþe 7 mahht,
    To stanndenn ʒæn þe defell;
    Forr ʒho tradd defell unnderrfot
    Þwerrt ut onn alle wise.

                (11.2559-62)

At the Temptation, through the manifestation of passive resistance

to the devil, Orm says of Christ:

                              6
    Þærþurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
    7 oferrtradd te defell,
    Rihht swa summ he þe forrme mann
    Ær oferrcumenn haffde.

                (11.12492-495)

In the closely related Crucifixion scene, where the devil is again

vanquished by Christ, Orm includes this striking assessment of the

victory:

    7 ure laferrd iesu crist
    Iss kinḡ off alle kinḡess,
    To fihhtenn forr hiss hallʒhe follc
    O rode ʒæn þe defell,
    7 mahhtiʒ kinḡ 7 stranḡ inoh
    Inn hiss ḡoddcunnde kinde,
    To tredenn all unnderr hiss fot
    þe laþe ḡastess strenncþe.

                (11.18128-135)

In the Dedication, one of the last written portions of the poem, the

image is characteristically urged on all men:

    Witt shulenn tredenn unnderrfot annd all þwerrt
                          ut forrwerrþenn
    Þe dom off all þatt laþe flocc, þatt iss þurrh
                     niþ forrblendedd.

        (Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 37-38)

In the long presentation of the opposition between Vices and Virtues,

in fitt six, the 'treading down' image is extensively used in statements

                          513

of victory which are essentially repetitions or close reworkings of
each other.[7]   For example:

> 7 be þu ʒernfull nihht 7 daʒʒ
> To follʒhenn godess wille.
> Þiss mahhte tredeþþ unnderrfot
> ʒittsunnʒ 7 grediʒnesse.

> (11.4694-97)

Of meekness, Orm asserts:

> Þiss mahhte tredeþþ unnderrfot[8]
> All ʒrimmeleʒʒc 7 braþþe,
> 7 hete 7 niþ 7 apperrmod
> Itt drifeþþ fra þin herrte.

> (11.4718-21)

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

> þiss mahhte tredeþþ unnderrfot
> 7 cwennkeþþ i þin herrte
> All rosinnʒ 7 all idel ʒellp.

> (11.4900-02)

Several important points arise from these quotations.   First, while

the image of treading down is firmly allied to that of spiritual combat,

it is not restricted to any one representative of the body of spiritual

warriors presented in the poem, neither is it confined to one specific

context.   I have not been able to trace an immediate source for any

of these pronouncements, such as that offered in the first chapter for

the extracts from the Temptation homily, and in view of the prominence

of the ultimate source material in both the liturgy and in iconographic

representations (which I shall deal with presently), it seems possible

that no such stimulus would have been necessary.[9]   In addition, from

Turville-Petre's study of the relative chronology of the various parts

of the text,[10] it is clear that the form and function of the motif had

been completely formulated by Orm before he began to write, or at an early stage thereafter.

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

The widespread application of the image and its amalgamation with key elements in the standard word cluster expressing spiritual overcoming is strong argument that the detail of treading down was consciously adopted by Orm and made to operate in such a way that would extend the range of traditional imagery surrounding the figure of the <u>Miles Christi</u>. This observation, in turn, suggests that the traditional concept of spiritual overcoming was so well established in Orm's time that it was considered desirable to revitalize it in some way which would reinforce the didactic effect of its conventional components.[11] If accepted, this suggestion would underline the previously expressed view that Orm was fully aware of the achievements of past homilists and was intent upon preserving and extending those parts of their work which he considered most useful.

The ultimate source of the image is biblical. Statements of the

treading down of vice or sin, whether applied by Orm to Mary or to all
the faithful Christians, derive from the image of Christ treading the
Beasts, which is itself taken directly from this verse from the nine-
tieth psalm:

> Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis
> Et conculcabis leonem et draconem

> (Ps.90.13)

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

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

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

> (vv.5-7)

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

> ....in verbo veritatis, in virtute Dei,
> per arma iustitiae a dextris et a
> sinistris...

> (II Ad Corin. VI.7)

The gospel pericope for the day is <u>Matth</u>. IV.1-11, on the Temptation
in the desert, a text which many writers, both in Latin and in OE,
expounded in terms of spiritual struggle.   Its appropriateness to
the other liturgical texts for the day is shown through the incorp-
oration of vv.11-12 of Psalm 90 in the Matthean account, in the
following form:

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

<div align="center">(<u>Matth</u>. IV.6)</div>

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

> 13
> Alio item sensu prophetia videtur mihi
> vaticinari omnem humanæ Salvatoris nostri
> vitæ modum; dico autem primam tentationem;
> illam item, quam in passione sustinuit;
> ac, etiam eam, quam post solutionem corporis
> fecit contra adversarias potestates irrupt-
> ionem.   Et hæc quidem prima et præcipua in
> psalmo sunt: vulgariori autem more dicatur
> hæc prophetia tentationem in deserto signifi-
> care, qua tentatus esse a diabolo narratur in
> Evangelio; secundo vero, quibus angelos
> ejus corpori ministrasse declaratur, ejus in
> humana vita conversationem indicant; tertia
> autem, quibus dicitur, eum super aspidem et
> basiliscum ambulasse, et conculcasse, leonem
> et draconem, ipsum post mortem de principibus
> spiritibus victoriam reportasse narrant.

<div align="center">(Migne, <u>PG</u> 23.1166)</div>

Bede also makes capital from what the devil left unsaid in the gospel account:

> Scriptum est enim quod angelis suis [14]
> mandauit de te ut conseruent te et
> quia in manibus tollent te ne forte
> offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.   Hoc
> in nonagesimo psalmo legimus,
> uerum ibi non de Christo sed de uiro
> sancto prophetia est.   Male ergo
> interpretatur scripturas diabolus.
> Certe si uere de saluatore scriptum
> nouerat, debuerat et illud dicere quod
> in eodem psalmo contra se sequiter:
> Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis
> et conculcabis leonem et draconem.   De
> angelorum auxilio quasi ad infirmum
> loquitur de sui conculcatione quasi
> tergiuersator tacet.

(Hurst, _In Lucam_, I.3077-87)

Bede's words here derive directly from Jerome's exposition in his _In Mattheum_, (Migne, _PL_ 26.32-33).   Jerome's explanation was adopted by Smaragdus in his commentary on _Matth_. IV.1-11, in his _Collectiones in Epistola et Evangelia_, and also by the complier of the pseudo-Bede commentary _In Mattheum_. [15]   These two texts, together with the passage from Bede's _In Lucam_, given above, were cited by Max Förster as probable sources for 11.47-152 of Ælfric's homily for _Dominica Prima in Quadragesima_, which is the portion of the homily in which Ælfric treats the pericope methodically. [16]   All three Latin writers agree in drawing the thirteenth verse of Ps.90 into their commentaries as an illustration both of the devil's deceit and of his subjugation.

There are three OE homilies on the Temptation, namely, the Ælfrician piece in the first series of _Catholic Homilies_, the third _Blickling_ homily, and the other anonymous homily in Oxford MS, Bodleian Bodley 343, fols., 158-60. [17]   In contrast to the prevailing emphasis in those

Latin commentaries most likely to have influenced OE writers, I quote

the relevant portions of these works:

> Þonne is cuþ þæt se awergda gast
> ongan Godes bec trahtian, & þa sona
> leah; forþon þis næs gecweden be
> Criste þæt his fot æt stane oþ-
> spurne, ah be halgum monnum; forþon
> þe englas beoþ áá halgum mannum on
> fultume swa swa scyld.

<div align="right">(Morris, <u>Blickling Homilies</u>, 29)</div>

> Her begann se deofol to reccanne halige
> gewritu and he leah mid þære race;
> forðan ðe he is leas, and nan soðfæstnys
> nis on him; ac he is fæder ælcere
> leasunge. Næs þæt na awriten be Criste
> þæt he ða sæde, ac wæs awriten be
> halgum mannum; hi behofiað engla fultumes
> on þissum life, þæt se deofol hi costnian
> ne mote swa swiðe swa he wolde.

<div align="right">(Thorpe, <u>CH</u> I.170)</div>

> On þesne ænne godspel we rædæþ ꝥ deofel
> ongan haliȝe bec to reccan, ah he þa sone
> þone forme cwide leah – swa him ealc lyȝe,
> 7 elc leasunge bilimpð. Næs hit næfre
> sunderlice bi Criste iseid ꝥ him sceoldon
> englæs on fultume cumen: ac hit wæs
> isungen 7 iwriten bi haliȝe man 7 bi
> haliȝe sawlen. For þan þe englæs beoð
> heom on fultume hær on weorlde; 7 æft
> þenne heo of þisse lifæ farað, þonne
> cumæð heo þær sonæ þam sawle to hælpe
> 7 to burȝene 7 heom scyldæþ wið hearde
> stane, ꝥ is deofel, ꝥ heo næfre æt þam
> ne spurneð;...

<div align="right">(Belfour, <u>Homilies</u>, 102)</div>

Before considering the implications of this evidence, I give in full

the corresponding passage from the <u>Ormulum</u>:

> 7 þurrh þatt tatt he drohh þær forþ
> Þe bokess lare 7 seȝȝde,
> Forr writenn iss o boc, þatt he
> Wel hafeþþ seȝȝd 7 cwiddedd
> Forrlannge till hiss ennȝleþed
> Off þe þatt arrt himm dere,

Off þatt te33 shulenn 3emenn þe
Att alle þine nede,
⁊ tatt te33 shulenn takenn þe
Bitwenenn hemm wiþþ hande,
Swa þatt tu nohht ne shallt tin fot
Uppo þe staness hirrtenn,
Þærþurrh mann unnderrstanndenn ma33
Þatt all hiss þohht iss æfre
Annd all hiss lusst to brinngenn menn
Ut off þe rihhte we33e,
To don hemm tunnderrstanndenn wrang
Þe bokess hall3he lare.
Forr þær he toc biforenn crist
All wrang þe bokess lare,
Forr þatt wass se33d off cristess þeww
Þurrh daviþ þe profete,
Þatt he droh forþ all alls itt off
Crist sellfenn writenn wære.
Forr drihhtin hafeþþ se33d ⁊ sett
Onn enngleþed tatt wikenn,
To 3emenn ⁊ to frofrenn her
Þe laferrd cristess þewwess,
Swa þatt te33 shulenn risenn wel,
3if þatt iss þatt te33 fallenn
Onn ani3 wise inn ani3 woh
Þurrh flæshess unntrummnesse.
⁊ nollde nohht te laþe gast
Þær dra3henn forþ, ne mælenn
Off þatt tæraffterr sone iss se33d
⁊ writenn off himm sellfenn;
Forr þær iss sett an oþerr ferrs
Þatt spekeþþ off þe defell,
Þatt godess þewwess gan onn himm
⁊ tredenn himm wiþþ fote,
Þurrh þatt te33 stanndenn stallwurrþli3
3æn all þe defless wille.

<div align="center">(ll.11907-948)</div>

It seems most probable to me that Orm's explanation is based on that
of Bede, given above on p. 518 . The content of both passages is con-
sistent with such a view, and strengthened by a number of distinctive
verbal parallels. Orm's toc....All wrang (ll.11925-926) is an accurate
rendition of Bede's Male ergo interpretatur, and is considerably closer
to the Latin than is the detail that the devil lied - leah - adopted by
the OE homilists. Cristess þeww (11927) answers to de uiro sancto
while Orm's reference to daviþ þe profete (11928) effectively explains
Bede's prophetia est. Further, To 3emenn ⁊ to frofrenn (11933) is an

accurate rendition of De (angelorum) auxilio; Bede's allusion to the weak — quasi ad infirmum is echoed through Orm's þurrh flæshess unntrummnesse (11938), and Bede's exposure of the devil's silence — tacet — is also reproduced in Orm's account in his nollde nohht ... ne mælenn (11.11939-940). Finally, it should be noted that Bede's exposition from In Lucam was incorporated into the Glossa, (Migne, PL 114.254), which Orm is likely to have consulted in the composition of this homily.

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

However, it is highly probable that Ælfric did consult Bede's exposition on Luc. IV.1-13 for his Temptation homily, and that he would therefore have been aware of the imagery of Ps.90.13 and its applicability to the glorification of the Temptation as a spiritual victory.[19] It is clearly not possible to claim much from this negative evidence. Even though Ælfric may well have been conversant with the content of Bede's exposition of Luc. IV.1-13, the absence of any reference to the treading of the beasts in his, and in the other two homilies, could be accounted for plausibly by the fact that these homilists followed closely a source

from which the detail was missing. Since I have been unable to
identify this source, little significances can be attached to the
passing over of the treading down motif in the OE pieces.

However, in the wider view, the point is instructive in that it
accurately reflects the marked absence of any forceful exploitation
of the imagery deriving from Ps.90.13 in the OE corpus as a whole.
In order to demonstrate this absence, and to place in perspective the
development in the Ormulum, I propose to examine, briefly, the most
pertinent texts from the earlier homiletic corpus.

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

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

(Luc. X.17-19)

In a homily for Dominica Quarta post Pascha, Ælfric incorporates Luke's
account into his main source, Alcuin's Commentaria in Ioannis Evangelium,[20]
and says this:

> Ðam deofle wæs gedemed þurh ures Drihtnes ðrowunge,
> swa þæt he him of anam Adames ofspring,
> and forgeaf his apostolum þone anweald ofer hine,
> þæt hi mihton adræfan deoflu of ðam wodum,
> and eall þæs deofles miht hi mihton fortredan,
> and se yfela ne mihte heom ahwar derian.

(Pope, Homilies, 348)

In characteristic fashion, Ælfric silently builds his interpretation
of _serpentes et scorpiones_ into his translation. Most noticeable,
however, is the fact that while the passage from Luke speaks of the
treading down of the devil's power in a way which vividly recalls the
form and content of Ps.90.13, Ælfric was evidently not disposed to
allude to the imagery therein, nor does he make any attempt to develop
Luke's words into a statement of spiritual combat and victory.[21]

In the following piece in the _Catholic Homilies_, for _Dominica in Media_
Quadragesima, which expounds the miracle of the feeding of the five
thousand (_Ioan._ VI.1-13), Ælfric teaches that the giving of bread is
to be interpreted as the acceptance of divine law. He treats the fact
that the multitude sat on the grass allegorically, and says:

> Þæt gærs getacnode flæsclice gewilnunge,
> swa swa se witega cwæð: "Ælc flæsc is
> gærs, and þæs flæsces wuldor is swilce
> wyrta blostm". Nu sceal gehwa, seðe
> wile sittan æt Godes gereorde, and brucan
> þære gastlican lare, oftredan þæt gærs and
> ofsittan, þæt is, þæt he sceal ða flæsclican
> lustas gewyldan, and his lichaman to Godes
> þeowdome symle gebigan.

