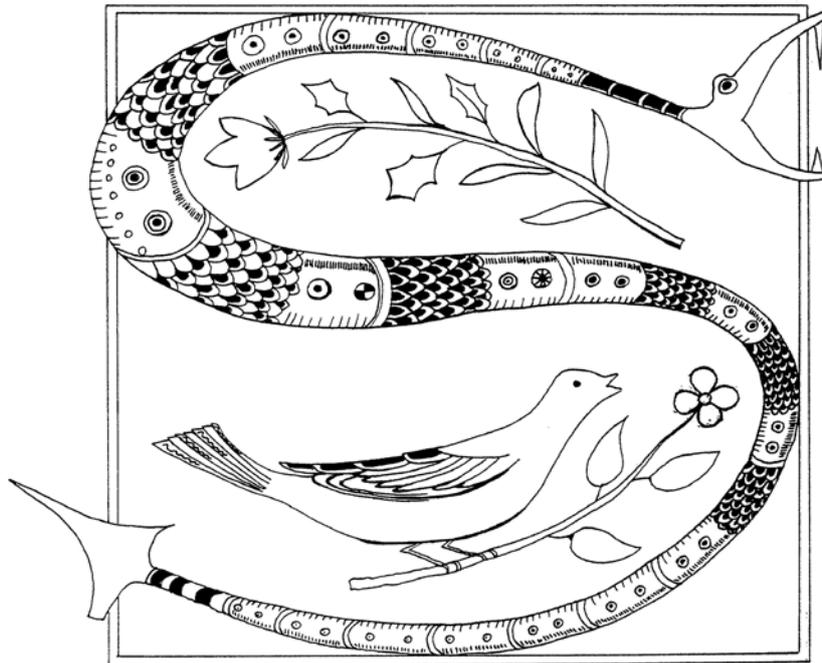


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*ICC HAFE DON SWA SUMM ꝑU BADD:*  
AN ANATOMY OF THE PREFACE TO THE *ORMULUM*

*Abstract*

This paper will provide an analysis of those parts of the Preface to the *Ormulum* which are not reworkings of concrete textual sources, but rather constitute Orm's original writing within the framework of traditions current in the twelfth century. The Preface will be shown to combine features of two contemporary text genres. On the one hand it has all the typical features of a Ciceronian *praefatio*, detailing the author's relationships to various other persons: to his patron, to the corrector of the text, to his copyist(s), to future readers/detractors, and, finally, to God. On the other hand, Orm's presentation of various features of his text (such as author's intention, material used, method, and order) makes his Preface conform to the conventions of the standard form of introduction to works of scriptural exegesis in the twelfth century. The paper also discusses the possible implications of Orm's statement that he and Walter are brothers in three different ways. **Keywords:** *Ormulum*, homilies, Middle English, Cicero, *Glossa ordinaria*.

*Resumen*

Este artículo analiza aquellas partes del Prefacio al *Ormulum* que no son reelaboraciones de fuentes textuales concretas sino que constituyen la obra autógrafa de Orm dentro del marco de tradiciones usuales del siglo XII. Se muestra cómo el Prefacio combina rasgos de dos géneros textuales contemporáneos. De un lado, tiene todos los rasgos típicos de una *praefatio* ciceroniana, detallando las relaciones del autor con otras personas: su patrón, el corrector del texto, su(s) copista(s), futuros lectores/detractores y, finalmente, Dios. Del otro, la presentación que Orm hace de varios rasgos de su texto (intención autorial, material empleado, método y orden) configura su Prefacio de acuerdo con las convenciones estándar de las introducciones para obras de exégesis bíblica en el siglo XII. El artículo analiza asimismo las posibles implicaciones de la afirmación de Orm de que él y Walter eran hermanos desde tres puntos de vista. **Palabras clave:** *Ormulum*, homilias, inglés medio, Cicerón, *Glossa ordinaria*.

I INTRODUCTION

**A**T first sight, the Preface<sup>1</sup> to the *Ormulum* reads like an artless and somewhat naive address to Orm's brother Walter, who is said to have instigated the writing of this

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<sup>1</sup> Various labels have been given to the prefatory matter on folios 3–9 of the extant *Ormulum* manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 1). Holt (1878) divided it into three parts: Dedication, Texts, and Preface. Matthes (1933: 35–37) demonstrated that the so-called Preface (the English text on folio 9) was marked for insertion after verse 156. Thus the prefatory matter falls into two parts, one in English, written in Orm's standard metre, and one in Latin, made up of the incipits of the gospel texts for all the homilies. In Johannesson (2007b) I called the English part the 'Dedication' of the *Ormulum*. Since then, however, I have settled for the term Preface, since Orm never explicitly dedicates his work to Walter (nor, for that matter, to anyone else).

homily collection:<sup>2</sup> Orm states that he has completed the task, he expects detractors but assumes that these will only be motivated by envy, he worries about future copyists being too careless to preserve the details of his spelling system, and, shifting gradually towards a wider audience, sets out to explain why he has undertaken the huge task of explaining the gospels in English to the laity. As a matter of fact, however, Orm's Preface is a highly conventional product, an exponent of a literary tradition which permeates the body of late Classical and Post-Classical Latin writing to which the source texts for Orm's homilies belonged. At the same time, it is very much up to date: it can be shown to conform to the conventions of the standard type of preface used in academic twelfth-century writing. Yet amidst its adherence to contemporary genre conventions, the Preface also offers us some insights into Orm's personality.

Johannesson (2007b) identified the Latin sources for two central metaphors in Orm's Preface: the Gospels as a four-wheeled quadriga, and the Gospels as an embodiment of seven 'goodnesses' (or sacraments), represented by the seven seals of the book described in Revelation 5–8. This paper will provide an analysis of those parts of Orm's Preface which are not reworkings of concrete textual sources,

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<sup>2</sup> The *Ormulum* does not fall neatly into a single genre: it is a homily collection in the sense that it provides exegetical comments on gospel texts, but unlike a standard homily collection, which presents the gospel texts in the order of their appearance in the Missal throughout the liturgical year, the gospel texts in the *Ormulum* are arranged so as to provide a chronological account of the lives of John the Baptist, Christ, and the Apostles, chiefly Peter and Paul. In this respect the *Ormulum* looks rather like a gospel harmony (including also portions of Acts). It is perhaps best described as a cross between a gospel harmony and a homily collection. A possible source of inspiration for Orm can be found in *In Unum Ex Quatuor* (PL 186), where Zacharias Chrysopolitanus in the 1140's added exegetical comments (drawn from various sources) to a Latin translation of a Greek gospel harmony by Ammonius of Alexandria. It is clear, however, from the order of presentation of the gospel texts, that Orm did not use *In Unum* as a model.

but rather constitute Orm's original writing within the framework of traditions current in the twelfth century. It will also discuss an apparently unique feature of the Preface, namely Orm's description of Walter and himself in terms of threefold brotherhood.

