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THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE AND POETRY

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A recent article by Claude Schneider began with a useful summary of
the assumptions that lie behind much of the criticism of Old English
Christian poetry:

> A not infrequent observation in criticism about Old
> English Christian poems holds that a body of diction
> which was inherited from a Germanic, military and
> heroic past forced the poets to describe Christian
> characters inappropriately in terms belonging to the
> ideals of a warrior society.[1]

The truth of Schneider's summary is borne out by Derek
Pearsall's survey of Old and Middle English poetry published a year
earlier:

> The adaptation of traditional verse-form, style
> and vocabulary to religious purposes involved the
> transfer of a good deal of military terminology,
> since most heroic poetry dealt with battles . . .
> . . Clearly, such language would often be inappro-
> priate, when the poet was speaking of battles, even
> of metaphorical battles against the forces of darkness:
> even Bede can speak of Cuthbert as 'the soldier of
> Christ.'[2]

It is true that Pearsall goes on to say that the retention of
traditional poetic vocabulary and style does not mean that the con-
trolling ethic is Germanic, but he is acutely aware of "a strong
residual heroic quality in the vocabulary and in the handling of
certain themes" (p.28) and of what he believes to be the poets'
attempts "to fulfil the potential of the heroic style by diverting
it from useless fictions to profitable truths" (p.28).

Such assumptions arise from the critic's highly developed sense
of the conservative nature of Old English poetic diction which
includes the persistence of certain items of vocabulary particularly
from the battle language of the heroic tradition. If, however,
awareness of the strength of the heroic battle tradition in Old
English were matched by an equal awareness of the strength of the
image of the saint as *miles Christi*, the critic might recognize more
easily that we do not always have in poetic hagiography a simple
redeployment of traditional poetic diction, with its traditional,
heroic connotations often inappropriate to the Christian matter

being presented, but an informed response to the Christian warrior
metaphor, in which the poet may be both explicit about his aims and
selective in his use of battle vocabulary.

The first part of this paper, therefore, will attempt to define
the Christian metaphor as known in Anglo-Saxon England by surveying
the use, nature and presentation of the *miles Christi* imagery in Old
English prose; the second will reconsider *Guðlac A* and *Juliana* and,
for purposes of contrast, *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* in
the light of this tradition. Much of the extant prose post-dates
the poetry and so cannot be used as direct commentary on it, but it
can appropriately be used to define the general tradition available
to Christian poets, since it closely reflects that found in patristic
and Anglo-Latin writings. There is the important additional advan-
tage in defining the *miles Christi* imagery through its vernacular
expression of seeing what details and even, at times, what vocabulary
were favoured by those who were using the imagery for people whose
linguistic and cultural assumptions must have been similar to those
shared by the people who enjoyed poetic hagiography.

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

1. The monk as *miles Christi*.

From the early Christian era the imagery of warfare was used
for the ordained members of the church.[3] It is not surprising,
therefore, that from the beginnings of formalized monasticism we
find the imagery of warfare being used for monks, who were also
especially committed members of the spiritual community.[4] The pro-
logue to the *Benedictine Rule*, in explaining the nature of the
monastic life, does so partly through the image of the armed soldier
of the Lord:

> Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur, quisquis
> abrenuntians propriis uoluntatibus domino Christo
> uero regi militaturus oboedientiae fortissima atque
> praeclara arma sumis.[5]
>
> Ergo praeparanda sunt corda et corpora nostra sanctae
> praeceptorum oboedientiae militanda. Et quod minus
> habet in nos natura possibile, rogemus dominum, ut
> gratiae suae iuueat nobis adiutorium ministrare. (pp.7-8)

When a novice was admitted, the Rule was to be read to him and the
following words were to be said in conclusion:

> Ecce lex, sub qua militare uis; si potes obseruare,
> ingredere, si uero non potes, liber discede. (p.134)

The cloistered monk is conceived of as fighting within the community
under the guidance of the Rule and the abbot (p.17). An anchorite,
however, having learnt how to resist the devil, may leave the battle
line and face single combat, "ex acie ad singularem pugnam" (p.17),
defending himself with his own arm and God's help against the sins

of body and soul. For the more usual monastic *miles* who remains within the community, the weapons to be used are the arms of obedience.

Mohrmann[6] and Manning[7] have shown the extent to which this ideal of monastic military service differed from the secular and from the concept of the more active *miles Christi* fighting incarnate demons, which is characteristic of the eremitic life. By the time of Sulpicius Severus (*c.*360-*c.*420), *militia* had become a technical term for monasticism and the military terminology in this context underwent a semantic shift so that *militare* was equivalent to *servire* and military service was performed through obedience to the commands of the Rule and the abbot. Mohrmann believes that Benedict was able to use the military vocabulary in this sense because in the secular world its exclusively warlike connotations had partly been eroded owing to its use to designate civil service in the imperial palace, as well as straightforward army service.

The Old English interlinear gloss[8] exactly observes this semantic shift by giving "efne her is under þære þeowian þu wilt" for "ecce lex, sub qua *militare* uis" (Logeman, p.96, my italics). Elsewhere *militare* is glossed by campian: *militaturus*, to campienne (Logeman, p.1); *militanda*, to campiende (Logeman, p.5); *militans*, campiende (Logeman, p.9); *militatur*, si gecampod (Logeman, p.102).[9] The Old English prose translation of the Rule uses campian once[10] and twice, where the syntactical structure differs, uses gecamp (Schröer, pp. 5, 9). In translating the opening sentences of the prologue, however, where the battle imagery occurs for the first time, the translator, whilst keeping close to the Latin in giving wæpnum for *arma*, and hyrsumnesse for *oboedientiae*, does not translate *militaturus*, but paraphrases its essential meaning in the context by a further reference to obedience (Schröer, p.1). Similarly elsewhere *militatur* is interpreted as is . . . geþeowad and gehyrsumod (Schröer, p.111) and *seruitutis militiam* by þeowdom (Schröer, p.23).

Thus, at least within the context of the *Benedictine Rule*, the transferred sense of *militare* was thoroughly understood in England in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries[11] by translator and glossator alike, and it may be significant that, where they do not give direct expression to the transferred sense, by using þeowian, hyrsumian or þeowdom, they independently choose, from the range of "fighting" words in Old English, campian and gecamp as suitable vernacular equivalents of *militare*,[12] a preference that we find in a great many uses of the *miles Christi* image in Old English prose.

The metaphor is developed extensively in commentaries on the Rule, where attention is focused, not on organizational matters, as it often is in the Rule itself, but on the nature of the religious life in the spiritual sense. One of these commentaries, the so-called *Hexameron of St. Basil*, was translated into Old English by Ælfric[13] and contains in its prologue, which has no parallel in the Latin, the image of the monks as "Cristes þegnas campiende wið deoflu dæges and nihtes" (p.32).[14] The fullest development of the image comes in the second chapter (pp.34-38) where the translator follows his Latin text closely in presenting the traditional

comparison between the soldiers of Christ and the soldiers of an
earthly king. Obedience is emphasized as the common factor, but
their warfare is fundamentally different both in the weapons with
which they fight and in the rewards that they win. Cempa and
campian regularly translate *miles* and *militare* and in both the Latin
and the Old English texts, the same words are used for spiritual and
secular states in order to sharpen the contrasts that are so care-
fully presented in balanced, alternating statements.