> (Thorpe, _CH_ I.188)

In this case, the detail of the treading down is used imagistically
to denote the suppression of illicit desire, and is strengthened by
Ælfric's use of _gewyldan_.[22] But the statement is undeveloped, and the
distinct absence of any terminology associated with the figure of the
Miles Christi or of less stylized spiritual struggle is to be explained
by the homilist's close dependence on his source, Bede's homily _In_
Qvadregesima (II.2); the relevant passage reads:

> Faenum in quo discumbens turba reficitur
> concupiscentia carnalis intellegitur
> quam calcare ac premere debet omnis qui
> spiritalibus alimentis satiari desiderat:

> Omnis enim caro faenum et omnis gloria
> eius tamquam flos faeni (Isa XL.6).
> Discumbat ergo super faenum ut florem
> faeni conterat, id est castiget corpus
> suum et seruituti subiciat uoluptates
> carnis edomet luxuriae fluxa restringat
> quisque panis uiui cupit suauitate
> refici quisquis supernae gratiae dapibus
> renouari amat ne infima uetustate
> deficiat caueat.
>
> (Hurst, Homilies, 197)

There are several other Ælfrician examples of the metaphorical use
of tredan and related verbs which are totally unconnected to the image
complex of the Miles Christi and which remain undeveloped; in all
cases, they are closely modelled on Latin source material.[23] Even when
Bede, or an anonymous compiler contemporary with him, in another piece,
integrates the metaphor into a context which, with the merest of hints,
could have been developed into a vivid portrayal of the Miles Christi,
as in the In Eadem Solemnitate Omnium Sanctorum, thus:

> Sancti isti, quorum hodie mentionem[24]
> facimus, florentem mundum mentis
> despectu calcaverunt.
>
> (Migne, PL 94.455)

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

> Þa on westenum wunigende, woruldlice
> estas and gælsan mid strecum mode and
> stiðum life fortrædon. Hi forflugon
> woruld-manna gesihðe and herunge, and
> on waclicum screafum oððe hulcum
> lutigende, deorum geferlæhte, to
> engelicum spræcum gewunode, on micclum
> wundrum scinende wæron. Blindum hi
> forgeafon gesihðe, healtum færeld,
> deafum hlyst, dumbum spræce. Deoflu
> hi oferswyðdon and afligdon, and ða
> deadan þurh Godes mihte arærdon.
>
> (Thorpe, CH I.544)

It is reasonable to suppose that Ælfric here presents the anchorites as
Milites Christi for they are said to overcome devils - oferswyðdon -
and to have power over death through the acquisition of divine strength -
þurh Godes mihte. At the same time, it is noticeable that there is
no obvious imagistic relationship between oferswyðdon and the meta-
phorical use of fortrædon, as there clearly is in Orm's pairing of
oferrcomm / 7 oferrtradd (ll.12492-493, etc.). The image of spiritual
overcoming is itself given little embellishment and Ælfric clearly does
not exploit the didactic possibilities inherent in the development of
the image through the integration of fortrædon and oferswyðdon.

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

> Gif ðu lufast God, þonne fortretst ðu þa
> woruldlican styrunga; gif ðu lufast þas
> woruld, heo besencð ðe. forðan ðe heo ne
> cann aberan hire lufigendas, ac cann
> bepæcan. Gif ðin heorte floterað on
> ðissere worulde gytsunge, oððe on yfelre
> gewilnunge, and þu wylle hi oferswyðan,
> clypa to Cristes fultume. Ne cep ðu swa
> swiðe þises middaneardes stylnysse, ac
> asmea ðine heortan, hwæðer heo on stilnysse
> sy. Hawa þæt se inra wind þe ne towende.
> Micel gesælð bið þe, þæt ðu on ðinre
> gesælðe ne forfare. Leorna þæt ðu cunne
> fortredan ðas woruld: trua on Crist, and
> gif ðu hwilon . dyfst þurh woruldlicum
> lustfullungum, cweð to ðinum Drihtne,
> "Drihten, ic losige: help min".

(Thorpe, CH II.392, 394)

Here, the two-fold use of fortrædan, coupled with the phrase and þu
wylle oferswyðan suggests that the treading image has been successfully
accommodated into the statement of spiritual overcoming. However, any
judgement on Ælfric's manipulation of imagery here must take account of

his source material, derived from one of Augustine's sermons, which reads as follows:

> Amas Deum; ambulas super mare, sub[25]
> pedibus est sæculi timor.   Amas
> sæculum, absorbebit te.   Amatores
> suos vorare novit, non portare.
> Sed cum fluctuat cupiditate cor tuum,
> ut vincas tuam cupiditatem, invoca
> Christi divinitatem.......Disce calcare
> sæculum, memento fidere in Christo.

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

There are, in addition, several illustrations of the image in OE lives of saints which will bear scrutiny.   In the _Passio Sancti Eustachii Martyris Sociorvmque Eivs_, a non-Ælfrician piece[26], the homilist gives this account of God's blessing on Eustace who, after witnessing the vision of the cross between the stag's horns, submits to baptism:

> Eadig þu eart þe onfenge þone þweal
> minre gife and þe ge-gyredest mid
> undeadlicnysse. and nu þu oferswið-
> dest deofol and fortræde þone þe þe
> beswac.

(Skeat _LSS_ II.196)

The direct interdependence here of _oferswiðdest_ and _fortræde_ closely resembles, in both form and intention, Orm's distinctive pairing of _oferrcomm_ and _oferrtradd_ in his Temptation homily.   Yet, as with the homiletic examples, the inclusion of the treading metaphor within the portrait of the _Miles Christi_ is wholly determined by the source which the writer followed;   compare:

Beatus es Eustathi, qui accepisti lavacrum
gratiæ meæ, et qui induisti te immortalitate.
Modo superasti diabolum, modo conculcasti
eum, qui te deceperat, modo spoliasti te
corruptibilem hominem, et indutus es incorrupt-
ibilem permanentem in secula seculorum.

Certain details in other lives of saints are interesting in that they

call to mind the image of the treading down of devils, not through

verbal similarity, but through incident in the narrative itself. In

both extant versions of the OE life of St. Margaret the saint, faced

by a devil during her confinement in prison, gains mastery over him

by making the sign of the cross in his presence and by holding him

28

prostrate with the aid of her foot. The author of the Passio Sanctae

Margaretae Virginis, preserved in London BL MS Cotton Tiberius A iii,

fols. 71v-75v, presents the scene thus:

29

Seo halga margareta gegrap þa deofol
be þæm locce. 7 hine on eorþan awearp.
7 his swyþran ege ut astang 7 ealle his
ban heo to brysde. 7 sette hire swiþran
fott ofer his swyre.

While the two OE versions are, in all probability, independent rend-

30

itions of Latin vitae, they are both, with equal probability, derived

31

from different recensions of the same Latin text. This Latin version,

which was most influential in Medieval England, is printed by Mombritius,

and the relevant passage reads as follows:

32

Tunc sancta Margarita uirgo compraehendit
damonem et per capilos deflexit eum in
terram: et posuit pedem suum dextrum
super ceruicem eius.

This detail is faithfully and unimaginatively repeated in the EME life,

preserved in Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 34, and in BL MS Royal 17 A xxvii:

"for ich habbe to help min healent in heouene,
t te worldes wealdent is ihwer mi warant. Þah
þu strong were þa þu weorredest me, he wes
muchele strengre, þe hefde to biwite me". Wið
þis, þa þudde ha o þe þurs feste wið hire fot,
wið euch-an of þeose word........

The EME life of <u>Seinte Iuliene</u> also provides two possible allusions

to the <u>Miles</u> treading down her foes.   During the long confrontation of

the devil and the saint in the prison cell, the narrator underlines

Juliana's superiority and victory by describing an incident with marked

similarities to that previously encountered in the life of Margaret.

Juliana responds to the half-hearted threats of the devil:

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

(d'Ardenne, <u>Seinte Iuliene</u>, 11.445-51)

In this case, the detail is missing both from the text collated by

Bolland for the <u>Acta Sanctorum</u> and from the twelfth century version in

Oxford MS Bodleian Bodley 285, the two texts which were most influential

in the formation of the life in England. [34]

The other instance in <u>Seinte Iuliene</u> occurs in one of the saint's long

eulogies of Christ.   Elaborating on the putative source, she is said

to refer to events which span both the Old and the New Testaments and

which point to the <u>Christus Miles</u> and thus to her own position; she

dwells on the flight of the Israelites to the Promised Land:

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

(Ibid., 11.587-89)

I conclude the textual evidence relating to the vernacular reception
of the image of the treading of the beasts by referring to the OE
version of the _Evangelium Nicodemi_ where, in the description of the
central event, the Harrowing of Hell, it is said that:

> Ac se wuldorfæsta cyning.   7 ure heofenlica
> hlaford þa nolde þæra deofla gemaðeles mare
> habban.   ac he þone deoflican deað feor
> nyðer atræd.   7 he satan gegrap.   7 hyne
> fæste geband.   7 hyne þære helle sealde.   on
> angeweald.

> (Hulme, OE _Gospel of Nicodemus_, 506)

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

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

> (Vaillant, _Évangile de Nicodème_, 72)

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

> 35
> Ða se stranga wið þæne stranga geræsde,
> þa ure Drihten acom and þæt ealdor dioful
> geband and træd under his fotum [and] þæs
> diofules miht lytlode.

The final piece provides conclusive proof that the dramatic posture of
Christ and Satan at the Harrowing of Hell is a symbolic representation
of the figure of _Christus super aspidem_.   The writer of a homily with
the rubric _De Descensu Christi ad Infernos_ in Oxford MS Bodleian

Junius 121, fols. 148b-154b, describes Satan's demise thus:

> þa he þone ealdor ealles wrohtes and þone
> ordfruman ælces yfeles ecere nyðerunga
> geniðerod and mid ecum bendum gebunden
> hæfde, þa wæs gefylled þæt gefyrn worulde
> be Criste gesungen wæs and gewitegod:
> Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et
> conculcabis leonem et draconum, þæt is: Ðu
> tredst leon and dræcan.

(Raynes, Homilies, 76)

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

Second, in those examples where the treading down image is successfully merged with an announcement of spiritual overcoming, as dictated by the Latin source material, OE writers never allude to the Christus super aspidem, and appear to be unwilling to extend the force of their imagery surrounding the Miles Christi through the integration of this detail. Third, it is also apparent that if the image deriving from Ps.90.13 was associated with any specific context in the minds of OE homilists, it was the context of the Harrowing of Hell which, in the popular Evangelium Nicodemi, provided the necessary verbal stimulus.[36]

In contrast, the presentation of the image of treading down in the Ormulum is integrated into the traditional terminology of the Miles Christi in such a way as to add to the overall didactic force of the image complex; further, it is intimately associated with two specific contexts in Christ's life, namely, the Temptation and the Crucifixion and, again in contradistinction to the OE homiletic corpus, the

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appreciation of Orm's verbal synthesis is enhanced through an understanding of the iconographic traditions relating to the presentation of the Christus super aspidem. In the early English milieu, it is with the dominant central panel on the north face of the Ruthwell Cross that initial interest has traditionally been shown.

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

> it is not the power over evil which matters so[37] much as the fact that the animals in the desert acknowledged the divinity of Christ.

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

> The great central relief, therefore, shows[38] Christ as judge adored by the powers of evil on which he is treading and which have been forced to recognise him in the desert as the Saviour of the world.

which may be said to clarify, if somewhat dubiously, what Schapiro recognized as the 'assimilation' of images.[39]

Saxl goes on to outline the three types of representation which have been categorized in relation to the Christus super aspidem. From his analysis, it is evident that the artist of the Ruthwell Cross panel devised a Northumbrian variant of a widely-used Mediterranean formula

which appears, for example, as an illustration to Ps.90 in the <u>Utrecht</u> <u>Psalter</u>,[40] and that the <u>Christus Miles</u> type derives from a distinctly different model.

Both Saxl and Schapiro cite interesting examples of the fusion of the <u>Christus Miles</u> and the <u>Christus super aspidem</u>, of which one of the most striking is a painting in the <u>Stuttgart Psalter</u> of the militant Christ standing over the beasts as an illustration to the Temptation in the desert.[41]

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

If the central panel on the Ruthwell Cross can be seen as a specific variant of a widely-known model, an indication of the type of model known to OE artists of the eighth century can be gauged from one panel of the Genoels-Eldern diptych, thought by Beckwith to be of Northumbrian origin,[42] and by Lasko, employing greater caution, as the work of a continental workshop heavily influenced by Hiberno-Saxon artists.[43]

It seems likely, therefore, as Alexander has suggested, that an Anglo-Saxon model for the scene may have been in existence - and the panel on the Bewcastle Cross provides important support - since the earliest representations on the continent go back to insular prototypes.[44]

Other than the representations cited above, and the Oxford book cover
and the cover for the Lorsch Gospels,[45] there are very few early examples
of the scene extant in painting or sculpture; only from the beginning
of the eleventh century is further evidence available, and some of this
is of value for the present discussion.

Saxl gave an outline of the differing types of Christus super aspidem
representations, reflecting variations in the iconographic tradition.
Alexander, too, reiterates Saxl's findings while, at the same time,
listing Anglo-Saxon MS miniatures which depict the scene.[46] These latter,
including a painting in the Bury Psalter and one in Oxford MS Bodleian
Douce, 296, fol.40,[47] are associated by him with the tradition exemplified
by the Utrecht Psalter. Further, in terms of the various types within
the iconographic tradition, this particular strain is said to be dis-
tinct from that labelled as the Christus Miles type, the one I am most
concerned with here.

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

In support of this claim, I wish to compare the painting of the
Christus super aspidem on fol.40 of the Douce MS with one side of the
Alcester-Tau Cross of early eleventh century date and of possible West
Midland provenance.[48] The MS painting shows Christ in frontal pose
standing on two beasts, a lion and a dragon, with his right leg bent
slightly at the knee, thus giving the impression that all he weight is
being borne by the beasts. He holds a vertical cross staff in his
right hand, the pointed end of which is entering the mouth of one of
the beasts. In his left hand, he holds an open book. The beasts,

stylized and frozen in their writhing, each have one leg raised from the border base; their necks and heads are stretched back over their bodies in a posture indicative of subjugation rather than of acknowledgement.   This difference in the attitude of the beasts here as compared to their posture on the Ruthwell Cross, together with the symbolic representation of the cross as weapon or military standard, strongly suggests that the artist intended to portray Christ as a _Miles_.

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

```
         ure_laferrd iesu crist
     Iss king off alle kingess,
     To fihhtenn forr hiss hallȝhe follc
     O rode ȝæn þe_defell,
  ᛫  7 mahhtiȝ king 7 strang inoh
     Inn hiss goddcunnde kinde,
     To tredenn all unnderr hiss fot
     Þe laþe gastess strenncþe.
```

(ll.18128-135)

This parallel of a particular detail between a verbal and iconographic synthesis is important enough in itself; yet it seems also to be symptomatic of a whole process of thought and expression. If the suggestion that, in these artistic examples can be seen the gradual assimilation of the figure of the Miles Christi to the precise form of the Christus super aspidem, there is, in effect, evidence for a shift in conception and execution in painting and ivory carving which, in its larger perspective, is an exact replica of the shift which I have been able to trace verbally throughout the Ormulum. What both Orm and some near contemporary artists have achieved in their own ways is the creation of a firm context for the Christus super aspidem.[50]

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

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have been singled out and placed in dramatic apposition. Icono-graphically, this trend seems to have been a late development of representations of the <u>Christus super aspidem</u> type.