## 2 THE CICERONIAN TRADITION

The first of the traditions to be considered here goes all the way back to Classical Roman literature, and is commonly ascribed to Cicero. Janson (1964) has shown that the Ciceronian *praefatio* was a popular genre among Classical and Post-Classical Latin writers, pagan as well as Christian. I will here seek to demonstrate that the Preface to the *Ormulum* exhibits all the features of a standard Ciceronian *praefatio*.<sup>3</sup> A comparison with the Ciceronian features of some of Ælfric's prefaces<sup>4</sup> will also be undertaken, not because I wish to suggest that Orm was influenced by Ælfric's prefaces (or even knew them), but rather for the light such a comparison sheds on the different personality traits of Orm and Ælfric.

The typical features of a Ciceronian *praefatio*, as presented by Janson, can be summarised as follows:

- Ⓐ Addressing the instigator of the work (Janson 1964: 116–118)
- Ⓑ Indicating compliance with the instigation (119 ff.)
- Ⓒ The author's modesty and self-deprecation (124 ff.)
- Ⓓ Acknowledging the help of God (144 ff.)

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<sup>3</sup> Mancho (2004) suggested that the preface to the *Ormulum* was actually a prologue in the Aristotelian tradition. The major difficulty for such a view is obviously the fact that Aristotle's work did not become widely known in the West before the thirteenth century, and the *Ormulum* must have been completed by 1180 (cf. Parkes 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Of Ælfric's prefaces, only those to *Genesis*, to the *Lives of Saints*, and to the two series of *Catholic Homilies* will be considered here, nor will a complete analysis of these prefaces be undertaken; only such properties of these prefaces as provide some illumination on Orm's work will be taken into account.

- Ⓔ Assigning a corrector's role to the instigator (106 f., 141 f.)
- Ⓕ Mentioning the envy and scorn of contemporary detractors (142 f.)
- Ⓖ Admonition to the scribe who is to copy the work, forbidding changes (143 f.)

Apart from Ⓒ, the expression of the author's modesty/humility, these features are all concerned with interpersonal relations: between the author and his patron/the instigator of the work, between the author and the corrector of the text (who may or may not be identical with the patron/instigator), between the author and his copyist(s), between the author and future readers/detractors, and, finally, between the author and God.

### 2.1 Addressing the instigator

Orm does not explicitly dedicate the work to 'brother Walter', but he certainly addresses Walter explicitly, calling him his brother in three different ways: in the flesh, as a Christian, and as a fellow Canon following the rule of St. Austin (1).<sup>5</sup>

- (i) **N**u broþerr wallterr. broþerr min.  
Aftterr þe flæsshess kinde.  
**Þ** broþerr min i cristenndom.  
Þurh fulluhht. 7 þurh trowwþe.  
**Þ** broþerr min i godess hus.  
Ƿæt o þe þride wise.  
**Þ**urh þatt witt hafenn takenn ba.  
An reǷellboc to follǷenn.  
Unnderr kanunnkess had. 7 lif.  
Swa summ sannt awwstin sette. (D1–10)

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<sup>5</sup> All the passages from the *Ormulum* cited in this article are newly edited from MS Junius 1. I am grateful to Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, Bodleian Library, for granting me access to the manuscript in 1997 and again in 2002. All line numbers, however, follow the numbering in Holt 1878 (with the prefixes D = *Dedication*, P = *Preface*, H = *Homilies*), since that is the most recent complete edition generally available.

In a similar fashion Ælfric addresses ealdorman Æðelweard as the instigator of the translation in two of his prefaces (2)–(3); the *Catholic Homilies*, by contrast, are said to have been written on Ælfric’s own initiative because he was concerned about the *mycel gedwyld* ‘great heresy’ of existing English books (Clemons 1997: 174).

- (2) *Incipit prefatio Genesis Anglice.* ÆLFRIC MUNUC GRET ÆDELWÆRD EALDORMANN EADMODLICE. Þu bæde me, leof, þæt ic scolde ðe awendan of Lædene on Englisc þa boc Genesis. (Preface to *Genesis*; ÆGenPref 1)
- (3) ... ic hæbbe nu gegaderod on þyssere bec þæra halgena þrowunga þe me to onhagode on englisc to awendene, for þan þe ðu leof swiðost and æðelmær swylcera gewrita me bædon, ... (Preface to *Lives of Saints*; ÆLS (Pref) 1)

## 2.2 Compliance

Orm then goes on to say that he has done what Walter asked him to do (D11f. in (4) below): he has translated the gospels into English (D13f.). After this follow two verses indicating Orm’s humility and awareness of not being properly equipped for the task (D15f.). Orm then expands on Walter’s motives for initiating the project (D17–24), and this section is rounded off with four verses acknowledging Christ’s help in bringing the work to completion (D25–28).

- (4) Icc hæfe don swa summ þu badd:  
    I forþedd te þin wille.  
    Icc hæfe wennd inntill ennglissh.  
    Goddspelless hallge lare:  
© Affterr þatt little witt tatt me.  
© Min drihhtin hæfeþþ lenedd.  
    Icc þu þohhtesst tatt itt mihhte wel.  
    Till mikell frame turnenn.  
    Iff ennglissh folc forr lufe off crist.  
    Itt wollde gerne lernenn.  
    Ic folle genn itt ic fillenn itt.  
    Wiþþ þohht wiþþ word wiþþ dede.  
    Ic forrþi gerndesst tu þatt icc.

- Þiss werrc þe sholde wirrkenn.  
J icc itt hafe forþedd te:  
ⓓ Acc all þurh cristess hellpe.  
ⓓ J unnc birrþ baþe þannkenn crist:  
ⓓ Þatt itt iss brohht till ende. (D11–28)

Ælfric explicitly states that he has complied with the requests of Æðelweard and Æðelmær in the Preface to *Lives of Saints*, as shown in (3) above; in the Preface to *Genesis* the compliance has to be inferred from the existence of the translation.

### 2.3 Modesty

Orm's expression of modesty is as short as it could possibly be (D15f., marked by © in (4) above) without making a complete break with tradition. He admittedly repeats this phrase four times in the extant homilies (H4386f., H5158f., H6390f., H10059f.), but he does not really give the impression of being a very modest person. A study of the source texts he used reveals a man who was very well-read in the exegetical literature, both older writers and more contemporary ones, capable of combining ideas from different passages or even different writers in a short passage (cf. Johannesson 2006, 2007a, b): he doubtless did not expect anyone who read his huge homily collection to take seriously his comments on limited understanding (“þatt little witt tatt me. / Min drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd.”).

Ælfric, by contrast, uses expressions which are more suggestive of true humility (5); like Orm, however, he also hopes for salvation as a result of his exertions:

- (5) *PRAEFATIO*. Ic ælfric munuc 7 mæssepreost swa ðeah waccre þonne swilcum hadum gebyrige. ... Forwel fela ic wat on ðisum earde. gelæredran þonne ic sy. ac god geswutelað his wundra ðurh ðone ðe he wile. swa swa ælmihtig wyrhta. He wyrcoð his weorc þurh his gecorenan. na swylce he behofige ures fultumes. ac þæt we gearnion þæt ece lif þurh his weorces

fremminge. (Preface to *Catholic Homilies*, First series; ÆCHom I (Pref) 174.44, 176.123–125)

#### 2.4 Giving thanks to God

Orm first acknowledges divine help in bringing the task to completion at D25–28 (marked by ① in (4) above). Some fifty verses later (6) Orm returns to the matter of carrying out the task only with the help of God: they should praise and thank God for both the inception and the completion of the project, because it may help the souls of English people to be saved.