    One can compare with this the similar contrast between spiritual
and physical warfare carefully developed by Ælfric in the lesson
that he draws for the benefit of Benedictines from the story of the
Maccabees,[15] although there were occasions where one of the few
similarities between the two kinds of warfare provided a useful
argument by analogy. Ælfric tells of a soldier (woruldcempa) who,
after becoming a monk, longed to be reunited with his wife, now a
nun. He asked St Martin's permission and was refused on the grounds
that women do not go into battle with their menfolk,[16] an analogical
argument used also in the Rule of Chrodegang[17] to justify priestly
celibacy.

2. The martyr as *miles*.

    Another extreme manifestation of Christian commitment is that
of the martyr[18] and here too we find Old English prose writers
following Latin models in presenting the martyr in military terms
which, in the Christian context, describe behaviour diametrically
opposed to what, in other contexts, would be suggested by the use
of these same words. In the monastic context, the military vocab-
ulary denotes "service" and "obedience"; in the context of martyrdom
it is "suffering". The semantic shift in either case is dramatic,
but just as it causes no difficulty in Latin, so it seems to cause
no difficulty or confusion in Old English prose. The frequent
brevity of Ælfric's allusions to the military metaphor in his
accounts of martyrs both in his *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives
of Saints* indicates on his part an automatic association, which he
also evidently expected his audience to share. It must be remem-
bered, of course, as we consider the examples, that martyrdom was
not narrowly defined. A holy man might earn the title of "martyr"
if he dies a natural death, as in Guðlac's case, and be called "a
soldier of Christ" without ever having confronted a physical enemy
or been tortured or killed for the faith:

        Witodlice ðurh geðyld we magon beon martiras. þeah
        ðe we on sibbe godes gelaðunge ure lif geendion.[19]

    It is nevertheless true that a high proportion of the saints
are martyrs in the narrower sense, and it is revealing that these
Christian heroes earn from Ælfric the title of "God's warrior" at
the moment when he tells of their suffering and death. Their
resistance is physically passive; the endurance of suffering brought
about by their fidelity to God and their very willing acceptance of
death is what gives these warriors their victory:

> Witodlice ðes halga cyðere [*sc.* Stephen]. and his
> æftergengan wæron gewitan þyses geleafan. and ðisum
> geleafan hi cyddon gecyðnysse oferswiðende þisne
> feondlican middangeard. na ongean feohtende ac
> sweltende. (*Catholic Homilies*, Godden, p.16. My under-
> lining.)

In such contexts, the military metaphor is evoked most commonly by
the use of cempa (with campian and gecamp), sigefæst and sige, with
gewinn occasionally being used.[20] The title Godes cempa (or cempa
alone, understood by Skeat as "the Christian warrior")[21] might also
be used of the saints at other stages in their lives, sometimes when
they were threatened with death without actually being killed, and to
designate those who, in the wider definition of martyrdom, demon-
strate their faith in other ways.[22] Vercelli Homily V, in a passage
commenting on the *pax Romana* at the Nativity and the apostles' preach-
ing of the gospel of peace, nevertheless calls the apostles cempan,[23]
which would be incongruous were it not that by the tenth century, and
possibly earlier, cempa had obviously extended its semantic range to
include a figurative sense that could be exploited by an unmistakably
Christian context.

In the Old English *Martyrology*[24] campode is used, without expla-
nation, as an expression for "was martyred":

> On þone fifteogðan dæg þæs monðes bið sancte Vites
> þrowung; he wæs seofon geara cniht þa he campode for
> Criste. (p.94)

> On þone seofonteogðan dæg þæs monðes bið þæs halgan
> cnihtes tid sancti Mommos; se wæs twelf wintre cniht
> þa he for Criste campode. (p.148)

There is further confirmation of a semantic shift for campian
in the alphabetical vocabulary in the eleventh century MS BL Cotton
A III,[25] where campian glosses *agonizans* (341/21) and ellencampedon
oððe þrowedon glosses *agonizarunt* (342/15). The first shows clearly
the equivalence between fighting and suffering that has been accom-
modated in campian and it is even clearer in the second example.
There is no question of mistranslation since þrowedon shows that
agonizare was properly understood. It is regrettable that we do not
know the context from which *agonizare* and its glosses were drawn, but
it may have been from a context that used the *miles Christi* image,
possibly the account of a martyr, particularly since the only deriv-
atives listed are also glossed as if they formed part of a *miles
Christi* (martyr) image: *agonis*, 345/25: gewinnes; *agonista*, 338/2:
oretmæcga; *in agonia*, 424/12: in elne.

Vernacular writers, in presenting martyrs in this way, were
faithful followers of a highly developed Latin tradition that is well
represented in Anglo-Latin texts as well as in the earlier patristic
writings known to the English. Bede uses it,[26] it is familiar to
Alcuin, who recognizes the paradox that Christians must be "milites
in passione Christi",[27] and it is used by Boniface[28] and of him in
descriptions of his martyrdom.[29] Willibald's account tells how

Boniface's companions arm and rush to his side when he is attacked, but this "egregius Christi miles" exhorts them to lay down their arms and to resist by being heroic in the Lord. With Albertson we may see this final act as "the Germanic *comitatus*-loyalty in stupendous reverse",[30] but Willibald's account is in fact quite independent of that tradition, as are vernacular accounts of martyrs, despite the military language employed.

3. The siege of the soul.

     Presentation of the fight against sin in terms of siege warfare is easily recognized as imagery introduced into Anglo-Saxon England by the Christian Latin tradition, since siege warfare is neither a part of the traditions of heroic poetry, nor a military tactic employed by the Anglo-Saxons.[31] Gregory the Great, on the other hand, was familiar with walled cities that could withstand the frontal attack of besieging armies and that might sometimes be conquered by treachery from within, and he felt free to continue the tradition of using the besieged walled city as an image of the Christian soul resisting the attacks of the devil.[32] But for the Anglo-Saxons the image had literary force only and perhaps for this reason it is scarcely found in extant Old English prose outside the translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*,[33] a text which in fact provides few examples of the image and those far less developed than one often finds in Gregory's writings. Furthermore, in both the Latin and Old English versions of the *Cura Pastoralis*, the spiritual significance of the siege image is made explicit, so that there is no possibility of confusion.

4. Single combat against sin and the devil.

     Less well defined means of presenting the Christian's fight against sin are potentially more open to misconstruction by modern readers who, often more aware of the heroic traditions of Old English poetry than of the highly developed Christian imagery of spiritual warfare, might be inclined to see the military language as a reflection of, and an appeal to the native traditions rather than to the Christian, from which they so obviously derive.[34] In fact the vernacular writers who present the fights of the Christian in terms of single combat against the devil, sin, or incarnate demons embodying the soul's temptations, are careful to make it clear that these fights are spiritual, so that there is at least an implied contrast with the physical fighting of secular warfare. This is an essential lesson of Christianity and is found in Latin texts also, but the consistency with which it is repeated in Old English removed from the Anglo-Saxons being taught, as it should also remove for us, any thought of connection with the military tradition as embodied in Old English poetry.