In OE writings, then, the detail of the treading down of the beasts is not treated in any significant way in the presentation of the image of spiritual combat. The detail, on the authority of the <u>Evangelium Nicodemi</u>, is associated (though by no means on a significantly large number of occasions) with the Harrowing of Hell, but is, again, left[51] undeveloped. The instances of devils being trodden underfoot by <u>Milites Christi</u> in Old and early Middle English lives of saints are hard to interpret, because these hagiographers never allude to the verbal imagery of Ps.90.13, and thus give no indication of their aware-ness of its significance.

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

The image of the treading down of the beasts is a violent image. On the Alcester-Tau Cross and in the drawing in the Oxford MS, it is linked with the stabbing of the beasts by means of a lance. Similarly, as I have shown, in the <u>Ormulum</u>, <u>tredenn</u> is paired, not only with <u>oferrcomm</u>, but also with <u>cwennkenn</u>, 'to kill', which is equally forceful in its aggressive associations. The apparent rise in popularity in English art of the treading down motif in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, or perhaps, the resurgence of interest which is stimulated, exemplifies the trend which Orm expresses verbally. The two illustrations of this

trend, the verbal and the iconographic, seem, further, to reflect a

tendency to revitalize the imagistic components traditionally associated

with spiritual combat and to colour the whole thematic complex with a

distinctively aggressive and violent attitude.[52]

By way of introduction to the detailed investigation of the make-up of

Orm's verbal cluster, I highlight one pertinent example.   In speaking

of the opposition of Vices and Virtues, and of the power of Virtue to

overcome Vice, OE homilists produced statements of this type:

> Þisum heafod-leahtrum we sceolon symle
> on urum ðeawum wiðcweðan, and ðurh
> Godes fultume mid gastlicum wæpnum
> ealle oferwinnan......................
> ....
> We sceolon oferwinnan ærest gifernysse
> mid gemetegunge ætes and wætes;.......
> ....We sceolon oferwinnan
> woruldlice gytsunge mid cystignysse ures
> clænan modes...
>
> (Thorpe, CH II.222)

> fæsten ys halig þing 7 hit is heofonlic
> weorc...................................
> 7 þurh þæt beoð deofles costunga
> oferswiðede.
>
> (Szarmach, 'Vercelli XX', p.9)

> Ðis syndon, men ða leofestan, þa ehta
> heafodleahtras mid heora herium þe
> dæghwamlice ongean mancyn winnað. 7
> hi synd swiðe strange deofles cempen
> ongean mennisc cynn.   Þa beod eaðelice
> Gode gefultumigendum fram Cristes
> cempum feohtendum urh halige mægenu
> oferswiþed.
>
> (Ibid., 14-15)

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

> Þiss mahhte tredeþþ unnderrfot
> 7 cwennkeþþ gluterrnesse
>
> (ll.4590-91)

Of purity, he states:

Þiss mahhte tredeþþ unnderrfot
Galnessess laþe strenncþe.

(11.4636-37)

The difference in expression is quite striking. The passages from

Ælfric and <u>Vercelli homily XX</u> aro characterised by forceful expression,

firmly qualified by terminology designed to thwart the full realization

of the secular martial associations naturally aroused by <u>wæpnum</u>, <u>winnað</u>

and <u>feohtendum</u>. Orm's statements consist of an image of vigorous

physical action, complemented by a term which serves to re-inforce,

rather than subvert, the aggressive associations which the image

naturally conveys.⁵³

In the final chapter, I want to draw attention to the markedly different

emphasis in the presentation of spiritual warfare evidenced by the   .

<u>Ormulum</u>, by assessing the effects achieved through the interaction of

Orm's favoured terminology, and by contrasting these effects with those

fashioned by OE homilists and hagiographers, revealed in the detailed

studies of chapters three and four, above.

1.   Ullmann, Principles, p.157.

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

3.   The phrase is taken from the text in Cambridge MS CCC 201. In Oxford MS Bodleian Junius 121, the Canons open with the phrase Riht is þæt preostas (Fowler, Canons, 1), which corresponds to We læraö þæt Godes þeowas (Forlwer, Canons, 1).

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

5.   See above, pp.223-31.

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

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

8.   White-Holt print awwerrmod in 1.4720, in error. The MS reads apper(r)mod, 'bitterness of heart'. Holm, Corrections, does not include this correction in his collation; it was first pointed out by Burchfield, 'Two Misreadings', p.38. The line Itt drifeþþ fra þin herrte reappears at 11.4639, 4747, 4851 in similarly worded statements of spiritual overcoming.

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

10.   Turville-Petre, 'Studies,' pp.13-20. Statements on the treading
down of sin or vice occur in the earliest composed parts of the text,
as in 11. 2247-50, 2559-63, and in the sections written last, as in
Dickins & Wilson, Dedication, 11.37-38. Although many aspects of Orm's
work have been seen to undergo modification and refinement as the text
progressed, this statement is equally true of other distinctive utter-
ances and imagistic modes favoured by him and ought, therefore, to have
a bearing on any consideration of his achievement as a writer, partic-
ularly in relation to his attempted re-creation of a stable, comprehen-
sive homiletic idiom. From even a brief study of the chronological
divisions of the text, it is certain that much of Orm's recurring
phraseology had been formulated to his satisfaction before composition,
as it is now known in the MS, began.

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

12.   See Breviarium Romanum, 4 vols. (London:Burns Oates, 1946),

Pars Verna, pp.323-39.   Frederick E. Warren, ed., The Leofric Missal

(Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1883), p.75.   Martin Rule, ed., The Missal

of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (Cambridge:University Press, 1896),

pp.22-23.   The editor dates the MS - Cambridge CCC 270 - to around

1100.   The later Sarum Use, well recognized in the late twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, also follows this selection of readings.   On

this latter, see John Wickham Legg, ed., The Sarum Missal : Edited from

Three Early Manuscripts (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1916), pp.56-57.

13.   Quoted by Fritz Saxl, 'The Ruthwell Cross', Journal of the Warburg

and Courtauld Institutes, 6 (1943), 1-19; 2.

14.   Quoted by Robert T. Farrell, 'The Archer and Associated Figures

on the Ruthwell Cross - a Reconsideration', British Archaeological

Reports, 46 (1978), 96-117; 107.   Farrell, p.116, fn.30, points out

that Bede is following Jerome, In Mattheum (Migne, PL 26.32-34).   In

contradistinction, Augustine in his Enarratio in Psalmo XC (Migne PL

37.1168) interprets verse 13 in terms of the victorious body of the

Church, which is ever on her guard against the cunning of the devil.

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

16.   Förster, 'Ueber die Quellen', p.12.

17.   Belfour, Homilies, 96-106.   This, like all other pieces in the

MS, was 'assembled from pre-Conquest materials', Pope, Homilies, 14.

18.   Gregory, Homelia XVI in Evangelia (Migne, PL 76.1134-38) is, as

has been said, Ælfric's principal source.   It was consulted also by

the Blickling homilist for the latter portion of his piece (Morris,

Blickling Homilies, 33,2 - 39,7) and probably exerted an influence on

the Bodley homilist (see Pope, Homilies, 16). Alone among the Latin authorities I have consulted – Eusebius, Augustine, Jerome, Bede and Smaragdus – Gregory omits to mention the devil's deception and makes no allusion to Ps.90.13.

19.   See Förster, 'Ueber die Quellen,' p.12.

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

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

22.   Compare Ælfric's statement that Crist on ðære hwile to helle gewende, and þone deofol gewylde in his Sermo de Initio Creaturae, in Thorpe, CH I. 26.28, and see above, pp. 380.425..

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

24.   Homelia LXXI of the Liber Tertius – Homiliae Subdititiae in Migne, PL 94. 452–55.   On the Liber Tertius, see Jean Leclerq, 'Le IIIe Livre des Homélies de Bede le Venerable,' Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, 14 (1947), 211–18; 216, fn.28 for homily LXXI.

25.   Augustine, Sermo LXXVI, in Migne, PL 38. 482–83.

26.   See Clemoes, 'Chronology,' p.219.

27.   From the <u>Acta Fabula SS Eustathii, Uxoris et Fili</u> in <u>Acta Sanctorum</u>, Sept. tom. VI, p.126.

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

> Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem,
> Et semen tuum et semen illius:
> Ipsa conteret caput tuum,
> Et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius.

<div align="center">(<u>Gen.</u> III.15)</div>

Furthermore, the linking of these words with those of the ninetieth psalm is forcefully presented by Bede, <u>Quaestiones in Genesim</u> in Migne, <u>PL</u> 93.232-33.

29.   Ed., Cockayne, <u>Narratiunculae</u>, pp.39-49.   For the other version, see Assmann, <u>Homilies</u>, pp.170-80.

30.   See Gordon H. Gerould, 'A New Text of the <u>Passio S Margaritae</u>', <u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</u>, 39 (1924), 525-65; 547.

31.   See Elizabeth A. Francis, 'A Hitherto Unprinted Version of the <u>Passio Sanctae Margaritae</u>, with Some Observations on Vernacular Derivatives', <u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</u>, 42 (1927), 87-105; 88-89.

32.   Boninus Mombritius, ed., <u>Sanctuarium</u>, 2 vols. (Paris:Albertus Fontemoing, 1910), II.193.

33.   Mack, ed., <u>Seinte Marharete</u>, p.28, 11.16-21.   I quote from the Bodley text.

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

35.   Hulme, 'The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus', Modern Philology, 1 (1904), 33.

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

37.   Meyer Schapiro, 'The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross', Art Bulletin, 26 (1944), 232-45;   233.

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

39.   Schapiro, 'The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross', p.233.

40.   Saxl, 'The Ruthwell Cross', pp.12-13.

41.   Saxl, 'The Ruthwell Cross', p.12.   Schapiro, 'The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross', p.233.

42.   John Beckwith, Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England (London: Harvey Miller, 1972), p.20;   illus. 14-15.

43. Peter Lasko, _Ars Sacra, 800-1200_ (Harmonsworth:Penguin, 1972), p.13.

44. Jonathan J.G. Alexander, _Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel, 966-1100_ (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1970), p.149.

45. Lasko, _Ars Sacra_ p.13; pl.25, 28.

46. Alexander, _Norman Illumination_, p.148.

47. Alexander, _Anglo-Saxon Illumination_, pl.24. Temple, _Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts_, pl.259.

48. Beckwith, _Ivory Carvings_, pl.65, 66. Talbot-Rice, _English Art_ pl.40.

49. See, generally, the comments by Swanton, _The Dream of the Rood_, p.50; more particularly, St. Peter's address to the risen Christ, þu oferswiþdest deaþ in Morris, _Blickling Homilies_, 157. For similar statements, see Thorpe, _CH_ I.168; Morris, _Blickling Homilies_, 67; Cambridge MS CCC 162, pp.433-34; Raynes, _Homilies_, 85.

50. A mid-twelfth century English ivory plaque, now in the Museo Nazionale in Florence is a further artistic parallel to Orm's verbal synthesis. On it, Christ stands on two beasts who have been given the same posture as those on the Alcester-Tau Cross. The cross staff, though now missing, was once an integral part of the design, since Christ's right hand is shaped in the form of an open fist, bent at the wrist, indicating that the vertical staff would have pierced the beast's neck. But the surrounding inscription, which reads: _Rex Devs est et Homo qvem simplex signat imago qvo mors est strata serpente leone notata_, clearly refers to Christ's death as being comparable to his trampling of the lion and serpent.

This plaque, furthermore, formed part of a diptych, the other side
of which shows St. Michael standing on a large, open-mouthed devil
who is transfixed by the angel's spear. The inscription in the border
reads: Svb fidei scvto Micahel stans corpore tvto hostem et sternit
pede calcat cvspide pvngit, which clearly alludes not only to the
treading of the beasts, as expressed in Ps.90.13, but is also influenced
by the Pauline metaphor of spiritual victory in Ad Ephesios VI.11-18,
through the conspicuous mention of the fidei scvto and, possibly,
through the reference to Michael's posture, expressed by stans. This
striking fusion of imagery exactly mirrors the dominant trend in Orm's
presentation of certain aspects of spiritual combat. On the diptych,
see Beckwith, Ivory Carvings, p.136. pl.85, 86.

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

52.   This digression into artistic representations of the Christus
super aspidem raises a further set of questions which impinge on the
claims made for Orm's self-identification with vernacular tradition.
Even though it can be shown that the Ormulum exhibits a verbal synthesis
of Crucifixion and the treading down of evil, corresponding in detail
and emphasis to contemporary representations on ivory carvings, there

is no evidence to suggest that such representations were not as wide-
spread in Carolingian (and later) centres as they were in English.
Similarly, the particular iconographic configuration depicted on the
Alcester-Tau Cross may have equally pertinent Continental parallels,
or may derive from emphases emanating from the Continent. The stimulus,
therefore, for Orm's striking representation of the Crucifixion in
11.18128-135 may well be the reflexion, in part, of a generally
European preoccupation from which no evidence for Orm's 'Englishness',
exemplified in other facets of his work, can be adduced.

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

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHANGING ASPECTS IN THE CONCEPT OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN THE ORMULUM (2)

7.1 The Effects of Orm's Verbal Synthesis.

The importance of the treading down motif in the _Ormulum_ with regard to the imagery of spiritual combat is two-fold. First, its systematic and consistent exploitation, its integration with traditional imagistic components derived from Paul's _Ad Ephesios_, characterizes it as a significant extension to the conventional bounds of this theme, serving to revitalize it and to add new impetus to the force of its didacticism. Second, the robust and provocative action which it conveys is instrumental in modifying the emphasis of the traditional imagery with which it is integrated. Literally, it evokes a notion of strong physical superiority and naturally complements the marked lack of restraint which is placed on the other, integrated components in the whole image complex which, as a whole, tends towards the realization of the inherent secular meaning of its verbal elements. Through an analysis of the semantic interaction of terminology in Orm's word cluster, and through an appraisal of the compatibility of his chosen terminology to that most readily employed by writers of secular, historical and quasi-historical matter, it is my intention to reveal the extent of this development in the metaphoric presentation of the language of spiritual combat.

In my discussion of the metaphorical shaping of martial terminology in OE homilies and lives of saints, two important principles emerged.

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First, with specific reference to phrases of the type <u>Godes cempa</u>, it became apparent that the metaphor of spiritual warfare is built on the foundation of terminology which, in less strictly regulated contexts, would realize its primary meaning, evocative of physical strife. Second, a study both of the make-up of individual phrases and of the careful composition of often lengthy passages revealed the presence of discriminatory compositional techniques which aimed at harnessing the overt secular meaning of many of the chosen terms and, in various ways, at redirecting this meaning onto a spiritual plane.

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

These general principles were confirmed in an analysis of the degree to which terms were accepted or rejected by writers presenting the figure of the <u>Miles Christi</u> and related metaphors. In the case of OE <u>cempa</u>, it was found that while the term frequently denoted secular fighting men in texts of widely differing genres and dates, it was, at the same time, particularly favoured by homilists and hagiographers in descriptions of <u>Milites Christi</u>, predominantly in phrases of the type <u>Godes cempa</u>. In view of the marked popularity of the term with OE homilists and their distinctive treatment of it, it should prove instructive to investigate the function of <u>kemmpe</u> in the <u>Ormulum</u> and in other EME texts.