- (6)     J unnc birrþ baþe lofenn godd.  
          Off þatt itt wass bigunnenn.  
          J þannkenn godd tatt itt iss brohht.  
          Till ende þurrh hiss hellpe.  
          Forr itt maꝥꝥ hellpenn alle þar  
          þatt bliþelike itt herenn.  
          J lufenn itt. ȝ follꝥenn itt.  
          Wiþþ þohht. wiþþ word. wiþþ dede. (D87–94)

So when Orm gives thanks to God for the completion of his work, it is still the value of his book that is uppermost in his mind. Ælfric, by contrast, sounds genuinely relieved at having come to the end of his labours (7). Ælfric's thanks to God are easy to overlook since they are not expressed in his prefaces, but are placed at the end of the second volume of the *Catholic Homilies*.

- (7) *EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS. CATHOLICORUM SERMONUM ANGLICE. DEO GRATIAS. amen; ORATIO* Ic ðancige þam ælmihtigum scyppende mid ealre heortan. þæt he me synfullum þæs geuðe. þæt ic ðas twa bec him to lofe and to wurðmynte angelcynne onwreah ðam ungelæredum. ða gelæredan ne beðurfon þyssera boca. for ðan ðe him mæg heora agen lar genihtsumian. (Explicit to *Catholic Homilies*, Second series; ÆCHom II (Prayers) 1)

2.5 *Correction*

Somewhat later Orm turns again to Walter and asks him to inspect every verse to make sure that there are no expressions of heresy in the work (8).

- (8)     ƿ ȝ te bitæche icc off þiss boc.  
          Heh wikenn. alls itt semeþþ.  
          All to þurhsekenn illc an ferrs.  
          ȝ to þurhlokenn offteꝛ  
          Þatt upponn all þiss boc ne be.  
          Nan word ȝæn cristess lare.  
          Nan word tatt swiþe wel ne beꝛ  
          To trowwenn. ȝ to follȝenn. (D65–72)

This is similar to Ælfric's request, in the prefaces to the two series of *Catholic Homilies*, for Sigeric's corrections of any expressions of 'malign heresy' that might be there (9)–(10).

- (9)     Precor modo obnixe almitatem tuam mitissime pater SIGERICE. ut digneris corrigere per tuam industriam. si aliquos neuos maligne heresis. aut nebuloſe fallacię in noſtra interpretatione repperies. (Preface to *Catholic Homilies*, First series; Clemoes 1997: 174)
- (10)    Hoc quoque opus commendamus tuę auctoritati corrigendum. quemadmodum et precedens precantes obnixe. ne parcas oblitterare ſi aliquas malignę hæreſis maculas in eo repperies. (Preface to *Catholic Homilies*, Second series; Godden 1979: 1)

In the prefaces to *Genesis* and the *Lives of Saints* there is, of course, no place for ſuch a plea ſince Æðelweard, the inſtigator of thoſe works, was a layman who had commissioned the translations for his own inſtruction and thus was not in a poſition to make any corrections.

## 2.6 Detractors

Orm next inserts a paragraph (11) which deals with future detractors of his homiletic work, people who ‘scorn what should be praised’. Orm’s choice of words suggests that he has a concrete group of people in mind (“þatt laþe flocc. / Þatt iss þurrh niþ forrblendedd” D75–76); Parkes (1983: 125) reads this as a reference to the twelfth-century controversy over Canons Regular undertaking the cure of souls (including preaching). This is fully possible: Dickinson (1950: 217) quotes from the *Liber de Ordine Canonicorum*, “... whosoever should strive to maintain this [sc. that canons should not undertake the cure of souls] ... it is clear, does so more from jealousy of the canonical order than from love of truth.”<sup>6</sup> The wording here is strikingly similar to what Orm says about expected detractors; at the same time, the mention of envious critics is a conventional feature of a Ciceronian *praefatio* from the earliest times, so Orm may merely be following the tradition in this respect.

- (11)    ∅ Witt shulenn tredenn unnderrföt.  
          ∅ all þwerrt út forwerrpenn.  
          ∅e dom off all þatt laþe flocc.  
          ∅att iss þurrh niþ forrblendedd.  
          ∅att tæleþþ þatt to lofenn iss:  
          ∅urrh niþfull modignesse.  
          ∅ Þeꝝ shulenn lätenn hæþeliꝝ:  
          Off unnkerr swinnc lef broþerr.  
          ∅ all þeꝝ shulenn takenn itt.  
          Onn unnitt. ∅ onn idell.  
          Acc nohht þurrh skill. acc all þurrh niþ.  
          ∅ all þurrh þeꝝre sinne.  
          ∅ unnc birrþ biddenn godd tatt he:  
          Forrgife hemm here sinne. (D73–86)

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<sup>6</sup> For the original Latin, see Dickinson (1950: 218, fn. 1).

Ælfric provides a more succinct comment on detractors motivated by envy:

- (12) Nequaquam nos inuidorum reprehensio mouet. si hoc munus tuae benigne auctoritati non displicuerit; (Preface to *Catholic Homilies*, Second series; Godden 1979: 1)

More interesting, to my mind, than the possible real-world reference to detractors in the *Ormulum* Preface is what a comparison between what Ælfric and Orm have to say about detractors reveals about the writers' attitudes. Orm certainly does not emerge as the more modest and humble of the two. Ælfric appeals to his superior in the church: if only archbishop Sigeric approves of his homilies, he will not worry about envious detractors. Orm, by contrast, appeals to nobody: he knows that his work deserves praise ("to lofenn iss"), and for that reason he will not worry about envious detractors.

### 2.7 Copying

Considering the kind of complex spelling system that Orm had developed, it does not seem unreasonable to take his worries about careless copying seriously as being rooted in experience (13).

- (13)    ƿ ȝ wha se wilenn shall þiss boc.  
          Efft oþerr siþe writenn.  
          Himm bidde icc þatt hēt wriete rihht.  
          Swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ.  
          All þwertt út affterr þatt itt iss.  
          Upp o þiss firrste bisne.  
          Wiþþ all swillc rime alls her iss sett.  
          Wiþþ all se fele wordess.  
          ȝ tatt he loke wel þatt he.  
          An bocstaff wriete twiggess.  
          Eggwhær þær itt upp o þiss boc.  
          Iss writenn o þatt wise.  
          Loke he well þatt hēt write swa.  
          Forr he ne maꝯꝯ nohht elless.