     The two chief methods by which Anglo-Saxon prose writers signal their intentions are to emphasise the passivity of the Christian soldier's "resistance" either by giving it narrative prominence or by commenting on it directly, and to provide immediate spiritual interpretation of any details, such as weapons and items of armour, that

are used to elaborate the image.

Examples of the former occur in the *Martyrology* and in the
Dialogues.[35] Antony, in the *Martyrology*'s brief summary (Herzfeld,
pp.20-22), resists the demons passively and dispels them with the
sign of the cross (although, as in the *Vita Antonii*, there is one
exceptional physical incident when the saint is so violently
assaulted that he is left unable to speak).[36] In the *Dialogues*
Benedict "fights" se ealda feond when he destroys a grove of Apollo
in order to establish a church, but the conflict is verbal and the
devil, who can be overcome by prayers, flees before the victorious
man of God.[37]

Models for the immediate interpretation of weapons and armour
exist in the New Testament Epistles, notably Ephesians vi, 10-18,
used in the Anglo-Latin accounts of the lives of Cuthbert and Guðlac[38]
and in Old English by Ælfric in one of his *Catholic Homilies* (Godden, p.
123) and by an unpublished homily in Corpus Christi College Cambridge
MS 190, p.351. Ælfric abbreviates in quoting probably from memory
and in his reference to ðæs hihtes helm may have confused the *galeam
salutis* of Ephesians vi, 17 with *galeam spem salutis* of I
Thessalonians v, 8. The Corpus Christi homilist uses I Peter v, 8-9
alongside Ephesians vi, 14 and 17. II Corinthians vi, 7 is used in
the *Pastoral Care* in the interpretation of the priest's surplice as
his armour against temptation.[39] The origins of further details,
notably the arrows of sin, can be traced to the psalms, where mili-
tary language is common, and since it was customary to interpret the
psalms in relation to the Christian life, they were understood as
being rich in examples of spiritual warfare.[40] The familiar patterns
of behaviour are present: the psalmist is passive, God fights on his
behalf, spiritual protection is provided, and the enemies can be
defeated by steadfastness of heart and trust in the Lord.

In Old English homiletic literature, arrows are the devil's
weapons[41] and if not named as such, may be alluded to through a verb
of shooting.[42] Vercelli Homily IV lists the sins from which arrows
are made and here interpretation follows closely upon the military
vocabulary, as it does also in more general statements about spiritual
warfare when specific "weapons" are not mentioned.[43]

By these various means, then, writers of Christian vernacular
prose so consistently modify the significance of the military
language employed that, within a Christian context, it becomes a
specialized, even stereotyped vocabulary, dependent for its peculiar
connotations more on Christian tradition than on any native one for
which some of the items of vocabulary were also inevitably used.

5. The fight against human foes.

Christians might also, on occasion, be confronted with human
foes. In the early centuries of Christianity the Church had come to
accept the idea of a *bellum justum*[44] and the principle was well
understood in Anglo-Saxon England. The evidence has been collected
by Cross[45] and there is little point in adding to his examples,
particularly since the descriptions of physical battles between
Christians and pagans are not properly part of a study of the *miles*

Christi metaphor.[46] It is relevant, however, to extend the discussion to include Christians' confrontations with human foes where there is either direct divine intervention or where physical battle is avoided, even if military vocabulary continues to be used. The purpose of such stories was to emphasise once again, in a particularly striking way, how much the Christian ethic differed from that of secular society.

Cross (p.280) refers to St Martin's statement, "Christi miles sum; pugnare mihi non licet", by which, paradoxically, he at once assumes the rôle of a soldier and withdraws from fighting. Ælfric uses it in his longer life of St Martin (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat II, p.226) and makes clear the difference between spiritual and physical battle in the shorter life (*Catholic Homilies*, Godden, p.289) although, in common with the Blickling life of St Martin (Morris, pp.211-17), he does not repeat Sulpicius' neat remark.

The story of another Roman soldier, Gallicanus (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat I, pp.190-92), sets up expectations of physical battle and it is therefore all the more striking that, when he advances towards the Scythian king, his enemy falls dead at his feet without a fight. The situation is closer to the concept of the spiritual *miles* than it is to the straightforward *bellum justum*, since Gallicanus, godes cempa (p.192), does not strike a blow, but is victorious through his faith in God that had been strengthened by the promises of John and Paul and the appearance of armed angels.

Other stories of confrontation with human foes have no particular justification within the narrative for the military language employed, which is thus seen to be imagery only. In this way the story is drawn firmly into the tradition of the spiritual *miles Christi* and the human opponent, however historical, assumes the rôle of being little more than the embodiment of evil that must be resisted. In the story of the Forty Soldiers, their enemies are at first the judge and the emperor, whose service they renounce, but later their adversaries are seen as the judge, the prefect and *the devil*, and in this struggle they call upon Christ for aid (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat I, pp.238-42). Military language is also used in relation to the human confrontations of Laurentius (*Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Thorpe, I, p.418) and of Marcus and Marcellianus (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat I, pp.118-22). But in both cases the fact that the enemy is human becomes insignificant. The stories conform to the pattern of the spiritual *miles* in that Laurentius is promised victory in death at the hands of the cruel king, and Marcus and Marcellianus are seen as soldiers of Christ chiefly in their resistance of the tempting pleas of non-Christians to surrender. Finally we may note Ælfric's brief introduction of military imagery in his account of the confrontation between Peter and Paul and Simon Magus (*Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Thorpe, I, p.374). There is nothing in Acts viii to suggest the imagery, which is merely a vivid way of explaining the nature of the saints' spiritual resistance.[47]

Thus, except in the particular case of the *bellum justum*, military language is employed exactly as it is in explicitly spiritual contexts, for the same purposes and with the same modification of meaning, even when the enemy is human.

POETRY

1. Guðlac A.

Guðlac is the obvious starting point for an examination of the
miles Christi imagery in Old English poetry. Felix of Crowland's
Vita Guthlaci, written probably in the 730's and translated into Old
English in the eleventh century,[48] was modelled upon the influential
Vita Antonii.[49] Both *vitae* externalize the anchorites' struggles
with tempting thoughts as battles with incarnate demons armed with
the arrows of temptation[50] and, as has been noted above (p.63), the
Vita Guthlaci also includes a description of the arming of the
Christian soldier, based ultimately on Ephesians vi, 13-17, but taken
here from the *Vita Cuthberti*, another Anglo-Latin *vita* modelled upon
the *Vita Antonii*. Both Anglo-Latin *vitae* follow the expected pattern
of providing immediate spiritual interpretation of the military
language employed in the "arming" passages, in presenting the saints'
confrontations, with few exceptions, as being unambiguously spiritual,
and in making it clear that the saints win by passive resistance
based on trust in God.

Guðlac B, dealing mainly with Guðlac's death and therefore of
less interest in the present context, is generally regarded as being
based on chapter 50 of Felix's *Vita*. There is less certainty about
the relationship of *Guðlac A* to Felix's work,[51] but we are undoubtedly
dealing with a story where the underlying tradition is that of the
miles Christi. It remains to be seen how the poet of *Guðlac A*
responds to this tradition within the limitations of traditional Old
English poetic diction. Opinions have varied. Kurtz (p.144) felt
that *Guðlac A* was a poem whose essential spirit differed from the
Latin hagiographic tradition:

> A militant mind, of a sort, stands behind *Guthlac A*.
> No Felix or Athanasius, trained to the Church ideal
> of humility and long-suffering, praises a patient,
> much enduring saint as a model for the Christian
> anchorite. But a mind that delights in epics of con-
> flict and in the heroic ideal of the fighting champion,
> has converted Guthlac into a mighty man of action, a
> protagonist, said to be almost contemporary, in the
> supreme war of the ages.