7.1.i Kemmpe

There are, as I have said, five occurrences of kemmpe in the Ormulum.
In three of these, the term appears in a phrase containing a qualifi-
catory adjective:

> Hæþene follkess kemmpe   (1.3590
>
> drihhtiness kemmpe iob   (1.4832)
>
> hiss dere kemmpe   .   (1.19902)

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

> Shephirde 7 king 7 kemmpe   (1.3587)
>
> Onnȝæn þatt newe kemmpe   (1.12531)

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

> Þe cnihhtess wærenn wæpnedd follc,
> To fihhtenn forr þe lede,
> To werenn hemm wiþþ wiþerþed
> Þatt wollde hemm oferrganngenn.

> (11.10225-228)

Leaving aside for the moment the significance of the presence of the terms wæpnedd, fihhtenn and werenn, what is noticeable is that the soldiers are called cnihhtess. Furthermore, Orm employs this term, and this term alone, throughout the homiletic collection when he speaks of secular fighting men.[1] Such a rigid distinction in the naming of secular (cnihht) and spiritual (kemmpe) warriors implies that Orm considered kemmpe suitable only for the latter group, irrespective of whether they were God's or the devil's champions. It follows from this that EME kemmpe had developed a specialized meaning evocative. only of spiritual combat; such a development could plausibly be accounted for by suggesting that the almost immediate association of spiritual warrior and cempa in OE writings resulted in an eventual diminishing of the force of the term's secular appeal. Whereas, therefore, OE homilists and hagiographers intentionally selected cempa in order to make use of its martial associations Orm, ironically it seems, adopted kemmpe because such secular appeal had effectively disappeared.

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

> He kempene king, haueð to-dei. ouercumen
> helles bule, Belial, baldest of alle.

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

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

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

> (Ibid., 309-10)

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Consistent also with Orm's usage is the author's selection of cniht.

Juliana's superiority is manifested, in part, through her ability to

force the devil to confess his crimes, amongst which figures the

.prompting of the soldier to thrust a spear in Christ's side:

> Ant ich makede þe cniht to þurlin
> godes side wið scharpe speres ord.

> (Ibid., 375-77)

which clearly corresponds to the Latin:

> Ego sum qui [feci] militem lancea[2]
> perforare latus filii dei.

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

Later in the narrative, the author gives an account of the saint's

torture on the wheel which includes the statement that Eleusius:

> dude on eiðer half hire fowre of hise
> cnihtes forte turnen þet hweol....

> (Ibid., 554-56)

which similarly derives from this detail in the vita:

> ut staret rota in medio duarum
> columpnarum & quatuor milites de
> una parte.

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

In general, instances of the designation of secular fighting men by

cniht in post-Conquest texts are widespread;[3] its prominence in this

respect suggests that cniht came to assume the function previously

fulfilled by OE cempa.

At the same time, however, there are notable instances in EME texts

of the application of cniht and the related cnihtscipe to contexts of

unequivocal spiritual combat.   In a very short anonymous homily in

BL MS Cotton Vespasian A xxii, which has the rubric <u>Induite Uos</u>

<u>Armaturam Dei</u>, the homilist explains that man's three enemies are the

devil, the world and the flesh, and outlines the need for spiritual

combat:

> Þas þri fihteð agen elcen ileafful man
> alse longe se we iðese westen of þesser
> woruld wandrið. alse þri roaferes.   Þer
> for sede se hali iob.   <u>Milicia est uita</u>
> <u>hominis super terram</u>.   Cnihtscipe is
> mannes lif upen eorðe.

> (Morris, <u>OE Homilies I</u>, 243)

Compatible to this usage is a reference in the seventh part of the

<u>Ancrene Wisse</u> to Christ the warrior at the Crucifixion; it comes

towards the end of the long passage which explores the imagery of the

soldier's shield:

> Efter kene cnihtes deað. me hongeð
> hehe ichirche his scheld on his
> mungunge. alswa is þis scheld. Þ
> is þe crucifix. ichirche i set i
> swuch stude�‚ þer me hit sonest seo.
> forte þenchen þer bi o iesu cristes
> cnihtscipe Þ he dude o rode.

> (Tolkien, <u>Ancrene Wisse</u>, 200)

Further, in the <u>Katherine Group</u> life of <u>Saint Katherine</u>, the hagio-

grapher narrates the fate of the slain bodies of the newly converted

martyrs:

> Comen cristene a niht[4]
> 7 nomen hare bodies,
> 7 biburieden ham
> deorliche, as hit deh
> drihtines cnihtes.

In the nearly contemporary <u>Genesis and Exodus</u>, the narrator makes this

pointed comment on Lucifer's fall:

Ðo wurð he drake ðat ear was knigt,
Ðo wurð he mirc ðat ear was ligt.

<div align="right">(Arngart, <u>Genesis & Exodus</u>, 283-84)</div>

Again, in the late thirteenth century life of St. Ypolyt in the early
<u>South English Legendary</u>, preserved in Oxford MS Bodleian Laud Misc 108
the saint, in the manner of St. Martin and of Guthlac, delivers this
characteristic statement to the heathen emperor:

'Sir Aumperour', quath [þis] holie man; 'for nou3ht þou
spext so; [5]
For a newe kny3ht ich am bi-come: newe batayle to do;
Godes kny3ht of heouene ich am: and al mi wille so is.
þat ich in his batayle be: sone i-martred, i-wis'.

Finally, La3amon refers to St. Augustine of Rome as God's soldier in
his endeavour to convert the citizens of Dorchester, and styles him
<u>his cnihten</u>, (Brook & Leslie, <u>Brut</u>, 14790).

Thus, while EME <u>cniht</u> has the primary function of denoting a secular
fighting man, and EME <u>kempe</u>, that of identifying spiritual soldiers, [6]
there is, in the application of <u>cniht</u> to contexts of spiritual warfare,
some evidence that the two terms were considered to be interchangeable
in any given context. The suitability of <u>cniht</u> for both spiritual and
secular contexts is complemented by the application of <u>kempe</u> to physical
fighting men.

The identification of the <u>Miles Christi</u> by <u>cniht</u> is not a marked feature
of EME religious imagery. The instances I have located are far out-
weighed by the more numerous applications of <u>kempe</u>; only in later ME
texts, it seems, is <u>cniht</u> given more prominence in such contexts. [7] Even
more uncharacteristic is the use of <u>kempe</u> in descriptions of secular
fighting men, because it seems to be virtually confined to one text -
the <u>Brut</u>.

Laȝamon makes use of <u>cniht</u> roughly twice as often as he does <u>kempe</u>;

the occurrences of the latter term are sufficiently numerous, however,

as to warrant some attention. In the <u>Brut</u>, <u>kempe</u> invariably describes

a fighting man, as the following quotations illustrate:

Caligula

Longe a dai leste þat feht. þer feol moni god cniht.
Corineus com quecchen. 7 to him-seolfe queð.
A-wæi Corineus. Nere þu icoren kempa.
Cuð nu þine strengða. 7 þina stepa main.

Otho

Long ilaste þat fiþt. þar fulle mani god cniþt.
Corineus com scecky. and seide to him-seolue.
Awac Corineus Nere þou icore kempe
Cuþ nou þine strengþe. and þine mochele mihte.

<div align="right">(Brook & Leslie, <u>Brut</u>, 769-72)</div>

From the same context:

Caligula

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

Otho

Brutus and his kempes. hii driue in-to þan castle.
and in þan ilke fore. hii fu[l]de of hire veres.
and alle dai hii remden and resden to þan castle.

<div align="right">(Ibid., 11.839-41)</div>

In the account of king Belin's progress towards Rome and its subsequent

siege, comes this description:

Caligula

Belin heom to leop. bi-foren 7 bi-hinden.
Þeo cnihtes weoren vnwepned. þa þe wæne heom wes ȝeueðe.
heo wenden to beon sikere. þeo Belin heom on sohte.
Ne nomen heo nonne cniht quic. ah alle heo heom aqualden.
for nauede Belin nan cnihte. þet he næs þere god kimppe.
ne neauere nenne herd-swein. þat he ne fahte alse þein.

Otho

Bely[n] ȝam leop to bi-fore and bi-hinde.
Þe cnihtes weren on-wepned. þo hii solde fihte.
hii wende to beon..kere. þo Belyn king ȝam ...hte.
Ne nemen hii cwic nanne. ac alle (h).... acwelde.
for nadde Belin nanne cniht þat he nas þare kempe.
ne neuere nanne sweyn ne cnaue. þat he nas wod in his lawe.

(Ibid., 11.2819-24)

From the context it is clear here that kimmpe designates a fighting

man, and that the composition of 1.2823 shows the virtual synonymy of

cniht and kimmpe, which is endorsed by the Otho reviser.

In a later passage, Laȝamon relates what Vortigern learned of the

arrival of Hengest and Horsa:

Caligula

Vnder þan comen tiðende. to Vortiger þan kinge.
þat ouer sæ weoren icumen. swiðe selcuðe gumen.
inne þere Temese. to londe heo weoren icummen.
þreo scipen gode. comen mid þan flode.
þreo hundred cnihten. also hit weoren kinges.
wið-uten þan scipen-monnen. þe weoren þer wið-innen.

Otho

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

(Ibid., 11.6879-84)

Here again, the Otho scribe's substitution of kinges with kempes in

1.6883 serves only to underline the synonymity of cnihtes and kempes.[9]

It is noticeable that EME kemmpe appears predominantly in the work of

authors who may be said to have effected what amounts to a return to

'English' sources in various ways. I have already called attention

to the backward-looking tendency of the writers of the Katherine Group

lives of saints who, if occasionally excessively influenced by the

form of Ælfrician hagiography, would equally have been susceptible to

the adoption of some part, at least, of the traditional lexis.

Laȝamon's _Brut_ also shows antiquarian and archaizing tendencies both

in spelling and diction; in relation to both the First Continuation

of the _Peterborough Chronicle_ and the exemplar used by the scribe of

the Caligula _Brut_, Eric Stanley has suggested that

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

It is difficult to assess to what extent this tendency is relevant to

the frequent use of _kempe_ in the _Brut_ to denote the secular fighting

man, since the Otho scribe's revisions only rarely extend to the

suppression of the terms; the excision of passages in the Otho MS

where the corresponding portions of the Caligula _Brut_ display the use

of _kempe_ were probably effected for reasons other than those relating

to the presence of the term. Since both MSS are now thought to be of

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roughly the same date, the retention of _kempe_ in the Otho MS argues

that the term was not considered to be an example of archaic usage,

but a natural component of poetic language of the late twelfth and

early thirteenth centuries. The virtual confinement to the _Brut_ of

kempe in a secular sense may therefore be an accidental phenomenon,

throwing unnecessary doubt on the term's applicability to secular con-

texts in EME texts in general.

Nothwithstanding Orm's distinction between _kemmpe_ and _cnihht_, the

weight of evidence, deriving both from OE hagiographic and homiletic

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

7.1.ii   Fihhtenn

Unlike OE homilists and hagiographers, the verb most consistently employed by Orm to describe the spiritual soldier's engagement in battle is fihhtenn.[12]   A marked feature of the OE evocations of spiritual warfare was the conscious avoidance of this term.   The ubiquity of feohtan, the most general and most readily available term in the lexis to denote armed struggle, in the Chronicle, the OE Orosius, the OE Bede and other texts dealing predominantly with secular warfare, was evidently influential in determining the choice of vocabulary in contexts of spiritual warfare.   As a term indicative of overt martial activity, OE feohtan was passed over, with a high degree of consistency, in favour of OE campian.   There is no equivalent in the Ormulum to OE campian: the function of that term is fulfilled by his fihhtenn.

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

And þi ilcan geare se cyng Willelm gefeaht
togeanes his sunu Rotbearde wiðutan Norman-
dige be anum castele, Gerborneð hatte. 7
Se cyng Willelm wearð þær gewundod 7 his
hors ofslagen þe he on sæt, 7 eac his sunu
Willelm wearð þær gewundod 7 fela manna
ofslagene.

<div align="right">(Clark, <u>Peterborough Chronicle</u>, 1079)</div>

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

<div align="right">(Ibid., 1124)</div>

On þis gær com Dauid king of Scotland[13]
mid ormete færd to þis land; wolde winnan
þis land. 7 Him com togænes Willelm eorl
of Albamar, þe þe king adde beteht Euorwic,
7 t[e] other æuez men mid fæu men; 7
fuhten wid heom, 7 flemden þe king æt te
Standard, 7 sloghen suithe micel of his
genge.

<div align="right">(Ibid., 1138)</div>

From the Caligula MS of Laȝamon's <u>Brut</u>, the following usages are also

typical:

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

<div align="right">(Brook & Leslie, <u>Brut</u>, 3894-97)</div>

Þa seide þe King Basian.   Ær ih wulle dæd beon;
Wið-innen seouen nihte. heo comen to þan fihte;
biforen þere burh Eouerwic. þat feht wes swiðe storlic;
Þa heo scolden bezst fehten.   þa fluȝen al þa Pohtes;
7 heo Basian þe king mid alle bilæfden.

<div align="right">(Ibid., 11.5308-312)</div>

Þ[is] iherden Arður; aðelest kinge:
7 nam his ane ferde. 7 þider-ward fusden:
7 funde þene king Gillomar; þe icumen wes to londe þar.

Arður him faht wið;   7 nolde him 3iuen na grið.
7 feolde Irisce men;   feond-liche to gru[n]den.

(Ibid., 11.10887-891)

In the Ormulum, fihhtenn is given a secular referent on two occasions;

once in a passage already quoted, in which Herod's soldiers are des-

cribed as armed men To fihhtenn forr þe lede (1.10226), and earlier,

in the account of Herod's funeral, where it is said:

7 swa mann barr þatt fule lic
Till þær he bedenn haffde.·
7 hise cnihhtess alle imæn
Forþ 3edenn wiþþ þe bære,
Wiþþ here wæpenn alle bun,
Swa summ þe33 sholldenn fihhtenn.

(11.8183-88)

It is clear, therefore, that these phrases stand with others like

To fihhtenn forr hiss hall3he follc and To fihhtenn Anntecrist onn3æn

(11.18130.8609) in the Ormulum, and that Orm makes no distinction

between spiritual and secular combat in his choice of verb to denote

struggle.

Not only does Orm's selection of fihhtenn in contexts of spiritual

combat differ markedly from OE homiletic and hagiographic practice,

the phrases, also, in which the term occurs betray no intention on his

part to introduce qualificatory words or phrases which would have

impeded the term's inherent secular meaning.   OE feohtan is a rarity

in evocations of spiritual warfare in OE homilies;   when it is employed,

its overt secular appeal is invariably thwarted by its insertion in

phrases of the type gastlice feohtan (Thorpe, CH II.216).   In contrast,

in Orm's phrasing of spiritual fighting, such qualificatory terminology

is conspicuously absent, as in:

Forr þatt he shollde fihhtenn
Onnȝæn an drake...