Onn ennglissh writenn rihht te word.  
Þatt wite he wel to soþe. (D95–110)

If Orm had a particular scribe in mind, it must have been the scribe behind ‘Hand C’ (Parkes 1983: 116ff.): his main task in the production of the *Ormulum* was to insert the Latin incipits in their proper places at the beginning of each gospel text, but he also copied a few verses of Orm’s English text where Orm’s writing for one reason or another had become difficult to read. (14) shows how much went wrong when he copied Orm’s version of H4978–4981: he did not distinguish between the capital letters of on- and off-verses, he turned the double acute accent in “fōt” into a single one, he wrote a single consonant for a double one in seven places, a double consonant for a single one in one place, wrote ⟨u⟩ for intervocalic ⟨f⟩, wrote ⟨g⟩ for ⟨c⟩ in “strengþe”, and split the ⟨<sup>h</sup>g⟩ digraph. If he actually got round to copying the *Ormulum*, the result will not have made Orm happy.

|                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| (14) Orm:                          | Hand C:                                 |
| Þiss mahhte tredeþþ unnderr fōt:   | Þiss mahhte tredeþþ underr fōtt:        |
| All modignessess strenncþe.        | All modinesses strengþe.                |
| Ʒiff þatt iss þatt tu lufesst itt. | Ʒiff þatt iss þatt tu luuest itt:       |
| Ʒ follgesst itt wiþþ herrte.       | Ʒ fo <sup>h</sup> llgest itt wiþ herte. |
| (H4978–4981)                       |   |

Ælfric is also concerned about correct copying (15), but not at the level of spelling errors: he is concerned about a correct representation of his exegetical ideas.

- (15) Nu bydde ic Ʒ halsige on godes naman gif hwá þas bók awritan wylle. þ hé hí geornlice gerihte be ðære bysene. þy læs ðe we ðurh gymelease writeras geleahrtode beon; (Preface to *Catholic Homilies*, First series; Clemons 1997: 177)

### 2.8 Discussion

Orm's Preface is in all respects a traditional Ciceronian *praefatio*; yet while observing all the genre conventions, the Preface, in its Ciceronian parts, affords us some glimpses into Orm's mind. He is, quite clearly, convinced of the intrinsic value of his book, and for that reason he is not worried about future detractors. His only real worry, apparently, is related to the difficulty of finding a scribe who can copy his text with a reasonable degree of correctness. The early folios of the homilies (fol. 10 onwards) were quite neatly laid out (disregarding the sometimes irregular shape of the parchment leaves), but as the writing proceeded and more and more changes and corrections crept in, the manuscript took on the character of a rough draft, and some 100 folios into the work (not counting lost folios) he did not always take the trouble to write straight columns (e.g. fol. 114v). By that time the need for a fair copy must have become obvious to Orm; the thought of handing over this task to someone else was understandably worrying to him, since not even his collaborator, the scribe behind 'Hand C', could be expected to render the text correctly.

### 3 NON-PERSONAL MATTERS

As far as personal matters are concerned, the Preface to the *Ormulum* is, as we have seen, a very clear-cut example of a Ciceronian *praefatio*. But there are several passages in the Preface that are not related to personal matters; in order to account for those passages we need a different model of analysis.

Such a model was provided by Minnis (1984), developing further a classification of academic prologues presented by Hunt (1948). For a full account of the historical development of the different prologue types the reader is referred to these works; here we will focus exclusively on the so-called 'type C' prologue, which was

the dominant type in the twelfth century: “In the systematisation of knowledge which is characteristic of the twelfth century, the ‘type C’ prologue appeared at the beginning of commentaries of all disciplines: the arts, medicine, Roman law, canon law and theology... The ‘type C’ prologue, specially adapted to meet the unique requirements of sacred Scripture, became the standard form of introduction to commentaries on the Bible.” (Minnis 1984: 19, 40). Small wonder, then, if Orm, writing in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Parkes 1983: 125), would adopt this “standard form of introduction” for his commentaries on gospel passages.

A ‘type C’ prologue can be summarised by the following headings (Minnis 1984: 19–27):

- ① *Titulus libri* – The title of the work
- ② *Nomen auctoris* – The name of the author
- ③ *Intentio auctoris* – The intention of the author
- ④ *Materia libri* – The subject-matter of the book
- ⑤ *Modus tractandi* – The method of didactic procedure employed in the work
- ⑥ *Ordo libri* – The order of the book
- ⑦ *Utilitas* – Utility
- ⑧ *Cui parti philosophiae supponitur* – The branch of learning to which the book belonged

### 3.1 *Title of work and name of author*

Orm states the title of the work and the name of the author at the top of folio 9 recto (16), at the beginning of the passage which Holt (1878) labelled ‘Preface’ (cf. footnote 1 above); on the verso of folio 9 the title is repeated (17). He gives his name in the first instance as ‘Orrm’; in a later part of the Preface he says that he was given the name ‘Orrmin’ in baptism (18).

- (16)     ƿ Þiss boc iss nemmedd. orrmulum~  
          Forr þi þatt orrm itt wrohhte. (P1f.)

- (17) **Ʒ** all þuss þiss ennglisshe boc.  
Iss orrmulum ȝehatenn.  
Inn quapþrigan amminadabꝛ  
Inn currum salomonis. (P93–96)
- (18) **I**cc. þatt tiss ennglisshe hafe sett.  
Ennglisshe menn to lareꝛ  
Icc wass þær þær i crisstnedd wass.  
Orrmin bi name nemmedd.  
Ʒ icc orrmin full innwarddlig.  
Wiþþ muþ. Ʒ ec wiþþ herrte.  
Her bidde þa crisstene menn.  
þatt herenn oþerr rédenne.  
þiss bocꝛ hemm bidde icc her þatt teȝȝ.  
Forr me þiss bede biddenn. (D321–330)

### 3.2 *Author's intention*

The intention of the author is also clearly set out: Orm has written this work in an attempt to save the souls of those Englishmen who do not know enough Latin to read and understand the gospels (19). This aspect of the work is so central that Orm comes back to it, e.g. at D299–314.

- (19) **Ʒ** ȝiff mann wile witenn whi.  
Icc hafe don þiss dede.  
Whi icc till ennglisshe hafe wennd.  
Goddspelless hallȝe lareꝛ  
Icc hafe itt don forr þi þatt all.  
Cristene follkess berrhless.  
Iss lang uppo þatt an. þatt teȝȝ.  
Goddspelless hallȝe lareꝛ  
Wiþþ fulle mahhte follȝe rihht.  
þurh þohht. þurh word. þurh dede.  
Forr all þatt æfre onn erþe iss ned.  
Cristene follc to follȝenn.  
I trowwþe. i dedeꝛ all tæcheþþ hemm.  
Goddspelless hallȝe lare.  
Ʒ forrþi. wha se lerneþþ itt.

Ʒ follgēþþ itt wiþþ dede:  
He shall onn ende wurrþi ben.  
Þurrh godd to wurrþenn borrgēnn.  
Ʒ tærfore hafe icc turredd itt.  
Inntill ennglisshe spæche:  
Forr þatt i wollde bliþeliȝ.  
þatt all ennglisshe lede.  
Wiþþ ære sholde lissstenn itt.  
Wiþþ herrte sholde itt trowwenn.  
Wiþþ tunge sholde spellenn itt.  
Wiþþ dede sholde itt follgēnn.  
To winnenn unnderr cristenndom.  
Att godd soþ sawle berrhless. (DIII–I38)

### 3.3 Material

The subject matter of the book is stated most clearly and succinctly at P29–32 (20); it is also presented at great length in the central parts of the Preface through the metaphors of the quadriga of Amminadab and the chariot of Solomon as well as the seven ‘goodnesses’ (or sacraments) (see Johannesson 2007b).