Shook, on the other hand, argued that the resemblance to secular
heroic poetry is only superficial, arising out of the inherited
linguistic and stylistic features.[52]

There is no doubt that the poet of *Guðlac A* saw the story of
Guðlac as the story of a *miles Christi* and that, in making this
clear in his poem, he wanted the members of his audience to recog-
nize its relevance to their own lives of resistance to temptation.
The opening lines of the poem,[53] which provide a didactic prologue,
draw attention to various ideals of behaviour to which the Christian
should aspire, including the need to be obedient to God's commands
(32-4). At the end of the prologue, and immediately before intro-
ducing Guðlac by name, the poet makes some general comments about
dwellers in the wilderness, using military imagery:

                        Fore him englas stondað,
        gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum,   beoþ hyra geoca gemyndge,
        healdað haligra feorh,   witon hyra hyht mid dryhten.
        Þæt synd þa gecostan cempan   þa þam cyninge þeowað,
        se næfre þa lean alegeð   þam þe his lufan adreogeð.
                                                    (88-92)

Later, after describing one of Guðlac's confrontations, the poet
comments approvingly:

        Swa sceal oretta   a in his mode
        gode compian,   ond his gæst beran
        oft in ondan   þam þe eahtan wile
        sawla gehwylcre   þær he gesælan mæg.   (344-47)

Shortly after, he distances himself from the narrative to ask:

                        Hwylc wæs mara þonne se?
        An oretta   ussum tidum
        cempa gecyðeð   þæt him Crist fore
        woruldlicra ma   wundra gecyðde.   (400-403)

He thus confirms that he sees Guðlac's life as being within the
miles Christi tradition, as he does later in the didactic "epilogue"
where, in drawing attention to what can be learnt from Guðlac's
life, the poet refers to cempan gecorene,   Criste leofe (797) who
vanquish (oferfeohtað) the fiend and their sinful desires (803).
This didactic, homiletic framework, in which the *Guðlac A* poet makes
his understanding of the story explicit, appears to be original with
him; it is not found in Felix, nor was it introduced by his Anglo-
Saxon prose translator at the end of the period.[54]

     When we consider the nominal expressions used for Guðlac in
the poem, additional to the use of his name, we note, with Rosemary
Woolf,[55] that "phrases such as Cristes cempa or eadig oretta occur
with refrain-like insistence"; they are constant reminders of the
poet's point of view. But more important, even, than the repetition
of such phrases is the selectivity of the poet's vocabulary.[56]
Despite his clear conception of Guðlac as a *miles Christi* figure, or
perhaps because of it, the poet does not designate Guðlac by nouns
or nominal phrases that have unambiguously heroic connotations, as
can be seen from the list below:

cempa (11 times)	þeow (5 times)
153 Cristes cempa	157 se halga þeow
180 se cempa	314 dryhtnes þeow
324 wuldres cempa	386 se dryhtnes þeow
402 cempa	*579 dryhtnes þeow
438 cempa	600 þeow geþyldig
513 halig cempa	
558 wuldres cempan	oretta (3 times)
576 meotudes cempan	176 eadig oretta
*580 cempa god	401 oretta
688 wuldres cempa	569 godes orettan
727 dryhtnes cempa	

wer (twice)
108 se halga wer
590 se eadga wer

weard (once)
230-31 swiðra . . . weard

yrming (once)
*272 godes yrming

martyre (once)
514 se martyre

ombiehthera (once)
599 ombiehthera

gæst (once)
689-90 leofesta gæst

fruma (once)
773 se fruma

* [cempa god (580) and dryhtnes þeow (579) are used by the
devils who claim that Guðlac is not God's warrior and
servant; they also use godes yrming (272) in a taunting
fashion.]

Cempa is also used twice (91, 797) and oretta once (344) in the
overtly didactic passages to refer more generally to Christian
warriors.

Only cempa and oretta can be claimed as warrior terms; none of
the others, with the exception of weard, which has immediate con-
textual relevance only in referring to Guðlac's guarding of his
mound, suggests either the military qualities or the social relation-
ships of the heroic tradition. On the contrary, þeow, used here and
commonly in other poems for those who serve God, occurs once only in
Beowulf (2223) in a derogatory sense; yrming is used in Old English
poetry only here and once in the Meters of Boethius (21:17), again in
a Christian context; martyre is a Christian loan word; ombiehthera is
a hapax legomenon; fruma is common in Christian poetry, frequently
with reference to God and occurs rarely as a simplex in heroic poetry
and wer and gæst, finally, are so widely used in prose and poetry
that they have no very specialized connotations. Even the two warrior
terms are not those most frequently associated with the heroic tra-
dition.[57] Cempa is widely used in prose in a variety of contexts and,
as we have seen, tended to be the favoured word in ecclesiastical
prose, as it is the favoured word in this poem, to designate the
soldier of Christ.

In other respects too, the poem is more closely related to the
Christian military tradition than to the heroic. Following the usual
practice, Guðlac's weapons are clearly stated to be spiritual (177-78)
and we are reminded by the poet's general didactic comments, by his
comments on Guðlac's resistance, and by the words he attributes to
Guðlac himself, that the struggle is one of the spirit. His courage
comes not from within himself but from the angels and from God (190,
202-3, 292-3), angels and the apostle Bartholomew come to his rescue,
and victory is frequently said to be granted by God.

The poet sees Guðlac and those who live like him as martyrs in
the wider sense of the term (161, 182, 470-4, 514-15). We are there-
fore to understand that the saint's victory is properly won through
suffering and through service and obedience to God. The emphasis on
suffering, which we find in prose accounts of martyrs, is present in

the narrative itself; attention is drawn to it also as a means of performing God's will by Guðlac's words in 385-6 and 778-9. Obedience and service, as we have seen, were likewise an integral part of the *miles Christi* tradition. The prologue to *Guðlac A*, in establishing a number of Christian values, presents obedience and service as positives within the Christian life (69, 75, 80, 91); Guðlac provides a gloss to all his actions in asserting that man cannot reach God but by an obedient spirit (hyrsumne hige, 368), and in his climactic rejection of the final temptation, particularly in lines 599 following, there is emphasis on service, humility, patience and faithful obedience. These qualities, which are essentially passive, are the accepted and traditional means to success for the Christian hero, but not for the heroic warrior.

The poet rarely leaves us in doubt that he is conforming to the Christian tradition even when he composes lines that seem to recall the heroic. Guðlac, like Beowulf, renounces the use of the sword in his fight against his foes (302-7). His reason, however, is not because he wishes to show his prowess by fighting on equal terms, not because he trusts in his own unarmed strength, nor because he believes that the devil is impervious to weapons, but because he believes that God will protect him;[58] his passivity in the "fight" is striking. Furthermore, if Guðlac's renunciation reminds us of Beowulf's, we must not forget that Beowulf, in making a similar renunciation, was exceptional within the heroic tradition. Earlier, the statement:

> Gyrede hine georne   mid gæstlicum
> wæpnum   (177-78)

may similarly remind one of lines in *Beowulf* (1441-42). The Christian metaphor is maintained by the explicit gæstlicum, so that there is no ambiguity, but the feeling, derived from a knowledge of the heroic tradition, that the phrase adds to Guðlac's general heroic stature, may be justified.