(11.1842-43)

                crisstene follc
Birrþ fihhtenn ȝæn þe defell

(11.11419-420)

7 æfre fihhtenn ȝæn þe flæsh

(1.11477)

To fihhtenn ȝæn þe defell

(11.12543, 19964)

In such cases, of course, the nature of the struggle is never left
in doubt; the specification of the Christians' opponents as the
devil, the flesh and Antichrist confer an automatic spiritual identity
on the struggle. It should be noted, however, that this identification
is achieved through reliance on the overall context - for example,
that of Christ's Temptation - and through supplying an overtly spiritual
referent to fihhtenn. The force of the resulting metaphor rests on
the interdependence of fihhtenn and, say, defell in 1.11419. These
spiritual referents do not qualify the verb or serve to thwart its
secular meaning in the same way as gastlice in Ælfric's gastlice feohtan
does; the absence of similar qualificatory terminology, together with
the particular syntactic form of the phrases quoted above, ensure the
free play of the physical, literal meaning of fihhtenn, and the meta-
phoric tension created by the phrases as a whole is a result of the
very incongruity of the verb in such obviously spiritual contexts.
Orm's method is, in this particular, virtually opposite to that adopted
by OE homilists.

This more marked exploitation of secular nuance in Orm's martial

vocabulary is underlined by two other phrases in which fihhtenn

figures prominently.   In the Nativity homily, as has previously been

noticed, it is said that Christ was made man:

Alls iff he ȝæn þe laþe gast
Wiþþ here wollde fihhtenn

(11.3906-07)

where Orm alludes to the figure of Christ as war leader, commanding

a body of fighting men.[14]   In a later piece, Orm preaches on the seven

gifts of the Holy Spirit, of which the fourth is said to be:

Strenncþe to fihhtenn stallwurrliȝ
Onnȝæn þe flæshess lusstess

(11.5519-20)

In these two extracts, despite the references to þe laþe gast and to

þe flæshess lusstess, the inclusion of the phrase wiþþ here and of

stallwurrliȝ serve to reinforce, rather than detract from, the funda-

mentally secular force of fihhtenn.

7.1.iii   Wæpenn

Much the same tendency is apparent in Orm's use of wæpenn.   Most

commonly in OE homilies, expressions of spiritual arming take the form

of mid gastlicum wæpnum (Skeat, LSS II.112; Thorpe, CH II.218, 402),

mid Godes wæpnunge (Thorpe, CH II.218; Skeat, LSS I.416).   A closer

correspondence to the Pauline model occasionally produced phrases of

the type mid ðæm wæpnum ryhtwisnesse (OE Cura Pastoralis, 83), mid

rihtwisnysse byrnan (Thorpe, CH II.218), Cristes byrnan (Skeat, LSS
I.132), mid leohtes wæpnum (Thorpe, CH I.604; Skeat, LSS II.370).
Very similar to this latter group are some of Orm's characteristic
phrases which reproduce fully the allegorical force of Paul's utterances
in Ad Ephesios. These include: þurrh clene lifess wæpenn (1.802),
þurrh soþfasst þildess wæpenn (1.4807), 3æn modi3nessess wæpenn
(11.4565, 12509, 12375), þurrh ʒredi3nessess wæpenn (11.12496, 12355)
and þurrh rihht ʒod trowwþess wæpenn (1.18115).

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

>   stanndenn wel onn3æn
> Þe defell wiþþ swillc wæpenn

(11.2785-86; 12311)

>   to wundenn uss
> Þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn

(11.12308-309; 12315; 12321)

> wiþþ all þatt illke wæpenn

(1.12323)

or in which the excellent qualities of the weapon itself are stressed.
In this latter group figure the following: God wæpenn 3æn þe defell
(1.2616), wæpenn ʒod 7 strang (1.4556), and the descriptions of Job as
one who was wæpnedd wel (11.4768, 4806) and wæpnedd full wel (1.4787).
Whereas, therefore, OE homilists were eager to superimpose qualificatory
adjectives and adverbs on those elements of martial vocabulary which
most readily associated with the secular model (elements which they
avoided for the most part) - as in the case of feohtan and wæpn,
wæpnung - Orm's metaphorical language not only relies to a large extent
on such terms, it also tends towards the realization, rather than the
deflation, of their primary secular meanings.

7.2   The Defensive Aspect of the _Miles Christi_

The consistency with which this shifting emphasis is maintained throughout the _Ormulum_ gains support, also, from the nature and frequency of vocabulary which invests the _Miles_ with a defensive role. I showed earlier that OE homilists and hagiographers exploited a 'defensive' vocabulary which was both extensive and well-developed. In contradistinction, this aspect of the image in the _Ormulum_ (and in other EME texts) has two outstanding characteristics: it is relatively undeveloped in the sense that very little emphasis is placed on this posture, and the frequency of 'defensive' vocabulary is thus small. Furthermore, such terminology indicative of a defensive stance is as applicable and appropriate to secular as to spiritual evocations of battle.

The two verbs with the meaning 'to defend' used by Orm are _shildenn_ [15] (11.3794, 3912, 11887) and _werenn_ (11.1406, 5305, 13329). Numerically, the small number of occurrences of these terms (in a work in which the theme of spiritual combat is constantly in evidence) is consistent with the view that this aspect of the theme was not congenial to Orm's overall scheme. Also, it is worth noting that, as far as the extant text allows one to judge, Orm relied equally on _werenn_ as on _shildenn_ to evoke this defensive stance. OE _scyldan_ is a term reserved almost exclusively for overtly spiritual contexts and is, thus, the product of conscious selection. In compatible EME texts, the term is seen to retain this function. From the _Cursor Mundi_:

[16]
> Seth was of his errand fain
> And sune com til his fader again.
> 'Sun', he said, 'has þou sped oght,
> Or has þou ani mercy broght?'
> 'Sir, Cherubin, þe hali angel

þat es yateward, þe gretes wel,
Sais it sal negh þe warlds end,
Ar þat oile þe may be send,
Thoro birth of a blisful child
þat sal fra ham þe werld schild.

From the _Ancrene Wisse_:

Þis scheld is i ȝeuen us aȝein alle
temptatiuns. as Ieremie witneð:
Dabis scutum cordis laborem tuum.
nawt ane þis scheld ne schilt us from
alle uueles: ah deð ȝet mare. cruneð
us in heouene. Scuto bone.uoluntatis.

(Tolkien, _Ancrene Wisse_, 199)

The homilist of the piece for _Dominica Tertia in Aduentu_ in Cambridge

MS B.14.52 prays on behalf of all men against the wiles of the devil:

crist us þarwið silde. and healde us
rihte bileue. and elch man þe hit
haueð. and geue hine þo þe hit naueð
nocht.

(Morris, _OE Homilies II_, 11)

The presence of _shildenn_ in the _Ormulum_ corresponds well with these

occurrences.   On the other hand, Orm's selection of _werenn_ in the

following phrases:

Acc þu mihht werenn þe fra þeȝȝm
Þurrh rihht læfe o criste

(11.1406-07)

Þa birrþ þe stanndenn þær onnȝæn
7 werenn cristess þewwess

(11.5304-05)

To stanndenn ȝæn þe laþe gast
To werenn hiss lammbre

(11.13328-329)

demonstrates his willingness to intrude into his evocation of spiritual

warfare terminology which is typical of secular military strife.

In addition to the habitual contexts in which OE <u>werian</u>, <u>bewerian</u>

are found, the following should be considered:

> Þis iherden suggen Androgeus. 7 he answerede þus:
> Whilen hit wes iseid. inne soð spelle.
> þat moni mon deð muchel vuel. al his vnðankes.
> Swa ich moht nu neode. for muchere neode.
> Þe mon þe-þoleð þat me hine wule for-don. þat ich telle
> vnwis-dom.
> þe while he mæi þurh æni cræft. i compe hine werien.
>
> (Brook & Leslie, <u>Brut</u>, 11.4128-33)

> Ofte heo letten grund-hat læd. gliden heom an heore
> hæfd.
> stockes 7 stanes. 7 strales hate.
> and swiðe wel heo wereden. þa walles of Rome.
>
> (Ibid., 11.2839-41)

> Arður isæh Colgrim. climben to munten.
> buȝen to þan hulle. þa ouer Baðen stondeð.
> 7 Badulf beh him after. mid seoue þusend cnihtes.
> heo þohten i þan hulle. hæhliche at-stonden.
> weorien heom mid wepnen. 7 Arð(ur) awæmmen.
>
> (Ibid., 11.10619-623)

> 17
> Ðonne bead man ealle witan to cynge.   7
> man þonne rædan scolde hu man þisne eard
> werian sceolde.
>
> (Earle & Plummer, <u>Saxon Chronicles</u>,
> sa 1010 E)

As with his selection of <u>fihhtenn</u> and <u>wæpenn</u>, therefore, Orm's

reliance on <u>werenn</u> to denote the concept of spiritual defence reprod-

uces the force of similar statements in representative and typical

secular analogues.

If, in the persistent and unqualified use of the terms <u>werenn</u>, <u>fihhtenn</u>

and <u>wæpenn</u>, Orm appears to have abandoned, consciously or otherwise,

the formal discriminatory procedures which guided OE homilists and

hagiographers, his retention of OE _scyldan_ in the form _shildenn_

probably reflects the influence of previously established compositional

practices.   The point is made more cogently through reference to the

first occurrence of _shildenn_ in this passage on the significance of

the angelic presence at the Nativity:

> Itt tacneþþ þatt he sonndeþþ hemm
> Inntill þiss þessterrnesse
> To frofrenn þa þatt wakenn wel
> Onnȝæness laþe ȝastess
> 7 stanndenn inn to shildenn hemm.

(11.3790-94)

where the close proximity of, and firm causal relationship between,

the terms _frofrenn_ and _shildenn_ reproduces exactly the force of verbal

association which, I have argued, is present in the make-up of the

word cluster in typical OE evocations of the image.   Furthermore,

on the analogy of the associative trends in OE writings, it is possible

(though not demonstrable) that Orm's placement of _frofrenn_ in certain

contexts was sufficiently provocative as to arouse notions inherent

in _shildenn_, as in:

> To frofrenn 7 to beldenn hemm
> To stanndenn ȝæn þe defell

(Dedication, 11.237-38)

> To beldenn 7 to frofrenn þe
> ....
> ....
> Acc whas itt iss þatt wæpnedd iss
> Wiþþ fulle trowwþe o criste

(11.669-78)

In addition, these extracts reveal the presence of the collocation

To frofrenn 7 to beldenn which re-appears, either in infinitive or

in conjugated forms, in 11.662, 1780, 2746-47, 3345 and 3818.   The

qualities of comfort and encouragement are said to come either from

God or from his angels; the form, context and partial repetition

in the phrase immediately calls to mind the OE collocation of <u>frofer 7</u>

<u>fultum</u>, to which Orm's phrase seems to correspond closely. As with[18]

<u>frofer 7 fultum</u>, Orm's <u>To frofrenn 7 to beldenn</u> is not integral to the

verbal evocation of spiritual combat, although it can, as in the

examples given above, add force to such statements.   In 11.669-78,

the close association of <u>beldenn</u> and <u>wæpnedd</u> may be said to intrude

notions ordinarily associated with physical fighting into the reception

of the image.   Orm's passage compares favourably with this extract

from the <u>Brut</u>:

> ah Androgeus. ær awoc. 7 ut of wude wende.
> 7 al þat folc þe he lædde. lude hit grædde.
> bleowen here bemen. belden heore beornes.
> 7 heom toward wenden. on euere-elchen ende.
> Þis iherde þe king. Cassibelaune.
> iherde he þene mucelne dræm. 7 þene dune muchelne.
> he seide forð-rihtes. Wepneð eow cnihtes.

> (Brook & Leslie, <u>Brut</u>, 11.4305-11)

which itself seeks to revivify the ethos upheld by these words of

Offa at the battle of Maldon:[19]

> Nu ure þeoden lið
> eorl on eorðan, us is eallum þearf
> þæt ure æghwylc oþerne bylde
> wigan to wige, þa hwile þe he wæpn mæge
> habban 7 healdan.

> (Gordon, <u>Battle of Maldon</u>, 11.232b-36a)

The force of the coupling of <u>frofrenn</u> with <u>beldenn</u> in the <u>Ormulum</u> can

also be gauged by observing that the latter term is occasionally

paired with <u>strenngenn</u>; when the resulting word pair is inserted into

an evocation of spiritual struggle, the interaction of terminology

produces a typically aggressive statement.   Consider:

> Forr þild birrþ ben wiþþ iwhillc mahht
> To beldenn itt 7 strenngenn,
> Swa þatt itt muȝhe ben till uss
> God wæpenn ȝæn þe defell.

<div align="right">(ll.2613-16)</div>

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

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

> 7 ȝho wass full of strenncþe 7 mahht
> To stanndenn ȝæn þe defell;
> Forr ȝho tradd defell unnderrfot.

<div align="right">(ll.2559-61)</div>

> Forr þær iss sett an oþerr ferrs
> Þatt spekeþþ off þe defell,
> Þatt godess þewwess ȝan onn himm
> 7 tredenn himm wiþþ fote,
> Þurrh þatt teȝȝ stanndenn stallwurrþliȝ
> ȝæn all þe defless wille.

<div align="right">(ll.11943-948)</div>

7 þurrh þatt tatt te laferrd crist
Wiþþstod onnȝæn hiss wille,
Swa þatt he nollde makenn bræd,
Swa summ he badd - off staness,
Þærþurrh þe laferrd oferrcomm
7 oferrtradd te defell.

(11.12488-493)

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

Generally speaking, therefore, it can be said that the defensive
posture of those engaged in spiritual warfare in the Ormulum is little
stressed;   where such postures are evoked, furthermore, the particular
verbal synthesis employed tends to undermine the defensive stance by
throwing the weight of attention onto the potential or actual retalia-
tion through which victory must be achieved.   In terms of the lexical
identity conferred on the Miles Christi, this procedure results pre-
dominantly in the realization of the literal, secular bases of the
metaphor.

7.3   The Aggressive Stance of the _Miles Christi_

Sufficient prominence has now been given to the detail of the treading

down of enemies to show that its assimilation in the metaphor of

spiritual struggle significantly modifies the traditional emphasis by

proposing that spiritual victory comes about through the matching of

force with force, by entering into conflict as keenly as devilish

enemies.   Other aspects of Orm's chosen word cluster support this

changed emphasis, such as the unqualified use of _fihhtenn_ and _wæpenn_.

In this section, I want to identify other compatible components in

the 'lexical sphere' and to show how and with what effect they operate.

Winnenn is a commonly employed verb in the _Ormulum_; very often, it

carries the sense of 'to gain, to get possession of', as in the phrases

To winnenn heffness blisse, _To winnenn cristess are_, which abound in

contexts in which spiritual struggle is not evoked and in which, there-

fore, _winnenn_ cannot be said to have been used with the intention of

exploiting the term's natural secular appropriation.

At the same time, however, the secular, military nuances of _winnen_ were

appropriated by Orm and made to interact with and extend the force of

other compatible terms.   In the following extracts, _winnenn_ has the

sense of 'to get by fighting, to win dominance over'.   John the Baptist

was:

> þe firrste mann
> Þatt brohhte word onn erþe,
> Þatt mannkinn shollde newenn ben
> Utlesedd fra þe defell,
> 7 winnenn heffness kinedom
> Þurrh clene lifess wæpenn.