- (20) Ʒ Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc.  
þa goddspelless neh alle:  
þatt sinndenn o þe messeboc.  
Inn all þe ȝer att messe. (P29–32)

Orm is more reticent about the commentators he relied on for his explications of the gospel texts. Where Ælfric, in the Latin preface to the first series of the *Catholic Homilies*, explicitly identified Augustine of Hippo, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus and Haymo as his sources, Orm merely referred to ‘the book’ (“þe boc”) throughout the text (110 occurrences). He later removed the references to “þe boc” or modified them to an indefinite form (e.g. “soþ boc” ‘a true book’, “latin boc” ‘a Latin book’), as if more precise knowledge of these sources would be irrelevant to his lay readers (or listeners).

3.4 Method

The *modus tractandi* is described in some detail in the two paragraphs (32 verses) starting at D33 (21): each gospel text is followed by an interpretation of the text as well as other useful information (such as the long digression on Jewish sacrifices and their relevance to twelfth-century Christians, H962–1667). In the second of these paragraphs Orm explains that he has made additions to the gospel texts for two reasons: partly to make the gospel story more coherent by telling it in greater detail (“Þe ríme swa to fillenn.”, D44; cf. Johannesson 2004) and thus make readers understand the gospel more easily, partly to make the number of syllables in each verse come out right (“min ferrs to fillenn”, D64).

- (21)    ∇ ȝ aȝȝ affterr þe goddspell stannt.  
           Þatt tatt te goddspell meneþþ.  
           Þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe follc.  
           Off þeȝȝre sawle nede.  
           ȝ ȝét tær tekenn mare inoh.  
           Þu shallt tæronne findenn.  
           Off þatt tatt cristess hallȝe þedȝ  
           Birrþ trowwenn wel. ȝ follȝenn.  
           ∇ Icc hafē sett her o þiss boc.  
           Amang goddspelless wordess.  
           All þurh me sellfenn manig word.  
           Þe ríme swa to fillenn.  
           Acc þu shallt findenn þatt min word.  
           Eȝȝwhær þær itt iss ekeddȝ  
           Maȝȝ hellpenn þa þatt redenn itt.  
           To sen. ȝ tunnderrstandenn.  
           All þess te bettere hu þeȝȝm birrþ.  
           Þe goddspell unnderrstandenn.  
           ȝ forrþi trowwe icc þatt te birrþ.  
           Wel þolenn mine wordess.  
           Eȝȝwhær þær þu shallt findenn hemmȝ  
           Amang goddspelless wordess.  
           Forr wha se mót to læwedd follc.

Larspell off goddspell tellenn:  
**H**e mōt wel ekenn manig word.  
Amang goddspelless wordess.  
**J**icc ne mihhte nohht min ferrs.  
Aḡḡ wiþþ goddspelless wordess.  
**W**el fillenn all. ȝ all forrþi.  
Sholde icc well offte nede.  
Amang goddspelless wordess don.  
Min word. min ferrs to fillenn. (D33–64)

### 3.5 *Order*

Information about the ‘order of the book’ is provided by the numbered list of Latin incipits of the gospel texts. This list is introduced by a curious passage where Orm promises to list all the ‘gospels’ that he can find in this book (22), as if he was editing someone else’s book. Possibly the “icc” at the end of D335 is an uncorrected slip for “mann”, referring to any reader of the book.

(22) **Ʒ** þa goddspelless alle þatt icc.  
Her o þiss boc maḡḡ findenn:  
**H**emm alle wile icc nemmnenn her.  
Bi þeḡḡre firrste wordess.  
**J** tāle wile icc settenn to.  
To don ḡuw tunnderrstandenn.  
**H**u fele sinndenn o þiss boc.  
Goddspelless unnderr alle. (D335–342)

### 3.6 *Utility*

The utility of the book is stated in no uncertain terms: if people will ‘hear it’ and ‘follow it’, their souls will be saved; in any case, Orm is sure of his own reward, regardless whether his readers accept it or reject it (23). The same idea is repeated e.g. in the prayer concluding the Preface proper, before Orm’s request for his readers’ prayers (24).

- (23) ȝ giff þeȝȝ wilenn herenn itt.  
ȝ follȝenn itt wiþþ dedeȝ  
Icc hafe hemm hollpenn unnderr crist.  
To winnenn þeȝȝre berrhless.  
ȝ i shall hafenn forr min swinnc.  
God læn att godd onn endeȝ  
ȝiff þatt i forr þe lufe off godd.  
ȝ forr þe mede off heffneȝ  
Hemm hafe itt inntill ennglissh wennd.  
Forr þeȝȝre sawle nede.  
ȝ giff þeȝȝ all forrwerrpenn ittȝ  
Itt turrneþþ hemm till sinne.  
ȝ i shall hafenn addledd me.  
þe laferrd cristess are.  
þurh þatt icc hafe hemm wrohht tiss boc.  
To þeȝȝre sawle nede.  
þohh þatt teȝȝ all forrwerrpenn itt.  
þurh þeȝȝre modigness. (D139–156)
- (24) Ȝ ȝ godd allmahhtig gife uss mahht.  
ȝ lusst. ȝ witt. ȝ wille.  
To follȝenn þiss ennglisshe boc.  
þat all iss halig lare.  
Swa þatt we motenn wurrþi ben.  
To brukenn heffness blisse.  
Amæn. Amæn. Amæn; (D315–320)

### 3.7 Branch of philosophy

Orm says nothing about which branch of philosophy his work belongs to; in this he is in line with many contemporary theologians, who regarded this matter as irrelevant to works on scriptural exegesis (Minnis 1984: 27).

### 3.8 Discussion

So far, we have simply assumed that ‘the work’ that Orm had in mind in his Preface was the *Ormulum*, and that ‘the author’ was Orm

himself. However, this was not the standard approach to the question of authorship in contemporary scriptural exegesis. We may compare Orm's implied view with that expressed in the *Prologus* to the 1136 commentary on the *Song of Solomon* by Honorius Augustodunensis (the source for Orm's quadriga metaphor (Johannesson 2007b: 239), and thus known to Orm): here 'the work' is not Honorius' *Expositio*, but the *Song of Solomon*, and 'the author' is not Honorius, but the Holy Ghost (25).

- (25) Auctor libri hujus est Spiritus sanctus, loquens per vas sapientiae, Salomonem hujus libri scriptorem qui fuit rex sapientissimus et propheta praecipuus. (Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*; PL vol. 172 col. 0348C–D)

What Orm has done, then, in his Preface is to set himself up as Author, rather than stay in the background as a mere commentator. In the prayer which he asks the reader to say for him (26) he says that he both "wrat" and "wrohhte" 'this English text': he was both \**writere*<sup>7</sup> ('writer', 'scribe') and *wrihhte* ('wright', 'maker', 'author').