The claims that Guðlac fought alone (ana, 245, 450) may also be thought to be a way of enhancing his heroic stature rather than an accurate description of what really happened, since Guðlac receives so much divine aid. But it is, of course, truthful within the Christian tradition, in that Guðlac receives no human aid, and he earns divine aid, essential for the Christian's victory, solely through his individual faith. It is thus no more inconsistent than the fact that God is said to grant Guðlac strength to resist, as a *reward* (448-450), when in fact Guðlac has merely allowed himself to be defended by God from attacks which themselves were allowed by God. We should therefore give due consideration to the logical inconsistencies that are part of the *miles Christi* metaphor before criticizing the poet for "projecting effort and triumph when none is clearly visible".[59]

I do not wish to claim that *Guðlac A* is a sophisticated poem theologically, but to show that in most essential details it conforms to the *miles Christi* tradition. The language is not noticeably heroic and the controlling ethic certainly is not. Derek Pearsall wrote of *Guðlac A*:

> it shows some of the limitations of the adapted heroic
> style in constantly substituting physical for spiritual
> confrontation. Inward analysis of the allegorically
> heroic temper of martyrdom seems imprisoned within the
> inflexibilities of the inherited style.[60]

To respond to the warlike situation and language in this way is to
fail to notice the poet's avoidance of obviously heroic vocabulary,
in so far as it could be done, to overlook his clear and frequent
interpretative guidelines, and not to be aware that the poet may be
following a well developed tradition that was fundamentally different
from the heroic.

3. Juliana.

Juliana conforms to the warrior-martyr type within the *miles
Christi* tradition who "fights" by enduring a physical passion and
who, by that faithful endurance, wins victory in death. There is
no reason why, as a female saint, she should not be described in
the military terms characteristic of the tradition and clearly, as
Schneider has pointed out,[61] the tradition is exploited within the
poem. That being so, it is interesting to notice that there is no
noun or nominal phrase in the poem that defines Juliana as a warrior
figure, except indirectly in that she shares the fate of the per-
secuted Christians referred to in line 17 as cempan and is a par-
ticular example of the faithful Christians to whom the devil refers
in general terms, again as cempan in 383 and 395.

Indeed, the *miles Christi* imagery is only lightly suggested,
except in the relatively elaborate siege-warfare image that is con-
fined to the devil's speech where he explains how he attacks
Christians (382-417). Juliana identifies the physical threats of
her human foes as hildewoman (136) but since this is in parallel
variation to the more accurate witebrogan (135), we should probably
not place too much stress on the "battle" element. Uncres gewynnes
(190) is given to Eleusius to describe his struggle with Juliana
and gewin (421) is used by Juliana to describe the former contest
between God and the devil. But gewin is insufficient to suggest an
allusion to the *miles Christi* tradition, nor does it carry any
specifically heroic connotations since it is used in varied contexts
in both poetry and prose and has a wider semantic range than merely
"battle", as the entry in Bosworth-Toller makes clear.

Juliana's behaviour is that of the spiritual *miles* in her
passivity and reliance on God (153-57; 212-15), but it is only in
the siege-warfare passage that we are made very conscious of the
Christian metaphor. The passage has been carefully examined by
Schneider and therefore needs little further attention here. But
we do well to remind ourselves that the siege-warfare image owes
nothing to native traditions and to notice that, as in the *Cura
Pastoralis*, the details of the image are immediately provided with
their spiritual interpretation. One may respond to beaduwe (385),
bord (385), scyld (386), guðreaf (387) and guðe (393, 397) as words
more familiar in heroic contexts, but there is no room for ambiguity
here; scyld is qualified by halig, guðreaf by gæstlic, bord is

unmistakably equivalent to a qualified term, haligne scyld, and so,
given the context, the nature of the beadu and guð cannot be mis-
understood. A few lines later (397-409), when the devil describes
how he tests the strength of the wall that he wishes to breach, and
discovers how he can penetrate the tower, the detail of the image
never detracts from the fact that it is the citadel of the spirit
that may be penetrated when sin attacks the bodily senses, the
weakest points of defence. The code of behaviour that brings the
warrior protection and victory is again the exercise of virtue,
faith in God and a resistance that is physically passive.

The exact source of *Juliana* is unknown, although it was
obviously a Latin text similar to the Bollandists' *Acta*.[62] It may
therefore be worth noting that the siege image, though a close
reflection of siege images such as we find in Latin patristic
writings, is not present in the *Acta*. If it is a Cynewulfian
addition, it testifies to his familiarity with the Latin tradition
and, presumably, to his assumption that the image would make sense
to his audience, although it remains a unique image in extant Old
English poetry.[63]

4. The Fates of the Apostles.

With *The Fates of the Apostles*, in contrast with *Guðlac A* and
Juliana, one cannot argue for a discriminating and selective use of
heroic diction, since the opening lines, which act as a prologue,
echo heroic poetry and set up expectations, belied by the manner of
the apostles' deaths, that the poet is about to describe the warlike
deeds of physically active heroes. Linguistically there is much in
the poem to sustain this expectation. There is, for example, refer-
ence to lof (6), miht (7), mærðo (7), þrym (8), guðplegan (22),
sigores to leane (62), wiges to leane (74), sigelean (81), tir (86)
and the nouns and adjectives used for the apostles are in total
much more evocative of the heroic tradition than those used for
Guðlac in *Guðlac A*:

æðelingas (3)	se manna (25)
torhte ond tireadige (4)	beaducræftig beorn (44)
dædum domfæste (5)	collenferð (54)
dryhtne gecorene (5)	se halga (60)
leofe on life (6)	stiðmod (72)
þeodnes þegna (8)	eadig (73)
halgan heape (9)	siðfrome (77)
frame (12)	beornas beadurofe (78)
fyrdhwate (12)	æðele (79)
hildeheard (21)	æðelingas (85)

There is every reason why the martyred apostles should be
described in military terms and within the Christian tradition, as
we have seen, there is nothing incongruous in representing their
passive victories, their physical sufferings and their deaths as
battles and as triumphs. Certainly Cynewulf remains faithful to
the facts of the apostles' deaths and hence, in using military
terminology in what, from a secular point of view, are inappropriate
contexts, conforms to the *miles Christi* tradition. The problem lies

not in seeing the apostles as Christian *milites*, but in the inju-
dicious use of language that arouses connotations of more active
warfare and which implies a bravery originating within the warrior,
such as characterizes the secular hero rather than the Christian,
whose courage comes from God.

The poem thus lacks the stylistic tact that one finds, on the
whole, in *Guðlac A* or *Juliana*. Bartholomew is described as
beaducræftig beorn (44), Simon and Thaddeus are beornas beadurofe
(78) and Peter and Paul are fyrdhwate (12) although, in contra-
diction to what the language implies, the keynote of each story is
suffering and submission to violent death. Peter and Paul are the
victims of Nero's plots and however fyrdhwate they might be, simply
feorh ofgefon (12). Similarly, Andrew is hildeheard (21) and
experiences guðplegan (22), but the battle is in fact the martyrdom
of crucifixion.