(11.797-802)

Þuss cunneþþ he to wundenn uss
Þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn,
7 tuss he wile winnenn uss
Till himm wiþþ swillke wæpenn,
All alls he wann eve 7 adam
I paradisess riche;
7 all swa wollde winnenn crist
Þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn,
All alls he wann eve 7 adam
ȝiff þatt he mihhte spedenn.
7 her icc wile shæwenn ȝuw
Whatt ḡate he wann hemm baþe,
Whatt ḡate he wann eve 7 adam
Þurrh þise þrinne wæpenn,
7 ec hu crist himm oferrcomm
Wiþþ all þatt illke wæpenn.

(11.12308-323)

Essentially in these passages, it is the firm causal link established

between winnenn and wæpenn which shapes the semantic range of the verb.

Through its interaction with other terms, this semantic range of winnenn

is more firmly delineated.   Consider this passage from the exposition

of the prayers in the Pater Noster:

Þe sexte bĕde þatt mann bitt
Uppo þe paterr nossterr
Þatt iss, þatt ḡodd ne þole nohht
Ne þafe laþe ḡastess
To winnenn oferrhannd off uss
Þurrh here laþe wiless;
Forr whase winneþþ oferrhannd
7 siȝe off laþe ḡastess
He shall ben crunedd þurrh drihhtin
Inn eche lifess blisse.

(11.5454-63)

In this case, it is the pointed repetition of oferrhannd and the

pairing of oferrhannd and siȝe which help shape the particular emphasis

imparted by the use of winnenn and which together characterize the

spiritual victory as one which is actively fought for and achieved.

The point is underlined by other contexts in which the distinctive

pairing of oferrhannd and siȝe is integrated into statement of spiritual

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overcoming. Christ submitted to temptation, it is said:

> Forr þatt he wollde shæwenn swa
> All mannkinn þurrh hiss bisne
> Hu cristess hird – cristenne follc
> Birrþ fihhtenn ȝæn þe defell,
> To winnenn siȝe 7 oferrhannd
> Off himm þurrh cristess hellpe.

(ll.11417-422)

The spiritual lesson for mankind is clear:

> 7 aȝȝ uss birrde ben forrlisst
> Affterr þe blisse off heffne,
> 7 æfre fihhtenn ȝæn þe flæsh
> 7 ȝæn þe flæshess lusstess.
> Þa mihhte we þe laþe ȝast
> Wiþþstanndenn 7 wiþþseggenn,
> 7 winnenn siȝe 7 oferrhannd
> Off himm wiþþ cristess hellpe.

(ll.11475-482)

In this last extract, Orm's method corresponds closely to that adopted
by OE writers since the paradox which is presented is that of gaining
victory through standing firm.[21]   Yet, at the same time, the cumulative
effect of the chosen terms creates a statement in every way commensurate
with conventional battle description.   In addition to the presence of
winnenn, _siȝe_ and _fihhtenn_, the semantic force of _oferrhannd_ should
not be passed over.   EME _oferrhannd_ is a Scandinavian loan-word, and
like many other terms in this category, it relates to the activities
of warfare.[22]   Other instances of the term in EME writings are rare;
the two that I have been able to locate appear in contexts descriptive
of secular warfare.   First, from the _Brut_:

> 7 heo to-gadere comen. vppen ane watere.
> þat water hatte Stoure. þat feiht was swiðe sturne.
> inne Deorsete. Locrin deað þolede.
> on arwe him com to heorte. þat he adun halde.
> þer he wes feie. 7 muchel of his ferde.

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7 þa quike men at-flowen. 7 muchel fleam makeden.
Guendoleine hæfde þa vfere hond. 7 iahnede hire
al þis lond.

(Brook & Leslie, _Brut_, 11.1236-42)

From the later _Chronicle_ of Robert of Gloucester comes this assessment

of earl Cole's fighting prowess:

23
Þer wex a gret worre. & þat hii smite bataile.
& þe erl cole slou þen king. & þo he adde þun ouer hond.
King he let him crouni. here of þis lond.

The only other occurrence of the doublet _oferrhannd 7 siȝe_ in the

Ormulum appears in this explanation of the name of Nicodemus:

7 ec forrþi þatt nicodem
Onn ennglissh spæche tacneþþ
Þatt lede þatt iss siȝȝefasst,
He wass forr to bitacnenn
Þatt lott off issraæle þed
Þatt turrnedd wass till criste
Þurrh fulluhht 7 þurrh crisstennndom,
7 þurrh þe rihhte læfe,
7 all forrwarrp 7 oferrcomm
Þurrh oferrhannd 7 siȝe
All werelldshipess lufe 7 lusst
7 all erþlike sellþe.

(11.16956-967)

As with _winnenn_, _fihhtenn_, _wiþþstanndenn_, the word pair is also given

a firm causal link with _oferrcumenn_, and is thus seen to be an

important component in Orm's adopted lexical sphere.

The marked tendency in the _Ormulum_ to reproduce, in statements of

spiritual overcoming, a wide range of vocabulary found to be equally

congenial to straightforward accounts of secular strife is further

underlined by the verbal ingredients in one passage in which _fihhtenn_

and _oferrcumenn_ interact. It comes from the homily on the Temptation:

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Þatt godess enngless nærenn nohht
Abutenn ure laferrd
Inn all þatt time þatt he wass
Inn orresst ȝæn þe defell,
Þatt wass, all alls hiss wille wass,
Forr þatt he wollde shæwenn,
Þatt himm nass rihht nan ned till himm
To fihhtenn ȝæn þe defell,
Forr þatt he mihhte himm sellf inoh
Wiþþutenn enngless hellpe
All þwerrt ut oferrcumenn himm

<p align="center">(11.12536-547)</p>

The presence of <u>orresst</u> to describe the contest between Christ and

the devil calls for some comment.   Like <u>oferrhannd</u>, <u>orresst</u> is a

Scandinavian loan-word, and is similarly a part of the imported word

store which relates to warfare.[24]   Stratmann's <u>Middle English Dictionary</u>

and the OED cite only two occurrences of the term; this is one, and

the other, from the <u>Peterborough Chronicle</u>, appears in this passage:

And on Octabas Epyphanie wæs se cyng
7 ealle his witan on Searbyrig. þær
beteah Gosfrei Bainard Willelm of Ou,
þes cynges mæg, þet he heafde
gebeon on þes cynges swicdome, 7 hit
him on gefeaht 7 hine on orreste ofercom.

<p align="center">(Clark, <u>Peterborough Chronicle</u>, sa 1096)</p>

In a note, the editor draws attention to the annalist's use of <u>orreste</u>

and interprets it as a reference to a 'judicial duel'.   (Ibid., p.83).

The legalistic sense which the term evidently possessed may account,

in part, for the paucity of occurrences.   On the other hand, it should

not obscure the fact that what is being referred to is supervised hand

to hand fighting.   Clark cites Doris Stenton's <u>English Justice</u>[25] as

authority for maintaining that trial by battle was a Norman innovation,

and Stenton, in turn, refers to this extract from the laws promulgated

by William I:

Decretum est etiam ibi, ut, si Francigena
appellauerit Anglum de periurio aut
mordro furto homicidio, rán, quod Angli
dicunt apertam rapinam, que negari non
potest, Anglus se defendat per quod melius
uoluerit aut iudicio ferri aut duello

(Liebermann, Gesetze, I.487)

The inference to be drawn from these extracts is that EME orreste

adequately covers the meaning intended by Latin duellum.   But orreste

was not the only term deemed appropriate for such a translation.

Two glosses in BL MS Cotton Tiberius A iii, of eleventh century date,

give gefeohtes as a translation for duelli (Wright & Wulcker,

Vocabularies, I.388, 532).   The reliability of such lexical choice

is supported, furthermore, by the form in which the statement in the

Chronicle is made: 7 hit him on gefeaht 7 hine on orreste ofercom.

It consists of two clauses almost identical in syntax which leads to

the inference that the phrases on gefeaht and on orreste are, if not

synonymous, at least complementary, and that the intended sense of
26
orreste is determined in large measure by that provided by gefeaht.

It should also be noted that the collocation of terms gefeaht, orreste

and ofercom in the Chronicle account of trial by battle is reproduced

exactly by Orm in his assessment of Christ's victory over the devil at

the Temptation (orresst, 1.12539, To fihhtenn, 1.12543, oferrcumenn,

1.12546).. In terms of the language which Orm has chosen, therefore,

it is the secular analogue of fighting with weapons at close quarters
27
which is invoked in the assessment of spiritual overcoming.

Finally, I want to draw attention to some usages of cwellenn (OE cwellan),

'to kill, destroy' in the Ormulum, to show its occasional assimilation

into the metaphor of spiritual overcoming, and to assess its function

therein.   OE cwellan and EME cwollen, acw(qu)ellen are terms of very

frequent occurrence which are invariably used to state that a person

has been put to death or has, in some other way, lost his life.   The

suitability of the term to describe events which take place on the
28
battlefield can be inferred from its many occurrences in the <u>Brut</u>.

Among them figure:

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

> (Brook & Leslie, <u>Brut</u>, 11.489-90).

> Ne nomen heo nonne cniht quic. ah alle heo heom aqualden.
> for nauede Belin nan cnihté. þet he næs þere god kimppe.
> ne neauere nenne herd-swein. þat he ne fahte alse þein.
> ne næuer nænne hird-cnaue. þat he nas wod on his laȝe.
> Þat faht bi-gon at mid-niht...

> (Ibid., 11.2822-26)

The <u>Peterborough Chronicle</u> annalist uses it on one occasion to describe

the effects of a natural disaster:

> 7 swa mycel ungelimp on wæderunge swa
> man naht æðelice geþencean ne mæg -
> swa stor þunring 7 lægt wes swa þet hit
> acwealde manige men.

> (Clark, <u>Peterborough Chronicle</u>, sa, 1085)

Orm uses the term most often when speaking of Herod's intention to
29
kill the child Jesus, and of Christ's death on the cross.   In these

and other occurrences from contemporary EME texts, the term is restricted

to statements of the taking of human life.   Even in the case of the

Crucifixion, it is the death of Christ as man which is alluded to, as

this explanation from the <u>Ormulum</u> makes clear:

> Mann mihhte himm fon 7 pinenn
> Wiþþ hat 7 kald, wiþþ nesshe 7 harrd,
> Wiþþ pine off þrisst 7 hunngerr,
> 7 cwellenn himm mann mihhte wel
> Inn ure mennisscnesse.

> (11.3733-37)

The inapplicability of the concept denoted by cwellenn to spiritual

beings is immediately stated in plain terms by Orm:

> ...mann ne ma33 nohht enngell sen
> Ne takenn himm ne bindenn,
> Ne pinenn himm, ne cwellen himm,
> Forr he ne de3eþþ næfre.

$$(11.3740-43)$$

It is therefore interesting to observe that cwellenn is incorporated

by Orm on occasions into contexts dealing with spiritual overcoming

and with spiritual death. In other words, the term is given an

arresting metaphorical function, as in these verses taken from Orm's

exposition of the ninth commandment:

> Þe ni3hennde wass sett þurrh godd
> Acc all forr þine nede,
> Þatt tu nan oþerr mannes wif
> Ne 3erne nohht to neh3henn
> Wiþþ unnclænnessess fule lusst,
> To filenn swa 3unnc baþe;
> Forr baþe gilltenn grimmeli3,
> 3iff itt 3unnc baþe likeþþ,
> 7 baþe shædenn swa fra godd,
> 7 cwellenn 3unnkerr sawless.

$$(11.4488-97)$$

Again, the exploitation of the basic meaning of cwellenn is similarly

evidenced by another reference to spiritual life and death:

> 7 3iff þatt tu þin flæshess will
> 7 hire fule lusstess
> Wiþþstanndesst þurrhutlike wel
> 7 cwennkesst wel 7 cwellesst,
> Þa slast tu swa þin a3henn flæsh
> 7 hire fule wille.

$$(11.6748-53)$$

in which the presence of wiþþstanndesst and cwennkesst (occasionally

coupled with the phrase tredenn dun) [30] effectively call to mind other,

more regularly used terms in evocations of spiritual combat.

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

> Þatt name wass sett þurrh godd,
> Forr þatt he shollde fihhtenn
> Onnȝæn an drake 7 cwellenn himm
> Þurrh hefennlike mahhte;
> 7 tatt wass don forr þatt itt uss
> Full wel bitacnenn shollde,
> Þatt godess sune shollde wel
> Þe defell oferrswifenn.

> (11.1841-48)

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

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

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

The defeat of the dragon is thus the first defeat of Satan and is
typologically linked to the Temptation, Crucifixion and Harrowing of
Hell, the three principal occasions on which Christ in his lifetime
was victorious over the devil. The encounter as presented in the
Ormulum is therefore a spiritual contest - the antagonists are spiritual

beings.   The intrusion of _cwellenn_ into this context serves once

again to modify the traditionally accepted nature of spiritual war-

fare by making a substantial appeal, through the selection of

appropriate terminology, to a secular, physical analogue.[31]

Thus, the trends inherent in Orm's disposition of vocabulary redolent

of defence are fully realized in the more sustained emphasis on the

vigorous retaliatory role of the _Miles Christi_.   Both through the

consistent selection of individual terms (many of which are evidenced

in compatible OE texts) and in the patterns of interaction established

for the range of terminology as a whole, the dominant metaphoric mode

is revealed as one which tends to realize, rather than subvert, the

potential of the secular model.

7.4   OE _Oferswiþan_ and EME _Ofercumen_

The trends established so far for Orm's lexical choices in the present-

ation of the _Miles Christi_ figure, and the modifications with which

the figure is thus invested, are fully endorsed by a study of the small

number of verbs denoting overcoming in the _Ormulum_ and in other EME

writings.   It is as well to recall here the conclusions deduced from

the discussion of OE verbs denoting overcoming in chapter four.   Of

the numerous verbs which could be said to express adequately the con-

cept of overcoming, it is _oferswiþan_ which is most consistently

selected to fulfil that function in spiritual contexts.   Several other

terms, notably _ofercuman_, _oferwinnan_ and _oferdrifan_ were evidently

580

deemed appropriate in these contexts, yet were passed over, consistently, in favour of oferswiþan. The primacy of oferswiþan was accounted for in terms of its effectiveness in that, of all the terms chosen in any given evocation of spiritual warfare, it alone was possessed of the precise semantic range with which to reveal the nature of spiritual overcoming. In short, it is because the concept conveyed by oferswiþan was so inappropriate to military contexts that it commanded such a central place in conventional verbal synthesis.

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

There is an observable process of substitution of ofercumen for oferswiþan, evidenced mainly by twelfth century copies of OE texts. On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to say that oferswiþan is no longer deemed appropriate in evocations of spiritual warfare after about 1150,[32] and that the rejection of the term was effected by lexical discrimination which has an importance for the assessment of

the function of <u>ofercumen</u> in EME religious writings.