- (26)   ƿ þatt broþerr þatt tiss ennglissh writt.  
          Allræresst wrát. ȝ wrohhte:  
      þatt broþerr forr hiss swinnc to læn:  
          Soþ blisse móte findenn.  
                                  Amæn. (D331–334)

The fact that he apparently regarded his own exegetical writing rather than the gospel texts as 'the work' to which the Preface belongs certainly ties in very nicely with his high opinion of the utility of that writing: in the course of the Preface the emphasis shifts from the importance of the Gospels for people's salvation (D115–128; cf. (19) above) to the importance of 'this English book' (D317; cf. (24) above).

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<sup>7</sup> The word is asterisked simply because it is not attested in the *Ormulum*; it is, of course, well-attested in both Old and Middle English.

4 THREEFOLD BROTHERHOOD

There is one feature of Orm's Preface which goes beyond the typical properties of a Ciceronian *praefatio* and a 'Type C' prologue. This is Orm's insistence on threefold brotherhood: Walter is described as Orm's brother in the flesh, as a Christian, and as a fellow Canon following the rule of St. Austin (D1-10) (cf. (1) above).<sup>8</sup> It seems very difficult to find a textual analogue for this — Dickins and Wilson (1951: 202) suggest influence from St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon, verse 16, where Paul entreats Philemon to receive Onesimus as "a brother beloved ... both in the flesh, and in the Lord" (KJB) ("carissimum fratrem ... et in carne et in Domino", Vu). More relevant, perhaps, is the case of St. Andrew and St. Peter, since Orm himself describes them as brothers in the flesh, and brothers in the faith (27). But this is still only twofold brotherhood: why does Orm insist on threefold brotherhood?

- (27) All swa se sannt andrew stod inn.  
To bringenn sannte peterr.  
To ben hiss broþerr unnderr crist.  
I cristenndom þurh trowwþe.  
Swa þatt teƷƷ mihhtenn breþre ben.  
þurh rihhte læfe o criste:  
Swa summ þeƷƷ wærenn breþre ba.  
þurh fader. Ʒ þurh moderr. (H13228-13235)

I would like to suggest that Orm — whether influenced by Philemon 1:16 or not — was actually making a covert reference to another pair of threefold brothers, two brothers whom he may have regarded as the predecessors of Walter and himself, namely Anselm (†1117) and Ralph (†1136) of Laon. Like Walter and Orm, Anselm and Ralph were brothers in the flesh, brothers in the faith and also Canons Regular. They were furthermore successive Heads of the

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<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Andrew Breeze for drawing my attention to this issue by asking a question about it after my 2006 SELIM conference paper.

Cathedral school at Laon in Picardie in northern France, and are perhaps best remembered for their role in the early phases of the development of the *Glossa ordinaria*: Anselm was “responsible for having compiled the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Pauline Epistles, the Psalms and probably the Gospel of St. John. ... According to most manuscript witnesses, Anselm’s brother Ralph compiled the gloss on St. Matthew ...” (Andrée 2005: 20, 21). In the remainder of this paper, I will try to establish what links we can recognise between Anselm’s and Ralph’s work on the *Glossa* at Laon and Orm’s work on the *Ormulum*, presumably at Bourne in southern Lincolnshire (cf. Parkes 1983: 125ff.).

#### 4.1 Textual links

Matthes (1933) was the first to recognise the *Glossa ordinaria* as a source text for the *Ormulum*, although he took an exaggerated view of its importance (see also Morrison 1983, 2003). But Orm not only used the *Glossa* text as raw material for the expositions in his homilies, he also used some of the source texts used by the glossators. When Anselm glossed the Gospel according to St. John (Andrée 2005: 20f.), he used as his main source the *Commentarius In Evangelium Iohannis* by the ninth-century teacher at Laon, the Irishman Johannes Scotus Eriugena (Jeauneau 1972). Eriugena’s commentary on John survives in a single ninth-century manuscript with Eriugena’s own corrections and additions (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 81; cf. Jeauneau and Dutton 1996). While Anselm was working with Eriugena’s manuscript it is conceivable that he had one or more copies of the manuscript made. One such copy, or a descendant of it, must have become available to Orm; as we will see, it is clear that Orm used Eriugena at first hand, and not simply mediated through the abbreviated version to be found in the

*Glossa ordinaria*. Here a single illustration will have to suffice; more evidence can be found in Johannesson (2007a).

For his comment on John 3:3 in Homily xxv (28) Orm selected a few non-consecutive topics from Eriugena's comments and combined his renderings of these to make one coherent paragraph. A certain amount of expansion can be observed in Orm's text, as when "regnum patris" is rendered as "þatt kinedom. þatt godd. / Hehfaderr rixleþþ inne" (H17106f). The *Glossa* can only provide a few of the elements in Orm's paragraph, whereas Eriugena provides them all. The phrase "Þatt mann. þatt niss nohht borenn ȝēt / Gastlike ... / Inn hallȝedd waterr fullhtnedd:" (H17098–17101) is a reworking by Orm from Eriugena's words in ③, turning second person address into third person comment, and with "off gastliȝ moderr" added as Orm's own contribution.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the last four verses in the paragraph, where Orm translates Christ's words into the description of a modern conversion process, expressed in terms of baptism ("fulluhht"), instruction in Christian doctrine and attainment of the true faith, read like Orm's attempt to clarify the situation to a contemporary reader.

|   |   |        |
|---|---|--------|
| (28) ① <i>Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis natus fuerit denuo, non potest uidere regnum Dei. ...</i>  | ¶ J tatt te laferrd seȝȝde þuss.<br>Till nicodem wiþþ worde.<br>To fulle soþ i seȝȝe þe.<br>Þatt niss na <sup>r</sup> n <sup>1</sup> mann onn erþe.   | ①      |
| ② <i>Ac si ei aperte diceret: Non sufficit tibi solummodo in me credidisse, ③ nisi sacramenta baptismatis accipias uirtutemque spiritualis generationis intelligas. ... Quod ergo ait Non potest uidere regnum Dei, non incongrue</i> | Þatt muȝe godess riche sen.<br>Butt he be borenn twigessȝ.<br>Þatt wass alls iff he seȝȝde þuss.<br>Till himm wiþþ oþre wordess.<br>Þatt mann. þatt niss nohht borenn ȝēt. ③<br>Gastlike off gastliȝ moderr.<br>J all þurh godd off haliȝ gast.<br>Inn hallȝedd waterr fullhtneddȝ. | ②<br>③ |