Schaar characterized the poem as one written almost wholly
within the heroic tradition and continued:

> This mission of the apostles is set forth as the
> fight between bold and steadfast warriors and dark
> and evil powers, the final death and martyrdom of
> God's servants is looked upon as the tragic but
> glorious overthrow of faithful retainers.[64]

This assessment of the poem, however, gives more weight to the con-
notations of the language than to the essential ideas expressed,
which are Christian throughout.[65] Their deaths are not seen as
"the tragic but glorious overthrow of faithful retainers" but rather,
and appropriately, as their moment of greatest victory and triumph.
Cynewulf's problem was not conceptual, but linguistic, although we
may properly ask, with Shippey,[66] how far the use of one particular
style can actually alter the story told. Here it certainly confuses
our response.

5. Andreas.

Our response to *Andreas* is similarly confused and for the same
reasons. The poem's stylistic incongruities are widely recognized
and have been commented upon in some detail by Cherniss[67] and
Shippey.[68] The value of considering *Andreas* in the context of this
paper, as of considering *The Fates of the Apostles*, is to draw
attention to the poets' peculiar difficulties in using the *miles
Christi* metaphor and to define contrastively, by reference to
relative failures, the means by which the image may be successfully
presented, as it is in *Guðlac A* and *Juliana*.

Andreas, in his passivity and in his reliance on God for pro-
tection and victory, conforms to the *miles Christi* tradition. He
suffers a form of passion (966-72, 1238-78) without quite dying as
a martyr, and he defeats the warlike Mermedonians when the sign of
the cross appears on his face (1334-40). But the poet does not
make reference to the wider perspective of the *miles Christi*
tradition in which the hero's struggles may be seen as a pattern
and model of the Christian life. The saint's acts conform to those

of the *miles Christi* only because the nature of his actions and experiences are predetermined in the given narrative, which the poet does not alter. If he was aware of the implications of his narrative, that spiritual warfare is one of obedience to God and calls for a different relationship between God and man than that between lord and retainer, he does not articulate it. The notions of military service suggested by the language of the poem are not modified by concepts of service such as are found in *Guðlac A* (or in the Benedictine Rule); þeow and þeowian are not used in *Andreas*.

In Christian contexts military language, which normally implies physical action, is often used in situations where no action occurs. But if the Christian frame of reference is clearly established, the audience accepts this somewhat paradoxical linguistic and behavioural pattern as a fulfilment of their immediate expectations. With *Andreas*, however, the situation is quite different in that the audience's response is not conditioned and limited by the poet's direct comments or judicious use of language. On the contrary, his style is so heavily dependent on the heroic tradition that it inevitably arouses the wrong set of expectations with the result that, when inaction follows, as dictated by the narrative, we experience a strong sense of incongruity.

The "set-piece"[69] of Andreas' release of the prisoners (981 ff.), which is not discussed by Cherniss, is a good example of the poet's lack of sensitivity. The hero's advance on the gaol is one of the climaxes of the narrative and the description of his approach is reminiscent of a heroic warrior advancing to battle:

> Ða wæs gemyndig   modgeþyldig,
> beorn beaduwe heard,   eode in burh hraðe,
> anræd oretta,   elne gefyrðred,
> maga mode rof,   meotude getreowe,
> stop on stræte,   (stig wisode)   (981-85)

Indeed the whole episode can be used to argue a relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.[70] The traditional build-up is completely undercut, however, by the fact that there is no battle, God grants the victory, death mysteriously carries off the warders so that Andreas meets with no opposition, and his bold front as a courageous and resolute warrior is inappropriate since he cannot even be seen. The released prisoners no longer experience guðgeþingo (1043) in prison (which is in fact a place of suffering) and the two apostles are called wigend and hæleð higerofe (1053-4) even though, like the rest of those who have left the prison, they are now both hidden by God from their enemies' sight. The experience of suffering, the passive reception of "victory" and of God's protection are compatible with the Christian being called a fighter, but the poet's organization of the passage and his choice of language arouse expectations that are inappropriate for recognition of the Christian metaphor.

Even allowing for the fact that *Andreas* is twice the length of *Guðlac A*, the range of terms used to describe Andreas is far greater than the noticeably restricted range used for Guðlac. The *Andreas* poet exploits the poetic vocabulary in the same way as the *Beowulf*

poet does for his hero. The unambiguously Christian designations of Andreas are relatively few. Halig, se halga and se halga wer are the commonest (e.g. 168, 359, 382, 467, 831, 893, 996, 1010, 1171, 1222, 1253, 1307, 1315, 1389, 1395, 1478, 1566, 1586, 1607). As an apostle he is recognized as being a þegn of Christ (323, 344, along with the other apostles), a þegn of glory (1026 with Matthew, 1678) and he is gode leof (1579), ar godes (1647), and æþelcyninges ar (1679). The only other explicitly Christian designations are halig cempa (461) and Cristes cempa (991). These, along with eadig oreta (463), which must also be an allusion to the Christian metaphor,[71] identify Andreas as a spiritual soldier, but in a poem of 1722 lines that is so rich in epithets for Andreas drawn from the heroic tradition, they have little effect in restricting our response to Andreas as a warrior and their relative insignificance does not suggest a consistent attempt by the poet to present his hero as a *miles Christi*. His effort lies rather in presenting him as a hero of the Germanic tradition since the Christian epithets are surpassed by nouns and adjectives more familiar in heroic poetry, as is indicated by the following representative list (nominative forms only):

heard ond higerof (233)	eorl ellenheard (1254)
guðe fram (234)	eorl unforcuð (1263)
beorn (239, 1247, 1279)	deor ond domgeorn (1308)
wis hæleð (624, 919)	þrohtheard þegn (1391)
maga mode rof (625, 984)	ellenrof (1392)
wiges heard (839)	stiðhycgende (1429)
beorn beaduwe heard (982)	wigendra hleo (1450, 1672)
leof leodfruma (989)	se dædfruma (1455)
æþeling (990, 1272, 1459)	mægene rof (1469, 1676)
hæle hildedeor (1002)	mihtig ond modrof (1496)
sigerof (1225)	cene collenferhð (1578)
deormod (1232)	se modiga (1632)

The cumulative effect of such vocabulary, reinforced by set-piece descriptions easily recognized as inspired by the heroic tradition, is to contradict the hagiographic narrative pattern. There is no real evidence that the poet was aware of these contradictions and his stylistic insensitivity may be a result of an insensitivity to the real nature of the Christian tradition of spiritual warfare, as exemplified in his presentation of the confrontations between Andreas and the Mermedonians.

The critical stance summarized by Schneider and quoted at the beginning of this paper may thus be justified in the case of *Andreas*, but we should not generalize from it; for all its vigour, it is naive and unsatisfactory as a Christian poem. It is possible to discriminate between poems and to recognize that not all poets found themselves "forced . . . to describe Christian characters inappropriately in terms belonging to the ideals of a warrior society". The tradition of the soldier of Christ was known in pre-Conquest England and much of the military language in Christian contexts was inspired

by that tradition and not by the inherited traditions of the Germanic heroic world.[72]

NOTES

1   Claude Schneider, "Cynewulf's devaluation of heroic tradition in *Juliana*",
     Anglo-Saxon England 7 (1978), 107.

2   Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), pp.27-8.