In representative OE texts, it has been shown that <u>oferswiþan</u> and

<u>ofercuman</u> occasionally fulfil the same function in contexts of spiritual

combat.[33] Other instances can bo adduced. In the late ninth century

translation of Gregory's <u>Cura Pastoralis</u>, Latin <u>dominatur</u>, quoted

from <u>Proverbia</u> XVI.32, is translated by the word pair <u>ofercymð 7 gewylt</u>

(OE <u>Cura Pastoralis</u>, 218); at the same time, it is instructive to ·

recall that Latin <u>dominabuntur</u> of Ps.48.15 is glossed by OE <u>oferswiþæð</u>

in the <u>Salisbury Psalter</u> gloss, dated roughly to 1100. The close

proximity of meaning of the two terms is likewise highlighted by this

extract from <u>Vercelli Homily XV</u> which deals with the apocryphal battle

between angels and devils immediately prior to the Last Judgement:

> 7 þonne ða englas ofor-swiðað ða
> werigdan gastas 7 hie þonne mid
> ealle ofer-cumað.

> (Förster, <u>Codex</u>, 125)

where the homilist's source (as printed by Förster) furnishes no

strictly compatible phrase. The several English translations of the

<u>Evangelium Nicodemi</u> are, again, equally instructive. Christ's Harrow-

ing of Hell forces the devils to recognize their impotence, announced

by them with the words <u>Victi sumus a te</u> (Vaillant, <u>Évangile de Nicodème</u>,

69). The late eleventh century OE translation in Cambridge MS Univ.

Lib. Ii.ii.11 responds with: <u>Wo syndon fram þe oferswyðde</u> (Hulme, OE

<u>Gospel of Nicodemus</u>, 504); the text in BL MS Cotton Vitellius A xv

is a twelfth century copy of the Cambridge text, or of one similar to

it, and the corresponding passage reads: <u>We sindon fram þe oferswiðde</u>

(Ibid., 505). Comparison with the independent version in the early

twelfth century BL MS Cotton Vespasian D xiv reveals a significant

addition. Latin <u>Victi sumus a te</u> is there translated by <u>nu we synden</u>

<u>ealle oferswiðene and ofercumene.</u> (Warner, <u>Homilies</u>, 86).

The trend displayed here is fully realized in other instances of

twelfth century lexical choice. Ælfric's homily on <u>Ioan</u>. XVI.16-22,

preserved in Cambridge MS Trinity B 15.34 offers instruction on the

institution of the Church as the Bride of Christ, and states its

efficacy in suppressing sin in this passage:

> ....heo æfre sceal winnan wið ða unþeawas
> and wið ða heafodleahtras her on þissum life.
> Ac þonne heo oferwinð þa gewitendlican geswinc
> and þa leahtras ofercymð þurh Cristes sylfes fultum,
> þonne ne gemunð heo hire modes biternysse,
> gif heo þa gastlican cild gode acennan mæg.
>
> (Assmann, <u>Homilies</u>, 76-77)

<u>Oferwinð</u>, in the phrase <u>þonne heo oferwinð</u>, is the term Ælfric originally

selected; Assmann's apparatus shows, however, that the element <u>-winð</u>

had been partially erased by a twelfth or thirteenth century reviser

and replaced by <u>-cumað</u>.
                   34
Like <u>oferswiþan</u>, <u>oferwinnan</u> was often selected

by OE writers to denote the concept of spiritual overcoming and, as

with <u>oferswiþan</u>, it has here been rejected by the later reviser and

replaced by <u>ofercumað</u>.

The best evidence for the substitution of <u>ofercumen</u> for <u>oferswiþan</u> is

found in another Ælfrician piece. The <u>Sermo de Memoria Sanctorum</u>

(Skeat, <u>LSS</u> I.336-62) is extant in three MSS: Cotton Julius E vii,

of the eleventh century, which Skeat used as the basis of his edition

of the <u>Lives of Saints</u>; Cambridge MS CCC 303, of early twelfth century

date, and Cambridge MS Univ. Lib. Ii.i.33, of slightly later date.

Part of the text printed by Skeat (11.267-381) is incorporated into a

composite piece entitled <u>De Octo Vitiis et de Duodecim Abusivis Gradus</u>

in Cambridge MS CCC 178 of the early eleventh century. This text is

printed by Morris, OE Homilies, Appendix II.   Among the later copies

of this piece, the most interesting appears in Lambeth Palace MS 487,

written in the late twelfth century.   It is clear both from the com-

posite nature of the homily and from the fact that the Lambeth version

is virtually identical to the homily in MS COCC 178, that the Lambeth

scribe had access to an already complete compilation such as is found

in MS CCCC 178.

The early stage of construction of this piece is found in this Cambridge

MS where the Ælfrician borrowings are transcribed without omission,

addition or modification.   The extracted portion of Sermo de Memoria

Sanctorum deals with the eight deadly sins and how they can be suppressed.

The Ælfrician statements I want to draw attention to are these:

Nu syndon eahta heafod-mægnu. Ða magan ofer-swiðan
þas fore-sædan deoflu.

<div align="right">(Skeat, ISS I.358
11.312-13).</div>

þonne mæg he oferswiðan swa ða gyfernysse	(Ibid., 1.320)
þonne bið ofer-swyðed swa eac seo galnyss	(Ibid., 1.325)
we sceolan mid geðylde oferswyðan þæt yrre	(Ibid., 1.344)

<div align="center">þonne bið seo unrotnyss
mid ealle ofer-swyðed mid urum geðylde</div>

<div align="right">(Ibid., 11.354-55)</div>

ðonne mage we ofer-swyðan þa asolcennysse
<div align="right">swa   (Ibid., 1.359)</div>

Nu ge habbað gehyred. hu þas halgan mægnu
oferswyðaþ ða leahtras. þe deofol besæwð 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.

<div align="right">(Ibid., 11.375-79)</div>

In the Lambeth homily, the corresponding statements appear as follows:

Nu beoð. viii. heafod mihtan. þe maȝen
ouercumen alle þas sunnan þurh drihtnes   (Morris, OE Homilies I,
fultum.   103.36-105.2)

þenne mei he ouercuman swa þa ȝiue(r)nesse.   (Ibid., 105.6-7)

þenne bið ouercumen swa ec þa fule galnesse   (Ibid., 105.10-11)

and we sculen mid iþulde ouercuman þa wreððe   (Ibid., 105.25-26)

þenne bið þa ufele sarinesse mid alle ouer-
cuman mid ure gode iþulde.   (Ibid., 105.35-36)

þenne maȝe we swa ouercumen þa slauðe.   (Ibid., 107.2)

nu ȝe habbeð iherd hu þes halie mihten
ouercumað þa sunnan deouel bisaweð
on us. and ȝif we nelleð heom ouercuman.
hi bisencheð us on helle. [W]e maȝen þurh
godes fulste þa fondliche sunnan mid
icompe ouercuman. ȝif we kenliche fehtað.   (Ibid., 107.16-20)

It is clear, then, that on eight occasions on which the Lambeth scribe

met with oferswiþan, he substituted ouercumen; he also rejected ofer-

winnan in favour of ouercumen. This lengthy and consistent insight

into late twelfth century lexical practice wholly endorses the trend
                                        35
displayed in the texts discussed earlier. The very close correspondence

between the OE terms oferswiþan and ofercuman, together with the dis-

appearance of oferswiþan in EME writings and its attendant replacement

by ouercumen may be said to be indicative of a process of semantic

transfer in which the precise semantic range and effectiveness generated

by oferswiþan was successfully adopted by OE ofercuman and thereafter

perpetuated by EME ouercumen. Such a suggestion would be tenable if

it were demonstrable that EME ouercumen was as rigorously reserved

for contexts of spiritual overcoming as OE oferswiþan (and, for the

most part, OE ofercuman) had been. In fact, precisely the opposite

condition pertains. While EME ouercumen is virtually the only verb

consistently selected to express the concept of spiritual overcoming,

it is equally widespread in, and therefore typical of, contemporary

conventional battle description.

In common with the <u>Ormulum</u>, the following texts display the appropriat-
ion of <u>ouercumen</u> to denote spiritual victory:

<u>Saint Katherine</u>,   11. 132, 418, 560, 803, 959, 967, 1125, 1231.

<u>Seinte Marharete</u>,   2.7; 4.4; 16.19; 22.30; 26.18; 30.19;
                          32.28, 30; 36.12.

<u>Seinte Iuliene</u>,   1.525.

<u>Genesis & Exodus</u>, 1.2108.

<u>Ancrene Wisse</u>,   101, 102, 191, 199, 202.

Belfour, <u>Homilies</u>, 102.

Morris, <u>OE Homilies II</u>,   193.

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

<u>Brut</u>,   11.   2761, 5626, 5854, 6368, 8220, 13629, etc.

<u>Saint Katherine</u>,   1.15.

Earle & Plummer, <u>Saxon Chronicles</u> sa. 448 (F).

Clark, <u>Peterborough Chronicle</u>, sa. 1070, 1096.

<u>Owl & Nightingale</u>, 1.1198.

On the basis of this evidence, it must be said that EME <u>ouercumen</u>
acquired a much wider range of meaning than its OE antecedent possessed;
its selection for statements of spiritual overcoming cannot, therefore,
be based on considerations which previously had determined the primacy
of <u>oferswiþan</u> in OE writings.   As with many other elements of Orm's
chosen 'lexical sphere', <u>oferrcumenn</u> has two outstanding character-
istics: it is consistently appropriated for statements of spiritual
overcoming and, in contemporary historical and pseudo-historical

writings, it has a prominent place in descriptions of straightforward
military victory. In the selection of individual terms and in their
collective interaction within the articulated lexical sphere, the
lexical identity of Orm's _Milites Christi_ is greatly influenced by
that of their secular counterparts, in a way studiously avoided by OE
writers.

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

On the other hand, some consideration should be given to the suggestion
that _oferswiþan_ was intentionally discarded because it was recognized
to be wholly inappropriate to EME writers in their presentation of the
theme of spiritual warfare. OE _oferswiþan_, though a very common term,
possessed a distinctive and highly specialized meaning. It was con-
sidered to be effective in the established OE conception of spiritual
warfare because it actively repudiated the controlled martial analogies
generated by other frequently employed terms in the chosen word cluster.
OE _oferswiþan_, it may fairly be said, had the capacity (as no other

verb had) of encapsulating neatly the range of nuance conveyed by
phrases of the type: mid gastlican wæpnum, þæs byrnan ryhtwisnysses.
In short, it brought to realization the potential meaning of the
formal qualification imposed on terms possessing natural martial
associations.   OE oferswiþan was, then, wholly appropriate to, and
compatible with, the tendency expressed by other terms and phrases
conventionally invoked in descriptions of spiritual combat.   For
precisely this reason, therefore, it must be assumed to have been
equally inappropriate to a word cluster made up predominantly of
markedly unqualified terms like fihhtenn, wæpenn, winnen, siȝe, oferr-
hannd and tredenn dun.   The tendency expressed by these terms corres-
ponds firmly with notions inherent in secular martial activity, and
thus demanded a complementary verb denoting overcoming.   Oferswiþan
could not have been that verb, and these considerations may, partially
at least, have a bearing on the absence of the term from EME literary
language.

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

> Forr michaæl bitacneþþ uss,
> Affterr þatt icc_maȝȝ seggenn,
> Whillc iss wiþþ godd all efennlic
> Onn alle kinne mahhte,
> Niss nani þing þatt muȝhe ben
> Wiþþ godd off efenn mahhte;
> Þatt name wass himm sett þurrh godd,
> Forr þatt he shollde fihhtenn
> Onnȝæn an drake 7 cwellenn himm
> Þurrh hefennlike mahhte,

7 tatt wass don forr þatt itt uss
Full wel bitacnenn shollde
Þatt godess sune shollde wel
Þe defell oferrswifenn.

<div align="center">(11.1835-48)</div>

A similar significance is attached to Gabriel's name:

7 gabriæl bitacneþþ uss
Onn ennglissh - godess strenncþe,
7 swa wass he nemmnedd þurrh godd,
Forr þatt itt tacnenn shollde,
Þatt himm wass sett þurrh drihhtin godd
To kiþenn 7 to shæwenn
Till zacariȝe godess prest,
7 ec till sannte marȝe,
Þatt godess sune iesu crist,
Þurrh goddcunnde strenncþe,
Uss shollde inn ure mennisscleȝȝc
Þe defell oferrswifenn.

<div align="center">(11.1873-84)</div>

The passages highlight the verb _oferrswifenn_ in statements announcing

the defeat of the devil. The term is otherwise unrecorded.

White-Holt gloss the term 'to overpower, to subdue', on the partial

analogy of MHG _sveiban_, ON _svofja_ and Frankish _suueibon obn_. OED,

on the other hand, derives the term from the conjunction of the inten-

sifying prefix _ofer-_ with OE _swifan_, 'to resolve, to sweep, wend:

intervene', cognate with ON _svifa_. The contexts clearly demand that

the term should possess the meaning 'to overcome, to overpower', as

suggested both by White-Holt and by OED. Of the cognates, ON _svifa_

and OE _swifan_ seem most appropriate both in orthographic form and

potential suitability to meaning, yet only with difficulty does the

conjunction of the prefix _ofer-_ with either ON _svifa_ or OE _swifan_

produce a term possessed of the meaning the contexts demand. If

Orm's _oferrswifenn_ is a coining based on the application of _ofer-_

to _swifan_ / _svifa_, the meaning 'to overcome, to overpower', could only

be deduced from it by a purely metaphoric interpretation which is, for the most part, highly uncharacteristic of Orm's compositional method. In general, he selects vocabulary for the evocation of spiritual combat which possesses both visual and violent appeal.

In terms of both form and context, oferrswifenn corresponds most obviously with OE oferswiþan, yet I have come across no evidence which would account for the distinctive orthographic change from þ to f.[36] Orm's particular interest in orthography and phonology would make unlikely an error of this kind, as the exact repetition of the word in 1.1884 in any case suggests.

The terms appear in the earliest composed portion of the text. They are used in the same context to denote the same concept and are thereafter abandoned by Orm. They represent, moreover, the first occasion in the work when a verb evocative of spiritual overcoming was required. It is thus plausible to assert that the term was not congenial to Orm's strategy and that it was replaced thereafter by oferrcumenn.[37] Latin source material from which Orm may well have derived these onomastic interpretations is of no help in gauging his intentions with respect to the use of the term.[38] The only other plausible explanation I can offer is that Orm, on the first occasion on which he wished to make a statement of spiritual overcoming, resorted to a term which he knew to have been automatically associated with concept previously, and, in reproducing it, spelt it incorrectly.

This speculation has severe shortcomings, and I would not wish to press the interpretation any further on the basis of the available evidence. Yet there seem to be good reasons both for doubting the accuracy of the proposed OE and ON cognates in the construction of oferrswifenn and for

supposing there to be a firm connection between OE _oferswiþan_ and

oferrswifenn. If Orm's term is indeed derived from _oferswiþan_, its

firm rejection by Orm after l.1884 can only add weight to the generally

proposed argument that the OE verb was consciously discarded by EME

writers because it evoked associations which were incompatible with

the general tenor of the theme of spiritual combat in their writings.

In this chapter, I have tried to apply the same critical criteria to

Orm's habitual lexical choices in the presentation of spiritual war-

fare as those adopted for the OE material. In common with other EME

writers, Orm exploits language which is equally suited to forthright

secular description as to spiritual evocation, and in this respect, his

performance differs markedly from that evidenced by OE writers.