<sup>9</sup> Orm's "gastliȝ moderr" is presumably a rendering of "mater spiritualis", referring to the Church.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| intelligitur: ④ <u>Non potest me cognoscere</u> , ⑦ <u>qui sum regnum patris; non enim solummodo</u> ⑤ <u>rex omnium sum, sed et illud regnum et omnia</u> . Recte igitur ⑥ uisio ueritatis regnum dei et dicitur et intelligitur. (E; J 200, 202, 206)<br>.i. ④ non potest cognoscere me ⑦ <u>qui sum regnum patris</u> . ⑥ <u>qui sum visio ueritatis</u> (G 230) | Ne maȝȝ he nohht rihht c nawenn me.<br>Swa summ icc amm to c nawenn. ④<br>Þatt amm allmahhtig godd. ȝ ec.<br>Soþ sihhþe off soþfasstnesse. ⑤<br>Þatt amm þatt kinedom. þatt godd. ⑥<br>Hehfaderr rixleþþ inne. ⑦<br>Þatt tu ȝēt nunnderstannesst nohht:<br>Forr þatt tu narrt nohht fullhtnedd.<br>Ne læredd nohht off cristenndom.<br>Noff all þe rihhte læfe.<br>(H17090–17111) |
|---|---|

The only surviving copy of Eriugena’s commentary on John has several lacunae in the text; one of these covers passages in John that Orm deals with in four homilies (xxi–xxiv), as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. *Correspondences between extant parts of Eriugena, Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis, and Orm’s homilies xviii and xxi–xxx.*

| Eriugena              | Orm                                |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| John 1:1–10 (lost)    | Homily xxix (1:1–14)               |
| John 1:11–29          | Homily xviii (1:19–28)             |
| John 1:30–2:25 (lost) | Homily xxi (1:29–34) (partly lost) |
|                       | Homily xxii (1:35–51)              |
|                       | Homily xxiii (2:1–11)              |
|                       | Homily xxiv (2:13–25)              |
| John 3:1–4:28         | Homily xxv (3:1–15)                |
|                       | Homily xxvi (3:16–21)              |
|                       | Homily xxvii (3:22–33)             |
|                       | Homily xxviii (3:34–36) (lost)     |
| John 4:29–6:4 (lost)  | Homily xxx (4:1–3)                 |
| John 6:5–14           |                                    |

The lacunae (apart from the first one, John 1:1–10) were already there when Anselm used the manuscript to produce the *Glossa* on John (Jeauneau 1972: 61); for those parts of John, Anselm had to find source material elsewhere. The copy I believe Orm had access to would have been made during Anselm’s work on the *Glossa* and would have had the same lacunae. And indeed: when Anselm gathers material to fill the gaps in Eriugena, Orm typically sets off in a totally different direction to fill the same gaps.

Again, one example, albeit a fairly extensive one, taken from Orm’s exposition of part of John 1:51, will have to suffice to illustrate this. The Latin gospel text and Orm’s translation are shown in (29):

|   |  |
|---|--|
| (29) et dicit ei amen amen dico vobis               | icc segge ȝuw to fulle soþr<br>ȝ wel ȝuw birrþ itt trowwenn.                                     |
| videbitis caelum apertum                            | Þatt heffness shulenn oppnedd ben.<br>Biforenn ȝure sihhþe.<br>Swa þatt ȝe shulenn sen full wel. |
| et angelos Dei ascendentes                          | ȝ offte godess enngless.   |
| et descendentes supra Filium hominis (John 1:51 Vu) | Uppwardd & dunnwardd baþe upp o.<br>Þe manness sune stiȝenn.<br>(H13814–13821)                   |

For the clause *videbitis caelum apertum* the *Glossa* only provides a comparison with Jacob’s dream (Genesis 28:12) of the ladder (30).

|  |
|--|
| (30) ¶ Uidebitis cęlum. Nathanael israelita. dicitur visurus apertum cęlum ȝ angelos ascendentes ȝ descendentes vt olim patriarcha iacob vidit scalam ȝ angelos ascendentes ȝ descendentes qui per benedictionem vocatus est israel. (G 227) |
|--|

Apparently, Orm found this comparison insufficient for his exposition; in its place he provided three different interpretations of *videbitis caelum apertum*, all based on different sources. He first gives a historical interpretation: it is a straightforward rendering of a comment by Bede (31) about the Gates of Heaven being opened by

the Incarnation (or Resurrection, as Orm chooses to interpret Bede's 'God as man penetrated Heaven'), with very little added material. The passage is characterised by Orm's usual kind of reformulations, e.g. "nobis in eum credentibus" 'to us who believe in Him' becomes "Ʒæn alle þa þatt lufenn crist: / ʒ hise laḡess haldenn." 'To all those who love Christ and keep His laws' (H13828f.).

- (31) ① Videmus etenim coelum apertum, quia ② postquam coelum Deus homo penetravit, etiam ④ nobis in eum credentibus ③ superpatriae patriae patefactum cognoscimus ingressum. (Beda, *In S. Joannis Evangelium Expositio*, PL vol. 92, col. 0656A–B)
- Þiss hátt tatt wass natanaæl. ①  
 Bihatenn ʒ filippe:  
 Wass filledd affterr þatt tatt crist. ②  
 Wass risenn upp off dæþe.  
 Forr þurh þe laferd cristess dæþ:  
 Wass heffness ʒate all oppnedd. ③  
 Ʒæn alle þa þatt lufenn crist: ④  
 ʒ hise laḡess haldenn.  
 (H13822–29)

The second interpretation is allegorical: on the basis of a passage from Bruno Astensis, Orm uses metaphor and simile to show how 'heavens' can be taken to signify the Apostles (32). The usual kind of modification can be observed, e.g. "eorum fide et doctrina" 'with their faith and teaching' is turned into 'through their preaching and their example' (H13836f.).

- (32) ① Totus mundus coelo concluditur, tota Ecclesia catholica inter apostolicae fidei et doctrinae terminos continetur. Quicumque extra hos terminos est, profanus et infidelis est. ... quae quidem omnia apostolis quoque convenire videntur. In eis enim et solem, et lunam, et stellas
- ʒ ʒ mann maḡḡ unnderstandenn þiss:  
 Ʒét onn an oþer wise.  
 Þatt heffness sholdenn oppnedd ben:  
 Biforenn follkess sihhþe.  
 Forr heffness her bitacenn uss. ①  
 Þe laferd cristess possless.  
 Þatt ʒæfenn uss þurh þeḡḡre spell. ②  
 ʒ ec þurh þeḡḡre bisne.  
 Soþ lihht her i þiss middellærd:  
 To sen ʒ tunnderstandenn.  
 All hu mann birþ þatt weḡḡe gan:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>invenire non est difficile. Ipsi sunt, quibus Dominus ait: ② «<u>Vos estis lux mundi (Matth. V, 14);</u>» sic eorum fide et doctrina tota Ecclesia illuminata est, ③ sicut solis huius, et lunae splendore tota terra illuminatur, in quibus et virtutum omnium pulchritudo, quasi stellae quaedam coruscant. (Bruno Astensis, <i>Sententiae</i>. PL vol. 165, col. 0945A–B)</p> | <p>Þatt ledeþþ upp till heffneꝛ ③<br/>         All swa summ heffne uss ȝifeþþ lihhtꝛ<br/>         Þurh sunne. ȝ mone. ȝ sterness.<br/>         (H13830–41)</p> |
|---|--|