3   Adolf Harnack, *'Militia Christi': Die christliche Religion und der
     Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen, 1905), p.18.

4   Harnack, p.30; Johann Auer, " 'Militia Christi' : Zur Geschichte eines
     christlichen Grundbildes", *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 32 (1959),
     344-46.

5   *Benedicti Regula*, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (1960), pp.1-2.   References
     throughout this paragraph are to Hanslik's edition.

6   C. Mohrmann, "La Langue de Saint Benoît" in *Sancti Benedicti Regula
     Monachorum*, ed. P. Schmitz (Maredsous, 1955), pp.9-39.

7   E. Manning, "La Signification de 'Militare - Militia - Miles' dans la
     Règle de Saint Benoît", *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962), 135-38.

8   *The Rule of S. Benet*, ed. H. Logeman, EETS, OS 90 (1888).

9   The related noun *militia* is glossed by campdom (Logeman, p.14).

10   *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel*, ed. Arnold
     Schröer, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. 2 (Kassel, 1885-88),
     p.97.   This is a doublet translation, "winnan wilt and campiam" (correctly
     campian, as in the Wells Fragment, p.96).

11   The translation is late tenth century; the interlinear gloss later, possibly
     early eleventh century, but independent of the translation.   Further to the
     editions, see Jerome Oetgen, "The Old English *Rule* of St. Benedict",
     American Benedictine Review 26 (1975), 38-53 and Mechthild Gretsch, *Die
     Regula Sancti Benedicti in England* (Munich, 1973), pp.4-5.

12   Where the Latin text uses *pugnare* to describe the more active eremitical
     struggle against the devil, both the translator and glossator use winnan:
     Schröer, p.9; Logeman, p.10.   For a brief comment on the distribution of
     campian in Old English prose, see Janet Bately, "The Compilation of the
     Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 60 B.C. to A.D. 890: Vocabulary as Evidence", *Proceed-
     ings of the British Academy* 64 (1978), 123.

13   *The Hexameron of St. Basil*, ed. H.W. Norman (2nd ed., London, 1849).   Also
     commonly known as Basil's *Admonitio*.   Norman accepts it uncritically as the
     commentary of Basil of Cappadocia, but for the relationship of the Latin
     text to the commentaries of the Carolingian Reform, notably those of Paulus
     Diaconus and Hildemar, see P. Wolfgang Hafner, *Der Basiliuskommentar zur
     Regula S. Benedicti*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des
     Benediktinerordens, Heft 23 (Münster, 1959).

14   The laws also reflect this imagery.   Monks are "Godes cempan innan heora
     mynstran", *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. B. Thorpe (London,
     1840), p.431.

[15]   *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, EETS, OS 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-1900; repr. as 2 vols., 1966), II, pp.66-124. For a further comparison between secular and spiritual warfare, see *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum*, ed. E.W. Rhodes, EETS, OS 93 (1889), p.61.

[16]   *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, II, p.286. See also the anonymous life of Ceolfrið, where the monastic community is seen as a *cohors; Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p.397.

[17]   *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, the Capitula of Theodulf and the Epitome of Benedict of Aniane*, ed. Arthur S. Napier, EETS, OS 150 (1916), pp.67 (Latin) and 68 (OE).

[18]   For monks as the successors to martyrs, see *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. III (Kassel, 1889), pp.35-6 and E. Manning, *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962), 135.

[19]   *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS, SS 5 (1979), p.314. Subsequently to be cited as *Catholic Homilies*, Godden.

[20]   *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, Vol. 1 (London, 1844), pp.56, 82, 84, 232, 352-54, 382, 484, 546; *Catholic Homilies*, Godden, pp.247, 286; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, pp.126, 192, 332, 416, 418, 492; II, p.370.

[21]   *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, p.145.

[22]   *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. Thorpe, I, p.388; *Catholic Homilies*, Godden, pp.247, 288; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, p.144.

[23]   *Die Vercelli-Homilien. I-VIII Homilie*, ed. Max Förster, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. XII (Hamburg, 1932), p.117.

[24]   *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. George Herzfeld, EETS, OS 116 (1900).

[25]   *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. T. Wright and R. Wülcker (London, 1884). The glosses, which are given in vol. 1, are referred to here by column and item number.

[26]   Bede uses military imagery not just for martyrs, but for saintly kings, professional churchmen and for the faithful who struggle against sin: *Ecclesiastical History of the English Peoples*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp.364, 380, 476, 486; *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, in *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p.408; *Historia Abbatum*, ed. C. Plummer, *op.cit.*, p.371; *Opera Homiletica*, ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 122 (1955), pp.116, 203, 268, 269.

[27]   *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historicae, Ep. IV (Berlin, 1895), p.221. For some other uses of the metaphor by Alcuin, see also pp.310-11, 314.

[28]   *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historicae, Ep. III (Berlin, 1892), p.650.

[29]   In the letter of Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury to Lul, *Epistolae*, ed.
Dümmler, MGH, Ep. III, p.398, and in Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. W.
Levison, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis
Germaniae Historicis separatim edit (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905).

[30]   C. Albertson, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Heroes* (Fordham University, 1967),
p.313.

[31]   In the military situation in Anglo-Saxon England, siege warfare was neither
possible nor appropriate. It is only after the Norman Conquest that the
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle begins recording the tactic of besieging deliberately
fortified areas. Earlier, besieging had been a temporary response to the
opportunist seizure of earthworks or river islands by bands of Vikings.

[32]   *Moralium Libri sive Expositio in Librum B. Job*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologia
Latina, 75 (1902), coll. 521-22; 76 (1878), coll. 118-9, 744.

[33]   *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet,
EETS, OS 45, 50 (1871), pp.227-9, 277-9, 311.

[34]   Pearsall, in the quotation above, p. 57, provides an extreme example of the
wrong assumptions that can be made in clearly implying a relationship
between the native heroic tradition and Bede's designation of Cuthbert as
a "miles Christi". In fact, as must be clear from what has been said so
far, Bede, here and elsewhere, is influenced by the Latin tradition alone.
With Old English poetry the situation is less clear cut, but it is obvious
that assumptions need to be tested.

[35]   There are good examples also in the Old English versions of the story of
Guðlac, for which, see below, pp. 65-9.

[36]   For comment on this exceptional incident, see B.P. Kurtz, "From St. Antony
to St. Guthlac. A Study in Biography", *University of California Publications
in Modern Philology*, 12 (1926), 108-9.

[37]   *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des
Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. V
(Leipzig and Hamburg, 1900-1907), pp.121-22, and in similar instances else-
where in the *Dialogues*, as is pointed out in the text at the end of this
episode. For dependence on the armour of faith, the help of God and the
angels, associated with the passivity of the individual, see the brief
references in *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, EETS, OS 58, 63, 73
(1874-80), p.209; *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. Thorpe,
I, p.604; *Catholic Homilies*, Godden, p.234; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed.
W.W. Skeat, I, p.132; Cambridge University Library MS I.1.33, f.207r;
Vercelli Homily XIX (part of which, including the military metaphor, is
printed by P. Szarmach, "Caesarius of Arles and the Vercelli Homilies",
Traditio 26 (1970), 315-23. The homily has not yet been published in full).
The key virtue may be the unmilitaristic one of patience, *Defensor's Liber
Scintillarum*, ed. E. Rhodes, p.12.