Whereas these latter either avoided vocabulary redolent of physical

strife or imposed firm and immediate qualification in their sparing

use of such terms Orm, together with other EME writers, cannot be said

to have adopted or evolved for himself a specialized range of termin-

ology particularly suited to the theme. Both in the selection of

individual terms, in their identifiable range, and in their interaction,

Orm's chosen lexical sphere corresponds closely to that deemed appropriate

by Chronical writers for descriptions of military strife and is, further-

more, consistently denied any qualificatory terminology. There is,

thus, a resultant shift in the metaphorical workings of the image;

whereas the lexical identity of the _Miles Christi_ in OE writings was

consciously distanced from his secular counterpart, in the _Ormulum_ the

trend is reversed. Without the controlling influence of general con-

text, and above all of genre, the spiritual warrior, in the _Ormulum_ is

virtually indistinguishable from the secular fighting man.

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

2.   The text in _Acta Sanctorum_ has _compunxi_ for _feci_.   Cynewulf, it will be remembered, used _se compa_ (_Juliana_, 290b) in precisely the same context in his life.

3.   With reference to Hans Kurath & Sherman M. Kuhn, eds., _Middle English Dictionary_ (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1954-   ), the trend is illustrated in: Clark, _Peterborough Chronicle_, sa. 1124;   Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., _Vices and Virtues_, 2 vols., EETS OS 89, 159 (London: Trübner, 1888-1921), I.127, 17f;   Olof S. Arngart, ed., _The Proverbs of Alfred_, Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl.   Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 2 vols., (Lund:C.W.K. Gloerup, 1942-55), ll. 6, 76, 83, 93; Eric G. Stanley, ed., _The Owl and the Nightingale_ (London:Nelson, 1960), ll. 768, 1087, 1093, 1100, 1575;   George L. Brook & Roy F. Leslie, eds., _Laȝamon:Brut_, 2 vols., EETS 250, 277 (London:Oxford University Press, 1963-78), ll. 185, 6047, 8988, 12625. 12627, etc.;   this edition is hereafter referred to as Brook & Leslie, _Brut_, followed by line numbers.   I have also made use of the earlier edition of Frederic Madden, _Laȝamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain_, 3 vols., (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1847).   Kenneth Sisam, rev., _The Lay of Havelok the Dane, edited from MS Laud Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat_, 2nd edition (Oxford:Clarendon, 1915), ll. 32, 108, 343, 345, etc.

4.   Eugen Einenkel, ed., _The Life of Saint Katherine_, EETS OS 80 (London:Trübner, 1884), ll. 1432-36;   hereafter referred to as Einenkel, _Saint Katherine_, followed by line numbers.

5.   Carl Horstmann, ed., <u>The Early South English Legendary</u>, EETS OS 87 (London:Trübner, 1887), p.482, 11. 53-56.

6.   Other examples of the application of <u>kempe</u> to spiritual warriors are: Mack, <u>Seinte Marharete</u>, 2, 5-9; 22, 30-31; 26, 17-18; 42, 28-30; A.F. Colborn, ed., <u>Hali Meiðhad</u> (Copenhagen:Munksgaard, 1940), 11.315-17; 633-36; 704-07; Einenkel, <u>Seinte Katherine</u>, 11. 799-803; 811-14; 2425-28; W. Meredith Thompson, ed., <u>Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd and Other Pieces</u>, EETS OS 241 (London:Oxford University Press, 1958), p.24, 1.143; Tolkien, <u>Ancrene Wisse</u>, 100, 21; 121,2.

7.   See Kurath & Kuhn, <u>Middle English Dictionary</u>, kniȝht (kniȝt), 2c.

8.   See Madden, <u>Laȝamon's Brut</u>, III, Glossary, <u>cniht</u>, <u>kempe</u>.

9.   Other instances of the application of <u>kempe</u> to fighting men in the <u>Brut</u>, (eds., Brook & Leslie) include: 11. 262, 789, 10837, 12950, 12987, 15177.   Elsewhere, Richard Morris, ed., <u>Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt</u>, EETS OS 23 (London:Trubner, 1866), p.45,9; Sisam, <u>Havelok</u>, 1.1036.

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

11.   Stanley, 'Laȝamon's Antiquarian Sentiments', p.29.

12.   See above, pp. 486-87.

13.   Related forms appear in the Peterborough Chronicle, sa., 1075, 1117.

14.   Compare Sisam, Havelok, 11.345-46.

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

16.   Richard Morris, ed., Cursor Mundi, 7 vols., EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (London:Trübner, 1874-93), 11.1387-96.

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

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

19.   Additional instances of byldan and related forms in secular contexts include: Gordon, Battle of Maldon, 78a, 169b, 209a, 311a, 320b; Beowulf, 1094b, 2177a; Cotton Maxims in Sweet, Reader, p.174, 1.15.   Appropriation of byldan, beald, bealdlice to contexts of spiritual overcoming include: Thorpe, CH I.52, CH II.494; Morris, Blickling Homilies, 179; Juliana, 388a, 519a; Phoenix, 458a; Elene, 1038a.

20.   The contrast is presented in the same form on two further occasions: 11. 12500-507, 12516-523.

21.   Compare <u>Guthlac B</u>, 11.901b-15.

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

23.   William A. Wright, ed., <u>The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester</u>, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores, 86, 2 vols., (London:Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1887), 11.1839-41.

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

25.   Doris May Stenton, <u>English Justice Between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter</u>, 1066-1215) (London:Allen & Unwin, 1965), p.6.

26.   Support for this view may be adduced also from the vocabulary evidenced in the ON account of the Battle of Stamford Bridge in the <u>Fagrskinna</u> (early thirteenth century), where <u>orrasta</u> and related forms appear on numerous occasions.   See the extract in Eric V. Gordon, ed., <u>An Introduction to Old Norse</u>, 2nd revised edition (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1957), p.160.

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

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

29.   Of Herod: 11. 6512, 6639, 6897, 7260, 7312, 8037, 8360, 19589; of the Crucifixion: 11. 2018, 15526, 19632, 19807.

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

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

32.　The _Canterbury Psalter_ gloss (c.1150), in the uncorrected portion not dependent on the _Regius Psalter_ gloss, preserves the following forms: _oferswiðed_ : _uindicabor_ (117.2), _oferswiðe_ : _uincam_ (Cant. Abbacuc, 19), _þu oferswiðedum_ : _deuicto_ (Te Deum, 17). Excepting the various copies of OE material, I can find no later, independent usages of the term.

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

34.　On the dating, see Pope, _Homilies_, 79; Ker, _Catalogue_, 130.

35.　Further evidence of this trend is observable in Skeat, _LSS_, II. 439, fn. to l.214; 440, fn. to l.232. See also, Ker, _Catalogue_, 23.

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

37.　The obvious analogy is that between the sole occurrence of _ofer swiþde_ in the _Chronicle_ (Earle & Plummer, _Saxon Chronicles_, p.4), and the singularity of occurrence of _ofercom_ in the OE _Bede_, 10.

38.   Jerome, Commentariorum in Danielem, cap. VIII, has Gabriel enim in linguam nostram vertitur fortitudo, vel robustus Dei. Unde et eo tempore quo erat Dominus nasciturus, et indicaturus bellum dæmonibus, et triumphaturus de mundo (Migne, PL 25. 538). From Gregory's Homelia XXXIV in Evangelia come the following statements: Unde et ille antiquus hostis, qui Deo esse per superbiam similis concupivit, dicens: [quotation of Isa. XIV.13-14], dum in fine mundi in sua virtute relinquetur extremo supplicio preimendus, cum Michaele archangelo præliaturus esse perhibetur.....Ad Mariam quoque Gabriel mittitur, qui Dei fortitudo nominatur. Illum quippe nuntiare veniebat, qui ad debellandas aereas potestates humilis apparere dignatus est.....Per Dei ergo fortitudinem nuntiandus erat, qui virtutem Dominus, et potens in prælio, contra potestates aereas ad bella veniebat (Migne, PL 76.1251). Later expositions, like that of Raban Maur, Homelia XXXI : In Festivitate Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, in Migne PL 110.59, and of Hugh of St. Victor, De Claustro Animæ, Book IV (Migne PL 176. 1164), are firmly based on the Gregorian model. The statements which seem to approximate most closely to Orm's wording are those contained in: indicturus bellum dæmonibus, et triumphaturus de mundo (Jerome), and qui ad debellandas aereas potestates.....potens in prælio, contra potestates aereas ad bella veniebat (Gregory), in which Orm's oferrswifenn would correspond to debellandas and ad bella veniebat. Bede's explanation, incorporated into the Glossa, similarly has: Gabriel fortitudo Dei, quia illum nuntiat qui ad debellandum diabolum veniebat (Migne, PL 114. 246).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My intention in this essay has been to examine some aspects of compositional procedure in Old and early Middle English homilies and lives of saints. I have selected the <u>Ormulum</u> as the focus of attention for several reasons. First, in areas other than those which are broadly linguistically based - orthography, phonology and syntax - it has been largely ignored. Second, the work clearly holds a position of central importance in the early development of English homily writing; it is the first major collection of exegetical homilies. extant to have been written since the publication of Ælfric's works, with which it compares most favourably in terms of proposed audience, general didactic method and authorial intention.

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

This evidence, though selective, is sufficiently persuasive for it to be said that there is a demonstrable <u>continuum</u> from OE to EME homiletics

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

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

Having established, in the first chapter, Orm's relianace on and con-
tribution to, vernacular modes of expression in homily writing, the
theme of spiritual warfare was considered to be the most appropriate
vehicle through which a comparison of dominant compositional tendencies
in OE and EME homilies could be effected.   In other words, while

emphasis was placed largely on the text of the _Ormulum_, the opportunity
was also taken to compare Orm's performance with that of his near con-
temporaries working in nearly-related genres. Notwithstanding the
fragmentary and random nature of survivals from EME, many of the trends
evidenced by Orm's favoured lexical choices found corroboration in the
Katherine Group texts, in particular. It is thus reasonable to infer
that Orm's treatment of well-established religious imagery is not indiv-
idualistic and idiosyncratic, but typical of EME homiletic composition.
The _Ormulum_, therefore, has a further significance for literary
historians in that it may be deemed representative, in certain partic-
ular respects, of EME homily writing (most of which is now lost) which
was attached both to the constantly influential, orthodox Latin trad-
ition and also to the particular developments established in a prest-
igious body of vernacular material.

It was, then, with a view to assessing the major shifts in the articu-
lation of the theme of spiritual warfare in early English vernacular
homilies in general that the lengthy appreciation of expressive modes
in composition was undertaken. Broadly speaking, the findings from
this part of the investigation may be summarized as follows: the
vocabulary of spiritual warfare selected by OE homilists was subject
to marked discrimination and qualification. Overt martial or heroic
vocabulary was considered inimical to the theme of spiritual warfare
and was thus largely ignored. Since, however, the image complex
demands, by definition, verbal elements redolent of physical strife,
use was occasionally made of appropriate terminology; at the same time,
the semantic force of terms typical of secular martial description was
intentionally thwarted by the use of controlled, qualificatory vocabul-
ary, the presence of which had the effect of shaping the metaphoric

basis of the image by demanding the resoltuion of literal elements only on an other-than-literal plane. These carefully judged constraints were found to be present both in the force of individual terms and in the overall interaction of terminology in the identifiable lexical sphere habitually adopted. In contrast, it was equally noticeable that in the work of EME homilists and hagiographers, there is a conspicuous absence of such qualificatory, constraining procedures. In the Ormulum and other compatible texts, the language of spiritual warfare was seen to be very similar, both in form and emphasis, to that naturally appropriated by both poets and prose writers·of Chronicle history.

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

If, therefore, the language of spiritual warfare in the Ormulum and other texts is indistinguishable from that naturally resorted to by writers describing, say, Arthur's victory at Mount Badon, or Harold's

at Stamford Bridge, then the essential distinction between the two

modes of behaviour must have been largely determined by general

context and genre. It is, therefore, as if a contribution to the

homiletic or hagiographic genre was, in itself, sufficient to shape

the intended audience response.

At the same time, it is worth considering whether this blurring of

identities between secular and spiritual warriors arose, in some way,

as a result of the sharp new turn given to the concept of Militia

Christi in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, principally

through the reforming zeal of Pope Gregory VII. Carl Erdmann, writing

on the origin of ideas which helped shape the Crusading ideal, says of

Gregory that "Christ's war [bellum Christi]" for him was effective

ecclesiastical activity in the world, as contrasted to monastic

seclusion.[1] A later commentator has also drawn attention to the Pope's

concept of Christian warfare and his view of the role of Christian

laymen, and states that the traditional metaphor, stemming from Ad

Ephesios and other Pauline texts, 'shades into literal reality' in the

letters of the Pope. Gregory's support for the re-alignment of the

concept of Militia Christi to secular warriors of the world constituted

an abrupt and, as it turned out, influential challenge to traditional

eleventh century spirituality:

> The Church is the 'Christian legion', within[2]
> which the laity is 'the order of fighters
> [ordo pugnatorum]: they exist solely to
> suppress the enemies of the Church and all
> elements which tend to subvert right Christian
> order. The word of St. Paul, 'No man that
> warreth for God entangleth himself with the
> affairs of this world,' has been turned
> upsidedown.

Of course, Gregory's aims were largely political, and extended as far

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

The last point I want to make again concerns the dominant linguistic habits of Orm and other writers, and is intended to balance the impression created by the possible influence of the changing concept of Militia Christi, outlined above. Although Orm and the writers of the W. Midland texts were not unaware of or unreceptive to the influence of contemporary thought and writings, the linguistic milieu in which they worked was shaped largely by reference to the achievements of the past. I have had occasion to refer to the backward-looking, preservativ tendencies of EME writers more than once. The tendency is, I think, particularly marked in the Ormulum, and seems to me to be intimately connected to a process in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries which may be termed one of a 'return to English sources'. The arguments put forward relating to Orm's standardized homiletic idiom, his realization of the worth of Ælfric's literary achievement, are fully complemented by ascribing this renewed interest in past achievements to the sustained recopying and consultation of English books which evidently served as authoritative models not only for the structure and content of some EME

writings (like the <u>Katherine Group</u> lives of saints), but also for the dominant linguistic categories in which literary production in the vernacular was undertaken.[3] In this respect, the <u>Ormulum</u> holds a distinctive place in that Orm's lexical choices appear to have been determined by a desire to revitalize the former glory of homiletic idiom and to integrate it into his own language. In this sense, Orm strove, in his own way – as had La3amon – 'to connect the now piece of English writing with the glory felt to belong to the traditions of England, to make it seem the latest link in a chain connecting the newest age with the achievements of English greatness before the Conquest'.[4] This remark has been made of the <u>Brut</u>, but is equally applicable to the <u>Ormulum</u>; it establishes for it an important and recognizable place, not only in the development of vernacular homily writing, but also in the larger perspective of vernacular literary activity in the early Middle English period.

1.   Carl Erdmann, <u>Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens</u> (Stuttgart :
Kohlhammer, 1935), trans. as <u>The Origin of the Idea of Crusade</u> by
Marshall W. Baldwin & Walter Goffart (Princeton : University Press,
1977), p.203.

2.   I[.....] S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ,'
<u>History</u>, 58 (1973), 169-92, esp. 190, 178-79.

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

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

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