The third interpretation is again allegorical, and again seeks to demonstrate that ‘heavens’ signifies the Apostles (33). This time Orm builds a complex metaphor from bits and pieces from five different sources,<sup>10</sup> likening the faithless heart to an arid and frozen plot of ground, a fruitless orchard, which should be watered with the salty and bitter tears of contrition. I have not been able to find the full metaphor anywhere in the PL database, only the ‘building-blocks’, so I assume that Orm should be given credit for the metaphor.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(33) ① <u>In omnibus gentibus per apostolorum ministerium</u> ② <u>poenitentia et remissio peccatorum praedicata est</u> (Haymo Halberstatensis, <i>Homilia LXXIV</i>. PL vol. 118, col. 0472A)</p> <p>...tam salutaris doctrinae fluentia effudit, per quae</p> | <p>Ʒ ȝ ec þe posstless ȝæfenn uss. ①<br/>         Þurh lare. ȝ ec þurh bisne.<br/>         Soþ rewwsinng off all ure woh. ②<br/>         Off sakess. ȝ off sinness.<br/>         To ① wattrenn ȝ to ② dæwenn swa.<br/>         Þurh bezȝske. ȝ sallte tæress. ③<br/>         Þatt herrte þatt wiþþinnenn uss. ④<br/>         Iss hefigliȝ forrclungenn. ⑤<br/>         Þurh fakenn trowwþe towardd goddꝛ ⑥<br/>         ȝ towardd mann onn eorþe.</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that comments like that quoted from Haymo in (33) can be found in other texts as well, but since Orm used Haymo’s homilies elsewhere, it seemed reasonable to use Haymo’s version as an illustration here.

⑤ arida ⑥ infidelium ④  
corda ① irrigavit, ... con-  
tinuos producit fontes la-  
crymarum, in quibus ⑤  
arida terra ④ cordis dul-  
citer ① irrigatur, et ⑩ ad  
proferendos dignae opera-  
tionis fructus fecundatur.  
(Godefridus Admontensis,  
*Homilia XLIII*. PL vol.  
174, col. 0844B)

Item ② ros praedicatorum  
doctrinam, ut est illud in  
libro Job: *Quis est pluviae*  
*pater? vel quis genuit stil-*  
*las roris?* (Job XXXVIII)  
ac si diceret: nisi ego, qui  
⑤ siccam terram ④ hu-  
mani cordis guttis scien-  
tiae gratuito ② aspergo  
rore. (Rabanus Maurus,  
*De Universo Libri Vigin-*  
*ti Duo. Liber XI. Caput*  
*XIX. De rore*. PL vol. III,  
col. 0328D)

③ lacrymae ... sunt salsae  
et amarae ad restringen-  
dam carnis luxuriam; sunt  
calidae contra ⑧ frigus in-  
fidelitatis, et ad accenden-  
dum ⑦ ardorem charitatis  
(Beda, *In Matthaei Evan-*  
*gelium Expositio*. Liber I.  
Caput V. PL vol. 92, col.  
0024C–D)

Ƿ forr þatt itt bidæledd iss. ⑦  
Off all soþ lufess hæteꝛ ⑦  
All iss itt uss bifrorenn swa. ⑧  
Þurh hete. Ƿ niþ. Ƿ irreꝛ ⑨  
Þatt all itt liþ uss wasstmelæs. ⑩  
Off alle gode dedess.  
(H13842–13857)

⑨ *Malitiam quoque, iram et odium, ...* (Petrus Damianus, [*De Institutis Suae Congregationis.*] *Caput XXVI.* ‘Quomodo lacrymarum gratia possit acquiri.’ PL vol. 145, col. 0358C–D)

Of course, the fact that Orm uses different source material from the *Glossa* when there is a lacuna in Eriugena’s *Expositio* does not in itself prove that he had access to a copy of it (he may just have found Anselm’s selections useless for his purposes, as in the interpretation of “videbitis caelum apertum” discussed above). Nevertheless, taken together with those passages where Orm uses material from Eriugena which never made its way into the *Glossa*, these free-ranging parts of the *Ormulum* can at least be seen as supporting evidence for the hypothesis that Orm did have access to an Eriugena manuscript and could tell where the lacunae were in Eriugena’s exposition.

#### 4.2 *A possible route of transmission*

It remains for us to consider if it is reasonable to postulate a link between Laon in Picardie and Bourne in Lincolnshire in the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> Anselm of Laon died in 1117, and the school soon went into decline after his death (Southern 1995: 199). Shortly after, Gervase (abbot 1121–1147) introduced a stricter discipline at the Augustinian abbey of Arrouaise, south of Arras in Picardie (now Pas-de-Calais) (Dickinson 1950: 77f., 86). A scribe who had worked closely with Anselm may have chosen the early 1120s to leave Laon for Arrouaise, taking some manuscripts with him as he left, including the copy of Eriugena. The distance from Laon to

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<sup>11</sup> I will assume that Parkes’ (1983) identification of Orm’s house is correct.

Arrouaise was about 70 kilometres, so he need not have taken more than a week or two to get there.

In 1138 a party left Arrouaise to go off to England to found the daughter house at Bourne in Lincolnshire (Parkes 1983: 126). Whether or not the scribe from Laon was a member of this party, we have to assume that the manuscripts he had brought from Laon went to Bourne to form part of the abbey library there. This hypothetical scribe provides a possible link between the cathedral school at Laon and Bourne Abbey: when Orm started his work on the *Ormulum*, presumably between 1155 and 1160, the copy of Eriugena would have been there, as well as stories about the threefold brothers at Laon, Anselm and Ralph.

## 5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to investigate those parts of the Preface to the *Ormulum* that are not derived from exegetical Latin texts. For two of the three issues discussed here the evidence is there in the text, we only have to relate it to the relevant descriptive categories. As regards those passages that deal with relationships between Orm and various other persons (the instigator of the work, the copyist, possible detractors, God), they agree perfectly with the norms for a Ciceronian *praefatio*, as described by Janson (1964). With respect to the passages that deal with non-personal characteristics of the text, the Preface is a typical ‘Type C’ prologue, as described by Minnis (1981).

However, as regards the reason for Orm’s insisting on threefold brotherhood, my suggestion that this is a veiled reference to Anselm and Ralph of Laon, another pair of threefold brothers, is less easy to find support for. There is textual evidence that Orm used Eriugena’s commentary on John in a way that presupposes that he had access to a manuscript copy of it. Since the only surviving manuscript has

never left Laon (Jeauneau 1972: 77) and was used by Anselm as the main source for the *Glossa* on John, this suggests some kind of link between Orm and the work carried out at Laon a generation or two earlier. The possible transmission procedure sketched above is of course mere speculation, and it does not seem likely that evidence for or against this story will ever become available, as Parkes (1983: 127, fn. 55) hoped: the recently published documents from Arrouaise Abbey (Tock 2000) contain no material relating to Bourne. What remains is the textual evidence in the *Ormulum* itself.

The analysis of the Preface to the *Ormulum* made here suggests that Orm was not a very modest person, and that he had a very high opinion of the value of his work. He may have wished to include a veiled reference to Anselm and Ralph because he saw Walter and himself as their spiritual heirs; perhaps he even saw the *Ormulum* as a vernacular counterpart of the *Glossa ordinaria*.

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