[38]   Kurtz, *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12
(1926), 107. For Cuthbert, see *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B.
Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940); for Guthlac, see *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*,
ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956).

[39]   ed. H. Sweet, p.83. Elsewhere the priest is seen as armourer in his
administration of baptism, *Wulfstan*, ed. A.S. Napier, Sammlung englischer
Denkmäler IV (Berlin, 1883), p.35.

[40] For presentation of the psalmist's passive situation in military terms, see psalms 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 24, 27, 36, 42, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 75, 90, 93, 112, 137, 139 (Vulgate). Exegetes further increased the military imagery of the psalms by interpreting the references to the *tabernacula* as the tent of the soldier on the march, even when the immediate context of *tabernacula* was non-military. See for example, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 38 (1956), pp.517, 218-19, 477.

[41] *Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, p.431. There is one instance in Old English prose of the devil using a boarspear, *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. S.J. Crawford, EETS, OS 177 (1929), p.144.

[42] As, possibly, in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, p.74. The verb used is *torfian*, translated as 'shoot' by Skeat, probably correctly on the basis of Ælfric's equation elsewhere of *torfian* and *sceotan* (see Bosworth-Toller, p.829, *s.v. sceotan*). It is unlikely, in the context, that *torfian* is meant literally as "to pelt with turf".

[43] *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, ed. Förster, pp.103-5. Note also Ælfric's careful designation of the soldier as "se gastlica cempa" in his explanation of Job 7 v.1, "Militia est vita hominis super terram". He is equally careful to give his military imagery unambiguous spiritual interpretation in another brief reference, *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, p.362.

[44] Harnack, *Militia Christi*, pp.8, 43ff.

[45] J.E. Cross, "The ethic of war in Old English", in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp.269-82.

[46] I consequently also omit *Judith* later, since it likewise describes, albeit anachronistically and inaccurately, an historical, physical confrontation that is seen as a holy war.

[47] C.L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", *Traditio* 15 (1959), 191, identifies the Bedan source of the first part of this homily (Thorpe, pp.364-70), but this is not the source for the second part (Thorpe, pp.370-84) despite the fact that Smetana's remarks seem to apply to the whole of Thorpe, pp.364-84. In using military imagery here, Ælfric may be following his unidentified source.

[48] *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, ed. Paul Gonser, *Anglistische Forschungen* 27 (1909).

[49] B.P. Kurtz, "From St. Antony to St. Guthlac. A Study in Biography", *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12 (1926), 104-46.

[50] Rosemary Woolf, "Saints' Lives", in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E.G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp.53-56, believes that this psychological approach is not sustained in *Guðlac A* and that the demons are presented as external, often physical persecutors. For a contrary view, see D.G. Calder, "*Guðlac A* and *Guðlac B*: Some Discriminations", in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation. For John C. McGalliard*, ed. L. Nicholson and D.W. Frese (Notre Dame and London, 1975), pp.65-80.

[51] Summaries of the discussion are to be found in *The Exeter Book*, ed. G.P.

Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, III (New York and London, 1936), p.xxxii and *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Texts in Translation*, trans., M.J.B. Allen and D.G. Calder (Cambridge, 1976), p.108.

[52]   L. Shook, "The Prologue of the Old English *Guthlac A*", *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961), 294-304, particularly 295.

[53]   All poetic references are to *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York and London, 1931-53).

[54]   Although both Felix and the Old English *Life* give the literal meaning of Guðlac's name ("belli munus") and describe his conversion *from* a life of secular warfare, they do not fully capitalize on the military metaphor in presenting it in any developed sense as a conversion *to* spiritual warfare. Indeed, the Old English *Life* reduces the military metaphor in sometimes translating *miles Christi* as "se eadiga wer".

[55]   "Saints' Lives", p.55.

[56]   Michael D. Cherniss, *Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry* (The Hague and Paris, 1972), p.232, correctly notes the poet's selection of the non-heroic þeow to describe Guðlac's relationship with God. But his following remark, that "The poet calls Guthlac God's 'servant' . . . about as frequently as His 'thane' or 'warrior' ", is inaccurate. Þegn is never used of Guðlac, only of the apostle Bartholomew (693, 708) and of the devils, by virtue of their relationship to Satan (547). Further, þeow is used five times against a total of fourteen for cempa and oretta together.

[57]   For this and similar comments about usage in Old English poetry, see *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. J.B. Bessinger (Ithaca and London, 1978).

[58]   The difference between the two heroes is marked if one compares Guðlac's beot (239-61) with those of Beowulf before his major fights.

[59]   T.A. Shippey, *Old English Verse* (London, 1972), p.130.

[60]   *Old and Middle English Poetry*, p.44.

[61]   Claude Schneider, "Cynewulf's devaluation of heroic tradition in *Juliana*", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 107-118.

[62]   *Juliana*, ed. Rosemary Woolf (London, 1955), pp.11-17.

[63]   A citadel image which is obviously related to the imagery of siege warfare occurs in *Vainglory*, but the citadel is destroyed from within. For the underlying traditions, see C.A. Regan, "Patristic Psychology in the Old English *Vainglory*", Traditio 26 (1970), 324-35 and, in relation to both *Vainglory* and *Juliana*, J.F. Doubleday, "The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry", Anglia 88 (1970), 503-508. The only other possible parallel is *Beowulf* 1740-47, the language of which is generally recognized as deriving from homiletic literature. But here we have no tower or stronghold, only armour, and the positive Christian virtues, such as patience and faith, which normally strengthen the defence, are not mentioned.

[64]   C. Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* (Lund and Copenhagen, 1949), p.34.

[65]   In addition to the underlying emphasis on victory through suffering, see, for example, the reference to the praiseworthy renunciation of transitory earthly wealth (82-84).

[66]   *Old English Verse*, p.119.

[67]   *Ingeld and Christ*, pp.171-93.

[68]   *Old English Verse*, pp.114-126.

[69]   Other "set pieces" include the hero setting out on a journey (230ff.) and the Mermedonians' attack (1201ff.).

[70]   For a summary of the parallels with *Beowulf*, see Shippey, *Old English Verse*, pp.115-117.

[71]   Eadig oretta is also used for David, 1.879. It is a collocation that occurs also in *Guðlac* as an allusion to the Christian metaphor but one would not expect it in heroic poetry and it may be taken as unequivocally Christian here. Leoflic cempa (1446) should also probably be added, though it is a unique collocation in the extant poetry. Cempa in 230 and oretta in 983 are in immediate linguistic contexts that are strongly reminiscent of the heroic tradition and there is nothing to suggest that they are to be understood metaphorically.

[72]   The new edition of *Guðlac A* in *The Guthlac poems of the Exeter Book*, ed. Jane Roberts (Oxford, 1979), unfortunately appeared too late to be used in this article. The editor does not examine the *miles Christi* imagery in any detail but her analysis of the poem confirms that the poet was familiar with patristic and hagiographical traditions. She believes too (p.52) that it has a distinctly monastic orientation, a belief that can be supported by what this article has shown of the relationship between monasticism and the image of the *miles Christi*.